

Notes

Introduction

- ¹ Recent studies of the entangled histories of India and the United States include N. Slate, *Lord Cornwallis is Dead: The Struggle for Democracy in the United States and India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019); R. Kaur and A. Arora (eds), *India in the American Imaginary, 1780s-1880s* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); H. Fischer-Tiné and N. Slate (eds), *The United States and South Asia from the Age of Empire to Decolonization: A History of Entanglements* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2022).
- ² On the contrary, histories of food have evolved beyond such frames. See K. Ray and T. Srinivas (eds), *Curried Cultures: Globalization, Food, and South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); R. Berger, "Alimentary affairs: historicizing food in Modern India," *History Compass* 16:2 (Feb 2018), e12438.
- ³ A non-exhaustive list of literature on nineteenth-century famines in India includes M. Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2007); S. Sharma, *Famine, Philanthropy, and the Colonial State: North India in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001); D. Hall-Matthews, *Peasants, Famine and the State in Colonial Western India* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); D. Hall-Matthews, "Inaccurate conceptions: disputed measures of nutritional needs and famine deaths in Colonial India," *Modern Asian Studies* 42:6 (Nov 2008), 1189–1212; D. Hall-Matthews, "Historical roots of famine relief paradigms: ideas on dependency and free trade in India in the 1870s," *Disasters* 20:3 (Sep 1996), 216–30; D. Arnold, "Social crisis and epidemic disease in the famines of nineteenth-century India," *Social History of Medicine* 6:3 (1993), 385–404; A. Major, "British humanitarian political economy and famine in India, 1838–1842," *The Journal of British Studies* 59:2 (April 2020), 221–44; A similarly incomplete list of literature on the Bengal famine includes: J. Mukherjee, *Hungry Bengal: War, Famine and the End of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); M. Mukerjee, *Churchill's Secret War: The British Empire and the Ravaging of India during World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 2010); Srimanjari, *Through War and Famine. Bengal, 1939-45* (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2009); P.R. Greenough, *Prosperity and Misery in Modern Bengal: The Famine of 1943-1944* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); A. Sen, "Starvation and exchange entitlements: a general approach and its application to the Great Bengal Famine," *The Cambridge Journal of Economics* 1:1 (March 1977), 33–59; C. Ó Gráda, *Eating People Is Wrong, and Other Essays on Famine, Its Past, and Its Future* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 38–91.
- ⁴ The described divide has only seldom been breached by studies on famine in twentieth-century colonial India, see for instance D. Arnold, "Looting, grain riots and government policy in South India 1918," *Past and Present* 84:1 (1979), 111–45; For a rare long-term perspective of famine and food politics see S.S. Amrith, "Food and welfare in India, c. 1900–1950," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50:4 (Oct 2008), 1010–35.
- ⁵ In addition to the works already cited, other literature dealing with the causes of famine in India includes: D. Arnold, *Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); B.M. Bhatia, *Famines in India. A Study of the Aspects of the Economic History of India (1860–1965)* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963); V. Damodaran, "Famine in a forest tract: ecological change and the causes of the 1897 famine in Chotanagpur, Northern India," *Environment and History* 1:2 (1995),

