CHAPTER III

POWER IN THE POLITICS OF FOOD AND CUISINE

The process of colonialism has been associated with political administration, economic exploitation and cultural imposition. Colonialism became an agency of changes have to be studied in the context of how it materialized the society and culture of the Colonized. The age of colonial rule in India has been a phase of drastic transition in terms of culture, politics and economy. Colonialism was only incidental to the history of development on the basis modern institution and technologies of power in the countries of Asia and Africa.\(^1\) Nicholas Dirks observed that, colonialism was project of cultural control and the knowledge dispensed by the colonialism made new cultural forms in the colonies and further these cultural forms classified as ‘traditional.’ By this notion of knowledge new binaries were created in terms of colonizers and colonized in the name of European and Asian, Modern and traditional, West and East.\(^2\) In the nineteenth century, the supremacy of British power in India imposed an alien culture on the indigenous life of the natives.\(^3\) Under colonial rule the society of Malabar slowly and steadily underwent a transformation, which is parallel to that of the Indian Society. The advent of British rule in different parts of the

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\(^3\) Judith E. Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India, What Women Learned When Men Gave them Advice*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 56.
subcontinent marked a major moment in terms of governance in the history of the region. The economic, political and ideological interventions of the colonial agent gradually altered social and cultural ‘habitus’ of Malabar from early 19th century onwards. The largest transformation was taken place in the realm of gastronomy. By the introduction of ‘new food’, gastronomic pleasure reached its heights. The first section of this chapter discusses colonial agrarian policies in Malabar and how these kind of agricultural policies transformed the making of food and cuisine of the native people. The concept of hybrid cuisine was the result of new agricultural production, which affected the existing social structure of the society. The colonialism and modernity made alteration in the early social practices and that paved the way to make new kind of hybrid cuisine.

**Columbian Exchange: The Transfer of ‘Foreign Food’ to the Colonies**

The transfer of food between the colonial states and colonized during Columbian Exchange had that much of powerful to make effective changes in the history of the World. The adaptation of new food crops from different region is generally known as ‘Columbian Exchange’. This historical revolution was a matter of study for various scholars. Historians like Alfred Crosby, Sidney Mintz, and recently James Walv studied the problem of ‘Columbian Exchange’ within the context of colonialism. In the work of Alfred Crosby described the exchange of commodities between the ‘new’ and the ‘old’ world. Crosby’s work has been disputed by scholars like Sidney Mintz and James Walv. According to them ‘Columbian Exchange’ is not merely an exchange, it was a political imposition of the ‘old world’ towards the ‘new world.’ Mintz explains that the

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6 Ibid.
emergence of British consumption of sugar took place as a tool against the backdrop of overseas expansion and colonial conquest. Sugar, which was earlier a rare and precious imported medicine, became cheaper at the time of Columbian exchange with the plantation economy.\(^7\)

Vascoda Gama’s journey through different regions towards India made significant changes in the culinary art of those terrains. Places enrooted as well as areas under Portuguese acted as facilitators of this exchange by their political control over these areas around the world. Historian M.N. Pearson observed that Portugal played the role of ‘converge belt’ between major markets of Northern and Central Europe.\(^8\)

Many of the food producing plants introduced by the Portuguese became an integral part of the local flora, which altered the economy and food habits of the people. For instance; the popular chillies used in Kerala and Indian cuisine were introduced by the Portuguese. Chillies particularly the dried red varieties are used widely to add pungent flavour or texture. Rulers, merchants, missionaries, Portuguese women in India, played their own roles in the introduction of various types of food, food habits and recipes. The Portuguese cultural impacts greatly reflected among major cuisines in India.

The British colonial experiments in agriculture paved the way for the introduction of variety of seeds and vegetables in India. The tomato and cherimoya were introduced through seeds, which travelled well and were more convenient for distribution than plants. All these plants were widely distributed throughout the East, and that became useful additions to the vegetable diet of both Europeans and natives. The tomato is mentioned ‘as the most valuable

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acquisition to Southern India. Chayote was first introduced in India in 1879; during the initial stages the crop underwent lots of failures and in 1883 the extensive cultivation of the crop was accomplished. The Coco was introduced in Ceylon by means of a single plant, which survived the journey direct from Jamaica to Ceylon, in January 1885. Thurston pointed out that many cultivated plants of India during the period have been introduced from other parts of Asia, Africa and Europe. For example, cabbage, cauliflower, pomelo, peach, betel pepper, Niger seed, and Italian millet. Other plants like pineapple, custard-apple, guava, papaya; chilly, ground-nut, potato, sweet potato, and Indian corn were from America, Maize and potatoes were from Indies. These changes played an important role in the cultural and political discourses of colonial rule.

The Colonial Agrarian Policy and Diet

The colonial states were the laboratory of experimentation. Later the colonial subjects were classified in the binaries of educated or uneducated, rich or poor etc., the agricultural sector of India also followed the same in terms of modern or traditional, scientific or unscientific. Malabar was chiefly an agricultural district. The scholars who wrote about colonial impacts on agrarian policy of Malabar mainly focused on the themes like agrarian relations, land tenures, peasant movements, social changes etc. The studies about agricultural development in Malabar during the period were mainly on the basis of official

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reports, Manuals and Gazetteers. The sources like Thomas Warden’s report of 1813,14 Ward and Corner, P. Clementson, Sullivan and Robinsons throw light on the political, economic and cultural traits of the natives of Malabar. Ward and Conner’s report contains details about agriculture such as the type of crops cultivated, the practices of cultivation, irrigation, livestock etc.15 The report of Clementson, the collector of Malabar describes the items exported and imported from Malabar and describes the agricultural, industrial and trade policies of the colonial government.16 Sullivan’s report on the socio economic conditions of Malabar pointed out the adverse land tenures in the expansion of coffee plantations of Wyanad.17 Apart from this the Robinson’s report also states the early history of coffee plantations in Wayanad. Nagam Aya’s manual is also an important source of information relating to the development of agriculture and economy during this period.18

Samuel Mateer examines the major crops cultivated, methods of cultivation and the details of agricultural commodities exported and imported during the period. He also draws the history of the introduction of Tapioca and its speedy expansion in Travancore.19 Apart from these studies, the works of T.C Varghese and Michael Thakrans are also notable.20 Most of these scholars have studied about the commercialization of agriculture and its economic impact on


18 V. Nagam Ayya, Travancore State Manuel, Vols. II (1906), Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1951, p. 54.


the then society and peasants. Apart from the cultural aspects they focused on commercial aspects of the food crops and cash crops. These scholars did not take any initiative to the study of agricultural production and diet. The import and export of rice, rubber and tea are the main focus of their studies. The British polices about food and agriculture altered the diet and cuisine of colonized subjects. Colonial polices about agriculture especially the experiments in the rice and paddy was very important in the agrarian history of India. Many indigenous varieties of crops were ignored because of that these polices negatively affected the traditional agrarian structure of Malabar. Paddy is the major crop of Malabar in the pre-colonial period.

**Crops and Vegetation of Malabar**

Paddy, the most important crop cultivated in the village twice in a year, first during the south west monsoons and second during the North West monsoon. Different varieties of paddy were sown and varied from place to place. Main verities were *Navara, Cali, Caruma, Arimodon, Taupunarian, Alikannan, Mundiampala, Bembala* etc. the cultivation was mainly carried out in wet, dry and garden lands. The wet and dry lands were mainly used for paddy cultivation and garden lands for coconut, pepper, and areca and jack tress. Major Walker stated that in Malabar about 50 varieties of paddy were grown. They had different periods for reaping and sowing and these were distinguished by the natives for their qualities. Macleod reported in A.D.1802 that there were several sorts of paddy in Malabar. Some varieties of paddy took, 3-4 months to mature. In the *palealil* or higher parts of level and the most

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common cultivation was sprouted seed. However when any fields of the Ubayum or low land came up then the young rice was pulled up and transplanted to Palealil. Some varieties of rice seeds are cultivated in higher regions of soils. This cultivation is known as modan cultivation. Modan paddy is grown in dry lands from May to September with the aid of south west monsoon. These lands are given three or four years rest after a crop due to extremely poor nature of soils. These usual rotations followed on such land. Modan paddy, horse gram, and gingerly, samai followed by fallow for three or four years. modan paddy areas are subject to considerable was during rainy season. Other minor food crops cultivated are sama, muthira, and horse gram. Sama or chamma considered as the poor man’s food in the early days. It is cultivated in nilams by the beginning of May. Horse grams are other important pulse which is usually raised in nilams or parambas as subsidiary crops. These are three varieties of black, grey or mottled seeds are grown in this area. Besides paddy and other cereals, number of garden crops and spices cultivated largely in Malabar.

Garden cultivation comprises the growing coconuts, arecanuts, pepper and plantations with few jack and mango trees in evergreen garden. There is also limited extent of betel vine cultivation in South Malabar and Payyaoli–Kurumbanad taluk. Expecting some gardens in South Malabar where arecanuts and betel vines are grown, all other garden lands are rain fed. Two digging or ploughing are given in a year, first during the south west monsoon period and second at the close of North West monsoon. Pepper was cultivated at the gardens up to foothills of Ghats in North Malabar and Wayanad where considerable amount of pepper cultivated. The spices like Ginger and cardamom were cultivated in different parts of the region. Plantation agriculture which was initiated by Europeans showed enormous changes in the agrarian structure of


Malabar. Estate crops like tea and coffee replaced by the pepper and spices. Apart from this, very small extent of rubber plantations was started by them in Eastern part of the district. These changes forced the indigenous cultivators to take up the cultivation of plantation crops. This led the high commercialization of agricultural sector.

