

INDO-ANGLIAN: CONNOTATIONS AND DENOTATIONS

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Abstract. A different name than English literature, ‘Anglo-Indian Literature’, was given to the body of literature in English that emerged on account of the British interaction with India unlike the case with their interaction with America or Australia or New Zealand. Even the Indians’ contributions (translations as well as creative pieces in English) were classed under the caption ‘Anglo-Indian’ initially but later a different name, ‘Indo-Anglian’, was conceived for the growing variety and volume of writings in English by the Indians. However, unlike the former the latter has not found a favour with the compilers of English dictionaries. With the passage of time the fine line of demarcation drawn on the basis of subject matter and author’s point of view has disappeared and currently even Anglo-Indians’ writings are classed as ‘Indo-Anglian’. Besides contemplating on various connotations of the term ‘Indo-Anglian’ the article discusses the related issues such as: the etymology of the term, fixing the name of its coiner and the date of its first use. In contrast to the opinions of the historians and critics like K R S Iyengar, G P Sarma, M K Naik, Daniela Rogobete, Sachidananda Mohanty, Dilip Chatterjee and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak it has been brought to light that the term ‘Indo-Anglian’ was first used in 1880 by James Payn to refer to the Indians’ writings in English rather pejoratively. However, Iyengar used it in a positive sense though he himself gave it up soon. The reasons for the wide acceptance of the term, sometimes also for the authors of the sub-continent, by the members of academia all over the world, despite its rejection by Sahitya Akademi (the national body of letters in India), have also been contemplated on.

Keywords: *Anglo-Indian, Indo-Anglian, Indo-English, literary history.*

Шарма Сушил Кумар. Індо-англійська: конотації та денотації.

Анотація. Завдяки взаємодії англійської літератури з Індією, на відміну від її взаємодії з Америкою, Австралією або ж Новою Зеландією, утворився новий шар англійської літератури, який отримав назву: англо-індійська література. Спочатку навіть літературні доробки індійців (переклади, а також художні твори англійською мовою) були класифіковані під заголовком «англо-індійські», але згодом їх було перейменовано на «індо-англійські», зважаючи на зростаюче розмаїття та обсяг написаних індійцями творів англійською мовою. Проте на відміну від попереднього, останній не знайшов прихильності серед укладачів англійських словників. Із часом чітка лінія демаркації, окреслена на підставі предмета та погляду автора твору, зникла, і сьогодні навіть англо-індійські тексти класифікують як індо-англійські. Крім огляду різних конотацій терміна «індо-англійці», у статті проаналізовано такі проблеми: етимологія терміна, фіксація імені його автора і дата першого використання. На відміну від думок істориків та критиків, таких як К Р С Ієнгар, Г П Сарма, М К Наїк, Данієла Рогобете, Сачідананда Моганті, Діліп Чаттерджі та Гайатрі Чакраворти Співак, стверджувалося, що термін «індо-англійці» вперше було використано в 1880 р. Джеймсом Пейном для покликання на твори індійців англійською мовою радше в зневажливому тоні. Однак Ієнгар використовував цей термін в позитивному значенні, хоча

й він сам невдовзі від нього відмовився. У статті також проаналізовано причини широкого прийняття цього терміна, іноді навіть авторами субконтиненту, членами наукових кіл у всьому світі, незважаючи на те, що «Сагітъя Академі» (Національна академія літератури Індії) від нього відмовився.

Ключові слова: англо-індійська, індо-англійська, історія літератури.

1. Introduction

In one of his poems Syed Amanuddin complains: “they call me indo-anglian/ I don’t know what they mean” (Amanuddin 2016:50). In the introduction to his anthology *The Vintage Book of Indian Writing* Rushdie has used several appellations for the body of literature in English in India viz. Indo-Anglian, Indo-English, Indian writing in English, English-language Indian writing, English-language Literature, Indian novel in English and for the contributors, Indian writers working in English, English-language writer of Indian origin and non-english-language Indian writers (1997:x-xxii). M K Naik, whose canvas of study is much larger than that of Rushdie, is also conscious of the difficulty in choosing a name for this hybrid literature: “Another problem which the historian of this literature has to face is that of choosing from among the various appellations ... ‘Indo-Anglian literature’, ‘Indian Writing in English’, ‘Indo-English Literature’ and ‘Indian English Literature’.”(1989:4) P K Rajan too hints at the importance of the issue of naming this literature when he writes: “In the earlier critical scene the nomenclature of this literature itself was a topic of prolonged discussion. Indo-Anglian, or Indo-English, or Indian English, or Indian Literature in English?” (2006:12) In a different vein and tenor Arvind K Mehrotra writes: “Indians have been writing verse in English at least since the 1820s and it goes under many ludicrous names -- Indo-English, India-English, Indian-English, Indo-Anglian, and even Anglo-Indian and Indo-Anglican. ‘Kill that nonsense term’, Adil Jussawalla said of Indo-Anglian, and ‘kill it quickly.’” (*Oxford* 2003:1) Although Rajan opines that “... it is pointless to continue the debate any further” (2006:12) from the point of the historiography of a literature which is almost 225 year old it is important to go through the literature and debates to understand the etymological evolution of the terms and names that many scholars consider rather insignificant and therefore tend to use them carelessly. Due to constraints of time and space I propose to ruminate on one only i.e. “Indo-Anglian”.

The term “Indo-Anglian” (sometimes spelt without hyphen), unlike “Anglo-Indian”, does not find an entry in such important dictionaries as *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (1961), *The Chamber’s Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1971), *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (1974), *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1989), *Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* (1989), *Encarta World English Dictionary* (1999), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2003) and *Collins Cobuild Advanced Illustrated Dictionary* (2010) that claim to base themselves on a large corpus of English language collected from various sources¹. As the data for the above dictionaries is collected largely from native English sources one may

conclude that the term has not gained currency in the West though the inclusion of the term in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1991) and *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (1993) proves that it has been accepted in the West. The entry on the term in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Vol. VII) reads as: “**Indo-Anglian** a., of or pertaining to literature in English written by Indian authors; also as sb., a writer of such literature; ... **1883** in K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar *Indian Writing in English* (1962) i. 3 *Indo-Anglian, **1935** A. R. Chida (title) *Anthology of Indo-Anglian Verse*. **1943** K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (title) *Indo-Anglian Literature*. **1962** *Times Lit. Suppl.* 10 Aug. 596/3 Authors such as R. K. Narayan, Dom Moraes, Balachandra Rajan (now called ‘Indo-Anglians’) find their public in the West, rather than inside India itself. **1969** *Sunday Standard* (Bombay) 3 Aug. (Mag. Sect.) p. vii/7 Anita Desai is one of the most competent amongst the small band of Indo-Anglian novelists who have successfully established that a branch of English literature can grow and flourish as well in India as .. [sic] in Australia or Canada.” (1991:882-83) And, the entry on the term in *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Vol. I) reads as: “**Indo-Anglian** a. & n. (a) adj. of or pertaining to literature in English written by Indian authors; (b) n. a writer of such literature: L19.” (1993:1353) English in India has emerged as a language of fashion, aspiration and necessity for a certain class of people that Saritha Rai describes as “‘English Only’ Generation” (nytimes.com). Sajith Pai calls this class “Indo-Anglian” and opines that they owe their existence to the “growing westernisation, demand for English education and ... intercommunity marriages” (scroll.in/magazine/867130). Telling their characteristics he writes: “... [they] predominantly [speak] English and not the tongues they grew up with ... [and] constitute an influential demographic, or rather a psychographic, in India – affluent, urban, highly educated, usually in intercaste [sic] or inter-religious unions. ... Unlike Anglo-Indians, ... Indo-Anglians comprise all religions, though Hindus dominate. ... They fall well within the top 1% of India economically” (scroll.in/magazine/867130) He describes them as “a paradox [as they] are both India’s most visible and yet invisible class [having] important implications for society, business and governance.” (scroll.in/magazine/867130) According to Pai they consist of about 400,000 persons (which is not even 0.001 % of Indian populace) and “[their] identity is not entirely fixed or stable” yet their number is swelling rapidly “to become a caste in India”. (scroll.in/magazine/867130)

