



CURRY: A TEMPTING TALE OF THE COLONY

**ANALYSING CULINARY
COSMOPOLITANISM THROUGH THE
CHANGES IN THE RECIPES OF CURRY IN
LONDON SINCE THE EARLY 1900s TO THE
EARLY 2000s**

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Curry: A Tempting Tale Of The Colony

*Analyzing Culinary Cosmopolitanism through the changes in the recipes of
curry in London since the Early 1900s to the Early 2000s*

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Abstract

Curry, an Anglo-Indian word coined by the British, was a product of India's colonization that went on to become the national dish of Britain in 2001. The thesis investigated this evolution of curry's culinary cosmopolitanism in London from the early 1900s to the early 2000s.

The term culinary cosmopolitanism can simply be understood as the acceptance of the edible other. But this acceptance is not always as simple as it seems. There are other modalities of culinary cosmopolitanism, which function through translations, generalizations and modifications. The case study of curry highlighted this duality of culinary cosmopolitanism that sought to "absorb" and "adapt" the Other, which questioned the stance of its acceptance altogether.

By making use of digitized archives, 74 curry recipes collected from an English periodical *Daily Mail*, were compared with the 103 recipes gathered from an Indian newspaper *Times of India*. This archival research followed a content and a comparative analysis of the changes in the recipes of curry through the three phases of India's independence, the *colonial era* (from the early 1900s to 1946), the *independence era* (from 1947-1990) and the *post-independence era* (from 1991 to the early 2000s). A significant number of differences could be noticed between the English and the Indian curries because of two contrasting standpoints on the dish, wherein the English curry was found to be a generalized by-product of colonialism, commercialization and racism. This was a result of the translation it sustained, of being called by an English name owing to colonialism; the oversimplification it endured, of being understood only through a common blend of spices owing to the commercialization of curry powder; and the generalization of being associated primarily as a spicy Indian entity owing to the racism against Muslims.

Keywords: Culinary Cosmopolitanism, Curry, Commercialization of curry powder, Racism, Multiculturalism

Preface

Being a foodie, this research has been a fascinating project. As a five-year old child, I remember watching cookery shows with my mom who carefully used to pen down every recipe in her diary and cook these for me and my family. Nigella Lawson and Sanjeev Kapoor's shows were out favorite and those are the only ones I remember watching. Since then, I have always enjoyed watching documentaries about food, cookery shows, food bloggers curating recipes on their YouTube channels, listening to historical narratives about emperors demanding their cooks to come up with unique dishes to suit their tastes. My favorite tale is about the melt-in-the mouth delicacy, *galouti kebab*, which as the name suggests melts in the mouth and so, was especially created for the emperor Wajid Ali Shah who lost all his teeth but never lost his appetite for kebabs. Culinary historical tales like these are so intriguing and captivating, which is why I particularly wanted to research about food.

In doing so, my supervisor dr. Maarten van Dijck has been extremely supportive and cooperative. Under his tutelage, I have learnt so much. His guidance will always be acknowledged. Secondly, my thesis group and dr. Jeroen Euwe's opinions have improved my ability to deal with criticism in a healthy way.

I also acknowledge the financial support provided by my parents without whom I would never be able to join Erasmus University and write this thesis. Taking up food history or history in general, is not a very favored career option in India. But my parents constant support to venture out on roads not taken, has always been a motivation to not stop dreaming and thinking out of the box. I am equally thankful to my elder sister Aakriti, for correcting me at every step and helping me move forward. I would also like to acknowledge the help provided by my best friends, Vandita Gandhi and Akul Mahajan.

Last but certainly not the least, I immensely appreciate the views of chef Ashish Bhasin, chef Manjit Singh Gill, chef Harpal Sokhi, chef Megha Kohli, food author and critic Marryam Reshi, Mr. Arjun Bajaj, Mr. Ravikiran Shetty, Mrs. Amrit Kochhar, Mrs. Ritu Chaudhary, Mrs. Rachna Budwal, Ms. Nikita Singla, Ms. Jools, Mrs. Helen Kapila, Mrs. Lois Vidya Kapila, who despite the unfortunate circumstances posed by the pandemic took out time to share their thoughts about Indian cuisine and of course, curry.

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Glossary

Indian Cooking Ingredients

Spices

Whole spices (Sabut Masala or Khada Masala): Spices in their natural (unground) form
Below is the list of all whole spices

Masala: When whole spices are pounded, they become powders called Masala. Additionally, when a mix of spices with onions, ginger-garlic paste, tomatoes (vegetables/ roots depending on the kind of curry) have released oil, that is also called a masala.

Anardana: Dried Pomegranate seeds

Dalchini: Cinnamon

Dhana: Coriander seeds

Dhaniya: Coriander (also used as a garnish)

Haldi: Turmeric

Hing: Asafetida

Ilaichi/ Elaichi: Cardamom

Imli: Tamarind

Jaiphal: Nutmeg

Javitri: Mace

Jeera/ Zeera: Cumin

Kadhi patta: Curry leaves

Kali Mirch: Peppercorns (when ground into black pepper, then also called kali mirch)

Kalonji: Nigella seeds

Kasori methi (also used as a garnish): Dried fenugreek

Khas-khas/ Khus-khus: Poppy seed

Kokam/ kokum: Garcinia indica

Laung: Cloves

Mirch: Chilli; also used to refer to something hot/ spicy

Pathar ka phool: Stone flower

Ratanjot: Alkanna Tinctoria

Saunf: Fennel seeds

Tej Patta: Cassia leaf (some people also understand it as bay leaf)

Garam masala: A blend of a number of whole spices that are ground together (each family has its own recipe)

Panch phoran: A five-spice blend of fenugreek seeds, nigella seeds, cumin seeds, black mustard seeds and fennel seeds (Panch meaning five, hence the name)

Animal Flesh

Keema/ kheema: Minced meat of mostly goat or lamb

Machchi: Fish

Mutton: Goat meat (sometimes also used for lamb)

Pulses and Lentils

Chana Dal: Split chickpeas

Ma Ki Dal: Name of a dish made of whole black gram lentils

Masoor Dal: Red lentils

Moong Dal: Yellow lentils

Rajma: Red kidney beans

Tuvar/ Tur/ Toor Dal: Split Pigeon peas

Urad Dal: Black gram lentils

Miscellaneous

Aam: Mango

Avial: A mixture of vegetables and coconut, seasoned with coconut oil and curry leaves

Batata: Potato

Besan: Gram flour

Bhindi: Okra

Chapattis: An unleavened flatbread most commonly made of wheat flour

Chutney: It is a varied dish ranging from sweet or sour, savoury or tangy; sometimes close to being considered as a sauce, other times being of a jam-like texture; used as an accompaniment (not as a condiment) in the Indian cuisine

Dahi: Curd

Ghee: Clarified butter

Gravy: Synonymous with Curry, characterized by a liquid, semi-liquid consistency

Khichdi: A plain vegetarian porridge of rice and lentils cooked in ghee

Kofta: balls or dumplings made of either minced meat or cottage cheese or vegetables

Koobhas: Mutton Dumplings

Makhan: Butter

Naans: A tandoor-baked leavened flatbread usually made of wheat flour or all-purpose flour

Paneer: Cottage cheese

Poppadum: A crispy-thin disc-shaped flatbread made of lentil flour (also used as an accompaniment)

Raita: A concoction of curd combined with either raw vegetables or fruits or salt and powdered spices (served usually as an accompaniment to the main course)

Sabzi: A vegetable

Tadka: Tempering of the spices in ghee until they release their essential oils

Tarī: Meaning gravy in the Punjabi language (spoken in North India)

Cooking Vessels

Degchi/ Deg: A pot-like vessel that is narrow around the neck and gets broader towards the bottom

Handi: A deep, wide-mouthed vessel

Kadhai: A deep, thick-coated, circular cooking vessel (similar to a wok but with two handles)

Introduction

Motivation

Add 4-5 tablespoons of ghee (clarified butter) in a kadhai, 2-3 buds of cloves, 2-3 pods of cardamom, 2-3 black peppercorns, 1 large bay leaf...give it an occasional stir for a minute or two until the seeds start popping in the pot...add garlic and ginger followed by 2 tablespoons of oil...give it a stir and let the aromatic spices diffuse. Add onions and cook until golden-brown, perfectly glazed in its own oil. Add tomatoes and stir. Now, add salt as per taste, a tablespoon or two of turmeric, coriander powder, and garam masala. Stir this heavenly abode and let your olfactory senses enjoy this *tadka*. Only after the oil is released, add boiled potatoes and let it simmer. When the spices are all infused, add about 2-3 cups of water and let it sit over a low flame...

This is how my potato curry starts taking shape, at least what I understand of it!¹

A Curry is a piece of art. It is the perfect blend of oil sizzling, pepper pods popping, onions glazing, tomatoes ripening, spices tempering and the aroma infusing the entire kitchen and tantalizing all the five senses. As passionate as I am about cooking curry, I am also always esurient to eat it. One day on my way back home from Amsterdam, Vlaams Friteshuis Vlemincx's French fries lured me into missing my train. On being asked for a topping, the fifth option from the list of regular sauces voyeuristically eyed me, *curry*. My senses being accustomed to a rich, flavoursome, aromatic savoury dish, could not appreciate the sweeter-tangier version of it. From this personal incident, it dawned on me how curry that is conceptualised as an exotic dish, has taken on a modified character around the world owing to culinary cosmopolitanism. But how did the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry start? Who was responsible for exporting the idea and the ingredients used in a curry to the world?

The mobility of curry from one location or coterie to another helps to understand the acceptance of cultural differences through foodways. Stephanie Maroney informs how "curry was introduced to England as an Indian dish, and the culinary representation of Britain's

¹ "Instagram Post by Simrat Cheema • Jan 22, 2020 at 12:23pm UTC," Instagram, accessed January 22, 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B7ny5wVhURA/>.

colonization of India. It was a foodstuff that was practically synonymous with East India Company culture.”² Their nostalgia prompted the development of coffeehouses in England that recreated their curry experience at home. The recipes in newspapers, magazines and cookbooks came up to aid the company member’s wives, mothers, English cooks and the larger English public. Moreover, the introduction of curry powder led to a further assimilation of the dish in England and its other colonies. This was the beginning of the cosmopolitanism of the dish. But did this assimilation come at a cost?

How were these English recipes of curry different from the Indian recipes? Why is the understanding of curry so vague for an Indian as compared to someone from British Isles? If the Indian food was accepted, why was there an attempt to assimilate it? Doesn’t acceptance mean embracing something the way it is?

² Stephanie Maroney, “‘To Make a Curry the India Way’: Tracking the Meaning of Curry Across Eighteenth-Century Communities,” *Food and Foodways* 19, no. 1 (January 2011): 132.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework

This chapter will give an overview of the existing research on culinary cosmopolitanism and the relation between curry and colonialism. It starts with explaining the meaning of the concept of culinary cosmopolitanism, building on its relation with colonialism through its dimension of deliberate translation of food. It gives an understanding about the incorporation of curry into the British cuisine. Further on, the role of newspapers and the information they provide will be dealt with. Finally, this theoretical framework is extrapolated into the research gap and relevance of this research. This is followed by a brief overview of the methodology employed.

1. Culinary Cosmopolitanism

The term *cosmopolitanism* is derived from the Greek word *kosmopolites*, meaning “a citizen of the world.” It was first used by the Cynics and later the Stoics, who used it to identify people as belonging to two distinct communities: the local and the wider “common.”³ But what does one really mean by cosmopolitanism?

The scholarship on cosmopolitanism is extensive. Steven Vertovec places it under six rubrics that include theoretical perspectives, viewing cosmopolitanism as a worldview, a political project building transnationalism and recognising diversity, a socio-cultural tradition and a disposition and practice.⁴ Cosmopolitanism as a disposition can be understood as a desire for and an appreciation of the cultural diversity, or more specifically as Ulf Hannerz puts it, “cosmopolitanism in a stricter sense includes a stance towards diversity itself, toward the coexistence of cultures in the individual experience.”⁵ He highlights cosmopolitanism’s “aesthetic stance of openness,”⁶ exploring differences instead of similarities amidst diverse cultural experiences. According to Sarah Cappeliez and Josée Johnston, “cosmopolitanism is generally understood as a disposition and an aptitude to embrace cultural differences across

³ “Cosmopolitanism - Sociology - Oxford Bibliographies - Obo,” accessed January 8, 2020, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0133.xml>.

⁴ Simon Learmount, *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 7.

⁵ Ulf Hannerz, “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture,” *Theory, Culture & Society*, (June 30, 2016): 239.

⁶ Hannerz, “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture,” 239.

national borders.”⁷ In simple words, it can be understood as a willingness to engage with the cultural Other.

In food studies, the connection between cosmopolitanism and food is understood through the concept of *culinary cosmopolitanism*. The practise of consuming or producing an exotic, a culturally other dish can be understood as culinary cosmopolitanism. We base our understanding of what can be eaten on our “previous intake consequences.”⁸ As a result, people tend to reduce the ample amount of food possibilities they have access to, reinforced by their belief system, practices and rendition of food that they share with their social circle. However, a close proximity with the Others helps us “to break with the naturalization of the social. Otherness shows that each way of eating is just one of many options found to solve the problem of nutrition.”⁹ This way of relating to food by “the process of identifying cultural and cosmopolitan identities through daily practices with multicultural forms of eating”¹⁰ can also be understood as culinary cosmopolitanism.

Marvin Montefrio defined culinary cosmopolitanism “in terms of consumption of food of various cultural associations from both within and outside national borders.”¹¹ He emphasized the role of cosmopolitans who travelled transnationally from one part of the world to another, translated food knowledge, ideas and materials on the move. This knowledge translation of food is characterised as “cosmopolitan translations of food.”¹² Ian Cook and Philip Crang too, highlighted the reconstruction of food through interrelations of multiple actors involved in production, exchange and consumption of materials termed as “circuits of culinary culture.”¹³ What further complicates these translations are the consumers who internally make sense of a food item while participating in the network of mediators.¹⁴ Such

⁷ Sarah Cappeliez and Josée Johnston, “From Meat and Potatoes to ‘Real-Deal’ Rotis: Exploring Everyday Culinary Cosmopolitanism,” *Poetics* 41, no. 5 (October 2013): 433, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.06.002>.

⁸ Joana A. Pellerano and Viviane Riegel, “Food and Cultural Omnivorism: A Reflexive Discussion on Otherness, Interculturality and Cosmopolitanism,” *International Review of Social Research* 7, no. 1 (May 24, 2017): 13.

⁹ Pellerano and Riegel, “Food and Cultural Omnivorism,” 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Marvin Joseph F. Montefrio, “Cosmopolitan Translations of Food and the Case of Alternative Eating in Manila, the Philippines,” *Agriculture and Human Values* 37, no. 2 (June 2020): 481, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-019-10000-z>.

¹² Montefrio, “Cosmopolitan Translations of Food and the Case of Alternative Eating in Manila,” 480.

¹³ Ian Cook and Philip Crang, “The World On A Plate: Culinary Culture, Displacement and Geographical Knowledges,” *Journal of Material Culture* 1, no. 2 (July 1, 1996): 131–53, <https://doi.org/10.1177/135918359600100201>.

¹⁴ Montefrio, “Cosmopolitan Translations of Food and the Case of Alternative Eating in Manila,” 491.

translations occur, sometimes unintentionally, sometimes deliberately. In my opinion these deliberate translations of food make the concept of culinary cosmopolitanism superficial. There lies a paradox when understanding culinary cosmopolitanism as an orientation of openness towards geographically and culturally distant other versus a deliberate translation of the exotic. If one is willingly searching for “contrasts rather than uniformity”¹⁵ then why is there a deliberate translation of food? The case study of curry will help answer this question.

2. Colonialism and Curry

Cappeliez and Johnston highlighted how food serves as a clear marker of banal cosmopolitanism, not simply through its material existence, but through its symbolic presence as globalized taste preferences.¹⁶ This can be understood by taking into account a very popular and admired dish, *curry*. The concept of cosmopolitanism here is being attributed to the international character of curry in the culinary lexicon. Culinary cosmopolitanism in this thesis can be understood in relation to the acceptance of this exotic dish by the English. Following colonialism, curry was incorporated into the British households. Inventions of curry powders came up in order to provide the exotic flavours of the colony back home. The dish took geographical leaps into other British colonies as well. Apart from being recognised on restaurant menus worldwide, we find a cornucopia of research on this colonial relic.

The British Crown did not just colonize the land and people of India, but also altered their food and cultural habits. Cecilia Leong-Salobir's, chapter “Colonial Legacies: Curries and Other Hybridities” emphasized how a global cuisine was actually a postcolonial cuisine, that is, “the foods of former colonial masters or subjects.”¹⁷ In fact, food historians understand the concept of culinary cosmopolitanism as an offshoot of globalisation. Colleen Taylor Sen too, pointed out how from its naissance, curry had always been “a product of globalization, spread throughout the world by merchants and traders, missionaries, colonial administrators and their wives, indentured labourers and immigrants.”¹⁸ Undoubtedly curry is a globalized dish, spread all over the world, but the concept of globalization is different from that of cosmopolitanism, especially culinary cosmopolitanism. If we just focus on globalization in terms of flows and mobilities, the idea does seem “compatible with a conception of cosmopolitanism in terms of

¹⁵ Hannerz, “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture,” 239.

¹⁶ Cappeliez and Johnston, “From Meat and Potatoes to ‘Real-Deal’ Rotis,” 436.

¹⁷ Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Urban Food Culture: Sydney, Shanghai and Singapore in the Twentieth Century* (Springer, 2017), 120.

¹⁸ Colleen Taylor Sen, *Curry: A Global History* (Reaktion Books, 2009), 117.

transnational travel and converging consumption patterns in cuisine, media and fashion, the plural loyalties of individuals, an attitude of mind characterized by openness to others and cultural translation.”¹⁹ But the idea of globalization is not just about flows and mobilities. It has various other facets, like power relations and competing for world market shares. In terms of power and profit, globalization can either “promote or undermine cosmopolitan possibilities.”²⁰ In the case of curry, we see a promotion of this possibility as a result of colonialism that took the dish to geographically separated units. From then on, the popularity of curry grew because of the worldwide acceptance it received. But the scholarship on curry lacks on building this connection between colonialism and culinary cosmopolitanism. Instead the focus has been on understanding the connection between colonialism and globalization. Perhaps this might be because colonialism and cosmopolitanism are understood as two contrasting concepts. The former pertaining to power relations between regions, while the latter being understood as a general orientation to multicultural openness. However, there is another side of cosmopolitanism, which comes with varying degrees of openness. It does not always accept the exotic in its entirety and limits itself only to a superficial knowledge about the Other. Elizabeth Buettner elaborated on this idea through the gradual popularity of Indian restaurants and the limited multiculturalism practiced in England. By narrating the evolution of curry’s acceptance from being treated with skepticism to having become the national dish of Britain, Buettner pinpointed the apparent forms of racism through a simultaneous rejection as well as embracement of the Other. For instance, even though most of the Indian restaurants were run and staffed by Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, still curry came to be labelled as Indian because of the perpetual anti-Islamic sentiments. She emphasized how “multiculturalism as culinary celebration or as a white consumer practice constitutes only a limited form of tolerance.”²¹ In this regard, I do not see colonialism and culinary cosmopolitanism as two very contrasting concepts. Both of them tend to practice similar patterns of distance and distaste for the colonized or edible Other.

Lizzie Collingham’s *Curry: A Tale of Cooks And Conquerors (2006)*, deliciously ascribed the development and evolution of curry to the tastes of various invaders of India. From the Rogan Josh of North India to the Madras curry of South India, successful attempts have

¹⁹ Jack Barbalet, “Globalization and Cosmopolitanism: Continuity and Disjuncture, Contemporary and Historical,” *Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 200.

²⁰ Barbalet, “Globalization and Cosmopolitanism,” 199.

²¹ Elizabeth Buettner, ““Going for an Indian’: South Asian Restaurants and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Britain,” *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 4 (December 2008): 869, <https://doi.org/10.1086/591113>.

been made to analyse the influence of Mughal invasions, trading and colonialism on the development and evolution of Indian cuisine generally, and curry specifically. However, she just narrated the story of curry from a wholly historical perspective.²²

A very nuanced picture depicting the relation of curry—its (India's) colonisation and translation—with the East India Company (EIC) and the British Raj, was noticeable in the works of Nupur Chaudhuri, Uma Narayan, Sayantani Sengupta and Rohit Varman.^{23 24 25 26} They ascribed the significant part played by the EIC servants whose role cannot be understated, for building this curiosity of an antique land and its exotic recipes. It was because of them that curry reached England.²⁷ Owing to the absence of the Suez Canal, initially there was a rarity of European women in India.²⁸ As a result, many members of the EIC lived a promiscuous lifestyle with their Indian mistresses and wives (frequently called “sleeping dictionaries”),²⁹ “in semi-Indian style”.³⁰ They taught them the local languages and the Indian ways of dining. To add to this, in order to display their power and be considered an equal to the aristocratic emperors of the subcontinent, these British merchants showed off their culinary superiority by organising lavish *burra khanas* (big dinners).³¹ The concept of these big dinners was to cover every inch of the table cloth with enough food.³² The result of this extravagant lifestyle was the knowledge that these British traders received about curry and spices from their *khansamas* (Indian cooks). So, with the help of the Indian women and the Indian cooks, the EIC merchants got their hands onto certain recipes, details of which were sent to their families back home. The English women took over from here, translating foreign delicacies into local specialities. The curry houses also aided to these new taste buds of the returned British traders, who “were plagued by what Tulasi Srinivas referred to as “gastro-nostalgia”.³³

²² Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (London: Vintage books, 2006).