**Commercialization of agriculture in British Malabar**

The agrarian history of colonial Malabar was characterized by high commercialization and an extreme dependency of the market within the context inscribed by very unequal social relations of production. Non-market forms of domination played a significant role in the maintenance of unequal social relations. The ways in which market forces and state sponsored institutional changes were refracted through the twin prisms of varying crop production regimes and differing configurations of class power to produce change describe the main moments in the story of Malabar’s changing rural economy. It was within this dynamics of historical movements that the different rural groups attempted to maximize their returns or prevent losses, consequently both adapted to changed conditions and altered the character of change itself.

The Europeans fostered the production of spices and other export items. The production of cash crops increased in this period. Marshy lands were used for cultivate plantation crops. In 18th century external market for cash crops increased. The collection of products was difficult to the British, and they observed that land and climate of Western Ghats were favourable for the large

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scale plantation of tea.\textsuperscript{30} Tea plantations in India started on before the middle of 1780s. Sir Joseph Bank one of the members of the court of Directors of East India company firstly suggested the possibilities of tea cultivation in India for the first time.\textsuperscript{31} Lord William Bentic took necessary actions for this and a tea committee was appointed by him with Dr. Wallich as the secretary.\textsuperscript{32} This is the starting point of tea industry in India.

The tea cultivation in Malabar started in 1860 and it was first introduced by Messers Parry & Co. in Perindotti Estate.\textsuperscript{33} The failure of cinchona cultivation gave an impetus to tea cultivation in Malabar.\textsuperscript{34} Arthlakunnu was another important tea cultivated plantation during the period.\textsuperscript{35} Another important plantation crop promoted by them was coffee. The early history of coffee in India is very difficult to understand, most of the literature mentioned that it was brought to Mysore about two centuries ago by Muhammadan pilgrim named Baba Budan, who on his return from Mecca brought seven seeds with him.\textsuperscript{36} On the writings of Tavernier, who travelled in India from 1665-1669 gave a detailed account of coffee plantations he visited.\textsuperscript{37}

Coffee is widely cultivated in British India. Coffee plantation at Anjarakandi in Cannanore started during the later part of 18\textsuperscript{th} century by

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information, Royal Gardens, Kew, Vegetable Resources of India Source, Vol. 1894, No. 93, September, 1894, pp. 315-328.
\item Ibid.
\item H. Morgan, Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency: During the year 1867-88, Fort st George Gazette, Madras, 1868, p.146.
\item Malayala Manorama Daily, 11 September 2003.
\item Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
Mardock is the finest example for the use of forest land as plantations. In the 19th century, British were started coffee, Tea and cardamom plantations at Malabar. During the 19th and 20th centuries a large hilly areas were transformed as plantations and it replaced food crops cultivation to cash crops cultivation started. By1837 the price of rice increased by 150% when compare with previous years.

The growing population and changes in cropping pattern led to food crisis and subsequently to famine. William Logan described that Malabar did not produce sufficient grain for the consumption of its population and this has been more especially the case since the introduction of coffee cultivation in to the Wynad taluk, jungle tribes and other servile castes, who used to cultivate the rice fields in that region have been attracted to the more profitable employment on coffee estates. Malabar pays for much grains consumed by the people out of the money obtained for its special products coconuts, coir, areca- nut, coffee, pepper, ginger cardamoms, timber etc. An artificial famine is therefore always possible in Malabar, and as matter of fact such famine used to occur pretty frequently in former times supply of grains came from only one or the two foreign ports. Thus in October 1755, the King of Bednur whom rice exporting port of Manglore belonged to, laid a restriction on grain, because of the destruction committed in his country through expedition under the Mappila chief of Cannanore. This placed the French at Mahe, the English at Thalassery, the Dutch at Cannanore.

and the Malabar Nairs and Mappilas, the whole community in a state of comparative famine.  

During the long period in which the honourable company occupied the factory at Tellicherry, there is but in one record of a real famine. It occurred in August September 1727. The factory diary feared an extraordinary scarcity of rice and it was accordingly resolved to impose the embargo usual those days.  

Severe famine which broke out in Madras presidency during 1876-1878 had its impact on Malabar. It resulted for the steady increase in price of food grains especially for rice. Commercialization of agriculture and its economic impact resulted for frequent famines in the Malabar.

**Famine and Agrarian Crisis**

The frequent famines of the late 19th century forced the British to take interest in new food plants which might help to overcome starvation. Logan has pointed out that semi famine conditions prevailed in Malabar during July-September that affected the poorest sections of the society. In Malabar 1840s were the period of acute agrarian strife, especially in the two Southern taluks such as Eranad and Valluvanad.

Nineteenth century Malabar experienced frequent severe famines during the years of 1865, 1866, 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1890. A severe famine raged throughout the Presidency in between 1865 to 1866 also affected the Malabar district. Approximately 6353 people were the part of relief in a day during July to

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November.\textsuperscript{48} There arose large scale demand for imported food grains. The rice experimentation of British created more crises in the rice market of Malabar. Major portion was met with the grains imported from Burma and Bengal. The price hike was also a problem in 1865-66. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyengar was the scholar who analysed first about economic crisis of Madras Presidency in 1830; he described this phenomenon as an agricultural depression.\textsuperscript{49} His report highlights the rise of price in necessary food grains during the year 1853 to 1891. The report analyzes the price of certain articles of food in 1853 as compared with its price in 1891 in an accounts kept by a landlord family at Palakkad in Malabar. The table shows that price of 430 parahs rice in 1853 is 153 rupees only as the case of 1891 it increased as 430 rupees. The price of rice is increased 180 percentages.

\textbf{3.1 Price Variation Chart of Necessary Household’s from1853-1891}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>1853</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>Percentage of Increase or Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>430 Para</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantain fruits</td>
<td>20000</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brinjals</td>
<td>12,005</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+ 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gingelly Oil</td>
<td>6.5 padies</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Candy</td>
<td>12.5 lb.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>- 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green geram</td>
<td>21.5 padies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White pea</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red gram</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse gram</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>+243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{49} S. Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar, Memorandum on the Progress of Madras Presidency During the Last Forty Years of British Administration, Government Press, Madras, 1893, p. 5.
The shortage of rice and the high price of necessary commodities were the main cause for the famine in Malabar. A report of *Kerala Sanchari* in 1901 shows the worst condition of the people of in South Malabar. The scarcity of food and water was the main problem faced by them during the starvation period. The Ponnani *taluk* in South Malabar was one of the famine affected area of Malabar. The famine report shows that special remission of assessment of garden lands amounting to 10,03121 were also sanctioned for the *taluk*. Other relief measures taken by the government was the free distribution of rice to the starving population. The government takes all necessary steps to prevent this condition. The government ordered to prepare a report on the basic question, what are the vegetables commonly used by the poor in the affected region. During famine the people shifted to inferior varieties like roots and tubers in their daily habits. William Logan collected a list of inferior varieties food and submitted a report to the government during the 1877 famine. The table below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>+600</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>50 lb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard</td>
<td>17.5 padies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmeric</td>
<td>3.5 padies</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry chillies</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curd</td>
<td>773.5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>173.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betel leaves</td>
<td>3750</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areca nut</td>
<td>225 lb</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: S. Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar, Memorandum on the Progress of Madras Presidency During the Last Forty Years of British Administration, p. 214.

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shows that the different varieties of food used by the people at the time of famine and shows how the scarcity of food.

### 3.2. List of the Plants; the Social Hierarchy of Food and Hungry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of The Plant</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kadaladi</td>
<td>Grows wild ,leaves used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KumbalaCheera</td>
<td>Grows wild ,leaves used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherucheera</td>
<td>Grows wild ,leaves used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulacheera</td>
<td>Grows wild ,leaves used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kattucheera</td>
<td>Grows wild ,leaves used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayal Ari</td>
<td>Bamboo furnished food(rice)to the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thazhuthama (Thumiyas)</td>
<td>Grows wild leaves and tender shoots used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukuthi</td>
<td>Wild leaves and tender shoots used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kappa Cheera</td>
<td>About the hills and forest and the tubers boiled and eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BalathiCheera</td>
<td>Leaves and young shoots used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poonavarcheera (amara)</td>
<td>Leaves used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthanga</td>
<td>The seed grains are eaten and cooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elevam (ilamangalam)</td>
<td>Found in garden the seeds roasted and eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peralu</td>
<td>Fruits of these and other varieties are eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aracheera</td>
<td>Leaves used as greens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kovakka</td>
<td>Grows and Cultivated leaves and leafs stalks eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kattukummati</td>
<td>Pods cooked in to curries ,ripe seeds eaten and boiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KuppaCheera</td>
<td>The grows in wild, about hills and forest and the tubers boiled and eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhaval</td>
<td>Grows wild, ripe fruits are eaten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The government opened a number of famine relief camps at different parts of the region. William Logan reported that the famine swept away many of the caste taboos. The transfer of cooked food was generally happened without any barrier of caste. Many landlord families in North and South Malabar opened relief camps called Kanjipuram. Malabar district Gazette supplement published in

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1877 shows a thanking letter given to the native gentlemen by William Logan the collector of Malabar for their co operation for regional disaster management in the period of famine.\textsuperscript{55} Government attention was an important part in the raise of production through the introduction of some new varieties of cultivation. The introduction of Carolina rice was the final result of these processes.

