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“Eat as the King Eats”: Making the Middle Class through Food, Foodways, and Food
Discourses in Nineteenth-Century Germany

By

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Abstract

“Eat as the King Eats”: Making the Middle Class through Food, Foodways, and Food Discourses in Nineteenth-Century Germany

By Claudia Kreklau

This dissertation analyzes the making of the middle class in nineteenth-century Germany through food, foodways, and food discourses using tools from social and cultural history, the history of science and medicine, and gender and post-colonial studies. While scholarship has disagreed over whom to include in the middle class, this dissertation proposes that middlingness depended on social recognition. In order to argue their case for middling identity, aspiring middling families imitated social superiors, networked with peers, and used food as a means of social control. Their house staff catered to and shaped their employers' taste for distinction through purchases and cuisine as part of a marketplace for class identity from 1800. Throughout the century, middling consumers moved between vicarious and direct imperialism, cosmopolitanism, civic pride, regional patriotism, and royalism, balancing surviving the winter and social recognition in their food choices in a society always stratified by class and gender, but explicitly colonial and Orientalist by 1900. As a side-effect, the German social middle inherited, combined, and reinvented then-contemporary culinary trends to craft modern eating practices. French chefs migrating to German lands after 1789 educated working women who worked as cooks in German middle-class households in mid-century, there synthesizing French cuisine with emerging industrial changes. What resulted was “modern eating,” the simultaneous use of industrialized processed foods from substitutes, and vacuum-preserved- and ready-meals laced with additives (colorings, flavor enhancements), complemented with supplements. Middling households embraced these food changes, but reacted against food adulteration with calls for natural eating and food safety laws in 1878. While key synthetic food historical scholarship has emphasized religion and nutrition in the design of contemporary global cuisines, and German scholarship on nineteenth-century food emphasized agricultural production, this dissertation highlights power as control over food, eating as self-making, and cooking as a speech-act. This approach makes a range of middling and working agents visible, integrates foodworkers into studies of the German middle class, and middling households into global histories of contemporary eating. Approaching nineteenth-century Germany as a laboratory of modernity, this dissertation shows that we cannot understand modern eating without nineteenth-century Germany.

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“The social middle [*Bürgerstand*] looks upon the food production of its city, upon the number of peers in his work. His activity and ability is the contingency, which from the contingency of nature returns to him and which he deserves. He knows himself with certainty to be proprietor, and claims it not only because he possesses but because it is his right. He recognizes himself as recognized as particularly special...He does not drink his glass of beer or wine with the farmer’s crudeness... but instead to show in his dress and with the toilette of his wife and children, that he is as good as any other and that he has made it far. He enjoys therein himself, his worth and his righteousness. This he has worked for and brought forth. He savors not the pleasure of enjoyment, but that he has this pleasure: the image of himself.”¹

—Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel

¹ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *System der Sittlichkeit aus dem handschriftlichen Nachlasse des Verfassers* (Harz: A. Zickfeldt, 1893), 63.

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- 5.50. Advertisement for an "Ice-Cupboard," 1890. WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 20.
- 5.51. Ice-cream maker, 1893. WOK: HG.Dav.1893.
- 5.52. Earthware. WOK: HG.Dav.1911.
- 5.53. Glass Jars. WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 20.
- 5.54. "Konservenbüchsen" and Preserving-Pot. WOK: HG.Dav.1892.
- 5.55. Catalogue of Herman Lange's "Delicatessen, Exotic Fruit, Colonial Import, Wine and Cigar" Shop in Gotha, 1895. FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453.

- 5.56. Biscuit Advertisement displaying “German Biscuit” box, 1895. FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 28.
- 5.57. Advertisement for “Hengstenberg” vinegar, 1897. WOK: HG.Löf.1897, xii.
- 5.58. Coffee-Additive, 1890. WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 14.
- 5.59. “Kaffeezusatz,” 1892. WOK: HG.Dav.1892.
- 5.60. Brandt Coffee, 1890. WOK: HG.Dav.1890.
- 5.61. Print on top of a Heinzelmännchen Fire box. WOK.
- 5.62. Tea for Kings and Dukes. FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 26.
- 5.63. Wittekop Advertisement sporting the Brunswick lion, 1892. WOK: HG.Dav.1892, also, WOK.HGDav.1893.
- 5.64. Van Houten’s Cocoa, 1895. FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 24.
- 5.65. Cocoa tin de Jong, after 1900. CBM.
- 5.66. Graphic cocoa Advertisement for Hartwig & Vogel, 1887. WOK: HG.Dav.1887.
- 5.74. Decorated Wittekop cocoa advertisement with “Schutzmarke,” 1890. WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 10.
- 5.68. Shining Gaedke’s cocoa, 1893. FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), Illustrierte Zeitung, N.2619, 9 September 1893, 288.
- 5.69. Coffee-Advertisement, 1895. FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 22.
- 5.70. “Chinese Tea,” 1895. FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 22.
- 5.71. Tea Tin for Riquet, post-1900. CBM.
- 5.72. Advertising “Hassan” coffee. GStAPK: I HAGR, Rep 41, N2616.

- 5.73. Germania Cocoa, 1893. FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619, 9 September 1893, 287.
- 5.74. Suchard chocolate on top of the world, 1893. FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19): *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619, 9 September 1893, 309.
- 5.75. Stollwerk's "Eagle Cocoa," 1897. FUEBG: Dornblüth Math 8° 01467/22.
- 5.76. Imperial "Fig" Coffee, 1918. WOK: HG.Kro.1918.
- 5.77. Advertisement for Mondamin products, 1887. WOK: HG.Dav.1887.
- 5.78. Mondamin Advertisement, 1890. WOK: HG.Dav.1890.
- 5.79. Advertisement for the "Leibniz" Biscuit, 1893. FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619, 9 September 1893, 287.
- 5.80. Maggi, 1897. WOK: HG.Löf.1897, 11.
- 5.81. Advertisement for Dr. Oetker, 1897. WOK: HG.Löf.1897, v.
- 5.82. Advertisement for Palmin, 1910. WOK: HG.Mic.1910.
- 5.83. Richter Coffee, 1900. CBM.

6.1. From Absolutism to Modernity

A1.1. Handwriting Analysis in Louise Lengefeld's Recipe Book

A1.2. Signing and Notes in Louise's Recipe Book

A2.1. Official Dinners at the Royal/Imperial Court of Prussia, 1861-1888

A2.2. Official Luncheons at the Royal/Imperial Court of Prussia, 1861-1888

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A2.5. Festive Occasions

Introduction¹

“The human is, what he eats...with this delicious play on words, I have certainly turned an object of theology into an object of gastrology...what then is the true meaning of food and drink?”²

—Ludwig Feuerbach, (1862)

“Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are.”³

—Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, trans. Carl Vogt, (1825 and 1864).

The summer of 1806 was scathingly hot, dry, and lethally dull until French invasion.⁴ Following the Holy Roman Empire’s capitulation before Napoleon in that year, administrative chaos reigned supreme, and two volcanoes erupted—theirs’ were the greatest in four centuries.⁵ The mystery explosion of 1809 and the Javanese Tambora in 1815 caused the “year without a summer” and the coldest decade in the historical record

¹ The Grimms’ story of “The Two Brothers” (originally 1819) renders the title for this study, where, after eating the heart and liver of a magical bird, two poor twin brothers gain prosperity and kingship. One saves a princess from a dragon, wins a bet with an inn keeper that he would “eat as the king eats,” and marries the princess. This anecdote combines the act of eating as preceding social mobility, and the focus on the court as a point of orientation for both, which this study finds significant. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. hausmärchen der brüder Grimm*, eds. Johannes Bolte and George Polivka, vol. 1 of 3 (Leipzig: Dieterich’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1913), viii.

² Ludwig Feuerbach, “Das Geheimnis des Opfers. Oder, Wider den Dualismus von Leib und Seele, Fleisch und Geist,” in *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. X (Leipzig: Wigand, 1846-1890), 5.

³ Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie des Geschmacks: oder, physiologische Anleitung zum Studium der Tafelgenüsse*, trans. Carl Christoph Vogt (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg, 1866), xv.

⁴ Wolfgang Burgdorf, *Ein Weltbild verliert seine Welt: der Untergang des Alten Reiches und die Generation 1806* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009).

⁵ Gillen D’Arcy Wood, *Tambora: The Eruption That Changed the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 36-7.

to that date.⁶ Agricultural production fluctuated massively until 1817, and grain prices followed suit until 1820.⁷ Riots ensued in the 1830s, as did harvest failures in 1845, 1846, 1847.⁸ Revolution broke out in 1848. These were the last five decades of the little ice age that had ruled the continent since 1550.⁹ After mid-century, the German states went from a largely rural agricultural society to the most rapidly industrializing country in the world. The population nearly tripled throughout the century, from 23 million in 1800 to 43 million in 1875, and 67 million by 1913.¹⁰ Literacy rocketed from 15% in 1770 to over 90% in 1900 in one of the most educated countries worldwide.¹¹

Germans, to no surprise under these circumstances of extreme lack and rapid change, were food- and status-obsessed. Food-imagery and dreams of the land of plenty populated the German literary sphere, with such tales as that of “Tischlein-deck-dich,” by the Brothers Grimm, the ever-lasting sausage, the biting ironic social commentaries of Heinrich Heine, and the romantic contemplation of a bread-giving Lotte in Goethe’s *Werther*.¹² Nineteenth-century Germans published more cookbooks than their neighbors did in France—the undisputed center of culinary civilization in eighteenth-century

⁶ Henry M. Stommel, *Volcano Weather: The Story of 1816, the Year without a Summer* (Newport: Seven Seas Press, 1983); D’Arcy, *Tambora*, 39.

⁷ Hans-Friedrich Bass, “Hungerkrisen in Posen und Rheinland,” in *Der Kampf um das tägliche Brot: Nahrungsmangel, Versorgungspolitik und Protest, 1770-1990*, eds. Manfred Gailus and Heinrich Volkmann (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), 153; D’Arcy, *Tambora* 222-224.

⁸ Bass, “Hungerkrisen,” 163; Hans H. Bass, “The crisis in Prussia,” in *When the Potato Failed: Causes and Effects of the “last” European Subsistence Crisis, 1845-1850*, eds. Cormac Ó Gráda, Richard Paping, and E. Vanhaute (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 208.

⁹ Reid A. Bryson and Thomas J. Murray, *Climates of Hunger: Mankind and the World’s Changing Weather* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 75-76.

¹⁰ Jürgen Kocka, “Problems of Working-Class Formation in Germany: The Early Years, 1800-1875,” in *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 292 and 296.

¹¹ Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 5; James Retallack, *Germany’s Second Reich: Portraits and Pathways* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 11.

¹² Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des Jungen Werther* (Leipzig: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 1787), 23; *Aus den Memoiren des Herren von Schnabelewopski* in Heinrich Heine, *Der Salon*, 3rd ed. Vol. 1. 3 vols. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1860); *Ideen, Das Buch Le Grand*, (1826) in Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. I. (Hamurg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1876).

Europe, and still associated with gourmet cuisine.¹³ German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach observed that “the human is, what he eats.”¹⁴ Carl Vogt, 1848 revolutionary and Frankfurt Parliamentarian, spent summery days of his life translating Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin’s *Physiology of Taste*, and relishing “the professor’s aphorisms,” such as “Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are.”¹⁵ Johann Rottenhöfer, royal chef to Maximilian II, took the Frenchman’s warning that “the fate of nations rises and falls with their food” literally, and cooked for peace at the Bavarian court.¹⁶

Food and identity in nineteenth-century Germany were inextricably intertwined. In nineteenth-century Germany, you were what you ate. This dynamic made control in deciding who could eat what, with whom, how much, how many times a day and under what circumstances key components of self-making as food, society, and politics underwent radical, profound, and rapid change. Serving as a substance with which to negotiate social identity and meaning, to physically construct the human body, to seek out pleasure, to dream of status improvement, and to wield social control, food constituted a charged cultural dimension of everyday life that refracted political and social constellations within a wider cosmos of nature and culture. All this made eating the ultimate act with which to enact, encode, endorse, and contest the boundaries of class, gender, and national, regional, and civic belonging in a century of war, hunger,

¹³ Four-hundred cookbooks were published in the German states from 1800-1828 (14.3 per year); a further 935 books were added to this list between 1828 and 1887, (on average, 15.8 per year). Carl Georg von Maassen, *Weisheit des Essens*, 2, and Carl Georg, *Verzeichnis der Literatur über Speis und Trank bis zum Jahre 1887* (Hannover, 1888), cited in: Thomas M. Hauer, “Carl Friedrich von Rumohr und Der Geist der bürgerlichen Küche,” (PhD diss., University of Karlsruhe, 2000), 67, 60.

¹⁴ Feuerbach “Das Geheimnis des Opfers,” 5.

¹⁵ Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du goût, ou, Méditations de gastronomie transcendante: ouvrage théorique, historique et à l’ordre du jour* (Paris: A. Sauterlet et Cie libraires, 1826), viii; Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie des Geschmacks*, xv.

¹⁶ Johann Rottenhöfer, *Neue vollständige theoretisch-praktische Anweisung in der feinern Kochkunst mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der herrschaftlichen und bürgerlichen Küche*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Braun und Schneider, 1867), 8.

migration, social mobility, liberalism, and nationalism, and in an industrializing landscape with ever-shifting state borders. Developments in philosophy, chemistry, as well as industrial production and imperial projects during this era radically altered understandings of the human body, nutrition, and food. At a time that saw Germany transition from a largely agricultural, rural empire in 1800 to one of the fastest industrializing, increasingly urban and literate nations worldwide by 1900, food and its seemingly stabilizing meaning provided a means of constructing identity for those consuming, controlling, and needing food, and organizing society with it, in a century when few other substances, mechanisms, or forms of economic and cultural capital could do so as visibly, obviously, and undeniably.

While German historical scholarship on the middle class in the nineteenth century (*Bürgertumsforschung*) has debated *when* a middle class might have been formed, *whom* to include in the group, and *which* political ideologies dominated among them, the present study examines instead the *how* and *what for* of middle class formation. By replacing the question of “When was there a middle class, who were they, and why did they fail?” with “How did Central Europeans between 1800 and 1900 construct class distinction and what was the benefit in making this identity?” this dissertation examines a range of strategies and utterances constructing what can be called middlingness in the nineteenth century. It proposes that “middlingness,” in preference to the term middle class, was a fluid identity dependent on social recognition. If someone could convince their superiors, peers, and inferiors that they were middling, they were middling. For this purpose, individuals deployed a range of arguments to make their case for middlingness, including property, legal status, education, and consumption. Food was particularly

crucial due to its function of inescapably communicating identity on a daily basis—be that through abundance or absence, quality or symbolic value, ownership or access.

This dissertation shows that in order to craft distinction and class identity, aspiring middling families imitated social superiors, networked with peers through recipe exchanges and food gifts, and controlled subaltern diets. Their house staff catered to their employers' taste for distinction through purchases and cuisine as part of a marketplace for class identity that gave food workers employment. Throughout the century, the middling consumer moved between passive imperialism, cosmopolitan appreciation, civic pride, regional patriotism and royalism, balancing between the need to survive the winter and to gain social recognition in a society always stratified by class and gender, until arriving at a stance of explicit colonialism and Orientalism by 1900.

As a side-effect and instrument of these class-constructing activities, this study further shows, the German social middle inherited, combined, and reinvented then-contemporary culinary trends, shaping “modern eating” in significant ways. French chefs migrating to the German states after 1789 educated working women who worked as cooks in German middle-class households in mid-century, there combining contemporary French cuisine with emerging industrial changes in food chemistry and nutrition. This radically altered middle-class eating and created “modern eating:” the simultaneous use of industrialized processed foods from substitutes, vacuum-preserved- and ready-meals laced with additives such as colorings and flavor enhancements, alongside the use of nutritional supplements. Middling households on the one hand embraced industrial food changes, but reacted against food adulteration with calls for vegetarianism and natural eating inspired by eastern philosophies—similarly characteristic of eating in modernity—

as well as regulating legislation with one of the most comprehensive modern food laws for that time in 1878.

Key synthetic scholarship in global food history has emphasized religion and nutrition in dietary design, and largely by-passed nineteenth-century Germany.¹⁷ German scholarship on nineteenth-century food history in turn has emphasized agricultural production over consumption, and often passed over the period 1800-1860.¹⁸ This dissertation draws on the connection between food and power in this understudied place and time to make a range of middling and working agents visible and elucidate their impact on history. Analyzing consumption as an act of self-making, and food authorship as the voice of the subaltern—in the case of this dissertation, working women who cook—integrates these agents' impact into wider histories of class construction and food history in Germany, and this account more widely into the global history of contemporary modern eating practices.¹⁹ This dissertation thus not only proposes a new synthetic way of studying the German middle class—middling identity—but claims that we cannot understand the history of contemporary eating practices without the history of nineteenth-century Germany—a veritable laboratory of modernity.²⁰

¹⁷ Especially: Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food* (New York: Free Press, 2002); Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

¹⁸ Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegmann, *Der Wandel Der Nahrungsgewohnheiten unter dem Einfluß der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).

¹⁹ Judith Ann Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

²⁰ Marshal Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

Historiography

A Brief History of European Food, Empires, and Globalization, 0-1789

The history of food is the history of political, economic, social, and cultural power. European Food History begins in Ancient Greece and Rome, moves through the Middle Ages, pauses in the Italian Renaissance, to then rest in Absolutist France and imperial Britain.²¹ Pepper, the “botanic Helen of Troy,”²² “launched a thousand ships,”²³ to distant shores among the Greeks. The Romans paid their soldiers in salt, rendering the contemporary word “salary.”²⁴ While Romans looked down upon the Germanic barbarians who subsisted on “milk, meat, and cheese,” wine and meat were the core of their festive meals, the basis of their diet resting in the “civilized” produce of their corner gardens (vegetables, fruits, grapes) supplemented with cereals, legumes, and fish and game.²⁵

Vegetables and grains played a large part in medieval peasant diets, complemented by small “tame” meat (forest pigs, sheep, and goats—a distinction from wild meat the Middle Ages had inherited from the Romans), and fish and cheese.²⁶ But medieval hunger was also a core ingredient on the peasant’s table, a means of subversion, or else the curse of the poor, with an average of one famine every ten years between the tenth

²¹ Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), xiii-xiv, Ken Albala, “The Historical Models of Food and Power in European Courts of the Nineteenth Century: An Expository Essay and Prologue,” in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle De Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 24-26.

²² Shaffer, *Pepper*, 1.

²³ Jack Turner, *Spice: The History of a Temptation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 3.

²⁴ Shaffer, *Pepper*, 4.

²⁵ Florence Dupont, “The Grammar of Roman Dining,” in *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Jean-Louis Flandrin, Massimo Montanari, and Albert Sonnenfeld (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 113, 114, 118-120.

²⁶ Massimo Montanari, “Production, Structures and Food Systems in the Early Middle Ages,” in Flandrin, Montanari, and Sonnenfeld, *Food: A Culinary History*, 169-173.

and eighteenth century.²⁷ Meanwhile, kings fed upon sugared meat and fruits, spiced with saffron, ginger, cinnamon, prized pepper, and the most highly priced cloves and nutmeg, boiled in alcohol or milk.²⁸ Contrary to popular belief, encounters in Sicily led to the creation of pasta—lasagna, vermicelli—as early as the tenth century.²⁹ After Marco Polo’s travels to China in 1271, Venice dominated the European spice trade.³⁰ Europeans used pepper “to pay for labor and goods”³¹ just before 1492, when the hunger for spice led Columbus over the Atlantic in search of India,³² with “fantasies of absurd plentitude” on far away shores motivating royal investment in his expedition.³³ became trends in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³⁴ Renaissance Italian trends such as the taste for lemons, cauliflower, and Savoy cabbage travelled to the French court through marriage, along with, as legends about Caterina of Medici would have it, the use of the fork. The teenage queen’s wedding banquet consisted of countless birds like peacocks and pheasants, swans and cranes, artichokes, marzipan, pastries, and cookies.³⁵

²⁷ Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Massimo Montanari and Beth Archer Brombert, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), Caroline Walker Bynum, “Fast, Feast, and Flesh: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women,” *Representations*, no. 11 (July 1, 1985): 1–25; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

²⁸ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 4; Marjorie Shaffer, *Pepper: A History of the World’s Most Influential Spice* (New York: Dunne, 2003), 22, 27; Massimo Montanari, “Production, Structures and Food Systems in the Early Middle Ages,” in Flandrin, Montanari, and Sonnenfeld *Food: A Culinary History*, 169-173.

²⁹ Dan Jurafsky, *The Language of Food: A Linguist Reads the Menu* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 134.

³⁰ Shaffer, *Pepper*, 21, 30.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

³² Turner, *Spice*, 3.

³³ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 11; Paul Freedman, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 23.

³⁴ Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 233.

³⁵ David Downie, *A Taste of Paris: A History of the Parisian Love Affair with Food* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2017), 77.

Instead of pepper and cardamom, ships from the Americas brought potatoes, tomatoes, cocoa, and coffee to Europe. “Food-trade routes acted as international communications networks that fostered not just commercial exchange [and] cultural ... exchange.”³⁶ In the colonies, food functioned as a marker of identity,³⁷ while eating functioned as a “destructive” act in the tropics,³⁸ an “integration”³⁹ into a social body, or an act “imaginatively shaping the matter we experience as body and self.”⁴⁰ Britain embraced coffee-culture as of 1650, and London became home to dozens of coffee-houses.⁴¹ By the late eighteenth century, sugar counted among the most valued commodities motivating colonial rule.⁴² Its price rose until 1840, sweetening English and others’ tea.⁴³

In France, meanwhile, French cooking became more simple as of 1650, moving away from the sweet and spiced meats of previous ages, to “simple” essentials such as “bouillon, liaisons, roux, farces,”⁴⁴ to cede by the 1750s to “natural” food,” with “salt,

³⁶ Tom Standage, *An Edible History of Humanity* (New York: Walker & Co, 2009), x. On cooking and the use of fire as a definition of humanness, see: Richard Wrangham, *Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

³⁷ Rebecca Earle, “‘If You Eat Their Food ...’: Diets and Bodies in Early Colonial Spanish America,” *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 3 (June 1, 2010): 688–713.

³⁸ Anna Elise Igou, “Dangerous Appetites: Violent Consumption in the Works of Flaubert, Baudelaire, and Césaire,” (PhD diss., Emory University, 2013).

³⁹ Shannon Lee Dawdy, “‘A Wild Taste’: Food and Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Louisiana.” *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 3 (June 20, 2010): 389–414.

⁴⁰ Kyla Wazana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

⁴¹ Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), 25, 106.

⁴² Sidney Wilfred Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985).

⁴³ Hans Jurgen Teuteberg and Jean-Louis Flandrin, “The Transformation of the European Diet,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, eds., Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 447.

⁴⁴ Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 7. Liaisons were “a type of thickening designed to give body to sauces; typically eggs and cream or animal blood.” 137. For a register in culinary vocabulary, see Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, 136-137.

pepper, and other spices” no longer “used extravagantly.”⁴⁵ Cuisine made a new beginning, starting on a purportedly clean slate: nature.⁴⁶ Thereon, the practice to “separate sweet, salty, bitter, sour, and spicy” was “allied with the idea that cooking must respect...the natural flavor of each food.”⁴⁷ Foie, however, remained.⁴⁸ In the hand of Antonin Carême, around 1800, *hôte cuisine* became marked by “simplicity, elegance, and sumptuousness”⁴⁹ with increased use of cream, butter, the four basic sauces, and edible towers. This marked the invention of “modern *hôte cuisine*” by Carême and his many students, leading to the creation of the restaurant, and the popularization of this novel style of eating beyond French borders, arguably alongside the political developments associated with them.⁵⁰ After 1789, however, chefs fled a coffee-fuelled revolution eastwards,⁵¹ followed in succeeding decades by such major figures as Émile Bernard, Urbain Dubois, Jules Gouffé, and Auguste Escoffier.⁵² Émile Bernard very briefly served Napoleon III, but then went on to serve at the Prussian Hohenzollern court.⁵³ The same applied to Urbain Dubois, with whom Bernard authored the *Cuisine Classique*. Urbain, student of Carême, worked under Adolphe Dugléré, equally a student of Carême, at the *Café Anglais* to later teach Auguste Escoffier, who became chef of the

⁴⁵ Ibid, 7.

⁴⁶ Emma C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

⁴⁷ Montanari and Brombert, *Medieval Tastes*, 15.

⁴⁸ Downie, *A Taste of Paris*, 96.

⁴⁹ Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, 7.

⁵⁰ Sarah Peterson, *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Cooking* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*; Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004); Ian Kelly, *Cooking for Kings: The Life of Antonin Carême, the First Celebrity Chef* (New York: Walker, 2009).

⁵¹ Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 15.

⁵² Anne Lair, “The Ceremony of Dining at Napoleon III’s Court between 1852 and 1870,” in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle de Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) 156; William Sitwell, *A History of Food in 100 Recipes* (Boston: Little and Brown, 2013).

⁵³ Lair, “The Ceremony of Dining,” 156.

Savoy in London.⁵⁴ Escoffier himself then founded a cooking school, further disseminating his knowledge and practices after presumably having done so at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in London.⁵⁵

Recent years have produced milestone works in the global history of food from the advent of civilization to the present, tracing the effect of key power centers to create modern eating practices and contemporary global cuisines.⁵⁶ After each power had left its mark in the making of modern eating, by the nineteenth-century, the “culinary spirit of the age” came to rest for a moment in the German states.⁵⁷ It is at this point where our story of the German middle class begins.

The German Special Path Debate in the Twenty-First Century

The *Sonderweg* debate has, for decades, produced scholarship on the German middle class, enforcing views that the German middle class was or was not adequately formed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a liberal democracy. Lothar Gall’s interpretation that a liberal, classless society gave way to a bourgeois one after 1850 still aligned with Jürgen Kocka’s partly contrasting structural explanations for the weakness of liberalism in Germany, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler’s famous formulation of the

⁵⁴ Edmond Neirinck and Jean-Pierre Poulain, *Histoire de la cuisine et des cuisiniers: techniques culinaires et pratiques de table, en France, du Moyen-Age à nos jours* (Paris: J. Lanore, 1988), 70. See also: Lair, “The Ceremony of Dining,” 156.

⁵⁵ Hauer, “Rumohr,” 65, 66.

⁵⁶ Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables*, Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*. Further the anthologies: Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, eds., *Food: A Culinary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), and Paul Erdkamp, Massimo Montanari, Ken Albala, Beat A Kümin, Martin Bruegel, and Amy Bentley, eds., *A Cultural History of Food*, 6 Vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2012).

⁵⁷ Claudia Kreklau, “When ‘Germany’ Became the New ‘France’? Royal Dining at the Bavarian Court of Maximilian II and the Political Gastronomy of Johann Rottenhöfer in Transnational European Perspective, 1830–1870,” *International Review of Social Research* 7, no. 1 (2017): 46. See glossary and below.

Sonderweg thesis.⁵⁸ Wolfgang Mommsen rightly critiqued Gall's assumed congruity between ideals and actual social groupings, while David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley unearthed the instability of the assumption of a successful, symmetrical modernization of society, economy, and politics in, particularly, the English context.⁵⁹

The Habermasian assumptions underlying aspects of these discussions remain a valuable exercise for thought, and, in a sense, provide a blueprint for how a functional public sphere might be actively constructed— however, history rarely aligns neatly with theory, and analytically, these assumptions may no longer be tenable. Wehler's use of Habermas' "Model Case of British Development"⁶⁰ based on an ideal of the "public sphere"⁶¹ in which a private sphere ("Intimsphäre") "oriented" to an audience engages in the creation of a "public opinion" using the "standards of 'reason'", and the forms of the 'law' serve as key elements of their public engagement, marked a key point in the historiography, and at the time was a valuable intervention to counteract any tendencies

⁵⁸ Jürgen Kocka, "The European Pattern and the German Case," in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocka and Alan Mitchell, (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 17-21. The idea of liberalism defining the middle class and its actions also characterizes Langewiesche's analyses. Dieter Langewiesche, "Liberalism and the Middle Class in Europe," in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocka and Alan Mitchell (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 40-69; Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Das deutsche Kaiserreich, 1871-1918* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973).

⁵⁹ Wolfgang Mommsen, "Der deutsche Liberalismus zwischen 'klassenloser Bürgergesellschaft' und 'Organisierter Kapitalismus': Zu einigen neueren Liberalismusinterpretationen," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 4 (1978): 77-90; Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Bürgerliche Kultur und politische Ordnung: Künstler, Schriftsteller und Intellektuelle in der deutschen Geschichte 1830-1933*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000). Mommsen's approach seems to analyze history and social grouping through high culture, in ways that fuse generationally-specific attitudes and experiences with social class, leading to an interpretation of class-conflict, where others might see generational conflict, paired with a definition of culture that makes it specific to elites to justify his analysis. While Mommsen cites Jakob Burckhardt (page 11) as his starting point of defining culture as the "sum of all mental developments, which occur spontaneously and do not claim universality or normativity", and engages with Benedict Anderson to define the nation as an "imagined community", (page 59) in practice, his analysis covers museum art, and its connections to propaganda in ways that exclude women and problematize 'culture' when it leaves the museum. On historical generations, see, for example: Mark Roseman, ed., *Generations in Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Blackbourn and Eley's milestone work, of course, was: David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

⁶⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 57-66.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

to dismiss the Nazi regime's rise to power in 1933 as an accident.⁶² However, beside Blackburn and Eley's account of middle-class soft power, the Habermasian model relies on a series of assumptions or principles that research no longer supports: the division of public and private spheres, liberalism as the ideology of the middle class, and that association with courts (in the German case, an old right) equals an alliance with repression (a new right). Scholars have shown that there was a civil society in Germany by 1800 and⁶³ a functional public sphere before 1850,⁶⁴ and that political views do not function as a predictor of class identity.⁶⁵ Scholars have further broken down the division of private and public spheres,⁶⁶ and shown that liberalism does not necessarily inoculate against repression or exclusion.⁶⁷ Acknowledging these findings, as well as further trends

⁶² Ibid, 43, 236.

⁶³ Anne-Charlott Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit: Frauen und Männer im Hamburger Bürgertum zwischen 1770 und 1840* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Isabel V Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Ian F. McNeely, *The Emancipation of Writing: German Civil Society in the Making, 1790s-1820s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

⁶⁴ James M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁶⁵ Craig Calhoun, *The Roots of Radicalism: Tradition, the Public Sphere, and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), Roger V. Gould, *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1995), Margot C. Finn, *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics 1848-1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Robert F. Haggard, *The Persistence of Victorian Liberalism: The Politics of Social Reform in Britain, 1870-1900* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001).

⁶⁶ On the development of the idea of "privacy" and private spaces, see: Georges Duby, *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) and Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). Note that Habermas' work assumes the creation of a public sphere to imply progress for women and their political participation; this dissertation notes in Chapters 3 and 5, that before progress, developments were *regressive first* for women, given women's working role in the agrarian household, and greater middling domesticity after industrialization.

⁶⁷ Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004); Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). On the scholarly need to break down the "public"/"private" dichotomy in examining women's lives, see: Béatrice Craig, Robert Beachy and Alastair Owens, "Introduction," in *Women, Business and Finance in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Rethinking Separate Spheres*, eds. Robert Beachy, Béatrice Craig, and Alastair Owens (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 10, 16-17.

in women's and gender history, scholarship in the Atlantic world, and the new questions motivating research in modern German history, may instead provide an opportunity to begin formulating a global analytic framework for class identity, political orientation, and modernization theories that does not propose a blueprint, but accommodates the widest possible array of cultural differences in order to understand citizens, groups and/or individuals, and their relationship to their state, government, and politics, as the world around them changes radically and with increasing speed. As history moves on and the globe itself becomes transformed, bringing the rights of socially construed women, as well as gendered, sexual, and racial others to the fore, scholarship must match its moves.

As Blackbourn and Eley have noted, in the future, it may be wise to consider explaining German history less in terms of the *Sonderweg* debate (swinging the “pendulum”⁶⁸ to either side), but to move forward in a synthesis. As Konrad Jarausch suggests, such a future of German history may include transnational or global enquiries,⁶⁹ or else, as Wehler proposes, focus on such modern topics as environmentalism and terrorism, to which national borders hardly apply.⁷⁰ Further, today, close to two decades into the twenty-first century, “asymmetrical modernizations” seem to be the new norm in the emerging economies of “BRIC” (Brazil, Russia, India, China) and “MINT” (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, Turkey) with political repression, expansionism, and even genocide as part of some of their histories.⁷¹ This dissertation thus makes a conscious effort to

⁶⁸ “Forum: Interview with Blackbourn and Eley about the Peculiarities of German History, 1984,” *German History* 22, no. 2 (April 1, 2004): 232.

⁶⁹ Konrad Hugo Jarausch, ‘Growing Together? Processes and Problems of German Unification’, in *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad Hugo Jarausch (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 2.

⁷⁰ Hans Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Bd. Bundesrepublik und DDR, 1949-1990* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2008), xiv and xiv-xv.

⁷¹ Note such formulations in: Dirk Moses, “Genocide and Modernity,” in *The Historiography of Genocide*, ed. Dan Stone (Basingstoke ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 181, 184; Mark Levene, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State: Volume 1: The Meaning of Genocide* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 10; Patrick

move away from the Habermasian assumptions, and to open up a wider discussion on modernization theories for a topic, food, that involves global and transnational connections: how do communities digest quick, radical change?⁷²

For some years now historians have exploited nineteenth-century Germany as a “laboratory” for modernity,⁷³ identifying such fascinating origins of the modern age as gay culture in fin-de-siècle Berlin.⁷⁴ This, in turn, contributes to the vast literature of critical twentieth century studies of modernity itself, and its ambiguities, with transnational, global, comparative approaches of which genocide studies is but one example.⁷⁵ Such approaches, while considering cultural specificities, do not test for cultural asymmetry or class mobilization as such, nor do they rely on the assumption that class identity and political orientation necessarily align. They do, however, enable the search

Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 392, 394; Norman M. Naimark, *Stalin’s Genocides* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 11; Frank Dikötter, *Mao’s Great Famine: The History of China’s Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-62* (London ; New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), x; Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghost: Mao’s Secret Famine* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 271-3, also 285, 309-310; Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, translated by Shelley L. Frisch, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Pub, 1997), 11-12; also: Dirk Moses, “The Holocaust and Genocide,” in *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, ed. Dan Stone (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Osterhammel’s as well as Patrick Wolfe’s work aim for comparative and synthetic approaches to genocide. Note also Levene’s ongoing work: Mark Levene, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State: Volume 1: The Meaning of Genocide* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005). This scholarship is, to some extent, at the same time the heir and the subversive oedipal child of Holocaust scholarship, established on the basis of Holocaust research, yet, often critical of it as well: Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right Nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France*, translated by David Maisel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Detlev Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: the crisis of classical modernity* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992); Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

⁷² Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race across the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁷³ Maiken Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890-1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5. Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture & Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). This builds on Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*. Note Kocka’s useful, fairly hybrid industrial, political and social periodization (pre-1840, 1840-1870, 1870-1914). Kocka, “The European Pattern and the German Case,” 15-17.