V K Gokak asserts that the term ‘Indo-Anglian’ “has been coined as a kind of cousin for ‘Anglo-Indian’.” (n.d.:160) On the analogy of ‘Anglo-Indian’ which can be used both as a noun (compound noun e.g. *six-pack*, *self-esteem*, *off-campus*, *Anglo-Norman*, *Anglo-Saxon*, *Anglo-French*, *Anglo-Irish*) and an adjective (compound adjective e.g. a *well-known* writer, a *high-quality* patent system, a *well-developed* sense of humour, a *twenty-storey* building, *Anglo-Saxon* Literature, *Anglo-Indian* Literature), the term ‘Indo-Anglian’ can also be used both as a noun and an adjective. While in the former case it means literature produced by or about India in English in the latter case it means related to/by Indians through English. Therefore, the term “Indo-Anglian Literature” is a compound noun/phrase with the

structure of Mod (Adj) + N (e.g. Black Board, Common Room, Free Trade, Registered Post, Old Boy) or N + N (e.g. Autumn Leaves, Alphabet Worksheets, Christmas Activities, Farm Animals, Animal Pictures). In contrast, in compound words like “Hindi Literature” or “Kannada Literature” or “Sindhi Literature” (with word structure of N + N, for example, water tank, printer cartridge, birth place, college mate, needle work etc), Hindi or Kannada or Sindhi, the first free morpheme, refers to the language in which the literature has been produced unlike the case with ‘Indo-Anglian Literature’ where-in the compound morpheme ‘Indo-Anglian’ is not the name of a language. While in the case of ‘Anglo-Indian’ the question of being motivated by European/Indian culture becomes imperative in the latter case of ‘Indo-Anglian’ it is neither indicated nor asked.

1.1. The Cotroversies

In her article “How to Read a ‘Culturally Different’ Book” Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak makes three claims: a) “In the late 1950s, the term ‘Indo-Anglian’ was coined by the Writer’s Workshop Collective in Calcutta, under the editorship of P. Lal, to describe Indian writing in English”, b) “... [the term] has not gained international currency and c) “[the term] is useful as a self-description” (Spivak 2012:73) but the available facts do not support any of Spivak’s contentions. Eulogising the term Iyengar writes: “More recently, especially during the past two decades, ‘Indo-Anglian’ has acquired considerable currency. Further the term can be used both as an adjective and as a noun, whereas to write “Indo-English writer” every time is awkward and to talk of “Indo-Englishman” or “Anglo-Indian” is absurd or misleading.” (Iyengar 1945:ii) though B J Wadia in his foreword to Iyengar’s *Indian Contribution to English Literature* expresses his displeasure at this term: “The author calls contributions ‘Indo-Anglian Literature’, but, frankly speaking, that expression is not a very happy one.” (1945:ix) A R Wadia uses the term Indo-Anglian for Indian poets/authors included in V N Bhushan’s anthologies of Indo-Anglian poetry and prose (Wadia *Future* 1954: 6) though Bhushan has used the terms “Indo-English poetry” (Bhushan *Lute* 1945: ix) and “Indo-English literature” (Bhushan *Finger* 1945: ix) respectively.

It is claimed that “the first English visitor [to India] was Swithelm or Sigelinus, an envoy, sent by King Alfred to visit the tomb of St. Thomas in A. D. 884” (everyculture.com, Basham 1981:346) yet the British contact with India formally began in a big way when the East India Company was chartered on 31 December 1600 after almost 100 years of the discovery of a new sea route from Europe to India in 1498 by the Portuguese, Vasco da Gama. The words of Indian origin started entering into English “since the end of the reign of Elizabeth and the beginning of the King James” (Yule and Burnell 1903:XV). However, there is no record of the date when this country stirred the English mind and imagination first or of the date when English language was used by Indians for expressing themselves creatively, first. Opinions differ on the starting point of the hybrid literature, a result of an interaction between English/ the English and India. Edward Farley Oaten, *the earliest surveyor/ historian of the Anglo-Indian Literature*, considers 1783, the year when Sir William Jones arrived in India, to be the point of beginning of the

Anglo-Indian Literature, as few travelogues and letters written before this date had any literary merit (Oaten 1908:16). He holds: “Anglo-Indian literature ... begins with the names of two poets [William] Jones and [John] Heyden” (Oaten 1908:18). He revised his opinion in his later essay included in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Vol XIV) and wrote: “Father Thomas Stephens, who went to Goa in 1579, was the first Englishman to settle in India, and Anglo-Indian literature began with his letters, of no extrinsic value, to his father, which have been preserved by Purchas. Master Ralph Fitch, merchant of London, travelled in India and the east from 1583 to 1591, and his lively description of his adventures, preserved by Hakluyt and Purchas, was of the utmost value to those who sought to promote an English East India company [sic]” (Oaten 1953:332).

Tracing the antiquity of Indo-Anglian literature in India K R S Iyengar suggests three options: 1818: when Rammohan Roy’s tract on ‘Sati’ appeared, 1801: when “Venkata Boriah’s [sic] dissertation on Jains appeared” and 1780: when Hickey’s *Bengal Gazette* was founded (Iyengar 2013:691). M K Naik suggests 1809 as the year “when probably the first composition in English of some length by an Indian – namely C V Boriah’s [sic] ‘Account of the Jains’ – appeared” (1989:Preface). Sisir Kumar Das goes with Naik as he also considers “Cavelly Venkata Boriah’s [sic] ‘Accounts of the Jains’ published in 1809” to be the first piece of Indian writing in English (1991:29). However, *Boria’s piece* appeared in 1807 and not in 1801 or 1809 as claimed by Iyengar, Naik and Das respectively; it is not an original essay either but a translated text as is also clear from its full title: “Account of the Jains, collected from a Priest of this sect; at Mudgeri: Translated by Cavelly Boria, Brahmen; for Major C. Mackenzie”. B J Wadia is right when he writes: “... all that is written by Indians in the English language cannot be called ‘literature’” (1945:ix) and therefore utmost care has to be taken in deciding the starting point of this literature. Prabhu S. Guptara in his review of the book *Indian Literature in English, 1827-1979: A Guide to Information Sources* provides the following piece of information: “... Raja Rammohan Roy began publishing his work [in English] in 1816, and recent research has shown that Indians were contributing to English-language periodicals in India before the end of the eighteenth century. The first book so far known to have been published in English by an Indian was Sake Deen Mahomed’s *Travels* (1794). Since English-language education started in India as early as 1717, it is possible that Indo-English literature was published even earlier. This needs concerted research which has simply not been done so far” (1986:312). Arvind K Mehrotra endorses the year 1794 as the starting point of this hybrid literature in India (Mehrotra *Illustrated* 2003:2).

2. Method

In order to dispute the claims of Spivak, Iyengar, B J Wadia and others with a wider perspective of exploring the development of meaning of the term a large number of articles and books were taken into consideration and data thus collected was analysed and classified.