²³ Nupur Chaudhuri, “Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain,” in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 231–242.

²⁴ Uma Narayan, “Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity and Indian Food,” *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 1, no. 1 (1995): 63–86.

²⁵ Sayantani Sengupta, “The Rise of Curry,” *Language, Literature, and Interdisciplinary Studies (LLIDS)*, 2017, 53–63, <http://ellids.com/archives/2017/12/1.2-Sengupta.pdf>.

²⁶ Rohit Varman, “Curry,” *Consumption Markets & Culture* 20, no. 4 (July 4, 2017): 350–56, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10253866.2016.1185814>.

²⁷ Sengupta, “The Rise of Curry,” 56.

²⁸ Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (London: Vintage books, 2006), 11.

²⁹ Sen, *Curry*, 24.

³⁰ Collingham, *Curry*, 111.

³¹ Sengupta, “The Rise of Curry,” 55.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Sengupta, “The Rise of Curry,” 57.

Another influential treatment of curry was offered by Susan Zlotnick who presented the dish as an example of how Victorian women did the domesticating work of the empire.³⁴ When the English officers were occupied with acquiring sovereignty over India, the Englishwoman was busy not just being the “mindless memsahib at tea and tennis.”³⁵ The British women were busy incorporating “Indian food, which functioned metonymically for India, into the national diet and making it culturally British.”³⁶ Zlotnick satirically explained the self and the other debate by pinpointing the role played by the domestic figures as stabilising an Englishness. They took into their homes a hybrid like curry, “and through the ideological effect of domesticating it, erases its foreign origins and represent it as purely English.”³⁷ Through this incorporation of curry into the English households, a colonial trope was placed, assimilating the other into self. Maggie Kilgour’s *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation*, highlighted how the relation between an inside and an outside—involving a parallelism of identification and separation that takes form by the play of incorporation—was nothing less than a metaphor.³⁸ Kilgour rightly pointed out “imperialism as a form of cannibalism.”³⁹ In this case, the English women being the incorporators, domesticated imperialism by naturalising curry as one’s own, essentially projected their cannibalistic desires on the colonised edible Other. What is interesting is how through the commodification of curry into curry powders and pastes, the dish came to be understood as the product of England’s shores that was bestowed on the Indian subjects.

Modhumita Roy’s analysis of the popularity, adoption and eventual rejection of *mulligatawny*,⁴⁰ helped to understand the connection between India and England via a particular type of South Indian dish. Like Zlotnick, Roy too, emphasized the role of the Anglo-Indian wives in adapting and incorporating Indian cuisine to suit British taste. But she also threw light on how “for the most part, they shunned Indian cuisine, preferring to serve pies, roasts and potted meats in order to distance themselves from those they governed.”⁴¹

³⁴ Susan Zlotnick, “Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 16, no. 2/3 (1996): 51–68.

³⁵ Zlotnick, “Domesticating Imperialism,” 52.

³⁶ Zlotnick, “Domesticating Imperialism,” 52.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁸ Maggie Kilgour, “Introduction: Metaphors and Incorporation,” in *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton University Press, 1990), 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 185–186.

⁴⁰ Modhumita Roy, “Some Like It Hot: Class, Gender and Empire in the Making of Mulligatawny Soup,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 45, no. 32 (2010): 66–75, www.jstor.org/stable/20764390.

⁴¹ Roy, “Some Like It Hot,” 67.

Mulligatawny was seen as versatile and adaptable, “having no classical version, displayed an ability to move up or down the scale of snobbery—from the simple broth to a sophisticated, even extravagant, item of haute cuisine.”⁴² While chefs and cookery writers of the Anglo-India, like Flora Annie Steel and colonel Arthur Robert Kenney-Herbert insisted on replacing curries with French recipes, mulligatawny continued to appear on dinner tables despite changes in taste. However, this acceptance came with its own set of deliberate translations. Mulligatawny was reincarnated as “potage de Madras, consommé mulligatawny or under the even more pretentious, consommé à l’indienne.”⁴³ In this sense, Indian curries were culinarily cosmopolitanised (willingly accepted) as meals in Anglo-Indian households, but were translated with no trace of exoticness to endear.

3. Newspapers

Tiny, almost ant sized, unspoken letters are not as small as they appear to be. They are influential in their own right, offering a wealth of information about the various spheres of life. Through comparative textual analysis, they act as important pedagogical tools in assessing the past and shaping the present. Stephen Vella rightly pointed out to how “a critical reading of newspapers can lead to significant insight into how societies or cultures came to understand themselves and the world around them.”⁴⁴ For example, recipes published in newspapers highlighted what was eaten during a particular point in time, how was it eaten, what kind of cooking vessels were used to cook food back then, when did new ingredients incorporate themselves into the regional cuisine, the evolution of recipes over a period of time.

Through the inclusion of cookery, lifestyle and fashion sections, the newspaper also informs us about the role and visibility of women in the public discourse. Like, many of the lentil curry recipes in *Daily Mail* ascribed the health benefits of pulses to help women get bikini bodies in summer. One certainly cannot ignore the “prodigious bounty that newspapers bring to the intellectual table.”⁴⁵ However, when it comes to curry, their research value is not fully utilized.

⁴² Roy, “Some Like It Hot,” 67.

⁴³ Ibid, 72.

⁴⁴ Stephen Vella, “Newspapers,” in *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from 19th and 20th Century History* (London: Routledge, 2009), 192.

⁴⁵ Vella, “Newspapers,” 205.

4. Research Gap and Relevance

Questions about curry's incorporation in British cuisine and at the same time its changed character have been raised. But these have been just limited to the answer of colonialism and its effects. An attempt to draw a relation between colonialism and culinary cosmopolitanism through the recipes of curry is nowhere to be found. The centrality of the study of newspapers, especially those sections pertaining to cookery have still not inspired any scholarly project. Primary sources like cookbooks, advertisements of curry powders, secondary sources of Mughal historiography and European travellers accounts have been majorly relied upon to understand the evolution of curry and also curry and Britain's relationship. But the recipes pertaining to curry, published in newspapers are one source material that have not yet been utilized. Recipes from a particular region determine what is and is not part of any culture's cuisine, how open is that region to incorporate cultural differences, how accepted is the exotic. Taking this approach forward and trying to understand the connection between colonialism and culinary cosmopolitanism by utilising the different recipes of curry, is something new and quite relevant in the field of food studies and food history.

5. Research Question and Sub Questions

Comparing the recipes of curry collected from the digitised archives of, the English periodical *Daily Mail* and the Indian daily *Times of India*, will help in addressing the central question, that is: *Can curry be called a culinary cosmopolitanised by-product of colonialism in London, since the early 1900s to the early 2000s* ? The time period from the early 1900s to the early 2000s, will help answer the sub questions that will be dealing with the three phases of India's independence, that is, when India was still a *colony* to its *independence* and *post-independence*.

- **Pre-Independence Era:** The period from the early 1900s up to 1946 will analyse how culinarily cosmopolitanised (accepted) was curry in London when *India was still a colony* of the British Raj. How did the two major World Wars affect this acceptance? Did the independence movements of the time influence the British preferences for or against the food of the colony? Were the recipes published in *Times of India* any similar to those in *Daily Mail*, since *TOI* was still owned by the English during this time?
- **Post-Colonial Era:** The second phase starting from when *India gained independence* in 1947 up to 1990, will further shed light on curry's acceptance in London. Now that *Times of India*

would have been owned by the Indians, were the Indian curries any different from the English ones? If so, what do these changes tell about curry's culinary cosmopolitanism? Was the English invention of curry powder still popular in curry recipes, even after India was no longer a colony? Following India's independence, did the large-scale immigration to London influence the recipes of curries in any way?

- **Post-Independence Era:** The third phase beginning from when India opened its economy in 1991 to the first decade of the twenty-first century, will question the acceptance of curry in the post-independence era. Why did curry come to be generalised as Indian? By becoming the national dish of Britain, did curry completely become culinarily cosmopolitanized?

6. Methodology

I carried out a digitised archival research by content analysing the curry recipes collected from the digitised archives of the following two newspapers. Following a comparative analysis approach, the recipes of *Daily Mail* were compared with those of *Times of India* throughout the three phases of India's independence.

a) Sources

Digitised Archives

Owing to digitisation of certain newspapers, I had the opportunity to make use of these new databases which was not possible before. Collecting particular recipes from an English and an Indian daily, and utilising this big data in the case of curry is quite new. I made use of the digitised archive of the *Daily Mail* and the *Times of India* to collect recipes of curry from the early 1900s to the early 2000s.

Daily Mail

Launched in 1896, the *Daily Mail* owned by Alfred Harmsworth, was a pioneer to have integrated women into the daily newspaper market. It is the only national newspaper to have more female readers than male. From the periphery to the central editorial collection, Northcliffe made women visible in public discourse. "He ensured that space was explicitly marked out for women's interests."⁴⁶ And this space was not treated as an ordinary section,

⁴⁶ Adrian Bingham, "The Woman's Realm: The Daily Mail and Female Readers," *Daily Mail Historical Archive 1896-2004: Cengage Learning*, 2013, 2, <https://www-gale->

edited at the last minute. It was a product of proper editorial consideration.⁴⁷ Harmsworth showed an undisputed determination of treating the women's section as earnestly as any other section. In fact, he "ordered that recipes be checked by his own chef, and insisted that articles and stories were accurate and consistent."⁴⁸ By providing greater visibility to women in a male dominated national press, the newspaper not only made a profit from the circulation statistics but also acquired advertising incentives as they were the main targets of advertisers.⁴⁹ In fact, owing to newspaper rationing during First World War, the female columns had to be removed. But even then so as to not lose his female audience, Harmsworth advertised brands advocating women's needs. It has been a century but Daily Mail is still known for its expertise to attract female readers.

Hailing from London with women as its predominant target audience, it seemed an apt newspaper for data collection.

Times of India (TOI)

This Mumbai based, market leader of its time, was a British owned newspaper for the longest time. It was actually a product of *Bennett, Coleman and Company Limited*, named after its English owners. It was only after the independence of India when a leading industrialist, Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia took over and consolidated it in the Times Group.⁵⁰ This former British ownership of the paper is reflected in the recipes of curry published in the pre independent India. The curry recipes from early 1900s are similar to the kinds published in the *Daily Mail*. It was only in the later-half of the twentieth century that stark variations depicting the versatility and regional differences of the country can be noticed in the curries.

Owing to the unfortunate circumstances posed by the corona pandemic, it was difficult to collect data from the local newspapers. Being the first digitised archive available for an Indian daily, *Times of India* was the only accessible source.

com.eur.idm.oclc.org/binaries/content/assets/gale-us-en/primary-sources/intl-gps/intl-gps-essays/full-ghn-contextual-essays/ghn_essay_dmha_bingham2_website.pdf.

⁴⁷ Bingham, "The Woman's Realm," 2.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 4.

⁵⁰ Nalini Rajan, *Practising Journalism: Values, Constraints, Implications* (SAGE Publishing India, 2005), 20–21.

b) Analysis

Content Analysis

I found 74 curry recipes from *Daily Mail* and that of 103 from *Times of India*, from the early 1900s to the early 2000s.

For *Daily Mail*, under the search word *curry* and *curry powder*, I chose every filter including and associated with cooking, food and recipes. These filters included supermarkets, sauces, salads, soups, souffles, wine, beef, fishes, chicken, pork, olive oil, pasta products, vegetables, potatoes, tomatoes, apples, yogurt, butter, citrus, milk, legumes, rice, diet, weight loss, Christmas cooking, vegetarian cooking and chefs. I also took into account certain recipes which were not quintessential curries but made use of curry powder. Be it an article, a recipe section or an advertisement, any subject matter associated with curry for the given time period, was taken into consideration.

The digitized archive of *Daily Mail* was accessed through the Gale Historical Newspapers database, whereas that of *Times of India* was retrieved via ProQuest. Thus, the filtering options of these two databases were not the same. The only filter used for *TOI's* recipes was the time period. The recipes found were those listed under the search word *curry*. Since *TOI* has always been in the English language, this newspaper made it easier to scavenge for curry recipes in a land where many dishes are mostly characterized as a kind of curry. However, this also proved to be a limitation for there are many recipes that go by their local names, and do not particularly use the word *curry*, like *sambar*. Coming from North India, I managed to collect almost all North-Indian curries that were published by local names. But recipes from other parts of India published by their local names, might have been left out. Through a careful analysis of recipes, the word *gravy* was found to be in use in many recipes that were not titled as curries but denoted liquid consistency of the dish (which is how a curry is understood in India). Thus, such kind of *gravy* recipes were also taken into account.

Comparative Analysis

For organising, cataloguing and comparing the recipes collected, Microsoft Excel was made use of. In case of *Daily Mail*, from the 74 recipes collected, 20 made use of *curry powder* to make dishes that were not quintessentially curries, like a *curried salad*. As a result, two separate spreadsheets were prepared, one dealt exclusively with *curry* recipes and the other comprised of those 20 dishes. The 57 collected curries have been categorized into six sections, that of,

vegetable, pulses and lentil curries; turkey curries; seafood curries; chicken and lamb curries; beef curries and egg curries, each comprising a certain number of their categoric specific curry recipes. Under each of these categories, the ingredients and quantity, method of cooking, the kind of cooking vessel that was used, has been classified. A prime focus has been laid on the *ingredients* used, to compare the English curries from the Indian ones. Being limited to a Master thesis, the quantity and method of preparation of some curries have only been briefly discussed when comparing the ingredients of curries with one another. However, some recipes either didn't specify the quantity or didn't elaborate on the method of cooking. This made it difficult to draw a comprehensive picture. For this reason, ingredients have been primarily discussed with great detail.

In case of *Times of India*, a similar pattern of analysis has been followed. Out of the 103 recipes collected, 11 of them could also not be called as quintessential curries, and so have been catalogued separately. Interestingly, all these 11 are from the time when *TOI* was still British-owned.

Further, both the newspaper's recipes have been grouped against specific colored labels in the Excel file. Each colour marked a phase of India's independence. ■ denoted pre-independent era from the early 1900s to 1946, ■ represented post-colonial period from 1947 to 1990 and ■ signified the post-independent time from 1991 till the early 2000s.

Chapter 2

What is Curry?

The synaesthetic qualities of food— *taste, smell, vision, touch and sound*— serve as “temporal decompressions”⁵¹ that aid the memory through reminiscence and remembrance. In this regard, food, sensorially connects and contributes in “nostalgic recollections”.⁵² This nostalgia for curry, was exactly what the nabobs of the East India Company (EIC) felt on their return to England after their long stay in India. Tillman Nechtman remarked that these nabobs were the people responsible for curry’s presence in Britain.⁵³ However, the EIC merchants were not the only agents behind the rise of curry in London. The English women, the curry powder manufacturers, cookbook authors and women’s periodicals also have an equal role to play in the spread of curry and its widespread translation. But first it is important to understand the meaning of curry.

What is a *curry*? Being an Indian, it seems almost impossible not knowing what a curry is. But my understanding of curry is very different from someone hailing from London. For me, curry is just a gravy called *tari*.⁵⁴ This different understanding owes a lot to the varying “evolutionary trajectories”⁵⁵ taken by curry. This is because of the divergent flavour palates, unavailability of certain ingredients, political and social upheavals of the past. Even so, there has been the colossal of colonial machinery that silently created this differentiation.⁵⁶ In the words of a renowned Indian celebrity chef, Ranveer Brar, “there is no such thing as curry. It was difficult for the British to comprehend the different spices that go in the different curries as not every recipe contained the same spices. So for their own convenience they came up with curry powder that could be used in every recipe. Thus, curry is an Anglo-Indian word, not an Indian one.”⁵⁷

⁵¹ Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (Routledge, 2013), 89–90.

⁵² Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands*, 89–90.

⁵³ Maroney, “To Make a Curry the India Way,” 129.

⁵⁴ “Taree - Meaning in Punjabi - Shabdkosh,” accessed May 28, 2020, <https://www.shabdkosh.com/dictionary/punjabi-english/taree/taree-meaning-in-english>.

⁵⁵ Sengupta, “The Rise of Curry,” 53.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Mutton Curry | मटन करी | Easy Mutton Curry Recipe | मटन मसाला रेसिपी | Chef Ranveer Brar*, accessed February 18, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XyCOgOFMLiM>.

The great British-Indian English dictionary of nineteenth century, Hobson-Jobson described curry as “meat, fish, fruit or vegetables, cooked with a quantity of bruised spices and turmeric, and a little of this give a flavour to a large mess of rice.”⁵⁸ According to some, the term is an anglicisation of the Tamil word *kari*, referring to a sauce made with a combination of spices. It is believed that the English translated the word *caril* or *caree* that was used by the Portuguese to describe broths made with Indian spices, nuts, fruits, herbs and a whole lot of condiments.⁵⁹ Being a north Indian it is difficult to comprehend the literal meaning of the Tamil word. However, the google translation of the word transcribed it as charcoal. But on questioning a Tamilian friend, I found that the word can actually just mean meat or charcoal depending on the sentence formation. He further added that for any liquid dish *kuzhambu* is the word that will be used. “Depending on the ingredients of the dish, there can be different varieties of *kuzhambu*”⁶⁰ like *vathal kuzhambu* (a sun-dried vegetable or berries curry) would be different from *milagu kuzhambu* (tamarind base, a black pepper curry). Similarly, in north India there are different names given to curries depending on their ingredients, colour and method of preparation. For instance, *rogan josh*, a goat meat curry originating from the Kashmir valley, is known for its red colour. The red colour of this curry comes from the use of a plant, named *Ratanjot* in Hindi. While *dal makhani* is a vegetarian curry made of urad dal. Apart from being vegetarian, it is much more thicker and creamier than *rogan josh*. Even though it doesn’t really have a broth like consistency, still it would be characterised as a kind of curry. Thus, today Indians often use the word for almost every other dish with a gravy, especially when talking to non-Indians. A gravy can be thick and rich or it might be as liquid in its consistency as soup. But the important point is that Indians use the term primarily when conversing with non-Indians. At home, curry is not addressed in this generalized way, but by proper recipe names.

The Misnormered Curry

Curry as an idea was imposed on India and its food culture by the Europeans. Indians referred to their dishes by specific names. “But the British lumped all these together under the heading of curry.”⁶¹ They were aware of the regional variations in the Indian cuisine. But their understanding of these differentiations was superficial. Curry became a “slippery eel of a word, bent and stretched to cover almost anything with spicy sauce, a king of misnomers”.⁶² Curry

⁵⁸ Sen, *Curry*, 9–10.

⁵⁹ Lizzie Collingham, *Curry*, 115.

⁶⁰ Ajit Rajkumar, What Does Kari Mean?, February 21, 2020.

⁶¹ Lizzie Collingham, *Curry*, 115.

⁶² Varman, “Curry,” 350.

was truly a restyled invention of the Indian cooking created exclusively for the British to suit their tastes.⁶³ It was a rather gross simplification of various recipes generally, and the Indian cuisine particularly.

The East India Company merchants learnt a few recipes from their encounters with Indian women and Indian cooks and enclosed them in letters to their sisters or mothers. The English women played a very important role as a community in satiating their men's *curry craving*. In doing so, they domesticated the imperial interests by converting the exotic into the familiar through their home-cooking, for the fear of being incorporated into the other operated behind the desire of incorporation.⁶⁴

After the sepoy mutiny of 1857, the Indian subcontinent directly came under the rule of the British Crown. "While the graph of curry's rise in Britain paralleled the rise of Raj in India, curry's importance in India declined."⁶⁵ The result of this First War of Independence,⁶⁶ was the British rejection of Indian food in order to maintain a racial superiority and exclusiveness.⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ Soon the Suez Canal opened (1869), which made it easier for the English women to come to India. This resulted in a reduction of the English officers engaging with Indian women. The English wives too, were as keen on maintaining distance from those they governed. In fact, to aid the English housewives in India, many cookbooks furthered this rejection suggesting Indian food to be unsuitable for European taste. ⁶⁹ The cookbooks of this century described the native kitchens as "filthy, dirty and uncouth."⁷⁰ However, outside the colony, this indifference towards Indian food was contradictorily marked by a fair openness towards consuming curry, as seen in the private accounts and letters of the English women.⁷¹ This acceptance and consumption in Britain came with its own sorts of translations, similar to

⁶³ Collingham, *Curry*, 125.

⁶⁴ Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism," 56.

⁶⁵ Sengupta, "The Rise of Curry," 56.

