Chapter- IV

ANGLO-INDIANS OF KERALA,
A CASE OF COCHIN SETTLEMENT

The Anglo-Indian communities in Kerala are known in many names including Eurasians, Feringhee, Chattakaran and the Luso Indians.¹ The article 366 of the Constitution of India refers the terminology Anglo-Indian to define “a person or whose father or any of whose male ancestors in the male line is or was of European descent but who has domiciled the territory of India and is or was born with in such territory of parents habitually resides therein and not established there for temporary purposes only”.² Considering its historical expansion and territorial grouping, the Anglo-Indians of Kerala are broadly classifieds in to twin subgroups; the Tangaserry sect of Kollam claiming the British origin and the next is Cochin sect under the Portuguese origin covering the regions Vallarpadom, Mulavukavu, Edakochi, Palluruthi and Kochi.³

Many people have raised the need of an authentic history of Anglo-Indians in Kerala. As a constitutionally recognised community, the Anglo-Indians have their own historic tradition of origin and growth. The descendents of Europeans in India, through centuries faced several socio-
economic, cultural and political changes. Portuguese the early colonisers of India from Europe came to India in the 16th century, married Indian women and their progenies were called Feringi. Later the amalgamated grouping became a community called Luso-Indians. In the next centuries, the Dutch and British occupied the monopoly of Indian trade and they mixed with the existing Luso-Indians. These events marked the Anglo-Indian history of Kerala.

Growth and Expansion of Eurasian Luso-Indian communities in Kerala

The famed Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama in 1498 looked for areas where he could collect spices. The visit of Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500 made the Portuguese realize possibilities in Cochin for trade and this slowly led to the launching of a factory at Cochin, Cannanore, and Quilon. Albuquerque started constructing forts. Settlements were established at Quilon, Cochin, Calicut and Cannanore. This helped to improve the prospects and to establish connections through them to unlock secrets of the localities from where different articles of trade could be obtained. Portuguese fort at Cochin (Fort Emmanuel), Cannanore (Fort Angelo), Quilon (Fort St. Thomas), Palliport (Vypeen island, north of Cochin) are standing monuments of Portuguese power in India. Each Portuguese settlement was protected by Portuguese and later the Luso - Indian families
stayed together inside the settlement with their cattle, carpentry workshop, smithy, tailoring, shoe making, baking etc.  

The Dutch invasion of Kerala severely disturbed not only the political arena and Portuguese supremacy, but totally affected the very social, religious and cultural life of Cochin and specially the Luso-Indians. The churches were destroyed, educational institutions and even the renowned library was burnt. The surrender of Portuguese at Cochin in 1663 was the beginning of the decline of Portuguese power in Kerala. The Portuguese and the Luso-Indians were the target of attack by the Dutch. So, these people were forced to protect themselves by fleeing to the interior villages of Kerala. After the Dutch invasion and the consequent inter-marriages with the Dutch and the British people the Luso-Indian community became more ‘European’ and thereby started to be termed as Eurasian.

Eurasians of Quilon settled in the adjoining areas like Thangassery, Clappana, Mavelikkara and Kayamkulam. They were settled in Aleppey and at Poracad. At Cochin and its suburbs like Nazareth, Saude, Cheriakadavu, Palluruthy, Edacochin, Thevara, Perumanoor, Chathiah (Pachalam and Vaduthala). They also settled at Varapoly, Moolampilly, Mulavukadu, Bolgatty and Vallarpadam. At Vypeen Island the Luso-Indians were settled
at Manjanakkad, Ochanthuruthu, Elamkunnapuzha, Palliport and at Kunjithai.\textsuperscript{10}

The Luso - Indians in Calicut were concentrated near to the Cathedral Church, and many were settled at Tellicherry further north to Calicut. One of the oldest of Luso-Indian settlements was at Cannanore (Where Fort Angelo is situated). A concentration of Luso - Indians could be seen in and around Ambazhakkad (in the present Trichur district) where a Jesuit Mission was functioning. The present Kadukutty and Padiyoor near Mathilakam are near to this Ambazhakkad. During the First and the Second World Wars many Luso - Indians residing near Cochin and other coastal areas further migrated to areas like Kadukutty and Padiyoor.\textsuperscript{11}