**Colonial Experiments in Agriculture**

The history of Carolina rice traced back in South Carolina during 1690s by the 1720s it became a dominant product of export, South Carolina rice became an established product in the world market during 1690 to 1720 because of exogenous factors, which caused serious shortfalls in the supply of basic foodstuffs to Western Europe. Between 1740 and 1760, Carolina rice became a major product in the European rice market. The failure of regional harvest in the first half of the nineteenth century in Europe paved the way for the arrival of Carolina rice into the markets. The process of industrialization, commercialization, urbanization and increase in population resulted high demand of rice and food stuffs in European market.

In India the Carolina rice was cultivated in 1868 for the first time,\textsuperscript{56} 10 tons of Carolina rice seed was obtained by the secretary of state through Dr. Frobes Watson, the reporter of the products of India at Indian office London for experimental cultivation. The seed was arrived in India during the period between 1868 and 1867 and distributed to all presidencies like Madras, Bombay and Bengal for experimental cultivation but it was a failure.\textsuperscript{57} The proceedings of

\textsuperscript{55} The Malabar District Gazette, October, 1877, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{56} L. Liotarad, *Memorandum to the Introduction of Carolina Rice into India*, Revenue and Agricultural Department of India, Calcutta, 1880, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
government of India in 1896 reported that the main reason for failure late recipient of the seed and unfavourable nature of the climate.

On the basis of the observation of these experiments, the government of India stated that failure of experiments was due to unfavourable condition of nature. In 1869 the government continued the Carolina experiments with fresh seeds. The result was positive in certain regions but in most of the areas the cultivation became failure. The experiment in Madras presidency was successful for a short period. During 1874-1875, the experiment was made only in the districts like Malabar and Coimbatore. The collector of the Coimbatore district informed that the result was only 15 percentage of yield. The condition of Malabar was also the same, only 2-26 percentages of yields were reported from this region. The government asked to collect the response of natives about these experiments. The report says that rice eating community namely Brahmins opined that the Carolina rice was the best and good to eat. In an article of diet they said that it’s fine to see, white in appearance and desirable to serve up. This highlights the cultural justification of the foreign rice cultivation in India. Technically the experiment was an utter failure.

Another important product introduces in India was cocoa, these plants was cultivated in the hilly areas in India and primary experiments were carried out in Gangetic plains and hilly areas. The government was tried to cultivate Cocoa plant at Wayanad in Malabar. The cultivation of this plant was promoted by the government in all ways. For example an advertisement issued by the collector of Malabar related to cocoa cultivation in agricultural supplement of Malabar District Gazette in 1873 and the collector invited the attention of all those who are interested in the cultivation of cocoa. And gave them a chance to judge the appearance of specimen had been seen at Tellichery and elsewhere in Malabar. It was possible to grow it remuneratively in the shade of the cocoanut palm. About

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100 acres of the forest had already been taken up for growing it. There are many thousands of acres of suitable Government land at the foot of Periah Ghat in the Kottayam taluk.\textsuperscript{59} But the final result of cocoa cultivation was also failure as same to the cultivation of Carolina rice. Apart from this experimentation the government was initiative to establish agricultural educational institutions and farms in different provinces in India. That was the outcome of the suggestions put forward by the famine commission that was sent to India under the aegis of the British parliament in 1878.\textsuperscript{60} Agricultural farms and colleges were established all over the presidency for the improvement of agrarian sector. Number of agricultural farms was established during that time in Malabar district. An agricultural farm was established at Kavalapara considered as a social approval given by the elites to the scientific experimentations taken by the British.\textsuperscript{61} But the colonial scientific experiments in agrarian sector were not success in to a great extent. Undoubtedly it can be argued that the colonial agrarian policies are not to nourish the colonized subjects, but it for the improvement colonial investors. The severe shortage food grains especially the scarcity of rice during the world war period was to prove that the irrational policies of British administration.

The Second World War had been a turning point by many ways in the history of India. The immediate effect of the war on the economy was the decrease in the export of commercial crops like jute, cotton and ground nut and increased demand of food grains. The Madras presidency was not self-sufficient even in normal times regarding with rice and had to supplement its own production by importing rice from Burma, Siam and Indo china.\textsuperscript{62} During the

\textsuperscript{59} Malabar District Gazette, Agricultural Supplement, 5 January 1873, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{60} Nitya Gopal Mukerji, Hand Book of Indian Agriculture, Thacker, Spink & Co, Calcutta, 1915, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{61} NNPR, Kerala Sanchari, 11 July 1905.
world war period the price of food increased in high rate. Burma was the main exporter of rice to the Madras presidency. The fall of Burma in front of Japan in 1942 affects the rice supply of the presidency. As a result, shortage of food grains was happened in all districts of Madras presidency. The Fortnight Report documented the price of food grains in various districts of Madras presidency during the period.\textsuperscript{63} This report mentioned the shortage of rice were severe in the districts like Salem, Coimbatore and Malabar. Some improvement was happened due to the availability of imported rice from the central provinces about 500 tons and acceleration in the imports from the Godavari delta.\textsuperscript{64} Wheat and wheat products like \textit{maida} and \textit{sooji} introduced by the government during this period.

The introduction of wheat instead of rice was a colonial agenda to bring out radical changes in the diet. Wheat was considered as food in the time of scarcity. The food crisis faced in world war time prompted the British to introduce many new food items on colonialized. The cultivation of tapioca encouraged in different parts of Malabar region. Tapioca, which was introduced by Portuguese in Malabar region considered as an alternative for rice in the time of scarcity, but the crop was popularized by the king of Visakham Thirunnal of Travancore during the period of Second World War.

The government of India introduced the rationing system in the year 1944, for coordinated food plans adopted by the government.\textsuperscript{65} The government decided to extend the rationing of wheat products such as \textit{maida}, \textit{sooji} and bread to numbers of municipal towns and its sub-urban areas from 5th may 1946. The rationing of imported \textit{maida} form USA promoted by the government during the period,\textsuperscript{66} it is popular in the name of \textit{American mavu} in rural areas. The wheat

\textsuperscript{63} Fortnight Reports, First half of the August, 1944, p. 170.

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{66} Fortnight Reports, First Half of the April, 1946, p. 54.
houses were started in different regions of Madras presidency. The wheat hotel in Calicut was one of the cultural monuments in respect of tracing the history changing dietary habits in Malabar. New recipes and new tastes were internalised by Malabaries through these hotels. ‘Grow more food campaign’ was also in this period, due to the campaign cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes were extensively promoted by the government. Potato was considered as lower class food used by poor in England. To coup up with the shortage of rice, the colonial state concentrated on the cultivation of potato and sweet potato. These new vegetables used as the substitute one against rice, so the government take a constant initiative to promote the cultivation of these products. The government ordered to identify at least 3200 acres of land to the collector of Malabar for cultivating potatoes. Besides this, carrot and barely was also introduced, gradually these items altered the existing food habits of Malayalees. Sometimes these new vegetables and fruits were not accepted by the upper caste people due to its foreign origin. Tomato and onion was not accepted by the Brahmins Malayatoor Ramakrishnan, a member of an aristocratic Tamil Brahmin family, in his memories explains about his father’s attitude towards ‘foreign’ food, especially against onion and potato. Even though he ate egg (Brahmins were followed vegetarian diet) but not ready to consume ‘foreign’ vegetables like potato and onion. The use of animal bones as manure in the cultivation of these vegetables is the reason for this taboo by the upper caste Hindu Brahmin. But later this vegetable became one of the main ingredients in their cuisine. The middle class people received these new fruits and vegetables to elevate their social status. As the positive response against westernization the educated people accepted all these vegetables in their diet.


The development of the social and economic arena, means of communication, the creation of railways, the cultivation of commercial crops and new type of economic relations were totally a different experience for the colonies.\textsuperscript{69} Large scale movement of population mainly as labours, from rural area to urban industrial sites and hilly terrains was a new geographical and cultural experience by the result of changes in the economy and society, which facilitated the entry of new tastes in the domestic sphere of colonized people. Railway networks have an important role in the consumption of new gastronomical pleasures by the household. The political condition and the economic trend of the 19th century India induced the British for constructing railways all over India.\textsuperscript{70} Railway assisted the economic development of India and provided a market for both British goods and Indian raw materials.\textsuperscript{71} The increasing roles of markets in various parts of the Malabar district were also determined the availability and distribution of food.\textsuperscript{72}

Transportation of perishable articles towards the region that away of thousands of miles in fresh condition would have been practically a risk in pre-colonial age up to the introduction of railway line.\textsuperscript{73} M.G.S. Narayanan observed that the railway lines facilitate to connect between Malabar and Madras made a considerable impact on the markets of Palakkad and Calicut.\textsuperscript{74} Perishable commodities like vegetables, fruits, butter, ghee, sugar cane, egg and dry fish

\textsuperscript{69} Bipan Chandra, \textit{Essays on Colonialism}, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2000, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{70} Bipan Chandra, the \textit{Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India}, Anamika Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1969, p. 178.


