From *Spaansche Pap* to Tipsy Cake: Migrant and other influences on foreign content in Dutch nineteenth-century cookbooks

MA THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

Food is essential to our physical survival. From it we obtain fuel for our bodies and brains. Yet it is also very important to the construction and maintenance of identity.[1] What and how we eat can signal our membership of a particular group, our adherence to a certain religion or of course our socio-economic status. In many Western societies, debates over our eating patterns, and whether we are indeed 'what we eat' are prevalent in both popular and academic circles. In the case of the Netherlands in the twenty first century, these debates have centred on the 'worth' of Dutch national cuisine,[2] and on international contributions to this cuisine, such as *rijsttafel* and *kapsalon*. This paper will focus on the latter point, and will draw on historical sources to seek to understand how 'foreignness', in the form of recipes, was included and excluded from nineteenth century Dutch cookbooks. The key question posed therefore is:

Why did the foreign content in Dutch cookbooks vary over the course of the nineteenth century?

Foreign recipes are the principal type of foreign content seen in the cookbooks. In particular, the paper will investigate the role played by migrants in influencing the cuisine presented in these cookbooks. The nineteenth century has been chosen as it was a time of significant social and economic change in the Netherlands, and the century encompasses many of the key dates in industrial development. In the first half of the 1800s, the Netherlands was politically transformed from the Batavian Republic, to a part of France, to the United Kingdom of the Netherlands under an absolute monarch to finally a constitutional monarchy within the present day borders. Importantly, for a study which relies on cookbooks, this was also a century of growth in the production and use of cookbooks, primarily driven by growth of the middle class.[3]

The focus on the nineteenth century means that this paper will provide a useful historical counterpoint to modern day studies on food and migrant foodways. This is the first study to cover the Netherlands from this perspective in this period. By concentrating on the experience of the Netherlands, a country of low immigration in the nineteenth century, this

[1] Nathalie Parys, 'Cooking up a culinary identity for Belgium: Gastrolinguistics in two Belgian cookbooks (Nineteenth century)', *Appetite* 71 (2013) 218-231, 218.
[2] Dam, Johannes van, Witteveen, Joop, and Gnirrep, Yvonne, *Koks & keukenmeiden : Amsterdamse kookboeken uit de Gastronomische Bibliotheek en de Bibliotheek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 2006) 27.
[3] Nancy Reagin, 'The Imagined Hausfrau: National Identity, Domesticity, and Colonialism in Imperial Germany', *The Journal of Modern History* 73:1 (2001) 54-86, 60.

paper will add to the rich selection of food histories focusing on countries of higher immigration, most noticeably the United States.[4] This study will examine how foreign communities and their ideas in the form of recipes were perceived. In the paper, the following hypothesis will be tested:

Changes can be at least partially attributed to the presence of migrants in Dutch society.

To ascertain the influence of migrant communities, the relative impact of other factors must also be studied. External political events, fashions and trends, class ideology and the increasing interest in sophisticated cosmopolitanism all played a role. By investigating these aspects, the paper aims to provide an overview of the key internationalising stimuli on Dutch cookbooks. However, there is insufficient space to cover all the applicable dynamics. Those covered in the paper are indicated in Table 1.

Table 1: Factors influencing inclusion of foreign content in Dutch nineteenth-century cookbooks.

Factor	**Covered in this paper?**
Migration	Yes
Development of cosmopolitanism	Yes
Fashions and trends	Yes
Industrialisation and technological developments	Yes
Political developments	Yes
Growth of the middle class	Yes
Change in availability of food products	Yes
Globalisation	Yes
Modernisation	Yes
Variations in the economic climate	No
Consumerism	No
Changes in gender roles	No
Foreign trade connections	No

Source: Analysis of nineteenth-century developments

This paper identifies a number of reasons for the ways foreign content in the cookbooks changed gradually over time. Importantly, the influence of migrants can be detected, demonstrating that, even in low numbers, migrants have a part to play in cultural and culinary innovations. Additionally, my research reveals that the inclusion of foreign content in the cookbooks is indicative of greater acceptance of new elements within Dutch identities.

[4] See for example Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*, (Cambridge 2001) and Donna Gabaccia, *We are what we eat. Ethnic food and the making of Americans.* (Cambridge Massachusetts/London 1998).

Scholars have written in depth about the important place of food in human consciousness. Supski explains that food as a significant site of memory and positive nostalgia can connect the past to the present.[5] Wilson argues that the aphorism 'we are what we eat' should also be read as 'we are what we ate', arguing that food and drink history is the lifeblood of social cohesion, integration and differentiation.[6] To determine what we ate in the past, historical investigation is required. This can be fraught with danger. The popularity of food based memoires is an indication. Janowski notes that in such texts memories can be real or imagined.[7] Further, the importance of food to the construction of national identities means that eating traditions can be deliberately constructed.[8] Many commodities and food products are marketed today by highlighting their historical pedigree and cultural heritage.[9]

There are many ways to explore the history of food. Import and export data, inventories, menus (on a wide spectrum from grand houses to orphanages and the army) and oral histories are just some of the many available data sources. For this paper, cookbooks have been chosen as the primary focus. More detail is provided in the Materials section on the precise cookbooks chosen. These books provide a means to examine implicit attitudes to foreign foods and cooking techniques. Through reference to this medium, the degree of cross-cultural culinary contact in the nineteenth-century Netherlands can be explored. In particular, the role of migrants in facilitating or impeding such contacts will be a focus. The study will provide a useful perspective of the place of migrants and other foreign connections in Dutch society.

This is not to say that positive findings about the popularity of migrant dishes indicate the acceptance or assimilation of the migrant group.[10] The situation is much more complex. However, as the prominent migration and food historian Donna Gabaccia has argued, the

[5]Sian Supski, 'Anzac biscuits A culinary memorial', *Journal of Australian Studies* 30:87 (2006) 51-59, 37.
[6]Thomas Wilson, Introduction: Food, Drink and Identity in Europe: Consumption and the Construction of Local, National and Cosmopolitan Culture', *European Studies* 22 (2006) 11-29, 14-15.
[7]Monica Janowski, 'Introduction: Consuming Memories of Home in Constructing the Present and Imagining the Future', *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment* 20:3-4 (2012) 175-186, 176.
[8]Anneke Geyzen, Scholliers, Peter and Leroy, Frédéric, 'Innovative traditions in swiftly transforming foodscapes: An exploratory essay', *Trends in Food Science & Technology* 25: 1 (2012) 47-52, 48.
[9] Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire and Pádraic Óg Gallagher, 'Irish Corned Beef: A Culinary History', *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology* 9:1 (2011) 27-43, 28.
[10] Jan Arend Schulp & Ismail Tirali, 'Studies in Immigrant Restaurants I: Culinary Concepts of Turkish Restaurants in the Netherlands', *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology*, 6:2-3 (2008) 119-150, 120 and Marlou Schrover, 'Wie zijn wij? Vrouwen, eten en etniciteit', *Voeden en Opvoeden, Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 19 (1999)115-144, 123.

acceptance and enjoyment of cross-cultural food can provide a path towards acceptance of cultural diversity.[11]

In the Results section I will reveal how my findings compare with the theories presented in the historiography. Given my hypothesis that migration did play a role in the selection of recipes for the cookbooks, this topic is covered in the most depth.

[11] Gabaccia, *We are what we eat,* 231.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

On the nineteenth-century history of migration in the Netherlands, three historians in particular stand out. Schrover has written extensively about migrant communities in Utrecht. Her book *Een Kolonie van Duitsers* is an in depth study of this group, while several of her other works cover concepts of migrant niche formation and aspects of the intersection between migrants and the culinary history of the Netherlands.[12] The works of Leo Lucassen and Jelle van Lottum are also important. Lucassen was co-editor of the comprehensive *The encyclopaedia of migration and minorities in Europe: from the 17th century to the present*, and has also studied the migrant community in Rotterdam in the period.[13] Although much of van Lottum's work focuses on earlier periods, his book *Across the North Sea: the impact of the Dutch Republic on international labour migration, c. 1550-1850* provides an interesting perspective.[14]

Migrants and food

Migration historians have used cookbooks to understand the integration and assimilation of various migrant groups. Studies have looked at both the impact that migration has had on the migrants themselves and on their host communities, and have affirmed the key role food plays in identity formation both in general and in the case of migrants. Gabaccia and Diner have separately explored this in depth focusing on the case of migration to the USA. Gabbaccia draws on a vast range of sources to explain how current American eating habits evolved from migrant and native heritage,[15] while Diner contrasts Irish, Italian and Eastern

[12] For example, see Marlou Schrover, *Een Kolonie van Duitsers: Groepsvorming onder Duitse immigranten in Utrecht in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2002), Marlou Schrover, 'No More Than a Keg of Beer: The Coherence of German Immigrant Communities', in: Leo Lucassen, David Feldman and Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *Paths of Integration Migrants in Western Europe (1880-2004)* (Amsterdam 2006) 222-238, and Marlou Schrover, Inge Mestdag, Anneke van Van Otterloo & Chaja Zeegers, 'Lekker. Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', in: Isabel Hoving, Hester Dibbits & Marlou Schrover (eds.), *Veranderingen van het alledaagse. Cultuur en migratie in Nederland* (Den Haag 2005) 77-112, Schrover, Marlou, 'Wie zijn wij? Vrouwen, eten en etniciteit', *Voeden en Opvoeden, Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 19 (1999) 115-144.

[13] J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011). Other relevant works by Lucassen include Clé Lesger, Leo Lucassen and Marlou Schrover, 'Is there life outside the migrant network? German immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Netherlands and the need for a more balanced migration typology', *Annales de Demographie Historique* 2 (2002) 29-50 and Lucassen, Jan and Leo Lucassen, 'The mobility transition revisited, 1500–1900: what the case of Europe can offer to global history', *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009) 347-377

[14] Jelle Van Lottum, *Across the North Sea : the impact of the Dutch Republic on international labour migration, c. 1550-1850* (Amsterdam 2007). See also Marlou Schrover, and Jelle Van Lottum, 'Spatial concentrations and communities of immigrants in the Netherlands, 1800–1900', *Continuity and Change* 22 (2007) 215-252.

[15] Gabaccia, *We are what we eat.*

European Jewish experiences of hunger in the countries of origin with the experience of abundance in the United States.[16]

In their study of Turkish restaurants in the Netherlands, Schulp and Tirali argue that food habits and traditions are some of the most important cultural elements kept by migrants when they move into a new society. For migrants, these foodways are a means of establishing and maintaining their identity, as well as a channel of cultural exchange.[17] The 'gastrodynamics' of migration are also important, according to Oyangen. He explains that moving from one 'gustatory context' to another means that food habits become markers of cultural continuity, difference, hybridity and assimilation.[18] For migrants, food occupies a contradictory position, being both a barrier to assimilation, as well as a means of integration. In his article on Jewish migrants, Solomon points out that migrants may adapt their food habits in particular ways, to fulfil their desire to emulate and belong without losing their autonomous identity.[19]

As people move, they bring food customs and habits along with them. For the host community, coming into contact with unfamiliar types of food may engender ambiguous responses.[20] Interest in novel dishes (a neophiliac tendency) is contrasted with the neophobic preference for familiarity.[21] For Janowski, the consumption of marker foods from migrant communities 'plays a role in the host community's construction of a syncretised identity'.[22] If the host community accepts foreign dishes, this can become a strand of a cosmopolitan identity.

These scholars have demonstrated that foodways can take on symbolic role for both host societies and migrant groups. Food can serve as a symbol of assimilation, or can indeed signify the opposite.[23] The incorporation of Moroccan and Indonesian foodways into the

[16] Diner, *Hungering for America.*
[17] Schulp and Tirali, 'Turkish restaurants', 120.
[18]Knut Oyangen, 'The Gastrodynamics of Displacement: Place- Making and Gustatory Identity in the Immigrants' Midwest', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xxxix:3 (Winter, 2009), 323–343, 329.
[19] Eileen Solomon, 'More than recipes: kosher cookbooks as historical texts', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 104:1 (2014) 24-37, 24.
[20]Olivier de Maret, 'More Than Just Getting By: Italian Food Businesses in Brussels at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment* 21:2 (2013) 108-131, 108.
[21] Athena Mak, Margaret Lumbers and Anita Eves, 'Globalisation and Food Consumption in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 39:1 (2012) 171–196, 177.
[22]Janowski, 'Consuming Memories', 176
[23] Melissal Salazar, 'Public schools, private foods: Mexicano memories of culture and conflict in American school cafeterias', *Food and Foodways* 15:3/4 (2007) 153-181, 171

Dutch culture in the latter half of the twentieth century has been examined by Etossi.[24] This paper will seek to ascertain the applicability of these ideas in the contrasting nineteenth-century Netherlands context.

Cookbooks as historical source material

This paper will also draw on the analytical insights of other historians who have used cookbooks as primary source material. At the most basic level, cookbooks are instructional manuals for the preparation of food. They direct the reader to cook in a certain way, repeatedly using the imperative tense.[25] However, scholars recognise that cookbooks are also socio-historic and cultural documents which can reflect the food habits of a population, act as historical markers of major events, and record technological advances.[26] The 'literary discourse' in cookbooks is a valuable resource for the historian, providing a different perspective on events and phenomena than that presented in other media. [27]

Cookbooks have been used as sources in several different historical fields and indeed in other academic disciplines. One of the first areas to recognize their utility and the unique insights they could provide was gender studies. Charity cookbooks show how women 'defined their roles, advised others, disseminated hierarchy and dispensed moral teachings',[28] while Tobias notes that the introduction and spread of cookbooks helped to define the position and role of women in eighteenth century British/American society.[29] Although feminist scholars have sometimes been critical of the male influence over cookbooks, as opposed to

[24] Samuela Etossi, *Indonesian and Moroccan Eating Cultures at the Dutch Table: A Culinary History of Adaptation and Authenticity*, (MA Thesis, Leiden University 2014).
[25] Sandra Sherman, "The Whole Art and Mystery of Cooking": What cookbooks taught readers in the eighteenth century', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28:1 (2004) 115-131, 116.
[26]Janet Mitchell, 'Cookbooks as a social and historical document. A Scottish case study', *Food Service Technology* 1 (2001) 13–23, 13.
[27] Susan J. Leonardi, 'Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster àla Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie', PMLA, 104: 3 (1989) 340-344, 342.
[28]Jill Nussel, 'Heating Up the Sources: Using Community Cookbooks in Historical Inquiry', *History Compass* 4:5 (2006) 956–969, 956, see also Bower, Anne, "'Our Sisters' Recipes": Exploring "Community" in a Community Cookbook', *Journal of Popular Culture* 31:3 (1997) 137-151for another use of charity cookbooks
[29]Steven M. Tobias, 'Early American Cookbooks as Cultural Artifacts', *Papers on language & literature* 34:1 (1998) 3-18, 8.

the more strongly female creations of domestic cooking,[30] they have in general been popular as a source for examining women's history.[31]

Cookbooks have also proven useful sources for the examination of colonial ideas and imperial and national identities. Gold's examination of Danish domesticity and national identity through Danish cookbooks is comprehensive.[32] They have been used to provide an insight into nineteenth century British Imperialism,[33] and to examine postcolonial experiences.[34] Anthropologists have also addressed identity questions through the use of cookbooks. Higman, for example, seeks to discover what it means to be Caribbean through an overview of cookbooks from the region,[35] and Appadurai uses cookbooks to study Indian efforts to construct a national cuisine and thereby a national identity.[36] Echoing themes covered by Appadurai, Luckins draws on cookbooks to discuss the 'search' for an Australian cuisine.[37] Black argues that they can work to create imagined communities and shared ideological values among implied readers,[38] while Parys argues that cookbooks, can present a range of identities for their readers. [39]

This paper is thus clearly not the first work to use cookbooks as a source. It is however the first to use them to explore how they reflected foreign and migrant influence in the Dutch nineteenth-century context. The paper will examine whether the cookbooks' exclusion or exclusion of foreign content has an implication for the type of identity these cookbooks represent for their readers.

[30] Vicki Swinbank, 'The Sexual Politics of Cooking: A Feminist Analysis of Culinary Hierarchy in Western Culture', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 15:4 (2002) 464-494.
[31]Bowers, 'Our sisters' recipes'.
[32] Carol Gold, *Danish Cookbooks: Domesticity and National Identity, 1616-1901* (Seattle 2007).
[33] Susan Zlotnick, 'Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 16: 2/3 (1996) 51-68, 53.
[34]Paul Magee, 'Introduction: foreign cookbooks', *Postcolonial Studies* 8:1 (2005) 3-18.
[35]B. Higman, 'Cookbooks and Caribbean cultural identity: An English-language hors d'oeuvre', *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 72: 1/2 (1998) 77-95, 76.
[36]Arjun Appadurai, 'How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30: 1 (1988) 3-24.
[37]Tanja Luckins, 'Historiographic Foodways: A Survey of Food and Drink Histories in Australia', *History Compass* 11:8 (2013) 551–560, 551.
[38]Shaheem Black, 'Recipes for Cosmopolitanism: Cooking across Borders in the South Asian Diaspora', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 31:1 (2010) 1-30, 3.
[39]Nathalie Parys, 'Cooking up a culinary identity for Belgium: Gastrolinguistics in two Belgian cookbooks (Nineteenth century)', *Appetite* 71 (2013) 218-231, 218.

Dutch food baseline

To identify these innovations, we must first understand the original culinary 'status quo' in the host community. Yet any discussion of a country's indigenous cuisine is fraught with difficulties. How can we determine with certainty whether a dish has strictly local origins, is borrowed from abroad or even influenced by outside techniques and ingredients? Nonetheless, this section aims to sketch an outline of Dutch eating habits in the nineteenth century. Of course, regional diversity was still significant, particularly in the first half of the century, and diets varied significantly according to a family's level of income and whether they lived in an urban or rural environment

Several historians have written on this topic. Jozien Jobse-van Putten has written an in-depth cultural history of everyday meals in the Netherlands, which uses a range of sources to identify the foods eaten both by the common people and by elites.[40] Other key historians in this field include Van Otterloo, who has written extensively on the on the sociological aspects of food in the nineteenth century,[41] and Peter Scholliers, whose work focuses largely on Belgium.[42] Additionally, Joop Witteveen is the co author of two important texts on the history of cookbooks in the Netherlands, the *Bibliotecha Gastronomica*, and *Koks en Keukenmeiden*.[43]

Given that cookbooks are used as the primary source for the current paper, there is a greater focus on the middle and upper classes (as they were the primary audiences for most cookbooks). It is however useful to have a basic outline of Dutch eating habits, in order to determine new foreign influences.

Due to a range of factors, eating patterns changed considerably over the course of the nineteenth century. Technological and economic dynamics were particularly important. The potato became the staple food of large sections of the population shortly after 1800, although there were regional variations in the ongoing importance of grains such as rye and wheat.[44] During the Napoleonic wars and the French period the Dutch economy stagnated and the eating of meat was seen as an even greater luxury than it had been in the past. Throughout the

[40]For example, the works of the German scholar Wiegelmann. See Jobse-Van Putten, Jozie , *Eenvoudig maar voedzaam. Cultuurgeschiedenis van de dagelijkse maaltijd in Nederland* (Nijmegen 1995), 560
[41] Van Otterloo, A.H. van, *Eten en eetlust in Nederland: 1840-1990* (Amsterdam 1990).
[42] Peter Scholliers, *Arm en rijk aan tafel. Tweehonderd jaar eetcultuur in België (*Berchem 1993)
[43] Witteveen, Joop and Bart Cuperus, *Bibliotheca gastronomica : eten en drinken in Nederland en België, 1474-1960* (Amsterdam 1998) , Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks & keukenmeiden.*
[44] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 106. These grains and others were used for bread, but also for pap (similar to porridge), alcohol production and pancakes.

first half of the century, carbohydrates were the basis of the diet for the lower classes, while some dairy (primarily buttermilk) and vegetables were available in brighter economic times. By 1820 the bourgeoisie were eating potatoes, one of the few examples of a cultural good rising in prestige.[45]

The famine year of 1847 was a low point in the century with the failure of the potato harvest and more people dying in the Netherlands than being born.[46] Yet 1850 marked the beginning of a new phase. Rapid developments in transport and the liberalisation of international trade led to cheaper imported products and greater availability of luxury foods.[47] The structure of the meal also changed in the latter half of the century. More refined and complicated food was eaten – bread with a spread became more common than the dry version and there was a slow reduction in all members of the family eating from one communal dish – there was more use of separate plates for everyone.[48] Although for the middle and upper classes the enjoyment function of meals became more important, this was not widely the case for the poorer classes, who were still focused on obtaining enough food to fill their stomachs.[49] Yet there was slightly greater diversity in food availability: in Zeeland in the 1870s, pulses, vegetables, fish, seafood, some dairy and even small quantities of meat were accessible to even the poorest groups.[50] For these people, *jenever* was the most accessible alcohol drink with beer characterized as a luxury product.[51]

Additionally, in this period, the *middagmaal* as the most important meal of the day began to give way to the pattern of a bread-based meal at midday and a hot meal at night.[52] Greater distances between home and work in the industrialising economy were partly responsible for this shift.[53] Technological developments both inside and outside the home also impacted on meal content. The completion of the first beet sugar factory in 1858 signalled the rapid increase in sugar consumption per capita, while later in the century (1890s) an expansion in the use of glass houses boosted vegetable production both for export and

[45] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 104
[46]Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 102.
[47] Bieleman, Jan, 'Dutch agriculture 1850-1925 - Responding to changing markets', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte / Economic History Yearbook* 37:1 (1996) 11-52, 17.
[48] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 117.
[49]Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 119, 124.
[50] Wintle, Michael, 'Diet and Modernisation in the Netherlands during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *European Studies* 22 (2006) 63-84, 74.
[51] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 127.
[52] Pieter Stokvis, 'Haagse melksalons en conditoreien rond 1900', *Voeden en opvoeden, Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 19 (1999) 98-114, 106.
[53] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 258.

domestic use.[54] Coal fired stoves and ovens broke the hegemony of the open fire in the kitchen, limiting the capacity for home cooks to smoke their own meat, but enabling the production of a greater variety of dishes.[55]

Restaurants for the rich and *gaarkeukens* ('ready kitchens', where prepared food was available) for the poor, were also innovations towards the end of the century.[56] Restaurants were only accessible to a limited section of society, but did provide a means through which Dutch diners were exposed directly to foreign culinary influences – some restaurant kitchens were directed by first rank Parisian chefs.[57]

Yet, Dutch cooking, particularly that of the middle and upper classes was not devoid of foreign influences before the nineteenth century. Van Dam and Witteveen emphasise that traditional Dutch cuisine was multidimensional, and not based on a Calvinist interpretation of food.[58] In the Methods chapter, I explain the approach used to distinguish between old and new borrowings and innovations.

Outside of workers' meals of plain potatoes, bread and 'pap' or various grains, some slightly more elaborate dishes came to be seen as 'typically Dutch' dishes in the nineteenth century. In 1893, cookbook author O. A. Corver described *hutspot* made from carrots as 'echt nationaal eten.'[59] Cookbooks also contain recipes for dishes which are today categorized as Dutch cuisine, such as pea soup and *stamppot*.[60] Witteveen views the inclusion of the latter dish as particularly significant, as this meal which combines potatoes, vegetables and meat in one pot was an example of the desire to create a national dish.[61] He argues that the political climate in the late 1700s and early 1800s stimulated nationalistic motivations in the bourgeoisie to seek out a direct link with an old and faithful culinary practice.[62]

The concept of an invented tradition seems to apply here.[63] Nevertheless, the authenticity of these traditional foods is not critical – it is that they were perceived by

[54] Bieleman, 'Dutch Agriculture', 23, 39.
[55] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 133.
[56]Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 134-5.
[57] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 135.
[58] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 27
[59] O.A. Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch Kookboek* (Amsterdam 1893) 290
[60] *Geheel Nieuw en volkomen handbook* (Amsterdam 1814) 23, Henriette Davidis, Keukenboek (Haarlem 1873) 42.
[61] Witteveen quoted in Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 205.
[62] Witteveen quoted in Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 207.
[63] Adel Den Hartog, 'Vegetables as Part of the Dutch Food Culture: Invention of a Tradition'', in: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann en Alois Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität. Europäische perspektiven* (Bonn 1996) 372-387, 386.

cookbook authors as traditional that is important. We can therefore consider how ‘non-traditional’, foreign foods were considered in contrast to the baseline.

MATERIALS

Cookbooks

To identify appropriate cookbooks for the study, I have principally used the bibliography prepared by Landwehr in 1995, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek 1510-1945: een bibliografisch overzicht*.[64] Cookbooks produced in the Netherlands are listed chronologically, and each entry includes details of the current location of copies of the book.[65] The *Bibliotecha Gastronomica*, compiled by Joop Witteveen and Bart Cuperus has also been used for additional information about the books chosen for analysis.[66]

Landwehr lists 106 titles published for the first time in the nineteenth century. Nineteenth century editions of books first published in earlier centuries are in addition to this number, and many of the 106 titles were issued in a number of editions. Within these texts, I sought to select a representative sample. All books consulted were held either by Leiden University or the University of Amsterdam. The former has a particularly strong collection of books with colonial affiliations, while the primary Dutch collection of culinary literature is held in Amsterdam.

In total 37 books were selected. An attempt was made to obtain a relatively even spread of books from dates over the century, however due to the higher number of cookbooks published in later years there are slightly more examples from the post 1875 period. In some instances, dates can only be estimated, as publication dates were not always printed in the books. In several cases different editions of the same book are examined, which can be seen in the table. The 1837 and 1838 editions of the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek* are later versions of the *Geheel Nieuw Handboek*. The Corver versions of *Aaltje* are completely rewritten, and use only the name from the earlier Aaltje series. In all cases of books with multiple editions, later copies usually have a larger total number of recipes, and were often advertised as a 'verbeterde en vermeerderde druk'.[67] It is assessed that books such as these were popular, given that multiple editions were produced. In the case of Aaltje, this is confirmed by the food historian Joop Witteveen.[68]

[64] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek 1510-1945: een bibliografisch overzicht* ('t Goy-Houten 1995)
[65] And in the Southern Netherlands until 1830 and the Dutch East Indies until 1942. Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*, 2.
[66] Witteveen and Cuperus, *Bibliotecha Gastronomica*
[67] For example, the later editions of *Aaltje*, see Landwehr *Het Nederlandse Kookboek.* 44-46 for a list.
[68] Witteveen, Joop, 'Aaltje and her publishers', *Quaerendo* 16:4 (1986) 281-296

Table 2: List of cookbooks forming the basis for the study.