⁷⁴ Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity*, (New York: Knopf, 2014).

⁷⁵ Key in the Chinese and Russian contexts are: Becker, *Hungry Ghost*, Dikötter, *Mao’s Great Famine*, and Naimark, *Stalin’s Genocides*.

or test for an array of origins of features of modernity—both positive and negative—that can be found in nineteenth-century German-speaking central Europe.

Acknowledging the distinction between modernization as a historic time frame on the one hand, and its homonymous metanarrative of progress⁷⁶ formulated in opposition to pre-modernity, backwardness, or savagery,⁷⁷ on the other, for present purposes, modernity will be defined as a historic period roughly beginning with the Enlightenment, the age of revolution, and industrialization in the Atlantic, ongoing though not uncritiqued until the present. Its only constant is “change,” and our awareness of it.⁷⁸ Moderns seeks to break with their past, are critical and reflexive, and yet use portions of history to curate their future, be that Byzantine aesthetics in Klimtian art, or Mosaic imagery and Greek mythology to describe the modern psyche.⁷⁹

“Change”, in turn, was what characterized the German nineteenth century, and contemporaries did not fail to take note. After the federative Holy Roman Empire fell to Napoleon in 1806, French Enlightenment bureaucratic norms reorganized state administration.⁸⁰ The Napoleonic Code redefined marital law in some regions, restructuring gender- and family- relations.⁸¹ The great powers of Europe redrew the political borders of Germany four times between 1815 and 1871, starting, halting, and

⁷⁶ Jean-François Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979).

⁷⁷ Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

⁷⁸ Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*.

⁷⁹ Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York: Continuum, 1993); Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981). In this vein, post-modernity as a cultural phenomenon and historical epoch is on the one hand yet another modern attempt to break with the past and reinvent the present, and on the other hand, enables a scholarly examination reflexive of modernity that is not beyond or after it, but exploits its awareness of its historical point in time for knowledge gain. For the notion that “post-coloniality” means not “after” colonialism, but an analysis “in the light of the colonial,” here applied to modernity, I am indebted to Sarah Hodges.

⁸⁰ McNeely, *The Emancipation of Writing*.

⁸¹ Trepp, *Sanfte Männlichkeit und selbständige Weiblichkeit*.

reinitiating nationalization throughout this period, and mobilizing regional patriotisms that outlasted even political unification under Prussian military rule in 1871.⁸² Bismarck and political proponents of liberal and nationalist modernities fought the “forces of backwardness” in the shape of Catholicism in the so-called “Culture Wars” of the 1880s.⁸³ By the end of the century, Germany overtook Britain as an industrial power and its net growth surpassed that of the United States.

This dissertation thus attempts to cater to several needs of the field of modern German *Bürgertumsforschung*. It aims to press beyond the *Sonderweg* debate,⁸⁴ integrate German history into wider, trans-national and global histories of modernization,⁸⁵ and propose solutions to key problems of *Bürgertumsforschung* that the scholarship has identified with an interdisciplinary, supra-regional approach that includes women, and provides a positive (as opposed to negative) definition of the middle class that does not rely on political orientation as a proxy for class.⁸⁶ As Sperber notes of the Bielefeld

⁸² Katherine Aaslestad, and Karen Hagemann. “1806 and Its Aftermath: Revisiting the Period of the Napoleonic Wars in German Central European Historiography,” *Central European History* 39, 4 (December, 2006): 547–79; Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁸³ David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Gross, *The War against Catholicism*; Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁸⁴ “Forum: Interview with Blackbourn and Eley about the Peculiarities of German History, 1984,” *German History* 22, no. 2 (April 1, 2004): 232.

⁸⁵ Hans Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Bd. Bundesrepublik und DDR, 1949-1990* (Frankfurt: Beck, 2008), xiv and xiv-xv.

⁸⁶ The Bielefeld school researching Prussia defined the *Bürger* negatively as the non-farmer, non-noble 5% elite of the population; the Frankfurt school on the German South-West adopted a legal definition of the *Bürger* as municipal citizens and public agents. See: Jürgen Kocka, “The European Pattern and the German Case,” in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocka and Alan Mitchell (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 4 and 33. The former definition is narrow and disregards the social middle’s fluidity, while the latter largely excludes women, whose rights varied greatly by city and region. Jonathan Sperber, “*Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft*: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and Its Sociocultural World,” *The Journal of Modern History* 69: 2 (June 1997): 274, 276, 283; Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums*, 18. On regionalism guiding current research, see: Celia Applegate, “A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times,” *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (October 1, 1999): 1157–82; Katherine Aaslestad and Karen Hagemann, “1806 and Its Aftermath: Revisiting the Period of the Napoleonic Wars in German Central

school, when researching Prussia they defined the *Bürger* negatively as the non-farmer, non-noble 5% elite of the population, while the Frankfurt school working on the German South-West adopted a legal definition of the *Bürger* as municipal citizens and public agents.⁸⁷ The former definition, as both Sperber and Habermas point out, is narrow and disregards the social middle's fluidity, while the latter largely excludes bourgeois women, whose rights varied greatly by city and region.⁸⁸ At the same time, this dissertation aims to provide a framework that previous works on the middle class can be easily fused into.

European Historiography," *Central European History* 39, no. 4 (December 1, 2006): 547–79. On liberalism as proxy, see: Geoff Eley, "Liberalism, Europe, and the bourgeoisie 1860-1914," in *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*, eds. David Blackbourn and Richard J Evans (London: Routledge, 1991), 296.

⁸⁷ Sperber, "Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft," 274, 276.

⁸⁸ Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums*, 18; Sperber, "Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft," 283. Similarly, a Weberian analysis of social types by profession can lead equally to ideas of German 'singular' historical developments, and, to women's exclusion. M. Rainer Lepsius, "Zur Soziologie des Bürgertums und der Bürgerlichkeit," in *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Kocka (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 79–100, and "Das Bildungsbürgertum als ständische Vergesellschaftung," in *Lebensführung und ständische Vergesellschaftung*, ed. M. Rainer Lepsius, vol. 3 of *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1985–92), pp. 9–18. Cited in: Sperber, "Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft," 275; further Konrad H. Jarausch, "The German Professions in History and Theory," in *German Professions, 1800-1950*, eds. Geoffrey Cocks and Konrad H. Jarausch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 17-18. Finally, on women's ambiguous place in the literature on the middle class, which may import or perpetuate Aristotelian conceptions of womanhood into the historiography, see: Reinhart Kosselleck and Klaus Schreiner, "Einleitung: Von der alteuropäischen zur neuzeitlichen Bürgerschaft. Ihr politisch-sozialer Wandel im Medium von Begriffs-, Wirkungs-, und Rezeptionsgeschichten," in *Bürgerschaft. Rezeption und Innovation der Begrifflichkeit vom Hohen Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Reinhart Kosselleck and Klaus Schreiner (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1994), 21-26.

Theory

Food Studies

Scholars have shown for decades that food is neither neutral, nor value free.⁸⁹ Rather, “food is power”⁹⁰ and reveals the “structure” of a society.⁹¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss’s works in the 1960s on “decoding...foodways in order to reveal the underlying meanings and structures of society”⁹² proposed that tribes chose totemic animals not because of their taste, but because of their intellectual appeal: they were not “good to eat” but “good to think.”⁹³ This laid the groundwork for the exploration of food-choices determined by cultural meaning, rather than by physiological preference. Anthropologist Mary Douglas soon followed in the 1970s with her *Purity and Danger* using Lévi-Strauss to “decipher meals.”⁹⁴ By the 1980s, Werner Sombart’s *Luxury and Capitalism* of 1913 and Norbert Elias’s *Die höfische Gesellschaft* of 1969 “were read or reread,”⁹⁵ and the turn to culture reached a new level. Scholars “considered the meaning, symbolism, and aesthetics of food in order to learn about the underlying, and thus hidden, cohesion of a group,

⁸⁹ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000); Norbert Elias, *Power & Civility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 84-87; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques*, English; v. 1. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

⁹⁰ Sidney Wilfred Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985).

⁹¹ Mary Douglas, “Deciphering a Meal,” in *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1975), 232, 251; Carole Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 8; Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 113.

⁹² Peter Scholliers, “The Many Rooms in the House: Research on Past Foodways in Modern Europe,” in *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective*, ed. Kyri Claflin (London: Berg, 2012), 60.

⁹³ Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).

⁹⁴ Douglas, “Deciphering a Meal.”

⁹⁵ Daniel de Vooght and Peter Scholliers, “Introduction,” in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle de Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate Pub, 2011), 5.

community, or society. ... studying cuisine reveals the very core (or structure) of a society.”⁹⁶

Food History, a separate field from Food Studies, developed alongside its sociological and anthropological counterpart. Influential figures within European studies of Europe in the 1960s included the *Annales'* Fernand Braudel, Roland Barthes, and Marc Bloch.⁹⁷ Stephen Mennel's work on manners in Britain and France drawing on Elias and Jack Goody, and Sidney Mintz, laid the foundation for explorations in French and British history on the origins of modern dining and mass consumption, as well as the connections between food and power.⁹⁸ Historians of Britain worked on the edge of social history, exploring working-class experience and the development of the food practices that united and (sugar-) fuelled Britons from the nineteenth century into the twentieth.⁹⁹ Historians of French food, in turn, have focused on public dining and the invention of the restaurant from the late eighteenth century, exploring the political

⁹⁶ Ibid, 4-5. More recently key studies have integrated Jack Goody's work on *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class* under a more general ethnological heading, for example, in Carole Counihan's comprehensive approach, and acknowledge Joan Finkelstein on the incivility of public dining. Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class*; see the recent work in honor of Goody's oeuvre: Jakob Klein and Anne Murcott, eds., *Food Consumption in Global Perspective: Essays in the Anthropology of Food in Honour of Jack Goody*, Consumption and public life (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body*; Joanne Finkelstein, *Dining Out: A Sociology of Modern Manners* (New York: New York University Press, 1989); Joanne Finkelstein, *Fashioning Appetite: Restaurants and the Making of Modern Identity* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013). See also Schollier's overview in: Peter Scholliers, "Twenty-five Years of Studying un Phénomène Social Total," *Food, Culture & Society* 10:3 (2007): 457.

⁹⁷ Peter Scholliers and Kyri W. Claflin, "Conclusion: Contours of Global Food Historiography," in *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective*, ed. Kyri W. Claflin (London: Berg, 2012), 211; Scholliers, "Twenty-five Years," 453.

⁹⁸ Stephen Mennel, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.

⁹⁹ Leslie A. Clarkson, *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Kate Colquhoun, *Taste: The Story of Britain through Its Cooking* (London: A&C Black, 2012); Andrea Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England: A History* (Westport: Praeger, 2007); Michèle Brown, *Eating like a King: A History of Royal Recipes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006); Spencer Colin, *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History* (London: Grub Street, 2002); John Burnett, *England Eats out: A Social History of Eating out in England from 1830 to the Present* (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2004).

implications of dining in public.¹⁰⁰ The influence of Arjun Appadurai, seminal scholar on the creation of a national cuisine in India, and Amartya Sen, with his critique of economic “entitlement” for human survival, remains significant.¹⁰¹ Some brave studies, such as Sarah Peterson’s *Acquired Taste*, in turn have pressed Lévi-Strauss’ ideas on the meanings of food to their interpretive limit.¹⁰²

More recently, since the 1990s, key works explore the interconnections between consumption and identity—an approach adopted here. Massimo Montanari maintains that “food is culture” and, like a language, functions as a system of signifiers for political conditions and the social organization of a community.¹⁰³ Historians like Ken Albala provide interpretive works that give perspective over long time trends since the Renaissance, and provide interpretive templates for food symbolism.¹⁰⁴ As evident from the opening passage here, in nineteenth-century Germany there were clear connections between food and property, control over food production, food consumption, the power of feeding subalterns, and a physical and visceral self-making in food, and possibly also ways in which food work could lead into lettered work early in the century. Aware of the Mintzean connections between food and power, as well as the cultural impact various power-centers have on dominant food trends, in this work I maintain that to read food consumption for its identity dimensions aligns with then-contemporary discussions and

¹⁰⁰ Peterson, *Acquired Taste*, Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment*; Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*; Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste*.

¹⁰¹ Scholliers and Claflin, “Conclusion,” 212.

¹⁰² Peterson, *Acquired Taste*.

¹⁰³ Massimo Montanari, *Food Is Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.)

¹⁰⁴ Kenneth Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport: Greenwood, 2003), Kenneth Albala, “The historical models of food and power in European courts of the nineteenth century : an expository essay and prologue,” in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle De Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011)13-30.

debates. Be it Feuerbach's play on words "The human is, what he eats,"¹⁰⁵ or Carl Vogt's quote of Brillat-Savarin's "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are,"¹⁰⁶ food and identity, food and power, and food and social structure in nineteenth-century Germany were intimately connected.

Food history being the history of power, however, also means it is the history of meaning-construction, culture, and identity: the story of exploration and encounter, empire, and knowledge-making, trade and exchange, imitation and appropriation, eroticizing, exoticizing and orientalizing, admiring, learning, and projecting. At the ground-level, it tells of survival, recognition, and dominance, as human beings produce, craft, and consume culinary culture, thereby making themselves—seeking, constructing, affirming, and negotiating identity. In this setting, I propose that cooking is authorship, and can communicate identity, affirmation, insult and flattery, as well as cater to distinction, match-make and subvert, call for peace and war. Cooking, so often the task of subalterns, or artists—slaves, servants, woman cooks, male chefs—is speaking. If indeed we are interested in the artistic, scientific, and political utterances of subalterns and culinary artists, reading food is one way to do it. If we wish to study identity—class, national, regional, or civic belonging, gender or race, then food, foodways, and food discourses are a good lens. Changes in food authorship, ownership, technologies, and composition alter self-making at the levels of body and identity.

If cooking is authorship, then in turn, eating is identity-making, and the hierarchy one eats is dependent on ownership, and whether or not one has the right to choose its meaning. Eating thus becomes an ambiguous act of either distinction, or disciplining,

¹⁰⁵ Feuerbach "Das Geheimnis des Opfers," 5.

¹⁰⁶ Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie des Geschmacks*, xv.

depending on what one eats, when, and how (how much, how often, where and with whom). While this dissertation has been able to analyze the what and when, as well as how much and how often, commensality remains implicit rather than explicit in the sources and in the following analysis, along the lines of kinship and peer-networks. Such aspects as who eats first, portion sizes, and ritual, table manners, etc. are unfortunately beyond the scope of this analysis. In the case of subaltern diets, structural poverty, prescribed diets, poor taste and hunger emerge as forms of violence against subalterns, who were not entitled to choice of food, but only to self-harm (hunger) as a form of protest. Feeding functioned as a form of social control that state, employers, and health care systems endorsed throughout the century. Food knowledge, that is, especially cooking skills for women, could represent a form of power and authorship with which to seek to escape suffering.

Gender Studies and Post-Colonial Analyses

Along with class, gender and race are neither stable nor natural categories, and knowledge about them is neither neutral nor value free.¹⁰⁷ Since Joan Scott, the discipline has long distinguished between sex (male and female) and gender (masculine and feminine), and now is recognizing a range of other sexual embodiments, sexualities and sexual identities.¹⁰⁸ Ideas of having a sexual orientation are not two centuries old, and if we were to confront individuals in antiquity with the idea of race, we would have to do as

¹⁰⁷ Robert Proctor, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

¹⁰⁸ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December, 1986): 1053–75; e.g. Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Hanne Blank, *Straight: The Surprisingly Short History of Heterosexuality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

much explaining as when describing a human right to a medieval farmer.¹⁰⁹ Such works as Dror Wahrman's show clearly how relevant identity categories in the "modern identity regime" have been for the purpose of creating politically-enfranchised identities in contrast with others.¹¹⁰ When discussing "women" in the following chapters, therefore, we can unfortunately not do much better than to remain aware of the active forces of social construction of sex and gender these individuals were subject to, and of how in the nineteenth century, the assumed roles and embodied specificities of gender were connected to medical and scientific understandings that categorized women, broadly stated, as less than fully moral, rational, physically able humans based on a fictitiously superior male template.¹¹¹

As regards the cultural meanings of food in the context of race and orientalism the key question is when something is an exchange, and when something is appropriation. In the early modern period it was possible to engage in respectful mutual exchange at an international level, with diplomatic presents that did not necessarily imply a drastically askew power relationship—ranging from the gifting of Ottoman turbans and Sri Lankan ivory to that of Venetian glass as Maussian investments in future mutual benefit.¹¹² However, as of the eighteenth century, hardened understandings of race beginning in the Spanish Americas and excessively successful in the American context and the French

¹⁰⁹ Denise Eileen McCoskey, *Race: Antiquity and Its Legacy*, Ancients and Moderns Series (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

¹¹⁰ Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

¹¹¹ For an overview of changing understandings of sex and race, see: Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

¹¹² Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritson, and Giorgio Riello, "Global Gifts and the Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia," in *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritson, and Giorgio Riello, Studies in Comparative World History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2, 7.

Empire made international engagements less ambiguous.¹¹³ The crucial difference between exchange and appropriation as regards original ownership is, of course, that of attribution/permission, and exploitation/tribute.¹¹⁴ Ownership, in turn, boils down to the question of property rights, which in turn reflect directly upon legal definitions of personhood, again underpinned by medically and scientifically-supported notions of humanness and racial difference.¹¹⁵

Sources and Interpretive Methods

This dissertation uses sources from seventeen archives all over Germany in order to provide an overview of a significant geography throughout a century. The sources include cookbooks, legal case files, letters, household records, handwritten recipe

¹¹³ On the Spanish context, see, e.g. Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, “New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650,” *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (February 1, 1999): 33–68; Verena Stolcke, “Invaded Women: Sex, Race and Class in the Formation of Colonial Society,” *The European Journal of Development Research* 6, no. 2 (December 1, 1994): 7–21. On the French empire, see: Jennifer L. Palmer, *Intimate Bonds: Family and Slavery in the French Atlantic* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); on Anglo-America, see: Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), and Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹¹⁴ We are here bracketing “sharing, stealing, and borrowing” which denote permitted practices reifying social ties, between relative social equals from the same social group community, and acts of trust in the case of sharing and borrowing, and an unpermitted action upon an owner with the right to prove their property right. See also: Marilyn Strathern, “Sharing, Stealing and Borrowing Simultaneously,” in *Ownership and Appropriation*, eds. Veronica Strang and Mark Busse (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 23.

¹¹⁵ Edward Taihakurei Durie, “Cultural Appropriation,” in Strang and Busse, *Ownership and Appropriation*, 131-148. Mark Busse and Veronica Strand, “Ownership and Appropriation,” in Strang and Busse, *Ownership and Appropriation*, 1. Further note Humphrey and Verdery on “what makes a person,” and, as Charles Taylor notes, to what extent you can demonstrate “agency.” Ibid, 2 and 6. While property ownership is therefore a useful lens for exploring who qualified as a human agent and (individual) person at a place and point in time, and how property claims could underpin cases for different degrees of humanness and/or hierarchies of personhood, one must remain wary of definitions of humanness or personhood on the basis of property, as the very notion that an individual need prove their humanness or personhood is dehumanizing. Personhood and humanness too, then must be considered as set within discourses structured by power. Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

notebooks, hospital, military, and restaurant menus, as well as architecture and items of material culture, plus printed images and sketches in newspapers, journals, and cookbooks. These sources allow searching for data about a range of agents participating in crafting middle class identity, such as chefs and cooks, maids and servants, housewives and house managers, cookbook authors, and civil servants, with awareness of the material context that shaped their experiences as producers, workers, or consumers.

The material items from among the sources can be grouped into four categories: architectural cooking (infra)structures (kitchens), fireplaces (ovens, hearths, stoves), utensils (for cooking, presenting, and consuming, ranging from pots and pans to molds and jars, crockery, cutlery, decorative platters and skewers), and finally, consumer products (in our case, typically product packages). In the case of the former three, meaning results from differences in spatial and production size, material composition, design, and purpose.¹¹⁶ In the case of the latter category, I analyze marketing techniques to derive what identity the producer wished to offer to the consumer through the act of purchasing (German, middle-class, white, etc.). Knowing that items of material culture will have been used to identify the owners or users' social standing, I read them here as part of general property or luxury, as well part of cuisine and consumption shaping class identity in German society. Finally, practices such as gift-giving I interpret as part of network activity.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Chris King, "Domestic Buildings. Understanding Houses and Society," in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David R. M. Gaimster (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 115-129. Also: Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 227-234.

¹¹⁷ Sara Pennell, "Getting down from the table. Early Modern Foodways and Material Culture," in Richardson, Hamling, and Gaimster, *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture*, 185-195.

The ever-deferred object here, of course, that centers this inquiry and that centered the habits and practices here analyzed, is the food itself, which we read about textually in various sources, from cookbooks and recipe notebooks to industrial product and restaurant advertisements, and of which we see representations in various images, while the thing itself remains outside our reach. What I recover in the following are thus descriptions of food and associated practices, as historically correct as possible, which also display similarities and differences across the social spectrum, space, and time, allowing for an analysis of the consumer's identity (the primary focus) with some note on ownership and production. Similarly where objects such as packages and wrappers do not survive, representations of them do (in advertisements, for example) allowing for some further recovery. All of these fragments from the past form part of the largest puzzle this dissertation has attempted to reconstruct, analyze, and interpret.

In what follows, I do not test for middle classness as a developed group identity as such,¹¹⁸ nor do I probe for their degree of political mobilization,¹¹⁹ or triangulate class with political orientation to determine its rate of development.¹²⁰ Instead, I treat the people I encounter in my sources first as individual agents, with individual motivations, strategies, aspirations, habits and practices that reveal a clearly visible identity product.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ An "imagined community," for example: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991). To quote Seigel in his approach, the "bourgeoisie, like other social classes, fits the description Benedict Anderson famously gave of nations: they are 'imagined communities.'" Jerrold Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics, and Culture in England, France and Germany since 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 25. For an Andersonian account of German nationhood, see: Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

¹¹⁹ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966).

¹²⁰ Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹²¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (University of California Press, 2011) xi; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 165-166.

Contribution

Middlingness: An Identity based on Social Recognition

This dissertation finds that the aspiring middling used property,¹²² legal status,¹²³ their level of education,¹²⁴ and consumption,¹²⁵ as *arguments* for making the case for middle-class identity and belonging for themselves or others, couched in part in the language of food, and within the field of relations of power that food also expressed and shaped. Middlingness in my analysis is not primarily a deterministic predictor for political behavior, but a self-identity evident from a range of utterances and behaviors, habits and practices, deployed for making the case for belonging in the social middle. Key to making middlingness are imitation of superiors, aspirational consumption, control over subalterns, and establishing distinction from them.¹²⁶ In practice, this meant that middlingness was shaped by constant comparison with superiors, peers, and inferiors—in a century where elites and subalterns changed over time—creating dynamics of imitation of superiors, mimesis of equals, and control of subalterns, respectively.¹²⁷ The

¹²² Jonathan Sperber, *Property and Civil Society in South-Western Germany, 1820-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹²³ Robert Beachy, *The Soul of Commerce: Credit, Property, and Politics in Leipzig, 1750-1840* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

¹²⁴ Denise Phillips, *Acolytes of Nature: Defining Natural Science in Germany, 1770-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Further: Kosselleck, “Einleitung,” 11–46, esp. 13–15. Cited in: Sperber, “‘Bürger, Bürgertum, Büürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft,’” 271-297.

¹²⁵ Wolfgang Kaschuba, “German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800: Culture as Symbolic Practice,” in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 392-422; Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Lebenswelt und Kultur der unterbürgerlichen Schichten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1990)

¹²⁶ Bourdieu, *Distinction*.

¹²⁷ At times, when the sources reveal strategies rather than subjects (in reading recipes, for example) I use the source material (descriptions of actions, verbs) to infer something about the subjects (not explicitly mentioned, aka, elided, but undoubtedly present agents) to determine its social effect.

terminology I thus propose to describe this self-identity is “middling,” “middlingness” and “social middle,” to accommodate the fluidity and openness so characteristic of the middle class, as Phillips and Kaschuba have noted, as well as the constant effort to *become* and/or *stay* middling, or to join the ranks of the elites.¹²⁸

“Middlingness,” I propose, was an individualistic identity, held for individual purposes, functioning as a form of social and cultural capital, which could be exchanged for political and economic capital. If an individual was able to *convince* their superiors, peers, and inferiors that they were in fact middling, they *were* middling: the key part of

¹²⁸ My work does, however, describe a social group in the end, united by a self-identity, unlike Kaschuba’s cultural habitus approach to *Bürgertum*, which renders “Bürgerlichkeit” as a “symbolic practice,” given Kaschuba’s argument that “a social field cannot...be transferred to a cultural one.” Kaschuba, “German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800,” 396-397, quotation from 393. This view suffers, in my view, from a remnant assumption that sociology (the study of modern, Western societies) differs or must differ significantly from anthropology (the study of non-Western, ‘pre-modern’ groups); the interdisciplinary approach adopted here offers to subsume a variety of phenomena (political, economic, social, scientific) under a cultural heading in ways that differ significantly from Kaschuba’s and that acknowledge the deconstructions of the modern/pre-modern dichotomy. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*. See also footnotes 62-65 above. Kaschuba’s note that the nineteenth century represents a ‘key transitional phase’ (“Übergangszeit”) in German history, however, is undeniable. Kaschuba, *Lebenswelt und Kultur*, 5. Kosselleck’s work used the *Begriff* (“Begriffsgeschichte”) as proxy to determine middle-class existence and social impact; Kosselleck and Schreiner, “Einleitung,” 21-26. While this produces a coherent somewhat historicist analysis, this account overemphasizes the coherence of the group, pressing the point of their mobilization and capacity to act as an agency (“Handlungseinheit,” page 14) to the point of teleological determinism. The term “middlingness” proposed in this dissertation does not presuppose ideological unity or unity of action, though recognizing the value of Kosselleck’s proposed term of “Bürgerschaft” as a more time-independent analytic grouping that allows for longer chronologies of exploration. *Ibid.*, 11-14. While Kosselleck and Gall are right to highlight the heterogeneity of the German language’s vocabulary denoting the middle class—a veritable host of terms: Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerstand, Bürgerschaft (Kosselleck’s term), Bürgerlich(keit), Mittlere(n) Staende, gebildeten Staende, Bildungsbürgertum, Mittlere/Mittel Klasse/Klasse, to name a few major examples—an analytic term that acknowledges their connections (rather than assuming their heterogeneous use in a time and geography predating strong language regulations) and that might *explain* that such a diversity of terms is indicative of an experience of change without the benefit of retrospective thought, might be more stable in describing this social grouping, than one that might rely strongly on a German linguistic singularity, and the idea that linguistic terms and social realities map neatly onto one another. Lothar Gall, “Bürgertum und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft,” in *Bürgertum und liberale Bewegung und Nation. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, eds. Dieter Hein, Andreas Schulz, Eckhardt Treichel (Munich: Oldenburgh, 1996), 5-6. On the failure of liberalism, 99 onwards. On the terminological shift from “Stand” to “Klasse,” 79 onwards. Further: Lothar Gall, *Bürgertum in Deutschland* (Berlin: Siedler, 1989). On the discrepancy of signifiers and signified, see: Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). The terms “middling” and “social middle” may thus not seem aesthetically pleasing, but are functional. Kosselleck’s proposed term of “Bürgerschaft” inspires this dissertation’s aim to provide a term that acknowledges the long-term roots of middle-class formation, from the early modern period through to the present.

“making” middlingness, was, in this sense, social recognition. The focus of these middling individuals was social mobility, and not as a rule a bourgeois revolution. Central to middlingness throughout the century was to use courts, both past and present, as points of orientation for the consumption of romantic medieval, cosmopolitan, and French-style cuisine both inside and outside the home. Recipe exchanges and food gifts sealed social networks, while industry produced convenient processed foods and cooking utensils serving as status symbols and celebrating modernity. Feeding, instruction and command, in turn, guided the relationship with cooks, maids, housewives, servants, or producers (hereafter “foodworkers”)¹²⁹ and other social subalterns (women, racial others) as part of social hierarchy. While the social middle was politically relevant and economically influenced, it was socially and culturally celebrated. These findings further demonstrate how crucial a role food, foodways, and food discourses played in prevalent identity-crafting dynamics throughout the century all over the German lands.

The approach to define middlingness as an identity constructed by a range of agents, who crafted it using a range of arguments for the purpose of social recognition, integrates the existing scholarship of *Bürgertumsforschung*, without importing its Habermasian undertones and its assumptions along with it. This proposed identity category and the model it implies is not specific to food alone, hence, if we continue to be interested in the German social middle, we can continue to use it to explore other dimensions of life which the middling used to formulate arguments buttressing their claims to identity. It allows for the fluidity, the effort, and the need for constant argumentation the middling experienced in this era of change.

¹²⁹ See glossary.

Making Modern Eating

This dissertation further revises the account of food histories explaining the rise of contemporary cuisines with its study of modern eating practices in German households, and the foodworkers who crafted it. Fernandez-Armesto, Laudan, Flandrin and Montanari have laid the groundwork for a crucial metanarrative of historiographical engagement that present historians can center their contributions around.¹³⁰ The scholarship is right to identify key power centers—or culinary hegemons—throughout history, that made a great impact over time, including the Spanish, French, and British Empires, to lead finally to the contemporary “Anglo-World.”¹³¹ The present account however is too top-down to hold in practice, and does not take Central Europe’s nineteenth century into account, missing its impact on world cuisine, modern eating practices, and contemporary food consumption.

This dissertation builds loosely on the periodization of food history established by Fernandez-Armesto and Laudan, but amends their timeline from the Neolithic to the US-American guided present cuisine and the causal explanation of the history of food modernization in Laudan’s work by suggesting that the culinary spirit of the age came to rest in Germany for a time between 1800 and 1900.¹³² The culinary spirit of the age—a metaphorical description considering cooking and consumption as authorship and self-making in modernity—rested on the combination of power over resources and authorship

¹³⁰ Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables*, Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*. Similarly by journalist Tom Standage, *An Edible History of Humanity* (London: Atlantic Books Ltd, 2012). Further the anthologies: Flandrin and Montanari, eds., *Food: A Culinary History*, and Erdkamp et al, eds., *A Cultural History of Food*.

¹³¹ Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 248-249, 308, 311.

¹³² Given the current lack of a large historiography on German food in the English language, neither Fernández-Armesto nor Laudan’s magnificent synthetic works explore the nineteenth century in Germany in detail. Laudan gives some attention to Protestant influences in the Netherlands and northern Europe in the early modern period, before moving on to France, Britain, and the United States. Fernández-Armesto gives some attention to Justus von Liebig and the Oxo cube.

of food in the German states in the nineteenth century.¹³³ There, Central European courts and middling households attracted culinary authors and controlled the food supply, importing and crafting identity through cuisine as the area modernized.

This account of the making of modern eating demonstrates how axiomatic the role of subaltern food worker—working women—was to the history of shaping modern eating practices, sometimes, against difficult odds. Women often owned their own labor as of 1800, and could exploit it to pursue personhood effectively from around 1830 or 1840, however, gendered violence and a lack of legal protection from it undermined this process of self-making all the way up to 1900, in ways not exclusive to food work in domestic and public kitchens, household management, or cookbook publishing. Where the law failed women, kinship networks provided more support, and where a woman gained employment within the network of her family and family’s friends, any damage (especially rape) to her would not have been as meaningless to the legal system and thereby lacking in consequence as the exploitation of a working maid or cook with neither legal nor social currency to bring to bear on her abuser.

Given the right social conditions, however, women in food-related occupations could improve their working conditions, until a hardened domesticity as of 1860 gradually pressed them into a less industrially relevant and more “private” household, explaining in part why there are no “great woman chefs” even today.¹³⁴ Just as the urban restaurant became an attractive workplace in the German case, domesticity defined household activities as non-work, and a defining mark of distinction for middling women. Irrespective of where women worked, in public eateries or in households, they crafted

¹³³ See glossary.

¹³⁴ Charlotte Durckmann, “Why Are There No Great Women Chefs?” *Gastronomica* 10, no. 1 (2010): 24–31.

modern eating practices by synthesizing French cuisine, and industrial products, before the Anglo-World globalized modern eating in the twentieth century.