\textsuperscript{73} File RDS No. 6399, Bundle No. 9, 8 November 1882.

were transported to distant places without any damage.\textsuperscript{75} Potato and tamarind were transported from Morapor to Pondicheri, dry fish from Tirur to Trichinopoly, and also transportation of rice increased from Bengal and Bombay towards Malabar by the introduction of railway.\textsuperscript{76} This new vegetable was able to make new recipes so that it redefined the history of taste. The modernization of agriculture and transportation facilities changed culinary practices and these changes made-up a set of new cultural values that constructed new social groups, who were the beneficiaries of these changes. They created a different identity through the acceptances of new gastronomic pleasures.

The British rulers tried to alter not only the entire economic and social life of Malabar but also the cultural values of the people. The society was transforming very gradually from the feudal-oriented socio-cultural milieu to a capitalist and westernized social structure. Introduction of the capitalist mode of production and material cultural changes paved the way for the emergence of a new middle class group India and also in Malabar. Establishment of the colonies and trade with these colonies encouraged commerce and trade, later it resulted to broke out the existing feudal system. Colonial modernity created a new class of people who created their own identity through the changes in habit and way of dressing and mode of thinking.

\textbf{Modernity and Changing Dietary Practices}

Indian society is extremely complex, particularly in the twentieth century. However, this complexity has not been captured by Social Theories. One reason is the theoretical burden caused by historical events such as colonialism, which incidentally brought modernity to India. The term modernity and modernisation conveys a basic knowledge about the past i.e., ‘civilizing mission’ pre-colonial

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{75} Fort St. George Gazette, Vol. XXX, No. 61, 8 November 1885.

\textsuperscript{76} Fort St. George Gazette, Vol. XX. No.7, 6 January 1886.
\end{footnotesize}
regions were pre–modern or premature.\textsuperscript{77} The enlightenment project included modernity in every field of life. Western modernity is mainly normative, and its norms include the concept of autonomous individual, freedom, and instrumental rationality. This normative project is sought to be ruthlessly implemented through modern programmes of secularism, nationalism, urbanization, and industrialization where the pre-modern is sought to be disinherit. Postmodern critics of modernity created to understand the underlying problems of the society, the influence of colonialism in the process of modernization that paved the way for thinking modernity in every field. The emergence of modernity changes the functioning and meaning of the public and private spaces. Habermas defines modernity as the unfinished project.\textsuperscript{78} Postmodern also may be characterised as offering a different set of discontinuities from modernity. Modernity appears in its principles as harmonious blend of critical reason, individual liberty and responsibility and a common for social progress resting up on the advances of science and technology, industrialization and democracy. The concept of modernity is necessarily entwined with the idea of western.\textsuperscript{79} This is of course is no surprise given the history of modernity that emerged in the west and therefore was necessarily or culturally constitutive of western context.\textsuperscript{80} Wash Brook remarks that during the early nineteenth century, the history of the world was underwent changes according to Modernity.\textsuperscript{81} The forms of modernity have to vary between different counties depending upon specific circumstances and social practices. Partha

\textsuperscript{77} Jean Paul Satre, Colonialism and Neo Colonialism, Routledge, London, 2001, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{78} Kavita Philip, Civilizing Natures: Race, Resources, and Modernity in Colonial South India, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2003, p. 17.


Chatterjee observed that the Colonial modernity represented a compromise, both with metropolitan modernity as well as indigenous traditions.\(^8^2\) It is the idea of the desirability of the ‘modern’ that, locates a space called the ‘traditional’ from which unhappy elites try to break free.\(^8^3\) The period of ‘Modern’ denotes as the period before and after the full-fledged introduction of English education in India.

British rule brought about several changes in the pre-modern political structure. A group of new educated middle class emerged in India during the colonial period with the establishment of legal and educational institutions.\(^8^4\) In the absence of an adequate political and economic system, they transplanted into their own form and principles of government and economic organization which they modified only to suit for local conditions. Ideas and institutions of middle class social order were imported into India. Sanjay Joshy argued that the British attempted as part of their educational policy to create a ‘class’ comparable to their own, he quoted the Macaulay’s words this was to be a class in Indian blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinion, in moral and intellects.\(^8^5\) The landlord-tenant relations that were based on economic and extra economic relations were now transformed into an instituted category within the British juridical and political system.\(^8^6\) A.R Desai opined that by introducing modern education in India, the British brought Indian people in contact with the extensive and profound achievement of the modern education created an unhealthy reaction among the section of Indians who received it.\(^8^7\) New space

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\(^8^3\) Ibid.


\(^8^5\) Sanjay Joshi (ed.), *The Middle Class in Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, p.73.

\(^8^6\) Ibid.

brings with it new relationship, opening them up into new world and new way of life with itself.

**Changing Tastes of Middle Class Intelligentsia**

Food became a marker for the construction of middle class self or identity. Pierre Bourdieu defines the taste as practical confirmation of social differences, and he called it as a *habitus*. By ‘Habitus’ he means nothing else but the social condition of a particular class that makes that class. Taste was one of the ‘sign’ in the construction of *Malayalee* middle class identity in the colonial atmosphere. The ‘modern’ way of life was followed by the elite class people who were lived in urban areas of Malabar; especially in the towns like Calicut and Thalassery. They adorned there private and public life with foreign products. For example the gramophone, motorcar, shirt, shoe etc. entered into the daily life of the educated middle class as part of their self fashioning. Culinary habits of the middle class were also changed by the process of self fashioning.

In the writings about Appu Nedungadi, the writer of *Kunthalatha*, (One of the earliest Malayalam Novel), remembered that the fellow men and children of their house called him *tea ammavan* or tea uncle. Auther says that the tea drinking habit was first introduced by him in the family because of his interest in alien culture, and better relation with European people through various social activities. He conducted dinner parties for European friends in his home; in early period the house kept two separate kitchens the first one for Vegetarian that especially used by the family members. The Europeans were hosted with the second one, which used to prepare Non-vegetarian food. Professional butlers prepared many type salads and other European food items in the kitchen, which was unfamiliar for the natives. All elite class families appointed personal butlers.

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for cooking Non-vegetarian food for hosting European guests and male members. Butler or English cook became emerged as a new profession. The role of butlers in the colonial domestic life was clearly pictured in the early Malayalam short stories and travelogues. S.K. Pottekkadu the well known Malayalam writer in his travelogues and novels explores the cultural changes that happened in the dietary habits of the then society. In his novel *Oru Desathintine Katha*, one character named Kujappu, who was a butler in the British Army, by this character the author present new recipes that was used in European troops of India and rejection of these recipes by the civilian characters is also portrayed in the novel. The transformation that took place in the culinary tradition was created a conflict between the modern and traditional space of the then society. The existing orthodox people criticised the new changes and habits in the culinary pleasures that was followed by the newly educated members in their families. For example in the autobiography of E.M.S Nambuthiripad shares an experience of childhood in terms of the habit of drinking tea and coffee, this was a forbidden habit in the *Namboothiri Illam*. Some progressive Namboothiris men started drinking tea and followed other modern way of life. E.M.S remembered one of his family member, *afphan* practiced modern values and colonial knowledge. He prepared tea in the home and served to other members.\footnote{E.M.S. Nampootripad, *Aatmakatha* (Mal.), Chintha Publication, Trivandrum, 1985, p.35} At that time drinking tea is considered as a part of modern habit. The middle class elite people and educated middle class imitated the Europeans and their habit.
Modernity / Tradition: Debates

The drinking of coffee and tea in early 19th and 20th century Malabar considered as a sign of modernity. Being a plantation crop, the cultivation of tea and coffee was closely tied to colonialism. According to Braudel nearly at the same time as the discovery of alcohol, Europe at the centre of the innovations, introduced three new drinks some of them are stimulants and tonics. Coffee is from Arabia (originally Ethiopian), tea from China and chocolate from Mexico.92 Anthony Gidden says ‘coffee was originated in Middle East and its mass consumption dates back from the period of western Colonial expansion.93

Scholars observed that the merchants from Turkey popularized the coffee plants in Europe.94 Coffee in India popularized as a hot beverage by Europeans. Coffee began gradually displace the early habits of middle class people, and entered in their diet. In the essay on coffee drinking in colonial Tamil Nadu, Venkatachalapathy argues how coffee became a cultural marker of the colonial middle class of Tamil society, especially Tamil Brahmins. He observed that coffee also used as the marker of caste and class. However by the turn of the 20th century, coffee captured a place in the elite imagination of the middle class and become an icon of the modernity.95 The extensive use of coffee in Tamil society led to the emergence of coffee hotels and Coffee clubs in south India. It gradually spread all over to south India as a symbol of Brahmin caste and community. Numbers of coffee hotels were owned by Brahmin community in Malabar. Most of them were owned by the Brahmins migrated from Mysore and Mangalore. They were called as paradeshi Brahmins (Foreign Brahmins) in

93 Anthony Giddens, The Consequences of Modernity, Sanford University Press, United Kingdom, 1990, p. 38.
Malabar, They changed many practices in culinary realm, in early period they appointed as a cook of upper class families. These groups of people also started to write cook books and cookery columns in press. The cook book named *Bakshna Pakam* written by Rama Iyer published in 1929 was an example for such experiments.  

The preface of the book states that the book is very useful to understand about the preparation of Brahminic foods. The name of these coffee hotels itself restricted the entry of lower communities.

