A Taste of Empire. Food, the Colonial Kitchen and the Representation and Role of Servants in India, Malaysia and Singapore, c.1858-1963.

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Abstract

This thesis is a social history of colonial food practices in India, Malaysia and Singapore and of the contribution that Asian domestic servants made towards the development of this cuisine between 1858 and 1963. This approach locates the thesis within the increasingly important historical literature on ‘foodways’ – practices associated with food and eating – within the colonial context.

It departs from other scholarship which maintains that colonizers (Europeans) followed a completely different diet from the colonized (Asians) in order to differentiate the rulers from the ruled. Instead, it argues that a distinctive colonial cuisine emerged as a result of negotiation and collaboration between the expatriate British and local people. The cuisine evolved over time and was not subject to a deliberate act of imposing imperialistic designs but involved a process of consuming local and European foods through the efforts of indigenous servants. The memsahib’s supervisory role in the household, the servants’ local knowledge, the lack of European foods and the availability of local ingredients contributed towards the colonial cuisine. Nevertheless there was space for social distance and separation.

This study emphasises one of the paradoxes of the hierarchical relationships between the ruling elite and the ruled (domestic servants) and the development of the colonial cuisine. Essentially, domestic servants were generally represented as dirty, dishonest and lacking in intelligence in colonial circles and yet they were responsible for the preparation of food for the family. The study employs the media of domestic cookbooks (Victorian, Anglo-Indian, Malayan and Singaporean), household management manuals, memoirs, diaries and travelogues to investigate the culinary practices in the colonial household, clubs, hill stations, hotels and restaurants. Responses from thirty-one ex-colonials to a questionnaire who were resident in the three colonies supplemented the above primary sources.

The hybrid cuisine took on dietary components of British culinary traditions and food practices from South Asia and Malaya. This acculturation has contributed to the development of peculiarly colonial dishes such as curries, mulligatawny, kedgeree, country captain and pish pash. The colonial culinary experience was a fluid enterprise and foods eaten by colonizers in each colony made geographical leaps to other colonies.
In the process, a pan-colonial cuisine emerged, with subtle regional differences. Asian servants were also essential to the running of the clubs, hill stations and resthouses that were omnipresent on the colonial landscape and were crucial to British rule. These institutions of leisure were an extension of the colonial home and were all carefully guarded against the encroachment of the colonized environment and its people. Nineteenth-century thinking on health and race and anxieties about dirt and disease contributed to the gulf that existed between colonizers and the colonized. This thesis builds on the scant scholarship of the colonial cuisine and highlights both the role and representation of domestic servants in the colonies.
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In writing this thesis I have relied on the advice and assistance of many people whose generosity I wish to acknowledge. Firstly my thanks go to my three supervisors. Norman Etherington first inculcated my love of imperial history in my undergraduate years and patiently supervised my honours dissertation. Jeremy Martens was enthusiastic from the start of my thesis and gave me the freedom to pursue my interests and has been invaluable at helping me look at ‘the big picture’. Jeremy has been most encouraging in times of self-doubt and is the perfect counsel for the over-anxious student. Susie Protschky’s advice and insight have helped me develop this thesis, with her attention to detail instilling discipline in my analysis and writing. In addition, her warm nature and professionalism makes for a great supervisor. The other staff members from the History Discipline, School of Humanities, at The University of Western Australia (UWA) who have assisted in many ways I would like to thank are: Rob Stuart, who until recently, as the Humanities Postgraduate Co-ordinator, has taken his role in ‘nurturing’ postgraduates very seriously and has been a great support; Sue Broomhall for all the assistance in preparation for the postdoctoral life. Thank you too, to Muriel Mahony for great administrative assistance and for always being there to smooth the path between the History Discipline and Graduate Research School.

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Glossary

à la Française  food served all at the same time
à la Russe  food served course by course
amah  maid or nursemaid (Southeast Asia)
ayah  maid or nursemaid (British India)
ayam  chicken
babu  nursemaid (Dutch Indies)
ballachong  shrimp paste
bari hazri  main breakfast
bawarchi  cook
bawarchi khana  kitchen
boy  male servant or houseboy
boxwallah  Indian travelling salesman or British businessman in India
buksheesh  payment as a tip or bribe conditional on good service
bummelo  small fish, dried and fried, also known as Bombay duck
caravanserai  roadside accommodation for travellers and their animals
chatties  pots
chota hazri  an early light breakfast
chota peg  a measure of alcoholic drink, usually brandy or whisky
chowkidar  caretaker, or watchman
chummery  a house shared by bachelors
chupatties  flat bread
cookie  a cook (Malaya, Singapore and Borneo)
coolie  labourer
dabbawalas or tiffinwallahs, ‘lunchbox men’, who deliver lunches daily from homes to offices and schools in Mumbai.
dak bungalow  rest-house for travellers
dapur  kitchen
detchie  aluminium pan with no handles
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<thead>
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<td>dhaye</td>
<td>wet nurse</td>
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<tr>
<td>dhobi</td>
<td>washerman</td>
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<tr>
<td>godown</td>
<td>store room or warehouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>gula malacca</td>
<td>palm sugar or sago pudding with palm sugar sauce</td>
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<tr>
<td>haute cuisine</td>
<td>preparation of fine food by highly skilled chefs in the French tradition</td>
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<tr>
<td>housie-housie</td>
<td>bingo</td>
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<tr>
<td>jharans</td>
<td>thick cotton</td>
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<tr>
<td>kedgeree</td>
<td>rice dish cooked with lentils and/or fish</td>
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<tr>
<td>keema roti</td>
<td>a spicy minced meat served with bread</td>
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<tr>
<td>khansamah</td>
<td>male servant (cook)</td>
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<td>khitmatgar</td>
<td>a servant who waits at table</td>
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<td>kokki</td>
<td>a cook in the Dutch Indies</td>
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<tr>
<td>krupuk</td>
<td>prawn crackers</td>
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<tr>
<td>mahjong</td>
<td>a game of Chinese origin played by four persons using tiles</td>
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<tr>
<td>makan</td>
<td>food, dish or meal</td>
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<tr>
<td>mem</td>
<td>abbreviated form for memsahib in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo states</td>
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<tr>
<td>memsahib</td>
<td>address for a European woman in the British colonies</td>
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<tr>
<td>mulligatawny</td>
<td>pepper soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mofussil</td>
<td>rural areas or country stations</td>
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<tr>
<td>nabob</td>
<td>a wealthy Anglo-Indian businessman or retired East India Company official of the eighteenth century</td>
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<tr>
<td>nimbo pani</td>
<td>lime and barley water</td>
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<tr>
<td>nyai</td>
<td>concubine</td>
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<tr>
<td>pugri</td>
<td>cloth (for turban)</td>
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<tr>
<td>purdah</td>
<td>seclusion of women from men or strangers</td>
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<tr>
<td>réchauffés</td>
<td>re-heated food</td>
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<tr>
<td>rijsttafel</td>
<td>meal of many dishes served with rice as the centrepiece</td>
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<tr>
<td>sahib</td>
<td>address for a European man in British India</td>
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<tr>
<td>sais or syce</td>
<td>groom, horse-keeper or chauffeur</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Word</strong></td>
<td><strong>Meaning</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>sambal</td>
<td>spicy side dish</td>
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<tr>
<td>sepoys</td>
<td>Indian troops</td>
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<tr>
<td>sogit</td>
<td>compensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stengah</td>
<td>a half measure of whisky, mixed with one half soda</td>
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<tr>
<td>tiffin</td>
<td>light lunch or midday snack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuan</td>
<td>mister, master or sir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temenggung</td>
<td>old Malay title for minister in charge of defence, justice and palace affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubis</td>
<td>sweet potatoes or tapioca</td>
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'I]f the housekeeper will take the trouble to keep all the stores, and give everything out daily, even to spices, and the smallest detail, including eggs, potatoes, and onions, she will find her bills considerably reduced, the things will be fresh and good, and she will be spared the constant differences with the cook over the accounts as to amounts used', E.S.P., 'What' and 'How' or What Shall We Have? And How Shall We Have It?' Calcutta and Simla, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1904, pvi.

Source: This illustration has been modified by Nena Salobir. The map is extracted from George Goodall and H.C. Darby, The University Atlas, George Philip and Son, Ltd., London, 1940, p16. The lithograph is extracted from George Francklin Atkinson, Curry & rice, on forty plates, or, The ingredients of social life at 'our station' in India, London, John B. Day, 1859, 'Our Judge's Wife', plate no.4.
Introduction

“We do not wish to advocate an unholy haughtiness; but an Indian household can no more be governed peacefully, without dignity and prestige, than an Indian Empire.”

The subject of this thesis is the cuisine associated with the British expatriates who governed, worked and settled in India, Malaysia and Singapore between 1858 and 1963. This colonial food was a unique hybrid; it was distinct and different from the food practices of Britain and Asia, but at the same time incorporated dietary components of British culinary traditions and embraced indigenous ingredients and practices from the colonies. In this respect it can be seen as one of the precursors of contemporary fusion food. In examining the development of this cuisine, this thesis advances two central, interrelated arguments. The first of these is that this food was developed largely through the dependence of British colonists on indigenous domestic servants for food preparation; and that this dependence has a wider significance in terms of the development of colonial culture. In making this argument, this thesis disagrees with much of the current historical scholarship on colonial food that suggests British colonists consumed a totally different diet to local peoples in a deliberate attempt to differentiate themselves as rulers from the ruled. The evidence presented in the following pages will show that there was no clear-cut colonial divide between the two opposing sides and that in relation to food production a close relationship existed between British colonizers and their subjects.

The second, closely related argument put forward here is that British colonists did not control nor direct many of the domestic tasks, including food production, that were central to the functioning of colonial homes and recreational venues; nor were these spaces as segregated as colonial rhetorical imagery would suggest. The reality and practicality of settling in lands vastly different from Britain, along with colonists’ dependence on the local inhabitants, necessitated negotiation and collaboration, especially between mistresses and servants. This dependence resulted in colonists seeking to maintain social distance in ways that were contradictory and paradoxical. The local servants were seen as dirty and carriers of disease but were intimately involved in the preparation of food; the hill stations were established as refuges from the local people and the unhealthy tropical lowlands but relied upon domestic servants

to provide essential services; clubs were an extension of the white colonial home but were staffed by armies of local servants. In this regard this thesis builds on the scant extant histories of domestic service in the British colonies and highlights the importance of the role of local servants in the colonial household. The image perpetuated by colonists and other Europeans of incapable, dirty and dishonest servants under their employ was quite different from their role of feeding their colonial masters. I argue that domestic servants were fundamental to the well-being of Europeans in the colonies; they were responsible for performing the physical tasks of maintaining the home, the hill stations, rest-houses and clubs; leaving the memsahib (a European woman in the British colonies) ample time for leisure and for promoting and maintaining the image of European colonial prestige. Furthermore, native servants, particularly cooks, were instrumental in the development of the colonial cuisine that is the subject of this study. Their knowledge of local ingredients and where to source them from; their cooking skills; their resourcefulness; and the cheapness of their labour together contributed to the development of a uniquely hybrid style of food.

India is the primary focus of this study because, in its 200 years of being the ‘jewel in the crown’, the Raj served as both an inspiration and a benchmark for British colonial culture. Civil servants and soldiers; entrepreneurs, missionaries and adventurers; the British men and women known generically as sahibs (a European man in British India) and memsahibs all attempted to uphold the image of empire through their codes of duty and responsibility. This study also includes an analysis of Malaysia and Singapore, not as a comparison to India but rather to illustrate that colonial culture in the form of food and patterns of domestic service was transplanted to, or replicated in other colonies in Asia. This wider examination is in keeping with American historian Thomas R. Metcalf’s notion that ‘ways of thinking formed during the Indian colonial experience found expression, as the British struggled to come to terms with their new colonial subjects, in comparable, if different forms of knowledge elsewhere’. Some of these practices took hold and evolved around local conditions while others were discarded. If scholarly work on food history and domestic service is rather thin on the ground for India, the situation for Malaysia and Singapore is even more dire. I have considered Malaysia and Singapore together in this thesis because for the purposes of this thesis, the two societies were and are socially and culturally similar.

Cookbooks and other alternative sources as historical documents

Historical narratives traditionally do not portray a sense of the day to day routine chores and tasks colonials engaged in, particularly those of the women in the colonies. This thesis employs cookbooks, household management guides, memoirs, diaries and travelogues as well as a questionnaire for ex-colonists as primary sources. These sources provide important insights into the daily activities of colonial life.

There are two contrasting views of memsahibs portrayed in colonial literature and cookbooks and household guides of the era. First, in colonial fiction, there is the Kiplingesque observation that memsahibs led frivolous lives, flitting between tennis and bridge parties. Second, colonial household guides prescribed in meticulous detail how to maintain and showcase the white, pristine household in the colonized land. In this thesis nineteenth and early twentieth century cookbooks, household management manuals, diaries, personal and official accounts and travelogues written for the colonies are examined for insights into British colonial food practices and the role of domestic servants in their households. As the wives of civil servants and others under colonial rule had no formal official role to play, no archival records of their presence existed. As Mary Procida points out, the work of the historian, in ‘recovering the lived experiences of women in the empire, therefore necessitates the investigation of alternative sources such as diaries, letters, memoirs, and oral interviews’.

Cookbooks teem with instructions (in prefaces or after the recipe pages) on topics ranging from managing servants, to cleanliness in kitchens and home remedies. I argue that within these parameters, my examination of the cookbooks, household guides, personal accounts and responses to my questionnaire demonstrates that memsahibs, as nurturers and gatekeepers of the imperial home, helped to devise, through the services of domestic servants, a cuisine that was peculiarly colonial. Cookbooks and household guides of the colonial era, besides providing specific instructions on how to run a household, manage servants and prepare and serve food, can also be seen as instruments for perpetuating the values and representations of empire. Between the 1880s and 1920s the number of cookery and household guides published increased significantly as

a result of the growing numbers of British women travelling to India. These were the second generation of middle-class British women who resided in India after the uprising of 1857. The prescriptive nature of the manuals conveys with the unmistakable message that memsahibs were expected to follow the appropriate code of behaviour that was becoming of colonising women.

Increasingly, cultural and social historians have employed household manuals and cookbooks as texts on domesticity and commensality. Just as fiction, diaries and biographies do not totally mirror lived events, conduct guides and cookbooks and other different genres, examined together, add nuance and significance to the historian’s conception of the mistress-servant relationship. These publications reinforced the unequal relationships between the memsahibs and their servants; their instructions on maintaining scrupulous cleanliness and meticulous storekeeping reiterated the perceived inferiority of the domestics.

The early Indian cookery books first published in Britain from the 1830s were collections of original recipes and were developed into anglicised versions of Indian cookery for English cooks in England while other publications were specifically written for memsahibs in Anglo-India. The number of Anglo-Indian cookbooks far outnumber those published for the Malayan and Singaporean markets as evidenced by the bibliography in this thesis. However, personal accounts in diaries, journals and travelogues and official accounts in government handbooks and annual reports are mines of information on colonial food practices and domestic service in these two colonies. It is through the medium of cookbooks that recipes of colonial dishes were made popular and accessible to the memsahib community. Even though the memsahibs were not directly involved in cooking the colonial dishes, the documentation of the recipes provides a permanent record of the existence of such dishes.

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I also sent out forty questionnaires and received thirty-one responses to British expatriates who lived in the three colonies in the period covered and are now resident in various parts of the world. The questionnaire, designed with open-ended questions, attempted to elicit comments on types of dishes consumed, ingredients associated with colonial food, the significance of curry, meal times and types, the relationship between master or mistress and servant, the role that servants played, the kitchen, language used with servants, and the purchase of food. The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix A. These sources provide important insights into the daily activities of colonial life.

Scope
The time period chosen for this thesis, from 1858 to 1963, is extensive, primarily due to the different colonial periods of the countries discussed. The individual chapters deal with selected themes and regions and are deliberately designed such that there is no strict chronological order in the conventional sense of narrative history. Thus, topics are discussed backwards and forwards in time within the century-long time-frame. Each broad theme of the five core chapters discussed is intertwined with analysis of the complex mistress-servant relationship.

The starting point of this thesis, 1858, denotes the beginning of Crown colonial rule of India. This period, which ended when India attained independence in 1947 is known as the Raj. Present-day Malaysia and Singapore are the successor states to the former British colonies and protectorates. Malaysia today consists of thirteen states, eleven on the Malay Peninsula and two in Borneo: Sabah and Sarawak. Sabah was known as British North Borneo during British rule. The Malay states became independent of British rule in 1957 and were known as the Federation of Malaya. Sabah and Sarawak joined the other states, forming the Federation of Malaysia in 1963.

Although British interests in Malaya first dated to the founding of Penang in 1786, the English East India Company took control of Penang, Province Wellesley, Melaka and Singapore under the presidency government of the Straits Settlements in 1826, with headquarters in Penang. British interests in Singapore were further cemented in 1819 when Thomas Stamford Raffles signed a treaty with the temenggung (minister in charge

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In 1830, facing financial difficulties the settlements were downgraded to a residency and became part of the Bengal presidency. Although the European population was small in the Straits Settlements – in 1860 there were 466 in Singapore, 316 in Penang and a few officials in Melaka – it was forthright and clamoured for independent rule from Calcutta. In 1867 the Straits Settlements became a crown colony.

British interests in North Borneo date back to 1763 when Alexander Dalrymple of the East India Company planted the EIC flag on Balambangan, an island off the northernmost part of Borneo. It did not become the flourishing trading post the British company had envisaged and was abandoned in 1805. Labuan, an island off the west coast of Borneo, was another strategic point coveted by the British and in 1846 the island was ceded to Britain by the Sultan of Brunei. In 1881 when a royal charter was granted to a private company, the British North Borneo Company, it was given sovereign rights to run the state. Labuan was added to the territory when British North Borneo became a crown colony in 1946. In 1841 James Brooke, a cavalry officer in the Indian army, became the self-styled raja of Sarawak and established the capital, Kuching on the western central coast of Borneo. He started a dynasty of ‘White Rajas’ ruling Sarawak until the Second World War. In 1888, North Borneo and Sarawak (also Brunei) became British protectorates. This thesis does not discuss food consumption among the British who were interned during the Japanese Occupation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo states as the period is seen as ‘out of the ordinary’ years.

I have used ‘Malaya’, ‘British North Borneo’, ‘Sarawak’ and ‘Singapore’ in their historical context interchangeably with Malaysia and Singapore, for convenience, although there was no such entity as ‘Malaya’ in the nineteenth century. ‘Anglo-Indians’ cited throughout this thesis refer to British men and women resident in India and not the present-day meaning of Eurasians, that is, people of mixed racial origins.

10 Andaya and Andaya, A History of Malaysia, p114.
12 Turnbull, A History of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, p106.
14 Andaya and Andaya, A History of Malaysia, p129.
The terms *sahib* and *memsahib* were first used in India to address the white man and white married woman respectively.\(^{15}\) In Malaysia and Singapore the white man was addressed by the local population as *tuan* (mister or sir) while the white married woman was addressed as *mem* and never *memsahib*. The term ‘Malayan’ was used by the British to describe the people of Malaya and those of long residence, sometimes even including Europeans,\(^ {16}\) not dissimilar to the term ‘Indian’ as used by some Britons who had lived for many years in India.

India is geographically separated from the Peninsular Malaysian states by the Indian Ocean while the Borneo States of Malaysia are separated from the peninsula by the South China Sea. In spite of the separation by ocean and sea of the dozens of disparate states within India, Malaysia, and Singapore, during colonial rule there were more distinct links than there were differences in culinary practices and domestic service. In colonial India, Malaysia and Singapore, the complete dependence of the British on their servants, and the ingestion of local foods illustrate the irony of concerns about separation and hygiene.

*Chapter One* reviews the historiography of colonial foodways (practices associated with food and eating), mistress-servant relationships (race, gender, caste and ethnicity) and cookbooks as historical documents. In the last few decades the culture of colonial societies has become increasingly important in world historical analysis and the concept of ‘foodways’ – the customs of a group of people concerning food and eating – is seen as one way of examining the ritualized patterns of colonial life. Foodways is used in this thesis to examine imperial domesticity and the role and image of domestic servants in India, Malaysia and Singapore. Foodways is one way of looking at the porous boundaries of colonialism in areas of race and domestic relationships.\(^ {17}\) It gives testimony to one aspect of colonialism: the close relations that existed between colonizers and the colonized as domestic servants were wholly responsible for providing sustenance to their colonial masters. European colonial society delegated to

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its women the role of enacting rituals that marked the boundaries between the rulers and the ruled. In analysing the emergence of the colonial cuisine, it is necessary to establish what constitutes a cuisine. Chapter One discusses Pierre Bourdieu’s theory that the food consumption patterns of different social classes are determined by their experiences. Bourdieu contends that food tastes are not acquired individually but collectively and are derived through interaction from different social classes. Stephen Mennell, goes one step further and examines the reasons why a particular social group embraces certain food practices and whether social and cultural mores play any part in this. Pierre L. van den Berghe’s study on ethnic cuisine suggests that a community strengthens its social connections through food sharing both in the home and in the public sphere. This is relevant in discussing the development of the colonial cuisine in relation to the cohesiveness of the colonial community. Among the current scholars who discuss the relationship between colonizer and colonized in the context of foodways are E.M. Collingham, Nupur Chaudhuri, Uma Narayan and Susan Zlotnick. These scholars contend that British colonizers followed a British diet and rejected Indian dishes in order to differentiate themselves from their subjects, a notion challenged by this thesis.

Cookbooks and household guides form an important part of the methodology of this thesis and I have looked at literature in the field that either support or reject these publications as historical documents. While Edward Higgs and Edith Horander dismiss the use of recipe books as historical documents, others like Karen Hess stress that analysing cookbooks is the best methodology for studying food history. This thesis

takes the middle ground, that a combination of the use of cookbooks, household guides, diaries, memoirs and travelogues can establish clearly defined patterns of colonial food practices. Mary Procida suggests that Anglo-Indian cookbooks help the historian to understand the domestic sphere of British colonialism in India, particular on gender in empire. Procida adds that Anglo-Indian cookbooks should be examined beyond their instructive and prescriptive function because they were an important source for spreading the word and work of empire.25 Arjun Appadurai in his study of contemporary India, notes that while some of these cookbooks are written for the Indian diaspora many others are written to reminisce and reconstruct Indian food of the colonial era, with curry as the master trope and as of colonial origin.26

The mistress-servant relationship in the colonial household encompasses racial and gender roles, class and caste in India, and ethnicity in Malaysia and Singapore. Ann Stoler suggests that the perennial European anxieties about servants in the colonies existed because domestic service pervaded both the private and public spheres.27 Procida disagrees with those historians who suggest that the imperial home was designated as a feminized space, separate from the public sphere where the man of the house conducted the work of empire. Instead, she argues that the Anglo-Indian domestic sphere was a site of cultural interactions and interchange where ‘the home was an arena for political discussion and administrative action’28 with servants, the majority of whom were males. Using household guides in her study of domesticity in India, Alison Blunt concludes that the unequal relationship between British women and their Indian servants reproduced imperial power relations on a domestic scale.29 Swapna M. Banerjee’s work on domestic service in colonial Bengal looks at how the caste-class and, ethnic, prejudices in Singapore and Malaysia of the employers influenced the selection of and treatment of the servants.30 Banerjee also raises the issue of food and servants, from the different kinds of servants working in the kitchens of European and Indian aristocratic households to those of middle-class families in colonial Bengal. As

25 Procida, Married to the Empire, p87.
28 Procida, Married to the Empire, pp57-58.
30 Swapna M. Banerjee, Men, Women, and Domestics Articulating Middle-Class Identity in Colonial Bengal, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2004.
maintained throughout this thesis, foodways were indistinguishably linked with the contribution made by domestic servants in the colonial household.

*Chapter Two* demonstrates that the colonial table neither featured dishes that were only British or European nor comprised only local dishes but that the salient characteristics of the hybrid colonial cuisine were evident. This is in spite of the diverse backgrounds of British colonists; they were from the armed forces, the administration and commerce, all coming from different classes, with different dietary habits. The diets of the colonized Asians were just as different; Indians were from different castes and while there was no caste system in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo there were numerous racial and ethnic groups with varying dietary practices.

The types of meals consumed by the British colonial community of the three colonies certainly fit the criteria laid out by anthropologist Sydney Mintz’s definition of what constitutes a ‘cuisine’. Mintz regards a cuisine as legitimate when the community claims ownership of it through knowledge of, and familiarity with, the dishes. This ties in with sociologist Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson’s assertion that ‘culinary preparations become a cuisine when, and only when, the preparations are articulated and formalized, and enter the public domain’. Thus, the collection of a number of hybrid dishes of countless types of curries, mulligatawny, kedgeree, chicken chop, pish pash and the inimitable meal of tiffin, do constitute a cuisine.

No other colonial dish was more consumed, debated and critiqued than curry. *Chapter Three* analyses curry as the signature dish of British colonial cuisine and traces its origin and development. This thesis integrates the notion, prevalent in the existing scholarship, that curry powder was ‘fabricated’ by the British in India and commodified it for British taste, thereby fulfilling an ideological function of empire. Instead, I argue that colonists did not deliberately choose curry to domesticate in the colonial project but appropriated and modified it in numerous dishes to enhance and transform poor quality chicken, fish and meat. Even when the colonial dinner party table was overladen with

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large roasts of mutton and beef, turkey, chicken, and so on, curry and rice and other colonial dishes were nevertheless part of the menu.

The British adopted curry from the earliest days of colonial rule. In fact, its popularity reached its height in the days of the East India Company from the seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Its history was influenced by the availability of local ingredients, the culinary skills of the colonial cook and the tastes of the British in a particular location. It developed both temporally and geographically and was the perfect example of food appropriation. Each Indian presidency’s curry was subtly different and it differed even from household to household. Its popularity spread to other colonies from its home in India. While Lizzie Collingham sees Anglo-Indian cookery as the first pan-Indian cuisine, curry is clearly the single most important dish that defined the culinary history of British imperialism. Although it has obscure beginnings, curry’s legitimacy is reinforced by the contest for ownership of it by the different communities. This claiming of ownership and the questioning of its authenticity occurred both in the colonial era as well as in postcolonial times. I have drawn from Anglo-Indian, Malayan, Singaporean and British North Borneo cookbooks, memoirs, diaries and travelogues to demonstrate that curry evolved as a hybrid and practical dish. In the British household it was often made from leftover meat and poultry and incorporated spice ingredients specifically selected for their preservative and nutritious qualities, according to the prevailing medical thinking of the time. The commercialisation of curry powders from the nineteenth century has contributed to the diverse range of curries that were subsequently developed, and indeed, curry can be seen as one of the British Empire’s enduring legacies. In appropriating curry, Britons debated the merits of the dish and judged the authenticity of different curries by district, region or presidency. While a household could lay claim to the superiority of its own curry, and a club could become renowned for its curries (such as the Madras Club, which became famous for its prawn curry) it was always the indigenous cook who was responsible for preparing the curry.

The cook formed part of the large coterie of servants who were responsible for the well-being of Europeans both at home and at other colonial institutions. Chapter Four examines the role of domestic servants and the representation of servants by colonizers. Histories on domestic servants working in the colonial household, particularly in

connection with the preparation of food, have long been neglected. Writers of popular literature, cookbooks, household guides, diaries and travelogues have, for the most part, disparaged servants in the colonial household, questioning their honesty and loyalty. There are countless anecdotes of servants’ stupidity and dirty habits (several are cited in this thesis) that contributed to the mirth at colonial gatherings as well as making it into print. For all their poor standards of hygiene and ostensibly low intellect, however, servants were involved in food preparation and other personal tasks for the colonial family. This thesis examines the role and image of servants who were engaged in the purchasing, preparation and serving of food in the colonial household. While the memsahib holds the supervisory role of head of the household it was the physical contribution of the domestic servants that enabled her to fulfill this function. The large number of servants employed meant that she was able to facilitate the colonial home seamlessly between the private domain of home and operate as the official venue for empire’s tasks. That the memsahib was able to extend hospitality in the form of meals and accommodation to European travellers was due largely to the work of her servants. Domestic servants did more than just the menial and physical work. It was the servants’ local knowledge on where to procure food (even if they were usually suspected by their employers of being cheated on food purchases) that contributed to the emergence of the colonial cuisine. The cooks yielded far more influence on the diet of the British than what has been acknowledged. Many of the hybrid colonial dishes had origins from local dishes and were adapted for what servants thought were more to European tastes.

Servants also performed other intimate tasks, including serving early morning breakfast to their colonial employers in bed as well as feeding and looking after their children. The negative image of servants perpetuated by their masters and mistresses was symptomatic of the contradictions of colonial life. As labour was cheap in the colonies, particularly in India, the colonial household could afford to have large numbers of servants. If servants cheated their employers one could speculate that if they had been paid more they might not have had to resort to stealing food in the kitchen.

The mission of keeping the home pristine fell to the memsahib but as the kitchen was the focal point for food preparation and as native servants were in charge it seemed like a losing battle. By most accounts, the memsahib chose not to improve the working conditions of the kitchen where servants were employed. Paradoxically she relied on and yet mistrusted her servants to maintain cleanliness in the kitchen. Instead of
equipping the kitchen properly and providing clean water and proper disposal of waste water, most memsahibs were content to associate their servants and the kitchen with dirt. It was not for lack of knowledge of local conditions that the memsahib or indeed, the sahib, was reticent in taking a more proactive stance in the kitchen. The household guides and cookery books that were present in most homes and clubs gave detailed instructions on equipping and maintaining the tropical kitchen. Many of these household guides recommended the morning parade of inspecting the cleanliness of kitchen premises and equipment stores and disbursing of supplies. Because the kitchen was some distance away memsahibs would have found it too hot and tiresome to get there and inspect its cleanliness.

One of the reasons Europeans in the colonies sought refuge in hill stations was to escape to the ‘clean’ and cool climate of the highlands, away from the dirt and disease of the tropical lowlands and the local inhabitants. Chapter Five investigates the colonial creations of hill stations, rest-houses, dak bungalows (rest-house for travellers), clubs, hotels or restaurants that were exclusive enclaves built for leisure and recuperation. The existence and maintenance of these institutions were dependant on the colonized people, significantly, for food preparation. In Malaya and the Borneo colonies rest-houses were colonial government-owned dwellings maintained in every town for the accommodation of travelling government personnel.35 Fully-furnished, these brick-built buildings were smaller than hotels and meals were prepared by the rest-house cook. Rest-houses were most likely to have originated from the dak bungalows of India. The services provided for the rest and recreation of the colonials were dependant on the local inhabitants and not the least for food preparation. Dane Kennedy points out the irony that the British, by isolating themselves in the hill stations, in efforts to get away from the Indians, in fact depended on their services for life in the hills.36

European ideas for devising places for rest and recreation in the tropical colonies were largely derived from nineteenth-century notions of race, of the need to isolate themselves from the colonized, of the home leave policies of the colonial administration and of a nostalgic longing for the home country. The three institutions of hill stations, clubs and rest-houses, with their customs and codes of conduct, reinforced those of the

carefully guarded colonial home – against the encroachment of the colonized environment and its people. Western medical thinking at the time conceived that Europeans, particularly women and children were not to live for long periods of time in the tropics. It decreed that women and children were at greater risk in the harsh rigours of the tropics than their male counterparts and hill stations became important places for refuge and respite from the tropical lowlands.

Some hill stations became centres of government for several months of the year. In addition, the Indian population, comprising those engaged in commerce, service and administration swelled to large numbers. The bazaars became overcrowded and due to lack of toilets, typhoid fever, cholera and other diseases were rampant in the later half of the nineteenth century. There were no toilet facilities in the servants’ quarters as the British left the Indians to their own devices (as was generally the case in the lowlands). The colonizers initially ignored the sanitation problems in the bazaars but eventually the problems spilled dangerously close to the colonial enclaves. It was only when the spread of these diseases threatened the British population in the hill stations that authorities paid attention.

Chapter Six examines the fear and anxiety of colonizers who believed that indigenous people were inherently dirty and were seen as carriers of diseases. Such anxieties were supported by medical thinking from the eighteenth century – that diseases were rife in India and were attributed to the tropical heat and humidity. This thesis examines the contradiction between the discourses of dirt and disease and the reality of dependence of the Europeans on their indigenous servants. The high mortality rate of Europeans in India and the other colonies (due to malaria and other infectious diseases) added to the apprehension. The increasing numbers of British women who went to the colonies from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries was heralded with the gendered role imposed on them as gatekeepers of empire. The memsahib was responsible for creating a pure and pristine imperial household, both for display and as a barrier against the colonized environment and its inhabitants. As maintained throughout this thesis, cookbooks and household manuals were the medium to which the memsahib could refer for instructions on how to manage her household, including maintaining cleanliness in

the home. These publications also contained advice on medical aid and hygiene rules. Domestic servants were the ordinary colonized people that British housewives were the most likely to come into daily contact. The omnipresence of cooks, bearers and other servants, who on one hand were seen as carriers of disease, was a constant, uncomfortable and yet necessary presence in the personal space of the home.

From the eighteenth century until the 1870s, when modern germ theory emerged, medical thinking attributed epidemic disease transmission to contamination and not to contagion. European medical thought at the time was based on the humoral understanding of disease, that sickness occurred from the noxious air or miasmas produced in humid and unhealthy places. In particular, colonial ideology situated colonized areas of the world as dirty and impure and European knowledge and skills as being able to cleanse and purify these places and people. At the same time early nineteenth-century thought held that tropical diseases affected Europeans differently than the local people. Sanitation ideas were similarly developed in other colonies. In his study on the bubonic plague and urban native policy in South Africa in the early 1900s, Maynard W. Swanson refers to the ‘sanitation syndrome’ when medical officials and other authorities associated the imagery of infectious diseases as a ‘societal metaphor’. He states that disease was both a biological fact and a social metaphor. This metaphor became so powerful that it influenced British and South African racial attitudes and paved the way towards segregation, culminating in the creation of urban apartheid. In India and the Southeast Asian colonies the segregation of the colonial community from the colonized subjects were due both to imperial prestige and anxieties about dirt and disease associated with the indigenous peoples.

See for example, Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook. Chapter XV is titled ‘Simple hints on the preservation of health and simple remedies’, pp171-188.


Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome', p408.

Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome', p387.


Chapter One

The Literature So Far

‘In creating a home in the empire, therefore, Anglo-Indians did not, nor did they intend to, faithfully recreate metropolitan British domesticity. Such an undertaking would have been not only impossible in physical and cultural terms, but actually antithetical to imperial needs. In general, Anglo-Indians did not exchange a traditional European lifestyle for indigenous customs; rather, they adopted and adapted Indian stratagems for dealing with the demands of a climate and geographic situation very different from that of Britain, while maintaining certain hallmarks of European domesticity which, they believed, distinguished the Anglo-Indian home from the Indian dwelling. Materially and symbolically, the British household in India was truly an Anglo-Indian space, incorporating various elements of European and Indian cultures to create a domestic environment that could uphold the imperial ethos and facilitate the business of empire in a physical and ideological environment vastly different from that of Great Britain’.1

This chapter reviews current literature that concerns the central themes of this thesis: food consumption and its associated social meaning; domestic servants as agents of food practices; class, caste; race and gender in the master-servant relationship; the medium of cookbooks as historical documents; the colonial institutions of clubs and hill stations; and dirt and disease. This thesis attempts to build on the scant scholarly work on food practices relating to British colonialists in the three countries. Similarly, limited historical writing on domestic service in Asia exists, much less that focuses on India and even less so on Malaysia and Singapore. While anthropologists have traditionally studied food and culture, scholars in other fields have only recently turned their attention to food studies. R.S. Khare and M.S.A. Rao point out that nineteenth century British administrators and writers wrote on land tenure rather than about food production, and on caste and tribal food restrictions rather than food practices. Khare and Rao reason that this was due to British politico-economic interests, the colonial preference for the exotic and the difficulty of investigating Indian food habits as they fell under the domestic sphere of the Indian people.2 For the section on culinary historiography I have drawn on scholarship from a multi-disciplinary mix in the humanities.

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**Food consumption and its associated social meaning**

It is indisputable that the emergence of a cuisine peculiar to the itinerant colonizing population was due to the development of a distinctly social, cultural and political grouping. While there is a plethora of work on the history of regional Asian foodways and periods, specific research on colonial cuisines forms only a small subset. French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, shares the same view that food preferences are conditioned by social groups. He conducted a survey research of the tastes and preferences of different class factions in France in the 1960s. Bourdieu’s project demonstrates how the different food tastes and practices of different classes are meaningful because they are fixed within class cultures and tensions exist within and between these classes as part of a broader power struggle. Bourdieu concludes that food tastes are far from individual; rather, they have their basis in the social relationships between different groups, particularly social classes. Furthermore, Bourdieu asserts that the style of meal that people offer is a good indicator of the image they wish to give or avoid giving to others. Bourdieu’s findings are relevant in establishing how cohesive the Anglo-Indian community and British colonials from Malaysia and Singapore were as social groupings and how a distinctive colonial cuisine evolved. Bourdieu’s premise is that the experiences of different social classes predisposes them to consume differently and consequently a class culture emerges in which those within it distinguish themselves from others.

This thesis contends that Anglo-Indians and the British in Malaya and Singapore constructed themselves as a distinct class identity and this identity significantly influenced their food choices and associated food practices. At the same time it is clear that the colonizers did not follow a strictly British diet nor did they eat exclusively local foods. In addition, the colonial cuisine was externally influenced, as the domestic servants’ input was as much responsible as the availability of ingredients for the evolution of a distinctly colonial cuisine.

The historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto’s work offers valuable insights relating to food and the exchange of culture, particularly food and imperialism. Fernández-Armesto

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3 See for example, Sidney Cheung and Chee-Beng Tan, *Food and Foodways in Asia: Resource, Tradition and Cooking, London*, London, Routledge, 2007. Although this is an excellent anthropological inquiry into ethnographic analysis of food production in several countries in Asia it has no direct relevance to this thesis.


5 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p79.
suggests that one of the forces ‘capable of penetrating cultural barriers and internationalising food’ is war as armies are ‘great vectors of cultural influence…’. He gives the example of British Armed forces bringing kushuri, probably from the Indian kitchri, a popular Cairo street food of rice and lentils with onion and spices, to Egypt. It is, however, his reference to one of the three types of imperial cuisines that is central to this study, that is, ‘the colonial cookery which juxtaposes the food of elite colonists from the “mother country” with the “subaltern” styles of their local cooks and concubines’. Fernández-Armesto’s analysis refers to the hybrid nature of the colonial table, a variegated array of British dishes and local dishes of the colonized, creating a distinctly colonial cuisine. Fernández-Armesto also argues that ‘no source of influence in cookery – perhaps, in the exchange of culture generally – has exceeded imperialism’.

Although some research on colonial cuisines focuses on other European colonial contexts, David Burton’s culinary history of the British in India and Lizzie Collingham’s biography of curry are most relevant to this thesis. Burton’s work on India is particularly useful as, although not intended for the academy, its description of individual dishes, meal times, kitchen facilities and servants provided useful background detail on foodways in British India. Most of Burton’s primary sources (Burton claims) are mid-nineteenth- to mid-twentieth-century Anglo-Indian cookbooks. However, it is difficult to verify Burton’s sources as the references are not annotated and this, to some extent, undermines the study’s credibility. An example is the description (seemingly taken word for word from Michael Edwardes’s The Sahibs and the Lotus) of the scrappy chicken served at dak bungalows. Numerous recipes listed give a clear indication of the kinds of foods eaten by colonizers. Burton claims that of all the legacies of the Raj, none is more firmly rooted in British popular culture than

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8 Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables*, p140.
12 Burton, *The Raj at Table*, p110. Burton writes, ‘sudden death – chicken that had been decapitated, plucked, grilled and served up within twenty minutes of being ordered.’ This description is also found in Michael Edwardes, *The Sahibs and the Lotus: The British in India*, London, Constable, 1988, pp103-104.
curried food.\textsuperscript{13} This thesis makes a similar claim, devoting a chapter to the study of curry as part of the colonial cuisine.

Collingham’s \textit{Curry} is the definitive work on British foodways in India. This thesis also engages with other scholars who have written on curry, namely, Nupur Chaudhuri, Uma Narayan and Susan Zlotnick.\textsuperscript{14} Collingham’s approach is both scholarly and popular, with a substantial bibliography. Collingham employs curry to tell the history of India and traces the history of curry from the courts of Delhi to the curry houses of England. Whole chapters are devoted to individual curries and other dishes and recipes are given at the end of each chapter. Collingham also engages with race and gender discourses in her discussion of curry. She points out that with the demise of the East India Company in 1858, the racial thinking of the time encouraged civil servants and military officers of the Crown to draw lines to distinguish the colonizer from the colonized. Curry and rice, once part of everyday fare, was consumed less frequently from the late nineteenth century onwards.\textsuperscript{15} Curries were prepared to use up leftover foods and this was seen as an efficient and economic means of managing the household budget. Collingham argues that the domestic ideology of Britain’s middle classes ‘celebrated the virtuous housewife and transformed thrift into a mark of respectability’.\textsuperscript{16} Chapter Three of this thesis builds on Collingham’s work on curry by analysing the popularity of curry among colonists. It is my contention that curry was the omnipresent dish because servants were responsible for cooking in the colonial kitchen and they cooked curry particularly well; all the ingredients used, the cooking method and utensils were local. While Collingham’s work touches on curry in Britain and other countries this thesis only focuses on India, Malaysia and Singapore.

James P. Johnston’s book on the history of food consumption in Britain was one of the first studies on culinary history and attempts to demonstrate ‘the significance of food, not only in terms of the physical needs of men, but also as an essential element in

\textsuperscript{13} Burton, \textit{The Raj at Table}, pvi.
\textsuperscript{15} Collingham, \textit{Curry}, p159.
\textsuperscript{16} Collingham, \textit{Curry}, p138.
In order to understand foodways in the British colonies it is important to look at food practices in Britain. Johnston’s outline of the development of dietary change through technology is useful for the study of why colonizers adhered to certain culinary practices. Advances in technology, particularly in transport in the late nineteenth century, had a major effect on the diet of all classes of society in Britain. This resulted in large quantities of cheap imported foodstuffs like meat, grain, fish and tinned products being made available on the British market. Before the 1850s the British diet was made largely of bread, bacon, cheese, potatoes and tea. New products such as margarine and condensed milk became cheap substitutes for fresh produce. Although the memsahib kept tinned food in her kitchen stores both as an emergency measure and for variety there is no evidence to prove that many colonial households consumed large quantities of these convenience food instead of fresh local produce. Charles Bruce, a colonial government official on recalling his twenty years spent in Borneo stated tinned food was served to break the monotony of chicken and rice. In any case, imported tinned food was too expensive and was considered a treat as noted by Indian-born Jonquil Mallinson. Other scholars who made the point that the British ate a strictly British diet in the colonies assumed that colonizers preferred to eat tinned imported vegetables instead of making use of fresh ones. Evelyn Waugh’s novel, Black Mischief, helped propagate this myth when he wrote of dinner with the ‘…So-and-so’s where seven courses, all out of tins were served: tinned grapefruit, tinned soup, tinned lobster with bottled mayonnaise, tinned asparagus with melted butter, a chicken with tinned peas, tinned fruit salad, tinned anchovies or mushrooms or sardines on toast, and probably tinned ginger and chocolates for the dessert, or perhaps he was referring to the tinned cigarettes.

The colonial diet was a mixture of European food and local dishes, fresh produce and tinned or frozen foods (in later years), spicy and bland foods. European type foods that

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18 Johnstone, A Hundred Years Eating, p8.
20 Johnstone, A Hundred Years Eating, p10.
21 Charles Bruce, Twenty Years in Borneo; London, Cassell and Company Ltd, 1924, p125. In the Dutch Indies in the first half of the twentieth century, imported tinned food and increased cultivation of European types of vegetables in the highlands meant that the Dutch changed from a rice based diet to more Europeans meals, see Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, ‘Summer Dresses and Canned Food, European Women and Western Lifestyles in the Indies, 1900-1942’, in Henk Schulte Nordholt (ed.), Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia, Leiden, KITLV Press, 1997.
were tinned would have been enjoyed for their familiarity.

In tracing the development of the colonial cuisine in India, it is worth noting though that during the early years of the East India Company more Indian dishes were eaten than during the Raj. As discussed in Chapter Two, less Indian food was eaten together with the abandoning of adopting local customs as in Indian dress, smoking the hookah, and so on in a deliberate act of creating social distance between the colonizer and colonized. Nicola Humble’s work on cookbooks and the transformation of British food also refer to this embracing of Indian foods even in Britain.\textsuperscript{24} In Humble’s analysis of Britain’s most famous cook book, \textit{Beeton’s Book of Household Management} of 1861 she notes that a large number of recipes were from India: mulligatawny, different kinds of curries, kedgeree and a variety of chutneys. Humble explains that until the 1870s there was little consumption of European food in the homes of British officials in India. She states that ‘Indian cooks tended to be left to their own devices and produced a series of curries’.\textsuperscript{25} Humble suggests that the British spread recipes of those foods that they liked both in Britain and in India and ‘in the process of translation and transmission [they] gradually mutated – the development of kedgeree from a vegetarian dish of rice and lentils to one containing smoked fish and eggs is a notable example’.\textsuperscript{26} This gradual evolution of recipes is consistent and pertinent to my thesis, that the emergence of the colonial cuisine was a combination of various factors. In the colonial home, the interpretation and translation of recipes would have suffered from misunderstanding between both memsahib and cook. The memsahib-cook relationship was a peculiar one – the memsahib was reliant on the cook for turning out meals and yet the kitchen remained out of bounds for her. Ingredients were under lock and key and daily portions were measured out because the servant was perceived to be dishonest. And yet, these ingredients were procured in the first place by the cook from markets in which the memsahib would not set foot.

A number of scholars discuss how and why social groupings adopt certain food practices to reinforce their identities, which is pertinent to the emergence of a colonial cuisine with its distinct and hybridised dishes. My thesis challenges the current premise that the colonizers’ diet was an exercise in image-building: of exerting their roles as

\textsuperscript{25} Humble, \textit{Culinary Pleasures}, p19.
\textsuperscript{26} Humble, \textit{Culinary Pleasures}, p19.
imperialists and racial superiors. Existing scholarship emphasises that foodways served as identity and boundary markers, that rulers of Empire followed a completely different diet to their subjects as a deliberate act of differentiating themselves to the ruled. I will demonstrate throughout this thesis that the diet of the colonizers was a combination of consuming what was available in the local market and what was palatable to Europeans; and that their domestic servants had a significant influence in this choice. It was this combination of hybrid dishes that characterised the colonial cuisine, it did not feature only Indian-type or Asian dishes – just as Anglo-Indians or the colonizers in Malaysia and Singapore did not see themselves as part of the local community.

E.M. Collingham’s book on colonial India analyses the British experience as intensely physical.27 She examines food, dress, domestic space, domestic servants and modes of conduct to illustrate distinctly Anglo-Indian practices by the British. She maintains that the body was central to the colonial experience and her study of the British body in India traces the transformation of the early nineteenth-century East India Company servant to the mid-nineteenth century sahib, the civil servant of the Crown. The premise of Collingham’s chapter on ‘The Social Body’ is that the Anglo-Indian community developed into a distinct culture that demonstrated its racial superiority to the Indians through specific patterns of behaviour.28 Collingham makes the contentious assumption that the ‘consumption of British food became an important element in prestige as it differentiated India’s ruler from their subjects’.29 In my thesis this view is challenged in several aspects, ranging from types of meals, dishes and meal times. The consequence of Collingham’s view is that there would not have evolved a distinctly Anglo-Indian cuisine which, this thesis demonstrates is not the case. At one point Collingham claims that the ‘perverse adherence to British food was one of the clearest indications Anglo-Indians gave that they were unwilling to adapt to India’. However on the same page she cites references to describe the monotony of Anglo-Indian food because there was ‘a strong flavour of spices in the simplest things’.30 Indeed Collingham details the types of food consumed and times they were consumed with Indian influences found in Anglo-Indian food practices. For example, chota haziri, an Indian meal for early rising, was adopted to take account of the climate that became hotter as the day progressed. A large breakfast or brunch called tiffin, was another

28 Collingham, _Imperial Bodies_, p150.
29 Collingham, _Imperial Bodies_, p159.
30 Collingham, _Imperial Bodies_, p158.
Indian influence and this usually included a curry.\textsuperscript{31} Clearly there is a tension in Collingham’s work that remains unresolved, contradictions that she cannot or does not explain.

There is a tendency among scholars to echo Collingham’s notion of European colonizers’ adherence to European foodways. The same unresolved contradiction occurs in other works. Historian Elsbeth Locher-Scholten also argues that Europeans continued to follow a European diet in the colonies. In Locher-Scholten’s essay on clothing and food among Dutch women in colonial Indonesia, she claims that because food habits are one of the most enduring cultural patterns of behaviour, it is logical that ‘Europeans kept to their own menu’.\textsuperscript{32} In the same essay, however, Locher-Scholten describes rice as ‘the staple food in the diet of Europeans living in the Indies’; that in 1919 ‘the rijsttafel (rice table) was still considered the main meal of the day for well-to-do Europeans. Poorer Europeans as well as the indigenous population ate meals of rice three times a day’.\textsuperscript{33} She further notes that household manuals written by Indo-European women in the 1900s and 1910s contained Indonesian recipes.\textsuperscript{34}

Nupur Chaudhuri’s chapter ‘Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain’ attempts to examine the role played by British women in shaping the imperial world view of Victorians.\textsuperscript{35} She does this by highlighting how memsahibs transferred Indian artefacts and gastronomic cultures to English society in the mid and late Victorian era. Chaudhuri makes the disputable point that to protect their status as rulers and defend British culture in nineteenth century India, the Anglo-Indians chose racial exclusiveness and rejected Indian goods and dishes but were actively promoting these items to people in England. Her argument follows similar patterns taken by other scholars of Indian colonial history that British women were responsible for maintaining social distance between the rulers and the ruled.\textsuperscript{36} Two thirds of Chaudhuri’s chapter discusses how memsahibs transferred sought-after Indian artefacts such as Kashmiri shawls and Indian jewellery to England. The last part of the chapter focuses on how memsahibs helped to modify the food habits of middle-class Britons through the publication of curry, rice and

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  \item \textsuperscript{31} Collingham, \textit{Imperial Bodies}, pp156-165.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Locher-Scholten, ‘Summer Dresses and Canned Food’, p143.
  \item \textsuperscript{33} Locher-Scholten, ‘Summer Dresses and Canned Food’, pp141-142. Locher-Scholten states in a footnote that rice had been eaten as porridge for breakfast from in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Indies.
  \item \textsuperscript{34} Locher-Scholten, ‘Summer Dresses and Canned Food’, p141.
  \item \textsuperscript{35} Chaudhuri, ‘Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain’.
  \item \textsuperscript{36} Chaudhuri, ‘Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain’, p232.
\end{itemize}
other recipes in books, magazines and other media. Chaudhuri states that while they promoted Indian cuisine to the Victorians in Britain the Anglo-Indian wives rejected these dishes in India. Chaudhuri details the popularity of curry dishes and curry powder in Britain in popular journals, books and pamphlets. These journal articles and letters to the editors discussed the authenticity of curries and curry powder. She lists three reasons why curry became popular: curry was an economical way to use up leftover meats, fish and spices were ingredients considered nutritious, and curry added taste to British cookery in the Victorian era (largely seen as plain and mediocre).37

Although the cuisine that the British adopted in the colonies did not have a specific name, it was recognizable and familiar to the colonists and other Britons. Cookery, according to sociologist Claude Fischler, gives food and its consumers a place in the world and a sense of who they are38 and food and cuisine are an important element in the sense of collective belonging. Fischler notes that in some migration of minority cultures certain features of cuisine are known to have been retained even when the group’s original language has been abandoned.39 Anglo-Indians and other colonizers constructed themselves as a separate community, as the ruling elite of colonies. They were no longer strictly and only ‘British’, nor were they part of the local community. They were Britons, representing Britain; it was through their occupation, dress, homes, furnishings and the clubs to which they belonged that made them the colonizing class. The food practices they adopted also gave them this identity. Although hybrid food habits were followed on a daily basis, colonizers abandoned them at special occasion meals. As outlined in the next chapter, only European, mainly French, dishes were served at official functions, particularly at banquets at Government House in the three colonies. Pierre L. van den Berghe explains that food sharing pervades all aspects of human social life and it is ceremoniously shared in different ways: to establish, express and consolidate social ties.40 In the colonial era, at the official and ceremonial level, Britons felt the need to exert racial and class superiority by only consuming European type food, and haute cuisine no less. Van den Berghe observes that through the communal and ritualised ingestion of food, social bonds are reinforced. This is relevant to the construction of colonial cuisine. Without the sharing of recipes through cookbooks (even if the cooking was done by domestic cooks) and at recreational centres

like clubs and hill stations a colonial cuisine would not have evolved. Van den Berghe observes that a community’s cuisine is ‘the symbolic expression of its sociality, first in the intimate domestic sphere, and by extension with the larger group that shares a specific culinary complex: the inventory of food items, the repertoire of recipes, and the rituals of commensalism.’

Stephen Mennell looks at why one social group adopts certain foods, ways of cooking and serving these foods over another group and whether culinary likes and dislikes are conditioned by social and cultural influences. This resonates with my discussion on why certain ingredients and dishes were appropriated by colonizers and not others. The chapter on curry in this thesis analyses the appropriation of the dish from a range of social and cultural factors from both British and Indian influences. One of the other issues that Mennell explores in his book is the idea of acquired taste – people like what they are accustomed to. He also discusses food preferences, dislike of the unfamiliar and the physiological explanation for foods avoided by some groups. Further he observes how social groups develop standards of taste and even ‘ways of cooking become woven into the mythology and sense of the identity of nations, social classes and religious groups’. Similarly, Deborah Lupton agrees that food consumption habits are not simply tied to biological needs but serve to mark boundaries between social classes, geographic regions, nations, cultures, genders, life-cycle states, religions and occupations, to distinguish rituals, traditions, festivals, seasons and times of day. All these factors are relevant to my discussion of food appropriation in the colonies.

A perception of British food as mediocre is common and was acknowledged by Britons themselves. Kate Colquhoun illustrates this by quoting both Blackwoods Magazine, ‘…the aim of foreign cookery is to make it [meat] tender, of English to make it hard’; and Charles Dickens’ (the great mid-Victorian novelist) Household Words in 1851, that ‘the real art of stewing is almost unknown in Great Britain … Everything that is not roasted or fried is boiled at “a gallop” till the quality of tenderness is consolidated to the consistency of caoutchouc [rubber]’. Others have described the concept of a British

43 Mennell, All Manners of Food, p4.
44 Mennell, All Manners of Food, pp2-3.
national diet as ‘culinary desert’ and that the English have embraced foreign food influences.\textsuperscript{47} All through the nineteenth century, the British middle classes looked to France for culinary practices.\textsuperscript{48} Food historians trace the beginning of French influence to the aftermath of the French revolution when chefs who had cooked for the French aristocracy started to work in London restaurants. Clearly the English cuisine has a long history of ‘fusion’, hence it is not surprising that Indian influences were incorporated in the food habits of Britons who were domiciled in India and other colonies. This trend filtered through to cookbooks and menus in the colonies. However Britain has also been influenced by other cuisines. A London restaurateur has been quoted as saying that, ‘Indian food capturing the British imagination and the British palate is not such an amazing thing. It had to happen … In terms of food culture Britain was a total vacuum’.\textsuperscript{49} It is worth remembering that in the early 1800s Britain was in a period of social transition when new dietary habits were formed. John Burnett states that the choice of foods, preparation, order of service and times of eating became socially important and helped class demarcation, ‘the dinner party became a prestige symbol’.\textsuperscript{50}

In the concluding chapter of her postcolonial feminist book, Uma Narayan deals with the links between the ‘fabrication’ of curry powder, colonial attitudes to Indian food and colonial attitudes to India.\textsuperscript{51} Narayan engages with the notion of ‘food colonialism’ and ‘curry imperialism’ and ‘ethnic food’ but from the perspective of the Indian diaspora in England.\textsuperscript{52} Arguing from the viewpoint of a ‘Third World feminist’, Narayan discusses ‘food as metaphor and symbol as a material practice’. Narayan acknowledges that her chapter does not claim to address the complex general history of food and colonialism nor does she attempt a study of the colonial history of curry. Rather, she utilizes curry ‘to talk about identities engendered by the colonial experience’.\textsuperscript{53} Narayan argues that curry powder is a ‘fabricated’ entity, a colonial commercial term signifying a particular type of dish from a mixture of spices and becoming a fixed and familiar product. She goes further to say that the British were incorporating not Indian food but their own invention of curry powder. Thus, Narayan claims that ‘for the British, eating curry was


\textsuperscript{48} Campbell et.al., \textit{Food and Cultural Studies}, p77.

\textsuperscript{49} Campbell et.al., \textit{Food and Cultural Studies}, p78.


\textsuperscript{52} Narayan, \textit{Dislocating Cultures}, p162.

\textsuperscript{53} Narayan, \textit{Dislocating Cultures}, p163.
in a sense eating India’. However, she views the incorporation of curry into ‘British’
cuisine into English homes as being in contrast to attitudes of British colonizers resident
in India.  

**Colonial cookbooks**
This thesis employs the medium of Victorian and colonial domestic cookbooks and
household management manuals to trace the construction of a colonial cuisine.
Biographies, diaries, travelogues and responses from my questionnaire (reproduced in
Appendix A) are consulted to create a sense of how servants contributed to the culinary
history of colonizers in India, Malaysia and Singapore. It is important to establish the
valuable role that recipe books perform as historical documents. Edward Higgs
cautions against relying on the use of domestic manuals when writing about domestic
service, comparing it to ‘reconstructing the average modern home from the pages of
Vogue’. Similarly other historians have also argued against using cookbooks as
historical documents as they are seen as prescriptive and do not reflect actual practices
of the time.

Scholar Edith Horander states that it is ‘exaggerated and imprudent to declare that food
research could best be pursued by means of recipe books’. On the other hand, another
scholar, Karen Hess views that the study of recipe books as the best method of historical
food research. This thesis takes the position of somewhere in between the two
extreme views and cookbooks and household guides are used in this thesis to gauge the
frequent use of local ingredients and dishes, to establish that local servants were mainly
responsible for food preparation and to what extent the British adopted other local food
practices. A combination of the use of these publications have presented clearly defined
patterns of behaviour: that British colonizers depended on local domestic service for
their food practices; that local cooks largely cooked a mixture of European and local
meals for their colonial masters; and that the treatment of domestic servants resonated

54 Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*, p165.
55 Edward Higgs, ‘Domestic Service and Household Production’, in Angela V. John (ed.), *Unequal
56 Edith Horandner, ‘The Recipe Book as a Cultural and Socio-historical Document: On the Value of
Manuscript Recipe Books as Sources’, *Food in Perspective*, (Proceedings of the Third International
Conference on Ethnological Food Research, Cardiff, 1977), Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd,
57 Karen Hess, *The Digest. A Newsletter for the Interdisciplinary Study of Food*, vol.1, no.1, November
strongly with mistress-servant behaviour of the middle and upper classes of Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cookbooks transmit knowledge and a recipe functions as part of a permanent record rather than as oral tradition passed from chef to apprentice.\(^{58}\) Cookbooks and household guides were published in large numbers in Britain in the eighteenth century and helped men and women from the middle and upper classes in food purchases, preparation and presentation.\(^{59}\) While it is acknowledged that cookery books and household guides can be seen as prescriptive of ideals and aspirations it is argued that both the Victorian and colonial cookbooks were followed more arduously by readers in the colonies for a number of reasons. Firstly, colonial readers were too geographically distant from the metropole when trends or practices came into vogue, or secondly, they were simply too isolated from family or friends for domestic advice.\(^{60}\) Thirdly, colonial cookbooks were reference texts for the memsahib and the domestic servant to refer to recipes for the emerging colonial cuisine. The aspirational meals calling for sophisticated and prescriptive recipes such as turtle soup and French classical dishes were for formal banquets in Government House. The recipes for run-of-the-mill curries, mulligatawnies and other colonial dishes were consulted and pointed out by the memsahib to the cook for the day’s meals.

Although Sandra Sherman’s article is based on eighteenth-century cookbooks, certain aspects of her work are relevant to my study of Victorian cookbooks written for the colonies. She states that by the late eighteenth-century cookbooks appealed to women who were keen to relegate food preparation to the servants. The cookbooks were seen as an aid to servants of middle and upper class women.\(^{61}\) This thesis will examine this point in as far as to what extent cookbooks were used by the memsahib to teach her servants culinary skills. It was during the Victorian era and the expansion of Empire that British writers started to include their travel experiences in culinary writing. No book of the eighteenth century or earlier had a chapter dedicated to Indian cookery.\(^{62}\)


\(^{59}\) Bickham, ‘Defining Good Food’, p473. In France, cookbooks written for the bourgeois housewife or her domestic servant also became popular from the eighteenth century: see Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, p12.