- 129–58; V. Damodaran, “The East India Company, Famine and Ecological Conditions in Eighteenth-Century Bengal” in V. Damodaran (ed.) *The East India Company and the Natural World* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 80–101; T. Roy, *Natural Disasters and Indian History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); M.B. McAlpin, *Subject to Famine: Food Crisis and Economic Change in Western India, 1860–1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
- ⁶ J. Edkins, *Whose Hunger?: Concepts of Famine, Practices of Aid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 67–102; For a brief, and necessarily selective, overview of the historical genesis of definitions of famine, see C. Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 1–39.
 - ⁷ P. Howe and S. Devereux, “Famine intensity and magnitude scales: a proposal for an instrumental definition of famine,” *Disasters* 28:4 (2004), 356–57.
 - ⁸ Cf. Famine Relief Code. Bombay Presidency (Bombay: Government of India, 1912), 8; Bihar and Orissa Famine Code (1930) (Calcutta: Jharna Supply Syndicate, 1950), 11–12.
 - ⁹ Cf. Report of the Indian Famine Commission (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1901), 19.
 - ¹⁰ Howe and Devereux, “Famine Intensity and Magnitude Scales,” 357.
 - ¹¹ For some controversies related to famine deaths: “The famine in India. Through the stricken districts. Concerning death from starvation,” *West Australian* (6 June 1900), 3; “Famine in Puri and elsewhere,” *Modern Review* 28 (July 1920), 110; see also Davis, *Late Victorian Holocaust*, 21–22.
 - ¹² Cf. V.K. Krishna Menon et al., *The Condition of India. Being the Report of the Delegation sent to India by the India League, in 1932* (London: Essential News, 1933), 343.
 - ¹³ Amrith, “Food and welfare in India, c. 1900–1950,” 1012.
 - ¹⁴ Historians have explored nutritional debates in the context of the South Indian Famine of 1876–78: D. Hall-Matthews, “Inaccurate Conceptions,” 1189–1212; L. Sami, “Famine, Disease, Medicine and the State in Madras Presidency (1876–78)” (Unpublished dissertation, London, UCL, 2006); On the history of food and nutrition see D. Arnold, “The ‘discovery’ of malnutrition and diet in Colonial India,” *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 31:1 (March 1994), 1–26; D. Arnold, “The Good, the Bad, and the Toxic: Moral Foods in British India” in A. Ki Che Leung et al. (eds), *Moral Foods* (University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 111–29; C. Ellis, “‘If you cannot feed the body of a child you cannot feed the brain’: education and nutrition in late colonial Madras,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 44:1 (2021), 135–51; A. Malhotra, “Cutting edge research in the contact zone? The establishment of the nutritional research laboratories in Coonoor (1925–27),” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 44:1 (Jan 2021), 117–34; U. Ray, “The body and its purity: dietary politics in Colonial Bengal,” *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 50:4 (Oct 2013), 395–421; N. Slate, *Gandhi’s Search for the Perfect Diet: Eating with the World in Mind* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019); The interplay of nutritional science and famine relief has been studied in other regional contexts: Y. Slobodkin, “Famine and the science of food in the French Empire, 1900–1939,” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 36:1 (Jan 2018), 52–75; I. Miller, *Reforming Food in Post-Famine Ireland: Medicine, Science and Improvement, 1845–1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 21–40; A. Grossmann, “Grams, calories, and food: languages of victimization, entitlement, and human rights in Occupied Germany, 1945–1949,” *Central European History* 44:1 (2011), 118–48; C. Aldous, “Contesting famine: hunger and nutrition in Occupied Japan, 1945–1952,” *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 17:3 (2010), 230–56.
 - ¹⁵ N. Durbach, *Many Mouths: The Politics of Food in Britain from the Workhouse to the Welfare State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
 - ¹⁶ The famine codes, despite their centrality in the history of famine relief in India, are rarely studied in detail. Notable exceptions include M. Jha, “‘Men diggers and women carriers’: gendered