⁶⁶ The First War of Independence (the Revolt of 1857) was the first time when Indians from all kinds of race, class, religion came together to fight a war for independence against the British. It was initiated by the Indian sepoys employed in the British army. Hence, was called the sepoy mutiny by the British. It was Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (Indian independence activist and politician) who called it the first war of independence in his book *Indian War of Independence*, which was banned from publishing by the British. The British foreign office pressured the French Government to prevent publication of the book from Paris. It was in 1909 that the book was ultimately printed in the Netherlands.

⁶⁷ Chaudhuri, "Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain," 231–242.

⁶⁸ Varman, "Curry," 353.

⁶⁹ Sen, *Curry*.

⁷⁰ Jayanta Sengupta, "Nation on a Platter: The Culture and Politics of Food and Cuisine in Colonial Bengal," in *Curried Cultures: Globalization, Food, and South Asia*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 73–87.

⁷¹ Chaudhuri, "Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain," 232.

the alterations carried out in the colony in order to create it a political entity, civilized by its colonial masters.⁷²

It is important to keep in mind the role played by the curry powder manufacturers too, who very creatively came up with advertisements displaying how even the Maharajah's from India preferred using curry powders made in England.⁷³ By pulling off such advertising gimmicks, the motive was not only to sell curry powder in Britain but also export it to India. By using the metaphor of *masalas*, Narayan highlighted how like the Mughal empire was replaced by the colonial empire, similarly the curry powder sought to replace the local *masalas*.⁷⁴ Just like curry is a misnomer, similarly there is no such thing as a curry powder in India. It is as an English translation referring to a blend of spices that goes into every curry. In this sense, the British curry powder is truly a "fabricated entity",⁷⁵ a product of colonial commerce. The incorporation of curry into the British cuisine signified including the other but on the self's terms. Curry powder is a prime exhibit of this fabricated inclusivity. This is because the English were not including the gastronomic materials and cultures of India but embracing their own invention of curry powder.⁷⁶ This kind of acceptance seemed more like ingestion, less like integration.

To sum up, curry reached England through agents like the EIC merchants. Their longing for curry was satiated by the English women, who through their domain of the kitchen did the domesticating work of the colonial empire by transforming and thus, assimilating the foreign into the familial. To their aid came the cookbooks and newspapers that provided them with recipes of curry to suite the British tastes. Hence, curry that was native to India was revised and reproduced as a product of colonialism, domesticated and naturalized by the housewives, commodified, and returned to India as a "gift of its civilizer".⁷⁷

⁷² Narayan, "Eating Cultures," 65–82

⁷³ Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism," 64.

J. Edmunds' brand of curry powder had figures of Indian chef of the former viceroy of India and other natives who seem to offer their thanks to J. Edmunds for the excellencies of his curry. As a result, even the Maharajah of Kuch Behar testifies that he prefers Mr. Edmunds's curry powder to any other he had tried.

⁷⁴ Narayan, "Eating Cultures," 65.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Varman, "Curry," 354.

Chapter 3

A Colonial Affair: Analyzing Acceptance of Curry in The Pre-Independence Era (The Early 1900s to 1946)

First a sun, fierce and glaring, that scorches and bakes
Palankeens, perspiration and worry;
Mosquitoes, thugs, cocoa-nuts, Brahmins and snakes
With elephants, tigers and Curry.⁷⁸

Captain G. F. Atkinson

Through the formation of European empires and industrial societies, new and old food items traversed the globe through the nexus of producers, distributors and consumers.⁷⁹ Trading and colonial ventures— led by the East India Company initially followed by the Crown in 1857— were inseparably linked to the circulation and distribution of food items that were previously unknown, rather unfamiliar, like the *curry*. These imperial structures established by the British in colonies sought to influence the local and European communities more than the trade and governance.⁸⁰ Curry being the prime example of this influence through its Indian colonial connections of being the most important dish on the colonial table.⁸¹ Being tied to the British empire—both the colony and curry—enabled the dish to map out its route to London. This trajectory to London could not have been possible without the EIC members, the officials of the British Raj, British women and the women’s periodicals. All these people created a circuit of curry’s culinary culture,⁸² acting as middlemen translating the recipes as per their own understanding and preferences. A closer look at the recipes of curry published in the *Daily Mail* and *Times of India*, when India was still a colony, will help analyse how different or similar the English variants were from the Indian recipes.

⁷⁸ George Francklin Atkinson, *Curry & Rice on Forty Plates, Or, The Ingredients of Social Life at “Our Station” in India* (Asian Educational Services, 1999).

⁷⁹ Jayeeta Sharma, *Food and Empire*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2012), 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199729937.013.0014>.

⁸⁰ Leong-Salobir, *Urban Food Culture*, 113.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁸² Cook and Crang, “The World On a Plate,” 131-53.

Political, economic and social changes have a lot of bearing on the kind of food that is consumed. The clout of such changes—India’s struggle for independence, the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945), consequent food rationing and inflation, inventions like curry powder— was borne by the dish of curry as well. Following the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the colonized jewel directly came under the British Crown marking the beginning of distance and a distaste for the Indian cuisine.

Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries, Seafood Curries, Meat (Chicken and Lamb) Curries, Beef Curries and Egg Curries (1900 to 1946)

Table 1: Number of Curry Recipes found in Daily Mail and Times of India (1900-1946)

Kinds of Curries	Number of Recipes in Daily Mail	Kinds of Curries	Number of Recipes in Times of India
Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries	5	Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries	0
Seafood Curries	5	Seafood Curries	4
Meat Curries	4	Meat Curries	3
Beef Curries	2	Beef Curries	0
Egg Curries	1	Egg Curries	1
Revised Curries	8	Revised Curries	10
Total	25	Total	18

The data collected has been categorized into, *vegetable, pulses and lentil curries, seafood curries, meat (chicken and lamb) curries, beef curries and egg curries*. A detailed analysis of the ingredients used to cook these recipes across each of the six categories, has been carried out. Initially, the recipes from *Daily Mail* (from the early 1900s to 1946) will be discussed, the results of which will be compared with the recipes of *Times of India* (for the same time period), against the specific categorized curries. Additionally, a few other revised recipes of curry will also be analyzed.

A well formulated, structuralized recipe obviously makes the dish more vivid and the recipe more graspable. But in case of *Daily Mail*, the recipes printed in the early 1900s were not very nuanced. A few of these recipes from the early 1900s to the early 1930s would just

mention the procedure without clarifying the ingredients properly. Like in the *curried aubergine* (see image 1),⁸³ what is a curry sauce, how to make it, the quantity of curry sauce and onions have not been stated. While in the *vegetable curry* (see image 2), what kind of vegetables were to be used found no mention.⁸⁴ The recipe only indicated using enough cooked vegetables to cook the curry. Everything—the ingredients, their quantity, the cooking time, the method of preparation— was combined in almost a three by three inches small column with no lucidity of details. Another interesting thing was the names of curries. Throughout this time period, I could not find any recipe in the *Daily Mail* that was published by the local name of the dish. In all the 23 recipes found⁸⁵, there was a generalized usage of the term curry, either as a prefix like in *curried eggs* (1938), or a suffix as in *Madras curry* (1926).

CURRIED AUBERGINE.—Cook gently in a good curry sauce with a little onion and serve on toast with a border of rice.

Image 1: Curried Aubergine

Source: *Daily Mail* September 21, 1910

TUESDAY.
Vegetable Curry.
Steamed Fillets of Plaice. Parsley Sauce.
Baked Apples and Cream.
Vegetable Curry.—Chop a large onion finely and fry it in about an ounce of butter, or dripping, till quite transparent but not brown. Add a small tablespoonful each of curry powder and flour, cook for a few minutes, then put in a teaspoonful of desiccated coconut, about two tablespoonfuls of chopped apple and half a pint of stock or milk and water. Bring to the boil, add salt and simmer all together for about half an hour. Add a squeeze of lemon juice, a pinch of sugar and enough cooked vegetables of various kinds, cut in convenient pieces to make a firm mixture. Allow these to heat through thoroughly, then turn on to a dish and surround with boiled rice.

Image 2: Vegetable Curry

Source: *Daily Mail* September 1, 1928

From the early 1900s, many ingredients came to be used in the English curry recipes, but what remained constant was the use of curry powder, curry paste and onions. Eventually, the use of tomatoes, garlic and apples can also be noticed. However, as compared to the curry powder and onions, their use was rather sporadic. A detailed discussion on each of the ingredients used in these particular English curries, can be found below.

As for the *Times of India*, the regional variations of the country undoubtedly influenced the diet of the subcontinent. But more importantly, religion too, played an important role. For instance, beef was forbidden to Hindus, but was largely supplied to serve the Muslim diet. However, the British did not quite relish it because of its quality, for the simple fact that a

⁸³ M. D., "A Neglected Vegetable," *Daily Mail*, September 21, 1910, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896-2004, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865836312/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=a9292c7d>.

⁸⁴ "Menus For One Person," *Daily Mail*, September 1, 1928, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896-2004, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1865729718/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=fdceabf8>.

⁸⁵ From 1900 to 1946, a total of 25 curries were found but the recipe of meat curry was not specific on the kind of flesh to be used. It suggested using either beef, chicken/mutton or oysters/crabs. Hence, it overlapped in the seafood and beef category making the total to 25. Otherwise, keeping the mathematical technicalities aside 23 recipes were the total recipes found from this period.

Brahmin cattle had not been bred for its beef. Whereas, for pork the English had to get their own supplies from the few piggeries in hills since it was loathed by Hindus and considered impure for Muslims. Goat meat was something that did come to be enjoyed by some. However, due to the climatic conditions it could not be hung for long, which is why its taste was not appreciated much. Those who did not quite relish goat meat, joined the ‘Mutton Club’ wherein the members collectively bought a small flock of sheep.⁸⁶ Each part was given to each member in rotation. This institution also helped them to break away from the repetitive intake of chicken, the most commonly consumed animal flesh in India. In order to avoid the repetitively consumed chicken, attempts were made to create a variety of feathered meats like turkeys, though it rarely sustained owing to the climate of India.⁸⁷ Thus, other than mutton and chicken, red meat’s unavailability was problematic. This also highlighted how certain kinds of meat signified specific varieties of animal flesh in India, unlike London.

Another interesting comparison is that unlike the recipes in *Daily Mail*, most of the TOI recipes from this time period made a conscious effort to inform the housewives what exactly was a curry, what went in it, how could one make a curry powder, what kind of curry powder went in what kind of flesh curry, what kind of accompaniments were served with curry.

a) Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries

Daily Mail

From the 74 recipes collected, a total of 5 recipes were those of vegetable, pulses and lentil curries. The earliest recipe of *curried aubergine* (1910)⁸⁸, was very short and unclear as compared to the other elaborate recipes that were published later on. The use of curry powder was found in almost all the recipes, except for curried aubergine that made use of curry sauce. The period in consideration from the early 1900s to 1946 witnessed both World War I and II. The shortages in food due to the wars resulted in rationing of certain food items. Butter, margarine, flour and sugar were the most popular rationed items during both the wars.⁸⁹ What

⁸⁶ David Gilmour, *The British in India: Three Centuries of Ambition and Experience* (Penguin UK, 2018).

⁸⁷ Gilmour, *The British in India*.

⁸⁸ “A Neglected Vegetable,” *Daily Mail*, September 21, 1910, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865836312/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=a9292c7d>.

⁸⁹ Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption, 1939-1955* (OUP Oxford, 2000), 69.

is significant is that the two recipes, *curried parsnips* (1918)⁹⁰ and *vegetable curry* (1943),⁹¹ each from WW I and II did not mention using either butter or margarine. Instead, curried parsnips made use of 1 ounce of fat and flour respectively and one apple. It also used a dessertspoonful of curry powder and two tablespoons of desiccated coconut. People were encouraged to grow their own vegetables in their lawns so as to prevent the country from surrendering into starvation. And this ‘food-production at home’ strategy, did help as the harvest of 1917 led to a significant boost in the output of both cereals and potatoes. Thus, the use of flour and also curry powder—which itself was invented in England—seemed understandable. As for coconut, it was majorly produced in the colonies like British Honduras.⁹² In fact, the United Kingdom consumed more copra in 1919 than in 1920.⁹³ The only ingredient whose use during the time of WW I seemed questionable was apple, in the curried parsnips. The inflation in the prices of fruits had resulted in a reduced consumption.⁹⁴ But the vegetable curry from the second world war in contrast, used lesser ingredients. It did not even include curry powder. However, the use of carrots was noteworthy. This is because, the root vegetable campaigns in newspapers and recipe booklets advertised a Dr. Carrot caricature to promote the vegetable’s consumption. This was done because of its easy availability at the time and was also considered very healthy.⁹⁵ In this sense, advertising and the Ministry of Food played a very important role during the war. They informed the housewives about the significance of meeting the required nutritional needs through the intake of certain vitamins and minerals as a part of the war time food policy,⁹⁶ like the vegetable curry that contained carrots and kidney and lima beans. The recipes from the post WWI period, *curried haricots* (1924) and *vegetable curry* (1928) recommended the use of 1 oz. of margarine or dripping and an ounce of butter respectively. This suggested their unrestrictive use post First World War.

⁹⁰ “Two Good Vegetable Dishes,” *Daily Mail*, December 12, 1918, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1866577852/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=bbff52e6>.

⁹¹ “Spice Up The Taste Buds With Some Indian Dishes,” *Daily Mail*, December 03, 1991, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861003878/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=8200a0c9>.

⁹² United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Commerce Reports* (Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, 1923), 397.

⁹³ United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Miscellaneous Series* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922), 7.

⁹⁴ Gazeley and Newell, “The First World War and Working-Class Food Consumption in Britain,” 88.

⁹⁵ “British Wartime Food,” CooksInfo, accessed June 23, 2020, <https://www.cooksinfo.com/british-wartime-food/>.

⁹⁶ M. E. Barker and J. D. Burrige, “Nutrition Claims in British Women’s Magazines from 1940 to 1955,” *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics* 27, no. s2 (2014): 121, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jhn.12075>.

Times of India

The fact that not a single vegetarian recipe could be found from this period reiterated the fact that *Times of India* was still a Bennett and Coleman ownership. This is noteworthy as a land where vegetarianism was (is) huge, the recipe publishers preferred to teach the housewives only non-vegetarian curries. Interestingly, a column on Eustace Miles was all for the advantages of a vegetarian diet.⁹⁷ The article informed how the twenty-eight meals, even though cheap were not unsatisfying for him. Instead, the fleshless diet cured his cold which was a regular occurrence for him. But two things to note

here are, firstly, the two recipes (*lentils with frame food* and *haricot and lentil savoury*) that he shared were not curry recipes. They just made use of curry powder. In fact, against N.B. there was mention of how some hygienists would have preferred these recipes without the seasoning of curry (see image 3). Secondly, it also stated that the article was taken from *Daily Mail* itself. This proved that curry powder was considered a seasoning during that time and not a hygienic one apparently. The use of the word hygienists seems more like a metaphor for those who utterly disliked hampering the English dishes with the amalgamation of tastes from the colony. This questioned the culinary cosmopolitanism of the dish.

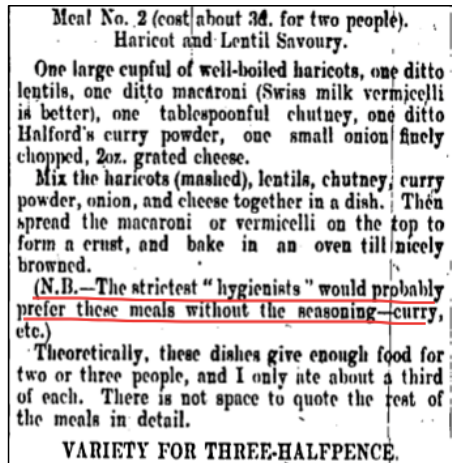


Image 3: *Cheap Living: Training on Three Pence a Day*

Source: *Times of India* May 03, 1903

b) Seafood Curries

Daily Mail

Of the 8 recipes collected, five of them belonged to this period. However, no seafood curries seemed to have been consumed during the wars. All five of them were from years either before

⁹⁷ "Cheap Living: Training On Three Pence A Day," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, May 30, 1903, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/233982507?accountid=13598>.

the wars or long after them. *Fish curry* (1912)⁹⁸ and *fish in curry sauce* (1937),⁹⁹ both were from pre-war times. Thus, each of the two recipe's ingredients present interesting highlights. For instance, the use of onions in these pre-war recipes is noteworthy as surprisingly there was no mention of onions in the vegetable curry recipes, not just those during times of war but generally too. The scarcity of onions due to the lack of imports during the Second World War, particularly exasperated the housewives. The constant supply of fish too—even though not a rationed food item during the Second World War—could not be guaranteed. This was because of the scarcity of fishermen who were not daring enough to take to sea for a catch, when the enemy submarines might have been lurking around under them. This led to long queues outside fishmongers. Consequently, whale and tinned snoek (a type of fish from South Africa), were made available, but were not quite popular. Maybe this is why, I could not find any fish curry recipe from the time of World War II. Another interesting aspect was the use of root vegetables like ginger and garlic in *fish in curry sauce*. Previously, no mention of these can be seen in any of the recipes, not even as a part of the rationed food items. Other than the use of both curry powder and curry paste, it was also the first time to have used a spice (cinnamon) separately. The use of butter in both the recipes also highlighted its relaxed use. The consumption of sour and saccharine products like gooseberries, sweet almonds and sugar was also notable for their unperturbed use. Then the recipes from 1928, that of, *fish curry*¹⁰⁰ and *curried prawns or lobster*¹⁰¹ were fairly short and simple. In fact, curried prawns or lobster were found under the section of “Some Quickly Prepared Savouries”. These two recipes showed that by using pre-made curry powder, curry sauce, tinned products, attempts were made to quickly fix a curry instead of an elaborate preparation, thus promoting a hassle-free cooking.

⁹⁸ “The Kerchief Corsage,” *Daily Mail*, March 01, 1912, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1863056645/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=aa7f930f>.

⁹⁹ “Food Of The Month,” *Daily Mail*, December 31, 1937, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1866740549/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=d2c28e04>.

¹⁰⁰ “Menus For Whittsuntide,” *Daily Mail*, May 24, 1928, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865588283/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=2c72bf82>.

¹⁰¹ “Some Quickly Prepared Savouries,” *Daily Mail*, November 25, 1928, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865851575/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=b4725327>.

Times of India

Apparently, prawn curry was relished more than a fish curry during this time in British India. In fact, the fish curry —*white curry* (1909)¹⁰² —recommended using either fish or fowl. This kind of curry seemed very similar to the curry sauce recipes of *Daily Mail*, wherein curry powder was just a seasoning that epitomized this white sauce as a curry. The other three recipes are from the time when the political environment in the country was becoming more volatile. The country vouched for its basic demand of *Swaraj* (self-rule) in 1920s that culminated into the famous *Non-Cooperation Movement* (1920-22), where Gandhiji urged the nation to boycott all foreign imports and promote self-reliance. But this had no effect on the diets of the English as they continued to consume tinned food which was largely imported. This can be seen from the recipe of *prawn curry* (1921) published under “Tinned food: Tasty Recipes”.¹⁰³ The other two prawn curries were almost the same. They seemed to have been published by the same author, one under “Can you make a curry: Mrs. Elliott Lets You Into the Secret,”¹⁰⁴ and other under “Curries Hot and Spicy: How to Make Them Successfully”.¹⁰⁵ The only difference being that the latter had more ingredients in the curry powder. Interestingly, the secret to the recipe was considered to be the curry powder, thus the instructions to prepare it at home were mentioned. This was in contrast to the recipes of *Daily Mail* that only discussed making curry sauce at home using mostly store-bought curry powder, since no recipe to make it by oneself was found. The use of lard and dripping in both the recipes emphasized the British modifications to curry recipes.

The turbulent 1930s saw a peak in the communal violence, initiated by the imperialist policy of divide-and-rule. These differences in the food and eating habits of each religious group served only a political purpose, as ironically none of these were given importance while generalizing all the variations under the rubric of curry. These divisions were important to run the empire but were excluded from consideration when feeding the empire. For instance, lard was made from pig fat, and pig being considered abhorrent was not native to the Indian curries.

¹⁰² “Useful Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, December 13, 1909, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/500097702?accountid=13598>.

¹⁰³ “Tinned-Food: Tasty Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, June 04, 1921, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/365711285?accountid=13598>.

¹⁰⁴ “Can You Make A Curry: Mrs. Elliott Lets You Into The Secret,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, March 09, 1933, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/609192775?accountid=13598>.

¹⁰⁵ “Curries Hot And Spicy: How To Make Them Successfully,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, February 13, 1935, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/324922001?accountid=13598>.