\(^{60}\) Bickham, ‘Defining Good Food’, p476. Bickham notes that in eighteenth-century England, the domestic guide was a helpful source of information for the middling housewife who was either too far away from family advisors or who had newly acquired higher social status.


Alan Davidson cites an 1827 book, *Domestic Economy and Cookery* by ‘A Lady’ which includes ‘the mullakatanies and curries of India’. Davidson states that all the main genres of cookery books had emerged by the end of the nineteenth century. In her study on the recipe tradition in Germany, Cecilia Novero notes two main reasons why women tried out foreign recipes in the first half of the twentieth century. First, cooking an exotic dish at home brought variety to the family’s daily fare, and secondly, it evoked memories of the colonial experience, helped by the *Kolonialwaren* (imported groceries) available in the country. Novero also states that German women travelers who cooked once back in Germany were ‘useful collaborators in the colonial project, which for Germany was a civilizing one’.

To help manage the imperial household Anglo-Indians depended on the emerging genre of Anglo-Indian cookbooks and household management guides. Resembling similar books written for the metropolitan British housewife, the Anglo-Indian texts prescribed recipes for Indian foods and other suggestions on how to run a household in India. The essence of these guides, states Mary Procida was the ‘daily round’ (of deciding the day’s menus, sorting out the accounts for the previous day’s purchases, measuring out ingredients for the day’s meals), culinary hygiene and kitchen finances. Further, she adds that the imperial ideal was the household with well-trained domestic staff requiring no managerial intervention. Procida’s premise that the Anglo-Indian housewife had only a supervisory role in the running of the household implies that food preparation was largely in the domain of servants. This effectively means that servants were, to a large extent, responsible in deciding what types of foods were purchased and prepared for colonizers.


65 Novero, ‘Stories of Food’, p178.
66 Novero, ‘Stories of Food’, p178.
67 Procida, *Married to the Empire*, p86.
68 Procida, *Married to the Empire*, p94.
69 Procida, *Married to the empire*, p87.
food habits of the groups which produce them. The ‘compiled cookbook’, also known as the fund-raising cookbook, first emerged in America during the Civil War in the 1860s. They are compilations of favourite recipes of members of organisations with proceeds of sale of the cookbooks going to charity. Ireland asserts that the ‘compiled cookbook’ has recipes that reflect what is eaten in the home in contrast to magazines and cookbooks of the popular press that set standards and attempt to influence consumption. The ‘compiled cookbook’ is worth comparing to Anglo-Indian and other colonial cookbooks as the latter can be seen as prescriptive documents for Victorian women both to uphold the image of Empire as well as for those who aspire to the lifestyle of the upper classes. Ireland goes further by stating that the ‘compiled cookbook’ can be viewed as autobiographical, that is, the recipes can be examined for insights into food preference. The ‘compiled cookbook’ can be used as a research guide for gauging preferred food through frequency of inclusion of the recipes. This can certainly be applied to Anglo-Indian cookbooks where curry recipes are almost certain to be included in every volume. Examples of ‘compiled cookbooks’ pertinent to this thesis were published variously by a church, a youth organization and women’s organizations.

Procida’s observation that in ‘rethinking the purpose of the cookbook in a society where only the servants cooked,’ one should not accept the view that cookbooks were intended for a female audience only. She states that both the authorship and readership of Anglo-Indian cookbooks reveal the fluid nature of gender in the imperial household. Although most of these cookbooks were written by experienced memsahibs for new arrivals to the colony, other cookbooks were by male officials of the Raj. Procida suggests that Anglo-Indian cookbooks served ‘many imperial purposes beyond the functions of simple didactic or prescriptive texts’. They helped to reconfigure the

77 Procida, ‘Feeding the Imperial Appetite’, p143.
domestic sphere of the Raj, to construct new ideas about gender in the empire and to contribute to the dissemination of imperial knowledge.

Susan Zlotnick is another historian who asserts that women did not simply play the confined role of the frivolous memsahib in colonial India. She too rejects the notion that gender is a unitary term in nineteenth-century colonial discourse in her work, ‘Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England’. Like Procida, Zlotnick employs cookbooks to address the ideological work of gender. Zlotnick however focuses on Victorian cookbooks, particularly on the curry recipes. Her essay examines the relationship between domestic ideology and imperialism in the early 1800s by ‘charting the domestication of curry’. However this thesis disagrees with Zlotnick’s argument that ‘Victorian women neutralized the threat of the Other by naturalizing the products (such as curry) of foreign lands.’ Zlotnick also maintains that through this process, Victorian women domesticated imperialism at both the symbolic and the practical level. I argue against these notions in the chapter on curry in Chapter Three.

Arjun Appadurai’s essay, ‘How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India’, promotes the idea that cookbooks, as the ‘humble literature of complex civilizations’ have unusual cultural tales to tell. It examines cookbooks catering to Indian food written in English and directed at an Anglophone readership in the mid-twentieth century. Appadurai sees the construction of an Indian national cuisine as a postindustrial and postcolonial process and explains the ‘new Indian cookbooks’ as being fueled by the spread of print media and the cultural rise of the new middle classes. This line of thought is similar to those of other historians who view the rise of Victorian cookbooks as the result of printing technology as well as Britons’ desire to emulate food habits of the upper classes. Appadurai stresses that the textualization of culinary traditions was intensified by the arrival of the printing press. The prototypes of the modern cookbook were greatly encouraged by the proliferation of presses, journals and books in the nineteenth-century context. Further, Appadurai suggests that although the colonial version of Indian cuisine is ‘the most significant precursor of the emergent national cuisine’ of recent years, it was neither confined to

the homes of the colonial elite, nor did it end with colonialism.\textsuperscript{82} Appadurai concludes by stating that the Indian national cuisine has developed in recent years in spite of a historical disinterest in gastronomic issues in Hindu traditions and the ‘textualization of the culinary realm’ and culinary standards as recent processes.\textsuperscript{83} Perhaps one can argue that it was the British who led the development of the Indian national cuisine, initially by popularizing ‘curries’ in Britain from the eighteenth century. This reinforces the position taken in this thesis that the British, in spite of, or because of their bland diet, adopted and adapted the hybrid dish of curry, made it distinctly and recognizably colonial, imported it to Britain, exported it to other colonies and eventually to the rest of the world.

Books on Indian cookery were increasingly being published in Britain from the 1830s as the colonial administration in India expanded and consolidated.\textsuperscript{84} In her bibliography of cookery books Elizabeth Driver observes that the early books were collections of genuine recipes. Gradually both the authors and readership became more diverse with most writers presenting an anglicised version of the cuisine. Retired Indian officers and their wives offered recipes for British women running households in India, adapting British cuisine to Indian conditions but all included instructions for Indian dishes. Driver quotes Grace Johnson’s cookery book as ‘Oriental cookery modified by English, French and Italian methods’. Some of the publications were aimed specifically at the ‘returned exiles’ market.\textsuperscript{85}

In her analysis of cookbooks, Janet Theophano describes them as ‘cooking manuscripts, intimate documents of daily life and kitchen artefacts’ and cautions the reader against thinking that all women ‘who wrote or contributed to one another’s books were social equals’.\textsuperscript{86} Theophano draws a distinction between the household advice books and the personal recipe books of the nineteenth century. She points out that the former were aimed at educating middle-class women on how to treat and teach their servants while the latter were indirectly discussing class, race and ethnicity.\textsuperscript{87} These publications enabled women to reach beyond their family and friendship circles through the choice

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{82} Appadurai, ‘How to Make a National Cuisine’, p14.
\item \textsuperscript{83} Appadurai, ‘How to Make a National Cuisine’, p22.
\item \textsuperscript{84} Elizabeth Driver, A Bibliography of Cookery Books Published in Britain 1875-1914, London, Prospect Books, 1989, p31.
\item \textsuperscript{85} Driver, A Bibliography of Cookery Books, p31.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Janet Theophano, Eat My Words: Reading Women’s Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote, New York, Palgrave, 2002.
\item \textsuperscript{87} Theophano, Eat My Words, p35.
\end{itemize}
of language that was ‘as prosaic and nontechnical as they could muster to reach the widest possible audience’. Theophano observes that these cookbooks, aimed mainly at British readers and exported to the colonies, were ‘not simply a reflection of the social and occupational hierarchy of eighteenth century England and the gentry’s dependence on a servant class, but attempts to reach entire “communities of readers”.’

In his study on cookery-book illustrations in eighteenth-century England, Troy Bickham focuses on three groups: diagrams for table settings, portraits of the authors and kitchen scenes. These illustrations informed mistresses of the ideal kitchen and of how guests would expect the meal to appear. Bickham notes that cookery book authors and social commentators placed great importance on these details as running an efficient kitchen ‘reflected the quality of the household and its mistress and master’. These books became the standard bearer of the Anglo-Indian and other colonial cookbooks in which the colonial’s standing in the community could be seen as reflected in how dinner rituals were observed.

**The served and the servants**

Existing scholarship on domestic service in colonial societies generally employs the conceptual frameworks of gender, class and the racial structure of power to explain the household. Some studies have focused on the political implications of the domestic and public spheres of colonial men and women and their relationship with domestic servants. Yet other authors, such as Ann Stoler, suggest that European anxieties about servants in the East existed because domestic service permeated both the private and public spheres. Part of these anxieties, according to Stoler, stems from the fact that native women who served as domestic servants or mistresses of European men often bore the children of those men and continued to live with them. She states that the domestic servants ‘represented more than the “domesticated outsiders of the bourgeois

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89 Bickham, ‘Defining Good Food’, p473.
90 Bickham, ‘Defining Good Food’, p473.
imagination". Stoler describes how servants ‘policed the borders of the private, mediated between the “street” and the home, and occupied the inner recesses of bourgeois life’ and labels them ‘the subaltern gatekeepers of gender, class, [and] racial distinctions’. The recurrent themes of her book are ‘domestic arrangements, affective ties and the management of sex’ and how these transcended the divide between the political and the personal; the challenge of identifying what was private or public. For example, she states that employing ‘[a] full staff of servants was a marker of privilege and class…’. 

Procida holds the view that Anglo-Indians relinquished control over the domestic space to Indian domestic servants, because ‘the crucial mechanisms for running both home and empire were entrusted to Indians, with the British relegated to the role of symbolic, if authoritative, presence. … [I]n India, the burden was borne by domestic servants, not Anglo-Indian wives’. Procida’s study deals with female participation in imperial India and her analysis applies just as well to other colonies, for example to colonial Malaysia and Singapore. Broadly, Procida's book discusses domesticity, violence and race in India during the Raj. Part One of the book, on domesticity, has particular relevance for this thesis, especially the two chapters ‘Home is where the empire is’ and ‘Servants of empire’. Other Raj historians promote the idea that the imperial home has been designated as a feminized sphere, quite apart from the public sphere where men wielded imperial power.

Procida’s ‘Feeding the imperial appetite; imperial knowledge and Anglo-Indian Domesticity’ is a subsequent study to Married to the Empire. As in Married to the Empire, Procida rejects the assumption that the Anglo-Indian kitchen was a strictly feminized sphere; rather, for Procida, it was a site of cultural interactions and interchange. ‘Feeding the Imperial Appetite’ utilizes the medium of Anglo-Indian cookbooks for this purpose. Procida disagrees with other historians, as this thesis does, who argue that British women were unwilling to adopt culinary Indian tastes and habits.

94 Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, p133.
95 Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, p7.
96 Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, p139.
97 Procida, Married to the Empire, p82.
98 Procida, Married to the Empire, p82.
99 Procida, Married to the Empire, pp56-108.
100 Procida,'Feeding the Imperial Appetite’, p123.
and therefore encouraged the colonial divide. Procida points out that this interpretation of imperial power means cookbooks became tools of imperial hegemony and that women continued to follow British food practices in order ‘to make India more British’. She rejects this rigid view of imperial culture, again as this thesis does, arguing instead that the practicalities of daily life in the colonies were much more complex.

In her article on British domesticity in India between 1886 and 1925, Alison Blunt considers the translation of domestic discourses over imperial space when middle-class British women established homes in the colonies. Blunt looks at three key issues: how domestic discourses were translated over imperial space; what the imperial and domestic implications of British women setting up homes in India were; and, how imperial domesticity was embodied by British women, their children and their servants. Blunt examines household guides written for and by middle-class British women who set up homes in India. The period 1886-1925 saw an increased number of British women travelling to India. Blunt indicates that it was also a time of political upheaval and the household guides helped ‘to maintain imperial rule on a domestic scale by concentrating on the unequal relationships between British women and their Indian servants’. While her paper explores imperial geographies of home in British India relating to the raising of children and travelling beyond the home, her focus on how the British wives managed Indian servants is particularly relevant to this thesis.

Blunt argues that establishing and maintaining imperial domesticity was seen as an important duty of British women, which enshrined both imperial and domestic roles and responsibilities. She asserts that imperial power relations underpinned the domestic roles of British women, likening the feminine ‘dignity and prestige’ displayed on a domestic scale to the successful exercise of domestic rule. She states that the unequal relationship between British women and their Indian servants reproduced imperial power relations on a domestic scale and was the main preoccupation of the guides. Like Procida, Blunt considers that ‘rather than represent British homes in India as spheres of racial and gender exclusivity and exclusion, these guides suggest more complicated relationships between memsahibs and their servants, shaped by embodied

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discourses of gender, race and class’. Blunt also examines advice in household guides that looked at the racially demarcated compounds housing Indian servants. The guides advised readers to inspect their servants’ quarters regularly. Blunt suggests such advice simultaneously breach and yet reinforce imperial and domestic divisions constructed along racial lines. This has led her to conclude that ‘the spatial inscription of a compound in terms of racial distancing was constantly transcended, as Indian servants worked within the British homes’. This thesis builds on Blunt’s discussion of the memsahib-servant relationship by focussing on food preparation being handled directly by servants and the reasons for this. It was a symbiotic relationship that was complex and contradictory: native servants were considered unreliable, disease-ridden, childlike and lazy but at the same time they were entrusted with handling, cooking and serving food. In addition they worked in close proximity with the colonial family, in child care (which lies outside the scope of this thesis), in cleaning and maintaining the home and in other intimate chores like bringing early morning tea to the sahib and memsahib in their bedroom.

For Blunt, Indian servants are seen as ‘the domesticated outsiders of a British imperial imagination, helping to reaffirm imperial domesticity, the imperial power of the family whom they served and, in particular, the British women with whom they had closest contact.’ Blunt argues that household guides advised readers to treat their servants as children and states that by ‘infantilizing Indian servants, and representing the parental care, discipline and wisdom of their white employers, household guides fixed immutable differences between rulers and ruled within the home’. Other scholars have also discussed the notion of colonizers infantilising servants, notably in colonial Africa which is examined in more detail in Chapter Four on servants. In Blunt’s view the household guides both assumed and repeated the domestic and imperial roles of their readers and the domestic and imperial spaces of their homes in India.

Domestic servants played such a significant role in the lives of colonial women in India that the domestic guidebooks written for Anglo-Indian women frequently started with an account of the domestics. Discussion on food consumption by colonizers must necessarily be looked at with the role servants played. Historically, while domestic

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109 Banerjee, Men, Women, and Domestics, p45.
servants in India were predominantly male, in Malaysia and Singapore, both female and male servants were employed.\(^ {110}\)

Colonizers in India employed larger numbers of servants than their counterparts in Malaysia and Singapore. E.M. Collingham argues that the main reasons for the large number of servants the British employed in India was the desire to create impressive status symbols.\(^ {111}\) She observes that the Britons from the merchant class used the ‘grandeur of ceremony’ and deference by servants to belie their lowly origins. Company officials, according to Collingham, were keen to style themselves as the Anglo-Indian aristocracy in India. Those from the professional class – the engineers, lawyers and chaplains as well as hotel keepers and craftsmen – aspired to join the Anglo-Indian aristocracy.\(^ {112}\) It was a different story in Malaysia and Singapore as most colonial households there generally had the domestic services of a cook, a kitchen helper, a gardener, a driver, a *dhobi* (person who looked after the laundry) and an *ayah* (maid or nursemaid) or *amah* (maid or nursemaid). In contrast, Swapna M. Banerjee, in her study on domestic service in colonial Bengal, notes a household of four British officials as having 110 servants.\(^ {113}\) Apart from the European desire to have large retinues of servants the Indian tradition of caste necessitating single tasks for single castes also contributed to the employment of numerous household servants.

### Class and caste in India

The study of domestic servants in India is complex with issues of caste, class, race and gender operating at many levels. Servants in India are from the lower classes and castes of Indian society. Class differences and identities were reinforced in the colonial mistress-servant relationship while single-task servants were employed due to the sensitive issue of caste. Historian Frank F. Conlon defines caste as ‘the distinctive moral system of India which defines the population in birth-ascribed, hierarchically ranked corporate units …’.\(^ {114}\) Additionally, the notion of race was played out as the

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\(^{111}\) Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p20.

\(^{112}\) Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, pp19-20.

\(^{113}\) Banerjee, *Men, Women, and Domestics*, p44.

Indian servant was also the colonized. Domestic servants in the Indian colonial household were usually male except for the ayah (child carer and, or personal servant to the memsahib). Procida concedes that while some Anglo-Indian women did have sexual relations with their servants, the majority of them did not and viewed Indian servants as non-sexual beings. Banerjee’s book touches on the issue of food and servants on many levels – from the different kinds of servants working in the kitchens of European and indigenous aristocratic households to the advent of cooks in ordinary middle-class families in colonial Bengal. It shows how caste, class and ethnic prejudices of the employers influenced the selection and treatment of servants and their employment in the family kitchen. Chapter Three of Banerjee’s work refers to the domestic manuals published in Britain and the United States along with the ones that came out in Bengal. *Men, Women, and Domestics* also addresses issues of how servants were blamed by the employers for contaminating and stealing food and polluting the latter’s children. Banerjee’s work is particularly relevant to this thesis where he describes Europeans’ attitude towards domestic servants, stating, ‘[N]ative servants played an indispensable role in the lives of women who settled in India as wives of European officials. The extent of influence that the domestics had on the European households was evident from the domestic guidebooks written for the Anglo-Indian women, which almost always started with an account of the domestics. While the British manual writers did not display any sense of surprise about Indian servants, their tone was cautionary and negative.’

Banerjee traces the genealogy of servants in India to the earliest recorded history, in Kautilya’s *Arthasastra*, the Asokan edicts, and also in Buddhist and Jain literature that describes slaves and sudras, of both sexes, working as domestic servants. The hiring of numerous household servants in India was not a tradition started by the British but was a legacy of the imperial Mughals and was adopted by elite groups across India.

Banerjee states that ‘European travelers, particularly artists and painters, and British officials who visited India in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, were struck by the retinue of servants employed in the Indian households’. Banerjee queries why early European travellers to India were surprised at the large numbers of domestic servants

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117 For a discussion on servants and European children see Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, pp133-137.
118 Banerjee, *Men, Women, and Domestics*, p45. Banerjee quotes R. Riddell, *Indian Domestic Economy and Cookery*, Madras, 1870: ‘the misdeeds of Indian servants appear to be a general and unfailing source of complaint amongst all … the complaint of them is universal – laziness, dishonesty, falsehood, with a host of other vices, seem to be inherent in them’.
120 Banerjee, *Men, Women, and Domestics*, p35.
employed by affluent families, noting that large numbers of servants were the norm among prosperous households in the West in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{121} The historian reasons that the

‘characteristic surprise of the Europeans at a large number of servants may be indicative of their own socio-economic and cultural background in their home countries that did not indulge in such elaborate services of servants. The more compelling reason could have emanated from their preconceived, mostly negative notion of India and its people that developed in Europe in the course of the nineteenth century. The large number of servants in Indian families was most likely incompatible with the poor and heathen “Indian” they imagined.’\textsuperscript{122}

Even as late as the 1950s the upper classes in Britain had large numbers of servants with etiquette books always including chapters on how to deal with them.\textsuperscript{123} In 1921 there were 1,209,704 domestic servants in the country, rising to 1,410,713 in 1931; in London, the 181,980 domestic servants accounted for 14.8 per cent of the work-force in 1921.\textsuperscript{124}

Alison Light’s investigation of the servant class in twentieth century Britain portrayed through the novelist Virginia Woolf’s various domestic servants reveal strong parallels between how servants were perceived and treated in the metropole and in the colonies.\textsuperscript{125} Light discusses domestic service as a silent brigade of workers who unobtrusively and effortlessly made the family home an ‘ideal haven of domestic calm’.\textsuperscript{126} The servants were kept in place in the basements and attics, using separate entrances and staircases, with kitchens located at the back of the main house.\textsuperscript{127} To minimize the individuality of servants, nicknames such as ‘Cook’ or ‘Boots’ were given.\textsuperscript{128} All of these practices resonate with Chapter Four, which discusses servants in Anglo-India and British Malaya and Singapore, and in which I present evidence that domestic service was the silent backdrop to the colonial household.

Banerjee’s other work on domestic workers explores another facet of the employer-servant relationship by looking at narratives of members of a particular middle class

\textsuperscript{121} Banerjee, \textit{Men, Women, and Domestics}, p42.
\textsuperscript{122} Banerjee, \textit{Men, Women, and Domestics}, p42.
\textsuperscript{124} Pringle, \textit{Dance Little Ladies}, p51.
\textsuperscript{126} Light, \textit{Mrs Woolf and the Servants}, p25.
\textsuperscript{127} Light, \textit{Mrs Woolf and the Servants}, pp1, 23.
\textsuperscript{128} Light, \textit{Mrs Woolf and the Servants}, p1.
group in colonial Bengal.¹²⁹ While this work deals with British colonial households, it also provides useful information on the history and representation of the servant culture. Banerjee states that the excessive focus of South Asian scholars on the middle class is due to the abundance of data and written documents available from the elite group.¹³⁰ On the other hand, she adds that there is little direct evidence on or from servants in colonial India because of the low rate of literacy among domestic servants.¹³¹ She questions therefore, whether literary representations provide a ‘real’ picture of the servants’ lives and their own world. Banerjee argues that ‘servants figured as part of a whole and never as complete actors; they appeared as marginal characters to make a case, illustrate an incident, prove a point, resolve an action, or fulfil a need’.¹³²

Kathinka Froystad’s article examines the significance of master-servant relations for the domestic reproduction of inequality.¹³³ Froystad locates her fieldwork in Kanpur, a large city in Uttar Pradesh. She argues that master-servant relations are also influenced by caste and states that the employment of servants is partly motivated by the masters’ avoidance of defiling tasks and substances. While it has been well documented that the caste system meant large numbers of single-task servants were employed, Collingham asserts that the British were also instrumental in encouraging and legitimizing the differentiation of domestic service by cataloguing castes and their occupations.¹³⁴ Collingham explains that prior to the arrival of the British, Indian ideas of caste were fluid and it was the British who arranged caste categories of jobs as fixed sets of rules. This benefited the Indians as with the decline of the Mughal aristocracy large numbers of servants were seeking employment.¹³⁵ Froystad asserts that the notion of caste was reproduced in everyday family life. Master-servant interaction ‘is governed by tacit knowledge and mute practices rather than by reflexive thought and articulate statements’.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Banerjee, ‘Down Memory Lane’, p683.
¹³² Banerjee, ‘Down Memory Lane’, p699.
¹³³ Froystad, ‘Master-Servant Relations’, pp73-94.
¹³⁴ Collingham, Imperial Bodies, p18.
¹³⁵ Collingham, Imperial Bodies, p18.
¹³⁶ Froystad, ‘Master-Servant Relations’, p90.
This thesis contends that British colonizers did not arbitrarily enforce practices in the colonies solely from their perspective. In particular, it argues that the issue of the British employing large numbers of servants was not a deliberate act of displaying imperialistic power. Rather, it can be seen that colonizers picked up on existing hierarchical domestic servant categories and acquired codes of behaviour for the elaborate servant culture in each colony. Just as the colonial cuisine was an amalgamation of food practices from both colonizer and colonized, the British adopted labour practices that were already in place and adapted their lifestyle around them. In India where labour was cheap, plentiful and the complex single-task caste system existed, the British household was served by large numbers of domestic servants. Sources such as household manual guides, even cookbooks, diaries and biographies on India are replete with information on large armies of servants employed, with each individual performing his or her designated task.

**Domestic Service in Malaysia and Singapore**

As in India, colonizers depended on domestic servants to ensure the smooth running of the colonial household in Malaysia and Singapore. In these colonies, the number of servants employed per household was markedly smaller than in India. Further, unlike India, servants were hired from both immigrant and local ethnic groups. Although the caste question does not arise here, there was clear-cut occupational specialization by race among servants, with colonial households employing a range of multi-racial staff. In colonial Malaya, development was synonymous with the establishment of an export economy geared towards supplying tin and rubber to the international market and the import of manufactured British consumer goods. Christine Chin’s *In Service and Servitude* explores contemporary domestic service in Malaysia against the background of global economic transformation. Her insightful analysis of colonial practices helps the historian to understand the subsequent association of different peoples with different economic functions. This is pertinent for my study in trying to understand why British colonizers assigned different jobs to different racial groups in Malaysia and Singapore. Chin states that the

‘[C]olonial construction of the categories of “Malay”, “Chinese”, and “Klings” presumed that physiognomic differences and subsequent lifestyles among the peoples could be traced to different biological foundations, hence the social

construction of “races of peoples” – and concomitant hierarchical ordering – as opposed to a race of human beings’.  

One ethnic Chinese group that featured predominantly in domestic service in colonial times were the Hainanese in Malaysia and Singapore. As with other Chinese groups, the Hainanese emigrated to Southeast Asia due to economic hardship in China. However, as late arrivals (compared to groups like the Hokkiens, Teochew and Cantonese) the Hainanese were left out of the more lucrative industries. As well, due to dialect and clan difficulties with other groups, the Hainanese were excluded from the local Chinese networks. With the arrival of the British, the Hainanese were employed as ‘cookboys’, barmen and waiters in the local hotels, bars, restaurants and officers’ mess at the British military bases. Often, a British family also employed a Hainanese man as the ‘number one boy’-cum-cook-cum-butler while his wife worked as an amah in the household. Yap suggests that it was from this association with the British that the Hainanese became skilful at preparing Western food and mixing cocktails. Today, the Hainanese continue to work as cooks and waiters in the older institutions dating from the colonial years such as the Raffles Hotel, Cricket Club and Tanglin Club in Singapore. Yap states that the British and other Westerners preferred hiring the Hainanese for their perceived neat appearance and diligence. This fits with the general view among Europeans in Southeast Asia from the nineteenth century that the Chinese were ‘naturally’ hard working and more diligent and focused than the indigenous peoples.

The ‘black and white amahs’ are another specialized servant category of Malaya and Singapore. The majority of single Cantonese women from Guangdong province who came to Malay in the 1930s worked as domestic servants and were known for their diligence, reliability, sense of duty and loyalty to their employers. As they wore the traditional black trousers and white tunics, they became known as black and white

139 Chin, In Service and Servitude, p35.
143 Yap, ‘Hainanese in the Restaurant and Catering Business’, p80. It was a Hainanese barman who invented the ‘Singapore Sling’, a cocktail for the Raffles Hotel that remains famous still today.
Ooi Keat Gin’s article describes the Chinese woman servants in Penang, tracing their beginnings, their role and function in society, the social organizations related to them and their characteristics. Ooi’s principal source of materials were interviews with former servants and former employers. Ooi claims that factors that encouraged the emigration of Chinese women included escaping harsh treatment from mothers-in-law; bids for personal freedom; reuniting with husbands and attempts at seeking for better job opportunities. Ooi claims that amahs preferred working with English or European families as these were more generous and less strict in household matters compared to Chinese families.

Brownfoot’s chapter, ‘Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya: A Study of European Wives in a British Colony and Protectorate, 1900-1940’ presents an interpretive account of the lives and experiences of memsahibs in colonial Malaya. It came about partly to test W. Somerset Maugham’s stereotypical images of ‘bored, empty-headed, flirtatious mems’ in his Malayan stories of the 1920s. The underlying theme of Brownfoot’s chapter is that as a group, the wives of colonial men in Malaya, were limited in their roles and activities due to the male-dominated colonial world. The memsahib took her status from her husband and her obligations and duties were defined by their husbands’ position and functions. Victorian thinking at the time dictated that white women had the duty of maintaining ‘civilizing influences’ on their menfolk in the British Empire. The colonial territories were seen as a ‘seemingly decadent tropical world of heat, luxuriant vegetation, diseases and “strange, heathen customs”, the community’s bungalows and clubs were oases of European civilization to which wives and families brought normality…’.

Brownfoot suggests that wives were intrinsic to the defence of the British imperial race by recreating metropolitan domestic and social life. It was a wife’s ‘civilizing mission’ to provide ‘efficient and competent home management’ and, in this

149 Ooi, ‘The Black and White Amahs of Malaya’, p74. Jocelyn Armstrong’s paper ‘Twenty Years of Domestic Service: A Malaysian Chinese Woman in Change’ documents the story of a Malaysian Chinese woman’s work as a domestic servant from colonial times to the present. No analysis of any issue is given but it is useful in the description of the servant’s parents being in the domestic service in colonial households and of what colonial homes and gardens looked like. See Armstrong, ‘Twenty Years of Domestic Service’, pp64-82.
150 Brownfoot, ‘Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya’, p188.
connection, she was assisted by domestic servants. Brownfoot mentions that as in other colonies, most servants in Malaya were male.\textsuperscript{153} Her comment that ‘customs and circumstances (notably wood fires and kerosene tin “stoves”) meant that \textit{mems} relied particularly on their servants’ assistance for cooking and budgeting’ reinforces the proposition that domestic servants had significant input in the preparation of food in the colonial household.\textsuperscript{154} Brownfoot, like other writers, acknowledges that historians know little about servants’ feelings towards Europeans. She adds that from the European perspective servants were a primary point of contact with the Asian communities.\textsuperscript{155}

\textbf{Racial and gender roles}

Banerjee views the British attitude towards their Indian caregivers and servants as negative, noting that the British seldom treated them as friends or equals. She states that ‘British interaction with native servants thus proclaimed the dominance and racial superiority of the British over the Indian population’.\textsuperscript{156} Further, Banerjee states that the British portrayed Indians ‘as a crouching, sneaking, lazy homogeneous mass serving an indolent, “effeminate”, uncivilized race of native masters’ and reinforced the European notion of Indians as ‘distant’ and the ‘other’ and of being primitive, dirty, lazy and inferior physically and mentally.\textsuperscript{157} Banerjee makes the point that although the British viewed Indian servants in such a negative light it did not stop them from employing large numbers of servants. In fact, some of the British brought their ‘faithful’ servants back to England.\textsuperscript{158}

Procida challenges the myth that Anglo-Indian wives were ensconced in the feminized private realm of the colonial home and instead, argues that Anglo-Indian life was much more complex than the ‘model of an unyielding monolithic British imperial culture’.\textsuperscript{159} She asserts that Anglo-Indian wives, as managers of the household, were expected to inspect ‘the domestic premises and the persons of her servants, issue general orders, and

\textsuperscript{153} Brownfoot, ‘Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya’, p196.
\textsuperscript{154} Brownfoot, ‘Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya’, p196.
\textsuperscript{155} Brownfoot, ‘Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya’, p197. For a discussion on servants’ views towards their colonial masters see Stoler and Strassler, ‘Castings for the Colonial’.
\textsuperscript{156} Banerjee, \textit{Men, Women, and Domestics}, p52.
\textsuperscript{157} Banerjee, \textit{Men, Women, and Domestics}, p94.
\textsuperscript{158} Banerjee, \textit{Men, Women, and Domestics}, p53.
\textsuperscript{159} Procida, \textit{Married to the Empire}, p61.
ensure that an efficient housekeeping routine was in place, but would rarely bother with the myriad details of daily household management.\textsuperscript{160}

Georgina Gowans, in ‘Imperial Geographies of Home’, discusses recent debates concerning transnational and diasporic populations in particular the complex and fluid senses of belonging experienced by those moving or being moved across borders and away from homelands.\textsuperscript{161} Gowans refers to the sense of ‘plurilocality’ – movements evoking intense and privileged understandings of the homeland. Gowans highlights the multi-directionality demonstrated by such populations and reflects on the implications that physical movement between imagined and material geographies of home have for senses of belonging. She explores the experiences of middle-class British women and children who travelled repeatedly between India and Britain in the first half of the twentieth century. Gowans discusses their sense of belonging, self and home as they moved between the two countries and examines the implications of maintaining notions of Britain as home. Gowans considers ‘whether material experiences of Britain influenced their understanding of it as an imperial “homeland”, a site of inspiration and superiority, a yearned-for destination at the end of their husband’s or father’s career in India’.\textsuperscript{162} Gowans reflects on what happens when the borders between imaginary understandings and material experiences of distant homes are crossed.\textsuperscript{163}

Gowans suggests that although women travelling to India often did so in order to set up homes at the household scale, they were ‘empowered by the distance from home, as the female efficiency and domestic discipline required for successful housekeeping in the sub-continent was seen to be part of the imperial project’. She reasons that the establishment of British homes in India meant that women could not only directly contribute to imperialism but also earn recognition for their labour. She considers the importance of both location and mobility to the construction of identities for these women, who were privileged both by race and class.\textsuperscript{164}

Gowans states that the notions of home for women travelling between Britain and India were also linked to imperialism, influencing a sense of belonging within both

\textsuperscript{160} Procida, \textit{Married to the Empire}, p83.
\textsuperscript{162} Gowans, ‘Imperial Geographies of Home’, p425.
\textsuperscript{163} Gowans, ‘Imperial Geographies of Home’, p425.
\textsuperscript{164} Gowans, ‘Imperial Geographies of Home’, p428.
households and nations. In India, women’s domestic activities were linked to practices of British imperial domesticity. She suggests that ‘the ritualization of “everyday” activities (including instructing the servants and drinking morning tea, for example), were constructed as vital to the maintenance of imperial boundaries…’.

While Adams and Dickey’s book on domestic service is on contemporary South and Southeast Asia, it is nevertheless relevant to the analysis of the employment of servants in colonial times. Adams and Dickey dispute the roles of ‘masters’ and ‘servants’ as colonial inventions and state that these were derived from caste and class within Indian society. They distinguish the relationships of current expatriate and Indian servants with the expatriates’ outsider status and postcolonial privilege. This would clearly apply to the colonials’ outsider status and colonial privilege as well.

Adams and Dickey argue that domestic service provides an ideal domain for examining the production of class relations and identities. They maintain that it is an area in which class is reproduced and yet challenged on a daily and intimate basis. At the same time, they observe that ‘domestic service interactions constitute the most intense, sustained contact with members of other classes that most of its participants encounter’.

Adams and Dickey argue that the relationships between Western expatriates in India and their servants ‘do not lie simply on an axis of domination and subjection…’ as the hierarchy is not linear. They state that the servants’ knowledge (of local day-to-day activities) and the master’s dependence on his servants for this knowledge makes the relationship complex. While expatriates have far more purchasing power they also have far less knowledge and skill for living in India than in the home country. The writers state that the ‘hierarchy of domination and subordination is based on expatriates’ money and privilege, but the master’s nearly total dependence on servants disrupts the linear order’. They view the expatriates as economically dominant but personally dependent on their servants, a common characteristic of the relationship between colonials and their servants. Indeed, Stoler suggests that in colonial fiction, memoirs

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and children’s literature, servants were the supporting cast and scenic backdrop and often the main (or only) source of local knowledge. Procida, on the other hand, queries then ‘if the Anglo-Indian woman was not a paragon of domesticity, then what exactly was her role in the home and, by extension, in the empire?’ Procida suggests that the memsahibs played an actively imperialist role in India – in merging private and public spheres, particularly in their relationship with domestic servants. Procida’s text examines ‘how and why women became a part of imperialism in India’ and explores the idea of gender as relational and societal constructs intertwined in the histories of Indians and Europeans.

In the hiring of domestic servants for the imperial household, colonizers were aware of gender issues that were at play in India. Raka Ray’s article on domestic workers in Calcutta in the late twentieth century is outside the period of study for this thesis but her argument on how work and the way work is constructed feed into gender identities informs this thesis’s understanding of the role played by domestic servants in the colonial era. Ray contends that ‘relations between worker and employer are refracted through the lens of gender and are used by the workers to build and reflect upon their gendered selves’. While domestic servants in India have historically been both female and male, Ray’s interviews with middle and upper middle class European employers in Calcutta found that there was a distinct preference for male servants. Even though Indian society is predominantly sex-segregated, female expatriate employers were not sensitive to male servants working at close proximity in the home. ‘A servant isn’t really a man’, was how one respondent put it. Procida suggests that Anglo-Indians often perceived Indian men as effeminate and desexualized and so their presence as servants in the home did not transform domestic space as a masculine arena.

Rest and recreation
One of the reasons for the creation of hill stations in the colonies as places for rest and recreation was the belief that the high altitude and temperate climate offered a healthier environment for Europeans. Another reason was the need to get away from the dirt and disease of the Indians. However, the paradox remains that it was not possible for

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171 Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, p173.
172 Procida, *Married to the Empire*, p81.
175 Procida, *Married to the Empire*, p102.
176 Chapter Five of this thesis looks at hill stations in India and Malaya.
the British to totally segregate themselves from the Indians as they were required to cook and clean for the colonial family and large numbers of Indian staff were needed to administer and support the European community.

In discussing the Penang Hill Station, S. Robert Aiken argues that the primary functions of hill stations were refuge and resort for the colonials, and pointed to early Penang Hill as a refuge from the disease hazards and enervating climatic conditions of the lowlands and as a social place. It was the immigrant society of Chinese and Indians and the Malays who provided the hill station residents with food and services. Thomas Metcalf looks at the ideology of ‘difference’ in colonial India and asserts that the landscape provides the binary of ‘plains’ and ‘hills’. When the presumed benefits of residing in the hills (the absence of ‘miasmatic’ fevers and cholera and malaria outbreaks, for example) were disproved, justification for their existence rested on the logic of social distance.

It was social distance and the British tradition of ‘clubbing’ that led to the mushrooming of clubs all over the colonies. In the first half of the nineteenth century, they proved popular due to the large number of single or married British men living alone in India and also to the constant travel of colonial officials to various parts of the colony. Clubs provided accommodation and meals. Mrinalini Sinha’s study of the English clubs in India looks at their racial exclusiveness and how white women were seen as not ‘clubbable’. Chapter Five of this thesis notes that unlike the original British clubs of Britain where women were excluded, white women in the colonies were allowed in most of the clubs. One seemingly altruistic reason was that the club provided a venue for white women to socialize and lessen the sense of isolation. However, European women socialized at the clubs as spouses of member or as guests and were not members themselves. John Butcher points out that women were banned from the bar and were confined to sit in the reading room or on the verandah in clubs in the Malay states.

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178 Aiken, ‘Early Penang Hill Station’, p423.
182 Sinha, ‘Britishness, Clubbability’, p183. Sinha defines ‘clubbable’ as ‘capable of that male-defined collegiality that was thought to underwrite English national charter’.
E.M. Collingham, in analyzing the physical experience of the Raj, explains that the club was where colonial men and women reinforced their collective identity in a social setting. However this thesis maintains that the club did more than this, by providing a venue where colonizers shared meals and recipes and propagated the colonial cuisine.

**Fear and anxiety of dirt and disease**

The employment of so many domestic servants in the colonial home and in such close proximity to the occupants contributed to another anxiety, that of the perception that Indians and other colonized people were dirty and disease-ridden. In discussing the colonial fear of dirt and disease in the colonies, it is useful to refer to the anthropologist Mary Douglas’s classic work, *Purity and Danger*, which states that ‘dirt is essentially disorder. There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder’. Douglas also states that eliminating dirt is not ‘a negative movement, but a positive effort to organize the environment’. These ideas are pertinent to Chapter Six, which is concerned with dirt and disease in the colonial context. To a large extent the British colonizers viewed India and her inhabitants as dirty but no effort was made to improve public sanitation until the spread of endemic diseases threatened the European community.

In keeping with colonial enterprise, the less funds expended on public works the better it was for the colonial government. This was true of sanitation for the masses in Delhi from the second half of the nineteenth century. Vijay Prashad’s study of the technology of sanitation in colonial Delhi points to the question of profitability that influenced any colonial reform to be undertaken. Prashad argues that the dense population of Delhi and its poor sanitation did not merit any improvement works from the government as ‘sanitation reform was saddled with the difficulty of providing its commercial viability’. In addition, Prashad states that colonial officials engaged with the stereotyping of the ‘insanitary native’ who would not see the benefits of improved systems of sewage disposal. Prashad quotes a guide on sewage disposal that there was no need to construct sewage systems since the works would be wasted on the natives. On the other hand, colonial officials and ‘a few of their native allies’ lived in an area with good sanitation and drainage, in the Civil Lines. Lenore Manderson states that in

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British Malaya in the 1880s, there was little incentive to invest in public sanitation. This was despite colonial officers recognizing the association between cholera and sanitation (notwithstanding their uncertainty about the means of transmission of those diseases).\(^{187}\)

India was seen as a hostile and primitive land by the British and the preservation of European health became a priority. Anil Kumar states that colonial medical men practiced what they called tropical medicine in the Victorian era. He disputes that there was nothing tropical about it except that it was practiced in the tropics.\(^ {188}\) Other scholars claim that colonial medicine was practiced mainly ‘to make the tropics fit for the white man to inhabit’.\(^ {189}\) As the British segregated themselves from their subjects (by situating their homes in separate compounds, by relocating to hill stations for several months a year and by having their own racially exclusive clubs) they were not just practicing social distance but were genuinely (if misguided) anxious about the dirt of the natives. This fear would have stemmed from the high mortality rate of Europeans from cholera, malaria and dysentery in early nineteenth century India.\(^ {190}\) Malaya fared no better in this respect, for example, of the thirty-four civil servants recruited between 1805 to 1825, twenty died before 1830.\(^ {191}\)

Manderson notes that until the late nineteenth century colonial administrators subscribed to the miasmatic theory which held that disease was transmitted through the environment from bad air in low lying areas. Manderson states that this belief specifically referred to the air and soil that ‘could be contaminated by miasmas, poisonous vapours from putrefying organic matter and stagnant water’.\(^ {192}\) It was only by the early twentieth century that germ theory and infectious diseases were better understood.\(^ {193}\)

This thesis on food consumption and the role and image of domestic servants in the


\(^{191}\) Aiken, ‘Early Penang Hill Station’, p430.


British colonies in Asia locates itself firstly, among studies within the broader field of comparable studies on foodways and employer-servant relationships. Secondly, it engages with the limited but significant literature on British food consumption in the colonies and how British dependence on indigenous servants for preparation have influenced colonial cuisine. This study is informed by the growing works on food and its associated social meaning by anthropologists, sociologists and historians. Their analyses on how social behaviour impact food choices has contributed to my understanding of the development of colonial cuisine.

Much of the current literature on the employer-domestic servant relationship in the British colonies depicts the relationship as one that was complicated by the interplay of race, gender and class. This thesis departs from those scholarships that portray the unequal mistress/servant relationship as starkly clear-cut: European-Asian and dominant-subordinate. Instead, this thesis argues that domestic servants played an influential role in shaping the development of the British colonial cuisine. In many respects, this relationship was one of respect, collaboration and negotiation.

The development of the colonial cuisine was a gradual transformation of Britons’ appropriation and adaptation of local foods and ingredients into their own diet. Contrary to other studies that advance the idea of colonizers eating strictly British foods, this thesis argues that such attempts would have been impossible given that the types of ingredients required for British food were not readily in the colonies, particularly in the time before refrigeration. The culinary history of the British in the colonies must also be seen through the prism of domesticity and imperialism. The colonial woman held a supervisory role in housekeeping and food preparation, the physical demands of these fell to the domestic servants. The memsahib-servant relationship was fraught with the tensions of race, caste, local customs, the perceived dishonesty and filth of servants and anxiety of dirt and disease.
Chapter Two

What Empire Builders Ate

‘With the curry – mutton, chicken, fish, prawns, or hardboiled ducks’ eggs – came a dozen different side-dishes and savouries, some of them calculated to make the curry even hotter that it was already. As well as one or two dishes of curried vegetables, there would be an assortment of little dishes containing mango chutney from India, ikan bilis (tiny dried fish), red chilli sauce, a salty relish called “Bombay duck”, shredded coconut, fried peanuts, chopped-up tomato and white onion, sliced banana, cucumber, and other bits and pieces... The curry was always followed in the old Straits tradition by a local sweet called Gula Melaka. This was really the Malay name for the native brown sugar, but in a curry tiffin it referred to the whole combination of sago and the syrup that one poured over it.’

The fundamentally hybrid character of the colonial cuisine derived from a multiplicity of influences, including the food practices of the Britons who ruled India, Malaysia and Singapore and the food traditions of the indigenous peoples from these colonies. The development of this distinct and separate hybrid cuisine among Britons can arguably be seen as the precursor of fusion food. Significantly, this cuisine developed largely through the reliance of colonizers on their domestic servants for food preparation. Among the handful of scholars to have considered food history and imperialism, some assume that consumption of certain types of foods became markers in distinguishing the colonials from the colonized. This school of thought contends that British colonizers consumed only British types of food in order to differentiate themselves from the colonized. This chapter, in contrast, argues that the British did not eat only British foods but foods strongly influenced by Asian cuisines. Indeed, it demonstrates that the food practices of the British in India, Malaysia and Singapore constitute a recognizable and legitimate cuisine with distinctive features. Furthermore, this colonial cuisine evolved over time and was not a deliberate act of imposing imperialistic designs but involved a process of combining local and European ingredients and dishes through the efforts of the indigenous servants, under the broad direction of their memsahibs. In departing from what other scholars maintain, this thesis contends that a distinct colonial cuisine emerged as a result of negotiation and collaboration between the expatriate

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British and local people. Nevertheless, within this relationship there was space for social distance and separation. This chapter reconstructs the emergence of the colonial cuisine by examining Anglo-Indian and other colonial cookbooks, personal accounts from my questionnaire, diaries, autobiographies and travelogues. Curry is the subject for discussion in Chapter Three and so does not appear here.

In the case of food production and consumption, there was no clear-cut colonial divide between two opposing sides. I have examined whether certain foods consumed by the colonizer were peculiar to each colony. This study argues that the colonial experience was a fluid enterprise and foods eaten by colonizers in each colony made geographical leaps to other colonies, and in the process, post-colonial societies adopted and adapted to ‘colonial foods’. Anglo-Indians came from different occupational backgrounds: from the armed forces, the administration and in commerce, and different classes with different dietary habits. The colonized in India were from different castes and classes, again with different dietary practices, and, these to a large extent, influenced the food practices of Anglo-Indians. Thus, the colonial cuisine was a hybrid cuisine with some elements of British foodways and components of foodways from the colonies.

The cuisine that was adopted by the majority of the British in India, Malaya and Singapore was replete with peculiarities and idiosyncracies that evolved over decades and were influenced by various factors, such as the availability of Western and local food, cooking facilities, input by domestic servants and traditions from the home country as well as the colonies. This was in spite of the diverse groups of British colonizers that came under varied backgrounds, from among the government sector were the administrators, health professionals, educators, military personnel; in the private sector were the importers and exporters, the retailers, those working on agricultural plantations and still others engaged in missionary work. Each group adopted food practices peculiar to their social standing and their professional status. Within India there were differences in foodways in the presidencies, districts, hill stations and urban centres. In colonial Malaysia and Singapore dietary habits differed between those who lived in urban centres and those in rural environments. Differences also existed temporally – food habits were markedly different from the time when colonial rule first began to the period immediately preceding independence. In addition, the groups from which domestic servants in the colonies came were just as disparate groups. The diversity of the groups that were in differing castes, ethnicity, races and
religions added their peculiar influences to food and food preparation. The colonial cuisine with its hybrid dishes of countless types of curries, mulligatawny, kedgeree, chicken chop, pish pash and the inimitable meal of tiffin (light lunch or snacks, the Sunday curry tiffin is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three) was familiar and recognizable to the colonial community and only absent in the grand banquets at Government House. The colonial cuisine persisted well beyond the end of colonial rule for both ex-colonizers and postcolonial societies and has survived in some of the clubs, hotels, restaurants and rest-houses in the colonies as well as in the homes of former colonials spread across the globe. Respondents to my questionnaire indicate that they re-visit their favourite dishes of the colonial era at home. At the same time there seems to be a following among the elite in postcolonial societies who frequent those clubs and hotels where the cuisine survives.

**Victorian meal times and food practices in Britain and its Asian colonies**

In order to examine the food practices of British colonizers it is necessary to look at the food habits practised in Britain in the nineteenth century and to examine the social transformation of Britain in the early 1800s when new dietary habits were introduced. The choice and preparation of foods, meal times and order of service were socially important and defined class demarcation. As the preparation and consumption of food became the focus of Victorian life, this task became a housewifely responsibility. This gendered role was transplanted to the colonies where the memsahib’s role as homemaker became even more important, to be elevated where possible, as the exemplary imperial household. This section highlights the food habits of the affluent in the Victorian era, as it was the British upper classes in England that the Anglo-Indians and other colonials in Southeast Asia tried to emulate in their lifestyle. The increasing size and wealth of the middle classes in Victorian England from the 1850s contributed towards setting the trends in homes, dress, employment of servants and food. Fruit orchards and vegetable gardens expanded and processed foods became popular. Food manufacturers processed new and exotic foods. Crosse & Blackwell manufactured about forty different pickles and sauces, Colman’s mustard went on the market, curry

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powders were sold and ‘Indian’ sauce or Worcestershire sauce was invented. The variety of foodstuffs increased even more as more produce from the colonies was brought back to Britain. As well, food distribution was made easier with the development of the railway system. In the Edwardian era, the new monarch, as the leader of the fashionable elite, entertained with huge feasts. Johnston stated that King Edward, noted for his epicurean tastes, set the standards in haute cuisine and this was imitated by those who could employ a first-class French chef and a large retinue of servants. Breakfast at Sandringham included haddock or bloater, poached eggs, bacon, chicken and woodcock. Luncheon and dinner were twelve-course affairs and the late night snack might consist of plovers’ eggs, ptarmigan and salmon. As for the middle class, their dinner parties consisted of eight to ten courses and displayed the ‘culinary savoir faire of the mistress of the house as well as the economic well-being of the household’. In early nineteenth-century India, the same largesse was evident on dinner party tables that boasted a large turkey as the centerpiece, an enormous ham, a sirloin or round of beef, a saddle of mutton, boiled and roasted legs of mutton, chicken, geese, ducks, tongues, ‘humps’, pigeon pies, curry and rice, more mutton (chops) and chicken (cutlets).

Breakfast was established as a meal among the affluent by the eighteenth century, eaten at about nine in the morning. Between 1837 to 1901, however, breakfast came into its own as an important meal for the well-to-do, particularly in the years between 1860 to 1914. The morning meal was substantial and included cold meat such as ham, tongue, collared and potted meats, game, poultry, all placed on the sideboard in the breakfast room. Hot dishes were broiled fish, mutton chops, rump steaks, kidneys, sausages, bacon, ham, poached and boiled eggs, omelettes, muffins, toast, butter and marmalade; drinks included ale, beer and wine. By the 1830s, tea and coffee had replaced alcoholic drinks for breakfast, due, in part, to commuters departing for the train in the

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12 White, ‘First Things First’, p5.
morning.\textsuperscript{13} Many of those who could afford these protein-filled breakfasts, particularly those in the country, would have had several hours of physical activity prior to breakfast.\textsuperscript{14} The popularity of heavy breakfasts in the colonies was most likely a tradition carried on from Britain but the morning horse ride would have been the most strenuous exercise sahib and memsahib would have endured.

The eating habits of returning East India Company merchants and officials had popularised curries in private homes and coffee houses in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{15} As discussed in Chapter Three curries were served on a daily basis in many colonial homes and this practice was adopted in Britain. Curries featured regularly in breakfast menus in British cookbooks by the second half of the nineteenth century. \textit{The Breakfast Book}, published in 1865, listed ‘curries’ among the eggs, preserved meats, steaks, chops, offal, fish and preserved fruit for breakfast.\textsuperscript{16} Other breakfast recipe books also featured curried pigs’ feet, dry curry of mutton and/or dry curry of salmon.\textsuperscript{17}

Seen as filling the gap between breakfast and dinner, lunch or luncheon was already an established meal by the time Queen Victorian came to the throne.\textsuperscript{18} The working classes had their ‘dinner’ at midday and ‘tea’ in the evening while servants and children had lunch as the main meal of the day. Others considered lunch as ‘the ladies meal’ as it was seen as an indulgence.\textsuperscript{19} These ‘ladies’ meals’ were supplements to morning calls.\textsuperscript{20} It is probable that in the colonies, particularly in Singapore and colonial Malaysia that the popular Sunday curry tiffin developed into a long and leisurely lunch after the Victorian fashion. In the late eighteenth century it was fashionable to eat dinner at five or six o’clock but by the nineteenth century the dining hour was pushed to seven, eight or even ten in the evening.\textsuperscript{21} Dining late in the evening was due partly to the development of gas lighting and office hours.\textsuperscript{22} This change meant supper was either eliminated or replaced by tea or coffee and cakes (cold punch or wine for the

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\textsuperscript{13} Calder, \textit{The Victorian Home}, p40.
\textsuperscript{14} Calder, \textit{The Victorian Home}, p40.
\textsuperscript{15} Chapter Three of this thesis discusses curry consumption in the eighteenth century.
\textsuperscript{16} White, ‘First Things First’, pp6-7.
\textsuperscript{17} Other breakfast recipe books that featured similar dishes were M.L. Allen’s \textit{Breakfast Dishes for Every Morning of Three Months} and A. Kenney Herbert’s \textit{Fifty Breakfasts}.
\textsuperscript{21} Colquhoun, \textit{Taste}, p300.
\textsuperscript{22} Colquhoun, \textit{Taste}, p300.
\end{flushleft}
men) served at nine-thirty or ten o’clock. In the eighteenth century, dinner was eaten before going to the theatre or public gardens but in the next century the meal became the highlight of the social day. The à la Russe style of dinner presentation that emerged in the nineteenth century originated from the Russian nobility and was first introduced into France and later England. Food was served on to the guests’ plates from a sideboard by servants, course by course, starting with soup, fish, meat, vegetables and dessert. This meant there was space at the centre (contrasting with the à la Française, where the table would be laden with dishes of food) of the table for elaborate decorations of flowers and fruits. Menus were handwritten in French or in French and English. Elaborate cutlery added to the crowded table; formal etiquette also contributed to define class and maintain social distance. While the à la Russe style was adopted by the upper classes, the suburban family could never afford nor manage this style of entertaining (with the average household having only one servant at the most).

It was in the colonies that the Victorian style of gargantuan feasts and extravagant table décor was played out by the middle classes of Britons who became the ‘new’ elites. The majority of the colonials in Malaysia and Singapore were from middle-class Britain. Three-fourths of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) personnel were also from the professional middle classes between 1860-1874. In the colonies, the average household employed numerous servants and, although food supplies were not of the best quality, they were cheap. The rationale for the large number of servants employed are outlined in Chapter Four. The domestic servants’ contribution to food preparation was one of the most important influences in the development of colonial cuisine. The domestic servants’ knowledge of local produce, how to source and prepare food and their willingness to work with primitive facilities were compelling factors. However

25 Valerie Mars, ‘A La Russe: The New Way of Dining’, in C. Anne Wilson (ed.), *Eating with the Victorians*, Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 2004, p116. The upper classes in Britain dined in the à la Française manner prior to the advent of à la Russe. The à la Française style, dating from the feasts of the Middle Ages, involved all the dishes being placed on the table and diners helped themselves or other diners. This enabled displays of abundance and elaborate presentation.
28 For a discussion on the social origins and recruitment of the British for the civil service as well as the private sector in Malaya see John G. Butcher, *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press,1979, pp33-46.
this is not to say that the domestic servant was singularly responsible for what went on at the colonial table. Jean Raybould, who spent eight years with her medical doctor husband in Sabah, acknowledges that it was the ‘amahs, local people and shops’ that were most influential in introducing local foods to the colonials. Beryl Kearney, who accompanied her husband on two tours of duty in Malaya in the mid-twentieth century, credited the local cooks and Chinese and Malay businessmen (the latter who ‘laid on huge dinner parties with all local dishes’) with introducing them to local food. As with other analyses of colonial discourses, there was no single predominant factor that precipitated a particular development. That is, it was not a case of the servants deciding that they would cook a certain dish and this becoming part of the colonial’s cuisine.

In spite of the social distance between the colonizer and the colonized, there was room for manoeuvre as well as negotiation and none more so than in foodways. There were the distinctly hybrid dishes of curry, mulligatawny, kedgeree, pish pash, chicken country captain and some of the dishes of European origin such as caramel custard, chicken chop and others that became the mainstays of the colonial cuisine. In India, during the time of the Raj, the British continued to consume these colonial dishes, even though many British imported foodstuffs were available. While other scholars have pointed out that some colonial families ate only British-type food, they were not representative of the majority of this community. Far from it, instead this thesis uses evidence from cookbooks, household guides, diaries, travelogues and personal records to argue that in spite of the availability of European food in these colonies by the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the British continued to eat the hybrid dishes that their antecedents did before them. In adapting to local conditions, the British expatriates adopted not only local foods but consumed them in ways that were prepared differently from those they were used to. George Woodcock, in his social history of Malaya and Singapore wrote,

‘there were variations within this general pattern of feeding, depending on the kind of materials that were locally available. In Malaya the beef was tough and fit only for use in soup, but poultry was abundant and cheap, mutton usually excellent; … In Malaya it was tropical fruits that gave an individual touch to every menu; they included plantains, ducoos, mangoes, rambutans, pomeloes and mangosteens’.  

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30 Questionnaire response, Jean Raybould.  
31 Questionnaire response, Beryl Kearney.  
32 Curry has been discussed comprehensively in Chapter Three.  
Although curry was the ubiquitous dish in the repertoire of colonial cuisine, *mulligatawny* soup was the next most important dish associated with the colonial table. The invention of mulligatawny soup is credited to the British settlers of Madras in Tamil Nadu and is a corruption of the Tamil words, ‘milagu-tannir’ meaning pepper water, a soup-like dish.4 The soup was so popular among the British in Madras that they were called ‘Mulls’, a contraction of ‘mulligatawny’.35 Similarly, those resident in Bombay were nicknamed ‘Ducks’, as they were fond of the dried fish, *bummele*, also known as Bombay Duck.36 Chitrita Banerji, a writer on Bengali food, states that the transformation of pepper water into mulligatawny soup ‘rests on the colonial need to replicate the Western meal that consisted of separate courses’. Banerji notes that there was nothing in the Indian cuisines that could be served as a soup with the exception of the Muslim *shorba*.37 Mulligatawny is another dish that the British in India hybridized – by adopting a local dish and adding other ingredients to it to make it a colonial dish. Initially it would have been the East India Company men in the 1700s38 who re-invented the peculiar-sounding soup and this dish, like other colonial dishes evolved over the years and was transported to colonial Malaysia and Singapore. The peppery soup was supplemented with pieces of meat or chicken, stock, fried onions and spices.39 In fact, every cook or memsahib had his or her own mulligatawny soup recipe, and any kind of meat could be added. The Victorian explorer, Richard Burton, in his account of his journey to the Nilgiri mountains at the hill station of Ootacamund, wrote about hunting the ‘Neilgherry Sambur’ (*Cervus Aristotelis*) or elk and observed that the elk’s flesh was coarse but made excellent mulligatawny.40 In his book on social life in British India between 1608 and 1937, Dennis Kincaid stated that lunch on Sundays always began with mulligatawny soup and this was ‘an unalterable rite’ in every household there.41 A.R. Kenney-Herbert attempted to reverse the trend of serving

37 Banerji, *Eating India*, p101. Banerji states that mulligatawny’s equivalent today in Tamil and South Indian cuisines is the soup-like dish, *rasam*.
38 Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p595. The first mention of mulligatawny according to *Hobson-Jobson* is 1784.
40 Richard F. Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave*, Berkeley, University California Press, 1991, pp318-319. Burton wrote that the elk weighed about seven hundred pounds and noted that the shin bones yielded good marrow, the hoofs were converted into jelly and the tongue was edible.
mulligatawny soup as a starter to the luncheon party as his version of it was a substantial one and, ‘if properly made, the soup was a meal in itself’. Kenney-Herbert clearly viewed the soup as a comfort food and declared that it should be enjoyed alone, at home, with rice and nothing else. He extolled the virtues of mulligatunny, stating that ‘there are so many condiments, spices and highly flavoured elements in its composition – not to mention the concomitant ladleful of rice which custom decrees – that he who partakes of it finds the delicate power of his palate vitiated ...’. It was not just in the home or clubs and hotels that mulligatawny was served however. The Blue Train that began its three days’ journey from Bombay’s Victoria Rail Terminus to Calcutta served ‘lentil or mulligatawny soup, chicken curry or mutton, steamed sponge pudding or plum duff’. Travelling in the 1940s, Tony Orchard recounted that meals were ordered from a station menu, telegraphed to and served at the next station restaurant during a halt. Lurking in the trains and railway stations in India, however, was the popular Brown Windsor Soup, clearly one dish from the metropole (a soup omnipresent on the train menus of British Railways at the time). The original soup was not brown but white and was called Calves Feet Soup a la Windsor, created as a nutritious broth for Queen Victoria on the birth of her first child in November 1841.