- work on famine public works in colonial North India," *International Review of Social History* 65:1 (April 2020), 71–98; Hall-Matthews, "Historical roots of famine relief paradigms," 216–30; The famine codes' historical evolution is dealt with in L. Brennan, "The Development of the Indian Famine Codes Personalities, Politics, and Policies" in B. Currey and H. Graeme (eds), *Famine as a Geographical Phenomenon* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012), 91–111.
- ¹⁷ On the development and influence of the British imperial system of famine relief shaped by colonialism in India: T. Sasson, "From empire to humanity: the Russian famine and the imperial origins of international humanitarianism," *The Journal of British Studies* 55:3 (July 2016), 519–37; T. Sasson and J. Vernon, "Practising the British way of famine: technologies of relief, 1770–1985," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 22:6 (2015), 860–72; Recent publications on the global history of food aid include N. Götz, G. Brewis and S. Werther, *Humanitarianism in the Modern World: The Moral Economy of Famine Relief* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020); T. Scott-Smith, *On an Empty Stomach: Two Hundred Years of Hunger Relief* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020).
 - ¹⁸ H.D. Curtis, *Holy Humanitarians: American Evangelicals and Global Aid* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018); A.M. Wilson, "In the name of God, civilization, and humanity: the United States and the Armenian massacres of the 1890s," *Le Mouvement Social* 227:2 (2009), 27; I. Tyrrell, "Connections, Networks, and the Beginnings of a Global America in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era" in C. McKnight Nichols and N.C. Unger (eds), *A Companion to the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* (West Sussex: Wiley, 2017), 379–98 in particular page 392.
 - ¹⁹ B. Little, "An explosion of new endeavours: global humanitarian responses to industrialized warfare in the First World War era," *First World War Studies* 5:1 (2 Jan 2014), 1–16; J. Irwin, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); B. Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918–1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
 - ²⁰ On American relief in the Near and Middle East: D. Rodogno, *Night on Earth: A History of International Humanitarianism in the Near East, 1918–1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022); K.D. Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).
 - ²¹ I. Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 98–119.
 - ²² S.R. Porter, *Benevolent Empire: U.S. Power, Humanitarianism, and the World's Dispossessed* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).
 - ²³ D.A. Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); I. Tyrrell, "Vectors of Practicality: The Social Gospel, the North American YMCA in Asia and the Global Context" in H. Fischer-Tiné, S. Huebner, and I. Tyrrell (eds), *Spreading Protestant Modernity*, 39–60.
 - ²⁴ S. Sinha, "Lineages of the developmentalist state: transnationality and Village India, 1900–1965," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50:1 (Jan 2008), 57–90; N. Sackley, "Village models: Etawah, India, and the making and remaking of development in the Early Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 37:4 (2013), 749–78; N. Sackley, "The village as Cold War site: experts, development, and the history of rural reconstruction," *The Journal of Global History* 6:3 (Nov 2011), 481–504.
 - ²⁵ H. Fischer-Tiné, "The YMCA and low-modernist rural development in South Asia, c.1922–1957," *Past & Present* 240:1 (Aug 2018), 193–234; H. Fischer-Tiné, *The YMCA in Colonial India: Modernization, Philanthropy and American Soft Power in South Asia* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022).
 - ²⁶ P. Kumar, "'Modernization' and agrarian development in India, 1912–52," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 79:3 (2020), 633–58.