This dissertation thus proposes to consider cooking as an important and historically significant speech-act of subaltern agents. While acknowledging the importance of power centers, this dissertation's culinary examinations demonstrates the cultural impact of social groups one might consider devoid of power (e.g. working women), and thus shows their impact on history. Given that cooking is often the work of the subaltern, in effect, we may as yet underestimate how powerfully the subaltern shaped modern history. Reading cooking and consumption as speech-acts makes visible how subalterns and consumers leave their marks on history, in this case, by fusing cuisine trends together to craft modern eating practices in middling German households.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Key works have already examined subaltern authors and consumers who left their mark on world cuisine and contemporary eating practices in spite of then contemporary obstacles, including the construction of national cuisines under colonial rule, the influence of slave cooks on Atlantic eating, or Brumberg's work on hunger as voice. Carney, *Black Rice*, Judith Carney and Richard Rosomoff, eds., *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); S. Max Edelson, "Beyond Black Rice: Reconstructing Material and Cultural Contexts for Early Plantation Agriculture," *American Historical Review* 115:1 (2010): 125-135, Carolyn Rouse and Janet Hoskins, "Purity, Soul Food, and Sunni Islam: Explorations at the Intersection of Consumption and Resistance," *Cultural Anthropology* 19:2 (2004); Kalyan Das, "To Eat or Not To Eat Beef: Spectres of Food on Bengal's Politics of Identity," *Economic & Political Weekly* 50:44 (31 October 2015); Uma Narayan, "Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity and Indian Food," *Social Identities* 1.1 (1995): 63-86, Jayanta Sengupta, "Nation on a Platter: The Culture and Politics of Food and Cuisine in Colonial Bengal," *Modern Asian Studies* 44:1 (2010); Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Fasting Girls: The History of Anorexia Nervosa* (New York: Vintage, 2000) and "The Appetite as Voice," *Food and Culture: A Reader*, in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 1997). I note also that Queen Victoria's favorite food was curry, even though she struggled with weight and attempted to diet throughout her life. Subaltern cuisines, in effect, are not so silent after all, but radically alter consumption at the centers of culinary hegemony. Elizabeth Buettner, "'Going for an Indian: South Asian Restaurants and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Britain,'" *Journal of Modern History* 80:4 (2008): 865-901; Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Panikos Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008); Troy Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Past and Present* 198 (2008), 71-109; Allison James, "How British is British Food?," in *Food, Health and Identity*, ed. Pat Caplan (London: Routledge, 1997), Alan Warde, "Imagining British Cuisine," *Food, Culture & Society* 12:2 (2009): 151-171; the dynamics Dawdy describes in the French context differ slightly and speak of a French empire capable of stomaching and digesting difference. Shannon Lee Dawdy, "'A Wild Taste': Food and Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Louisiana," *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 3 (June 20, 2010): 389-414.

The role of a distant or even imagined racial subaltern is equally essential to explain middling consumption. The German states, in disarray for nearly half a century after Napoleonic invasion in 1806, were not an Empire until 1871, and not a colonial power until 1884. They were, however, somewhat passively imperial and a little colonial by proxy, through the activities of individuals active in other states' empires, and through consumption of British and French goods.¹³⁶ The exploitation of racial others was most often invisible and outsourced to Britain and France as the empires they admired. While not unambiguous, connected to cosmopolitanism and remaining Enlightenment idealizations of nature and the native, this consuming style of the German middling may remind readers of the contemporary consumption of goods produced in developing nations, where inhumane conditions may not be directly politically endorsed by consumers, but, being distant and removed from them, and the suffering removed from view, consumers somewhat aware of these conditions, and coexistent with them, still consumed those products, and thereby provided material support to the system that produces the goods and the exploitation. This differs slightly from Susanne Zantop's findings and aligns more closely with those of Suzanne Marchand, who has rightly emphasized the very different nature of "German orientalism" in her work on scholarly studies of the "East"—a site of learning for enriching European culture, including centrally the Bible and philosophy.¹³⁷ Even Said's "Orientalist" critique of European

¹³⁶ On "passive imperialism" based on Harumi Befu's concept of "passive nationalism," that is "ideas and sentiments not always immediately emotive, competitive, expansionist, or domineering, but representing nonetheless a mounting stockpile of fuel waiting for the crucial moment...to ignite it," see Christopher G. Harding, "State of Insecurity: Self-Defence and Self-Cultivation in the Genesis of Japanese Imperialism," in *Echoes of Empire: Memory, Identity and the Legacy of Imperialism*, eds. Kalypso S. Nicolaidis, Berny Sebe, and Gabrielle Maas (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 182.

¹³⁷ While the presence of colonial fantasy in the literary imagination is undeniable, this fantasy did not reach the middling home's consumption until the end of the century. Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press,

trends was sure to emphasize the differences between Britain, France, and Germany in the Enlightenment era.¹³⁸

This dissertation thus not only finds a degree of cosmopolitanism and Enlightenment openness to imported goods carrying a medieval court glamor for the earlier period, but also argues that liberal views on the East influenced product packaging and naming design in the fin-de-siècle, making German imperial consumption still characteristically multifarious.¹³⁹ While Zantop is certainly right to find colonial fantasies in Enlightenment writings of German travellers, these fantasies seem not to have been as successful on the household level as among the literati of the German lands before the 1880s. Instead, more racialized depictions, caricatures, and dehumanizing representations of racial others enjoyed more success in marketing after 1900, paired, as often noted, with justifications of an imperial, civilizing project.¹⁴⁰ Before this, industry designed marketing imagery that crafted consumer identities in the fin-de-siècle and alienated them from self-identity making in ways that artificially stabilized gender and racial categories. Here, the image of the distant racial inferior provided even the less affluent or female consumer in the German Empire with the illusion of superiority through consumption in an economically stratified and gender-hierarchical society.

1997), Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, eds., *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹³⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House LLC, 1979).

¹³⁹ See also: John Phillip Short, *Magic Lantern Empire: Colonialism and Society in Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

¹⁴⁰ David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

As Carol Helstosky recently critiqued, the void in food history between scholarship on Europe and the rest of the world has been widening in recent years.¹⁴¹ Combining the study of cuisines with attention to subaltern and consumer impact and their making of modern eating may be a way of bridging that gap. Further, by focusing on identity and power in the history of food, findings of food history become relevant for histories of identity, studies of the sexual, gender, or racial subalterns, and accounts of how individuals and groups operate in political modernity.¹⁴²

Studying migratory patterns—especially of political refugees, as French chefs were in 1789, and migrants seeking new horizons in the United States—constitutes a further way of highlighting the global interconnections of food history as they sheped modern eating practices and global cuisines. Throughout the nineteenth century, “Jews and other Germans”¹⁴³ as migrants to the United States took their culinary culture with them and leading with time to a range of strategies, practices, and even recipes that would be exported world-wide in the twentieth century.¹⁴⁴ From the 1820s, food workers with access to salt and “skills as butchers and wurst (sausage) makers” made Cincinnati the biggest city in the West by 1850.¹⁴⁵ New York treasured its Italian and German butchers in mid-century, due to their “cleanliness and quality animals.”¹⁴⁶ Breweries, “symbols of German impact,” established themselves between 1830 and the 1870s, led by migrants

¹⁴¹ Carol Helstosky, *The Routledge History of Food* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), xii.

¹⁴² I build on Sarah Peterson’s account of modern cooking and its political meaning in a cultural history of French cuisine: Peterson, *Acquired Taste*. Beyond this, it is my normative stance, in this instance, that no human being has the right to define another’s identity, thereby robbing them of authorship, self-definition, and the speech-acts involved in self-realization that may lead to social recognition and social self-making. That modern identity regimes attempt to define the individual without their consent is in itself part of the problem of modernity. On modern identity regimes, see Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*.

¹⁴³ Till van Rahden, *Jews and Other Germans : Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau, 1860-1925* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).

¹⁴⁴ Jeffrey P. Roberts, *Salted and Cured: Savoring the Culture, Heritage, and Flavor of America’s Preserved Meats* (White River Junction: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2017), 27.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 29.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 32.

who disembarked in New York City, “making it at one point the third largest German-speaking city in the world.”¹⁴⁷ One of them, by the name of Heinz, opened a ketchup factory in Pennsylvania. As of 1880, Jews migrated to the Big Apple and opened kosher butcher shops of which the city soon housed thousands.¹⁴⁸ The German social middle must thus also be understood as a historically significant cultural group who used food to curate their own identity, exercise power, and curate a modernity in their eating that has since been successful at a global scale. Throughout, this dissertation aims to be transnational in perspective by focusing on how the German lands’ middling brought together or exchanged foodstuffs, cuisine style and culinary techniques, education or even personnel from and with Britain, France, and to a lesser extent from Italy and Russia, and geographies beyond the continent, giving middling German cuisine its characteristic, central European flavor.

Chapter Plan

Chapter 1 analyzes food practices among rural local elites in the earliest decades of the century, and finds that romantic imitation of medieval courts, especially a high use of spice and meat, was a key structuring mechanism in determining the composition, seasoning, and frequency of consumption in middling cuisine, among those who in their attempts to present themselves as middling attempted to balance the appearance of affluence with lack, constraint, and the need to survive the winter through food-preservation techniques. Kitchen spaces and cooking technologies remained quite constant until 1860, war, architecture, and financial priorities making the German states

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 95.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 33. See further the conclusion of this dissertation.

lag behind Britain and the United States, while even the most affluent preferred to build several kitchens, and keep older structures, rather than tear them down, leading to houses of many kitchens, and early forms of canning and uses of poisonous additives, which made preserved foods both key for survival, and a health risk for their consumers. French and Russian Service style structured meals, influenced dish-choices, and aided in determining which kinds of foods became successful, as the middling enjoyed four meals in contrast to their three-meal eating subordinates. While it is tempting to call the romantic-era tendency to look to medieval courts with a love of game and spice nationalistic, spice served as a technology for surviving the winter, and as chapter 2 shows, nationalism was not as well developed as other forms of regional and especially civic patriotism.

Chapter 2 finds that civic identity and regional identity played key roles in culinary culture, even as consumers enjoyed dishes from other European countries and German regions. It further examines the middling imitation of contemporary courts through recipe exchanges and cosmopolitanism in cookbooks, combined with the consumption of dishes carrying the names of cities and regions in cultural celebration and exchange across the German states. At a time where harvest failures made control over food more important, and price distinction potentially hardened differences between middling and lower classes in the *Vormärz*, the middling controlled subaltern diets with prescribed feeding low in meat and high in starch. This diet, and the high prices of meals at inns, allowed the social middle to communicate distinction to subalterns, and use food as a means of social control.

Chapter 3 shows how French cuisine entered the German middling household between 1830 and 1860: by means of working women educated in large estate kitchens by French chefs fleeing their *patrie*'s political turmoil, leading working women to deploy their in-demand culinary knowledge to negotiate improvements in their working conditions. Evident in the writings of women cooks is a working-feminism, not making references either to male consumers or motherly roles, but defining all women as workers, irrespective of their place, including management of the productive, partially-agrarian household.

Chapter 4 traces how middling eating habits began to incorporate industrial products shaped by food chemical innovations, leading to what contemporaries called “food adulteration” and its corresponding legal response—one of the earliest modern food laws in 1878/9. While the middling accepted industrial products, replacing spices with meat or yeast extracts or vegetable flours, some also joined back-to-nature movements, became vegetarians, or read Kneipp's instructions for a “sensible” natural diet. Alongside a market increase in supplements, these new “natural” diets represented the middling's attempt to regain control over food and to demonstrate affluence in urban centers where fruits and vegetables were expensive. To some extent, some of the food technologies then advertised (e.g. powdered soups, canned goods) existed early in the century, but it was not until they gained the male, scientific branding of mass industry that they gained economic success. Their success was furthered by exploratory needs and military demand, demonstrating the influence of imperial ambition in creating modern food, and particularly ready meals.

Finally, Chapter 5 examines the rise of the urban restaurant, imitating the royal court in dishes and presentation, and providing attractive job opportunities that by this time mostly men were able to take advantage of. The consumer culture of the fin-de-siècle's urban centers on the one hand promoted cosmopolitanism and admiration for cultural others, but also identified new racial subalterns to distinguish themselves from, drastically hardened bourgeois domesticity, and celebrated social hierarchy as part of a powerful and industrial empire. A hardened middling preference for domesticity compensated women working at home with the prestige of new cooking technologies that allowed them to imitate restaurants—primary buyers of new stoves and refrigeration—assigning women the role of buyers, and consoling them with representations in products, and imperial notions of racial subalterns. At the same time the social middle, formerly more in control over their identity-construction through food in semi-agrarian homes, increasingly lost their power of self-definition as industry took over food production. As industry reduced the middling to consumers, it also alienated them from crafting identity with marketing designs, and making the best argument for middlingness increasingly rest on economics.

Much changed in the nineteenth century. Some might deplore an alleged loss as the German lands travelled through time, and new cuisines, technologies, and spaces replaced the old. Yet that is not the position of this dissertation. As of 1800, the era that invented German nationalism was crucially consistently European in its consumer-habits, cosmopolitan in style—centered *literally* on great cities inside and outside of German-speaking Europe—ready to taste new trends, and to incorporate the novel and the foreign. It was precisely this centrally European attitude that made German middling homes play

their crucial role in food history, with food structures, habits and practices then conceptualized or popularized influencing contemporary eating practices to date, as German? industry centralized food chemical changes. Change itself was not the problem: the question was and is how human beings adapt to it. Some middling consumers' reactions were strikingly modern and effective—management of food adulteration, for example, with dietary and legal measures. What crumbled in the age of empire was a former meaning of Europe and its German lands. Imperial expansion and hardened domesticity caused a true loss: a loss of possibilities that tender sprouts of political and social development had infused with liberal hope until 1860.

Chapter 1. Space, Structure and Spice: Continuity, Consumption, and Social Aspiration in Romantic Era Middling Households, 1800-1860.

“...not a single business has remained as untouched by progress in science and technology...as bread-baking. ...most ovens of today are built exactly like those that were already in use ...in Pompeii.”¹

—*Gartenlaube*, 1856

“...the menu for springtime...does not bring relief with it—it inspires hope, but offers little new, making us resort to winter provisions. ...Winter multiplies the hoarded spoils of Fall...enabling the kitchen to cater to the season’s festivities and their high expectations.”²

—Albert Knoche, 1840

In 1971, the prolific scholar on nineteenth-century food history in Germany Hans Jürgen Teuteberg observed that “the History of Food in Germany is not yet written.”³ His co-author Wiegelmann in turn concluded his contribution to this researcher duos’ milestone work with the note that the study of German middle-class cuisine and meal structure in the nineteenth century “remains a task for [future] research,” which he assessed to be

¹ BSB: 3240985 2 Per. 6-1856 3240985 2 Per. 6-1856: *Gartenlaube*, (1856), 54.

² HMSS: Vol.002, 124.

³ Hans Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten unter dem Einfluß der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1972), 21. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, and Günter Wiegelmann, *Nahrungsgewohnheiten in der Industrialisierung des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Münster: Lit, 1991).

possible only “in comparison with other areas of Europe.”⁴ The present chapter and the one that follows aim to remedy this near five decade old need.

The contribution below analyzes cuisine and culinary habits and practices in the first decades of the nineteenth century as these crafted middling identity.⁵ The definition of middlingness throughout is based on a verb (actions) rather than a noun (a group), and shows awareness of the relational constructed meaning of middlingness, somewhere between the illiterate, working, and peasant poor, and the title-carrying, financially and politically superior nobility and royalty of the German states. Part one, “Space,” discusses the material infrastructure for cooking—kitchens, built around and centered on hearths or ovens. This has been a fragmentary field at best, with no trans-national comparisons of the technology completed thus far.⁶ This study finds that German kitchens did not change technologically until well after mid-century, making the investment of purchasing a novel iron stove between 1850 and 1900 a luxury of the most affluent or of public restaurants.⁷ Part two of this chapter, “Structure and Spice,” discusses the middling balancing-act between the practical need to survive long winters, and the social need to establish distinction from the working or peasant poor. A Romantic imagination of medieval royal habits and practices catered to the double need of survival and prestige with its high use of spice. Ice rooms in cellars and holes dug in nearby forests did not suffice in ensuring, however, that winters—the plentiful season of the

⁴ Teuteberg and Wiegmann, *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten*, 335.

⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) xi; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 165-166.

⁶ A good exhibition catalogue by Framke and Marenk from 1988 counts among the best studies so far. Gisela Framke and Gisela Marenk, eds. *Beruf der Jungfrau: Henriette Davidis und Bürgerliches Frauenverständnis im 19. Jahrhundert* (Oberhausen: Graphium Press, 1988). My thanks go especially to the curators, librarian, and volunteers at the World of Kitchen Museum in Hannover, as well as the archivist at the Schönebeck Castle near Bremen, whose collections greatly aided the writing of this study.

⁷ This red thread is completed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

culinary calendar—were well supplied with fresh food. Preserved foods made throughout the year for cold season survival were instead compromised by spoilage and additives, and their taste poorly remedied by pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, and cloves. By comparison, both in the abandonment of spice and the brick and mortar hearth, the German states lagged good half a century behind its contemporary neighbors in Britain and the United States.⁸ This, in turn, renders the contrast between German middling cuisine in 1800 and 1900 all the more pronounced and significant, lending itself to a study of food modernization.

Other features of middling consumption were fairly in line with contemporary trends in Britain, and France—including an increase in the number of meals (see also Chapter 2), the use of imported goods, and the transition from French to Russian service style. Middling consumption in the domestic sphere in the Romantic era consisted of four meals a day, luncheon being the primary meal, and coffee-time serving as the fourth meal distinguishing the middling from the working and poor. Farmed meat functioned as the baseline indicator of status, while the noble game and shellfish, Italian almonds and citrus, French truffles and elite ice-cream conceptually linked the middling's diet symbolically and food-discursively to the upper classes with whom the middling member of society wished to connect. Imitation of elite cuisine with its French and Russian service styles structured the menus of the middling, guided their daily habits, and encouraged their acceptance of certain foods and dishes over others, all with the aim of associating themselves with German royalty and the Holy Roman Empire, at the same

⁸ Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *Encyclopedia of Kitchen History* (London: Routledge, 2004).

time as they attempted to preserve heavily spiced foods for the winter.⁹ In this manner, the middling reconciled style and distinction prevalent in other areas of Europe with a climatic necessity that demanded frugality.

The former image of a “simple” middle-class cuisine in 1800 that grew more “complex” by 1900, while at the same time constantly reducing the use of spice, tentatively proposed by Wiegmann in 1971, cannot be confirmed here.¹⁰ On the contrary: a reduction of spice must be placed after 1860 (see Chapters 3-5) given industrial substitutes and industrial technologies for preservation, and cuisine grew not more complex with time, but somewhat simpler after 1860 (see Chapter 4) as consumers sought to eat naturally, which could reduce rather than increase the number of ingredients.

This chapter draws on food historians’ exploration of the symbolic political meaning of dietary habits and practices and taps into the rich and as yet not fully exploited wealth of cookbooks and items of material culture (including architectural remains) that survive in Germany. Menus, argues Montanari, are sentences, dishes function as words, and specific ingredients act as morphemes, carrying meaning that define the consumer, the occasion, and potentially the host, describing the social relations between the individuals involved in the act of producing, preparing, and serving the meal to commensals.¹¹ Ken Albala, in turn, has noted various stages of food-symbolism in modern Europe, and their corresponding political endorsements. In this context, celebrating “the medieval

⁹ On the point that German royalty ate in a cosmopolitan manner, thus guiding middling consumption, see the next chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁰ Teuteberg and Wiegmann, *Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten*, 296, 298. Wiegmann claims that preserved foods must be studied separately from main dishes, ignoring that preserved foods probably represented the bulk of middling consumer’s food in the winter months.

¹¹ On food as a “language,” “code of communication,” and “The Grammar of Food,” see Massimo Montanari, *Food Is Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), viii-ix, 133, and 99-103, respectively.

institution of kingship” and “the Middle Ages, in its imagined form, helped to provide an “aesthetic grounding”¹² for the Romantic period. Thereby, the following analysis reads food as a language, where difference and similarity provide morphemic indicators of social standing, and ingredients function as cultural symbols with political hues. Items of material culture such as utensils and ovens, in turn, a rich resource in this chapter, take on meaning through comparison as size, material, design and architecture allow the historian to reconstruct not only practice, but the identity-meaning its owners and users would have associated to these objects of prestige when examining these sources over space and time. This property, and the range of habits and practices below, all contributed to the crafting of middling identity.

While this chapter focuses on the chronology 1800-1820, for background and conceptual coherence, the following analysis at times strays as far back as the 1780s and as late as the 1850s. Whichever thoughts begin here and cannot be contained here, find their further exploration in Chapter 2 with its emphasis on regional, civic, and comsopolitan identity, the function of courts, and climatic discussion, as well as in Chapter 5 with its exposition of late nineteenth-century innovations in kitchen technology.

Space

Unmovable and Unmoving Kitchens: Brick and Mortar Ovens, 1750-1850

¹² Ken Abala, “The Historical Models of Food and Power in European Courts of the Nineteenth Century: An Expository Essay and Prologue,” in *Royal Taste : Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle de Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate Pub, 2011), 23; 22.

Between 1750 and 1850, the kitchen was a paragon of constancy. Representations of kitchens from Central Europe from between 1750 and 1850 display three striking recurring features: a hearth, a working woman, and varying amounts of open and working space. Even in neighboring Switzerland (Figure 8), and in representations of “poor peoples’ kitchen” from the era, the main features of fireplace, woman, and varying amounts of space are consistent.¹³ Contrary to French and British contexts, where depictions of cooks portray thin men, in German representations, femininity, food-work, and an oven visually tie the meaning of femaleness and culinary pleasure together in a highly gendered space.¹⁴ Exceptionally, men appear as consumers in the background (Figure 2, 1794), or as figures of authority passing through this area temporarily, for example, in stately kitchens where a male chef is in charge (see Figure 4, 1803, far left). The consistent recurrence of ovens, and women working with food in kitchens, defined the space, food-work, food itself, and women reciprocally together through association.¹⁵ Depictions of kitchens—always between 1800 and the 1880s centered on the often blazing oven—display this continuity well. Representations dating between 1750 and 1850 thus drive the point home, hardly showing technological innovation, or changes in the manner of representation: the physical and conceptual space of the kitchen hardly changed during that time. In the vast majority of the cases of middling households continuities reached even the early years of the twentieth century.

¹³ “The home of poor people,” Copperplate from 1823. HMSS: B.Schwa.3: Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Band 2. Von der Franzosenzeit bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg (1810-1918)* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1995), 88. See also, representation of a “Kitchen of a Berlin Citizen” by Carl Wilke dating from 1839. WOK S.EK.Fab.1979.

¹⁴ Sara Pennel, “Professional Cooking, Kitchens, and Service Work: *Accomplisht* Cookery,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, ed. Beat A. Kümin, Vol. 4. 6 vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2012), 117.

¹⁵ For a discussion of gender dimensions, see Chapter 3.



Figure 1. Detailed Copperplate of a Kitchen, 1732.¹⁶



Figure 2. Woodcut Representation of a Bourgeois Kitchen, 1794.¹⁷



Figure 3. Frontispiece copperplate, 1802.¹⁸

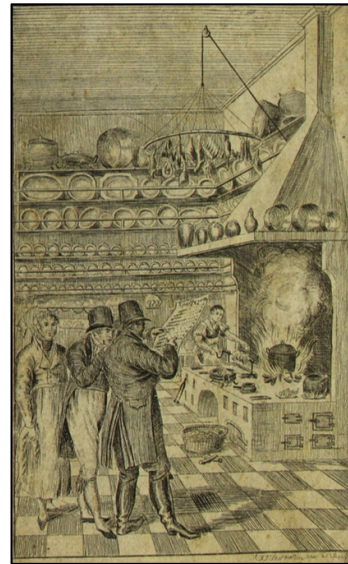


Figure 4. A Stately [“Herrschaftliche”] Kitchen, 1803.¹⁹

¹⁶ Susanna Eger, *Leipziger Kochbuch: welches lehret was man auf einen täglichen Tisch, bey Gastereyen und Hochzeiten, gutes und delicates auftragen, auch Tische und Tafeln* (Leipzig: Jacob Schuster, 1732).

¹⁷ Note the presence of a cook, a maid, and a large fish. The lady of the house is not in the kitchen, but dining with her husband in the background, while the personnel takes up the tasks of working. WOK.HG.Loo.1794, frontispiece.

¹⁸ Johanna M. Huber, *Bayerisches Kochbuch für Fleisch- und Fasttage: enthält leichtfaßliche und bewährte Anweisungen, um für alle Stände auf die vortheilhafteste und schmackhafteste Art zu kochen, zu backen, und einzumachen: nebst einem Abschnitte von besondern Speisen für Kranke und ökonomischen Hausmitteln* (Stadtamhof: Daisenberger, 1802).



Figure 5. 1807 Print of a Kitchen²⁰



Figure 6. Representation of two women in a kitchen, 1820.²¹



Figure 7. Representation of a Kitchen, pre-1854.²²



Figure 8. Cook near blazing hearth, 1818.²³

¹⁹ Anonymous, *Neues Niedersächsisches Kochbuch, worinnen die jetzt üblichen Gerichte von allen Sorten genau und deutlich angewiesen werden* (Altona: Bechtold, 1803), frontispiece.

²⁰ Anonymous, *Neues vollständiges Kochbuch in welchem das Beste und Neueste der inn- und ausländischen Koch- Back- und Konfiturenbüchern in alphabetischer Ordnung sogleich ausführlich zu finden ist* (Ulm: Stettinsche Buchhandlung, 1807), frontispiece.

²¹ Anonymous, *Neues Nürnberger Kochbuch für Hausmütter und Köchinnen*, 2. Auflage, (Nuremberg: C. H. Zeh'sche Buchhandlung, 1820).

²² WOK S.EK.Leh.1987, frontispiece.

Architecture complicated structural innovation. The kitchen with its central feature, the oven, was built into the structural center of the home. The home was made a “home” or “dwelling of humans,” because it had a hearth or oven, and the oven marked out the kitchen, with its promethean use of fire.²⁴ Unless a middling German moved, the kitchen and its oven had to stay put in the same place as it had been decades before, and unless the house was destroyed, or entirely rearranged, its central feature remained the same. Structurally so central to the home, the brick-and-mortar oven, also known as “Wind-oven”²⁵ or “House-oven,”²⁶ was difficult, if not impossible to remove without damaging it and the idea of the middling home connected to it.

This architectural centrality, which may have made ovens and kitchen walls structurally supportive of the house as such, provided reason to postpone or avoid infrastructural change altogether. Given that the built-in oven was virtually impossible to remove, innovation involved buying and installing an additional iron hearth as made and commonly used in the United States and England at the time. Earliest cast-iron ovens, stoves, or hearths for heating and cooking dated as far back as the 1780s; the six-plate stove, and ten-plate stove, as well as the Franklin-stove, and George Bodley’s closed-top cooking surface from 1802, were well established along the North American east coast, and increasingly, from 1800, in Britain.²⁷ Best-selling cookbook author, entrepreneur and

²³ Maria Elisabetha Meixner, geb Niedereder, *Das neue, große, geprüfte und bewährte Linzer Kochbuch in zehn Abschnitten* (Linz: k.k. priv. akad. Kunst= Musik- und Buchhandlung, 1818), i.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁵ FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06: Johann Christian Eupel, *Der Vollkommene Conditor, Oder Gründliche Anweisung zur Zubereitung aller Arten Bonbons, Stangenzucker, Conserven, Zuckerkuchen, Essenzpasten ... und Rezepte zu allen Gattungen der Kunstbäckerei als zu Torten, Makronen ... Ferner zu den beliebtesten Arten künstlicher Getränke und Chokoladen ...* Zweite Auflage. (Sondershausen: Voigt, 1821), 8.

²⁶ WOK: HG.Hom.1879.

²⁷ Snodgrass, *Encyclopedia of Kitchen History*, 955, 956, 838, 957.

feminist educator Betty Gleim wrote to the editor of the *Morgenblatt* journal in 1816: “you should consider the adjoined treatise about gas [ovens] a pleasant and edifying contribution for the *Morgenblatt*....In England, this practical invention...already enjoys considerable success, and has proven itself useful for estate- and home-economics; in Germany...it must still prove itself useful. [It is up to us] to win the German public over...in the light of its track-record in England.”²⁸ Germans were well-aware of the technological changes to the cooking infrastructure in American and especially British kitchens, in the 1820s.²⁹ Yet, as late as 1842, cookbook authors noted that in “most middle class houses [bürgerlichen Häusern]...people still cook over an open fire,” using wood, rather than adopting the new technology.³⁰

Economic constraints imposed on those members of society who sought to be middling in this period of war. Changes to their cooking infrastructure, to the middling of Central Europe, was an unnecessary expense—a luxury. At the lower end of the social middle, kitchens were small, and the purchase of a new oven physically and financially impossible. See, for example, the kitchen of the Schiller family in Marbach in the late eighteenth century. Poet and thinker Friedrich Schiller was born in Marbach 1759 to father Johann Caspar Schiller and mother Elisabetha Dorothea Kodweiß. The surgeon father and his landlord’s daughter and bride at first enjoyed blooming prospects. Schiller’s maternal grandparents had enjoyed local recognition for being one of the oldest families of the town (“Alteingesessen”³¹), and due to their professions as innkeepers and bakers. Schiller’s maternal grandfather Georg Friedrich Kodweiß was the owner of the

²⁸ DLA: Cotta\$Br, Gleim, Betty Cotta 3. Cotta: Mannheim, 25.1.1816 (1 Blatt).

²⁹ FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 8.

³⁰ FUBEG: N 8° 05425 (01): i.

³¹ Edda Ziegler, Christophine Reinwald, and Michael Davidis, “*Theuerste Schwester*” *Christophine Reinwald, geb. Schiller* (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 2007), 6.

“Golden Lion Inn”—a structure that still stands.³² Being part of the food-controlling and managing portion of their town, the Kodweiß family already occupied the main space an aspiring member of the social middle sought in order to make the transition from food-producer to food owner, to food consumer.³³ Kodweiß, however, was in debt even at the point of Johan Caspar and Elisabetha Dorothea’s marriage, having lost more than he owned in speculative business [“unseriöse Geschäfte”³⁴] as “Inspector des herzogliche Flußwesens auf der Murr,”³⁵ leading to the family’s “ruin”³⁶ and consuming even the savings of son-in-law Johann Caspar. The latter thus saw the need to enter military service as a barber-surgeon, and “the young family was forced to move into the cramped housing of the grandparents.”³⁷ When second child and only son among six Friedrich Schiller was born, Elisabetha Dorothea could live in the house across from her parent’s dwelling, while the father was away at the war between Austria and Prussia. The structure the baker’s daughter lived in at this point was “poor...a place with a windowless kitchen on the bottom floor.”³⁸

³² Ibid, 6.

³³ Sabeian’s account of local “Bürger” taxpayers in Neckarhausen distinguishes between farmers, handicraftsmen, and “Others” in food work in 1710 (bakers and inn-keepers), establishing a category of “Food Services” for the tax records of 1790: “Baker, Butcher” and “Innkeepers” of various kinds. “Food Services” crystallize out in Sabeian’s work as, next to Agriculture and Handicraft, the primary field of work of Neckarhausen’s working elite, making up 36 percent of the taxpaying “Bürger” in 1870. David Warren Sabeian, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 459-460; 464, 466. Frey argues, based on Sabeian, that bakers and butchers next to artisans and handicraftsmen formed common members of the tax-paying “home-town” dwellers between the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As an indicator of their property, income, and their title of Bürger, food-workers thus made up a significant portion of local small town elites. Dennis A. Frey, “Wealth, Consumerism, and Culture among the Artisans of Göppingen: Dynamism and Tradition in an Eighteenth-Century Hometown,” *Central European History* 46, no. 04 (December 2013), 753. For similar statistics on animal ownership and agricultural production in eighteenth-century Prussia, see William W. Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201, 211-216.

³⁴ Ibid, 10.

³⁵ Ibid, 10.

³⁶ Ibid, 10.

³⁷ Ibid, 10.

³⁸ Ibid, 11.



Figure 9. The Schillherhaus (left).³⁹



Figure 10. Former oven, in usage during Elisabetha Dorothea's stay with Christine and Friedrich, until approx. 1763.⁴⁰

The Schillerhaus serves as an indicator for how the lower middling of German society lived in the late eighteenth century; that the kitchen could structurally change for this portion of the social spectrum was simply unlikely. The Schiller kitchen measured little more than six square meters. Despite the family's middling status and longstanding presence in Marbach, and despite the grandparents' consistent engagement in food business, Elisabetha Dorothea's living conditions could have only allowed for a small movable heating "oven" in the living-room. In this small kitchen, even a minute oven would have had no space; rather, with the small presumed washing area, and a

³⁹ On the left, Schiller's house of birth, where the young mother Elisabetha Dorothea spent a few years with eldest daughter Christophine and young Friedrich. To the right, Friedrich Schiller's maternal grandparents' house. Permission courtesy of the SVM.

⁴⁰ SVM.

worktable—crucial feature of a kitchen according to contemporary representations—the brick and mortar oven had to stay. That the kitchen was windowless, and situated in the middle of the house, rather than on an outside wall, indicates that the heat from the kitchen may have aided in heating the house, and that, for saving funds, the family may thus have made some compromise in the quality of their home’s air.

Comparing the structures that have survived with the representations of less well-to-do homes in the same period suggests that conditions remained very similar at least until the mid-nineteenth century—an idea that print sources confirm. Contemporary commentators in the popular press wrote as late as 1856 that “not a single business has remained as untouched by progress in science and technology, and has kept ancient customs as unchangingly, as bread-baking. Even in the cities...everything stayed the same. ...It is incredible, that most ovens of today are built exactly like those, that were already in use about 2000 years ago, and which e.g. have been found at excavations in Pompeii.”⁴¹ The brick and mortar hearth was thus the dominant feature of German lower and middling homes until mid-century.

To some extent, especially in rural areas and older, inherited houses, these ovens probably even remained untouched and in usage until the fin-de-siècle. Even the very well-to-do maintained older cooking structures for that long. Among the uppermost situation of society, conceptions of spaces did not recommend dismantling an existing structure, akin to destruction, in order to replace it with something new. Instead, the ability to make large investments meant that a second, or third kitchen could be installed, and these, unlike previous so-called “Schwarzküchen,” were not located underground,

⁴¹ BSB: 3240985 2 Per. 6-1856 3240985 2 Per. 6-1856: *Gartenlaube*, (1856), p. 54.

but on the ground floor. A mock-up of such a structure at the Schönebecker Castle provides a visual representation of such conditions (Fig. 12).



Figure 11. A Cellar Kitchen.⁴²

⁴² HMSS.