During the British period many Eurasians came to Munnar and Wayanad areas for employment in tea factories and plantations. They were good carpenters, smiths and mechanics. Later, many of them became civil contractors in the British estates and some of them turned to plantations and became estate owners. In all the above centres now the Eurasians have formed their own Associations joined with the other descendants of Europeans, to maintain unity and cultural identity. Apart from the above, Eurasian settlements are existing at Perumpadappu, about 120 families, a place near Cochin, on the other side of Kumbalangi, separated by the
backwaters, Kandanad (including Kothad, Korambadam, Charianthuruth and Chennor, nearly 50 families, these are islands north-east to Vypeen), Chathanad (nearly 30 families mostly Rebellos, an island near to Palliport), Nettoor (Nearly 40 families mostly migrated from Venduruthy, a nearby island on occupation of the Navy), Kumbalangi (5 families, mainly Oliveiros), Vengola (about 20 families, near to Perumbavoor where 195 acres of land was allocated in 1952 from the Govt. for a housing colony for Anglo-Indians.)

**Analysing the Socio-Economic and Political condition of Anglo-Indians in Kerala: Image from texts and field visits at the Cochin settlement**

The districts of Ernakulum in Kerala are the platform centres of Anglo-Indians and during the colonial era these were the major European strategic points. The demographic observations suggest that the Anglo-Indian population is on decline possibly due to their large scale migration to Australia, Canada and to other European countries. Referring to the case of the Cochin settlement there are around 110 families with a population of 500. The 1931 census report marks the Anglo-Indians of Kerala with the population of 3026. The other areas of Anglo-Indian concentration in Kerala are Alappuzha, Thiruvananthapuram, and Vayand.
The Anglo-Indians in Cochin usually use English for communication within the family and within the kin group. The script is also English. But in recent times the reports from Cochin community exposes that most of the Anglo-Indian registered Malayalam as their mother tongue. This definitely shows their affinity to common culture. The reports are similar in Kollam also. The Anglo Indians of Kollam send their children to Malayalam medium schools and they speak in Malayalam to people outside their community.

The Anglo-Indians traditionally maintain a western kind of dressing pattern. This was almost true in the case of Cochin community also. But now a transition is evident and they started wearing an amalgam of both Indian and European method and style of dressing. Anglo Indian women in Kochi wear lunki from waist to heel with the long sleeve blouse popularly called Kavaya reaching up to the elbow. The women never wear much jewellery.

The Anglo Indian community in Cochin have a healthy as well as lavish eating pattern. They are Non vegetarians. They consume egg, fish, pork, beef and vegetables. Their fruit consumption is moderate. The use of milk and milk products are higher among them. Their staple foods are rice and wheat in the form of bread. They maintain the colonial methodology of eating and eating manners including the use of spoon and fork. The use of wine
especially during the occasion of weddings and birthday parties shows the imitation of European model to Anglo-Indian culture. They occasionally prepare dishes such as European cake and Turkey roast etc. But this is absent among the economically backward groupings of their community.\textsuperscript{18}

The religious sectarianism is evident among the Anglo-Indians of Cochin. But this never effects their social interaction. Due to their educational priority and social standards, the Anglo-Indian community in Kerala owns a superior status within the local social hierarchy. The function of this class based hierarchy is to regulate marriages and social interaction. The society is also classifieds on the surname basis to exhibit the descent. Surnames like Fernandes, Diaz, and Decrus suggest Portuguese descent while Johnson and Saro indicate English descent, Nerohana of French descent Rodriguez of Dutch descent. But in Cochin most of the younger generation are unwilling to use surnames.\textsuperscript{19}

Community level endogamy is strictly adhered to by the Anglo-Indians.\textsuperscript{20} If any case of an endogamy is reported within the society, then the member and his spouse and may be his family will be socially boycotted.\textsuperscript{21}But the field surveys from Palluruthi suggests that the inter community weddings with Latin Christians are on increase among Anglo-Indians. The communities at Cochin are featured by territorial demarcation.
The wedding age is comparatively higher among the Anglo-Indians of Kerala. It is about 30 among men and 25 among women. Most number of marriages among Anglo-Indians are love affairs and the arranged marriage is quite rare among them. That the boy or girl gets the liberty to choose his or her partner is a peculiarity of Anglo-Indian family system, but it is evidently imposed that it should not be an inter community selection. There are reports of the occurrence of arranged marriages for those who are working outside, but even in that case the parties get the liberty to know each other under parental supervision. The engagement function also known as betrothal usually takes place either in the Parish church or at the bridegroom’s residence. The officiating of priest in engagements is not a necessary thing among the Anglo-Indians of Kerala. The ring exchange, offering wines to the partner and kissing are the characteristics of Anglo-Indian weddings.