But it was still incorporated in the *prawn curry* (1933). The same was the case with dripping, that too, was made from animal fat, but was used in the other *prawn curry* (1935). Lard and dripping were used in British cuisines and were included in the curries. Their use in London seemed understandable because of the unavailability of *ghee* (clarified butter) but its replacement¹⁰⁶ in its country of origin is a clear marker of the deliberate translations that were being made to curry—from its name to its ingredients—suggesting that the food of the colony was never fully accepted.

c) Meat: Chicken and Lamb Curries

Daily Mail

The usage of the word meat in London, seemed very conflicting for its ambiguity of using which kind of animal flesh. For instance, of the total four recipes collected, three of them were ‘meat curries’. The ingredients would just mention using either a cold or raw meat. But what kind of meat? Goat meat, meat of beef or lamb? This was not specified clearly. In fact, one of the recipes titled *meat curry*, vaguely mentioned using either beef or chicken or mutton or even oysters or crabs, at the end of the recipe. *Madras curry* (1926)¹⁰⁷ too, just made use of the word meat in its ingredients. This generalized usage of meat was in stark contrast to the Indian curries. There could be many possibilities for this general use. Firstly, in the early half of the twentieth century, meat had a broader definition referring to “beef, veal, mutton and lamb”¹⁰⁸ in Britain. It also included a specific subset of pigmeat, tinned meat, tongues, kidneys, game, stretching to poultry on certain occasions.¹⁰⁹ Further, in reference to the imported supplies, “meat-on-the-hoof”¹¹⁰ was also sometimes recognized as a category. Secondly, by emphasizing the use of any kind of meat, the recipe makers might have purposely tried to be flexible. This would have helped the audience to cook the dish by making use of any type of animal flesh they could lay their hands on, during such difficult times. Even though World War I was long over by the late 1920s and the early 1930s, when these meat curries were published, but the Great Depression of 1929-32 was another crisis looming around, for people to consume whatever they got. Further, unlike the period of World War I, Britishers “were less self-

¹⁰⁶ Harlan Walker, *Food on the Move: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1996* (Oxford Symposium, 1997), 69.

¹⁰⁷ “Sailor Boys’ Curries,” *Daily Mail*, November 17, 1926, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1863793125/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=95930ff5>.

¹⁰⁸ Forrest Capie and Richard Perren, “The British Market for Meat 1850-1914,” *Agricultural History* 54, no. 4 (1980): 502, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3742485>.

¹⁰⁹ Capie and Perren, “The British Market for Meat,” 502.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

sufficient”,¹¹¹ importing about 70 percent of their calorie supply by 1939. To curb this from happening, protectionist measures were taken by imposing the Import Duties Act, which charged a minimum tariff of 10 percent on imported goods.¹¹² In this sense, the consumers might have been buying cheaper, easily available domestic meat, and thus might not have been too picky on the kind of (meat) animal flesh they desired in a curry. The same can be said for the men at sea as the preparation of *Madras curry* (1926) showed. The sailors used the water they boiled their rice in called *conjee-pani*, that is, *gruel water* to cook their curry. As a result of the hardships at sea, whatever meat or water that might have been available, was used to cook curry. The use of dry fruits like raisins and currants pointed out the perishability of ingredients taken on board. All other meat curry recipes from the later half of the twentieth century and those from early twenty-first century find no mention of a general meat curry. They specify on the curry either being a chicken one or a lamb one. Thus, this general reference of having used any kind of meat might be because of the difficult circumstances and political upheavals of the time.

Moving away from the meat, the *boiled chicken in curry sauce* (1937)¹¹³ seemed more like an Indian version of a soup. This is because it firstly, made use of cooked chicken and then mixed its stock with sautéed onions and apples caramelized in curry powder (which was called the curry sauce). This style of cooking a curry like a broth appeared a little foreign as per my understanding of curry. Secondly, the concept of curry sauce too, seemed rather vague. This is because as per these recipes, when a curry powder was glazed in butter along with either flour or sometimes stock, that came to be understood as a curry altogether. This was completely opposite to the Indian understanding of curry, wherein a curry was not holistically epitomized as one single dish that was made of a certain powder of spices. It was understood in relation to the quantity of water and the different spice blends used depending on the kind of recipe, as shall be seen in the consequent chapter.

¹¹¹ Chris Wrigley, *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 271.

¹¹² Wrigley, *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*, 271.

¹¹³ “Dinner Menu,” *Daily Mail*, April 01, 1937, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1863697704/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=5fd8840f>.

Times of India

Interestingly, the recipes of *chicken curry* (1933)¹¹⁴ and *cold meat curry country captain* (1935),¹¹⁵ were both published alongside the two previously mentioned prawn curries in their respective years. But unlike the prawn curries, both of these mentioned using ghee. However, alternatives of using lard in chicken curry and butter in country captain were suggested. But the irony of incorporation can be pointed out through the name itself. *Country captain* was an English name and not a local one. Secondly, the use of meat made it complicated to understand what kind of animal flesh was to be used, which was again a British take on curry since the Indian curry recipes used specific flesh for specific recipes. Then, the entire recipe of country captain seemed more like a kebab than a curry as it was dry in texture and had absolutely no liquidity. Moreover, it also recommended using leftover meat or poultry which was again an English modification as Indian curries were made from scratch. Though leftovers were consumed again. But the leftover chicken was not used to prepare another chicken curry. This highlighted the difference in the understanding of curry as for the English, anything with a curry powder became a curry. But as per the Indian understanding, it had more to do with the liquid consistency and varied spices used in different curries. These varied spice mixtures made each curry different from another. Another recipe from this period titled just *curry*, came across as very pompous by stating that, “This recipe will be found by all lovers of the dish to have a flavour seldom met with in India.”¹¹⁶ This rarity to have found the flavour of curry in India is satirical because it was the place where the English learnt the art of cooking curry. Further, to have used ingredients like *chutney* as an improvement to the dish highlighted the wariness of the empire to not let the colonized overpower them in any possible way, even if it was through food native to the colony itself. This is because firstly like curry, chutney too, that is ironically described as an improvisation to the recipe was an ingredient of the colony itself. Secondly, its addition was purely a British perspective of improvisation, since it was always used as an accompaniment in India, and never as a condiment.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ “Can You Make A Curry: Mrs. Elliott Lets You Into The Secret,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

¹¹⁵ “Curries Hot And Spicy: How To Make Them Successfully,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

¹¹⁶ “Recipes For A Gas Ring,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, November 07, 1930, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/613814684?accountid=13598>.

¹¹⁷ See **Onion Chutney** recipe in Shaila Hattiangadi, “A Mangalorean Menu: This Monthly Series Will Feature Regional Foods,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, January 10, 1971, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/748088255?accountid=13598>.

d) Beef Curries

Daily Mail

The two beef curries found from this period were problematic because of their generalized use of the word meat as well. One of them was the same curry that mentioned using either beef or mutton or chicken or oysters or crabs. The other one was a *Bengal dry curry* (1911).¹¹⁸ Interestingly, this curry did not make use of curry powder. Instead, it used spices in their original form like two drachms of turmeric, an ounce of coriander seeds freed from husks. Moreover, it advised on pounding these spices in a mortar. This was something new to notice and very similar to the Indian style of cooking a curry.

Times of India

The dietary regulations posed by the religious limitations as discussed before,⁸⁶ were the reason why no beef curries could be found from British India.

e) Egg Curries

Daily Mail

Curried eggs (1938)¹¹⁹ was the only recipe found from this period. The use of butter, eggs, onions highlighted that food rationing was not formally imposed by this time, even though the ration books had already been printed. An interesting and unfamiliar ingredient in this recipe was the *seasonings*, and it was not used as a garnish. Instead, it was mixed with the stock and the prepared curry sauce (made from curry powder). This was noteworthy as up until now, what I understood was that instead of the original spices, curry powder was being used as a seasoning itself, to cook a curry. Now, whether these seasonings were just salt and pepper or additionally incorporated some spices and herbs, was not clearly stated. As part of the rationing strategy during the Second World War, per week an adult was permitted to only one egg. This is why maybe; no recipe of an egg curry could be found during the war. In fact, even after the war no egg curry recipe could be found from this period.

¹¹⁸ "Useful Curry Recipes," *Daily Mail*, May 09, 1911, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1866479729/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=a7c71e59>.

¹¹⁹ "Your Dinner Today," *Daily Mail*, April 12, 1938, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1863700948/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=3eafa312>.

Times of India

The only *egg curry* (1935) recipe found from this period, mentioned the use of dripping.¹²⁰ The use of garlic in the recipes of *Times of India* is an interesting comparison to draw with that of the recipes of *Daily Mail*. In fact, to have used garlic and tamarind juice in this recipe suggested the use of local elements in the dish. At the same time, to have used meat stock in egg curry was an English touch. In this sense, the local recipes were not completely incorporated. Some English elements always seemed to adapt the curry, in order to suit the British requirements. Further, the limited recipes found from both the *Daily Mail* and *TOI* highlighted that egg might not have been favored much in curry.

f) Revised Curries

Daily Mail

Till now, one has noticed how the political environment of the time effected the way curry was cooked in London, suggesting that certain translations and revisions of the dish were inevitable owing to the upheavals of the time. But what is important to point out here, is that the curry powder had already been invented before these turbulent times of the early twentieth century. This commercialized British endeavor that sold pre-made spice blends under the broad rubric of curry powder, is believed to have been in the English market as early as 1784. Colleen Taylor Sen too, discussed the widespread curry powder advertisements throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth century. This invention of the colonial empire sheds light on the earliest force of culinary cosmopolitanism that operated through commercialization and epitomized 'Englishness' under the guise of *food from the colony*. These revised curries were a perfect example of how the colonized (curry) was accepted, rather ingested and assimilated, suiting the colonizer's preferences. This could be seen from all these recipes that essentially could not be characterized as curries, but because they used curry powder, they were deemed as curries.

The *baked curries* (1930)¹²¹ present a classic case of how accepted, is the dish of the colony. Firstly, imagining a curry as a baked item seems unforeseeable because baking changes the entire character of the dish. Of course, the Indian recipes make use of the dry-heat mechanism (used in baking), like grilling, roasting or tempering. The local name most

¹²⁰ "Curries Hot And Spicy: How To Make Them Successfully," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

¹²¹ "A Woman's Household Diary," *Daily Mail*, March 19, 1930, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865607184/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=7d0b15de>.

commonly used for tempering is *tadka* (तड़का), also called *baghar*, *chowkna* or *ghee-durust karna*. But these techniques are not relegated to utilizing the dry-heat of an oven. *Baked fish Indian style* (1932),¹²² utilized all possible ingredients not native to the Indian kitchens of the period in discussion like olive oil, ketchup, curry powder. A closer look at the name of *Irish curry* (1941),¹²³ highlighted the intermingling of the colonizer with the colonized. But at the same time, the transformations in its method of preparation—pouring curry sauce, putting in the oven and serving with toast—questioned the acceptance of the dish. Same was the case with *macaroni curry* (1912),¹²⁴ wherein a special emphasis was given to use Naples macaroni, stock of veal and tarragon vinegar. But the peculiarities of curry like the use of certain spices instead of a general curry powder and the animal flesh to be used unlike any meat depending on the type of curry, have not been given enough consideration in any of the recipes of this period. In case of macaroni curry, that was ironically published under “Useful Curry Recipes” (see image 4), the addition of coconut was the only ingredient considered to be an improvement for the curry. This again was a very generalised, non-pan-India outlook (since coconut is majorly used in South Indian recipes).

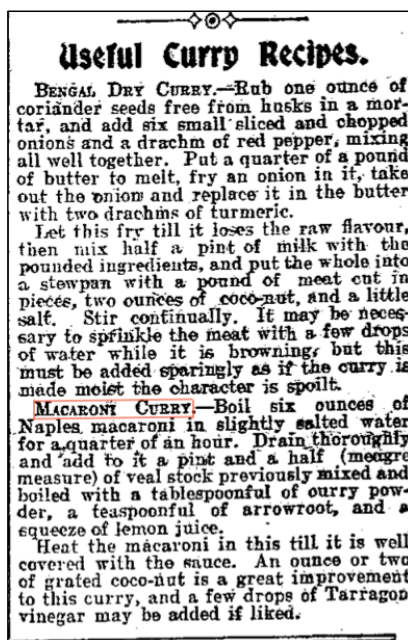


Image 4: Useful Curry Recipes (Macaroni Curry)

Source: Daily Mail May 09, 1912

Another recipe name that did not make use of the word curry but implied that it had been cooked in an Indian style using curry powder was *eggs l'Indienne (cold)*.¹²⁵ However, the recipe did not inform about cooking the curry, instead only mentioned boiling rice as per the

¹²² “Fish Need Not Be Dull,” *Daily Mail*, May 21, 1932, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1864660232/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=e60ff05a>.

¹²³ “At Least We Have Lots Of Potatoes,” *Daily Mail*, January 15, 1941, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1864802202/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=edfa17f7>.

¹²⁴ “Useful Curry Recipes,” *Daily Mail*, May 09, 1912, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1866479729/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=a7c71e59>.

¹²⁵ “Eggs A l’Indienne,” *Daily Mail*, May 30, 1924, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1862677259/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=ba2818fb>.

quantity of curry. In this sense, the only Indian thing about this recipe as per the English understanding was the use of curry powder. The dish did not even cook curry but just mentioned using curry powder, hence came to be described as an Indian style of cooking when there was nothing Indian about the dish. This brought forward Hannerz argument of how cosmopolitanism is not always about accepting the Other. It can be selective in nature picking up on certain elements of the foreign other that suits one's own preferences, thus creating a "unique personal perspective of an idiosyncratic collection of experiences."¹²⁶ The fact that the dish was firstly, being called by a French name that denoted an Indian style of cooking, and secondly used a British invention of curry powder so as to cook the Indian way, highlighted the selective acceptance of the other with a superficial understanding about cooking curry. Coming to my understanding of viewing curry powder just as a seasoning can be understood through the preparation of this recipe and that of *mousse of lentils* and *pie*,^{127 128} where only a pinch of it was used along with salt and pepper and no other spice. Interestingly, *mousse of lentils* was published under 'Cheap War Cookery: An Italian's Recipe And Their Cost', suggesting that curry powder was in use during WW I and was considered a cheap commodity. In this sense, even though curry powder was neither mentioned in any of the rationed food items nor had any of its own coupons during the two wars, still it was consumed majorly.

Times of India

The concept of revising curries was not just limited to London. From the total 11 revised curry recipes collected, all 10 belonged to this period. Interestingly, one sees more variety in these revised recipes than in the generalized English curries, ranging from a *curry omelette* to *curried bananas*. A similarity between *Daily Mail* and *Times of India* was the use of French names for recipes, like *egg cutlets l'Indienne* (1913)¹²⁹ and *eufs diable* (1913).¹³⁰ These recipes recommended using ingredients like curry sauce and curry paste respectively, which were believed to be Indian spice blends. But when it came to the names, these dishes were called by

¹²⁶ Ulf Hannerz, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture," 240.

¹²⁷ "Cheap War Cookery: : An Italian's Recipe And Their Cost," *Daily Mail*, March 14, 1917, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865161410/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=a07a32ca>.

¹²⁸ "Week-End Cookery: Hikers' Pies," *Daily Mail*, January 09, 1932, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896–2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1864878673/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=c16b14d3>.

¹²⁹ "Breakfast Recipes: Variety Of Dishes," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, May 12, 1913, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/231664710?accountid=13598>.

¹³⁰ "Egg Cookery: A Collection Of Recipes," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, April 14, 1913, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/231691807?accountid=13598>.

French names despite their Indian style of cooking. The use of anchovy and meat sauce in *curried bananas* (1914)¹³¹ was new and a noteworthy English transformation. The recipes of *curried sardines* (1938)¹³² or *curried kidneys* (1938)¹³³ were ideal examples of English transformations to the dish of curry. Lastly, the author of the recipe of *curry sauce (for Entrees au Diable)* wrote with a lot of conviction that it was a genuine Indian recipe and a very good one.¹³⁴ But the use of curry powder questioned the genuineness of the dish.

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¹³¹ "Banana Recipes," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, March 02, 1914, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/238046403?accountid=13598>.

¹³² "What You Can Do With A Tin of Sardines," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, August 23, 1938, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/325581257?accountid=13598>.

¹³³ Mofussil Mem, "Some Savoury Suggestions," *The Times of India 1861-Current*, October 08, 1938, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/325606468?accountid=13598>.

¹³⁴ "The Making of Sauces: Recipes for India," *The Times Of India (1861-Current)*, June 2, 1913, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/231344164?accountid=13598>, accessed on April 4, 2020.

This chapter helped to understand the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry, when India was still a colony. Drawing on to the turbulent political and economic crisis of the early twentieth century, and the unavailability of not having found native ingredients like *ghee* in London, it seemed plausible to make certain modifications to the recipes. But the invention of curry powder happened way before, and its continued used to make English concoctions like curry sauces even in the interwar periods, questioned the acceptance of the dish altogether. This is reiterated by the continued use of English ingredients like lard and dripping in the curries of the colony itself, where native ingredients could undoubtedly be found. Culinary Cosmopolitanism meant acceptance of the other by embracing the other the way it is. But the embracement of curry saw a dual side of culinary cosmopolitanism, that of deliberate English translations and transformations, so as to suit the British preferences. This meant more like assimilating and less like accepting. From a generalized English name to a generalized English spice blend, from using macaroni in a curry to baking a curry, the dish had been more anglicized and less accepted. The fact that French names of recipes could be retained, and no local names of dishes from the colony were published, highlighted the perpetual distance that was outwardly being maintained. The pomposity of creating a better flavored curry than found in India to not being considered suitable by hygienists, curry too, just like the colony went through the civilizing mission. If curry was being incorporated only if it was a civilized, transformed English dish, then how was it accepted?

However, the use of individual spices in some curries instead of just curry powder and local vessels like a *degchi* suggested that if not completely, minute steps were being taken to culinarily cosmopolitanize curry. Did this scenario change following India's independence?

Chapter 4

A Taste of Independence: Analyzing Acceptance of Curry in The Post-Colonial Era (1947 to 1990)

Fighting all those years of subjugation, a hard earned, glorious victory was rejoiced by India on the 15th of August 1947. The aftermath of the Second World War marked a dramatic change. “The colony reeled under the heavy yoke of the war effort. Famine, inflation, scarcity, hoarding and black marketing plagued the land”.¹³⁵ The economic distress fumed the nation, pressing and urging the demand for independence. The post war scenario in London too, was not quite propitious. This was because the food rationing had worsened after World War II owing to the country’s pecuniary loss. In fact, as late as 1951, the weekly meat ration was as big as a matchbox.¹³⁶ Maybe, this is why very less meat recipes were found from the post-war period.

Following the British Nationality Act of 1948, Britain saw a large-scale Indian migration in the 1950s and early 1960s.¹³⁷ As Table 1 below shows, there was a considerable growth in the South-Asian population from 1951 onwards. The influence of this migration could be seen on how curry came to be associated with, in London. Since, curry was something that originated in British India, I will also be taking into account the influence of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (erstwhile East Pakistan) on the recipes of curry in London.¹³⁸

Table 2: Population of Britain and South Asian Population of Britain, 1951-1981 (x 1,000)

Year	British Pop in UK	Indians in UK	Pakistanis in UK	Bangladeshis in UK	Total South Asian Pop
1951	11,134	31,000	10,000	2000	43,000
1961	13,843	81,000	25,000	6000	112,000
1971	17,101	375,000	119,000	22,000	516,000
1981	19,924	676,000	296,000	65,000	1,037,000

Source: Ceri Peach (South Asian Migration and Settlement in Great Britain, 1951–2001)

<https://www.rug.nl/ggdc/historicaldevelopment/maddison/releases/maddison-project-database-2018>

¹³⁵ Bipan Chandra et al., *India’s Struggle for Independence* (Penguin UK, 2016), 473.

¹³⁶ Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain*, 231.

¹³⁷ “Indians in Britain,” 25, accessed July 1, 2020,

http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/pdf/imds_p/IMDS_Dec_2009_WP_11.pdf.

¹³⁸ Pakistan and Bangladesh were a part of India prior to the Partition of the country in 1947. So, their influence on the Indian cuisine and the curries especially, cannot be unrecognized.

Indians could be found in Britain in the colonial period as well. However, their presence was not as visible as compared to this period. Just like their arrival and settlement was objected, curry too, came to be seen as a sensory assault on the Britons, for it was a view that “Indians stank of curry”.¹³⁹ “Negative connotations” started surrounding curry, like it would make a person “evil-tempered”, shorten his life and cause “dyspepsia”.¹⁴⁰ Those English who lacked any social connections to the Raj, showed little proclivity to eat curry. Though, curry powders were added to a variety of English dishes but the inclinations to eat Indian curries was rather bleak.¹⁴¹ Probably, this is why, I could find a total of only 11 recipes from *Daily Mail* between 1946-1990.

However, the situation was beginning to change in the 1960s and 70s. As Buettner highlighted, the younger generation started being more accepting for its cheap price, which led to a massive increase in the curry restaurants from 300 in 1960 to 1200 in 1970 and 3000 in 1980 in Britain.¹⁴² Interestingly, I found a chicken curry recipe from 1956 titled *Aga Khan's Dish*. The recipe described was Aga Khan the Third's favorite meal.¹⁴³ To have born in Karachi (now Pakistan) and into a Muslim family,¹⁴⁴ the food obviously had a Muslim influence. For instance, the recipe most certainly did not make use of curry powder. Instead, whole spices like cardamom and cinnamon, powdered mace, bay leaves were used. Another interesting find was a “hot recipe”¹⁴⁵ of *turkey curry* from 1967. Two things to point out here are, firstly the use of curry powder in this recipe. Secondly, this negative attribution of curry having caused dyspepsia (indigestion) came from it being generalised as a hot, spicy dish, which obviously was not true for all kinds of Indian curries. The spiciness of the curry varied from recipe to recipe. Moreover, if these recipes used the British produced curry powder, then wasn't this British invention a cause of the national dyspepsia and not because curry came from an exotic subcontinent.