3. The Study

3.1. Evolution of the Term

The term 'Indo-Anglian' had not gained currency by 1876 as becomes quite clear from the title and contents of Thomson's *Anglo-Indian Prize Poems, Native and English Writers, In Commemoration of the Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India* (1876). This small book contains only nine poems (selected out of 150 submitted by persons of various castes, ethnic groups and social classes) composed to commemorate the visit (1875-76) of Prince Albert Edward, Queen Victoria's eldest son who landed in Mumbai on 8 November 1875. The book has two poems in English by two Indians (Chuteesh Chunder Dutt's "Poem" and Ram Sharma's "Ode"), an "Ode" by an unknown poet (a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society), one poem each in Bengali, Telugu, Sanskrit, Hindustani (along with their translations in English) by Indians (Navin Chandra Sen's "Poem" in Bengali, Kokkonda Venkatarathnumu Puntulu's "Poem" in Telugu, Tara Chand Shastri's "Ode" in Sanskrit, Ali Hyder's "Poem" in Hindustani) and two poems in English by two Englishmen (Lieut. - Col. J. Tickell's "Poem", Favonius' poem "Under the Crown"). Thus, in 1876 the term 'Anglo-Indian' was used very liberally for i) the works dealing with something related to India by Englishmen as well as Indians in English; ii) the translations from Indian languages into English also fell under this category; and iii) even the works of Indians in English that dealt with English subjects came into its ambit. The publication of *Indo-Anglian Literature* (1883) for "private circulation only" proves that a separate body of literature written by Indians in, perhaps, non-standard English, had come into existence and the editor ("BA") was using this term at least pejoratively, if not to make fun of such writings. Alfred Comyn Lyall in his "The Anglo-Indian Novelist," originally published in *Edinburgh Review* (October 1899), has discussed sixteen "Anglo-Indian novels" published between 1826 and 1899 besides contemplating on the "causes affecting output of good fiction in India", "[the] conditions [that] favour the novel of action" and "[the] absence of the psychological vein". All the novels discussed by Lyall are by Britons and deal with Indian themes/conditions/locale.

As Edward Farley Oaten was dealing with only the literature in standard English in his comprehensive survey (1908) he toed the line of Thomson and used the term Anglo-Indian. He included the Indian authors in his bibliography but not in the main discussion. Oaten also *opined*: "**Anglo-Indian literature, ... is not the literature of a young nation, but an offshoot from the literature of an older nation, transplanted to foreign soil**" (Oaten 1908:18). Oaten defines Anglo-Indian Literature as "English literature strongly marked by Indian local colour" (Oaten 1953:331) but "Histories of modern English literature [were] singularly destitute of any allusion to Anglo-Indian productions" (Oaten 1908:*Preface*). The reason advanced by Oaten to exclude Hugh Boyd from the Anglo-Indian group gives an interesting insight into his defining criteria. He writes: "[Boyd was] impregnated with the coffee-house tradition of Steele and Addison, [but] so entirely unaffected in imagination or in thought by the new and strange conditions of Indian life and nature, that his writings cannot truly be classed as Anglo-Indian" (Oaten 1908:18).

In his later essay Oaten broadened the vistas of the Anglo-Indian authors by including “[Educated Indians’] writings in [English], together with those of the domiciled community of European or mixed origin, ... as that part of Anglo-Indian literature which is most potential of development in the future; ...” (Oaten 1953:332) This view of Oaten has also been included in Sampson’s *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*: “... English is a medium of literary expression for the educated Indians, and Anglo-Indian literature must therefore include *literary works written in English by native Indians.*” (Sampson 1959:909, emphasis added) Mary C Sturgeon’s inclusion of Sarojini Naidu in her book *Studies of Contemporary Poets* (1916) along with other poets such as Rupert Brooke, Walter De La Mare and John Masefield (the main stream English poets, none of whom is an Anglo-Indian) is perhaps one exception to what Oaten claims. She is the only Indian poet included in the book while Tagore only finds a casual mention in the chapter. K R Srinivasa Iyengar agrees with Oaten’s earlier approach as is clear from the title and contents of his book *Indian Contribution to English Literature*. However, Iyengar disagrees with Oaten’s later approach and writes in his *Indo-Anglian Literature*: “The term Anglo-Indian should be used only with reference to the writings of Englishmen in India or on subjects relating to India.” (Iyengar 1943:viii)

According to Oaten Anglo-Indian Literature is a creation of those Englishmen who wrote about their first-hand encounter with India while on furlough or after retirement and those who were “Englishmen in mind”, “English in thought and aspiration” and who “never lost bias towards [the civilization] of England” and who printed/published in England owing partly to lack of facilities in India (1953:331). He further writes: “Anglo-Indian literature is based in origin, spirit and influences upon two separate countries at one and the same time. ... [An] Anglo-Indian writer must, as a rule, make his appeal mainly to the public in England and only secondarily to the English community in India” (Oaten 1953:332). Oaten tells five characteristics of this literature: i) the ever-present sense of exile; ii) an unflinching interest in Asiatic religious speculation; iii) the humorous sides of Anglo-Indian official life; iv) description of Indian native life and scenery; v) ruminations about the ever-varying phases, comic, tragic, or colourless of Anglo-Indian social life (1908:194-195). In contrast to his past practice (in his *Sketch*) he devotes about two pages of the book (Oaten 1953:341-342) to the Indian authors. Though Oaten praises Indians’ mastery over English yet he has his reservations about the quality of their literary productions in English. The only Indian poet he lavishes praise on is Toru Dutt. He throws two hints about the differences in Anglo-Indian and Indo-Anglian literature: (i) the limitations of English and its unsuitability to an Indian mind: “... our language [English] is essentially unsuited to the riot of imagery and ornament which form part of the natural texture of the orient mind” (Oaten 1953:342) and (ii) the Indian attitude and sensibility: “it remained doubtful whether Indians could so completely become Englishmen in mind and thought” (Oaten 1953:336). In an essay of ten pages, Oaten expresses his doubts about Indians’ capabilities to write something of substance thrice within a span of five pages: (i)

“whether Indians could ... add, except in the rarest and most exceptional cases, anything of lasting value to the roll of English literature.” (1953:336) (ii) “Indians wrote comparatively little that can be regarded as permanent additions to English literature.” (1953:341) and (iii) “... [from] those [Indians] who attempted imaginative literature in English very few succeeded in writing anything of permanent interest.” (1953:342) Consequently, like a prophet he concludes: “Anglo-Indian literature will continue to be mainly what it has been, with few exceptions, in the past – literature written by Englishmen and Englishwomen who have devoted their lives to the service of India.” (Oaten 1953:342) Iyengar’s pamphlet *Indo-Anglian Literature* (1943) and later the book *Indian Contribution to English Literature* (1945) are the befitting replies to Oaten’s highbrow attitude.

The expression “Indo-Anglian” was adopted as a term of praiseworthy description and popularized in the pre-independence days by the doyen of literary history, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, under the patronage of Sophia Wadia who brought out a series of pamphlets and books on literatures in Indian languages under the aegis of Indian PEN. His *Indo-Anglian Literature* (1943) is the first full-length study to discuss Indian’s imaginative and contemplative literature in English. The manuscript of this book had been submitted to Ms Wadia in 1939 (Iyengar 1945: Preface). Explaining the choice of the appellation Iyengar writes: “I have used the compound ‘Indo-Anglian’ in preference to ‘Anglo-Indian’ and ‘Indo-English’. The term ‘Anglo-Indian’ should be used only with reference to the writings of Englishmen in India or on subjects relating to India. ‘Indo-English’ is a suitable alternative to ‘Indo-Anglian,’ but the latter is more widely used in India.” (1943:viii) He reiterates this even in the Preface to his *The Indian Contribution to English Literature* (1945): “... I thought it desirable to distinguish between Englishmen who write on Indian themes and Indians who use English as the medium of artistic expression; and I saw no harm in applying the already current terms “Anglo-Indian” and “Indo-Anglian” to these categories of writers.” (Iyengar, 1945:i-ii, emphasis added) Explicating his position further Iyengar writes: “More recently, especially during the past two decades, ‘Indo-Anglian’ has acquired considerable currency. Further the term can be conveniently used both as a noun, whereas to write ‘Indo-English writer’ every time is awkward and to talk of ‘Indo-Englishmen’ or ‘Anglo-Indian’ is absurd or misleading.” (Iyengar, 1945: ii) though in the later part of his life Iyengar was not very happy with his choice and coinage. In his Introduction to K R S Iyengar’s *Indo-Anglian Literature* (1943) C R Reddy toeing the British line of thinking states: “We have two types of literature motivated by Indian culture: (i) the Indo-Anglian ... [and] (ii) the Anglo-Indian, by which is meant literature bearing on Indian topics or inspired by Indian motifs and spirit, and written by Englishmen or other Westerners.” (*Indo-Anglian* iv) In his *Indo-Anglian Literature* Iyengar, therefore, does not discuss any Anglo-Indian writer. He adheres to this very approach in his next book as well which he wrote to justify his thesis that “Indo-Anglian literature, is both an Indian literature and a variation of English Literature.” (Iyengar 2013:6) In fact just after two years (i.e. in 1945) of his first publication he published his another important book *The Indian Contribution to*