On the eve of the marriage function the bridegroom holds a bachelor party. There is no fixed time gap between Anglo-Indian engagement and wedding. On the eve of the marriage the bride dresses in white and is escorted by the bridesmaids and relatives, and comes to the church and is led to the altar by her father. The bridegroom is led by best men who are often his brothers. After ascertaining their readiness, the priest blesses them, and first the boy and then the girl slips the wedding ring on fourth
finger of the right hand. Both of them take holy vows in the church to be faithful to each other until death parts them. Then they sign the wedding register. The wedding feast is elaborate. First cake and then wine is served. After proposing and accepting of the toast, non-vegetarian food is served. Men also have drinks. Ballroom dancing will take place in the evening in honour of the couple. First night is usually held in the bride’s house. The expenses of the feast are shared often by both the parties.\textsuperscript{22}

On the third day, they proceed to the bridegroom’s house where a reception is held. Premarital sex is strictly prohibited. Monogamy is adhered to; levirate or sororities are not practised. Wedding ring with the initials of the partners inscribed inside the ring is the only symbol of marriage (Indian Christians inscribe the initials outside the ring apart from the custom of tying the thali). Dowry is not in practice. After marriage, the newly married couple start a new household separately. Divorce is not allowed. Widow and widower remarriages are permitted.\textsuperscript{23}

Micro families among the Anglo-Indian are usual and stay unaffected. Macro families are rare to find in Cochin among Anglo-Indians. Among the family system, interpersonal, primary and secondary relationships are very high with the bondage of love and mutual respect instead of fear, and sense of compulsion. The presence of conflicts and disagreement are not very
common among the Anglo-Indians of Cochin. It can arise due to checks on the freedom of youngsters or when they misuse it. They follow equigeniture principle of inheritance. In case of an obituary of the head of the household, it is generally the spouse or mother who will control the members of the family. The family chieftainship is absent among Anglo-Indians. The families of the Anglo-Indian are found to be interrelated lineally or affinally. Thus they form allied family clusters. Among them there is a great deal of cooperation on various events such as birth, marriage, festive occasions like Christmas and New Year and at times of distress.

Interpersonal relations in the Anglo-Indian family have some problems at the socio-psychological level as the children often migrate to distant places and abroad searching for better prospects. The parents may be forced to stay behind to look after the property or they may not like to leave the country. The Anglo-Indian women have the right to inheritance and enjoy equal status with their men though not in all spheres. Their activities are not confined to the kitchen. In the middle class, upper middle class, and upper class families they engage cooks in the kitchen. In many households, women are also earning members, employed as teachers, secretaries, nurses. Many are professionally qualified. In social, religious
and political activities they have equal participation. They control family expenditure. The rituals are performed by priests.27

Among the Anglo-Indian there is no pre-delivery rituals or restrictions, except that in the case of the first delivery the women may be taken to her parental house by her mother, preferably in the fifth or seventh month of pregnancy. The delivery takes place mostly in the hospitals. The expenses are shared by the husband and his in-laws.28 Like many other communities in Kerala the Anglo-Indians also do a custom of offering the new born kid honey containing gold particles.29 On the seventh or eighth day of the child’s birth, the baptism and name giving ritual takes place to which family members and friends are invited. The first child’s baptism usually takes place in the mother’s parish church and its paternal grandparents will be the godfather and godmother. They will be responsible for the proper Christian upbringing of the child if orphaned. The child is given the name of the patron saint. The surname is added to the baptismal name. On the fortieth day after delivery, there is a purificatory ritual and is known as ‘churching’. The mother and child have no restrictions in their movements in the house and there is no suggestion of pollution. The first birthday is celebrated with feasting and dancing. When the child attains the age of seven or eight, the sacraments of Holy Communion and confirmation are
administered. Both are often held together and are followed by a feast. The godparents give presents to the child.\(^\text{30}\)