¹³⁹ Buettner, “Going For an Indian,” 876.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 874.

¹⁴¹ Buettner, “Going For an Indian,” 873.

¹⁴² “Curry Statistics,” in *The Cobra Indian Lager Good Curry Restaurant Guide*, ed. Pat Chapman (London, 1991), 18.

¹⁴³ Paul Tanfield, “Tanfield's Diary,” *Daily Mail*, August 15, 1956, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1864145973/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=8de775e8>.

¹⁴⁴ Aga Khan III, *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 37, <http://ismaili.net/heritage/files/The%20Memoirs%20of%20AGA%20KHAN-1.pdf>.

¹⁴⁵ “British Turkey Federation Limited,” *Daily Mail*, March 15, 1967, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1864781270/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=927682d2>.

From the time of World War II, a notion of consuming a balanced diet so as to have a healthy life was widely propagated in Britain. This belief continued among the English. This could be seen from the recipes of the 1980s, and apparently, curry came to be advertised as a low calorie food item. For instance, a *turkey curry* (1984) found its way in the *Femail Special* edition of *Daily Mail*, as a part of Dr. Judith Wurtman's M.I.T Diet.¹⁴⁶ The recipe came with fully researched menu plans for breakfast, lunch and dinner. Additionally, it also gave precise information on how six diet portions of the curry came with 263 calories per serving, and thus only one serving of turkey curry should be consumed for dinner.¹⁴⁷ Another such calorie fixated recipes for a "slim cuisine curry party"¹⁴⁸ were of *spicy chicken curry* and *curried roast potatoes* (1988). Other than not using curry powder, what was striking was that the introduction specifically mentioned how every district of India had its own variety of a chicken curry. Secondly, the recipes came with an illustration of a dark-skin colored woman in an Indian attire who wore a *bindi* on her forehead and carried a plate of food.¹⁴⁹ This transitional evolution of the acceptance of curry and the countrymen of curry from 1950s to late 1980s is notable. However, how much or how little of the other, what kind of other was accepted or assimilated, will be understood through a detailed analysis of the English recipes.

The practice of catering to an English-speaking audience continued in the newly independent India. This was because under the British rule, the English language was considered superior to the local languages. Learning the English language became a zeitgeist as its knowledge made it easier to get jobs provided by the Raj. This English-speaking legacy sustained, as could be seen from the continued use of the word curry in *TOI*. Since, the Mumbai edition of the paper (from where it started into circulation) had been taken into account, it is imperative to point out that Bombay (Mumbai) was a major colonial port city, which later went on to become India's commercial capital. Therefore, the use of English language persisted. Yet, not all recipes included the word curry like *batata hoomman* (1962).¹⁵⁰ While, some used curry

¹⁴⁶ "And Now Four of Dr. Wurtman's Dinner Party Favourites," *Daily Mail*, March 2, 1984, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861524674/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=6b6ca2c1>.

¹⁴⁷ "And Now Four of Dr. Wurtman's Dinner Party Favourites," *Daily Mail*.

¹⁴⁸ Diana Hutchinson, "Saturday Night Fever," *Daily Mail*, February 10, 1988, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861147172/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=fb1cb8fd>.

¹⁴⁹ Hutchinson, "Saturday Night Fever," *Daily Mail*.

¹⁵⁰ Geeta Nadkarni, "Bhanap Recipes for Potatoes," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, September 09, 1962, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/346958978?accountid=13598>.

only as a suffix after the local name of the recipe like *malai kofta curry* (1989).¹⁵¹ Whether the word *curry* was included or not, what was significant was that many recipes used *gravy* in the method of preparation, thus characterizing the dish as being liquid in texture. This was in stark contrast to the English recipes where the word *gravy* had only been used in just one recipe, and the use of *curry powder* defined the dish as a *curry*. Moreover, even though the newspaper catered to an English-speaking audience, still the names of many ingredients were local, just written in English script. For example, *jeera or zeera, dhana, moong dal, dhania, kheema, hing, dahi, laung, dalchini, saunf, kokam or kokum*. Furthermore, even though this was a Mumbai edition of the newspaper, still the recipes were from so many different parts of the country, ranging from Goan to Jewish, Sindhi to Mangalorean curries. This underlined the diversity of Indian cuisine characterized by a variety of curries.

Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries, Turkey Curries, Seafood Curries, Chicken, Lamb, Mutton, Beef and Pork Curries, and Egg Curries (from 1946 to 1990)

Table 3: Number of Curry Recipes found in Daily Mail and Times of India (1946-1990)

Kinds of Curries	Number of Recipes in Daily Mail	Kinds of Curries	Number of Recipes in Times of India
Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries	0	Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries	23
Turkey Curries	3	Turkey Curries	0
Seafood Curries	0	Seafood Curries	8
Chicken Curries	2	Chicken, Lamb, Mutton, Pork Curries	16
Beef Curries	2	Beef Curries	1
Egg Curries	0	Egg Curries	3
Revised Curries	5	Revised Curries	0
Total	12	Total	50

¹⁵¹ J Inder Singh Kalra, "The Jumbo Bite: The Postman Recipe Corner Rasoi," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, February 26, 1989, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/616848737?accountid=13598>.

a) Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries

Daily Mail

The continued rationing and food controls post World War II, made the supply of vegetables considerably short especially those of tomatoes and onions. Thus, the probability of not having any vegetable curry recipe post war, was quite high. The same can be said for lentils and pulses that could be obtained only after attaining a few points in the coupon book. But what about the period, when food rationing ended, that is, after 1954? Apart from the *curried roast potatoes* (1988) and a *curry sauce* (1969), both of which seemed revised takes on curry and not a quintessential curry, I could not find any other vegetarian curry recipe from this period.

Times of India

Not having found a single vegetarian quintessential curry from *Daily Mail*, as compared to the 23 found in *Times of India* from the same time period, highlighted that curry was being included in London but according to the desired English taste buds of the time. This fact can be recapitulated from the colonial era, when *TOI* was still British owned and too, did not have any vegetarian curry recipe.

What is extremely notable about all these 23 curries is that one could find recipes from every time period, that is, there were recipes from 1950s, 60s, 70s and 80s. This meant that vegetarian curries were extremely popular, very unlike the English curries. In fact, certain articles were addressed exclusively to vegetarian recipes, like *cauliflower rassa* (1962).¹⁵² Another article titled “A novel vegetarian menu”, stated how vegetables were a rare find during the rainy season, which made it difficult for the housewife to plan the daily menu.¹⁵³ Thus, the article came with a couple of novel recipes, one of them being a wheat flour curry named, *mukund curry* (1969). This again highlighted how even when vegetables were rare, still attempts were made to prepare new vegetarian recipes. However, like the recipes of *Daily Mail*, the focus was on helping the housewives. Hence, the recipe sections largely targeted the housewives in both the newspapers.

¹⁵² Kamala Chitanand, “Vegetarian Recipes: Quick and Easy,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, April 08, 1962, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/346946248?accountid=13598>.

¹⁵³ Malini Bisen, “A Novel Vegetarian Menu,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, June 29, 1969, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/741126556?accountid=13598>.

Coming to the regional variations of curries, except for the predominant use of fish in both West and East Bengal (present Bangladesh), there lie many differences. For instance, Bangladeshi food is known for being spicier. Whereas, the *dhoka curry* (a curry of split chickpeas and lentils) and a *cauliflower curry* (1968) characterized as Bengali recipes (hailing from West Bengal in India), did not appear to be spicy.¹⁵⁴ This is noteworthy since the English understand curry as being spicy because of its generalized association with India. So, they might have eaten the Bangladeshi curries in London (as Buettner highlighted most of the Indian restaurants were manned by Bangladeshis),¹⁵⁵ but because curry had been generalized as primarily being Indian, Indian food came to be understood as being hot. Further, the anti-Islamic sentiments might have motivated this generalized association to stand. Further, recipes from South, Central and North India were also found. Like, under “A Mangalorean Menu”, I found a potato curry called *batatya song* and a spinach-coconut curry called *dali vali ambat* (1972), both of which hailed from the state of Karnataka.¹⁵⁶ Then, under “The Cuisine of Avadh” was the recipe of *bhen ke kofte* (1987), which were fried vegetable balls in gravy.¹⁵⁷ I also found a couple of spicy recipes under “Mirch Masala”, one of which was a peas and cottage cheese curry, named *Kashmiri paneer matter* (1989).¹⁵⁸ But neither were all these spicy recipes curries, nor does it mean that all Kashmiri curries ought to be spicy. All these recipes showcased the diversity of curries based on each curry’s region. This diversity highlighted how curries cannot be generalized. This is because there are far too many variations. For instance, other than these regional differences, various ethnically varying recipes were also found. These included, Sindhi curries like a *potato* and a *cabbage* curry (1968).¹⁵⁹ Then, five curry recipes of the Bhanap Community (the Chitrapur Saraswat Brahmins) originating from the districts of South India were found. All the recipes were of potato as it was their most popular vegetable. The fact that the community’s specialties were made from a vegetable, highlighted the significance of vegetarianism. Furthermore, the specialties were not just all curries, thus suggesting that Indian cuisine was

¹⁵⁴ M. S. Ghose, “For Your Cookbook,” *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, October 20, 1968, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/499750806?accountid=13598>.

¹⁵⁵ Buettner, ““Going for an Indian.””

¹⁵⁶ Shaila Hattiangadi, “A Mangalorean Menu: This Monthly Series Will Feature Regional Foods,” *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, January 10, 1971, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/748088255?accountid=13598>.

¹⁵⁷ J Inder Singh Kalra, “The Cuisine of Avadh: Rasoi,” *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, November 15, 1987, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/609852472?accountid=13598>.

¹⁵⁸ “With the Monsoon ... Something Hot and Spicy to Get... Mirch Masala,” *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, July 01, 1989, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/750764491?accountid=13598>.

¹⁵⁹ N. Lakshmi, “Cooking Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, November 03, 1968, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/500357295?accountid=13598>.

(is) not all about curry. This was drastically different from the English recipes, where curry epitomized the Indian food.

Another noteworthy aspect was the use of curd and ginger-garlic to make curries.¹⁶⁰ Interestingly, different bacteria strains make curd and yogurt different from each other.¹⁶¹ But this difference was not taken into account in the English recipes, as we noticed that mostly yogurt was used in English curries. In fact, nowhere was curd used as an ingredient. Opposingly, the use of ginger-garlic pastes was also rarely found in the English curries.

Another contrasting aspect was the instant meal recipes. Just like the English recipes, labour-saving recipes could also be found in *TOI*. But their ideas on how to cook curry quickly differed majorly, owing to the different perspectives on curry altogether. For instance, the use of a pre-mixture like curry powder or curry paste and the use of canned items helped prepare a curry instantly in London. Whereas, in Indian recipes, the use of a pressure cooker¹⁶² made it possible to cook curry quickly.

b) Turkey Curries

Daily Mail

The concept of a turkey curry was very intriguing, since I have never eaten any such kind of curry in India. This variation of curry could not be found in the former time period. From the total four recipes found, three of them belong to this period. Apart from being a hot pick for Easter¹⁶³ or a low calorie favorite,¹⁶⁴ turkey curry was also relished because of its wide range of cuts and portions that started being available in the 1980s, and that too at an economical price.¹⁶⁵ What was fascinating about all these recipes was that they used many new ingredients like sultanas (1967), white wine and a can of condensed cream of mushroom soup (1984). While the old ingredient, curry powder continued to be found in all three turkey curries. Interestingly, butter was replaced by vegetable oil in the recipe from 1984. With heavy influx of Indians,

¹⁶⁰ Daulat Panday, "Some Basic Recipes for Curries," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, May 02, 1954, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/501886262?accountid=13598>.

¹⁶¹ *Difference Between Curd Yogurt & Probiotic Yoghurt | Kunal Kapur Recipes | दही और योगर्ट में फरक*, 2020, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hYVvkOfuzG3I>.

¹⁶² Shaila G Hattiangadi, "Instant Meals: Recipes," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, October 15, 1972, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/613639683?accountid=13598>.

¹⁶³ "British Turkey Federation Limited," *Daily Mail*.

¹⁶⁴ "And Now Four of Dr. Wurtman's Dinner Party Favourites," *Daily Mail*.

¹⁶⁵ "Multiple Display Advertising Items," *Daily Mail*, April 22, 1980, Daily Mail Historical Archive, (1896-2004), <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1862006687/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=d1ad7cf4>.

Pakistanis and Bangaldeshis who by this time ran curry restaurants of their own in London, more nuanced knowledge about the ingredients that went on in a curry came up. Thus, relying on the native's expertise, vegetable oil might have started being used to make curries. Moreover, an active consciousness that developed to remain slim, might have further promoted the use of oil instead of butter. Further, this turkey curry (1984) also made use of separate spices like cloves, ground coriander, cinnamon along with the use of curry powder. Another interesting fact is that it made use of canned ingredients, which is something very unlike the Indian curries particularly and also Indian cuisine in general.

Times of India

Turkey is not a favored feathered meat in India. Thus, not having found a single turkey curry from 1946 to 1990 seemed plausible. Turkey curries were found mostly closer to the festival of Easter in *Daily Mail*. Being a culturally diverse country, Easter was celebrated in India as well. But unlike London, turkey was not the preferred food item. Other kinds of flesh were preferred depending on the region where it was being celebrated in.¹⁶⁶ This shed light on the cosmopolitanization of India as well that embraced Christianity with all its rituals and festivals. But in this process of acceptance, it was also adapted as per the Indian tastebuds as could be seen from the preferred meat choices during Easter.

c) Seafood Curries

Daily Mail

The perception about curry started changing as one moved ahead on the time scale. This could be seen from the recipe of *kedegree with curry sauce* (1969), which happened to be one of the supper dishes for the guests of Duke and Duchess of Windsor.¹⁶⁷ But still, I could not find any seafood curry from this period. This salmon kedegree with curry sauce was the only seafood dish from this time period. But this could not be characterized as a typical curry. In contrast, so many regions in India, were (are) surrounded by water. Thus, the seafood curries as will be seen were quite popular.

¹⁶⁶ "Where Easter Eggs Are Clucking Fresh...Come To Goa," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, April 09, 1979, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/499598188?accountid=13598>.

¹⁶⁷ "Mrs Pom," *Daily Mail*, February 18, 1969, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1864519866/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=b7f58de0>.

Times of India

Fish, Prawn and Crab Curries

Just like the vegetarian curries, I could find the seafood curries from every decade between 1947-1990. However, I found only 8 of these curries, even though Mumbai was (is) a coastal city. This made the vegetarian curries popularity noteworthy. Fish curries were more common than prawn and crab curries. In fact, two of these also discussed how pocket friendly they were. Like, the *Bombay duck curry* (1953)¹⁶⁸ and *fish sambar* (1972).¹⁶⁹ Interestingly, there was also mention of a *dry curry*. **Error! Bookmark not defined.** The recipe did not make use of any extra water, whatever water that came out of the vegetables was utilized. The reason why it might have been called a dry curry was because the recipe recommended waiting for this released water to dry. In this sense, anything with water was (came to be) regarded as curry in India, unlike London where anything with curry powder became a curry, even a pasta dish.

The regional variations were (have been) always kept in mind. For instance, the introduction before a *prawn curry* (1954) recipe discussed how different kinds of curries that were found in India, did not just differ from each state but also from each family.¹⁷⁰ In fact, the regional diversity of curry was reiterated when this recipe mentioned how the masalas of Indian curries were usually similar, the only difference being that each region laid emphasis on different aspects of these masalas. The most basic difference could be highlighted through the different souring agents ranging from tamarind to kokam, vinegar to lime juice.¹⁷¹ Though all these agents would make the curry sour, but the tastes would differ greatly depending on the ingredient used. This was something not seen in the English curries, where most of the dishes recommended using only lemon juice or vinegar. In fact, lemon juice was used mostly for garnishing. Although, recipes close to the 1980s, which did not use curry powder, did use tamarind juice.

Just like London, Mumbai was always very diverse and saw a number of immigrants like the ethnic community of Parsis (Parsees). The recipe of *parsi fish curry* (1970)¹⁷² not only

¹⁶⁸ Padmini Bhansali, "Bombay Duck for Family Menus," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, August 09, 1953, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/502371666?accountid=13598>.

¹⁶⁹ Lakshmi Narayan, "Good Food on a Small Budget," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, April 30, 1972, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/751351887?accountid=13598>.

¹⁷⁰ Daulat Panday, "Some Basic Recipes for Curries," *The Times of India*.

¹⁷¹ Daulat Panday, "Some Basic Recipes for Curries," *The Times of India*.

¹⁷² "If You're Fishing for Compliments," *The Times of India (1861-Current)*, February 15, 1970, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/496936362?accountid=13598>.

highlighted the ethnicity specific variation of curry but also tinted at the culinary cosmopolitanism of India, which incorporated the edible other. Parsis were followers of Zoroastrianism, who migrated from Persia to India, fearing their religious persecution by the Muslims. They brought the art of combining meat with vegetables or fruits to India. Here, their curries were influenced by the Gujarati's fondness of combining sweet and sour elements along with other Indian spices. It is believed that they migrated and settled along the west coast of India in the seventh and eighth centuries, even before the English set foot on the subcontinent. Thus, they were present during the time of the British Raj in India. Lizzie Collingham briefly mentioned that the Parsi dish named *dhansak* was not only well known to the British, but also a favorite. However, nowhere could I find any of the Parsi curries in the *Daily Mail*. Consequently, curry was not limited to one piece of land. It had always been a product of influences and amalgamations; thus, it cannot be generalized as just an Indian, spicy entity.

Furthermore, the local names of the recipes are important to highlight like the *Kerala Nandu masala*¹⁷³ and the *chimborie-che kalwan*.¹⁷⁴ Both these recipes were crab curries. Now, the coinage of the term curry seems understandable given the fact that the English might have found it difficult pronouncing such local names as they did not know the local languages. However, this argument sounds conflicting because they specifically learnt the local languages so that they could better understand the functionalities and acquire more of the colony. In this regard, the use of local languages mattered only as long as India was not fully exploited. The *linguistic imperialism* eventually took on the civilizing mission to refine the colony through the English language. The etymological use of the word curry in place of the local names was no exception to this language policy. Even though the various cultural and regional differences were apparent to the English (since these variations led to the divide-and-rule policy) but were not considered when it came to ingest the food of the colony.

¹⁷³ "Out Of The Shell: Kerala," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, February 22, 1987, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/613953964?accountid=13598>.

¹⁷⁴ "Crabs In My Curry," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, November 01, 1987, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/614165436?accountid=13598>.

The commonalities between the recipes of these two newspapers, for this period, were not relegated to curry. It was mostly about focusing on the female target audience. This could be seen from the *fish-tomato curry* (1964) recipe, published in a weekend feature of *TOI* that was specifically issued free of cost, for women and children (see image 5).¹⁷⁵ Second commonality was the focus laid on nutrition. For instance, two recipes in *TOI* discussed the health benefits of consuming fish.^{176 177}



Image 5: Weekend Feature of *TOI* for Women and Children

Source: *Times of India* August 02, 1964

d) Chicken Curries

Daily Mail

The important thing to point out is that by this time, the general usage of the word meat ceased in London. Flesh specific, curry recipes started being published like in the case of *spicy chicken curry* (1988).¹⁷⁸ Another notable thing was that the recipe of a respectful, influential Indian like Aga Khan III, was not frowned upon. Instead, the recipe’s name was substituted with his name like the *Aga Khan’s Dish*,¹⁷⁹ which was essentially a chicken curry. In fact, both these recipes did not make use of curry powder. Instead, employed the use of Whole spices. This obviously cannot be related to the easier availability of ingredients in London by this time. This is because, the ambitious EIC merchants already ventured out to the Indian subcontinent in order to monopolise the spice trade itself. So, the possibility of having the same spices as in India was high, right from the beginning of the colonisation of India. Thus, the acceptance of the dish was more to do with the colonised status of curry’s country of origin. But as more South-Asians settled in London, the superficial knowledge of curry started being replaced.

¹⁷⁵ “Something Very Fishy,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, August 02, 1964, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/506698295?accountid=13598>.

¹⁷⁶ Padmini Bhansali, “Bombay Duck for Family Menus,” *The Times of India*.

¹⁷⁷ “If You’re Fishing for Compliments,” *The Times of India*.

¹⁷⁸ Hutchinson, “Saturday Night Fever,” *Daily Mail*.

¹⁷⁹ Paul Tanfield, “Tanfield’s Diary,” *Daily Mail*.