English Literature (1945) though it could have easily been titled '*Indian Contribution to Literature in English*' as the latter covers his intentions and definition very well. In this book Iyengar wishes to underline Indians' contribution to English literature, a fact being missed by literary historians in Britain and elsewhere. The book may be described as an extension and fulfilment of Oaten's desire of Indian contribution be accepted as a legitimate part of English Literature. Thus, Iyengar was trying to homogenise English Literature by including all those Indians who were writing in English in pre-independent India. Though Iyengar has enlisted and classified Indians' works in English meticulously and has glorified them to the extent possible yet none of these authors including critics mentioned by him have been accepted in the cannon of English Literature. Hardly does any of them find a mention in the English/British literary histories. Iyengar did not change his stance even in his third book, *Indian Writing in English* (I ed 1962) though he has reached somewhat correct appellation in it. He has included Nirad C. Chaudhuri (who settled in the UK as a British citizen in 1970) in this book. The fourth edition of the book (rpt. 2013) which has a long "Postscript" (by his equally competent daughter Prema Nandkumar) that includes books published up to late seventies though Rushdie finds a brief mention in it. As the issue has become even more complex after the emergence of Post-Rushdie Indian diasporic writings Nandkumar's take on the issue is much awaited. Amongst the post-independence Indian scholars, M N Pandia perhaps is the first and the only one who has not made any distinction between Indo-Anglian and Anglo-Indian fiction as he has included writers from both these groups in his *The Indo-Anglian Novels as a Social Document*. In her Ph D thesis entitled "Indian Writers of Fiction in English" Roshan Nadirsha Minocherhomji has included and discussed translations of R C Dutt's and S K Ghoshal's novels in Bengali as well. (Raizada 1978:ii) In his survey Harish Raizada has followed the line of argument advanced by Reddy and Iyengar. He writes "For a considerably long time even Indian writings of Indians were included within the purview of Anglo-Indian literature" (Raizada 1978:i) but he has taken "only the Indo-Anglian fiction" (Raizada 1978:iii) in his book.

3.2. The Coiner & the Date of Coinage

Iyengar confesses his ignorance regarding the coiner of the term "Indo-Anglian". He writes very candidly: "I do not know who first coined the term 'Indo-Anglian'; at any rate in 1883 a book was published in Calcutta entitled Indo-Anglian Literature containing specimen compositions from native students." (Iyengar 1945:ii). Gobinda Prasad Sarma agrees with Iyengar on the issue (Sarma 1990:xx). Neither Iyengar nor Sarma mention the author/editor of the book. It is perhaps on these bases that M K Naik claims that the term was first used in 1883: "[Indo-Anglian literature] was first used as the title of the Specimen Compositions from Native Students, published in Calcutta in 1883." (Naik 1989:4) Like Iyengar and Sarma, Naik too does not mention any author/editor/compiler of the cited book in his reference.

PDF copies of the two prints (i.e. 1883 and 1887) of "Indo-Anglian Literature" are available on Google Books (books.google.co.in/) and Jstore (jstor.org)

respectively. Both the editions have the same title viz. “Indo-Anglian Literature”. In neither case the author of the book finds a mention. In both the editions, in the middle of the first page of the book, at the place where one generally finds the author/ editor’s name, one comes across the line “For private circulation only” and the “Preface” of the book has been signed as “B.A.” In case of 1883 edition, just below the note (“For private circulation only”) somebody has inscribed with a pencil: “By Edward Buck” while on the top of the title page the name “Buck, Sir Edward Charles” has been inscribed in cursive handwriting. In keeping with the standard practices the online library (Bodleian) catalogue of Oxford University has separate entries for the two editions (viz. 1883 and 1887) of this book, in neither of which any author finds a mention though the editor “B.A.” does (solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk). In the Bibliographic information on the site <worldcat.org> “Edward Charles Buck, Sir” has been mentioned as the author of the book. Likewise, “Buck, Edward Charles, b. 1838” has been mentioned as the main author of the book in the Bibliographic information of Hathi Trust Digital Library <hathitrust.org > However, there is an additional note also on the card: “By Sir Edward Buck, secretary to the Government of India.” [sic] -- Halkett & Laing.” Though the book itself does not give any clue about the author yet in the recent edition of the book issued by Palala Press (May 21, 2016) also the authorship has been attributed to Sir Edward Charles Buck (amazon.com).

The only difference in the two editions is that of volume and an extra note appended to the second edition. Both the editions have five sections each. As the first edition of the book is of considerable historical value I reproduce its details: the three sections in it deal with prose, the fourth one with poetry and the fifth one a mixture of two prose pieces and one poem, added perhaps as an afterthought. They are titled: “Petitions for Employment” (11-45), “Extracts from Papers Submitted at Two Recent Examinations in Calcutta” (46-56), “Miscellaneous” (57-87), “Poetry” (88-103) and “Appendix” (99-103). The highlights of this book as indicated by the compiler “B.A.” are: (i) the writers’ mistakes in grammar and vocabulary (ii) the writers’ oriental manner of composition (iii) a “mixture of self-abasement and vanity” displayed in the pieces and (iv) the writers’ tendency to seek “patronage of those above them in rank” for employment, transfers and settling scores with their rivals. By compiling these pieces “B.A.” also seeks to know whether the English education being imparted to Indians is of some worth and value and if it is being imparted in the right direction: “The letters ... taken up at random from a drifting mass ... indicate that the ... education ... [so far] is not altogether clear from impending danger.” (BA 1883:7) “B.A.” quotes a paper in *Calcutta Review* (April 1883) by “an educational officer of high position” to support his contention: “The education that we give makes the boys a little less clownish in their manners, and more intelligent when spoken to by strangers. On the other hand, it has produced two evils: (a) it has made them more litigious ... (b) it has made them less contented with their own lot in life, and less willing to work with their hands ... for ... the only occupation worthy of an educated man is that of a writership in some office, especially in a Government office.” (BA 1883:5) Similar ideas were later

expressed by Gandhiji also in his *Hind Swaraj* (1909). Regarding the purpose of this book the editor, BA, notes: “The selections which are brought together in this volume, and published for private circulation, are examples of a class of literature which will not improbably soon become extinct, and may, therefore, possess some slight historical value.” (BA 1883:3) He is a bit sympathetic towards the mistakes of the second language learners:

The mere mistakes in grammar and diction are not in themselves remarkable. It is indeed probable that most Englishmen in India would, in writing, or even dictating, a letter in Hindustani, commit more errors than are to be found in many compositions reproduced in the following pages. It is true that the reflection of the oriental manner of composition in a foreign language is certainly often curious and amusing, especially in those cases in which the writer adopts a poetical style; but the chief interest which these selections possess consists in the indications which they afford of the native character. (BA 1883:3)

Telling the characteristics of the style he writes: “Nothing perhaps is more noticeable than the curious mixture of self-abasement and vanity which many of the writers exhibit, while the habitual dependence of the middle and lower classes upon the patronage of those above them in rank, and the insatiable hunger which exists for official employment, are plentifully illustrated. To obtain a clerkship in a Government office is, at the present time, perhaps the chief object with which a native of India seeks education.” (BA 1883:3-4) The purpose of the book may be summarized up as i) documenting the poor language and the curious style of the Indians using English, ii) noting the fact that the sole purpose of gaining English education is to join the British Government service and iii) keeping a record of an Indian’s “self-abasement” to obtain a job somehow.