As coffee became the cultural marker of upper castes especially Brahmins and middleclass, the beverage tea is related to the popular drink of working class community. Till the middle of nineteenth century tea was not popular among Indians and it remained as a luxury of the Europeans and the Indian aristocracy. Tea was imported from far eastern countries like China so the cost was higher than the reach of common man. Due to varieties of reasons, the habit of consuming tea slowly creeps into the South Indian society and gradually became popular. Early the consumption of tea was considered as suspicious activity. Later offering of tea became a symbol of hospitality and respect that replaced milk and butter milk of yester years. Some of the middle class intelligentsia considered tea as a symbol of the west so they held the reservation about tea invading the domain of the country side and domestic space of women. The consumption of tea has achieved a status of respectability and commonality as an integral part of national culture. The supporters of tea are argued that tea is a

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96 *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, Advertisement of Cook Book, 24 September 1932, p.14,

97 Ibid.


100 Gatutam Bhadra, *From an Imperial Product to National Drink: The Culture of Tea Consumption in Modern India*, Centre for Social Science in Calcutta, 2005, p.105.
native drink of India and its production and consumption is three times more than that of coffee in 20\textsuperscript{th} century and possesses a place of ‘National Drink’.

Source: Mathrubumi weekly, 9\textsuperscript{th} March 1939.

The tea market board promoted the drinking tea through the ads and free distribution of the sample packets of tea. They conducted exhibitions at various places to promote tea and tea products. Advertisements were given by the Tea Market Expansion Board given promotion to the consumption of Indian tea among the various sessions of the natives. These advertisements were based on different themes. Venkatachalapathy argued that the advertisement of tea mainly related to the urban working class.\textsuperscript{101} An advertisement claimed that tea is good drink for Indian climates and the drink will give energy and relief to the working persons. Another interesting advertisement released by tea board portrayed a woman in front of a temple with a description of ‘One Cup of tea contains a number of goodness.’ This advertisement also appeals that if you are a tea drinker you can know the goodness contains the small cup of tea, otherwise you

have an opportunity to know these virtues by starting of tea habit. These advertisements cross every barriers among the society. Another advertisement portrayed a Brahmin teacher and his student, who had been enjoying tea during their class time. This advertisement have appealed that once the habit of drinking tea was taboo to Brahmans and women, later it became a common habit of their daily life. The notion of ‘indigenous purity’ was also marketed by the ITMEB by using the symbols like Women, temples and Brahmans.

Gutam Badarda in his study noted that the Richard Bleynden, H.W Newby and John Hamper the members tea cess committee taken initiatives for the propaganda of training Indians to drink tea. He argued that after the First World War the tea cess committee launched continues programmes to establish their propaganda through conducting exhibitions and free distribution of tea. Apart from this, railway platforms and other public places were decorated with colour posters with the detailed instruction in Malayalam for preparing better tea. Later the market of tea was captured by number of private companies like Broke bond, Lipton Ltd etc.

Gautam Bhadra observed that tea was not a universal drink. The habit was grown as multidimensional according in terms of class and caste. In the previous discussion on coffee it is noted as a marker of Brahmans in south India and tea was the drink of urban working class. In the memories Kanipayyur Sankaran Namboothiripad explains the experiences of tea shop in Malabar. From the road

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one could see the table where tea was being made along with a row of glass tumblers placed upside down. Water boiled next to it and tea was made in small glass tumbler, with milk and sugar, stirring it nosily with a teaspoon and vigorously pouring it from one tumbler to another to cool it. All these were the signs of non-Brahmin coffee clubs. In Brahmin hotel things were different. Glass fronted cup boards with snacks were placed inside the room one needed to get into the teashop to see them. Tea and coffee also made indoors, invisible to travellers on the road.107 Tea shop reveals how caste discriminations have been remapped. Venkatachalapthy observed that there is no equality in coffee hotels of Colonial Tamil Nadu with the hanging of sign boards indicates no entry for Shudras, Panchamas, lepers and dogs.108 In Tamil Nadu, during the historical self-respect movement, they passed a resolution condemning the reservation in the coffee hotels and urging the local authorities to withdraw licenses to such establishments. Mathrubhumi Weekly reported that the progressive minded people of Calicut requested to local authorities to withdraw the licenses of tea shops that practices discrimination.109 The ‘coffee hotels’ were considered as drinking coffee is a Brahmin habit. Tea had another derisive association apart from its working class patronage. The hotels serving with European cuisine and alcohol were noble in the imaginations of educated middle class and the hotels which were aimed middle class customers served ‘tiffin’, coffee, and tea.


The Emergence of Public Eating Places

Later the increased number of hotels and restaurants was became the part of modernizing process and urban culture. These hotels and restaurants offered new and different European cuisine for the natives with the help of cook books. These hotels made new eating habits among the educated youth of middle class. Utsa Ray observed that for many of the people from middle class who were consuming new food always was not possible within their domestic space. The new hotels and restaurants were their main attraction. These hotels became a convenient place to get their favourite food items like cutlets, bread omlet, salads and different varieties of wines like Sherri wines and so on. In early Malayalam literature depicts the arrival of these new food items in to the middle class life. Chandu Menon used these new food products as a part of updating mechanism within the discourse of middle class in the framework of colonial modernity. The conversation with Madhavan and Shiyar Ali khan was portrayed in a railway refreshment room. The railway refreshment room was not familiar for common people at that time. It is associated with European modernity and way of living. Madhavan was an icon of English educated youths in colonial Malabar. In his appearance and tastes he likes to follow the manners and habits of the Europeans. The food items ordered by these characters are the cutlet, Mutton chops, bread cheese and Sheri wine. The educated middle class men considered consuming the foreign foods as part of their status. By the consumption of these foreign foods were to be maintaining their identity as unique with others.

These European hotels and refreshment rooms were maintained only for Europeans with their manners and customs. Most of these hotels and refreshment

110 Ibid.
112 Ibid
rooms served alcohol to the customers who were only belongs from the group of Anglo Indians and Europeans. A European club started at Calicut beach as early as 1890, Later it transformed as hotel and named as Beach hotel. The early reference of a hotel at Beypore can be found in the travel records and hand books of Madras presidency. These hotels and clubs owned by the European entrepreneurs and entry were prohibited for the natives. In the end of 19th century many middle class people invested their money into hotel business. Many natives started hotels in that period for example, Embrass, Paragon, Spencer.

Victoria Embrass hotel founded by Pangadan Sanku, a Thiya elite. Edwards Victoria’s hotel at Calicut organized dinner party for officials and prominent citizen under the leadership of Rao Bahadur M.S. Ramakrishnayyar symbolise the urge of high class living at urban centres of the country. In Kerala Sanchari, Kumaran wrote that the newly decorated ‘Rao Bahadur’ had, by hosting a party for the beef-eating Englishmen, whose leather-chappals desecrated the cow dung floors, with one shot, given a blow to the fortress of time-honoured customs and traditions which even the British guns had found difficult to conquer. He criticized the middle class men who had thrust to follow the European culture, and feared that the by these modernity traditional values of the natives will decline. The modernity entered the ‘spiritual’ space of the colonized people. In the public space they completely absorbed the alien cultural values.


117 Ibid.
The railways have an important place in the westernization process like the establishments of new hotels. The railways popularize many food items among the Malayalees. The Travellers companion a work published by railway Board of India, for giving the information about different towns and pilgrim centres mentioned number of hotels and Dharamasalas at that time. Kodungalur temple was famous for cock fest in Malabar. Travel facilities in to the pilgrimage centres opened the scope of hotel business. The Dharamasala was opened only for higher caste people for maintenance of caste purity. A Dharamasala maintained by the second Raja of Zamorins family at Calicut was attached with Tirur railway station in 1907. The hotel business became one of the profitable businesses in colonial economy. The British state polices promoted hotel business and allowed to keep social hierarchies in it. Hotels are divided into two such as first class and second class hotels, along with these hotels, baking industries also flourished and many rural working classes migrated to urban areas as a labour in baking Industries. The confectionaries, biscuits, cakes, Bread and cheese were come to Calicut mainly from Ootty and Madras. Before that, the people were unaware about these products. Bombay was the centre of colonial changes at that time and the sweets like cakes, pastries, desserts were came from there and became the part of rural culture. These sweets mainly came to Christian homes at the time of celebrations like Christmas and Easter. The sweet name ‘lossenger’ gave much popularity among the villages at that time. The bakeries were not common at that time in Malabar. Some workers from Eranad who were migrated to Bombay and learned the baking started bakeries and tea shops in this region. Therefore, this migrates were the intermediaries of the food culture in Malabar.

The long history of cake in India began with an official of the East India Company from England pulling in his horse-drawn carriage at the Mampally Royal Biscuit Factory at Thalassery exactly 129 years ago. It was in November 1883 that Mambally Bapu made the first cake in India at Thalassery in his Royal Biscuit Factory founded in 1880. The Englishman was carrying a cake brought from his native country, and he wanted the baker to make another one replicating it maintaining the same taste and flavour. To his surprise, a cake with better taste and flavour was made by the owner of the Mampally Royal Biscuit Factory, Mampally Bappu. During the World War I, he exported cakes and other sweets to the soldiers. The successors of Bappu turned out to be experts in cake-baking as they opened new shops all over the state. The cake-making formula was not confined in Bappu and his successors so that many other bakers in Thalassery and elsewhere in the country followed this tradition. But the success story of ‘the cake in India’ has lot to do with the Mampally family and Thalassery. The educated middle class consumed biscuits and cakes with tea in their leisure time. Some orthodox Hindus critically opposed to these products and rejected these items in the name of preparation which hurts their caste ethos especially Muslims were bakers of the products. For example the advertisement of *swedshi* Parleies biscuit, published various popular print media had to be cautious with the caption of not handmade (religious and hygiene conscious), but machine made and completely Swadeshi biscuit and hence it completely safe for health.