The Anglo-Indian keep the accomplishment of puberty by a girl confidential and there are no rituals or ceremonies and no pollution is attached to it.\(^\text{31}\) During the Anglo-Indian death rites, the priest administers extreme unction which is a sacrament to absolve the recipient of all sins by thought, word and deed. The priest anoints the body with holy olive oil. After death, the body is washed, dressed in special clothes and placed in the coffin. The body is kept in the main hall with legs towards the entrance, a crucifix and lighted candles are placed at the head. Relatives and friends bring flowers and offer prayers. Usually, nobody eats in the house and close relations keep awake throughout the night.\(^\text{32}\) The body is taken in a funeral procession to the church. After reaching the church, the coffin is placed on a raised dais facing the altar. The office of the dead is sung, sometimes a mass is also said, and then the body is taken to the cemetery. Before closing the coffin, the blood relatives imprint the parting kiss on the forehead of the deceased and then the coffin is lowered into the grave.\(^\text{33}\) Till the seventh day, evening prayers are said in front of the photograph of the departed. Every day the members of the family of the deceased go to the cemetery and visit the grave, say prayers, light candles and offer flowers. On the seventh day, there will be a requiem mass and prayers at the grave. On the thirtieth day
and first anniversary and subsequent anniversaries these ceremonies are repeated. The major changes in lifecycle rituals are that they are becoming less traditional and less elaborate because they are expensive.\textsuperscript{34}

The local parish churches of the Anglo-Indian also exercise some socio-religious control. Those who commit open sins against the teachings of the Church can be excommunicated. The church and the community associations give rewards to its members for outstanding achievements or services rendered for the common good. The Anglo-Indians do not appreciate interference in their personal affairs by the Church or by their own ethnic organizations. Most of the Anglo-Indians of Kerala are followers of the Christian religion of the Roman Catholic sect and follow the Latin Christian mode of worship. They do not have any family, clan, village or regional deities. The patron saints of the local parishes in which they are members are venerated with special reverence. The major centres of pilgrimage are St. Mary’s shrine at Vallarpadom and Velanganni. For them, the sacred specialist is a Roman Catholic priest (priests from their own community are few) who officiate at the naming ceremonies, marriage, funeral rites and at other sacraments.\textsuperscript{35}

Economically, the present day Anglo-Indians in Kerala can be divided into three sections. The well-to-do section in the community constituting
only one percent, middle class twenty nine percent and rest seventy percent belongs to the lower strata living a hand-to-mouth existence. Landlords, contractors, businessmen and officers who were very few in number form the well-to-do section living in bungalows. Petty traders, carpenters, masons, mechanics, blacksmiths, tailors, clerks and other members employed in different categories constitute the middle class living in stone-built and tiled houses. Those who are engaged in causal labour which is not a source of steady income, like pottery, bead making, and rope making could be categorized among the lowest section, most of them living in thatched huts. But irrespective of resources, the community as a whole is lavish. They make merry and do not think of tomorrow.36

Anglo-Indians perhaps believes in the Epicurean philosophy- “Eat drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die”. It is a fact that many of them were impoverished as they did not pause to think of the future37. Christenings, birthdays, weddings and religious feasts are celebrated with lavishness. A few of them ventured in to the field of ship building, furniture and pottery. During the period between 1820 to 1870, Poney Gueizelar and his son Cornelius Gueizelar of Vypeen were considered to be master builders of ships. Anglo-Indians had an inherent aptitude for making beautiful pieces of furniture, as they were excellent craftsmen. They employed several men in their factories, irrespective of caste or creed,
trained young men in the trade and contributed to the economic growth of the state. There were also excellent tailors and lace-makers among the men and women of the community. Some of them were well known as interior decorators too.38

The Anglo-Indians in Moolampally, on the outskirts of the city of Cochin, are masters of pottery. When Albuquerque had the Portuguese men married to Indian women, he also taught them different trades as tailoring, smithy, carpentry, cobbler, banking, pottery, boat-building etc. It is correctly presumed that the forefathers of the community in Moolampally have been trained in the art of pottery during the days of Albuquerque and hence it is now a traditional trade there handed down from father to son, their speciality being terracotta flower pots, banking-ovens made of clay and cooking pots.