However, in the reference list of her article “Global versus Glocal Dimensions of the Post-1981 Indian English Novel” Daniela Rogobete treats “Specimen Compositions from Native Students” as an independent book and attributes its editorship to J H Cousins: “Cousins, J. H. (ed.) 1883, *Specimen Compositions from Native Students*. N. p., Calcutta.” (epress.lib.uts.edu.au) Thus, she modifies the earlier view of Iyengar and others and claims that Cousins coined the term “Indo-Anglian” in 1883. This view has also been dittoed by Kunjo Singh (Singh 2002:8). The claim is problematic as the title of the book suggested by Iyengar was *Indo-Anglian Literature* (and not *Specimen Compositions from Native Students*) which contained some specimen compositions from native students. Rogobete’s and Kunjo’s claim to consider “*Specimen Compositions from Native Students*” as an independent book by Cousins is untenable on two counts: (i) Cousins (22 July 1873 – 20 February 1956) was just ten years old in 1883; a boy of ten years is neither expected to be familiar with compositions by native students nor is he supposed to edit a book of their compositions and (ii) as “[Cousins] came to India in 1915” (Chatterjee 114) he could not have published a book about the native compositions in 1883. Sachidananda Mohanty makes a claim for the first use of the term in 1917 though a bit reluctantly. Interestingly enough Mohanty also attributes it to J H Cousins but to a different book of his: “Cousins introduced the term Indo-Anglian,

perhaps for the first time, in the critical idiom of the subject in his book, *New Ways in English Literature*. [sic] 1917” (thehindu.com). J H Cousins’ *New Ways in English Literature* is largely a collection of the articles published earlier in the journals like *The Modern Review*, *New India* and *The Herald of the Star*. The following are the contents along with page numbers of J H Cousins’ *New Ways in English Literature* (1919); the term “Indo-Anglian” does not appear anywhere in the book, neither in the chapter-titles nor in the chapters per se:

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1. Preface	xi
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4. Aurobindo Ghose, The Philosopher as Poet	27
5. The Realistic Idealists William Butler Yeats, Poet and Occultist	43
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10. The Poetry of Robert Bridges	107
11. Edward Carpenter, A Prophet of Democracy	116
12. A Poet’s Passing —Stephen Phillips	138
13. John M. Synge, The Realist on the Stage	148
14. Some Characteristics of George Meredith’s Poetry	156
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17. Notes	191 (Cousins 1919:ix)

Dilip Chatterjee wrongly puts the date to 1921, though obliquely, when he writes, “It may be mentioned that [Cousins] introduced the word ‘Indo-Anglian’ into the critical vocabulary in his book *Modern English Poetry*.” (Chatterjee 1989:121) Cousins’ *Modern English Poetry: Its Characteristics and Tendencies* (n. d.) is a collection of his Public Lectures in literature delivered in The Keiogijuku University, Tokyo, during Autumn, 1919. The book has the following seven chapters:

I. The Field of Modern English Poetry	1
II. Living Links with the Past	24
III. The New English Poetry	54
IV. Poets of the Irish Literary Revival	85
V. The Indo-Anglian Poets	117
VI. The New American Poetry	149
VII. The Future of English Poetry	180 (Cousins 1921:xiii)

Cousins has used the term in the title of the fifth chapter where he discusses poets like Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo, Sarojini Naidu and Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. ***It may be pointed out that the term was not used pejoratively by Cousins, unlike Payn, as he praised both the content and language of the Indian poets. Referring to the subject matter he writes*** “it will be seen that for the invasion

of India by the English language, the East has taken a spiritual revenge by invading English poetry.” (*Cousins* 1921:10-11) *He praises Toru Dutt’s handling of the English language. He acknowledged Sarojini Naidu’s wide acceptance in the UK and the USA:* “who with a somewhat stronger touch has found an audience in England and America and planted the beauty and mystery of India in many hearts and imaginations beyond its coasts.” (*Cousins* 1921:13) *He not only praised the work of Tagore and Aurobindo but also introduced a new comer like Harindranath Chattopadhyay. He considered Indo-Anglian poetry to be the product of a school/movement.* In his *Modern English Poetry* (1921) he attempted to generalise the impact of the whole school on English poetry. “He hoped that English poetry would be free from its narrow rigid and insular vision if it could assimilate spiritual thought and experience embodied in Celtic Revival and the new poetry of the Indo-Anglian School.” (Chattopadhyay 1988:158) He could not have hoped for anything but assimilation as during his age Indian independence was nowhere in sight. However, Cousins does not define the term “Indo-Anglian” anywhere in the book. The Preface to the book, written in Madanapalle, India, in April 1921 does not explain the term either. This suggests that the term had already been in use for some time when he delivered these lectures in Tokyo in 1919.

3.3. Indo-Anglian: Seense & Sensibility

Cousins not only uses the terms “Anglo-Indian Poetry” and “Indo-Anglian” but also explicates them in an earlier book of his, *The Renaissance in India* (1918). Cousins was popularly addressed as *Kulapati* by his Indian friends as he was a Theosophist and an Indianist. He, therefore, denounces the efforts of the Indian authors writing in English to be a part of English literature in very strong words:

But if ... some young Indians are impelled to express themselves in poetry in the English language, I would beg of them to avoid the thing called Anglo-Indian poetry. It is no more theirs than pure English poetry, and it is far more dangerous. They may try their *sitar* with English poetry -- and fail, and in the failing may learn a valuable lesson; but they may try it with Anglo-English poetry -- and succeed, and in succeeding, achieve a useless mediocrity. (*Cousins* 1918:176-77)

The denouncing comes on two counts viz. sensibility and language. “Transference of technical beauties of verse or prose from one language to another can only be about as successful as an attempt to convey the music of the *vina* through the pianoforte – not to mention the vulgar European baby harmonium which is ruining Indian voices and coarsening” (*Cousins* 1918:152) Since the literature written in someone else’s tongue does not reflect originality he cautions the younger writers lest they should become mere imitators: “... You will never sing your own song if you are content to echo another’s: four lines struck from the *vina* of your own heart experience or mental illumination will be worth infinitely more to you and the world than reams of mimicry.” (*Cousins* 1918:156)

Cousins considers literature to be a purposive art that involves the art of communication, subject matter and sensibility:

The link between the literature of one race and that of another is, therefore, mainly formed of the *stuff* that may be communicated through the mental organism,

and may be appreciated for its significance, scarcely at all for its own expression. That *stuff* will be compounded of two main substances, the ideal and the philosophy out of which the literary expression has grown; and any true appreciation of the work of the writers of the Renaissance in India (who, like their great predecessors, and their great living Master, Rabindranath, write in their own languages), must be based on a sympathetic understanding of such ideal and philosophy. In the case of the Western reader there is also required a considerable revision of current notions as to the nature of ideals in creative literature, and as to the relationship of philosophy and literature. (Cousins 1918:153)

It is in this background that he considers literature to be a matter of sensibility and wishes the Indians to express theirs by maintaining their unique identity in their writings as well:

That is the first and probably also the last thought should be impressed upon those young Indians who have felt or will feel the urge to expression in poetry that comes through the new birth of the renascent spirit. 'Be yourselves first: do not fall under the illusory notion that you are fulfilling your ideal in desiring to write as good blank verse as Tennyson, or as fine lyrics as Swinburne.' (Cousins 1918:155-56)

He further explains his position:

If they *must* write in English, let it be in the English *language only*: let them keep themselves unspotted of its point of view, temperament, its mannerisms; for their repetitions of these will fail of conviction, which is one of the absolute essentials of art, since they can never disguise the fact that they are imitations, and Nature abhors imitation more that she does a vacuum: there is a chance of filling a vacuum, but none of turning an imitation into an original." (Cousins 1918:177)