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120 File No.7832, A Letter to the Collector Connolly for the Supply of Bread for Making Cake in the Bakery of Ootacamund, 8 July 1849.


124 *Mathrubhumi* Weekly, 12 December, 1942.
Apart from the construction of middle class self, the food transactions also used as powerful weapon in the social and political struggles and national movement. The discrimination between Western and Indian food, vegetarian and no vegetarian discourse have an important cultural question in the 19th and 20th century. *Swadeshi* or Foreign food is much more significance in the nationalist thought. The social and religious reformation movements also raised questions about the caste ethos around food discourses, as weapon to the eradication of untouchability.

**Socio- Religious Reforms and Gastro Political Tools**

This section explores the intersection of food, religion, and society, highlighting the role of food in the struggle for justice, equality, and opportunity. The socio-religious, cultural and political awakening of the 19th and early 20th centuries had its impact on the Malabar society also. The transformation of the public sphere in colonial India shows the increasing importance of religious movements and of the political use of religious images in new communication technologies.125 The critique of the caste system and untouchability which obstructed the progress of the society coupled with the challenges of colonialism provoked the elite class to take up issues relating to social justice along with political agitations.126 One of the specific features of a colonial modernity that one could address is the use of religion as a mode of self-fashioning, social understanding and public criticisms by Indian intellectuals.127 The late 19th century in India is seen as the period of the emergence of nationalism and the imagining of


a national community. In Benedict Anderson’s formulaic modular account, there is an element in the argument that is generally ignored by readers: the imagining of the nation is the result of a need to create a new kind of believing community following the erosion of religious certainty consequent to modernity.\textsuperscript{128} Jordons observes that it was among the English educated intelligentsia that several ideas of reform first arose. They were primarily trying to deal with a personal problem that affected their own lives very deeply constant contact with British and European ideas made them look upon some social and religious characteristics of their own society with horror and disgust.\textsuperscript{129} Social reform in this first stage was mostly prompted by the desire of these people to cope with the difficulties which they experienced themselves. There was not as yet any concern for the mass of the people, or any desire to transform the structure of society at large. What they wanted was to reshape their lives according to the new standards and values they were discovering. They sought to clarify their own ideas, and propagate them among their kindred intelligentsia.

\textbf{Inter-dining Movements in Malabar}

By the closing decade of 19\textsuperscript{th} century the social and structural changes took place among the society of India and also in Malabar. During the British rule several religious organizations were founded in different parts of the country to liberate Hindus from many evil customs and superstitious beliefs and to promote education. M.N. Srinivas coined this as a part of Westernization among the upper caste people of south India.\textsuperscript{130} He argued that as a result of two centuries of contact with west the activities vein in Hinduism receiving great


\textsuperscript{129}B.B. Mishra, \textit{The Indian Middle Class}, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 302-304.

emphasis. Hindu community also was undergoing significant changes in the times especially higher caste people lived in urban areas. Parallel to these activities the non- Brahiminical caste adopted the Brahiminical rituals and ideologies in their daily life. M.N. Srinivas define the ‘Sanskritisation’ means low caste tries to obtain higher position by the adoption of ‘Vegetarianism’ and teetotalism and sanskrtised their rituals and pantheon. Sanskritisation of caste would probably mean the introduction of major cultural and structural changes in the Hindu society as a whole. According to the social comparison theory, human always try to evaluate their attitudes, opinions and abilities because people desire social approval, they most likely to perform behaviours similar to social expectations and one’s own self approval. For example the activities of social and religious organizations that emerged during this period was try to elevate the standardization of their social status similar to the western ideas and thoughts. The prominent members of these organizations were western educated Indians from upper caste families. These socio-religious reform movements spread egalitarian and progressive ideals.

Among the socio-religious reform movements, the theosophical society was entered first in Malabar. In 1882 the first branch of theosophical society was established in Calicut. In 1884 second branch of the organization started at Tirur. The activities of the theosophical society for the eradication of social evils among Hindu society were very admirable. They started many programmes

132 Ibid.
for the eradication of un-touchability and caste system among the Hindus. The society organized Mishrabhojanam at Calicut. In Calicut, under the auspices of the Theosophical Society inter-dining had become a common affair. In 1914 Manjeri Rama Iyer and two students belonging to the Theosophical Society incurred temporary excommunication for participating in a marriage feast of a Thiyya youth. The Brahmin Volunteers with their family also participated in the function. They were expelled from the community for violating caste rules. Brahmao Samjam also organized inter-dining programs at Malabar. The views and ideas of Sree Naranayana Guru in fight against untouchability and evil social customs among the Hindu society, was great emphasis.

Sahodaran Ayyappan inspired by Narayana Gurus principles of casteless and creedless society, he started what is called Panthibhojanam or common feast for participating people belonging to various caste and communities. In 1917 inter-dining conducted by Sahodran Ayyappan at Cherayi was an important epoch in the history of fight against untouchability. At Cherayi he gathered a group of young men on the same wave length. The group comprising of 12 persons - K.A. Achuthan, P.N. Achuthan, K.C. Kesavan, K. Kumaran, A.C. Karthikeyan, A.T. Aandy, K.A. Krishnan, A. Raman Pillai, T.K. Kittan, Kooni Raghavan Master, Krishna Seeri Vaidyar and Sahodharan Ayyappan - issued a notice inviting the people to participate in a meeting on at Cherayi Thundara Parambil for discussing a serious issue on the destruction of caste system. The

people who attended the meeting took the oath and signed an undertaking. At the end of the meeting, Sahodharan Ayyappan informed the gathering, ‘some among us are prepared to take food with a Pulaya, if anybody likes inter dining and he can join us’. Korui a boy of 14 years joined the inter-dining as a protest against the casteism. Inter-dining becomes a powerful tool in the struggles against the untouchability.

Inter-dining was powerful tool in the social reform movements, but at the same time the politics of inter dining was a critique one. As mentioned earlier the inter dining organized by the theosophical society and other organizations, the participants mainly came from the elite class peoples. For instance, the inter dining organized by Bombay Malayalee Samjam at in 1930 at Bombay. The Mathrubhumi Weekly published this event with photograph and detailed report. (See appendix p. 203) That illustrated how the breakdown of traditional caste barriers among the Malayalees. In this photo a number of elite class people from different caste sitting together and ate their food in one place. The description of this photograph says that the 16 women’s are participated in this function. These point out that the entry of woman in the public sphere of the society, and also pointed debate on between tradition and modernity.

The members comprise of T.C. Mayan, the president of Kerala Samajam. K.S. Ramachandra Ayyer the president of South Indian Association, Khan Bhadu Haji BachuAli J. P, Hassani Ibrahim Hajji, the president of Hajj Committee and Jhon Mattai and many other elite group members. These members were belonging to upper caste strata of the society. They organized this meeting to revolt against casteism, but division of class is keep in this meeting, so they organized a separate feast for the people who belongs to the lower class strata. The nationalists from Malabar also were the victims of the evil effects of caste


\(^{143}\) Mathrubhumi Weekly, October 1930.
system and untouchability. Chettoor Sankaran Nair, the only Malayalee to preside over the annual session of the Indian National Congress, says that:

Like other non-Brahmins of southern India, I had not been taking a prominent part in the Congress sessions ... On our journey to the North to attend the Congress meetings our Brahmin friends would often ostensibly avoid our company when taking meals... They would tell their friends that we were sudras which in Northern India meant low caste.\(^{144}\)

The congress party in Malabar also propagated inter-dining movement among the people. They organized a cosmopolitan dinner associated with the historical conference held at Palakkad in 1923.\(^{145}\) The report of this conference described as that Malabar, especially Palakkad was a stronghold of orthodoxy and Brahmin supremacy. After the conference there a big cosmopolitan dinner was organized in which all castes and creeds of the people including Brahmins and Nayadis participated. KPCC conducted anti untouchability movement on behalf of Ganadhian polices, in all that meeting they usually conducted feast participating all members of different communities. There was a grand inter dining conducted at Calicut on 26\(^{th}\) January 1930 in the honour of the first Independence Day celebration.\(^{146}\)

Another important inter-dining function organized with the association of All Kerala Hindu Mahasammelan held at Tirunavaya in South Malabar in 1931. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as the president and Dr.B.SMoonjee as principle speaker, thousands were present in this meeting. The meetings passed a resolution favoured to anti-untouchability, and temple entry movements and

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\(^{145}\) *History of Freedom Movement in Malabar*, From, Part II, 1923, to 1930, p.31.

\(^{146}\) History of Freedom Movement in Malabar (HFM), Part III, From 1929 to 1931, Kerala Provincial Congress committee Annual Meeting, 1931, p. 4.
stoppage of animal sacrifice in temple. Mathrubhumi reported an inter dining conducted at Azhiyur Koroth Hindu School in Mayyazhi to support Gandhi’s programme of eradication of untouchability in India. A Pulaya boy named Gopalan, was denied to attend the programme. This incident questioned the credibility of such type of movements. Some of them participated and conducted these movements as part of self-fashioning themselves.