- ²⁷ R. Jachertz and A. Nützenadel, "Coping with hunger? Visions of a global food system, 1930–1960," *The Journal of Global History* 6:1 (March 2011), 99–119; A. Ribí Forclaz, "A new target for international social reform: the international labour organization and working and living conditions in agriculture in the inter-war years," *Contemporary European History* 20:3 (2011), 307–29.
- ²⁸ S.S. Amrith and P. Clavin, "Feeding the world: connecting Europe and Asia, 1930–1945," *Past & Present* 218:8 (Jan 2013), 29–50.
- ²⁹ An exception is the work of Maria Framke: M. Framke, "'We must send a gift worthy of India and the Congress!'," War and political humanitarianism in Late Colonial South Asia', *Modern Asian Studies* 51:6 (Nov 2017), 1969–98; M. Framke, "Political humanitarianism in the 1930s: Indian aid for Republican Spain," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 23:1–2 (Jan 2016), 63–81.
- ³⁰ C.A. Watt, *Serving the Nation: Cultures of Service, Association, and Citizenship* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- ³¹ H.A. Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies: The India Lobby in the United States, 1900–1946* (New Delhi: Sage 2006); M. Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); S. Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- ³² On the link between anti-Asian immigration legislation and Indian anticolonialism in the US and Canada, see also S. Sohi, "Race, surveillance, and Indian anticolonialism in the transnational Western U.S.-Canadian borderlands," *The Journal of American History* 98:2 (Sep 2011), 420–36.
- ³³ Although 1943 is usually given as the year of the famine in Bengal, hunger and displacement began earlier and lasted longer, which is also reflected in the mobilisation of relief efforts by civil society actors before and after 1943. For this reason, the years 1942–44 are given as the timeframe of the Bengal Famine throughout the book, although one could certainly draw the boundaries of this periodisation even further. See J. Mukherjee, *Hungry Bengal*, 10.
- ³⁴ Siegel, *Hungry Nation*, 23.
- ³⁵ On the conflation of communalism and famine relief, see A. Roy, *Making Peace, Making Riots: Communalism and Communal Violence, Bengal 1940–1947* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 69–103; A. Sarkar, "Fed by famine: the Hindu Mahasabha's politics of religion, caste, and relief in response to the Great Bengal Famine, 1943–1944," *Modern Asian Studies* 54:6 (2020), 2022–86; On communalism in Bengal, see J. Chatterji, *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932–1947* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1994); R. Batabyal, *Communalism in Bengal: From Famine to Noakhali, 1943–47* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005).
- ³⁶ R. Ahuja, "Authoritarian shadows," *Social Scientist* 46:5–6 (2018), 12.
- ³⁷ Siegel, *Hungry Nation*; B. Siegel, "'Fantastic Quantities of Food Grains': Cold War Visions and Agrarian Fantasies in Independent India" in L. James and E. Leake (eds), *Decolonization and the Cold War: Negotiating Independence* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 21–42; J. Loveridge, "Between hunger and growth: pursuing rural development in partition's aftermath, 1947–1957," *Contemporary South Asia* 25:1 (2 Jan 2017), 56–69; T.C. Sherman, "From 'grow more food' to 'miss a meal': hunger, development and the limits of post-colonial nationalism in India, 1947–1957," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36:4 (Dec 2013), 571–88.
- ³⁸ For a recent debate of the ranking of India in the Global Hunger Index 2021, see the conclusion of the book.

Chapter 1. The Limits of Famine Relief: Colonialism, Nutritional Science, and the Indian Social Service Movement, 1890s–1930s

- ¹ On British responses to famines in this period and in subsequent decades: V. Damodaran, “Famine in Bengal: a comparison of the 1770 famine in Bengal and the 1897 famine in Chotanagpur,” *The Medieval History Journal* 10:1–2 (Oct 2006), 143–81; Sharma, *Famine, Philanthropy, and the Colonial State*; Hall-Matthews, *Peasants, Famine and the State in Colonial Western India*; Major, “British Humanitarian Political Economy,” 221–44.
- ² R. Møller Stahl, “The Economics of Starvation: Laissez-Faire Ideology and Famine in Colonial India,” in M. Thorup (ed.), *Intellectual History of Economic Normativities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 169–84; S. Rashid, “The policy of laissez-faire during scarcities,” *The Economic Journal* 90:359 (Sep 1980), 493–501; Hall-Matthews, “Historical Roots of Famine Relief Paradigms,” 216–30.
- ³ S. Ambirajan, “Malthusian population theory and Indian famine policy in the nineteenth century,” *Population Studies* 30:1 (March 1976), 5–14; J.C. Caldwell, “Malthus and the less developed world: the pivotal role of India,” *Population and Development Review Population and Development Review* 24:4 (Dec 1998), 675–96.
- ⁴ Major, “British Humanitarian Political Economy,” 226.
- ⁵ R. Ahuja, “State formation and ‘famine policy’ in early colonial South India,” *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 39:4 (Dec 2002), 351–80.
- ⁶ D. Arnold, “Social crisis and epidemic disease in the famines of nineteenth-century India,” *Social History of Medicine* 6:3 (1993), 385–404; D. Arnold, “Looting, grain riots and government policy in South India 1918,” *Past and Present* 84:1 (1979), 111–45; Sharma, *Famine, Philanthropy, and the Colonial State*, 79–134.
- ⁷ See the second chapter of James Vernon, *Hunger: A Modern History* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 17–40.
- ⁸ Major, “British humanitarian political economy,” 221–44; H. Curtis, “Depicting distant suffering: evangelicals and the politics of pictorial humanitarianism in the age of American Empire,” *Material Religion* 8:2 (June 2012), 153–82; C. Twomey, “Framing atrocity: photography and humanitarianism,” *History of Photography* 36:3 (Aug 2012), 255–64; C. Twomey and A.J. May, “Australian responses to the Indian famine, 1876–78: Sympathy, photography and the British Empire,” *Australian Historical Studies* 43:2 (June 2012), 233–52; Götz, Brewis, and Werther, *Humanitarianism in the Modern World*, 68–143.
- ⁹ S.S. Amrith, *Unruly Waters: How Rains, Rivers, Coasts, and Seas Have Shaped Asia's History* (New York: Basic Books, 2018), 65–89.
- ¹⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the emergence of this three-pronged approach, see Bhatia, *Famines in India*, 102–23.
- ¹¹ Hall-Matthews, “Historical Roots of Famine Relief Paradigms,” 216–30.
- ¹² R. Ahuja, “‘The Bridge-Builders’: Some Notes on Railways, Pilgrimage and the British ‘Civilizing Mission’ in Colonial India” in H. Fischer-Tiné and M. Mann (eds), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 95–116.
- ¹³ S. Sweeney, “Indian railways and famines, 1875–1914: magic wheels and empty stomachs,” *Essays in Economic & Business History* 26 (2008), 147–58.
- ¹⁴ U.P. Mukherjee, *Natural Disasters and Victorian Empire: Famines, Fevers and the Literary Cultures of South Asia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 35–37.
- ¹⁵ D. Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993a); G. Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 123–58.