He differentiates between the terms 'Anglo-Indian' and 'Indo-Anglian' and explicates them in the following words:

... I trust, some illumination for the claim I would make upon those who will be the poets of India's future, that, if they are compelled to an alternative to writing in their mother-tongue, let it be, not Anglo-Indian, but Indo-Anglian, Indian in spirit, Indian in thought, Indian in emotion, Indian in imagery, and English only in words. ... Let their ideal be the expression of themselves, but they must be quite sure that it *is* their *self*, not merely faint echoes and shadows from others or from the transient phases of desire. (Cousins 1918:179)

He has different expectations from an Indian author and he wants them not to lose their identity by imitating others:

The more intensely themselves Indian writers are, the more intensely Indian they will be; and the more intensely Indian they are the most certainly they will fill their place as a string on the vina of the Divine Player at whose finger-tips tremble the raga and the ragini of the wandering forth and the home-coming of the worlds. Let them not be led away by talk of modernity and cosmopolitanism: poetry has nothing to do with ancient or modern, but only with *now*, and the true cosmopolitanism will not be achieved through the ignoring of nationality but through fulfilment. (Cousins 1918:180)

He has a strong belief that Indians think and write in a different way than the people of Europe. He, therefore, writes:

... the realm called “supernatural” that would have made the critic’s hair stand on end, I was influenced by the repetition of the idea that art has nothing to do with such things, into a vague fear that the critic might be right. India, however, gave me the complete confidence that is necessary to literary creation. She showed me the examples of Mirabai and Tukaram and Rabindranath Tagore, in whom life, religion and philosophy are one, and sing themselves in the poetry of spiritual joy. (Cousins 1918:164)

He writes further:

It is this quality of spiritual vision that seems to me to be the supreme characteristic of Indian poetry. ... I am convinced that, if Indian poetry is to be a living influence in the English-speaking world – and I sincerely hope it will, for God knows it is needed—the way toward such influence must be by the living thing in the poetry. It is this living thing in the poetry. (Cousins 1918:171-172)

It is in this sense that Cyril Modak uses the term ‘Indo-Anglian’ and justifies the inclusion and teaching of familiar (i. e. Indian) poetry to the young students who can relate themselves to the thought, images, allusions, metaphors, similes, epithets and music of its language. Gwendoline Goodwin also uses the criteria suggested by Cousins to select poems and poets in her anthology though she does not use the term Indo-Anglian. V K Gokak also makes a distinction between ‘Anglo-Indian’ and ‘Indo-Anglian’ on the basis of the ‘point of view’ of the author. (Gokak n.d.:160) He writes:

Indo-Anglian journalism is an ‘Anglo-Indian’ enterprise which was gradually ‘indo-anglianised’. Indeed, both the Anglo-Indian and ‘Indo-Anglian’ categories continued to exist side by side for a long time, the one representing the imperial and the other the national point of view. The demarcation in substance has disappeared with Independence and such distinctions as prevail now represent the ideologies that are active in the country. (Gokak n.d.:167).

According to Gokak “The Indo-Anglian writers come from microscopic minority group, ... write with an eye on an outlandish reading public and [pick] up themes and situations that might appeal to the West” (n.d.:164). Gokak classifies Indo-Anglian authors into two groups. In the first group fall those Indo-Anglian writers who

very nearly [approximate] to English writing in [their] accent, tone vocabulary, syntax and style, by reason of the writer’s interest or domicile, [and tend] to lose, ... Indianness of thought and vision. [Such] Indo-Anglians, ... [being] fond of cosmopolitan living, have plenty of the flavour of conversational English in their writings. The latest fashions in language, which they assimilate and employ in their writing, make them more ‘Anglian’ than Indian. They tend to write about India from the outside rather than inside. (Gokak n.d.:162)

In other words this group represents what Macaulay had conceived as: “Indian[s] in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in

intellect.” (Macaulay: Minute) Another group of Indo-Anglian authors, according to Gokak, consists of those

who are true to Indian thought and vision cannot escape the Indian favour even when they write in English. Their style is, in a great measure, conditioned by the learned vocabulary of the subject on which they write, - philosophy, sociology, criticism and the like. Even when they write fiction, they depend, for their effect, on picturesque Indian phrases and their equivalents in English. When it comes to writing poetry, they are invariably reminisciential in their style and phrasing. We know, as we read that the writer is conforming, consciously or unconsciously, to the Romantic, Victorian, Georgian or Modernist tradition. (Gokak n.d.:162-163)

Gokak concludes:

... Indo-Anglian writing ... is either predominantly ‘Anglian’ or ‘Indian’. Very rarely is a synthesis of the two perceptible in sustained works of art. This does not mean that Indo-Anglian writers who are predominantly ‘Indian’ are all victims and not masters of style. But it is the mastery of a style which is peculiarly Indo-Anglian.” (163) In this situation, according to Gokak, “a good deal of Indo Anglian fiction or poetry falls short of the level that our greatest writers have touched in their own languages. (Gokak n.d.:164)

Gokak makes a case for the use of two terms viz. “Indo-Anglian literature” and “Indo-English literature” for the works of the Indians in English. He uses the term ‘Indo-Anglian literature’ for the writings of such Indians who write literary forms ranging from epic to personal essay in English. He opines that the history of Indo-Anglian literature is “illustrious”. For the growing volume of translations by Indians from Indian literature into English Gokak uses the term ‘Indo-English literature’. He describes R C Dutt’s *Ramayana* and Tagore’s *Gitanjali* as Indo-English works. As English is the *literary lingua franca* in India it necessitates “to present in English, work of recognised merit done in one of the Indian languages.” (Gokak n.d.:161) He also considers this sort of work to be very important “in order to promote a knowledge of Indian thought and vision abroad.” (Gokak n.d.:162) Such translations were earlier considered to a part of Anglo-Indian and/or Indo-Anglian literatures. He gives the following reasons to justify his coinage and use of the term “Indo-English literature”: i) The literary translation is not the “product of electronic brains [but]... is a spontaneous expression of the human personality. It demands as much creative sensitiveness as critical insight.” (Gokak n.d.:165) ii) “One can only translate effectively a work which [one has] loved and admired. The delight experienced in translating such a work is as genuine as the delight arising from creative work.” (Gokak n.d.:165) iii) Translation is a selfless creative activity in which the translator’s genius is mingled. iv) “Again, this body of translations should not be the sporadic work of isolated individuals. It should rather be a movement, a concerted and organised effort to represent the variety and grandeur of Indian literature in English. This body of writing will not be less natural than Indo-Anglian. On the other hand, it will consist of works of approved excellence and become truly representative.” (Gokak n.d.:166) v) “Indo-English literature will be none other than

Indian literature in translation. But the phrase Indo-English is a convenient phrase to distinguish it from Indo-Anglian literature.” (Gokak n.d.:166)

Gokak makes a distinction between Indo-Anglian and Indo-English writings as the approaches and purposes of these writers are entirely different:

The Indo-Anglian tends to write with an eye on an outlandish reading public and picks up themes and situations that might appeal to the West. The Indo-English writer, on the other hand, is concerned with a book that is redolent of the soil. It deals with problems that are our problems and in the manner in which we expect our own writers to present and to interpret them to us. There is a fundamental difference in the approach. I am tempted to say, in fact, that Indo-Anglian literature is a hothouse plant rather than one that has sprung from the soil and sprouted and burgeoned in the open air. (n.d.:164)

However, many critics have used Indo-Anglian and Indo-English as synonyms as is clear from the titles of various works [see *infra*].