Figure 12. An upper story kitchen with an iron stove.⁴³

Palaces and royalty in particular lavished out in terms of kitchens. Rather than renovating a primarily practical space for contemporary utility, dukes and princes could keep existing kitchens in place, establish new, so-called “Mouth-Kitchens” (“Mundküche”) for preparing food, create “Coffee-kitchens” for making expensive caffeinated drinks, or keep existing cooking areas running. The prince of Prussia’s dwellings in the last decades of the nineteenth century, for example, set apart from that of the Emperor-King presumably while the prince was still unmarried, had such a “Mouth Kitchen” and a “Coffee Kitchen,” the inventories of which the royal court kept.⁴⁴ If the prince’s house predated mid-century, and held a kitchen and hearth in the “old” style,

⁴³ HMSS. For further kitchen representations in Westfalia, see: Fred Kaspar, “Die bürgerliche Küche in Westfalen,” in Framke and Marenk, *Beruf der Jungfrau*, 90-100.

⁴⁴ GStAPK: BPH, Rep.113, Nr 2197-2257. Inventory of the Prince’s household.

then his dwellings either consisted of two, or three, perhaps more food-preparation areas. The family of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Coburg, similarly, living at Friedestein Castle consistently until 1918, held at least five kitchens, if not more. Apart from the main kitchen (“Hauptküche”), the bakery (“Konditorei”), one small court-kitchen (“kleine Hofküche”), and two princely kitchens (“Prinzenküche”), the castle also held at least one, and presumably more re-heating niches (“Kochnischen”), leading to a total of six, if not seven kitchens.⁴⁵ These kitchens remained in usage until 1918.



Figure 13. “Princely Kitchen.”⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, not much of the main or great court kitchen is left; the small court kitchen and bakery suffered a similar fate, and were brought down; the remains of archways, doorways, and ovens behind the plaster on the renovated walls suggest where structures may have previously stood. The so-called “Prince’s kitchen,” however, on the upper floor, oven still largely intact and in usage until 1918, gives us a good idea of how an estate or “Herrschaftliche” kitchen looked up until the end of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁶ STSG.



Figure 14. Close-up of Previous Image.⁴⁷



Figure 15. Re-heating Niche, close-up.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ STSG.

⁴⁸ STSG.

This preference to add new kitchens to a house, rather than to dismantle old ones, can count as an indicator of cultural conservatism. The coexistence of various kitchens further indicates an unexpected attitude towards space, and a conception of the kitchen as not a primarily a functional space, but also a record of the past, or tradition, or one in which—particularly if inherited—a temporary custodian did not have the right to intervene.⁴⁹ While maintaining existing structures—typically, located on the bottom floor or even underground, as in the case of Schönebeck Castle—as of mid-century the best-off of the social middle moved the cooking space upstairs, to the main floor. Blueprints from the time suggest that rather than altering an existing kitchen to adapt it into a new functional space, as of mid-century architects and their *grand bourgeois* employers built kitchens on the upper floors, such as in House Windeck, Bremen (Figure 16). These houses, designed with practicality and a new cooking infrastructure in mind, let the underground kitchen of “old” grow cold, and established a new cooking space next to a “serving” room, located next to the dining-room. The new design made serving quicker, preventing food from growing cold, and catered to designs that integrated movable ovens, rather than brick-and-mortar ones.

⁴⁹ Ideas of temporary custodianship, rather than ownership, as in the royal palace of Sweden in Stockholm, where every sovereign designed a new room for themselves, adding their monogram, rather than demolishing an existing room, and imposing their taste and era's style, may be part of the decision-making process.

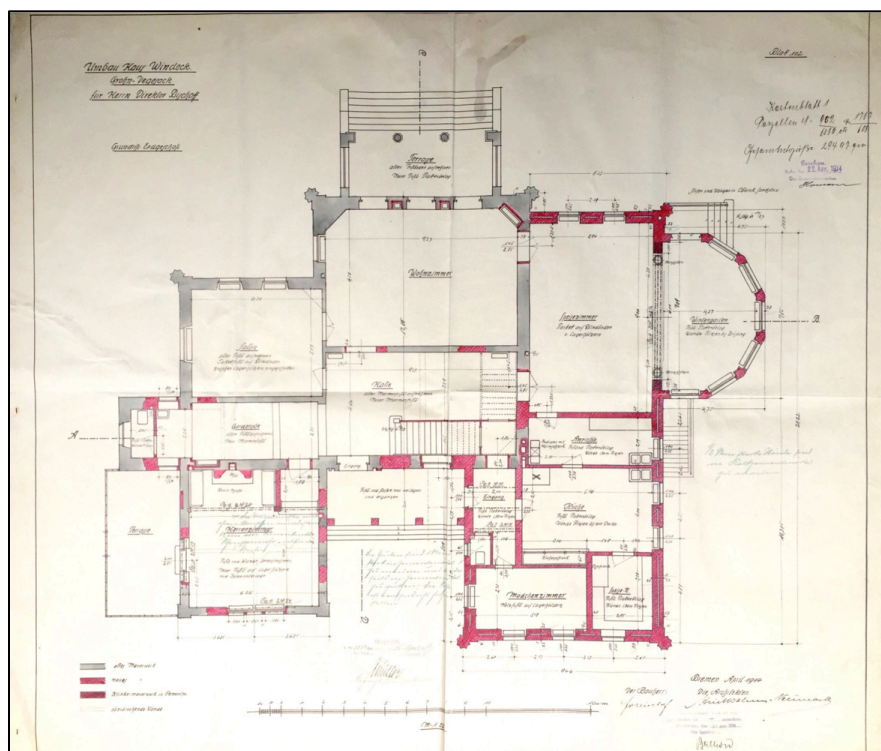


Figure 16. House Windeck, Bremen. From top right, clockwise: “dining room,” “preparation room,” “kitchen,” and “pantry.” Furthest right, half-circular shape: a “conservatory.”⁵⁰

The middling further expressed distinction through the separation of rooms for washing, cooking, and eating. While large estate houses, villas of recent construction, and palaces of old could afford innumerable rooms to be allocated for distinct purposes, the very poorest lived in one-room houses, whose only mark of being a human habitation, as opposed to one for animals, was the “presence of an oven.”⁵¹ Representations of social others in popular publications depicted sketches of exoticized rural farm dwellings, with equivocal or no separation of spaces at all. Bedroom, livingroom, kitchen and entrance

⁵⁰ HMSS: KartenKasten 10, Haus Windeck. For a further house blueprint with separate rooms for washing, food storage, and cooking, as well as smaller living spaces, around 1900, see: Renate Kastordd-Viehmann, “Küche und Haus- das Reich der Frau,” in Framke and Marek, *Beruf der Jungfrau*, 71-87, especially, 78.

⁵¹ Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 88.

seemed to be one single space held apart by conceptual divisions rather than walls; depictions of the insides of such housing showed how living, dining, and cooking areas flowed into one, multi-functional space, warmed by a single hearth (Figure 18). Yet others could portray poor artisan class members in cramped workplaces also serving as living and cooking areas (Figure 19). While nostalgic authors with nationalist inclinations might romanticize their living conditions and contemplate old women dwelling “behind the oven”⁵² to warm themselves as Heinrich Heine did in his travels through the Harz, others problematized their lack of progress as a technological deficiency by the later half of the century; throughout, the otherness of the individuals living in these rural, multi-spatial dwellings remained clear discursive and literal depictions.⁵³

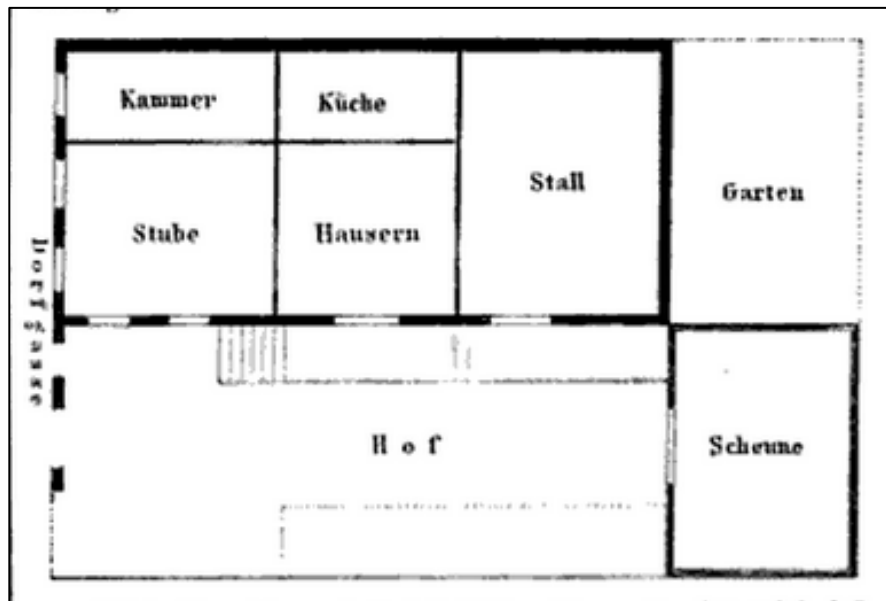


Figure 17. North-Franconian Farmer's House⁵⁴

⁵² Heinrich Heine, *Reisebilder*, Vol. 1 of 4, (Amsterdam: Hoffmann und Campe, 1834), 36.

⁵³ BSB: 3240985 2 Per. 6-1856 3240985 2 Per. 6-1856: *Gartenlaube*, (1856), 54.

⁵⁴ Brückner, “Das Nordfränkische Bauernhaus,” *Globus: illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Braunschweig: Vieweg und Söhne, 1865), 60.

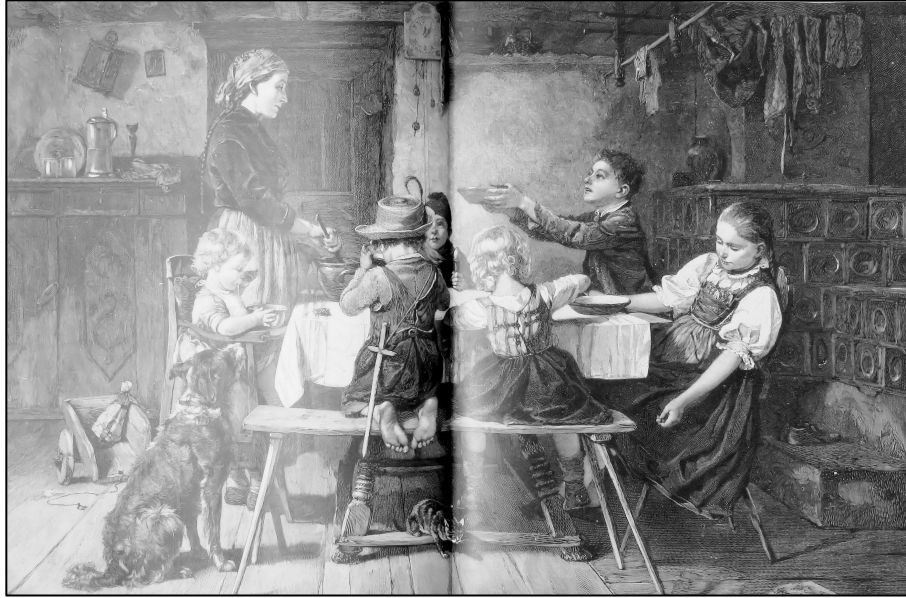


Figure 18. "Hungry Party."⁵⁵

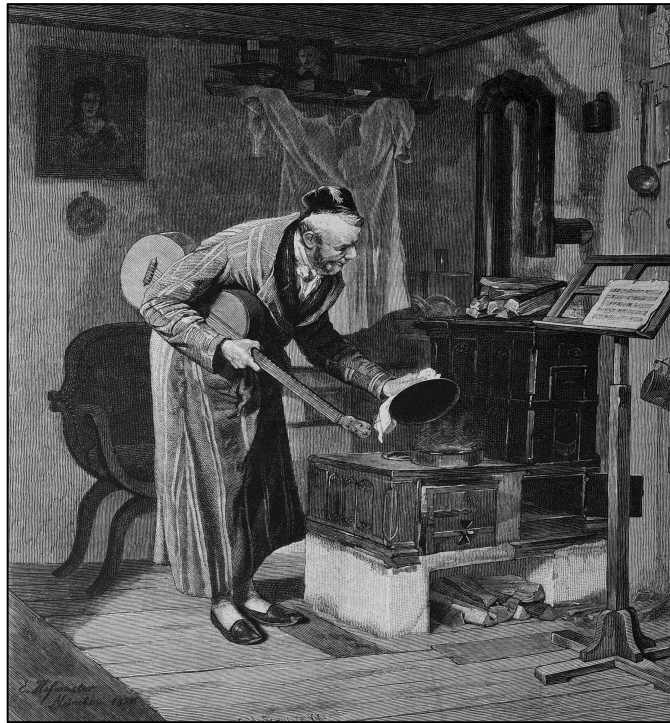


Figure 19. Social Autotroph.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ "Hungrige Gesellschaft." *Die Gartenlaube* (1891) b768. On class and spatial separation, see representations of worker's homes in Wingolf Lehmann, "Der Küchenherd," in Framke and Marenk, *Beruf der Jungfrau*, 109.

⁵⁶ "Ich koche mich selbst." Lit.: "I cook myself." *Die Gartenlaube* (1882) b081i.

Constancy in cooking infrastructure therefore is likely to have dominated rural middling homes until at least mid-century, if not longer.⁵⁷ Older manorial structures and palaces kept their ancient kitchens as well, and supplemented them with further cooking spaces, when deciding to innovate. The poor in turn had little choice in the matter. Only newcomers to urban areas would have been able to adopt the new iron-cast stoves, as Chapter 5 of this dissertation will discuss.

Structure and Spice

What then did the working women in middling kitchens cook for their households? Middlingness meant balancing the imitation of superiors with cost-effective ways of eating home-made foods. A socially healthy middling diet nourished with awareness and understanding included choice and perhaps imported, exotic ingredients in dishes that could be found at royal courts, paired with occasional visits to the local inn (“Wirtshaus”), guesthouse (“Gaststätte”), or hotel for such occasions as Sunday meals, weddings, Christmas celebrations, anniversaries, and funeral feasts.⁵⁸ At the same time, however, the food-savvy social middle was obliged to maintain the habit of disciplined, frugal, efficient consumption of the local, home-grown, self-made, and self-farmed, supplemented with the market-purchased in line with the values of their station and its financial restrictions. Middling values, after all, necessarily included “industriousness,

⁵⁷ The built-in brick and mortar ovens did not disappear until 1900. See images in Ulrich Pietsch, “Bürgerliche Küche in Norddeutschland 1850-1890,” in Framke and Marenk, *Beruf der Jungfrau*, 201-2 and 205.

⁵⁸ At times, establishments fit more than one of the above descriptions.

frugality, cleanliness, and order,”⁵⁹ and economic conditions could not buttress wastefulness or ostentatiousness. The result was a socially mixed, eclectic diet, of noteworthy paradoxes.

The Additional Meal of the Middling: Coffee-Time

While workers typically subsisted on three meals per day, the middling ate four.⁶⁰ Breakfast was an almost proverbial “buttered bread and coffee.”⁶¹ “Good enjoyment at the tea and coffee-table” as Goethe called it, was a mark of leisurely, well-to-do consumption.⁶² Coffee, initially a luxury good disallowed for the social middle in the eighteenth century, by the early nineteenth century had become a standard drink for mornings. Coffee beans, preferably “roasted light brown,” were boiled in water with some “powdered stag horn,” making strong dark liquid, filtered and served with milk or else, a large amount of sugar.⁶³ Tea, made with water and optionally seasoned with cinnamon or lemon peel, with cream or Arak, was served with white rock sugar.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Johanna Katharina Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer, das Küche und Haushaltung selbst besorgen will: Mit 1 Kupfer*, 2nd ed. (Magdeburg: Creutz, 1784), 3.

⁶⁰ BWGLAK: Y Nr. 835, 4-5; GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 5349, 8th February 1816.

⁶¹ For example: StAB 7,20, Nr. 1035: Tagebuch von Julie Johanne Charlotte Wilhelmine Smidt, 1842/45/48, fol. 11v: Eintrag zu 1845 Jan 3. In HMSS: B.Sta.Ar.2009.69. Nicola Wurthmann *Senatoren, Freunde und Familie. Herrschaftsstrukturen und Selbstverständnis der Bremer Elite zwischen Tradition und Moderne (1813-1848)* (Bremen: Staatsarchiv Bremen, 2009), 425. Identically to England, breakfast also often included a newspaper as of 1800. Andrea Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England: A History* (Westport: Praeger, 2007), 24.

⁶² “Wohl am Tee- und Kaffeetisch behagen,” Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gerhart Baumann, Karl Maurer, Walter Rehm, and Wolfgang Löhneysen, *Gesamtausgabe der Werke und Schriften in zweiundzwanzig Bänden* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1961), 1296.

⁶³ Franz Anton Weilhuber, *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch oder Inbegriff aller Kochkunstvortheile, um gut, wohlfeil und wohlschmeckend zu kochen: mit Berücksichtigung und Anwendung der französischen, englischen und italienischen Küchen-Vorschriften: zum leichtern Gebrauch als Wörterbuch verfaßt*. Vol. I. (Pappenheim: Seybold, 1822), 247, 248; Anonymous, *Neues Dresdner Koch- Back- und Wirthschaftsbuch; oder Anweisung, wie man gute Speisen und Backwerk für Personen von allerlen Standen bereiten könne* (Ronneburg: Verlagsbureau, 1805), 697; *Ideen, Das Buch Le Grand*, (1826) in Heine, *Sämmtliche Werke*, 305. On coffee see also: Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Lebenswelt und Kultur der unterbürgerlichen Schichten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, Vol. 5. (Munich: Oldenburg, 1990), 107.

⁶⁴ Weilhuber, *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch*, Vol. I. 267.

Alternatively, the tea leaves were boiled in hot milk, with cinnamon, lemon-peel, egg-yolks and sugar.⁶⁵ Both “coffee or tea” were options for breakfast, with coffee being more common, except in the port-cities of the Hanseatic League, where English influence was significant.⁶⁶

Supper was called Vesperbread (“Vesperbrot” or Abendbrot) and, as its name revealed, did consist primarily of open sandwiches.⁶⁷ Even this bread-based meal, however, could still be valued up with the right know-how. Knoche, innkeeper of the Lindenhof in Bremen, details twenty-nine different suggestions on how to compose a “Vesperbrödchen” for the social middle in his cookbook, all of which begin with the cutting of the piece of bread into shape to make it roughly the size of a “goose’s egg,” to then butter it, and place on it a topping of preference. More regular toppings such as cheese, Swiss or local, and hard-boiled egg yolk, could be made more appealing and distinguished with “caviar and shallots,” “smoked salmon with pepper,” or more exclusive items such as “ox tongue,” “paté with cress,” smoked eel, “goose breast,” and “lobster...with radish,”⁶⁸ which could leave no-one doubting that the household was doing well.

The main meal of the day was luncheon. Here, the splendors of status could shine most clearly, and at times consist of more than one course. One of its most common designs was the soup,⁶⁹ either as a main course with a basis of water, milk, stock, or wine,

⁶⁵ Ibid, 267.

⁶⁶ Anonymous, *Neues Dresdner Koch- Back- und Wirthschaftsbuch*, 702. On the “Aesthetics of the Tea Table” see Jocelyne Kolb, *The Ambiguity of Taste: Freedom and Food in European Romanticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 115-224.

⁶⁷ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden Des Jungen Werther* (Leipzig: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 1787), 23. See also, Kolb, *The Ambiguity of Taste*, 225-290.

⁶⁸ All: StUBB: Brem.c.1989, 356-9.

⁶⁹ Fritz Ruf, “Die Supper in der Geschichte der Ernährung”, in *Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, eds. Irmgard Bitsch, Rudolf Schulz, Trude Ehlert, and Xenja von Ertzdorff (Wiesbaden: Albus,

or as a first dish in a multi-course menu.⁷⁰ Alternatively the main dish of the mid-day dinner could consist of “Meat” or “Fish”⁷¹ —the latter on fasting days—with sides of so-called “milk-, egg-, flour-based foods and baked goods”.⁷² Vegetables could similarly accompany the main ingredient of the meal, while desserts such as “sugary baked goods,” fruit, or “iced cream” brought the main meal of the day to a close.⁷³

The meal that primarily distinguished the middling from their working counterparts as a practice, however, was “Coffee-time.” Based on the common English custom of afternoon tea, it served as an additional meal that broke up the afternoon before dinner.⁷⁴ Coffee and tea were accompanied by “buttered bread,” as a pre-mealtime snack, or else

1997), 163-182. See, e.g. Johann Daniel Knopf and Johann Christian Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch für angehende Köche, Köchinnen und Haushälterinnen nebst einer Anleitung zu der einem Koche so unentbehrlichen Wissenschaft des innern Haushalts*, 2nd Edition (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1800), 21, 663, Anonymous, *Neues Niedersächsisches Kochbuch, worinnen die jetzt üblichen Gerichte von allen Sorten genau und deutlich angewiesen werden* (Altona: Friedrich Bechtold, 1803), 11; Louise Purgold, *Neuestes allgemein verständliches Kochbuch oder gründliche Anweisung zur Versorgung der Küche, des Kellers und der Vorrathskammer; wie auch zur Verrichtung verschiedener anderer häuslicher Geschäfte und zum zweckmäßigen Gebrauch mancherley Gesundheits- und Schönheitsmittel* (Ernst: Quedlinburg, 1806), 3, as well as Anon, *Vollständiges hannöversches Kochbuch: oder, Neueste practische Erfahrungen einer Hausmutter im Kochen Backwerkmachen und Einkochen der Früchte; nebst einer Erklärung allen in der Kochkunst vorkommenden Kunstwörter* (Hahn: Hannover, 1808), 1; Johanna M. Huber, *Bayerisches Kochbuch für Fleisch- und Fasttage: enthält leichtfaßliche und bewährte Anweisungen, um für alle Stände auf die vortheilhafteste und schmackhafteste Art zu kochen, zu backen, und einzumachen: nebst einem Abschnitte von besondern Speisen für Kranke und ökonomischen Hausmitteln* (Stadtamhof: Daisenberger, 1800), 3.

⁷⁰ Betty Gleim, *Bremisches Koch- und Wirtschaftsbuch für junge Frauenzimmer*, 1st Edition, Faksimile (Bremen: Heinrich Döll & co, 1808), unpaginated index; David I. Burrow, “Food at the Russian Court and the Homes of the Imperial Russian Elite,” in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle de Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 102, 106, 109.

⁷¹ Anonymous, *Fuldaisches Kochbuch*, 3 Vols (Fulda: Roos 1823). Also: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengfeld, *Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.* Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18.

⁷² *Fuldaisches Kochbuch*. Also: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengfeld, *Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.* Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ The practice of taking tea in the afternoon was common practice in Jane Austen’s Britain, but did not become explicitly called “tea” until about 1840, at which it became a more ceremonious occasion for “finger sandwiches, small cakes” and the hot beverage. Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England*, 65, 60.

cake, on social occasions.⁷⁵ This additional, unnecessary meal, for which the middling both had the time as well as the funds, without necessarily incurring the additional expense that a courtly meal would bring with it, still demonstrated some splendor in the afternoon, with simple dishes to sweeten up free time. Particularly the above-mentioned recipes for enriching coffee and tea with rock sugar, egg-yolks, and spices provided by an “estate chef in Vienna” could have aided in making this extra meal of the day more luxurious in appearance.

This multiplication of meals in the day is a key characteristic of modernizing eating. In England, for example, we see meals increasing in number from two to four between the middle ages and the Victorian era. In medieval and early modern England, two meals per day were common: dinner, between 10 o’clock and noon, and supper in the afternoon of evening.⁷⁶ In German lands, the nineteenth century saw four meals among the middling as of 1800, in pursuit of class distinction, with coffee-time. Here, the order of meals, and which should be the largest, and how many there should be, at any rate, was not without discussion. Immanuel Kant, for example, insisted, that man should eat and he sleeps, but once a day, and dismissed any other appetite as “pathological.” Debates of this kind continued to some extent, however, three meals and several snacks are likely to have

⁷⁵ 21 April 1848, “Familiengeschichtlichen Sammlung des Staatsarchivs (Graue Mappe Smidt),” HMSS: B.Sta.Ar.2009.69. Wurthmann, *Senatoren*, 412; also Bernhadine Schulze-Schmidt, *Bürgermeister Johann Smidt. Das Lebensbild eines Hanseaten. Ein Erinnerungsbuch* (Bremen: Leuwer, 1913), 398-399, cited in Wurthmann, *Senatoren*, 595.

⁷⁶ Breakfast formed in the seventeenth century, made of porridge, herrings, cheese and bread. Eighteenth century elite tables served bread rolls or toast with jam or marmalade as the day’s first meal. By 1800, coffee and cocoa became key status symbols of the novel meal—alongside a newspaper. The British worker, in turn, drank a cup of coffee at a street stall, buttered bread, cake, boiled egg, or ham sandwich. Rural workers in nineteenth-century England ate sugared porridge for breakfast if they could, or little other than potatoes if they could not. In Victorian England, “high tea” was a “hearty” meal, while “afternoon tea” or “low tea,” was an extra meal of “finger sandwiches, small cakes” and the hot beverage. The practice of taking tea in the afternoon was common in Jane Austen’s Britain, but did not become explicitly called “tea” until about 1840. Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England*, 24-26, 60, 65.

been standard at this point in time, and skipping any of them formed part of larger debates about health, dieting, or even eating disorders.⁷⁷



Figure 20. A women's only coffee round served by mostly male staff⁷⁸

When hosting this meal in a middling home, afternoon tea and coffee represented an importation of cosmopolitan Enlightenment consumption for networking and exchange. A combination of French salon culture, and English tea-time, the afternoon social event

⁷⁷ Weilhuber, *Teusches Universal=Kochbuch*, cover. Immanuel Kant, "Von der Macht des Gemüths durch den Bloßen Vorsatz seiner krankhaften Gefühle Meister zu seyn," Part III in *Der Streit der Facultäten*, (Königsberg: Nicolovius, 1798), 223.

⁷⁸ Sophie Wilhelmine Scheibler, *Allgemeines deutsches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen: oder gründliche Anweisung, wie man ohne Vorkenntnisse alle Arten Speisen und Backwerk auf die wohlfeilste und schmackhafteste Art zubereiten kann; ein unentbehrliches Handbuch für angehende Hausmütter, Haushälterinnen und Köchinnen* (Berlin: Amelang, 1845).

drew on the Enlightenment example of coffee house culture in style-setting Vienna, perhaps in part informed by festivities at the Congress in 1814-15, but already in practice from the mid-1700s before the formalization of the meal abroad.⁷⁹ Images portraying the enjoyment of this meal, such as a frontispiece dating from 1845 (Figure 20) suggest that within this particular social space, women could invert gender-relations based on their middling or upper-class status for a time, discussing matters in private, and served, if they wished, by mostly male staff, pictorially subordinate to the middling women they served. Networking over tea and coffee or hot chocolate could further be a key venue for furthering family and individual interests.⁸⁰ While author of civility manuals Adolph Knigge's suggestion that all table conversation was led by women in his time seems extreme, such a suggestion in itself shows that women played a key part in mixed social settings, even if their liberties were greatest in exclusive female circles.⁸¹

⁷⁹ While Schivelbusch proposes “Kaffeekränzchen” to have been the female counterpart to males’ public drinking culture, this interpretation of the practice is based on the long-standing and poorly examined notion that afternoon consumption of hot drinks did not find foot in Britain until after 1840 thanks to Anna, 7th Duchess of Bedford. However, accounts of British travellers in the United States, wherein the habitus becomes more apparent and explicit, and medical warnings of drinking tea too late in the afternoon, both suggest that the practice of drinking tea in the afternoon in Britain could well have preceded the naming of the meal, and its formalization as paired with food items. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 56. Stuart John Ferdinand Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America: Containing an Account of the Present Situation of That Country; the Population, Agriculture, Commerce, Customs, and Manners of the Inhabitants...* (London: G. Robinson, 1784), 43. Thomas Short, *Discourses on Tea, Sugar, Milk, Made-Wines, Spirits, Punch, Tobacco, &c: With Plain and Useful Rules for Gouty People* (London: T. Longman and A. Millar, 1750), 61. Note further the habit of five o’clock coffee noted in Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 78-79, and Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 12, and Lawrence E. Klein, “Gender, Conversation, and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England,” in *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices*, eds. Judith Still and Michael Worton (Manchester University Press, 1993), 100-115.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 2 of this dissertation for Louise von Lengefeld’s recipe exchange network. See also, Brian Vick on salon culture in Vienna 1813-1818 in Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁸¹ See also: Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 113.

Service and the Structuring of the Social Middle's Menu Habits

Zooming in on the main meal of the day—luncheon—shows most clearly how court culture in the decades around 1800 provided an inescapable influence on middling habits, determining even which dishes and ingredients made it into cookbooks and onto tables, and in what shapes. While middling households might not have been able to afford to hire an estate-educated chef in their own homes by a long measure, they could purchase cookbooks written by them, and, from time to time, eat at public houses, whose menus were designed by cooks who were either educated at estate kitchens, or else readers of the same culinary literature. The effects were profound.

The main characteristic of pre-1809 court cuisine was the *Service à la Française* guiding the presentation style. Therein, all dishes that were part of the menu's course were served at table at the same time on plates, platters, and bowls accessible to those sitting within reach. Much attention had to be paid to where servants placed which dish, as passing plates around was not always accepted, and the diners' choice was thus determined by what was closest to them. From approximately 1810, the *Service à la Française* was slowly replaced by the new *Service à la Russe*. Here, dishes were served individually one plate apiece, identically for all diners, in succession, in the many-coursed menu we still recognize today from restaurant culture. Some would argue that *Service à la Française* was more "ostentatious," than the Russian Style that followed it, yet a reduction in luxury was unlikely to have been the only, or even primary motivator in changing service style at court.⁸² Russian Style Service could be used as a new form of communicating and agreeing over food-messages at European courts. Eliminating the

⁸² I. Crofton, *A Curious History of Food and Drink* (New York: Quercus, 2014) and Burrow, "Food at the Russian Court and the Homes of the Imperial Russian Elite," 102, 106, and 109.

choice of accessing various dishes surrounding one's place at the table, alongside the anarchical element of passing platters about, choosing portion sizes, and deciding the order in which to consume foods, *Service à la Russe* could freeze status and do away with disorder at royal dining tables in the aftermath of political upheaval in 1789. This remained a trend until the middle of the nineteenth century, in a phase of European history where various years without summers and revolts threatened to question the status quo.⁸³

In this key transitional phase of menu-organization from the *Service à la Française* to the *Service à la Russe*, between 1809 and the 1830s, menus of six to twenty courses combined various service styles, depending on the occasion. Festive menus consisted of six to eight courses, typically for twelve people. Typologizing the courses, we can say that a standard festive menu involved a soup, followed by pasties, a course of common meat, one of a vegetable and its respective sauce, a fricassee or ragout, and a roast of distinguished meat, game or fish, with a salad on the side, finally finished off with a selection of five desserts made up of compote, baked goods such as cake and biscuits, confectionary and fruit, crèmes, ice-cream, or pudding.⁸⁴ In the case of even more luxurious celebratory meals of *nine* courses, the host could insert two sweet dishes, such as a rice-pudding, compote, or crème in between the ragout and roast, and roast and desserts.⁸⁵ The former, six-course emulated the *Service à la Russe*, while the latter combined the new style of presentation with the simultaneous serving of dishes as in the

⁸³ Claudia Kreklau, "When "Germany" became the new "France"? Royal Dining at the Bavarian Court of Maximilian II and the Political Gastronomy of Johann Rottenhöfer in Transnational European Perspective, 1830-1870," *International Review of Social Research, Special Issue: Food History and Identity*, 7:1 (May 2017), 5.

⁸⁴ Heinrich Klietsch, and Johann Hermann Siebell, *Vollständiges und allgemein-nützliches Bamberger Kochbuch: Worin mannichfaltige Speise-Zubereitung vorkommt immer für 12 Personen* (Bamberg: Göbhardt, 1805), 309.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 311.

Service à la Française. In a truly *splendid* set-up of *twelve* dishes for twelve guests, in turn, the host could combine *both* styles of service, by serving six dishes as part of the first course, from soup to ragout, and a further six dishes, from roast to dessert—dessert itself consisting of up to ten different dishes; salads counting as a side, rather than a dish in itself, accompanied the main courses.⁸⁶ When truly reaching for the then not-yet existing Michelin stars, a very generous host might also opt for *twenty* dishes for twelve to eighteen guests, not counting either the side-salads, or the twelve options of dessert, organized into two *settings* (“Trachten”).⁸⁷ These further additions apparently served the purpose of impressing the guests with the egalitarian courtesy of *options*, and would thus have been aimed at peers rather than members of lesser status.⁸⁸ If the host wished to impress their guests even more, they could then adopt what is sometimes referred to as the “English” style, which combined subsequent courses as in Russian style with a final course of *sixteen* cold dishes *instead* of a selection of dessert.⁸⁹ Irrespective of what kind of a menu the host adopted, the structuring influence of service-style guided their every meal. A skeptical reader may point out that these ideals were suggestions derived from a prescriptive genre of literature—cookbooks, for example—that rarely made it into everyday habits. That, however, is beside the point. Reading cookbooks resulted in knowledge of how things were supposed to be done, and thus functioned as the guiding aim or northern-star that would orient the cooking and presentation-process. It is not important whether or not sample-menus in cookbooks were followed to the last detail. Instead, it is

⁸⁶ Ibid, 314.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 317-318.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 322.

⁸⁹ Ibid 325. See also: Friedr. Luise Löffler, *Neues Kochbuch; oder, Geprüfte Anweisung zur schmackhaften Zubereitung der Speisen, des Backwerks, der Confituren, des Gefrorenen und des Eingemachten*. 4th ed. (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkopf, 1825), 570-577.

crucial to note that the underlying principles the genre communicated as part of educating its readership with skills in cooking would have had an effect in cooking practices. The result, in practice, would have been a meal-structure and composition seeking after and aiming at the prescribed.