- ¹⁶ Sasson and Vernon, "Practising the British way of famine: technologies of relief," 860–72; U. Kalpagam, *Rule by Numbers: Governmentality in Colonial India* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 162–66; A. Nag, "Managing Hunger: Famine, Science and the Colonial State in India, 1860–1910" (Unpublished dissertation, Los Angeles, UCLA, 2010); S. Hodges, "Governmentality, population and reproductive family in Modern India," *Economic and Political Weekly* 39:11 (2004), 1157–63.
- ¹⁷ On the tenets of British poor relief, see Durbach, *Many Mouths*, 18–48.
- ¹⁸ Arnold, "The 'discovery' of malnutrition," 1–26.
- ¹⁹ Durbach, *Many Mouths*, 52; S. Sharma, "Poorhouses and Gratuitous Famine Relief in Colonial North India" in A. Mukherjee (ed.), *A Cultural History of Famine: Food Security and the Environment in India and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2019), 129–48.
- ²⁰ D. Arnold, "The Colonial Prison: Power, Knowledge and Penology in Nineteenth Century India" in D. Hardiman and D. Arnold (eds), *Subaltern Studies VIII* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 148–87, in particular page 179.
- ²¹ Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, 112.
- ²² W.R. Cornish, *Observations, on the Nature of the Food of the Inhabitants of Southern India: And, on Prison Dietaries in the Madras Presidency* (Madras: Adelphi Press, 1864); W.R. Cornish, *Reports on the Nature of the Food of the Inhabitants of the Madras Presidency and on the Dietaries of Prisoners in Zillah Jails* (Madras: United Scottish Press, 1863).
- ²³ E. Neswald, "Nutritional Knowledge between the Lab and the Field. The Search for Dietary Norms in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" in E. Neswald, D.F. Smith, and U. Thoms (eds), *Setting Nutritional Standards: Theory, Policies, Practices* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2017), 35–36.
- ²⁴ Cornish, *Observations*, 30.
- ²⁵ J. Ewart, *The Sanitary Condition and Discipline of Indian Jails* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1860), 75.
- ²⁶ Arnold, "The 'discovery' of malnutrition," 5.
- ²⁷ Note that Sanjay Sharma traced debates on the size of famine relief rations and wages during the famine of 1837–38 which indicates that the search for adequate diets started earlier. S. Sharma, "Measuring Hunger. Debates on an 'Adequate' Diet in Colonial North India" in K. Bhushi (ed.) *Farm to Fingers. The Culture and Politics of Food in Contemporary India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 184–214.
- ²⁸ Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, 25–33; Amrith, *Unruly Waters*, 65–89.
- ²⁹ Temple's response to the famine and its consequences are explicated in Hall-Matthews, "Inaccurate Conceptions," 1189–1212; Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, 33–60.
- ³⁰ W. Digby, *The Famine Campaign in Southern India, 1876–1878*, vol. II (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878), 190.
- ³¹ On the public dispute between Temple and Cornish: Sami, "Famine, Disease, Medicine and the State in Madras Presidency (1876–78)".
- ³² Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, 7.
- ³³ Brennan, "The Development of the Indian Famine Codes Personalities, Politics, and Policies", 91–111.
- ³⁴ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (London: Commission of Inquiry on Indian Famines, 1880), 59.
- ³⁵ This was noted in the Report of the Indian Famine Commission (London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office by Darling & Son, 1898), 256.
- ³⁶ N. Cullather, "When Is Famine Not a Famine? Gauging Indian Hunger in Imperial and Cold War Contexts" in Neswald, Smith and Thoms (eds), *Setting Nutritional Standards*, 199.
- ³⁷ Neswald, "Nutritional Knowledge between the Lab and the Field. The Search for Dietary Norms in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," 32–37; Durbach, *Many Mouths*, 54–95.