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. The Affirmation

The coinage of the term “Indo-Anglian” can safely be attributed to James Payn whose “An Indo-Anglian Poet”² (March 1880) is the first available piece having the appellation in it. Payn perhaps coined the term to make fun of the Indians writing in English and used it pejoratively in his review article of the collection of poems, *Courting the Muse*³ (published by “Gopal, Navazen, and Co., Kalbedevi Road”). The tone of the review is satirical and the purpose is to show a mirror to the vain claims being made about the growing understanding between the Indians, the colonised and the Britons, the coloniser: “There is so much rubbish talked about the growing sympathy of native races with ourselves, and of ‘the giant strides’ which their intelligence is taking, that an exhibition of the latest specimen may be wholesome.” (Payn 1880:371) In his review Payn does not reveal the name of the Indian poet for “obvious reasons” (Payn 1880:371) but says that the poet’s name is “utterly unpronounceable” (Payn 1880:371). Despite the tall claims of rarity from “[s]uch a gift of genius from India” (Payn 1880:371) Payn finds the poet’s faults as “not ... of immaturity, but of ... ignorance and misconception of English life and thought which lie at the root of all that has been written of us by his fellow-countrymen.” (Payn 1880:371) He finds nothing good in the Indian poems and describes them as “dreadful” (Payn 1880:371), “[devoid of] the sense and the grammar” (Payn 1880:371), “obscure [in] the sense and meaning” (Payn 1880:372) and written in “unapproachable style” (Payn 1880:373). He questions even the source of the poet’s knowledge: “[The poet’s] knowledge of London, ... , has been derived from some practical joker... .” (Payn 1880:373) He castigates Indians’ poetry on several grounds viz. for [taking] leave of sense and even sound in his “intense indignation” (Payn 1880:373), for being poor in observation and imitation, completely unintelligible because of “some muddle in his mind” (Payn 1880:373), weak in sarcasm, for being far from real, writing unrealistic descriptions, for becoming funny when humour is intended and using bad rhymes and poor language.

He also debunks the poet for his sun worship and using names of non-Christian gods. He also derides the poet for "... he is convinced, as are other Indo-Anglian writers, that he knows all about us." (Payn 1880:375) In the same vein satirical vein he writes, "There are many new things, however, in English literature to be learned from the Indo-Anglians." (Payn 1880:375)

4.2. Popularity of the Term

Sujit Mukherjee in his essay "Indo-English Literature: An Essay in Definition" writes: "'Indo-Anglian' is more or less accepted without further dispute as descriptive of original literary creation in the English language by Indians" (Mukherjee 1968:202) but, Alphonso-Karkala does not approve of the term 'Indo-Anglian' as to him it suggests "relation between two countries (India and England) rather than a country and a language." (Alphonso-Karkala 1970:2) As the term is considered to be indicating to the racial bias, as in 'Anglo-Indian', Iyengar switched over to "Indian Writing in English" and Sahitya Akademi to "Indian English Literature" which are politically more correct terms. However, in the post Rushdie-literary world the Indian writer has come a long way since the frank admittance of Raja Rao: "We cannot write like the English. We should not." (Rao 2005:v); more authors claim to be writing in English and not Indian English and hence the term "Indian English Literature" has gone out of favour. Rajan considers the naming of this literature "relatively inconsequential" issue in comparison to "[i]ssues like postcoloniality, multiculturalism, indigenization, nativism, the social and political agenda of criticism and the like." (Rajan 2006:12) He with finality pronounced: "I personally prefer 'Indian English' for it seems to adequately convey the sense with minimum confusion." (Rajan 2006:12) Sometimes, the world may not opt to go with an individual opinion.

In this bewildering background it is quite baffling and fascinating to see that the term "*Indo-Anglian*" caught the imagination of the authors and critics and is still being widely used. The popularity of the term amongst the academicians, researchers, historians and the editors of the anthologies both in India and abroad is clear from the titles of the books, articles and dissertations/ theses. The term "Indo-Anglian" was appropriated and popularised by Indian universities as well by prescribing a course with the name in their MA English programmes in the post independence era (sixties, seventies and eighties) though most of the elite universities have switched over to different names in the recent past. A close scrutiny of the titles⁴ suggests that the term "Indo-Anglian" is currently being used either by publishers/ authors located in the mofussil towns of India or by the writers/publishers abroad. Others have switched over to Indian English Writing or to Indian Writing in English. However, there are some persons who consider 'Indo-Anglian' to be a binary of 'Anglo-Indian' as is clear from the name of a school" B L Indo Anglian Public School, Aurangabad (en.wikipedia.org). As against so many Anglo-Indian schools in India there is at least one school that has "Indo-Anglian" in its name. If this naming is considered in the light of thesis/anti-thesis as propagated by Hegel the names 'Anglo-Indian' and 'Indo-Anglian' are the binary opposites and

will continue to exist for ever and I do not foresee a synthesis of these two attitudes (in the sense of Cousins) in near future.

The dwindling number of Anglo-Indians owing to several socio-economic-political factors and even scantier number of authors in them contributed to the term's acceptance in the later period (Ruskin Bond and I Allan Sealy are perhaps the only examples in today's context). Naturally, such authors too have been included in the gamut of Indo-Anglian writers though they continue to be socially categorised as Anglo-Indians. There was a time when Indian authors were considered to a part of Anglo-Indian literature. With the passage of time the tables have been turned and now Anglo-Indian authors from diverse parental lineages/backgrounds (like Aubrey Menen, Ananda Coomarswami, Verrier Elwin, Jim Corbett, Allan Sealy and others) are considered to be a part of Indo-Anglian writing. The ever enlarging number of the Indians and the volume of their contributions was another reason that led to the legitimacy of the term "Indo-Anglian" just as the growth in the number of the users of a particular dialect legitimises its use and becomes a significant step in the direction of standardising the language.

Another reason for its popularity lies in the fact that it asserts national identity by strategically bringing India to the fore of "Anglo". The coinage of the term, "Indo-Anglian", was also a historical necessity because of the growing number of the Indians writing in English and the ever enlarging volume of their writings in English but its popularity may be attributed to the assertion of national identity and an intense feeling of nationalism that became obvious with the demand of freedom from the British yoke and the emergence of Gandhi on the national scene. The Indian authors' and literary historians' claim to be a part of 'English literature' is a typical example of the colonial syndrome and the reflection of their servile mentality though the vast use and continuing use of the term both in India and abroad may be attributed to the acceptance of India as an independent nation and its unique cultural identity being manifested in its literature. The positive attitude of Indians' writing in English and acceptance of this variety of literature may also be a result of what may be described as Gandhian axiomatic principle in which he wanted freedom from the British and to be their friend and well-wisher simultaneously. This attitude presents a sharp contrast to that of Webster who declared his language to be "American language" after the colonies in America severed their ties with England. Consequently, unlike the situation in India, literatures like American literature, Australian literature, New Zealand literature and Canadian (Anglophone) literature emerged.

5. Conclusions

5.1. The Aftermath

Logically speaking, any term having India in it but coined in the pre-independence era, refers to the common inhabitants, lineage and inheritance of the subcontinent comprising mainly of present-day Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal and Pakistan. This is another problematic. Interestingly enough K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Indo-Anglian Literature* (1943) contains a map of undivided

India including Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh. However the anthologies and the histories belie this logic as the authors figuring in them continue to be by and large Indians from the land mass in today's political map of India. The only exception interestingly enough is Rushdie who has included Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi authors in his anthology restricted to just fifty years (1947-1997) of the post-independence period, in the title of which he does not use Indo-Anglian. Sometimes the historical burden is too heavy to be overthrown. At the moment the confusion prevails and the riddle has to be left as such for the future generations to be solved.