In the early 1800s, dinner parties in Britain usually started with ‘brown’ soup, made up of hare, giblet, beef and ‘oleaginous ox rump’ and ‘white’ soup of almonds and sieved chicken. The new soup, mulligatawny, made its appearance with the return of merchants and administrators from India and other colonies. As in India, the soup was accompanied by rice and cut lemons. Daniel Santiagoe, a cook who was brought back to work in England by John London Shand, was perplexed that mulligatawny was not spelled as ‘mollagoo tanney’, asking, ‘[W]hy English people always spell this word wrong? Everybody knows this – Mollagoo, pepper; tanney, water. In proper Tamil the

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mollagoo tanney is pronounced ‘Mollagoo Neer’ and ‘Mollagoo Tannir’. Santiagoe’s recipe included ingredients such as gravy of mutton or beef or chicken stock, rice powder, milk, coriander, onions, ginger, garlic, cumin, saffron, and, of course, pepper.49

Another dish associated with British colonial cooking is kedgeree. Spelt variously as kitchery, kitchri or kichiri, Nigel Hankin defines it as an Anglicum of the Hindi word khichree, khichri or khichdi, a rice dish cooked with pulses.50 Like other foods that the early settlers and later the Anglo-Indians adopted, recipes for kedgeree in India and in Britain were adjusted and improved. Peter Reeves’ study of kedgeree suggests that it started out as an Indian breakfast dish, dating back to the fourteenth century. The inclusion of mung dal also made it ideal as a recuperative dish for those who needed simple foods.51 Colonials in India came to know of kedgeree first as a vegetarian dish but in time it developed into the hybrid dish of smoked fish and eggs.52 Often served for breakfast at Anglo-Indian tables, kedgeree sometimes included fish although Yule and Burnell have stated that this was inaccurate as fish was frequently eaten with the dish but was not part of it.53 It figured so prominently in British cuisine that Somerset Maugham is thought to have said that ‘to eat well in England, you should have a breakfast three times a day and with kedgeree in it’. Kenney-Herbert placed kedgeree under the chapter ‘réchauffés’ or reheating of leftover meals although he qualifies it as ‘Kegeree of the English type’.54 Kenney-Herbert’s recipe consists of boiled rice, chopped hard-boiled egg, cold minced fish heated with pepper, salt, and herbs like cress, parsley or marjoram. A kedgeree recipe of 1857, in a women’s magazine used similar ingredients: fish, rice, butter, mustard, eggs, salt and cayenne pepper.55

Kedgeree was one colonial dish that spawned another, the comfort food, pishpash, that was developed by Indian cooks for European children.56 As a nursery food, pishpash which a rice gruel cooked with small pieces of meat in it. ‘Ketab’, author of Indian dishes for English tables, had mutton in her pishpash recipe and instructed that the rice

49 Santiagoe, The Curry Cook’s Assistant, p51.
51 Peter Reeves, Hobgoblin Magazine, issue 2, May 2000, pp3-5, 25.
53 Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, p476.
54 Kenny-Herbert, Culinary Jottings, p171.
56 See Hankin, Hanklyn-Janklin, p259; and Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, p715.
should be cooked to a mash and was suitable for children or ‘invalids’. Another pish-pash recipe by ‘A Thirty-five Year Resident’ included rice, chicken, ginger, onions, peppercorns and ‘hotspice’ and instructed that the chicken should be cooked until tender and the rice ‘quite pappy’. That recipe, too was recommended as a nutritious one for ‘invalids’. Rice was as permanent a fixture on the daily menu of the colonial as curry. ‘A Thirty-five Year Resident’ wrote that

‘Rice is consumed by most European families at breakfast, tiffin, and dinner. It is eaten at breakfast with fried meat, fish, omelet, country captain, or some other curried dish, and, being invariably followed by toast and eggs, jams, fruit, &c., … The rice at dinner is usually preceded by soup, fish, roast, and made dishes’.

Another dish that was altered and became a permanent favourite is the curry puff. Wendy Hutton attributes the origin of curry puffs to one of the Asian dishes that were modified to suit Western tastes. She explains that the Indian savoury stuffed pancake known as samosa, underwent modifications and became a ‘curry puff’ to suit English tastes. Lillian Allan Newton, who grew up in Singapore in the 1890s thought that curry puffs were ‘the oriental cousin of our sausage rolls but much nicer! Cookie made curry puffs also and they were a stand-by for picnics and parties’. Today, curry puffs are sold everywhere in Singapore and other parts of Southeast Asia and are eaten by people who have never heard of samosa. A similar dish that developed from British and Singaporean origins is Roti John. Hutton notes that in the 1960s, a spicy minced meat stew served with sliced French bread (Keema Roti) was very popular among the British Armed Forces stationed in Changi. The combination then evolved into Roti John – bread spread with a layer of minced meat and eggs, then fried. Hutton explains that the name came about because in colonial days, every Englishman was nick-named ‘John’ by the Singaporeans.

Government administrators in India and colonial Malaysia did an inordinate amount of travelling, visiting other stations under their jurisdiction and throughout the empire. In hot weather, travelling was done usually at night and the rest-house or dak bungalow at

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57 Ketab, Indian Dishes for English Tables, London, Chapman and Hall, 1902, p8. Ketab claimed that all his or her were ‘genuine Indian recipes, collected by the compiler during many years’ residence in India.
58 A Thirty-Five years’ Resident, The Indian Cookery Book: A Practical Handbook to the Kitchen in India, Adapted to the Three Presidencies; Containing Original and Approved Recipes in Every Department of Indian Cookery; Recipes for Summer Beverages and Home-Made Liqueurs Medicinal and Other Recipes: Together with a Variety of Things Worth Knowing, Calcutta, Wyman & Co., 1869, p35.
60 Lillian Allan Newton, More Exquisite When Past, Manuscript, RCMS 108/2/1, Chapter VI, pp5-6.
62 Hutton, Singapore Food, p173.
principal routes were often places of rest during the day. In the days of poor communication and difficult travelling conditions, arrival at rest-houses and dak bungalows would have been unannounced and it fell to the cook to come up with a meal unexpectedly. Chicken was usually the main dish as poultry was commonly reared in villages and as a meat it could be handled by both Muslim and Hindu cooks. Chapter Five describes the speed in which chickens could be caught, killed, curried and served by indigenous cooks for travelling colonials. This dish was also known as ‘country captain’ or ‘chicken country captain’. Lizzie Collingham puts forward the suggestion that this well-known Anglo-Indian curry acquired its name as it was invented by the captain of a ‘country’ boat. Another hypothesis by Chitrita Banerji is that it was the brainchild of a native captain of the sepoys or Indian troops working for the British. While Collingham notes that the freshly-killed chicken was flavoured with turmeric and chillies, Banerji states that the chicken, seasoned with ginger, chillies and pepper was fried in ghee and simmered in water. Yet another explanation was given by a Singaporean cookery writer, describing Chicken Curry Captain ‘as a very mild dish created for Western tastes, supposedly by a Chinese cook who told his captain that the evening meal was going to be “Curry, Captain”’. As Britons travelled through the Asian part of the empire, so did curry – the development of the dish is discussed comprehensively in the following chapter.

While Anglo-Indians and the British in colonial Malaysia and Singapore indulged in a variety of European type desserts to end a meal the two most familiar colonial desserts were caramel custard and gula malacca or sago pudding. As a Western dish originating from medieval times, caramel custard employs the ingredients of eggs, milk and sugar. Probably due to the ready availability of these ingredients caramel custard was the standby for most meals in colonial households in India, Malaysia and Singapore. As they featured so frequently on the colonial menu, the familiarity of this dish did on occasion breed contempt. Wendy Suart, a memsahib of many years in North Borneo wrote of her time at the Jesselton rest-house: ‘[A]fter lunch, consisting of scrawny water buffalo, stringy chicken or scraggy pork in strict rotation, followed by the eternal

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65 Banerji, *Eating India*, p103.
69 Sir John Cotton, SOAS: OA1/18/1-6, 1930-1946, Political Officer, IPS, transcript 68 pp, 5 Sept 1973 – 1015-1330 H58x. Cotton noted that caramel custard featured in every meal in a military mess.
caramel custard or fresh fruit salad …’

When Lionel Fielden, a radio broadcaster, recounted his lonely five years in India he complained of having to dine with the same twelve English officials and their wives in Delhi during his first winter there. He wrote, ‘[N]ot only were their houses and furniture identical – they were built and supplied to the same pattern – but also the food, the guests, and the conversation were identical. There were always twelve people, and usually the same twelve. The dinner was always thin soup, wet fish, tasteless beef, and caramel custard’.

Another dish that was synonymous with colonial desserts, particularly in Malaya, the Borneo states and Singapore, was sago pudding. The sago is made to a jelly consistency upon which a palm sugar syrup over which coconut milk is poured. Usually served at the end of the Sunday curry tiffin, the sago pudding became a favourite among colonials but it was one dish that never became an enduring dessert in Britain. One memsahib described sago pudding as ‘cooling and delicious’ after a Malayan curry and an Australian tin miner, reminiscing on his time in Malaya, exclaimed, ‘[T]o eat this dainty is to forget one’s troubles and to slide into a voluptuous dream of gastronomic joy’. Margaret Shennan stated that ‘[A]ccording to hallowed tradition curry makan (meal) was followed by gula Malacca … altogether an unforgettable experience’. However another Malayan ‘old hand’ thought ‘Gula Melaka was delicious, but it was far too rich a sweet to eat on top of a big plateful of curry and rice with all the trimmings’.

The development of a discernible colonial cuisine

The types of food consumed by the British colonial community of the three states being studied fit the criteria laid out by anthropologist Sydney Mintz’ definition of what constitutes a ‘cuisine’. Mintz’s conception of a cuisine requires that a population consume particular foods frequently enough to consider itself knowledgeable about

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72 Sago pudding is also known as *gula malacca*, or *gula melaka*: the Malay name refers to the palm sugar used as the sauce for the pudding. Sago is a light, pure starch, made from the trunk of the sago palm tree and is used to thicken soups or sauces, see Davidson, *The Penguin Companion to Food*, p816. See also Sylvia Tan, *Singapore Heritage Food: Yesterday’s Recipes for Today’s Cook*, Singapore, Landmark Books, 2008, p24.
73 Sim, *Malayan Landscape*, p140.
those foods. This community believes that they know what the cuisine consists of, how it is made and how it should taste. This makes the cuisine genuine and makes up the food of the community.78 Beyond that, sociology scholar Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, in her study of French cuisine, states that ‘the cornerstone of culinary discourse and the discipline that it represents is cuisine – the code that structures the practice of food and allows us to discuss and to represent taste’.79 Ferguson adds that ‘culinary preparations become a cuisine when, and only when, the preparations are articulated and formalized, and enter the public domain’.80 It is fair to conclude then the food practices adopted by British colonisers certainly fit the criteria outlined by Ferguson.

It may be argued that, although food was prepared by indigenous servants, Europeans in the colonies were still knowledgeable about each colonial dish, not the least on how they should taste. This would be true of any privileged group that relied on servants for food preparation and could claim to call a particular cuisine their own. In any case, Deborah Lupton asserts that food consumption habits are not just tied to biological needs but ‘serve to mark boundaries between social classes, geographic regions, nations, cultures, genders, life-cycle states, religions and occupations, to distinguish rituals, traditions, festivals, seasons and times of day’.81 Pierre L. van den Berghe concurs, stating that ‘[O]ur cuisine is the symbolic expression of our sociality, first in the intimate domestic sphere, and by extension with the larger group that shares our specific culinary complex: the inventory of food items, the repertoire of recipes, and the rituals of commensalism’.82 While van den Berghe discusses food practices of a specific group as a badge of ethnicity he could just as well be describing the culinary traditions of the British colonizers, be they at the colonial dinner party, the club meal or the Sunday tiffin. In this context, food differentiation does not necessarily depict a mark of racial superiority but a sense of belonging to a particular group.

The consumption of certain types of food can be seen as more than fulfilling a biological function. Helen Pike Bauer prescribes it to a form of security: ‘consuming

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78 Mintz, Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom, p96.
80 Ferguson, Accounting for Taste, p19.
the familiar reinforces one’s sense of a persistent personality and set of values’.  

She asserts that Anglo-Indians found replicating an English diet and pattern of meals often proved both difficult and unhealthy. However, this thesis does not entirely agree with Pike Bauer’s view that Anglo-Indians developed a peculiarly Anglo-Indian cuisine by learning to prefer fresh local ingredients to tinned imports from England, by learning about the herbs available in the bazaar and by keeping their own animals for meat and milk.  

In my view, Anglo-Indians and other colonials did not singularly and actively devise food practices as the acquisition and adaptation of local food patterns into acceptable European food habits were performed by the local domestic servants. While the memsahib in her half-hour of morning consultation with the cook discussed the meals for the day, it was the cook and other support staff who went to the markets to purchase the ingredients and who were responsible for the cooking of them. Thus, I find Pike Bauer’s statement that for the Anglo-Indians, ‘[F]ood became a means of both ethnographic education and self-definition’ does not take account of the role that Indian servants played. Further, it is only a partial truth when Pike Bauer states that in the cookbooks, fiction and diaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that ‘the struggles of Anglo-Indians to develop a knowledge of the indigenous culture and to maintain, [was] at the same time, a [struggle for] sense of self’. Jeffrey M. Pilcher states the obvious when he claims that ‘colonial rulers often acquired a taste for the foods of their subjects. Indian curry and chutney, for example became mainstays of the British diet’.

The colonial cuisine was influenced by the colonized, more specifically by the local cooks and other servants who bought and prepared the food. To a certain extent, servants decided what ingredients were acceptable for provision to the colonizer’s palette and what dishes were fitting for presentation to the colonizer. For example, Daniel Santiagoe, a servant who had been a cook to English residents in India since the age of sixteen, in his recipe for mulligatawny, included mutton, beef or chicken. He explained that while the natives usually did not include meat but only ‘plain curry stuffs’ and tamarind, this was ‘not worth for Europeans’. Collingham, in her

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84 Pike Bauer, ‘Consuming Culture’, p95.
85 Pike Bauer, ‘Consuming Culture’, p95.
86 Pike Bauer, ‘Consuming Culture’, p95.
88 Santiagoe, *The Curry Cook’s Assistant*, p51.
biography on curry, relates incidents where servants in the Gwillim household in Madras refused to serve the hare that Elizabeth Gwillim obtained for dinner.\textsuperscript{89} When asked for an explanation, the butler said that guests would laugh if a country hare was served for a grand dinner. The Gwillims’ servants would also not serve the small fish that resemble whitebait, saying that white gentlemen could not eat that type of fish. Collingham makes the observation that Indian servants served the British with food consumed by the previous Mughal rulers – the Mughlai pilaus and ‘dum poked’ chickens – the high-status dishes which were familiar to the Muslim cooks employed by the Anglo-Indians.\textsuperscript{90} Indian cooks also frequently modified recipes to suit what they thought were British tastes. Curries were made less aromatic with reduced spices like cloves and cardamom and the amount of ghee and yoghurt was also lessened.\textsuperscript{91}

Mintz takes the view that food preferences, once established, are usually deeply resistant to change; and adds that it is far more common to add new foods to one’s diet than to give up old and familiar ones.\textsuperscript{92} This certainly helps explain the practice of colonizers holding on to their roast beef and puddings or saddles of mutton alongside curry and rice, chutnies and sago pudding. Added to this is the notion of comfort food. Historian Donna R. Gabaccia refers to comfort food as that food which provides ‘comfort, security, and love of childhood’ and asserts that people turn to comfort foods when they must cope with stress.\textsuperscript{93} Julie L. Locher et al, go further and contend that the meaning of comfort foods should not only be examined from the individual’s perspective, but also from the larger, societal perspective. Locher and others cite C. Fischler that in consuming particular foods individuals can exercise ‘control over the body, the mind and therefore over identity...’\textsuperscript{94} Closely related to comfort food is another idea of ‘nostalgic foods’. Locher et al, state that nostalgic foods are those identified with a particular time and place in one's history. They argue that ‘nostalgic longing and consumption of particular food items sustain one's sense of cultural, familial, and self-identity’.\textsuperscript{95} They state that ‘when we are physically disconnected from a community, a family, or any primary group that defines who we are, our sense of

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{89} Collingham, \textit{Curry}, p114.  
\textsuperscript{90} Collingham, \textit{Curry}, p114.  
\textsuperscript{91} Collingham, \textit{Curry}, pp116-117.  
\textsuperscript{92} Mintz, \textit{Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom}, p24.  
\textsuperscript{93} Donna R. Gabaccia, \textit{We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans}, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2000, p179.  
\textsuperscript{95} Locher et al., ‘Comfort Foods’, p280.  
}
self may become fractured. In these instances, consuming food items intimately linked with one’s past may repair such fractures by maintaining a continuity of the self in unfamiliar surroundings.\textsuperscript{96} For these reasons, it is not difficult to explain Britons’ adherence to certain foods in the colonies when they found themselves in a strange land.

**Cookbooks and household manuals**

In Europe, domestic conduct books and cookery books first made their appearance in the early sixteenth century, with the former advocating roles and responsibilities for family members. Publication of both genres gathered pace at the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{97} In the world of printing, cookery books were among the earliest publications, and by the mid-sixteenth century cookery books had been printed in most of the languages of Western Europe.\textsuperscript{98} However, it was in England at the turn of the seventeenth century that the most detailed domestic conduct books were published. These publications were fairly uniform in their outlook, with clearly codified familial duties on household matters, appealing to the middle and upper classes.\textsuperscript{99} The vast number of cookery books printed in Britain from the 1730s were cheap, costing between two and six shillings and were written for middle class women and their servants rather than professional chefs.\textsuperscript{100} Gilly Lehmann estimates that 531,250 cookery books were published in Britain between 1700 and 1799.\textsuperscript{101} While some cook books carried just recipes, others were a combination of a recipe book and household manual, as was the famous Isabella Beeton’s *Beeton’s Book of Household Management*. While cookery books can be seen as historical documents on food practices, Stephen Mennell advises that they should be interpreted with caution. Mennell refers to Elizabeth David’s belief that there was a lag of about forty years between changes in practice taking place in the English kitchen and their appearance in

\textsuperscript{96} Locher et al., ‘Comfort Foods’, p280
\textsuperscript{99} Franits, *Paragon of Virtue*, p66. Franits note that these treatises were based on writings from classical authors and Christian humanists, the Pauline Epistles and the Ten Commandments. These texts promoted unity and godliness in families.
The flood of cookery books published in Britain also allowed its readers to engage with other cultures, encouraging cooks to try foreign dishes, such as ‘Indian pickle, curry, pilau and ‘Mulligatawny, or Currie-Soup’ and others. An important factor to consider in determining whether a cookery book reflected what the readership cooked is whether the cookery book was written by a practicing cook for other cooks or if it was written to promote a fashion trend for the elite.

In Antoinette Burton’s work on the postcolonial career of South Asian writer Santha Rama Rau, Burton examined Rau’s *The Cooking of India* as a means of understanding the difficulties Rama Rau faced in ‘introducing’ India to the postwar American public.’ Rama Rau’s book includes ‘imagining a “national” cuisine for middle-class Western and diasporic Indian consumption, ‘ended up being part autobiography, part travelogue, part social and cultural history, and part political platform.’ Thus, Rama Rau, just as cookbook authors in colonial times, utilized the cookbook genre as a means of disseminating more ideas than just culinary ones.

It is quite clear that in colonial India, Malaysia and Singapore, cookery books were written for *sahibs* and *memsahibs*. Implicit in some of the instructions in the household management manuals for the colonies were prescribed codes of conduct that defined the boundaries between British rulers and the indigenous people. It also served as the reference manual on how to deal with native servants. Author W.E. Kinsey in the preface of her cookery book for Singapore, wrote ‘with the hope that it will generally assist to combat the pernicious policy of the native cooks who not only overcharge in the prices of local commodities, but generally will not produce them, or attempt to raise non-existent difficulties.’ *The Malayan Cookery Book*, published in 1930, ‘constitutes a serious attempt to aid the housewives of Malaya the art of cooking … a representative list of the recipes handed from generation to generation of Malayan

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102 Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p65.
104 Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p65.
108 Before the arrival of large numbers of British women to the colonies before 1857, nabobs and head bearers would have supervised the cooks on what meals to be prepared for the day.
housewives will reflect the march of Malaysia’s history. There are first the dishes known to many generations of Indians.\(^{110}\) This cookery book typifies colonial notions of their own identity in the lands they occupied. The ‘housewives’ mentioned are the British or European, not the local women. Similarly, ‘Indians’ refer to the British in India and not the people of India.

Although this thesis does not cover food consumption of the British interned during the Japanese Occupation in the 1940s, one cookbook worth mentioning was published as a result of the war years. P.C.B. Newington’s *Good Food* became one of the few cookbooks published in the colony. Newington was interned in Singapore by Japanese forces between 1942 and 1945 and wrote that ‘it is an extraordinary thing how one’s thoughts turn to food when one is starving’.\(^{111}\) Newington related that he started a Gourmets’ Club outside his hut at the Sime Road Camp and fellow internees would meet once a week to discuss food preparation. Club members wrote down recipes; recipes were also obtained from the Women’s Camp.\(^{112}\) Recipes in the cookbook are eclectic and includes the standard colonial dishes of curries, mulligatawny, kedgeree, sago pudding and so on. Significantly, Britons interned in wartime were not just thinking of British food but craved for Indian and Southeast Asian dishes, a powerful example of food appropriation. A.J.H. Dempster, the assistant food controller of Perak, in his foreword on this wartime cookbook, noted that ‘no epicure came to Malaya to live on roast beef’.\(^{113}\)

Memsahibs have been constructed and maligned in novels in colonial settings for their frivolous existence, their intolerance of Asian people and for their adulterous affairs.\(^{114}\) However, cookbooks and household guides can be seen as a means to encourage behaviour that was representative of the ruling elite. These publications contained instructions on how to maintain the colonial household and on appropriate conduct. A manual published in 1909 in Madras by Mrs C. Lang was offered as ‘a help to many young inexperienced English girls starting housekeeping in India’.\(^{115}\) In an obvious attempt to coach the memsahib to be a productive member of the imperial family, the


\(^{112}\) Newington, *Good Food*, ppi-ii.

\(^{113}\) Newington, *Good Food*, Foreword.

\(^{114}\) See, for example, Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, London, MacMillan and Co., 1931.

\(^{115}\) (Mrs) C. Lang, ‘Chota Mem’ the English Bride in India: Being Hints on Indian Housekeeping, Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1909.
first chapter titled ‘The Daily Routine’, advised on the daily meeting with the domestic servants, with the suggestion that ‘punctuality in seeing your servants after breakfast and trying to keep to the same hour daily, as a good housekeeper should show an example to her servants, in keeping to a good routine and method’. Lang instructed that after the morning’s meeting with the servants and inspection of the kitchen and stores the memsahib should do her accounts, engage in writing and in dressmaking, and making things for the house, such as curtains, cushion covers, lampshades. She admonished, ‘I have no patience with the woman who says she finds the days so long and has nothing to do. I am quite sure in the hot weather, if you are always busy at something, you do not notice the heat so much’.

Cookbooks in late eighteenth-century Britain that were written for middle and upper class women addressed another duty, that of encouraging servants to work from recipes given in cookery books. The same encouragement was given to domestic servants in British India and British Malaysia and Singapore when recipes were translated into the local languages. In Victorian times, even though knowledge of cookery and housewifery were seen as assets, earning money from writing cookbooks was not unacceptable and so many women authors wrote anonymously. An example is the book ‘[B]y a Lady’. In India, author anonymity was represented by the following: ‘An Anglo-Indian’, ‘An Old Lady-Resident’, ‘A Lady Resident’, ‘The Englishwoman in India’, ‘A Thirty-five Years’ Resident’. Others simply used their initials, such as A.K. D-H. and J.H.

Even if the Anglo-Indians and the British in Malaysia and Singapore intended to follow a British diet, their environment ensured that they would become more amenable to

117 Lang, ‘Chota Mem’, pp5-6.
local ingredients and cooking methods. Cookbooks written for these colonies more than merely provided recipes but became the standard bearer for the colonial culture that educated and advised their readers about the purchase, preparation, cooking and serving of food by their servants.\(^{122}\) While the focus of the cookbooks was necessarily on food, the overt messages in the hints and tips on household management widened to disseminate ideas on class distinctions and race relations. Helen Pike Bauer asserts that Anglo-Indians who acquired knowledge of local material life could help to define themselves as different and superior. However, she also acknowledges the few Anglo-Indians who, in utilizing this knowledge to construct the Anglo-Indian diet, also created for themselves an Anglo-Indian identity.\(^{123}\)

In Britain, when new orders of service and other food practices became fashionable these ideas were not uniformly adopted due to lags in time before the ideas reached, and grown acceptance, in different geographical areas. Similarly, new trends set from Britain were picked up in the colonies at different times. Entertaining was much more formal and substantial in India in the years of the East India Company than in the 1860s.\(^{124}\) Generally, entertaining was less formal in colonial Malaysia and Singapore. However, as the majority of the colonial elite was from the middle classes and as the tendency was to emulate the ethos of the upper classes of Britain some of the food practices of emerging trends from the home trickled down to the dining tables of the colonies. In parallel, there emerged in the colonies practices that were distinctly extracted from the local cultures. This thesis suggests that as the colonial cuisine developed, it became self-perpetuating: as food items or dishes became accepted in colonial circles, they were legitimated and perpetuated as recipes of these dishes were then shared and cookbooks included them.

Unquestionably, meal times were adapted from local customs, in part due to the tropical conditions. E.M. Collingham acknowledges that ‘traces of Indian influence were still to be found in patterns of food consumption’\(^ {125}\). I contend that colonial food habits took more than ‘traces’ from local practices: the names, and times of meals were clearly of local origin. For instance, the first meal of the day, the *chota hazri*, variously translated as ‘little breakfast’, ‘early morning tea’ or ‘bed tea’ was the first meal of the day for

\(^{122}\) See Pike Bauer, ‘Eating in the Contact Zone’, p95.
\(^{123}\) Pike Bauer, ‘Eating in the Contact Zone’, pp95-96.
\(^{125}\) Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, pp156-157.
Anglo-Indians, consumed between 5.30 and 6am consisted of tea, boiled or poached eggs, toast and fruit.\textsuperscript{126} Hobson-Jobson notes that the term was originally peculiar to the Bengal Presidency and in Madras this meal was known as ‘early tea’.\textsuperscript{127} A.R. Kenny-Herbert compares chota hazri to the Frenchman’s \textit{café au lait}, with a roll.\textsuperscript{128} The second or large breakfast or brunch or tiffin, was usually served with curry.
Edward Wilkie, who served in the military in Malaya (ten years), Singapore (seven years) and India (two years), recalled that his chota hazri consisted of fruit and tea; he would then eat the later and larger breakfast of mulligatawny soup and kippers or eggs and bacon or porridge.\textsuperscript{129}

\textbf{Food practices in India}

Food in daily life in India is a complex subject that involves different customs and regulations, differences in religion, race, ethnicity, caste and a host of other considerations. South Asian writer in postwar America, Santha Rama Rau, emphasises that ‘there is no major body of dishes and techniques of cooking that one can combine to call a “national cuisine”’.\textsuperscript{130} Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai states that food is a focus of much taxonomic and moral thought because foods are regarded as important media of contact between human beings, in a society that rests on the regulation of such contact.\textsuperscript{131} Appadurai goes on to say that cuisine is both highly developed and highly differentiated. For instance, he states that food avoidances, for different persons in different contexts, are developed to a remarkably high degree and can signal caste or sect affiliation, life-cycle stages, gender distinctions and aspirations toward higher status.\textsuperscript{132}

However scholars R.S. Khare and M.S.A. Rao believe that although the South Asian diversity is enormous it has an overlapping gastronomic culture with the Hindu, Islamic, tribal, and Western food systems all having influenced India’s gastronomic culture. They cite the Ayurvedic schemes of food classification as being easily detected within the Muslim, Christian and tribal groups, as are the Unani and tribal influences among

\textsuperscript{127} Yule and Burnell, \textit{Hobson-Jobson}, p210.
\textsuperscript{128} Kenny-Herbert, \textit{Culinary Jottings}, p186.
\textsuperscript{129} Questionnaire response, Edward Wilkie.
\textsuperscript{130} Rama Rau, \textit{The Cooking of India}, pp26-27.
\textsuperscript{132} Appadurai, ‘Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia’, p495.
Further, they state that ‘the subcontinent carries not only a civilizational configuration of interpenetrating gastronomic schemes but … also has had a Pan-Indian zone of influence’. On setting up home in India, the memsahib was confronted with what was permitted on her dining table based on the caste or ethnic group that her domestic servants belonged to and the quality of the food supplies available. Agatha Florence James, writing in the late nineteenth century observed,

‘Beef and mutton are very inferior in India, the former hardly eatable unless grain-fed. … A boiled hump of beef is not by any means to be despised, and cured in the same way as hunter’s beef, it makes a good cold dish for luncheon. Pork is rarely, if ever, eaten in India; the natives look on the pig as unclean, and your cook would probably leave your service rather than roast a joint of pork. You will most likely have to eat goat, without knowing it, unless you have a Khansaman who is really honest. It is so cheap that until you really know the taste of bakra, as it is called, you will have it palmed off on you as mutton. Fowl, the old familiar Moorghee, the abhorrence of all Anglo-Indians, eaten under certain conditions, that is when young and well-fatted, is by no means bad; but game is the great standby. Teal are delicious in whatever way they are cooked. Stuffed with tamarinds, with a well-made hot gravy, with a small wine-glass of good claret in it, they tempt the appetite even in the hot season. Sand grouse are also good, and the native partridge and pheasant are nice, but do not possess the gamey flavour of the English birds. Quails are another delicacy … stuffed with green chillies and sent to table with green limes to squeeze over them, they make a dainty meal even for an invalid’.

One factor that has contributed to the development of a colonial cuisine in India was the limited public dining enterprises such as restaurants for public dining. Although the notion of eating away from homes in restaurants did not eventuate until the late eighteenth century in Europe, public eating places remained absent in India and the other colonies meant that European travellers or those travelling on business found it necessary to eat in the homes of other Europeans. Historian Frank F. Conlon gives several reasons why India has had no enduring tradition of restaurants or public dining, using Bombay as the locale of his study. Conlon states that, within the Hindu and Muslim cultures, there was no motivation for commercial enterprises such as restaurants

136 The tradition of roadside stands and ‘cook-food’ shops dates to the fourteenth century in France and the emergence of the restaurants (as places of commercial production of food and public food consumption) did not take place until the eighteenth century. See Amy B. Trubek, Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, pp32-35.
for public dining.\textsuperscript{138} Commensality is a cardinal concept of Islam which stresses the obligation to share food with others.\textsuperscript{139} He states that ‘Hindu ideological concerns for commensality and purity’ had ‘contributed to anxiety regarding the provenance and purity for consumption – matters that are not subjects of inherent certainty in places of public dining’.\textsuperscript{140} During Mughal rule, the introduction of the \textit{caravanserai} (roadside accommodation for travellers and their animals) by medieval Islamic conquerors from Iran provided ‘food, wood, and pots for preparation of a meal’. Conlon states that where ‘culture cookshops’ and other facilities had sold food in the cities, they were not widespread nor permanent enterprises.\textsuperscript{141} British rule too did not bring about an increase in restaurants and other eating places. Although there were four large hotels in Calcutta in 1843, Bombay’s first European-style hotel, Watson’s Hotel, was established only in the late 1860s. This hotel had a restaurant and a ‘dining saloon’ for European merchants and tradesmen of the city. During this time, ‘tiffins’ or luncheons were provided for men working in the central Fort district. Conlon mentions Jewanjee’s Exchange offering ‘Hot chops, Steaks and Oysters’ in their ‘First Class Tiffin and Billiard Rooms and the Jerusalem Tiffin and Billiard Rooms’.\textsuperscript{142}

In the countryside, Conlon states that Europeans obtained meals prepared by a dak bungalow cook and sometimes ate from wayside taverns or inns. They also carried their own tea, sugar, wine and bread.\textsuperscript{143} Europeans in Bombay generally entertained at home or in the club and dining out in the late nineteenth century was limited to special occasion banquets for visiting royalty and other dignitaries. During the Raj, British officials and others offered hospitality to travelling colleagues before the building of dak or Public Works Department bungalows.\textsuperscript{144}

Entrepreneurs had little incentive to establish hotels and restaurants\textsuperscript{145} as the British practice of offering hospitality, accommodation and meals to newcomers and travelling colleagues in India was legendary. This phenomenon of open house hospitality was made possible by the myriad domestic servants who coped with the additional labour of taking care of houseguests. As well, the idea of helping fellow Europeans in a ‘foreign’

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{138} Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p92.
\bibitem{140} Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p92.
\bibitem{141} Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p93.
\bibitem{142} Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p95.
\bibitem{143} Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p94.
\bibitem{144} Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p90.
\bibitem{145} Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p94.
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country and the likelihood of needing accommodation at a future date from travellers reinforced this sense of hospitality. The ‘duty’ of being a gracious hostess fell to the memsahib, providing her home as a welcoming venue for the British or European community to socialize and particularly for the men to talk shop. ¹⁴⁶ Writing on daily life and work in India in the late nineteenth century, W. J. Wilkins noted,

‘[I]t is a custom of the country coming down from the good old times when people kept almost open house, for an extra plate and knife and fork to be always placed on the dinner table. The servants do it without an order, so that if a guest come in there is a chair ready for him. In country stations where there are no hotels, it is not uncommon for a traveller to be commended to the care of a resident through a mutual friend, though host and guest have never met nor is it unusual for a perfect stranger to write to ask for entertainment for a day or two’. ¹⁴⁷

In his study of Anglo-Indian attitudes within the Indian Civil Service, Clive Dewey quoted the Darlings’ displeasure when they were not invited to stay with the deputy commissioner when they visited Multan, with the latter stating, ‘There was an unwritten law that you show hospitality to members of your own service when they come to your district’. ¹⁴⁸ In the more isolated stations the sense of solidarity building among the British was even more pronounced. Hospitality among Assam planters was exceptional, according to George M. Barker, as he recounted a tea planter offering accommodation to the European traveller, ‘[A]lthough an utter stranger, is he not a white man[?] and is it not probable that your present guest will at some future date act in the capacity of your host?’ ¹⁴⁹

Playing hostess to European travellers was another of the memsahib’s duties in addition to her role as homemaker and maintaining the household as a symbol of imperialism. ¹⁵⁰ Being a gracious hostess was part and parcel of the ideal wife at whose home her husband’s colleagues would gather for socialization and for business discussion. ¹⁵¹ G.L.R., a 1920s British author of a cook book for India, maintained that,

‘entertaining is one of the most wholesome forms which a housewife’s energies can take, provided she keeps it entirely subservient to her other home interests. To have a house of your own, and never to extend its hospitality to others is hiding under a bushel, the light with which you have been intended to illuminate your little corner of the world, and at how very small a cost can great glow

¹⁵⁰ Gartrell, ‘Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims?’, p170.
¹⁵¹ Gartrell, ‘Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims?’, p170.
In fact spacious European houses in Calcutta and India were built because of the frequent need to entertain large numbers of people and also due to the shortage of hotels and recreation facilities. Swati Chattopadhyay states the well-to-do British home in Calcutta in the late nineteenth century would often have fifteen people for breakfast and twenty-five would be at the dinner table. Chattopadhyay also notes that ‘even for casual visits, each person was accompanied by his or her retinue of servants, adding to the numbers already present in the household’.

Malaysia and Singapore and the colonial cuisine
Colonial households in Malaysia and Singapore also adopted this hospitality in welcoming European travellers and newcomers. In Singapore where the British population consisted of government officials, merchants, bankers, doctors and military officials, it was the merchants who hosted weekly ‘magnificent’ dinners for the European population. Editor of The Straits Times in Singapore, John Cameron, wrote in 1865 that,

‘[I]t is wonderful how perfect too, is the knowledge possessed of the measure of the hospitality of each house, and how soon new arrivals and visitors become acquainted with the comparative degrees of excellence in this respect. The discreet bachelor scarcely allows a week after his landing to pass by before he makes his calls upon the residents; and it is remarkable how closely they follow in the ascertained order of hospitality. In addition to household hospitality, picnics to various parts of the island are of frequent occurrence’.

In defining the colonial life, rituals were seen as important and the niceties of social etiquette featured predominantly. The colonial dinner party stands out as the social function that involved the most distinctive characteristics and these were passed on from the earliest years of colonization right up to independence. Whether given in a bungalow in a rubber plantation in Malaya or hosted at Government House in British Borneo the dinner party followed set patterns of behaviour to which host and guest strictly adhered.

As Nancy Pence Britton recalled in her years spent in Singapore and Malaya,

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154 Chattopadhyay, Representing Calcutta, pp121-123.
155 John Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1965, p287.
156 Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, p288.
‘The V.I.P.s who asked us to the dinner-party did so not because they liked us, or indeed had ever met us, but because we had signed the visitors’ book in the little kiosk by their front gates, and this signing of the book was, in turn, not an entirely free act on our part, as it was all laid down in a brochure on Colony etiquette. We shared our hostess’s hospitality that evening with some twenty other people who were presumably all in the same boat, and as we none of us had laid eyes on each other before, and had not, as far as I could discover, anything in common except that we were all breathing in and out in the same room, the result, while not wildly light-hearted, made for a very interesting lesson in British stamina and the survival of Victorian protocol’. 157

The dinner party at Government House undoubtedly surpassed all other dinners in formality and rituals. In Sandakan, ‘Government House was not only the international meeting ground but it is the promulgator of local social custom,’ wrote Agnes Keith, one of North Borneo’s first authors, who publicised the British colony with her book, *Land Below the Wind* in 1939. 158 Keith observed that functions at Government House were dignified and formal and guests were expected to dress accordingly. The governor and his wife, Keith wrote, ‘extend an unceasing hospitality to the Europeans of our community, a hospitality which we cannot return, as it is the accepted custom that the Governor should not dine away from Government House’. 159 It was the custom to ‘sign in the book’ belonging to the Governor and his wife held in the sentry box at the entrance to the grounds of Government House. This had to be done within twenty-fours hours of dining at Government House; failure to do so meant not being invited again. 160

Wendy Suart, another memsahib, who wrote of her years in North Borneo, also stated that colonials were also expected to sign the Governor’s book on leaving the colony, on the King’s birthday as well as a note of thanks after receiving Government House hospitality. Suart also explained that the Governor and his wife could not be asked to dine away from Government House as a reciprocal gesture. 161 At a lower level, the Resident, as head of the Residency, and his wife also followed the protocol of not accepting invitations to meals but had to do most of the entertaining themselves. 162

One overriding commonality in food practices among the colonial community was that it was the domestic servants who prepared and cooked the food. The colonial setting

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159 Keith, *Land Below the Wind*, p61.
160 Keith, *Land Below the Wind*, p61.
could be the civil servant and his family in a bungalow in Sandakan, the rubber planter in an isolated estate or the merchant and his wife residing in Singapore. In most cases procurement of food was also done by servants; it was more the norm than the exception that servants scoured the markets for food items, thereby playing a big role in deciding what the colonial family ate. Tina Rimmer, who was recruited to work in the education department under the British North Borneo government in 1949 stated that, ‘for my part, I almost always left it to cookie to shop except for things like butter and cheese. I remember in Sandakan my cookie holding out some green cheese at arms’ length and saying “are you still eating this?!”.’\(^{163}\) Owen Rutter, colonial government officer and later a planter for several years in North Borneo in the early twentieth century remarked in his day by day account in the colony,

‘the resources of the Borneo larder are enough to cramp any cook’s style, and after about after about a month one recognizes that his various efforts come round in a cycle as unvarying as that of the planets themselves. Fowl, pork chop and French beans; “mincee,” buffalo kidney, anaemic scrambled eggs and a slab of beef from the local Indian’s kill … and those everlasting pancakes, that seaweed jelly or the batter in which half a hard-boiled egg is shrouded on days when there is no fish’\(^{164}\).

Rutter wrote that while the Europeans in the bigger towns like Jesselton or Sandakan had cold storage and incoming ships that brought in supplies of cheese, butter and legs of mutton, for those posted in the outstations the Borneo ayam (chicken) was omnipresent on the dining table.\(^{165}\) Similarly, K.R. Blackwell who worked in the Malayan Civil Service and was posted to various parts of Malaya wrote in his autobiography manuscript\(^{166}\) that in the 1920s food in Kuala Lipis\(^{167}\), was ‘neither good nor varied’, complaining that the cattle and sheep were ‘poor scraggy beasts with flesh tough and tasteless’. Blackwell, like other Europeans looked forward to supplies from Cold Storage freighted once a week from the larger towns, in this case, Singapore.

Writing on the architectural history of residences and British life in Singapore between 1819-1939, Norman Edwards observed that ‘the purchase of food was very much the

\(^{163}\) Questionnaire response, Tina Rimmer. Rimmer married fellow Briton who was also working for the colonial government and she still lives in Malaysia today (then aged 89).


\(^{165}\) Rutter, *British North Borneo*, p379.


\(^{167}\) Kuala Lipis is a small town in the state of Pahang in Malaya and was Blackwell’s first posting.
cook’s responsibility’. The cook was assisted by the ‘head boy’ who also helped with the cooking, serving and waiting at the table. Edwards added that sometimes the memsahib would accompany the cook to the markets to supervise the purchases. Although Singapore boasted three ‘reputable’ hotels by the middle of the nineteenth century, the most fashionable of which was the London Hotel, the town area was still small and surrounded by swamps. Emily Innes and her husband James spent two years in the ‘godforsaken spot’ of Kuala Langat in the state of Selangor in Malaya. On their three weeks’ local leave in Singapore in mid-1877, they stayed at the Hotel de l'Europe and ate ‘fresh beef and mutton instead of the eternal fowl’. The end of the local leave meant the return to Kuala Langat which Emily viewed as a ‘butcherless, bakerless, tailorless, cobberless, doctorless, bookless, milkless, postless and altogether comfortless jungle’. At the time, meat in Malaya and Singapore was either local buffalo meat or imported from Thailand; pork was either from local, Chinese or Balinese supplies; milk and bread were sold by Bengali vendors; and, potatoes came from Java. For the European community the establishment of Cold Storage in 1905 along Orchard Road, Singapore’s first Western-style shop stocking imported frozen meat, the discomforts of tropical life seemed considerably lessened. However it was not until 1909 that the retail store expanded with frozen meat and dairy products from Australia. Across the peninsula in the Malay states, large new rubber estates sprang up, and the increasing number of workers included Chinese, Indian and local workers. The European community was increasing in size too and a Cold Storage retail branch was opened in Kuala Lumpur in 1910. Cold Storage also started manufacturing ice in Singapore in 1916 and, as with its retail branches of frozen foods, ice factories too were set up in Malaya: in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Taiping, Teluk Anson, Klang, Kampar, Seremban, Sungei Patani, Kota Bharu and Kuantan.
In the 1930s there were six markets in Singapore: at Tanglin Road, Orchard Beach Road, Serangoon Road, Market Street and Maxwell Road. In later years, when Cold Storage had established its premises in the colony, the memsahib would buy some items from the European-style shop while the cook went to the markets nearby (as for example, did Jean Falconer and her cook). Cold Storage was the first Western style supermarket that stocked fresh dairy products and frozen foods in Malaya and Singapore. Other branches sprang up all over the two colonies, initially to cater for European communities. In British Borneo other ‘cold storage’ shops were established retailing butter and other dairy produce, frozen meat from Australia and other European goods. A.M. Findlay, who lived on a rubber estate in present-day Sabah, kept a monthly account with the Cold Storage store and purchased ham, bacon, beef steak, liver, kidney and alcoholic drinks there.

Robert Bruce Lockhart first went to Malaya in 1908 at the age of twenty-one to open up a rubber estate in a Malay district. Dinner for Lockhart at the time was stuffed eggs, tinned mulligatawny soup, ikan merah (red snapper) and ‘scraggy chicken’. Lockart returned twenty-years later and found that Cold Storage, electricity and the motor-car had ‘entirely changed life in the tropics and have robbed it of nearly all its discomforts’.

By then, Lockhart found that Malaya and Singapore were getting fresh meat from Australia, fresh butter from New Zealand, swede turnips from Sumatra, potatoes from Palestine, tomatoes from Java, rhubarb from Australia, oranges from China, and cabbages, lettuces and salads from the Malayan hill-stations of Cameron Highlands.

In exploratory expeditions into the unchartered regions for agricultural or mining prospects in the early years of British settlement, explorers depended on local guides for the purchase and cooking of local foodstuff. In his diary outlining his account of a trip through North Borneo from 30 July 1882 to 17 January 1883, L.S. von Donop only made scarce mention of food and meal times. This was not strictly an official nor

178 Questionnaire response, A.M. Findlay.
179 Bruce R.H. Lockhart, *Return to Malaya*, London, Putnam, 1936, p86. Lockhart was in a rubber estate where there were no other white men and caused a sensation in the Malay district ‘by carrying off Amai, the beautiful ward of Dato’ Klana, the local Malay prince’.
180 Lockhart, *Return to Malaya*, p86.
181 L.S. von Donop, *Diary of L.S. Von Donop, Travelling through North Borneo or ‘New Ceylon’*, Ceylon Observer, Colombo,1883. The following entries in von Donop’s diary show minimal description of food and meals when these were mentioned. 1 August 1882: ‘Mrs Data soon came to the front with a cup of tea and some sweet cakes, and while refreshing ourselves, I made enquiries about the promised men, but found to my regret nothing as yet had been arranged.’ 10 August 1882: ‘... there is nothing like making an early start in these expeditions; so having had our morning meal and procured a guide, we continued our
scientific paper as von Donop wrote vividly of local life, describing the home furnishings of Data Tomangong, the local chief; of the author having his first buffalo ride, and of his refreshing bath in the river at Timbangbattu. Although the account of his exploratory journey was to present findings from the prospecting of suitable agricultural land for cash crops, the few references to food and meals are illuminating. The reticence in description or discussion of food by Donop and other explorers in the colonies could possibly be attributed to the peculiarly British attitude towards food. Roger Scruton asserts that ‘the repression of the English extended into all those areas where pleasure might overwhelm discretion’. He states that they take their pleasures sceptically, anxious not to care more than they should, leading ‘to one of their least celebrated triumphs – a cuisine in which ingredients were systematically deprived of their flavour, so that everything tasted roughly the same and manly stoicism prevailed over sensory enjoyment’. K.P. Tabrett who went with his parents to North Borneo in 1947 as a fifteen-year old said that his family never took much interest in food, ‘we just ate and got it over with, we were so much more interested in what goes on in the country’.

Public dining, even in its most rudimentary form, was limited in the nineteenth century and did not develop into a tradition until the arrival of immigrant groups in both colonial Malaysia and Singapore. These groups were brought in by British administrators in the early twentieth century to work on agricultural plantations, mines and to develop the hinterland. From 1786 to 1957 more than 4,250,000 Indians arrived in Malaysia and 3,000,000 departed. In 1940 the number of overseas Chinese in Malaya was 2,358,000. The indigenous people practised a slash and burn form of cultivation and hunting and fishing helped supplement their diet. When British North Borneo, present-day Sabah, came under Chartered Company rule the British faced manpower shortages in two areas: Europeans preferred to work in India, Hong Kong or the Straits Settlements rather than in Borneo; and Asian labour in the plantation estates

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184 Interview with K.P. Tabrett, 4 Dec 2006, Kota Kinabalu, Malaysia.
was scarce. Unlike the influx of Indian labourers to the estates in Malaya, the British were successful in recruiting Indians only to its administration, mainly in the police force.¹⁸⁶ Chinese merchants were already trading on the west coast when Labuan island (off the west coast of British North Borneo) was ceded to the British in 1846. Most of these early traders were from the Straits Settlements of which Labuan was part of, but on the east coast the Chinese who engaged in business were from Hong Kong and Guangdong.¹⁸⁷ In 1882, a year after British North Borneo came under Chartered Company rule, Sir Walter Medhurst, as commissioner for Chinese immigration went to China to recruit labourers and farmers for the colony.¹⁸⁸ The first hotel in Sabah, the Sandakan Hotel, was established in 1885 by Wong Sow Chuan, a Cantonese, probably from Hong Kong. It provided its European clientele food and accommodation and was managed by a European.¹⁸⁹ It was likely that the eating shops in the towns of the British North Borneo were first started by the early Chinese immigrants.

In Singapore, most nineteenth-century European visitors when dining out did so in the few tiffin rooms and dining rooms of the European-style hotels, namely the Hotel de L’Europe, Adelphi Hotel and Hotel de la Paix, where British meals and Anglo-Indian curries were served.¹⁹⁰ In private homes, meal times were similar to those adopted by Anglo-Indians. An early breakfast of tea or coffee and toast after five preceded the morning walk. In Singapore, Frederick William Burbridge, writing in 1877, reported strolling in the main thoroughfares, returning home about eight and having a bath and the second breakfast of ‘[B]eef-steaks and mutton-chops, one or two well-made curries and rice, eggs and bacon, cold ham, boiled eggs, salads, vegetables and plenty of fresh fruit’. This was followed by ‘bottled Bass, claret, or Norwegian beer’.¹⁹¹ Lunch or tiffin at one o’clock, usually comprising curry and rice.¹⁹² Dinner was between half-past six to seven, starting with soup and fish; the ‘substantials’ of roast beef or mutton,

¹⁸⁷ Wong, Historical Sabah: Community and Society, pp37, 45.
¹⁸⁸ Cecilia Leong, Sabah: The First 100 Years, Kuala Lumpur, Percetakan Nan Yang Muda Sdn Bhd, 1982, p106. Medhurst’s task to recruit labourers and farmers failed as he had carelessly rounded up steamers-full of Chinese who had been unsuccessful shopkeepers in Hong Kong. See also K.G. Tregonning, Under Chartered Company Rule (North Borneo 1881-1946), Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1958, pp130-131.
¹⁸⁹ Wong, Historical Sabah: Community and Society, p45.
¹⁹⁰ Peter A. Knipp, The Raffles Hotel Cookbook, Singapore, Raffles Hotel, 2003, p14. The hotels: Hotel de L’Europe, Adelphi Hotel and Hotel de la Paix were established well before the still famous Raffles Hotel opened its doors in 1887. Singapore was ceded to the East India Company in 1824.
¹⁹² Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, p297.
turkey or capon; curry and rice; side dishes tongue, fowl, cutlets and vegetables; these were followed by pudding or preserve and local fruit. Drinks were sherry, bitters and beer.193

Malaysia and Singapore and the colonial cuisine

As in India, colonials in Malaysia and Singapore ate a mixture of local and European foods; fresh foods were bought locally while tinned and frozen foods were imported from Europe or Australia or New Zealand. In travelogues, diaries, memoirs and other accounts there were detailed descriptions of local fruit and vegetables. Cyril Alliston’s account of his missionary work in Jesselton in British North Borneo mentioned that his first cook prepared ‘tough buffalo meat and pancakes like leather, helped on with bread and rice’.194 He also stated that ‘imported meat is expensive in North Borneo and we would only have it occasionally, sometimes on a Sunday, instead of the immensely popular Sunday curry tiffin’.195

Alice Berry Hart’s description of the primitive conditions of her kitchen on a Malayan rubber estate, where she set up home, also included reports of the local fruit and vegetables. In such an isolated posting it is plausible that the bananas, jackfruit, mangoes, guavas, pineapples, coconuts, pomeloes, brinjals and ladies’ fingers that she described were included in her family’s diet.196 Others left no such ambiguity in enthusiastically eating local foods. Isabella L. Bird, in her travels in the Malayan jungle in 1879, must have been one of the first European women to taste local food, describing ‘blachang’ as ‘a Malay preparation much relished by European lovers of durian and decomposed cheese. It is made by trampling a mass of putrefying prawns and shrimps into a paste with bare feet. This is seasoned with salt. The smell is penetrating and lingering.’197

L.W.W. Gudgeon, as assistant manager of a tobacco plantation in Borneo, described how he had to try the ‘strange dishes of a German “bludwurst,” Dutch salted “girkins”

193 Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, pp300-302.
195 Alliston, In the Shadow of Kinabalu, p35.
[on a] new Eastern menu’. He stated that on ‘the tobacco estates everything comes in to make a change in diet – Chinese “mee”, Malay “nasi-goring”, and a British steak and onions, all being served at breakfast, tiffin, and dinner indiscriminately’. Where other Europeans had described the taste of the durian fruit as ‘a mixture of custard, onions, and bad eggs,’ Gudgeon declared that this was ‘a libel on a fine fruit. The flavour must be delicious, because after the first trial everyone likes it, and many old planters and Government officials, resident for a long time in Borneo, crave for this fruit with a craving that will take no denial. Far and wide they send to buy it’. Gudgeon also sang the praises of two other local fruits: ‘the “rhambutan”, as ‘a small red fruit with a thick peel covered with green hairs, that somewhat resembles the chestnut, while the “langsat” is a fruit the size of a large gooseberry, covered with a peel resembling suede leather. Both of these have a delicious jelly-like pulp and bitter pips’.

A spill over of colonial food practices from India to Malaysia and Singapore was the early breakfast, the chota hazri, as mentioned by Cuthbert Woodville Harrison in his notes to travellers in the Federated Malay States. While clearly enjoying some of the local produce he also listed certain foods to be avoided. He described coconut juice as ‘cool, sweet yet sub-acid water’ for quenching thirst and declared that there was ‘no better drink in all Malaya. Some people drop whisky into the nut and drink the sophisticated compound’. Harrison cautioned curry lovers to ‘shun the little dried prawns which appear so innocently amongst the sambals or little side dishes which accompany the main dish of curried fowl’ and claimed that they caused food poisoning, an ‘exceedingly painful, often dangerous’ experience. Harrison stated that little or no fruit was imported and was obviously familiar with the different kinds available locally, mentioning ‘the fierce joys of the durian’ the ‘tame’ jak fruit and the soursop; the grapelike duku, the delicate mangosteen, the mango, rambutan, jambu, lime, water melon, banana and pineapple.

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Grace Elizabeth Tidbury extolled the culinary skills of the Chinese women cooks in Sandakan, North Borneo, stating that her ‘Number One girl’, Ah Yeuk, ‘could give an afternoon tea, scones, fancy cakes with icing, or again a luncheon or late dinner fit for a prince or princess to eat’. Ah Yeuk could also provide ‘a varied menu such as chicken soup, fried fish delicately browned with quarters of lemon on top, roast fowl browned to a turn, potatoes baked and boiled, perhaps a cabinet pudding with white sauce, biscuits, cheese and coffee’. Tidbury stated that all the meals were cooked on a stove of bricks built over a large iron with holes for saucepans on top.

Cameron gave a detailed account of the meals eaten by the colonials in Singapore in the mid-nineteenth century. Breakfast took about half an hour with a little fish, some curry and rice, and perhaps a couple of eggs, washed down with a tumbler or so of good claret. Cameron observed that tiffin was not an elaborate meal as in Java, for it usually consisted of a plate of curry and rice, some fruit or a biscuit, accompanied by a glass of beer or claret. Dinner was usually between half-past six to seven and was a substantial meal, with soup and fish usually preceding the ‘substantials’, consisting of roast beef or mutton, turkey or capon. These were supplemented by side dishes of tongue, fowl, or cutlets, accompanied by a variety of vegetables. According to Cameron, ‘the substantials are invariably followed by curry and rice which forms a characteristic feature of the tables of Singapore’. There were usually two or more different curries with accompanying side dishes of different side dishes of sambals. Beer or pale sherry was served during the main part of the meal. The abundance of year-round tropical fruit meant that dessert consisted of a colourful display of fruit: pineapple, plaintains, ducoos, mangoes, rambutans, pomelos and mangosteens.

Another account of meals in the same period by John Turnbull Thomson shows similarly heavy meals for dinner: after the soup came fish, joints of Bengal mutton, Chinese capons, Kedah fowls, Sangora ducks, Yorkshire hams, Java potatoes, Malay ubis (either sweet potatoes or tapioca), curry and rice accompanied by sambals (spicy

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207 Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p295.
208 Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p297.
209 Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p300.
210 Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p300.
211 Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p301.
212 Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p302.
side dishes), Bombay ducks, salted turtle eggs and omelettes. Pale ale was served with these dishes. Then desserts of macaroni pudding and custard were washed down by champagne, followed by a large cheese and finally a variety of tropical fruit finished the meal.  

The colonial cuisine in India
Cookbooks for the colonies can be seen as more than prescriptive and instructional manuals as they helped to establish and disseminate information on an emerging cuisine and accepted norms of behaviour for the ruling class. Recipes were exchanged among memsahibs and eventually these would end up in cookbooks either written for or by them. Cookbooks provide not only an insight into the ideals and ideas aspired to during the period but demonstrate the variety of foods consumed.

The cookbook that dispels beyond all doubt the myth that colonizers ate only British type foods in India is What to tell the Cook; Or the Native Cook’s Assistant, Being a Choice Collection of Receipts for Indian Cookery, Pastry, etc. etc.  Published in 1910 by an anonymous author it suggested Indian dishes for daily menu planning and aimed to make life easier for the memsahib by suggesting that the latter had only to point out a recipe in the book for the cook to prepare without further instruction. It provided ‘family dinners for a month’; of the thirty-one menus for dinner only the meal for the twenty-sixth day did not feature a curry dish. Among the curry dishes listed were chicken, ‘kabob’, prawn, ‘ball’, sardine, ‘toast’ salt fish and egg, cutlet, mutton, fish, sheep’s head, curry puffs, brain, Malay and gravy. Other Indian dishes were mulligatawny, sago pudding, mango fool, plaintain fritters, coconut pudding and Bombay pudding.

Indian dishes for English tables by ‘Ketab’ promised that the recipes were all ‘genuine Indian recipes, collected by the compiler during many years’ residence in India’. It featured more than twenty curry dishes, two khitchrees and pish-pash. Mrs John Gilpin’s Memsahib’s guide to cookery in India (1914) was written to help memsahibs as she had felt lost when newly arrived in India. In the ‘Complete Menus for Ninety Days’ Mrs Gilpin declared that ‘the object has been to use the materials at hand and not
that of expensive tinned foods’, thereby encouraging the use of local ingredients. Her recipe for Bombay toast utilized minced anchovy or redfish while another breakfast dish was ‘curry balls’, consisting of rice cooked with curry powder, sugar and salt, chopped apple and onion, then rolled into balls with minced meat, parsley and egg and fried or baked. Her cookbook also featured a fish kitcheree recipe. Sheep’s head was a regular dish in England and the recipe for curried sheep head was frequently included in Anglo-Indian cookbooks. Mrs Gilpin’s sheep’s head curry was cooked in coconut milk and curry powder and served with rice. In another cookbook on Anglo-Indian cookery, Constance E. Gordon’s aim was ‘to suggest a variety of dishes’. Indeed, the menus for breakfasts, tiffins and dinners were wide-ranging and included English fare intermingled with unmistakably Indian dishes. Some of the dishes itemized were ‘breakfast brawn’, fricassee of tripe, tripe to dress, hot pot, Irish stew, porter-house steak, sea pie, Spanish stew, toad in a hole, lamb sauté, guinea fowl a la Francaise, kidney in onion, kidneys sautéd with potato or cheese, fried chicken, fillet a la Carlton, calf’s brain a la St James, sweet-bread a la Savoy, chutnies, curries cold meat, hors d’oeuvres, soups, fresh and tinned fish, entrees, joints, toasts and savouries, puddings and sweets. Different types of curry mixtures were itemized for the following curry dishes: ‘for cold meat, for paste for a quick curry, Bombay curry powder, Ceylon curry powder, Madras curry powder, Indian country captain, Indian kababs, moli, pallow, rice to boil, cocoanut rice, and chutnies for mango, potato, tamarind, mint, cucumber and tomato. Where single men lived together in a household, known as a chummery, the head servant or khansamah took charge over the food preparation. Gordon ensured that the British single male was well-versed in household supplies, Gordon devoted a section on ‘[A] little aid to the bachelor’s store list for the month’.