Date	Title	Place of publication	Part of series?	Specialist?	Language?
1801	Geldersche keuken-meid	's Bosch, Nijmegen	Yes		
1804	Aaltje	Amsterdam	Yes		
1812	Almanak for 1813	Amsterdam	Yes	Housekeeping	
1813	Almanak for 1814	Amsterdam	Yes	Housekeeping	
1814	Geheel nieuw Handboek	Amsterdam	Yes		
c1820	Aaltje	Amsterdam	Yes		
1822	Wel ervaerene Nederlandsche keuken-meyd	Brussels	Yes		
1827	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	Rotterdam	Yes		
1828	Aaltje	Amsterdam	Yes		
c1829	Geheel nieuw Handboek	Amsterdam	Yes		
1831	Het echte Aaltje	Amsterdam	Yes		
1833	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	Rotterdam	Yes		
1837	Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek*	Amsterdam	Yes		
1838	Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek*	Amsterdam	Yes		
1841	De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok	Amsterdam	Yes		
1841	Geldersche keuken-meid	Gorinchem	Yes		
1853	Raadgeving voor jonggehuwde dames	Kampen	No		
1856	Het Goedkoopste Keukenboek	Amsterdam	Yes		
1858	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	Leiden	Yes		
1866	Oost-Indisch	Samarang	Yes	For the Indies	
1867	Aaltje	Leiden	Yes		
1870	Anna, de kleine keukenmeid	Haarlem	No	For children	German
1870	Groot practisch kookboek Gouffe	Gouda	Yes	High cuisine	French
1872	Oost-Indisch	Samarang	Yes	For the Indies	
1873	Keukenboek Davidis	Haarlem	Yes		German
1876	Keukenboek Davidis	Haarlem	Yes		German
1878	Aaltje	Leiden	Yes		
1879	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	Leiden	Yes		
1884	Nieuw receptenboek Couvreur	Breda	Yes		
1890	Oost-Indisch	Samarang	Yes	For the Indies	
1891	Aaltje Corver	Amsterdam	Yes		
1892	De vrouw in de keuken	Schiedam	No		
1893	Aaltje: Corver	Amsterdam	Yes		
1893	Nationaal kookboek	Leiden	Yes		
1895	Nationaal kookboek	Leiden	Yes		
1896	Israelitisch kookboek	Amsterdam	Yes	Jewish	
1896	Oost-Indisch	Samarang	Yes	For the Indies	

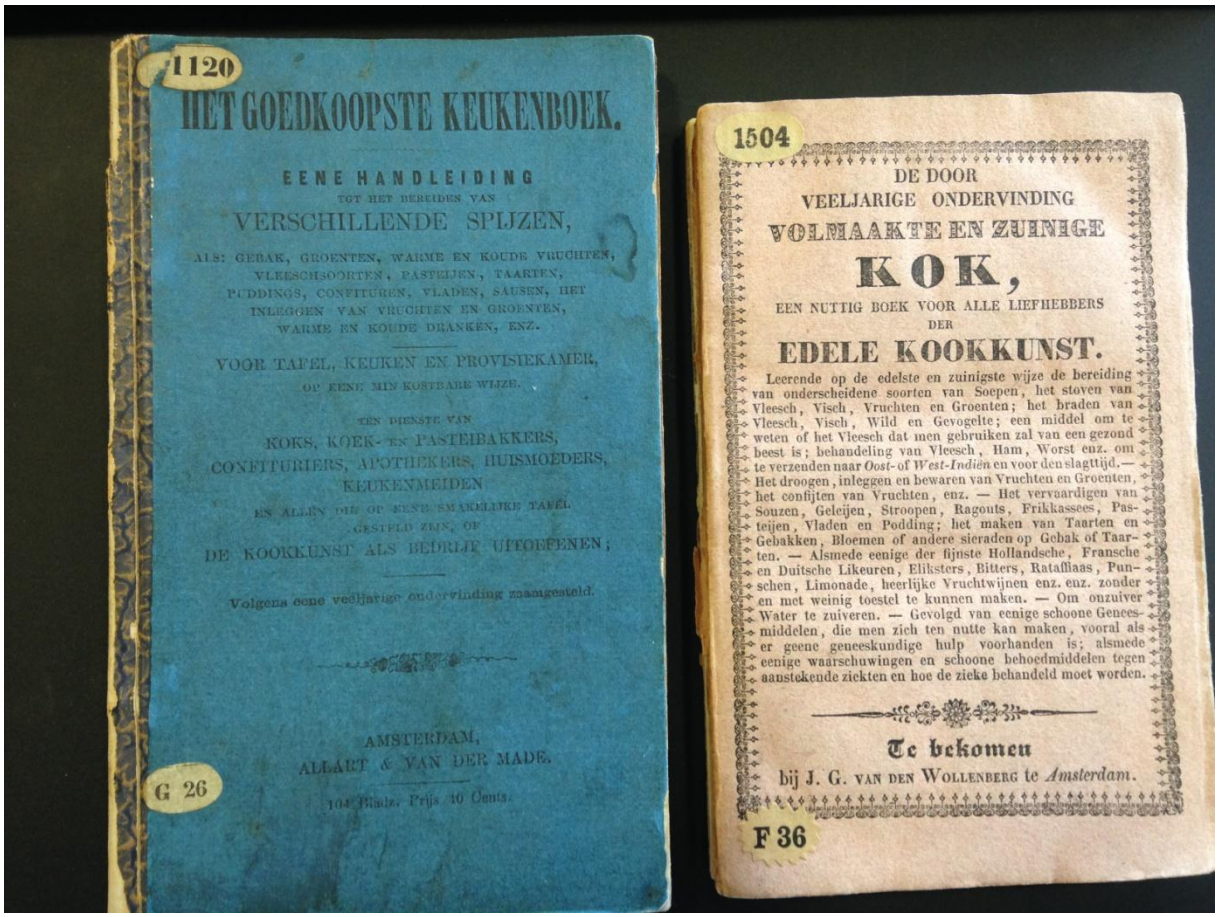
Source: Landwehr, Het Nederlands Kookboek.

Short titles are used in the table and elsewhere in the text for ease of reference. For full details please refer to the bibliography.

Most books are of a general nature, that is, they claim to cover all aspects of cookery from preserving, to baking, to soups and meat dishes. Particularly in the early years of the century, there was considerable crossover with books regarding household management in a more general sense. Two of the books in this analysis fall into this category – the Almanaks from 1812 and 1813. Despite the lower number of recipes in these texts they serve as rare examples of cookbooks produced in the French period and therefore reflect the political situation at the time.

The audience is generally quite broadly described. *Aaltje*'s title page states that it is for 'koks, keukenmeiden en huismoeders', while *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok* was for 'alle liefhebbers der edele kookkunst'. In reality, given the economic situation, middle and upper middle class consumers were the main market for the books. Some books, such as *Het Goedkoopste Keukenboek* place more emphasis on their suitability for those pursuing cookery as a career ('de kookkunst als bedrijf uitoefenen'), including cooks, biscuit and pastry chefs, confituriers, apothecaries and kitchen maids. Housewives are however also included, under the catch-all term 'all those who appreciate a delicious table'. The Gouffe book is an outlier compared to the strong middle class focus in most cookbooks, with its emphasis on high class cookery. No books directed at the working class were included in the study, given their scarcity in the nineteenth century.[69]

[69] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*, 67 lists one title in the nineteenth century which appears to be specifically directed at the lower classes, *Het Schellings Keukenboek* from 1870. The only extant copy of this book is in a private collection. Given the economic capacity of the lower classes at the time, the dearth of cookbooks for thi market is unsurprising.



Picture 1: Front covers of *Het Goedkoopste Keukenboek* and *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok*.

Two more specialist books were also selected to provide a broader perspective. These were *Anna, de kleine keukenmeid* (directed at children) and the *Israelitisch Kookboek* (written for the Dutch Jewish community). The inclusion of these books helps to reflect the late nineteenth century trend for more niche cookbooks, such as those providing vegetarian recipes, or those focused on a single ingredient, such as potatoes or fish.[70]

Books from the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* series were also selected, although they were published in the Dutch East Indies. Cookbooks focusing on the Indies were increasingly common over the course of the nineteenth century. Also, the inclusion of these books enables a comparison between the metropole and the colony in the foodways milieu.

Most cookbooks selected were published in the western, most heavily populated part of the Netherlands, roughly reflecting the number of cookbooks published in this area in

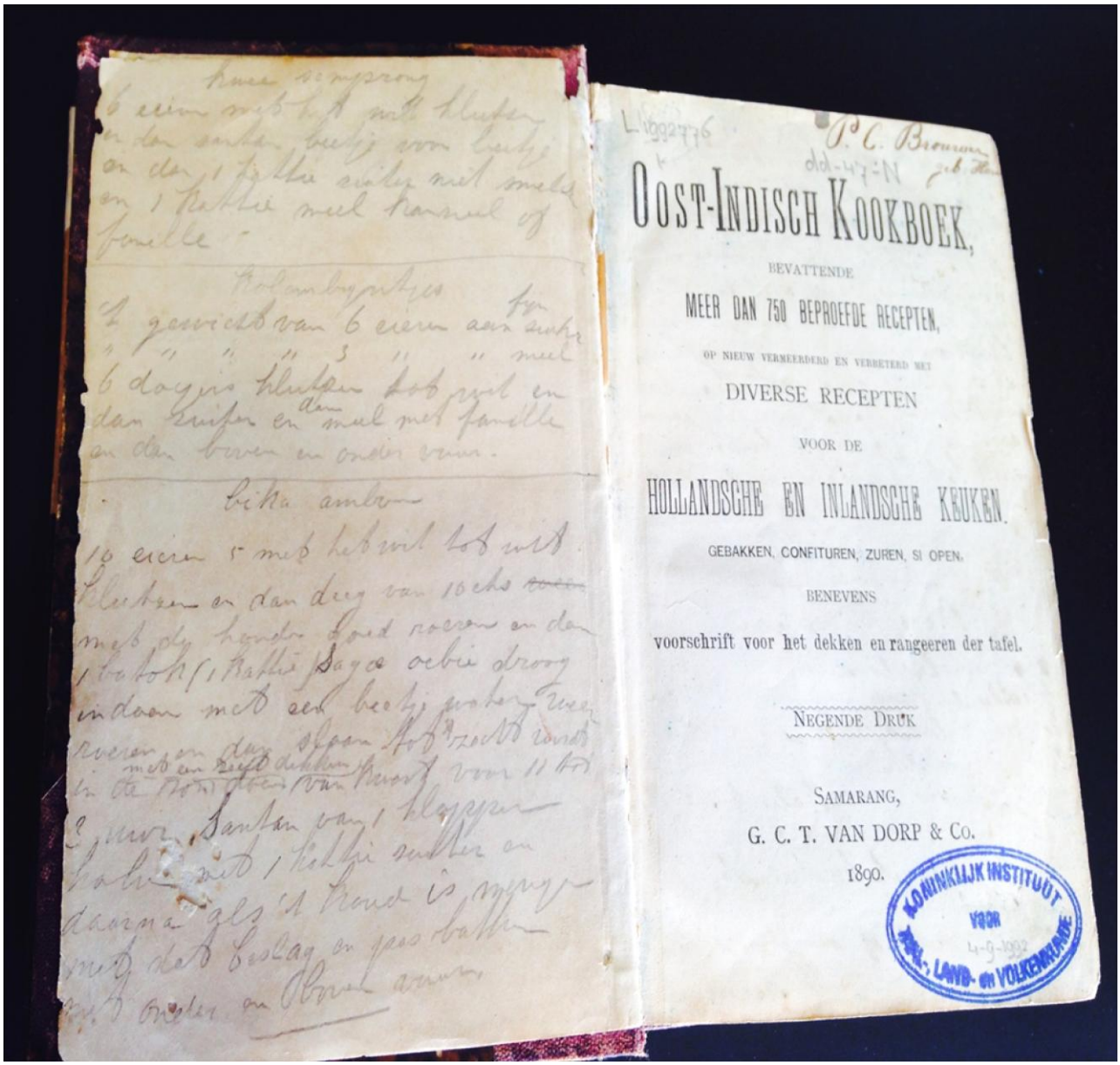
[70] See for a full listing Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek.*

comparison to the rest of the country.[71] Again, the books published in other areas such as Breda, Nijmegen and Samarang provide a useful contrast. The general exclusion of books from the border areas of the country is also intended to minimize complications caused by 'borderline' dishes, particularly if there is a focus on regional recipes. Such dishes may have a transnational quality. Barnes gives the example of *Nieuwjaarskoecken,* which originated in the eastern Netherlands and border areas of Germany.[72]

All of the books selected for analysis were published in Dutch. Some, such as those by Davidis and Gouffe were translated from foreign originals (German and French respectively). These translated books were adapted for the Dutch readership to varying extents and can therefore provide an insight into which inclusions were felt to be the most important for this audience. Additionally, the use of translated books reflects the popularity of such books, indicated by the number listed in Landwehr.[73] Some books, which were published in other languages such as Malay and German, have been excluded from the study.

The limitations of cookbooks as sources are recognized. In any cookbook analysis it is important to remember that it is very difficult to determine if dishes were actually made. In some rare cases the copies of the books hold annotations by earlier owners which indicate use of the recipes and possible alterations or additions. [74] Additionally, authors occasionally make reference to feedback received from readers on particular recipes, such as O.A. Corver in the second edition of her book.[75] However we do not know for certain how the cookbook was used.

[71] See Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek.*
[72]Barnes, Donna, *Matters of Taste: Food and drink in seventeenth-century Dutch art and life*, (Albany 2002), 24. Nannings also has many example of traditional Dutch baked good which are also common in German border regions. J.H. Nannings, *Brood en Gebakvormen en hunne Beteekenis in de Folklore*, (Scheveningen 1932).
[73] In the nineteenth century, nine cookbooks were translated from German originals, while there were several others from French and English originals. See Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*.
[74] The copy of the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* (Samarang 1890) held by Leiden University Library if heavily annotated.
[75] Corver, *Aaltje 1893*, vii.



OOST-INDISCH KOOKBOEK,

BEVATTENDE

MEER DAN 750 BEPROEFDE RECEPTEN,

OP NIEUW VERMEERDERD EN VERBETERD MET

DIVERSE RECEPTEN

VOOR DE

HOLLANDSCHE EN INLANDSCHE KEUKEN.

GEBAKKEN, CONFITUREN, ZUREN, SIROPEN.

BENEVENS

voorschrift voor het dekken en rangeeren der tafel.

NEGENDE DRUK

SAMARANG,

G. C. T. VAN DORP & Co.

1890.

Picture 2: Heavily annotated copy of the 1890 edition of the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek*, University of Leiden Library

The aspirational nature of cookbooks is frequently cited by scholars. Using the example of the communist cookbook, Geist notes that foodways described in the book bore little resemblance to reality in Soviet Russia,[76] and further argues that cookbooks as a genre are aspirational or even Utopian, as they are often sought out by readers who are in some way dissatisfied with their cooking.[77] Loo also argues that they contain an element of fantasy.[78]

[76]Geist, Edward, 'Cooking Bolshevik: Anastas Mikoian and the Making of the Book about Delicious and Healthy Food', *The Russian Review* 71:2 (2012) 295-313, 295.
[77]Geist, 'Cooking Bolshevik', 309.

Readers may hope to cook a certain luxurious meal when they have enough time or money. They may aspire to a lifestyle of fine banquets and suppers that is represented in the book, such as in the *Nationaal Kookboek*, which contains a sample menu for a 'Hunters' dinner,' evoking the feeling of a country house weekend.[79] Readers may also admire the thrifty organisational skills of the model housewives described, and hope to emulate them. Cookbooks should therefore not be seen only as well-thumbed essential instruction manuals slavishly followed by their readers.

These points do not diminish the utility of cookbooks as sources for this study. It is however important to note the limitations of the genre when drawing analytical conclusions. In the case of this paper, cookbooks (together with other sources as outlined) are used as a gauge of foreign and migrant foods and ingredients in Dutch society.

Other media

Newspapers were consulted in addition to the cookbooks previously cited. Advertisements proved to be a useful source of information on restaurants and food products. Positions vacant and 'positions wanted' listings also helpful in identifying the desired characteristics for domestic servants and hospitality personnel. Search terms were used to identify relevant articles and advertisements in the Dutch newspapers collected on the 'Delpher' database, such as the *Algemeen Handelsblad* and *Het Nieuws van de Dag*. This information was collected in order to shed further light on issues raised by examination of the cookbooks.

[78]Janice Loo, 'Mrs Beeton in Malaya', *Biblioasia* 9:3 (2013) 18-23, 23.
[79] A.G.L. Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek* (Leiden 1895) 300.

METHODS

This study is based on both quantative and qualitative analyses. For the quantative approach, each cookbook was read and the number of foreign recipes was counted. These were further divided by country of origin.

The definition of which recipes are foreign was determined as follows. Recipes whose origin is within the current border of the Netherlands are labelled as Dutch. While the disadvantages associated with the use of the nation state as the unit of analysis within migration history are noted,[80] I have chosen to focus on migrants coming from outside the Dutch borders to provide the most utility in forming comparisons with the literature on other national cuisines.[81] The *Oost-Indisch* cookbooks from the Dutch East Indies (then a Dutch colony) have been incorporated into the analysis to provide contrast to the situation in the metropole. Recipes coming from outside these territories are defined as foreign.

A set of criteria has been used to assign the native or foreign label to recipes in the sources. These criteria have been drawn from the (limited) academic work on the conventions surrounding the naming of recipes,[82] and on comparisons with recipes from cookbooks from earlier centuries and other countries. A 'common sense' rule has also been applied.

The common use of French names for dishes in many of the cookbooks necessitated particular focus in order to determine whether the dish was entirely French, used French techniques with otherwise native techniques and ingredients, or used the French title to add prestige or an exotic association to the dish. Zwicky and Zwicky note that 'the use of French seems to claim culinary excellence in a way the use of other languages does not' and when used untranslated its primary function is probably to impress the reader.[83] They further point out that because of the traditional association of French and fine food, neither the restaurant nor the food needs to be French to use the language to describe the dishes.[84] Although their focus is on menus in 1980, continuities can clearly be drawn. The traditional associations of

[80] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 'Measuring and quantifying cross-cultural migrations: An Introduction' in: J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen (eds.) *Globalising migration history: The Eurasian Experience (16th to 21st centuries* (Leiden 2014) 3-55, 10.
[81] For example Appadurai, 'How to Make a National Cuisine'.
[82] Rick Bell, Meiselman, Herbert L. ; Pierson, Barry J. ; Reeve, William G., 'Effects of Adding an Italian Theme to a Restaurant on the Perceived Ethnicity, Acceptability, and Selection of Foods', *Appetite* 22:1 (1994) 11-24.
[83] Ann Zwicky and Arnold M. Zwicky, 'America's National Dish: The Style of Restaurant Menus', *American Speech* 55:2 (1980) 83-92, 89.
[84] Zwicky and Zwicky, 'America's National Dish', 89.

French language date back considerably further than the nineteenth century. Mennell argues that French culinary influences and names were already evident in English eighteenth-century cookbooks.[85] French was similarly influential in Dutch culinary discourse – in 1747 the cookbook *Le Cuisinier Gascon* was published in the Netherlands with no accompanying Dutch text.[86] A French name does not therefore necessarily signify a French dish.

For this paper, the *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands* (EWN)[87] has been consulted and used to determine whether particular terms have been borrowed into the Dutch language. If any questions arose about whether a recipe title was Dutch or otherwise, the constituent terms were looked up in the database. If they appear in the database as Dutch words which appeared in the language before 1800, and there is no other indication of a foreign origin for the dish, the recipe has not been categorized as foreign. Words such as *ragout, fricassee, fricandeau, pudding (or podding), mayonaise, peper* (including *Spaanse peper)* and *taart* are included in the database and therefore do not signify of themselves a foreign recipe. In contrast, words including *mie*, *bami* and *nasi* did not, according to the database, appear in Dutch texts until later in the nineteenth century. Therefore the use of these terms in a recipe leads it to be categorized as foreign.

French descriptors are frequently used in the cookbooks under analysis. Sometimes they appear to give a different national character to a dish – for example *Hollandaise*, á *l'allemande* or *espagnole*. Ferguson points out that the latter two are the basic brown and white sauces of French cuisine.[88] In this case therefore *espagnole* sauce and its kin have not been categorized as Spanish (or other nationalities), but rather French. For Gouffe's book, French recipes have not been counted as foreign, as the book was written in France and only minimally adapted for the Dutch market.

The late nineteenth-century cookbook author Corver provides a useful summary of French descriptors and what this indicates about the content or preparation method of the dish. These names sometimes provide an indication of what flavourings were considered (by French gastronomy) of typical of other nation's cuisines. She explains that in regards to veal, *op zijn Duitsch* indicates that the dish is prepared with onions and beer, while *op zijn Fransch*

[85] Stephen Mennell, *All manners of food : eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present* (Oxford 1985) 98.
[86] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*, 29.
[87] This is a database, available at http://www.etymologie.nl.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/. Accessed 20 November 2014.
[88] Priscilla Ferguson, 'Eating Orders: Markets, Menus, and Meals', *The Journal of Modern History* 77:3 (2005) 679-700, 695.

points to the use of wine in the recipe.[89] *Op zijn Engels* usually indicates a plain dish, but this is not always consistent. In the 1804 edition of *Aaltje*, 'kalfskop volgende de wijze der Engelschen' is prepared with parsley and shallots.[90] In this case the dish is categorised as English, not French, as it does not follow the French naming convention. Usually however most dishes with geographical descriptors in French (or a direct translation of the French style) are of French origin and are categorised as such. The numerical superiority of French dishes resulting from these categorisations is discussed in the results section.

A group of researchers has conducted studies on whether the perceived ethnicity of a food can be changed without manipulating the food itself.[91] They found thousands of social science and business marketing articles on brand name product identification – but none on simple name identification.[92] Corver herself addresses this in both her editions of the *Aaltje* cookbook. She stresses that there is nothing to prevent any cook from choosing his or her own name for a dish.[93] In particular, phrases such as *a la* (as in *a la creme*) do not in and of themselves indicate a recipe is of French origin. Writers use this term for many reasons, to indicate the name of the chef who invented the dish, to point out that it is spicy (*a la diable*) or indeed to make the recipe sound more sophisticated. When such expressions were encountered during analysis, the contents of the recipe were analysed to enable a judgement to be made on its likely native of foreign origin. This judgement was based on the use of different techniques or ingredients compared to other recipes in the same book, and recipes with a similar name found elsewhere. This generally sufficed to enable a determination to be made on how the recipe should be categorized. Borderline cases are discussed in the results section.

Adjectives referring to geographical regions are frequently used in cookbooks of many genres in order to distinguish one dish or product from another. The Roman cookbook *The Art of Cooking* by Apicius provides a recipe for an Alexandrian sauce for grilled fish.[94] Yet it is not always clear as to whether the geographical name indicates the origin of the dish or of an ingredient. In the same Roman cookbook, scholars are divided over whether one pea dish

[89] Corver. *Aaltje 1891*, 223.
[90] *Aaltje: De Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid,* (Amsterdam 1804) 49.
[91] Bell et al, 'Effects of Adding an Italian Theme', 11-24 and Herbert Meiselman and Rick Bell, 'The Effects of Name and Recipe on the Perceived Ethnicity and Acceptability of Selected Italian Foods by British Subjects', *Food Quality and Preference* 3 (1991/2) 209-214
[92] Mieselman and Bell, 'The Effects of Name and Recipe', 213
[93] Corver, *Aaltje1893*, 45
[94]Marcus Gavius Apicius, Flower, Barbara and Elizabeth Alfoldi-Rosenbaum, *The Roman cookery book: a critical translation of "The art of cooking" by Apicius, for use in the study and the kitchen* (London 1958), 221

should be described as Indian Peas or Indigo peas.[95] Similar concerns are noted by Rodinson, who refers to the complicated linguistic heritage of eastern dishes. He describes 'Saracen' dishes in European texts of the fourteenth century which were certainly copied from the east but sounds a note of caution regarding the origin of particular ingredients, stating that Saracen grapes are merely a type of black grape.[96]

Caution is also used in this analysis. Recipes for fruit and vegetable with common geographic names such as *Spaanse peper* and *Brusselsche Kool/Spruitjes* are naturally not considered foreign. Neither are dishes including wine of foreign origin, such as Burgundy or *Rhijnwijn*.

However, more specific names of prepared ingredients are approached differently. *Parmezaansche kaas* and *Engelse mosterd* are two examples. It is assessed that while these names probably indicate types of cheese and mustard, rather than specifically cheese from Parma and mustard from England, inclusion of prepared ingredients of specific foreign origin means that the dish likely had foreign influence and was therefore categorized as not native.

In the analysis, it was also important to take into account when a recipe categorized as foreign came to the Netherlands. Did the recipe arrive in Holland during the Golden Age, a period of high migration and many international contacts? Or was it a more recent arrival? In order to determine a recipe's prevalence before the nineteenth century, three older cookbooks were consulted for comparative purposes.

[95]John Edwards, 'Philology and Cuisine in De Re Coquinaria', *American Journal of Philology* 122:2 (2001) 255-263 and Apicius and Flower, *Roman Cookery Book*, 129

[96]Maxime Rodinson, 'Venice, the Spice Trade and Eastern Influences on European Cooking', in: Rodinson, Maxime and Arberry, Arthur J. (eds.), *Medieval Arab cookery : essays and translations* (Totnes 2001) 199-216 210.