Notes

1. As the word 'Indo-Anglian' does not find an entry in the commonplace dictionaries it is considered to be unacceptable by some Englishmen; it was, therefore, changed to "Indo-Anglican" by an unnamed English printer while producing Iyengar's *Literature and Authorship* (Foreword by E.M. Forster, London: **George** Allen and Unwin, 1943). It was wartime and the book had been printed without the proofs being checked by the author. When the *Illustrated Weekly of India* (14 Nov 1943) made fun of it, Iyengar wrote to them that he had written only 'Indo-Anglian' and that "'Indo-Anglican' is a mistake." ("K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar in Conversation with Makarand Paranjape", K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar and Makarand Paranjape, *Indian Literature*, XVI(1): 166-177. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23341325>; Iyengar 2013 [1962]:3-4) Despite this several scholars have taken the term, 'Indo-Anglican', seriously and have used it in their discussions and the titles. To substantiate my claim only some titles are being mentioned here owing to the constraints of space: "What Is Indo-Anglican Poetry" [XI (1), March 17th. 1948, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/>], Murli Das Melwani's *Critical Essays on Indo-Anglican Themes* (1971), V. Krishna Rao's *The Indo-Anglican Novel and the Changing Tradition: A Study of the Novels of Mulk Raj Anand, Kamala Markandaya, R. K. Narayan and Raja Rao, 1930-1964* (1972), Margaret Lindley Koch's "Tradition and Chance in the Indo-Anglican Novels of the Post-Independence Era" (1974, <https://digitalcommons.wku.edu>), A Williams' *Indo Anglican Literature 1880-1970 : A Survey* (1977), Homi K. Bhabha's & R. Parthasarathy's "Indo-Anglican Attitudes" [TLS, 3 (1978): 136], J P Sharma's *Raja Rao : A Visionary Indo-Anglican Fiction [Writer]* (1980), Rama Jha's *Gandhian Thought and Indo-Anglican Novelists* (1983), Lintotage Nihal Asoka Fernando's *The Treatment of the Theme of Sociocultural Interaction in Indo-Anglican Fiction, 1935-1976: The Novels of Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan* (PhD thesis, Flinders University of S. Aust., 1986), R.P.N. Sinha's *Indo-Anglican Poetry: Its Birth and Growth* (1987), Vikram Chandra's "Indo-Anglican Writers: Where the Mind Is without Fear" (*The Hindu*, December 19, 1999), Nandini Sahu's "Kaleidoscope of the Indian Society - The Voice of Indo-Anglican Women Poets" (kavinandini.blogspot.com/2008), Gopal Mallik Thakur's *A Handbook of Indo-Anglican Poems* (2010), Ardhendu De's "Indo-Anglican Fiction of the Post-Independence Era" (ardhendude.blogspot.com/2013), Somnath Sarkar's "Essay on Indo-Anglican Poetry & Poets" (eng-literature.com/2016) and Kumuda Ranjan Panda's blog entitled "Indoanglican Literature". There are at least two Indian universities that are offering courses under the title: "Indo-Anglican Writing: Literary History" (B.A. Part III Examination, Year-2017, Maharaja Ganga Singh University, Bikaner) and "Indo-Anglican Fiction" (Paper Code: BAGEO401CC, Hemchandracharya North Gujarat University, Patan, CBCS Syllabus 2011, hngu.ac.in).
2. It was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* (1844-1896), Apr 3, 1880, Vol. 145(1868), pp.49-52 (https://archive.org/stream/livingage18projgoog/livingage18projgoog_djvu.txt).

3. Some excerpts of the book are available in Sheshalatha Reddy's *Mapping the Nation : An Anthology of Indian Poetry in English, 1870-1920* (London: Anthem Press, 2013, pp. 104-130, Print).
4. Keeping in view the limitation of space only one entry for one year (excluding the books/articles/ theses mentioned in the main text of the article) has been recorded in this list which goes like this: "Indo-Anglian Literature" (*Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, Jan 21, 1888), S. Ray's "Anglo-Indian Poetry" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1929), A R Chida's *An Anthology of Indo Anglian Verse* (1930), "Indo-Anglian Verse" (*The Times of India*, Bombay, India, 9 July 1930, p. 13), Marie O'Loughlin's "The Birth and Growth of Indo-Anglian Literature and its Contributions to English Literature" (Unpublished Ph D thesis *University of the Pacific*, 1935), Byram Khusroo Talookdar's "A Survey of Indo-Anglian Poetry, from the Beginning to the Present Time" (Unpublished Ph D thesis Trinity College Dublin. 1935), John Gawsorth's "The Future of Indo-Anglian Poetry" (1945), S V Kini's "Indian Writers of English Language: A Brief Survey of Indo-Anglian Literature" (1951), Susan Havard Perkins' *Reflections of Modern Culture in Indo-Anglian Literature; Illustrations from Novels by R.K. Narayan and Mulk Raj Anand* (1957), P Lal & K. Raghavendra Rao's *Modern Indo-Anglian Poetry: An Anthology* (1959), Prema Nandakumar's "Achievement of the Indo-Anglian Novelist" (1961), A V Krishna Rao's "The Gandhi Legend in Indo-Anglian Fiction" (1963), Audrey Lynch Dibble's "The Indian National Movement in Indo-Anglian Fiction" (1964), Gabrielle Tyrnauer's "Indo-Anglian Fiction and the Indian Elite" (1965), Alice G Tyrner's "Indo-Anglian Literature And The Indian Elite" (1966), Meenakshi Mukherjee's "Awareness of Audience in Indo-Anglian Fiction" (1967), P P Mehta's *Indo-Anglian Fiction: An Assessment* (1968), Alice Gabrielle Tyrner-Stastny's "Indo-Anglian Literature and the Colonial Indian Elite" (1969), Vinayak Krishna Gokak's *The Golden Treasury of Indo-Anglian Poetry; 1828-1965* (1970), Subhas Chandra Saha's *Modern Indo-Anglian Love Poetry* (1971), Kai Nicholson's *A Presentation of Social Problems in the Indo-Anglian and the Anglo-Indian Novel* (1972), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's "Indo-Anglian Curiosities" (1973), Joan F. Adkins' "Kamala Markandaya: Indo-Anglian Conflict As Unity" (1974), R K Badal's *Indo-Anglian Literature: An Outline* (1975), Murli Das Melwani's *Themes in Indo-Anglian Literature* (1976), D Chatterjee's "The Image of Gandhi in the Indo-Anglian Novel" (1977), Homi Bhabha's "Indo-Anglian Attitudes" (1978), Meena Shirwadkar's *Image of Woman in the Indo-Anglian Novel* (1979), K. C. Bhatnagar's *Realism in Major Indo-English Fiction: With Special Reference to M.R. Anand, R.K. Narayan, Raja Rao* (1980), J P Sharma's "Raja Rao: A Visionary Indo-Anglian Fiction [Writer]" (1980), A N Dwivedi's *Four Indo-Anglian Poets: Study of Toru Dutt, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo and Sarojini Naidu* (1981), Sudarshan Sharma's *The Influence of Gandhian Ideology on Indo-Anglian Fiction* (1982), Rama Jha's *Gandhian Thought and Indo-Anglian Novelists* (1983), Mulk Raj Anand's *Gandhian Thought and Indo-Anglian Novelists* (1984), Serena Mahajan's *Stream of Consciousness: Indo-Anglian Novel* (1985), Gomathi Narayanan's *The Sahibs and the Natives: A Study of Guilt and Pride in Anglo-Indian and Indo-Anglian Novels* (1986), S. Krishna Bhatta's "Indo-Anglian Drama: Why Meager Achievement?" (1987), S C Sanyal's *English Language in India and Indo-Anglian Prose Style* (1988), Asha Kaushik's *Politics, Aesthetics and Culture: A Study of Indo-Anglian Political Novel* (1989), P K Dutta's "Studies in Heterogeneity: A Reading of Two Recent Indo-Anglian Novels" (1990), Ashley E. Myles' *Anthology of Indo Anglian Poetry* (1991), G S Amur's *Forbidden Fruit, Views on Indo-Anglian Fiction* (1992), K C Baral & C K Naik's "Woman and Society : The Changing Status of Woman in Indo-Anglian Fiction" (1993), Anil Kumar Prasad's *The Village in Indo-Anglian Fiction* (1994), M Subba Rao's *Indo-Anglian Literature: Prospective and Retrospective* (1995), Shashi Tharoor's "Indo-Anglian Writing Today"

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