Coming to the illustration of a woman wearing possibly a *saree* and a *bindi* (see image 6), published alongside the recipe of *spicy chicken curry* was striking, and again, questioned the



Image 6: Illustration next to Spicy Chicken Curry Recipe

Source: Daily Mail February 10, 1988

acceptance of the dish. Clothing and bodily adornments serve as visual representations, informing one about the others culture. For instance, the bindi is a “dot worn ‘traditionally’ by Hindu women, in round shape and red colour, in the middle of their forehead.”¹⁸⁰ Through the use of such illustrations and a brief introduction of every Indian district having varied chicken curries, emphasized the Indian-ness of curries. In this sense, another generalization of understanding curry primarily as an Indian entity, emerged. This was motivated by the anti-Muslim sentiments that had become apparent since late 1980s.¹⁸¹ Curry, in this regard, was being racially produced. In fact, Buettner emphasized the fact that the understanding of curry houses

was restricted to only being Indian, British or culturally hybrid. Purposeful attempts were made to hide the Muslims—who mostly came from Bangladesh or Pakistan— prominent role in setting up these curry houses.¹⁸² This “Islamophobia”¹⁸³ promoted this general association of curry with India, which ironically made the English forget the fact that in the pre-independent era of British India, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were also citizens of the same colonized jewel. The consequent bloody legacy of the Partition of 1947 happened because of the divide-and-rule policy of the empire itself.¹⁸⁴ But this was just a political division of the borders of India, West Pakistan and East Pakistan (present Bangladesh). It was not a division of food as shall be seen from the recipe names of Indian curries, which continued to retain the Urdu or Arabic terminology from former times, like the *korma* or *qorma*. In fact, these regional variations—are the essence of curry making.

Curry was never a static product. It owed its enrichment to empty culinary exchanges and influences—Mongolian, Portuguese, Persian, Jewish, Chinese, Mughlai—not to ignore the subcontinent’s own regional cadences. In this regard, Montefrio has rightly pointed out the

¹⁸⁰ Wajihah Hamid, “Bindi-Fying the Self: Cultural Identity among Diasporic South Asians,” *South Asia Research* 35, no. 1 (February 1, 2015): 104, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0262728014560472>.

¹⁸¹ Buettner, ““Going for an Indian,”” 891.

¹⁸² Buettner, ““Going for an Indian,”” 892.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 871.

¹⁸⁴ Bipan Chandra et al., *India’s Struggle for Independence* (Penguin UK, 2016), 408.

“varying degrees of openness” of culinary cosmopolitans.¹⁸⁵ London did open its doors to curry but generalized its association just with India, completely ignoring its Pakistani and Bangladeshi connections as well as its umpty variations. This pinpointed the selective incorporation of the other, largely based on the British terms of assimilation.

Times of India

Chicken, Lamb, Mutton and Pork Curries

What was notable about the Indian curries was the actual acceptance of the various influences on the Indian cuisine generally, and curry particularly. This could be seen through the names of curries like pork vindaloo,¹⁸⁶ vindaloo curry,¹⁸⁷ sorpotel,¹⁸⁸ all of which were Portuguese influences on the Goan curries of India. Moreover, the regional and ethnicity specificities discussed in the introduction before the recipes, also clarified the origin of the dish. For instance, the recipes of two mutton curries named, *bamia koobha* and *shoorba* (1969) were characterized as Jewish recipes.¹⁸⁹ Interestingly, none of these two recipes made use of the term curry. Instead, the word gravy was used, unlike the English curries. Another point of difference was, curries that made use of dumplings like *bamia koobha* or *kofta* curries, came with separate instructions on how to prepare the dumplings and the gravy. In this sense, gravy was not considered as a sole element of the recipes. There were other equally significant components of the recipes. Moreover, these two Jewish curries highlighted how accepting was the Indian curry (and the state of Mumbai that has the maximum population of Jews in India)¹⁹⁰ to diversity.

Coming to the usage of the word meat in India, it had (is) mostly been associated with the flesh of goat and was locally termed as *mutton*. For instance, under “Tasty Mutton Dishes” there was mention of a *meat* curry, which didn’t explicitly mention using goat meat but meant

¹⁸⁵ Montefrio, “Cosmopolitan Translations of Food and the Case of Alternative Eating in Manila, the Philippines,” 481.

¹⁸⁶ Olga Baptista Valladares, “Recipes From Goa,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, October 08, 1962, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/738351407?accountid=13598>.

¹⁸⁷ Olga Valladares, “Curry Favour: Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, September 06, 1970, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/497068261?accountid=13598>.

¹⁸⁸ Olga Baptista Valladares, “Recipes From Goa,” *The Times of India*.

¹⁸⁹ Gillian Marise, “Exotic Food: Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, September 14, 1969, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/506701736?accountid=13598>.

¹⁹⁰ H. G. Reissner, “Indian-Jewish Statistics (1837-1941),” *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 4 (1950): 349–66, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4464913>.

the same.¹⁹¹ So, whether it was meat, minced meat or mutton, they all fell under the rubric of goat meat. However, sometimes it also referred to lamb meat. But in terms of the recipes in consideration, specifically using a sheep's meat was clearly stated, like in the *sheep's brain curry*.¹⁹² In fact, an emphasis was laid on the specific cut of the mutton that was to be used. For instance, *gosht-e-Avadh* recommended using 350 grams of mutton chops and 800 grams of *nalli*, that is, the mutton shanks.¹⁹³ This was different from the English curries, where only in the case of chicken, were chicken breasts emphasized to be used and not in the case of meat. This is an important difference as the kind of cut that is used, makes a lot of difference to a dish.

Interestingly, there was one mutton curry that was found in both the newspapers, the *Madras curry*.¹⁹⁴ There was nothing similar about these recipes. The Indian curry mentioned using mutton, whereas no such reference was found in any of the English recipes, let alone the Madras curry. In fact, many English curries like the Madras curry used saccharine ingredients like apples or raisins. But this was unnoticeable in the Indian curry.

Another difference was that many pork curries could be found in *TOI*, none of which could be found in *Daily Mail*.

e) Beef Curries

Daily Mail

The recipe of *corned beef curry* (1948) came across as very unique. This recipe highlighted the “cosmopolitan translation”¹⁹⁵ of curry. Other than curry powder, use of ingredients like jam, pickle, a beef cube were definitely innovations to the curry. Having ruled the colony for centuries, meant a long residence in the subcontinent, long enough to be aware of the kind of ingredients that went on in the Indian curries. But the British paramouncy conceited to their own preferences dominantly.¹⁹⁶ The other beef curry was found after a huge time gap in 1985.

¹⁹¹ “Tasty Mutton Dishes: Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, November 30, 1969, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/347283463?accountid=13598>.

¹⁹² “Tasty Mutton Dishes: Recipes,” *The Times of India*.

¹⁹³ J Inder Singh Kalra, “The Cuisine of Avadh: Rasoi,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, November 15, 1987, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/609852472?accountid=13598>.

¹⁹⁴ Olga Valladares, “Curry Favour: Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*; “Women at the Cookery Exhibition,” *Daily Mail*, November 17, 1926, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1863793125/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=95930ff5>.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 480.

¹⁹⁶ “Corned Beef in Fancy Dress,” *Daily Mail*, July 3, 1948, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865336307/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=8547658e>.

Firstly, to be published under the title “There’s a hot winter ahead!”¹⁹⁷ suggested that curry was still understood as a spicy dish. Moreover, an attempt to establish the paramountcy of English ingredients that could curb the spicy nature of an Indian curry was made by Vivien Harding in the introduction of the same piece (1985).

Before you agonise about putting it before your guests, remember that English horseradish and English bright yellow mustard can out-blast the most aggressive Indian vindaloo.¹⁹⁸

The fact that curries were generally understood as being spicy was reiterated through the use of a picture of a man and a woman dressed in an Indian attire, under the sub-title “Spicing up...for an Indian winter.”¹⁹⁹ This generalization of curry being associated primarily with Indians could again be noticed by the use of two motif-like caricatures (see image 7). Both were illustrated against the backdrop of nature (giving an exotic appeal), in which one caricature wore a *bindi* and the other wore a headgear with lots of ornaments. But at the same time, the name of the recipe was *Colleen McCullough’s grandma’s curry*.



Image 7 : Spicing up for an Indian winter

Source: Daily Mail
October 11, 1985

Enhancing the appeal of the newspaper through visual aids like these, to give an impression of the other’s culture is understandable. But generalizing these just to one culture or country in this case, can be misleading as it gives rise to false history. In terms of acceptance, curry came to be understood only as an Indian dish. This was a generalization that arose from the political and social environment of the time in London, therefore disassociating curry from any Islamic ties. Also, generalizations in terms of food overall, like curry is hot and spicy, again tend to give inaccurate facts about a culture and its cuisine. Acceptance of the Indian curry too, can be questioned as the recipe’s name was less Indian and more Anglo-Indian. In this sense, even by the late 1980s, curry was not entirely culinarily cosmopolitanized in London. Such generalizations that stemmed from the prevalent political and social scenario of the time, limited

¹⁹⁷ Vivien Harding, “There’s a Hot Winter Ahead!,” *Daily Mail*, October 11, 1985, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861184095/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=f81ad775>.

¹⁹⁸ Harding, “There’s a Hot Winter Ahead!,” *Daily Mail*.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

the understanding of curry. In this sense, if the other was being limited, then how was it being accepted.

Times of India

The religious limitations that curtailed the consumption of beef continued to exist even after independence. For this reason, I managed to find only one beef curry recipe from this period that too, was not titled as the beef curry but as *vindaloo curry*.²⁰⁰

f) Egg Curries

Daily Mail

By 1954 rationing on all food items had ended. Still, I could not find any egg curry recipe from this period, albeit the advertising carried out in the 1960s by the British Egg Marketing Board (BEMB) through slogans like ‘*Go to work on an egg*’ (see image 8).²⁰¹ But because of the outbreak of the Marek’s disease in Europe in the 1970s, the demand might have been affected.²⁰²



Image 8: ‘*Go To Work On An Egg*’ advertisement published in the *Daily Mail* (1964)

Times of India

From the three egg curries found in the same article, it seemed that they were not a favorite as compared to the above-mentioned curries. Interestingly, the names of these recipes did not make use of the word curry, like *egg and kheema*, *egg vindaloo* and *egg avial* (1969).²⁰³ But the egg vindaloo and egg and kheema recipes, did mention the term gravy. However, this was not the case for egg Avial, which made it difficult whether or not to interpret it as a curry. This is because the recipe did not make use of any additional water. But as per the described consistency of this dish, it could not be characterized as dry owing to the water released by the

²⁰⁰ Olga Valladares, “Curry Favour: Recipes.”

²⁰¹ “British Egg Marketing Board,” *Daily Mail*, August 8, 1964, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865379016/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=3024a9f3>.

²⁰² “1970 to 1979 | EPIC - Egg and Poultry Industry Conference,” accessed August 10, 2020, <https://epiconference.co.uk/1970-to-1979/>.

²⁰³ V Kalyani Nate, “Recipes: More Ways With An Egg,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, June 08, 1969, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/750792844?accountid=13598>.

vegetables. The same was the case with *palak shakh* (1970),²⁰⁴ which was a mish mash of spinach and vegetables. But neither did the recipe use curry nor gravy in its making. But because it mentioned using water, it was taken into account. In this regard, these recipes highlighted how conflicting the connotation of curry can be in India. It cannot be used generally for every recipe, unlike the English recipes.

The recipe of egg vindaloo is a perfect example of how curry was (continues to be) a culinary cosmopolitanized by-product of colonialism in India, devoid of any kind of deliberate translations, unlike London. For instance, the dish of *vindaloo* originated in Goa following the colonization of South India by the Portuguese, and as could be seen, its usage continued even after they left. In fact, chilli was introduced from Latin America into the Indian cuisine only after “the Portuguese arrived in India at the beginning of the fifteenth century.”²⁰⁵ Furthermore, this recipe made use of Worcester sauce. Two very important and interesting insights here are that firstly, the Worcester sauce was created by two English, Lea and Perrins, in 1835. Secondly, and more significantly, it is believed that the original recipe of Lea and Perrins Worcestershire sauce came from India. “A connoisseur of exotic eastern sauces and spices,”²⁰⁶ Lord Sandys, was an ex-governor of the Indian state of Bengal, who on his return from Bengal to Worcester had brought a recipe that became the first Worcestershire sauce. This clearly highlighted the contrasting nature of the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry, as accepted by the Indians and as assimilated by the English. Just like the curry the Worcester sauce too (whose recipe is also believed to have been originated from India), was anglicized so as to not compromise its *English-ness*. On the other hand, even though the subcontinent had been under colonial subjugation for years, still neither was the Portuguese name nor was the English ingredient replaced in the fear of losing the *Indian-ness* of the dish.

²⁰⁴ Olga Valladares, “Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, January 25, 1970, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/496965953?accountid=13598>.

²⁰⁵ Collingham, *Curry*, 47.

²⁰⁶ William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi, *History of Soybeans and Soyfoods in South Asia / Indian Subcontinent (1656-2010): Extensively Annotated Bibliography and Sourcebook* (Soyinfo Center, 2010), 470.

g) Revised Curries

Daily Mail

The *curried roast potatoes* (1988) were a revised take on curry as it was a baked dish.²⁰⁷ But this recipe made use of ginger and garlic. Their use together in English curries was not dominantly found, despite them having been integral components in the Indian curries.

Corned beef curry (1948) again, was a modified understanding of curry.²⁰⁸ A new point to draw here is the accompaniment that was suggested with this curry. Until now, all the recipes recommended serving curry with rice, except for the *Irish curry* from the colonial period (1941), which suggested to be served with a toast. The corned beef curry recommended to be served with *spaghetti*. Thus, such modifications continued to take place even after the country gained independence. This could further be seen from the recipe of *kedgerie with curry sauce*,²⁰⁹ which was a supper dish chosen by the Duchess of Windsor herself. The fact that the use of curry sauce continued even as late as 1969 highlighted how endeared were these translated curries, even by the royals. In fact, the dish of *kedgerie* was also a translated version of an Indian dish named *khichdi*.²¹⁰

Even though various recipes continued using curry powder, but also started advising on how important it was to cook the curry powder thoroughly. However, these changes started happening towards the end of the twentieth century. Prior to late 1980s, recipe of a *quick curry sauce* (1963) could be found. However, this recipe also mentioned how “concocting a delicious sauce is no more complicated or time consuming than making gravy.”²¹¹ Finding mention of the word *gravy* in this recipe of *Daily Mail* was a first, up until now. This showed that *gravy* was understood as different from a *sauce*. But to have published the recipe of a *quick curry sauce* in the same article seemed conflicting, underlining how *curry* might not be understood as a *gravy*. This might have been because of the use of *curry powder*. In this sense, this trend of

²⁰⁷ Hutchinson, “Saturday Night Fever,” *Daily Mail*.

²⁰⁸ The total number of recipes to be found from this period are 11, but the corned beef curry has been categorised as a beef and a revised curry. Hence, due to this overlapping a total of 12 English curries have been identified from this period.

²⁰⁹ “Mrs Pom,” *Daily Mail*.

²¹⁰ *Khichdi*: one of the oldest Indian delicacies, was purposely meant to be a simple dish devoid of any spices for babies and those ailing with an upset stomach. But the revised and translated version (*kedgerie*) that was being served at breakfast, at the countryside home of the Duchess of Windsor contained fish, eggs, but no lentils.

²¹¹ Kenneth Allsop, “What’s Cooking?,” *Daily Mail*, November 14, 1963, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1865362585/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=a7ea031c>.

generalizing a dish as a curry sauce because it used curry powder didn't change, and also highlighted the different understanding of curry in London and India.

Times of India

Unlike London, no such revised takes on curry could be found in *TOI* for the period in consideration.

h) Spices

It is important to shed light on the stark differences noticed in case of the spices used in Indian curries, in contrast to the English curries. As opposed to the generic curry powder used in most of the English curries, the varied spices used in the Indian curries (as can be seen from the glossary) underlined a major difference. Most of the Indian recipes did not specifically mention using a same pre mixture in every curry. Every recipe used a certain specific arrangement of spices in varying proportions, and not necessarily in the same composition. For instance, *batatya song* only made use of 6 red chillies and 20 grams of tamarind, which were ground together.²¹² While, *gosht-e-Avadh* used 8 green cardamoms, 3 sticks of cinnamon (each of one inch), 8 cloves, 5 bay leaves, 15 grams of coriander, a teaspoon each of coriander and red chilli powder, a teaspoon of saffron and half a teaspoon each of garam masala, green cardamom and mace powder. This clearly highlighted how each curry used its own set of spice compositions, unlike the same curry powder used in all curries. In fact, whole spices were also used other than the powdered mixture.

Other than the different spice compositions, how each of these spices were cooked also varied. Like in *gosht-e-Avadh* first onions and mutton were made to *bhunno* in *ghee* and then cardamom, bay leaves, cloves and cinnamon were stirred. Then after the added water had evaporated and the oil would have oozed from the above-mentioned masala, coriander powder, red chillies and salt (dissolved in 2 tablespoons of water) were added. At the very end of the recipe were garam masala, green cardamom and mace powder sprinkled over, and saffron stirred in. This step-by-step addition of different spices all along the recipe could not be found in any of the recipes of *Daily Mail*. And these step-by-step additions varied from one kind of curry to another. For instance, in *bhen ke kofte*, first cardamom, cloves, cinnamon and bay

²¹² Shaila Hattiangadi, "A Mangalorean Menu: This Monthly Series Will Feature Regional Foods," *The Times of India*.

leaves were made to crackle in hot ghee.²¹³ Then only after onion, ginger-garlic and cashew paste were made to bhunno, were red chillies, turmeric and salt added. And at the very end, was garam masala sprinkled and dried fenugreek stirred. In fact, there was a separate spice mix for the koftas as well. These variations posed a major contrast to the English curries, which used the same curry powder in every curry.

The process of *bhunno-ing*, which basically meant roasting the spices or masala of spices and vegetables until the ghee or fat oozed out of the masala, was something completely missing in the English curry recipes. The use of ghee was also uncommon. Another process that absolutely found no mention in the English curries was that of *tadka*. This process too, differed from curry to curry. In some, the tempering of spices happened in the beginning, while in others it occurred at the end and the tempered oil was drizzled over the curry.²¹⁴ Like in the crab curry (*chimborie-che kalwan*), the tempering happened at the end through the crackling of curry leaves and cumin in a medium heated groundnut oil.²¹⁵

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²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ *Types Of Tempering In Indian Cuisine | तड़के के प्रकार | Basic Cooking Recipe In Hindi | Varun*, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FSfRxxLr7Mg>.

²¹⁵ "Crabs In My Curry," *The Times of India*.

From the limited number of curry recipes found between 1947-1990 in *Daily Mail*, this chapter suggested the national dyspepsia caused by the indigestion of the heavy influx of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis to London, following the independence of the subcontinent in 1947. However, by the late 1970s there was mention of curry being nutritive, use of *ghee*, *whole spices* along with curry powder, tamarind and ginger-garlic pastes in some English curry recipes. The usage of such items native to Indian curries narrated a more accepting environment. In this sense, the period after the war was characterized by two phases. The one right after the war was skeptic about curry as a result of the hostility towards South-Asian immigrants. While by the late 1970s and 1980s the gradual settlement of immigrants and cheap prices of curry, initiated the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry in London. At the same time, the general characterization of curry as an Indian entity, highlighted the selective acceptance of the Other.

Picking up on Yasmin Alibhai-Brown's argument on the "low status of 'Indian' Food in Britain," Peter Jackson reiterated "the apparent contradiction between the popularity of curry and the persistence of racism in Britain."²¹⁶ In this regard, curry can be understood as a byproduct of racism. In the colonial period, curry was translated and generalized because of colonization and the perpetual distaste for the colony. While, in this post-colonial period, curry was generalized because of racism characterized by the perpetual Islamophobia. Other than this, the Indian curry's acceptance also seemed questionable from the stark differences that could be noticed between the English and Indian curry recipes. In this sense, curry's culinary cosmopolitanism can be understood in terms of Elizabeth Buettner's words as a "white consumer practice"²¹⁷ that was first dominated by colonialism and subsequently by racism, which accepted curry as long as it was on British terms.

But with the advent of a new century and increased globalization, was there a change in the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry in London?

²¹⁶ Peter Jackson, "A Cultural Politics Of Curry," in *Hybrid Cultures – Nervous States: Britain and Germany in a (Post)Colonial World*, ed. Ulrike Lindner, Maren Möhring, Mark Stein and Silke Stroh (Rodopi, 2010), 175.

²¹⁷ Buettner, "Going for an Indian," 869.