In the cookbook literature itself, and consequently part of the wider cuisine-guiding forces that shaped middling eating, the structure of these *services*, and the kinds of dishes they required to compose courses, had a profound impact on what the social middle ate, and in what form. Whatever dishes and ingredients matched the prescriptive structure of the service-style survived, while whatever did not fell by the wayside. The primary kinds of dishes – soups, pasties, meats in the shape of fricassees, ragouts and roasts, accompanying vegetables, salads as side-dishes, breads, cakes, as well as baked goods and sweet dishes to form the dessert – reciprocally structured cookbooks, their organization, and their recipes for *single* dishes, including for those meals consisting of but one course. See below (Figure 21), for example, the index of the *Stuttgarter Kochbuch* (1828), and its primary sections, modeled on the needs of the *Services*. Not necessarily aimed at the pinnacles of society, but teaching the middling of distinguished habits, these *Service* designs shaped even the everyday consumption of those who read the cookbook genre and were educated by it or by its authors.

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Figure 21. Index of the *Stuttgarter Kochbuch* (1828).⁹⁰

In consequence, some dishes were particularly successful in the printed cookbook genre, and in hand-written recipe collections. “Fricandeaux,”⁹¹ “Fricasées”⁹² and “Ragouts,”⁹³ even if these did not form part of a festive multi-course meal, but rather, as main dishes of a meal made up of little besides this one course, enjoyed prominence. On

⁹⁰ Anonymous, *Stuttgarter Kochbuch: Anleitung für Hausfrauen, gut und öconomisch zu kochen und zu backen*, (Stuttgart: C. Hoffmann, 1828), unpaginated index. See also: WOK: HG.För.1789, 480-491.

⁹¹ FUBEG: Math 8° 01466/03, 182, 192.

⁹² Ibid, 182, 192; FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, ix; DLA: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, 137.

⁹³ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, viii; DLA: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengfeld, Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.” Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18., 139.

fasting days, “Farce”⁹⁴ and Egg-dishes (“Eierspeise”)⁹⁵ served as substitutes. Potatoes found themselves forced into recognizable dishes such as “potato soup” and a “potato salad”⁹⁶ (since become the signature dish of German cuisine), but also into the somewhat counter-intuitive “side-dish” shape of a “potato pasty,” or a “potato pudding”— even a “potato cake.”⁹⁷ The tuber’s popularity must, however, not be overestimated, as it still dominated as a fodder plant for pigs, and as the main staple of poorhouse diet plans until mid-century.⁹⁸ As Teuteberg and Flandrin discuss, “the potato was not definitely accepted as a food fit for humans until the country suffered a major agricultural crisis at the beginning of the nineteenth century. ...consumption doubled between 1850 and 1900, then fell by half over the course of the twentieth century.”⁹⁹ With some regional variation, the potato remained the food of the poor until 1850, “served as cheap foods for workers first,” and did not become fit for the urban middling table until the century drew to a close.¹⁰⁰ Pasta, by contrast, served as a common essential, particularly in Bavarian cookbooks from 1800 onwards.¹⁰¹ The design of recipes following on from the needs of the style of *Service* permeated the culinary culture of the literate and cuisine-educated.

⁹⁴ StUBB: Brem.c.1989, vi.

⁹⁵ Krescentia Buchner, *Die Erfahrene Münchener Köchin oder Vollständiges und geprüftes Bayerisches Kochbuch: für herrschaftliche sowohl als bürgerliche Küchen eingerichtet, welches auf die faßlichste und gründlichste Weise die Speisen gut, nahrhaft und schmackhaft zu bereiten lehrt ... : mit einem Anhang von einigen nützlichen Sachen für die Haushaltung* (Munich: Fleischmann, 1838), 239, 240, 244.

⁹⁶ *Neues Bremisches Koch- und Wirthschaftsbuch* (Bremen: Müller, 1817), 262.

⁹⁷ Buchner, *Die Erfahrene Münchener Köchin*, 452-3.

⁹⁸ Thomas M. Hauer, “Carl Friedrich von Rumohr und Der Geist der bürgerlichen Küche,” (PhD Dissertation, University of Karlsruhe, 2000), 58.

⁹⁹ Hans Jurgen Teuteberg and Jean-Louis Flandrin, “The Transformation of the European Diet,” *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. in Jean-Louis Flandrin, Massimo Montanari, and Albert Sonnenfeld (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 444.

¹⁰⁰ Northern recipes such as Betty Gleim’s potato salad were the exception following French occupation. Ellen Messer, “Potatoes (White),” in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, eds. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 191.

¹⁰¹ For example: Huber, *Bayerisches Kochbuch*, 419-454, first published 1800. Also: Buchner, *Die Erfahrene Münchener Köchin*, 457. I note, on the question of tomatoes, that this fruit confused authors until the 1880s. HMSS: Koch.Hey.1. 319-322.

The Meat-Standard, and the Necessity of Luxury

The essential baseline of the middling diet was farmed meat. Sometimes called “tame” as opposed to “wild,” meats such as ox, veal, mutton, and pork all of roughly similar cost and demand, featured prominently in the Southwest, in small town markets.¹⁰² Among the self-sufficient rural social middle, the pig was often a more common animal than the cow.¹⁰³ It is tempting to retroactively assume a long precedent for the present predominance of pork in Germany into the nineteenth century. However, the preference for pork may have been determined by practicality: the author for the *Busy Housewife* noted that it was difficult to use and preserve *all* the meat of a cow when butchered if the family is small, while a pig, being smaller, was not only easier to use, but also gave good sausages and tasty bacon.¹⁰⁴ Pork was the common-sense choice for the small-town dweller, or even city inhabitant with a small back yard, whose animals would live on kitchen scraps. Schiller’s parents, for one, in the early years of the author’s life in Marbach, had space for a pig-shed, but not a cow in their humble house opposite

¹⁰² BWGLAK: 233.796, *Provinzialblatt der badischen Pfalzgrafschaft*, N.42, (Mittwoch den 16ten Oktober, 1805), p.316.

¹⁰³ Sabeian’s count of the pig population suggests otherwise: cattle outmatched the number of pigs in Neckarhausen between 1710 and 1873 greatly, rivalled only by the population of sheep. Several explanations offer themselves for this phenomenon: pigs were food-rendering animals, while sheep gave wool, and cows could be more valuable as milk-giving animals, than as one-time meat bringers. There will further have been a regional aspect to this, as the arable land and pasture-rich southern and south-western German states could support cow populations and milk production in Sabeian’s town of study, Neckarhausen. Sabeian also finds that the pig population grew between 1816 and 1874 by an impressive 2540 percent (from 5 to 127), supporting a notion that the pig’s popularity grew steadily throughout the nineteenth century. Sabeian, *Property, Production, and Family*, 448, 452; 449-451. Any of these animals could, of course, also be sold for their meat as livestock to local “lordships” rather than consumed by their rearers. Regarding eighteenth-century Prussia, Hagen insists: “An 1829 appraisal reckoned a smallholder’s annual profit on a milk cow at 5 talers, young cattle at 1 taler, and sheep...at 3-4 per taler. Pigs and poultry, as objects mainly of home consumption, had little market value.” Here, tavernkeepers were primary buyers of pigs. Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians*, 213.

¹⁰⁴ Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 60.

Schiller's maternal grandparents, the inn-keepers, across the road. The low-maintenance pig bought "from millers or bakers" outcompeted the larger cow.¹⁰⁵

Various homemade middling meat meals of lower cost that still qualified for the meat-standard of middling status shaped what we still recognize today as some of the major characteristics of German cooking. Sausages, seasoned with "marjoram, basil, pepper, and salt," smoked and home-made from the meat of the home-kept pig, were common examples of practical forms of consuming cheaper meat.¹⁰⁶ "Roast beef"¹⁰⁷ was popular, probably as a Sunday roast for the lower middling. Beef in general and veal¹⁰⁸ more particularly were also not despised, chickens, esteemed particularly when "young,"¹⁰⁹ pork was valued in the shape of a good ham¹¹⁰—even as part of a wedding banquet. Next to these, "pasties" or "Pasteten" filled with meats constituted common designs for chicken.¹¹¹ Goose was known as a "middling meal" ("Bürgerbraten" sic.) though a particularly heavenly one at that;¹¹² ox, regarded as one of the more delicious meats, was served at hotels in the 1830s that the local social middle could visit or frequent if they so chose and could afford.¹¹³

Nonetheless, by themselves, these "good-middling" (*gut bürgerliche*) dishes did not distinguish their consumer sufficiently. Farmed meat provided the baseline, or essential qualification for middlingness, but not the whole of its more eclectic make-up. Beef, for

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 141. Anonymous, *Die Besorgte Hausfrau Für Den Winter Oder Anweisung Zum Abbacken, Einmachen, Einlegen, Aussieden Und Aufbewahren Des Obstes Und Anderer Grünen Und Trocknen Gartenfrüchte* (Pirna: Carl August Friese, 1809) 141.

¹⁰⁶ DLA: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengefeld, *Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.* Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18., 147.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 33

¹⁰⁸ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, xiv.

¹⁰⁹ Wedding of Herr Biel, Strahlsund, September 6th 1791, BAUL: NL 237.6.7-9, 26.

¹¹⁰ Wedding of Herr Biel, Strahlsund, September 6th 1791, BAUL: NL 237.6.7-9, 26.

¹¹¹ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, xxiii.

¹¹² FUBEG: Math 8° 01466/06 (1820), 93.

¹¹³ HMSS: Koch.Ras.1. notes on back of unpaginated notebook, approx 43.

example, was not extraordinary, but rather a basic and essential minimum as part of the social middle's dining habits. At a time of siege in Leipzig during the so-called Wars of Liberation in 1813, an acceptable but limited dish imposed upon the otherwise affluent was "fattened rice with beef."¹¹⁴ Heine noted beef to be "common" ("gewöhnlich") in the 1830s.¹¹⁵ It appears that being middling meant to enjoy upwards and downwards the culinary social chain of being equally, combining values and price-ranges in an acceptable and respectable center of society.

In order to be recognized as "middling," therefore, visible celebration at, for example, eateries of repute, *had to* include meats associated with the nobility. Game, the exclusive property of the aristocracy until 1848, when the laws were relaxed, played a key part among the list of ingredients, with which the middle could emulate the nobility, even as purchasing game from their natural owners acknowledged their rights, privileges, and superior social place.¹¹⁶ "Capon," and "roast deer," ("Reh") were fitting dishes for a "wedding anniversary" at a distinguished public eatery.¹¹⁷ Venison ("Hirsch") would receive similar treatment.¹¹⁸ Other valued game included "hare," "partridge, pheasant, snipes, fieldfare, quail, and lark."¹¹⁹ Other choices of meats included poultry such as duck, perhaps in a "pasty" or else "roasted," stuffed "dove," "poulard," "capons," and

¹¹⁴ SGML: Z0114269- A/2014/3157, 2.

¹¹⁵ *Aus den Memoiren des Herren von Schnabelewopski* in Heinrich Heine, *Der Salon*, 3rd ed. Vol. 1. 3 vols. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1860), 243. [Written 1831-33.]

¹¹⁶ Ursula Heinzelmann, "Rumohr's Falscher Rehschlegel: The Significance of Venison in German Cuisine," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, 6:4 (November 1, 2006): 55. Hunting laws, however, seem to have prioritized the preservation of animal stocks as early as 1807, for example under Leopold in the Grand Duchy of Baden, and at other times, provided loopholes in later laws for species construed as "pests," less politically motivated, than concerned for sustaining stocks. BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 13544; BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 31322; see also Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 64 on "game."

¹¹⁷ Golden anniversary party of fourteen, Hotel zur Stadt London, Stade, April 25th, 1832. HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.33; *Ibid*, 33; also note on 24; *Ibid*, 33.

¹¹⁸ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, xiv.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, xiv; *Ibid*, xvii.

“turkey.”¹²⁰ Heine, who makes sumptuous use of food imagery in his works, wrote that Horace dined stupendously on “turkey with truffles, pheasant pudding in game sauce, lark ribs with Teltower roots, peacock tongues, Indian bird’s nest”¹²¹ —of which probably only the latter were ironically exaggerated—giving some indication of the significant position of birds on the menu as original dwellers of the heavens.

Once the baseline of farmed meat had long been met and surpassed with such distinguished delectables, fish and seafood required further luxury for Lenten days. Sole, crab, crab pincers, lobster, and oysters, were treasured bounty for northern regions closer to the sea.¹²² Other fishes, depending on geography and season, included “bass,” “eel, carp, herrings, pike, trout, anchovies and barb,” “tench,” samlets, and even beavers as a remnant of the monk’s favorite cheat-meat for fasting days (after all, if it has scales and lives in water, it must be a fish) next to snails, frogs, and salmon, otter and turtles.¹²³

As required by the styles of service vegetables and fruits accompanied the main foci of food. “Truffles,” “mushrooms,” but also “artichokes,” and “asparagus,” “endives as well as cabbage” of all kinds, including “red cabbage” and “cauliflower” featured on meat’s side.¹²⁴ These plant products were distinguished in particular due to their

¹²⁰ HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.12; golden anniversary party of fourteen, Hotel zur Stadt London, Stade, April 25th, 1832. HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.33; HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.14; FUBEG: Math 8° 01466/06 (1820), 93; HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.21; HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.24. Turkey sometimes referred to as “Indian”, FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, 102-103. Similarly: Huber, *Bayerisches Kochbuch*, 391, respectively.

¹²¹ *Ideen, Das Buch Le Grand*, (1826) in Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. I., 283.

¹²² Wedding of Herr Biel, Strahlsund, September 6th 1791, BAUL: NL 237.6.7-9, 26; *Ibid*, 26; also: Knopf and Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch*, xiii; HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.15; StUBB: Brem.c.1989., 148; Knopf and Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch*, xiii and *Ibid*, xiii.

¹²³ Jan Kochanowski, *Neues einfaches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen oder deutliche Anweisung, wie man ohne alle Vorkenntnisse die Speisen auf die wohlfeilste und schmackhafteste Art zubereiten kann* (Pirna: C.A. Friese, 1815), 158-9; Huber, *Bayerisches Kochbuch*, 589; *Ibid*, 589, 591; *Ibid*, 589, 592; *Ibid*, 593.

¹²⁴ Knopf and Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch*, xiii; DLA: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichens-Rußwurm, 59; *Ibid*, 64; Krescentia Buchner, *Die Erfahrene Münchener Köchin oder Vollständiges und gepriesenes Bayerisches Kochbuch: für herrschaftliche sowohl als bürgerliche Küchen eingerichtet, welches auf die faßlichste und gründlichste Weise die Speisen gut, nahrhaft und schmackhaft zu bereiten lehrt ...* :

association with the south of Europe, and the resulting connection made with both ancient Rome and Renaissance Italy.¹²⁵ Some produce would however have come from the middling's own kitchen gardens, patches of green in a back yard or on a more distant lot for city-dwellers. Easy-to-cultivate vegetables such as "salad, horseradish, asparagus, hops, roots, sweet peas, swedes, cauliflower, cucumbers" and cabbages, beans, or sorghum, as well as fruits from trees and shrubs, were crucial components of the middling part-subsistence diet.¹²⁶ The well-situated rural-dwelling local elites of small home towns could harvest "plums, apples, mirabelles, apricots, cherries, melons, currants and peaches"¹²⁷ for fresh, or more likely, preserved consumption.

Finally sweets, baked or candied, crowned off the menu crafting middling distinction. "All kinds of jams," "roasted almonds," "walnuts," "butter biscuits," "sugar biscuits," "bitter orange," "candied and fresh fruit," and "Champagne," sweetened wedding feasts.¹²⁸ "Waffles" and "pancakes," "Berliner" and "sweet bakes" served as desserts. Further options included "blancmangers and crèmes,"¹²⁹ "compots,"¹³⁰ "aspic,"¹³¹ "puddings,"¹³² "gelatin,"¹³³ "mousse,"¹³⁴ "cake"¹³⁵ and "ice-creams."¹³⁶ Ice-cream, presumably more often found among courts and at grand dinners than in middling

Mit Einem Anhang von Einigen Nützlichen Sachen Für Die Haushaltung (Munich: Fleischmann, 1838), 15; BAUL: NL 237.6.7-9, 26; Eine Hausmutter, *Vollständiges hannöverisches Kochbuch: oder, Neueste praktische Erfahrungen einer Hausmutter im Kochen Backwerkmachen und Einkochen der Früchte; nebst einer Erklärung aller in der Kochkunst vorkommenden Kunstwörter* (Hannover: Hahn, 1808), 22.

¹²⁵ Rumohr, *Geist der Kochkunst*, 4. See also: Hauer, "Rumohr," 154-55.

¹²⁶ Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums*, 43.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹²⁸ Wedding of Herr Biel, Strahlsund, September 6th 1791, BAUL: NL 237.6.7-9, 29; *Ibid.*, 29; *Ibid.*, 29; *Ibid.* 29; *Ibid.*, 35; *Ibid.* 29; *Ibid.* 29; *Ibid.*, 28.

¹²⁹ FUBEG: Math 8° 01466/03, 39.

¹³⁰ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, viii.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, viii.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 115-118; DLA: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, 141.

¹³³ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, xxv.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, xxv.

¹³⁵ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, xxvi.

¹³⁶ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, viii; FUBEG: N 8° 05425 (01), 137-150

households in the first half of the nineteenth century, was however not a rare inclusion in most recipe collections, and a standard dessert by the 1800s' latter half.¹³⁷ Johann Hermann Siebel, the bishop of Bamberg's personal chef, provided a full 55 recipes for ice-cream in his cookbook from 1818.¹³⁸ In a town close to a ducal court, such as Gotha, the local sugar-baker ("Conditor", sic.) gave instructions in as early as 1821 for how the middling could keep ice in their cellars and make "iced" cream with "chocolate," "tea," and "vanilla," also "strawberry," "peach," "raspberry," and "lemon," blossoms, including "orange-blossoms," "rose," and "jasmine," nuts such as "hazelnut," leaves like "peppermint" and "sage," and spices, including "clove," "anise," and "cinnamon."¹³⁹

Imported products served as a further distinguishing feature of court and middling dining. Rare fruit and nut imports included lemons, oranges, and dried fruit.¹⁴⁰ Almonds and "Citronat" (candied citrus peel) enriched Christmas dishes as "gifts from other countries."¹⁴¹ Lemons found their ways into "fudge" ("Conserven" [sic.]), julip, ice-cream or else flavored meat or fish.¹⁴² Oranges turned into confectionary, ice-cream, and seasoned poultry and game.¹⁴³ Pineapples found their ways into compote, and ice-cream,

¹³⁷ Habermas notes that the storage of ice in cellars became common among "Bürger" households as of mid-century. Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 46.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 122-144.

¹³⁹ FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 233-262.

¹⁴⁰ DLA: DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, 95 and 112; FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, xxiv; *Ideen, Das Buch Le Grand*, (1826) in Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. I. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1876), 294; FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/12, xxv; Kochanowski, *Neues einfaches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen*, 34, citrus imported from Spain, Italy and Portugal. Oranges, Ibid, 34; Ibid, 33, sometimes from Corinth; Ibid, 33.

¹⁴¹ Kochanowski, *Neues einfaches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen*, 34; Friedr Luise Löffler, *Neues Kochbuch; oder, Geprüfte Anweisung zur schmackhaften Zubereitung der Speisen, des Backwerks, der Confituren, des Gefrorenen und des Eingemachten*, Vol. 2, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkopf, 1825), vi.

¹⁴² FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 21; DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengfeld, *Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.* Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18., 175; FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, Zitronen=gefrorenes (201, 202, 235. Glace 18); FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/08, 33 and 39.

¹⁴³ FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 21; FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, 200; FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 242; FUBEG: Math 8° 01466/06, 58, 155.

as did melons.¹⁴⁴ Coffee and tea often featured as ingredients for crèmes.¹⁴⁵ “Chocolade,”¹⁴⁶ [sic] in turn, featured in main dishes, soups made of “grated chocolate” with sugar dissolved in milk, cream, wine or white beer with “four egg-yolks,”¹⁴⁷ desserts, and drinks.¹⁴⁸

Spice and Survival: Smoke, Salt, Sugar, and Seasonings

Irrespective of the upward pecking and structuring influence of upper-class court service, however, the social *middle* was not the social *top*. The extensive use of spice in this period exemplifies this and illustrates the paradoxes of the culinary vocabulary of the aspiring social middle. Pepper,¹⁴⁹ cinnamon,¹⁵⁰ nutmeg,¹⁵¹ cloves,¹⁵² and cardamom,¹⁵³ were particularly ubiquitous in the period.¹⁵⁴ These spices in pre-1840 Germany had the

¹⁴⁴ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, 196; FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 247; FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 241, FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, 213-214.

¹⁴⁵ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01, 226-227; Klietsch and Siebell, *Bamberger Kochbuch*, 74.

¹⁴⁶ Franz Anton Weillhuber, *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch oder Inbegriff aller Kochkunstvortheile, um gut, wohlfeil und wohlschmeckend zu kochen: mit Berücksichtigung und Anwendung der französischen, englischen und italienischen Küchen-Vorschriften: zum leichtern Gebrauch als Wörterbuch verfaßt*. Vol. II. (Pappenheim: Seybold, 1823), 719. The spelling of coffee and chocolate varied, e.g. “Coffe” in the Historic Museum of “Coffebaum” in Leipzig. “Chocolate” could refer to powdered cocoa, a sweetened fat-based bar, or a drink based on “water, milk, wine” seasoned with vanilla and cinnamon. Weillhuber, *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch*, Vol. I., 249.

¹⁴⁷ Huber, *Bayerisches Kochbuch*, 18-19.

¹⁴⁸ The present findings about ice-cream revise previous studies’ findings which have not only skipped the period 1800-1900, but placed the advent of consumption among “common” people at 1900; the middling and aspiring middling would have begun consuming ice-cream as early as 1800 in imitation of their social betters; in a geography well-supplied with ice in winter, milk, and after dropping sugar prices as of 1800, this finding is not counterintuitive, and thus provides an interpretation of slow social spread, rather than abrupt introduction in the fin-de-siècle. Günter Wiegelmann, “Speiseeis in volkstümlichen Festmahlzeiten,” in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte und Regionale Prägung*, eds. Hans J. Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd ed. (Münster: Cöpppenrath, 1986), 217-224. See also Chapter 5 of this dissertation. On the rapid decline of sugar prices, see: Hans J. Teuteberg, “Der Beitrag des Rübenzuckers zur ‘Ernährungsrevolution’ des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in Teuteberg and Wiegelmann, *Unsere Tägliche Kost*, 157.

¹⁴⁹ Kochanowski, *Neues einfaches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen*, 32.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 31

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 32

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁵⁴ While Wiegelmann’s case-study of caraway in bread indicates more enthusiasm for this ingredient in the south and north-east of Central Europe, this present study does not see a clear-cut regional dividing line in

triple purpose of preserving, of imitating medieval royal and noble households, and of pursuing an early form of Germanness through Romantic reminiscing of the original locus of the nation in a previous, noble age. Albert Knoche, in his 1840 cookbook described the tension and oscillation between luxury and necessity determined by the Central European climate:

the menu for springtime...does not bring relief with it—it inspires hope, but offers little new, making us resort to winter provisions. ...In summer too, the kitchen is equally disadvantaged. ...Autumn sets an end to the embarrassments of the kitchen, ...with fruits and slaughtered animals, as well as game...and fish. Winter multiplies the hoarded spoils of Fall with poultry and fish...enabling the kitchen to cater to the season’s festivities and their high expectations.¹⁵⁵

Knoche would know; the founder of the Lindenhof Inn in Bremen, which served as both hotel and “Café and Restaurant,” enjoyed repute and publication, his service and meals pleasing critics and guests who warmly recommended his establishment.¹⁵⁶ In his respected expert opinion as a local chef, Knoche wrote that “the most delicious of all spices” were:

onions of all kinds, chalots, garlic, Johannislauch [sic *Alium cornutum*], chive, Perllauch [sic], lemon juice and peel...basil, tarragon, burnet [*Sanguisorba minor*] starflower

the use in spice in cooking more generally; while allowing for regional variation and local preferences, the most pronounced differences were likely class- and access based, affected by prices and availability in urban or rural regions if at all, given recipe exchanges between regions of Central Europe and the need for spice for preserving foods. Hans Günter Wiegmann, “Regionale Unterschiede der Würzgewohnheiten in Mitteleuropa dargelegt am Beispiel der Brotwürze,” in Teuteberg and Wiegmann, *Unsere Tägliche Kost*, 203-215.

¹⁵⁵ HMSS: Vol.002, 124.

¹⁵⁶ HMSS: Vol.002, 125.

[*Borago officinalis*], leek, rue [*Ruta graveolens*], lemon balm [*Melissa officinalis*], water mint [*Mentha aquatica*], lavender, sage, juniper berries, parsley in leaf and root, cellery, sorrel, chervil, thyme, marjoram, raddish, laurels, peppermint, asafoetida, coriander, curcuma or indian saffron, white and black pepper, cloves, allspice, cardamom, cinnamon, cassia, capers of all sizes, nutmeg nut and flowers, paprika, ...cayenne pepper, ...japanese soy, vanilla, ginger.¹⁵⁷

By the nineteenth century, courts may have seen a slow reduction in the use of spice in their daily meals, while the middling, for the purpose of survival, were forced to maintain their use.¹⁵⁸ For the longevity of the “spoils” of Fall and Winter all the way to meager Spring, the strongest of seasonings that nature could bring forth were crucial components. Pepper, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg and saffron lost their meaning of status over time, as spices became more affordable, and came to change their meaning in the culinary vocabulary of the nineteenth century, from items from the lap of luxury, to crucial components for preserving foods, and as remedies for ill taste.¹⁵⁹

Techniques of preservation included smoking and salting meats and fishes, boiling foods in vinegar, sugar, and seasoning the latter with various combinations of spices; Fruits could equally be kept in sugar to make preserves, jams, marmalade, *confitures*, or else, to simply keep a fruit in its own, optionally sugared juice.¹⁶⁰

While courts would face similar challenges to preserve foods throughout the winter, theirs were also the largest cellars, the better access to traded goods, and the greater

¹⁵⁷ StUBB: Brem.c.1989, 16.

¹⁵⁸ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, “The French Invention of Modern Cuisine,” in *Time and Place: The American Historical Association Companion to Food History*, eds. Paul Freedman, Joyce E. Chaplin, and Ken Albala, *Food* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 233-52.

¹⁵⁹ Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003), 44-47.

¹⁶⁰ Anonymous, *Die Besorgte Hausfrau*, 90.

purchasing power. In particular the rural middling, obliged to complement their diets with produce of their own rearing (subsistence farming complementing market-, baker-, and butcher-purchases), adopted vacuum-sealing and pickling as standard practices during this time. The practice of preserving in clay (“Ton”), wooden barrels (“Faß/Fäßgen/Fäßchen”), tin containers (“Büchse”), or glass (“Glas”), and changes in the cooking methods and ingredients—heat, acid, spices—used to give foods longevity began slowly in the 1720s, with an increase in the use and variety of spices from the 1780s. Paul Jacob Marperger insisted in 1716 that “preserving with salt and vinegar, customary even in Galen, is not customary in Germany.”¹⁶¹ Only a few years after his publication, in 1723, however, Susanna Eger gives instructions to preserve artichokes, asparagus, and beans in vinegar.¹⁶² The procedure she details remains virtually the same throughout the nineteenth century, and involves “letting vinegar boil and cool,” combining it with oil, and pouring this into a barrel with the food, to then seal the former.”¹⁶³ This practice of “boiling vinegar” and letting it cool, pouring it into a pot or can (“Büchse”) along with the vegetables, some “salt and pepper”¹⁶⁴ was standard practice, with only minor variations in terms of the kinds of foods preserved—artichokes by the French border, herrings by the coasts—and the kinds of containers the middling chose to keep their

¹⁶¹ Paul Jacob Marperger, *Vollständiges Küch- und Keller-Dictionarium, in welchem allerhand Speisen und Geträncke, ... ihr rechter Einkaufs- und Erzielungs-Ort, Zeit und Preiß, wie auch ihre Auslesung, Zubereitung, Conservation, nützliche und schädliche Würckung, ... ferner allerhand nützliche Haushaltungs-Gesundheits-Lebens- und Policy-Regeln, mit Moralischen Anmerckungen, ... vorgestellt wird. Allen Hoff- Küchen- und Keller-Meistern, Schreibern, Christl. Haus-Vätern und Haus-Müttern, zu sonderbaren Nutzen aufgesetzt* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller, 1716), 972.

¹⁶² Susanna Eger, *Leipziger Kochbuch : welches lehret was man auf einen täglichen Tisch, bey Gastereyen und Hochzeiten, gutes und delicates auftragen, auch Tische und tafeln* (Leipzig: Jacob Schuster, 1732), 410, 411, and 411, respectively.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 406, 412.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 414.

foods in, including glass, stoneware, small barrels (“Fäßgen”), and even cans.”¹⁶⁵ A standard chapter in most cookbooks, knowledge on how to preserve foods (“Einmachen”) by the century in question in this investigation (approx. 1800-1900) was at least contemporary to Nicolas Appert’s work on champagne bottles to keep foods for Napoleon’s army in 1804 and English scientist Peter Durand’s 1810 work on sterilization, which has brought them the credit of inventing air-tight food keeping.¹⁶⁶ Even a literate rural foodworker in 1732 however could know that the enemy of conserved food was the spoiling “air” (“Lufft”), and understand the key role of heat.¹⁶⁷

Poison: the Paradox of Preservation

The very pursuit of survival and status in the winter also carried health risks for the aspiring social middle. Particularly in rural areas of the pre-industrialized German states, pursuit of middlingness could bring toxicity, well known to authors and food workers alike. The *Besorgte Hausfrau* notes that if a jam begins to mold after years of keeping, you should “take off the mold carefully”, and should it begin to spoil the entire pot, the contents should be boiled with berry juice, after which “it keeps well again.”¹⁶⁸ Potatoes were kept for over six months,¹⁶⁹ eggs, for a year.¹⁷⁰ Preserved herrings and eels were said to last “a whole year.”¹⁷¹ Unpreserved but well cooked, meat was thought to keep for

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 414.

¹⁶⁶ Hauer, ‘Rumohr,’ 55.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 406.

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous, *Die Besorgte Hausfrau*, 44.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 67.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 134, 137.

¹⁷¹ M. D. Funk, *Neues Fränkisches Kochbuch, oder, Anweisung Speisen, Saucen und Gebackenes schmackhaft zuzurichten, Früchte einzumachen und Kräuteresstige zu verfertigen, nebst mehreren zur Koch- und Haushaltungskunst nützlichen Vorschriften* (Gaffert: Ansbach, 1813), 219.

“fourteen days;”¹⁷² baked goods for about “two months.”¹⁷³ Preserved meat turned green could not be disposed of: instead, foodworkers treated it with nitric acid salt (“Salpeter”) to turn it “red again”; the taste of foul meat could be covered with “smoking” as well as a combination of “whole pepper, juniper berries, new spice, laurel leaves, and rosemary.”¹⁷⁴ Food workers sought to eliminate the “strange tastes”¹⁷⁵ that could arise after months of keeping valuable foodstuffs the social middle could not afford to, or refused to, lose. The consumption of spoiled food, therefore, may well have been an unavoidable condition for winter’s diet, or else, the summer following.¹⁷⁶

As if this was not enough, the pursuit of distinction—or its appearance—could import further substances into the middle’s diet that were less than sound contributors to physical health. Foods kept in tins were sealed with droplets of hot lead and glasses with “tar.”¹⁷⁷ Decorative coloring, of blue biscuits made with “indigo,”¹⁷⁸ already in practice in the earliest years of the nineteenth century, had a similar effect of “compromising one’s well-being,”¹⁷⁹ even though other authors, like Stagge, as early as 1802 warned “not to

¹⁷² Ibid, 267. Habermas calls “tinning” a twentieth-century practice, others note asparagus was being canned as early as 1845; Teuteberg and Wiegelmann provide earlier, convincing chronologies confirmed by findings in this dissertation. Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 47. Teuteberg and Wiegelmann, *Der Wandel Der Nahrungsgewohnheiten*; Wilhelm Artelt, “Das Aufkommen der Ernährungsindustrie,” in *Ernährung und Ernährungslehre im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Edith Heischkel-Artelt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 1-116.

¹⁷³ Funk, *Neues Fränkisches Kochbuch*, 486.

¹⁷⁴ Anonymous, *Die Besorgte Hausfrau*, 143-144.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 145.

¹⁷⁶ Habermas notes that a clear rejection of spoiling food (“molding jam, inedible meat”) and simultaneous blame of foodworkers for their loss could form part and parcel of distinction-marking dynamics. Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 75. Depending on where in the varied and flexible, fluid area of the social middle a household located itself, the acceptance or rejection of spoiled or border-line food could be a crucial indicative choice of accepting a social position. Mentions of categorical rejections according to taste, however, do not occur frequently in primary sources.

¹⁷⁷ StUBB: (V)Reg304 456(3), 305.

¹⁷⁸ FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06, 6.

¹⁷⁹ Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer*, (1785) 562.

place colorful or colored foods on the table” as these “were detrimental to one’s health.”¹⁸⁰

Cooking utensils themselves could further sabotage a wholesome body. The pursuit of status involved cooking with copper or brass utensils, as pots, pans, cake molds, and spoons made of the shiny metal were “the pride of housewives at the beginning of the century ...[and] regarded as the ornament of a kitchen.”¹⁸¹ This ornament was kept and used in spite of near-universal knowledge of the lethal potential the shiny pots contained. “All copper receptacles must be properly covered in tin. The consequences” of poor tinning and direct contact between foods and copper oxide, wrote Stagge in 1802, “are often terrible, but also too well known everywhere.”¹⁸² Varnhagen writes in 1804 that “copper, tin, or glazed” pots causes poison to enter the food, irritating the nerves, causing cramps and shakings.¹⁸³ Eupel agrees in 1842 that “nothing must be kept in brass or copper pots...without running the highest health risk ... is a well known thing.”¹⁸⁴ And yet, copper pots were “in use” from years of “yore” until the first decades of the century, despite their being “very dangerous...and always render[ing] some copper into the food,” with its “poisonous properties,”¹⁸⁵ precisely because they were the kitchen’s adornment and the household’s pride, or else, because green vegetables boiled in copper maintained or gained a stronger green color more aesthetically pleasing to the consumer. The price

¹⁸⁰ FUBEG: Math 8° 01466/03, 29.

