# Photographs, Railways, Partition: domiciled Europeans in the late Raj

# By Deborah Nixon

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
The University of Technology Sydney
2015

**Certificate of Original Authorship** 

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor

has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged

within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help I have received in my

research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In

addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the

thesis.

Signature of student

**Production Note:** 

Signature removed prior to publication.

Deborah Nixon

ii

#### Acknowledgements

### 'But our beginnings never know our ends' (Eliot 1963, p. 21)

Perhaps when I began my project I thought I knew my 'ends' in terms of the thesis as an artefact but I could never have predicted the unquantifiable ends that accompanied it. Not only have I gained an understanding of the research process through my peregrinations in India, Australia and Britain but I also made friends as I went. The hospitality I was shown as I travelled helped to transform the unfamiliar to the familiar and eased my journeying.

This thesis would never have come to fruition without a whole 'team' comprised of family, friends and colleagues spurring me on through the years it took to complete the research. Chief amongst those who supported me are my mother and father. My father, Leslie Nixon, became the star of this thesis; without him there simply would be no 'story'. He was always willing to answer questions and provide as much detail as he could about his family life, his experiences growing up and his service with the First Gurkhas Rifles in India. Of equal significance is that he entrusted me with his cache of family photographs and a few military documents many of which I had not seen before the project began. This year (2015) he turns 90 so at an age when he might have preferred not to return to some of his memories he tirelessly revisited incidents from his past that I knew were painful for him to recall. But in some way I hope it has helped him make peace with himself over these troubling events. I would also like to express my gratitude to my mother, Margaret Nixon, for her unending patience and encouragement.

I want to thank the wonderful people I met on my travels through central India where I was welcomed into homes, fed, housed and regaled with stories of life in the railways, the army and colonial India. In particular, I would like to mention Dunstan Gamble ('the Cricket') and his family. Dunstan was a lynchpin contact who introduced me to the elderly Anglo-Indians in Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh. He then referred me to the amazing Peggy Cantem and Roy Abbott in Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh. Peggy knew everybody in town where her tiny house acted as a fulcrum for the Anglo-Indian community. I spent every night of my three-week stay in Jhansi at her table eating and talking to all the people who dropped by. Roy Abbott took me on a memorable drive to his farm in Sagar where I was a special guest for a week. I felt that I was privy to a different India at the farm – Roy liked to say it was the 'real India' – I learnt there that there are many Indias.

Furthermore, whilst in Nepal I went to Pokhara and was able to spend time with retired Colonel (Retd) John Cross who also took me into his home and confidence and told me the story of his life and relationship to the Gurkhas with whom he served as a younger man. In London the Dorudi-Cross family made it possible for me to spend time rummaging in the British Library for a longer period than I could otherwise have afforded.

I doubt any thesis is ever completed without friends to occasionally despair and find solace with, as without them it would be a lonely process indeed. I have to afford special thanks to my original PhD 'study buddy' Dr Kerry Little who 'arrived' before I did but who continued to share her war stories and triumphs with me when I felt overcome by the whole process. In addition, Dr Adrian Kelly lent me his ear and many of his books for most of the time it took me to complete. After my latest trip to India Dr Ursula Nixon and Vera Moxey ensconced me in their guest accommodation for three months where I was freed from domestic responsibility as I literally unpacked my bags and my thoughts. They were ever ready to engage in conversation with me and we shared many evenings talking about Vera's girlhood in Bangalore and my travels. Dr Ross Forman has also been a steadfast presence throughout; I thank him for patiently listening to me and offering his counsel.

I am also indebted to Dorothy McMenamin principally for publishing 'Raj Days Downunder' (2010) her valuable collection of interviews conducted in New Zealand with elderly Anglo-Indians, Parsis and domiciled Europeans. It is fascinating reading and came together just in time for me to profit from her labours! Through capturing these voices Dorothy has performed a great service for the families and researchers in this area. I also thank Dr Laura Bear whom I met in London at the London School of Economics very early in my research. Dr Bear encouraged me to follow my family trail in India and was curious and enthusiastic about the provenance of the photographs. Her research has informed much of my work.

My supervisor Dr Devleena Ghosh and co-supervisor Dr Heather Goodall have both offered me their wisdom and guidance. When I was struggling with a busy work schedule Dr Ghosh 'cracked the whip'. She insightfully pointed out a path through the research when I was overcome by the richness of the material I was dealing with. I thank her for her provocations and kindness.

Dr. Guenter Plum provided copy-editing and proof reading services in alignment with the guidelines provided by the University of Technology Sydney, Graduate Research School.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents Leslie and Margaret Nixon.

#### Original Work Published during Candidature

Nixon, D. 2007, 'Memories I never had', *Life Writing Journal Curtin University*, vol 4, no 1, April 2007, Taylor and Francis, pp.123-127, (refereed journal).

Nixon, D. 2008, Race, railways and domiciled Europeans', *Transforming Cultures Journal* vol 3, no 1, February, University of Technology Sydney, (refereed journal).

Nixon, D. & Ghosh, D. 2008, 'Fires in the Kangra: A British soldier's story of Partition' in Roy, A G & Bhatia, N (eds), *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement, and Resettlement*, Pearson Education, Delhi, India, pp. 174-191, (book chapter).

Nixon, D. 2011, 'Multiple realties plus one', *Look*, Art Gallery New South Wales August /September, pp. 36-38, (magazine).