Undoubtedly it can be says that activities these movements helped to eliminate caste feelings among the society, in the early twentieth century, associations like the Samudaya Bahishkarana Sangham set up by K. P. Gopalan, a Thiyya Congressman, tried to weaken caste feelings by boycotting those who held caste prejudices and to encouraged inter dining among members of different castes. There were some upper caste social activists as well who were involved in such movements. A Gauda Saraswat Brahmin, Lakshmana Surendranatha Prabhu, a public prosecutor in North Malabar, as well as a freedom fighter, who had once led a hunger strike at the Tellicherry Saraswat temple demanding equality in worship, organized inter-dining at home. Apart from the social reform movement, food used as powerful weapon in the political struggles against colonialism. Hunger strikes were one of the weapons used by Gandhi in his struggles against British colonial powers. The gastro political tools like inter-dining and hunger strike was effectively used by the social leaders in their struggles against the power hierarchies.

\(^{147}\) Fortnight Report, History of Freedom Movement in Malabar, Part. III, All Kerala Hindu Mahasammelan, 1931, p.3.

\(^{148}\) Mathrubhumi Weekly, 9 September 1932.

\(^{149}\) Ibid.

\(^{150}\) Vivekodayam, 31 September, 1906.


Hunger Strikes

Hunger strike means denial of taking food as form of protest. The hunger strikes of political prisoners were an extension of the resistance movement with in prison against the British colonialism. From 1920 to 1934\textsuperscript{153} it became a popular form of political protest in the National movement of India. Mahatma Gandhi used fast as nonviolent weapon against the British. Hunger strike of political prisoners were mostly collective and united efforts used as technique to challenge jail authorities and the British have viewed hunger strike as sign of subordination and they discouraged it by not granting any concessions.\textsuperscript{154} Both Irish and Indian nationalist had retrospectively realized the importance of hunger strike and fast as form of protest and viewed public fasting as a means to protest their grievances.\textsuperscript{155}

From 1920 onwards protest within the prison marked the period of nationalist incarceration of resistance appeared more significant. The two phases of civil disobedience movement once again saw a massive rise in the number of political prisoners. In 1930 the government introduced new schemes of classification of prisoners.\textsuperscript{156} With the changing trend of penal policy of the government the number of hunger strikers of political prisoners also increased. From 1920 to 1934 there were several instances of hunger strike of political prisoners took place in central jails at Rajamundari, Tricinopilly, Coimbatore, Cannanore, Salem, Bellary and penitentiary of Madras.

During Civil disobedience movement period mass hunger strike were recorded in British government documents. As per the official report nearly 1908

\textsuperscript{154} Kerala Sanchari, July, 1911, in NNPR, 1905, p. 394.
\textsuperscript{155} Nagewari, \textit{Op. Cit.}, 56-78.
\textsuperscript{156} G. O. No.1022, Law and General Department, Prisoners A, and B Classes Diet Scale, Dated 21-03-1933.
The rules in Madras jail manual for treatment of hunger strikes were based on the orders of Government of India. Under these rules refusing to eat the food prescribed by the prison diet scale of will fully causing to him any illness injury were considered to be an offence. The rules also stressed that prisoner who got on hunger strike should be immediately isolated from other prisoners. Prisoners were also warned that hunger strike is a major jail offence and mass hunger strike amount to mutiny.

By resorting to hunger strike they became liable to prosecution under section 52 of prison Act of 1894 and the case of conviction may be sentenced to a period of imprisonment up to one year or to be whipped. Another problem faced by the convicts was the denial of rice diet to the political prisoners especially the convicts of Civil disobedience Movement. One of the records mentioned that Mr. Dodwell, the jail Magistrate of Tellichery, awarded *ragi* diet several convicts of the civil disobedience movements. The prisoners questioned the denial of their staple diet, and the prisoners considered this act of magistrate as violation of human rights. In 1932 a report published in *Mathrubhumi* daily discussed the hunger strike of political prisoners in Cannanore jail. The jail prisoners were classified in to A, B and C the strike was mainly for the improvement of good food. Moyartah Sankaran share the bad experiences faced in the jail during the freedom struggle. The jail diet was changed during this time. *Ragi* and wheat products became the food in the jails and hospitals. The term nutrition first time appeared in the history of India due to changes of diet in jails and hospitals.

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158 *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, 17 September, 1932.

Redefine the Concept of Nutrition and Diet

In his work on Modern Europe John Coveney demonstrate that in the course of 19th century, nutrition emerged as science in which food was relieved of all most all of its aesthetic, sensual pleasure. Nutrition conveys argues, was calculated and rationalized. The primary purpose of food became nutrition of body on the basis of scientific reason. However behind this scientific language was a moral motive, which was concerned with the making of moral and good citizen. The nutrition became associated with choice of food with moral overtone; the ‘right’ and ‘proper’ think to eat. As David Arnold in his study in the 1860s, after the takeover by the British crown, that for the first time, the ‘Indian’ diet came to be studied systematically. This was in the context of provisioning in famine relief and feeding prisoners in the Indian prisons.

The scientific study of food in India seems to have originated in the planning of diet for prisoners in 1880 surgeon major T.R. Lewis in his annual report. The first scientific study on dietaries in India was published in 1912 by D. Mc Cay, physiologist at the Calcutta Medical College. The research of Major Mc Cay I.M.S in to jail dietaries have been published in the Scientific Memories by Officers of Medical and Sanitary Departments of the Government of India have shown that a diet which includes more than 20 Ozs of rice is in excess of

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161 Ibid.
163 David Arnold ‘The Discovery of Malnutrition and Diet in Colonial Indian’ Economic and Social History Review, No.31 Sage Journals, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 322-356.
physiological requirements. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma and elsewhere some of the dietaries still involve the issue of quantities of rice in excess of 20 Ozs. D Mc Cay stated that it was the body’s ability to absorb nutrients which led to better health. He had published a study on the effect of jail diets on prisoners and contrasted diets in Bengal and the United Provinces. In terms of nitrogen absorption and protein intake, he declared wheat to be superior. A rice diet provided only 8 or 9 grammas of nitrogen a day while a wheat diet provided 12 to 14. For Mc Cay, this was clinching evidence. He perceived that the physical frailty of rice-eating Indians, South Indians and Bengalis the robust constitution and ‘martial’ bearing of wheat-eating Rajputs and Sikhs was due to differences in diet. The below tables shows the diet scale prescribed by the government in central jail Cannanore. The recipe of Curry powder included in this diet. It highlights that how the European surgeon tries to prove the scientific nature of food.

165 Code of Regulations for the Medical Department of Madras Presidency, of Fort St. George, Madras Asylum Press, Madras, 1833.


167 Malabar District Gazette, the Hospital Diet in European and Native Hospitals in Cannanore, Calicut and Malappuram, Vol. XXI, No. 6, January 1887.
### 3.3 Ordinary Jail Diet for Local Convicts Cannanore Central Jail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice 2(^{rd}) sort Bengal or 3(^{rd}) Madras</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raggi without Husk</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhool</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutton without bone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>....</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>....</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyre</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamarind</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curry Powder*</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Onions</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garlic…………….Grs</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firewood cut and ready for use…………….Lbs</td>
<td>1 (\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1 (\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1 (\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1 (\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1 (\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1 (\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>1 (\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Malabar District Gazette, Vol. XX. No, 64, 1887.
3.4 Recipe of Curry powder\textsuperscript{168}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ingredients</th>
<th>Oz</th>
<th>Dr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chillies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Pepper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coriander seed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cummin seed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard seed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Malabar District Gazette, Vol. XX, No.64, 1887.

The government of India asked each province to report on its jail diet, comparing it with that of ordinary labourers.\textsuperscript{169} Most respondents were civil surgeons who drew distinctions between Muslim and Hindu diets: physically, the Muslim meat-eaters diet was superior to a vegetarian Hindu’s. Hindu diets lacked protein - the first time that such a word was used in Indian dietary literature.\textsuperscript{170} The diets of South India and North India were contrasted and the wheat diet of the North was declared superior.\textsuperscript{171} Commentators had 3 criteria; physical stature and appearance, occupation, and the observers own cultural prejudices, including a bias for meat. The majority of the commentators saw no link between diet and disease. Ill health was explained due to consumption of coarse and indigestible food.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{168} Malabar District Gazette, Vol. XX. No. 64, October, 1887.

\textsuperscript{169} Down to Earth Magazine, Book Review, and 19th century Indian Diet: Rice fights Wheat, Based on Arnold’s Discovery of Malnutrition and Diet in Colonial Indian Economic and Social History, January, 31, 1994, pp. 2-6.


\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.
In contrast to prisons, the military diets of Indian soldiers received scant attention till 1890. Concern for the health of European troops in case an epidemic occurred seems to have been the chief reason. By 1860, nutritional research in Europe differentiate between nutritive values of different food grains. In India too, British doctors concentrated on assessing the value of Indian foods in order to zero in on the health of Indian soldiers. Wheat and Ragi met with approval but criticism was directed at rice for being low in food value. Cornish stated that rice was the food of the rich, the dainty and luxurious, the Brahmins and the upper castes. By 1890, any tendency by the British to regard themselves as exotic outsiders who could learn about diet from the natives was abandoned. In fact, the British preference for wheat instead of rice reflected the triumph of Western science over Eastern beliefs and values.

Tyrrel in his memories named From England to the Antipodes & India 1846 to 1902 with Staring Revelations or 56 years of my Life in the Indian Mutiny, Police and Jails in 1904 describes his experiences in his services. He remembered his service in Cannanore jails and gave detailed description of diet for the prisoners in Jails. Ragi on the whole is a more nutritious and substantial food grain than rice and is the principal cereal was used in all Jails of the Madras Presidency.