¹⁸¹ BSB: 3240982 2 Per. 6-1854,1: Dr. H. Hirzel, “Küchenchemie: Küchengeschirre,” *Die Gartenlaube*, (1854), 546.

¹⁸² Math 8° 01466/03, 1-2. No first name given. See similar warnings in Math 8° 01467/08, i.

¹⁸³ Johann Andreas Jacob Varnhagen: *J. A. J. Varnhagens Kochbuch für Kranke und Genesende. Oder Anweisung, die für sie dienliche Nahrungsmittel und Getränke zuzubereiten*. 3rd Edition, (Herold and Walstab: Lüneburg, 1804), 30. Also in: Anonymous, *Neues Dresdner Koch- Back- und Wirtschaftsbuch*, 709-723.

¹⁸⁴ FUBEG: N 8° 05425 (01), viii.

¹⁸⁵ BSB: 3240982 2 Per. 6-1854,1: Dr. H. Hirzel, “Küchenchemie: Küchengeschirre,” *Die Gartenlaube*, (1854), 546.

for impressive appearances for an aspiring middling family could be high in more than monetary ways, including, “vomiting, anxiety, diarrhea, fever, confusion of the senses, and petechia,”¹⁸⁶ or, as contemporaries insisted, “rheumatism”.¹⁸⁷ In essence, eating middling was dangerous.



Figure 22. Copper pots, spoons, and pans in the so-called Princely Kitchen (“Prinzenküche”) at the Castle of Friedenstein, in constant usage between its building in the Baroque period, and 1918.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Johann Andreas Jacob Varnhagen, *J. A. J. Varnhagens Kochbuch für Kranke und Genesende. Oder Anweisung, die für sie dienliche Nahrungsmittel und Getränke zuzubereiten*, 3rd Edition (Lüneburg: Herold und Walstab, 1804), 11.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸⁸ With permission of STSG.



Figure 23. Brass kettle at the Castle of Schönebeck near Bremen.¹⁸⁹

The utensils stayed for distinction and the pleasure of property-ownership. When used by housewife and daughters, these utensils elevated the activity, and made the act of cooking a literarily-educated practice. When used by professionals, be they chefs, or sugar-bakers, these could serve as scientific equipment and artist's tools in the art and science that was cookery. Sugar bakers Klietsch and Siebell argued the “art of cooking”¹⁹⁰ involved many “techniques” and “mixtures”¹⁹¹ not easily mastered, that must be “recognized as art,”¹⁹² that set “the faculties at play.”¹⁹³ At the same time, argued Innkeeper Knoche, “with her close connections to natural history, chemistry, technology, and economics,” cooking must also be recognized as a science, playing its part in “social

¹⁸⁹ HMSS.

¹⁹⁰ Klietsch and Siebell, *Bamberger Kochbuch*; Also: Ernst Meyfeld and J. G. Enners, *Hannoverisches Kochbuch: Der besonders das alles enthält, was eigentlich zur Küche gehört* (Hanover: Hahn, 1792), iii.

¹⁹¹ Klietsch and Siebell, *Bamberger Kochbuch*, 21.

¹⁹² Knopf, Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch*, 6. Also: *Anonymous, Neues Niedersächsisches Kochbuch, worinnen die jetzt üblichen Gerichte von allen Sorten genau und deutlich angewiesen werden*, (Altona: Friedrich Bechtold, 1803), iii.

¹⁹³ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1987), 115.

life, as much as in health and the creation of good taste.”¹⁹⁴ Third, when used by domestic staff, such as cooks and maids, the very ownership of this distinguished property elevated the status of the individuals who employed them.



Figure 24. Porcelain dating 1861¹⁹⁵



Figure 25. Mass-produced porcelain, 1890s.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ StUBB: Brem.c.1989, iv.

¹⁹⁵ HMSS.

¹⁹⁶ HMSS.

Images depicting middling and finer kitchens also make evident what Goethe describes as a condition of luxury in his *Dichtungen und Wahrheit* in his discussion of loss of luster and luxury: “Now, gone are the porcelain, the sweetmeats!”¹⁹⁷ As a mark of distinction, plates lined the walls and hearthsides of middling and estate kitchens until mid-century (see Figures 1 through 7 above).¹⁹⁸ Eating off porcelain as opposed to metal, wooden, or earthen tableware, was a key condition of finer dining. Their glaze, presumably, was less prejudicial than that of their earthen counterparts, and less likely to keep the scent of previous meals in wooden pores and scratches. Particularly imported porcelain held exclusive meaning, which later cheaper alternatives and imitations simultaneously made more accessible in Britain as of 1780.¹⁹⁹ Silver cutlery served a similar function, as opposed to their tin or pewter alternatives; the former’s designs, weight, and taste-neutrality rounded off any service. The display of utensils and serving dishes for coffee and tea offered opportunities for claiming status, just as porcelain for meals (including tea) served as an important part of the goods a bride would ideally bring to a new household.

¹⁹⁷ “Weg das Porzellan, das Zuckerbrot!” Goethe, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1296.

¹⁹⁸ Note in Chapter 5 how the inclusion of crockery in kitchen representations ceases as of 1860.

¹⁹⁹ On imitating luxury porcelain and industrial impact, see Maxine Berg, “In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century.” *Past & Present* 182, no. 1 (February 1, 2004): 85–142 and Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, UK, 2005).



Figure 26. Tin plate, cup, and spoon²⁰⁰



Figure 27. Silver cutlery²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ DHMD. Loan collection items courtesy of Tulga Beyerle.

²⁰¹ DHMD. Loan collection items courtesy of Knut Günther and Erika Eschebach (fork and knife on right), Dresden.



Figure 28. Dining table lay-out²⁰²

For all their alluring symbolism of medieval courts and their need for winter cuisine, spices, coffee, tea, chocolate, and to a lesser extent exotic fruits also suffered criticism in the early nineteenth century. These criticisms were based on humoral understandings of human digestion, a degree of faith in divine provision, an idealization of Roman precedent, and an enlightenment idealization of the noble savage's proximity to nature. The anonymous but presumably female author of the *Neue Dresdener Koch- Back- und Wirtschaftsbuch* warns of spices and their excessive use in 1805.²⁰³ "Foreign spices," she writes, are an unnecessary addition to a local diet; "before the discovery of the new world, completely different spices were in usage, and the Romans used dill, caraway, lovage, garlic, onion and others," that have, "however, been entirely displaced by

²⁰² HMSS.

²⁰³ Anonymous, *Neues Dresdner Koch- Back- und Wirtschaftsbuch*, 678.

cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, pepper and such sort.”²⁰⁴ The author seems to critique an invasion of foreign spices, and an undervaluing of previous habits among the Central European population. She proposes with some vehemence, that those spices “can be done without” except for “as medicines” (“Arzneyen”); one should leave these spices “to the Indians, so that we can keep our money,” and not see a spectacular “sum leave the country every year.”²⁰⁵

At first sight, these comments ring desperately of xenophobic rejection, condescension, and hostility against the seasoned onslaught of pepper and company. Yet, the author’s suggestion to use foreign spices as “medicinal” goods, is not the only ambiguity in this text from 1805.

A foreigner, who spends a long time outside of his native country, must become used to the local food, if he wishes to stay healthy. The northerner could not survive for long in a hot country, if he insisted on his hard food. In the English colonies in America many thousands native Englishmen and women die every year, because they love punch and much meat even in that climate, where such ingredients are true poison. ...as the Creator...has arranged the natural products of every country according to the needs of the people living there, thus also he has given each country with purpose its own foods, which are appropriate to the nature of the creatures living there. ...In this sense, we have no need to bring foods from other parts of the world, that destroy our body, because they are not made for our climate and our nature. The Asian, African and American do not care much for European dishes, and have no longing for them. ...Only the European is not satisfied with the generous and most wise designs of the Creator.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 682.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 682.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 683-685.

Therefore, the author argues, “we do not need Levantine coffee, no chocolate, no oriental tea”²⁰⁷ given that the climate does not demand it—on the contrary: these imported goods do not match the cold climate of northern Europe, and are bound to excessively stimulate the nervous system.

It must be noted that the author enforces no unambivalent racial essentialism, and does not claim that a “German” organism cannot necessarily process a foreign spice; the insistence lies on the point of climate and the stimulating and heating effects of spices according to humoral theory, the natural organization of creation, combining enlightened ideas of wisdom in nature—even in “the savage”—with a theological esteem for divine provision. The author insists that local foods must be consumed, which match the local climate, and assumes a high degree of flexibility—even a unifying constancy—in the human organism to adapt to any part of the world, provided the foreigner grows accustomed to the local products.

Further, the author not only criticizes spices from afar, but also at home, and extends her critique to the mecca of culinary religion. Regarding European spices, she writes: “Our domestic (“inländischen” sic.) spices can also do harm; mustard and onion also attack the body,” similar to native alcohols and wine.²⁰⁸ Equally, the “French art of cooking” can also display similar ills and “harm.”²⁰⁹ This skepticism towards spice, based on humoralism, and perhaps everyday experience, reflects even in the writings of Kant, who notes: “about a dish, elevated in taste by spice and other additives, one says without second thought, that it is *pleasurable*, and admits at the very same time, that it is not

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 686.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 683.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 687.

good; for though it comforts the *senses* immediately, with time, and through *sense*, contemplating the consequences, it displeases.”²¹⁰

In this late period of the enlightenment with its idealization of the noble native, whose natural knowledge and orderly habits fit the purposes and providences of creation, these criticisms must be framed as exemplary habits to be adopted by Europeans, who were so far removed from the natural order of things, and corrupted by civilization. As the eclectic reader and elite doctor Hufeland wrote: “the human who lives naturally in the country and in motion needs very few dietary rules. Our artificial diet only becomes necessary due to our artificial life.”²¹¹ These warnings against stimulating spices, however, particularly in the time between 1800-1840, largely fell on deaf ears, and failed to reform the habits of either the social middle, or the elites of their society, whom they sought to mimic. As part of style, as much as survival throughout the cold season, spice was a necessity and luxury to the self-defined social middle.

Conclusion

In the era encompassing the final years of the Holy Roman Empire and first decades after its dissolution in 1806 with Napoleonic invasion, the German middling household could, on first impression, be understood as backward-looking. After the “worldview lost its world,”²¹² the romantic imitation of imagined medieval and contemporary courts guided a cuisine full of spice, structured by French- and Russian service styles. Practicality and

²¹⁰ Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, Philosophische Bibliothek; Bd. 39 (Hamburg: Meiner, 1954), 45.

²¹¹ Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, *Makrobiotik; oder, Die Kunst das menschliche Leben zu verlängern* (Berlin: Wittich, 1805), 197.

²¹² Wolfgang Burgdorf, *Ein Weltbild verliert seine Welt: der Untergang des Alten Reiches und die Generation 1806* (Munich: Oldenburg, 2009).

survival further dictated culinary practices aimed at preserving foods for the winter, while cooking infrastructure remained unchanged. Alcala's culinary lexicon would decode such culinary practices as a symbolic political endorsement of traditional political power-centers, along with their hierarchies, meaning of courts and royal rights to rule—and this, despite the middling's aim to improve their social position. Despite this cultural conservatism, and apparent endorsement of medieval social conditions, however, such looking to the past implies a historical consciousness paired with awareness of change, part and parcel of modernity. This nostalgia and imagining of a better era in the past, itself characteristic of the modern, marks the beginning of middling households' self-positioning in a changing political world. As the next chapter will discuss, contemporary courts served as important employers and stylistic reference points for performed consumption for nineteenth-century middling households, bringing about networking practices and cosmopolitan dining.

Chapter 2. Collaging Middlingness: Courts, Cosmopolitanism, Cultural Identity, and Social Control of Subaltern Diets, 1800-1860.

“In Heaven...all eat in the lap of luxury from dawn til dusk...roast geese fly around with gravy-dishes in their beaks...butter-shimmery cakes grow wild like sunflowers, everywhere streams run with bouillon and champagne, everywhere napkins wave from trees...you can eat and eat again, without growing sick...”¹

—Heinrich Heine, 1826

“Today, I will eat as the king eats.”²

—The Brothers Grimm

“Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you who you are.”³

—Brillat-Savarin, 1826

This chapter analyses the defining food practices among the social middle aimed at making themselves middling that made specific cultural references for the purpose of defining middlingness. The middling, aware of their neighboring countries and their social position between the upper and lower portions of society, could peck upwards and downwards, and sideways in pursuit of middling status. At the same time, their practices also included specific mechanisms for social stratification unique to their station aimed at collaging a meaning distinctive to middlingness. The middling emulated courts through

¹ “In the lap of luxury,” lit.: “like God in France,”—“wie Gott in Frankreich,” in *Ideen, Das Buch Le Grand*, (1826) in Heinrich Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. I. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1876) 198.

² Lit. “wie es der König ißt,” in “Die Zwei Brüder,” from Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Märchen der Gebrüder Grimm* (Munich: Droemer Knauer, 1937), 217.

³ Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du gout* (Paris: Editorial Maxtor, 2011), 9.

purchasing foods at stores royalty had frequented or visited, or exchanged recipes at salons, courts, or events with others of similar status. They dined as the king dined, meaning, in a cosmopolitan manner, including French and British dishes in admiration of imperial power throughout the century. In this century of moving political borders, further, the middling ate foods originating from other areas of Central Europe, and dishes named after German cities and regions—cities in particular functioned as identity-giving cultural poles, of more stability in the geographic imagination than regions or temporary countries. Finally, the middling in their mediating position of deferred power between lords and the working, illiterate poor, held control over subaltern diets, marking distinction between themselves and their subordinates by depriving them of choice in their meals, and of the central characteristic of middling eating: meat.

This chapter's findings revise the image of middling consumption in the cultural epoch 1800-1860, and draw attention to longer continuities lasting until the 1890s, by exploring the transnational features and inter-social contacts of middling foodways in this distinct cultural epoch. Teuteberg proposed that middling cuisine served as the "template" for consumption in German society more largely.⁴ This proposal does not take the cultural exchanges within German society, its various lands, and its neighbors into account. I here show that courts served as points of orientation for the middling, through whom wider trends, cosmopolitan and royal, would have thus travelled through society. This chapter further revises the portrayal of nineteenth-century German cuisine of Wiegelmann and studies of the era before 1800 and after 1860 by recovering the neglected consumer history of the period 1800-1860, demonstrating that middling cuisine

⁴ "Leitbild," Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, "Stadien der Ernährungsgeschichte," in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung*, eds. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd ed. (Münster: Coppenrath, 1986), 309.

was characterized by a constant inclusion of cosmopolitanism surrounding the court.⁵ By having largely passed over the era 1800-1860, the more introspective, nationally-bound milestone studies of the 1970s and 1980s on consumption in the German states primarily examined the epochal changes that emphasize solely grain-price fluctuations in the 1830s and thereby missed the transnational and migratory dimensions of German food changes in the nineteenth century, including the exchanges with French cuisine through personnel and literature, spread by working-, reading-, and writing women (see Chapter 3), which brought middling cuisine in the epoch 1800-1860 its centrally European cultural flavor.⁶ That the German states would attempt to bring cultural symbols from outside their borders, and the middling act as their mediators, may not surprise us in retrospect. In the aftermath of the trans-Atlantic Enlightenment, the pre-March represented an era of possibility, whose so-called small-German endpoint remained undetermined until 1871.

This chapter thus carries out the twin task of recovering middling consumption patterns in the pre-March, at the same time as it contextualizes this timeframe to assess its meaning and long-term continuities throughout the nineteenth century. Through a combination of anthropologically- and sociologically-informed qualitative food studies on the one hand, and a statistical quantitative assessment of naming-practices of dishes that provides perspective over the century as a whole, the following analysis exploits the connection between identity and food to study which social, political, and geographic denotations the middling associated with various components of their diet. Doing so

⁵ In his monograph (first edition 1967) Wiegmann conceptualized French culinary influence as an exception to Central European cuisine. Günter Wiegmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen in Mitteleuropa* (Münster: Waxmann, 2006), 218-223.

⁶ On the formerly proposed epochs, see: Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegmann, *Der Wandel Der Nahrungsgewohnheiten nter dem Einfluß der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 329-331. Wiegmann was correct to point to possible mid-century changes, however, these were not due to “the end of hunger after 1848” but due to the impact of culinary education (Chapter 3 of this dissertation) and industrial changes not as of 1880, but as of 1860 (Chapter 4 of this dissertation).

makes evident that part of the key historical phase circumscribing the fall of the Holy Roman Empire, the *Vormärz*, and the Revolutions of 1848 displays important quasi-European tendencies—with all the imperial fantasy this denoted—characterized by courts as reference points and cosmopolitanism as a culinary association with great powers. Nor did this cosmopolitan bent break off with unification under Prussia in 1871. While Chapter 3 will demonstrate the wider repercussions of migration and working women on middling cuisine, and the interconnections of the cookbook genre with other forms of communication, and Chapter 5 show that habits and practices changed significantly as of 1880/1890, with a reduction in spice and an abandonment of romantic eating, an understanding of the preceding decades in the present chapter is crucial to appreciate the long term inclusive cosmopolitan continuities among the social middle. Only post-1890 imperialism and home-economic education, new trends in cookbook literature aimed at gender-segregated cooking education, and an explicit domestic ideal were able to successfully efface these trends from historical memory.

Various theoretical approaches towards food used to communicate identity and as a form of power, means of social control, or even violence, apply in this chapter. Elias was right to point out the trend-setting role of royalty and courts in determining consumption fashions for those able to afford to imitate them.⁷ Lévi-Strauss and Peterson, in turn, reminded us that individuals eat foods that are not necessarily good to eat, but “good to think”: you eat what you are, in direct expression of the identity you wish to acknowledge, uphold, and communicate with your environment.⁸ The role of cities as

⁷ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 88, 106.

⁸ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Origin of Table Manners* (London: J. Cape, 1978), 495; Sarah Peterson, *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Cooking* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

identity-providing *loci*, in turn, bears significance given the large scholarship on nationhood, nation-making, and the significance of regions as well as city-states for identity in the nineteenth century.⁹ Control over subaltern diets also features, leaning on Sidney Mintz's idea of food as power, with acknowledgement of Amartya Sen's principle of entitlement as the conditional existence a subordinate (or inferior other—*subaltern*) may hold by permission of those they are dependent on.¹⁰ These approaches show that among the middling and in the German states more largely, daily reminders of social place were inescapable, taken in and accepted with every meal. Mechanisms of control and cost in place aimed to ensure that all consumption coincided with the order upheld by those who owned food, and those who, with deferred power, controlled the consumption of the lesser. While colonial meanings did not take on as significant a role yet as they would after 1884 (see also Chapter 5), admiration of the French and British ensured an implicit agreement with empire as a European characteristic.

⁹ Ernest Gellner and John Breuilly, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Malden: Blackwell, 1999); Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9-18. Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); further, Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe- A Comparative Analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European Nations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 23-24; finally: Celia Applegate, "A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (October 1, 1999): 1157-82; Nancy R. Reagin, "Recent Work on German National Identity: Regional? Imperial? Gendered? Imaginary?" *Central European History* 37, no. 2 (January 1, 2004): 273-89. Also: Eric Storm, "Regionalism in History, 1890-1945: The Cultural Approach." *European History Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (April 1, 2003): 251-65.

¹⁰ Sidney Wilfred Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, NY: Viking, 1985); Sidney Wilfred Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). On subalternity as a flexible concept involving powerlessness, speechlessness, and lower-classness outside an exclusively European context, see the works of David Hardiman, David Arnold, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's pivotal essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Larry Grossberg (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.

The statistical work of this chapter draws on a wide range of un-used and under-used sources. The following quantitative work is based on a varied sample of forty-five cookbooks of which some were best-selling (e.g. Gleim, Daisenberger, Davidis), most were of middling success, and some were rare and obscure. These texts date between 1778 and 1900. Publication rose over the nineteenth century in general, and spiked in particular as of mid-century, however, cookbook publication remained a fairly consistent cultural trend between 1800 and 1887, with an average of between 14 and 16 cookbooks published per year.¹¹ Every effort has been made to collect sources evenly representing all decades with particular focus on works before unification in 1871 in what follows. Analyses in the tables included below are based on word-occurrences making reference to geographical identifications (e.g. “French,” “Viennese,” “Swabian,” etc.). The numbers provided are minimum values for which all page-numbers of the respective recipes are accounted for; counts may be higher. The total sample of recipes amounts to approximately 41,500 recipes in total, or 922 recipes per recipe-collection.

Courts

Marketing, Branding, Trend-Setting, and Culinary Shoulder Rubbing

As discussed in the previous chapter, the idea of medieval royal foods served as guiding inspiration for the middling household in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

¹¹ Four hundred cookbooks were published in the German states 1800-1828 (14.3 books per year); a further 935 were added to this list between 1828 and 1887 (on average, 15.8 per year). Carl Georg von Maassen, *Weisheit des Essens*, 2 and Carl Georg, *Verzeichnis der Literatur über Speis und Trank bis zum Jahre 1887*, (Hannover, 1888). Cited in: Thomas M. Hauer, “Carl Friedrich von Rumohr und Der Geist der bürgerlichen Küche,” (PhD Dissertation, University of Karlsruhe, 2000), 67, 60.

Beside this Romanticism, contemporary courts functioned similarly as centers of gravity for determining the latest trends. Even if the aspiring middling could only afford to imitate their social superiors on festive occasions, court consumption could determine which ingredients were prized, what recipes were in vogue, and where the middling went shopping.

Particularly in areas where the aspiring middling lived close to a court and royalty might visit, businesses could feel the impact. The privilege to call oneself a provider to the royal court served as a key and desired branding and self-marketing function for shops in regional capitals. A sugar-baker's 14-year old business in Berlin, for example, was once visited by the Prussian King himself, which led to a virtually unprecedented flourishing of its business. The owner and sugar baker Johann Josty thus petitioned the court on 22 August 1806 for permission to use the title of "Hofkonditor" so that he could "maintain" his success "long term."¹² The sugar baker explained the sharp rise in customers frequenting his store entirely with their interest to, to quote the Brothers Grimm, eat "as the king ate."¹³ Josty's petition was denied only six days later, presumably because rather than being a constant provider for the court, the shop had enjoyed only one royal visit. The decision specified: "it is absolutely not against the convictions" of his Majesty "to concede titles of such a kind," when "certain works" must be recognized as such—yet, in this instance, Josty's case was not strong enough.¹⁴

Further, cookbook authors used their association with royalty, nobility, or churchly principedom as key recommendations for the quality of their work. In the city of Gotha,

¹² "auf bleibende Weise erhalten." GStAPK: I. HA GR, Rep. 36, Nr. 1062.

¹³ Lit. "wie es der König ißt." In "Die Zwei Brüder," *Märchen der Gebrüder Grimm* (Munich: Droemer Knauer, 1937), 217.

¹⁴ GStAPK: I. HA GR, Rep. 36, Nr. 1062.

where the local leading family was the Duke's house of Friedenstein, bakers and shopkeepers in the city branded their stores and products with their aristocratic association as a principal selling point. Johannes Christian Eupel identified himself as the "Ducal Saxon Court Sugar Baker in Gotha" to his readers in his work from 1821.¹⁵ Eupel appears to have run a shop in Gotha as well; his association with the Duke in Friedenstein Castle could well have enhanced this establishment's commercial profile. Siebel's work from 1818, similarly, claimed to be based on the author's experience of serving the Bishop of Bamberg.¹⁶ This trend of centering culinary claims to quality around courts remained significant until mid-century. Rottenhöfer, former chef to the King of Bavaria, used this association to profile his work, as did Josef Stolz, former Master of the Kitchen to the Grand Duke of Baden.¹⁷

The social middle's habit of acknowledging traditional elites as trend-setters, in turn, meant continued recognition of the legitimacy of their social positions in these decades. The middling feasted on an imaginary of culinary social mobility, hungering for a bridge of the gap between the upper and the middling classes. The marketing strategies of cookbook authors often included strategic titles such as being for both "stately and bourgeois cooking,"¹⁸ discursively and culinarily pushing both categories closer together. Authors such as Therese Brunn of the *Würzbürger Cookbook* mention "bourgeois

¹⁵ FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06.

¹⁶ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/01.

¹⁷ Johann Rottenhöfer, *Neue vollständige theoretisch-praktische Anweisung in der frinern [i.e. feinern] Kochkunst: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der herrschaftlichen und bürgerlichen Küche*, 1st ed. (Munich: Braun und Schneider, 1858); Josef Stolz, *Vollständiges rheinisches Kochbuch: Oder Anleitung zur Bereitung der ausgesuchtesten, geschmackvollsten und grösstentheils noch nicht bekannten Speisen... Nebst Angabe des Vorzüglichsten aus der französischen, englischen, italienischen und russischen Küche*, 2nd ed. (Karlsruhe: A. Bielefeld, 1840).

¹⁸ Anonymous, *Baierisches National-Kochbuch, oder, die gesammte Kochkunst, wie sie in Baiern ausgeübt wird, für herrschaftliche und bürgerliche Küchen eingerichtet, und so deutlich und faßlich beschrieben, daß Jedermann dieselbe in kurzer Zeit gründlich erlernen kann* (Munich: Fleischmann, 1824), title page.

cooking” (“die Bürgerliche Küche”) and “fine” (“feine”) or “stately” (“herrschaftliche”) cooking in one breath.¹⁹ A blurring of the lines between aristocracy and middling status was core to the middling’s consumer imaginary.

Direct contact with local traditional elites, in the same way, made for culinary shoulder-rubbing between the centers of power, and the middling they employed. To some extent, one could argue that the hiring-patterns of identically-trained cooks, and the service-style structures underpinning culinary habits between courts and middling in the decades immediately after 1800 did not differ.²⁰ This would have been the case for those members of the middle class who worked immediately with crown and aristocracy, and dwelled at their local courts. Louise von Lengefeld, for example, Friedrich Schiller’s mother-in-law, adopted culinary practices of local character throughout her time as tutor to the Princesses of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. Lengefeld was born as Louise Juliane Eleonore Friederike von Wurmb (1743-1823), the daughter of a Prussian Captain.²¹ When Louise became widowed she found employment with Prince Ludwig Günther II at Heidecksburg Castle in 1789. The Prince noted in March 1789 that “the Hunter Master’s widow was welcomed by princesses,”²² and she later ascended to the rank of “Oberhofmeisterin.” In the time between 1789 and 1823, Louise was granted the honor of

¹⁹ Therese Brunn, *Würzburger Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche: praktische Anweisung zur Bereitung der verschiedenartigsten Speisen, als: Suppen, Gemüse, Braten, Fische, Ragouts, Saucen, Salate, Milch-, Mehl- und Eierspeisen, Gelees, Kuchen, Pasteten, verschiedene Backwerke, Getränke u.s.w. nebst Speise-Zetteln u. dgl. m. : für Anfängerinnen, angehende Hausfrauen und Köchinnen; zuverlässige und selbstgeprüfte Recepte von einer praktischen Köchin* (Würzburg: J. M. Richter, 1862), title page; also, Heinrich Klietsch and Johann Hermann Siebell, *Vollständiges und allgemein-nützlichtes Bamberger Kochbuch: Worin mannichfaltige Speise-Zubereitung vorkommt immer für 12 Personen* (Bamberg: Göbhardt, 1805), v.

²⁰ WOK: HG.För.1789, vi, ix, 780-791.

²¹ “Hauptmann,” in Nortbert Oellers, “Vorwort: Louise von Lengefeld, die chère-mère, und die Ihren,” in Louise von Lengefeld, *150 nützliche Recepte: das Kochbuch von Schillers chère-mère, Louise von Lengefeld*, eds. Viktoria Fuchs and Ursula Weigl (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1997), 16. See also, transcript of Schiller-Louise v. L. correspondence at:

<https://friedrichschillerprojekt.wordpress.com/tag/grumpelsuppe/>.

²² *Ibid*, 16.

a local lady (“Dame”) and would not have been out of place at festive dinners.²³ Tutors, in this time, featured as part of the “family” rather than “staff” (“Gesinde”) of the household.²⁴

Louise’s recipe-collection, “Kochbuch IIter Teil” of festive foods dating between 1789 and 1820, combines recipes characteristic of Romantic dining and special meals with practical recipes for fast enjoyment.²⁵ English Pudding, preserved oranges and lemons, French Fricassée and Ragout make up the collection alongside instant soup and a “soup for fast recovery.”²⁶

Food was an accepted topic of conversation for ladies at official occasions, and recipe-exchange in hand-written notebooks part of crucial networking. Louise used recipe-exchanges to network with other ladies during her time at Heidecksburg.²⁷ Her hand-written recipe book displays the contributions and notes of approximately fourteen different individuals judging by their hands, four of whom signed their recipes with full names or initials.²⁸ The latter three in particular point to noble titles, preceded by “von.” Louise could have passed her notebook around at salons or parties, at court, in her own home, or at the homes of other ladies.²⁹ Recipe-exchanges, similar to *albi amicori*, may well have made for apparently neutral social practices among women in Germany of the classical Weimar era.

²³ Handschrift im Thüringischem Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt, Furst Ludwig Günther II von Schwarzburg Rudolstadt, cited in *Ibid* 16.

²⁴ FUBEG: Goth 8° 00039/04/4, 23.

²⁵ For former attempts to date the source, see: *Ibid*, and Vincent Klink, “Anmerkungen zur Lengfeldschen Küche,” in Lengefeld, *150 nützliche Recepte*, 183.

²⁶ DLA.D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengefeld, Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.” Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18. Recipes 141, 99, 137, 139, 43, 143, 125.

²⁷ Viktoria Fuchs and Ursula Weigl, “Zu Dieser Ausgabe,” in Lengefeld, *150 nützliche Recepte*, 201.

²⁸ DLA.D:Schiller A.V., Recipes 145- 149; 157-164; 165- 166; and 173-201, respectively.

²⁹ *Ibid*, Recipes 166-168 and 201 in darker ink, and 152-156 in a more jagged pen. See Appendix 1.

Given an initial or name in the notebook, the recipe-book further functioned as a record of the owner's social network, for all contributors to see.³⁰ Handed around a group of friends, recipes and names carried out the task of displaying the owner's contacts in a clever, conversational, and indirect way without being indelicate. Such books could further serve as the site of minor confrontations—for example, with one contributor striking out the initials' of another to correct ownership and provenance of recipes. This strong tie between recipes and identity speaks of the significance of the exchange and the recipes themselves as imbued with meaning and function. In essence, the contact with the title-holding members of society, just as much as the adoption of their culinary habits, could function as criteria for middling identity, the main difference being the lack of title.

Cosmopolitanism

The main feature of dining practices at royal and noble courts in the period between the French Revolution and the Revolutions of 1848 was cosmopolitanism.³¹ The inclusion of recipes stylized as foreign was a particular characteristic of upper-class cooking, and consequently, of the middling diet as well.³² “Eating” was “being,” and “being” cosmopolitan was classy.

³⁰ On “Stammbücher” or *Albi Amicori*, see: Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch. Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003), 545 and 547.

³¹ Recipes for dishes stylized as foreign outnumber the recipes for dishes stylized as German, regional, or city-specific put together a good fourfold: compare figures 3, 7, and 8.

³² Josef Stolz, *Vollständiges rheinisches Kochbuch: Oder Anleitung zur Bereitung der ausgesuchtesten, geschmackvollsten und grösstentheils noch nicht bekannten Speisen... Nebst Angabe des Vorzüglichsten aus der französischen, englischen, italienischen und russischen Küche*, 2nd ed. (Karlsruhe: A. Bielefeld, 1840).

In imitation of royalty and nobility, the social middle could purchase cookbooks written by, as mentioned above, chefs to the very same. The *Kochkunst* of Johann Rottenhöfer, chef to Maximilian II of Bavaria, was an example of this, as was Josef Stolz's *Complete Rhenish Cookbook*; the latter's consistent use of French terminology in 212 of the recipes in his cookbook (30%) in particular, aimed to communicate distinction given the slow expansion of French *haute cuisine* in mid-century.³³ The use of French was a mark of professionalism in their trade, and pedigree in their training.³⁴ French terms were treated as the "technical terms" ("Kunstausdrücke") of the art of cooking par excellence.³⁵ Funk provides a long index explaining this vocabulary in her *Franconian Cookbook* for the benefit of aspiring cooks, thus showing and promoting the expansion of such professional knowledge among women cooks as well.³⁶ Heinrich Klietsch and Johann Hermann Siebell, "Master cooks and confectioners" who catered to the bourgeoisie, rendered 18% of the names of the recipes in French.³⁷

³³ Johann Rottenhöfer, *Neue vollständige theoretisch-praktische Anweisung in der feinern Kochkunst mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der herrschaftlichen und bürgerlichen Küche*, 2nd ed. (Munich, Braun und Schneider, 1867); Stolz, *Vollständiges rheinisches Kochbuch*. Includes a total of approximately 707 recipes, estimated by calculation.

³⁴ See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

³⁵ J. G. Sartory, *Die Schwäbisch-Bayerische Küche oder Neuestes Augsburger Kochbuch: enthaltend über 900 Speisezubereitungen, als: Fleisch- u. Fasten-Speisen, d. feinen Kunstbäckereien u. Mehlspeisen, d. Gelees, Crèmes, Sulzen, Compoten, eingesottenen Früchte, Säfte u. Marmeladen, mit kalten u. warmen Getränken u. Gefrorenes, nebst Vorkehrungsgerichten, Speisezetteln u. Erklärungen der in d. Küche am häufigsten vorkommenden Kunstausdrücke* 2nd ed. (Augsburg: Matthias Rieger, 1851), title.