Table 3: Foreign recipes included in three sample pre-nineteenth century cookbooks

Title	Edition used	First published	Foreign dishes
De Verstandige Kok	c1708	1667	Spaanse Hutspot Olipodrigo Capoen op een Spaanse wijze Snoek op een Fransche manier Karper og de Hoog Duytsche manier Spaansche Pap Appeltaart op de Waalsche manier
De Volmaakte Geldersche keuken- meyd	1756	1756	Kalfsvleesch op zijn engels Engelsche beschuit Engelsche keekjens Spaansche pap Olipodrigo of Geldersche hutspot Spaansche wijn pap Fransche pastei Recept om Inlandsche Achia te maken
De Volmaakte Hollandsche Keuken-meid	1761	1746	Engelse kaaks Spaanse huspot Olypodrigo pastei Olypodrigo Engelse ragout Franse brood Genueesche beschuit Savoysche beschuit Gabletten Soja Spaanse pap Penne royal pudding Plum pudding Poolse vis voor de vasten

Source: *De Volmaakte Hollandsche Keuken-meid*, *De Volmaakte Geldersche keuken-meyd*, and *De Verstandige Kok*.[97]

[97] *De Volmaakte Geldersche keuken- meyd* (Nymegen 1756), *De Volmaakte Hollandsche Keuken-meid. Vyfde druk.* (Amsterdam 1761), *De Verstandige Kok* (Amsterdam – no date, but approximately 1708)

De Verstandige Kok is an example of a very early and influential Dutch cookbook. Modern commentaries such as that by Marleen Willebrand give further insight into the content and background of this text.[98]

The other two books were chosen due to their popularity. They were both part of long-lived cookbook series. The last edition of the *Hollandsche Keuken-meid* appeared in 1838, while the *Geldersche keuken meyd* went into eleven editions and was last published in 1865.[99] If a 'foreign' recipe appeared in one of these pre-nineteenth century cookbooks, then it was clearly an earlier borrowing, and perhaps well on its way to being assimilated into the standard Dutch cuisine. For example, the dish *Olipodrigo* features in all these early cookbooks. According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, this name originally signified 'a rich highly seasoned stew of meat and vegetables usually including sausage and chick-peas.'[100] Rose, the modern day English translator of *De Verstandigde Kok*, notes that this Spanish dish, known originally as Olla Podrida, was popular all over Europe. Recipes can also be found for this dish in English and French cookbooks.[101] It appears in several of the cookbooks used in the study, thus suggesting its popularity into the nineteenth century. Dutch versions however did not include chickpeas and are instead a variation of a meat stew.[102] The implications of this assimilation are discussed in the results section

To summarise the method used, the qualitative analysis proceeded in tandem with the quantitative study. Each recipe in each book was assigned a category – either foreign or not foreign. If foreign its likely country of origin was identified. Further, the books were read to identify if any other indications of their attitudes to foreign foodways were evident. This included reading the forewords and any additional articles, and examining recipe instructions. In many ways this analysis tells us more than the statistical results achieved by the quantitative approach.

Naturally, as this is a historical study, the importance of change over time was considered. By charting the varying number of foreign recipes in different years, I was able to assess whether the inclusion of foreign recipes in cookbooks was responsive to external events. These events included points of higher and lower migration, as well as geo political

[98] M. Willebrands, *De Verstandige kok: de rijke keuken van de gouden eeuw* (Bussum 2006) 12.
[99] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek.*
[100]The Merriam Webster Dictionary, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/olla%20podrida accessed 10 November.
[101] Peter Rose, *The Sensible Cook: Dutch Foodways in the Old and New World* (Syracuse 1989) 51.
[102] Olipodrigo appears for example in *Nieuwe wel ervaerene Nederlandsche keuken-meyd*, (Brussel 1822), *Aaltje 1804*, and *De Volmaakte Geldersche Keuken-Meyd* (Gorinchem 1841).

developments which could affect attitudes to migrants, such as concerns over annexation by Germany after German successes in the Franco-Prussian war.

CONTEXTS

Migration

In early centuries, particularly the Dutch 'Golden Age', the number of immigrants to the Netherlands was quite high, as was their percentage as a proportion of the population.[103] Migrants from the German periphery were attracted to the Dutch core,[104] as were those from Scandinavia, particularly Norway.[105] Refugees from modern day Belgium were also numerous.

However, by the nineteenth century, the country was no longer an economic and trading powerhouse and the proportion of immigrants as part of the population was falling. Some significant migration streams, such as German brewers and sugar refiners, started coming to an end at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[106] This trend continued over the course of the century, becoming particularly marked after 1850, when individuals from many of the traditional source countries decided instead to migrate to the USA, with its range of opportunities and the availability of increasingly cheap steamship transportation. Germans, who formed the largest group of migrants, were also becoming more attracted to opportunities offered within their country in the rapidly industrialising Ruhr valley and elsewhere.[107] The formation of the German Empire in 1871 reduced barriers to internal migration and thus increased mobility within the German nation state.[108]

Yet migrants remained present in Dutch society. Schrover provides statistics for the city of Utrecht indicating that in 1829 immigrants formed three per cent of the population, 2.8 percent in 1849, by 1859 they were 2.3 percent while by 1879 numbers had recovered slightly to 2.4 percent. These numbers mirrored the percentage for the Netherlands as a whole although within the big port cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam the proportion was higher (5.9 percent and 4.6 percent respectively in 1849).[109] In addition to the migrant groups

[103] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen , 'The Netherlands', in J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 34-44, 34.
[104] Kees Terlouw, 'Four Centuries of Translocal Development in Cities and Regions in Northwest Germany', *Globalisations* 10:6 (2013) 871-886, 875.
[105] Van Lottum, *Across the North Sea*, 135.
[106] Schrover and Van Lottum, 'Spatial concentrations', 228.
[107] Steve Hochstadt, Steve, *Mobility and modernity : migration in Germany, 1820-1989* (Ann Arbor 1999) 67.
[108] Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington 2003) 107.
[109] Schrover and van Lottum, 'Spatial Concentrations', 219.

described below, foreigners also worked in smaller numbers in other professions, such as hat-making and prostitution.[110]

It is assessed that men and women in different occupational categories would have differing levels of influence over the host community's culinary habits. This level of influence depends on whether they were directly involved in the production of food or drink (cook, baker, brewer, restaurant staff) and also on their level of cultural capital. Cultural capital, explained by Mak et al as 'the stock of knowledge and experience people acquire over the course of their lives that enables them to succeed more than someone with less cultural capital,'[111] has been usefully applied to the field of migrant food acceptability. Pearson and Kothari describe Polynesian as 'a cuisine that is rarely synonymous with cultural capital,' referring to the lower status of many Polynesian migrants in New Zealand.[112]

Table 4: Migrant occupations and assessed capacity for culinary influence

Profession	**Main Nationality**	**Potential to influence eating habits?**
Domestic servant	German, also other	Yes, particularly as cook or nanny
Trader	German	Yes, if of higher social position
Prostitute	German, French, Belgian	Minimal
Soldier/Sailor	German, Scandinavian, other	Usually minimal
Dock worker	German	Minimal
Agricultural labour	German	Usually minimal
Stoneware production and sales	German	Yes, indirectly
Bakers and brewers	German	Yes
Chefs	France	Yes

Source: Analysis of nineteenth-century migrant occupations

In the nineteenth century, migrants were active in the culinary and hospitality industries. Lane states that at this time most skilled chefs in high quality restaurants or aristocratic and wealthy households in Britain or Germany were French.[113] French chefs also worked in Dutch high quality restaurants.[114] The profile of these establishments likely gave the chefs influence beyond their immediate contacts; cross national learning networks are

[110] Annemarie Cottaar , 'Walloon Straw Hat Makers in the Netherlands in the 19th Century', in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 738-739, 738 and Marlou Schrover, 'Immigrant business and niche formation in historical perspective: The Netherlands in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27:2 (2001) 295-311

[111] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London 1984) 177.

[112] Sarina Pearson & Shuchi Kothari, 'Menus for a Multicultural New Zealand', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 21:1 (2007) 45-58, 51.

[113] Christel Lane, 'Culinary culture and globalisation: An analysis of British and German Michelin-starred restaurants', *The British Journal of Sociology* 62:4 (2011) 696-717, 701.

[114] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 135.

common among modern day elite chefs and even in the nineteenth century top level chefs had connections across borders.[115] In the Netherlands, many German migrants worked as waiters, to the extent that the word for this occupation (*kelner*) was borrowed from the German language.[116] Both waiters and chefs clearly had the potential to sway Dutch culinary preferences.

These hospitality workers were only a small proportion of migrants in the nineteenth-century Netherlands. Germans formed the largest migrant group, yet historical studies make clear that this group was heterogeneous. They were religiously mixed and spoke a variety of German dialects.[117] They came from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds and in most cases they did not settle in 'little Germanies'.[118]

In Schrover's work on Utrecht, she identified Catholic stoneware traders from the Westerwald, Lutheran file makers from the border region between the Bergische Land and the county of Mark, Catholic shopkeepers and their assistants from Munsterland and Lutheran stucco workers, from Oldenburg. There were also prostitutes and domestic servants of German origin, as well as a sprinkling of entrepreneurs in different industries. The German servants in Utrecht came from very close to the German-Dutch border. At the other end of the scale, many German female migrants worked as domestic servants. Work in the Netherlands was attractive for these women as it afforded greater freedom and higher wages.[119] While in France and the United States German servants enjoyed the benefit of positive stereotypes,[120] or a good reputation, [121] this was not the case in the Netherlands, where they were generally viewed more neutrally.

Although the proportion of foreign maids in the Netherlands was not particularly high,[122] given their position in the midst of family life, domestic servants could have substantial influence on day to day matters such as food. Konig, in her article on German servants in Paris from 1870 to 1914, notes the cultural transfer that occurred between German

[115] Lane, 'Culinary culture and globalisation', 700.
[116] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 201.
[117] Schrover and Van Lottum, 'Spatial concentrations', 235
[118]Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 96, although there is a partial exception for a neighbourhood in Amsterdam. For more see Marlou Schrover, 'Living together, working together: concentrations amongst German immigrants in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century', *Continuity and Change* 18 (2003) 263-285and Schrover and Van Lottum, 'Spatial concentrations'.
[119]Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 299.
[120]Mareike Konig, 'Femina migrans: German domestic servants in Paris, 1870-1914, a case study', *Frontiers - A Journal of Women's Studies* 33:3 (2012) 93-116, 96.
[121] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 298.
[122] Schrover *Een Kolonie*, 298.

maids and their French colleagues, and adds that this cultural transfer continued when the German maids returned to their homeland.[123] Further, if a position as a cook was achieved influence could be greater, as even a female cook in an urban bourgeois or noble household was several steps up in the hierarchy from an ordinary maid.[124]

German market gardeners who settled in the Watergraafsmeer near Amsterdam produced fruits and vegetables for the Amsterdam market.[125] Germans also made up a significant proportion of the bakers in the Netherlands, particularly in the first half of the century, and particularly in Amsterdam. This migration stream had commenced centuries earlier, with baking bread a typical migrant profession in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century.[126] Germans remained closely associated with the trade, particularly as bakers of rye bread.[127] Their prominence in this profession suggests they were able to influence their customers' tastes.

Germans also played an important role in the brewing industry, although again their numerical importance declined over the course of the century. Yet in 1871, Germans still constituted more than half of Heineken's work force.[128] German beer certainly influenced drinking habits in the Netherlands. Wintle states that Dutch beer of the early nineteenth century was considered to be of low quality, but by the 1880s, the commercial market had been taken over by German style bottom yeasted pilsner beers, which kept for a longer period of time and had a hoppy flavour.[129] Some beer was imported from Germany, but it was also brewed in the Netherlands in the Bavarian style, often by German master brewers and apprentices.[130] The availability of this beer, which was facilitated by the work of German migrants, changed the taste preferences of Dutch consumers.[131]

[123] Konig, 'Femina Migrans', 107, 110.
[124] Konig, 'Femina Migrans', 96.
[125]Harm Kall and Jelle Van Lottum, 'Immigrants in the Polder. Rural-Rural Long Distance Migration in North-Western Europe: The Case of Watergraafsmeer', *Rural History* 20 (2009) 99-117, 103.
[126]Erika Kuijpers, 'German Baker-Journeymen in Amsterdam in the 17th Century', in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 406-408, 406.
[127] Schrover, *Een kolonie*, 50, see also footnotes on this page.
[128]Schrover, *Een kolonie*, 196.
[129] Wintle, 'Diet and Modernisation', 76.
[130] Harry Lintsen, Bakker, Martijn, and Lente, Dick van., *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland: de wording van een moderne samenleving 1800-1890. Dl. 1: Techniek en modernisering, landbouw en voeding* ('s Gravenhage 1992), 186.
[131] Lintsen, Bakker and Lente, *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland*, 170.

The new style of beer owed its development to the development of appropriate cooling technology which meant that Bavarian style beer could be brewed year round.[132] German migrants also brought to the Netherlands a less technological but similarly useful product, the *Keulsche Pot*. This type of water proof and air tight stoneware pot was made by migrants from the Westerwald, and was used extensively for the preservation of fresh produce, such as butter and beans, which was crucial in the time before the invention of other methods of conservation.[133] Its popularity was widespread, as Schrover notes, a pantry full of preserved food in *Keulsche potten* was a symbol of prosperity for the petit bourgeoisie.[134] These products, made and sold by migrants, were crucial to Dutch food conservation.

In addition, seasonal agricultural work such as mowing, haymaking and peat cutting was often performed by German migrant labourers up until 1870.[135] Brick making was also done on a seasonal basis by workers from Lippe.[136] These workers came to the Netherlands during the summer, leaving their small farms in north-west Germany to the care of their wives while taking advantage of work opportunities on Dutch farms.[137] Seasonal workers were generally not counted in the official statistics for foreigners in the Netherlands as they did not register.[138]

Migrant agricultural labourers rarely came into contact with local workers, although hay mowers generally enjoyed a small celebration with their employers at the end of the season.[139] Jan Lucassen has noted that they often brought their own food (such as salted meat, flour and groats) into the Netherlands in order to avoid high prices in the North Sea region.[140] Perhaps this food was traded with local people? If any cultural transfer did occur however, this would have been on a small scale.

Although they did not remain in the Netherlands for more than a season at a time, perhaps due to the longevity of their communal presence in the Netherlands, these agricultural

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[132] Lintsen, Bakker and Lente, *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland*, 170
[133] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 225
[134] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 227. While the trade in these pots had existed since at least the sixteenth century, it continued to be important in the nineteenth century.
[135] Jan Lucassen, 'German Seasonal Agricultural Laborers in the Netherlands from the 17th to the Early 20th Century', in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 435-439, 437.
[136] Jan Lucassen, 'The Other Proletarians: Seasonal Labourers, Mercenaries and Miners', *International Review of Social History* 39:S2 (1994) 171 – 193, 171.
[137] Steve Hochstadt, 'Migration in Preindustrial Germany', *Central European History* 16:3 (1983) 195-224 211
[138] Van Lottum, *Across the North Sea*, 66
[139] Lucassen, 'Seasonal agricultural laborers', 438-9.
[140] Lucassen, 'Seasonal agricultural laborers', 436.

workers formed the basis for stereotypes about German migrants in the country.[141] In popular farcical sketches and plays they were figures of fun, associated with stupidity and poverty. They were given the insulting nickname 'Poepen'.[142] Other Germans, such as wealthy businessmen, were not relegated to this category.

In Rotterdam, the expansion of the port economy between 1870 and 1890 attracted German migrants. German trading firms and insurance companies were established, who recruited some of their staff from Germany. Large numbers of dock-workers, skippers and sailors from Germany sought work at the harbour. Rotterdam was also attractive to German entrepreneurs.[143]

The entrepreneurs of Rotterdam and the traders of Utrecht and other towns are examples of migrants from the higher socio-economic strata. Several of the traders, for example, established profitable proto-department stores which subsequently expanded and are well known in the Netherlands today, such as C&A and Peek and Cloppenburg.[144] Any influence exerted by these migrants on Dutch eating patterns was not by virtue of their profession. Rather, it hinged on their position in the class hierarchy. Montreuil and Bourhis note that migrants that are more highly valued by a host community are seen to have a more valuable cultural heritage that is worthy of being maintained. Such migrants are welcomed more warmly and are encouraged to integrate, rather than segregated or pushed to assimilate.[145] Migrants who are respected for their higher social status and cultural capital could help to shape the tastes of the host country.

Foreigners made up a large proportion of the crew on Dutch trading, fishing, whaling and military boats. Germans were the most numerous foreign sailors, followed by Scandinavians. Van Lottum assesses that in the half century 1800-1850 approximately 25,000 foreigners were working in the maritime labour market.[146] For most the motivation to work on Dutch ships was economic, with higher wages available than in their home towns.[147] In VOC

[141] Lucassen, 'German Seasonal Agricultural Laborers', 439.
[142] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 39-41
[143] Lesger, Lucassen and Schrover, 'Is there life outside the migrant network?', 33.
[144] Leo Lucassen, 'German Traders and Shopkeepers in the Netherlands, 1850–1900', in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 454-456, 454.
[145]Annie Montreuil, and Bourhis, Richard, 'Acculturation Orientations of Competing Host Communities toward Valued and Devalued Immigrants', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 28:6 (2004) 507-532
[146] Van Lottum, *Across the North Sea*, 183.
[147] Karel Davids, German Sailors in the Dutch Merchant Marine from the Early 17th to the End of the 19th Century in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 433-435, 434.

times forty per cent of sailors were of foreign origin, foreign sailors continued to form a high percentage of the crew on the Indies-bound ships of the nineteenth century.[148]

In the nineteenth-century colonial army the average proportion of non-Dutch Europeans was 35 percent, or a total of 13,000 men.[149] These soldiers volunteered for a minimum of six years and were mostly German, although some came from Flanders and Scandinavia.[150] Recruiting drives took place inside Germany, and Germans were held in high esteem as soldiers, an impression seemingly confirmed by their victories in the Franco-Prussian war.[151] Foreign soldiers in the colonial army could spend months in the Netherlands awaiting deployment, although Bossenbroek notes that contact between these foreigners and local people was largely superficial and professional.[152]

Individual foreign soldiers and sailors would have had limited capacity to pass on the foodways of their homelands. The military as an institution did have influence on civilian eating patterns, given its role in encouraging technological developments.[153] Soldiers and sailors were usually fed communally, either in their barracks or on board ship, eating rations which were centrally determined on the basis of rank, and in the Indies, on race.[154] They therefore had little scope for autonomy in their food consumption.

After their service, these foreign soldiers only rarely returned to the Netherlands to settle.[155] Many did however remain in the Indies, and although the death rate in the first half of the century was high, this later improved. A considerable number of those forming the backbone of Dutch colonialism were born outside the Netherlands. The biggest number of migrants came from Germany, but they also originated in the Southern Netherlands (Belgium),

[148] Gijs Kruijtzer, 'European migration in the Dutch sphere', in: Oostindie, Gert, (ed), *Dutch colonialism, migration and cultural heritage* (Leiden 2008) 97-154, 112.
[149] Ulbe Bosma, 'European colonial soldiers in the nineteenth century: their role in white global migration and patterns of colonial settlement', *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009) 317-336, 321
[150] Gerke Teitler, 'The mixed company : fighting power and ethnic relations in the Dutch colonial army, 1890-1920', *South East Asia research* 10:3 (2002) 361-374, 362
[151] Teitler, 'Mixed Company', 364
[152]Martin Bossenbroek, 'Western and Central European Soldiers in the Dutch Colonial Army, 1815–1909', in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 743-745, 744
[153] *Voeding der lijders in de militaire ziekeninrichtingen Tarief n. 40* (Batavia 1891) no page numbers.
[154] *Voeding der lijders in de militaire ziekeninrichtingen*, no page number.
[155] Bossenbroek, 'Soldiers in the Dutch Colonial Army', 745.

France, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Britain.[156] German, English and French communities formed part of the broader European society in Batavia.[157]

It can therefore be seen that Dutch residents of the Dutch East Indies were exposed to not only to the cultural and culinary influences of the native Indonesian peoples, but also to those of other Europeans. As a result, we should take this into account when considering the effect of return migration on the Netherlands. Bosma points out that the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 coincided with lower European mortality rates in the Dutch East Indies, and a growth in the colonial population, and argues that an extensive colonial-metropole migration circuit thereby emerged.[158] Generations of children furthered their education in the Netherlands, older people returned to the home country upon retirement, and soldiers came back after completing their service. Senior officials in business and the colonial bureaucracy had access to home leave.[159] Bosma convincingly argues that peripheral bourgeoisies, such as that in the Dutch East Indies, reproduced themselves through orientation to the metropole.[160] Their place in the picture of migration in the nineteenth-century Netherlands should therefore not be ignored.

Neither should that of Dutch migrants who returned to the Netherlands after labouring abroad, even when the country of employment was much closer to home. Tens of thousands of Dutch men and women worked on a temporary basis in Germany in the last quarter of the century.[161] The historian Van Eijl states that they made little, if any, cultural impact in Germany and integrated quickly.[162] This exposure to German society and culture may have impacted their way of life on return to the Netherlands.

The Jewish community was another important minority. Some of the community had roots in the Netherlands dating back to early modern times, but numbers were boosted by the arrival of refugees after the brutal pogroms in Russia in 1881 and 1882. By the time of the

[156] Gert Oostindie, 'Migration and its legacies in the Dutch colonial world', in: Oostindie, Gert, (ed), *Dutch colonialism, migration and cultural heritage* (Leiden 2008) 1-22, 5.
[157] Pauline Dublin Milone, *Queen City of the East: The Metamorphosis of a Colonial Capital* (University of California Berkeley PhD Thesis 1966), 150.
[158] Ulbe Bosma, 'Sailing through Suez from the South: The Emergence of an Indies-Dutch Migration Circuit, 1815-1940', *International Migration Review* 41:2 (2007) 511-536, 511.
[159] Bosma, 'Suez', 524.
[160] Bosma, 'Suez', 512.
[161] Corrie van Eijl, ''Dutch Labor Migrants in Germany in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries'', in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 329-331, 329.
[162] Van Eijl, 'Dutch Labor Migrants', 330.

First World War, there were approximately 115,000 Jews in the Netherlands.[163] The migration status of the Jews in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century is debated by scholars. The community had of course been present for several centuries. However, while many writers emphasise the strong assimilation trend, particularly in the latter half of the century, there was a wave of new migrants after 1880.[164] Eastern European Jews were also among the many transmigrants who passed through Rotterdam en route to the United States.[165] The Jews are therefore perhaps best described as a minority community, rather than a migrant community. However, as their culinary influence provides an interesting contrast/parallel to that of migrants, they will be discussed briefly in this paper.

Schrover notes that special Jewish food products were available in the nineteenth-century Netherlands, including bakery products and kosher meat.[166] In the United States, with the large Jewish community in New York, Jewish products crossed over to become popular with the wider community.[167] Jewish foodways clearly had the potential to change the foodways of the host population.

Migrants, particularly those of higher status, could also play a role in inspiring an interest in cosmopolitanism in the host community.[168] Several scholars describe cosmopolitanism as a means of internationalising national identities.[169] Guidotti, in her article on the 1898 Mexican cookbook *El Cocinero Espagnole,* provides an example of the part that migrants could play in this process. She emphasizes that the inclusion of a number of recipes from varied European cuisines and styles in the cookbook reflects the population of Italian, French and German immigrants in the author's county and suggests both a kind of cosmopolitanism.[170] Further, in France, the interest in Asian forms of exoticism can be

[163]Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, 'Ashkenazim in Europe since the Early Modern Period', in: J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.), *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe : from the 17th century to the present* (Cambridge 2011) 239-245, 243.
[164] Shlomo Berger, 'East European Jews in Amsterdam: Historical and literary anecdotes', *East European Jewish Affairs*, 33:2 (2003) 113-120, 115.
[165] Frank Caestecker and Torsten Feys, 'East European Jewish migrants and settlers in Belgium, 1880–1914: A transatlantic perspective', *East European Jewish Affairs* 40:3 (2010) 261-284, 270
[166] Marlou Schrover, 'Gij zult het bokje niet koken in de melk zijner moeder. Joodse ondernemers in de voedings- en genotmiddelenindustrie.' in: Hetty Berg, Thera Wijsenbeek, Eric Fischer (eds.), *Venter, fabriqueur, fabrikant. Joodse ondernemers en ondernemingen in Nederland 1796-1940. (*Amsterdam 1994) 160-190, 160
[167] Gabaccia, *We are what we eat*, 6
[168] Cosmopolitanism discussed at greater length in a following chapter.
[169] Heike Henderson, '"Strange" Foods, Taboos, and German Tastes', *Rocky Mountain Review* 65: 2 (2011) 148-167,155, Pearson and Kothari, 'Menus', 48.
[170] Nicole Guidotti-Hernández, 'Gender, epistemology and cooking: Rethinking Encarnación Pinedo's El cocinero español', *Women's Studies International Forum* 31:6 (2008) 449-456, 452

partially attributed to the arrival of Vietnamese refugees in the 1970s.[171] Henderson, in his article on Germany, notes that while immigrants' foreign food is often accepted more readily than the immigrants themselves, the search for new foods, tastes and eating experiences (which were introduced by the said immigrants) is seen as adding value, sophistication and distinction to life.[172] The way that a desire for a cosmopolitan identity can affect the acceptability of migrant food is discussed in the results section.

The way migrants shaped food culture in other countries can shed light on the ways in which migrants in the Netherlands potentially influenced Dutch foodways. The German community in the United States played an important role in the development of US eating habits. Laudan argues that German immigrants were especially important in differentiating American cuisine from British cuisine.[173] They were also enthusiastic participants in the brewing and baking industries. Traditional German smoked meat provided the basis for Texas barbecue.[174] In the Argentinean context, German baked goods became popular outside the German migrant communities.[175] German bakeries and confectioners were also a familiar sight in Glasgow, Scotland.[176]

Also in Britain, return migrants from colonial British India had a significant impact on the development of English cuisine. A considerable literature exists on the development of an Anglo-Indian cuisine, and on the place of curry in England itself. Procida argues that one of the functions of cookbooks of Indian cooking was to normalize the apparently exotic cuisine for the intended readership of female settlers and colonists in India. Although these women rarely cooked themselves, English language cookbooks provided a means for the women to gain knowledge about Indian food. [177] This information would subsequently be transmitted to the British homeland on return journeys.