Similarly, the cottage industry of making beads for the rosary, so much an integral part of the Catholic religion, also flourished in Kadukutty where a large colony of Portuguese descendants settled down. From the days of yore, this cottage industry had carried on from generation to generation. Beads for rosaries are made from the dried seeds of the Palmyra tree with the help of simple machinery. The beads thus produced are purchased by monasteries and convents which made use of them for making rosaries39.
Traditionally, the Anglo-Indians were able to find jobs easily in the Government during the pre-Independence period and for some years after Independence (till 1960) as they were given special constitutional safeguards. Some Anglo-Indians are in the defence services, some were in the Railways and Post and Telegraphs. The technically qualified and the educated have migrated to Australia and Canada. Some are employed as medical representatives. The Anglo-Indian women also prefer taking up jobs in higher professional fields.

Speaking about the political condition of Anglo-Indians in Kerala, there is no traditional council among the Anglo-Indian. Though they are a closed and insulated group they have not developed any political institution. They have two associations in Kerala, The Union of Anglo - Indian Associations, particular to Kerala and The All India Anglo - Indian Association, an offshoot of an all India Body. These bodies have some control over the members; members of the council at all levels to the above bodies are elected. The control of the members is in matters relating to the interests of the community at large. Maximum punishment offered is social boycott and non co-operation. Crime and offences are not dealt with by these bodies. Most of the members are still preserving the traditional values and customs of the community.\(^{40}\)
Among the Anglo-Indians here at Cochin, many individuals are proficient in modern plastic art and craft. Music and dance are important aspects of the Anglo-Indian social life. Some individuals are proficient in playing western musical instruments. Both men and women dance. It is found in their interaction with other communities that the Anglo-Indian have no inhibitions in accepting or exchanging water, food with others.41

Anglo-Indian Settlements at Cochin

a) Edakochi

The Anglo-Indian community at Edakochi is one of the largest settlements at Cochin. At present the Edakochi community carries about 250 Anglo-Indian families. The European decedents settled in and around Edakochi and established themselves prominent in all spheres. Most of the men are turned to business and some of them are constructors. A few started ice plants and fishing units on their own. Frank Antony Anglo Indian school (now it has been renamed as Pauline Victors Mendez Memorial Anglo-Indian School) one of the largest Anglo-Indian educational centres started in 1945 is situated here at Edakochi. The Anglo-Indian association of Edakochi also laid important contributions for the growth and development of their community.42
b) **Kadukutty:**

Anglo-Indian Community in this hamlet named Kadukutty originated from the Portuguese. They were influenced by the regional culture prevailing in that area, as the society in that region included Hindus and Syrian Christians. Though the social functions and other cultural functions were based on Portuguese traditions such as marriage, baptism, burial etc. there was a lot of local influence in their living. They adopted the regional language Malayalam mixed with Portuguese terms and the elders greeted their relatives in the Portuguese way. Many women wore ‘Kabaya’ - a long two-piece dress and other women folk wore the European type dress. Portuguese descendants were engaged in a variety of professions - agriculture, carpentry, lime-manufacture and white-washing. Some were engaged in making rosary beads and it was a cottage-industry for many years. There were also good technicians and experts in black-smithy. The farmers were somewhat well-to-do people. The region is not educationally advanced. Only after the inception of the Anglo - Indian School, did the children start learning the English language. Some of the prominent families were known by their surnames Correya, D’costa, Simethy, D’silva and Rodrigues. During the period of Second World War some Anglo - Indian families of Portuguese origin migrated from Cochin to this hamlet and settled there and mingled with the early settlers.

c) **Fort Cochin**
Fort Cochin is one of the earliest Portuguese settlements in India and the same place where they built its first fort, The Fort Emmanuel. The Fort can still be seen in land and sea. The ‘Kottapalli’ Santa Cruz Basilica and ‘Kottavaloppu’ are the words still used by the people of the locality. Fort Cochin is the cradle of the Eurasian culture, and this place has a history of more than 500 years of European connection. After Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut in 1498, Pedro Alvares Cabral was the second Portuguese man who came to Kerala and landed in Cochin in 1500. Cochin was the headquarters of the Portuguese till 1530 and the Portuguese operations lasted in Cochin till the Dutch defeated them in 1663. Vasco da Gama was buried in the St. Francis Church at Fort Cochin. The 500 year old Santa Cruz Basilica, and the Dutch Palace are the attractions of this centre. Fort Cochin has areas like then Vasco da Gama Square, the Albuquerque Jetty and European style of bungalows. The streets still bear the European names. At present the Fort Cochin community carries around 320 Anglo-Indian families. 