Nixon, D. 2013, 'Movement and stillness: speaking and silence', *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies*, August 2013,

<a href="http://home.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/nix13.html">http://home.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/nix13.html</a>

Nixon, D. 2013, 'Track changes', *National Geographic Traveller India*, July 1<sup>st</sup> 2013, pp. 65-67, (magazine).

## **Table of Contents**

Certificate of Original Authorship	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
'But our beginnings never know our ends' (Eliot 1963, p. 21)	iii
Original Work Published during Candidature	vi
Table of Contents	
Abstract	xi
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
'an unfortunate afridi tribesman'	1
Family Connections	2
Speaking remembering forgetting eliding	7
Colonial habitus	8
Interviewees	10
Photography collection memory	11
The photographs	13
Photo elicitation	17
Railways: space, place and time	17
Train travel	18
Cartographic consequences	19
Partition: maps boundaries and new nations	20
Outline of chapters	23
Chapter 2 – Family narratives, and differently remembered pasts	26
2.1 Introduction	26
Vernacular photographs	28
In the beginning: finding the photographs	28
The technology: photography in India	32
Portraits: who did they think they were?	37
2.2 Memory	42
Servants at the 'edge of sight'	46
Shikar and manly pursuits	48

2.3 Gardens and ruins	52
The context – leading to the railways	53
Smaller towns: other places, other spaces	55
Conclusions	57
Chapter 3 – Photo elicitation using vernacular photographs	60
3.1 Introduction	60
A little more history	62
Photo elicitation	65
Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians	65
The participants	67
Subject position	
Sites for interviews – pitfalls and perils	69
3.2 Interviews	
The influence of captions	72
The anteriority of photographs	73
3.3 Memory and narrative	75
Interviews: trust	76
Left behind	78
Clothing and context	80
Jhansi 1929-1923	85
3.4 Weaving narrative and history	86
Narrative	86
Ancestors	88
Restoration	88
Indian by birth, Anglo-Indian by culture	90
Conclusions	94
Chapter 4 – Inside the Railways and the Colonies	96
4.1 Introduction	96
Railways	101
Traversing landscapes	101
Railway colonies	105
4.2 Foregrounding the background	113

Servants and the blocks	114
Networks	116
Parsis	119
Race and class in the railway colonies	123
The 'Bankwalla' incident	128
4.3 'I was there'	129
Migration	130
Conclusions	131
Chapter 5 – <i>Dussehra</i> – 'the British knew what to do' (Brigdier Retd	. Panesar
2007)	135
5.1 Introduction	135
Gurkha deployment in unrest: 1857-1947	
Sources and participants	
The origins of Gurkha 'martiality'	
5.2 Martial races, masculinity and modernity	142
Martial race theory – masculinity	143
Creating a separate Gurkha identity	145
Congruency with characteristics of British soldier	146
5.3 Insiders on the outside	148
Dussehra and tradition	149
Tradition and history	152
Carnivalesque	160
Conclusion	161
Chapter 6 - Other voices	164
Gurkha deployment in civil unrest	164
6.1 Introduction	164
The Gurkhas	167
Who were the soldiers and who drove the trains?	168
6.2 Acting as an aid to the civil power	171
The task - 'No one knew anything' (Leslie Nixon Interview 2006)	172
6.3 First person accounts	174
Trains	170

The situation in the North India	179
The Holocaust is invoked	181
Conclusion	182
Chapter 7 - Partition	185
7.1 Introduction	185
Postmemory	186
No final figures	188
Trauma	191
Neutrality	195
7.2 Partition Fires	199
Trains	207
Going doolali	211
Chapter 8 - Conclusions	214
What has been	215
Resonances	218
New archives	219
Reflection	221
Appendices	224
Appendix 1: A Short Glossary	224
Appendix 2: List of Interviews	225
Rihlingranhy	227

#### **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on an analysis of a family narrative that is imbricated with the development of two significant technologies of modernity: photography and the railways. Originally both were a product of and complementary to the colonial project which brought with it new experiences and, through the consequences of Partition, fashioned national identities. The subjects created by these technologies were represented in images captured in vernacular photographs. However, over time as technologies were deployed into everyday life their effects reflected the changes taking place in the wider context of colonial India. My account of this time weaves the core biography of Leslie Nixon into a wider historical context to create a narrative that is derived from texts, semi-structured photo elicitation interviews using vernacular photographs (taken between 1910 and 1947) of the domiciled European and Anglo-Indian communities who lived along the Great Indian Peninsula Railway line in late colonial India. During my research I found little or no mention of photography practiced at an everyday level by long term 'settlers' that recorded life outside major cities. My combined reading of family photographs acts as an articulation of and between private, less authorised discourses against (but not counter to) those of the colonial bureaucracy. This raised questions and challenges around how to use family photographs in interviews to elicit accounts of personal experiences of public and very traumatic events like the Partition. I interrogate the stories people tell when presented with an image that resonates with the past and unsettles the present. Through my account I argue that photographs, to some degree, reflect the increasingly unstable colonial boundaries of the day. In addition various accounts by Gurkha soldiers and British officers in the last part of British rule during the Partition contribute a different perspective to the Partition narrative. Engagement with new technologies reflects the way physical space was experienced and managed during the late Raj and the inevitable outcome of colonial rule in the mayhem of Partition.