Zlotnick addresses the role of curry in more mainstream English cookbooks directed toward an English audience. Chapters on curry featured in three of the most influential

[171] Faustine Regnier, 'Spicing Up the Imagination: Culinary Exoticism in France and Germany, 1930–1990', *Food and Foodways* 11:4 (2003) 189-214, 210.
[172] Henderson, '"Strange" Foods', 148-167, 151-155.
[173] Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley 2013), 263.
[174] Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 264.
[175] Milena Veenis, *Kartoffeln, Kuchen und Asado'. Over de verborgen keuken van Duitsers in Argentinië*. (Amsterdam 1995), 64.
[176] Stefan Manz, 'Negotiating Ethnicity, Class and Gender: German Associational Culture in Glasgow, 1864–1914', *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* 31:2 (2013) 146-170, 149 -150
[177] Mary Procida, 'Feeding the Imperial Appetite: Imperial knowledge and Anglo-Indian discourse', *Journal of Women's History* 15:2 (2003) 123-140, 127, 131

domestic cookbooks.[178] The recipes in these books often feature curry powder, which was commercially available from 1784 but was not widely popular in Britain until East India Company officials began arrive home on leave in the early nineteenth century.[179] Curry powder is therefore a clear example of the culinary influence of returned colonial migrants. In the results section, I argue that my study of Dutch cookbooks reveals a similar influence from returned colonial migrants.

For the purposes of this paper, the focus is on movement over international borders. A general trend of more immigration to the country in the first half of the century can be determined. Some migrants were sojourners, who remained for a short period and then moved on, others settled in the Netherlands. The link to the Dutch East Indies adds another layer to the picture. The European community there, and the colonial army, included many people born outside of the Netherlands. People travelling to the Netherlands from the Indies can be seen as return migrants, as of course can the Dutch nationals who came back to their home country after a stint working in Germany. The migration historian Patrick Manning argues for the influence of cross-community migrants on processes of innovation.[180] I argue in this paper that innovation could extend into the culinary sphere, and that migrants influenced the type of 'innovations' (foreign recipes, ingredients and techniques) represented in the cookbooks of the period.

The importance of the middle class

After 1850, the Dutch population enjoyed increasing incomes and greater purchasing power.[181] While still small, the size of the middle class expanded. This is a potential factor influencing changes in the cookbooks over time, as scholars have noted that differentiation in eating habits is one way in which the middle and upper classes seek to separate themselves from each other, and from the lower classes. The sociologist Ferguson has described the role of conspicuous culinary consumption in elite social behaviour under advanced capitalism,[182] while food historian Mennell is more explicit. He states that in European history class has been the strongest influence in food, and it has often been used both to climb the social ladder

[178] Susan Zlotnick, 'Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 16: 2/3 (1996) 51-68, 60
[179] Zlotnick, 'Domesticating Imperialism', 59
[180] Manning, *Migration in World History*, 11
[181] Bieleman, 'Dutch Agriculture', 11
[182] Ferguson, 'Eating Orders', 690

and to push others down.[183] The quantity of food consumed by different classes is one clear method of differentiation, particularly in times of scarcity. Yet the type and quality of food eaten can also signify membership of a particular group. In the Netherlands, eating wheat bread conveyed high status, while pumpernickel bread was associated with barbarism.[184]

The 'quality divide' is reflected to a certain extent in cookbooks, although these were primarily written for the middle and upper classes. These groups had enough money to afford diversity in their diet, and to have sufficient discretionary income to allow for the purchase of the book. As such the influence of migrant foodways on the majority of the population is not a focus, although some 'trickle-down effect' can be anticipated, particularly after increasing economic prosperity enabled slightly more variation in working class diets later in the century. Towards the end of the century, cookbooks began to be produced for more socially diverse audiences. One example, from Belgium is *De keukenmeid der werklieden*.[185] None of the books in this study can be accurately described as a cookbook for the working class. No books for this audience fell into the selection parameters.

However, it is still possible to distinguish between the books in the study on the basis of the social status of the intended readership. Witteveen and van Dam argue that social relations in the Netherlands changed markedly after the demise of the ancient regime in 1795, and that the middle class gradually grew in importance.[186] They draw a distinction between books in the style of the former century, for wealthier households with several staff, and a newer style of cookbooks written for housewives who need to cook their own food, with the help of perhaps one maid.[187]

Van Otterloo also mentions the importance of class in Dutch culinary history in reference to the intended purpose of the *huishoudscholen*, the first of which was established in 1888.[188] These crusaders for better food, and less drink for the poor also operated in other European countries, and hoped to teach working class women how to prepare nutritious and cheap meals.[189] The schools did not however attract the desired level of participation from

[183] Mennell, *All manners*, 17
[184] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*,
[185]This book dates from 1880. See Parys, 'Cooking up a culinary identity for Belgium', 221.
[186] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en Keukenmeiden*, 93.
[187] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en Keukenmeiden,* 93.
[188] A.H. van Otterloo, 'Van kookleraressen tot diëtisten. Het streven naar verbetering van de maaltijd tussen 1880 en 1940', in: Knecht-Van Eekelen, Annemarie, en Stasse-Wolthuis (eds.),, *Voeding in onze samenleving in historisch perspectief* (Alpen aoan de Rijn/Brussel 1987) 110-135, 121. DWESCRIBE SCHOOLS
[189] Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 268.

working class housewives.[190] Instead, most attendees were middle class women or maids. The former group was taught more sophisticated recipes based on French cuisine, while German and English cooking provided a basis for the more modest dishes taught to kitchen maids and cooks,[191] thus promulgating the idea that certain food was appropriate for certain classes. Van Otterloo notes however that students, including kitchen-maids, did share their own culinary knowledge with the instructors.[192]

The impact of the rise of the middle class, and of the influence of the *huishoudscholen*, is examined in the Results section.

Towards a cosmopolitan identity?

The consumption of new and unfamiliar foods is another method of differentiation. This differentiation can be incorporated into a wider cosmopolitan identity, which became increasingly desirable in the nineteenth century. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is again relevant here. He notes that those with higher cultural capital are more likely to be interested in the novel and exotic.[193] Heldke adds that adventurous eaters add to their cultural capital.[194] Link takes this one step further, stating that readers of cookbooks with adventurous recipes can still 'align themselves with the credibility of the writer', thus adding to their cultural capital by proxy.[195] We have touched on the place of migrants in the development of a cosmopolitan identity in an earlier chapter, although the presence of migrants is not integral to this identity concept. By eating exotic and new foods, or even by reading about them, consumers can internationalise their identity, thus setting themselves apart from the masses.[196]

Part of identifying as cosmopolitan is having a connection to the exotic.[197] In regards to food, the concept of exoticism in food has been examined by the sociologist Regnier, who notes that the meaning of the term can vary both geographically and temporally. However, far off countries and out of the ordinary foods such as spices and tropical fruits are frequently

[190] Van Otterloo, 'Van kookleraressen tot dietisten', 111.
[191] Van Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 139.
[192] Van Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 139.
[193] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 185.
[194] Heldke, *Exotic Appetites*, xxiii.
[195] Catherine Anne Link, *Challenges to flavour: Influences on the cultural identity of cuisines in the Australian foodscape*, (PhD Thesis, University of Western Sydney 2012), 108.
[196] Henderson, "Strange Foods", 155.
[197] Helene Snee, *A Cosmopolitan Journey?: Difference, Distinction and Identity Work in Gap Year Travel* (Ashgate 2014), 91.

associated with the term.[198] Exoticism is generally perceived positively; as something exciting, and indeed as a marker of sophistication. The flip side of cosmopolitanism and exoticism is the concept of the 'other', and this can also be seen in food-focussed literature. Sheridan explores this idea in her study of the *Australian Women's Weekly* magazine in the mid twentieth century. She argues that non-Anglo women are presented as 'the other' in the magazine, in opposition to the Australian national (and non-cosmopolitan) identity.[199]

Given the colonial status of the Dutch East Indies, both the concepts of the exotic and the other could be used to characterise Indisch cuisine. Locher-Scholten notes that 'kokkies' (the female cooks in European households in the Dutch East Indies), while admired for their talent, were viewed with a mixture of paternalism and presumption.[200] Zlotnick, in regards to British India, states that nineteenth century domestic cookbooks are self conscious cultural documents, in which the other as a source of nourishment serves as a metaphor for British imperialism.[201] However, as Scribner argues, a desire to impose a hierarchy of class and ethnicity is not in conflict with a desire for a cosmopolitan identity.[202] My conclusions as to what extent these notions influenced foreign recipe selection are discussed in the results chapter.

Travel is an important method for the transmission of culinary ideas. It was an important means of creating and reinforcing a cosmopolitan identity.[203] Over the course of the nineteenth century, people increasingly travelled for leisure purposes. The *Grand Tour* of Europe remained an option for the wealthy, [204] yet the middle classes also gained access to travel opportunities. Germany and its spa resorts were popular destinations for many tourists, including Dutch men and women,[205] and these destinations emphasized their international, progressive and cosmopolitan character with promotional publications printed in a variety of

[198] Regnier, 'Spicing Imagination', 193.
[199]Susan Sheridan, 'The "Australian Woman" and her Migrant Others in the Postwar Australian Women's Weekly', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 14:2 (2008) 121-132, 121-2.
[200]Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, 'Rijst, Indische Rijsttafel en Indonesische keuken', in: Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H and Kees Vellehoop (eds.), *Gerechten met een verhaal : 28 recepten met hun culturele, historische en literaire context* (Utrecht 1994).121-125, 121. For more on kokkies, see Susie Protschky, 'The flavour of history: Food, family and subjectivity in two IndoEuropean women's memoirs', *The History of the Family* 14:4, (2009) 369-385.
[201] Zlotnick, 'Domesticating Imperialism', 53.
[202] Vaughn Scribner, 'Cosmopolitan colonists: gentlemen's pursuit of cosmopolitanism and hierarchy in British American taverns', *Atlantic Studies* 10:4 (2013) 467-496, 472.
[203] Scribner, 'Cosmopolitan colonists', 475.
[204] Thomas Prasch, 'Eating the World: London in 1851', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 36 (2008) 587–602, 589.
[205] Pieter de Coninck, *Een les uit Pruisen : Nederland en de Kulturkampf, 1870-1880* (Hilversum 2005), 173, see also William Bacon, 'The rise of the German and the demise of the English spa industry: a critical analysis of business success and failure', *Leisure Studies* 16:3 (1997) 173-187.

languages.[206] Foreign leisure travellers also came to the Netherlands – Scheveningen and its Kurhaus were particularly popular venues- and the visitors' preferences perhaps influenced the menus at their destination.

Travel for non-leisure purposes also became safer, faster and more common. For example, after the opening of the Suez Canal, people travelled much more frequently between the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands.[207] The experience of eating different foods and trying new drinks is a (generally) unavoidable part of travel, particularly if any significant distance is covered, and this can often result in a desire to taste these products again. Mak et al note that exposure to certain foods tends to increase preferences for those foods.[208] Thus travel both encouraged cosmopolitanism and was also a mechanism whereby foreign recipes were brought back to the Netherlands and incorporated into cookbooks.

In the results section I will assess whether the desire of some sections of society to develop a cosmopolitan society influenced foreign recipe selection, taking into account the influences of travel and exoticism.

Fashionable trends

Eating is a form of consumption which is susceptible to the vagaries of fashion. Once basic physical needs have been fulfilled, the food we eat and the way we eat it can serve to display and reinforce our identities, as discussed in the introduction. Cookbooks can be seen as both 'taste makers', and as a reflection of the way people do eat at a given point. Cookbooks, together with other opinion leaders, restaurants and media outlets can guide fashions in dining habits.[209]

One clear trend in many nineteenth century Dutch cookbooks is the drive to be seen as 'zuinig' and 'goedkoop'. Culinary historians such as Van 't Veer have noted that despite the prominence of these and similar adjectives in the genre, the recipes in most cookbooks are in general not particularly thrifty or cheap.[210] However, van Dam and Witteveen note that in the

[206] Adam Rosenbaum, 'Grounded Modernity in the Bavarian Alps: The Reichenhall Spa Culture at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Central European History* 47:1 (2014) 30-53, 47, 48.
[207] Bosma, 'Suez', 512.
[208] Mak, Lumbers and Eves, 'Globalisation and food consumption', 185.
[209] Pearson and Kothari, 'Menus', 54.
[210] Annie Van 't Veer, *Oud-Hollands Kookboek* (Utrecht 1983), 171.

books associated with the *huishoudscholen*, true thrift is evident.[211] Why was frugality such a popular label? Van Otterloo argues that the use of this and similar terms served primarily to signal a distinction between the *burgerlijke keuken* (appropriate for most Dutch middle class families), and the overly extravagant high class kitchens associated with French cuisine.[212] This is relevant to this study as the emphasis on thrift played a role in the way foreign cuisines were perceived. For example, English cuisine was considered to share the Dutch practice of frugality in the kitchen.[213] In the results section, I examine the influence of this trend on foreign recipe selection.

It is seemingly contradictory that an appreciation of French high cuisine was also an important trend in the nineteenth century. The systematized French cuisine of the nineteenth century exported codes of preparation and consumption to many countries.[214] Indeed, the dominance of French haute cuisine was consolidated as cultural model among elite groups in European countries.[215] Scholliers argues that there was a culinary discourse that spread from Paris to many other parts of Europe where good taste and the art of refined eating and drinking were considered to be the highest step of civilisation. The power of the rich in Paris to influence eating habits was considerable. In Belgium the dinners and soirees of the bourgeoisie followed rules and norms from France: French customs determined what was chic and what was not.[216] The fashionability of French cuisine is another important influential factor considered in my analysis.

In the literature, an emphasis on the health value of food was another important trend in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The discovery of key elements of nutritional science played a role. Scientific information spread from elite and specialized journals, through middle-class books and periodicals, and eventually to materials directed at servants.[217] Fears of food impurity were also a factor in the greater emphasis on the healthiness of food.[218] Increasing industrialisation and urbanisation facilitated the adulteration of foods,[219] and health scares prompted government authorities across Europe to take action.

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[211] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 146.
[212] Van Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 141-2.
[213] Mennell, 'Culinary Culture', 460.
[214] Ferguson, 'Eating Orders 697.
[215] Mennell, 'Culinary Culture', 459.
[216] Scholliers, *Arm en rijk aan tafel*, 67.
[217]Caroline Lieffers, "The Present time is eminently Scientific": The Science of Cookery in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Social History*, 45:4 (2012) 936-959, 948.
[218]H. Deelstra, D. Thorburn Burns and M. J. Walker, 'The adulteration of food, lessons from the past, with reference to butter, margarine and fraud', *European Food Res Technology* 239 (2014) 725–744, 731.
[219] Deelstra, Thornburn Burns and Walker, 'The adulteration of food', 725.

Scholliers describes the establishment of municipal food testing facilities after the 1850s in several European countries.[220] Lieffers states that information about adulteration was everywhere.[221] The health value ascribed to recipes is therefore assessed as a possible factor determining their inclusion or exclusion in cookbooks.

Modernisation, industrialisation, and globalisation

The nineteenth century was a period of modernisation, which encompassed many technological, political, economic, cultural and social changes. In this paper, the focus will be on the changes wrought by a move away from traditional eating practices, technological developments in the food industry, and the world market brought about by globalisation.

Modernisation has been seen as responsible for a number of effects on cooking and eating practices. Traditional foods, which often relied on religious practices to give them context,[222] could be superseded by a preference for modern foods.[223] The move to industrial working habits led to a change in the timing of meals and often their structure.[224] New technologies affected how cooking was practiced in home kitchens.[225] For Wintle, modernisation of dietary practices in the Netherlands meant a 'great metamorphosis, from eating to live to living to eat.[226] It is therefore relevant to consider how modernisation and the changing views of traditional foods impacted recipe selection in Dutch cookbooks.

When modernisation spreads across borders, this can be considered a form of globalisation. Although there is significant debate, [227] many historians consider that this phenomenon took off in the nineteenth century, with the social, economic, cultural, political and religious effects of dramatic advances in communication technology.[228] Globalisation has

[220] Peter Scholliers, 'Defining food risks and food anxieties throughout history', *Appetite*, 2008, 51:1 (2008) 3-6 , 5.
[221] Lieffers, 'Science of cookery', 950.
[222] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden* 106, Laurence Roth, 'Toward a Kashrut Nation In American Jewish Cookbooks 1990-2000', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 28:2 (2010) 65-91.
[223] Gretel Pelto, Pelto, Pertti J., and Lung'aho, Mary S., "Modern" and "Traditional" food use in West finland: An example of quantitative pattern analysis', *Nutrition Research* 1:1(1981) 63-71, 64.
[224] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 258.
[225] Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 261.
[226] Wintle, 'Diet and modernisation', 64.
[227] Anne Mccants, 'Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalisation in the Early Modern World', *Journal of World History* 18:4 (2007) 433-462, 435
[228]Wim van Binsbergen, 'Globalisation, Consumption and Development', Paper produced for conference on *Globalisation, development and the making of consumers: what are collective identities for?* which was held in The Hague, The Netherlands, on 13-16 March 1997 (Leiden 1999) 3-9, 3

played an important role in the development of food cultures. It is widely attributed, in both popular and academic circles, as a significant factor behind the establishment of restaurants serving foreign cuisines.[229] Henderson argues that the phenomenon has made diverse cuisines more available, both at home and overseas.[230] Yet in other studies, cookbooks have been seen to promulgate a form of gastro-nationalism in an attempt to counter these globalising tendencies, by focussing on native or indigenous characteristics.[231] While the homogenising force of globalisation is commonly seen as a threat to a close connection between food and place, such as in the concept of local specialty products, Mak et al argue that globalisation can actually provide an impetus for reinventing local gastronomic products and identity.[232]

The improving economic conditions and faster (refrigerated) transportation of the globalising nineteenth century led to a greater availability of different natural food products in the Netherlands, such as fruits and vegetables from other climates. Developments in the processing of meats, dairy products and grains, as well as better transportation systems made possible greater international food trading networks. The potato was likely the most important introduced product in the Dutch nineteenth century diet. Of course, it had arrived in the country well before the nineteenth century, but as previously noted, it was only after 1800 that it became the principal food source for large sectors of the population.

According to many scholars, the potato made a critical difference in history through its introduction to Europe, which resulted in urbanisation and a significant increase in the population.[233] An acre planted with potatoes could provide two to four times the calories of an acre planted with grains, and therefore the same land could support more people.[234] Sugar was also not new, but became much cheaper and thus more widely available over time. At the start of the century the continental trade blockade prevented access to colonially produced sugar, creating high prices until beet sugar was developed and produced in large quantities.[235] In

[229] See for example Alex Massie, 'Edible food: a triumph of immigration and globalization', *The Spectator*. 3 June 2014, http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/2014/06/edible-food-a-triumph-if-immigration-and-globalisation/, accessed 20 November 2014., and Maren Mohring, 'Food for Thought: Rethinking the History of Migration to West Germany Through the Migrant Restaurant Business', *Journal of Contemporary History* 49:1 (2014) 209–227, 212.
[230] Henderson, "Strange Foods", 148.
[231] Parys, 'Cooking up a culinary identity for Belgium', 221.
[232] Mak, Lumbers and Eves, 'Globalisation and Food Consumption', 173.
[233] Nathan Nunn, and Qian, Nancy, 'The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food, and Ideas', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 24:2 (2010) 163-188, 165.
[234] W. H. Mcneill, 'How the potato changed the world's history', *Social research*, 66:1 (1999) 67-83, 67.
[235] Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 114.

1852 sugar consumption stood at 2.7kg per head per year, while by the end of the century it was 9.9kg.[236]

It was not only natural products which became more easily available over the nineteenth century. The mass manufacturing of foodstuffs increased significantly as the century wore on. Ingredients which had previously been prepared in the domestic kitchen, such as puddings became available in a ready-made form. For example, Bird's custard powder was for sale in Britain from 1844.[237]

According to the food historian Laudan, a revolutionary division between processing in industrial kitchens and final meal preparation in domestic, restaurant, and institutional kitchens occurred between the 1860s and 1914.[238] The industrialisation of food production was perhaps most pronounced in the United States, where Gabaccia notes the creation of huge food corporations had already significantly changed American eating habits, for example with the production of cold breakfast cereals.[239] In the results section, I examine the impact of both American technological innovations and other newly developed industrial products.[240]

I also analyse the broader picture of the way industrialisation, modernisation and globalisation affected Dutch eating habits. These effects were many and varied. Not all of these changes are reflected in the cookbooks, but the study of these sources provides a unique perspective on how modernisation can affect the conception and inclusion of foreign ideas.

[236] Wintle, 'Diet and Modernisation', 78, Jobse-Van Putten, *Eenvoudig*, 114 states that it is 12 kilograms at the latter date.
[237] Laura Mason, 'Custard and Puddings', in: Solomon Katz and William Woys Weaver (eds.) *Encyclopedia of food and culture* (Farmington Hills 2003) 485-488, 487.
[238] Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 290.
[239] Gabaccia, *We are what we eat*, 58.
[240] The influence of tinned foods is not addressed in this paper, as their influence was not strongly felt in the Netherlands until after 1900. See Van Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 82-85.

Political developments

The number of foreign recipes in the cookbooks changed over time. This was not a simple matter of an increase in response to an improving economic situation in the latter half of the century, or a matter of decreasing foreign representation due to a declining proportion of migrants within the population of the Netherlands. In this chapter, I examine whether the variation in the number of recipes in Dutch cookbooks over the course of the century can be attributed to developments in the wider geopolitical environment.

In the political field, significant changes occurred both domestically and internationally. As the century dawned, the modern day Netherlands was known as the Batavian Republic and was closely allied with France. Over the course of less than a decade, it became the Kingdom of Holland, ruled by Louis Bonaparte, and then was incorporated into the French Empire for short period. In 1815 the Netherlands and modern day Belgium (and part of Luxembourg) were joined together under William I as the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. These complicated political developments had the potential to substantially affect the way the country's cuisine was described. Appadurai notes that portrayals of cuisine in cookbooks can be used as a way to build new national identities.[241] In other studies on cookbooks, a focus on native or indigenous characteristics in cookbooks has been seen as an attempt to counter these globalising tendencies in a form of gastro-nationalism.[242] In the case of Belgium, Parys's study on post- independence cookbooks demonstrates that political events were reflected in the culinary discourse.[243]

In 1848, a constitutional monarchy was adopted in the Netherlands, while elsewhere in Europe political upheavals were also in evidence. These political events had an impact on the culinary world. Laudan notes that the arrival in the US of political refugees from Germany after the 1848 revolution was particularly important in differentiating American cuisine from British cuisine.[244] While cookbooks can reflect political changes, scholars have also pointed out that cookbooks can be deliberately produced and manipulated for political purposes. Even in the seventeenth century, cookbooks such as 'The Queen's Closet' were used to promulgate a particular political agenda – in this case, support for royalty.[245] West notes that the first

[241] Appadurai, 'How to Make a National Cuisine', 18.
[242] Parys, 'Çooking up a culinary identity for Belgium', 221.
[243] Parys, 'Çooking up a culinary identity for Belgium', 230.
[244] Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 263.
[245] Laura Lunger Knoppers, 'Opening the Queen's Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60:2 (2007) 464-499, 467.

American cookbook, from 1796, seeks to propagate a democratic ethos, with recipes including Election cake, Independence Cake and Federal Pan Cake.[246] West also uses the example of fundraising cookbooks produced by an anti-Vietnam war organisation to convincingly argue that the portrayal of international recipes in these books served to promulgate the organisation's ideology.[247]

Events in Germany also had an effect on the Dutch political sphere. Germany was a populous neighbour whose power grew in the later years of the century. The economies of the two countries were linked and developments in Germany were covered extensively by the press. Attitudes to Germany and Germans were complex. De Coninck argues that Germany was admired (indeed to the extent of *Germanomanie*) as well as feared.[248] Some intellectuals in particular valued Germany as a land of thinkers and poets.[249] Germany military power was viewed with respect. Teitler explains that in the military context, Germans were already held in high esteem before 1870, yet they rose even higher in Dutch opinion after the France-Prussian war.[250]

Yet there was also concern about the consequences of this military strength for the Netherlands. There were fears that Prussia would seek to annex the Netherlands, particularly after its impressive defeat of the French.[251] These fears manifested themselves in many ways – some sought to emphasise the independence of the Dutch by underlining differences between the Dutch and German peoples,[252] while others directed their criticism towards the untrustworthy, arrogant Prussians.[253] This created a difficult situation for Germans inside the Netherlands. Some pretended to be Swiss,[254] while others emphasizes the inclusive nature of their social groups so they would not be suspected of favouring annexation.[255] In Britain, cultural and gastronomic stereotypes overlapped - negative attitudes to Germans were portrayed by associating them with sausages, with the concomitant fears of adulteration and

[246] Isaac West, 'Performing Resistance in/from the Kitchen: The Practice of Maternal Pacifist Politics and La WISP's Cookbooks', *Women's Studies in Communication*, 30:3 (2007) 358-383, 359.
[247] West, 'Performing Resistance', 371.
[248] Coninck, *Een les uit Pruisen,* 168
[249] Coninck, *Een les uit Pruisen,* 164
[250] Teitler, 'Mixed Company', 363
[251] Bevaart, W., *De Nederlandse defensie, (1839-1874)* ('s Gravenhage 1993), 490.
[252] A. Doedens, *Nederland en de Frans-Duitse oorlog : enige aspecten van de buitenlandse politiek en de binnenlandse verhoudingen van ons land omstreeks het jaar 1870* (Thesis Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam 1973) 174.
[253] Coninck, *Een les uit Pruisen,*182.
[254] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 47.
[255] Schrover, 'No more than a keg of beer', 232.

poisoning.[256] Waddington argues that German sausages were seen as a big a threat to the digestion, as the German nation was to the British economy and imperial interests.[257] As the attitude to migrants changed, the Dutch perception of migrant foodways may also have changed, and this is examined in the results section.