- ³⁸ On the administration of women's diets in British prisons, see Durbach, *Many Mouths*, 59–68.
- ³⁹ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1880), 59.
- ⁴⁰ Jha, "Men diggers and women carriers," 71–98.
- ⁴¹ "The Government of India's Circular No. 44F, 9 June 1883" reprinted in parts in Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1901), 36. Emphasis added.
- ⁴² Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1898), 255–56; J.E. Scott, *In Famine Land. Observations and Experiences in India during the Great Drought of 1899–1900* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1904), 42–53.
- ⁴³ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1898), 67.
- ⁴⁴ On the punitive nature of labour on public works, see also A. Shahid, "Famine Labour and Coercion in Relief-based Public Works Construction in Colonial India in the Late Nineteenth Century" in K. Ekama, L. Hellman and M. van Rossum (eds), *Slavery and Bondage in Asia, 1550–1850* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 231–50.
- ⁴⁵ Report of the Madras Famine Code Revision Committee, 1938 (Madras, 1940), 23; V. Nash, *The Great Famine and Its Causes* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), 42.
- ⁴⁶ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1901), 30.
- ⁴⁷ Scott, *In Famine Land. Observations and Experiences in India during the Great Drought of 1899–1900*, 53.
- ⁴⁸ An observation made by Nash as well. Nash, *The Great Famine and Its Causes*, 34.
- ⁴⁹ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1898), 260.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.
- ⁵¹ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1901), 43.
- ⁵² Nash, *The Great Famine and Its Causes*, 30.
- ⁵³ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1898), 283.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 283–84.
- ⁵⁵ Sharma, "Poorhouses and Gratuitous Famine Relief in Colonial North India," 129–48.
- ⁵⁶ A. Forth, *Barbed-Wire Imperialism: Britain's Empire of Camps, 1876–1903* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 100–112.
- ⁵⁷ Famine Relief Code. Bombay Presidency (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1904), 46; 111–12.
- ⁵⁸ Sharma, "Poorhouses and Gratuitous Famine Relief in Colonial North India," 134.
- ⁵⁹ On the reform of prison diets, see Arnold, "The Colonial Prison," 148–87; A.A. Yang, "Disciplining 'natives': prisons and prisoners in early nineteenth century India," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 10:2 (Dec 1987), 29–45.
- ⁶⁰ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1898), 286.
- ⁶¹ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1901), 41.
- ⁶² Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1898), 288.
- ⁶³ Famine Relief Code. Bombay Presidency (1912), 210.
- ⁶⁴ The Bihar and Orissa Famine Code (1930) (Calcutta: Jharna Supply Syndicate, 1950), 123.
- ⁶⁵ G.G. Raheja, "Hear the tale of the famine year': famine policy, oral traditions, and the recalcitrant voice of the colonized in nineteenth-century India," *Oral Tradition* 31:1 (2017), 155–98.
- ⁶⁶ Report of the Indian Famine Commission (1898), 287.
- ⁶⁷ Sharma, "Poorhouses and Gratuitous Famine Relief in Colonial North India," 129–48.
- ⁶⁸ Durbach, *Many Mouths*, 105–13. Cf. page 105.
- ⁶⁹ H. Woodd Nevinson, *The New Spirit of India* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1908), 272.
- ⁷⁰ G.K. Devadhar, "The famine of 1908 in India and the work done by non-official agencies," *Modern Review* 6:3 (Sep 1909), 250.