Written specifically for the memsahib, Angela C. Spry’s *The Mem Sahib’s Book of Cookery* also shows evidence that Indian-type foods were consumed everyday. Published in 1894, it stated, ‘[C]urry is eaten in almost every household at lease once

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221 Wilkins, *Daily Life and Work in India*, p110.  
daily, generally at breakfast or Bari Hazri’. Nicola Humble notes that until the 1870s the British ate little European food as Indian cooks had free rein in the kitchen and cooked mainly curries. In this connection, Humble believes that Isabella Beeton included a significant number of recipes in Household Management such as mulligatawny, curries, kedgeree and chutneys because they were familiar to British readers.

Ironically, Spry blamed poor supervision by the memsahib when curry routinely became too bland as the cook, to make the dish cheaper, would add fewer spices. She was satisfied though with the standard of rice cooking, saying, ‘rice is always eaten with curries ... The natives prepare it to perfection, so that no remarks are necessary. Rice Kidgeree is much appreciated with curry.’ Spry’s menus for breakfast were substantial, with even the chota hazri including mullet a la Russe, fried fish to be eaten cold, fish a la Bretagne, pudding of fish, corquettes of fish, fish quenelles, fish a l’Espagnole, kedgeree, fish scallops, fish omelette, fish au parmesan, fish a l’Egyptienne, fish on toast, fish with spinach, dainty fish rolls, devilled shrimps and potted mullet. Recipes for breakfast or bari hazri included molynda, hautbegins, Turkish delight, queen’s rissoles, French pie, Russian hash, china chilo, devilled sardines, stewed kidneys, roasted pigeons, gobbits, bubble and squeak, Irish stew and different types of curries. Other Indian recipes were for pickles and chutneys.

While readers may assume that the content of Gems from the Culinary Art and a Ready Help to Every Wife in India was aimed at the memsahib, most of the recipes were of European origin. The poultry used for dishes such as ‘salmis’ (a wine-based stew made with minced game birds and mushrooms or other vegetables) however, were local, and included as rock pigeons, quails, or teal. Following the tradition of Victorian cookbooks with special sections on foreign cookery, a separate chapter on Indian cooking listed recipes for mulligatawny, pilau, curried macaroni, prawn curry, chicken curry with tomatoes, dry mutton curry, toast curry, kubbab curry, pumpkin hulva and pemilo sweet meat (Indian sweets). Another cookbook with a title that that implied

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225 Humble, Culinary Pleasures, p19.
226 Humble, Culinary Pleasures, p19.
228 Spry, The Mem Sahib’s Book of Cookery, p60.
229 Eleanor, Gems from the Culinary Art and a Ready Help to Every Wife in India, Madras, Printed by Hoe and Co. at the ‘Premier Press’, 1916, p33.
230 Eleanor, Gems from the Culinary Art, pp95-99.
recipes for Indian meals was *Dainty Dishes for Indian Tables*. The recipes were mostly European and included chutney, curries made of eggs, fish, fowl, rabbit and toast. There were also recipes for rice, sago pudding, mulligatawny and soojee pudding.

R. Riddell’s *Indian Domestic Economy and Receipt Book* (1849) was aimed at targeting all Anglo-Indians in both government and the private sector. It listed numerous local Indian dishes with detailed notes and hints on how to cook them. For example, Riddell explained how curries were made,

‘...the meat, fish or vegetable being first dressed until tender, to which are added ground spices, chillies and salt, both to the meat and gravy in certain proportions; which are served up dry, or in the gravy; in fact a curry may be made of almost any thing, its principal quality depending upon the spices being duly proportioned as to flavour, and the degree of warmth to be given by the chillies and ginger. The meat may be fried in butter, ghee, oil, or fat, to which is added gravy, tyre,(sic) milk, the juice of the cocoanut, or vegetables, &c. All of these when prepared in an artistical manner, and mixed in due proportions, form a savoury and nourishing repast, tempting to the organs of scent and taste, but if carelessly prepared, are as equally disagreeable to the eye and stomach."

Several curries and quoormah were listed with local names. There were three recipes for mulligatawney soup, using chicken, rabbit, mutton or pea fowl. Two recipes were given for a particularly pungent dish, *ballachong*, which was consumed in colonial Malaysia and Singapore as well and there were seventeen recipes for chutnies.

Colesworth Grant, in writing on Anglo-Indian domestic life, berated his compatriots for eating too much ghee. Quoting Williamson, Grant wrote ‘ghee and idleness cause one-half of the natives’ ailings’. His following comment adds to my opinion that by and large, Anglo-Indians did not keep strictly to British or European ingredients in their diet.

‘Indeed Europeans themselves, almost unconsciously, consume this article (ghee) to a degree that cannot but be very unwholesome. Instead of being provided with food of that plain nature best suited to the climate, it seems to be the opinion of our Indian purveyors, when left to themselves, that nothing is so proper as that which is swimming in grease, or burning hot with chillies, -- and the habit thus

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231 R. Riddell, *Indian Domestic Economy and Receipt Book; Comprising Numerous Directions for Plain Wholesome Cookery, Both Oriental and English; with Much Miscellaneous Matter Answering for All General Purposes of Reference Connected with Household Affairs, Likely to Be Immediately Required by Families, Messes, and Private Individuals, Residing at the Presidencies or Outstations*, Bombay, printed at the ‘Gentleman’s Gazette’ Press, 1849.
233 Colesworthy Grant, *Anglo-Indian Domestic Life. A Letter from an Artist in India to His Mother in England*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1862. Ghee is a form of clarified butter that is widely used in Indian cooking.
acquired by many Europeans, but more particularly by persons born and bred in the country, of living on rich and stimulating food, so strengthens with its growth as to be neither observed nor checked.235

Contrary to the limited current scholarship on colonial food history, this chapter proves that the British colonists did not eat a totally different diet to the local people as a deliberate attempt to differentiate themselves as rulers from the ruled. This analysis of cookbooks, memoirs, travel guides and responses from my questionnaire demonstrates that British colonists enjoyed a peculiarly hybrid cuisine. This chapter has established that colonial foodways constituted a legitimate cuisine insofar as it meets the criteria of a cuisine: frequent consumption of the dishes, knowledge about preparation and taste of the foods, articulation and debate about the dishes.236 The colonial cuisine retained elements of British food practices and at the same time incorporated ingredients and practices from the colonies. This cuisine was not wholly British nor was it totally Asian. At any given meal European dishes sat side by side with colonial dishes, that is dishes that has been adopted and adapted for British taste. The colonial table includes the uniquely colonial dishes of mulligatawny, country captain, kedgeree, pish pash, chicken chop, gula melaka (sago pudding) and innumerable kinds of curry, the last of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

The Colonial Appropriation of Curry

First we had Mulligatawny soup,
Which made us all perspire,
For the cook, that obstinate nincompoop,
Had flavoured it hot as fire.

Next a tremendous fragmentary dish
Of salmon was carried in, --
The taste was rather of oil than fish,
With a palpable touch of tin.

Then, when the salmon was swept away,
We'd a duckey stew, with peas,
And the principal feature of that entree,
Was its circumambient grease.

Then came the pride of my small farm-yard, --
A magnificent Michaelmas goose:
Heavens! his breast was a trifle hard;
As for his leg, the deuce!

Last, we'd a curry of ancient fowl:
In terror a portion I took, --
Hot? -- I could hardly suppress a howl --
Curse that fiend of a cook.

– ‘The Police-Wallah’s Little Dinner’¹

Curry, a dish wholeheartedly embraced by the British both during and after the colonial era, evolved and mutated both in temporal and geographical terms. Its popularity peaked in the days of the East India Company when its employees embraced all things Indian. Even in its colonial heyday, curry was a dish that was the perfect example of food appropriation; it leapt from presidency to presidency in the sub-continent and across the colonies in the British Empire. Just as Anglo-Indian cookery was seen as the first pan-Indian cuisine,² curry is the single most important dish that defines the culinary history of British imperialism. Specious claims of ownership and the authenticity of curry are contested and questioned by different communities. Curries were created, adapted and modified through the input of indigenous cooks, by the availability of ingredients in particular regions, by the social mores of the time and also by health and

nutritional thinking of the nineteenth century. Drawing from Anglo-Indian, Malayan and Singaporean cookbooks, memoirs, diaries, travelogues and other primary sources I demonstrate in this chapter that curry evolved as a hybrid, practical dish that could be made from leftover meat and poultry and which incorporated spice ingredients specifically selected for their preservative and nutritious qualities. The diverse range of curries that were created, along with the commercialisation of curry powders in the nineteenth century, has made this food a stubborn relic of the Raj and a defining dish that helped to form culinary links between British colonies.

This chapter expands on one of the central arguments in this thesis, namely, that the British in India and Malaya and Singapore consumed local foods far more frequently than existing literature suggests. In particular, it focuses on curry, the ubiquitous dish that appeared daily in most colonial households. Furthermore, this chapter takes issue with existing interpretations that simply characterise ‘curry’ as a colonial fabrication and the argument that the British deliberately set out to appropriate curry in order to domesticate the colonial environment. I argue in contrast that although curry was adopted and adapted by colonizers, it was not invented by them. Essentially, curry figured prominently in the colonial imagination, its culinary creation was a collective but haphazard effort of both the colonizer and the colonized. I will demonstrate that imperial ‘appropriation’, in particular of foodways, is a slippery concept. In the collaboration between memsahib and cook there was respect for Indian and Southeast Asian foodways. Undoubtedly curry has left its long-lasting taste, a legacy that survives into the postcolonial present. A discussion of curry in the post colonial period is outside the scope of this study but the popularity of curry today is a primary reason why the study of its history is significant.

The problem with curry: its definition and claims of ownership
While most scholars agree that ‘curry’ by itself is not a dish that had its genesis in India it is, for all intent and purposes, the most identifiable dish that has been associated with India. The word curry itself however is problematic, both etymologically and in its culinary origins. Hobson-Jobson, a historical dictionary of Anglo-Indian words and expressions used in languages from the ‘East’ from the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries, attempted not only to offer several definitions of it but also to justify curry’s existence. Its authors, Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, first published Hobson-Jobson in 1886 and explained that ‘curry’ was a savoury dish made up of
‘meat, fish, fruit or vegetables cooked with a quantity of bruised spices and turmeric’ served to flavour the two staple foods of the east – bread and rice, both of which are bland dishes.\(^3\) This combination of dishes, using curry to flavour the starchy foods, the authors declared, was ‘the proper office of curry in the native diet’.\(^4\) They stated that ‘curry’ was a corruption of the Tamil word ‘kari’, (meaning sauce), but also made clear that the Portuguese colonizers adopted the Kanarese (of Western India) form, ‘karil’, a term still in use in Goa today. The authors acknowledged that the kind of curry prepared by Europeans and Indians was not of purely Indian origin, but could have evolved from the spiced cookery of medieval Europe and Western Asia.\(^5\) Yule and Burnell added to the confusion as they mistook ‘capsicum or red pepper’ for chilli when they stated that it was brought to India by the Portuguese and observed that ‘curry’ dishes of the Sanskrit books of cookery did not include the pepper ingredient. They were in no doubt however that ‘capsicum or red pepper’ was introduced into India by the Portuguese and that ‘this spice constitutes the most important ingredient in modern curries’. The authors stated unequivocally that Europeans understood ‘curry’ to have several incarnations: as ‘savoury concoctions of analogous spicy character eaten with rice’; as a stew of meat, fish or vegetables; or “dry” curry.\(^6\) The dictionary authors also claimed that the oldest indication of Indian curry was cited by Athenaeus from Megasthenes, who recorded that ‘[A]mong the Indians, at a banquet, a table is set before each individual and on the table is placed a golden dish on which they throw, first of all, boiled rice and then they add many sorts of meat dressed after the Indian fashion’ [emphasis in the original]. However it is my opinion that Yule and Burnell could have erred by interpreting the ‘golden dish’ to be the yellow coloured curry dish. In fact, another account of this description of the golden dish refers to the gold vessel in which rice and other relishes were served. J.W. McCrindle’s interpretation of Megasthenes’ account of his second book on ‘Indika’, under the heading ‘Of the Suppers of the Indians’ states, ‘when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties prepared according to

\(^4\) Yule and Burnell, \textit{Hobson-Jobson}, p281.
\(^5\) Yule and Burnell, \textit{Hobson-Jobson}, p281.
\(^6\) Yule and Burnell, \textit{Hobson-Jobson}, p282.
Indian receipts.  

One of the earliest references to ‘cury’ is found in England’s oldest surviving cookery book, significantly in its title, *The Forme of Cury*, written around 1390 by King Richard II’s cook, Samuel Pegge. Pegge explained that ‘[C]ury, … was ever reckoned a branch of the Art Medical; and here I add, that the verb _curare_ signifies equally to dress victuals, as to cure a distemper; that every body has heard of _Doctor Diet, kitchen physick_, &c….’ ‘Cury’ then meant food preparation, probably a derivative of the verb ‘cure’ in the sense of restoration and preservation of health. This definition ties in the thinking of the early modern period when diet occupied a prominent place in notions of health. Margaret Dorey in her study of food adulteration in the sixteenth century quotes Thomas Cogan’s work of 1584: ‘Meates and drinkes doe alter our bodies, and either temper them or distemper them greatly … And no marvaile seeing that such as the food is, such is the blood; and such as the blood is, such is the flesh’. A few centuries later Britons, as colonizers in India and Southeast Asia, made curry the most significant dish in their diet (including in terms of daily consumption). In India these Britons used a variety of spices in the preparation of curry, in many instances to make the less than ideal chicken, beef or mutton more palatable and digestible and indeed, perhaps, as in earlier centuries less harmful.

Thus, there is no clear definition of curry, only various explanations of its earliest origins as a dish, or, in its efficacy as a health-restorative food from the early modern period to the twenty-first century. What is certain is that curry is a dish cooked with several spices with varying degrees of hotness, either as a stew or a ‘dry’ dish. Collingham’s 2005 history of curry simply states that,

‘[T]he idea of a curry is, in fact, a concept that the Europeans imposed on India’s food culture. Indians referred to their different dishes by specific names and their servants would have served the British with dishes which they called, for example, rogan josh, dopiaza or quarama. But the British lumped all these together under the heading of curry’.  

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9 Margaret Dorey, ‘Unwholesome for Man’s Body?’ *English Concerns about Food Purity and Regulation c.1600-1740*, PhD Thesis in Progress, University of Western Australia, citing Thomas Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 1584.

10 Collingham, *Curry*, p115.
Several scholars argue that although foods have ‘defining physical properties’, attempts to fix them ‘in essentialist terms’ become contentious in the context of cross-cultural consumption.\textsuperscript{11} John Thieme and Ira Raja quote examples such as ‘Hungarian goulash’ not being considered \textit{Hungarian} goulash in Hungary and ‘English muffins’ not being considered \textit{English} muffins in England. They cite Uma Narayan’s work in which she posits ‘curry’ as a colonial fabrication (as discussed in this chapter).\textsuperscript{12} David Burton notes that the Indian people who grind and mix fresh spices in appropriate proportions for each individual dish find the idea of using a generic ‘curry powder’ to cook meat, fish or other food items preposterous.\textsuperscript{13} Burton refers to Madhur Jaffrey who states that the word ‘curry’ is as degrading to India's great cuisine as ‘chop suey’ was to China’s.\textsuperscript{14} However, Jaffrey still uses ‘curry’ in her cookbooks. Thieme and Raja contend that in contemporary parlance, curry is ‘a central part of a discourse of spice and exoticism, a form of Orientalism that pervades virtually all aspects of Western societies’.\textsuperscript{15} South Asian author, Santha Rama Rau, writing in 1969 bemoaned that Indian food ‘remains virtually unexplored, and a great and varied cuisine evolved from indigenous sources and outside cultures seems to have been reduced in Western minds (those that consider the matter at all) to the comprehensive and meaningless category “curry”. To most of them curry is simply a floury, yellow cream sauce that can be used indiscriminately with meat or fish or chicken, and served with rice. … No Indian cook would ever use a prepared curry powder, because each dish must have its own distinct masala’.\textsuperscript{16} Rama Rau, of course, was writing forty years ago and many in the Western world today are knowledgeable about Indian cuisine.

\textbf{Curry as the master trope of the colonial cuisine?}

Scholarship on curry is scant but its ubiquity as a dish means that it has to some extent navigated its way into colonial discourse. However, various scholars have also added confusion and contradictions to what curry has come to symbolise. Unlike other scholars whom she describes as having a ‘rigid view of imperial culture’ Mary Procida states that the ‘peculiar Anglo-Indian style of culinary and domestic management

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} John Thieme and Ira Raja, \textit{The Table Is Laid: The Oxford Anthology of South Asian Food Writing}, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2007, pxx.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Uma Narayan, \textit{Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism}, New York, Routledge, 1997, p164.
\item \textsuperscript{13} David Burton, \textit{The Raj at Table. A Culinary History of the British in India}, London, Faber & Faber, 1993, p73.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Burton, \textit{The Raj at Table}, p73.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Thieme and Raja, \textit{The Table Is Laid}, pxx.
\end{itemize}
resulted in cultural appropriation and interchange in Anglo-India cuisine and dining habits’. Procida does not agree with those historians who construe imperialism hegemonically by assuming that Anglo-Indians’ eating habits were similar to those of Britons in Britain. This view, according to Procida, is that British women were ‘unwilling to adopt the cultural attributes, including culinary tastes and habits’. This thesis argues that the realities of Anglo-Indian life were such that while the British did not follow an all-Indian diet they adjusted to eating different foods in different circumstances. However, even as Anglo-Indians and the British in other colonies regularly ate local food they steadfastly maintained a British imperial identity in other respects. As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, formal dinners or banquets did not usually feature local dishes, instead French food (or at least food with French names) was served. It can be established beyond doubt that curry formed an important part of the culinary repertoire of everyday life in British India. And yet the hierarchal nature of British society, and by extension, Anglo-Indian society, infiltrated into the food practices of the colonies. Procida cites the following story of 1913, illustrating the snobbery of Anglo-Indian society. The army officers and their wives of the British Army Regiment that was temporarily posted in India refused to eat the curry and rice served at the dinners hosted by the families of the Indian Army regiment (who were also British). Procida recounts that one day, a woman from the Indian Army contingent, on paying a surprise visit to the British Army camp, discovered the wife of a British Army officer, ‘squatted on the sofa demolishing a plate of curry-and-rice! The curry was obviously fiery with chillies … Then realising that she had been properly caught enjoying the very stuff for which she and her set evinced such contempt; stuff that “the servants eat and which never appeared on her table” – the wretched woman uttered a shriek of dismay and fled from the room!’

In using foodways to depict the social distance created between the colonial elite and the colonized, some scholars have singled out curry as the dish that colonizers used to delineate themselves. Nupur Chaudhuri has examined the dialogue between memsahibs and British women at home on different ways of cooking curry and other Indian dishes through the various women’s publications such as Ladies’ Own Paper, Queen, The Young Ladies Journal and The Ladies Companion. Chaudhuri states that ‘the

20 Procida, ‘Feeding the Imperial Appetite’, p140.
memsahibs transformed as well as transmitted Indian culinary culture’. If Anglo-Indian families did not eat curry in India as Chaudhuri insists, it calls into question where memsahibs acquired the knowledge and taste of curry to impart the expertise. Chaudhuri reinforces this by saying, ‘the publication by memsahibs of recipes and articles on cookery in women’s periodicals helped infuse the cookery of the colonized into the dietary world of the dominant culture’. However Chaudhuri also states that authors of cookbooks that had curry recipes in them had probably never been to India. Chaudhuri acknowledges that curry became a familiar dish in England when officials of the East India Company started to return on home leave and popularised it. Chaudhuri’s analysis is flawed on two counts. Firstly, Anglo-Indians (and Britons in the other colonies as well) ate a variety of food, both British and local dishes appeared on the dining table with curry being consumed on a daily basis, as illustrated in cookbooks and other instruction manuals of the time. For example, in Elizabeth Garrett’s household management manual of 1887, which she dedicated ‘To my countrywomen in India’, she suggested that lunch was generally ‘a light repast’ of cold meat, pasty, curry, and so on. She also noted that fish curry was a favourite dish in the colony. G.L.R., author of an ‘economical cookery book for India’, suggested that as ‘curries form an important part of an Anglo-Indian breakfast, and as there are such a nice variety, I have compiled them separately, so that the housewife will find no difficulty in the choice of one for breakfast’. W.J. Wilkins, writing on daily life in India was critical that Anglo-Indians in the second half of the nineteenth century ate too much, consuming three heavy meals a day, for example with lunch consisting of ‘chops, steaks, curry and rice, puddings, &c’. Wilkins was also critical that the English ate fewer of the Indian dishes than the earlier colonials, stating that ‘[O]rderly dishes are supplanting the once loved curries and kedgeri, or rice and dhall boiled together’. Secondly, contrary to Chaudhuri’s claims, the proliferation of cookbooks with curry and other Indian recipes in them in nineteenth-century Britain were not all written by a monolithic group of women who had never set foot in India. The cookbooks (published in Britain and in India) examined

24 Elizabeth Garrett, Morning Hours in India, Practical Hints on Household Management, the Care and Training of Children, & C., London, Trubner & Co., 1887, p7.
25 Garrett, Morning Hours in India, p15.
28 Wilkins, Daily Life and Work in India, p62.
for this thesis were written by a diverse range of authors, including returning memsahibs, retired British Army officers, veteran cookery book writers, a Victorian palace cook and an Indian cook who was brought to work in Britain.\(^{29}\)

In her essay on the ideological work of gender, based upon her examination of Victorian domestic cookbooks and the curry recipes in them, Susan Zlotnick claims that to validate their domesticity, Victorian women in England attempted to neutralize the threat of the Other by naturalizing the products of foreign lands.\(^{30}\) One of these ‘naturalized’ products, Zlotnick states, was curry. Thus she argues that curry was first appropriated from India in the first half of the nineteenth century, later marketed in India as a commodity at the end of the century.\(^{31}\) Zlotnick claims that curry powder was ‘fabricated’ by British colonials and that the commodification of it for British taste was linked to the notion of eating India itself.\(^{32}\)

Zlotnick uses curry advertisements of the time to highlight its ‘ideological function’. She refers to bottle and tin labels of curry powders, pastes and chutneys of ‘The Empress’ brand owned by J. Edmunds, proclaiming that ‘[t]he sun in her dominions never sets’.\(^{33}\) It is more likely however that curry powder was developed by the British to pander to the fondness for curry that the colonials had acquired in India. Returning colonials could eat curry at the numerous coffee houses in London, many of which featured curry on their menus. There were also those who were wealthy enough to have brought back Indian cooks which meant they could have curry at home. Indian cooks in England either pounded their own curry pastes or purchased a variety of curry powders on the market. Indian cooks, ayahs and manservants were brought back by both nabobs (wealthy Anglo-Indian businessman or retired East India Company official of the eighteenth century) and later Anglo-Indians to work for them in England.\(^{34}\) Others who craved for curry could have bought these curry powders and followed recipes in the large number of cookbooks that included curries. I would suggest therefore that

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\(^{29}\) The most notable cookery writer from the British Army was of course Colonel Arthur Robert Kenny-Herbert who wrote *Culinary Jottings for Madras, or a Treatise in Thirty Chapters on Reformed Cookery for Anglo-Indian Exiles* of 1878. See also G. Tschumi, *Royal Chef: Recollections of Life in Royal Households from Queen Victoria to Queen Mary* London, London, William Kimber, 1954; and Daniel Santiagoe, an Indian cook, who published *The Curry Cook’s Assistant; or Curries, How to Make Them in England in Their Original Style* in1889.


\(^{31}\) Zlotnick, ‘Domesticating Imperialism’, p64.


\(^{34}\) Collingham, *Curry*, p131.
merchants such as Edmunds were simply ‘cashing in’ on the idea of empire.

Narayan not only agrees with Zlotnick’s theory about the fabrication and commercialisation of curry powder as an imperial design but acknowledges that her observations about the links between curry, colonialism and Indian identity were inspired by Zlotnick’s work.\(^\text{35}\) Narayan supports the idea that the fabrication of curry powder was part of the logic of colonial commerce, ‘imposing a term that signified a particular type of dish onto a specific mixture of spices, which then became a fixed and familiar product’.\(^\text{36}\) Narayan supports Zlotnick’s claims that the British did not incorporate Indian food but invented their own curry powder, similar to the way in which ‘India itself was ingested into the empire’.\(^\text{37}\) Completely ignoring the fact that there were two Indias under British rule, Narayan argues that,

‘India as a modern political entity was “fabricated” through the intervention of British rule, which replaced the masala of the Moghul empire and various kingdoms and princely states with the unitary signifier “India,” much as British curry powder replaced local masalas’.\(^\text{38}\)

While it is tempting to elevate curry as a master trope in colonial discourse a cautionary note is required here: it is hard to imagine that the memsahib and the native servant in poring over recipe books and stirring the curry pot on a primitive stove were consciously having imperial designs over the hybrid dish and culturally appropriating it for empire. Yet this is exactly what Susan Zlotnick suggests when she analyses how the Victorians naturalized and nationalized curry.\(^\text{39}\) She notes that in the Victorian era, curry was already part of the national cuisine; it was commonly served to guests in homes and in cookbooks curry recipes were found among British recipes.\(^\text{40}\) Zlotnick’s article addresses the ideological work performed by gender through the medium of Victorian domestic cookbooks and the curry recipes in them. Domestic in focus, her work examines ‘the tangled relationship between the potent domestic ideology and imperialism in the first half of the nineteenth century by charting the domestication of curry, which, in the words of the Victorian cookery expert, had become a “completely naturalized” English food by mid-century’.\(^\text{41}\) Zlotnick states that colonialism’s

\(^{35}\) Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*, p163.

\(^{36}\) Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*, p164.

\(^{37}\) Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*, p165.

\(^{38}\) Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*, p165.

\(^{39}\) Zlotnick, ‘Domesticating Imperialism’, p60.

\(^{40}\) Zlotnick, ‘Domesticating Imperialism’, p60.

'desire for the other, and the fear of hybridity it unleashes, could be deactivated through the metaphors of domestication. Middle-class women, as morally regenerative and utterly domestic figures, could take into their homes a hybrid like curry, the mongrelized offspring of England's union with India, and through the ideological effect of domesticating it, erase its foreign origins and represent it as purely English. So alongside the trope of hybridity (the self becoming Other) we can place the trope of incorporation (taking the Other and making it self) as one way early Victorian England imagined its relationship with India'.

This passage reveals Zlotnick’s assumption that British middle class women, either at home or in the colonies, formed both a monolithic and ‘utterly domestic’ group. For example, Zlotnick assumes that all British women were middle class, and that all women in the colonial home were British. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century there were Eurasian and Indian women married to or in marriage-like relationships with British men. In Malaya, it was common practice for the colonial civil servants to keep Malayan mistresses until 1914, when the Secretary of State for the Colonies ruled against it. Even then, practices often contravened policy; Somerset Maugham in a number of his short stories, depicted the main characters (European) as having Malayan mistresses. I will argue that colonists did not deliberately pick curry as the dish of choice to domesticate in the colonial project but adopted it for its multifarious ways in which less than perfect meat, poultry or fish could be enhanced and transformed. Moreover, as the British Empire expanded, the ubiquitous curry dish on the Anglo-Indian dining table evolved and mutated with other dishes and ingredients in other colonies and settlements.

### Curry in cookbooks

Increasingly, historians have taken up the study of recipe books as historical documents. Arjun Appadurai sees contemporary Indian cookbooks as ‘literature of exile, of nostalgia and loss’ as they are generally written by authors who live outside India. Others are written for Indians in the diaspora and there are still others written ‘to recollect and reconstruct the colonial idea of Indian food, and in such cases their master trope is likely to be curry, a category of colonial origin’. Appadurai further asserts that colonial cookbooks serve to capture the ‘nostalgia for the glow of empire, in which

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43 Margaret Shennan, *Out in the Midday Sun: The British in Malaya 1880-1960*, London, John Murray, 2000, pp67-68. Shennan notes that with this ruling, the Secretary of State forced several officers to marry their mistresses including Charlton Maxwell, brother of the Chief Secretary of the Federated Malay States.  
44 An example is Maugham’s *The Force of Circumstance*, published in 1926.  
recipes are largely a Proustian device’. Jean Duruz, in her study of food and nostalgia, notes that ‘when traditional meanings of “home” seem most under threat, it is not unusual to resort to comfort foods as embodiments of “homely” meanings’. While cookbooks in general can be seen as prescriptive manuals and may not reflect meals cooked, those written for and in the colonies were certainly referred to in everyday life more frequently. Memsaibs ordered their meals for the day from the cook with the help of these cookbooks as discussed in Chapter Two.

East India Company officials in eighteenth century India lived as nabobs or Englishmen behaving like Indian princes – eating Indian meals, wearing comfortable loose Indian dress at home and smoking the hookah. However, two developments from the 1800s heralded new standards of social behaviour. First, during the first half of the nineteenth century there was a steady increase of British women arriving to the colony. Some of these women travelled to India to join their husbands while others hoped to find marriage partners there. The latter group was known as the ‘fishing fleet’. The chances of successfully finding husbands were high as the ratio of European men to European women was about three to one. Improved travel technologies between Europe and India and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 also meant that more women could travel to India. Secondly, when India became a Crown colony in 1858, Anglo-Indians adopted a different attitude towards the Indian population. Variously known as The Indian Mutiny, The Indian Revolt of 1857 or The First War of Independence, the rebellion against British rule originated in Indian unhappiness over interferences by the British over Indian tradition and culture. The ensuing violence and loss of lives on both sides hardened British feelings against the colonized Indians. Racial theories of the time and the legitimising of British rule encouraged distance between ruler and subjects, demonstrating British racial superiority. This distance took the form of denigrating domestic servants, isolating the colonial household from the local

46 Appadurai, ‘How to Make a National Cuisine’, p18. ‘Proustian device’ refers to the concept developed by Marcel Proust in which he refers to the ‘involuntary memory’ of recalling the past without conscious effort.
population through adopting the bungalow as a housing style and removing the household for long periods of time to the hill stations. Nabobs in the days of the East India Company were said to have consumed substantially more Indian or Indian-influenced dishes than Anglo-Indians. In his 30-chapter treatise on Madras cuisine for the Anglo-Indian, A.R. Kenny-Herbert bemoaned that ‘our dinners of to-day would indeed astonish our Anglo-Indian forefathers’; noting that the tendency then was a preference for light wines and ‘a desire for delicate and artistic cookery’. By all accounts Anglo-Indians continued to consume local dishes on a daily basis and Kenny-Herbert himself stated that although curry or mulligatanny were ‘very frequently given at breakfast or luncheon’, they no longer featured in the ‘dinner menu of establishments’. One could suggest that the reason why curry and mulligatanny were not served in the more formal venues then was British effort to present a more British presence in dining establishments. Other cookery authors agreed that Anglo-Indians and other British colonials did consume local foods, particularly curry, on a daily basis. Angela C. Spry, author of a cookbook for memsahibs, stated in 1894 that ‘[C]urry is eaten in almost every household at least once daily, generally at breakfast or Bari Hazri’; she went on to advise that every memsahib should supervise the making of the daily curry. Another author, ‘GLR’, in his or her ‘economical’ cookery book for India wrote in 1920 that ‘curries form an important part of an Anglo-Indian breakfast, I have compiled them separately, so that the housewife will find no difficulty in the choice of one for breakfast’. Writing in the same vein for the Malayan market, J. Hubbard wrote in 1930 that, in Malaya, ‘the preparation of rice and curry is an important branch of cookery, though unfortunately much neglected, as a result of which many of the old tasty curries are forgotten or totally unknown to most of the present generation’.

Curry as a tool and symbol of thrift and nutrition

Prior to the 1850s there was some resistance in Britain to curry, as it was viewed as a stew for the lower classes. It was only when the middle classes had developed into a powerful social and economic grouping in the 1850s that curry became familiar in British homes. In time curry became the dish that helped to stretch meals, which fitted

56 Collingham, Curry, p138.
57 Collingham, Curry, p138.
in with Victorian ideal of the woman of thrift. As Collingham has convincingly argued, the domestic ideology of the middle-classes elevated thrift into a mark of respectability by celebrating the virtuous housewife. Collingham observes that curries became ‘an excellent way of using up cold meat’. Importantly, Collingham also notes that Isabella Beeton’s most famous recipe book of the era placed all the beef and chicken curries under the ‘cold meat cookery’ category and not in the foreign cookery section. Collingham notes the irony of how most British consumers of curries were unaware that the consumption of leftovers was taboo among the majority of Hindus. Kate Colquhoun agrees that rehashing leftover meals was seen as a sign of frugality and curries became one way of using up yesterday’s dinner. Similarly, Zlotnick argues along the same lines that, as figures of domesticity, British women ‘helped incorporate Indian food into the national diet and India into the British Empire; and this process of incorporation remains etched on the pages of the domestic cookery books written by middle-class women like E Acton and I Beeton’. Thus, Indian food, and more specifically, curry, though first consumed in colonial India soon became familiar in British homes and cookery books.

Just as curries were seen as an economical way of stretching family meals in Britain, this was even more essential in India, as quality meat and poultry were in short supply. But there were other compelling reasons for the popularity of curry, one of which was that, as servants were responsible for cooking in the colonial household, curry was one dish that needed no supervision from the memsahib. The following cookbook writers clearly demonstrate that curry was cooked in many ways to bring variety to meals, to stretch meals and to improve meat and poultry in the colonies and not for any particular imperial design. ‘J.H.’, author of a cookbook using tested recipes collected ‘during 23 years’ residence in India’, stated that the popular vegetable curry soup of the time was made from the vegetable curry left from breakfast. Writing in 1902, J.H. advised placing ‘what curry remains into the stock, oil well together, rub it through a coarse sieve and serve’. The curried soup recipe in Marie de Joncourt’s Wholesome Cookery was simple: she instructed to toss in some curry powder with onion fried in butter, add

58 Collingham, Curry, p138.
59 Collingham, Curry, p138.
liquid, strain and add in cooked rice. E.G. Bradley’s household book for ‘tropical colonies’ contained culinary advice aimed at helping the bachelor ‘district officer, missionary, farmer, mining engineer, tinker, tailor, soldier’; wives – ‘especially beginners’; and ‘bachelor girls’; suggesting that any left-over beef, mutton, pork, chicken, game, fish (fresh or tinned) could be curried. He went further to say that if the ‘meat or fish is not very promising, prolonged cooking in a thick hot, dry curry sauce will do wonders for it’. Another work that supported this view was R. Riddell’s comprehensive cookery book of 1849, which promised wholesome cookery with ‘Oriental’ and English recipes, for families, messes and private individuals. Riddell declared that ‘in fact a curry may be made of almost anything,’ the key ingredients being the quality of the spices. He suggested that when prepared ‘in an artistical manner, and mixed in due proportions, [curries] form a savoury and nourishing repast, tempting to the organs of scent and taste’.

Nupur Chaudhuri contends that curry was adopted by Britons not only for economy but also for its nutritious values. She states that curry was seen as useful for adding to leftover meats and fish curries were seen as a health food. Certainly that was a popular notion promoted in nineteenth century cookery books. In his introduction to a book by a native servant on curries John Loudon Shand asked rhetorically why ‘East Indians’ lived so long. The answer, he stated, was that because ‘so many of them are Curry eaters’. He continued, ‘all human nature requires to be occasionally stimulated, and a mild curry acts upon the torpid liver, reacts upon the digestive organs, and provides the necessary stimulant without injurious consequences’. Harvey Day, who wrote several recipe books devoted entirely to curry was of a similar mind, stating that the pungency of curries aided perspiration, one of nature’s ways of cooling the body and at the same time ridding it of toxins. He declared that in a curry,

‘[c]very spice used in their making is a preservative. All have some antiseptic

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65 R. Riddell, Indian Domestic Economy and Receipt Book; Comprising Numerous Directions for Plain Wholesome Cookery, Both Oriental and English; with Much Miscellaneous Matter Answering for All General Purposes of Reference Connected with Household Affairs, Likely to Be Immediately Required by Families, Messes, and Private Individuals, Residing at the Presidencies or Outstations, Bombay, printed at the “Gentleman’s Gazette” Press, 1849, pp304-305.
67 Daniel Santiagoe, The Curry Cook’s Assistant; or Curries, How to Make Them in England in Their Original Style, London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889, px. Santiagoe’s book is rare in that it was written by a servant, it contained not only recipes but also his opinions on the food practices of Anglo-Indians, see more discussion on his master-servant relationship in Chapter Four of this thesis.
value and many are carminatives: that is, they tend to reduce flatulence, as do dill and caraway, which are so innocuous that they are given to babies. The paprika and chilli families are extremely rich in vitamin C, an anti-scorbutic vitamin, which is good for the skin. This may be one reason why so many Indian women have such remarkably clear skins’.  

Day went on to list the health benefits as they were then understood of each ingredient used in a curry spice mixture. He noted that ginger had long been used as a medicine by both the Chinese and Indian people, and had been mentioned in Chinese medical books, in Sanskrit literature and the Talmud. He alluded to the aphrodisiacal qualities of ginger which had been highly regarded by Henry VIII. Turmeric, according to Day was widely used ‘in the East for skin diseases, healing bruises, leech-bites and as a carminative’. Calling garlic and onions ‘Nature’s medicines’, Day declared these two ingredients to be blood cleansers, containing vitamins B, C and D, and noted that in the First World War, distilled onion juice was given in blood transfusions. Day added that clove, cinnamon and coriander were powerful antiseptics and went on to state that nutmeg had properties that aided digestive problems as well as curing insomnia. Hay stated that black pepper helped to bring fever down while aniseed was eaten to promote appetite and as a cough cure. He also asserted the potency of fennel but did not state for what ailment. 

The appropriation of curry by the British

By the eighteenth century the British in India and the other colonies had become so enamoured with curry, they began currying all manner of animal flesh, including sheep’s head, rabbit and calf’s foot. There were curry connoisseurs, each with an expert opinion on what constituted the best curry. There was also rivalry over which presidency, colony or region cooked the finest curry. The different ingredients used also highlighted the diverse range of curries cooked in the different regions. For example, a Madras curry was quite distinct from a Malay curry. For the latter, coriander and cumin were not used but coconut milk and lemon grass were added.

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69 Day, Curries of India, p9.
70 Day, Curries of India, pp9-12.
71 See rivalry over the finest or hottest curry in: Day, Curries of India, p7; John Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1965, p300; and Jean Chitty (ed), Anna Chitty – Musings of a Memsahib: 1921–1933, Hants, Belhaven, 1988, p56.
Martha Careful’s manual on household hints to ‘young housewives’ of 1853 advised that ‘any meat that is well impregnated with the curry powder is designated a curry; white meats are usually selected; fowl, rabbit, turkey, veal, &c.’. Careful also suggested that the jointed cuts could be stewed in a gravy and, when nearly done, curry powder mixed with flour, butter and cream added to the stew. In other recipes, a dusting of curry powder on or added to a substantial dish was sufficient to call it a curry dish. For example, Mrs John Gilpin’s recipe for curried sheep’s head suggested sprinkling a tablespoonful of curry powder to diced portions of a sheep’s head.

Another dish that made use of the obligatory tablespoonful of curry powder was a breakfast dish called curry balls which consisted of cooking rice with curry powder, salt, sugar, chopped apple and onion. The cooked rice mixture was then rolled into balls with minced meat, parsley and egg, rolled in flour with a little curry powder and fried or baked.

E.G. Bradley in his household manual for the colonies, gave a recipe for the ‘ordinary household curry’ typifying the quintessential British colonial curry that was eaten all over the colonies and is still popular today among ex-colonizers. It uses a mish-mash of ingredients – fresh or left over chicken, fish, prawn, beef, mutton or any other meat or seafood; the essential tablespoon of commercial curry powder and dried fruit or fruit relish that gives it the unmistakable sweet taste of the colonial curry. The tablespoon of curry powder is the mixture of spices that distinguishes curry from any other stew or casserole. Turmeric, a brilliant yellow root vegetable gives curry its distinctive golden colour; chillies are another ingredient that contribute to the uniqueness of curry – their spicy hot flavour is adjusted according to one’s threshold for hot food. The typical colonial curry, however, is mild. The foundation of this curry is the gravy, based on the roux sauce method. Bradley’s recipe was typical of the type of curry that was cooked by servants for colonial households in India, Malaysia and Singapore. Onions and raisins were first fried in fat, a tablespoonful each of flour and curry powder were then added and stirred until absorbed. Water or stock was poured in; then left over meat or chicken was added and cooked for more than an hour. Then more raisins, chutney, even

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73 Martha Careful, *Household Hints to Young Housewives with the Arrangements and Receipts for Forty Dinners*, &C., London, Dean and Son, 1853, p80.
74 Careful, *Household Hints to Young Housewives*, p80.
77 The majority of the responses to my questionnaire indicate that they remembered the curries they ate in the colonial era as being delicious and they profess to continue eating them today.
jam or sweet pickle and a teaspoon of Worcester sauce were stirred in. Finally, when
dished up, desiccated coconut or chopped hard-boiled egg was added.  

Sir John Cotton, who served as a political officer in India between 1930 and 1946,
commented in his private papers on food availability. In many of the Indian states beef
consumption was forbidden by the local Indian ruler so that he and his wife had to fall
back on ‘very tough’ mutton, goat or chicken. Equally, where beef eating was
allowed in non-Hindu communities, the beef was tough. Lady Cotton wrote that the
tough meat or scraggy chicken were usually curried to make them tasty. An Anglican
missionary in North Borneo, Cyril Alliston complained about the tough buffalo meat
cooked to a leather texture by his cook and stated that as imported meat was expensive
it was eaten occasionally, on a Sunday, ‘instead of the immensely popular Sunday curry
tiffin’. The following incident related by Alliston, illustrates that the tendency to
curry less than ideal foods was picked up by local servants. He described how once,
when the Sunday joint was hauled away and torn apart by four or five dogs, his Chinese
cook, Ah Kiew, suggested he would ‘bikin cully’ (make curry) of the mangled meat.
These anecdotes suggest curry as a way to make meat palatable so that the British did
not have to subsist on poverty food, supporting British elite behaviour but using Indian
techniques (in ways not approved by Indians for food purity reasons).

The fact that curry was eaten at least once daily according to many accounts, contradicts
the notion that colonizers only ate British meals. Curry was usually eaten at breakfast,
according to ‘A.C.S.’, author of a recipe book and household manual for Anglo-Indian
women in 1894. In Singapore, curry was even more ubiquitous, consumed at every
meal, as recounted by John Cameron, editor of the Straits Times in 1865. He asserted
that curry made its appearance three times a day, starting with breakfast, with ‘[a] little
fish, some curry and rice, and perhaps a couple of eggs, washed down with a tumbler or

78 Bradley, A Household Book for Tropical Colonies, p69.
79 John Sir Cotton’s manuscript, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, OA1/18/1-61, 1930-1946, Political Officer, IPS, transcript 68pp 5 September 1973-1015-1330H58X. When Sir John retired in 1947 he was ‘the sixth generation in an un-broken male line who had served either the East India Company prior to 1857 or subsequently in the Indian Civil Service’. Sir John and his wife used to go to Mount Arble to shoot for variety in their diet. They were fond of ‘a type of Indian jungle fowl which made extremely good eating and which our friends were always very glad to partake of’.
80 Cotton’s manuscript, SOAS manuscript, OA1/18/1-61.
82 Alliston, In the Shadow of Kinabalu, p35.
84 Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, pp287-300. The first edition was published in 1865 by Smith, Elder and Co. in London.
so of good claret,’ forming ‘a very fair foundation on which to begin the labours of the day.’

Tiffin comprised ‘a plate of curry and rice and some fruit or it may be a simple biscuit with a glass of beer or claret’. An everyday dinner in Singapore was a sizeable repast and was comparable to a special occasion dinner in Britain: starting with soup, then the ‘substantials’ of roast beef or mutton, turkey or capon, accompanied by side dishes of tongue, fowl, cutlets and a variety of vegetables. This course was followed by two or more different kinds of curry, rice and accompaniments of all manner of sambals (a spicy mixture served as a side dish) or native pickles and spices’. Curry was even jellied, served probably either as a starter or a savoury at the colonial dining table.

The British had a penchant for giving French names to home-grown dishes. This can be seen as an effort to add prestige and sophistication to a menu. Formal dinners at Government House and European hotels in the colonies almost always featured menus in French. Curry dishes did not escape this practice, further demonstrating that the British, having appropriated curry as part of their culinary repertoire, went one step further and formally legitimised it, by giving the different curries French names. This was a deliberate attempt to elevate Indian food, particularly curry, to a high culinary art.

Nancy Lake’s book, published in the 1930s in Britain, instructed on how to order dinner and give the dishes their French names, as she believed that cooks ‘are not generally gifted with fertile imaginations’. Further, she viewed that ‘the French of cookery is a language of itself, and those who are not learned in it are often entirely at a loss when suddenly called on to write out a correct French menu with no other assistance than that of a dictionary.’ She assisted her readers by giving French names to the following Indian dishes. Kabobs à l’Indienne are pieces of curried mutton on skewers with small

85 Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, p295.
86 Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, p297.
87 Cameron, Our Tropical Possessions, p300.
88 Grace Johnson, An Anglo-Indian and Oriental Cookery, London, W.H. Allen & Co., Ltd., 1893. There are 12 pages of advertisements of by Armour & Co. Among the advertisements at the back of the 1893 recipe book, was a recipe for ‘Currie Jellie’. It consisted of boiling together fried garlic, onions and cloves, a tablespoon of curry powder, a teaspoon of tomato pulp, a teaspoon of beef extract, gelatine and a pint of water. Salt and lemon juice was added and poured into a mould.
90 Nancy Lake, Menus Made Easy, or, How to Order Dinner and Give the Dishes Their French Names, Melbourne, E.W. Cole. This 25th edition does not give a publication year but one edition traced was published in 1939 by Frederick Warne.
91 Lake, Menus Made Easy, p9.
whole onions and slices of tomatoes, served with rice and curry sauce. Poulet en kari is chicken curry served with rice; when garnished with small heaps of grated coconut and sultanas it is à la Simla. Pilau de veau à la Madras is veal dressed with curried rice, spice and raisins and garnished with rolls of fried bacon. Kari de boeuf or Boeuf à l’Indienne is curried beef, and when garnished with olives and gherkins it becomes à l’Orient.

Curry connoisseurs: owners and judges of curry
From the days of the East India Company, curry as a dish had become familiar, known, and even ubiquitous to the British across the colonies and colonizers began to view the dish as their own. British merchants and army officers had enthusiastically consumed Indian food, and curry in particular. When A.R. Kenney-Herbert arrived in India to join the Indian Army as a nineteen-year old in 1859, he was invited to tiffin parties where ‘eight or nine varieties of curries’ were included. Twenty years later Kenney-Herbert wrote the best-selling Culinary Jottings for Madras and attributed the fine curries of the pre-Raj era to the memsahibs in the 1840s who took special care in supervising their servants in curry making. He devoted a whole chapter to ‘Our Curries’ and the next ‘Curries – continued, and Mulligatunny’. Kenney-Herbert complained that memsahibs in the 1870s were slack in this regard as they ‘have ceased to be cumbered about this particular branch of their cook’s work’. The ‘alleged decay of the curry-making knack’, according to Kenney-Herbert, was the ‘want of care in the preparation of powders and pastes, and the loss of recipes’. Still, Kenney-Herbert observed that in the 1870s ‘curries now-a-days are only licensed to be eaten at break-fast, at luncheon, and perhaps at the little home dinner, when they may, for a change, occasionally form the pièce de résistance of that cosy meal’. In Britain, curry made its way into its culinary consciousness when returning East India Company employees brought home Indian cooks and Indian restaurants. Curries were served at the Coffee House on the Haymarket, London, from 1773 and the customers at the Jerusalem Coffee House in Cornhill were East India Company merchants and officials. In 1811, Sake Dean

92 Lake,Menus Made Easy, p76.
93 Lake,Menus Made Easy, p90.
94 Lake,Menus Made Easy, p63.
95 Lake,Menus Made Easy, p55.
97 Kenny-Herbert, Culinary Jottings, p286.
98 Kenny-Herbert, Culinary Jottings, p286.
100 Collingham, Curry, pp130-131.
Mahomed established the first curry house in Britain, the Hindostanee Coffee House, near Portman Square, London.\textsuperscript{101} Nothing signals knowledge of a product or service better than declaring ownership and critiquing it. Thus, there was no shortage of opinions on what made a good curry and accounting for taste in the colonial era. These discourses of expertise and taste are part of the British appropriation of curry – familiarity with, the ability to judge curry, even associating it with British, supposedly masculine traits, such as stamina. As befitting a dish that was both exotic and familiar, curry attracted its own legends of what constituted a good curry. One of these was that when the human body perspired from heat, the whole forehead dripped with sweat, while the curry eater always sweated just above the eyes and across the top of the nose.\textsuperscript{102} Harvey Day recalled meeting an English guest at the Indian Gymkhana at Osterley in Middlesex, England in the 1950s who, on being served a curry, declared it to be ‘very tasty, but of course, this is not the real stuff. I had some curry in Bombay in [19]42 which was so hot that it well nigh took the skin off my tongue. That was real curry’.\textsuperscript{103} It seems that the individual or group first appropriated curry and then declared sole ownership of it, insisting there was only one way of making the ideal curry. While it was acknowledged that curry had become a dish known and loved by the British, colonizers were fiercely possessive about their version of it as consumed by their own community. Colonials were in the habit of comparing the authenticity and quality of curries across the colonies. In Singapore, Cameron, writing in 1865, commented proprietarily on the curries there, stating that ‘though Madras and Calcutta have been long famed for the quality of their curries, I nevertheless think that those of the Straits exceed any of them in excellence.’\textsuperscript{104} Wendy Suart, who spent four years in British North Borneo from 1949, agrees: ‘a Malay curry to my mind is far superior to Indian! It has fragrance, flavour and is not just hot. It is thickened with peanuts and coconut milk and is not watery’.\textsuperscript{105} Author Martha Careful insisted that curry ‘is always garnished with an edging of rice’.\textsuperscript{106}

Often, when a social practice becomes popular or ubiquitous it invites much discussion in the public arena. ‘G.V.’, writing in 1862, was among the burgeoning cohort of

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\textsuperscript{101} Collingham, \textit{Curry}, p129.  \\
\textsuperscript{102} Chitty, \textit{Anna Chitty}, p56.  \\
\textsuperscript{103} Day, \textit{Curries of India}, p7. Founded in 1916, The Indian Gymkhana Club is the oldest Asian sports club in the United Kingdom and still operates today in Osterley, Middlesex.  \\
\textsuperscript{104} Cameron, \textit{Our Tropical Possessions}, p300.  \\
\textsuperscript{105} Questionnaire response by Wendy Suart.  \\
\textsuperscript{106} Careful, \textit{Household Hints to Young Housewives}, p80.
\end{flushright}
cookery writers who not only helped popularise curries in the colonies but laid down pedantic rules on how they should be cooked. While curries were seen as an economic way of using up leftover food, he or she advised caution on the use of ingredients. He stated that ‘it is silly to suppose that any kind of meat will do for a curry; it is only the impostor dinner-giver that thinks so; a rabbit should not be used, it is in some seasons as strong in smell as a cat’. The author advised that white meats like chicken, pork and breast of veal were the best for curries. Further he stated that it was a mistake to boil the meat with the curry powder as the ingredients were ‘extremely volatile, and fly off’. Instead, he suggested that ten minutes before serving, the gravy should be poured out and mixed with two tablespoons of curry powder and a tablespoon of arrowroot. The mixture should be mixed well and added back to the curry pot and simmered. G.V. also suggested adding in the juice of half a lemon and a tablespoon of chutney.

The Madras Club, open only to men, was reputed to have a curry so hot that even iced lemon barley water could not cool off the eater. Indeed, Harvey Day claimed that a ‘Madras curry may make a person unused to it imagine that his mouth is on fire; but curries elsewhere can be extremely mild and cause discomfort to none’. Henrietta A. Hervey’s 1895 Anglo-Indian curry cook book also praised Madras as ‘par excellence, the home of curry and rice, and where the ingredients are produced and blended to perfection. There is an on dit down there that when the Prince of Wales was on his Indian tour he was actuated into wishing to visit Madras solely by a desire of tasting a Madras prawn curry at our famous club’. Residents of Calcutta thought that their prawn curry was also exceptional. As Rummer Godden wrote in 1929, ‘Sunday lunches were usually prawn curry – Calcutta's prawns were delectable’.

The commercialisation of curry powders
Curry powder, the spicy mixture that transformed leftover meals or added new dimensions to meat or poultry, was a distinct colonial invention. It was yet another way in which the British appropriated curry; they gathered the types of spices required for a

107 G.V., Dinners and Dinner-Parties or the Absurdities of Artificial Life, London, Chapman and Hall, 1862, p74. This is the second edition, published in February 1862, the first being January of the same year.
108 G.V., Dinners and Dinner-Parties, pp74-75.
109 Chitty, Anna Chitty, p56.
110 Day, Curries of India, p7.
curry, configured the proportions according to their ideals of a curry and called it their own. Irrespective of the rationale for the manufacture of curry powder, it is indisputable that this commodity effectively defined the curry eaten solely by the colonizers. While its ingredients were familiar to the servants who cooked the curries for the colonial family, the manufacturing and commodification of it had rendered curry powder less authentic and potent in the eyes of the indigenous populations. These servants would not have used generic curry powders for their own families and continued to pound their own different pastes for different dishes.

The processing of mixed spiced powders or ‘kitchen pepper’ in Britain dates back to the seventeenth century. A recipe of 1682 prescribed two ounces of ginger and an ounce each of powdered pepper, cloves, nutmegs and cinnamon, ‘mingled with a further pound of pepper’. While these early mixed spice powders may not closely resemble the curry powders of the Anglo-Indian variety, it seems likely that these were the forerunners of curry powder. Ready-mixed curry powders spread widely from the 1780s in Britain and were included in cookery books from this period. These spice mixtures were more potent than the spice powders of the early 1700s, when the highly regarded mace and nutmeg provided a subtler flavour. Although chilli was not in the early mixed spice powder recipes, pepper and ginger provided heat. However, chilli was not an unknown ingredient then as chilli peppers had made their way to London and Antwerp via Lisbon and Seville by the 1540s. To make curry, returned East India Company employees to Britain bought their curry spices – coriander and cumin seeds, cardamom pods and cinnamon sticks – from their local chemist. For example, G.V., in his book, on dinners and dinner parties published in 1862, recommended buying curry powder from the chemists, Hanburys, at Plough Court Lombard Street. The popularity of curry went further afield when, as at the 1889 Universal Paris Exhibition, the composition of curry powder was set by decree: 34g tamarind, 44g

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113 C. Anne Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain from the Stone Age to Recent Times*, London, Constable, 1973, p294. Wilson states that coriander seeds found by archaeologists on the floor of a late Bronze hut in Kent represents earliest record of a spice from the Mediterranean.  
114 Colquhoun, *Taste*, p216. See also Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain*, p294.  
116 E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947*, Cambridge, Polity, 2001, pp52-54. Collingham states that while it is unclear when the Portuguese brought chilli pepper to India but by 1528, there were three different types of chilli plant growing in Goa.  
117 G.V., *Dinners and Dinner-Parties*, p107.
onions, 20g coriander, 5g chilli pepper, 3g turmeric, 2g cumin, 3g fenugreek, 2g pepper and 2g mustard.\textsuperscript{118}

Curry and rice was cooked in the royal kitchens of Queen Victoria by two Indian cooks, ‘whose sole duty was to prepare the curry that was served each day at luncheon whether the guests partook of it or not’.\textsuperscript{119} G. Tschumi, a palace chef, described these details in his \textit{Royal Chef: Recollections of Life in Royal Households from Queen Victoria to Queen Mary} London, published in 1954. Tschumi’s memoir recounted that the Indian cooks refused to use the standard issue curry powder in the kitchen (although ‘it was of the best imported kind’, according to Tschumi) and special premises were allocated for the cooks to grind their own spices between two large round stones.\textsuperscript{120} Thus even in the kitchen of the highest echelon of British society curry was contested and debated.

Just as the British had appropriated curry to form part of the colonial cuisine, their manufacture of curry powder generated opinions and debate on the ideal curry powder. G.V. wrote that ‘Indian curry powder is mostly compounded by Jews, and of the worst materials, and when brought to England has lost its flavour and not worth using, and if much eaten will cause paralysis’.\textsuperscript{121} He suggested sealing bought curry powder in six or eight small bottles and keeping away from light in order to preserve its colour and quality.\textsuperscript{122} An Indian cook brought to England by John Loudon Shand was not so dismissive of curry powders, declaring that the best curry powder was made of coriander seed, saffron, dry chillies, cumin seed, mustard seed and pepper corns.\textsuperscript{123} Henrietta Hervey, author of a cookbook for Anglo-Indians in Britain, found Crosse and Blackwell’s ‘the nearest approach to the real article in the way of curry powder’.\textsuperscript{124} Although she advised that curry powder and paste were best bought from Messrs. Spencer and Co., or Messrs. Oakes and Co., both of Mount Road, Madras, Hervey also gave recipes for Bombay curry powder, Bengal curry powder and Madras curry powder

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\textsuperscript{119} Tschumi, \textit{Royal Chef}, p195.  
\textsuperscript{120} Tschumi, \textit{Royal Chef}, p201.  
\textsuperscript{121} G.V., \textit{Dinners and Dinner-Parties}, p107.  
\textsuperscript{122} G.V., \textit{Dinners and Dinner-Parties}, p107. G.V. recommended the curry powder should consist of 12 ounces of turmeric, 4 ounces of dry ginger, 4 ounces of white pepper, 4 ounces of coriander seed, 1 ounce and a half of cayenne, 2 ounces of cardamom seed, 2 ounces of cummin seed and 1 ounce of fenugreek seed.  
\textsuperscript{123} Santiagoe, \textit{The Curry Cook’s Assistant}, pxii. Santiagoe noted that for a sour taste in curry the Tamils added tamarind while the Singalese used a sour fruit, Corakka and lime juice.  
\textsuperscript{124} Hervey, \textit{Anglo-Indian Cookery at Home}, p2. Hervey’s cookbook contained recipes for 15 curries.
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and paste.\textsuperscript{125}

**Curry and servants**

While the British had embraced curry as a daily staple as well as other local dishes, the cooking of these, and indeed all their meals, were left to the servants as ‘virtually no one in the Anglo-Indian community cooked’.\textsuperscript{126} Curry as the defining dish of the colonial cuisine was concocted daily in the colonial kitchen by native servants who were seen as dirty, unreliable and dishonest. It is highly probable that if servants were not responsible for cooking for the colonizers, then curry would not have emerged as such a significant dish from the colonial era. Until the 1870s, little attempt was made to introduce European food into British homes in India.\textsuperscript{127} Nicola Humble states that, instead, ‘Indian cooks tended to be left to their own devices and produced a series of curries’.\textsuperscript{128} She adds that the British passed around recipes of dishes they particularly enjoyed, in both India and Britain, and in the process, these dishes became altered and modified. As an example of this process, she cites ‘the development of kedgeree from a vegetarian dish of rice and lentils to one containing smoked fish and eggs’.\textsuperscript{129}

British writers of cookery books and household manuals in the colonial era seemed to overlook the irony of teaching Indian servants how to cook curry. Two diverging views emerge from these manuals: first, that the native servant could not be trusted with a sophisticated palette for the authentic taste of curry; and, secondly, that he or she was not honest enough to use all the necessary spices for a curry. In her cookery book specifically written for memsahibs, A.C.S. lamented that the cooking of curry was often left entirely to the cook or *khansamah* (head servant) ‘with the result that a very tasteless compound is served,’ stating that the servant would have left out vital ingredients while still charging his mistress for them. A.C.S. declared, ‘I would strongly advise every “memsaheb” to superintendent [sic] the making of the daily curry. If she cannot spare the time to watch the whole process or prepare the same herself on an oil cooking stove, let her cook or khansamah show her all the necessary condiments,

\textsuperscript{125} Hervey, *Anglo-Indian Cookery at Home*, p2.
\textsuperscript{126} Mary Procida, ‘Feeding the Imperial Appetite’, p127. Procida states that Anglo-Indian women from the middle and upper-middle classes always had their meals prepared by a cook. She states that lower class British women in India – mainly wives of soldiers in the British Army were perhaps the only women who cooked for their families. It is worth noting that this class division of labour has similar parallels to British women at the time.
\textsuperscript{127} Humble, *Culinary Pleasures*, p19.
\textsuperscript{128} Humble, *Culinary Pleasures*, p19.
\textsuperscript{129} Humble, *Culinary Pleasures*, p19.
which should be brought to her neatly arranged and pounded on a plate’.  