In other historical contexts it has been noted that political tensions can be seen reflected in the culinary world, particularly in the naming of dishes. In the USA during the First World War *sauerkraut* consumption declined by 75 percent, prompting the Federal Food Board to change its name to 'Liberty Cabbage' in an attempt to remove the pro German stigma.[258] Similarly, in the Gulf War, French fries were temporarily re-named 'Freedom Fries' by some outlets in the US (including those in Congress) in order to criticize the French stance on participation in the war.[259] In the results section, I assess whether such reactionary tendencies are evident in cookbooks produced in the period of 1869-1875 heightened tensions between the Netherlands and Germany.

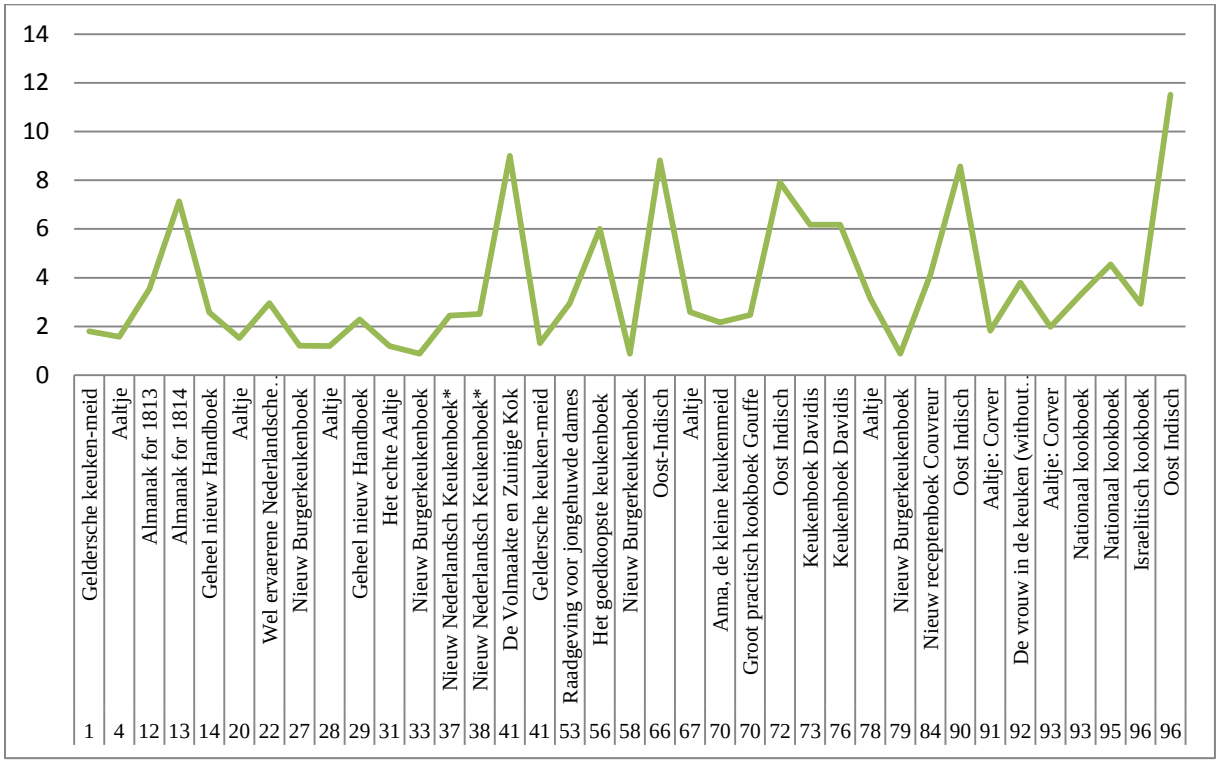
The 1870s was also a difficult period for the Netherlands in relation to its lucrative colony, the Dutch East Indies. The Aceh War began in 1873, and resulted in very high costs for the colonial government.[260] In the British context, Zlotnick notes that the Indian mutiny resulted in the production of cookbooks seeking to strengthen the place of India within the British Empire.[261] It is therefore pertinent to examine whether colonial events such as these are reflected in the content of Dutch cookbooks.

[256] Keir Waddington, '"We Don't Want Any German Sausages Here!" Food, Fear, and the German Nation in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013) 1017-1042, 1017.
[257] Waddington, 'Sausages', 1042.
[258] 'Sauerkraut or Liberty Cabbage' *Viereck's*, 22 May 1918, 8.
[259] Jodi Schnieder, 'Adieu, frites', *U.S. News & World Report, 00415537* (134: 9).24 March 2003
[260] Kossmann, E.H. *The Low Countries 1780-1940* (1978) 400-401.
[261] Zlotnick, 'Domesticating Imperialism', 52

RESULTS

As outlined in the Methods section, the number of foreign recipes in each book was counted, and the proportion that these recipes formed of the total was calculated. The table and graph below show these results.

Graph 1: Percentage of foreign recipes in cookbooks over time



Source: Table 5.[262]

[262] In some cases, the total number of recipes in a given book was unclear due to the use of various sub headings. The number of total recipes provided in the table is therefore a (largely accurate) estimate.

Table 5: Percentage of foreign recipes in Dutch nineteenth century cookbooks

Date	Title	Total recipes	Foreign recipes	Percentage
1801	Geldersche keuken-meid	891	16	1.8
1804	Aaltje	443	7	1.6
1812	Almanak for 1813	85	3	3.5
1813	Almanak for 1814	14	1	7.1
1814	Geheel nieuw Handboek	1050	27	2.5
c1820	Aaltje	460	7	1.5
1822	Wel ervaerene Nederlandsche keuken-meyd	237	7	3.0
1827	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	414	5	1.2
1828	Aaltje	502	6	1.2
c1829	Geheel nieuw Handboek	1050	24	2.3
1831	Het echte Aaltje	499	6	1.2
1833	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	570	5	0.9
1837	Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek	1184	29	2.5
1838	Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek	1156	29	2.5
1841	De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok	211	19	9.0
1841	Geldersche keuken-meid	913	12	1.3
1853	Raadgeving voor jonggehuwde dames	102	3	2.9
1856	Het goedkoopste keukenboek	400	24	6.0
1858	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	570	5	0.9
1866	Oost-Indisch	204	18	8.8
1867	Aaltje	965	25	2.6
1870	Anna, de kleine keukenmeid	92	2	2.2
1870	Groot practisch kookboek Gouffe	1540	38	2.5
1872	Oost-Indisch	354	28	7.9
1873	Keukenboek Davidis	1165	72	6.2
1876	Keukenboek Davidis	1166	72	6.2
1878	Aaltje	1364	43	3.2
1879	Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	570	5	0.9
1884	Nieuw receptenboek Couvreur	121	5	4.1
1890	Oost-Indisch	525	45	8.6
1891	Aaltje: Corver	766	14	1.8
1892	De vrouw in de keuken (without rijsttafel)	763	29	3.8
1893	Aaltje: Corver	657	13	2.0
1893	Nationaal kookboek	454	15	3.3
1895	Nationaal kookboek	505	23	4.6
1896	Israelitisch kookboek	341	10	2.9
1896	Oost-Indisch	469	54	11.5

Source: My own analysis of foreign recipe content in the cookbooks

The following sections analyse these statistics, and of course draw on the content of the books in the study. Foreign influence was naturally seen in the inclusion of foreign recipes, but it was also found in mentions of foreign practices in other recipes, discussions on health issues, serving methods and introductory forewords.

Even the way the book is written can reveal information about how foreign recipes, ingredients and techniques were perceived. All of the cookbooks used in this analysis are prescriptive in nature, as are most recent texts in this genre. As previously noted, recipes by their very nature tend to be given in instructional form. The extent of the instructions varies according to the presumed knowledge of the readers. For example, in the *Israelitisch kookboek*, matzo meal is not explained, as the Jewish readers of the book would be expected to know what it was.[263]

It is important to remember that these results are based on the definition of foreign provided in the method section. The recipes here identified as foreign may not have been perceived as such by the readers of the books. Concepts of foreignness, just as those of exoticism, can vary over time.

Migration

Migrant influence over the content of the cookbooks in the study can be ascertained, however, this is from a process of deduction and analysis, rather than a simple superficial reading of the texts. There are generally no helpful blurbs attached to recipes indicating their provenance.

In one case, the influence of migrants can clearly be seen, but this is not because of the presence of recipes from this community. Rather, it is due to the extensive use of the product they produce – I am here referring to the *keulsche pot*. References to the use of this pot are sprinkled throughout many of the cookbooks. In the *Geheel Nieuw Handboek*, one of these pots is required in order to make *rolpens*, and Davidis and the *Geldersche keukenmeid* also suggest their use for preserving fruits, vegetables, fish and meat.[264] The special properties of this stoneware made conservation of these products in vinegar or sugar possible. The group of

[263] S. Vos, *Israelitisch Kookboek*, (Amsterdam 1896) 28.
[264] Davidis, *Keukenboek* 1873, 96, *Geheel Nieuw Handboek 1814*, 81, *Geldersche Keukenmeid 1841*, 54

Westerwald migrants who produced and sold these pots therefore helped to encourage this preserving technique, which made fresh produce available throughout the leaner months.

In the culinary world, individuals can prove to be highly influential, as in the case of the famous French chefs Escoffier and Careme. We thus cannot discount the importance of the (very small) number of migrant chefs in the Netherlands. They formed part of a wider network, which even printed its own journal for French chefs serving overseas.[265] Dutch chefs and patissiers also gained valuable experience overseas, and brought back culinary innovation. Francois Blom, the author of *Moderne Kookkunst*, states that he spent his 'learning' years in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France and Italy, under the guidance of the foremost tradesmen in the culinary art.[266] The Dutch pastry chef Willem Berkhoff apprenticed in Dresden, Zurich, Paris and Vienna before establishing his own refreshment rooms in Amsterdam.[267] Berkhoff is credited with introducing the wedding cake to the Netherlands, after baking a cake for the wedding of the Dutch queen in 1901.[268]

Less prominent chefs also had international experience, as in the case of the Dutch chef advertising his years of experience in Brussels in 1876.[269] Migrant chefs, and their returned migrant colleagues, undoubtedly used the culinary experiences they gained overseas in the Dutch context. Some cookbook authors, who had worked as chefs themselves, likely gained some of their inspiration in this way. However, authors who were *keukenmeiden* rather than chefs could still have gained second hand access to this knowledge through contact in professional contexts. Further they may have had contact with foreign domestic servant colleagues who were willing to share their foodways.[270]

It has previously been noted that Germans formed the largest group of migrants in the nineteenth-century Netherlands, and the many female migrants worked as domestic servants. Advertisements in newspapers of the period demonstrate that the German cooking skills of these women could be seen as a sought after skill. [271]

[265] Mennell, 'Culinary Culture', 459.
[266] Francois Blom, *Moderne Kookkunst* ('s Gravenhage 1910) 5.
[267] Advertisement in *De Tijd: Godsdienstig – staatkundig Dagblad* 5 October 1893.
[268] Albert Van der Zeijden, 'Geschiedenis van de bruidstaart', http://www.albertvanderzeijden.nl/geschiedenis_van_de_bruidstaart_.htm accessed 15 December 2014.
[269] Advertisement in *Algemeen Handelsblad* 25 November 1876.
[270] I acknowledge of course that not all cookbooks allegedly written by keukenmeiden actually had keukenmeiden as their sole authors.
[271] Advertisement *Algemeen handelsblad* 4 dec 1868, 2.

Indeed, even Dutch women advertised their ability to cook German food.[272] German cooking was therefore finding its way directly into Dutch homes. It was also accessible in various German restaurants and beer halls, and in the dining areas of hotels. In 1899, the restaurant 'Het Gouden Hoofd' advertised that it provided specialties and plats du jour, prepared by French and German cooks.[273] Several other restaurants hotels advertised that they offered German cuisine, such as the Beurs van Breda,[274] and the Hotel Rembrandt in Amsterdam.[275] German migrants in the hospitality sector played an important role in introducing foreign dishes to the Dutch public.

The foodways of higher status immigrants such as traders and other business people may also have influenced Dutch cuisine. Schrover describes the *Liedertafeln* and concert evenings held by wealthy German traders in the city of Utrecht, which were popular with local Dutch.[276] Indeed, it has been argued that for a foreign foodstuff to be adopted, it must be known that it is appreciated by socially superior group or population of prestige.[277] It is conceivable that German foods and drinks were served at these events, and that Dutch guests would seek information, perhaps from cookbooks, to find out how to replicate these dishes.

Some members of the Jewish community were also of high status, yet specifically Jewish recipes are not seen in mainstream Dutch cookbooks of the nineteenth century. The *Jodenkoekjes* described in several cookbooks are a possible exception, however their origin is unconfirmed.[278] Nevertheless, by the end of the century the Dutch Jewish community had a selection of tailored cookbooks from which to choose. The *Kookboek voor Israelitisch huisgezinnen* appeared in 1881, and *De geheimen der Joodsche keuken* was published in 1892, both books having been translated from German. The first edition of the *Israelitisch kookboek* by S. Vos appeared in 1894, and this was the book selected for in depth analysis in this study as it was written in Dutch and achieved commercial success: it was published in seven editions, the last in 1926.[279]

Recipes in this book vary from the standards such as *stamppot* (this time in a variation with beans) to more specifically Jewish dishes like *Schalet Soep* (which includes

[272] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 May 1873, 1.
[273] *Algemeen handelsblad* 3 July 1898, 8.
[274] *Nieuw Tilburgsche Courant* 5 April 1896, 6.
[275] *Het Nieuws van de Dag*, 24 January 1899, 12.
[276] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 165.
[277] Regnier, 'Spicing Imagination', 208.
[278] Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek1893*. For more on Jodenkoeken, see J.H. Nannings, *Brood en Gebakvormen en hunne Beteekenis in de Folklore*, (Scheveningen 1932) 122.
[279] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*, 80.

chickpeas)[280] and *Amandelkoek*, prepared with *matzemeel*.[281] Instructions for this soup note its suitability for preparation in the Sabbath oven, and the almond biscuit is described as appropriate for Passover. Vos discusses at some length how to obtain kosher ingredients (such as appropriately butchered meat) and how to ensure other ingredients are suitable for consumption, such as by the thorough washing of vegetables.[282] This book is written in Dutch, not Yiddish, and it does not contain many specifically East European dishes, so it does not appear that it was targeted explicitly towards newly arrived migrants. The book was the product of the Jewish minority community, rather than an explicitly migrant Jewish community.

However, it can be argued that the presence of the Jewish community in the Netherlands had an influence on Dutch foodways, particularly in connection with the kosher food industry. As Schrover notes, some Jewish companies became very successful, and successfully marketed their products outside the Jewish community, without obscuring their Jewish origins.[283] Advertisements in mainstream publications included comments stating that the product was made under Rabbinical oversight, such as in the below advertisement.

Picture 3: Advertisement for Spoor's Mosterd.[284]

[280] Vos, *Israelitisch Kookboek*, 44.
[281] Vos, *Israelitisch Kookboek*, 103.
[282] Vos, *Israelitisch Kookboek*, 33. Thorough washing of vegetables was required to ensure that no non-kosher insects were inadvertently consumed.
[283] Schrover, 'Joodse ondernemers in de voedings- en genotmiddelenindustrie', 185
[284] Advertisement in *De Huisvrouw*, 25 July 1896.

Additionally, there is evidence that the *Israelitisch kookboek* itself was influential. Students of the 'Amsterdam Huishoudschool' visited the author's kitchen in 1899, and wrote positively about their visit in the school's newspaper. The book was also reviewed, and although some criticisms were made: 'het 'koscher maken' van vleesch is in strijd met onze voedingsleer', the book is generally praised for its simple and thrifty methods of meal preparation.[285] The book was therefore not seen as something only for Jewish readers, and could have played a role in broadening the Dutch palate. Non native Dutch recipes were included in the book to cater specifically for the Jewish community. However, the review by the *Huishoudschool* demonstrates that the book was still acceptable for other readers. It can therefore be concluded that the minority Jewish community in the Netherlands could have influenced Dutch eating choices.

Return migrants from the Dutch East Indies also influenced Dutch eating habits. The migration of thousands of people in the mid-twentieth century from what is now Indonesia was one of the most significant waves of immigration to the Netherlands. Some of these people were return migrants, while others were the descendants of Dutch settlers in the Indies, or members of groups who had sided with the Dutch in the Indonesian struggle for independence. However, people had been travelling between the Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands for centuries. This traffic primarily consisted of Dutchmen (and some women) voyaging to the Indies for work or business, or to reunite with family members. This mobility made an impression in the Dutch culinary sphere. Cookbooks provided recipes for the use of Indies-bound travellers, or to send to loved ones already there. On the title page, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok* gives prominence to its recipes which instruct the reader on the '*behandeling van Vleesch, Ham, Worst enz. Om te verzenden naar oost of west Indien en voor de slagtijd'*.[286] The instructions regarding the method for salting meat and how to prepare 'long life' *saucijzen de Boulogne* are the first recipes to appear in the book.[287]

Additionally, the Indisch cuisine enjoyed by the Dutch community in Java gradually made its presence felt in the food eaten in the metropole.[288] The eighteenth century cookbook *De Volmaakte Hollandsche Keuken-meid* provides a recipe for *Soja*, as 'goed als die uit Oost Indië komt'.[289] Further, several nineteenth-century cookbooks feature instructions for the

[285] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 111
[286] Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok 1841*, Coverpage.
[287] Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok 1841*, 3 and 6.
[288] The adjective Indisch has been used following Dutch usage at the time.
[289] *De Volmaakte Hollandsche Keuken-meid*, 1761, 65.

preparation of *Azia Komkommers*, whereby cucumbers are pickled with spices such as garlic, turmeric, mustard seeds and ginger.[290] This Indisch influence accelerated in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the arrival in the Netherlands of more return migrants from the Indies. As has been mentioned, higher survival rates in the tropics and the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal facilitated this travel, which considerably predates the post-independence wave of immigration.

In my study, different Indisch recipes appear for the first time in a mainstream cookbook in the last decade of the century. The book in question was *De Vrouw in de keuken,* published in Schiedam in 1892. The author, Mevrouw Vemerius, states in the foreword that she produced the book as she wished to share the knowledge she had gained over many years of experience, noting that it is necessary for the housewife to stay up to date with the secrets of the culinary art.[291] Vemerius does indeed attempt to keep her readers 'up to date'. While her book largely focuses on standard Dutch dishes, the chapter she includes on the *Indische Rijsttafel* is original. The recipes she includes in this section have not been seen in earlier cookbooks for mainstream Dutch audiences. Asian recipes are not confined to the *rijsttafel* chapter. For example, she provides recipes for Chinese dishes, including a Chinese pigeon soup with a real bird's nest.[292]

It is assessed that Vemerius was writing for a Dutch public who may not have had any direct experience with the Dutch East Indies. She clarifies the place of rice in the Indisch diet, and describes the *rijsttafel* dishes in some detail. For example, she explains that '*Djaganan* … is de naam van een verzameling afgekookte groenten,' and provides instruction on how to prepare the accompanying sauce and plate the dish. She also supplies information on the more unusual ingredients, describing *petis* as 'een sort van garnalengelei'.[293] At the end of the book, Vemerius provides advice over places in the Netherlands where the herbs and spices used in the book can be obtained.[294]

De vrouw in de keuken was only published in one edition, so it could be considered that it was not as popular as other cookbooks on the market. However, the book was taken on by a publisher; therefore it was likely considered to be a viable title commercially. Why was

[290] *Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek 1828,* 176, see also *Aaltje* (various editions) and *De Volmaakte Geldersche Keuken-Meyd*.
[291] Vemerius, *De Vrouw in de Keuken*, foreword.
[292] Vemerius, *De Vrouw in de Keuken*, 15.
[293] Vemerius, *De Vrouw in de Keuken*, 296-297.
[294] Vemerius, *De Vrouw in de Keuken*, 317.

the Dutch metropole market thought to be ready for *rijsttafel* recipes? The personal connections previously mentioned likely played a role, as did increasing media coverage of the Indies. The presence of greater numbers of return migrants from the Dutch East Indies in the Netherlands was also a reason. Like the returned colonists from India in Britain in the nineteenth century, the Indies return migrants would have spread knowledge about the cuisine they experienced while in the colonies. The *tokos* referred to by Vemerius were originally established to cater for the demand by returnees for Indies' products.[295] These return migrants also played an important role in normalising Indisch cuisine and making it more accessible for the broader Dutch community.[296] It is therefore argued that the presence of return migrants from the Indies was an important factor in the inclusion of the *rijsttafel* chapter in Vemerius' book.

In the Dutch context Indisch cuisine was represented in many different ways. As we have seen in the case of *De vrouw in de keuken*, it was sometimes included in mainstream cookbooks. In the nineteenth century it was also represented in Malay language cookbooks and in Dutch language cookbooks.

Cornelia was first published in Batavia in 1854 in Malay, with the sub title *Kokki Bitja atage Kitab masakan India* (*De ervaren kokki of nieuw en volledig Indisch kookboek*).[297] This book featured primarily Indisch recipes such as laksas and sambals, but also contains European recipes like *roomtaart* and *beefsteak*.[298] This book was written primarily for Indisch women cooking for European diners.[299] The first cookbook in Dutch to feature Indisch recipes was published in Samarang in 1876. This was the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek*, which went into 17 editions and was last published in 1941.[300]

The presence of hundreds of Indisch recipes in this book made Indisch cuisine directly accessible to a Dutch speaking readership. Dishes such as *Trasie Melaka* and *Kerrie van Padang* were now discoverable in a Dutch cookbook.[301] Readers were even advised on how they could use their Dutch cooking equipment to create Indisch meals, as suggested in the

[295] Vemerius, *De Vrouw in de Keuken*, 763. Annemarie Cottaar, 'Een Oosterse stad in het westen. Etnisch-culinaire pioniers in Den Haag', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 4 (2000) 261-280, 269. *Tokos* in this case are shops selling Indisch food products.
[296] Cottaar, 'Oosterse Stad', 279.
[297] The first extant copy dates from 1859, which is the copy referred to here.
[298] Nonna Cornelia, *Cornelia (Kokki Bitja atage Kitab masak masakan India)* (Batavia 1859).
[299] Cornelia, *Cornelia 1859* , vi. Foreword in Dutch, also Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 131
[300] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*,64-65.
[301] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* (Samarang 1866) 120, 123.

recipe for *Javaansche broodjes gebakken in een poffertjespan*.[302] The foreword of the book indicates that its readers were primarily women living in the Indies, who contributed to each edition of the book by sending in recipes and suggestions.[303] These women would have been able to share the knowledge gained from the book, and from their native cooks, if they returned to the Netherlands, either on a temporary or permanent basis.

The *Oost-Indisch* series of cookbooks also demonstrates another way in which migrants influenced the selection of foreign recipes in Dutch cookbooks. As we have seen, people of many different nationalities lived in the Dutch East Indies in the nineteenth century. It is likely that their presence played a role in the inclusion of many recipes for foreign dishes in the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek.* Even when only the *Hollandse Tafel* section of the book is considered, the average percentage of foreign recipes in this series is much higher than in other books.[304] These recipes were very diverse including for example *Meelspijs uit Thuringen*, *Tipsy cake* and *Bengaalsche biefstuk*.[305] Some recipes appear more than once, such as the recipe for *Moskovisch gebak*, for which four variations are provided in the 1896 edition.[306] This is an indication that the contributions from the public were represented in the book – the four versions of this dish were likely submitted by different readers. It can therefore be argued that the diverse selection of recipes in the books reflects the diversity of the community in the Dutch East Indies. Several English recipes feature in the books, such as Tipsy Cake and Victoria Cake,[307] perhaps reflecting the high social position occupied by the English in the Dutch East Indies.[308]

Of course the presence of migrants in the colony was not the sole cause behind foreign recipe inclusion in the *Oost-Indisch* series. It can also be argued that the market for cookbooks in the Dutch East Indies was more cosmopolitan and less bound by tradition than that in the metropole, and that therefore the publisher felt more comfortable to include this variety of recipes particularly as they are still characterized as part of the *Hollandse Tafel*. The recipes were incorporated into a cosmopolitan Dutch culinary identity. In the case of *De vrouw in de keuken*, the influence of (return) migrants is clear in the chapter on *rijsttafel*, but a cosmopolitan outlook is also suggested by recipes for novel foreign dishes such as *risotto*,

[302]*Oost-Indisch Kookboek 1866*, 148. Despite its Russian sounding name, the *Moskovisch gebak* is likely of British origin, given the similarity of the dish to an English sponge cake.
[303] Foreword to the 1871 third edition, reprinted in 1896 edition, no page number.
[304] Refer to Table 5.
[305]All appear in the 1896 version. *Bengaalsche biefstuk* and *Meelspijs uit Thuringen* also appear in other editions.
[306] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek 1896*.
[307] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* 1896.
[308] Milone, *Queen City of the East* ,163.

kerstfeest pudding and *Duitsche rijst-Klökchen*.[309] It is difficult to say definitively whether the presence of migrants supported the development of cosmopolitan identities, however, I argue that both in the Netherlands and in the Dutch East Indies, the move towards more cosmopolitan outlook made the Dutch culinary world more open to influences from migrant communities.

The influence of the German migrant community can be seen in that German recipes are some of the most numerous foreign recipes in the cookbooks in the study. These range from the simple *Duitsche Soep*, to *Akensche vlade*, *Ulmsbrood*, and a variety of meat dishes 'cooked in the German way'.[310] One recipe which appears in several different cookbooks is *Keulsche Frikadellen*. A more detailed discussion of this veal dish will serve to highlight some of the complexities in determining recipe origin, and in assigning causative factors for their inclusion in the books.