d) Vallarpadam

The community at Vallarpadom has its own significance in the history of Anglo-Indians of Kerala. The Portuguese establish the ‘Church of our Lady of Ransom’ at Vallarpadom to implement their religious interest. Here around 100 Anglo-Indian families reside and most of them are the original
descents of Portuguese. The lady wing of Anglo-Indian association and the Youth Moment of Anglo-Indian community functions here at Vallarpadom. St. Antony Anglo-Indian L.P school is functioning under the supervision of Central Board of Anglo-Indian Education is located here. This school was founded in 1945.48

e) **Cochin East**

The Anglo-Indian community at Cochin East is a small one among the rest. The migration of Anglo-Indian families from islands and other remote areas in and around Ernakulam for the sake of education of their children and for jobs in the industrial establishments resulted in the formation of newer communities in the eastern parts of the city namely Kaloor, Palarivattom, Vytila, Kakkand etc. Around 120 Anglo-Indian families reside here.49

**Expansion of Anglo-Indian Associations in Kerala**

The Anglo-Indians are a cohesive group and they shape their own organizational setup. There are 36 centres in Kerala and they have these associations affiliated to the ‘Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Kerala State’ with its nerve centre at Perumanoor, Cochin. There are independent Associations established at Calicut, Cochin and Quilon, allied to the ‘All
India Anglo-Indian Association, New Delhi, which is an organization formed mainly by the descendants of the British.\textsuperscript{50}

The historical tradition of Anglo-Indian Associations and institutions in Kerala is a matter of toleration over a long period of time. It was the intrepid effort for continued existence by a minority community and the impact of the grave and combined attempts of a scattered grouping to escape from annihilation. It was one of hard toil; silent suffering and sincere sacrifice of a batch of well-meaning men to bring up their brethren. Anglo-Indian Associations existed in different parts of Kerala even before the formation of the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations. But there was no coordination among them especially because the members of the community were residing in three different political areas viz. British Malabar, Cochin and Travancore States.\textsuperscript{51}

The Anglo-Indian Associations of Kerala were late in forming organizations and establishing institutions for educational and socio-economic advancement. In Travancore State there was an association at Thiruvananthapuram which, though well-organized and financially stable right from its inception, met with a premature death as early as 1939. Since then there was no association in that area till the end of 1950. From available records it is seen that late Chevalier C.Paul Luiz, was a pioneer in
the field. Timber King Chevalier Luiz had abundant resources and vast influence at his disposal and was the most suitable person for the task. He convened a meeting of the leaders of the community at his Perumanoor office on March 11, 1922 when Prof. S.F. Nunez, C. Jockin Luiz, Dominic D'Silva, Edward Gunter, J. Coeur, Augustine Dias and Rev. Fr. Charles Noronha participated and co-operated with Chevalier Luis in this primarily socio-economic move. The association however did not live long. But it did have its impact. Chevalier Luiz could get Prof. Nunez nominated to the first Legislative Council of Cochin State to represent the community. He could also get sanction to run an Industrial School for poor Anglo-Indian boys and girls. At present there are two Anglo-Indian associations that deserve special mention. Union of Anglo-Indian Associations is an exclusive one for the Anglo Indians in Kerala. The second one is the branch of the All India Anglo-Indian Association. These bodies have some control over the Anglo Indian communities since the councillors to both the organizations were decided through a process of election.

Notes and References


*manual*, Bombay, 1929, pp.137-139.


19 *Ibid*.


21 Data gathered from a personal interview: Mrs. Adaline D’Monte of Princes street, Fort Cochin.


23 Data gathered from a personal interview: Mr. Antony Barua, Cochin

24 Mrs. Adaline D’Monte


31 Mrs. Adaline D’Monte

32 Data gathered from a personal interview: Mr. Kevin D’rozario, Cochin.

34 Ibid.


36 Stephen Padua, *Op cit.*, p.4

37 Data gathered from a personal interview: Mrs. Betsy Fernandez, Burger street, Fort Cochin.

38 Betsy Fernandes


40 Information collected from field visit: Anglo Indian association, Edakochi.

41 Information collected from field visit: Anglo Indian association, Kadukkutti.

42 Data collected from personal interview: Mr. Charles Austin, Kadukkutti.

43 Information collected from field visit: Fort Cochin, St.Maries Anglo Indian Girl’s school, Mrs.Coral,

44 Jubileu De Ouro, *Golden jubilee souvenir, The Union of Anglo-Indian Association, Kerala.*

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