The prisoners in addition get a small quantity of dhall three days in the week and rice instead of ragi two meals in the week, while five ounces of meat without bone is allowed thrice in a week. Of course vegetables, curry stuff, ghee

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177 G. O. No. 73-74, 28 November, 1873.
or gingili oil and salt are issued each article of diet is weighed before issue and the most scrupulous exactness is observed in this respect. The scale is ample, example., the weight of ragi flour issued for each man, viz., 24 oz., suffices for any healthy man. Four ounces of the flour is boiled into gruel in the morning with sufficient water to fill a quart pot. In addition to curry, ten ounces of ragi are boiled and made into a pudding which when cooked weighs from 2 lbs. 4 oz. to 2 lbs. 8 oz. a large quantity to be eaten by one individual.¹⁷⁸, ragi pudding of the same weight is supplied with curry, vegetables and dhall, after which the convicts are locked up for the night.¹⁷⁹ On a meat day, the mutton was cooked separately into a good curry with vegetables and dhall. Caste cooks were appointed in jails and police stations at Madras presidency.¹⁸⁰ Rule 349 of jail manual lies down that for Brahmin prisoners a Brahmin convict cook shall be allowed or if there is only one Brahmin in jail he shall be allowed to cook for himself.¹⁸¹ Thus it will be seen that the allowance of food is ample, and the quantity of salt, viz, one ounce per diem, is more than enough for each man, for outside the Jail, he would scarcely consume one-fourth of the quantity. The diet of European prisoners is sufficient. The weight of every prisoner is recorded twice a month and falling off in weight is not only noted by the Superintendent, but is also reported in a monthly return for the Inspector-General’s information.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ G. O. No, 396-397, (Judi.), Execution, Dieting, and Conveyance Charges, 21-02-1895.
¹⁸² G. O. No 66(Judi.), Diet in Jails, Result of the Experimental Diet in Three jails of Madras Presidency, 6-08-1911
Robert Orrme the eighteenth century historian argued that the diet of the people of ‘Indostan’ was poor because it depended on rice, an easily digestible food, obtained with little labour and thus the only proper one for such an effeminate race.\footnote{Jayanta Sen Gupta, ‘Nation on a Platter: the Culture and Politics of Food and Cuisine in Colonial Bengal’, Modern Asian Studies, No. 44, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 81-98.} They compare the south Indian food and North Indian food, and also the western food and Eastern Food.

The Punjabi diets of whole-meal atta (wheat flour), pulses, vegetables and milk, with the addition of meat twice a week, constituted the best of all Indian diets. The South Indian diet, consisting chiefly of rice and nominally of pulses and other protein-containing elements were the worst so far as their nourishing value and vitamin contents were concerned, and it was not surprising that the people of Bengal should stand so lot in the matter of their physical qualities, when compared with the other vigorous races of India. This rice / wheat debate became a mode of appropriation as well as a critique of colonial rule. In 19th century vegetariansms versus non vegetarianism is a significant question in the struggles between nationalism and colonialism.

In colonial India ‘Vegetarianism’ was very complex symbol in the cultural conflicts between tradition and modernity.\footnote{Utsa Ray, Op. Cit., p.176.} It became a mode of constructing a ‘tradition’ tracing the past back to the Aryans.\footnote{Rosinka Chaudari, Freedom and Beef Steaks, Colonial Calcutta Culture, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2012, p. 23.} Gandhi advocated vegetarianism and gathered nationalist consensus around him that the liberal view that meat eating was essential for reform in India took backseat. M.N. Srinivas observed that in Mysore state congress party was conducting a campaign against offering blood sacrifices to village deities. In Malabar also this kind of campaigning was done against flesh eating.\footnote{Mathrubhumi Weekly, A Report on Animal Sacrifice in the Temples of Malabar, 13 October, 1932, p. 36.} The Hindu organizations and their leaders like
Madan Mohan Malavya took initiative in the stoppage of animal sacrifices in temples. They tried redefining the dietary habits through the Vedic values. They argued that meat eating especially beef eating considered as uncivilized and barbaric. Parallel to this argument the Christian Vernacular Education Societies India brought out a text with humorous poems in the late 19th century. In these poems they pointed out that ancient medical treatise, like Susrutasamhita and Caracasamhita consider meat was the first name in a series of nourishing agents and endowed with pharmaceutical properties. Science in the Christian Vernacular Education text was being used to make up a tradition, whereby meat-eating was equated with the colonial modern and a source of several ailments. Perhaps the most stark example of a cultural explanation of science was given in a small text called Bharater Godhan Raksha (Protection of Cows in India), published by an agricultural organization in 1887. This text quoted scriptures to argue against beef eating. However, the text also provided a presumably scientific explanation against beef-eating.

The text quoted a British doctor thus: ‘beef is perhaps the most nutritious of butcher’s meat, mutton claiming equality with it in this respect; but it certainly is not the most digestible, and must therefore be partaken of with considerable caution.’ But the main purpose of this text was to create a ‘difference’ of the Hindus not just with the British, but with the Muslims as well. Hindus became the generic name for all Indians who had from ancient days never consumed beef. New medical colleges started in colonial India from the early 19th century were came under attack by the nationalist leaders. In their writings they opined that the diet that was prescribed by doctors who received colonial education was unscientific. They argued that newly educated doctors prescribed milk, chicken

broth, bread, barley, and arrowroot to South Indians whose digestive system was more accustomed to rice, and also nationalist opined that food, like meat and bread, suited cold climates and not suited for tropical climates like India. The climate theories supported to vegetarianism for Indian presented in sort of Indigenous medical text.\textsuperscript{190} The medical literature written in Malayalam language in the late nineteenth century either took in form of medical journals or Medical text, that journals covered number of scholarly articles that addressed health and changing dietary habits of Malayalee.\textsuperscript{191} Dhanwanthari was most widely circulated medical magazine in the late nineteenth century Malabar.\textsuperscript{192} Many articles published Dhanwanthari severely criticized the European diet practices and promoted vegetarian food habits. The main criticism against the new food product was that it was not easily digested, and it was not suit for our climate.\textsuperscript{193} Number of articles published in Dhanwanthari roared against the European dietary practices. On this issue they published an article is very noticeable one. The main objective of this article was to compare the dietary practices between Europeans and Malayalees. In to this article author tried to prove that European diet took more time to digest than the native dietary practices (Hindu food).\textsuperscript{194}

Western science was thoroughly criticized but the opposite was not necessarily labelled ‘indigenous’ science. It was, on the contrary, perceived as a ‘modern’ science. Many of the new foods become medicinal qualities which ultimately led to the acceptances by the middle class people.\textsuperscript{195} One of the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Dhanwanthari, Kappal Mulaku}, March 13 October 1912, p. 8.
\item \textit{Dhanwanthari}, Vol.6, No.8, August, 1912, p.16.
\item See Appendix. p. 217.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
examples for this is the supply of bread for breakfast to the patients in Kottakkal AryaVidayasala. P.S.Varrier was so interested in Homeopathic medicine and started to study Homeopathy from the Doctor Varghese of Manjeri. This relation with Homeopathy influenced him in many ways. The changing of dietary notions is very interesting one. The bread was supplied as breakfast item in the menu of patients for this influence. Medical prescription of an indigenous physician published in Dhanwanthari was also reveals that they ready to accepted European food on the basis of its medicinal quality. The Physician K. Pattari suggested Coco powder for his patient suffering stomach disease. But undoubtedly it can be says that the indigenous medicinal establishments associated with Indian nationalism severely criticized European dietary habits. They clearly prove that it is unhealthy dietary habits. The habit of drinking tea and coffee was vehemently criticized by articles published in Magazines and journals. One of the articles published in Lakshmibai, the author tried to prove that the drinking of coffee and tea was very bad habit of our health. He recalls his readers to the benefits of traditional dietary habits compared with the modern dietary habits. To this article he requested the readers to stop these unhealthy habits and follow the traditional dietary habits. The articles published in literary indigenous text clearly evident that consuming meat has made the English aggressive, they easily cross and with their cruel kicks sent innocent and miserable Indians to hell. Vegetarianism on the other hand is pure and it helped to create peace effect in the mind.

The discourses surrounded on vegetarianism were also heavily gendered. The colonial social conditions redefined the concept of masculinity and femininity with the support of western notions. The colonial notions about masculinity and femininity associated with food ways are highly gendered and followed with western concepts. The above discussed social and economic conditions of late 19th and early 20th centuries created larger discourses on public space and it also created a new domesticity. A new domestic space was emerged during this period. The new ideology of domesticity was closely associated with colonial modernity. The private and public space associated with the project modernity redefined the gender roles about food and cooking. The next chapter tries to analyse how the politics of ‘gendering’ of food in the context of colonial modernity.

The food products and dietary habits introduced in the colonial period were assimilated from west. Consequently, various methods were devised to introduce new food habits, products and recipes. New food habits introduced through interaction, marriages, religion and migration. At that time, the new food habits became popular because of the Christian cuisine and the modernized elite class. The British colonisation and rapid changes in the agrarian structure altered the food habits of the Indians. The Columbian exchange and agrarian techniques deeply changed the economic and social structure of the natives. Educated middle class were ‘signified’ the new taste in their self-fashioning. After independence many of these tastes became familiar for the peoples in Malabar. The changes in material culture by the modernity made a tremendous change in the gastronomic pleasure of the colonised people.