While all the interpretations of the dish feature veal, there are slight variations in its name and in preparation methods. It appears in several editions of *Aaltje*, with little variation over time. The 1831 edition explains that *Keulsche Frikadellen* is another name for *kalfslapjes* (veal escalopes) and provides the recipe as follows:

> Andere bereiding van kalfslapjes, of keulsche frikadellen: Neem dun gesneden kalfslapjes, larder dezelve met niervet, en bestrijk ze met boter; doe er voorts fijne gestampte beschuit, notenmuskaat, zout, en een weinig peper bij; rol de lapjes in elkander, en bind er een touwtje om, opdat ze zich niet weder ontrollen; men laat ze voorts, met een weinig water in eene pan, met boven en onder vuur, gaar braden.[311]

Het Goedkoopste Kookboek of 1856 does not name the dish *Keulsche Frikadellen*, but there are clear similarities to *Aaltje's* version.

> Kalfslapjes op Duitsche wijze
>
> Neem dunne kalfslapjes, leg die met stukjes vet in eene pan, bestrooi ze met zout, peper, beschuit, notenmuskaat en citroenschil benevens een weinig uijen, rol ze op en bind ze toe, braad boter in de koekepan en leg ze daarin, giet er telken van het vocht over waarin ze braden.[312]

In the 1837 edition of the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek*, the recipe is called *Keulsche Frikadellen, of Geplukte vinken genaamd*. The reader is instructed to:

[309] Vemerius, *De vrouw in de Keuken*, 193
[310] See for example J.G. van den Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok*, (Amsterdam 1841) 86-87.
[311] *Het Echte Aaltje, De Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid 1831*, 101.
[312] *Het Goedkoopste keukenboek* (Amsterdam 1856) 51.

> Doe bij dunne stukjes kalfsvleesch, wel geklopt, een dun stukje vet, of spek, strooi er voorts wat zout, peper, gehakte peterelie en chalotten over; rolze vervolgens digt opëen, en laatze aan klein speetje braden.[313]

However, in *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok* the name *Keulsche Frikadellen* describes quite a different dish, where the veal is in minced form.

> Keulsche frikadellen
>
> Vijf ons ossengehakt, vijf ons kalfs en vijf ons varkens gehakt, twee en een half ons fijn geknapt niervet, drie ons oudbakke kruim van wittebrood in soetemelk weken laten, twee lood peper vier lood fijn zout een geraspte notenmuscaat, vier blaadjes gesnede foelij, twee lood nagelen, vier handen vol goed schoon gewasschen en gehakte peterselie een geraspte mierikwortel, twee ons gesmolten boter, alles goed door elkander gekneed in eene Castrol wat boter bruin laten braden, de frikadellen er in gelegd, can boven en onder gestadig vuur als ze hehoorlijk bruin en gaar zijn, dan vier eijeren klein geslagen, vereenigd met een glas citroensap en een glas rhijnwijn op de frikadel doen er nog even op koken laten.[314]

In this version, the dish approaches our more modern understanding of *frikadellen* as meatballs, while the others could be more accurately described as veal roulades. It is described in more detail than in the other books, but this can also be attributed to a differing style on the part of the author. What these variations of *Keulsche Frikadellen* tell us is that the different authors all thought this recipe would be appreciated by their readers. All except the version in *Het Goedkoopste Kookboek* thought it was appropriate to describe that dish as being from Cologne, and the *Het Goedkoopste Kookboek* still characterizes the dish as German.

Unfortunately it is not possible to determine exactly what prompted the inclusion of this dish in several different cookbooks. Of course there are other dishes which originate in further flung parts of Germany, which did not supply many migrants to the Netherlands, such as *Frankforter worst* but these are generally more famous dishes. The *Keulsche Frikadellen* of today are not well known and are in any case simple meatballs with a high proportion of breadcrumbs,[315] with no apparent relationship to the *Aaltje* version. However, it is plausible to consider that the people coming from the region around Cologne may have had some influence over the popularity of this dish. Indeed, a substantial number of German migrants

[313] *Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek* (Amsterdam 1838) 66.
[314] Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok 1841*, 22.
[315] For a 1963 description of the dish see 'Der Frikadellen-Krieg in Köln', *Die Zeit* 6 December 1963, 49 http://www.zeit.de/1963/49/der-frikadellen-krieg-in-koeln, accessed 15 December 2014.

came from the Westerwald. Stoneware from this region was described as *Keulsche*, as it was transhipped via Cologne, although the Westerwald is some 80 kilometres distant.[316]

In the Netherlands, the dish described in *Aaltje* and other cookbooks is now known as *Blinde vinken*, a slightly less popular rendering of *slavinken*, which are available at most supermarkets.[317] The similarity of the *frikadellen* to *slavinken* may have been a factor in their popularity: Schulp and Tirali note that new foodstuffs have the best chance of wide acceptance when they have characteristics in common with familiar foodstuffs or dishes.[318] The origins of the dish are now obscured, and the former *Keulsche Frikadellen* have as *Blinde Vinken*, been assimilated as a Dutch (and possibly Belgian) dish, echoing the fate of Olipodrigo.[319] Yet it is plausible that German migrants were partly responsible for its appearance in Dutch cookbooks in the nineteenth century.

Keulsche Frikadellen do not appear in the *Keukenboek* by Henriette Davidis, the only German cookbook in the study. This book was first published in Dutch in 1867, however it is the fifth edition of 1873 which was examined in depth for this study. [320] The 1867 text was based upon the eleventh edition of her German language *Praktisches Kochbuch* and was not a direct translation, but rather edited and adapted for the Dutch market. The translator states this in the foreword to the book,[321] and letters between Davidis and the Dutch publisher of the book Erven F. Bohn show that Davidis added her own contributions to the work of the translator.[322] Indeed, this was not the only adapted version of the book: After Davidis' death, a version of the *Praktisches Kochbuch* was produced in German for the German-American market. An English version, also for the American market, followed. These books are clearly modified substantially – the latter book includes recipes for succotash and even beavers' tails![323] The way in which the book was adapted for the Dutch market can give an indication

[316] See Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 219-258 on the Westerwalders.
[317] See for example Nick Trachet, 'Culinair Ontdekt: Vogel zonder kop,' *Brussel deze week*, 29 August 2014 http://www.brusselnieuws.be/nl/eten-en-drinken/culinair-ontdekt-vogel-zonder-kop accessed 15 December 2014.
[318] Schulp and Tirali, 'Turkish Restauarants', 126, Schrover, 'Wie Zijn wij?', 123
[319] http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blinde_vink, accessed 6 January 2015.
[320] The copy examined in detail is the fifth edition from 1873. The 1876 edition has also been examined and is nearly exactly the same with slightly different page numbering and an added recipe.
[321] Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, Foreword.
[322] Bohn Archive, University of Leiden (LU), BOH C 1, fol. 178. Brief van De Erven F. Bohn Haarlem geschreven door Pieter François Bohn aan Henriette Davidis, Haarlem 1866. Bohn Archive, LU, BOH C 64. Brief van Henriette Davidis aan De Erven F. Bohn Haarlem gericht aan Pieter François Bohn, Dortmund 1866.

[323] Henriette Davidis, *Henriette Davidis' Practical Cook Book. Compiled For The United States From The Thirty-fifth German Edition,* (Milwaukee 1897).

regarding which aspects of German cooking were considered appropriate for consumers in the Netherlands.

Unsurprisingly, the book includes many recipes from the German speaking world, such as *Zwitsersche kalfsfarci* and *Silezisch brood.* Some of these recipes, such as that for *Saksische zouteijeren* are accompanied by hints for their appropriate use*: '*Zij worden veel gebruikt bij Beijersch bier.'[324] Sometimes recipes are renamed: *Holländischer Punsch* in German becomes *Punch van arak* in Dutch.[325] Overall, Davidis and her editors likely assessed that their inclusion of noticeably German recipes would not harm the popularity of the book in the Netherlands. Given that the book is of German origin, the popularity of the book cannot be directly related to the presence of German migrants in the Netherlands. Migrants did not bring these recipes with them across the border, and Germans in the Netherlands would not have been customers for the Dutch version of the book. Given its immense popularity in Germany, they may however have brought their German copies with them, and perhaps recommended it to Dutch colleagues and friends.[326]

Can the popularity of this book, and of German recipes in general, tell us anything about the perception of German migrants in the Netherlands at the time? Nine other cookbooks were also translated from German into Dutch over the course of the century, including *Over de aardappelen,* the *Kookboek voor gezonden en zieken* and other titles from Davidis.[327] The Dutch community clearly accepted, to an extent, German culinary input. As discussed elsewhere in this paper, Germany, and Germans inside the Netherlands were not perceived only as stupid, unsophisticated grass cutters, the picture was much more complex. This is not to say that a liking for German cooking implied the acceptance and integration of German migrants. Migrants are not specifically identified in the cookbook discourse. Yet other sources, such as newspaper advertisements, suggest that in the culinary context, German cuisine, and those who created it, were seen positively.

Other migrant and minority groups also had an impact on Dutch foodways. Dutch Jewish cookbooks, while not mainstream, were available and acceptable in the wider community. The influence of return migrants from the Indies was already apparent in Dutch

[324] Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, 103.
[325] Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, 256.
[326] Reagin, 'The Imagined Hausfrau', 61. In Germany, where the popularity of the *Praktisches Kochbuch* was such that it, along with the Bible, was found in households who owned no other books.
[327] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek,* 54, 69

cookbooks of the nineteenth century, and the various migrant communities in the Dutch East Indies influenced the inclusion of foreign recipes in cookbooks produced there. There is no flashing arrow to point to direct migrant influence on Dutch nineteenth-century cuisine. However, although other factors are important, the small percentage of migrants in the Netherlands nevertheless made an impression. It can therefore be considered that the hypothesis is partially proven.

Modernisation, industrialisation and globalisation

The forces of industrialisation, modernisation and globalisation had a significant impact on the eating habits of the Dutch population in the nineteenth century. In this section, the extent to which these phenomena influenced the inclusion of foreign recipes in Dutch cookbooks will be examined.

Prior to the advent of industrialisation some products were already purchased in a processed state. For example, both Corver and Westenberg instructed readers to purchase their puff pastry from a French *banketbakker* as this was simpler than making it at home.[328] Vermicelli is an ingredient in very early cookbooks.[329] Bread was usually purchased, and indeed bakers' guilds and their successes had attempted to keep the procedure for bread baking a trade secret.[330] In the cookbooks, recipes for the baking of bread are not common. A chapter on bread baking was only included in the *Aaltje* series of cookbooks from the fifteenth edition of 1873.

However, as outlined by Laudan, the need for the home preparation of many products decreased over the course of the century. Earlier books include recipes on how to make one's own sausages, such as the ten different types in the *Geheel nieuw en volkomen handboek* of 1814,[331] while in the 1890s Corver focuses on telling her readers how to cook the finished product.[332] Additionally, American scientific developments, such as the creation of baking soda, also had an impact on Dutch eating habits. In Dutch cookbooks, recipes featuring this

[328] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893*, Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek 1893*, 118.
[329] *Geheel Nieuw Handboek 1814*, 38.
[330] Barnes, *Matters of taste*, 14.
[331] *Geheel Nieuw Handboek 1814*, 79-85.
[332] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893*, 171.

leavening agent are described as American, such as the 'Amerikaansche Koek' in the 1896 edition of the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek*.[333]

Indeed, as the baking soda example illustrates, the industrial kitchens did not only provide replacements for products already being consumed in Dutch homes, they also created new products. Curry powder, beef extract and margarine are three important examples.[334] In the case of curry powder, this ingredient certainly played a role in the introduction of new flavours to the Dutch people. It was not only used in specific 'curry' dishes. It was also used in otherwise completely traditional recipes. In *Raadgeving voor jonggehuwde dames*, it is suggested as a possible addition to flavour a dish of calf's head.[335] Both curry powder and baking soda were produced in industrial contexts. These ingredients feature in the cookbooks in the study and clearly played a role in the inclusion of new foreign recipes in the books.

Shortcut ingredients, such as pudding powder and beef extract are also mentioned in the cookbooks. Westenberg criticizes both. In the second edition of his *Nationaal Kookboek* he writes that dishes incorporating pudding powders are not to be found in his book and indeed 'Zij behooren op den Index der verboden gerechten geplaatst te worden'. He claims such dishes have no taste, a fact even recognized by the factories which produce them as they make (separate) essences to add flavour.[336]

On *vleeschextract*, he notes that it is often used in the kitchen to improve the taste of dishes. However 'Het kan echter minder als voedingsmiddel beschouwd worden, wijl de eiwitstoffen en 't vet er aan ontbreken'.[337] He then provides the nutritional breakdown of Liebig's beef extract. This product appeared on the market in 1865 and is considered one of the first packaged convenience foods.[338] The German cookbook author Henriette Davidis was a keen promoter of this product, although it is not mentioned specifically in the Dutch version of her *Keukenboek*. Beef extract is repeatedly referred to in the English language version, and Davidis indeed produced a separate book in German and Dutch extolling the virtues of the product and providing adapted recipes, including for a Saxon Liver Ragout and a South

[333] *Oost-Indisch kookboek 1896* , 71.
[334] For a discussion of the role of the industrial production of margarine, see Marlou Schrover, 'Labour Relations in the Dutch Margarine Industry, 1870-1954', *History Workshop* 30 (1990) 55-62.
[335] *Raadgeving voor jonggehuwde dames* (Kampen 1853) 17.
[336] Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek* 1895, 295.
[337] Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek 1895*, 28.
[338] M R. Finlay, 'Quackery and cookery: Justus von Liebig's extract of meat and the theory of nutrition in the Victorian age', *Bulletin of the history of medicine* 66:3 (1992) 404-18, 404 and 418.

German *Bouillonsoep met Rijstring*.[339] She writes 'Wel kan het Vleesch-extract het dure vleesch niet geheel vervangen; maar toch kan het al seen goedkooper en krachtig middel tot versterking met voordeel gebruikt woden'.[340]

Liebig extract became an extremely well known product, to the extent that Liebig often faced the presence of falsified versions on the market.[341] Perhaps Davidis' promotion of this famous product added to her own fame in the Netherlands, and therefore the popularity of her other books. Given the high percentage of foreign recipes in the Davidis *Keukenboek*, it could therefore be considered that the availability of this new product contributed to the distribution of foreign recipes in the Netherlands.

In general, the availability of new manufactured products had a moderate impact on the inclusion of foreign recipes in Dutch cookbooks. Some new dishes were created overseas (such as American style cakes and quick breads using baking soda) and then the recipes were imported into the Netherlands. Often however we see new products being incorporated into pre-existing dishes. As explained by Schrover et al in their study of the incorporation of pasta into the Dutch diet, these new products were in the initial phase of being accepted, and had not yet lost their exotic character by the end of the century.[342] The average percentage of foreign recipes in the cookbooks in the first half of the century is 2.7 percent, while in the second half it is 4.4 percent.[343] It is therefore assessed that the availability of novel products such as baking soda and curry powder did play a role in promoting both the inclusion of foreign recipes containing these ingredients, and the modification of existing recipes to take advantage of the new ingredients.

Changes in food preparation technology, although significant, had less of an impact on the inclusion of foreign recipes. Earlier in the century, ovens in the home were rare, as illustrated by the instruction in *De volmaakte en zuinige kok* for the preservation of apricots and plums: 'De abrikozen en pruimen droogt men bij de bakker in of op den oven'.[344] New equipment such as gas stoves could make life easier for the housewife or cook; they were more versatile and easy to clean. Some British and German cookbooks contain images of

[339] Henriette Davidis, *Handleiding bij het gebruik van Liebig's vleesch-extract* (Haarlem 1870) 17, 25.
[340] Davidis, *Handleiding*, 1.
[341] Finlay, 'Quackery', 413.
[342] Marlou Schrover, Inge Mestdag, Anneke van Van Otterloo & Chaja Zeegers, 'Lekker. Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', in: Isabel Hoving, Hester Dibbits & Marlou Schrover (red), *Veranderingen van het alledaagse. Cultuur en migratie in Nederland* (Den Haag 2005) 77-112, 111.
[343] Refer to Table 5.
[344] Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok* 1841, 78.

these new devices, clearly showing the link between their introduction and the changes in recipes.[345] There were some disadvantages to the new equipment however. The smoking of meat was no longer possible without an open hearth and chimney, thus a cook would have to rely on a purchased version if that product was desired. However, this study indicates there is no strong link between the development of new cooking technologies and the number or type of foreign recipes in the cookbooks. There are no examples of foreign recipes which relied on the use of new technologies appearing in cookbooks after the introduction of said new technology.

Modernisation, in the sense that foods and eating practices became more removed from their traditional contexts, was more influential. Corver addresses this issue specifically in the section on horsemeat in the 1893 edition of her book. She attributes Dutch reluctance to eat *paardenvlees* to the teaching of early Christian preachers, who sought to discourage its consumption among Germanic tribes due to its use in pagan rituals.[346] Corver explicitly attempts to remove horsemeat from its traditional context as inedible and taboo, in order to promote its consumption. By taking a food out of a limiting traditional context it can become more widely accessible. Corver follows the same policy elsewhere in her books, by using logical rather than French 'culinary' names for recipes. This serves to separate 'high cuisine' dishes from their conventional background and thus make them more approachable for ordinary middle class housewives and their servants.[347]

Situating food in a religious context also became less important over the course of the century. Some recipe names do indicate that they are appropriate for religious occasions – such as *Paaschbrood* for Easter and *Kerstmis pudding* for Christmas, the latter recipe being of foreign origin.[348] However these dishes are non-denominational and there is nothing to indicate they are for particular Protestant or Catholic occasions. No cookbook titles specifically refer to any religious eating requirements of the majority Protestant population. This is unsurprising, as this group does not have any particular food taboos or prohibitions.

The situation is slightly different for the Catholic community in the Netherlands. The Roman Catholic Church forbids the consumption of meat on Fridays. Cookbooks in the eighteenth century frequently provided recipes appropriate for Fridays and the Lenten fasting

[345]Anne Murcott, 'Women's place: Cookbooks'images of technique and technology in the British Kitchen', *Women's Studies International Forum* 6:1 (1983) 33-39, 35.
[346] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 184.
[347] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 47.
[348] *Aaltje 1867,* 244.

period. For example, *De volmaakte Hollandsche keuken-meid* of 1752 proclaims in its title that it includes 'Onderwyzende hoe men allerhande spyzen, confituren en nagerechten, zonder ongemeene kosten, zelfs voor de roomsgezinden op visdagen en in de vasten.' It suggests an Oyster tart or a *Potagie van bloemkool en andrere groenten* as suitable fast day options.[349]

Yet the need for fast day recipes is not catered for in later cookbooks to the same extent. Recipes described as appropriate for fast days were few and far between. The *Nieuw Receptenboek*, which was published in the majority Catholic town of Breda, does not include any recipes specifically designed for a Catholic audience, although it does have a recipe for the regional dish *Sepieten*.[350] In the other cookbooks in the study, fasting recipes are limited to *Warmoes* soup which appears consistently in the *Aaltje* series,[351] and 'Soup au maigre', whose title is never translated into Dutch (except in the *Groot Practisch Kookboek* which has bilingual titles for all recipes) and thus its connection with fasting is not prominent.

One cookbook (which has not been examined for this study) does specifically address this topic. The *Volledig keukenboek voor vastdagen* was written by Anna Huber and published in 1877. The Dutch version was translated from the original German language book. Interestingly, this book, *Die vollständige Fastenküche oder praktische Anleitung zur Bereitung von Fastenspiesen*, was first published in 1870, just before the commencement of Bismarck's Kulturkampf. The Kulturkampf aimed to reduce the role and power of the Catholic Church in Germany.[352] A similar movement did not occur in the Netherlands, but the establishment of pillarisation, did occur in the second half of the nineteenth century. [353] A review of the cookbooks published in the nineteenth century suggests that pillarisation did not have the effect of encouraging the Catholic community to create their own cookbooks,[354] or indeed to encourage the inclusion of fasting recipes in more general cookbooks. Rather, it is likely that the forces of modernisation and secularisation were behind the reduction of identifiably Catholic recipes in nineteenth century cookbooks.

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[349] *De Volmaakte Hollandsche Keuken Meid* (Amsterdam 1752), 44, 124.
[350] Catharine Couvreur, *Nieuw Receptenboek*, (Breda 1884) 14. According to the culinary advice column response to 'Kan er mij eindelijk eens iemand vertellen wat 'sipieten' of 'sipieren' zijn?' http://www.seniorennet.be/Pages/Advies/advies3.php?ID=279 (accessed 20 November 2014) *sepieten* is another name for *zwezeriken* or *hersenen* (sweetbreads or brains).
[351] *Aaltje 1878*, 20.
[352] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*, 6
[353] Pillarisation, or *verzuiling*, was a cradle to grave organisational structure based primarily on religion. See Anneke H. van Otterloo, 'Religious regimes and culinary cultures: some ideas on constrasting lifestyles and cultural identities in the Netherlands during the period of pillarisation', in: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann en Alois Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität. Europäische perspektiven* (Bonn 1996) 415-427 for more information on this.
[354] As indicated by an examination of the cookbook titles in Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek.*

This has implications for the number of foreign recipes in the cookbooks, as other nationalities were often strongly identified with Catholicism. German migrants sometimes came into this category. Schrover notes that anti-Catholic feeling in Utrecht in the middle of the century was often targeted at the German community.[355] It could therefore be the case that German recipes with a religious connotation, such as the *Süddeutsche Fastnachtsküchel* were excluded from the Dutch version of the Davidis cookbook on these grounds.[356] However, the exclusion of this and perhaps other recipes of this type could also be attributed to a general tendency to secularisation or indeed other factors.

Secularisation was an important influence on the Dutch Jewish community. According to several scholars, Jewish life in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century was characterised by assimilation.[357] Yet, by the end of the century, the Dutch Jewish community had a selection of tailored cookbooks from which to choose. This was discussed previously, but at this juncture it is important to note that secularising currents of modernisation did not have a uniform effect on the inclusion of 'religiously appropriate' recipes in Dutch cookbooks.

It can be argued that globalising tendencies were responsible for the higher numbers of foreign recipes in later cookbooks. The dual influences of migration and globalisation combined to result in the establishment of Indisch restaurants in The Hague,[358] as well as the inclusion of Indisch dishes in otherwise mainstream Dutch cookbooks, most pertinently in the full chapter on *rijsttafel* in *De Vrouw in De Keuken*. Further, the use of translated cookbooks is in itself one of the means of spreading globalised ideas. While authors and translators differed in the extent to which they modified their works for their Dutch readership, high profile cookbooks by Davidis and Gouffe served to encourage the preparation and consumption of the same dishes in different countries.[359] This was not entirely a new phenomenon, as translated cookbooks were also prevalent in earlier centuries.[360] However, restaurants only became established in the nineteenth century in the Netherlands. These also played a part in globalising food tastes, particularly as the same top chefs often worked in different countries, where they introduced their own techniques and recipes, thus making

[355] Schrover, *Een Kolonie*, 57
[356] Henriette Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche* (Berlin 1913) no page numbers.
[357] Van Otterloo, 'Van kookleraressen tot diëtisten', 102
[358] Cottaar, 'Oosterse Stad', 268
[359] Gouffe was also translated into English. REF
[360] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek,*

them available for further use and modification by their colleagues.[361] Prima facie, globalisation was a key driver behind a greater interest in foreign food.

The emergence of the world food market is one example of globalisation at work in this way. This study bears out the arguments of scholars regarding the important role new and more widely available foods played in the Dutch diet. The increasing use of these products by the middle class is reflected in the cookbooks. Potatoes feature in a variety of dishes, from soup, to puddings and sweet dishes. For example, *Het Goedkoopste Kookboek* has eight recipes for potato dishes, of which two are sweet. [362] Although Corver warns against the use of the potato as a sole food source, she acknowledges that as a side dish they can prove delicious, and she indeed produced a cookbook dedicated solely to potato dishes.[363] Interestingly, in her discussion over the use of potatoes, she refers to the practices of other European countries. She warns against the habits of the Irish, who allegedly eat up to seven or eight kilograms per person per day, and notes that this would have severe nutritional consequences.[364] In contrast, she writes with approval of the German practice of eating the skin of the potatoes, which has nutritional benefits.[365] Corver therefore includes a recipe for unpeeled potatoes, which although this is not at first glance 'foreign', it does explicate a German method of preparation to the Dutch public.

This new recipe was not a direct consequence of the introduction of the potato to the Netherlands. Native South American techniques and recipes for potatoes are not reflected in Dutch cooking techniques for the tuber. Indeed, within Europe, recipes for the potato were often independently developed. For example, potato bread is found in Ireland, while similar dishes exist in Norway (*lompe* and *lefse*), Switzerland (*rosti*), Germany (*reibekuechen*) and Bavaria (*kartoffelpuffer*).[366] However, as illustrated by the unpeeled potato example, recipes using these new ingredients could spread within Europe. Potato salad is another example of a German recipe introduced to the Netherlands. New ingredients could result in new recipes, but not necessarily from their countries of origin.

[361] Lane, 'Culinary culture and globalisation', 702.
[362] *Het Goedkoopste Keukenboek.*
[363] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 227, see also O.A. Corver, *Onze Aardappel* (Amsterdam 1893).
[364] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 225.
[365] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 228.
[366] Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire and Pádraic Óg Gallagher, 'The Potato in Irish Cuisine and Culture', *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology* 7:2-3 (2009) 152-167, 164.

Sugar availability also had little direct influence on the inclusion of foreign recipes. Reflecting the high price of the commodity in 1814, the fourth edition of *Aaltje* features instructions on how to use honey as a sugar substitute, while the *Almanak* of 1813 describes honey as a cheap domestic product.[367] The *Almanak* also includes a method for stewing apples and pears without sugar, and instead using a raw red beetroot.[368] Yet the *Geheel Nieuw Handboek*, also published in 1814, features several sugar heavy recipes, such as *suikerbrood* and *ulefeltjes* (a type of toffee) both of which are of Frisian origin.[369] These recipe inclusions, both of recipes featuring sugar, and of those which advise on sugar substitutes at times of sugar shortage, demonstrate the increasing importance of the commodity in Dutch cuisine. As it became more affordable, it unquestionably changed the way that Dutch people ate. However, the use of the product was not accompanied by culinary influences from the colonies in which it was originally produced.