Chapter 5

A Cosmopolitan Affair: Analyzing Acceptance of Curry in The Post-Independence Era (1991 to The Early 2000s)

The economic liberalization of India with the beginning of globalization in 1991, heralded the arrival of a new century. As for England, a change in the policies in the early 2000s, promoted immigration of high-skilled workers and students from India. As Table 2 below shows, these policy changes led to an increase in the number of Indians, most of whom settled majorly in London, Birmingham and Leicester. Even though the colonial legacy pushed the countries apart, the twenty-first century's liberal policies and proliferated notions of multiculturalism were pulling the two nations closer. In fact, in 2001, Britain's late Foreign Secretary Robin Cook declared Chicken Tikka Masala as the national dish of Britain, not only for its popularity, "but because it is a perfect illustration of the way Britain absorbs and adapts external influences."²¹⁸

The act of 'absorbing' and 'adapting' form very distinct ways of accepting. In his speech, Cook sought to accept the foreign, demonstrating how multiculturalism can be constructive by stating "Chicken Tikka is an Indian dish. The Masala sauce was added to satisfy the desire of British customers."²¹⁹ This acceptance seemed to be a practice of "boutique multiculturalism" marked "by its superficial or cosmetic relationship to the objects of its affection."²²⁰ For instance, absorbing chicken tikka masala as a national dish by adapting it as per British preferences, upraised the probability that curry had been as Narayan expressed it, "assimilated" and "possessed".²²¹ But this was just the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century (2001). With the invention of the Internet, the globe was becoming more local over the years, and the understanding of curry was also changing with the increased number of Indians in London.

²¹⁸ Ulrike Lindner et al., *Hybrid Cultures – Nervous States: Britain and Germany in a (Post)Colonial World* (Rodopi, 2010), 175.

²¹⁹ "Robin Cook's Chicken Tikka Masala Speech," *The Guardian*.

²²⁰ Stanley Fish, "Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking about Hate Speech," *Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 2 (1997): 378, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1343988>.

²²¹ Uma Narayan, "Eating Cultures."

A closer look at the recipes of this period when curry became a multi-billion-dollar industry in England,²²² will help us better understand the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry in London.

Table 4: Estimated Size of the Indian Community in United Kingdom (2001-2006)

Year	Estimated number of Indians
2001	1,045,600
2002	1,074,700
2003	1,109,100
2004	1,156,000
2005	1,215,400
2006	1,264,200

Source: Office for National Statistics (Resident Population Estimates by Ethnic Group)

Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries, Turkey Curries, Seafood Curries, Chicken, Lamb, Mutton, Beef and Pork Curries, and Egg Curries (from 1991 to the early 2000s)

Table 5: Number of Curry Recipes found in Daily Mail and Times of India (1991-2010)

Kinds of Curries	Number of Recipes in Daily Mail	Kinds of Curries	Number of Recipes in Times of India
Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries	12	Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries	15
Turkey Curries	1	Turkey Curries	0
Seafood Curries	3	Seafood Curries	9
Chicken and Lamb Curries	11	Chicken, Mutton, Pork Curries	8
Beef Curries	1	Beef Curries	0
Egg Curries	2	Egg Curries	2
Revised Curries	7	Revised Curries	1
Total	37	Total	35

From being published in cramped up columns to being printed under special cookery-oriented sections, a number of changes were noticed in the culinary columns of *Daily Mail*. A number of changes could also be seen in the curry recipes. But the trend of being considered as a nutritive, healthy food option, continued. From the 30 recipes found from this period²²³, about

²²² Colleen Taylor Sen, *Food Culture in India* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), 136.

²²³ Just like the previous time periods, even though mathematically the total recipes found in this period account for 37 but 7 of these overlap across different categories like potato curry with haddock has been categorized under vegetable as well as seafood curries.

9 of them targeted curry's fat reducing and nourishing value. For instance, *vegetable and lentil curry* and *cauliflower and potato curry* (2001) were part of the detox-diet menu plans in the "Good Health" section.²²⁴ While, the recipes of *vegetable curry* (2001) and *curried chicken with peaches* (1993) were found in the *Fe-mail* section as part of the bikini-diet menu plans, which specifically targeted weight reduction to attain beach bodies.^{225 226} Then, there was a *sweet potato curry with chicken and beans* (2004) as part of an anti-depression menu plan. In fact, this recipe was characterized as a "light recipe," since the author suggested eating a heavy meal as dinner would not be healthy for depression.²²⁷ To have found all these recipes as part of nutritive diet plans, suggested that the health benefits of curry continued to be taken seriously.

A change in the kind of accompaniments served with curry was significant (see image 9). Spaghetti and toast from the previous time period were replaced by side dishes native to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Other than rice and chutney, other kinds of accompaniments also started being eaten with curry, like *poppadoms*, *naans*, *chapattis*, *raita*, *sambal* (*sambal*). Moreover, coriander leaves also started being used quite frequently for garnishing, which was something very common to the Indian curries.

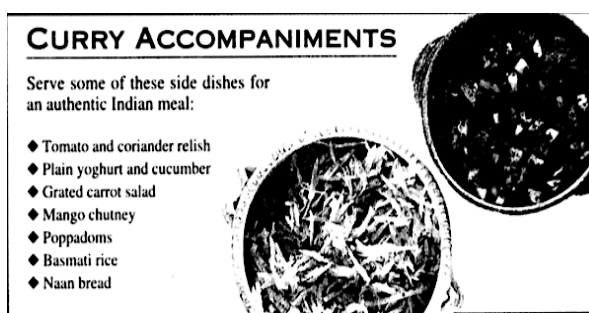


Image 9: Curry Accompaniments

Source: Daily Mail September 14, 1996

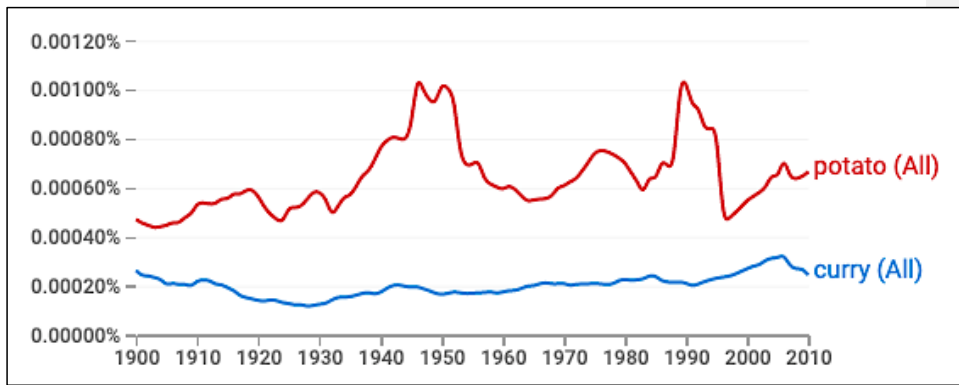
²²⁴ Mandy Francis, "Eat as Much as You like, and Still Drop a Dress Size," *Daily Mail*, November 13, 2001, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860996826/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=286ea0c7>.

²²⁵ "Week One Menu Plan," *Daily Mail*, April 5, 1993, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861016815/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=fa443d37>.

²²⁶ "Day Four," *Daily Mail*, July 12, 1993, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://go-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/ps/i.do?p=DMHA&u=kobibli&id=GALE%7CEE1862282742&v=2.1&it=r&sid=DMHA&asid=b0cc4f6d>.

²²⁷ "With A Little Help From My Friends," *Daily Mail*, April 29, 2004, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://go-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/ps/i.do?p=DMHA&u=kobibli&id=GALE%7CEE1860023032&v=2.1&it=r&sid=DMHA&asid=d6b97142>.

Graph 1: Number of times the word Curry was used in British-English language sources (1900-2010)



Source: Google Books Ngram Viewer

Graph 1 above illustrates the number of times the word curry appeared in British-English language sources printed between the early 1900s to the early 2000s in Google’s text corpora.²²⁸ To have compared its usage with the most commonly consumed vegetable, that of, potato highlighted even though not as popular, curry was in constant usage from 1900 to 2010. A dip in its usage post world war I is noteworthy. Secondly, its lesser popularity owing to a heavy influx of immigrants again can be noticed from 1950 onwards. However, this post-independence period from 1991 onwards saw an increase in curry’s usage, never seen before. This tinted the increased acceptance of the dish in London.

Moreover, curry started being understood as not just an Indian food item in the recipes from 2000s. For instance, I found various Sri Lankan curry recipes, in fact one of them was *rogan josh* (the traditional mutton curry from Kashmir). Then, three recipes of Thai curries were also found. In fact, one of the accompaniments, *sambel*, is not native to India but Indonesia. In this sense, curry was not being generalized and limited in this era. Even the names of some recipes were no longer just generalized as curry or had any prefix or suffix of the same. The local names of the dishes started being published like *dhal*, *rogan josh*, *sag aloo*, *chicken jalfrezi*, *egg and fruit korma*. Curry’s variations and diversity started being recognized. However, I still could not find any curry recipes denoted to the former regions of the colony of India, which now form the Muslim-majority countries of Bangladesh and Pakistan, as opposed to the recipes found from the Buddhist-majority country of Sri-Lanka. This might have been

²²⁸ ‘All’ denoting the inclusion of case sensitive sources as well.

because of the anti-Islamic sentiments that had increased since the September 11 attacks of 2001, and subsequently the July 2005 suicide bombings at the London transport network by the British Muslims.²²⁹ The introduction by Ruth Watson before the recipe of *egg and fruit korma* (1999) highlighted how curry started being characterized as Asian and not specifically as Indian. It also pointed out that curries of the previous time periods were not like the Indian curries. But it also narrated how Britain downplayed the role played by Bangladeshis in shaping England's "curry culture."²³⁰

Those used to today's style of Asian food would be seriously underwhelmed at the naivety of the flour-thickened, milder-than-milk curries we thought were authentically Indian. (In fact, as most Indian restaurants are actually Bangladeshi, we're still being duped).²³¹

Interestingly, like the recipes of *Daily Mail*, I found that the recipes published in India were also by famous chefs like Sanjeev Kapoor, food experts and authors like Ranjit Rai. Further, some curry recipes served at particular food festivals of famous hotels and restaurants were also found. Like, a fish curry called *machchi ka khalia* and a colocasia curry called *shyaamagadda pulusu* (1997) was served at the festival of Hyderabad planned by the Oberoi Towers in Mumbai.²³² While, *crab Goan curry* (2001) was served at a crab festival planned by Bay of Bombay.²³³ I also found mention of a *shrimp and egg curry* (1998) that was a part of the Raj food festival, which served Anglo-Indian dishes.²³⁴ The article appreciated the Anglo-Indian cuisine for it gave "the Nation a generic cuisine."²³⁵ This highlighted how the food of the colonizer was accepted without any hostility. At the same time, it also pointed out how the English were aware of the variations owing to the absence of a pan-Indian cuisine. Hence, they took to the daunting task of generalizing it under their repertoire of Anglo-Indian cuisine.

²²⁹ Buettner, "Going for an Indian," 891.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ruth Watson, "Curry That's All the Raj," *Daily Mail*, September 18, 1999, sec. Weekend, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861513981/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=0bc2b639>.

²³² "Cook-in with Jiggs Kalra," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, January 25, 1997, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/595040140?accountid=13598>.

²³³ "Grab That Crab!," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, October 13, 2001, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/609389616?accountid=13598>.

²³⁴ "Cook-in with Jiggs Kalra," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, January 24, 1998, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/608955489?accountid=13598>.

²³⁵ "Cook-in with Jiggs Kalra," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

Chicken makhniwala (1996) offered diverse suggestions by people staying in different regions of Mumbai itself, like using boned chicken versus a boneless one, or smoking the chicken over a piece of charcoal or using a special *khas-khas* and cashew nut paste, so as to perfect the curry recipe.²³⁶ This recipe proved to be an ideal example, highlighting how varied can be the dish of curry. These variations like the previous period could be repetitively seen in many recipes. Like, pork curry called *sorpotel* (1996) and *fish caldeen* (2001) from Goa, vegetable curry called *niramish tarkari* (1998) from Bengal, ash gourd and black-eyed beans curry named *olan* and *mutton kurma* (2002) from Kerala. In fact, ethnicity-specific variations were far more apparent. For instance, Sindhi dishes like a gram flour curry called *Sindhi kadi* (1992) and a Parsi curry of *dhansak* (1998) could be frequently found.²³⁷

a) Vegetable, Pulses and Lentil Curries

Daily Mail

Unlike the recipes from former time periods, the idea of vegetarianism gained prominence as from the total number of recipes collected, maximum of them were vegetarian. This might be because of the importance given to nutritive and healthy eating. For instance, *red and tomato curry*, *chickpea red bean and tomato curry*, *mixed vegetable curry*, *dhal* and *sag aloo* (1996); were all found under “A Delicious Section of Healthy and Nutritious Dishes.”²³⁸

The recipe of *vegetable and lentil curry* (1991) was part of a well-balanced weight loss diet. It even stated the amount of calorie intake of the dish. However, to be found under “Spice up the taste buds with some Indian dishes,”²³⁹ was a generalization of considering every Indian dish as spicy. This generality continued even in this period.

²³⁶ “The Utterly Butter Chicken Debate,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, March 30, 1996, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/608658745?accountid=13598>.

²³⁷ “Home to Roast,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, September 21, 1992, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/740046873?accountid=13598>; Katy Dalai, “The Ulimite Sunday Treat: In Search Of The Perfect Dhansak,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, November 14, 1998, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/608962893?accountid=13598>.

²³⁸ Mary Berry, “Spice and Easy,” *Daily Mail*, September 14, 1996, sec. Weekend, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1861310277/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=fefdf8e7>.

²³⁹ “Spice up the Taste Buds with Some Indian Dishes,” *Daily Mail*, December 3, 1991, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861003878/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=8200a0c8>.

Times of India

Unlike *Daily Mail*, the recipes in *Times of India* were not fervent on eating curry just to attain a bikini, beach-ready summer body. However, the notion of adopting healthy eating habits to manage weight reduction could be found. Like, *fatless ma ki dal*, a black gram lentil curry—traditionally called *dal makhni* because of its huge butter content—came with a healthier, low fat recipe. Just like the curries of *Daily Mail*, this recipe too discussed the nutritive value of lentils along with the calorie intake per serving.²⁴⁰ In fact, *hot and sweet roasted onion curry* also discussed its aphrodisiac qualities.²⁴¹ The *Dhal or Dal* curries are staple to India. One could find many of these by different names and recipes, depending on which part of the country they came from. For instance, recipe names *ma ki dal or dal makhani* are called so because of the North-Indian dialect. Whereas *vengaya sambar*, a *tuvar dal* curry is a South-Indian name.²⁴² Just like the names, the type of dal that went in the curry also differed, in North and South. This was different from Mary Berry's Dhal recipe. In fact, characterizing this South-Indian dish of *sambar* as a kind of curry also sounds conflicting because nobody in India would call it a curry. For its liquid texture, it might be recognized as a curry but would still be called by the name of sambar and not curry. Further, the red kidney beans curry called *rajma* also differed drastically from Mary Berry's red bean and tomato curry recipe.²⁴³ There was use of fresh tomatoes in place of the canned ones. More importantly no curry powder, or for that matter no elaborate mix of spice powders were used.

Many different kinds of vegetables were also used to make curries, whose use could not be seen in London. For instance, the colocasia curry (*shyaamagadda pulusu*), okra curry (*kariwali bhindi*), mango curry (*mambazha pulisherry*). As can be seen, the names of the curries seemed more local in nature. In fact, the term *kariwali* in *kariwali bhindi* is an exact translation of the term curry in Hindi.²⁴⁴ It meant an okra dish containing gravy. Also, unlike the English curries that directly used mango chutney in a curry, the Indian recipe of mango curry used mangoes in their original form to make the curry. The use of curd in this recipe was also not

²⁴⁰ "Mirror Mirror On The Wall," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, December 18, 1997, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/608758797?accountid=13598>.

²⁴¹ "Oysters Anyone?" *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, February 13, 2001, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/755305626?accountid=13598>.

²⁴² "Serenading Sambar Cuisine," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, September 25, 1991, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/609865756?accountid=13598>.

²⁴³ C. Y. Gopinath, "A Very Simple Rajma: Everyday Gourmets," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, May 27, 1998, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/741742577?accountid=13598>.

²⁴⁴ "Cool-in," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, September 27, 1997, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/741693656?accountid=13598>.

seen in English curries.²⁴⁵ In fact, there was a specific recipe in which curd was the main ingredient like *morkootan* (2000).²⁴⁶ The use of *besan* in *Sindhi kadi* also could not be seen in *Daily Mail*. Use of tamarind pulp, jaggery and kokum was common in the Indian curries, as opposed to the English curries even those from the twenty-first century.

As for the accompaniments, the recipe of *dhansak* mentioned an old Parsi tradition of serving the dish with a mango relish called *keri-no-ambakaliyo*. This was something very new, unnoticed in the list of accompaniments mentioned in *Daily Mail*.²⁴⁷

b) Turkey Curry

Daily Mail

Many of the recipes from this time period, were by prominent figures like famous food writers (the five vegetarian recipes from 1996 discussed above were by Mary Berry) or celebrity chefs. For instance, the only *turkey curry* recipe (2000) found, was by the celebrity chef Delia Smith.²⁴⁸ This recipe also underlined how currying the leftover cuts of meat was a trend that continued, unlike the Indian curries.

Times of India

The fact that no turkey curry could be found from this period and that only one could be found from *Daily Mail*, highlighted that this feathered meat was less favored in curry.

c) Seafood Curries

Daily Mail

Fish and Prawn Curries

Of the three seafood curry recipes found, one of them was a *fish curry* (1997) by Celia Goodrick Clarke. She mentioned that having stayed with her parents in Sri Lanka as a child, many of her

²⁴⁵ Boga Noorani Parvana, "The King Of Fruits For The Aamjanta!," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, May 17, 2000, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/608843057?accountid=13598>.

²⁴⁶ "A Taste Of The South," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, February 09, 2000, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/741277628?accountid=13598>.

²⁴⁷ Katy Dalai, "The Ulimite Sunday Treat: In Search Of The Perfect Dhansak," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

²⁴⁸ "Turkey (Take Two!)," *Daily Mail*, December 26, 2000, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860343632/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=7a7e40c0>

curries used coconut milk.²⁴⁹ This Sri-Lankan influence on her recipes highlighted the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry through the acceptance of its varied types. In fact, other than the recipe, the writer also gave instructions on how to make one's own curry spice mix, instead of mentioning the use of a pre-made curry powder. However, the use of *crème fraîche* in this recipe seemed an English take on the curry. Similarly, the use of saccharine elements like cooking apple, tinned pineapple, mango chutney in *prawn curry* (1991) highlighted that the English understanding of curry-making did not completely vanish. This could be seen from the fact that mango chutney was being used as an ingredient to make the curry, unlike India where a chutney was (is) characterized as an accompaniment, eaten along with a curry or any other dish.

Times of India

Fish, Shrimp, Prawn and Crab curries

The consumption of crab curries was an interesting find since not a single English curry recipe of it was found. As for fish, a unique find was the recipe of *kalmeen kozhambu* (2000) considered to be a delicacy in the Chettinad region of Tamil Nadu.²⁵⁰ What was different about this fish curry was that steamed fish dumplings were wrapped in lachakotta leaves and then added to the gravy. Even though a delicacy, such kind of recipes could not be found in *Daily Mail*. Further, most of the curries from this period came up with separate instructions on how to prepare a masala or paste and how to prepare a gravy. One such recipe was the *machchi ka khalia* (1997).²⁵¹ This fish curry gave instructions on how to prepare a khaliya paste. There was mention of a spice named *pathar ka phool* powder in this paste. Its use could not be found in any fish curry recipe of *Daily Mail*.

d) Chicken and Lamb Curries

Daily Mail

To a certain extent, curry came to be accepted, independent of any British influence. This could be noticed from the fact that even the recipes of non-English chefs and food authors like Priya Wickramasinghe (a Sri-Lankan by birth) started to appear in *Daily Mail*. *Rogan josh* (2000)

²⁴⁹ "Celia's Recipe of the Day," *Daily Mail*, September 4, 1997, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861967933/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=84afd910>.

²⁵⁰ "A Taste of India," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, June 14, 2000, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/755597097?accountid=13598>.

²⁵¹ "Cook-in with Jiggs Kalra," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

was her recipe. This recipe clearly highlighted how regional variations tend to diversify curry, which makes its generalized name conflicting. Traditionally speaking, rogan josh hailed from Kashmir, while Sri-Lanka (a former region of British India) lies to the South of the subcontinent. The North-South variations of India could be seen in this recipe, for instance the use of lamb as opposed to mutton. Interestingly, one would not find the use of any curry powder or apples or tinned tomatoes in this recipe. There was another Sri-Lankan recipe, that of a *chicken curry* (2000). The diverse accompaniments, ranging from those native to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh like *raita*, *poppadums* and *chutney* and those not native to India like *sambal* and *sliced banana tossed in lemon juice*, were found.²⁵² In fact, the recipe of *Monday night curry* (1995) also gave instructions on how to prepare the accompaniments of *raita* and *sambal*.²⁵³ But the use of *left-over gravy*, tinned *Sharwood's curried vegetables* and *curried fruit chutney* made the dish completely distinct from an Indian curry. The prefix *curried* in chutney and vegetables would have stemmed from the use of curry powder in them. This general characterization of calling a dish a curry because it used a curry powder originated from the colonial period and got ingrained in the British culture. Thus, perhaps this generalization continued. Utilizing leftovers to make a fresh curry was very unlike the Indian curries. The leftover sabzi's are consumed in India but new curries are not made from them as every recipe has its own set of spice compositions and flavors. Using the gravy of a mutton curry to prepare a chicken curry would seem absolutely incomprehensible. This variation arose from two different understandings of curry, wherein the English primarily saw curry as a holistic dish and not as a varying entity. In this sense, if seen holistically curry can be understood as one whole type of food item. So, if it was of just one type, using the same curry powder or a leftover curry to make a new one would not affect the flavors since the same kind was being replicated again. But the Indian curries were not oversimplified into one kind. It was always very diverse and varied in its characterization. To have combined the flavors and spice compositions of a North Indian curry with a South Indian kind, would not be conceived very well.