She added that rice was always eaten with curries and conceded however that the ‘natives prepare it to perfection, so that no remarks are necessary’. It is unclear whether Elizabeth Garrett was untrusting of her cook’s taste or honesty when she wrote that, with ‘curries, it is better to make your own powder, giving it out when required, than to trust to your cook’s taste in the matter’.  

Margaret MacMillan highlights the irony that although few memsahibs knew it, Indian women thought the former were shockingly lax for buying their flour and their spices ready-ground as the good Indian housekeeper always ground her own.

The Sunday curry tiffin: a colonial institution

Not only did curry become a signature dish on the colonial menu it also developed into the centrepiece of a uniquely colonial meal of its own, known as the ‘Indian tiffin’ on the subcontinent or simply the ‘Sunday tiffin’ in Borneo, Malaya and Singapore.  

Hobson Jobson suggests several versions of the origin of ‘tiffin’, ranging from the verb, to tiff – to take luncheon or the 1785 definition of eating or drinking out of meal times. The British in India referred to ‘tiffin’ as a light lunch and the Sunday tiffin was ‘an occasion for over-indulgence, with mulligatawny soup (always), curry and rice, roast beef and Yorkshire pudding washed down with a bottle of iced beer, and tapioca pudding’.  

Food writer, Chitrita Banerji recalled in 2007 the tiffin of her childhood as ‘a snack-like meal usually taken at midday’ and attributes this meal to the Anglo-Indian presence. Today, tiffinwallahs, also known as dabbawalas, meaning lunchbox men, are a group of five thousand Indians in Mumbai who deliver about 175,000 lunches daily from homes to offices and schools, using the local train network. There are different accounts of the first tiffin delivery, one being that it was delivered to a Briton,

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130 Spry, The Mem Sahib’s Book of Cookery, p60.
132 Garrett, Morning Hours in India, p13. Garrett’s recipe for curry powder on page 13 reads: 6 chittacks of turmeric, 2 chittacks of dry ginger, 2 chittacks of white pepper, 2 chittacks of coriander seed, 1 chittack of red pepper, 1 chittack of cardamom seeds, ½ chittack of feungreek seeds.
134 Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, pp919-920. In India today tiffin refers to the millions of meals delivered to office workers in the cities at lunchtime by men on bicycles known as tiffin wallahs or dabbawallah.
135 Burton, The Raj at Table, p90.
another to a Parsi. Mumbai office workers and school children have their home-cooked lunches delivered this way as the city is seen not to have wholesome and reasonably-priced meals. Another reason is religious dietary restrictions and health concerns.

The Great Eastern Hotel in colonial Calcutta served a tiffin of ‘steak or chop, bread and vegetables’ for one rupee to its Anglo-Indian clients. However, in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo states, the magnificent ‘curry tiffin’ on a Sunday afternoon was a colonial institution. Responses to the questionnaire that I sent out to ex-colonials who had lived and worked in Malaya and Singapore now residing in various parts of the world all indicated that curry tiffin was a Sunday occurrence that was much looked forward to. Invariably the curry tiffin was a relaxed lunch held in private homes, a chance for friends and work associates to socialise. The verandah was a favourite part of the house to have the tiffin. The party sat around a large table and food was passed around, or, servants were there to pass the dishes around. The curry tiffin in Malaysia and Singapore is similar to the Dutch colonial rijsttafel (or ‘rice table’) from the Indies, where numerous dishes are laid out buffet-style with the rice dish as the main dish. However in an account by Aldous Huxley on his travel to Java in the 1920s he described a rice table served in a hotel where individual dishes were presented by a long line of waiters, each offering a dish for the guest’s plate. There is conjecture that the curry tiffin evolved from the rijsttafel as Indonesian cooks were recruited to work for British colonizers in Malaysia and Singapore. Indeed, Tony Lamb, one of the last technical officers (in agriculture) to be recruited by the Colonial Government in North Borneo, stated that the curries prepared by his cooks were of the Javanese style. David Burton argues that the practice of placing all the dishes on the table was an Indian and Southeast Asian custom as the diner could pick and choose whatever took

138 Pathak, Bridging the Home and the World, p87
139 Pathak, Bridging the Home and the World, p87.
140 Banerji, Eating India, p102.
141 See Appendix A for questionnaire.
142 Questionnaire response by 89-year old Tina Rimmer (nee Mary Christina Lewin), 4 January 2007. Mrs Rimmer was employed by the education department in British North Borneo colonial government.
145 Author’s interview with Tony Lamb in Kota Kinabalu, Malaysia, on 5 December 2006.
his or her fancy. By all accounts, the curry tiffin comprised numerous dishes—several main dishes such as chicken, beef, mutton, prawn, fish or vegetable curry were accompanied by even more side dishes. These side dishes, loosely called *sambals*, could number as many as twenty. Included among these were prawn crackers (*krupuk*), chopped egg, spirals of omelette, peanuts, cucumber in coconut milk, sliced onion, dried prawns, dried fish, ‘100-year old’ eggs (preserved duck eggs—a Chinese speciality, again showing how the British took to local foodways), green peppers, bananas, tomato, pineapple, papaya, mango, desiccated coconut, raisin and mango chutney. The curry tiffin also always included plenty of rice. Sir Leonard Gammans and Lady Ann Gammans described having curry tiffin in the home of Benjamin Talallas: ‘great mounds of Chetty rice, parboiled and fried in Ghi’ were served with ‘curried fowl, and mutton and prawns and vegetables: sambals and garlic and chutney and pickles—a real feast’. In his memoirs of his time in Malaya and Singapore, George L. Peet recounted a visit to a rubber estate carved from ‘virgin jungle’ in the Kluang district of Johore. On Sundays, planters from D.V. Byles’ estate and a neighbouring estate would gather in Byles’ bungalow for a curry tiffin. Peet wrote that there were four kinds of curry—pigeon, chicken, beef and hardboiled eggs, all prepared by his Indian cook. Julian Davison remembers the Sunday curry tiffin in 1950s Singapore as ‘a grand feast’ with many guests. Davison recalls feasting on chicken in coconut cream with potatoes, beef *rendang*, *assam* fish, a spicy fish Mornay, curried hardboiled eggs, ladies’ fingers, beansprouts with salted fish, coconut vegetable stew and long beans. Besides the relishes there would be little bowls of sliced bananas, chopped tomatoes, sliced cucumber, freshly grated coconut, peanuts, sultanas and anchovies fried in chilli and lime, various sambals and a selection of Anglo-Indian chutneys and pickles.

Restaurants and clubs that Europeans frequented also served the Sunday curry tiffin. The Coliseum Cafe and Hotel in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, continued to serve this Sunday meal until 1991, decades after the British relinquished rule in Peninsular

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146 Burton, *The Raj at Table*, p27.
147 Questionnaire response by Suart.
148 Questionnaire response by Suart.
151 Questionnaire response by Julian Davison on 15 February 2008.
152 Questionnaire response by Davison.
Malaysia. The Coliseum was the only European restaurant in Kuala Lumpur and the all-male cooks from the Chinese Hainanese clan made a special effort to lay out an impressive curry tiffin on Sunday. Served in imported English crockery, the tiffin consisted of curry chicken with large chunks of chicken and potatoes and side-dishes of ladies’ fingers, pineapple, cucumber, white rice and anchovies. Desserts included chocolate ice-cream and caramel custard. \(^{153}\) K.P. Tabretts remembers well from British North Borneo, the Sunday tiffin curry, featuring curry chicken with side dishes of bacon, peanuts with anchovies, chopped banana, coconut, pineapple, cucumber, tomatoes and raisins. Again Tabretts compares the curry tiffin to the rijsttafel and mentions beer as the standard drink for this meal. \(^{154}\) Even on the colonial’s day of rest in Malaya and Singapore, curry featured prominently on the longest meal of the week, the Sunday curry tiffin.

The dish curry had ambiguous origins, its definition was contested, the ingredients to be used were debated and there was rivalry over which colony or region made the best curry. In culinary and historical terms, curry certainly stands as a dish that fits the term ‘food appropriation’. In the colonial context the appropriation of curry has come about through the cooperation and negotiation between the colonizer and colonized. This chapter contends that curry was appropriated by British colonizers with respect and sympathy. It was particularly in curry that they ingested local ingredients, depended on the local cooks who prepared the dish and promoted and gave it due respect by calling the dish their own. This chapter has demonstrated that the widespread consumption of curry challenges the argument made by some recent scholars that British colonizers consumed different foods to the colonized in order to differentiate themselves from the ruled. In fact, eating curry on a daily basis (in combination with both local and European dishes) by many colonizers demonstrates the opposite. This is not to say that the British deliberately set out to appropriate curry as part of the colonial project. There were practical reasons why curry became a staple food among the British in the colonies as the spices in a curry helped to preserve meat that tended to putrefy in the tropical heat within twelve hours. \(^{155}\) This practice went back to the East India Company days, when the British lived as nabobs, adopting Indian dress and local customs and eating local foods. The eating of curry was part and parcel of nabob culture and survived the demise

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153 Author’s interview with Janet Loi, manager of The Coliseum Café and Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, 23 November 2006.
154 Author’s interview with K.P. Tabrett, Kota Kinabalu, 4 December 2006.
of the East India Company. This observation supports recent scholarship that suggests that, in the colonial period, the British had not entirely distanced themselves from Indian society. Indeed, to be Anglo-Indian meant to eat curry as part of one’s diet. While memsahibs took pride in their particular curry that appeared on her dining table, it was the cooks and other servants who bought the ingredients and prepared the dish and domestic servants will be the subject of discussion in the next chapter.
Chapter Four

Servants of Empire: The Role and Representation of Domestic Servants in the Colonial Household

‘A lady was inveighing to a friend against the whole race of Indian cooks as dirty, disorderly, and dishonest. She had managed to secure the services of a Chinese cook, and was much pleased with the contrast. Her friend did not altogether agree with her, and was sceptical about the immaculate Chinaman. ‘Put it to the test,’” said the lady; “just let us pay a visit to your kitchen, and then come and see mine.” So they went together. What need to describe the Bobberjee-Khana? They glanced round, and hurried out, for it was too horrible to be endured long. When they went to the Chinaman’s kitchen, the contrast was indeed striking. The pots and pans shone like silver; the table was positively sweet; everything was in its proper place, and Chang himself, sitting on his box, was washing his feet in the soup tureen!’

Edward Hamilton Aitken’s account of life in India in the late nineteenth century is a typical representation by colonizers of domestic servants, Indian, in particular, in the British colonies as being filthy, dishonest, undisciplined and unintelligent. Colonizers’ narratives on domestic servants frequently disparaged their characters and called into question their honesty, loyalty and hygiene; tales of inept and unintelligent behaviour were legendary. And yet for all their questionable standards of hygiene and supposedly low level intelligence the service provided by the diverse range of servants, ranging from cook, butler, waiter, sweeper, dog boy, water carrier, laundry washer and so on, held together the imperial household. In his study of European ruling elites and their patterns of food consumption, Marc Jason Gilbert observes ‘the bitter racist diatribes directed against and also heartfelt tributes offered in recognition of the performance of the colonial kitchen staff. Nowhere else can one find the complexities of the relationship between Prospero and Caliban than in the kitchen’.2 This chapter will analyse the contradiction between widely held colonial stereotypes that cast servants as dirty and untrustworthy and the fact that they were entrusted with food preparation, a service that is intimate, vital and essential to health and wellbeing.

The study of work performed by domestic servants for the colonists is an area that has long been neglected. This chapter shows that domestic chores, in food purchasing, preparation and serving were relegated to the local people. The memsahib as head of

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the household held a supervisory role, to impose the rituals and tasks that defined the colonial home as a bastion of white imperialism. It can be argued in contrast that it was the servants’ local knowledge that procured food. Most kitchens were fashioned according to the requirements of the servants and the cooks did all the cooking, usually preparing local dishes. I will employ cookbooks and household manuals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from both Britain and the three colonies to investigate the representation of the memsahib-servant relationship. These publications not only typecast native servants as unworthy but attempted to teach colonizers how not to behave in ways that can be seen as inappropriate.

The physical nurturing of colonizers by the colonized underpins the most personal and intimate of colonial relations. European colonial society deployed specific female rituals (encouraging colonial wives to ensure her home was comfortable for both her husband and for his colleagues) to mark boundaries between the rulers and the ruled. Fae Dussart, in her study on servant/employer relationship in nineteenth-century England and India, argues that this relationship in colonial India ‘was essential to the development of colonial domesticity’. Dussart stresses that the management of the colonial home was pivotal to the imperial civilizing project. The domestic sphere in colonial India, Dussart argues, was where memsahibs and servants together worked towards ‘displaying the values of British civilization to servants and visitors, insisting on cleanliness, order and respect for the ruling race and/or class’. The numbers of Britons in the colonies increased after 1918 due to several reasons: the Colonial Office had started encouraging its officers in the colonies to marry, and improvements in tropical medicine, refrigeration and transport all contributed to a more comfortable lifestyle in the colonies. The memsahib in the colonial home became an omnipresent arbiter of manners. There was an understanding that the security of the white middle-class home derived from it being an oasis of civilized behaviour amidst alien surroundings and barbaric people. However, the memsahib could not single-handedly transform the colonial home into the symbol of British prestige without her domestic servants.

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4 Dussart, *The Servant/Employer Relationship*, p84.
Just as the army of domestic servants were responsible for the smooth running of the upper class home in the Victorian era, the native servants were largely accountable for the purchasing, preparation and cooking of food as well as the cleaning and maintaining of the colonial household. In Britain, the kitchen was seen as the province of the servants and not the mistress. This ideal was replicated in the colonies. As early as 1795, cookery books were written for servants working for the upper classes. An illustration in a household manual showed a mistress presenting her servant with a cookery book, with the caption, ‘A Lady presenting her Servant with the *Universal Family Cook* who diffident of her own knowledge has recourse to that Work for Information’. Although colonial cookbooks were written principally for the colonial housewife there were also a handful published with translation into local languages within the books for the use of local servants. Gilly Lehmann’s work on the British housewife reinforces ‘the image of the lady of leisure, a consumer of others’ services’. The employment and management of servants in the Victorian middle classes was not only about making home-life comfortable but it also meant ‘creating the kind of disciplined, deferential workforce which Britain needed if it was to maintain its position as the world’s premier nation’. In the colonial context, this was extended to ideas of promoting the white household as a prestigious enclave, that domestic menial work was the domain of the colonized while the memsahib ruled from within her domestic space.

The memsahib-servant relationship was fraught with tension – on the one hand the memsahib had to create a ‘Britain in the home’, and a model of bourgeois white domesticity – and on the other all this could only be achieved through the efforts of her servants who were frequently denigrated as useless, filthy and dishonest. R.C.H. McKie summed up how utterly dependent the European was on domestic service in Malaya and Singapore when he wrote,

> ‘the European has made himself so completely dependent on Asiatic service if all the boys in Malaya went on strike to-morrow he would be helpless … No food would be cooked, no clothes washed, beds made, or floors cleaned, and most

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catastrophic, there would be no drinks served. … It is a truism in Singapore that the European, however insignificant in education and background, does only those things for himself, like bathing, dressing, eating, which cannot throw across to his staff. … I have even seen a man call the boy a second time to lift a glass two feet across a table to save him the trouble of moving an inch in his chair.” 13

‘The servant problem’
Servants are inextricably linked to the preparation of food in the colonial kitchen. They procured, prepared and served food. As Mary Procida, in her book on Anglo-Indian women, points out, ‘the crucial mechanisms for running both home and empire were entrusted to Indians, with the British relegated to the role of symbolic, if authoritative, presence’. 14 She goes on to say that in India, the burden was borne by Indian domestic servants and not Anglo-Indian wives. Indeed, this arrangement of presenting a symbolic, supervisory role over servants by Anglo-Indian wives was repeated in the colonies of Malaya and Singapore.

It is indisputable that the good relationship between servants and mistress was conducive to successful home management and the maintenance of health and well-being for the colonizers. Janice Brownfoot, in her study on memsahibs in colonial Malaya claims that servants were usually considered essential as, if a European woman were to do her own housework she would quickly become ‘physically exhausted and dripping with sweat’. 15 Moreover, due to custom and circumstances (she cites the use of wood fires and kerosene-tin stoves), mems were dependent on their servants’ assistance for cooking and budgeting. 16

Beverley Gartrell’s reconnaissance paper on colonial wives was based on experiences in Uganda but deals with generic cultural patterns of colonial structures and therefore could be applicable to other colonies. Gartrell argues that wives were not necessary for the physical care and feeding of officials as, after all, these tasks could be carried out by well-trained native servants. Instead, she argues that wives functioned as representatives of European culture and its moral standards. 17 While not all British

13 R.C.H. McKie, This Was Singapore, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1942, pp19-20.
14 Procida, Married to the Empire, p82.
wives in the colonies enjoyed the ‘leisured life with many servants’, it was a situation that was becoming increasingly rare for households to have several domestic servants in Britain. Gartrell’s own personal experience as a wife in Uganda for six years exposed her to the ‘never-ending topic of conversation in the tropics’: the ‘servant problem’. She contends that ‘some women needed inefficient service, and acted to ensure it, thus filling their time with the necessity of close supervision’. Similarly, Charles van Onselen, in his study on domestic service in the Witwatersrand in South Africa, mentions that masters and mistresses in the colonies ‘spent an endless amount of time talking about their servants’ and many of these discussions were communicated to the press concerning the ‘servant problem’. However, the ‘servant problem’ was more than middle-class complaints about lower-class servants. In the second half of the nineteenth century the British middle-classes were faced with bourgeois anxieties as they took domestic servants from the working classes. Kathryn Hughes reasons that, as the female servants were trained in the ways and customs of the middle classes and adopted these fine points of behaviour themselves, they would marry well and thus ‘spreading the civilizing mission of the middle classes even further down the social scale’. The latter were seen as expanding rapidly in numbers while middle-class families became smaller. In the colonies there were anxieties regarding servants too, but for different reasons, mainly about the disease-ridden servants and their dishonesty.

Servants in colonial cookbooks and household manuals

Nineteenth and early twentieth century cookbooks, household management manuals and newspaper and magazine articles for the colonies bristle with instructions on how to run a household, manage servants and prepare and serve food. These publications can be seen as instruments for perpetuating the values and representations of Empire. The number of cookery and household guides gained momentum between the 1880s and 1920s aimed at the second generation of middle-class British women who resided in India after the uprising of 1857. As Alison Blunt sees it, it was a time of ‘the consolidation of imperial domesticity’ and ‘British confidence in imperial rule and its reproduction on a household scale’.

18 Gartrell, ‘Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims?’, p176.
20 Hughes, The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton, p299.
21 Hughes, The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton, pp299-300.
Written by both men and women, these guides emphasised that it was the duty of British women to maintain imperial domestic relations. Among the recipes and household hints were deliberate attempts at positioning native servants as ‘Other’ through race and class. The authors took it upon themselves to educate colonial householders on the unsavoury character of the native person and suggest appropriate behaviour to foil their dishonesty and unhygienic habits. Through the medium of these manuals, appropriate behaviour was also prescribed to memsahibs to uphold the highest standards. ‘An Anglo-Indian’ in his or her cookery book aimed at ‘young housekeepers’ in India declared that the mistress of her household would be admired by her servants if she could direct her home to run smoothly. The author suggested the mistress should have ‘the ability to govern and rule as well as train her domestics to greater perfection, by teaching them more improved methods’. Thus, readers of these publications were expected to aspire to the ideals published. As Steel and Gardiner state in the preface of their manual, ‘the very possession of the book may be held to presuppose some desire on the part of the possessor to emulate the wife who does her husband good, and not evil, all the days of her life, by looking well to the ways of her household’. If messages were repeated often enough they became accepted as truth. Invariably the general household books of the nineteenth century included recipes. Prescriptive in nature, the household manuals recommended treating native servants as childlike, unworthy and needing discipline. Ostensibly strict moral and social values were replicated from Victorian Britain and elaborate shows of material wealth and entertainment were on display. As well, the notion of sisterhood is promoted in these manuals, of helping the newly arrived or young memsahibs to manage servants in the colonies. Mrs John Gilpin wrote her ‘little manual’ to help others as she had ‘suffered myself from being planted in this country with no knowledge of the language or the customs, and recalling vividly how utterly forlorn I felt’. A ‘press notice’ advertising the publication of a new manual stated that the ‘memsahib who has just attained wedded

27 Margaret Beetham, Of Recipe Books and Reading in the Nineteenth Century: Mrs Beeton and Her Cultural Consequences, Hants, Ashgate, 2003.
bliss, and realises that after the honeymoon is over mundane matters and the cook have to be faced, has half the battle won if she is armed with a copy of Constance Eve Gordon’s manual.\textsuperscript{30} To a large extent, British social behaviour in the colonies was modelled on the fashion and fads of Britain. The cookbooks and household manuals for the colonies were themselves styled after the cookbooks and household handbooks of Britain, the most well-known of which is Isabella Beeton’s.\textsuperscript{31}

The supervisory nature of housekeeping in the colonies, like other aspects of everyday routines, had its origins from Britain. In Victorian Britain, housekeeping in affluent households involved the mistress ‘giving instructions, perhaps unlocking store cupboards (the Victorian mistress rarely trusted her servants) and measuring out the provisions of the day, ordering the meals’.\textsuperscript{32} As Alison Light puts it, for the British mistress in the metropole ‘devising menus, ordering food, checking the state of the linen and gently breathing down the necks of her servants to make sure they were doing their jobs properly were all part of her supervisory role’.\textsuperscript{33} Steel and Gardiner devote the first chapter of their comprehensive household manual to the housekeeper and cook for Anglo-Indians, with the main object of achieving three things: ‘smooth working, quick ordering and subsequent peace and leisure to the mistress’.\textsuperscript{34} While they lay down detailed instructions on every aspect of running a household in India, it is evident that the memsahib’s role was largely supervisory. For example, ‘half-an-hour after breakfast should be sufficient for the whole arrangements for the day’.\textsuperscript{35} In this half hour the housekeeper should check the cook’s ingredients for the day, order luncheon and dinner, and check the pantry, scullery and kitchen for cleanliness. In an article on Indian household management published in a guide in 1898 Agatha Florence James wrote,

‘The usual daily round of duty for ladies who have housekeeping cares on their shoulders, is much the same in India as in England and elsewhere. The khansamah has to be interviewed after the second breakfast (the first meal, a light one, being taken before going for the early morning ride or drive), his bill checked off and paid, and his orders given. Then follows the visit to the store cupboards, known as “godowns” (warehouses), which are generally in the verandah, and the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Isabella Beeton, \textit{Beeton’s Book of Household Management; Also, Sanitary, Medical, & Legal Memoranda; with a History of the Origin, Properties, and Uses of All Things Connected with Home Life and Comfort}, London, Jonathan Cape, 1861.
\item Steel and Gardiner, \textit{The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook}, pp5-8.
\item Steel and Gardiner, \textit{The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook}, p5.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
articles required by cook, bearer, *khitmutgar* (a servant who waits at table) and the *syces* (grooms, horse-keepers or chauffeurs) given out. It is necessary to keep all groceries, grain [corn] for the horses, goats and cows, under lock and key, and give them out daily as needed, otherwise they will disappear with alarming rapidity. Many people have their horses brought round to the verandah and there fed, for grain has a most extraordinary faculty for melting away in a syce’s hands and to see your horses eat their food is a simple but very effectual method of being certain that they really have it.’

Ordering meals could be made even less onerous according to a publication whose object was ‘not only to assist Native Cooks in preparing good dishes, but to save house-keepers the trouble of describing the *modus operandi*. The headings are in English, so a lady ordering a dinner has simply to mention the names of the various dishes and the Cook reads for himself in Tamil what is required’. The manual lists soups, main dishes and desserts for ‘Family Dinners for a Month’. Another cookbook, written by an ‘Anonymous’ Anglo-Indian, which provided a range of European and Asian recipes for ‘Indian tables’; was also published in Urdu. It can be deduced here that time saved from speaking to servants about recipes or meals for the day could be spent on other activities.

Steel and Gardiner also advised, ‘never do work which an ordinarily good servant ought to be able to do. If the one you have will not or cannot do it, get another who can.’ They further stated that ‘we do not wish to advocate an unholy haughtiness; but an Indian household can no more be governed peacefully, without dignity and prestige, than an Indian Empire’. Similarly, J.K. Stanford wrote that

> ‘no lady ever demeaned herself to visit the bazaar and buy her own food. She left that entirely to her native cook, for to enter and bargain in the meat or fish stall, quite apart from the smell, was “bad for prestige”. Nor did they ever enter their back premises, the “cookhouses” in which their viands were prepared. … people were satisfied if the cook produced, unwatched, edible food on a tiny charcoal fire and with a minimum of fuss. He could be relied on to cater, with an almost Biblical magic, for a host of unexpected guests at short notice.’

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37 *What to Tell the Cook; or the Native Cook’s Assistant, Being a Choice Collection of Receipts for Indian Cookery, Pastry, Etc. Etc*, Madras, Higginbothams Ld., 1910, Publisher’s note.  
38 *What to Tell the Cook*, Publisher’s note.  
40 Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, pp5-6.  
The rationale for employing large numbers of servants – namely, ethnic and caste considerations, labour costs – is discussed in Chapter One. One memsahib, Majorie Cashmore, justified employing several servants saying, ‘in India of course the memsahib never did anything that the servants did, that really they would look down on you, if you attempted to dust or just sweep that was just too much’.\footnote{Majorie Cashmore, (Wife of Missionary). Thomas Herbert Cashmore (Bishop), The Raj, 16 Oct 1973 1015-1245 – H58X: SOAS: OA1/14/1-2, 1919-1933.} War correspondent for The Times of London, William Howard Russell, in his diary of 1858 to 1859 observed that while in Simla he and ‘Alison’\footnote{The entrance for Russell in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, vol .48, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, does not mention Alison as a spouse or companion but dates his first marriage to Mary in 1846. It mentions his ‘secret mistress’ in the 1870s with whom he had three children and in 1884 married Countess Antoinette Mathilda Pia Alexandra Malvezzi.} had six servants in attendance at dinner and there were in total thirty servants for their household of two.\footnote{William Howard Russell, My Diary in India: In the Year 1858-9, London, Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1860, p101.} In a chapter written specifically as ‘Advice to the cook’, Steel and Gardiner point out that,

‘Now as half the illness in the world comes from the stomach, for which it is your business to provide it, it stands to reason that a cook ought to do his best to do everything in the best possible way. And it lends to the comfort of the whole house; for if the dinner is badly cooked, your mistress will be angry, the master will have an indigestion, and be cross; everything will go wrong, and whose fault will it be? Yours.’\footnote{Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p227.}

While the authors of the household manuals were not reticent in advertising the faults and evils of native servants they were coy about punitive actions. There are references to both physical and verbal abuse as well as withholding salaries due to servants. R. Riddell stated that often servants left their employment in the colonial household suddenly as ‘the slightest fault of a native servant being often visited with blows and such abuse as no respectable man will bear, very often too for no other fault than that of not understanding what the master has said’.\footnote{R. Riddell, Indian Domestic Economy and Receipt Book; Comprising Numerous Directions for Plain Wholesome Cookery, Both Oriental and English; with Much Miscellaneous Matter Answering for All General Purposes of Reference Connected with Household Affairs, Likely to Be Immediately Required by Families, Messes, and Private Individuals, Residing at the Presidencies or Outstations Bombay, printed at the “Gentleman’s Gazette” Press, 1849, p2.} Colesworthy Grant also alluded to unfair treatment of servants when he described them as ‘patient, forbearing, generally speaking grave and quiet in their demeanour’ and employers could well gain their ‘respect, attention, and even attachment’, provided they were not subject to ‘personal violence, – regular payment of wages’.\footnote{Colesworthy Grant, Anglo-Indian Domestic Life. A Letter from an Artist in India to His Mother in England, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1862, p63.} Steel and Gardiner advised monetary ‘rewards and punishment’ and administering castor oil as punishment ‘for inability to learn or to
remember’. 49 They claimed that an easy method was ‘to engage servants at the lowest rate and declare extra money as buksheesh, (payment as a tip or bribe conditional on good service) – for instance, a khitmutgar (a servant who waits at table) is engaged permanently on Rs. 9 a month, but the additional rupee which makes the wage up to that usually demanded by good servants is a fluctuating assessment!’ 50 The authors claim that fines could be levied on forgetfulness, lying and so on. 51 Fining servants was another way of punishing them for ‘bad’ conduct – C. Lang in her manual on hints on Indian housekeeping, advised that ‘the only way of punishing them is to fine them. Also it is a good plan to withhold one rupee of the month’s wages and restore it at the end of the month, if conduct has improved’. 52

Unlike India, where labour was cheap, servants were in limited supply in British North Borneo. Agnes Keith (who made famous the description of North Borneo as ‘land below the wind’) advised that ‘native servants will only work for the masters they are fond of, and if displeased with their employees they “resign” and return to their villages to live on their relatives’. 53 The average colonial household in this colony employed a cook, one or two ‘boys’, a water carrier, a gardener and a syce, a relatively smaller number compared to the numerous servants in the employ of each family in India. 54 The British were either pragmatic, sensitive to the indigenous culture or simply being realistic. Owen Rutter, who worked in North Borneo as a government officer and in later years as a planter, classified domestic servants according to racial and ethnic groups. He noted that the majority of the cooks and houseboys were Chinese Hainanese, from the island of Hainan. The best cooks in domestic service and restaurants were, in Rutter’s view, Hainanese men. Hainanese authorities forbade the emigration of their women until 1924. 55 In Rutter’s opinion, ‘the Hylams [Hainanese] make excellent servants; they are clean, hardworking and (within the limits of an Oriental) honest. Most of them are what is known as “good plain cooks”’. 56

49 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p4.
50 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p3.
51 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p3.
53 Agnes Keith, Land Below the Wind, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1939, p34.
55 Kenneth Gaw, Superior Servants: The Legendary Cantonese Amahs of the Far East, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1991, p70. Gaw notes that in 1910 a Hainanese woman had allegedly arrived in Singapore and 2000 Hailam houseboys and shopkeepers stormed the house where she was thought to be but hiding but no such woman was found.
56 Rutter, British North Borneo: An Account of Its History, p379.
Nevertheless, he also wrote that at first the ways of native servants may appall the memsahib, notably, ‘the morning skirmish with the Chinese cook’\(^{57}\) (the cook’s wages ranged from £2 10s to £3 15sh a month) and added that ‘a Chinese cannot make a curry as an Indian or Malay but he comes a very good third’\(^{58}\). The Hainanese houseboy earned between £2 to £3 a month, and according to Rutter,

> ‘is usually clean and well mannered, and makes a good servant, particularly when he has the vigilant eye of a Mem upon him, but few Chinese can stand jungle work, and the outstation man as a rule keeps native boys who soon learn a little cooking, sufficient for their lord’s needs when he is on tour. If caught young, both Dusuns and Muruts\(^{59}\) make good house-boys; they are seldom as clean as Chinese but they are far more resourceful, and are often invaluable when travelling, the real test of a native servant.’\(^{60}\)

‘Native’ in British North Borneo was a respected term; native chiefs were the highest authority among the indigenous people. A.C. Brackman notes that ‘Borneo is one of the few places in the nonwhite world where the word “native” is honourable and is used in its original meaning and not as a reflection of the white man’s burden; indeed, the Natives of Borneo are not only proud of the term, but go to the other extreme and consider such words as aboriginal and indigenous insulting’\(^{61}\).

The Chinese were also employed as water carriers, wood choppers, sweepers, dish washers, and ‘performers of any odd jobs outside the sphere of the “boy”’.\(^{62}\) In the hierarchy of the colonial household domestic service the water carrier stood at the lower end of the pecking order. He was at the beck and call of the other servants and blamed for any mishaps. To improve his prospects he could learn to cook in the kitchen and graduate to being a ‘good plain’ cook, earning £3, instead of £2 per month.

\(^{59}\) The Dusuns, an indigenous people, lived mostly on the west coast and in the interior of British North Borneo during the colonial era. They were a prosperous agricultural people and the chief rice producers in the colony. The Muruts then were mostly hunters and inhabited the southwestern areas of the colony, towards the borders of Sarawak and Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) – *Colonial North Borneo Annual Report, 1960*, Government Printing Department, Jesselton,1961, pp20-21. See also Cecilia Leong, *Sabah: The First 100 Years*, Kuala Lumpur, Percetakan Nan Yang Muda Sdn. Bhd., 1982, pp100-106.
Further, Rutter claims that European children usually learnt Malay from their Javanese babu (nanny) or Chinese amah before they could speak English. The Chinese amahs were generally mature women as younger women tended to have love affairs with other staff members and ‘are liable to upset the calm of an otherwise unruffled ménage’. Besides looking after the children, the babu or amah sewed, washed and ironed and were paid about £4 per month. The ‘black and white amahs’ (after their traditional attire of black trousers and white blouse) of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo states were famed for their professionalism as cooks and child carers. These women travelled to Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya and Borneo from Guangzhou and were well known for their independence. Julian Davison who, as a child, was looked after by a black and white amah, claims that these women servants can be compared to the renowned class in domestic service in Britain, the English butler. They arrived from China to the Straits Settlements and Malaya states from the 1930s and were popular among the British and other European families.

As in other European colonies, colonizers feared that their children being brought up ‘in the East’ were at risk of picking up customs and faults of the colonized people and thus becoming lesser Europeans. R.J.H. Sidney, a naval officer, wrote that in Malaya ‘European children are apt to get the idea, partly because the servants will go out of their way to please them, that they really are little lords’. The gardeners and syces were paid £2 a month as well and were usually Javanese but the Bajau (an indigenous group of Sabah) ‘if carefully trained, looks after ponies well’. Another servant category peculiar to Borneo was the ‘jungle boy’, whom Charles Bruce described as ‘an ever-continuing miracle’, he was the ‘composite cook, butler and valet who attends on the peripatetic European in his trips through the wild lands of the East. He is always a native, because practically no Chinese have a jungle “sense,”

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63 The immigration of Indonesians, particularly the Javanese into North Borneo was as estate labourers between 1921-1931. As for the Chinese, unlike the influx of this group into Malaya, their importation was state-assisted as there were no attractions in North Borneo similar to the tin and rubber industries in Malaya. See Lee Yong Leng, North Borneo (Sabah): A Study in Settlement Geography, Singapore, Eastern Universities Press Ltd., 1965, pp47-49.
64 Rutter, British North Borneo: An Account of Its History, p378.
67 Julian Davison, One for the Road and Other Stories, Singapore, Topographica, 2001, p12.
68 Davison, One for the Road, p11.
though on one long trip, when there were four Europeans, we did have a Chinese cook. He was an exception, and stuck the seventy days in the wilderness well.\textsuperscript{72}

The government official travelled frequently to visit outlying districts on administrative matters as well as on reconnaissance tours for opening up agricultural land. The role of the resident and district officer involved spending two-thirds of his time travelling through his ‘kingdom’. The jungle boy’s rural upbringing with his knowledge of cattle and ponies, ability to speak the native dialects and his simple diet made him an asset to the European traveller.\textsuperscript{73} The jungle boy’s tasks were arduous on a jungle trip, rising at four in the morning to start the fire over a tripod of stones and prepare breakfast. By five-thirty he had served breakfast to his employer and others, stripped and packed the bed, clothing and kitchen equipment and was ready for the day’s march. At about two the party would have reached camp and he had to serve tea immediately to the European and then to set up the bed and lay out clean clothing for him. The day’s clothes had to be washed and dinner had to be prepared. Outside his jungle duties and back ‘home’ he returned to his role as ‘houseboy’ but with support from the rest of the domestic staff.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{Native affairs and sleeping dictionaries}

From the earliest years of British settlement in British North Borneo, (now the Malaysian state of Sabah), European men outnumbered European women. When Ada Pryer arrived in the 1880s, there was only one other Englishwoman.\textsuperscript{75} In the 1891 census there were 122 British males and 38 British females; other European males totalled 70 while the number of females was 15. Accounts of relationships between British men and local women in Malaysia and Singapore are few in history books, a notable exception being John Butcher’s study on the social history of the British in Malaya.\textsuperscript{76} However, there are several fictionalised works, the most well-known ones by Somerset Maugham.\textsuperscript{77} It was not an uncommon practice for the European man to have a local woman living with him, the man could either be single or married with his European wife in Europe. Many mems chose to live in Europe for part of, or the duration of their children’s education there. So standard was this arrangement in North Borneo the local people had a term, \textit{nyai}, for the local women who became mistresses.

\textsuperscript{72} Charles Bruce, \textit{Twenty Years in Borneo}, London, Cassell and Company Ltd, 1924, p129.
\textsuperscript{73} Bruce, \textit{Twenty Years in Borneo}, p129.
\textsuperscript{74} Bruce, \textit{Twenty Years in Borneo}, p130-131.
\textsuperscript{75} Ada Pryer, \textit{A Decade in Borneo} London, Leicester University Press, 2001, first published in 1893.
\textsuperscript{77} Two of these titles are \textit{The Force of Circumstance} and \textit{The Letter}. \textit{The Letter} was based on a shooting death in 1911 in Kuala Lumpur.
of white men. The term *nyai* originated in Indonesia to describe Indonesian women
who became concubines of Dutch colonials.\(^7\) In North Borneo these liaisons
frequently started off with the local women being employed as servants in the European
household. As the relationship became more than master/servant, the mutually accepted
arrangement was made ‘official’ by the European paying a *sogit* (compensation) of one
buffalo to her village to remove the shame. The *nyai* continued to work as a servant in
the household but was not paid as a servant. Officially and publicly she still assumed
the role of a servant, particularly at official functions.\(^7\) She was not allowed to meet
guests as the official partner of the host. Children born of these relationships were
educated in the English language mission schools; many of the daughters were brought
up in the Catholic convents.\(^8\) R.C.H. McKie noted that Eurasians, people of mixed
parentage were called *stengahs*, ‘a Malay word which means half and is also used to
name a small or half whisky’.\(^9\) American Agnes Keith, wife of a British civil servant
in North Borneo who lived with her husband there for many years, observed,

‘private interracial relations were more often determined in bed than in court in a
back-door relationship which so long as it stayed at the back door was accepted by
both races. This relationship, although supposedly initiated by the white man,
was encouraged and cultivated by brown women.’\(^10\)

In 1909 a sexual directive, to members of the Colonial Service, known as the Crewe
Circular (1909), discouraged the taking of concubines, warning of severe penalties for
transgressions.\(^11\) However, the circular banning interracial relationships was not sent to
North Borneo and Sarawak until the 1950s.\(^12\) Although these two states were under
British control they only became formal colonies in 1946.\(^13\) As in Indonesia, local
women in North Borneo who became mistresses of white men were derogatorily known
as sleeping dictionaries or ‘bedbooks’ – to denote the woman’s provision of free tuition

\(^7\) See Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the
Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2000, p121.

\(^8\) Leong, *Sabah: The First 100 Years*, pp97-98.

\(^9\) Leong, *Sabah: The First 100 Years*, p98.

\(^10\) McKie, *This Was Singapore*, p64.


\(^12\) Ronald Hyam, ‘Concubinage and the Colonial Service: the Crewe Circular (1909)’ *Journal of Imperial


\(^14\) Although concubinage was no longer practised in India by the early 1900s, it was still the custom in
Malaya, the Borneo states and several African colonies. Sir Hugh Clifford and Hugh Low were among
the Malay officials who encouraged concubinage and in Sarawak the Brooke rulers not only
encouraged concubinage but also discouraged their officers from marrying white women. See Ronald
Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990,
p158.
of the language and customs of local community to her European partner. On some agricultural estates, a local woman was allocated to a newly-arrived planter whether he was agreeable to the arrangement or not. The handing down of a mistress or concubine, like a commodity, was similar to the passing down of a cook to a newly-arrived family. Norman Edwards’ study of the design of the house and British colonial life in Singapore between 1819 to 1939, states,

‘European families often had to settle for the cook who had been passed on to them by their predecessors or choose from amongst those who happened to be available. For civil servants, there was often no choice at all; the cook came with the house.’

It seems as though a concubine, a cook or other servants were part and parcel of the colonial household inventory and could be conveniently handed over. Perhaps European employers believed the servant now trained in the ways of the European household, particularly in areas of hygiene, should be employed with another European family.

In introductory remarks on a cookbook for memsahibs published in 1894, A.C.S., remarks, ‘a dirty kitchen is a disgrace, so let every mem-sahib have this part of her establishment well under her surveillance, and though her too frequent presence in the kitchen is unnecessary, yet she should make a point of visiting it periodically to see that it is kept clean and orderly.’ Expressing similar sentiments eleven years earlier, ‘An Anglo-Indian’, stated,

‘Servants are necessary to comfort everywhere, but in India they are a necessity, a cook especially in the heat of the climate, and the position of the kitchen, make it impossible for a housewife to visit it often. But it requires to be visited at short intervals, just to see that the place is swept and clean, the table and cooking utensils well scoured, and the water chatties and their contents clean and wholesome.’

The constant advice on the need to keep the dirt and slovenliness of the servants at bay emphasised that British wives should not be passive agents of Empire. As Procida points out, metropolitan visitors to India often were concerned that Anglo-Indian women were not more involved in household management. She questions, ‘if the Anglo-Indian woman was not a paragon of domesticity, then what exactly was her role

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86 See Locher-Scholten, Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942, p121; and Suart, The Lingering Eye, p271.
87 Suart, The Lingering Eye, p271.
90 Anglo-Indian, Indian Cookery: ‘Local’ for Young House-Keepers, Introduction.
Manuals helped memsahibs to define a role for themselves by repeatedly exhorting them to constantly guard against the filthy and deceitful ways of the servants. Gilpin asks, ‘if you never go near your kitchen, how can you expect it to be kept approximately clean and in a state for the sanitary and seemly preparation of our food? A good deal of the reason why so many cooks are so unspeakably filthy in her habits is directly due to the mistresses taking no pains to keep them up to the mark’.  

While most of the household manuals (as well as novels, memoirs and biographies) for the British colonies decry the poor quality of the local domestic service, a few authors take householders to task for not taking more care with training their servants and not providing better facilities. Most notable of these was A.R. Kenney-Herbert, writing under the pseudonym, ‘Wyvern’. His treatise on cookery and household management for the Anglo-Indian women of Madras emerged from years of service in the Indian Army. Kenny-Herbert questioned why in India, ‘the chamber set apart for the preparation of our food is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the foulest in our premises – and [we] are not ashamed?’ He lambasted his readers for complaining about ‘native filthiness’ when the carelessly constructed and smoke-filled kitchen was built far from the house, sparsely furnished with a small table and a shelf. He continued,

‘Is it the cook’s fault that in the absence of proper appliances he is forced to practise his native ingenuity, “curry-stone” for a mortar, his cloth for a sieve, and his fingers for a spoon or fork? Is it the cook’s fault that, since no plates and dishes are included in his cook-room equipment, he has no alternative but to place meat, vegetables, &c., on his table; and that being without a mincing machine, or chopping board, he uses its surface in lieu of the latter?’

He went on to say that at a time when even men of modest means expected a higher standard of food than twenty years previously there had been no corresponding improvement in kitchen practices and equipment in India. Kenny-Herbert described ‘[d]inners of sixteen or twenty, thoughtfully composed, are de rigueur; our tables are prettily decorated; and our menu cards discourse of dainty fare in its native French’. In

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91 Procida, Married to the Empire, p81.
92 Gilpin, Memsahib’s Guide to Cookery in India, p2.
94 Kenny-Herbert, Culinary Jottings, p496.
95 Kenny-Herbert, Culinary Jottings, p499.
fact Kenny-Herbert’s book set out in detail thirty menus for dinner parties, all of the dishes being in French.96

Another Anglo-Indian who blamed poor supervision was W.H. Dawe:

‘The faults and shortcomings of Indian servants – the Naukar-Chakar Log – appear to be a general source of complaint amongst all, both with the new-comer on his arrival and the long resident – the complaint is universal: laziness, falsehood, dishonesty, and innumerable other vices seem to be innate in them. The Fault, however, is not wholly on their side; the master and mistress – the Sahib and Mem-Sahib – are often much to blame.’97

Dawe went on to say that

‘[E]very native servant (being more or less naturally indolent and careless) requires strict supervision to have your work satisfactorily performed. It is better to have as few servants as possible; the more you have the less work will be done, and the more will you be cheated and robbed. Never let servants see that you are too partial to them; they immediately jump to the conclusion that they are necessary to you, and that you cannot do without them, and, native like, they will at once show their ingratitude by robbing you and becoming careless and lazy, under the impression that they will not be suspected of dishonesty, and that their negligence will be viewed leniently.’98

‘Laziness, dishonesty and falsehood’ are the three most commonly cited failings of native servants in cookbooks and household manuals written for the British colonies. R. Riddell’s handbook for ‘the families, messes and private individuals’ in the ‘presidencies and outstations’ of the Raj provides recipes, advice on domestic life and how to handle native servants.99 He was contemptuous of the latter:

‘The misdeeds of Indian servants appear to be a general and unfailing source of complaint amongst all, whether we take the new comer on his arrival, or the long resident, without reference to any particular place; the complaint of them is universal – laziness, dishonesty, falsehood, with a host of other vices, seem to be inherent in them.’100

Syed Alatas argues that the negative image of people subjugated by Western colonizers was not based on Orientalist scholarship. He asserts that observations of native people as ‘indolent, dull, treacherous, and childish were made by monks, civil servants,

96 Kenny-Herbert, Culinary Jottings, pp453-494.
98 Dawe, The Wife’s Help to Indian Cookery, p4.
99 Riddell, Indian Domestic Economy and Receipt Book, p1.
100 Riddell, Indian Domestic Economy and Receipt Book, p1.
planters, sailors, soldiers, popular travel writers and tourists'. The ‘infantilising’ of, and rendering colonized people by not attributing to them decent human qualities was an integral part of imperial race ideologies. Although Charles van Onselen’s study of colonial masters and mistresses’ attitudes towards servants focuses on South Africa, he helps the historian to understand racial and colonial attitudes to the colonized. Van Onselen characterizes colonial employers’ attitudes when he stated, ‘[T]he best way of dealing with a black servant was as with a “child” – firmly and fairly’. This remark is similar to sentiments expressed by authors of cookbooks and household manuals written for the colonies. C. Lang’s manual to ‘young inexperienced English girls starting housekeeping in India’ suggested that Indian servants ‘must be treated like children, kindly but very firmly. Their brains are not properly developed and they cannot always see things in the same light as we do’. Another colonial who compared the colonized people to children and emphasised the innate differences between the two races was Mabel Hunter, who maintained, ‘it is best to treat them all like children who know no better, but … they are proud of their lies and the innate goodness of the European is not understood by them’. As Kincaid noted in his observation of 329 years of the social life of the British in India, ‘the native population was submissive and devoted to their masters. Their ways were not, of course, Western ways’.

Bruce, a District Officer in British North Borneo in the early 1900s, in discussing the Christianizing of natives there noted, ‘The mind of the average native is equivalent to that of a child of four … So long as one remembers that the native is still essentially a child and treats him accordingly he is really tractable’. Jacklyn Cock’s history of domestic service in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, argues that even in the best servant-employer relationships, the African was viewed as a child. The child analogy was a component of race, sex and class ideologies that denied equality. As Stoler observes, ‘racialized Others have invariably been compared and equated with children, a representation that conveniently provided a moral justification for imperial policies of

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103 Lang, ‘Chota Mem’, p55.
105 Kincaid, British Social Life in India, p226.
tutelage, discipline and specific paternalistic and materialistic strategies of custodial control’.  

Riddell, while criticising harshly the innate faults of servants, like his contemporaries, grudgingly concedes that certain factors would have contributed to their failings. Riddell states that native servants’ vices could be attributed to the way they were brought up and to the fault of employers who took them on based only on written testimonials. A few pages further, Riddell attacks the native servants, saying that their ‘principal vice, besides what I have already given, is an intolerable habit of lying’. At the same time he states, ‘in the way of tea, sugar, bread, milk, paper and such like articles, they will frequently, like European servants, appropriate a little for themselves’. On the next page Riddell declares that ‘you have only to treat natives well and kindly, and they will generally prove good servants to you’. Writing in 1935, Roland Braddell disagreed with the majority of other Europeans who reckoned the Hainanese among the best cooks and servants. He found that ‘the Hailam [that is, Hainanese] servant, a most exasperating person … has only one way of doing things, his own; he only cleans what he sees; he is very communistic, very stupid, and, as a cook, can be guaranteed to take all the taste out of anything, unless carefully supervised and trained. There are, doubtless, brilliant exceptions but through and by I have never found worse servants than the present-day Hailams’.

Another writer who contradicts herself on the virtues of Indian servants is ‘Eleanor’. She dispels the prevalent idea in England at the time that servants in India were cheap to employ and claims that it required a larger number in the colony to do the work than ‘at home’. On the next page she asserts that it was possible to have a good cook who ‘should be able to send up a thoroughly well dressed dinner for any number of guests, including made dishes, jellies and confectionary. A native cook will often put to shame the performance of an English one, soups, cutlets and made dishes in particular, their abilities vary greatly.’

So even as native servants proved their worth as skilled service providers, they were...
viewed with contempt and disrespect. Scholars like Kenneth Ballhatchet and Simon Dagut attribute this disrespect to the notion of ‘social distance’. In the context of domestic service in the colonial household, when servants were engaged in the most intimate of chores such as food preparation, child care, laundering of clothes and house cleaning, colonizers attempted to put social distance between themselves and the colonized. Ballhatchet writes that the official elite in India regarded themselves as an aristocracy. As they were mainly recruited from a middle class who admired the lifestyle of the landed aristocracy in England they liked to imagine themselves implanted as the top echelon of Indian society, in which social distance was essential to establishing and perpetuating their authority.

Steel and Gardiner berated those memsahibs who did not exert their authority on their servants: ‘they never go into their kitchens, for the simple reason that their appetite for breakfast might be marred by seeing the khitmutgār using his toes as an efficient toast-rack; or their desire for dinner weakened by seeing the soup strained through a greasy pugri (cloth)’. They added that the Indian cook ‘often stands confounded before his own failures, unable to tell where he has gone wrong, or how; and if his mistress is a practical cook, he will give a smile of wonder and relief when she points out what he must have done to have caused that specific result’. Moving to the stereotype of the khitmutgar, Steel and Gardiner describe this servant as a ‘a curious mixture of virtues and vices’. Although generally a ‘quick, quiet waiter and well up in all dining-room duties … in the pantry and scullery his dirt and slovenliness are simply inconceivable to the new-comer in India’. They go on to say that the best of the khitmugars will use their personal clothing to wipe crockery or place new mustard on top of the old instead of cleaning out the pot. They attribute this slovenliness to heredity as ‘all Mahomedans of the lower classes being apparently blind to dirt’. Lang advised making random inspections of the ‘cook-house’ and cautioned that ‘I am afraid you will get some shocks, but it may make him have cleaner ways. It is their nature to be very dirty, and

116 Ballhatchet, Race, Sex and Class, p164.
117 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, pp1-2.
118 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p71.
119 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p73.
120 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p73.
Europeans will never make them clean'.

A recurring theme among authors of the cookbooks and household manuals is the dishonesty of servants. Colonial wife, Mrs John Gilpin, cautioned her readers that food safes:

‘s should have locks and keys so that only the servant whose business it is to go to the safe will be able to get at the food. Even if the food is not actually made away with, an idle lower servant or a cook’s matey is very fond of picking over the food with dirty hands. There should be a separate cupboard or godown for all dry goods, which the mistress herself should give out every morning. It is not wise to leave these in charge of the best servant that you can imagine, for even if he does not let others steal it he will himself take a very large toll from it, which will increase almost imperceptibly until you suddenly awake to the fact that the bills are mounting up in an alarming manner.’

Eleanor declared that native servants of all classes often cheat and pilfer their masters’ rice, sugar, coffee and oil. She laments that the mistress of a house needed to constantly supervise ‘the most trifling details’ lest more quantities of oil, wood or eggs would be needed. Writing in a similar vein, E.S.P., in her ‘hints’ section on food stores, commented,

‘[I]f the housekeeper will take the trouble to keep all the stores, and give everything out daily, even to spices, and the smallest detail, including eggs, potatoes, and onions, she will find her bills considerably reduced, the things will be fresh and good, and she will be spared the constant differences with the cook over the accounts as to amounts used’.

Gilpin also advised against allowing a servant to handle the milk for the household and suggests bringing the cow to ‘where you can see it milked and constantly inspect the utensil into which the man is to milk,’ so that dirty water is not added to the milk. Another manual presented the house-keeper’s golden rule of always keeping the monthly purchase of consumables under lock and key and to ensure that what is taken out for daily use is done so in the memsahib’s presence. It instructed its readers that if it had been their practice ‘to put to put money into the hands of your servants to

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121 Lang, ‘Chota Mem’, p76.
122 Gilpin, Memsahib’s Guide to Cookery in India, p2.
123 Eleanor, Gems from the Culinary Art, p10.
124 E.S.P., ‘What’ and ‘How’ or What Shall We Have? And How Shall We Have It?, Calcutta and Simla, Thacker, Spink & Co.,1904, pvi.
125 Gilpin, Memsahib’s Guide to Cookery in India, p3. Gilpin gives an account where the ghowli (In Steel & Gardiner, ghowli is the ‘cow man’, the lowest in the hierarchy of servants, below the gardener and the lowest paid, p55) had a flat bottle and rubber tubing up his arm by which he let water into the container at the same time he was milking the cow.
purchase your requirements, *discontinue it at once*, follow the above Golden Rule, and you will be surprised to find the difference in your Cash Balance at the end of a month’ [emphasis in the original]. Yet another manual opines that ‘with most cooks, lining their own pockets is to them a matter of far greater importance than the excellence of the dishes they are called on to make. One means of doing this, which find special favour in their eyes, is to use half the ingredients named in the recipes, and to write down the full amount in the bill’. The representation of the native people as inherently dishonest was also an expression of Orientalism. The memsahib’s task of checking against cheating was one way of demonstrating difference. The provision cupboard had to be inspected daily, staples, spices and ingredients had to be weighed, even the level of alcohol bottles had to be marked.

What stands out in accounts such as these is the notion that colonial racism was constructed between master/mistress (colonizer) versus native servant (colonized). Ann Stoler links colonial racism to reaction to ‘class tensions in the metropole’, and cites Benedict Anderson’s characterization of a ‘tropical gothic’, a ‘middle-class aristocracy’ cultivating the colonials’ differences from the colonized. Stoler further states that in the colonies of India, New Guinea, the Netherlands Indies, Cuba, Mexico and South Africa, ‘increasing knowledge, contact and familiarity led not to a diminution of racial discrimination but to an intensification of it over time, and to a rigidifying of boundaries’. Stoler claims that colonial racism provided a way ‘of creating the sense of colonial community and context that allows for colonial authority and for a set of relations of production and power’. Stoler refers to the obsession of colonizers protecting European women against assault by Asian and black men with racist ideology, fear of the other and preoccupation with white prestige. However, the stereotypical casting of native servants as lazy, filthy and dishonest can be seen as components of colonial racism. Other scholars have argued that colonising women were ‘more rigid and hostile’ towards colonised people than colonial men. It was felt

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that these hardened attitudes by colonial women arose from the pressures of patriarchal imperialism. Dagut refers to both Gartrell and Strobel’s work when he suggests that this external force imposed on women in their domesticity led them to ‘buttress their fragile and dependent self-images by obsessive demands for deference from servants and other subordinated people’.133

The social life of the colonizer, with its busy entertainment schedule, could only have been sustained by the armies of servants. As Maud Diver wrote in 1909,

‘India is the land of dinners, as England is the land of five o’clock teas. From the Colonels’ and Commissioners’ wives, who conscientiously “dine the station” every cold weather, the wives of subalterns and junior civilians – whose cheery informal little parties of six or eight are by no means to be despised by lovers of good company and simple fare – all Anglo-India is in a chronic state of giving and receiving this – the most delightful or the most excruciating form of hospitality. And who but the hostess is responsible for the destined adjective?’134

Picnics were another form of recreation and these required ‘arranging’ as servants were sent ahead with tents and provisions. In his description of British social life in India, Dennis Kincaid observed that ‘romantic tastes required winding avenues between palms or mango-trees round whose trunks convolvulus, morning-glory, moon-flower and passion-flower were encouraged to creep. …Seats of chunam (ground mortar of sand and lime) were set at the end of these avenues and having on either side beds of jasmine and tuberose and shrubs of oleander, whose crumpled flowers give a deliciously spicy perfume. The paths were covered with small sea-shells which not only dried quickly after the drenching rain of the monsoon but were supposed to afford an uncomfortable passage to snakes’.135

In her significant work on domestic service in colonial Bengal, Swapna Banerjee contends that the British together with other Europeans, perceived Indians to be so different socially, culturally and morally, that they viewed Indian servants as a ‘crouching, sneaking, lazy homogeneous mass’.136 Banerjee asserts that the British description of native servants reinforced the European notion of Indians as the ‘distant’ and the ‘other’ – the ‘other’ being primitive, dirty, lazy, physically and mentally

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133 Dagut, ‘Gender, Colonial “Women’s History”’, p559.
134 Kincaid, British Social Life in India, p272, citing Maud Diver’s The Englishwoman in India, Edinburgh, W. Blackwood, 1909.
135 Kincaid, British Social Life in India, p155.
136 Swapna M. Banerjee, Men, Women, and Domestic Articulating Middle-Class Identity in Colonial Bengal, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2004, p94.
inferior. Banerjee also discusses writings by Indian writers on the Bengali domestic service in which ‘dishonesty and unfaithfulness were inscribed as naturalized attributes of servants’. However, she points out that while British authors of memoirs, domestic guides and travelogues portrayed Indian servants with tones of distrust and disgust, indigenous writers’ complaints; although scathing and harsh, were ‘most of the time tempered with good humour and tolerance’. E.M. Collingham states that Britons saw Indians as potential carriers of disease and states that there was anxiety about ‘Indian dirt’ being ‘particularized onto individual servants as potential carriers of deadly germs into the household on their bodies’. She explains that this fear of infection, particularly with the bubonic plague in Bombay in 1896, had encouraged the building of servants’ quarters away from the bungalow.