Similarly, vegetables which became available in the Netherlands during the nineteenth century, such as pumpkins, aubergines and tomatoes were incorporated into Dutch cooking without adding influence from their foreign origins. Although mentions of these vegetables were usually accompanied by slightly more explanatory notes than other vegetables, their exoticism is not stressed. There were some unknowns however. In contrast to Corver's usual precision on the nutritional content of more common products, such as meat, on tomatoes she writes 'Men zegt, dat deze zeer gezond zijn, in ieder geval zijn ze bij uitstek smakelijk'.[370] She notes however 'Helaas zijn ze duur'. She also provides instructions for the preparation of aubergines, and the *Nationaal Koekboek* of 1895 has a recipe for *pompoensoep*.[371] Inclusion of new vegetables in the cookbooks does not necessarily correlate to the inclusion of new foreign recipes featuring these ingredients.

Following on from this, it is assessed that foreign recipes which rely on particular, unavailable ingredients would not have been included in the cookbooks. This concurs with the views of Ball, who points out that Greek cookbooks destined for the American market exclude recipes featuring vegetables (such as wild greens) which are not obtainable in the United States.[372] For example, *De Vrouw in De Keuken* provides advice to readers about

[367] Wouter Brave, *Almanak voor de huishouding, keuken, en de gezondheid 1814* (Amsterdam 1813) 75.
[368] Brave, *Almanak 1814*, 74.
[369] *Geheel nieuw Handboek 1814*, 286.
[370] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893*, 292.
[371] Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookbek 1895*, 103.
[372] Eric Ball, 'Greek Food After Mousaka : Cookbooks, "Local" Culture, and the Cretan Diet', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 21:1 (2003) 1-36, 23.

where specific ingredients can be obtained, suggesting that only recipes with obtainable ingredients have been included. In an increasingly globalised world, the availability of a new or foreign product did not necessarily mean the inclusion of foreign recipes, but the absence of a product meant that recipes which required this ingredient would likely be excluded.

Yet the results of globalisation on food ways can be complex and contradictory. Jayalaskar sums up the ambiguous role played by globalisation in the culinary world when he writes; '[T]he central paradox of globalisation is its ability to simultaneously create cultural diversity and homogeneity.'[373] The inclusion of regional dishes in cookbooks in this study, such as the aforementioned *sepieten*, could be considered to be part of this trend, although the reinvention of the importance of place discussed by Mak et al occurred during the twentieth century. Regional identities do feature strongly in cookbook titles, such as the *Geldersche Keuken Meid,* and this cookbook does have a recipe for *Geldersche hutspot*,[374] but a regional theme is not generally emphasized. Further, the use of regional adjectives in the titles predates the nineteenth century: in the eighteenth century books ostensibly written by cooks from Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland and Friesland were already available.[375] For this study, the sample of regional cookbooks is too small to provide a definitive answer on whether regionalism served as a countervailing trend to globalisation. However, the role that globalisation played in the dissemination of foreign culinary influences is more clearly shown in the cookbooks in the study.

The cookbooks selected for this study were published in a time of increasing industrialisation, modernisation and globalisation. This study demonstrates that these phenomena had varied effects on the inclusion of foreign recipes in the cookbooks. While the availability of new, non-indigenous natural ingredients such as potatoes and tomatoes did not result in the appearance of substantially more foreign recipes, novel manufactured products like bicarbonate of soda and meat extract were more influential in this regard. Modernisation encouraged foodstuffs to be seen out of their traditional, limiting contexts, which led to more creativity and freedom to use these ingredients in recipes originating abroad. Further, we should not forget the role played by cookbooks themselves in spreading food ideas and preferences. The genre has international roots, and the use of these standardized texts by consumers in different countries can clearly be situated within the context of increasing

[373] Laresh Jayasanker, *Sameness in Diversity: Food Culture and Globalisation in the San Francisco Bay Area and America, 1965-2005* (PhD Thesis University of Texas Austin 2008), ix.
[374] *Geldersche keuken-meyd 1801,* 41.
[375]See Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek* for a list.

globalisation. While many factors can account for the increase in foreign recipes in the cookbooks of later years, the influence of globalisation should not be ignored.

Importance of the middle class

Nearly all the books in the study are addressed to middle and upper-middle class readers. The titles and introductions of the books point to their intended readership. While we do not know who actually purchased and used the books, the intended audience of the books is often clear from the titles and forewords of the books. Most are for a general audience, but some are more specific. In this section, the study's results will be analysed on the basis of class orientation.

Books such as Catharina Couvreur's *Nieuw Receptenboek* were directed towards those working class women employed as cooks and kitchen maids, although in this case the ultimate consumer of the food would be the cook's employer and thus from the middle or upper class. It was published in 1884. According to the title, Couvreur was a *keukenmeid* with over 50 years of experience, and the recipes were 'geheel op eigen ondervinding gegrond'. The intended audience of the book clearly included fellow kitchen maids, as a note from the publisher indicates that the writer's original sentence structure was retained in order to make it easier for kitchen personnel to understand. [376] This slim book contains 121 recipes, some of which are provided in a much abbreviated form, such as that for Curry soup. The entire recipe reads: "Kerrysoep van kalfspolet, met rijst, gebraden uijen, balletjes en 1 of 2 eetlepels kerry.''[377] These are condensed instructions, even by the standards of the nineteenth century, and are an indication of the book's experienced target audience.

In contrast, the *Aaltje* series was written for a bourgeois readership. Witteveen and Van Dam describe the first edition as a 'typisch leesboek voor de burgerkeuken', and state that the recipes are often based on the higher cuisine of the eighteenth century.[378] Van 't Veer also emphasizes the continuity between Aaltje and earlier cookbooks, to the extent that the author plagiarized many recipes from other works.[379] Despite the claim in the title to 'zuinigheid' the Aaltje books were clearly written for an upper-middle class readership. They

[376] Couvreur, *Nieuw Receptenboek*, 1.
[377] Couvreur, *Nieuw Receptenboek*, 3.
[378] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 28-29.
[379] Van 't Veer, *Oud-hollands Kookboek*, 171.

feature recipes for expensive cuts of beef,[380] and labour intensive dishes such as chicken with prawns.[381]

Witteveen and Van Dam draw a distinction between *Aaltje* and the *Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek* series.[382] The latter contains simple recipes for smaller burger households, where the housewife had to cook herself, perhaps with the help of one maid.[383] They note there is no tomfoolery or foreign affairs in the *Burgerkeukenboek*.[384] This study bears out their conclusions. The percentage of foreign recipes in this series is less than one percent, the lowest of all the cookbooks studied. It does moreover provide recipes for the use of leftover veal, and in the 1833 edition, four methods for preserving broad beans.[385] The foreword to the thirteenth edition makes its intended audience clear:

> Het is een Burger-Keukenboek genoemd, omdat er de bereidingen van vele gerechten, die toch maar zeer zelden voorkomen, of slechts aan de hoven en in de hoogste kringen opgedischt worden, niet in zijn opgenomen.[386]

Witteveen and Van Dam categorise Davidis's cookbooks as similar in orientation to the *Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek*, given that her texts focus on the housewife as the person responsible for cooking in the household.[387] In the table below, I have therefore listed Davidis' *Keukenboek* as a 'middle class cookbook' although it differs in many ways from the *Burgerkeukenboek* series, as we shall see.

This table compares the number of foreign recipes in each class of cookbook. In the absence of working class cookbooks, Couvreur's *Nieuw Receptenboek* (which was directed at household kitchen personnel) is included.

[380] *Aaltje 1804*, 44.
[381] *Aaltje 1803*, 65.
[382] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 90.
[383] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 93.
[384] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 90 In Dutch: 'geen fratsen' en geen buitenlandse zaken.
[385] *Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek 1833*, 34, 120.
[386] *Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek 1858*, foreword.
[387] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 93 Davidis' wrote another popular book entitled *De Huisvrouw*.

Table 6: Foreign recipes by class of target readership

Title	Audience	Percentage foreign recipes	Without German recipes
Aaltje	Upper-middle class	**1.9**	
Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek	Middle class	**1.0**	
Davidis Keukenboek	Middle class	**6.2**	**4.2**
Nieuw Receptenboek	Kitchen maids	**4.1**	

Source: Derived from data in Table 5.

From the chart, a clear difference emerges between *Aaltje* and the *Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek*. The *Aaltje* series contains almost double the percentage of foreign recipes than the competitor. There are more foreign recipes in later editions of *Aaltje*: 1.52 percent in 1820 compared to 3.2 percent in 1878, while there is little change between the editions of the *Nieuw Burgerkeukenboek*. *Aaltje* contains a number of sophisticated French dishes, such as *Ijs a l'arlequin* or *creme brulee,* [388] but these are only rarely found in the *Burgerkeukenboek*. The difference between the two series can be attributed at least partially to the differing socio-economic status of their intended readers.

However, if Davidis' *Keukenboek* is categorised with the *Burgerkeukenboek* as middle class, in opposition to the bourgeois orientation of *Aaltje*, the picture is less clear. The *Keukenboek* clearly contains the highest percentage of foreign recipes, even if the German recipes are excluded. This can be attributed to a number of factors. The first Davidis cookbook was produced in Dutch in 1867, forty years after the first *Burgerkeukenboek*. The economy and the society of the Netherlands had changed substantially in that time. Additionally, Witteveen and Van Dam's classification of Davidis' book as a cookbook for the ordinary burger is too simplistic. Davidis herself acknowledges that her book had been criticised by some housewives as being too cumbersome and too expensive.[389] She writes:

> Er is, ja, voor groote partijen, b. v. een recept van *Schildpadsoep* in opgenomen; maar even goed, voor den huiselijken disch, een recept van eenvoudige *Groentesoep*. -Een voor *Rheebout*; maar ook een voor *Biefstuk, Haché* of *Worst*. -Een voor *Kabinetspudding*; maar ook een voor *Jan in den zak*. –Een voor *Champagnesaus*; maar ook een voor *Pieterseliesaus*. -Een voor *Punch impérial*;

[388] *Aaltje 1878,* 221.
[389] In Dutch she writes: 'te *omslachtig* en te *duur'*. Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, Foreword

> maar ook een voor *Limonade*. Zoo vindt men er in alle omstandigheden wat men noodig heeft. [390]

She rhetorically asks ‘’Maar is het niet eene goede eigenschap van het boek dat *iedereen* er in kan vinden wat hij begeert?’[391] Davidis clearly hopes that both middle and upper-middle class women in the Netherlands will purchase and use the *Keukenboek.* It is perhaps surprising that Couvreur’s *Nieuw Receptenboek* contains a rather high percentage of foreign recipes, given its intended audience of kitchen maids. Yet as previously noted, these kitchen maids were employed by wealthier households. These households were able to afford the ingredients for dishes such as her *Podding Diplomat*, featuring four sorts of fruit soaked in brandy.[392] It was published later in the century than the other books in the table, when foreign ingredients, such as curry powder, where more easily available. Also, the book only contains 121 recipes, and thus provides a much smaller sample than the others.[393]

The straightforward comparison between the *Aaltje* series and the *Burgerkeukenboek* series is therefore the most illuminating. Both books were produced over a similar span of time, and both were produced in sixteen editions.[394] It can thus be argued that the intended class of the readers of the cookbook influenced the selection of foreign recipes.

The genre of books published in association with the *huishoudscholen* is represented in the study by O.A. Corver’s two books, published in 1891 and 1893. Corver had been the head of the temporary cooking school at the Food Exposition in Amsterdam in 1887. She also wrote for a middle class audience: it is clear from her discussions about the appropriate preparations for a formal dinner she expects her readers to have at least one maid, but not their own cook.[395] Corver draws on German and English cuisine in her book, although this is not represented specifically in the ethnic origins of recipe. Rather, she writes favourably of English and German ways of doing things, such as eating varied types of fish and eating potatoes in their skins.[396] She also provides a number of French recipes including Gateau éclair, which she describes as ‘gauw en lekker’.[397] Although this is only a small sample, the content of this book bears out Van Otterloo’s argument that German, English and French

[390] Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, Foreword. Emphasis in original.
[391] Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, Foreword.
[392] Couvreur, *Nieuw Receptenboek,* 33.
[393] See Table 5 for total recipe numbers in other cookbooks.
[394] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek.*
[395] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 32.
[396] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,*199.
[397] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,*320.

cuisines were sources of inspiration for the *huishoudscholen*. These sources of inspiration influenced the inclusion of foreign recipes in cookbooks associated with the schools. However, given that these schools were primarily influential in the twentieth century,[398] this cannot be considered a definitive finding.

Fashions and trends

The adjective 'zuinig' and its near synonym 'goedkoop' repeatedly features in cookbook titles and subtitles. *Aaltje, de volmaakte en zuinige keukenmeid*, *De volmaakte en zuinige kok*, and *Het Goedkoopste Keukenboek* are just a few examples. There are nods to thrift in these texts, such as *Aaltje's* 'goedkoope en smaakelijke soup van lamskoppen',[399] and information on how to replace sugar in recipes at times of high prices.[400] However in general the recipes in these books are not characterized by cheap ingredients or frugality. *Het Goedkoopste Keukenboek* features recipes such as that for an English Apple Pudding, which requires expensive ingredients like raisins, vanilla, rum, ginger, nuts and confit citrus peel.[401] In these earlier books, claims to frugality appeared to have no impact on the selection of foreign recipes.

In the later years of the century, the establishment of the *huishoudscholen* did lead to a greater concern for the responsible use of resources in the kitchen.[402] This is particularly noticeable in Corver's books. She encourages for example the use of frogs' legs in recipes as they have 'veel voedsel en fijn vleesch'- and they are often free: 'Mening moeder zou goed doen haar jongens eens op de kikkervangst uit te zenden'.[403] She strengthens her argument for the use of this meat by noting that they are frequently eaten in France and Belgium. Similarly, Corver attempts to convince Dutch people to use more horse fat by stating that it is 'goede eigenschappen veel gebruikt door Duitsche koek en banketbakkers'.[404] The claim that French and English people eat a greater variety of fish than the Dutch is used to attempt encourage greater consumption of cheaper, lesser known, but still nutritious species.[405] Corver uses

[398] Van Dam and Witteveen, *Koks en keukenmeiden*, 154.
[399] *Aaltje 1804*, 12.
[400] *Aaltje c1820*, Appendix.
[401] *Het Goedkoopste Keukenboek*, 14.
[402] Van Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 141-2
[403] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893*, 223-4
[404] Çorver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893*, 53
[405] Cover, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893*,199

foreign cooking and eating practices as an authority to attempt to influence Dutch eating habits. The fashion for thrifty cooking, has, in the case of Corver, been stimulated by foreign foodways and results in the inclusion of foreign ingredients and dishes in her books.

For cookbook authors associated with the cooking school movement, moderation – 'matigheid' was closely related to the idea of frugality. As noted in the section on class, responsible consumption was urged on all, particularly the lower classes. Corver promulgates this in advice against the use of strong liquor,[406] and advocates a greatly reduced use of spices, stating that they are risky for young stomachs.[407] This was a pan-European trend, picked up for example in later editions of the Davidis cookbook – although Davidis herself was not part of the cooking school movement.[408] In the 1897 English language version of her book, in contrast to liberal spicing in earlier German and Dutch editions, readers are advised that nutmegs and cloves in particular should be used as sparingly as possible.[409] It is likely therefore that authors who ascribed to the cooking school movement excluded or modified recipes which did not accord with their conception of moderation. This exclusion could have applied both to indigenous and foreign recipes, as traditional Dutch recipes such as *pepernoten* featured use of spices including cubeb, cinnamon, anise, cardamom, nutmeg and caraway.[410]

It is important to note this trend did not pervade all Dutch cookbooks. Other nineteenth century cookbooks such as *De vrouw in De Keuken* contained recipes using more spices than ever.[411] So although frugality and moderation were a part of a strong trend, as of the late nineteenth century this trend was not universal.

Although health concerns only became paramount in the cookbooks of the latter half of the century, many cookbooks prior to this date included 'recipes' for medicinal products. For example, *De volmaakte en zuinige kok* provides 23 recipes for 'schoone Geneesmiddelen' and 'schoone behoedmiddelen tegen aanstekende ziekten'.[412] Health concerns were

[406] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893*,346
[407] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893* ,63
[408] She had however taught at a girls' school. Karin Hockamp, "Das Leben der glücklichen Gattin und Hausfrau ist eine stete Selbstverleugnung": Henriette Davidis und das Frauenleben im 19. Jahrhundert', *Stadtarchiv Sprockhövel*, June 2006, http://www.sprockhoevel.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Texte_Stadtarchiv/Beruf_der_Jungfrau.pdf, accessed 6 January 2015, 3.
[409] Davidis, *Practical Cook Book*, xlv.
[410] *Geheel Nieuw Handboek 1814*, 239. Cubeb (*cubebe* in Dutch) is a type of pepper.
[411] Vemerius, *De vrouw in de keuken*, 295-299.
[412] Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok*.

referenced in earlier cookbooks, but they were far from being the prime focus of the authors. In the 1858 edition of the *Burgerkeukenboek* the author intends only for the recipes to be 'not harmful' to health. The foreword states:

> Eene smakelijke en voor de gezondheid niet schadelijker bereiding van allerlei spijzen en dranken op de eenvoudigste en de minst kostbare wijze, wordt er, in gewonen keukenstijl, zoo duidelijk en kort mogelijk, in geleerd.[413]

Yet in later cookbooks the link between health and food is more explicit. Even in books such as the *Nationaal Kookboek,* which eschewed the thrifty practices of the cooking schools, concerns about the adulteration of food were given prominence in the text.[414] In several countries, greater coverage of the risks posed by food substitutions was accompanied by a growing interest in the science of nutrition and discussions of these topics were in vogue in a number of cookbooks in the last quarter of the century. The risk of food adulteration also meant that some dishes which were particularly prone to impurities and falsification could have been excluded. This may have played a role in the reduced number of spices in dishes in the last years of the century. Although instructions were provided on how to identify additives the nature of ground spices made it difficult to be certain of purity.[415] This was also the case for sausages. Numerous harmful additives could be concealed within a sausage casing and Westenberg adds 'Naam en afkomst zijn volstrekt nog geen waarborgen voor goede qualiteit'.[416]

Corver repeatedly urges her readers to beware of food adulteration, and advises them to consult specific magazines for up to date information.[417] In one case, readers are advised to avoid food colourings such as 'coppergreen', as versions produced in France or Germany could contain as much as six or seven percent copper. While domestically produced versions were less colourful, they were less damaging to health.[418] Westenberg writes of the spoiled horsemeat discovered in a foreign sausage factory.[419] Fears of foreign produce not meeting the same standards as domestic production are a clear theme.

In Dutch cookbooks, this interest in health and nutrition led to the inclusion of some foreign recipes, but likely also the exclusion of others, depending on their assessed level of health and nutrition. Corver encourages the use of horsemeat and legumes due to their high

[413] Foreword *Burgerkeukenboek 1858.*
[414] Van Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 136, see also Westenberg, *Nationaal kookboek 1893*, 23.
[415] Westenberg, *Nationaal kookboek 1895*, 46.
[416] Westenberg, *Nationaal kookboek 1893*, 23.
[417] Westenberg, *Nationaal kookboek 1893*, 16.
[418] Westenberg, *Nationaal kookboek 1893*, 45.
[419] Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek 1893*, 23.

protein content, which was seen as crucial for bodily strength. She therefore urges her readers to overcome their prejudice against horsemeat by including a recipe for horsemeat goulash.[420] Regarding legumes, Corver also instructs her readers that they can cook *grauwe erwten* more quickly if they use the water which has previously been used to boil spinach. This technique was provided to Corver by a Frenchman.[421]

Corver also gives an indication of the type of recipes which may have been excluded on health grounds. She provides a recipe for plum pudding, a dish of English origin made from suet which features in many of the cookbooks in this study. She comments however that it is 'zeer vet en dus moeilijk te verteren. Men eet hem zeer heet en vooral met een gekruide wijn of rumsaus.'[422] Perhaps other 'indigestible' dishes were not included in her book, because she felt they were incompatible with a healthy way of eating.

Corver notes in the foreword to the 1891 edition that she has consulted experts in nutrition, child nutrition and hygiene to develop her recipes and provide information about their dietary value.[423] She refers specifically to German scientists such as Von Pettenkoffer and Von Voit, who were at the forefront of nutritional knowledge.[424] This admiration for their nutritional knowledge could well have led to the selection of more German recipes – providing that such recipes aligned with the principles of nutritional health at the time. This meant a significant focus on protein, as the importance of vitamins for example was not known until the 1920s.[425] Protein rich dishes such as Hungarian goulash were recommended by Corver as 'Zeer aan te bevelen'.[426] The foreignness of a dish appeared not to be a barrier to its inclusion, if it met Corver's other criteria. Indeed, she invents her own recipes for the then little-known peanut to take advantage of the protein content.[427]

The concept of health and its relationship to food changed over the century. Some cookbooks were responsive to these changing ideas and included and excluded (and modified?) recipes based on their perceived health value, which had implications for the presence and type of foreign recipes in the cookbook. However, not all cookbooks were part of this trend.

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[420] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 184.
[421] Corver, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 257.
[422] Cover, *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 309.
[423] Corver *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1891,* Foreword.
[424] Corver *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1891,* Foreword.
[425] Den Hartog, 'Vegetables', 380.
[426] Corver *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1891,* 130.
[427] Corver *Aaltje: Nieuw Nederlandsch kookboek 1893,* 255.

As we have seen, frugality and health were important trends primarily in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. However, the popularity and fashionability of French food persisted throughout the century and indeed perhaps to the present day.

The lavishly illustrated *Groot Praktische Kookboek* by Jules and Alphonse Gouffe is in stark contrast to other texts which trumpet their thrifty and frugal virtues.[428] It contains two parts, one focused on 'dagelijkse of burger keuken', and the other on 'de groote keuken' however both parts are clearly addressed to wealthy households with sufficient serving staff. The book was translated from the French original by A. Kreunen, an Amsterdam based cook. There was little attempt to modify the book for a Dutch audience, apart from occasional translator's notes, clarifying the reasons for the use of particular terms. Kreunen for example explains that the French name for the English dish Oxtail soup was incorrect.[429] The French titles for each recipe have been retained, and are printed alongside a Dutch translation. Nevertheless, despite its lack of adaptation for the Dutch market, the book achieved success in the Netherlands to the extent that it was printed for the second time in 1882, and in 1895 a modified version by Jules Gouffe alone was also published.[430]

Why was this lavishly illustrated and elite book so popular in the Netherlands? The qualifications and fame of the authors may have played a role – they had been apprenticed to the renowned chef Antonin Careme, and Alphonse was, according to the book's subtitle, the head chef for the English monarch. Further, its popularity reflects the general popularity of French recipes and techniques in the nineteenth-century Netherlands.

French culinary discourse was in vogue in Dutch culinary contexts. The *Nationaal Kookboek* provides French titles for nearly all dishes.[431] Every edition of the *Aaltje* series contains recipes for French soups, and chapters on serving practices reference the French style.[432] Additional French influence is revealed by a deeper reading of the text. Authors refer to doing things 'the way the French do' or reference advice they have received from French cooks. In Aaltje, the way to cook vegetable soup is introduced by the sentence 'De Franschen bereiden eene soup van dien naam op de volgende wijze'.[433] The entire naming convention for

[428] Jules Gouffe and Alphonse Gouffe, *Groot Practisch kookboek* (Gouda 1870).
[429] Gouffe, *Groot Practisch kookboek*, 230.
[430] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*, 67.
[431] Westenberg, *Nationaal kookboek*.
[432] *Aaltje 1867,* 334.
[433] *Aaltje 1867,* 58.

recipes, where French phrases such as ‘a la’ are used to describe dishes, is another pointer to French sway in the Dutch kitchen.[434]

Corver is the only author to openly question this tradition: ‘Wat de namen betreft heerscht er een chaotische verwarring in de kook wereld.’ She adds that the same ‘Soup a la Reine’ could be made by the different cooks in ten different ways and thus the name by itself gives no indication to the cook or the diner of what they will be cooking or eating. She thus favours simple descriptive names except where the name has been continuously associated with a particular dish or where the history and the origins of the dish completely justify the name.[435] One incidence of this is *Ossenhaas a la jardinière/printemps/hiver*, which is accompanied by an explanation that spring vegetables are used for the first two options, and winter vegetables for the last.[436]

It is clear from the data obtained in this study that the fashionability of French cuisine in the nineteenth century played an influential role in the selection of French recipes for cookbooks.

Towards cosmopolitanism

A desire to present a cosmopolitan identity is likely partially responsible for the inclusion of foreign recipes in the cookbooks in the study. As I have already noted, cookbooks can provide a method for readers to think about their aspirations, and in the nineteenth century a cosmopolitan identity was an aspiration for many. This is rarely explicit however. Writers do not usually state that they have tried a dish overseas and are thus keen to share it with their readers. Rather, context is important.

The 1841 cookbook *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok*, was written by J. G. van den Wollenberg, who also published, in 1845, *De Hollandsche en Duitsche kookkunst*. His interest in German cooking spills over into this book, indicating a more international approach by this author. In the introduction to De *Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok*, Van den Wollenberg notes that he has not included recipes which are already widely known. He states that his book only offers recipes which offer a great improvement on others, which have been used in the most

[434] Corver *Aaltje 1893,* 45.
[435]Corver *Aaltje 1893*, 45.
[436] Corver *Aaltje 1893,* 111.