- ⁷¹ Resolution on the Administration of Famine Relief in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh during the Year 1907 and 1908 (Allahabad: Government Press, 1908), 26.
- ⁷² Resolution on the Administration of Famine Relief in the United Provinces, 85.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 87.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.
- ⁷⁵ I discuss the work of the SIS and other Indian relief providers in Chapter 5.
- ⁷⁶ G. Brewis, "Education for service: social service and higher education in India and Britain, 1905–1919," *History of Education Review* 42:2 (Oct 2013), 119–36; C.A. Watt, *Serving the Nation: Cultures of Service, Association, and Citizenship* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1–5; 211–15; E. Valdameri, *Indian Liberalism Between Nation and Empire. The Political Life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022).
- ⁷⁷ Watt, *Serving the Nation*, 214.
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Chapter 3. Worldly Needs and Religious Opportunities: The Famine Relief of American Missionaries in Bombay, 1870s–1920s

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Chapter 4. Promising Freedom from Famine: American Missionary Rural Reform, 1910s–1940s

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Chapter 6. Famine Relief and Nationalist Politics on the Eve of Independence: The Bengal Famine of 1942–44

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- ⁷⁶ Relief Organisations Fight Bengal Famine (Calcutta: Relief Co-ordination Committee, 1943).
- ⁷⁷ Bedi, *Bengal Lamenting*, 90–91.
- ⁷⁸ Chatterji, *Bengal Divided*, 48; N. Sengupta, *Bidhan Chandra Roy* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002).
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- ⁸⁰ H. Tinker, "A Forgotten Long March: The Indian exodus from Burma, 1942," *The Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 6:1 (March 1975), 1–15.
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- ¹⁵⁹ Loomba, *Revolutionary Desires*, 195–240.
- ¹⁶⁰ Chakravartty, "Emergence of Mahila Atma Raksha Samiti," 179.
- ¹⁶¹ "To defend motherland, homes & honour. Bengal's women organise," *People's War* (23 May 1943), 3; The songbook of IPTA, hence, included, amidst 'Food' and 'Lenin' also a song named 'Zoya'. *India People's Theatre Association Bulletin* 1 (July 1943), 27; "Andhra kisan women admire picture of Russian heroine Zoya," *People's War* (9 April 1944), 8.
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- ¹⁷⁵ NMML, AIWC Papers: Correspondence relating to Relief Work done by AIWC in Bengal Famine of 1943, "The Bengal & Other Afflicted Areas Relief Committee's Report" (Oct 1943).
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- ¹⁸⁰ BL, APAC, IOR/ L/PJ/12/455, Extract from New Scotland Yard Report no. 248 (23 June 1943).
- ¹⁸¹ At other times referred to as well as Jai Kishore or Jaykishori Handoo.
- ¹⁸² BL, APAC, IOR/ L/PJ/12/455, Extract from New Scotland Yard Report no. 257 (27 Oct 1943).
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Chapter 7. American Food Aid for Independent India

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Conclusion

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