It may be tempting to suggest that separating the kitchen (a space largely the workplace of native servants) away from the living quarters of the colonial family was a deliberate act of segregation. Catherine Hall, in her work on gender and empire, also attributed to this separation of European and Indian quarters to fears of pollution and contagion. However, the location of servants’ accommodation distant from the employer’s main house has its origins in Britain. For example, both the manor houses of eighteenth-century England and the Victorian suburban houses of the nineteenth century, the kitchen and servant rooms were separate from the house proper. Light, in her work on Virginia Woolf’s domestic servants when the latter was part of the Bloomsbury Group explains that ‘in nineteenth-century urban culture, the topography of the house lent itself as an inevitable metaphor for bourgeois identity, with the lower orders curtained off, relegated to the bottom of the house or to its extremities, like a symbolic ordering of the body’. Edwards contends though that the kitchen and servants’ quarters being located in a separate building at the rear of the house and connected by a sheltered passage in colonial India and Singapore was not only to avoid the smell and

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143 The group of English intellectuals and artists who met or lived in Bloomsbury, London in the early twentieth century.
144 Alison Light, *Mrs Woolf and the Servants*, p75.
sight of food being prepared but also to stress that servants occupy the low end of the household hierarchy.\textsuperscript{145}

In the average colonial household, the kitchen as a place of food preparation for the family has frequently been depicted as a site of dirt and pollution. There, the main actors there were the colonised: the cooks and his or her helpers. It was the place banished to the back, separate from the living quarters of the family and where the servants congregated. Often the floors were dirty and damp as they were built low but for some servants the kitchen was a workplace by day and by night it was the place for sleep. Swati Chattopadhyay asserts that servants’ spaces were an afterthought and that the kitchen and other service spaces were ‘never an integral part of colonial houses in India because of the differing perception of servants’ needs’.\textsuperscript{146} Chattopadhyay adds that there was little interest, on the part of the colonist, to spend any more than the bare minimum for accommodation of servants.\textsuperscript{147} To avoid the dampness and dirt of the kitchen floors the servants in India would sleep on boxes or on the kitchen table and sometimes on a mat thrown on the floor.\textsuperscript{148} The implication of permitting such degrading accommodation for the family’s domestic servants could be seen as dehumanising the colonized people who were not worthy of being housed decently. This attitude was reflected in a letter dated 18 March 1838, written by Emily Eden, upon her arrival at the hill station of Mussoorie in the Himalayan foothills (‘with a nice sharp wind blowing’) where there were ‘good fires burning’ at Colonel G’s bungalow.\textsuperscript{149} Eden’s party found their Bengali servants, who had arrived the day before, ‘very miserable’ as they had slept in the open air ‘and were starved with the cold, and were so afraid of the precipices that they could not even go to the bazaar to buy food’.\textsuperscript{150} The most widely-read household manual for British India in its advice for what to permit servants to bring with them in the annual migration to the hill stations instructed that they should not bring ‘mill-stones and bedstead’. It offered that servants ‘will perch on carts, camels, and mules, much as birds of the air do’.\textsuperscript{151} In her diary entry of 23 January 1878, Mrs Robert Moss King, in describing their simple camp life,

\textsuperscript{145} Edwards, The Singapore House and Residential Life, p191.
\textsuperscript{147} Chattopadhyay, Representing Calcutta, p127.
\textsuperscript{148} J. Bartley, Indian Cookery, ‘General’ for Young House-Keepers, Containing Numerous Recipes, Both Useful and Original, Bombay, 1903, Bombay, Thacker & Co.,1903, pv.
\textsuperscript{149} Emily Eden, Up the Country: Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India, London, Curzon Press, 1978, p115.
\textsuperscript{150} Eden, Up the Country, p115.
\textsuperscript{151} Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p196.
revealed that while the kitchen servants had a small tent to sleep in, the other servants slept where they could in the cold but no one dreamt of complaining as it was ‘part of the natural order of things’.\(^{152}\) This description implies a hierarchy of sorts among the domestic service, the fact that the kitchen staff was allocated a tent could mean that they were seen as more important. The rationale, ‘part of the natural order of things’ was also used to justify journalist G.L. Peet’s accommodation for his servants. The family ayah’s (maid or nursemaid) middle room was surrounded on either side by rooms for the Chinese cook-boy and on the other by the Indian gardener. According to Peet, ‘a Malay woman coming into such close proximity with persons of different races and of the opposite sex might be embarrassed, but this was far from the case’.\(^{153}\)

**Kitchen facilities**

Colonial kitchens in Malaysia and Singapore in both clubs and homes were, as in India, by no means lavishly furnished but servants were expected to present dinners and banquets of a high standard. In the colony of British North Borneo, servants prepared meals in less than ideal conditions for British society on important days. Christmas dinner in 1886 for the British community was celebrated at the Sandakan Club and as the club had no kitchen, W.R. Flint, the Acting Chief Inspector of the Constabulary, ‘kindly placed his establishment at “Sunningdale” at the disposal of the steward, with the present of a couple of turkeys’.\(^{154}\) Kitchens in the smallest clubs in the far flung outposts of empire were venues for preparing grand dinners. Festive dinners and banquets in British North Borneo were elaborate affairs, with toasts to the Queen and the Governor, and singing and dancing into the hours of the next morning. For example, description of a banquet for Governor E.W. Birch reported in 1904 that it was ‘a brilliant gathering of 68 ladies and gentlemen, the largest number of Europeans that have ever been mustered in one place in the history of British North Borneo’.\(^{155}\) Held in the Reading Room of the Sandakan Club, the menu below illustrates that even in the outpost of Borneo, the local cook working in a club kitchen was able to help maintain empire’s prestige through foodways:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caviare</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turtle Soup</td>
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\(^{154}\) *The British North Borneo Herald and Official Gazette*, 1 January 1887, p4.

\(^{155}\) *The British North Borneo Herald*, 2 January 1904.
Cooks in isolated stations too worked in primitive kitchens to produce nourishing meals. In her first week in a Malayan rubber estate Alice Berry Hart had no running water, sink or 'ice-box' in her bungalow.\footnote{Alice Berry Hart, ‘Housekeeping and life in the Malayan Rubber’, \textit{Blackwood’s Magazine}, London, 1927, pp598-599.} Berry Hart describes her kitchen as a shed with a brick altar in the middle where a pile of coconut shells was lit for cooking. An iron grill was placed over the flames to cook meals. She goes on to say that, after preparing a meal, the cook squatted over the gutter with a bucket of canal water and some coconut fibre for cleaning the insides of the cooking pans.\footnote{Berry Hart, ‘Housekeeping and life in the Malayan Rubber’, p599.} Lang, who claimed to be ‘a help to many young inexperienced English girls starting housekeeping in India’ wrote, ‘as a rule, Indian cooks are excellent, and you will be surprised what nice dishes they make out of a little, and my first cook, although expensive, cooked beautifully, and it was extraordinary the few kitchen utensils he managed with’.\footnote{Lang, \textit{‘Chota Mem’}, p72.} She went on to say that her cook used a bottle for an egg whisk, bought spoons made out of coconut shells, a crude chopper and advised that ‘it is no use providing them with the good things you would give an English cook, so it is best to let them cook in their own way, provided they are clean’.\footnote{Lang, \textit{‘Chota Mem’}, p72.} Evelyn Beeton, in her ‘memoir’ of a year’s visit to India in 1912, wrote that:

‘One of the greatest marvels is the way the natives cook. Not only does every native servant seem born with a remarkable talent for cooking, but they can serve you up a six-course dinner in the wilds of the wilderness, or up 14,000 feet (4360 metres) in the snow. Wood and stones were carried by coolies, and eggs and chickens procured at the various villages passed lower down and the bearer requires only two large stones wherein the wood is placed and made to light if wet by fanning, and in this primitive way the most wonderful dinner is cooked and
served beyond civilization, often beyond snow level’. Another memsahib who praised the resourcefulness of the Asian cook was Katherine Sim. Among her recollections of her years in Malaya in the 1940s; she remembers that ‘if the cook-boy finds there is no oven in his new kitchen he will not be perturbed but will calmly roast a perfectly good joint in a kerosene tin thrust among the blazing logs of the fire’. The Viceroy’s residence in the hill station of Simla did not lack in manpower nor facilities though. A French chef and an Italian confectioner were recruited from Calcutta by the Lyttons and there were three hundred servants to cater for the cuisine and other services.

Equipment and ingredients aside, there is also the question of how servants drawn from a vastly different culture to the colonizer’s learned to please their masters’ every whim. Aitken found ‘the entire phenomenon of an Indian Butler’ puzzling. The butler was:

‘a man whose food by nature is curry and rice, before a hillock of which he sits cross-legged, and putting his five fingers into it, makes a large bolus which he pushes into his mouth. He repeats this till all is gone, and then he sleeps like a boa-constrictor until he recovers his activity; or else he feeds on great flat cakes of wheat flour, off which he rends jagged pieces and lubricates them with some spicy and unctuous gravy.’

Aitken wondered how the Indian butler acquired ‘a sound practical knowledge of all our viands, their substance, and the mode of their preparation, their qualities, relationships and harmonies… [H]e knows all liquors also by name, with their places and times of appearing’.

Aitken provides a striking description of the Indian cook’s workplace thus:

‘[H]is studio is fitted with half a dozen small fireplaces, and furnished with an assortment of copper pots, a chopper, two tin spoons – but he can do without these, -- a ladle made of half a cocoanot shell at the end of a stick, and a slab of stone with a stone roller on it; also a rickety table, a very gloomy and ominous looking table, whose undulating surface is chopped and hacked and scarred, begrimed, besmeared, smoked, oiled, stained with juices of many substances. On this table he minces meat, chops onions, rolls pastry and sleeps; a very useful table.’

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160 Evelyn Beeton, *A Memoir of a Year’s Visit to India by a Woman of Liberal Views Travelling Extensively in Northern India*, 1912, Beeton Paper, pp33-34.
163 Aitken, *Behind the Bungalow*, p44.
Aitken also claims that the cook uses his fingers as a strainer for eggs.\textsuperscript{166} However he acknowledges that the Indian cook often worked under difficult conditions. For example, he praises his bearer, saying that ‘he gets up in the morning an hour before me, and eats his dinner after I have retired for the night. He gets no Saturday half-holiday, and my Sabbath is to him as the other days of the week’.\textsuperscript{167}

Just as the many rituals and patterns of behaviour among European colonizers were about prestige, having a certain type of servant was seen as enhancing one’s status. The Goanese servants who worked as cooks or butlers in India were seen as the cream of domestic service. They spoke English and other languages and wore ‘short-jacketed highly-starched white suits and more often than not blancoed plimsoles’ and had names such as de Souza or de Mello.\textsuperscript{168} They were renowned for their culinary skills and turned out home-made ice-cream (there were few fridges but everyone had an icebox) and fresh fruit set in meringue, decorated with a candyfloss of burnt sugar woven into a fairy beehive’.\textsuperscript{169}

**Language and nicknames**

To emphasise the poor quality of servants in their employ, colonizers often gave their servants nicknames. The objective was to depersonalise them so that the servant was only identified by their function.\textsuperscript{170} This practice originated from master-servant relationships in Britain\textsuperscript{171} where Thomas and Susan were the standardised names given to servants regardless of what their real names might be.\textsuperscript{172} Other servant names popular in mid to late nineteenth-century Britain in the grand houses were Abigail, Betty and Mary Jane and others were simply called Cook or Boots according to the work they performed.\textsuperscript{173} As well, if a servant had a name being the same as a family member, the servant’s name was changed.\textsuperscript{174} The standard names and the uniforms servants were made to wear were to minimise their individuality and discourage them

\textsuperscript{166} Aitken, *Behind the Bungalow*, p48.
\textsuperscript{167} Aitken, *Behind the Bungalow*, p141.
\textsuperscript{169} Battye, *Costumes and Characters of the British Raj*, p44.
\textsuperscript{171} Delap, *Domestic Service in Twentieth Century Britain*, under chapter on ‘Mistresses and Authority’.
\textsuperscript{173} Light, *Mrs Woolf*, p1.
\textsuperscript{174} Delap, *Domestic Service in Twentieth Century Britain*. 

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from ‘putting themselves forward’. Light comments that employers at the time viewed ‘the best servant was a kind of absent presence’. In the colonies servants were omnipresent however, mainly due to the design of bungalows and large numbers of them employed. The openness of the colonial home was a double-edge sword. While the memsahib felt a lack of privacy in her own home, it was open to the gaze of her servants and Indian visitors, ensuring the bungalow as another site for the display of British superiority. Lady Lucy Marguerite Thomas, wife of Sir Shenton Thomas, who served as the Governor of the Straits Settlements between 1934 and 1942 and 1945 to 1946, wrote that among her large domestic staff at Government House, were ‘the Indians who waited at table and wore a very smart uniform scarlet and gold coats, and flat red and gold hats which came from the old East India Company’.

In the colonies proper names were rarely used. In Africa, servants under European employ were given derogatory names such as ‘whiskey’, ‘monkey’, ‘sardine’, ‘two-pence’ and ‘damn-fool’ and the nicknames were also intended to provide amusement for Europeans. Although they were responsible for the smooth running of the household the domestic servants were kept in the background and the cook in India was generally nicknamed Ramasamy and in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo states he or she was known as cookie. Alice Berry Hart, writing on her life in a rubber estate in Malaya in the 1920s, complained about the water-carrier: ‘because Balready was so slow and stupid, we called him, between ourselves, Ethelred the Unready,… [T]he truth is, that Balready is a savage, and dislikes civilisation’. Ada Pryer, wife of the founder of Sandakan, William Pryer, in her diary in 1893, even as she describes positively the ingenuity and resourcefulness of her Chinese cook, Lam Chong, finds it necessary to give him the nickname ‘Lamb Chops’. In colonial Malaysia cooks were all universally called ‘Cookie’; almost all respondents to my questionnaire state that

175 Light, *Mrs Woolf*, p1.
177 Lucy Marguerite (Lady) Thomas, ‘Reminiscences of life as wife of Sir Shenton Thomas, in the East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Nyasaland and Singapore:1909-46’, MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 492, p24. Thomas was born in Simla but went to boarding school in Britain when a few years old. She returned to India to join parents, later meeting husband in Nairobi.
179 In the Dutch colonies, the cook was known as ‘kokki’, see Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, ‘Summer Dresses and Canned Food, European Women and Western Lifestyles in the Indies, 1900-1942’, in Henk Schulte Nordholt (ed.), *Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 1997, p171.
their cooks were known as ‘Cookie’. Writing about her years spent in Malaya, Jean Falconer recalled having to make a sauce for prawn cocktails for a dinner party as ‘Cookie (bone-head) didn’t know how’. In colonial India, cooks all generally went by the name of Ramasamy, a corruption of Ramaswa-mi. Other colonial employers simply called their cooks bawarchi, meaning ‘cook’. This is illustrated in a dialogue between a husband and his newly arrived wife that Sara Jeannette Duncan created in her novel, set in India: ‘Kali Bagh, cook – that’s his name apparently, but you needn’t remember it, he’ll always answer to “bawarchi” – has been in my service eighteen months, and has generally given satisfaction’. L.W.W. Gudgeon states, ‘every domestic servant that fetches and carries within the house is in Borneo called a “boy”’. R.R. Tewson, a tea planter who moved into his new home in South India, on meeting his new ‘boy’ for the first time, thought: ‘some boy I thought, perhaps 50 years old?’ Edward Hamilton Aitken, naturalist and essayist, writing in 1889, offered two suggestions on the origin of ‘boy’:

‘I have heard it traced to the Hindoostanee word bhai, a brother, but the usual attitude of the Anglo-Indian’s mind towards his domestics does not give sufficient support to this. I incline to the belief that the word is of a hybrid origin, having its roots in bhoee, a bearer, and drawing the tenderer shades of its meaning from the English word which it resembles.’

While some colonials learnt a smattering of the local language, mainly to instruct their servants, one colonial in letters home to his mother, expressed disappointment that many of the servants of ‘opulent’ households spoke English. He claimed that the colonial employees then found it unnecessary to learn the local language and were ‘open to the most fertile source of deception and roguery, by being placed entirely at the mercy of their accomplished servants in all domestic monetary transactions’. It appears that the aim of learning the local language was either to avoid being cheated by the servants or to bark out commands to them. Often, the language used between mistress and servant reflected their ambivalent relationship and this is succinctly

182 Most respondents to my questionnaire mentioned their ‘Cookie’.
183 Locher-Scholten, ‘Summer Dresses and Canned Food’, pp143.
189 Grant, Anglo-Indian Domestic Life, p93.
portrayed in Jean Falconer’s book of her years in Malaya as a memsahib in the early twentieth century in the following dialogue:

“…at 7.00 the Boy brings tea to our bedroom – tea and fruit.”
“We get up at about 7.45.”
“At about 8.30 he (John Falconer, husband) calls ‘Boy!’ who answers ‘Tuan! (Master)’ John says ‘Makan!’ (food), Boy replies ‘Baik, Tuan’ (Right, Master). He announces when breakfast is ready, with ‘Makan siap’, and down we go.”

Thus the servant entered the private space of the bedroom and gave the first sustenance of the day and waited for more orders. Falconer, in her memoir, even with the benefit of hindsight of later years, still used language steeped in colonial mistress/servant tone and style when she recalled that after breakfast, ‘the cook presents himself to be given instructions for the day’s lunch and dinner, and to submit his little cash book with an account for the previous day’s purchases’.

Even those who had some knowledge of the local language or whose servants spoke English resorted to ‘mongrel’ dialects when communicating with him or her. ‘Mongrel dialects’ incorporated a range of linguistic elements that were used between whites and blacks in Africa. A European settler in advising communication with servants suggested, ‘you master the names of as many common objects as possible, and a few useful words, such as kwenda (go), kuja (come) … and string them together’.

‘Mongrel’ language was also employed in India, British Malaysia and Singapore. Following is a dialogue reproduced in a book with contributions by different authors and illustrates mangled language and a childlike tone.

‘Mrs Tracey, says: “Now, Khansama, for Hazree, we must have a nice Hosenai Kabob, do you understand?”
“Ah, Memshah! You mean Countree Koptan.”
“Well, well, Country Captain or Hooseenai Kabob, mind we have a good one, and bring some good Mutchee (fish) -- nice Hilsa Mutchee, you know -- and tell Bobertchy to “khoob bager kero” (fry it well).”
“Oure kootch? (anything else)” says Emem Khan.
“Yes, we must have a chigree (prawn) curry,” and then continues “for Tiffin let there be a Mulgo-tanee, some veal cotelettes with tomatoes; and as it is now cool weather we can have the tunda Buddock (cold duck) left from today's Khanna”. “Shall I go and order from Spence's a Saklee Mutton?” (His and the ordinary native way of saying “Saddle of Mutton”).

190 Falconer, Woodsmoke and Temple Flowers, pp2-3
191 Falconer, Woodsmoke and Temple Flowers, p3.
192 Kennedy, Islands of White, pp156-157
Even where servants were conversant in English it was not unknown for British colonists to use ‘mongrel’ language. The colonizers’ sense of superiority and the view that the colonised were childlike meant that they had to ‘talk down’ in ‘mongrel’ language – a combination of almost baby-talk and pidgin. The poem below was published in a Singapore newspaper, the objective of which was unclear, perhaps to titillate, to show cleverness?

Malay, A Poem

Amah, give anak his makan
Get the dhobi all sudah by three
Tell Tuan I’ve pergi’d to Tanglin
And I’ll probably pulang for tea
Sapu lantai the rumah this morning
Don’t siap the meja ‘til eight
Ask the saises to chuchi the kreta
And be sure the kebun isn’t late.
Tid’apa the tiffin for anjing
I’ll give him his tulang tonight
Make sure that the pintu’s are tutup’d
And see the kuching’s all right.
So, Amah, I’m pergi-ing scarang
You nanti until I return
Now I’m certain I’ve made myself clear
For Malay is so easy to learn.

Amah, feed the child
Make sure the dhobi finishes by three
Tell Tuan I’ve gone to Tanglin
And I’ll probably be back for tea
Sweep the floor this morning
Don’t set the table until eight
Ask the drivers to wash the car
And be sure the gardener isn’t late.
Don’t worry about feeding the dog
I’ll give him his bone tonight
Make sure that the windows are shut
And see the cat’s alright.
So, Amah, I’m going now
You wait until I return
Now I’m certain I’ve made myself clear
For Malay is so easy to learn.

The colonial community in the Malay and Borneo states and Singapore were encouraged to learn ‘kitchen’ Malay with the publication of Malay for Mems. Author Maye Wood declares that the ‘object of this little book is to place before newcomers, especially women, the most ordinary and necessary words and phrases required in household management’. Using her own personal experience, Wood included vocabulary and phrases that she deems are ‘the most useful’ and ‘the most generally required’. The contents of this ‘phrase book’ are illuminating, the section which Wood entitles ‘Easy sentences on ordinary themes’ comprise mainly commands and imperatives. Here are some examples:

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194 Kennedy, Islands of White, pp156-157. Kennedy cites Edna Boddington in The Call of Rhodesia, Salisbury, Art Printing Works,1937, in which the Rhodesian writer who ‘only discovered that her gardener could speak and even read English when he was drafted in a pinch to cook for her family, and prepared an excellent meal with the help of one of her cookbooks’, p238.


197 Wood, Malay for Mems, Introduction
On cleaning:

- Wash that: Chuchi itu
- Make that clean: Bikin beriseh itu
- This is dirty: Ini kotur
- This is not clean: Ini tidak beriseh
- Wash these plates: Chuchi ini pingan
- Wash them again: Chuchi lagi satu kali
- Wash it properly: Chuchi betul
- Is this really clean?: Ini b’ tul beriseh?

On cooking:

- Call the cook: Panggil kuki
- Not cooked: Tidah masak
- Not enough cooked: Belu(n) chukup masak
- Too much cooked: Tilalu banyak masak
- Tuan wants dinner: Tuan mau maka
- Make some sandwiches: Bikin s’ dikit ‘sandwich’
- Put them on the dining-table: Taroh meja makan
- Cover them up properly: Tutup betul

Conversation with the cook:

- I want to inspect the kitchen to-day: Ini hari, sahya mau pereksa dapur
- Tell the cook to come here: Kasi tau kuki k’ mari
- Choose the best fruit: Pileh buah bagus
- Give us rice to-day: Ini hari kasi nasi
- Cut up the meat in thick pieces: Potong daging t’ bal
- Fry it: Goreng
- Use a hot oven: Pakai tempat-panggang panas s’ kali
- Throw that away: Buang itu
- Is the meat good?: Daging ada baik?
- This meat is tainted: Daging bagus s’ kali

In a memsahib’s guide for learning Hindi, A.K.D-H gave encouraging advice on memsahibs in trying out their Hindi on their servants, saying that it ‘is rather wonderful how Indian servants do understand memsahib’s Hindustani sometimes, and keep their countenances over the most laughable mistakes’. The guide provides a list of orders to servants, a list that is both imperious and critical in tone:

‘If you do not carry out orders you will be dismissed at once.
I want “chota hazri” at 6 o’clock.
Breakfast at ten o’clock sharp

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199 Wood, Malay for Mems, p12.
Lunch at half past one.
Tea at four and dinner at eight o’clock.
This tea is too weak.
Take it away, and make fresh quickly.
Tell the cook there will be four more people to dinner.
Take care that there will be enough dinner.
Find out if you can get fresh fish, also some pigeons.
Yesterday’s meat was very tough.
It ought to be more tender.
This vegetable is quite raw.
How badly you have washed this tray cloth, it is still all stained, clean it properly.
Brush my hair...’

There was hardly any significant mention of food and even more conspicuously absent were references to the servants who prepared the food on the numerous journeys of exploration in the early days of British settlement in British North Borneo. Several expeditions into the jungles of Borneo were carried out on behalf of the British North Borneo Chartered Company for mineral exploration and also to look at agricultural potential. A Captain Beeston, in his diary of his journey up the Segama River in 22 September 1887, made mention that ‘stores beginning to diminish as far as tinned soups and meats are concerned’. On 3 October his entry read, ‘[O]pened the last tin of flour’. D.D. Daly, the assistant resident of Dent Province, noted in his diary while traveling in the Tenom area that he ‘bought 4 gantangs of red rice for 2 fathoms of cloth, worth 32 cents. …10 fresh eggs for cloth worth 5 cents, 100 cobs Indian corn for 1 fathom cloth worth 16 cents. Fowls for cloth from 5 to 10 cents each’. In a diary entry of a group travelling in early January 1885 with the British Consul-General in headhunting country in Murut country, reference to food was even more cursory: ‘after dinner I went ashore to the long house, armed with three big bottles of gin and some Putatan Tobacco, to a head feast’.

The necessity of having servants as assistants for the travelling colonizer was highlighted by Evelyn Battye when she claimed that ‘because there were some chores

203 K.G. Tregonning, Under Chartered Company Rule (North Borneo 1881-1946), Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1959, p129. William Pryer, W. Pretyman, L.B.Von Donop, F.W. Burbidge and F. Witti were some of these who journeyed into the interior of North Borneo.
204 ‘Mineral Exploration in British North Borneo’, The British North Borneo Herald, and Official Gazette, Sandakan, 1 May 1890, p129.
205 ‘Extracts from the Diary of Mr D.D. Daly, the Assistant Resident of Dent Province’, The British North Borneo Herald, and Official Gazette, 1 December 1885, p2.
206 ‘Diary of a Cruise with the British Consul-General up the Tamburong and Labu Rivers in Brunei Bay, on a Visit to the Head-Hunting Muruts, Now in Rebellion against the Brunei Government’, The British North Borneo Herald, and Official Gazette, Sandakan, 1 March 1885, p3.
neither sahibs, nor mem-sahibs, nor miss-sahibs could do for themselves in India, travellers of any standing took a personal servant with them.\textsuperscript{207} Among the tasks that her personal servant, a Pathan called Yakub Khan, did for her was to bring Battye food and drink or ‘conducted’ her to the restaurant car at station stops. At night Yakub Khan undid Battye’s bedding roll on the bunk, made it up with sheets and pillow case, and ‘all but tucked me in’.\textsuperscript{208} Auriol Gurner, who grew up in India, admitted that there was a servant for every purpose.\textsuperscript{209} Her ayah laid out clean clothes each morning for her and, while Gurner was still asleep, she ran the bath with a rag wound round the taps so that the sound of running water would not wake her.\textsuperscript{210} Her other tasks included squeezing out toothpaste on to the toothbrush in readiness and bringing orange juice to the bedside.\textsuperscript{211} This was echoed by another colonial woman who remembered from her childhood her ayah coming into her bedroom each morning ‘with freshly squeezed orange juice, which she put by my bed. I slept on. She went into the bathroom, fixed strips of sheeting to both taps to silently run my bath’.\textsuperscript{212} The servants also carried out other intimate chores, from bringing their employers’ breakfast to the bedroom first thing in the morning to feeding and looking after their children.

It can thus be argued that had it not been for the servants’ input, the memsahibs would have had to work harder. As it was, their work not only saved white labour, it helped shape colonial culture, despite the Britons’ best efforts to keep themselves socially distant. A pertinent question would be whether a colonial cuisine would have developed with such distinctive features without the benefit of the intimate aspect of native (though not necessarily indigenous) servants in British India, Malaya and Singapore. Cookbooks and other prescriptive manuals and writings on reminiscences became tools in articulating the identity of the good colonial wife and perpetuated racial prejudices against servants. The dominant pattern that emerged from these publications portrayed servants in the colonies as inherently dirty, unreliable and dishonest. This pejorative image of servants in the colonial home and the utter dependence of Europeans on their services was characteristic of the contradictions of colonial life. The dichotomy between image and reality of colonial attitude towards their servants

\textsuperscript{207} Battye, Costumes and Characters of the British Raj, p19.
\textsuperscript{208} Battye, Costumes and Characters of the British Raj, p19.
\textsuperscript{212} Fleming, Last Children of the Raj, vol.II, pp56-57.
extended beyond the home. Outside the home, the colonial institutions of clubs, dak bungalows and hill stations would also take on completely different dimensions without the work of domestic servants, an aspect that will be discussed in the next chapter. Just as the venues for rest and recreation were extensions of the colonial home, the vital domestic services of Asian workers were replicated in clubs, rest-houses and hill stations.
Chapter Five

Leisure and Segregation: Clubs, Hill stations and Rest-houses

‘So it is with life on the Nielgherries – a perfect anomaly. You dress like an Englishman, and lead a quiet gentlemanly life – doing nothing. Not being a determined health-hunter, you lie in bed because it passes the hours rationally and agreeably, and you really can enjoy a midday doze on the mountain-tops. ... your monthly bills for pale ale and hot curries, heavy tiffins, and numerous cheroots, tell you, as plainly as such mute inanimate things can, that you have not quite cast the slough of Anglo-Indian life.’

This chapter looks at the hill stations, clubs and rest-houses or dak bungalows that became the exclusive leisure and recuperation centres for British colonists in India, Malaya and Singapore. These three institutions with their customs and codes of conduct reinforced and replicated those of the carefully guarded colonial home against the encroachment of the colonized environment and its people. As in the home, the European in the hill stations, clubs and rest-houses depended entirely on domestic servants to provide food and comfort. Colonial life on the hill stations, by dint of their isolation and the constructed surroundings to resemble the idyllic English countryside, was entirely dependent on the local indigenous servants. It was ironical that by segregating themselves in the hill station, in a deliberate attempt to get away from the local people, the British in reality depended on their services for day-to-day existence. The services provided by the local inhabitants ranged from administrative support to maintenance of homes and infrastructure. Similarly, the club, a veritable colonial institution was an extension of the imperial home and was the venue where Europeans spent their leisure hours. Rest-houses or dak bungalows were simple accommodation dotted around the countryside for travelling government officials. Both the club and the rest-house could also be situated in the hill station. Evidence for this chapter is gathered from works written by the British from travelogues, biographies, autobiographies, diaries and cookbooks.

All over the colonies, the Europeans’ dependence on the local people for sustenance

2 Rest-houses were colonial government-owned dwellings maintained in every town for the accommodation of travelling government personnel in Malaya and the Borneo colonies. Fully-furnished, these brick-built buildings were smaller than hotels and meals were prepared by the rest-house cook; see Cuthbert Woodville Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States*, London, The Malay States Information Agency, 1911, pp 117-118.
was entrenched. At home, every meal was prepared by domestic servants and almost every drink was fetched by the ‘boy’. This dependence also extended to the times when the colonial was on the move, particularly in areas where there were no European homes or hotels or where there were no wayside taverns or inns that provided meals. This thesis argues that the influence that domestic servants in the colonies wielded over the food practices of their colonial masters was of paramount significance. In the colonial home the memsahib presided over a home that was run by servants; while she might have issued the orders for the meals of the day, it was the cook, the cook’s assistant and other servants who purchased, prepared and served the food. The vagaries of the food markets meant that it was not always possible that ingredients required for each dish could be guaranteed nor could the reliability or honesty (perceived or otherwise) of the cook be assured. The quality of the food that appeared on the colonial dining table would certainly be dependent on the cook and his assistants.

Hill Stations

Europeans’ ideas for devising places for rest and recreation in the tropical colonies were largely derived from nineteenth century notions of race, of the need to isolate themselves as rulers from the colonized, the home leave policy of the colonial administration and a nostalgic longing for the home country. European thinking at the time perceived India as a land of poverty, disease and famine and those domiciled there and in other colonies took the opportunity to flee from the unbearably hot plains to the cool hills and mountains ‘where nature reigned’.

Rule and leisure from above

Hill stations were established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as sites for sanatoria and military posts in the tropics by European colonizers. Although European colonization and mercantile empire building began in the sixteenth century, hill stations were created only in the nineteenth century because Europeans did not expand into interiors until then. Though the hill station has become most strongly associated with the British, they were not the first to use them, nor were they first developed in India.

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3 As discussed elsewhere, food preparation was done by local cooks and other servants in colonial homes and hotels. See Frank F. Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, in Carol Breckenbridge (ed.), Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 1995, p94.
5 Barbara Crossette, The Great Hill Stations of Asia, Boulder, Westview Press, 1998, p7. The majority of the hill stations were established between 1820 to 1885; the French made Dalat in Vietnam popular in the 1890s while the Americans used Baguio as a hill resort in the Philippines in the early 1900s.
Nora Mitchell, in her detailed geographical study of hill stations in India, states that the hill stations in the Netherlands Indies were developed earlier than the British ones in India. Penang Hill in Malaya became the first hill station in 1786 in the British colonies as the hill stations of India were established from 1819. Mitchell states that the first house erected for a hill station in India was in 1819 in the Himalayas and that two years later another hill station was developed in the Nilgiris in South India, 2414km (1500 miles) away. The three major hill stations, Ootacamund, Darjeeling and Simla, were established by the middle of the 1830s. Initially, the hill stations were mainly used by British troops as convalescent retreats for the military. In 1865, Simla became the summer capital of British India. By the end of the century, hill stations were established all over India, the majority of which were in the Himalayas. Hill stations were developed in other regions, in India too, chief among the requirements were an elevated environment with a cool climate and an isolated area remote from the Indian population.

Hill stations were also known as ‘change-of-air-stations’ or ‘sanatoria’ for civil servants, planters and miners and they also served as strategic bases and cantonments. S. Robert Aiken, in his study of Malaya hill stations, terms the hill resorts as generally small and isolated, ‘always defiantly out of place, they were insular little worlds that symbolized European power and exclusiveness’. Aiken uses the term ‘belvedere’ – a lofty place with a commanding view – to describe the hill station. He states that hill stations were perched invariably ‘on the ridges and flanks of mountain ranges,’ and that they were ‘the belvederes of empire. Simla was considered the British belvedere par excellence’. Interestingly, James Heitzman notes that Simla remained a seat of government after independence, and, when Himachal Pradesh became a separate state, it became its capital. Other hill stations in India also became administrative centres, leisure resorts for the upper and middle classes or educational institutes. Jan Morris also describes the hill station as a belvedere; specifically, ‘the belvedere of a ruling race, obedient to no precedent, subject to no qualm, from whose terraces as from some divine

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8 Mitchell, *The Indian Hill-Station*, p56.
11 Aiken, *Imperial Belvederes*, pvii.
12 Aiken, *Imperial Belvederes*, pvii.
gazebo the British could look down from the cool heights to the expanses of their unimaginable empire below’.¹⁴ Morris goes further to describe the hill station as ‘gloriously out of place – a figure of despotic privilege’.¹⁵

Ruling or relaxing from the elevated height of a hill station, British colonists were served by a community of local people transported from the plains. Mitchell observes:

‘Merchants and traders came up the hill with produce from the plains. Coolies came up to offer personal services. Cows were led up for a milk supply. Washermen came to collect laundry. Some of the servants were brought up by the elite, often sent in advance to prepare vegetable gardens and firewood on the compound. They lived in servants’ quarters tucked out of sight behind the main residence on the compound. Others set up a bazaar area away from the elite compounds, where they sold their goods and set up shacks. Local hill villagers often carried garden produce into the bazaar or sold it directly in the compounds.’¹⁶

Dane Kennedy’s study of hill stations in India looks at the symbolic and socio-political functions served by those resorts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and argues that these resorts were much more than centres of recreation. Kennedy surmises that hill stations served as both sites of refuge and as sites for surveillance; after 1857 hill stations served as political and military headquarters and cantonments for colonial troops.¹⁷ Known today as The First War of Indian Independence, Indians revolted in 1857 against East India Company ‘reforms’ that had interfered with many areas of their lives.¹⁸ Kennedy also points out that the 1857 revolt heightened British insecurities about life on the plains and the hill stations became preferred sanctuaries.¹⁹ He observes that one of the paradoxes of the hill stations is that ‘their success as places where the British imagined it possible to get away from Indians depended on the contributions of Indians’.²⁰ A significant portion of these contributions was the procurement, preparation and serving of food. Hill stations, according to Kennedy, were ‘the heart of British effort to define and defend the boundaries that set them apart from Indians and that sustained their identity as agents of a superior culture’.²¹ Writing along the same lines, Philippa Levine asserts that hill stations, serving as ‘havens of safety for

¹⁵ Morris, Heaven’s Command, p269.
¹⁶ Mitchell, The Indian Hill-Station: Kodaikanal, p7.
¹⁸ The revolt of 1857 that divided the history of British India is also known variously as: the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the Revolt of 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny and the Uprising of 1857.
²⁰ Kennedy, The Magic Mountains, p175.
the British’ were ‘a part of England and apart from India’ and that they were thought to be safe places for the reproduction of the race’. Levine notes that the hill stations reminded the British of England, with cool air, ‘children at home and at school, tennis parties, village greens, English-style churches and cottages. Here the standards of home could be maintained in what was experienced as a physically and morally corrupting land’.

There were two reasons for the hill stations. First, these resorts were designed to ensure the physical well-being of the colonial in the tropics, and, secondly, relocating to the hill stations can be seen as a deliberate act of creating social distance between the colonizer and the colonized. Mitchell lists the contemporary medical reasons given for hill stations as curing the ills of tropical living. They included perceptions of ailments associated with ‘degeneracy’ – languor, irritability and depression; while the actual health hazards listed were cholera, malaria, smallpox, nematode diseases, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers and dysentery. By the late nineteenth century British hill stations in India had changed from their original function as a high-altitude health resort for military personnel and civil servants of the East India Company and became important as an administrative and social centre. The types of hill stations in India and Malaya varied and the most substantial ones seemed to be the multi-functional hill stations that were seasonal recreational centres with permanent barracks, hospitals, schools, agricultural estates and which also served as seats of government and military summer headquarters.

From 1864 the British in India decided to rule the country from two capitals. Calcutta was the administrative centre for autumn and winter while Simla in the Himalayas, 1700km (1200 miles) away, became the spring and summer capital. Governors of several Presidencies followed this precedent and the hill stations of Darjeeling, Mahabaleshwar and Ootacamund became summer administrative centres.

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23 Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender, and Empire’, p74.
24 Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, p182.
26 Mitchell, The Indian Hill-Station, p58. See also Kennedy, The Magic Mountains, pp14-15.
27 Mitchell, The Indian Hill-Station, p59.
29 Bhatt, Resorts of the Raj, p18.
There are conflicting figures on the number of hill stations that existed in colonial India; the main problem being the definition of what constituted a hill station. Mitchell’s definition of the Indian hill station is broad, describing it as ‘a high-altitude settlement originally established by the British in India to serve the needs of British civil servants and soldiers of the East India Company’ and so lists about eighty hill stations during British rule. She includes Poona, at 549m (1800ft), and Alwaye, at a mere 183m (600ft). Each of the main centres of Anglo-Indian life had at least one hill station. Kennedy is stricter though and estimates there were only sixty-five bona fide hill stations in the colonial era and discounts those that ‘never grew beyond a few bungalows, modest retreats for the few Europeans stationed in the immediate vicinity’. However, hill stations in Malaya were indeed modest affairs and were mainly small enclaves of bungalows situated in the highlands. Functioning as the four main Malayan highlands were Penang Hill, Maxwell’s Hill, Fraser’s Hill and Cameron Highlands.

Developed earlier than the British ones in India the hill stations in the Netherlands Indies were created also as sites for military posts and sanatoria in the early nineteenth century. Interestingly the British in Malaya and Singapore also took to the hills in the Indies for their holidays. George L. Peet, a journalist in Singapore from 1923 to 1942, mentioned in his memoir that Europeans visited the hill stations of Java or Brastagi in Sumatra, at least once in their careers. Margaret Shennan, writing of her years in Malaya, noted that while Fraser’s Hill was the leading resort for government officials, executives of private companies and honeymooners, there were others who preferred a trip to Brastagi. After a particularly hot year in Malaya, Katherine Sim, in her book on her time spent in the colony, wrote that she and her husband were ‘hankering’ for a break in Brastagi. No reasons were given why British colonials went to hill stations run by the Dutch and not to those by the British in India. Shennan suggested that a change of government official atmosphere at Fraser’s Hill and other towns was as

30 Mitchell, The Indian Hill-Station, pp1 and 87.
31 Mitchell, The Indian Hill-Station, p87.
34 Aiken, Imperial Belvederes, pvii.
38 Katherine Sim, Malayan Landscape, London, Michael Joseph Ltd, 1957, p148. Sim wrote that in the 1950s in Malaya, government servants were entitled to two weeks local leave each year, on top of all the Chinese, Malay and Indian festivals and the British bank holidays.
important as a change of air in the hill stations. One could also speculate that the
Indonesian resorts were nearer to Malaya. The hill stations under Dutch administration
were similar establishments to their British counterparts administered in India and
Malaya; they were built in the cool highlands, recreated with ‘European-like’
environments and were seen as resorts for providing cultural refuge and physical
regeneration.  

Re-creating Britain in the tropics

Hill stations began to figure in ways other than combating the ills of day-to-day living
in the tropics in the British imagination. Thomas Metcalf, in his study of the ideologies
of the Raj, points out that the ideology of ‘difference’ can be read in the opposition of
‘plains’ and ‘hills’. In the colonial context, the plains represented the hot and
threatening, miasmic lowlands with their uncivilized inhabitants. The hills were created
as cool oases in which temperate flowers, fruit and vegetables grew, reminiscent of
places in Britain where the British could, unfettered by native people, rule and recreate
with their own kind. The British went to great lengths to create this idyllic and
‘picturesque sanctuary’. Metcalf notes that outside the ‘rolling hills of the Nilgiris’, this
was not an easy task, as the ‘Himalayas, soaring dramatically to the eternal snows, bore
no resemblance to British landscapes’. This did not deter the British, however, from
adopting different strategies ‘to fit these mountains into the descriptive conventions of
the picturesque’, as Metcalf points out. One strategy was to reduce the mountains in
size by referring to them as ‘hills’ and another, in writing and illustration, was to focus
on the more ‘tractable’ Nilgiris. A roaring fire in the hillside bungalow or clubhouse
completed the picture of being transported to the homeland. As Mollie Panter-Downes
in her book on Ootacamund hill station explains:

‘It was not India; it was the little patch of England that each exile discovered it to
be. Or, rather, it was an English dream made a shade delirious and out of the true
by the thin, high air, combined with all that many a heart loved with passion in
India – the outdoor life, the horses, the wild animals, the early wakings in the
Indian mornings, with their matchless dazzling purity that makes each day seem
the first ever created. The lanes, the downs, the tumbling streams were all there,
to be tamed and enjoyed as much as possible in the likeness of home.’

The efforts made to make Britons feel ‘at home’ in the hills was successful, gauging by

39  Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, p67.
40  Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, p183.
41  Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, p183.
42  Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, p183.
43  Mollie Panter-Downes, Ooty Preserved: A Victorian Hill Station in India, London, Hamish Hamilton,
the remarks made by Sim:

‘I experienced then that strange feeling, so strong up in all Malayan hill stations, of being, temporarily, utterly aloof from the ordinary life below, in an unreal world, not of the tropics nor of anywhere else. It was as cool as an English summer, the flowers were English and one had almost an English energy. It was a curious feeling as if one were caught between two worlds, snatched up out of the tropics into a kind of No-Man's land.’

Even houses and hotels in the Indian hill stations were named to ‘awaken early poetical memories’ – such as ‘Moss Grange’, ‘Ivy Glen’; other names included ‘Eagle’s Nest’ and ‘The Crags’; ‘The Highlands’ made ‘our spirit soars’ while ‘Sunny Bank’ and ‘The Dovecote’ paint ‘a vista of quiet restfulness’. On Fraser’s Hill in Malaya ‘the gardens show what can be done with cultivated flowers and turf. The lawns round “The Lodge” would rouse the envy of an English gardener’.

The environment was transformed not just for aesthetic reasons but also for food consumption for the itinerant European hill population. While entire household furnishings and food supplies were carted up to the hills from the plains; fruit and vegetables, particularly those that grew customarily in the cooler climate, were cultivated for the colonial table. Strawberries, the fruit that seems to capture the essence of the English summer, were grown and consumed in many hill stations. The colonizers held strawberries in such high esteem that more than one location among the hill resorts was named ‘Strawberry Hill’. The summit of Strawberry Hill in the Penang Hill Station in Malaya was ‘graced by a shady and scented garden of roses and strawberries’, while one of the finest houses in Simla was built on Strawberry Hill.

The hill stations of Malaya did not feature as prominently in colonial life as in India and were mainly visited for short term respite and as reminders of the English countryside. There was no annual setting up home in the hills for months at a time and no administration centre was ever established in the highlands. While there was talk of turning the Cameron Highlands into an alternative seat of government from the late 1930s, similar to that of Simla, this did not materialize. Japan’s growing expansionist

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44 Sim, Malayan Landscape, p136.
48 Aiken, ‘Early Penang Hill Station’, p429.
interests and the subsequent occupation between 1942 to 1945 ended long term plans for transferring the administrative centre to the hill station. Simla became the object of nationalist agitation in India and it could be that the British wanted to exercise caution before establishing another administrative centre in a Malayan hill station. Mohandas Gandhi referred to the expensive Simla colonial administrative centre as ruling from the ‘five hundredth storey’. Another conjecture could be that the heat in Malaya and Singapore was not seen as debilitating as that in India; alternatively, perhaps the local population was far fewer in number than the teeming masses of India, and, accordingly colonizers felt less need to get away from the natives. The truth however could be the special ‘charm’ of Malaya which under many Britons fell, with the ‘easy going’ local people and natural beauty of the country. ‘Old Malay hands’ frequently wrote of the ‘magic of the country’; Margaret Shennan in her study of the British in Malaya, quotes Sjovald Cunyngham-Brown (who was posted to the Negri Sembilan in Malaya in 1932) as saying,

‘It was here [in Seremban] … that I first fell under the spell of Malaya that has held me ever since. My time there was short … but it was enough for me to fall for everything: for the mountains and plains and the streams, and the empty coasts of sand so golden in the dusk; for the charm of the inhabitants …’

Singapore in the 1920s also had its attractions for the European population; there were public gardens, good hotels, European shops, swimming clubs and other social clubs. Shennan points out that even within the confines of the island there were many temptations and choices for recreation as

‘[t]here were always temptations and choices galore: champagne and oysters, moonlight matinees or moonlight picnics, subscription concerts, and the Swimming Club – with five shining cocktail bars, terraces resplendent with sunny umbrellas, a perfect dance floor ….No week was complete without a little outing or makan angin, east to the beaches beyond the Sea View Hotel or westward to the Singapore Gap’.

Still, British colonials in Malaya and Singapore went to the hill stations to ‘enjoy looking at English flowers and eating strawberries with fresh cream’ at a hotel built like an Elizabethan mansion in the Cameron Highlands in Malaya. Other hotels in the Cameron Highlands were the Green Cow Tavern and the Smoke House Inn. The latter was a 1930s mock Tudor mansion, ‘famous for its log fires and strawberry and cream

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52 Shennan, _Out in the Midday Sun_, p113.
teas’. Jean Falconer, a memsahib in Malaya, pointed out that it was delightful to have a ‘cheery log fire burning in the sitting room’ in hill station lodgings and although she conceded that a fire was not entirely necessary, ‘it is the kind of luxury people expect in the hills’. At Fraser’s Hill, Europeans in the 1930s could also refresh themselves at ‘the only pub in Malaya, at Maxwell Arms, which served as the clubhouse for the nine-hole golf course’. Fraser’s Hill, at 4100 ft (1250 metres above sea level) lies along the Malayan central mountain range.

In her work on the imperial architecture of India, Jan Morris observes that the British ‘ruled in enclave, and their buildings almost always, even when ostentatiously Indianified, spoke of an alien and exclusive presence’. In her other work on India, Morris states that all over the trend was towards the ‘aloof and the grandiloquent, … Government Houses, for example became very grand indeed’. However, in Malaya, colonial architecture, like other aspects and institutions of colonialism, was scaled down. This is best illustrated by the official residence of the district office in the then new hill station at Cameron Highlands. Shennan wrote in 1937 that the residence, serving also as home for the district officer, Sir John Peel, was ‘a wooden hut with a tin roof and the office was attached … There were two rooms, no running water or sanitation…’

Regardless of the size of the hill station, the single most pertinent characteristic of the exclusive resort was the armies of local workers who were responsible for maintaining the hill station as a sanctuary for rest and recreation for the colonizers. All the rituals of colonial life in the plains were replicated in the hills. Domestic servants were included in the annual pilgrimage to the hill stations. As Aiken points out it was the ‘porters, bearers, butlers, valets, tailors, cooks, ayahs, amahs, dhobis (washerman), water carriers, lampmen, guards, footmen, gardeners, grass-cutters, and sweepers’ who sustained the ‘hill-station clientele … drawn from a small but powerful dominant elite’.

54 Butcher, The British in Malaya, p129.
56 Shennan, Out in the Midday Sun, p127.
58 Morris, Heaven’s Command, p271.
59 Shennan, Out in the Midday Sun, p196.
60 Aiken, Imperial Belvederes, p8.
Escape from the unhealthy lowlands to the mountain air

In the Company era, Europeans doubted whether they could endure long periods in the tropics without serious mental and physical deterioration.\textsuperscript{61} As medical doctor G.M. Giles wrote in 1904, ‘a hundred years ago a prolonged residence in the Tropics was regarded with well-founded horror. The best the white settler in the lands of the sun dared hope for was “a short life and a merry one,” but too often the merriment was sadly lacking’.\textsuperscript{62} It was then widely believed that European men should recuperate for six to eight months in a temperate climate after every three or four years of living in the tropics, and that women and children should spend an even shorter time in a tropical climate.\textsuperscript{63} In a handbook to British Malaya it was suggested that children should be sent back to Britain as soon as they reached the age of six as they tended to become anaemic in the colony.\textsuperscript{64} Even within the medical profession, the prevailing view at the time was that females faced a greater risk to their health when they had to endure the unrelenting heat of summer and were strongly advised to retreat to the hills.\textsuperscript{65} Developed specifically by European colonialists, hill stations were originally designed for colonials to regain their health from the perceived ills contracted in the tropical lowlands.\textsuperscript{66} It is unclear what precisely the ailments were as a result of living in the tropics for a number of years but it was generally accepted that ‘after three or four years in the tropics white men no longer displayed as much energy in their work and that many became nervous and irritable and found it difficult to concentrate and to remember recent events or even important appointments’.\textsuperscript{67} This malaise is attributed to two ideas of the time, originating from Greek thinking: miasmas or swamp airs caused disease, and, climate as affecting a person’s energy and personality.\textsuperscript{68} In Southeast Asia, the colonials called this syndrome ‘tropical neurasthenia’ or ‘Malayan head’ and Butcher cites several

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\textsuperscript{64} R.L. German, \textit{Handbook to British Malaya}, London, Waterlow & Sons Limited, publication year unknown, p50.
\textsuperscript{65} Kennedy, \textit{The Magic Mountains}, p120.
\textsuperscript{67} Butcher, \textit{The British in Malaya}, p158.
\textsuperscript{68} Mitchell, \textit{The Indian Hill-Station}, p15.
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sources which indicated that the suicide rate among Europeans was high.\(^{69}\) Six years was considered too long a period to spend in the tropics but that was how long officials in the Malay States had to wait for a year’s leave.\(^{70}\) Butcher observes that doctors and laymen of the time claimed that apart from the heat and humidity, the monotony of the climate was ‘one of its most harmful aspects’. However Butcher notes that it was unclear ‘whether the nervous system was gradually damaged by a lack of stimulation from changing temperatures or simply that men who were used to marked seasons found the tropical climate boring’.\(^{71}\) Perhaps more importantly, Butcher notes that ‘beliefs about the long-term effects of the climate were often influenced by the attitudes Europeans had towards the peoples who inhabited the tropics. Arising from these attitudes was the fear that, over a period of several generations, if not sooner, Europeans might lose their superior vigour and degenerate into the lazy ways of the natives’.\(^{72}\) A less costly alternative to the long journey for home leave in Britain was the establishment of the hill stations. Children could also be educated at hill schools that were under European administration and were a segregated environment, that is, they catered to only European children.\(^{73}\) In Simla, although the British could educate their children at Bishop Cotton’s school (which was run on English lines), most of the parents still preferred to have their children’s education completed in England.\(^{74}\) Colonial government policy on leave, and distance to Britain, meant that a short break in the hill stations instead would restore their well-being with its cool climate.\(^{75}\) Aiken states that the East India Company usually did not allow its employees to go home on leave and this was the main reason for the popularity of local resorts.\(^{76}\) Later, employees under the Crown Colony administration were able to return to England for home leave after eight years in India. Staff of the Indian Civil Service were entitled to different kinds of leave in the nineteenth century, ranging from privilege leave, special leave, leave on medical certificate and furlough.\(^{77}\) In addition, fast steamship travel did

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\(^{69}\) Butcher refers to letter to editor of *British Medical Journal*, vol.1, 1926, p503, by Bishop of Singapore to editor; Kenneth Black, ‘Health and Climate with special Reference to Malaya’, *Malayan Medical Journal*, vol.7, 1932, pp103-4.

\(^{70}\) Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, p72. Butcher cites annual reports by Residents in the Malay States appealing to the Colonial Office to give government servants leave every three or four years. It was only just before the First World War, that leave could be taken after every four years of service.

\(^{71}\) Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, p158.

\(^{72}\) Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, pp158-159.

\(^{73}\) Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, p160.


\(^{75}\) Aiken, *The British in Malaya*, p72.

\(^{76}\) Aiken, ‘Early Penang Hill Station’, p426.

not become a serious option until the second half of the nineteenth century. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, technological impediments to frequent Europe-Asia travel were lessened.

‘When are you going to the hills?’, according to Steel and Gardiner, was the typical question when the month of April approached.\(^{78}\) While colonials viewed the sojourn to the hills as an annual pilgrimage to restore health and general well-being, there was also the perception that women and children were in far greater need of this respite from the tropics. Women and children were seen as more likely to succumb to the tropical climate and sending them to the hill stations was one way of ameliorating their stay in India. Collingham cites an 1883 handbook for women in the tropics in which the authors, S. Leigh Hunt and Alexander S. Kenny, criticised Anglo-Indian women who let themselves:

> ‘sink into a state of debility, who gave in to the climate, breakfasted in bed, and only moved from bed to sofa in a dressing-gown to read “literary trash”, who stimulated their jaded appetites by snacking on “highly seasoned and harmful” food, and who tried to energize themselves by taking nips of alcohol’. \(^{79}\)

It was felt that the behaviour of these women set bad examples to young girls as the British were anxious to promote the British ideals of womanly refinement and civilized behaviour in order to counter the perceived threat of India.\(^{80}\) Anglo-Indians also saw themselves as an aristocracy in India and they were keen to protect this reputation.

Steel and Gardiner stated that a change in the hills was necessary when:

> ‘a woman cannot sleep at night her nervous system suffers, and failure to obtain a good night’s rest is one of the great drawbacks of a hot weather in the plains… the house is not sufficiently cool at night to enable us to sleep with any comfort, and sleepless nights in India predispose the system to disease, especially of a malarious kind.’\(^{81}\)

Steel and Gardiner advocated the preference of going to the hills instead of taking leave to England. The yearly visit was viewed as ‘materially assisting in the maintenance of good health’ and one of the authors noted that ‘her own experience of its benefits was that, having brought up a large family during a residence of twenty years in India, she was never once invalided, and only went to England twice during that period, and then

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\(^{78}\) Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, p189.


\(^{80}\) Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p181.

\(^{81}\) Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, p189. The authors also noted that ‘the constant talking about the heat is so depressing, that the mere thought of being able to get cool by a trip to the hills makes us better able to endure it while it lasts, taking away, as it does, the feeling of hopelessness which generally sets in about July or August’, p190.
in the company of her husband and children’.\textsuperscript{82} This decision was not made without careful deliberation, however; the main consideration being weighing up the health benefits for herself and her responsibilities as the dutiful wife. Steel and Gardiner wrote:

‘Many wives, no doubt, cannot make up their minds to break up their homes and separate from their husbands, but if the choice lies between a few months’ absence from home yearly and visits to England lasting several years, surely the former is preferable. And a good wife can do much to keep her husband’s home in the plains comfortable during her annual visit to the hills: she can make wise arrangements before leaving, and can even send him weekly bills of fare, lists of servants’ wages, &c.’\textsuperscript{83}

Not all medical opinion of the time was in agreement that hill stations were a panacea for the ills of the lowlands. Giles’ text on climate and health in the tropics disputed this claim, stating that the health advantages of resorting to the hills were ‘overrated’ and that the hills had ‘special dangers of their own’.\textsuperscript{84} Giles claimed that during the rainy season hill stations could be particularly dangerous for children as typhoid fever was endemic in almost all hill stations. He observed,

‘The amount of sickness, both of a serious and trifling character, on most hill stations is perfectly alarming, and there cannot be the least doubt that there are a great many stations in the plains that are far less unhealthy for Europeans the whole year round, so what is gained by resorting to the hills is, in most cases, not health, but personal comfort.’\textsuperscript{85}

Giles noted that ‘hill diarrhoea’ was common in the Himalayas and advised prevention of this by filtering all water for drinking and cooking. He said that although the hills were free of malaria, the disease could be easily prevented in the lowlands by installing ‘metallic gauze’ to prevent entry of mosquitoes.\textsuperscript{86} He further stated that the climate of the hills, ‘though pleasant enough, is during the rains even more treacherous than that of the plains – damp cold, alternating with warmth’.\textsuperscript{87} Kennedy also described the situation in the nineteenth century when, due to lack of toilet facilities for the thousands of servants who lived in the hill stations, diseases like typhoid fever and cholera frequently broke out. It was only when Indians posed a health threat to Europeans that sanitation facilities were improved.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{82} Steel and Gardiner, \textit{The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook}, p189.
\textsuperscript{83} Steel and Gardiner, \textit{The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook}, p189.
\textsuperscript{84} Giles, \textit{Climate and Health in Hot Countries}, part 1, p80.
\textsuperscript{85} Giles, \textit{Climate and Health in Hot Countries}, part 1, p81.
\textsuperscript{86} Giles, \textit{Climate and Health in Hot Countries}, part 1, p80.
\textsuperscript{87} Giles, \textit{Climate and Health in Hot Countries}, part 1, p150.
\textsuperscript{88} Kennedy, \textit{The Magic Mountains}, p191-192.
As fervent believers in the curative air of the hills, Steel and Gardiner devoted a whole chapter, titled ‘On the hills’, to making preparations for the hills in their manual on housekeeping and cookery in India. They praised the benefits of ‘going to the hills’ as a preventative measure against mental and physical ills. Preparations for the annual trip were formidable, and decisions had to be made on ‘what to take and what to leave behind for the master of the house’. ‘Taking to the hills’ was a literal transplanting of the household – Steel and Gardiner suggested transporting the sitting room carpets, curtains, the piano, tables, chairs, ornaments, wall pictures, books, house linen, crockery and other ‘kitchen and pantry gear’. Mrs Robert Moss King, a ‘civilian’s wife’, writing in diary of her years in India in the late 1800s, remarked that for the sojourn to Landour, ‘fortunately men are plentiful in India, and we had quite fifteen at work … Stores had to be packed, and wine, crockery, glass, plate, house-linen, books, clothes, a few pieces of furniture, and lastly the piano’. Lavender Jamieson, born in 1914, described how, as a child, her family ‘went annually to Coonoor in the Nilgiri Hills for the hot weather, traveling in great luxury in our own saloon – two carriages, one the day and sleeping carriage and the second for the kitchen, luggage and servants’.

Although hill stations were not permanent fixtures on the calendar for the British in Malaya, mainly because the equatorial climate there is the same throughout the year, live animals, servants and provisions were lugged up to the hill resorts. A Mrs Stratton-Brown on an ‘expedition’ to Bukit Kutu (or Treacher’s Hill) in Selangor in the 1890s in Malaya recounted that two sheep were driven up, crates of fowls, ducks and tinned provisions in boxes were carried by coolies. Mrs Stratton-Brown stated that visitors generally took their houseboy, and amahs or ayahs for the children. She noted that it ‘needed some 20 coolies for the baggage, so it became a minor mountaineering proposition’.

Re-creating the colonial cuisine in the hills
The degree to which Anglo-Indians tried to relocate their entire households to the hills was indicative of their desire to maintain their imperial lifestyle in the hills. The white

89 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, pp189-198.
90 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p189.
91 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p194.
94 Aiken, Imperial Belvederes, p34.
middle-class household that they had so carefully created in the plains was transplanted to the hills, sometimes to hill stations that were inaccessible by roads. Writing in the 1890s, Steel and Gardiner observed that, while some hill stations had good roads, others were approached only by tracks fit for camels and mules.  

Just as the memsahib performed her wifely duties in maintaining prestige in the plains, she continued to operate in her private sphere in the hill stations. As in many other areas of colonial life, the annual trip to the hills was a major undertaking. The native servants were responsible for the upheaval to the hills: first to pack the entire household, then to accompany the goods en route, set up the household and finally to work in a different setting. The whole exercise would have not been feasible without the part played by the domestic servants; indeed, it is doubtful whether the administrative centres of Simla, Ootacamund, Mahableshwar, Naini Tal and others could have existed without domestic servants. It can perhaps be argued that hill stations in Malaya were not as developed as those in India, and that a fully functional administrative centre did not emerge in the Malayan hills owing to the significantly smaller number of servants and other workers available.

The annual excursion extended even to the cow (kept for milk in the plains) that was led up to the hills. In her diary King noted that on leaving Landour on 5 November, ‘after having packed and sent off fifty coolie loads of heavy baggage on the previous day ... On the way down, we overtook our cow, who was lying down and refused to get up. Gardiner and Steel suggested that for households who did not keep cows, ‘the next best thing is to hire them: they will then be brought morning and evening to be milked before you and into your own milk-can. Of course a good deal more has to be paid for milk obtained in this way than for that bought in the bazaar, but it is the only safe course to adopt. However, should the cow accompany the trek to the hills, Steel and Gardiner suggested that the cow should be first be milked ‘the night before the family; at the first halting-place the milk should be left ready for the family on arrival. The last day of the march the morning’s milk should be taken on in bottles to be made into butter on arrival, and the cows should reach their destination in time to be milked there that evening’. Where good hill pastures existed, such as in Mussoorie (at 6500ft or

95 Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, p195.
96 King, *The Diary of a Civilian’s Wife in India, 1877-1882*, p94.
98 Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, pp196-197.
2000 metres above sea level and created in 1826 as a hill station) milk and butter were available. Some households kept goats for their milk too. Colonials based in Bombay first went to Poona but when it too got hot they made their way to Mahableshwar in October. There was also distrust of food in the trains cooked by unfamiliar Indians. Kincaid noted that the food in the restaurant car ‘seldom inspired confidence, so that it was necessary to take all one's food with one, and if a child were travelling too, a goat would be tied in the guard's van and an orderly would hurry off to milk it when the train stopped at some station in the evening’.  

Colonists certainly took seriously the idea that a holiday in the hills brought health or other benefits even though it was a costly and inconvenient exercise (although servants did the work). On the annual trek to Mahableshwar, for example, Kincaid described how servants were sent ahead to set up tent and to unpack. As bungalows for rent were in short supply and expensive, it was not unusual for the British to pitch a tent in a friend’s garden in Poona or to apply to the Superintendent for a plot in the jungle.

Kincaid painted a Somerset Maugham picture of the colonial at leisure thus, ‘It was delicious in the evenings to sit outside the tents ... Gentlemen lay back full length in basket-chairs, lit cigars and called for chota pegs (whisky or brandy). Ladies sipped lemonade and looked forward to a Strawberry Tea at the Club on Friday’.