'fatsoenlijke keukens' and which are of great utility to every family. Indeed, the recipes included by Van den Wollenberg are different to those in other texts. His version of *Kalfskop op engelsche wijs* incorporates both *rhijnwijn* and a sauce of red wine, lemon juice and eggs and is thus more elaborate than other version.[437] Similarly his *Kalfsrib op Duitsche manier* has several interesting ingredients, notably anchovies.[438] He features recipes from Berlin ('Een exelente Berliner brood soep' and 'Berliner vladen'), Hamburg (*hoofdkaas*), Cologne (*worst, frikadellen* and *vladen*) and Frankfurt (*worst* and *zuurkool*). Several of these recipes, such as those from Berlin and Hamburg do not appear in other cookbooks in the study. He does also include other, more common foreign dishes, such as *Engelsche koek* and *Fransche soep*.

This book was published at a time of depressed economic growth and before the globalising pressures of the second half of the century. Yet Van den Wollenberg obviously assessed these international, and slightly unusual dishes would be of interest to readers. Indeed the book was moderately successful, based on the fact it was issued in at least three editions.[439] Thus this international approach was already attractive to cookbook consumers in 1841.

In later books cosmopolitan tendencies are even clearer. Both Corver and Davidis make repeated references to the way foods are made and eaten in different countries. Davidis was of course German herself, thus the incorporation of many varied German recipes in her book is unsurprising. She even includes *Elberfelder kransen,* a specialty from Elberfeld, a town in which she lived.[440] Moreover, there is still a noticeably international character to her *Keukenboek*. Five of Davidis' recipes feature curry powder, either as an integral or optional ingredient. The fact that these recipes feature in the Dutch version of her book indicates that she believed they would also be of relevance and interest to her Dutch readers. Many English recipes also feature, including *Rolipoli* (Roly poly pudding) and *Mince-pies.* [441] She provides an appropriate context for serving this dish, explaining that: 'Deze Engelsche pasteitjes dienen voor het dessert.'[442] By including this additional information, Davidis is introducing her Dutch readers to a different type of dessert. Readers are also advised in *Aaltje* on ways to present the dining table and serve the dishes, in accordance with the latest, often international

[437] Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok*, 19.
[438] Wollenberg, *De Volmaakte en Zuinige Kok*, 20.
[439] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek*,54.
[440] Hockamp, 'Henriette Davidis und das Frauenleben', 1.
[441] Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, 103.
[442] Davidis, *Keukenboek 1873*, 93.

trends.[443] This different way of doing things can be seen as a part of creating a cosmopolitan identity.

As noted previously, the *kookscholen* and the books associated with them had a noticeable international orientation. Corver's travels and international experience are clear in the book. She is clearly interested in innovation. She provides instructions for the use of agar-agar and invents her own recipes using the peanut.[444] In her recipe for *Ossenhaas a la Marengo*, she recounts that this dish was first cooked for Napoleon after the battle of Marengo: 'De kok zou vleesch braden maar had geen ander vet dan Genuaolie. Hij maakte het vleesch er medeklaar. Het beviel goed en zoo ontstond dit gerecht.[445] The novelty (for Corver) of using olive oil to fry meat apparently appealed.

However, neither Corver nor Davidis play up the exotic character of any of their recipes. None of them appear to be included purely for the sake of exoticism. For Corver the primary reasoning behind recipe inclusion is health (with frugality a close second), while for Davidis taste is important. The spices which were seen in Regnier's study as exotic are not celebrated.[446] For Corver, they are to be approached with caution.

Van den Wollenberg, Corver and Davidis all include recipes for new and unfamiliar dishes in their cookbooks. The inclusion of recipes somewhat different to the mainstream offerings in other cookbooks demonstrates that there was a market for unusual culinary ideas in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. This accords with ideas presented in the literature that adventurous food choices form part of the development of a cosmopolitan identity.

Other recipes, which may appear to modern day eyes as more exotic than those described above, also feature in some of the cookbooks in the study. *Snoek met een poolsche saus* features in both the Aaltje edition of 1867 and in the *Geheel Nieuw Handboek* of 1814. The Polish sauce features raisins in both cases, and in the case of Aaltje, also includes onion, parsley, bread, pepper, mace, nutmeg and saffron. [447] The same two books also present recipes for *Lams/schapesbout op Perziaansche manier*, which requires twelve hours of cooking and is

[443] *Aaltje 1867*, 41.
[444] Corver, *Aaltje 1893*, 255.
[445] Corver, *Aaltje1893*, 33.
[446] Regnier, 'Spicing Imagination', 196.
[447] *Geheel Nieuw Handboek 1814*, 184.

prepared with pepper, salt and onions.[448] Persia is also referenced by Vemerius in *De Vrouw in De Keuken*. She provides a recipe for a Persian compote, which is based on flavouring pineapple with rose oil.[449] Couvreur is less specific in the origins of some of her dishes. Her offerings include *Een oostersche koude schotel* with rum and sago and two variations of an *Oostersche podding.*[450] To the modern day Dutch reader or cook, Persia and Poland likely appear to be more exotic than England, the origin of Davidis's *Rolipoli*. The 'east' in Couvreur's dishes has similar glamorous and mysterious connotations. While these dishes may not have been seen as exotic in the same way they could be today (indeed the longevity of the Polish sauce recipe may have dimmed its novelty factor somewhat), an individual could seek to improve his or her cultural capital by reading about these dishes, preparing them, or eating them. The presence of these recipes, together with the unfamiliar dishes from Van den Wollenberg, Davidis and Corver, bears out the conclusion drawn by scholars in other culinary contexts, that adventurous inclusions in cookbooks serve to help readers differentiate themselves from others.

Foreign dishes, when included in the cookbooks, are generally presented positively. However, there are two significant exceptions. As previously mentioned, Corver includes a recipe for plum pudding although it is extremely fatty and difficult to digest. Additionally, Gouffe includes a section of foreign soups, such as Scotch broth, English Soup from Goose Offal and Turtle Soup, but comments:

> Ik geef nu eenige vreemde soepen op, die nog veel minder zijn dan de soep met gevulde kropsalade, wat haar lichten aard aangaat. Ik geef ze op om zoveel mogelijk aan alle lusten te voldoen en te voorzien in de bijzondere omstandigheden, waarin de kok somwijlen geroepen mocht zijn om ze gereed te maken.[451]

Gouffe clearly considers these foreign soups as entirely different to French soups, and of a distinctly lesser quality. In his view, the cook would likely not choose to make these and would only do so if specifically requested. However, while he is implicitly criticising the makers of these soups, and the tastes of those who wish to eat them, he is not explicitly constructing them as an 'other'. His book contains many more non-French European recipes which are not commented upon in this way.

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[448] *Aaltje 1867*,109, *Geheel Niew Handboek 1814*, 54.
[449] Vemerius, *De Vrouw in de Keuken*, 227.
[450] Couvreur, *Nieuw Receptenboek*, 30, 33.
[451] Gouffe, *Groot Practisch kookboek*, 383. In the English version of his book he writes 'These soups … are much too substantial to come up to my standard of what a soup should be; but as they are frequently in request, I have felt bound to describe them.' Jules Gouffe and Alphonse Gouffe, *The Royal Cookery Book* (London 1869) 253.

Generally, apart from the example above, if a cookbook author does not like or approve of certain recipes, or does not think they would be suitable for the audience they are simply excluded. Davidis provides no chapter on meat dishes in *Anna de kleine keukenmeid*, writing 'Vleeschgerechten zijn voor uwe keuken niet geschikt; houdt u dus, lieve meisjes, aan andere spijzen.'[452] In most circumstances of course it is difficult to give the precise reason behind the choice to exclude recipes, such as foreign recipes. In the *Burgerkeukenboek*, which remained largely unchanged over its 16 editions from 1827 to 1879, there is a distinct lack of non-native dishes. This series has consistently the lowest percentage of foreign dishes. Foreign recipes are limited to an English style *biefstuk*, variations of the English pudding and a couple of pastries of French origin.[453] There is no indication within the book for the almost exclusive focus on Dutch dishes, except for its claim that all the dishes are suitable for the *burger* kitchen. In the case of the *Burgerkeukenboek*, and the other texts which exclude foreign recipes, this study does not conclude there was a deliberate othering of groups of non-Dutch origin. There was in this case no attempt to create an 'other'.

There is a clear separation in the *Oost-Indisch* series of cookbooks. Each of the books in the series is divided into two main sections, *De Hollandse Tafel* and *De Inlandsche Tafel.* For the purposes of this study, only non-Dutch dishes in the *Hollandse Tafel* sections were counted. There is however considerable cross over between the two sections. A Portuguese curry appears in the Indisch part of the book, while in the 1866 and 1872 editions, *Bamie* is listed as a Dutch dish.[454] Apart from the separation of the recipes into two sections, little context is provided. Clearly the existence of the book, and the selection of the recipes within it, were products of Dutch colonialism in the East Indies. However, the content of this book does not suggest that a Dutch or white European identity was being constructed in opposition to an 'Indisch' other. Appropriation of the Indisch cuisine is more evident, both in this series, and in the *rijsttafel* chapter of *De Vrouw in de keuken.* I argue therefore that authors and publishers selected recipes for these cookbooks in part based upon a desire to include Indisch cuisine within the Dutch culinary sphere. This had the effect of creating a more cosmopolitan identity for consumers of these books.

Other factors contributed to the formation of cosmopolitan identities. Travel was important for the development of more cosmopolitan eating patterns, although it is rarely

[452] Hanriette Davidis, *Anna de kleine keukenmeid,* (Haarlem 1870) 52.
[453] *Burgerkeukenboek 1858.*
[454] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* 1866, 32

discussed within the cookbooks themselves. It is known however that some of the authors undertook international travel. Gouffe, a French chef, worked for the Queen of England.[455] Corver studied in Hannover.[456]

Newspaper advertisements shed light on the travel opportunities taken up by the wider Dutch in the later nineteenth centuries. For example, the *Amsterdamsche Courant - Algemeen Handelsblad* of 22 April 1850 contains an advertisement for the Bains de Hombourg (a German spa resort, although the advertisement is written in French) and for the Deutsches Hotel in Leicester Street London, where English, Dutch, French and German are spoken, and both Dutch and German cuisine is on offer.[457] Even within Holland, in cities like Amsterdam, foreign cuisines were available: The Hotel Rembrandt proposed an inclusive tariff for board and lodging, and offered Dutch, French and German meals.[458]

It is likely that increasing travel opportunities encouraged the broadening of the Dutch palate, and indeed reinforced the motivation to develop a cosmopolitan identity. However, the business and leisure travel experiences that may have made readers more interested in and receptive to the inclusion of foreign recipes in cookbooks are not visible in the cookbooks themselves. The data from this study cannot confirm this supposition. The information from the cookbooks does however indicate that the idea of being a cosmopolitan sophisticate was attractive to some members of the middle and upper classes. Readers were advised on how to keep up to date with dining fashions and incorporate new foods into their cooking.

Political developments

In the early years of the century, the involvement of France is most evident in the two *Almanaks*. In the *Almanak* for 1813, which was written in 1812, it notes that they year is the tenth since the establishment of the French Empire, and the fourth since the association between France and Holland.[459] Additionally, as previously noted, the *Almanak* of 1814 provides instructions on how to stew apples and pears without sugar, and on how to prepare

[455] Gouffe, *Groot Practisch kookboek*, title page.
[456] Van Otterloo, *Eten en eetlust*, 139.
[457] *Amsterdamsche Courant - Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 April 1850 3, 4.
[458] *Het Nieuws van de Dag*, 24 Jan 1893, 12.
[459] Brave, Wouter, *Almanak voor de huishouding, keuken, en de gezondheid 1813* (Amsterdam 1812) no page number.

honey as a sugar substitute, noting that it is a cheap domestic product.[460] These comments clearly reflect the high prices of sugar in the Netherlands at the time, which were a consequence of the (temporary) loss of access to sugar from the colonies. However, no blame for these high prices is attributed to the French, as suggested by the reference to the suitability of locally plentiful honey as an alternative. Although the political situation of the Netherlands at the time had no discernible effect on the number of foreign recipes in these books, the content of the books reflects the broader geopolitical environment.

Picture 4: Colour plate from the *Almanak voor de huishouding, keuken, en de gezondheid 1813*.[461]

[460] Brave, Wouter, *Almanak voor de huishouding, keuken, en de gezondheid 1814* (Amsterdam 1813), 75
[461] Brave, *Almanak 1813*, no page number.

Five books in the study date from the period in which the Netherlands and Belgium were associated in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Yet there is little within the books to reflect this political situation, with some minor exceptions. The *Wel ervarene Nederlandsche Keukenmei*d was published in Brussels in 1822 and its title makes an explicit claim to a united identity, although there is little else in the book to bolster this claim.[462] Recipes of explicitly Belgian origin are rare, although the recipe for a *Spa/Luiksche beschuit* with anise and coriander seeds first appears in the *Geheel Nieuw Handboek* in this period.[463] Therefore it appears that the union with Belgium did not have a significant impact on the selection of recipes for the cookbooks.

De Nieuwe Wel Ervarene Nederlandsche Keukenmeid was not the only cookbook with a claim to a national identity in its title. In this study, this is also seen in the *Nieuw Nederlandsche Koekboek* and of course the *Nationaal kookboek*. Some books emphasise their regional character, such as the *Geldersche Keukenmeid*. However, as seen in the table below, these claims do not appear to have a statistically significant impact on the number of foreign recipes in the books. Data from the *Israelitisch Kookboek* and the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* is provided for comparative purposes.

Table 7: Percentage of foreign recipes in cookbooks with claims to national or regional identities.

Nationality claims of title	Percentage of foreign recipes
National and regional	2.7
Israelitisch kookboek	2.9
Oost-Indisch kookboek	9.2
Average (excluding the above)	2.9

Source: Derived from data in Table 5.

Indeed, in all the books in the study, the inherently Dutch characteristics of recipes are rarely emphasized. Corver does refer to *hutspot* with carrots and onions as 'echt nationaal eten',[464] and another of her cookbooks, not used for this study, is *Onze aardappel*, suggesting the importance of the potato to the Dutch way of eating.[465] Some earlier cookbooks point out that they use the new *Nederlands* units of measurements,[466] while others occasionally mention

[462] *Wel ervarene Nederlandsche keuken meid 1822*
[463] *Geheel Nieuw Handboek 1814,* 220. The recipe appears in a nearly unaltered form in *Aaltje 1867,* 253.
[464] Corver, *Aaltje 1893*, 290.
[465] Landwehr, *Het Nederlandse Kookboek.*
[466] *Nieuw Nederlandsch Keukenboek 1838*, vi.

the use of particular products such as 'Hollandse kaas' or 'Hollandse boter'.[467] Overall, the use of Dutch cookbooks to promote a nationalist agenda is not evident.

In the case of the *Oost-Indisch kookboek*, nation-building sentiments are similarly not in evidence. There is nothing in the forewords of the various editions situating the Dutch East Indies as part of a Dutch Empire or a Dutch state. The book is described as the first Indisch cookbook in the Dutch language, but no mention is made of a broader Dutch speaking community. Similarly, the women of 'Neerlandsch-Indië', and the 'Indische publiek' are addressed as the readers of the book.[468] Traditional Dutch recipes are adapted for the different context, such as in *Pisang met aardappels gestoofd*, and in the use of agar-agar rather than gelatine to set jellied dishes.[469] The editorial intent, as expressed in the forewords, and the content of the *Inlandsche* recipes, with their extensive use of specific local ingredients, serve to reinforce a local Indisch identity.

Unlike in the case of the English cookbooks in India, this medium is not used to propagate an explicitly imperial identity. References to servants in the chapter on table settings and service contain no reference to ethnicity, although the 1890 version does instruct readers to ensure their servants are appropriately clothed and shod.[470] The books reflect the types of food served to European and Indisch soldiers being treated in military hospitals in the colony.[471] Moreover, the focus on 'local' recipes, likely contributed to the higher number of foreign recipes in this series of cookbooks, given the higher number of non-Dutch individuals within the European sector of Indisch society.

As noted by Mennell, the responsiveness of cookbooks to culinary innovations and other stimuli can vary.[472] It is thus difficult to determine the date range which should be examined to see the effect of a political change, and thus in general it has not been possible to directly correlate changes in the foreign content of the cookbooks to external events. Some books such as the *Burgerkeukenboek* hardly changed at all over time. However, the *Oost-Indisch kookboek* provides a notable exception, whereby a new recipe appears in response to

[467] Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek 1893*, 14.
[468] Forewords to all editions, printed in 1890 edition *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* 1890.
[469] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek 1896*, 16.
[470] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek 1890*, 285.
[471] *Voeding der lijders in de militaire ziekeninrichtingen,* no page number.
[472] Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 65

relations between France and Germany. In 1890 a recipe for a jellied dessert is provided, entitled *Duitschland en Frankrijk Verzoend*.[473]

> Deze frissche podding wordt op de volgende wijze gereed gemaakt. Neem een ager-ager en smelt die in weinig water; daarna neemt men 6 theekopjes champagne en suiker naar de smaak. Laat dit alles kooken en daarna en een vorm koud worden. Bij deze podding moet een rhijnwijnsaus gebruikt worden, waarvoor men neemt ½ fl. Rhijnwijn, 6 eierdooiers, die vooral goed gekopt worden, een stukje kaneel en suiker naar den smaak. Dit samen goed laten koken en koud laten worden.

The recipe writer uses the typically French champagne, and the German origin *rhijnwijn* to reflect the then peaceful state of relations between the two nations.

While the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* does not appear to change in response to events within the Indies such as the war in Aceh, it does contain another example of changing attitudes to Germans. In the 'gebak' chapter it contains a recipe for a *Moffen omelet*, 'moffen' being a usually derogative Dutch nickname for Germans, both in the nineteenth century and currently. There is nothing within the recipe to indicate a specifically German origin.

> Men neemt 3 eieren, een weinig zout, 1 theelepel boter, 1 lepel melk en doet dit in een pan; het eiwit moet men niet kloppen, maar hard er in slaan tot het gaar, kruimelig en droog wordt; de koek mag niet bruin worden; men eet haar warm.[474]

Interestingly, this recipe does not appear in the 1866 edition, and is included for the first time in 1870. It is possible the new recipe was given the name 'Moffen omelet' in response to the concerns about German aggression at the time.

None of the cookbooks in the study appear to have a particularly political orientation, with the exception of books by Corver, who has the specific intent of changing Dutch eating habits to be more thrifty and nutritious. Geopolitical developments are thus usually not referred to explicitly in the books. In some cases attitude to foreigners are embedded within the texts. This can be seen most clearly in relation to the food adulteration fears referred to previously. Both Corver and Westenberg use products of foreign origin to illustrate cases of food tampering and unhygienic substitutions.[475] As suggested by Waddington, these fears regarding food may have been prompted by broader fears of foreigners and foreign nations.[476] Additionally, geopolitical developments may have informed the attitudes of the writers and

[473] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek 1896*, 94. The English translation of this recipe name is 'Germany and France reconciled'.
[474] *Oost-Indisch Kookboek 1872*, 90, *Oost-Indisch Kookboek 1896*, 75.
[475] Westenberg, *Nationaal Kookboek 1893*, 23 Corver, *Aaltje 1893*, 45.
[476] Waddington, 'Sausages', 1018.

publishers who therefore excluded foreign recipes on such grounds, but this is not visible within the texts themselves.

It is difficult to precisely account for the impact of geopolitical events on the inclusion and exclusion of foreign recipes in the cookbooks. The books in the study do not appear to have been used to promulgate a nation-building agenda, either when the Netherlands was annexed to France, or when the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was formed. Yet the books were responsive to external events and indeed to reflect the context in which they were produced. Attitudes to foreigners and foreign politics did have an impact on the presence and portrayal of foreign recipes in the cookbooks.

Summary of results

The analysis of these cookbooks demonstrates that a variety of factors affected the inclusion and exclusion of foreign content.[477] This content changed over time, but not in a linear fashion. Political developments were partly responsible for changes in the ways that foreign recipes were presented in the cookbooks. Nationalist feelings did not however have a strong effect in Dutch cookbooks. In some cases political developments intersected with other factors, such as the increasing interest in health. Consumers and cookbook authors were in the latter years of the century often anxious about food adulteration. Foreign manufactured products could be seen as suspect, as they were produced in factories far from the supervisory eye of the Dutch government. The xenophobic fears of German sausages which Waddington refers to in the British case were not seen in the Netherlands. But an undercurrent of concern is detectable in the cookbooks when foreign food products like sausages and food colourings are discussed.

While these new products did occasion some unease, the growing availability of manufactured products in the nineteenth century gave cooks more choices. Cookbook authors included recipes featuring these ingredients, such as baking powder and beef extract, and sometimes gained inspiration from overseas cooks who were already using them. The same applied for newly available fruits and vegetables. While the South American origin of the potato is not reflected in the way it was served in the Netherlands, German methods of preparing the vegetable did filter across the border.

[477] As noted in the Introduction, due to space constraints, some aspects have not been covered in this paper.

The potato is now seen as an integral, traditional part of the Dutch diet. It gained this status during the nineteenth century when its popularity spread from the working classes upwards, displacing the former reliance on grains in the form of bread. Modernisation also changed other aspects of earlier eating patterns in the Netherlands. The religious context of food became less important, as seen in the reduction of fasting recipes written for the Roman Catholic population. This secularisation of food likely had a limited effect on the way foreign recipes were presented in the cookbooks, as foods of foreign origin with a strong religious connotation could have been excluded.

Of course, exclusion is difficult to measure. Only what is included in the books can be analysed. It was therefore difficult in this study to examine foreign influences on the working class, as they were not the target audience of any of these books. However, the study did reveal that the way the middle class perceived itself played a role in the way foreign content was included. In cookbooks directed at the common burger class, foreign recipes were few and far between, while in cookbooks with broader audiences, who did not emphasise the *burgerlijke* nature of their cuisine were more open to the inclusion of foreign recipes. Cookbooks associated with the *huishoudscholen* also promulgated the idea that certain types of food were appropriate for different classes, further entrenching the position of French cuisine at the top of the social hierarchy.

For those with social aspirations, the consumption of prestige, expensive French dishes was one way of proclaiming membership of the higher social group. The portrayal of a sophisticated cosmopolitan identity is another method of demonstrating a superior social status. Eating new, foreign foods is part of a cosmopolitan way of life, and the inclusion of novel foreign recipes in the cookbooks can be partly attributed to a desire to be seen as cosmopolitan.

In some ways this can be seen to be in conflict with another key trend of the Dutch nineteenth-century culinary environment – the emphasis on thrift. Yet, thriftiness could also inspire the inclusion of foreign dishes – Corver's Hungarian goulash, optionally prepared with horse meat was both thrifty and exotic. Frugality also of course led to the exclusion of foreign recipes which were not seen as a responsible use of a housewife's time or money – elaborate French dishes such as *Pate a la Financiere* being a notable casualty here.

All these factors had an impact on whether recipes were considered acceptable or not for inclusion in the cookbooks. Moreover, it is also important to consider how the recipes

reached the cookbook authors. International networks in culinary industry, were important, as was the media, such as in the import and adaptation of foreign cookbooks like those of Davidis and Gouffe. Travel outside the Netherlands was important in both facilitating the development of a cosmopolitan identity, and in exposing Dutch people to different foodways. Inbound tourism to the Netherlands also played a role in introducing new foods, originally to cater to the needs of tourists but on offer to the wider public.

Migrants played a similar role to that of tourists but on a much longer and broader scale. The cuisine of higher status migrants could have been admired by their guests and perhaps copied. German cooks and other servants prepared meals from their homeland for their employers. Return migrants from the Dutch East Indies spread the word about the dishes they had tasted in Java. Migrants undoubtedly played a part in transmitting foreign food ideas.

CONCLUSION

This paper has explored how foreign ideas (in the form of recipes and cooking techniques) were included in the Dutch cookery discourse in the nineteenth century, and has sought to analyse the reasons behind variations in the representations of these foreign ideas. This period was a time of great change. Industrialisation accelerated in the latter half of the century, and Dutch people found themselves living in an increasingly globalised world. Yet change in the cookbooks was often gradual. Continuity can clearly be seen in the trend for editions of the same book to have similar foreign content, even when the editions were produced over several decades. The results of this study remind us that dramatic change cannot be taken for granted.

Of course, the factors referenced in this paper, including class issues, a desire for a cosmopolitan identity and global political developments did have an impact in the changes that were detected in the inclusion and exclusion of foreign recipes. Migrants helped to spread new culinary ideas in a variety of ways. Return migrants from the Dutch East Indies made their presence felt in Dutch eating culture well before the mass returns of the twentieth century. The influence of all these factors cannot be definitively apportioned. However, it is clear that despite the relatively low level of migration in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, migrants did have an effect on Dutch eating culture. This finding will likely be of utility of scholars who seek to understand the role of migrants in developing food cultures in different temporal and geographical contexts.

In the cookbooks in the study, neither foreign nor native dishes are used explicitly to create exclusionary identities. Nationalism is very weakly represented, and there is no clear portrayal of a colonial ‘other’, even in the Indisch cookbooks. Often, a more inclusive identity is suggested. The presence of foreign recipes in the cookbooks encouraged the incorporation of these foreign foods into existing eating patterns, thereby stimulating the development of a more cosmopolitan international identity among readers of cookbooks with a higher proportion of foreign recipes. Yet cookbooks also changed in response to fashions and trends, and developments in the market. Or they remained unchanged, for example when class ideology was to the fore.

Overall this paper sounds a note of caution over the use of cookbooks to draw definitive conclusions about identities. In cookbooks of this era, there is often little ancillary material and such conclusions would have to be drawn from the recipes themselves. The use

of this source is however extremely worthwhile if a deeper understanding of the multiplicity of factors at play in identity formation is sought. Future research could usefully focus on the way perceptions of particular groups (such as migrants) can be formed through the cookbook genre.

This paper has argued that migrants played a role in the inclusion of foreign content in Dutch cookbooks. This does not necessarily have a bearing on the level of inclusion of these migrants in Dutch society. The integration of a food into a national eating pattern is not evidence that the migrants who introduced the food have also been integrated. However, the way foreign dishes were included in the Dutch culinary repertoire highlights important questions of inclusion and exclusion in the broader society. This does not only apply to migrants, but also to the openness of the community to ideas, traditions and innovations from overseas.

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