³⁶ M. D. Funk, *Neues Fränkisches Kochbuch oder deutliche und bewährte Anweisung zur vortheilhaftesten und schmackhaften Zubereitung der Speisen und Getränke des Backwerks und der Konfitüren: wie auch Früchte einzumachen und zu trocknen, verschiedene Essige zu verfertigen, Pöckelfleisch zu machen, Schinken einzusalzen und zu sieden, Fleisch zu räuchern u.s.w. : nebst vielen andern zur Koch- und Haushaltungskunst nützlichen Vorschriften*. 3rd ed. (Erlangen: Heyder, 1839), xxv-xxx.

³⁷ Klietsch and Siebell, *Bamberger Kochbuch*, vi. 22 recipes out of 124, exactly, 17.7%.

Figure 1. Proportion of Recipes Stylized as Foreign in 45 Cookbooks

Author/Title of Work	Year of Publication	Total number of Foreign Recipes	Total Number of Recipes	Percentage of Foreign Recipes
Looft	1778	19	729	2.6%
Morgenstern-Schulze	1785	19	870	2.2%
<i>Göppinger K.</i>	1790	9	512	1.8%
Meyfeld&Enners	1792	8	424	1.9%
Huber	1802	12	991	1.2%
<i>Hamburgisches K.</i>	1804	9	1312	0.7%
Klietsch&Siebell	1805	22	124	17.7%
<i>Dresdner K.</i>	1805	0	372	0.0%
Gleim	1808	4	356	1.1%
Kochanowski	1815	7	394	1.8%
<i>Bremisches K.</i>	1817	4	525	0.8%
Weiler	1819	4	1023	0.4%
Weilhuber	1822	25	715	3.5%
<i>Baierisches K.</i>	1824	27	990	2.7%
Löffler	1825	53	1610	3.3%
Grebitz	1826	1	470	0.2%
<i>Stuttgarter K.</i>	1828	30	418	7.2%
Stöcke	1833	9	598	1.5%
Rytz	1836	34	806	4.2%
Schaefer	1838	82	1800	4.6%
Funk	1839	36	855	4.2%
Stolz	1840	219	707	31.0%
Armster	1840	5	1550	0.3%
L. F.	1841	6	352	1.7%
Rosenfeld	1844	36	1026	3.5%
Eupel	1849	38	1460	2.6%
Sartory	1851	45	900	5.0%
Koller	1851	48	1137	4.2%
Spörlin	1852	13	768	1.7%
Brunn	1862	31	1050	3.0%
Jungius	1864	16	1080	1.5%
Riedl	1865	25	2020	1.2%
Weiler	1866	31	1040	3.0%
Scheibler	1866	22	2120	1.0%
Schandri	1867	4	870	0.5%
Allestein	1869	10	646	1.5%

Kurth	1879	13	840	1.5%
Davidis	1881	33	2484	1.3%
<i>Frankfurter K.</i>	1884	5	760	0.7%
Gotthardt	1891	8	436	1.8%
<i>Siegrfried</i>	1898	0	120	0.0%
Hammerl	1898	25	1000	2.5%
Hommer	1899	28	1539	1.8%
Kraft	1899	37	823	4.5%
Adam	1900	18	857	2.1%

Dishes stylized as “foreign” constituted a consistent inclusion in nineteenth-century cookbooks. On average, German publications included 25 recipes per book stylized as foreign, or 3.1% per book (see Figure 1). The most represented countries on bourgeois German dining tables were France, England, Italy, Spain, Holland, Poland, and Russia (see Figure 2). The former two led by a good measure.

Figure 2. Most Popular Countries Referenced in 45 Cookbooks

Country	Number of Recipes
French	511
English	229
Italian	98
Spanish	64
Dutch	59
Polish	49
Russian	46
Bohemian	11
Hungarian	10
Portuguese	10
Flemish	5
Turkish	5

Inclusions were fairly constant over time with a slight dip after 1860 (see Figure 3), largely independent of origin of the work, with higher cosmopolitanisms somewhat indicative of the author's level of training. Particularly the ubiquitous French influence was synonymous with style. English influence may have been generally more pervasive in the north (e.g. Gleim, 1817; Hommer, 1899), and manifested with a higher consumption of tea. Only two out of the 45 texts studied here include no foreign recipes at all—the already discussed *Dresdener Cookbook* of Chapter 1 of this dissertation, with the author's warning against imported products, being one of them. The other, by Siegrfried (1898), in turn, was written for a school-audience, intending to be simple and economical, and possibly avoided style intentionally.³⁸ To provide perspective, Siegrfried's work also provides no recipes of regional or civic identification in her work.

Figure 3. Detailed Breakdown of the Recipes' Nationalities in 45 Cookbooks over time

Author/ Title of Work	Year of Publication	French	English	Italian	Spanish	Dutch	Polish	Russian	Bohemian	Hungarian	Portuguese	Flemish	Turkish
Looft	1778	5	4	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morgenstern-Schulze	1785	8	6	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Göppinger K.</i>	1790	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meyfeld&Enners	1792	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Huber	1802	4	2	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Hamburgisches K.</i>	1804	1	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Klietsch&Siebell	1805	14	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
<i>Dresdner K.</i>	1805	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gleim	1808	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kochanowski	1815	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

³⁸ Anna Siegrfried, *Einfaches Kochbuch für Schule und Haus* (Königsberg: Hartungsche Verlagsdruckeru, 1898).

<i>Bremisches K.</i>	1817	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weiler	1819	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weilhuber	1822	10	8	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Baierisches K.</i>	1824	11	7	5	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Löffler	1825	14	22	4	3	3	6	0	0	0	0	1	0
Greibitz	1826	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Stuttgarter K.</i>	1828	7	10	5	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Stöcke	1833	5	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Rytz	1836	23	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Schaefer	1838	55	9	3	1	4	5	3	0	0	1	1	0
Funk	1839	30	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stolz	1840	165	6	19	2	3	1	7	1	1	4	1	2
Armster	1840	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
L. F.	1841	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rosenfeld	1844	19	8	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eupel	1849	5	11	2	7	0	4	2	2	1	2	0	0
Sartory	1851	19	9	3	3	4	1	1	0	2	1	1	0
Koller	1851	22	8	1	5	0	2	2	3	3	0	0	0
Spörlin	1852	8	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brunn	1862	9	7	7	1	1	1	4	0	0	1	0	0
Jungius	1864	6	2	2	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riedl	1865	5	6	4	1	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Weiler	1866	14	12	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scheibler	1866	2	9	0	2	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
Schandri	1867	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Allestein	1869	3	2	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Kurth	1879	1	1	6	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Davidis	1881	10	10	2	3	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Frankfurter K.</i>	1884	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gotthardt	1891	0	4	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Siegrfried	1898	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hammerl	1898	1	1	2	1	5	0	9	0	0	0	0	0
Hommer	1899	4	10	5	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
Kraft	1899	6	12	5	1	2	3	2	1	2	0	0	1
Adam	1900	3	2	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Regarding the conception of foreign dishes, a note: dishes did not necessarily carry a name accurately depicting a geographic origin, or acknowledging an allegedly traditional,

established cuisine marked by political borders. Naming dishes was a creative, associational exercise, where cookbook authors and their readers defined meals according to their peculiar character, within the confines of perceived power relations. Sophie Armster, hostess of the “London Tavern” in Stade, invited “female cooks versed in the fine art of cooking to rename this or that fine food *with another fitting name*, depending on whether the ingredients are strong, mild, or sweet-tasting.”³⁹

Taste and culinary association, therefore, were not characterized by accuracy or consistency. Italy inspired the German imagination and led to descriptions of recipes that contained nuts and spices but had little connection with their countries of alleged origin. A recipe for “Mexican” cake, in the same way, seems to have been named so, simply for containing cocoa.⁴⁰ A dish such as Castilian “Olla Potrida” (lit. “Rotten Pot”) made it across several borders into Bavaria as an absolute exception.⁴¹ This soup, according to Habarta and Habarta, in fact only made it to Central Europe due to being a favorite sustenance of pilgrims on the route to Santiago de Compostela. The “Olla Poderida” (lit. “Powerful Pot”) was a medieval invention which strengthened the traveller on his long way to the saint’s site in the north of the Iberian Peninsula.⁴² Other times, recipes travelled but in such a manner as to entirely obscure their actual origin. German cookbooks, for example, refer to cream-filled puffs as “Spanish winds”, similar to the

³⁹ Sophie Armster, *Neues auf vieljährige Erfahrung gegründetes Kochbuch; oder; Gründliche Anweisung zum Kochen und Braten: zur Bereitung der Backwerke, Cremes, Gelees, Getränke, etc. und alle Arten Früchte einzumachen. Ein Handbuch für Hausfrauen, Haushälterinnen und angehende Köchinnen*, 5th ed. (Stade: A. Pockwitz, 1840), iii, emphasis added.

⁴⁰ Koller, *Neuestes vollständiges Kochbuch*, 186.

⁴¹ *Baierisches National-Kochbuch*, 70.

⁴² Annemarie Habarta and Gerhard Habarta, *Das Santiago-Menü: eine kulinarische Pilgerreise durch die Küchen des Jakobsweges* (BoD – Books on Demand, 2008), 113-114.

contemporary name in German of “Windbeutel”- “Windbags”.⁴³ Spanish cookbooks, however, do not mention “profiteroles”, which is the name under which they are known today, until 1933, and 1945, under the current usage.⁴⁴ The alternative name in contemporary Spanish, “petit-sous”, credits the French, who, in their turn, have fifteen names for them.⁴⁵ Finally, English “Hodge-Podge”, today known as “Hot-Pot” in Britain, allegedly became the Flemish and French “Hochepot”—or else, it might have been the other way around.⁴⁶

The food historian strictly interested in ingredient and dish provenance will be frustrated at this degree of artistic licence, poorly indicative of food’s etymology. Naming, and the culinary imagination of dishes were quite the “Hodge-Podge” themselves in the social middle’s consumption habits in the *Vormärz*. For present purposes, however, it plays to our advantage: by using the names of dishes as creative descriptions, we can analyze them as reflective of the imagination of their authors. What is key to remark in the *Vormärz* consumption habits of middling Germans imitating the cosmopolitan habits of their social betters, is less the *actual* origin of recipes and ingredients, and more the reflection of the German culinary and geographic imagination such naming- and consumption-practices shed light on, and what eating certain foods meant for the middling consumer. This in turn sheds light on the question of imperialism.

⁴³ Brunn, *Würzburger Kochbuch*, 269; L. F., *Neuestes vollständiges Nürnberger Kochbuch für alle Stände*. 2nd ed. (Nuremberg: N. Menneken, 1841), 234. Also, Maria Elisabetha Meixner geb Niedereder, *Das neue ... Linzer Kochbuch in 10 Abschnitten*, 4. Ed. (Linz: k.k. priv. akad. Buchh., 1818), 454.

⁴⁴ Anonymous, *Blanco y negro* (1933) 54; *Le Cordon Bleu de Buenos Aires: Revista mensual ilustrada franco-argentina*, A. Baldi (1945), 67.

⁴⁵ Chouquette, Pâte à chou, Chou à la crème, Profiterole, Pet de nonne, Religieuse, Éclair, Pièce montée, Noix charentaise, Croquembouche, Divorcé, Saint-honoré, Paris-Brest, Pont-Neuf, Gland, Salambo.

⁴⁶ *Hochpote* in Klietsch and Siebell, *Bamberger Kochbuch*, 323.

Imperial Imitation: France and Britain

The tendency to favor French and British foods may have had less to do with the quality of food as such, and more with the meaning this act of eating implied. Taste is acquired,⁴⁷ and food-choices have less to do with what is “good to eat” than what is “good to think.”⁴⁸ Eating French and British food meant something: it was imperial food, it included colonial food from the center of the two largest and most powerful empires in the pre-March Era. Between a millenium of being an empire, and being an empire again in 1871, the chronology between 1806 and 1871 arguably made many of the German states short-term colonies themselves under French rule, and the conquered lands of other German states from 1815 to 1866.⁴⁹ Eating like empires provided some imaginary ties to the vast and powerful of the era even though, or in part because, the reality of power distribution differed.⁵⁰ This proto-imperial imagination—of a former empire without colonies—provided a base for later colonial consumption in the fin-de-siècle, where the consumptive vocabulary evolved and racialized colonial subjects provided new subalterns against whom to communicate distinction. That Spain, the formerly greatest empire, and Holland, with its own empire in southeast Asia, should feature similarly significantly in German recipe collections should then come as no surprise.

Some of the most popular inclusions in recipe collections from “England” included beef dishes and sweet pudding desserts. Most popular of all was British roast beef as

⁴⁷ Sarah Peterson, *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Cooking* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), xiii-xiv.

⁴⁸ Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).

⁴⁹ Christopher M. Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (London: Allen Lane, 2006); Edward Ross Dickinson, “The German Empire: An Empire?” *History Workshop Journal*, no. 66 (October 1, 2008): 129–62.

⁵⁰ Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

stereotypically British fare.⁵¹ “Beef steaks”⁵², “plum pudding”⁵³ or “English pudding”⁵⁴ enjoyed similar fame. These recipes appear to have aimed for authenticity. English roast beef when compared with recipes authored in English at the time resembled the dish served with root vegetables and optional gravy well enough.⁵⁵ Even the very long time of preparation which English authors specified as ideal was respected to some extent in German adaptations. The original six hours allegedly preferred by George III that even English authors admitted was excessive and impractical for every-day food-preparation also found its way to Central Europe, with some suggestions to reduce the time of cooking.⁵⁶

The practice of imitation also included the translation and purchasing of English works into German, and the purchasing or home-making of products coined as English. Kettelby’s British smash-hit sixty-three edition bestseller of 1808, for example, was

⁵¹ Anonymous, *Göppinger Kochbuch* (Stuttgart: Erhard und Löslund, 1790), 150; Klietsch and Siebell, *Bamberger Kochbuch*, 146; Jan Kochanowski, *Neues einfaches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen oder deutliche Anweisung, wie man ohne alle Vorkenntnisse die Speisen auf die wohlfeilste und schmackhafteste Art zubereiten kann* (Pirna: C.A. Friese, 1815), 178; Anonymous, *Stuttgarter Kochbuch: Anleitung für Hausfrauen, gut und öconomisch zu kochen und zu backen* (Stuttgart: C. Hoffmann, 1828), 69 (translated: “Englischer Braten”); Elisabeth Stöckel, *Die bürgerliche Küche*, 73; Rytz, *Neues berner Kochbuch*, 71.

⁵² Rytz, *Neues berner Kochbuch*, 72; Luise Schaefer, *Die vollkommene Köchin; oder, Neues schwäbisches Kochbuch: enthaltend mehr als 1800, durch tüchtige Hausfrauen erprobte Recepte*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: C.A. Sonnewald, 1838), 50.

⁵³ Sophie Juliane Weiler, *Augsburgisches Kochbuch*, 14th ed. (Augsburg: Wolff, 1819), 310, 595; Anna Koller, *Neuestes vollständiges Kochbuch: eine Anleitung, die Speisen eben so schmackhaft und zierlich, als schnell und sparsam zu bereiten* (Munich: Kaiser, 1851), 149, 230, 320; Brunn, *Würzburger Kochbuch*, 128 and 189; L. F. Jungius, *Deutsches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen: ein neues praktisches Handbuch für Deutsche Hausfrauen als Ergebniss langjähriger Erfahrungen*, 2nd ed (Berlin: Schroeder, 1864), 243; Anonymous, *Neuestes Augsburgisches Kochbuch, enthaltend 1040 Speise-Zubereitungen und viele nützliche Beigaben: Aus den Papieren von weiland Frau Sophia Juliana Weiler*, 13th ed. (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1866), 245.

⁵⁴ Schaefer, *Die vollkommene Köchin*, 234, 235, and 236.

⁵⁵ Maria Eliza Kettelby Rundell, *A New System of Domestic Cookery: Formed upon Principles of Economy, and Adapted to the Use of Private Families* (London: Printed by Norris & Sawyer, 1808), 46-7; John Farley, *The London Art of Cookery and Domestic Housekeeper’s Complete Assistant: Uniting the Principles of Elegance, Taste, and Economy: And Adapted to the Use of Servants, and Families of Every Description* (London: Scatcherd and Letterman, 1811), 61.

⁵⁶ Rundell, *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, 45-6. For literary depictions of Victorian appetite at court, see: Denise Gigante, *Taste A Literary History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 160-169.

translated into a German edition in 1845.⁵⁷ Port-cities like Bremen enjoyed culinary imitation of English-style “Mushroom Cat-sup,” a salted and spiced mushroom sauce with ginger, salt, and paprika, and a use of stuffing, “English Pickles,” and ketchup (“Cat-sup”).⁵⁸ French recipes such as Provençal “Daube” and French “Matelote” experienced a similar fate.⁵⁹ “Daube” made with inexpensive beef braised in wine with vegetables and herbs, and the French meat broth “jus” that often accompanied meat, remained common inclusions in cookbooks of the *Vormärz* period.⁶⁰

The question of ownership of ingredients provides a key caveat to this story: German consumption respected power, ownership, and the claims of empire. The British and French traders owned certain foods and areas these products came from, ergo, they were theirs—the centers’, not the periphery’s. Lemons and spices, therefore, many authors connected to England and Italy, and oranges and almonds to Milan and France.⁶¹ These associations did display logical connections and relied on experience and an associative imagination within a trading Europe. The sea-faring nations of Italians and England would naturally be associated with the spice-trade. Consistently exotic or foreign were non-autochthonous organisms such as lemons and oranges which grew in the Mediterranean were indeed importations from there and their association with Portugal and Spain was reasonable. Some spices, with some Renaissance meaning to them, could

⁵⁷ Rundell, *Neuestes auf Erfahrung gegründetes Kochbuch*.

⁵⁸ StUBB: Brem.c.1989, 17, 9-15, 347, 17. On the origin of ketchup through Chinese-British encounters in 1690, with its British modifications until the early nineteenth century, see Dan Jurafsky, *The Language of Food: A Linguist Reads the Menu* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 57, 58-63.

⁵⁹ Hog’s head and Cock a la Daube: Schaefer, *Die vollkommene Köchin*, 442 and 446, respectively; Matelote: Schaefer, *Die vollkommene Köchin*, 308 and 309.

⁶⁰ On “Daube,” see: Schaefer, *Die vollkommene Köchin*, 331; also Hog’s head and Cock a la Daube in Schaefer, *Die vollkommene Köchin*, 442 and 446, respectively. On “Jus”: Ibid, 133 and 141; Funk, *Neues Fränkisches Kochbuch*, 374; Stolz, *Vollständiges rheinisches Kochbuch*, 1, 102, and 161.

⁶¹ Weiler, *Neuestes Augsbürgisches Kochbuch*, 66 and 60; Rytz, *Neues berner Kochbuch*, 268; Henriette Davidis, *Arrangements zu kleinen und grössern Gesellschaften, zu Frühstücks, Mittags- und Abendessen, Kaffee’s und Thee’s, und einem Küchenzettel nach den Jahreszeiten geordnet* (Bielefeld: Velhagen and Klasing, 1847), 288.

be reminiscent of Italy to the German middling consumer, due to Italian explorative and trading history from the time of Marco Polo through to the height of city-state splendor. Yet none of these decisions of naming ingredients can be considered neutral.

A latent British and French imperialism may well have been bought along with the products in the port-cities of Bremen and Hamburg. Whatever foods Germans could associate with their immediate neighbors and their colonies, they understood to be “theirs,” thus making products “imperial” rather than “colonial” with reference to the center of empires, rather than peripheries. Empires expand without the intention of receding, and therefore, in Roman logic, to call sugar “English” and coffee or chocolate “French” would not have been counter-intuitive. Those were simply products of the two empires, whose lands were conceptualized as undisputedly theirs. These products were further undeniably associated with the British and French merchants whose ships docked at German ports for trade and exchange.

In so far as German consumption recognized power, some geographic areas seemed more culinarily-conquerable than others, or lent themselves to appropriation into the German diet. Some foods, Gleim wrote in her 1808 *Bremian Cookbooks*, could “become” or “have become” “as equally native” to German lands as those in longer usage.⁶² The Italian macaroni, for example, enjoyed great success in the early decades of the nineteenth century.⁶³ At an early stage, Italian pasta was certainly imported, and authors might choose to favor the product from across the Alps. Klietsch and Siebell in 1805, and

⁶² Betty Gleim, *Bremisches Koch- und Wirthschaftsbuch*, 1st Edition (Faksimile. Bremen: Heinrich Döll & co, 1808), iv-v. This porosity in becoming native was prevalent in Romantic thought. See: Brian Vick, “Greek Origins and Organic Metaphors: Ideals of Cultural Autonomy in Neohumanist Germany from Winckelmann to Curtius,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63, 3 (2002): 483-500.

⁶³ On the origin of pasta, see: Jurafsky, *The Language of Food*, 134, versus Tony May, *Italian Cuisine: The New Essential Reference to the Riches of the Italian Table* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2005), 140 and Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 467.

Rytz in 1836, still find it necessary to explain what an Italian “Macaroni” was.⁶⁴ Stöckel, however, already used them as natural and self-understood ingredients in 1833 that required no explanation or introduction in her recipes, without mentioning an origin.⁶⁵ Rytz, probably ahead of the more northern states as a Swiss publication, even included instruction on how to make pasta oneself in 1836.⁶⁶ Yet, in a casserole-pie with macaroni in the *Bavarian National Cookbook* from 1824, the author does not refer to the dish as Italian.⁶⁷ This stands for a high degree of appropriation of the Italian macaroni into the German diet, to the point where it has become an autochthonous ingredient itself. After long usage, we thus see the appropriation of Italian foods, to the point where the alleged point of origin becomes effaced.

Having been in the French Empire, and the Proto-Imperial Imagination

In a century of being conquered, to consume British and French foods could be a way of collaging imperial grandeur, that is, to enjoy a vicarious imperialism.⁶⁸ After French invasion in 1806, the recent experience of being “lumped in” with the same French-authored discursive pile with other “inferiors,” in Egypt, Italy, and India could well have caused confusion: despite later colonial tendencies in the German Empire itself, we must not forget that only a few years earlier, French General de Rocca, drawing on Voltaire’s

⁶⁴ L. Rytz (geb. Dick), *Neues berner Kochbuch; oder Anleitung, die im gewöhnlichen Leben sowohl als bei Fest-Anlässen üblichen Speisen aus die schmackhafteste Art zuzubereiten, nebst einer bildlichen Darstellung wie die Gerichte auf dem Tisch gefällig zu ordnen sind*, 2nd ed. (Bern: Rätzer, 1836), 162; Klietsch and Siebell, *Bamberger Kochbuch*, viii.

⁶⁵ Elisabeth Stöckel, *Die bürgerliche Küche oder neuestes österreichisches Kochbuch für Bürgerfamilien aus der gebildeteren Mittelklasse: Eine ... vollständige Anweisung, alle Arten Speisen ... zu bereiten; Mit Beigabe von zweihundert Speisezetteln für Wochen- und Festtage* (Sollinger, 1833), 116, 117.

⁶⁶ Rytz, *Neues berner Kochbuch*, 159-160.

⁶⁷ *Baierisches National-Kochbuch*, 73.

⁶⁸ Christopher M. Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).

idea of French superiority, portrayed Germans and Spanish on either side of the French border as little more than brutes. Broers writes, “his disdain for both the Germans and the Spaniards is obvious: he saw the former as little more than downtrodden, mindless robots, the victims of reactionary—if efficient—despotism; the latter were lazy, superstitious and backward, but ferocious when roused. ... Their better grasp of logic and reason, they felt, made them better organized and less religious than the Spanish, but freer and more individualistic than the Germans.”⁶⁹

What we can argue for, is that middling German consumption respected power and its authority to claim ownership of food and its meanings. The act of eating took political sovereignty into account, knew what could be conquered, and what not, what German food could appropriate, and what “was” and remained “British” or “French.” Thus, the macaroni could become native, while Catsup was more likely to remain “English.” Within the aspirational cosmopolitan eating of middling Germans in imperial imitation, Britain and France, the great powers, remained whole, and their power had to be swallowed in one piece. While much of this imagination has to do with a Eurocentric experience of German trading relations and product access, the aspirational cosmopolitanism of middling consumption itself stood equally for curiosity and interest.

Middling Germans, in literary and trading contact with France and Britain, bought these empire’s claim to colonial land, with their “Colonial” products as of roughly 1814. The Italian states, in the ambiguous position of “having been empire” themselves, only recently, to France, and not holding colonies just like Germans, held a looser claim to

⁶⁹ Michael Broers, *Europe Under Napoleon 1799-1815*, 1 edition. (London: Hodder Education Publishers, 1996), 458.

what was theirs: macaroni were not their exclusive property, and their merchants only succeeded in laying partial claims to nuts and citrus.

The short colonial experience of the German states had an impact deserving of discussion at this point: the fin-de-siècle desire to pair Germany alongside the imperial powers of France and Britain found a precedent in the cosmopolitan consumption of the social middle in the German *Vormärz*.⁷⁰ When examining the Pre-march consumptive imaginations, we find a proto-imperial imagination—an imperial imitation without colonies, an imitation of powers through cosmopolitan consumption and imported products, with the double meaning of social aspiration—rather than a fully developed colonial consciousness, combined with consumer awareness, endorsement, or active self-making through clearly politicized product purchasing. This is a dim and distant precedent to colonialism, not colonial in its make-up as such, but arguably making colonial thought possible.

A significant absence in this tale are explicit racism or rejections of racial others. A meal at a Hanseatic restaurant might include “Poupidons” a “Farce-filled pie, with a bed of vegetables and nuts—carrot, onion, pine nuts, and pistachios,”⁷¹ and dishes seasoned with “Japanese soy-sauce.”⁷² At the same time however, consumption did not protest empire or colonies. The term “Colonialwaren,” in the context of French trade, was not coined as exploitative, but simply as “trade.”⁷³ “Colonialwaren” referred to “foreign” products or simply “imported goods,” rather than symbolic produce from an area of the world bringing them forth under questionable and asymmetric conditions of power-

⁷⁰ See Chapter 5 of this dissertation. On the experience of invasion, see: Burgdorf, *Ein Weltbild verliert seine Welt*.

⁷¹ StUBB: Brem.c.1989, 156.

⁷² StUBB: Brem.c.1989, 16.

⁷³ *Französische Miscellen* (Cotta, 1805), 178.

distribution— this, although Adam Smith had critiqued these relations as early as 1776. Further, the import and export of “Colonialwaren” was understood as a profit-generating practice particular to countries—France in particular, as well as Britain—whose power put them into a privileged position for generating income—sometimes, into a position of “Monopoly,”⁷⁴ these being imperial powers.

Consuming colonial goods as the rightful property of imperial centers can be read as implicit endorsement. At the same time, imperial fervor is not explicit in food discourses, nor are there calls for expansion on their basis. Zantop is right to note that the term “Colonie” made a quick career in belletristic and politics in the pre-March era, however, it seems that ideas and products among the middling population remained fairly disconnected from it until the fin-de-siècle.⁷⁵ The proto-imperial imagination of the German household was particularly distinct from the well-developed imperial imaginations of literature, exploration activities, economic theory, and political discussions. It appears that it was not until the fin-de-siècle, alongside militarism and the scramble for Africa in the 1880s, that German middling consumption gained a very well-

⁷⁴ Adam Smith, *Von den Elementen des National Reichthums, und von der Staats wirthschaft* (Göttingen: J. F. Röwer, 1806), 150.

⁷⁵ Example of French literature discussing “colonies” made their way into the German lands, E.g. Germain-François Poullain de Saint-Foix, *Die Colonie: ein Lustspiel von drey Acten. und Der Dervisch: ein Lustspiel von einem Act*, trans. by E. (Hamburg: Meiners, 1764); Abbé Marchadier, *Die neue Colonie der Venus oder die Eroberungen der Cyprischen Göttin*, (Frankfurt: Zindel, 1767); Georg Forster, “Cook, der Entdecker; Neuholland und die brittische Colonie in Botany-Bay,” in *Kleine Schriften. Ein Beytrag zur Völker- und Länderkunde, Naturgeschichte und Philosophie des Lebens* (Leipzig: Kummer, 1789), Johann Andreas Christoph Hildebrandt, *Die Colonie auf St. Helena: Ein Roman* (Quedlingburg: Gottfried Basse, 1817); Christoph Hildebrandt, *Robinsons colonie: fortsetzung von Campe's Robinson*, (Leipzig: Campe, 1817); August von Kotzebue, *Bruder Moritz, der Sonderling, oder: die Colonie für die Pelew-Inseln* (Wien: Mausberger, 1828). See also: John K. Noyes, “Goethe on Cosmopolitanism and Colonialism: Bildung and the Dialectic of Critical Mobility,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 4 (2006): 443–62. Nor was the idea of colonies uncontested. An angry literary critic of a German translation of a colonial conquest by Abbé Marchadier noted in 1768, that the author seemed to be “an unfunny joker” and that his work was “written for colonists, not for us.” “Die neue Colonie der Venus, oder erobering der cyprischen Göttin,” ed. Gebauer, *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, Halle (1768), 182.

defined imperialist meaning paired with a colonial imaginary, constructed against a racial other whose inferiority was encoded on *Colonialwaren* through marketing.⁷⁶

The term “Colonialwaren,” so key to identity-construction in the fin-de-siècle as David Ciarlo shows, remained fairly rare in German print throughout the *Vormärz*. We may also note that the terms “Colonie” and “Colonialware” do not appear in Grimm’s Wörterbuch; instead, terms that occupy a similar semantic space, are “Kaiser,” based on Roman- and “Reich”-based medieval precedent.⁷⁷ The term “Colonie”, between 1750 and 1800, appears to have been a British import through reports on the Americas and economic theory by Adam Smith and David Ricardo translated into German and published between 1806 and 1837, as well as exercised and brought back into the German lands from the Congress of Vienna between 1813 and 1815, where the term “Colonie” was relevant to political discussion.⁷⁸ French literature translated into German also played its role, and was not without criticism. “Kolonialwaren” at the time were also conceptually symbolic imports, not referring to products ‘made in colonies,’ than being used to simply refer to “imports” or “imported goods.”⁷⁹

⁷⁶ The earliest sources in Zantop’s work using the term “Kolonial” date from 1884, a key moment in actual German colonial experience in Africa. Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 270. On the beginning of German rule in Tanzania, with its effects on advertising colonial products, see: David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). See also: Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

⁷⁷ *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*. 16 Bde. in 32 Teilbänden (Leipzig 1854-1961). Quellenver-zeichnis Leipzig 1971. Online-Version vom 03.08.2017.

<[http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-](http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GR02995#XGR02995)

[bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GR02995#XGR02995](http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GR02995#XGR02995)>Massimo

⁷⁸ Smith, *Von den Elementen des National Reichthums*; David Ricardo, *David Ricardo’s Grundgesetze der Volkswirtschaft und Besteuerung* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1837). On the Congress of Vienna, see: Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*. Also: Friedrich Benedict Weber, *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie* (Breslau: Barth, 1813), 181-182.

⁷⁹ E.g. “Verordnung von Friedrich Wilhelm,” Hardenberg, Thursday 16th of April 1812, *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen: 1812, 1/4* (Haude & Spener, 1812) 1.

While “Colonialism” as such, therefore, may not be the most effective lens to discuss consumption in the Vormärz, we can observe a proto-imperial imagination, which proved fertile ground for imperial identity-construction in the fin-de-siècle. It was there that consumption embedded the Imperial German inhabitant in a ‘center’ through the economically and politically endorsed exploitation of a colonial “periphery.” Until then, cookbook authors associated lemons and spices with England⁸⁰ and Italy⁸¹, and oranges and almonds with Milan⁸² and France,⁸³ and consumption sought to pair with power through culinary association.

Cultural Class Identity

German Geographies, Regions, and Cities as Cultural Poles in a Century of Moving Borders

The literate middling inhabitants of the German lands appear to equally have held curiosity and interest to explore the culinary habits of their German neighbors, in other German regions and, especially, German cities. Cities were constant rocks in the face of tidal waves of political reorganization. Dissolved in 1806 after Napoleon’s invasion, re-organized in the Confederation of the Rhine and re-organized again at the Congress of Vienna, the German states, city-states, and cities knew much change and little constancy—a trend that would continue for over a century. Authors used regions and

⁸⁰ Weiler, *Neuestes Augsburger Kochbuch*, 66.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸² Rytz, *Neues berner Kochbuch*, 268.

⁸³ Davidis, *Arrangements zu kleinen und grössern Gesellschaften*, 288.

cities as significant profiling and selling points of recipe collections and their individual sets of instructions. This suggests some degree of food-networking or recognition through shared culinary practice—although not explicit nationalization.

At times, the names of cookbooks may have served primarily the purpose of giving a recipe collection a memorable or characteristic marketing profile in the vast market of competing monographs, each working to present the reader with something different or distinct worth the time of day and their cost of purchase. The actual contents of cookbooks, however, were not so often regionally distinct themselves, with recurring structures (soups, ragouts, etc.).⁸⁴ With high levels of plagiarism and replication in works all over German lands, such regional or civic designations in works are therefore not a transparent indicator of a regionally organized cuisine. They are, however, indicative of what authors and book sellers thought would provide an appealing marketing edge to the buyer. We can therefore safely assume that on the bookshelf, regional and civic identity sold well, especially so before the 1860s.

Figure 4. Geographical Identification in the Titles of 45 Cookbooks⁸⁵

Author/Title of Work	Year of Publication	Territorial Type	Territorial Identification
Looft	1778	Region	Lower Saxony
Morgenstern-Schulze	1785	NA	NA
<i>Göppinger K.</i>	1790	City	Göppingen
Meyfeld&Enners	1792	City	Hanover
Huber	1802	Region	Bavaria
<i>Hamburgisches K.</i>	1804	City	Hamburg
Klietsch&Siebell	1805	City	Bamberg

⁸⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁸⁵ Weilhuber's 1823 edition is a two-volume version of 1822. I here use 1852, the date of completion of Spörlins' two-volume work, published 1840 and 1852.