There is no reason to believe that the colonials ate any differently to the meals they consumed in the plains, that is, a combination of local and European meals. It is another point of contradiction in British imperial culture that on the one hand, there was the desire for segregation, while on the other, there was the continuing reliance on local domestic service and Asian food. The colonial cuisine with signature dishes such as curries, mulligatawny, caramel custard was much in evidence. Barbara Crossette, in her study of hill stations in Asia, cites the following dishes served in the home of a wealthy planter on Penang Hill in the 1800s: ‘a choice of soups, fish, joints of sweet Bengal mutton, Chinese capons, Keddah fowls, and Sangora ducks, Yorkshire hams, Java potatoes and Malay ubis, followed by a rice and curry course, cheese and fruit’.

99 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p63.
100 Kincaid, British Social Life in India, pp282-284.
101 Kincaid, British Social Life in India, p285. Kincaid also stated that ‘hotels were in those days regarded with horror by most Anglo-Indians … there were not many European travellers who could not stay with friends or at clubs’, p285.
102 Kincaid, British Social Life in India, p285.
Groceries included tinned food (from the Army and Navy Stores in Bombay for instance), local mutton, chicken and beef and vegetables grown in the hills specifically for the white population: cabbages, cauliflowers, turnips and peas.\textsuperscript{104}

Food supplies in the hills were more difficult to source than in the plains but Steel and Gardiner believed that it was possible to have plain but sufficient food. They preferred buying vegetables from a garden two or three times a week to buying from the bazaar. Although the former was more expensive the authors believed that vegetables from the bazaar were dangerous if washed in dirty or too little water.\textsuperscript{105} One of the authors had a thriving garden, supplying her family and friends with potatoes and other vegetables and flowers. In Mussoorie, the government encouraged the creation of hillside estates for the cultivation of European-type fruits and vegetables to cater to the European population.\textsuperscript{106} John Lang recalled from his travels in India in the mid-nineteenth century having mulligatawny soup and rice, cold lamb and mint sauce with sherry and beer for tiffin at Jack Apsey’s home in Mussorie.\textsuperscript{107} While camping in the Upper Provinces, his party slept until ten in the morning and breakfasted on ‘grilled fowl, curried fowl and eggs, with beer instead of tea’.\textsuperscript{108}

Anglo-Indians were known for consuming large meals in India and they continued to do so in the hills. Lang described an army major breakfasting at the Himalaya Club in Mussoorie: after having just devoured two grilled thighs of turkey, was eating a pigeon pie and was enquiring about the Irish pie.\textsuperscript{109} Two medical doctors at the time advised moderation in the consumption of meat and advocated eating more of the Indian staples. Edward John Tilt, in a medical text in 1875, wrote,

‘When I say that Englishmen and women should imitate the Hindoo diet, I only mean that they should consume less meat and fat than in England, not that they should eat the enormous quantities of rice, to which their stomachs have not been gradually fitted. Greasy made dishes should be avoided, but curries commend themselves, as the result of a highly judicious conservative instinct’.\textsuperscript{110}

Echoing similar sentiments in 1904, G.M. Giles, from the Indian Medical Services,

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\textsuperscript{104} Bhatt, \textit{Resorts of the Raj}, p43.
\textsuperscript{105} Steel and Gardiner, \textit{The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook}, p191.
\textsuperscript{106} Mitchell, \textit{The Indian Hill-Station}, p63.
\textsuperscript{108} Lang, \textit{Wanderings in India}, p150.
\textsuperscript{109} Lang, \textit{Wanderings in India}, p4.
suggested that ‘the introduction of pulses into our dietary as a partial substitute for meat would be advantageous, at any rate during the great heats’. In Malaya, Girl Guides were instructed that ‘Green salads and vegetables should take a prominent place in our daily diet’. The campaign for a reduced meat diet stemmed from the increasing numbers of British literary figures in the second half of the nineteenth century who converted to vegetarianism. The vegetarianism movement had originated in the age of Romanticism when Hinduism and the vegetarian diet were admired as a philosophy of universal sympathy and equality for all. Thus, up in the hill stations of the colonies a tension existed between British discourses on the healthy mountain air versus the leisurely lifestyle; and, health and frugality versus indulgence and hedonism.

By taking to the hill stations for several months of the year, with some memsahibs staying the best part of the year in the hills, the colonials had the best of two worlds. The British felt at home in the hills with cool temperatures, temperate flowers, fruit and vegetables; they were housed in cozy cottages and at the same time a coterie of servants was at hand to serve them. All the rituals of the colonial way of life in the lowlands were replicated in the hills, including enjoying the colonial cuisine. Among the social institutions established by the British in the colonies were clubs.

**Clubs**

*The origins of clubs*

Clubs were found in every nook and cranny of the British Empire. It has been said that when two Englishmen meet they form a club, if there are three, they form a colony, and if four, an empire. In 1775 the word ‘clubbable’ was coined by Samuel Johnson, defining a club in his dictionary as ‘an assembly of good fellows meeting under certain conditions’. Clubs became popular in the eighteenth century in Britain when

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111 Giles, *Climate and Health in Hot Countries*, p60, part 1.
115 D.J.M. Tate, *The Lake Club, 1890-1990: The Pursuit of Excellence*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1997, p1. The original saying that ‘If two Englishmen were to be cast aside on an uninhabited island, their first consideration would be the formation of a club’ has been attributed to the Goncourt brothers in the nineteenth century; see Donald McCormick, *The Hell-Fire Club: The Story of the Amorous Knights of Wycombe*, London, Sphere Books Ltd, 1975, p11.
members signed up as a group to seek a particular pleasure.

These early clubs proliferated according to every ‘pleasurable activity’ imaginable: for example, the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks was founded in 1735; another meat-eating club was the Rump-Steak Club.\(^{117}\) The eighteenth century saw the development of gentlemen’s clubs as groups of men who met regularly, mostly in public places such as coffee houses, taverns, or inns for a specific aim of recreation, socializing, education, politics or a shared profession.\(^{118}\) The clubs had grown out of the coffee houses of the seventeenth century which were popular places where men gathered ‘to discuss business or politics or the latest poem or play, and to throw dice or play cards’.\(^{119}\) It was said that clubs were seen as an integral part of the civilizing process in Britain.

Amy Milne-Smith, in her study on the popularity of gentlemen’s clubs between 1889 and 1914 cites several reasons for this.\(^{120}\) As the upper class home also functioned as a venue for business, pleasure or politics with dinners, teas and ‘at home gatherings’; men sought privacy or intimacy in clubs. Milne-Smith noted the irony that for the elite men, the home might not have been able to provide intimacy or privacy.\(^{121}\) Men were also said to flee to the gentlemen’s club from the feminized home because, as boys who attended all-male public schools, they had become used to homosocial spaces and the gentlemen’s club provided a form of domesticity.\(^{122}\) Apart from providing a private space within London, the clubs usually had, on their premises, a dining hall, library, entertainment centre, sleeping areas, bathhouse and study.\(^{123}\)

By the middle of the nineteenth century, club culture had spread to the middle class. Between 1851 and 1871, the middle class had tripled in size; with the increase in employment in the business world and the increasing movement to the suburbs, many men ate their midday and evening meals in clubs or the ‘chop-houses’.\(^{124}\) A further erosion of the comforts of home was that of sustenance and nourishment and this was

\(^{119}\) Roberts, ‘Pleasures Engendered by Gender’, p49. In 1710 there were 2000 coffee houses in London and Westminster that catered exclusively to men.
\(^{121}\) Milne-Smith, ‘A Flight to Domesticity?’ p797.
\(^{122}\) Milne-Smith, ‘A Flight to Domesticity?’ p798.
\(^{123}\) Milne-Smith, ‘A Flight to Domesticity?’ p798.
usurped by the club. As G.V. scathingly pointed out in 1862,

‘The dame of a man of independence should be proud of her position; she should try and remedy the evil that drives her husband to his club. If she be unable to give instructions, or be unable to read a cookery book, let her employ some one above the woman she employs to clean her streetdoor steps -- a woman born in a shed, or under the lee of a brick-kiln, who, most probably, never tasted meat in the hole from whence she came. Common sense dictates that such a person ought not to be entrusted to cook anything beyond what is fitted for the pigsty.’”

The notion of a club is based on exclusivity, and as Marie Mulvey Roberts points out, ‘while the exclusivity of a club invited privacy, it remained, at the same time, public’, for it allowed the club member to dine away from home. The middle class clubs were organised along the same structure and function and there was anxiety that clubs were no longer exclusive. These clubs were open to men only as their membership sought same-sex company, fellowship and a sense of camaraderie. Another development of the clubs extended to those formed for men returning from the colonies, the most famous one of which was the Oriental Club.

Colonial clubs and women

The clubs in British India and other colonies were replicated along the same patterns, the oldest of which was the Bengal Club, founded in Calcutta in 1827. The colonial clubs were particularly important to those men whose families were in Britain or to those who were bachelors, as the clubs served as places for socialization, dining venues and a sense of belonging to an essentially British institution. Historian Mrinalini Sinha discusses the notion of clubbability and Britishness in British India, contending that the European social club in India was ‘a quintessentially imperial institution’. The colonial club was the venue where Europeans met as members or guests of members of the club. It represented a symbol of British culture; for the colonists, it reflected a microcosm of British society in the colonies. Sinha also views the colonial club as ‘a privileged site for mediating the contradictory logic of Eurocentrism in the creation of a distinctive colonial public sphere that the European social club acquires its centrality as

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125 G.V., *Dinners and Dinner-Parties or the Absurdities of Artificial Life*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1862, p11.
127 Roberts, ‘Pleasures Engendered by Gender’, p75.
128 Milne-Smith, ‘A Flight to Domesticity?’ p816. Formed in 1824, the Oriental Club and other similar clubs helped ease the transition of returning Britons.
George Orwell’s quote in his classic novel *Burmese Days*, that ‘[I]n any town in India the European Club is the spiritual citadel, the real seat of the British power’, is often cited in works on colonial India. *Burmese Days* was set in colonial Burma in 1930 and the story is told through the daily life of the Kyauktada Club where Burmese society was divided along racial lines. Butcher observed that, in Malaya, ‘as soon as even a few Europeans settled in a district it became possible to form a club’. In the early 1800s, when no social club in Kuala Lumpur existed for Europeans, the British would meet at a Chinese-owned sundries shop that sold ‘everything from champage to boot-laces’. In the aftermath of World War II, when there was no clubhouse in Batu Gajah, a town in the state of Perak, Malaya, the Europeans would gather at the officers’ mess to meet and have drinks. Following the success of the Selangor Club several others were formed, both in and outside Kuala Lumpur.

A significant difference between the clubs of Britain and those in the colonies was that women were welcome in most of the colonial clubs. The likely rationale for this was to help lessen the isolation of the memsahib in the colonies. As John Cotton, political officer in the Indian Police Service in 1930-1946 explained:

‘I think the club was very important to the womenfolk, you see their husbands the men spent long hours at the office and mightn’t get home until 6 and 7 at night and then bring work home with them which might occupy them after dinner well into early hours of the morning, and so the wife was either thrown to her own resources, or she might go and gather with the other wives, of the club and have a game of tennis, and it did fulfill, a very useful function.’

Henry Berriff, born in 1927 in Simla, remembered that members of the Factory Club met for tennis, billiard, dances and played at the nine-hole golf course. Berriff also noted that women members played *mahjong* (a game of Chinese origin played by four persons using tiles) in the mornings and that the club also had a shop for groceries, a bar, a reading room and a library.

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131 Sinha, ‘Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere’, p184.
133 Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, p56.
136 For a description of the different British social clubs formed in British Malaya, see Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, pp63-67.
137 Sir John Cotton, SOAS: OA1/18/1-6, 1930-1946, Political Officer, IPS, transcript 68 pp 5 Sept 1973 – 1015-1330 H58x.
The club was just as ubiquitous in the colonial landscape in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo colonies. It was omnipresent in the smallest town in these colonies and even on rubber and tobacco estates.\(^{139}\) L.W.W. Gudgeon observed that the tobacco plantation in Borneo was ‘a little world of its own’ with its own telephone systems, sometimes its own railway, its own hospital, its own district magistrate, its own post, its own police-cell and its own club.\(^{140}\) K.R. Blackwell spent twenty-three years as a member of the Malayan Civil Service and recalled how the European Club on the mine at Klian Intan alleviated the loneliness of his time as an Assistant District Officer when he was posted to Kroh.\(^{141}\) In his first eleven years in Malaya, Blackwell was a member of nineteen clubs, many of them social clubs. He was the State Treasurer of Taiping for ten years. The town at the time boasted five main clubs.\(^{142}\)

While clubs in the small towns or estates of Malaya and Borneo were centres of social activity for the Europeans, there was usually more than one club and members were admitted through their profession or a common interest in the towns with large numbers of Europeans. The three main clubs were the Selangor Club, the Lake Club and the Selangor Golf Club.\(^{143}\) Victor Purcell, in his memoir stated that he belonged to the Penang Club, the Swimming Club, the Golf Club, the Hunt Club and the Turf Club. He remembered the Penang Club as having ‘lofty rooms, polished floors, ample armchairs, servants moving about silently with trays full of drinks’.\(^{144}\) The Recreation Club of Labuan, one of the British Empire’s smallest acquisitions off the coast of Northern Borneo,\(^{145}\) was where colonial men played tennis, cricket and soccer. It stood on the sea front, close to the wharf and European visitors were made welcome if they had an introduction.\(^{146}\)

In British North Borneo, Charles Bruce, Resident of the Interior, among his other appointments in the colony, wrote about the club as the meeting place for the British women: ‘the ladies are mostly invisible during the heat of the day but assemble after tea

\(^{139}\) Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, p147.
\(^{143}\) Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, p147. Butcher describes in detail each of the three clubs: membership criteria, facilities available in each club and the clubs’ role in European society, see pp147-157.
\(^{146}\) Maxwell Hall, *Labuan Story*, p47.
at the club, where they watch or take part in the tennis, and when night falls, retire to their own sanctum and, it is said, tell one another all the nutty bits they have heard during the day’.  

Malaya, the first club formed in 1884 was the Selangor Club in Kuala Lumpur. Somewhat unusually, from its early years women were included. It was recorded that for the ‘co-operative dinners’ at the club, each woman contributed a dish to the common table, ‘a cold pie, … boiled fowls … salads … fruit tarts’. Another indication of women’s presence in the Selangor Club was that its nickname of the ‘Spotted Dog’ was supposedly named after a Mrs Syers’ dalmations which followed her as she rode in her carriage to the club. However, women were excluded from the bar and were made to sit in the reading room or on the verandah. Throughout the Malay states European women were allowed to use club facilities.

Presumably women frequented the clubs as spouses of members or as guests and were not outright members. For example, John Butcher noted that in October 1892 the Selangor Club had 140 members and there were 115 European males in the April 1891 census in Kuala Lumpur, suggesting that many European men from outside Kuala Lumpur belonged to the club. So, outside the Anglo-Indian home, the club was the place to be: a home away from home where women were somewhat included. The club then was the place that integrated domestic and public life and demarcated the boundaries between colonizer and colonized.

Janice Brownfoot, in her work on memsahibs in colonial Malaya, offers the view that the colonizer was in

‘an alien, seemingly decadent tropical world of heat, luxuriant vegetation, diseases and “strange, heathen customs”, the community’s bungalows and clubs were oases of European civilization to which wives and families brought normality, giving their menfolk also a sense of stability and purpose … Convinced that they were imperial rulers because it was their destiny as an

149 Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, pp61-12. There are several versions to the origin of the ‘Spotted Dog’, one of which was that non-Europeans (non-white) were members of the club.
152 Levine, ‘Sexuality, Gender, and Empire’, p74.
 inherently superior race, whites believed that they must maintain their prestige and a privileged position amongst the subject races which they ruled.\textsuperscript{153}

\textit{Class division in clubs}

However, not all clubs in the colonies existed specifically to pander to imperial designs. There were practical reasons for colonials to frequent these establishments as accommodation for travellers and restaurants were in short supply as discussed elsewhere in Chapter Two. Hotels in India were described ‘as wretched places, affording but little accommodation, and abounding with dirt, bad viands, and worse wines’.\textsuperscript{154} The British in India were well-known for their hospitality in putting up with travelling colleagues but where private homes were not available the club was the solution. While each particular club had its rules and criteria for membership, occupation usually defined the nature of each club, particularly in the early years of colonial rule. Pierre Bourdieu, in his study on theories of social stratification, observes that ‘Smart clubs preserve their homogeneity by subjecting aspirants to very strict procedures – an act of candidature, a recommendation, sometimes presentation (in the literal sense) by sponsors who have themselves been members for a certain number of years, election by the membership or by a special committee, payment of sometimes very high initial subscriptions’.\textsuperscript{155}

In British India the rivalry in class divisions was imported from Britain and was played out in the clubs. The class consciousness in club membership dated from the days of the East India Company when all Europeans in India except those employed by the company were seen as ‘interlopers’.\textsuperscript{156} Pat Chapman observes that the British upper class had created a ‘caste’ system for themselves in India and ‘it was impervious to change and was virtually impossible to infiltrate’.\textsuperscript{157} He outlines the hierarchy in colonial India, noting that next to the royal family and aristocrats were the civil servants headed by the viceroy and district commissioners. This top echelon of the most privileged was joined by the senior police officials, the judiciary and cavalry officers

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and other army officers and were members of exclusive clubs.\textsuperscript{158} The Indian Civil Service jobs were so sought after by the late nineteenth century that the few who were appointed were known as ‘competition wallahs’.\textsuperscript{159} Chapman continues to list the different occupations held by the British in India and their hierarchy in the imperial order and their club eligibility:

‘Merchants and traders, however, were dismissed as “box wallahs”, and no matter how wealthy they were, the clubs were not open to them. Neither were they open to upper-class Indians, not even to the maharajas. Shop owners were “counter jumpers”, engineers “grease monkeys”. Surveyors were called “jungle wallahs”, whilst tea or indigo planters were treated with indifference, and at best looked down upon as self-made men (money, unless inherited, was nothing to be proud of), though jute planters, often Scots, were thought to be even more inferior. Missionaries and the clergy were tolerated, but not encouraged. Creative people such as authors and artists were “brush wallahs” and, being normally impoverished, were regarded as curiosities but with a status lower than “box wallahs”. Almost without status came a huge mass of British men in minor governmental positions, the “office wallahs”, and the lowest of the low were the private soldiers in the Indian Army.’\textsuperscript{160}

In the early days of the Madras Club in the early 1830s, membership was restricted to the Indian Civil Service and the Army; British businessmen were not admitted. In time this restriction was relaxed although never entirely abandoned. For example, while partners of firms could become members their assistants could not and members who were merchants were not permitted to vote. It was an unwritten law that shopkeepers were not eligible for membership.\textsuperscript{161} The Madras Club was famed as an exclusive institution and member W.O. Horne, stated that, in the 1880s, no Indian had ever been admitted.\textsuperscript{162} The club was seen as the last bastion where the European could ‘get away’ from the Indians (and men of lower class). Horne wrote:

‘The retention of the Club as a purely British institution was easily defensible. The life and work of the members required them daily, and in an increasing degree, to mix with their Indian fellow-subjects, not only in work or business, but also socially, from Government House downwards, and it was surely not asking too much that a man might have, after his day’s work, a place where he could for an hour or two take his ease in the society of men of his own race, and those whose habits and customs were the same as his own.’\textsuperscript{163}

Edwardes quotes J.H. Stocqueler that: ‘without insisting upon an aristocratic exclusiveness, [the club] is nevertheless strictly an asylum for gentlemen. It is well and

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liberally conducted, and the charges come within the means of most persons in the upper circle of society’.\textsuperscript{164} Later the Adyar Club was started in 1890 so that its members could get away ‘from the austerities’ of the Madras Club. In time, the Adyar Club became known as the ‘dancing club’.\textsuperscript{165}

The Bengal Club first opened in Calcutta in 1827, occupying several houses in the middle of the city, later moving to other premises in 1845\textsuperscript{166} and 1911.\textsuperscript{167} Starting with a membership of five hundred at its inception, The Bengal Club had a coffee room, dining rooms, a reading room, a billiard room, card rooms and sleeping quarters for members arriving from outside the city.\textsuperscript{168} Membership of the Bengal Club was aimed at those in the commercial world and an army officer would not be able to become a member.\textsuperscript{169} While the British colonials socialized in the racially exclusive clubs in the major cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, their counterparts in the mofussil (rural areas or country stations) frequented ‘friendly little tennis clubs in small up-country stations’.\textsuperscript{170} It was in the smaller centres that divisions in class or race were not as sharp for membership eligibility. Collingham observes that towards the end of the nineteenth century when clubs made their way to the smaller stations, the small number of Europeans present meant that class lines became blurred and planters and officials would be members of the same clubs.\textsuperscript{171} E.A. Midgley, who was in the United Provinces between 1937 to 1947, described how he and the Superintendent of Police and the European staff of the tobacco factory, the paper mill and the Remount Depot would meet at the station club in Saharanpur, ‘together with those Indians who had adopted English social habits, for tennis, the occasional game of billiards, and of course the reviving chota peg. There is nothing like a long whisky and soda, thirst quenching, restorative, easy on the liver and inducing a mild intoxication as the evening proceeds for prompting social intercourse’.\textsuperscript{172} Similarly, E.F. Lydall who was in Assam from 1932 to 1935, stated that local government officials from the medical department

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  \item \textsuperscript{166} Edwardes, \textit{The Sahibs and the Lotus}, p92.
  \item \textsuperscript{167} Panckridge, \textit{A Short History of the Bengal Club}, p41.
  \item \textsuperscript{168} Panckridge, \textit{A Short History of the Bengal Club}, p64.
  \item \textsuperscript{169} Edwardes, \textit{The Sahibs and the Lotus}, p225.
  \item \textsuperscript{171} Collingham, \textit{Imperial Bodies}, p162.
  \item \textsuperscript{172} Hunt and Harrison, \textit{The District Officer in India: 1930-1947}, p127.
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socialized at the planter’s club.\textsuperscript{173} For the clubs that insisted on racial exclusivity and discrimination on membership the main objection voiced was that ‘if Indians joined, they would not bring their wives but hang around English ladies, for whom, it was well-known, Indians held lascivious yearnings’.\textsuperscript{174} Kuala Lumpur’s Selangor Club included a small number of non-European members from the outset. In fact, K. Tamboosamy Pillay, a Tamil, was a founding member of the club, and was famous for the curry tiffins he gave at his home on Batu Road.\textsuperscript{175}

As former Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, David Symington said, ‘[C]lub life in India was a very important part of our daily existence, especially in the districts’. Symington noted that club members would go to the club at least five times a week in the districts.\textsuperscript{176} British men and their families working in mines and estates, could with the advent of the motor car and good roads, travel to their club where bridge, dancing and billiards were provided, forming a prominent feature of life in Malaya.\textsuperscript{177} Harry L. Foster in 1926 in his account of his time spent in Southeast Asia observed that the English builder,

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‘having built his empire, he settles down at his club and talks cricket. Wherever he settles he builds a golf course; if there are two or more horses in the neighborhood he builds a race track; if there is one other Englishman within ten miles, he builds a club, and establishes a soda factory to supply the wherewithal for his whiskey-\textit{stengah}’ (a half measure of whisky, mixed with one half soda).\textsuperscript{178}
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\textit{The colonial cuisine in clubs}

Just as the running of hill stations depended on the labour of the colonized people, so the maintenance and provision of food and drink depended on the local people. The Hainanese Chinese men who were famed as good cooks in colonial homes, hotels and rest-houses were also responsible for turning out meals in the clubs in Malaya and Singapore. For example they worked as chefs, waiters and maître d’hôtels at the Cricket Club and the Tanglin Club in Singapore.\textsuperscript{179} Almost all the clubs had restaurants and bars that catered for club members. At The Bengal Club high standards of culinary skills and conduct were written into its club rules. Rule 8. – 7\textsuperscript{th} states that

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\textsuperscript{173} Hunt and Harrison, \textit{The District Officer in India: 1930-1947}, p127.
\textsuperscript{175} Butcher, \textit{The British in Malaya}, p61.
\textsuperscript{176} David Symington and Anne Allen Symington, OA1/64/1-5 SOAS.
\textsuperscript{177} R.L. German, \textit{Handbook to British Malaya}, p49.
\textsuperscript{178} Harry L. Foster, \textit{A Beachcomber in the Orient}, New York, Dodd, Mead and Compay,1926, p247.
\end{flushright}
‘No provisions cooked in the Club House or Wines or other Liquors, are to be sent out of the house on any pretence whatsoever. Any defect that may be found with a Dinner, is to be written on the back of the bills, and signed by the Member complaining, which bill and fault will be considered on settling the weekly accounts; and any inattention, or improper conduct on the part of the servants, is to be stated in writing, to be laid before the Committee at their usual Meeting.’

While most formal banquets in India and the other colonies did not feature local dishes, Colleen Taylor Sen offers a contradiction in her book on food culture in India, that during the days of the Raj, a formal banquet at a club with a menu written in French, consisted of ten or eleven courses, mainly Western dishes but also Indian ones such as mulligatawny soup, kabobs or curry.

As the colonial cuisine emerged it was the racially exclusive enclaves where colonials and other Europeans congregated that the peculiarly colonial dishes were served and made popular. Far from the myth that the British are not a people with a discerning culinary taste, in the colonial era they debated and critiqued which cook made a finer curry. Certain clubs or cooks acquired fame because of their culinary skills. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Madras Club was well-known for its excellent curry, and as Anna Chitty noted, the hottest. Chitty also described the recipe for nimbo pani or lime and barley water at the Adyar Club as the best guarded secret of the khansama and ‘no amount of wheedling by various memsahibs would get the recipe out of him’.

It was apparent that the British frequented clubs not just for camaraderie or conviviality but meal sharing, particularly the sharing of familiar dishes within the colonial community. William Russell, writing in 1876, mentioned tiffin at two and prawn curry and mutton curry for dinner (served with wine, champagne and sherry) at the Bengal Club. Berriff, as one of the ‘last children of the Raj’, recounted bearers carried potato chips with tomato sauce to each table when members played housie-housie (bingo) and bridge at the Factory Club in Simla.

In her memoir of her years spent in India, Roula Christou, married to an English officer of the Indian army, described the Mahabaleshwar Club as ‘the British Raj in all its

180 Panckridge, A Short History of the Bengal Club, p64.
182 Jean Chitty, Anna Chitty – Musings of a Memsahib: 1921-1933, Hants, Belhaven, 1988, p56.
183 Chitty, Anna Chitty, p56.
pomp and glory’.\textsuperscript{186} She wrote:

‘The club building was in a magnificent example of colonial architecture, surrounded by wide covered terraces with deep cane chairs and low tables, and by magnificently maintained lawns and flower beds. It was built on a rise with steps sweeping down to the carriageway, flanked by tall Victorian gas lamps. There was married accommodation and servants’ quarters. Meals were served in the grand manner. Waiters wore starched uniforms, pugris – elaborate turbans – and white gloves. The tables were set with white crockery, immaculate cutlery and glassware. The club had a reputation for the quality of the wines in its large cellar. Its walls were hung with many pictures, and on the mantelpieces and tables were displayed a wealth of silver trays and trophies among the candelabra.’\textsuperscript{187}

Collingham, in her work on the physical experience of the Raj, explains that the club was the most important site which ‘daily reinforced collective identity’. She also notes that it was the place where newcomers to a town or station were ‘initiated into the social code, or those who had been observed to stray from the narrow Anglo-Indian social path were chastised in a friendly manner for letting standards slip’.\textsuperscript{188} However this chapter maintains that the club as a venue was more than about providing a sense of solidarity between men of the same rank. It was also where men and women socialized, shared and propagated the colonial cuisine.

**Dak bungalows and rest-houses: accommodating the colonial traveller**

As British India expanded under the first few decades of Queen Victoria’s reign from the late 1830s,\textsuperscript{189} the colony was administrated by a cohort of mobile rulers, forever on tour. Away from the major administrative and commercial centres were the remote districts where a lone British official ruled over a large area. Public servants in the roles (among others) of accountants, tax inspectors, judges and medical officers traversed the colony, visiting the various administrative centres. In the years before the advent of railways\textsuperscript{190} the traveller could horse ride, walk or be carried on palanquin\textsuperscript{191} and travel was also done by river transport. The bulk of the travelling in hot weather was usually done at night and travellers needed places for rest. In these areas dak bungalows and rest-houses were places where cooks, waiters and other servants procured, prepared and

\textsuperscript{188} Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p162.
\textsuperscript{189} Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste*, pp7-8.
\textsuperscript{190} The first passenger trains in Indian began service in 1853. See http://www.indianrailways.gov.in/, accessed on 3 June 2009.
\textsuperscript{191} Edwardes, *The Sahibs and the Lotus*, p102.
cooked the colonials’ meals. Dak bungalows were peculiar to British India and were also known as ‘rest-houses’. They were built every 15 or 20 miles (24km or 32km) along main roads in the countryside, of about a day’s march. They were built and maintained by the colonial government, usually under the direction of the local public works department. The dak bungalow comprised basic accommodation, usually of a single-storey building, a bed and table and a bathroom and a servant providing meals at a moderate cost. The kitchen was situated a short distance away. While the accommodation and food catering was necessarily basic, the standard was variable as much depended on the person in charge.

Rest-houses in Malaya were run along the same lines and would almost definitely have developed from the dak bungalows in India. However, in Malaya, they were always known as ‘rest-houses’ and never as ‘dak bungalows’. The rest-houses in Malaya and the two Borneo colonies were built soon after the British arrived. In the earliest years of British administration they were the only accommodation in many of the rural areas. Travelling from Simla on 15 October 1888, the Viceroy, the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava and his wife, Harriot, the Vicereine, ‘to a little trip in the interior’. They stopped at the dak bungalow at Fagu. As they

‘wanted to make the change from home as great as possible, we brought no provisions with us, and resolved to leave everything to the man in charge of the bungalow … It is a house kept up by the Government for travellers. The only furniture in it consists of chairs, tables, and bedsteads, and the traveller pays one rupee a day for the use of these. The food provided by the man in charge is paid for separately, but it is not necessary to consider “the good of the house” and people often bring their own provisions with them.’

Due to the shortage of accommodation in the mofussil there were rules in place to ensure that travellers did not abuse the facilities. Everyone had the right to spend twenty-four hours in a dak bungalow and the corresponding obligation to vacate the accommodation if there were new arrivals. If the bungalow was full, the rules were that half the house should be given to women and the other travellers ‘who are absolute strangers often have to double up together’. The Viceroy and Vicereine found the dak

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bungalow at Fagu ‘most comfortable, such good fires, and such a nice dinner’. The next day they walked and rode to Mattiana where they spent another night at the dak bungalow. The couple who had occupied the bungalow for fifteen days (and had not paid for the accommodation) had been turned out for the Viceroy and his wife and were subsequently camping in a tent.

The colonial kitchen on the move
Cooks at dak bungalows and rest-houses were known for whipping up meals for travellers who turned up suddenly. As they had to rely on local ingredients, the dishes were often omelettes, roast chicken and chicken curry. Curried chicken seemed to be the dish that appeared most frequently in meals when colonials were travelling, presumably because chicken was easier to procure than other meat. George Otto Trevelyan, whose family members had been in India since the early nineteenth century serving variously as civil servants, authors and travellers, wrote a satirical play in the early 1860s titled The Dawk [i.e. Dak] Bungalow, or Is His Appointment Pucka? Trevelyan explained that the play took its name from ‘the comfortless hostleries of India, in which the larder consists of a live fowl, and the accommodation of three rooms on the ground floor, less than half furnished even according to Oriental notions of furniture; the traveller being supposed to bring with him bread, beer, and bedding.’ Conlon supports Trevelyan’s evidence that European travellers carried their own tea, sugar, wine and bread on their journey to the mofussil. As Sir John Cotton, a political officer, noted, ‘there was the Indian chicken which was very scraggy and always dished up in restaurant cars, in dak bungalows, that is to say the travellers’ bungalows, or anywhere else where one happened to be on tour and one got sick to death of chicken whether curried or done in some other way designed to make it attractive’. In describing Anglo-Indians traveling up the country Edwardes stated that in the dak bungalow, ‘the menu invariably dwindled down to the elementary and universal “sudden death”, which meant a wretchedly thin chicken, caught, decapitated, grilled, and served up within twenty minutes of the meal being ordered. At dinner, a

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196 Dufferin, Our Viceregal Life in India, p387.
197 Dufferin, Our Viceregal Life in India, p388.
198 Taylor Sen, Food Culture in India, p128. Taylor Sen notes that some of the dak bungalows in India still serve the same dishes today.
200 Trevelyan, The Golden Oriole, p419.
201 Conlon, ‘Dining out in Bombay’, p94.
202 Cotton, SOAS: OA1/18/1-6 Sir John served in the IPS between 1930 to1946 and was in the sixth generation who had served either in the East India Company or later in the Indian Civil Service.
variety was made by the chicken being curried, accompanied by an unlimited supply of rice and chutney. Henry Berriff, born in 1927 in Simla, related how once, when they arrived late at a dak bungalow, the chowhidar (caretaker), who was also the cook, was worried as he had only some eggs but with which he turned out an excellent curry. By all accounts the dak bungalow and rest-house was an informal and flexible kind of accommodation; some travelers brought their own cooks and other servants. The traveler could also cook his own meal. Berriff recalled ‘another memorable meal, at Mandala dak bungalow, [of a] super stew that my father cooked from all the birds that had been shot. Green pigeon, a couple of ducks, a peafowl and the dove that I had shot myself with a pellet gun.' George Otto Trevelyan reported that a fellow traveler, one sahib, ‘a fat civil servant … was travelling in most luxurious style, with a complete batterie de cuisine, and at least a dozen servants. He turned out to be a capital fellow, and provided me with a complete breakfast – tea, fish, steak and curry.’

While some travellers had complained about the monotony of dak bungalow meals the Marchioness’ description of them left no doubt that they were substantial. For breakfast she and her husband had mutton chops, chicken cutlets, omelette, and ‘chupatties’ (flat bread); for lunch there was lamb with mint-sauce, cold chicken and biscuits and ‘very good butter’ to finish the meal. Dinner started with soup, followed by a joint of mutton, curry, roast chickens or pheasants, and pudding. The author wrote, ‘we have tried hard to see wherein lies the roughing it, and can only discover that we have to do without champagne and without cheese, and that for three days out of the five we have had no coffee after dinner. What destitution!’

In Malaya, rest-houses were usually but not always bungalows and each hill station had at least one. As in India, they served as lodgings for traveling government officers. Sometimes travelers brought their own servants although most rest-houses had a cook, a water-carrier and a boy. By the turn of the twentieth century there were modern hotels in Kuala Lumpur and the major towns and every sizeable town had a rest-house that was fully furnished with meals provided by the colonial government. These rest-

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203 Edwardes, *The Sahibs and the Lotus*, pp103-104. Edwardes concedes however that in some dak bungalows the khansamah provided excellent service.


208 Aiken, *Imperial Belvederes*, p53.
houses were noticeably different from the old dak bungalows of India in that they were brick-built, clean and comfortable and run on hotel lines. The quality of the food supplied varied, depending on who was running the rest-house; as in India, sometimes ‘surprisingly good and sometimes amazingly poor’.

When L.S. von Donop embarked on his journey into British North Borneo between 1882 and 1883 to prospect for suitable agricultural land for cash crops, there were few places to stop for meals or rest. There was anxiety about obtaining rice, presumably both for himself and his local guides, according to his journal entries. Von Donop stated, ‘I always like to have two if not three days’ rice in hand, as one is then independent and can buy at a reasonable figure; but now, when we get to our next halting-place, Mumus, we shall have to buy at any price’. At one stage, in crossing a stream one of the buffaloes carrying the rice disappeared under the water but von Donop remarked that luckily little damage was done. On 22 September 1882 Donop reported that at their previous halting place they had to go to bed without any food. Donop noted though that there were now rest-houses in both Sandakan and Kudat and they appeared to be always full. However outside the main towns of British North Borneo and Sarawak there were few rest-houses. It was not just crown colony officials who travelled vast distances but also those in the private sector who either worked in or made trips to the remote regions. Philip Arthur Watson Howe, employed by the Steel Brothers & Co. Ltd of Burma as a timber manager, travelled extensively in British North Borneo on behalf of the British Borneo Timber Company in from 1948. Howe reported sleeping at a Chinese logging camp in Bilit by the Kinabatangan River on the east coast of the colony on 19 May 1940.

Writing about life in British Malaya, R.J.H. Sidney noted that there were more than fifty rest-houses in the Unfederated and Federated Malay states, ‘and they vary from a small six-roomed bungalow to a magnificent series of houses which is fully the equal of any first-class hotel. In them all, however, will

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210 Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States*, p120.
211 L.S. von Donop, *Diary of L.S. Von Donop, Travelling through North Borneo or 'New Ceylon'*; Ceylon Observer, 1883.
214 Philip Arthur Watson Howe, Diaries, memoirs, photograph albums, and other papers of Philip Arthur Watson Howe (1908) illustrating his career with Steel Brothers & Co. Ltd as a timber manager chiefly in Burma 1929-48, also in North Borneo (Sabah), Brunei and Sarawak, and East Africa, 1948-50, Mss Eur D1223.
be found similar characteristics. They are all managed by Chinese, and, as a rule, the management is very efficient. No warning is needed as to when the traveller is coming, nor is it necessary to say for how long the stay will be. ... The writer can never cease to remember the day when he first went into a small rest-house, hot, thirsty and dust-ridden. He expected to be able to get a drink, but little else. A drink, however, was provided within one moment, and before ten minutes an excellent lunch had been put up, apparently conjured from nowhere; and this is bound to strike one first when staying at a resthouse in Malaya – the promptness of the service, and the way in which entirely unexpected demands can so easily be met. A party may arrive at ten p.m. and be entirely unheralded, and yet within a quarter of an hour be having dinner and rooms prepared for them. We ourselves remember having informed the resthouse that we should be in for dinner at eight p.m., and not arriving finally until after eleven p.m., and then having an excellent meal, and going to bed as if this was quite the usual time.²²¹⁵

Sidney noted that some travellers complained of the monotony of the rest-house meals but he stated that the rest-house was not meant to be a place of permanent residence and if a traveller intended to stay more than a few days he would be advised to employ his own cook.²²¹⁶

**Hospitality among the colonials**

Much has been written about the hospitality of the colonial community – of the generosity afforded to Europeans who had newly arrived to a colony or to those who were travelling within the colony. As Trevelyan remarked, ‘there is something stupendous in the hospitality of India. It appears to be the ordinary thing, five minutes after a first introduction, for people to ask you to come and spend a month with them’.²²¹⁷ However, this hospitality was only possible to a large extent because of the services of the domestic servants and to a lesser extent the supervisory role played by the memsahib in the colonial household. It was the servants who cooked and cleaned and the memsahibs who planned and supervised meals. In her analysis of the colonial wife’s role in the colonies, Beverley Gartrell observes that the ideal wife, in addition to being a gracious hostess, was expected to provide hospitality for European travelers, being ‘unpaid innkeepers’.²²¹⁸ This was one of the myriad roles that the memsahib was unofficially expected to fulfill and, as Gartrell puts it, ‘British wives were custodians of the health and psychological welfare of the officials.²²¹⁹

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²²¹⁹ Gartrell, ‘Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims?’ p170-172.
W.J. Wilkins, a missionary, in describing the daily life and work of missionaries in India in the early 1880s, agreed that hospitality shown to visitors in India was unique to the sub-continent and appreciated by the colonizers. He explained that when visitors arrived in India they would find out who to call on; within a week the visit was returned and within a month the visitor would be invited for dinner by those they called. Wilkins explained that Anglo-Indian hospitality originated from the ‘good old times’ when people kept almost open house, for an extra plate and knife and fork to be always place on the dinner table for the unexpected visitor and that servants did this as a matter of course. He stated that in country stations where there were no hotels a traveller would be recommended by a mutual friend to stay with a resident although the host and guest had never met before.

Colonials were well-known for their generous hospitality towards each other. George Barker in his memoir on life as a tea planter in India declared that ‘a more hospitable set of men than Assam planters does not exist’. Barker went on to say that a visitor was made to feel at home immediately on arrival, his host providing food and shelter. Here too hospitality was seen as a necessity as the lack of European-style accommodation had made colonials mutually dependent on each other. As well, in isolated locations the newcomer brought news from the towns or other districts. Barker stated that:

‘It is considered a serious breach of etiquette to pass a man’s bungalow, even though he be the veriest stranger, without calling in to exchange civilities. The distance from everywhere and the paucity of bungalows makes it equally agreeable to the dispenser of hospitality and the recipient, to meet and exchange views on matters touching the tea world.’

Arthur Campbell in his book on his experiences between 1950 to 1952, in the campaign in Malaya against what he termed the Communist terrorists, wrote of how his friend, Jameson, manager of the Saringgit Estate (a rubber estate) ‘put his bungalow at our disposal. We squeezed fifty men into it, sleeping in rows on the stone and wooden floors. We pitched tents on the lawn for the others’. He continued:

‘Often, when a patrol came in, he would ask the men up to his house to a meal and beer. Whenever he did so, he and his wife would put themselves out to entertain them … The food, prepared by his Madrassi cook, was a welcome

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221 Wilkins, *Daily Life and Work in India*, p60.
222 Wilkins, *Daily Life and Work in India*, pp60-61.
change both from the canned meat and biscuits which they had to put up with in the jungle, and from the large but tasteless dishes which they ate in camp. 226

The renowned hospitality displayed towards each other on their travels served to provide access to a white imperial home to the British traveller wherever he might find himself in a colony. Often, this hospitality was extended to other Europeans and reinforced white colonial solidarity. By devising codes of behaviour and replicating food practices from the colonial home, the British succeeded in establishing the institutions of colonialism: the hill stations, clubs and rest-houses or dak bungalows. Once again, Indian or Southeast Asian foods were served at these homes away from home, and that in many cases, the work of Asian servants supported colonists’ itinerant ways. This contradicts the sense of racial solidarity and exclusivity that some of these venues were trying to create. These institutions were more than imperial symbolism. Intertwined with the notions of social distance and protecting the image of the ruling elite these institutions were bulwarks against the lingering fear and anxieties of dirt and disease in the colonies. These concerns that indigenous people were inherently dirty and carriers of diseases were manifested in the pages of cookbooks, household manuals, memoirs and travel guides. A more detailed discussion on colonial anxieties about the health and medical thinking of the time will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Six

Dirt and Disease

'A dirty kitchen is a disgrace, so let every mem-sahib have this part of her establishment well under her surveillance, and though her too frequent presence in the kitchen is unnecessary, yet she should make a point of visiting it periodically to see that it is kept clean and orderly.'

So wrote Angela C. Spry in her introductory remarks in an 1894 publication titled The Mem Sahib’s Book of Cookery. The part of the colonial household that is of most concern to this thesis is the kitchen. While it was the heart of the colonial home, providing nourishment to the family, it was not embraced by those who lived in it. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that family members would rarely have stepped inside the kitchen from one day to the next. As discussed in Chapter Four, the colonial kitchen in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo states was situated well away from the main house, usually about forty-five metres away. A covered gangway connected the cookhouse and the bungalow to keep out the rain. In India, the cookhouse, as it was more commonly called, was also situated at the back of the house, sometimes, in a separate building, well away from the house, and, in some cases as part of the stables in the compound.

Like other authors of the cookbook and household manual genre, Spry attempted to convey several messages: that dirt was deplorable and shameful; that the memsahib was duty-bound to ensure that the kitchen was kept clean and in good order; and that the memsahib could keep a vigilant eye without expending too much time in the kitchen. Implicit in these instructions was the understanding that the memsahib’s gendered role included helping to create a barrier between the clean and pure colonizer against the filthy and barbaric colonized. This chapter looks at European thinking on health and disease in the tropical colonial environment from the nineteenth century and how it influenced the daily domestic life of the European in the colonies. Household guides and cookbooks reveal how colonials viewed dirt and how they attempted to eliminate dirt within the household, particularly the kitchen. The mission of keeping the home pristine fell to the memsahib but, as the kitchen was the focal point for food preparation

of which native servants were in charge, it was deemed to be a losing battle. Rather than physically taking over the kitchen, the memsahib made her retreat and instead relied on and yet mistrusted her servants to maintain cleanliness in the kitchen. Household guides recommended the morning parade of inspecting the cleanliness of kitchen premises and equipment stores and disbursing of supplies. It is clear that supplies were measured out for the day’s requirements as the servants could not be trusted to have access to the food stores but memsahibs did not venture into the ‘cookroom’ often.

**Dirt and disease: segregation of space**

Dirt took on new dimensions in the colonies as it was seen as something inherent in the colonized people and that the dirt carried by the local people spread disease. Dirt was found not just on the native person alone however. Many in the medical profession situated India within the tropics and attributed every Indian disease to the effects of tropical heat and humidity.\(^4\) The memsahib’s arrival to the colonies meant that she could contribute to empire-building by ensuring a clean household for their families. Both cookbooks and household manuals written for the colonies provided information and tips on maintaining hygiene and how to instruct servants on the importance of cleanliness. As maintained throughout this thesis, servants were the people who were responsible for food preparation and they were the ordinary Indians that British housewives were the most likely to come into daily contact with. British men, on the other hand, worked outside the house and might meet Indians on the job, as subordinate colleagues. This also helps explain the fact that the target market for the colonial cookbooks and household manuals was for women.\(^5\)

It was the prevailing beliefs about the debilitating effects of the tropical climate that led to the annual ascension to the hill stations for respite. As discussed in Chapter Five, the hill stations were created by the British and other colonizers for Europeans to rest and recuperate from the heat of the lowlands. It was ironic that as the British fled to rest and recreate in the hill stations that were cultivated to remind them of Britain and to escape

\(^4\) David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape and Science 1800-1856*, Delhi, Permanent Black, 2005

\(^5\) One of the exceptions to the cookbooks or manuals that were specifically written for women is: E.G. Bradley, *A Household Book for Tropical Colonies*, London, Oxford University Press, 1948. In the preface it states that it was written ‘especially to the Bachelor, be he district officer, missionary, farmer, mining engineer, tinker, tailor, soldier – who finds himself alone “in the blue”, faced with the bewildering problem of housekeeping’.
from the colonized people, a large number of native servants were required to maintain the lifestyle of the European. In addition, the Indian population comprising those engaged in commerce, service and administration swelled to large numbers. The bazaars became overcrowded and, due to lack of toilets, typhoid fever, cholera and other diseases were rampant in the latter half of the nineteenth century. There were no toilet facilities in the servants’ quarters; the British left the Indians to their own devices as they generally did in the lowlands. The colonizers initially ignored the sanitation problems in the bazaars but eventually the problems spilled into the colonial enclaves. It was only when the spread of these diseases threatened the British population in the hill stations that authorities paid attention. From 1842 onwards, municipal councils were established in hill stations that had the authority to build public toilets and other sewerage systems as well as installing water supplies.

In his study on the bubonic plague and urban native policy in South Africa in the early 1900s, Maynard W. Swanson refers to the ‘sanitation syndrome’ as a broad description of the invidious process by which medical officials and other authorities associated the imagery of infectious diseases as a ‘societal metaphor’. He states that disease was both a biological fact and a social metaphor. This metaphor became so powerful that it influenced British and South African racial attitudes and paved the way towards segregation, culminating in the creation of urban apartheid. Disease and epidemiology became widespread societal metaphors during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century not only in South Africa but outside Africa as well.

Nineteenth-century medical literature, travelogues and memoirs and other literature reflect medical thinking of the time. Scholar Ann Laura Stoler asserts that in the nineteenth-century Europeans began to impose ideas on ‘ethics of conduct’, instructing people on ‘how to live’. Stoler writes:

‘these operated on European colonials in gendered forms that were class-specific and racially coded. Management and knowledge of home environments, childrearing practices, and sexual arrangements of European colonials were based

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10 Swanson, ‘The Sanitation Syndrome’, p408.
on the notion that the domestic domain harboured potential threats both to the "defense of society" and to the future "security" of the European population and the colonial state.\(^{13}\)

Stoler also notes that colonial guides to European survival in the tropics, as prescriptive texts, instructed readers on what colonial life was supposed to be like and did not provide ‘affirmations or distillations of what colonial ventures had secured and already become’.\(^{14}\) She explains that the texts were not derived from a commonly shared knowledge but had been constructed to impose ideas linking personal behaviour to ‘racial survival, child neglect to racial degeneracy, the ill-management of servants to disastrous consequences for the character of rule’.\(^ {15}\) The texts, according to Stoler, viewed how lack of discipline by the individual could impact on the colonial community. Stoler notes that the prescribing of medical and moral instructions for both adults and children, living in the comfort of a well-maintained home run by a ‘modern white mother’ with well-supervised native servants, they [the texts] promised to connect ‘bourgeois domesticity to European identities and thus racial ordering to bourgeois rule’.\(^ {16}\) Furthermore, Stoler stresses that the cloistered Europeans in the colonies existed in their white and middleclass world, secluded from the indigenous community. Stoler asserts that this deliberately isolated world of whiteness also served to create its own ‘domestic arrangements and class distinctions among Europeans that produce cultural hybridities and sympathies that repeatedly transgressed these distinctions’.\(^ {17}\) She suggests that nineteenth century household guides, medical manuals and pedagogic journals published in the Indies and the Netherlands reinforced European anxieties of dirt and disease in the colonies. Stoler notes that the dissemination of advice on contamination increased as germ theory and biomedicine developed.\(^ {18}\)

Medical thinking from the eighteenth century understood epidemic disease transmission to be a process of contamination and not contagion until the emergence of modern germ theory in the 1870s. European medical thought was based on the humoral understanding of disease, when imbalance occurred in the blood, bile and other bodily fluids.\(^ {19}\) The thinking then was that people became sick from the noxious air or


\(^{17}\) Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, p112.


miasmas produced in the unhealthy places where they lived and the rationale was that it was places rather than people that required treatment.\textsuperscript{20} In Western Europe for over 2000 years, miasma was thought to cause disease.\textsuperscript{21} Alan Bewell argues that colonizers produced ‘a map of the world in which colonial spaces were largely perceived as dirty or unclean and European civilization was expected to cleanse or sanitize people and places’.\textsuperscript{22} This belief in miasma as the cause of disease was compounded by people’s instinctive disgust with associating miasma with ‘putrid, fetid, damp environments’.\textsuperscript{23} The early nineteenth-century medical profession in India viewed tropical diseases as affecting Europeans differently than the local people. They conducted studies on diseases in the tropics in relation to temperature changes, wind direction and topographical differences.\textsuperscript{24} The effects of the sun on decaying vegetation and other substances resulting in noxious exhalations were thought to cause diseases. Swati Chattopadhyay, in his historical study of colonial Calcutta, notes that by emphasizing ‘the effect of topography on disease, medical authorities made themselves indispensable to the colonial project of surveying, mapping, exploring, and controlling space’.\textsuperscript{25} Chattopadhyay claims that to emphasise the economic advantage of disease prevention, medical authorities advocated that hard physical labour had to be performed by the natives. He also contends that

‘given the environmentalist paradigm of disease and the climatic difference of India and Europe, disease became central in understanding the Indian environment, and one of the most frequently used tropes for describing Indian culture. Districts were mapped and relative health of sites determined.’\textsuperscript{26}

Similarly, Alison Bashford states that the conflation of morality and physicality was underpinned by miasmatic theories of health and ill-health. She states that disease was understood to be a response to decomposing, putrefying matter in the environment, of human waste, accumulation of dirt, stagnant water and foul air. Foul air was seen as a

\textsuperscript{22} Bewell, \textit{Romanticism and Colonial Disease}, p42: The Greek word ‘miasma’ originated from religious and moral origins and developed into a naturalistic theory of disease. According to Valerie Curtis, who refers to Parker R. Miasma: Pollution and Purity in Early Greek Religion, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983, miasma originally meant ‘stain’ or pollution of sin which offended the gods, it came to be used as a term for foul airs and atmospheres that were thought to cause disease.’ Curtis also notes that ‘Hippocrates (460-377 BC) exhorted that to stay healthy one needed to stay away from the airs, waters and places that contained dangerous vapours or miasmas’, Hippocrates, \textit{Hippocratic writings}, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1983.
\textsuperscript{23} Curtis, ‘Dirt, Disgust and Disease: A Natural History of Hygiene’, p662.
\textsuperscript{24} Chattopadhyay, \textit{Representing Calcutta}, p62.
\textsuperscript{25} Chattopadhyay, \textit{Representing Calcutta}, p62.
\textsuperscript{26} Chattopadhyay, \textit{Representing Calcutta}, pp62-63.
medium of transmission of disease.\textsuperscript{27} From their earliest days in India the British considered the tropical heat as not only enervating but harmful to the health. Windows and doors were shut at night in the belief that bad air induced fever before it was known that mosquitoes spread malaria.\textsuperscript{28}

The miasmatic theories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the tropical medicine of the late nineteenth century were both shaped by colonial conditions. India in the early nineteenth century was perceived by Europeans to be a place where disease was part of the landscape and where sickness rapidly resulted in death.\textsuperscript{29} Colonial spaces in the nineteenth century were seen as dirty and in a state of disorder, with climate and dirt as distinctly important in colonial medicine and the mapping of pathogenic environments.\textsuperscript{30} Interestingly, there were observations at the time of miasmatic environments produced by the London poor as similar to those of the tropical colonies. The medical profession saw that the disease experience of urban poverty was as much caused by socioeconomic conditions as by climate.\textsuperscript{31} Between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, European thinking on health and disease in the colonies centred on established views of a hostile and untamed tropical environment.\textsuperscript{32} David Arnold, in his work on disease, medicine and empire, states that Africa, Asia and the Americas were all seen to be ridden with fatal and debilitating disease and that only through the superior knowledge of European medicine it was possible to bring them under control.\textsuperscript{33}

However, in the nineteenth century, medical thinking on infectious diseases was still in its infancy. Graeme D. Westlake, in his work on hill stations, wrote that medical opinion of the day mistook ‘heavy consumption of wine, especially claret, was seen as a cure for various diseases, such as cholera, plague, smallpox, enteric, malaria and dysentery’.\textsuperscript{34} Malaria was one disease that was thought to have caused by miasma and it was not until the 1880s that it became known that it was caused by a parasite carried

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Arnold, \textit{The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze}, p42.
\item Bewell, \textit{Romanticism and Colonial Disease}, p42.
\item Bewell, \textit{Romanticism and Colonial Disease}, p50.
\item Arnold, ‘Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire’, p3.
\item Westlake, \textit{An Introduction to the Hill Stations of India}, p15.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
by mosquitoes. In 1894, Patrick Manson made the link between mosquitoes and malaria and in 1898 Ronald Ross proved this theory. However, John D. Gimlette, in his dictionary of Malayan medicine, noted that ‘in some mysterious way Malays associated malaria with the mosquito long before the work inaugurated by Manson (1894) and confirmed by Ross (1898) was credited. The Malay hypothesis was noted by E.T. McCarthy in the early eighties and later (1894) by W.W. Skeat in Selangor [Malayan state]. Steel and Gardiner, among others, with an imperfect understanding of malaria in the 1890s wrote confidently of the disease being ‘an earth-and-water-born poison produced in soils not fully occupied in healthy work, and may be taken into the body through the skin, the lungs, and the stomach. In the first case it generally enters by inoculation from the bite of some insect which has been previously feeding on malarial poison.

Steel and Gardiner not only saw themselves as advisors on household hints and recipe writers but as dispensers of medical advice. In their chapter on preservation of health and simple remedies, they listed both home remedies and medicines for chronic ailments, including asthma, convulsions, hysteria, sunstroke, dysentery and rheumatism. The authors advised an acid treatment for cholera: one tablespoon of vinegar and one teaspoon of Worcester sauce. Steel and Gardiner also suggested other cures for cholera: diluted acetic acid and ‘sweet spirits of nitre’ as well as diluted sulphuric acid. These, they added could also be supplemented with ‘hand-rubbing, hot bottles, mustard, turpentine, everything should be tried’.

In the Victorian era there was a concerted effort to study colonial or tropical medicine as Anil Kumar points out, there was hardly anything tropical about it, except that it operated in a tropical environment. He states that most of the so-called tropical diseases such as cholera, plague and smallpox had been found in Europe for centuries. Kumar cites the exception of scala ringworm as a disease that thrives in a tropical climate. The difference with these diseases when they occurred in the tropics was their intensity and ferocity. Indeed, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, heavy loss of life among Europeans due to cholera, malaria and dysentery in India particularly among

38 Steel and Gardiner, The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook, p178.
British soldiers meant that colonizers saw themselves as being hounded by death.\textsuperscript{40} The high rate of mortality meant huge economic losses to the colonial administration both in terms of recruitment and replacement. A significant factor to take into account is that British newcomers died in greater numbers than Indians. Historian Philip D. Curtin observes that, while the fear of the native inhabitants was linked with hygienic concerns, the British found it hard to blame them as a source of infection.\textsuperscript{41} Instead, they claimed that the Indians had an inherent source of immunity.\textsuperscript{42} By the late nineteenth century, scientific breakthroughs in bacteriology and parasitology meant that huge gains were made in the improvement of European health. When the death rates of Indian and European troops were nearly equal in the 1870s, it then became possible to switch sides and to blame ‘native filth and disease’ for European illness.\textsuperscript{43} Curtin notes that the bazaars were particularly viewed with suspicion as places that could spread contaminated food and water and where prostitution and venereal disease was rampant.\textsuperscript{44} He adds that by the early 1900s there was another fear that food might be contaminated by native cooks.\textsuperscript{45}

The old cities and native bazaars were seen as the areas most often linked with dirt and disease. The cholera epidemic that swept across the subcontinent between 1817 and 1821, the bubonic plague of 1896 and periodic outbreaks of typhoid and malaria had left the British population nervous.\textsuperscript{46} As the concept of disease vectors was (for example, in the case of bubonic plague) still not fully understood, the colonial health authorities embarked on public sanitary health measures, including the quarantining of those who caught the diseases, washing of public buildings, house to house searches of plague cases and the summary demolition of unsanitary structures.\textsuperscript{47} The British only intervened with sanitary measures and public health infrastructure quite late and then always started with the white districts first.

\textbf{Segregation in the domestic and public spheres}

If servants were the human resources responsible for feeding the colonizers, then the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{40}Arnold, \textit{The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze}, pp42-42.
\item \textsuperscript{42}Curtin, \textit{Death by Migration}, p108.
\item \textsuperscript{43}Curtin, \textit{Death by Migration}, p108.
\item \textsuperscript{44}Curtin, \textit{Death by Migration}, p108.
\item \textsuperscript{45}Curtin, \textit{Death by Migration}, pp108-109.
\item \textsuperscript{47}Heitzman, \textit{The City in South Asia}, p132.
\end{itemize}
The kitchen was the engine room where all the meals were created. Yet this domestic space that fed empire builders was given little attention. Sometimes the kitchen was built separately, together with the servants’ accommodation; and at other times, behind the house but joined by a covered passageway. As in India, the kitchen was located at back of the house in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo states. Recalling her time in Sandakan, Agnes Keith described the cookhouse as ‘standing slightly apart from our bungalow.’\(^\text{48}\) The majority of the responses to my questionnaire on the location of the kitchen was that it was situated some distance at the back of the house and a sheltered passage way connected it to the main house.\(^\text{49}\) Where refrigerators were in use they were kerosene-run. There was always the mesh-covered wooden ‘meat safe’ that had its four legs standing in kerosene to keep out ants and other insects from the cupboard.

Swati Chattopadhyay, in his work on the spatial history of colonial Calcutta asserts that the kitchen and ancillary service spaces were never integrated as part of colonial houses in India due to differing perceptions of servants’ needs.\(^\text{50}\) Chattopadhyay adds that the colonizers showed little interest in their servants’ accommodation as they were only prepared to spend the bare minimum on the servants.\(^\text{51}\) The missionary Cyril Alliston, in his account of his nine years in Jesselton, British North Borneo, during the 1950s described the rectory kitchen as ‘the funny little dapur (kitchen) that joined the house to the kitchen and servants’ rooms’.\(^\text{52}\) In spite of the European predilection for keeping up appearances in maintaining the pristine colonial household and the concern about dirt and disease, the kitchen generally remained out of sight and out of mind. Kenny-Herbert in condemning the grossly neglected (by the Anglo-Indian householder) kitchen, complained, ‘dinners of sixteen or twenty, thoughtfully composed, are de rigueur; our tables are prettily decorated; and our menu cards discourse of dainty fare in its native French. But what “nerves” we all have to be sure! Could we but raise the curtain, and examine our cookrooms, and all that in them is, just before we lead the way to the banquet, should we not be actually dumb-founded at our own audacity?’\(^\text{53}\)

\(^{48}\) See Agnes Keith, *Land Below the Wind*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1939, p30. Keith’s kitchen, in common with other colonial homes, was separated from the main house in the back and joined by a covered passage way. The Sabah State Government, through the Sabah Museum has since refurbished Agnes Keith’s home and is now a tourist attraction.