Diversifications did start taking shape owing to the knowledge provided by the immigrants in the post-independence phase. But again, the understanding of curry was limited

²⁵² Celia Clarke, "Recipe Of The Day/ Chicken," *Daily Mail*, May 03, 2000, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://go-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/ps/i.do?p=DMHA&u=kobibli&id=GALE%7CEE1860164579&v=2.1&it=r&sid=DMHA&asid=2dfe499f>.

²⁵³ "Cheat's Cuisine: Monday Night Curry," *Daily Mail*, February 11, 1995, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860953966/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=18e44e37>.

to a curry powder or curry paste. For instance, a *Balti curry paste* started being sold following the popularity of a Balti chicken introduced in Birmingham by the Pakistani immigrants.²⁵⁴ This paste started being used in any curry like the *sweet potato curry with chicken and beans* (2004). The word Balti literally means a bucket in Urdu and Hindi. So, the Balti curries were essentially about cooking in the right bucket-shaped vessel. Since curry was just limited to the use of a curry powder, its variations depending on the kind of cooking vessel to be used in this case, were not given due importance. In fact, it is believed that the Balti cuisine originated from the Baltistan region of Pakistan, and the Balti curries were prepared by the Pakistani community to suit the British preferences. But neither could I find any Balti curry recipe from this time period, nor any association of curry with Pakistan.

Times of India

Chicken, Mutton and Pork Curries

The diversity of the Indian subcontinent gives substance to curry. A northern-style chicken curry would be different from a southern-style. Just because it is a curry or a chicken curry particularly, they would not be the same in character. For instance, *chicken Chettinad* (2001)²⁵⁵ comes from the Chettinad cuisine of the Nattukotai Chettiar (also known as Nagarathars) community of Tamil Nadu. Thus, the style of cooking of this chicken curry was very different from the *chicken makhniwala*, a popular curry of North-India.²⁵⁶ There was certainly a difference in the kind of spices used, but also the North-Indian chicken curry did not use fresh coconut since it is not staple to the North-Indian cuisine. This aspect comes in stark contrast to the English curries, which firstly made use of coconut in every curry generically, and also never mentioned using a fresh coconut. Further, there was also a difference in the kind of cooking vessel used. Chicken Chettinad was made in a *Degchi*, while chicken makhniwala was made in a pan. As for the chicken-potato curry called *murgh-aloo* (1997),²⁵⁷ the name itself is of North-Indian origin. The term murgh meaning chicken, came from the Persian language that went onto to be used in the Urdu script. This also highlighted how even after independence and Partition, the Urdu terminology was (is) retained and not translated, unlike the English curries.

²⁵⁴ Buettner, ““Going for an Indian,”” 886–91.

²⁵⁵ “Sanjeev’s Secrets: Chicken Chettinad,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, January 03, 2001, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/741736386?accountid=13598>.

²⁵⁶ “The Utterly Butter Chicken Debate,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

²⁵⁷ “Cool-in,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

The preparation of *mutton kurma* (2001) was very different from the English recipes. Owing to the importance given to the thorough cooking of spices before they combined with mutton, the meat and the *Masala* were prepared separately.²⁵⁸

e) Beef Curry

Daily Mail

The recipe of *almost adult beef curry* (2003) was the only recipe found from this period. But just like the mutton curries of India, this recipe too, specified the kind of cut required to cook the curry, that of lean sirloin or cubed fillet.²⁵⁹

Times of India

The periodical beef bans posed by the religious limitations, have always been seriously considered by political parties running for the government (to win over the majority of Hindu population). As a result, the consumption of beef in India has always been a bone of contention. Thus, I could not find a single beef curry recipe from this period.

f) Egg Curries

Daily Mail

The conflicting characterization of curry owing to its association with curry powder could again be seen through the recipe of *quick curried eggs*.²⁶⁰ This recipe's main ingredient was cooked rice, which was mixed with eggs. Just because it made use of curry powder, it was understood as being curried. The second recipe found from this period was that of *eggs and fruit korma* (1999) by Ruth Watson. She clearly stated the difference between "Empire-style curries"²⁶¹ and those found in the Indian restaurants of London of that time. In fact, this acclaimed food writer also advised on grinding one's own whole spices that would "guarantee the best, freshest and most complex flavour."²⁶² Thus, the food writers and chefs highlighted the differences in the English and Indian curries, and at the same time made attempts to recreate the Indian recipes.

²⁵⁸ "God's Own Cuisine," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, February 23, 2002, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/855889195?accountid=13598>.

²⁵⁹ "The Growing Years," *Daily Mail*.

²⁶⁰ "Cheat's Cuisine," *Daily Mail*, February 7, 1998, sec. Weekend, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860775772/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=5205942d>.

²⁶¹ Ruth Watson, "Curry That's All the Raj," *Daily Mail*.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

In this sense, by replacing the former English skepticism, attempts to culinarily cosmopolitanize curry were initiated.

Times of India

The two egg curries found were quite distinct in character because of the different masala and spices they used at varying steps. The *egg kofta curry* (1991) comprised of a single-fry masala, follow-up masala, during-cooking masala, finishing masala and garnish masala, each with its own set of spices. For instance, the single-fry masala used in the very beginning of the curry contained caraway seeds, whole red chillies, turmeric powder and salt. While, the finishing masala, as the name suggests was used at the end, and only included garam masala. Whereas, *maharaja egg curry* just consisted of a single-fry masala that included cumin, chilli and turmeric powder, and a follow-up masala that only included garlic paste.²⁶³ These step-by-step variations and different spice blends again, highlighted the fact that no two Indian curries were the same in character.

g) Revised Curries

Daily Mail

The characterization of curry through the use of curry powder became so rooted, almost like a legacy that was passed on to the future generations. This could be seen from the diverse kinds of revised curries that came up, like *curried parsnip soup*, *curried chickpea soup with mint*, *curried chicken salad*, *curried rice salad*.²⁶⁴ The trend of *baked curries* also continued.²⁶⁵ No recipe of curry sauce was found. It might have been replaced by *curry dressing* (1994).²⁶⁶ In this sense, even though similarities could be seen with the Indian recipes, its revising highlighted that curry was becoming culinarily cosmopolitanized but not completely.

²⁶³ "For V-Eggatarians," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, September 07, 1991, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/741837669?accountid=13598>.

²⁶⁴ "Cook's Challenge," *Daily Mail*, October 15, 1994, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860849626/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=e9e0fa11>; "More Delicious Recipes," *Daily Mail*, April 12, 2000, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860377544/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=9423056a>; "Spicy Chicken Salad," *Daily Mail*, April 26, 1997, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1861705857/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=c9677c9f>; "Celia's Cheat's Cuisine," *Daily Mail*, June 28, 1997, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EE1862096783/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=0467da6f>.

²⁶⁵ "Cheat's Cuisine: Jackie's Chicken Bake," *Daily Mail*, March 18, 1995, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860788558/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=4fc719b9>.

²⁶⁶ "Chicken With Curry Dressing And Saffron Rice," *Daily Mail*, August 06, 1994, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860735777/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=c6ee1d1b>.

Times of India

With increased globalization, the English trend of revising curry was not just limited to London. This could be seen from the recipe of *curried chicken salad* (2005), which made use of ingredients not native to Indian curries like curry powder, Dijon mustard and mayonnaise.²⁶⁷ To have found only one such revised curry, tinted its lesser preference. However, embracing a changed version of one's staple food item was noteworthy. Unlike London, the edible other was accepted without any translations or transformations in India, even if it was a revised take on its own food. This underlined an essential aspect of culinary cosmopolitanism of curry.

h) Spices

Daily Mail

This colonial legacy of limiting curry's understanding just to a curry powder was also majorly influenced by the commercialization of curry powder and curry pastes. Initially, the colonial officers who resided in India ignored the particularities of spice blends that went into different curries. Their superficial understanding of spices and the gastro-nostalgia of those who returned to London after a long residence in India prompted the invention of curry powder, which became popular because of the misleading advertisements⁷³ and its usage in recipes that appealed the target audience for its exotic-ness.

With an increase in the number of immigrants, the number of curry restaurants and Balti houses also increased. This increased tolerance for the other and decreased hostility towards curry in London. But the use of curry powder continued. For instance, Mary Berry's *dhal* recipe contained hot Madras curry powder. The red lentils used in this dhal are natively called *masoor dhal*, which according to food historian K.T. Achaya was one of the oldest dhal since it found mention in the early Vedic texts. Each state in India had its own way of preparing it, the only common thing being the tempering of the dhal. However, the kind of spices that went in the tempering also varied across regions. But Mary Berry's dhal found no mention of tempering technique. In fact, I found no mention of Madras curry powder in any of the South Indian

²⁶⁷ "Salad Corner: Cook In," *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, July 13, 2005, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/1516265702?accountid=13598>.

curries.²⁶⁸ Thus, commercialization of curry powders like this or Balti or rogan josh curry pastes (that were introduced in this period), furthered the generalization of curry.

But commercialization was not the only reason for the prominence of curry powder or pastes in London. It was because, to have ground spices at home was quite cumbersome. As the *pumpkin curry* (1999) recommended using ready-mixed curry powder instead of using individual spices and “jars of garlic, ginger, chilli and coriander leaf puree” for an “easy life”.²⁶⁹ This again could be seen from the use of tinned ingredients and leftovers used in *Monday night curry* published under “Cheat’s Cuisine.”²⁷⁰ Owing to cultural differences between India and England, the use of tinned or ready-made ingredients was unlikely in the Indian curries. Being a collectivistic society, the joint-family system was much prevalent in India, so there was always someone to cook at home as opposed to the individualistic Western society. Also, unlike London, prevalence of servants or cooks in the Indian households was common. In this sense, life was already easy when it came to cook a curry, which unlike London was not an exotic but a staple.

Times of India

Spices

Just like London, commercialization of ready-made spice powders began in India too, following the opening up of the economy in 1991. However, I could barely see the use of pre-made spice blends in the collected recipes. Most of them advised on using freshly-pound spices, like the recipe of *dhansak*. In fact, it stated that the secret of the recipe laid in the “freshly-pounded masala” that was used for the tempering of the lentils.²⁷¹ The author also stated that every May their family would call women who specialized in pounding masalas, and stated the fact that people preferred to shift to ready masalas for how expensive it was to get the spices ground by them.²⁷² With respect to pounding one’s own spices, the curator of *fish caldeen* curry (2001)

²⁶⁸ Chennai, formerly known by the name of Madras is the capital of the South-Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

²⁶⁹ “Recipe Of The Day/ Vegetables,” *Daily Mail*, November 01, 1999, Daily Mail Historical Archive, 1896–2004, <https://link-gale-com.access.authkb.kb.nl/apps/doc/EE1860526243/DMHA?u=kobibli&sid=DMHA&xid=decceae8>.

²⁷⁰ “Cheat’s Cuisine: Monday Night Curry,” *Daily Mail*.

²⁷¹ Katy Dalai, “The Ultimate Sunday Treat: In Search Of The Perfect Dhansak,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

too, pointed out that, “Each flavour blends with the other...it’s an alchemy of so many things that you have to treat it with respect and not just throw it into the pan.”²⁷³

The spice compositions continued to be an integral part of the curries. Like the *vengaya sambar* recipe gave a recipe to prepare a *sambar powder*, which notably did not just contain spices but also lentils (chana and tuvar dal).²⁷⁴ Whereas, the chicken curry called *komdi vada* (1992) gave details on how to prepare the garam masala.²⁷⁵ Then, the Bengali recipe of *niramish tarkari* prescribed using a special *panch phoran* masala. Other than these basic spice blends, the use of *tej patta* (curry leaves) was also quite common, in contrast to the English curries. In fact, names of many spices were published in the local dialect against the English translations like *kali mirch*, *saunf*, *jaiphal*, *dalchini*, *laung*.

Interestingly, the English recipes focused more on keeping curries at a spicier level, instead of balancing out the flavour by using these different spice mixtures. Moreover, almost no importance was given to the tangy (*khatta*) flavour of curries unlike the Indian curries of *machchi ka khalia* and *shyaamagadda pulusu*. These two recipes highlighted the importance of *tang* in The Deccan regions of the country owing to the dry climatic conditions there. In fact, it informed that in the former times the kind of sour ingredient used was reflective of one’s status in Hyderabad. For instance, a tamarind leaf (*chuggar*) meant poor, lemon meant lower middle class, raw mango tasted middle class, under ripe grape was upper middle class and pomegranate tasted affluent.²⁷⁶ These calculated usage of varied spice blends in the Indian curries in contrast to the continued use of curry powder in the English curries, highlighted the lesser importance given to each spice. This affected the culinary cosmopolitanism of the dish in London.

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²⁷³ “After Fashion: Wendell’s Special Goan Recipes,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, January 28, 2001, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/755300461?accountid=13598>.

²⁷⁴ “Serenading Sambar Cuisine,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

²⁷⁵ C. Y. Gopinath, “Komdi Vada Made Easy,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, January 18, 1992, <https://search-proquest-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/docview/613330725?accountid=13598>.

²⁷⁶ “Cook-in with Jiggs Kalra,” *The Times of India (1861–Current)*.

This final chapter showed interesting insights of how fairly close attempts were made by English chefs and authors to recreate the curry of the Indian subcontinent. The use of local names like *dhal*, *sag-aloo*, *rogan josh* along with the accompaniments like *poppadums*, *raita* and *naan*, highlighted the culinary cosmopolitanism of curry in London. However, the commercialization of curry powder and the transformed versions of the dish into soups and salads, tinted the duality of culinary cosmopolitanism that operated through a cosmopolitan translation of food. Further, underappreciating the role of Bangladeshis and Pakistanis in creating curry the national dish of Britain, pinpointed how racism had replaced colonialism in the contemporary century owing to the anti-Islamic sentiments. In this sense, curry was a by-product of racism as well, which embraced the Indian-other and distanced itself from the Islamic-other. As British theatre-director Jatinder Verma has rightly said, “I do not think that imaginatively we have become multicultural. I think that in diet we have, absolutely, but I don’t think that has translated from our stomachs to our brains yet.”²⁷⁷

Even though the cosmopolitan translation of food that operated to cater the British preferences was generalizing and limiting curry. But with an increase in the number of settled immigrants and the growing popularity of curry restaurants, curry was in the process of becoming culinary cosmopolitanized in London. Its popularity led to the production of different types of curry powders, which furthered its acceptance in London. This made curry not only a by-product of colonialism but also of commercialization.

²⁷⁷ Buettner, ““Going for an Indian,”” 898.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: A Colonial, Commercial, Cosmopolitan and Racist Affair

Throughout the three phases of India's Independence (from the early 1900s to the early 2000s), the status of curry's culinary cosmopolitanism, that is, its acceptance in London has truly evolved. From being a colonial relic, it managed to become a \$5 billion industry in the twenty-first century Britain. The thesis illustrated the trajectory of curry's culinary cosmopolitanism in London, from when India was a colony to its independence and post-independence.

The early 1900s to the time when India gained independence, highlighted how the food rationing during the two major world wars made it difficult to cook curry using specific ingredients like a particular kind of *meat* or *ghee*. However, the English invention of curry powder before the First and the Second World War as well as the recipes from the interwar periods emphasized that the colony's dish was not accepted in its entirety. The perpetual distance could be noticed a number of times. Foremost, the English coinage of the term *curry* as a result of the linguistic imperialism, generalized the Indian cuisine and overlooked its regional variations. These variations were, in fact, duly noted and considered important only to divide-and-rule the country. Secondly, the fact that the recipes from the colony itself used English ingredients like margarine, dripping, curry powder, instead of the local ingredients underlined that the dish of the colony was not yet embraced. The deliberate translations of local curry names into French names, and its transformation into pasta and baked curries prompted the duality of culinary cosmopolitanism that was limited only to a certain degree of openness.

Following India's independence in 1947, there was an increased immigration to London from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. This led to a hostility towards curry as could be seen from the limited number of recipes found from this period in *Daily Mail*. But with the consequent settlement of the immigrants, London started becoming more accepting by late 1970s. This could be seen from the similarities between the English and Indian curries like the use of *ghee*, *ginger-garlic pastes* and *whole spices* along with curry powder. However, the association of curry just with India as a result of the ongoing anti-Islamic sentiments in London, again showcased the dual nature of culinary cosmopolitanism that did not fully accept the cultural differences in its entirety.

With an increase in the number of settled immigrants and flourishing curry houses in the 1990s (most of which were managed by Bangladeshis), fairly close attempts were made by the English chefs to create local Indian curries. The use of native names like *dhal* or *sag-aloo*, incorporation of curries in weekly menu-plans for a healthy diet, the importance given to vegetarian curries, emphasized a genuine acceptance of the Other. At the same time, a selectiveness based on the race of the other, the increased commercialization of different curry powders and the modifications of curry into salads and soups, also functioned as the different modes of culinary cosmopolitanism. The introduction of Balti-curry pastes not only pinpointed curry to be a commercial by-product but also highlighted the popularity of Balti curries, which were given shape by Pakistanis to suit the British palate. However, the perpetual Islamophobia did not recognize curry with neither Pakistan nor Bangladesh, therefore making it a racial by-product.

On the other hand, closer to the end of the twentieth century with increased globalization in India, ingredients like Worcester sauce started being used to create a Portuguese style curry. In the twenty-first century Dijon mustard, curry powder, mayonnaise started being used to create the English version of a revised curry like a salad. Unlike London, a perpetual distance from using ingredients of the former colonizers was unnoticeable. In fact, certain Portuguese and Urdu names of curries continue to be in use till date, even after the stern historical events of decolonization of South-India from Portuguese rule and the Partition of the subcontinent. Being a staple, such unfamiliar additions were infrequent. But the acceptance of such changes to one's own food without any translations was noteworthy. Thus, as opposed to London, curry's culinary cosmopolitanism functioned exclusive of its dual side of cosmopolitan translations of food in India.

The case study of curry in London highlighted that accepting the other is only one facet of culinary cosmopolitanism. It also *absorbs* and *adapts*²¹⁸ the other through the cosmopolitan translations of food. Thus, curry went on to become a culinarily cosmopolitanized by-product of colonialism, commercialization and racism in London from the early 1900s to the early 2000s. This was a result of the translation it sustained, of being called by an English name owing to colonialism; the oversimplification it endured, of being understood only through a common blend of spices owing to the commercialization of curry powder; and the generalization of being associated primarily as a spicy Indian entity owing to the racism against Muslims.

Owing to the limitations of the Master Thesis, I could not incorporate the period of early nineteenth century when the East India Company (EIC) ruled India and the last decade of the twenty first century. To have analyzed the derivation of curry by the EIC merchants— whose love for curry led to the invention of curry powder and creation of earliest curry houses in London— would have helped to compare the acceptance of curry between the EIC and the British Raj. While the period from 2010-2020 would have highlighted the present status of curry’s culinary cosmopolitanism, for this period saw the development of a number of Michelin-star Indian restaurants in London. Secondly, an analysis of a couple of more historical newspapers and women’s magazines would have helped to produce a more nuanced picture of curry’s acceptance in London. Lastly, owing to the ambiguous use of the word meat, usage of animal flesh in vegetarian curries and the woolly use of any kind of animal flesh in English curries led to an overlapping of recipes across the specific categorized curry recipes.^{85 208 223}

Yet, this research thesis managed to fill a major research gap by content analyzing and comparing the curry recipes of an English newspaper with an Indian periodical. Secondly, it explored the concept of culinary cosmopolitanism through the case study of curry, which has not been done so far despite the dish’s popularity. Lastly, the thesis also makes one question the effect of translations and generalizations on a culture’s cuisine. A renowned Indian chef Manjit Singh Gill pointed out how the translation of ingredients in English language misinforms the audience and spoils the flavour. For example, *tej patta* has come to be understood as bay leaf in English, whereas it is actually a *cassia leaf*.²⁷⁸ As for the generalizations, Indian cuisine has become synonymous with *curry and rice* abroad, which has limited not only the variations of curry but also the cuisine.

²⁷⁸ Chef Manjit Singh Gill, “Curry,” online interview by Simrat Cheema, May 03, 2020, audio, 54:24.

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Appendix

Since a number of recipes were recorded with a detailed list of their ingredients, I am directly attaching the catalogued Excel Worksheets for easier comprehension.

- **Timeline of ingredients used in recipes from 1900 to 2010 (*Daily Mail*)**



List of ingredients
used in curries

- **Timeline of ingredients used in recipes from 1900 to 2010 (*Times of India*)**



List of ingredients
TOL.xlsx