\(^{49}\) Questionnaire responses, questionnaire in Appendix A.

\(^{50}\) Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta*, p127.

\(^{51}\) Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta*, p127.

\(^{52}\) Cyril Alliston, *In the Shadow of Kinabalu*, London, Robert Hale Limited, 1961, p34. Jesselton was the colonial name given to the capital of British North Borneo. Today it is known as Kota Kinabalu, capital of Sabah.

fact, the memsahib was urged to stay away from the kitchen as the unspeakable filth of the kitchen and staff might alarm her. At the same time the European often marveled at the wonderful meals that could be turned out from such dirty and primitive kitchens.

Anglo-Indian tea planter George M. Barker, in his 1884 book wrote:

‘At a distance of twenty to thirty yards stands the bawurechee-khana (cookhouse); here the servants, when not at work, are generally to be found indulging in the stupefying hubble-bubble. Perhaps the less said concerning the interior arrangements of most Indian kitchen the better. An English woman on her arrival, full of recollections of bright copper pans and well-scrubbed floors, at first puts forth all her energies and try to establish order and cleanliness, but has finally to give in, beaten by the natural affection for dirt inherent in all Easterns, and the outlandish change in all things connected with the culinary department. It is astonishing how a native with his limited supply of cooking utensils will contrive to turn out five or six courses for dinner: given three bricks, a pot, and fire, and an Indian will do wonders.’

In the preface to her 1883 book for young housekeepers in British India, the author known only as ‘An Anglo-Indian’ wrote that the hot climate and the position of the kitchen made it impossible for the memsahib to visit it regularly. Nevertheless, ‘An Anglo-Indian’ insisted that inspections should be frequent, ‘just to see that the place is swept and clean, the table and cooking utensils well scoured, and the water chatties (pots) and their contents clean and wholesome’. Of course, it was the European’s choice that the kitchen was built away from the house as it was felt that the heat and smell of the cookroom was too much for European sensibilities. As Wilkins reasoned, ‘a cook-room in a house where the doors leading to the different rooms are always open would be an intolerable nuisance’.

The design and layout of the colonial home served more than aesthetic effects. Collingham suggests that the rebellion of 1857 ‘was an immensely traumatic bodily experience for the British in India’. She points out that instead of tightening barriers in the home the memsahib in fact sought to display the open nature of the bungalow ‘using it as a site in which to display British prestige’.

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multitude of household servants.\textsuperscript{58} This suited the official ideology of the time, as another site where British racial superiority could be admired.\textsuperscript{59} Catherine Hall points to the anger and bitterness that the British harboured against the Indians for the rebellion manifested into an even stronger barrier that separated the colonizer and the colonized.\textsuperscript{60} Hall notes that among other measures, more British women were brought to the colony, their role as wives of the rulers, was to maintain the prestige of the British home. The colonial home became a public place for the white community, offering hospitality to European colleagues and visitors. Hall maintains that fears of pollution and contagion became more entrenched, and that, ‘European and Indian quarters were separated’.\textsuperscript{61}

Bungalows as residences for the European population were built along wide streets in large compounds.\textsuperscript{62} The servants’ accommodation was built at the furthest edge of the compound, sometimes near store rooms or stables. The perceived view, according to Chattopadhyay, was that the ‘inherently squalid, immoral and lazy’ natives were used to the environment that was dirty and unhealthy. Chattopadhyay suggests that the environmental determinism British equated such ‘equated architectural and spatial order with morality’. This the British believed, would present their brand of ‘transparent visual order’ necessary for instilling truthfulness among the Indian population. Chattopadhyay asserts that the British thought ultimately it was this truthfulness that was ‘necessary to British health and life’.\textsuperscript{63}

Chattopadhyay refers to Steel and Gardiner, who instructed that the memsahib’s role was to supervise the servants stringently and, for this reason, the servants should never be allowed to live in outside the compound. Steel and Gardiner stated that the memsahib

‘should insist upon her servants living in their quarters, and not in the bazaar… it becomes the mistress’s duty to see that they are decently housed, and have proper sanitary conveniences. The bearer should have strict orders to report any illness of any kind amongst the servants or their belongings; indeed, it is advisable for

\textsuperscript{58} The openness of the houses were designed for cross-ventilation and were modelled after Indian town houses. See Swati Chattopadhyay, “‘Goods, Chattels and Sundry Items”: Constructing 19th-Century Anglo-Indian Domestic Life’, Journal of Material Culture, vol.7, 2007, pp247-249.
\textsuperscript{59} Collingham, Imperial Bodies, p167.
\textsuperscript{61} Hall, ‘Of Gender and Empire’, p73.
\textsuperscript{62} For a study on the bungalow as a distinctive form of dwelling, see Anthony D. King, The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984
\textsuperscript{63} Chattopadhyay, “‘Goods, Chattels and Sundry Items’”, p261.
the mistress to inquire every day on this point, and as often as possible – once or twice a week at least – she should go a regular inspection round the compound, not forgetting the stables, fowl-houses, &c.’

Collingham notes that new ideas about sanitation gave those in medical and government circles the authority to influence the domestic sphere. These ideas were propagated, among other means, through household manuals and even cookbooks, which argued that sanitation in the home was of importance not only for health reasons but also to maintain the prestige of empire.

Measures were also taken to isolate the European community against crowded conditions, that is, proximity to the native population. The colonial authorities opted for racial segregation as a means of combating the spread of disease. From 1858, when India became a Crown possession, the British army in India became the largest single concentration of troops outside the United Kingdom. However, high mortality rates from epidemic diseases like dysentery and cholera necessitated health measures. The Royal Sanitary Commission of 1859, using criteria of soil, water, air and elevation, developed district areas for European occupation and included the cantonment, ‘civil lines’ and hill stations (although hill stations were established much earlier, as discussed in the previous chapter).

For example, Vijay Prashad notes that, in Delhi, ‘colonial officials lived in an enclave of sanitation to the north of the city, in the Civil Lines; only a few of their native allies of the “better class” reaped the harvest of municipal works’.

Indian press reports criticized the Delhi Municipal Corporation for building ‘drains of minor importance’ in White Town at great expense while ignoring sanitation infrastructure in the walled city.

**Concerns about mental and physical health in the tropics**

The tropical environment was seen as damaging to mental health as well as to physical wellbeing. The colonial community in Singapore suggested a wide-ranging variety of factors that could contribute to poor mental health. The Bishop of Singapore, in a letter

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64 Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, p4.
65 Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p166.
68 Ramasubban, ‘Imperial Health in British India’, pp40-41.
to the British Medical Journal in 1926, wrote that there had been two cases of ‘insanity’ or suicide each year from 1915 among Government servants and other white people.\textsuperscript{71}

This letter provoked much discussion and correspondents to the journal suggested the following possible causes for ‘mental deterioration’ in too prolonged a residence in tropics:

‘altitude, moisture, too much sunlight, heat, eye defects, monotony, lack of seasons, hyperaemia of the brain, north wind, barometric pressure, electrical content of the atmosphere, lack of essential vitamins, alcohol, smoking, constipation, native servants, masturbation, venery, sexual starvation, too great or too little secretion from the endocrine glands, loneliness and fear.’\textsuperscript{72}

Three decades before, Steel and Gardiner wrote,

‘That India itself has little to do with the mortality that charged against it may be seen from the fact that while the civilian European population has a death-rate of only 20 per mille (or the same as London), soldiers in barracks have one of 69. That is the result of crowding, errors of diet, intemperance, exposure, immorality, and the imperfect ventilation and sanitation inseparable from large numbers, joined to a want, during the hot weather, of rational exertion, mental and bodily.’\textsuperscript{73}

As late as the 1930s there were still some in the medical profession who attributed good health and longevity to climatic conditions. The professor of surgery at a medical college in Singapore, Kenneth Black, stated that ‘man can live in any region where he can obtain food and water, but his physical and mental energy and his normal character reach their highest development only in a few strictly limited areas’.\textsuperscript{74} Black claimed that England’s climate came nearer the ideal than that of any other country in the world and that when ‘people go from a country with a superior to one with an inferior climate, their power of sustained work deteriorates sooner or later, although sometimes at first it is stimulated by the change, especially if the change is to a “bracing” climate’.\textsuperscript{75} The professor also asserted that Europeans were inclined to lose their efficiency towards the end of their three year posting.\textsuperscript{76}

Black was not the only member of the medical fraternity who believed that residence in the tropics for the European had a debilitating effect on his health. On top of the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{71} Kenneth Black, ‘Health and Climate with Special Reference to Malaya’, \textit{The Malayan Medical Journal}, vol.VII, December 1932, p104.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Black, ‘Health and Climate with Special Reference to Malaya’, p104.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Steel and Gardiner, \textit{The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook}, p171.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Black, ‘Health and Climate with Special Reference to Malaya’, p99. Kenneth Black was the professor of surgery at the King Edward VII College of Medicine of Singapore in 1932.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Black, ‘Health and Climate with Special Reference to Malaya’, pp99-101.
\item \textsuperscript{76} Black, ‘Health and Climate with Special Reference to Malaya’, p101.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
standard instructions that four to five years was the maximum number of years for which Europeans should live in the tropics before returning to a cold climate, colonizers were cautioned to have a prudent lifestyle – ‘plenty of rest, moderate exercise, sensible dress (flannel vests and hats against the tropical sun) and bathing only at advised times’. 77 Although medical writing at the turn of the century acknowledged that illness was not transmitted through the environment according to miasmatic theory, prolonged residence in the tropics was nevertheless still thought harmful to health. Accordingly, it was still believed that Europeans residing in tropical climate had lower resistance to disease and infection. 78

British Emigration Information Office sheet of 1900 listed cardinal rules for Europeans to maintain good health in the tropics preaced with the injunction that adult Europeans should not go to the Federated States of Malaya before they were twenty years of age. The following were the cardinal rules:

- Go to bed and get up early.
- Avoid all excesses in eating and drinking.
- Never go out between the hours of 8 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. without wearing a sun hat.
- When possible, always wear flannel next to the skin.
- Take exercise regularly and moderately, but not to excess, if avoidable.
- Change clothes as soon as possible after exercise.
- Avoid bathing in the middle of the day, or more than twice a day. In the evening, and after exercise, a warm bath is better than a cold one.
- If doubtful about the purity of drinking water, always see for yourself that it is boiled, and do not take the servant’s word for it. Filtering is often insufficient.
- When travelling, drink as little as possible during the heat of the day, and always avoid roadside stalls.
- The water of a young coconut is best on these occasions, if obtainable. 79

An eminent figure in tropical medicine weighed in on the debate of the dirty habits of cooks in the colonies, a topic addressed in numerous cookbooks and household guides. In advocating the consumption of more vegetables than meat, a surgeon from the East India Company, James Ranald Martin, suggested that the mere sight of the cook:

‘…buttering our toast with the greasy wing of a fowl, or an old dirty piece of rag, will have more effect in restraining the consumption of the article than any didactic precept which can be laid down; and a picturesque sight of this kind may

78 Manderson, ‘Race, Colonial Mentality and Public Health’, p196.
be procured any morning by taking a stroll into the purlieus of the kitchen.'\textsuperscript{80}

Even as scientific breakthroughs on medical knowledge were made prescriptions on how to lead wholesome lives in the tropics continued. Most of these were commonsense rules and preached moderation in food and drink replete with moral overtones.\textsuperscript{81} It was standard advice from many in the medical profession to advise eating more fruit and vegetables and less meat and to drink in moderation. There was little evidence to show that this advice was adhered to. In the days of the East India Company era meals were gargantuan, they became lighter in later years but were still substantial affairs. Meals in the 1880s were by no means ‘lighter’, W.J. Wilkins, a missionary in his sketches of life in Calcutta wrote disapprovingly of the three heavy meals consumed by Europeans in India:

‘In a climate where temperance in both these respects is called for, and where there is an abundance of vegetables and fruit of many kinds, there is intemperance. It is my firm conviction that a great many who fall victims, as they think to the climate, really fall victims to their own foolishness. Many English people have three heavy meals in the day. At breakfast there is fish, chops, cutlets, omelets, eggs, toast, &c.; at tiffin (lunch) there are chops, steaks, curry and rice, puddings, &c.; at dinner in the evening a long course concludes the day’s work. As to drinking, there is even greater foolishness. Many in the hot season take beer at breakfast and tiffin with pegs (i.e. brandy and soda-water) between, and in the evening, spirits, wine.’\textsuperscript{82}

In his travel diary to India, Malaya and other countries in the 1920s, Aldous Huxley observed that ‘with the possible exception of the Americans, the English are, I am afraid, the world’s heaviest eaters’. Huxley claimed that the Italians called the English ‘the Five Meal People’.\textsuperscript{83}

A favourite subject at Anglo-Indian social gatherings was patent medicine. It is unclear whether the interest was a bid for a healthier lifestyle or the rise of consumerism but supplements like ‘Bemax’, ‘Energen’, ‘Vitalin’ were added to some Anglo-Indians’


\textsuperscript{81} Curtin, *Death by Migration*, p42-43 and p107.

\textsuperscript{82} Wilkins, *Daily Life and Work in India*, pp63-64.

daily intake. In his book on British social life in India, Dennis Kincaid claimed that Anglo-Indians would ask each other ‘Are you still on strychnine? I’ve gone on to arsenic’, and ‘Dr. Hay’s famous slimming diet’ was also heard in conversation among Anglo-Indians. Kincaid agreed with other observers that vast meals of nineteenth century Anglo-India were no longer popular and that even ‘the more frugal, cold-storage fare now provided proved too much, in Bombay’s climate, for twentieth-century digestions’.

Another topic of conversation was anxiety about food contamination and other health issues.

**Fear of food contamination**

The anxiety about consuming contaminated food and drink extended to native people beyond cooks and servants. The vegetable gardener was feared as a likely transmitter of disease, through fertilizing his vegetables with human waste. This fear was indeed well founded as the colonial authorities had not installed a public water supply system nor were sanitation measures put in place in the nineteenth century. The historian James Francis Warren wrote that, at the time, in Singapore, ‘excreta was traditionally collected by Teochius [Chinese] for their market gardens’. Cuthbert Woodville Francis Harrison, who lived in Malaya for a number of years, wrote,

> ‘most Europeans are extremely careful as to what vegetables they eat in the Malayan tropics, as the ingenious Chinese, renowned for his vegetable growing wherever he goes, owes that renown to his unpleasant practice of mulching his crops with crude sewage collected from the towns ... Even if the crude sewage does not affect the consumer he is liable to several water-borne diseases if he eats raw salads and such things, for, in order to keep vegetables bright and fresh on the way to market, the gardeners douche them with water from the ditches just outside the town.’

Thomas R. Metcalf argues that ideas of difference constructed by the British in India continued to hold sway even with the advent of a better understood medical theory. Metcalf argues that at best there was a shift in emphasis from ‘to avoid not “miasmatic” fluxes, but Indian bodies, the filthy carriers of contagious disease’. Metcalf asserts that, between the late nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth

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century, the British fully elaborated on what he calls an ideology of ‘distance’ based on difference.\textsuperscript{90} However, this distancing was only superficial as the British had to consume Indian water and food, breathe Indian air and had Indian servants in their homes. Metcalf thinks this ‘distance’ can be imagined as a set of nested boxes, each walled off from the larger Indian world outside and cites the bungalow residence, the civil lines or cantonment and the hill station as typical examples.\textsuperscript{91} Within the bungalow residence the memsahib’s domain was contained within the compound, usually enclosed by a wall and garden.\textsuperscript{92}

There was conjecture that the European in a tropical climate felt discomfort at every turn, from living amidst a native people to the bothersome insect life and other noisome living creatures. A.G. Price, in his study on the many types of white settlements in the tropics in the 1930s, also pointed out the relentlessly annoying natural environment that bothered the European.\textsuperscript{93} He quotes Dr H.S. Stannus on how living in tropics affected the European,

‘Living amidst a native population causes him annoyance at every turn, because he has never troubled to understand its language and its psychology. From early morn till dewy eve he is in a state of unrest -- ants at breakfast, flies at lunch, and termites for dinner, with a new species of moth every evening in his coffee. Beset all day by a sodden heat, whence there is no escape, and the unceasing attentions of the voracious insect world, he is driven to bed by his lamp being extinguished by the hordes which fly by night, only to be kept awake by the reiterated cry of the brain-fever bird or the local chorus of frogs. Never at rest! Always an on-guardedness.’\textsuperscript{94}

Price states: ‘Anyone who has traveled much in the tropics and who has seen the constant need of “on-guardedness” – the precautions against disease, the boiling of all water, the care of diet, and the tireless supervision of childish natives – must appreciate the weight of these arguments’.\textsuperscript{95}

The care that needed to be taken on living in the tropics extended to travel and accommodation as discussed in the previous chapter on rest-houses and dak bungalows. Ambrose Pratt, in his 1931 book on his time spent in Malaya as a tin miner, cautioned that ‘European travellers are advised on no account to stay at any but European hotels

\textsuperscript{90} Metcalf, \textit{Ideologies of the Raj}, p177.
\textsuperscript{91} Metcalf, \textit{Ideologies of the Raj}, p177.
\textsuperscript{94} Price, \textit{White Settlers}, p212.
\textsuperscript{95} Price, \textit{White Settlers}, p212.
and Government rest-houses’. He suggested The Europe Hotel in Singapore, The Empire Hotel in Kuala Lumpur, The Grand Hotel in Ipoh and The Runnymede Hotel in Penang. He added that that at all other towns in the Malay Peninsula government rest-houses were preferable to hotels. Pratt also reinforced the utmost care for personal hygiene, saying that ‘to walk about your bedroom or bathroom with bare feet is unsafe. The germs of poisonous tropical diseases are lurking everywhere, ready to attack any abrasion of the skin’. By 1898 it had already been established that malaria was spread by mosquitoes and Pratt advised that the proper use of mosquito nets at night was an important preventative measure against it.

Civil servant J.F. McNair wrote in 1878 that Malaya on the whole was ‘salubrious’ and, with ‘due precaution’, the European should not suffer many of the ‘native ailments’. McNair noted that several of the diseases which the ‘natives’ suffered from were ‘brought on by their own defiance of the simplest sanitary laws; while, from his superior knowledge of such matters, the European may go comparatively scathless’. However, he conceded that the white man was disadvantaged with his fair skin, noting that after vigorous exercise, ‘the white skin cools very rapidly, and causes the chills, colds, rheumatic pains, and bowel complaints from which a European may suffer in the East; while, when in the same heated state, the black or brown skin cools slowly, and the inflammation is averted’.

**Anxieties about food and health**

It was thus a widely circulated notion among the colonial community that dirt and disease were endemic in the tropics. This perception was frequently illustrated in colonial cookbooks and household manuals. These publications were the conduit for propagating a gendered role for the memsahib, as gatekeepers of British culture and as supporting the ideals of empire. The unstated rule was that white women would exert ‘civilizing influences’ to the colonies amid ‘an alien, seemingly decadent tropical world.

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98 Pratt, *Magical Malaya*, p270  
of heat, luxuriant vegetation, diseases’. Even outside the home, British women continued to lend a helping hand in the imperial project by their mere presence in rest-houses, dak bungalows and clubs.

Similarly, Chattopadhyay states that ‘[t]he notion of the household as a barrier against the dirt and disease of India required that the mistress become the commander as well as medical officer’. Indeed, the job description for the British mistress was spelt out in the various household manuals and cookbooks. A.R. Kenney-Herbert, who first wrote his famous cookery book and other culinary practices under the Raj in 1878, included an essay on kitchens in India, in an attempt to ‘reform’ the prevailing state of the Anglo-Indian kitchen. This essay was originally published in the Madras Mail. It was Kenney-Herbert’s opinion that the kitchen was the ‘foulest’ room in the Anglo-Indian home, its equipment inadequate and primitive, and yet the Indian servants were expected to turn out magnificent meals up to twenty-five guests. He outlined in great detail the filthy conditions under which the servants worked and lambasted Anglo-Indians for not improving the standard of hygiene and providing suitable equipment in the kitchen but to joke of the barbarisms practised by the servants. The repetition of stories of disasters in the kitchen however was not only about humour but reinforcing the stereotype the natives’ inferior mind and low standards of cleanliness. The following were not only told at dinner parties but made it into print in memoirs, cookbooks and manuals on household management:

‘Boy, how are the master's socks so dirty?’
‘I take, I make e'strain coffee.’
‘What, you dirty wretch, for coffee?’
‘Yes, missis: but never take master's clean e'sock.
‘Master done use, then I take.’

Procida suggests that frequent recounting of anecdotes of the strange ways of the servants enabled the memsahib to stay well away from the kitchen so that she may not be confronted with dirty practices. She cites one of these stories:

‘There was a popular story of a memsahib whose cook made a

105 Chattopadhyay, Representing Calcutta, p261.
107 Kenny-Herbert, Culinary Jottings, p496.
particularly delicious pastry. The knew that he made it actually during the course of the meal so that it was really fresh and one day she and her guests decided to raid the kitchen and steal the secret. They discovered the cook in action – the pastry dough spread across his chest, beating it with his hands!'109

Kenney-Herbert criticized the situation of the kitchen away from the main house, usually as part of the block of godowns (store rooms) and near the stables. Even the kitchens at Government House in Calcutta were built near the stables that housed fifty-five horses (as noted by the Vicereine of Calcutta, Harriot Dufferin, in her journal entry of 26 December 1884). This meant that for the average memsahib close supervision of distant kitchen cleanliness was out of the question. The kitchen was constructed with little ventilation and light and, importantly, washing up facilities were non-existent. Kenney-Herbert wrote,

‘as there is no scullery, or place for washing up, &c., the ground in the immediate vicinity of the kitchen receives the foul liquid (as well as all refused matter) which is carelessly thrown out upon it. The consequence is that hard by many a cook-room in this Presidency, there is noisome cesspool containing an inky looking fluid, the exhalations from which can scarcely improve the more delicate articles of food which are sent from the house for preparation.’110

Kenney-Herbert blamed the location and design of the colonial kitchen as being too inaccessible for the memsahib to supervise. It was built well away from the main house and was usually part of a block of godowns with nearby stables. Kenney-Herbert stated that apart from being difficult to maintain surveillance over the kitchen, it was difficult to monitor the ‘promiscuous gatherings of outsiders, – the friends, relations, and children (a fruitful source of dirtiness) of our servants’.111

Sara Jeannette Duncan, a memsahib in Calcutta in the 1890s, used her fictional work, *The Simple Adventures of a Memsahib*, to portray the filthy habits of the Indian cook. In her novel, Duncan wrote of her protagonist, Helen Frances Browne, of braving into the bawarchi khana (kitchen) located outside the main house.112 Browne observed that when she lifted saucepan lids she:

‘discovered within remains of concoctions three days old; she found the day’s milk in an erstwhile kerosene tin; she lifted a kettle, and intruded upon the privacy of a large family of cockroaches, any one of them as big as a five-shilling piece.

Kali Bagh [the cook] would never have disturbed them. She found messes and mixtures, and herbs and spices, and sauces which she did not understand and could not approve. The day’s marketing lay in a flat basket under the table. Helen drew it forth and discovered a live pigeon indiscriminately near the mutton, with its wings twisted around one another at the joint.¹¹³

In keeping with colonial thinking India was portrayed as a primitive land with its people mired in native filth. While the colonist’s main task was to do the empire’s work of acquisition, expansion and administration, it fell upon the colonial mistress to ensure that the prestige and superiority of British rulers were upheld. What better way than to start with the colonial home: the dutiful memsahib’s task was to provide a clean and wholesome environment for the hardworking colonial to retire to at the end of the day. It was a supervisory role she played, never having to physically engage in the many household tasks. Still, it was no less onerous. As Joanna Trollope in her work on women of the British Empire, states, that the memsahib would have found the Indian environment oppressive, with its dirty, dampness and the omnipresent insects.¹¹⁴ In addition, the numerous servants, by dint of the caste system ensured that there were layer upon layer of servants with their strict social hierarchies.¹¹⁵

Servants were primed to follow rules of hygiene, ensuring that the colonial’s health was not endangered and the daily rituals of European life were adhered to. Thus, British homes dotted around the colonial landscape were bastions of cleanliness and civilized behaviour and this too served as exemplary standards of housekeeping to the colonized. The experienced memsahib was also expected to pass on her knowledge to newly-arrived wives. In Annabel Venning’s book on the wives, daughters and mistresses of the British army in British India, she recounts Rosemary Montgomery’s daily experiences as a new bride to Cawnpore in 1931. When Montgomery first arrived, another officer’s wife tutored her ‘in the art of housekeeping in India’.¹¹⁶ In a letter home to her mother, Montgomery wrote:

‘you have to give out every single thing each morning, including dusters, etc, boil all your milk and water and inspect every corner to see that it is clean. She has been most kind and given me hours of advice and help and I think I’ll be able to manage more or less though I foresee that it will be hard work at first. It takes her two hours a morning and she’s had six years’ practice.’¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Trollope, Britannia’s Daughters, p119.
¹¹⁷ Venning, Following the Drum, p69.
Montgomery did manage and outlined her morning routine. Once her husband left for the office after breakfast, she began the day

‘by visiting the kitchen and seeing a boiling “detchie” (an aluminium pan) of water. I consider coal and look to see whether there is permanganate of potash ready to soak the vegetables and whether the earthenware saucers on which the larders stand have been filled with water and disinfectant.”\(^{118}\)

Evelyn Battye relates a similar arrangement in her book on costumes and characters of Anglo-Indians:

‘The barwachi-khana was a separate room standing some little distance away from the back verandah of the main bungalow, a smoke-grimed, from time-to-time whitewashed, building with one small window high up and a fly-proof door that constantly crashed open and shut. Having handed out the daily stores – kept under padlock in the house – the mem-sahib proceeded to inspect her kitchen, empty except for the khansama (head servant). In one corner lay a pile of dirty jharans – thick cotton cloths – for the dhobi to collect, the mem-sahib handing out another twelve of these, the necessary daily quota for reasonable cleanliness. If, sensibly, she had no wish to raise her blood pressure, she did not go again into the kitchen until it was tidied up for her inspection next morning.”\(^{119}\)

In anthropologist Mary Douglas’ premise that dirt equates disorder, she also maintains that ritual pollution or danger-beliefs served to maintain social categories and distinctions.\(^{120}\) Douglas gives examples of our notions of dirt: shoes are not dirty in themselves, but it is dirty to place them on the dining table; food is not dirty in itself, but it is dirty to leave cooking utensils in the bedroom; or food bespattered on clothing; or similarly, bathroom equipment in the drawing room.\(^{121}\) Thus, we can apply Douglas’ reasoning to British views that food and native servants as inherently dirty; and efforts by the memsahibs to improve the standards of hygiene can be seen as attempts to bring order to the colonial household. This anxiety about dirt and disease was portrayed in cook books, household manuals and other publications aimed at the reader resident in the colonies, establishing clear distinctions of colonial society and the colonized community. The notion of the fear of dirt goes beyond the practical (as of dirt causing illness) to the metaphorical. The colonial ruler saw it her duty to eliminate dirt in her household, to bring order in a land of primitive cultures and of filth. Paradoxically, it

\(^{118}\) Venning, *Following the Drum*, p69.
was a difficult task to keep India at a distance as the colonials depended on the Indian domestic servants in the home. As historian Thomas Metcalf puts it, ‘the battle against dirt, disease, and depravity had to be fought within the home as well as outside’.122

The home as private and personal space originated from Victorian ideals and writers of popular literature have traditionally represented the colonial home as a feminized sphere where the memsahib led a quiet existence while her husband dealt with affairs of empire. Robin D. Jones, in his work on objects, space and identity in the colonies, observes that the British in India tried to physically distance themselves from the Indians by locating or choosing their homes away from local urban settlements or ‘black towns’.123 However, Jones suggests that this policy was negated in the colonial home where domestic servants had unrestricted access to this domestic space.124

Mary Procida points out that the reality of the Anglo-Indian home was patently different to the representation of the colonial home in Victorian writings. She stresses that ‘the trope of two irreconcilably separate spheres “of the home” and “the world” is inapposite to Anglo-India, where the public and the private merged seamlessly at the juncture of the home’.125 Procida also asserts that the memsahib and her home were entrusted with ‘the private functions of domesticity to the public demands of imperialism’.126 The home was the venue for official and social events, and, frequently the seat of imperial power was also the home: as Government House or Residency. Furthermore, in running her household with servants under her supervision, the colonial wife, like her husband (in his tasks outside the home) aspired to perform this task by ‘instilling the habits of discipline in a potentially unruly population, by commanding respect from the colonized peoples and by setting an example of rational and “civilized” behaviour’.127

Metcalf’s analysis of the bungalow and its compound, adopted as the choice of abode for the British colonial, served as a fortress ‘in keeping its inhabitants away at a safe distance from the surrounding noise, dust, and disease of India’.128 Metcalf asserts that, in creating the bungalow as ‘an island of Englishness, secure from a noxious India, the

122 Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, p179.
124 Jones, Interiors of Empire, p80.
125 Procida, Married to the Empire, p57.
126 Procida, Married to the Empire, p59.
127 Procida, Married to the Empire, p87.
English woman, or memsahib played a critical role’. Far from being just a decorative figure symbolizing ‘purity and domesticity’, the memsahib’s prescribed role was to create her home environment according to the ideals of ‘cleanliness, order, and industry’. Further, Metcalf states that the memsahib in the British Indian household had to:

‘take on the role her husband played outside: that of a masculine assertion of ordering rationality in the face of a feminized India where disease and disorder raged unchecked. The home might be, as in England, a female refuge, and a place where the man could find emotional sustenance, but it was also the front line of a battlefield whose commanding officer was its British mistress.’

For example, in a ‘Hindustani’ language manual for memsahibs published in 1914, a memsahib manual author, A.K. D-H, offered hints to housekeepers and newcomers to India, declaring that

‘[I]n tropical countries such as India where there are large collections of natives, one has to guard more against contagion than in European countries ... The lower class of native in India does not seem to realize the danger of contagion, or if he does, is too apathetic to take any precautions against it.’

The author held exaggerated fears of dirt and the natives, stating that the three preventable diseases, cholera, dysentery and enteric fever, were common in India and to which newcomers were susceptible. Ignoring the conventional wisdom of not venturing into the kitchen with the knowledge that the kitchen was a filthy place (a cognitive dissonance known commonly as ‘out of sight, out of mind’), D-H instructed his readers to inspect it at least once a day, ensuring that the cooking utensil were kept clean and that the kitchen floor should be washed out with disinfectant. He also suggested that window screens should be installed to keep out flies but allow ventilation. He further suggested that clean dusters should be given out everyday, that the cook should be given a gauze wire strainer for soup and another one for milk – otherwise the cook would ‘use a dirty duster – or something worse’. In keeping with the immortalizing of improbable tales of stupid and dirty servants, D-H recounted the following in his manual:

‘You have no doubt heard the old story about the Sahib who went to the kitchen with a stick in his hand to find out the reason for the long pause in dinner. On seeing him the cook took fright and ran off, with the plum pudding tied up in the

129 Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, 178.
end of his “dhoti,” he had been boiling it in one end while he other end was wrapped round himself."\(^{135}\)

The fear of disease was undoubtedly one of the most powerful reasons for creating distance between the Anglo-Indians and the Indian population and so the employment of the *dhaye* (wet nurse) seems a strange anomaly.\(^{136}\) Surely breastmilk from a people of supposedly dirty habits would threaten the health of the European infant? As with other contradictory and illogical colonial stances, the British went through the elaborate motions of ensuring that the *dhaye* was spotlessly clean and in a healthy state before breastfeeding the baby. The *dhaye* was thoroughly examined for signs of illness and was told to bathe, put on clean clothes and often food was provided to her so that she produced good milk.\(^{137}\) However the issue of caste made the sharing of food a problem. Collingham cited the Stewart family of Cawnpore where they rejected the services of a *dhaye* because she refused to eat out of any plates not from her caste and any food cooked outside the kitchen of her caste.\(^{138}\)

Grace Gardiner and Flora Annie Steel, in their 1898 treatise on housekeeping and cookery in British India, stressed the importance of having a clean ‘cook-room’ but asserted that even if the kitchen was kept clean, there was no guarantee that the ‘food will be cooked cleanly, and the mistress must always be on her guard against the dirty habits which are ingrained in the native cook’.\(^{139}\) Generally Muslims were engaged as cooks and servants who waited at table. As Hindus were not allowed to handle beef or most other foods consumed by Europeans, they were not engaged in food preparation. Missionary Wilkins, who lived for many years in India, offered a contrary view to the dirty Bengali: ‘as far as my observation goes, I do not know any people more cleanly in their habits. As a rule, the Hindus bathe every day of the year … their cooking vessels and brass plates and dishes are scrupulously clean’.\(^{140}\) Wilkins went on to detail the scrupulous care Hindus took in preparing and consuming their food, according to strict food purity rules. Wilkins stated that when a Hindu servant was called when eating his food, he would send a message ‘I am eating my dinner’ and would not come at once. If it was an urgent matter and he was ordered to come, he would obey but the uneaten

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\(^{136}\) Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p95.

\(^{137}\) Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p95.

\(^{138}\) Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p96.

\(^{139}\) Steel and Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook*, p69.

\(^{140}\) Wilkins, *Daily Life and Work in India*, pp83-84.
food was thrown away, in case someone of another caste could have come near the food and defiled it. Thus Wilkins refuted the idea that Hindus were inherently dirty.\textsuperscript{141}

The view by the British in India that domestic servants were essentially dirty was not just a racial prejudice but had its origins from the British notion of class where the lower classes were seen as having undesirable habits. The British upper class employer, while articulating the incompetent and dirty servants of the lower class, depended on them in the domestic chores. For example, V.G in 1862, declared that ‘servants were ‘wholly incompetent to prepare any food, even for a hog. How can it be otherwise? They are taken from the very dregs of society out of hovels and rookeries, probably from the workhouse. It is notorious that when these creatures enter your kitchen they know not the purpose of the different utensils, which they always misuse. These are not the class of women that are required; they are dirty in the extreme, and know not what cleanliness means.’\textsuperscript{142} Just as the British in Britain could not have people from their own class to work as servants for them, in India the colonizer could not always choose their labour, they had to take what was available.

They could not avoid engaging the lower class or low caste Indians as domestic servants. At the same time, the Hindus and Muslims believed the British to be impure\textsuperscript{143} (as the British ate beef and pork). The Indians’ complex system of single task for each caste was unwittingly reinforced by the British when they designated castes and occupations in art and literature.\textsuperscript{144} Prior to this, the caste system and the occupations for each caste category were more fluid. The decline of the Moghul upper classes meant that as large numbers of servants were looking for employment it suited the Indians to have the system of single-task employment for each task; this meant that larger numbers of people would be deployed.\textsuperscript{145} The cook was one of the more important servants and did not come from the Hindu Brahmin caste because handling of European food would have been polluting for them. In fact, high caste Indian servants who fell sick would not accept food, drink or medicines from the memsahib, an untouchable European.\textsuperscript{146}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{141} Wilkins, \textit{Daily Life and Work in India}, p86.  \\
\textsuperscript{142} G.V., \textit{Dinners and Dinner-Parties or the Absurdities of Artificial Life}, London, Chapman and Hall, 1862, p30.  \\
\textsuperscript{143} Collingham, \textit{Imperial Bodies}, p19.  \\
\textsuperscript{144} Collingham, \textit{Imperial Bodies}, p18.  \\
\textsuperscript{145} Collingham, \textit{Imperial Bodies}, p18.  \\
\end{flushleft}
The discovery of pathogens in the late nineteenth century only heightened the memsahib’s pathological fear of disease. On the one hand, she must ensure that servants scrupulously maintain cleanliness and on the other hand, she knew that they could not be trusted and had to be constantly on the watch for deviation from cleanliness. The colonials took great care in following established rules of hygiene peculiar to the colonies. Boiling drinking water was mandatory, as was the washing of fruit and vegetables with potassium permanganate, known in Anglo-Indian patois as ‘pinki’ or ‘pinki pani’.\textsuperscript{147} Similarly, responses from my questionnaires show that many memsahibs in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo also used a solution of potassium permanganate to wash their fruit and vegetables.\textsuperscript{148} There were exceptions to this, as Nicole Walby recalled her mother seeing the cook in the morning to plan the day’s meals, ‘she was very firm that lettuce etc. should only be washed in water, not “pinky”, and felt that a little local dirt immunised one! None of us were ever ill’.\textsuperscript{149}

Arnold notes that towards the end of the nineteenth century, when Europeans developed a scientific understanding of disease causation, they regarded the indigenous people of the colonies as being backward in their fatalistic and superstitious response to disease.\textsuperscript{150} He observes that disease became part of the condemnation of African and Asian ‘backwardness’, while medicine was held up with racial pride, underpinning the ‘new imperialism’ of the late nineteenth century. The medical fraternity’s attitude was subjective, displaying its social and cultural prejudices while Christian missionaries in Africa used disease as proof of a moral and social sickness and as justification of their presence there.\textsuperscript{151}

Similar concerns surfaced among the settler communities of Rhodesia and Kenya where the fear of the spread of disease resulted in the removal of Africans from urban areas.\textsuperscript{152} Racial boundaries were erected to segregate Africans from Europeans particularly where public and commercial facilities were earmarked for the exclusive use of

\textsuperscript{148} Questionnaire responses, questionnaire in Appendix A.
\textsuperscript{150} Arnold, ‘Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire’, p7.
\textsuperscript{151} Arnold, ‘Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire’, p.7.
Europeans. Dane Kennedy notes that ‘contrived or capricious’ nature of European phobia of the transmission of disease by Africans did not preclude the employment of Africans as domestic servants in the colonial household. As domestic servants they handled food, clothing and other personal items of their white masters. Kennedy states that the settler household was the heart of the settlers’ presence in Africa and ironically it was ‘literally overrun with African employees’. As in line with domestic servants in other colonies, their duties included ‘waking their European masters with morning cups of tea, cooking and serving their meals, washing their clothes, drawing their baths, making their beds’.

So in spite of all the intimate chores and tasks involved with food preparation that were performed by their domestic servants the British colonizers still viewed them as inherently dirty. Through an examination of cookbooks, household guides, journals and autobiographies this chapter demonstrates that European concern for maintaining standards of hygiene and good health was an unresolved tension. Colonists made themselves dependent on their domestic servants, allegedly the very sources of disease. Distancing themselves from the kitchen and food preparation itself only hid the fact that Asians cooked European food. The kitchen as the focal point for food preparation was given cursory attention. Often, household manual authors of the time wrote in despair over how filthy kitchen premises and utensils were. Similarly, servants’ accommodation was built at the edge of the colonial compound; there was the need to house servants near enough for their services (to be conveniently and expeditiously provided) but also far enough for social distance. When local people migrated to the hill stations to provide various services to the European community their overcrowded homes and lack of sanitation were not a concern until the outbreaks of diseases like cholera, dysentery and typhoid threatened to spread to the Europeans.

153 Kennedy, Islands of White, pp150-152.  
154 Kennedy, Islands of White, p150.  
155 Kennedy, Islands of White, pp152-153.
Conclusion

‘... in Malaya the servants were primarily for use and not, as in India, for ostentation, so that their numbers were proportionate to the work to be done and, unlike in India, they were expected not to be mere specialists, but, within limits, interchangeable. The ingenuity of “Cookie” in improvising a meal for an extra six or eight persons at a few minutes’ notice, was a constant source of marvel.’

The focus of this thesis has been two-fold: it has argued that the British constructed and consumed a distinctly colonial cuisine in India, Malaysia and Singapore, and that the emergence of this cuisine can be attributed largely to the local domestic servants and their interaction with their colonial masters. In doing so, this thesis has established two interdependent arguments. First, the British in the Asian colonies ate a combination of European and indigenous foods as well as several peculiarly hybrid dishes that were not found outside the colonial cuisine. Secondly, the indigenous servants in the colonial home played a far more crucial role, particularly in food preparation, than the negative image painted of them by the British as well as by many contemporary scholars. Furthermore, the colonial cuisine extended beyond the dining table of the colonial home, to the colonial institutions of hill stations, clubs and rest-houses. Individually, and collectively, foodways at home and at the venues for social interaction served to sustain and legitimise colonial cuisine. This thesis has argued that the British, despite segregating themselves in these institutions, continued to eat Asian food and rely on Asian labour, so the ideal colonial segregation was never realised, or was, at best, a façade.

Indeed, segregation failed most notably in foodways, and this thesis has challenged the assumption that Britons in India, Malaysia and Singapore used food as a means of differentiating themselves, as rulers, from the ruled. While other social structures and patterns of behaviour put in place in connection with the colonial enterprise clearly demarcated the differences between colonizer and colonized, this study shows that food remains one area where the British were less able to conform to rigid standards. E.M. Collingham states that the ‘perverse adherence to British food was one of the clearest

indications that Anglo-Indians gave that they were unwilling to adapt to India’. However, Anglo-Indian, Singaporean and Victorian cookery and household management books, diaries and travelogues demonstrate otherwise.

While there is debate on the use of cookbooks and household guides as historical documents, the main criticism being their prescriptive nature (and therefore barely descriptive let alone analytical), colonial recipes and instructions were followed more arduously in the colonies than in Europe, especially for the memsahibs who were posted to the ‘outstations’ where a close circle of family or friends was not at hand for support or consultation. Even if cookbooks were prescriptive they do demonstrate ideals and values aspired to during the period. In fact the prescriptive nature of the publications reinforced the gendered role bestowed on the memsahibs, that is, in helping to uphold the prestige and image of empire. Both cookbooks and household guides of the era contained instructions on how to run the colonial household, and more pertinently, how to manage domestic servants. By reiterating the childlike nature of the colonized people, their diseased nature and their dishonesty, the manuals advised the memsahib to maintain the highest standards so that she could be admired by her servants. F.A. Steel and G. Gardiner boldly stated that the Indian colonial home should be governed much like Empire, with dignity and prestige. In reality, however, the British colonists’ complete reliance on their servants for food preparation and other aspects of domestic life meant that the social distance they tried to impose between the colonizers and their subjects was unsuccessful.

Chapter One has reviewed current scholarship on foodways, mistress-servant relationships and cookbooks as historical documents. Analysis of literature on foodways has established that the colonial cuisine was a legitimate cuisine; insofar as a cuisine is one that meets the criteria required by a community. The criteria includes consuming the meals frequently enough to be knowledgeable about them, to know how they are cooked and to know how they should taste. In addition a legitimate cuisine is

4 An Anglo-Indian, Indian Cookery ‘Local’ for Young House-Keepers, Bombay, Imperial Press, 1883, Preface.
one which consist of dishes that are ‘articulated and formalized, and enter the public
domain’. While the historiography of the colonial mistress-servant relationship
indicates that it was an unequal relationship, this thesis has focused on the important
contribution domestic servants made towards the development of the colonial cuisine.

The hybrid dishes that became part of the colonial cuisine continued to be adjusted and
modified and were passed on to succeeding generations of colonial families, as
discussed in *Chapter Two*. Essentially, colonial foodways included hybrid dishes that
were neither European nor Asian but a combination that incorporated elements of both.
Just as the fusion-type dishes of the colonial cuisine, such as the ubiquitous curry,
mulligatawny, kedgeree, country captain, chicken chop, pish pash and sago pudding
were consumed on a daily basis, they were similarly served in the clubs and restaurants
frequented by the British. Recipes were discussed and exchanged (although the cooking
of the dishes, in the majority of households, were by the local cooks) through
cookbooks, letters to editors of newspapers and magazines and at recreation enclaves
such as clubs and rest-houses.

The clearest example of a dish that has been appropriated by the British and became the
mainstay of the colonial cuisine is curry. *Chapter Three* has demonstrated that curry
was the single most important dish that defined the culinary history of British
imperialism. Spurious claims of ownership and the authenticity of curry were contested
and debated by the colonial community. This thesis argues against existing scholarship
that depicts ‘curry’ as a colonial fabrication, that is, that the British purposefully
appropriated curry in order to domesticate the environment and that Anglo-Indians did
not eat curry in India. As with other colonial dishes, curry was adopted and adapted by
the colonizers, courtesy of the local cooks.

*Chapter Four* has demonstrated the significant contribution local domestic servants
made towards this cuisine. While the discourse on Asian servants in cookbooks,
household guides, travelogues and diaries reflect British representations of them, it is
clear that it was the cook who purchased, prepared, cooked and served all the meals.

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8 Susan Zlotnick, ‘Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England’, *Frontiers: A
9 Chaudhuri, ‘Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice’, p238. See also Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures:
Literature from servants themselves is negligible and it has therefore not been possible to include their voice in this thesis. The instructions in these publications were directed at the servants; some cookbooks had sections translated into the local language so that the cook could follow the recipes with ease (assuming that if the cook was illiterate an interpreter would be called). In delegating authority, the British were depending on Asian subordinates. This is the core contradiction at the heart of the colonist-servant relationship – the colonists’ discourse of dirt and disease and the need for separation was at odds with their dependence on servants for the most intimate and important of needs. The near total dependence on Asians in the colonial home spilt into the institutions that provided rest and recreation in the hill stations, clubs and rest-houses. Alison Light’s remark that ‘servants are everywhere and nowhere in history’ of British histories of domestic service is also true of servants in the colonies.

Ironically, the significant contribution of domestic servants in the employ of the British colonizers did not match the negative image that the British had of them. Much of the image that the British painted of the servants had its origins in Britain, mirroring the attitudes of the upper and middle classes towards their servants in the nineteenth century. In the colonies British depictions of servants highlighted servants’ perceived dishonesty, their dirty habits, lack of diligence and low intelligence. Yet for all their failings, local servants were entrusted with food preparation, a service that is essential and personal. This supports Ann Laura Stoler’s observation that European anxieties about servants in the East existed because domestic service permeated into both the private and public spheres. She calls them ‘the subaltern gatekeepers of gender, class, [and] racial distinctions’.

British colonizers took into account local practices when employing domestic servants in the colonies of India, Malaya and Singapore. In India, where labour was cheap and where caste regulations stipulated single task employment, the British employed large numbers of servants. In the Southeast Asian states too, the British categorized domestic servants according to racial and ethnic groups, for example, the majority of cooks and houseboys employed in Malaya and Singapore were Chinese Hainanese.

Chapter Four has thus confirmed Mary Procida’s view that Anglo-Indians relinquished control over the domestic space to the Indian domestic servants.\textsuperscript{13} It is in this domestic space, the colonial home, where the gendered role of the memsahib comes into prominence. The memsahib’s role was largely supervisory and symbolic, and interdependent with and reliant on domestic servants. As supervisor of the household she relegated the physical work of cooking and cleaning to the retinue of servants while she devoted her time to imposing the rituals and tasks that defined the colonial home as a bastion of white imperialism. The prestigious white home was carefully guarded and displayed – servants can be seen as the conduit for dissemination of this exemplary household to the general populace – and only European guests were invited to enjoy the comfort of the colonial home and partake of food and drink. The famed ‘open house’ hospitality of providing accommodation and meals to white travellers or colleagues from other stations was possible only because of the availability of domestic help. While servants were seen as potential carriers of disease, colonials preferred to adopt the attitude ‘out of sight, out of mind’ towards food preparation and the kitchen.

The notion of social distance in the colonial context starting in the home was extended to the other institutions of empire. \textit{Chapter Five} examined the hill stations, clubs, hotels and restaurants that identified colonizers in their unofficial and yet public lives. These were the extensions of the colonial home, as the colonials felt that even in leisure activities there was a need to preserve the dignity and prestige of the ruling class. British patronage and membership of these institutions defined boundaries, setting colonizers apart from the colonized. The hill station is one instrument and institution of British imperialism that perhaps surpasses all others in its extravagance (large ostentatious buildings for Government House for administrative offices) and excesses (transplanting whole households, including pianos and milk cattle for annual leave to the hill station); there the notion of isolation and segregation from the colonized people was more pronounced. Ironically, the idea of segregating themselves from the native people, that is, ‘to get away from the natives’ and to purify themselves in the cool high altitude air and disease-free highlands, was opposed to the actual practices of the British by entrusting their wellbeing and comfort to domestic servants that were transplanted from the plains. This chapter emphasizes the point that enforcing social distance on a large scale was always impossible. The fact that Europeans depended on Asians meant

\textsuperscript{13} Mary A. Procida, \textit{Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947}, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002.
that the concept of the hills as European spaces was always a fiction. Meals in the hills were prepared by the same servants from the household in the plains. Accommodation for the local population who provided service to the colonizers in the hill stations as well as in the plains lacked proper sanitation. As the hill stations in India grew, the bazaars that provisioned the white population became overcrowded. It was only when the lack of proper toilet facilities began to spread infectious diseases and the threat came closer to the white enclaves that colonial authorities decided to improve sanitation for the Indian population.¹⁴

The fear of dirt and disease in the colonies, as discussed in Chapter Six, arose from two fronts: the local people as potential carriers of disease and the tropical environment with damp and unhealthy vapours, harbouring contagious disease.¹⁵ This thesis has explored and supported Mary Douglas’ argument that dirt is disorder and that to eliminate dirt is to organize the environment.¹⁶ Thus, complaints about dirty servants by memsahibs and seemingly futile attempts to instil cleanliness among the household staff can be seen as attempts to bring order to the colonial household. This thesis has also argued that the memsahib’s fear of dirt and attempts to eliminate it stems from the desire to bring European order to the colonized environment. From the eighteenth century until the 1870s, medical thinking subscribed to the humoral theory that diseases were transmitted from noxious air or miasmas produced in unhealthy places. Many in the medical profession situated India within the tropics – as much a sociological construct as a geographical one – and attributed every Indian disease to the effects of tropical heat and humidity.¹⁷ It was this belief that rationalized the regular trips to the hills, for the healthy, bracing air of the highlands. Outside the kitchen of the home and hill stations, the fear of disease and the need for segregation was taken more seriously and can be seen with the situating of bungalows between wide streets in large compounds and servants’ quarters built well away from the colonial home.¹⁸ While the British attempted to enforce distance between colonizers and the colonized, the fact remains

¹⁸ Collingham, Imperial Bodies, p166.
that that distance was necessarily flexible. It was the domestic servants after all who
penetrated the private and prestigious spaces of empire to ensure the functioning of
colonial life.

Thus, through the negotiation and interaction between memsahib and the local servants,
in particular, the cooks, a colonial cuisine emerged, not by imperial design but
haphazardly within the complexity of the domestic domain. The culinary culture
developed was so fluid that food boundaries became blurred, and evolved into the
archetypical Anglo-Indian or colonial cuisine. At the same time, within this colonial
cuisine were food practices that were peculiar to each colony. The collaboration
between memsahib and cook indicates and acknowledges respect for Indian and
Southeast Asian foodways. This thesis has emphasised how crucial the mistress-servant
relationship was in colonial life and the contribution of domestic servants towards the
sustenance of British colonizers, a notion seldom acknowledged.
APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Dear ..................................

I am currently undertaking doctoral research in history at the University of Western Australia. My research concerns examining the types of food consumed by British colonizers in India, Malaysia and Singapore in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and whether these foods continue to influence the cuisines of these countries today. The study will also investigate the role played by domestic servants in the colonial household, particularly in the preparation and serving of food. The tentative title for my thesis is: A taste of Empire. Food, the colonial kitchen and the role of servants in India, Malaysia and Singapore c. 1850 – 1960.

This questionnaire will seek opinion and ideas on people of British descent or those who have lived in India, Malaysia and Singapore on their culinary experiences there and how these experiences are still relevant today. Disclosure of your name is entirely voluntary.

If you need additional space for answers please use the back of each page, numbering each question. Long answers are very welcome! Please return the questionnaire in the stamped and addressed envelope. Alternatively, if you prefer to fill the questionnaire electronically please email me at leongsalobir@bigpond.com

Many thanks for your cooperation.

4 Castle Court, Kallaroo, Western Australia 6025
Phone & Fax 08-9401 4789, Mobile: 0411 112 885

1. Name: ___________________________________________ (optional)

2. Postal and Email Addresses (optional) ____________________________________________________________

Phone _________________________________________________________

2. Gender: ______________________

3. Age: ______________________

4. Period of time spent in any of the countries above __________________________________________________

5. What are names of dishes that come to mind when you hear ‘Anglo-Indian or Eurasian’ food being mentioned?

6. What ingredients do you most associate with Anglo-Indian/Eurasian food?

_______________________________________________________________
7. What do you associate with the word ‘curry’?
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

8. What is your idea of a good curry? That is, who do you think makes the best curry?
(e.g. Singaporeans, South Indians, etc.?)
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

8. Name the places (e.g. restaurants, clubs or homes) where you tasted Anglo-Indian or
Eurasian food in India, Malaysia or Singapore.
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

9. How often do you cook or eat Anglo-Indian/Eurasian food?
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

10. How would you describe the circumstances for the eating and sharing of Anglo-
Indian food? (e.g. for nostalgic times, social gatherings of a shared past, etc.)
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

11. Why do you think that a ‘colonial’ type of food has emerged from colonization?
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

12. Were you ever in a household with Asian domestic servants? If so, how many were
there and what were their tasks and job titles (e.g. amah, dhobi, cookie, etc.)
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________

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13. How was your relationship with the domestic servant(s)? (e.g. cordial, distant, as ‘part of the family’?)

_____________________________________________________________________

14. What proportion of food preparation was done by domestic servants? Were they also responsible for the purchase of food?

_____________________________________________________________________

14. If you were part of a colonial household, what were the meal times? (e.g. 7am – breakfast, morning tea—10am, tiffin—1pm, dinner—6pm, supper – 9pm?)

_____________________________________________________________________

15. How would you describe the notion of ‘Anglo-Indian’ or ‘Eurasian’ cuisine? (e.g. positively, over-rated, a colonial hangover, etc)

_____________________________________________________________________

16. To what extent do you think that British colonizers have influenced the globalization of food?

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

17. Comments or suggestions:

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX B

Indian Domestic Troubles

‘Who, when I’ve found a friend to dine,
Declares we drank both flasks of wine,
Though half, I know, was left in mine?
  My Khidmatgár.

Who evermore to fool me tries,
And tells my wife a pack of lies,
And charges twice for all he buys?
  My Khidmatgár.

Who smokes my food and cribs my tea,
Or sends the second brew to me,
And cooks in fat instead of Ghee?
  My Báwarchí.

Who takes good care no stranger tries
To cheat me of a single pice,
Yet steals himself before my eyes?
  My Behrá.

Who sits and claims each joint of bone
That leaves my table as his own,
And fat and lazy now has grown?
  My Méhtár.

Who beats my shirts to ribbons fine,
And changes (why, I can’t divine,)
Old Jones’s trashy things for mine?
  My Dhobi.

Who with my horses’ Gram makes free,
Deducts one seer from every three,
And sells the balance back to me?
  My Saís.

Who wakes me from my slumbers deep,
As bawling loud, the house he’ll creep,
To tell all thieves that Sáhib’s asleep?
  My Chokídár.

Who bathes me every day, full well,
In soap obnoxious to the smell,
And marks me so, my chin can tell?
  My Hajjám.

Who try me fifty times a day,
Till wrath and passion get their way,
And what I’d do – ‘tis hard to say?
  My Servants.

## APPENDIX C

‘Family Dinners for a Month’

Anonymous, *What to tell the cook; or the native cook’s assistant, being a choice collection of receipts for Indian cookery, pastry, etc.*, Madras, Higginbothams, 1910.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>Clear Soup</th>
<th>Roast Leg Mutton</th>
<th>Haricco</th>
<th>Chicken Curry</th>
<th>Bread and Butter Pudding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>Hare Soup</td>
<td>Roast Kid and</td>
<td>Mint Sauce</td>
<td>Sardine Curry</td>
<td>Mango Fool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13th</td>
<td>Mutton Broth</td>
<td>Roast Venison</td>
<td>Maintenon Cutlets</td>
<td>Sheep’s Head Curry</td>
<td>Cheese Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th</td>
<td>Partridge Soup</td>
<td>Spiced Beef</td>
<td>Friscasseed Fowl</td>
<td>Vegetable Curry</td>
<td>George Pudding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25th</td>
<td>Mulligatawny</td>
<td>Fowls a la</td>
<td>Carlsfors</td>
<td>China Chilo</td>
<td>Crab Curry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st</td>
<td>Julienne Soup</td>
<td>Pigeon Pie</td>
<td>Roast Lamb</td>
<td>Vegetable Curry</td>
<td>Tart and Custard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2nd
- Mulligatawny
- Beefsteak Pie
- Cutlets a la Soubise
- Kabob Curry
- Pancakes

### 3rd
- Vegetable Soup
- Boiled Fowls and Tongue
- Mutton and Cucumber Stew
- Dry Curry
- Custard Pudding

### 4th
- Pea Soup
- A-la-mode Beef
- Roast Teal
- Prawn Curry
- Sweet Omelette

### 5th
- Oxtail Soup
- Boiled Mutton and Onion Sauce
- Chicken Cutlets
- Vegetable Curry
- Plum Pudding

### 6th
- White Soup
- Roast Ducks
- Beefsteak
- Ball Curry
- Sago Pudding

### 7th
- Rabbit Soup
- Roast Kid and Mint Sauce
- Mutton Pudding
- Sardine Curry
- Mango Fool

### 8th
- Turnip Soup
- Roast Fowls
- Irish Stew
- Toast Curry
- Arrowroot Jelly

### 9th
- Rice Soup
- Game Pie
- Mutton Cutlets
- Salt Fish and Egg Curry
- Plantain Fritters

### 10th
- Carrot Soup
- Roast Beef
- Minced Mutton
- Cutlet Curry
- Jam Roll Pudding

### 11th
- Mock Turtle Soup
- Mutton rolled and spiced
- Boiled Chickens
- Mutton Curry
- Blanmcange

### 12th
- Gravy Soup
- Boiled Salt Beef
- Stewed Quails
- Fish Curry
- Batter Pudding

### 13th
- Hare Soup
- Roast Kid and Mint Sauce
- Mutton Pudding
- Sardine Curry
- Mango Fool

### 14th
- Turnip Soup
- Roast Fowls
- Irish Stew
- Toast Curry
- Arrowroot Jelly

### 15th
- Giblet Soup
- Roast Goose
- Boiled Mutton Chops
- Brain Curry
- Potato Pudding

### 16th
- Palestine Soup
- Breast of Veal and Peas
- Wild Ducks
- Malay Curry
- Thorpe Pudding

### 17th
- Julienne Soup
- Roast Pork
- Chicken Salad
- Egg Curry
- Arrowroot Pudding

### 18th
- Oyster Soup
- Boiled Salt Beef
- Braised Leg Mutton
- Pigeons and Peas
- Gravy Curry
- Fair Rosamond Pudding

### 19th
- Mutton Broth
- Roast Venison
- Maintenon Cutlets
- Sheep’s Head Curry
- Cheese Cakes

### 20th
- Tomato Soup
- Jugged Hare
- Debris Pudding
- Curry Puffs
- Rice Flummery

### 21st
- Green Pea Soup
- Stewed Shoulder of Veal
- Sheep’s Tongues
- Dry Curry
- Imitation Apple and Rice Pudding

### 22nd
- Cucumber Soup
- Chicken Pie
- Sheep’s Head Curry
- Chartreuse
- Mutton Curry
- Tipsy Cake

### 23rd
- Pot-au-Feu
- Rock Pigeons
- Prawn Curry
- Snowden Pudding

### 24th
- Gravy Soup
- Roast Fore-quarter Mutton
- Sweetbreads
- Chicken Curry
- Sago Jelly

### 25th
- Mulligatawny
- Fowls a la Carlsfors
- China Chilo
- Crab Curry
- Lemon Suet Pudding

### 26th
- Mock Turtle Soup
- Roast Mutton
- Fowl and Pillau Castle Pudding

### 27th
- White Soup
- Roast Fillet of Veal
- Boiled Mutton
- Chops
- Chicken Curry
- Chocolate Pudding

### 28th
- Clear Soup
- Boiled Ducks
- Rissoles
- Sheep’s Head Curry
- Cocoa-nut Pudding

### 29th
- Game Soup
- Beefsteak Pudding
- Mutton and Tomato Cutlets
- Brain Curry
- Adelaide Pudding

### 30th
- Ox-tail Soup
- Roast Fowls and Sausages
- Breslau of Beef
- Fish Curry
- Bombay Pudding

### 31st
- Julienne Soup
- Pigeon Pie
- Roast Lamb
- Vegetable Curry
- Tart and Custard
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