<i>Dresdner K.</i>	1805	City	Dresden
Gleim	1808	City	Bremen
Kochanowski	1815	NA	NA
<i>Bremisches K.</i>	1817	City	Bremen
Weiler	1819	City	Augsburg
Weilhuber	1823	Nation	Germany
<i>Baierisches K.</i>	1824	Region	Bavaria
Löffler	1825	NA	NA
Grebitz	1826	NA	NA
<i>Stuttgarter K.</i>	1828	City	Stuttgart
Stöcke	1833	Nation	Austria
Rytz	1836	City	Bern
Schaefer	1838	Region	Swabia
Funk	1839	Region	Franconia
Stolz	1840	Region	Rheinland
Armster	1840	NA	NA
L. F.	1841	City	Nuremberg
Rosenfeld	1844	City	Augsburg
Eupel	1849	NA	NA
Sartory	1851	Region	Swabia and Bavaria
Koller	1851	NA	NA
Spörlin	1852	Region	Upper Rhine
Brunn	1862	City	Würzburg
Jungius	1864	Nation	Germany
Riedl	1865	City	Lindau
Weiler	1866	City	Augsburg
Scheibler	1866	Nation	Germany
Schandri	1868	City	Regensburg
Allestein	1869	NA	NA
Kurth	1879	NA	NA
Davidis	1881	City	NA
<i>Frankfurter K.</i>	1884	NA	Frankfurt
Gotthardt	1891	NA	NA
<i>Siegrfried</i>	1898	NA	NA
Hammerl	1898	Region	North Germany
Hommer	1899	City	Hamburg
Kraft	1899	NA	NA
Adam	1900	Region	Silesia

Geographic identification was an almost constant practice in book and recipe naming. Within that, regions were moderately well represented in the titles of foods. Bavaria led the way (see Figure 5). The present sample mildly over-represents the German south, partly explaining the prevalence of Swiss recipes present in German cookbooks. That Bavaria functioned both as a region and an independent kingdom may have aided this identification. Westphalia, Franconia, Swabia, Hesse and Saxony follow.

Figure 5. Number of Recipes Named after Regions in 45 Cookbooks

Region	Number of Recipes
Bavaria	29
Westphalia	6
Franconia	5
Swabia	4
Hesse	4
Saxony	3

This regional representation seems to fall in line with scholarship by historians such as Rowe, Aaslestad, Hagemann and Planert, who have found that for the first half of the nineteenth century and in reaction to Napoleonic invasion, German patriotism was specific to regions and cities rather than a still hypothetical German state.⁸⁶ This trend

⁸⁶ Katherine Aaslestad and Karen Hagemann, “1806 and Its Aftermath: Revisiting the Period of the Napoleonic Wars in German Central European Historiography,” *Central European History* 39, no. 4 (December 1, 2006): 579. See also Karen Hagemann, “Occupation, Mobilization, and Politics: The Anti-Napoleonic Wars in Prussian Experience, Memory, and Historiography,” Katherine Aaslestad, “Paying for War: Experiences of Napoleonic Rule in the Hanseatic Cities,” Ute Planert, “From Collaboration to Resistance: Politics, Experience, and Memory of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Southern Germany,” and Michael Rowe, “France, Prussia, or Germany? The Napoleonic Wars and Shifting Allegiances in the Rhineland,” in the same issue. See also their respective monographs: Karen Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia's Wars against Napoleon: History, Culture, and Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Katherine B. Aaslestad, *Place and Politics. Local Identity, Civic Culture and German Nationalism in North Germany during the Revolutionary Era* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers,

may equally apply, as Green, Applegate, and Confino have pointed out, to the second half of the nineteenth century as well.⁸⁷

Noteworthy too, if not prevalent, was the identification with cultural and geographic regions that did not coincide with existing political lines. Given the still uncertain nature of regional borders at the same time, besides then-existing political regions, traditional and imaginary regions similarly graced both the titles of cookbooks and the names of recipes. The Rhine, the most German river in all lore and song, provides orientation for two book titles in my sample. Franconia and Swabia, which can both claim a highly distinctive culture and dialect as their own, lend their names to two further titles. This suggests that cooking and recipe design functioned as mechanisms for marking regional identity irrespective of politics.

Figure 6. Number of Recipes Entitled after Cities in 45 Cookbooks

City	Number of Recipes
Vienna	79
Hamburg	22
Frankfurt	13
Berlin	12

2005); Michael Rowe, *From Reich to State: The Rhineland in the Revolutionary Age, 1780-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ute Planert, *Der Mythos vom Befreiungskrieg. Frankreichs Kriege und der deutsche Süden: Alltag - Wahrnehmung - Deutung 1792-1841*, *Krieg in der Geschichte* 33. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007).

⁸⁷ See the early milestone works of Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) as well as Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). For the second half of the nineteenth century, see: Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For the Austrian case and eastern borderlands into the twentieth century see: Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) and Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis." *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (April 1, 2010): 93–119, respectively.

Linz	9
Basel	8
Ulm	7
Nuremberg	5
Augsburg	5
Danzig	2
Munich	2

For the names of dishes in German cookbooks, cities constituted the most utilized geographical marker. 40% (18/45) of the texts here explored use cities in their titles, 22% (13/45) use the name of a region, and only 4% (4/45) that of a nation—perhaps, a logical choice. Irrespective of how many times a border washed over your city, it remained itself, and was unlikely to be split in half when as large and significant as Bremen, Hamburg, or Dresden. The city of Vienna alone outmatches all recipes named after the six most popular German regions in the same sample of 45 cookbooks (79 versus 53). Even some small towns featured and gained attention, including Borsdorf in Koller’s work, or Jettingen in Schaefer’s publication.⁸⁸ Cities could well have functioned as stabilizing, cultural foci for the German geographic imagination. They were older, like Linz or Ulm (Figure 6); being tangible and developed, distinctive in character and more constant than the newly established states dating from 1815. Cities, in essence, functioned as constant rocks of which the German geographic imagination could grasp hold.

⁸⁸ Koller, *Neuestes vollständiges Kochbuch*, 311 and 283, respectively; Schaefer, *Die vollkommene Köchin*, 1838, 126.

Figure 9. German Regional Geographic Identification of Recipes in 45 Cookbooks

Author/ Title of Work	Year of Publication	Total number of German/Regional Recipes	Bavarian	German	Swiss	Westphalian	Franconian	Swabian	Hessian
Looft	1778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morgenstern-Schulze	1785	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Göppinger K.</i>	1790	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meyfeld&Enners	1792	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Huber	1802	3	4	0	0	2	1	0	0
<i>Hamburgisches K.</i>	1804	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Klietsch&Siebell	1805	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Dresdner K.</i>	1805	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gleim	1808	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kochanowski	1815	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Bremisches K.</i>	1817	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weiler	1819	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weilhuber	1823	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Baierisches K.</i>	1824	3	3	1	0	0	2	0	0
Löffler	1825	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grebitz	1826	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Stuttgarter K.</i>	1828	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stöcke	1833	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rytz	1836	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Schaefer	1838	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
Funk	1839	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
Stolz	1840	11	3	4	3	0	0	0	4
Armster	1840	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
L. F.	1841	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rosenfeld	1844	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eupel	1849	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	0
Sartory	1851	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Koller	1851	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spörlin	1852	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brunn	1862	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Jungius	1864	8	1	4	2	1	1	0	0
Riedl	1865	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Weiler	1866	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0

Scheibler	1866	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Schandri	1868	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Allestein	1869	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kurth	1879	4	0	3	0	0	1	0	0
Davidis	1881	9	1	2	7	0	0	0	0
<i>Frankfurter K.</i>	1884	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gotthardt	1891	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Siegrfried	1898	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hammerl	1898	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Hommer	1899	2	4	1	0	0	0	1	0
Kraft	1899	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Adam	1900	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Where then, was nationalism? German identification was not entirely absent from recipe names. While only three works in the sample took the name of “German Cookbook,” (Weillhuber, 1823; Jungius, 1864; Scheibler, 1866), the forty-five works in total contained twenty-two recipes stylized as German. Patriotism was not entirely absent in the writing of cookbooks. Nationalism and love of country were in the case of Betty Gleim primary motivations for authoring her recipe collection. Gleim, a key figure of the cookbook scene of the nineteenth century, wrote in the introduction to her 1808 first edition: “Given that to date no Bremian cookbook has been available, it did not seem superfluous to me to publish such a one; particularly given that the manner of preparation of foods which occurs in Bremen is very singular.”⁸⁹ Yet, Gleim, like others, did not consider it a contradiction at all to consume foods from other geographical areas or include their recipes in her Bremian collection.

⁸⁹ Betty Gleim, *Bremisches Koch- Und Wirthschaftsbuch*, 1st ed. Faksimile (Bremen: Heinrich Döll & co, 1808), iii-iv.

Unsurprisingly, most discussion in the culinary genre manifested their nationalism in terms of affection for their country and the local, rather than the rejection of an “other”.⁹⁰ The most prominent theme here is the claim that the regional food is particularly good and tasty, and absolutely unique in character. Margaretha Spörlin’s project advocates the traditions of her area in her *Upper-Rhenian Cookbook*. Existing cookbooks, she finds, have “lost sight” of a crucial point of food consumption: regional tradition.⁹¹ “In Switzerland, in Alsace, in the neighboring Swabian countries, in short, at the borders of the Rhine...according to the testament of all foreign travelers, lives a good local cooking (tradition). The ancestors loved it, as do now their grandchildren”.⁹² Similarly patriotic, the anonymous author of the *Bavarian National Cookbook* makes the same claim of distinction for her regional cooking: “The Bavarian art of cooking belongs undisputedly to the most exquisite of Germany (“Teutschland”); this is the unanimous judgment of all foreigners.”⁹³

Therese Brunn in the same way claims a unique character for the area of Würzburg and Franconia, in a time where it was already subsumed by the Bavarian crown. Würzburg was a Bishopric until 1806, then became a Grand Duchy under Napoleon, until 1812, then became Bavarian in 1815, as it remained until 1918 and today. “Franconia...this land provides with its richness and variety in the blessings of nature many good things for little money.”⁹⁴ Such cooking as here “can be encountered hardly

⁹⁰ On the rejection of foreign foods as cultural and physical contamination, see Massimo, *Food Is Culture*, 133.

⁹¹ Margaretha Spörlin, *Oberrheinisches Kochbuch oder Anweisung für junge Hausmütter und Töchter, die in der Kunst zu Kochen und einzumachen einige Geschicklichkeit erlangen wollen: Nebst einem Anhang von Speisen für Kranke*, 7th ed. (Mülhausen: Rißler, 1852), iv.

⁹² *Ibid*, iv.

⁹³ *Baierisches National-Kochbuch*, iii.

⁹⁴ Therese Brunn, *Würzburger Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche: praktische Anweisung zur Bereitung der verschiedenartigsten Speisen, als: Suppen, Gemüse, Braten, Fische, Ragouts, Saucen, Salate*,

anywhere else in Germany.”⁹⁵ It is an error, writes Brunn, to believe that cooking has become homogenous everywhere in Europe and America: this may be the case in hotels and restaurants, which cater to travelers, but not in the bourgeois home.⁹⁶ Here, in the home of the middle class, that fortress of tradition, “the kitchen is more or less in conformity with local conditions, climate, produce, and old traditions (“Herkommen”).”⁹⁷ Thus, the geography of the area, its tradition, and its location between North and South Germany have brought about its particular character, a “special Franconian and Würzburgerian cuisine.”⁹⁸ To Brunn Franconia constitutes a bridge between these two areas and their character: “through their smelting, a third new element was born, which reproduced itself from the public sphere into... the innermost place of the kitchen.”⁹⁹ Brunn’s audience too is “national”, but not German: her Franconian and Würzburgian “countrywomen” (‘Landmänninen’), a national female audience.¹⁰⁰

The question of the use of the German language in cookbooks was more sensitive. Several authors, Jungius, for example, avoided foreign terminology, referring to French names of foods in their works as little as possible, because not all Germans spoke French. Jungius was the Master of the Kitchen at the Prussian court of Frederick William IV, himself with nationalist leanings. He writes, “[a]ll strange-seeming technical and

Milch-, Mehl- und Eierspeisen, Gelees, Kuchen, Pasteten, verschiedene Backwerke, Getränke u.s.w. nebst Speise-Zetteln u. dgl. m. : für Anfängerinnen, angehende Hausfrauen und Köchinnen ; zuverlässige und selbstgeprüfte Recepte von einer praktischen Köchin (Würzburg: J. M. Richter, 1862), iv.

⁹⁵ Ibid, iii.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

specialist terms have been avoided”, when addressing the “German Housewives”.¹⁰¹ That Jungius should address “German Housewives” as a collective was not common practice. No other cookbook I have found so far expressly addresses a “German” collective referred to in that fashion. Next to the chosen title of Jungius’ work, this is a strong indicator of German nationalism: the “German Cookbook” of Jungius thus entitled was one of few publications in the nineteenth century to identify with greater Germany rather than with an existing German state.¹⁰² A patriotism which reveals itself in the stark rejection of “foreign mumbo-jumbo” was rather the exception in the cookbook genre.¹⁰³ Weilhuber writes that it is “nonsense” to use “foreign words with German (teutschen) endings”- a practice he refuses to participate in.¹⁰⁴ This, Weilhuber decides, is the use of “hereticising terminology”¹⁰⁵ – a statement which seems to imply that a good German should stick to the orthodoxy of his language. The German-level nationalism represented in German cookbooks, therefore, indicates the level of nationalism one might expect in the light of current scholarship: a minor, important, but not all-encompassing presence.

¹⁰¹ L. F. Jungius, *Deutsches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen: ein neues praktisches Handbuch für Deutsche Hausfrauen als Ergebniss langjähriger Erfahrungen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: E. H. Schroeder, 1864), title page.

¹⁰² Only two other texts available to me by Scheibler also chooses “German” to be in the title: Sophie Wilhelmine Scheibler, *Allgemeines deutsches kochbuch für alle stände, oder gründliche anweisung alle arten speisen und backwerke auf die wohlfeilste und schmackhafteste art zuzubereiten: Ein unentbehrliches handbuch für angehende hausmütter, haushälterinnen und köchinnen*, 17th ed. (Leipzig: C. F. Amelang, 1866).

¹⁰³ Franz Anton Weilhuber, *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch oder Inbegriff aller Kochkunstvortheile, um gut, wohlfeil und wohlschmeckend zu kochen: mit Berücksichtigung und Anwendung der französischen, englischen und italienischen Küchen-Vorschriften : zum leichtern Gebrauch als Wörterbuch verfaßt*, Vol. I. (Pappenheim: Seybold, 1822), 3; and Vol. II., (1823), note the title deploying the nationalist “T” of „Teutsch“.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Control over Subalterns

In addition to cosmopolitan imitation of social superiors, and a curation or collage of middlingness with cultural identity in the early decades of the nineteenth century that would trend until the fin-de-siècle, the social middle further exploited their social position as the controllers over food to distinguish between themselves and the people who served them, through exercising control over their diet. In being authors of their food, the middling defined subalternity through ingredients, portion size, the number of meals, and their quality, communicating symbolically at all dining-hours of the day the social place of their dependents and inferiors. Symbolically, determining the meals of dependents communicated social status both in quantity and in kind—primarily with bread and soup, made of cereals, milk, and eggs—as well as in exception, with meat and smaller, spoiled portions or hunger serving as rewards and punishments.

Bread and cereals did not occupy a constant place on the early nineteenth-century middling table, unlike in the French case as discussed by Michel de Certeau, in so far as in Certeau's analysis of France, bread functioned as the constant accompaniment of any meal.¹⁰⁶ Bread was essential for breakfast and potentially supper, and this, among both middling and working or poorer households. Yet, bread also functioned as a meal-substitute; it was the option of eating bread or having a cooked meal that defined middlingness versus the working and poorer lack of choice in breakfast, supper, and even luncheon food-choices, a cooked meal being a more work-intensive and expensive option, thus setting the meaning of a real meal.

¹⁰⁶ For a contrasting image, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), Vol.2 of 2, 85-88.

The central defining feature of the middling table, as discussed in the previous chapter, was meat, and meat cost, on average, a good four times more per pound than bread.¹⁰⁷ In turn, bread, cereals, and starches formed the defining characteristic of working-class eating. A key difference here between middling and lesser bread-consumers was whether they bought it themselves. Bread purchased from bakers was more expensive than buying flour, particularly of cheaper grains, like spelt, or “mixed flour.”¹⁰⁸ Buying ready-made bread from a baker also meant paying more than a status-compromising lower-middling mother might pay for bringing her loaves to the baker herself, and paying only for baking—a common practice also for cooking festive roasts that did not fit into one’s own oven. Cooked meals among the working, peasantry, and poor, in turn, often consisted of starchy soups. “Soups” served as the primary and first category in quite a few early nineteenth-century works as a common and cheap staple meal.¹⁰⁹ Filling, warming in cold weather, and yet a food stretched with water, it formed a cheap employer-provided or self-made part of workers’ diets.

In the domestic sphere, food took on a particularly defined shape as a reflection of one’s position in society, as employers fed their employees. “The fifth section of the Prussian Civil Code, which govern[ed] servitude, state[d] that servants must be sufficiently fed, but specified nothing about the quality, frequency or type of food.”

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 316.

¹⁰⁸ BWGLAK: 233.796, *Provinzialblatt der bafischen Pfalzgrafschaft*, N.42 (Mittwoch den 16ten Oktober, 1805), 316.

¹⁰⁹ Johann Daniel Knopf and Johann Christian Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch für angehende Köche, Köchinnen und Haushälterinnen nebst einer Anleitung zu der einem Koche so unentbehrlichen Wissenschaft des innern Haushalts*, 2nd Edition (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1800), 21, 663; Anonymous, *Neues Niedersächsisches Kochbuch, worinnen die jetzt üblichen Gerichte von allen Sorten genau und deutlich angewiesen werden* (Altona: Friedrich Bechtold, 1803), 11; Louise Purgold, *Neuestes allgemein verständliches Kochbuch oder gründliche Anweisung zur Versorgung der Küche, des Kellers und der Vorrathskammer; wie auch zur Verrichtung verschiedener anderer häuslicher Geschäfte und zum zweckmäßigen Gebrauch mancherley Gesundheits- und Schönheitsmittel* (Quedlinburg: Ernst, 1806), 3.

Significant however was that “it was agreed that the employees did not have an inherent right to the same quality of food as their betters.”¹¹⁰

A refusal of food was equated with subversion and disobedience, a rejection of food as the rejection of one’s place in society. “[M]aidservants were told to be thankful for whatever they might receive,”¹¹¹ quite literally positioned at the bottom of the social food chain. Maids were often orphans, “Father- and Motherless, having no other support” apart from their employers, who carried out said function.¹¹² Consequently they were often fed food scraps or even waste, such as spoiled meat, leading to ill health, and the occasional court case, as in one instance where the meat a servant ate was being sold as dog food, as Christine Rinne explores.¹¹³ Normally, Rinne argues, very poor feeding was limited to a form of punishment, and servants “generally received the same food their employers ate, though in controlled portions and often in the form of leftovers.”¹¹⁴ Henriette Davidis, however, later in the century, advised against such practices on the practical ground of maidservants’ hard physical labor “requiring hardier portions,”¹¹⁵ to keep them industrious and effective.

“Meals offered a frequent and consistent reminder of one’s position within the delicate construction of the family,” argues Rinne.¹¹⁶ In the households of the upper bourgeoisie which employed more than one maid, servants might hope for better care. Their meals were cooked separately from that of the masters of the house and were of

¹¹⁰ Christine Rinne, “Consuming the Maidservant,” in *Consuming Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century: Narratives of Consumption, 1700-1900*, eds. Tamara S. Wagner and Narin Hassan (Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 73.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹¹² Johanna Katharina Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer, das Küche und Haushaltung selbst besorgen will: Mit 1 Kupfer*, 2nd ed. (Magdeburg: Creutz, 1784), 5.

¹¹³ Rinne, “Consuming the Maidservant”, in Wagner and Hassan (eds). *Consuming Culture*, 74.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

lesser value. In the best case much of this food will have been freshly made. Reheating and keeping older foods, however, was common practice among the middle class. This would have also been a popular cost-cutting mechanism in providing food for servants, depriving them of fresh nourishment. In worst cases, therefore, even when not used as a form of punishment, leftovers may be all that servants could expect to form the core of their daily diet.

Bad taste and hunger therefore functioned as a form of violence, and better feeding an expression of benevolent lordship. In this domestic sphere, one may draw parallels to the servant-master relationship of Cullwick and Munby analyzed by Anne McClintock, wherein control and the demoting of a servant carried a sexual meaning.¹¹⁷ To decide, to the very last detail and half-pound, what a worker ate allowed the employer the power of definition, to communicate his control, their dependence, and his right to decide minimum standards, and upper limits. Either way, it communicated power.

Lack and Hunger

Hunger, this violence upon the subaltern, would have marked distinction between the social middle and the social bottom, however, it is unlikely that the middling would have been able to escape the effects of climatic and bellicose disruption between 1800 and 1850.¹¹⁸ Climatically, the first half of the nineteenth century was not a good time for harvests, continuing the customary bread-riots so well known in the early modern

¹¹⁷ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

¹¹⁸ See also Chapter 1 on preservation.

period.¹¹⁹ The “Little Ice Age” that had lasted in Europe since 1550 saw its end by 1850 with a rise in temperature from 1800 that did not, however, necessarily bring about greater yields.¹²⁰ After decades of extremes since the late eighteenth century, in 1803, times were so dire that Franz Anton von Resch attempted to make bread based on turnips (“weiße Rüben”) given a shortage of grain.¹²¹ 1806, in turn, was a year of weather extremes.¹²² After two of the three strongest volcanic eruptions since 1400 with “the 1809 Unknown” and the Javanese Tambora in 1815, Europe experienced 1816 as the “year without a summer,” saw “the coldest” decade in the historical record, and revolts following 1817 in parts of Central Europe with extreme grain price fluctuations until 1820.¹²³ The European grain price fluctuations and revolts of the 1830s were followed by the harvest-failures of 1845, 1846, and 1847, and the potato blight of 1847, which struck those in “structural poverty” who relied on potatoes the hardest.¹²⁴

Noting the starch-based subsistence diets of workers, in the scarcity of harvest failures after 1845, an already meager diet became thinner still. Ruf notes that the home diets of the lower classes consisted characteristically of soup made from whatever there happened to be. A so called “‘servant soup’ made from sausage casings”¹²⁵ was one characteristic dish for domestic servants, while the masters of the house presumably ate the sausages themselves. During the years 1846-7 in turn, a contemporary traveller notes

¹¹⁹ E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past & Present*, no. 50 (February 1, 1971): 76–136.

¹²⁰ Reid A. Bryson and Thomas J. Murray, eds., *Climates of Hunger: Mankind and the World’s Changing Weather* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 75-76.

¹²¹ BAUL: NL 263/1/397.

¹²² Burgdorf, *Ein Weltbild verliert seine Welt*.

¹²³ Gillen D’Arcy Wood, *Tambora: The Eruption That Changed the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 36-7, 39, 222-224; Henry M. Stommel, *Volcano Weather: The Story of 1816, the Year without a Summer* (Newport: Seven Seas Press, 1983).

¹²⁴ Bass, “Hungerkrisen,” 163; Hans H. Bass, “The crisis in Prussia,” in *When the Potato Failed: Causes and Effects of the “last” European Subsistence Crisis, 1845-1850*, eds. Cormac Ó Gráda, Richard Paping, and E. Vanhaute (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 208.

¹²⁵ Rinne, “Consuming the Maidservant”, 74.

a soup made of kale, potato leaves and old beans, water and salt, a “faint” and ill-tasting food as a subsistence staple for the poorest populations.¹²⁶ Fats, already rare before, were soon eliminated from these diets in the mid-1840s, causing 42,000 deaths in Prussia alone.¹²⁷ For any of these populations, choice of food was hardly available and the composition of meals a matter of survival.

Choosing what to eat as a reflection of their identity was beyond the poor’s reach. This form of choice, that is, the power to negotiate their identity in society visibly, was a technology socially denied them. Amartya Sen has noted that in the case of the several starving populations where food was not scarce and famine man-made, the dying people were not “entitled” to food. Entitlement in this context defines a deserving person through having worked, an economic analytic category, which gives the worker the right to resources in a system of capital exchange.¹²⁸ The famines of the mid-1840s were not fully man-made, but partly weather-induced after several years without summers and micro-ice ages historians now at least in part tie to volcanic eruptions, as well as by crop disease such as the infamous potato blight, although free-trade thinking long caused authorities to withhold relief. However, a consideration of Sen’s analytic category sheds light on German class-making dynamics nonetheless. If food was not solely a means of survival, but also a manner of social expression, then lack of food was a silencing of the

¹²⁶ Carl Hermann Bitter, “Bericht über den Notstand in der Senne zwischen Bielefeld und Paderborn, Regierungsbezirk Minden und Vorschläge zur Beseitigung desselben, aufgrund örtlicher Untersuchungen aufgestellt”, in: 64. *Jahresbericht des Historischen vereins für die Grafschaft Ravensberg*, (1966), 11, cited in Fritz Ruf, „Die Suppe in der Geschichte der Ernährung“, in *Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, eds. Irmgard Bitsch, Rudolf Schulz, Trude Ehlert, and Xenja von Ertzdorff (Wiesbaden: Albus, 1997), 175.

¹²⁷ Eric Vanhaute, Richard Paping, and Cormac ó Gráda, “The European subsistence crisis of 1845-1850: a comparative perspective,” *XIV International Economic History Congress*, Helsinki, Session 123 (21-25 August 2006), 15.

¹²⁸ Amartya Kumar Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

starving before they were gone. Lack of food as a means of communication and social technology deprived the poor of an essential manner of speaking—of a voice. Not having food, the dearth victims were entitled neither to survival, nor, even less, to social betterment—an escape from their situation. And having little to lose, revolution broke loose, throwing Europe into chaos in 1848.

Wars, famine, and epidemics shaped the face of the German nineteenth century. “This was a century of revolution—1789, 1830, 1848, 1871—punctuated by uprisings, rebellions, and mass demonstrations.”¹²⁹ The threat of socialism too, nascent in the mid-nineteenth century, added to the picture. Class-anxiety could only be exacerbated by harvest-failures and social unrest. Particularly the harsh 1845-1847 harvest failures, which served as a trigger for the 1848 Revolutions, took their toll on the poorer populations of Central Europe.

Contemporaries were more than aware of the ties between physical appetite and hunger for political change. To quote Ludwig Tieck, “If only we could make sure... that only the right kind of man, the real aristocrat, could butter his bread, Europe would be saved.”¹³⁰ Even the cookbook genre acknowledged political unrest in its pages. Distrust permeated some of these discussions in the generalized prejudice of this age against the lower classes.¹³¹ As Rinne points out, contemporaries thought that the maidservant, ignorant and prey to vendors as well as her own appetites, might be tempted easily to overspend when stewarding her mistresses’ funds when shopping at the market.¹³²

¹²⁹ Rachel Ginnis Fuchs and Victoria Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1.

¹³⁰ Ludwig Tieck, *Werke in vier Bänden*, ed. Marianne Thalmann (München, 1967), Vol. 3 of 4, 958. Cited in Hauer, “Rumohr,” 94.

¹³¹ The same is true of discourses among men as to how to let a wife manage household funds. Adolph Freyherr Knigge, *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen*, 3 vols. (Hanover: Ritscher, 1796), 1:311.

¹³² Rinne, “Consuming the Maidservant”, 67.

Davidis writes in one of her texts that she was “swindled by a maidservant who retained money after each purchase.”¹³³ The remedy, in their mind, was not education leading to the improvement of character or understanding, but a tighter control of their use of money.¹³⁴ Food and consumption, therefore, were rightly tied to social control, and the desire for better eating paired with envisioning a less hierarchized society.

Discussions of social unrest even reached the social microcosm of the household, where a degree of conflict between the middling and their employees could manifest at a personal level. In the worst of cases in the *Vormärz*, hunger and anger could fall on fertile ground raked by abuse, and watered with legal frameworks framed to disadvantage employees. In favor of the established status quo, the author of the Bavarian cookbook bemoans the state of social relations between the classes as reflected within the microcosms of the kitchen and the domestic sphere. “Scenes and battles” occur in these contained worlds within her reflection, which cause “a ceaseless migration of maids from the cities.”¹³⁵ The blame according to the author’s judgment, is shared between maids and mistresses. The latter abuse the younger women in ways the author does not condone. The servants are wrong to be idle, disobedient, and disorderly, and the masters are wrong to be willful, condescending, and abusive. The ladies are weak, “too lazy, too ignorant, too sentimental”¹³⁶ and the maids too lethargic, “vain and fashion-addicted, reading novels, foolishly in love” to the point of stupidity.¹³⁷ This description in “shrill colors,”¹³⁸

¹³³ Ibid, 67.

¹³⁴ See also Pieter M. Judson, “Rethinking the Liberal Legacy”, in Steven Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 57-79 on the illiberalism of the liberalism in late-nineteenth century Central Habsburg.

¹³⁵ *Baierisches National-Kochbuch*, vi.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

as the author calls it, provide us with an image of a sick society, and an ill domestic sphere.

The Masters of Food

On a daily basis, in a society aware of precarious subsistence, food functioned as a means of social control. Sidney Mintz was right to suggest that control over, access to, and ownership of food are a sound way of measuring power, and describing organization in society.¹³⁹ Chapter 1 has noted that food-work and food-control functioned as transitional, social-mobility providing functions in semi-rural areas of the German lands, making up local aspiring elites. Sabeian finds that the rural social middle, untitled elites in small towns like Neckarhausen early in the century, tended to be butchers, bakers, and millers, as well as innkeepers and coopers.¹⁴⁰ The profession of the *Speisemeister*, or “Masters of Food,” on rural farms perhaps best exemplifies how such social status claims could involve the dietary control of subalterns, in a profession whose description literally was to control the food of workers in their workplace.¹⁴¹

In institutions and work-places with limited direct contact between employer and workers, the *Speisemeister* or “Master of Food” directly communicated the former’s will through food. Menu planning forming part of good accounting, the *Speisemeister*, his work contractually defined to the last detail, was the quintessential male, food-controlling

¹³⁹ Sidney Wilfred Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985), 459, 461. Carole Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 8; Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 113.

¹⁴⁰ Sabeian, *Kinship in Neckarhausen*, 454, 464. Bürger working in food-services paid the highest taxes next only to civil officeholders, and among the cohort of food service owners stood the second wealthiest man in the village, 465.

¹⁴¹ See also Teuteberg’s discussion of the meal plans of a “Speisemeisterin” from 1790 in Hans Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegmann, *Nahrungsgewohnheiten in Der Industrialisierung Des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Münster: Lit, 1991), 165.

middling individual of German society, who made the control of workers' diets an essential part of employer-worker relations.¹⁴²

The *Lehnsherr* or local lord defined social status by deciding and communicating to the worker what exactly of his production they could eat: what, when, and how much, as well as how much the worker had to pay for it, depending on whether they were “definite workers,” or only “indefinite workers,” or else “day-laborers”—in that order of hierarchy and privilege to better food. The Master of Food, however, held the delegated authority that made him the focal point of these transactions. With the functions of receiving

¹⁴² See in chronological order: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. 5. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg: D 69 Bü 333: “Appellation des Beklagten in der Rechtssache: Johann Friedrich Memminger (Bekl. 1. und Appellant 2. Inst.), *Speisemeister* zu Bebenhausen, gegen den Stadtrat und Handelsmann Neundörfer in Würzburg betr. kläg. Schuldforderung - gegen den Entscheid des bebenhausischen Klostergerichts Lustnau,” (1806-1808); Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, A 19k III, Nr. 324, “Anmaßung des Speisemeisters Lerp zur Austreibung seines Schlachtviehs auf die Stiftsweide, desgleichen durch den Speisemeister Hildebrandt,” (1807 – 1811); Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart, A 32-76: “Gesangsunterricht durch den *Speisemeister* Kauffmann,” (1813-1815), S. 1-5; Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. 5. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg: E 211 III Bü 7: “Besetzung der *Speisemeister*-Stelle,” (1817-1820); Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart, C 10 – 345, Alte Inventarverzeichnisse, “für Speisemeister...mit Bemerkungen,” (1818-ca.1877); Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. 5. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg: E 202 Bü 1015, “Der Holzbedarf für das Seminar in Maulbronn, die Prälaten, Professoren, *Speisemeister* und Hausschneider; Holzmacherlöhne und Beifuhrakkorde,” (1818-1887). Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart: A 32 – 30, Beamte, “Ökonomieverwalter, Speisemeister und Kastenknechte,” (1819-1839; 1899); Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart: A 32 – 6, “Dienstvorschriften für Musiklehrer und *Speisemeister* (1819-1852), S. 1-18; Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart: C 10 – 409, “Unterhaltung der Seminarspeisung: Dienstvorschrift für den *Speisemeister* von 1825,” (1825). Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. 5. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg: E 173 III Bü 4033: “Gesuch des Gutsbesitzers Johannes Schedel in Möhringen um Streichung seines Sohnes Friederich Schedel, geb. 18.7.1800 in Batavia (Djakarta, Indonesien), aus den Rekrutierungslisten, da er nicht württ. Staatsangehöriger ist Bemerkung: Johann Schedel ging als Metzger 1789 von Möhringen aus auf Wanderschaft, kam 1791 nach Batavia, wo er als *Speisemeister* des deutschen Militärs in holländischen Diensten angestellt wurde, heiratete 1799 eine Eingeborene aus Batavia, die 1802 starb und kehrte 1804 nach Möhringen zurück. Sein Sohn kehrte 1817 mit einer Gesellschaft von Auswanderern in sein Geburtsland zurück,” (1821). Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart: A 32 – 10, “Beamte. Gehaltssachen: Schreibmaterialienversum der *Speisemeister*,” (1823-1842), S. 2-11; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: BayHStA, MK 22426: “Straubing. Schullehrerseminar. Haus- und *Speisemeister*,” (1824 – 1934); Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. 5. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg: E 173 III Bü 6159, “Gütersachen, Oberamt Ludwigsburg,” (1825-1846); Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. 5. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg: E 171 Bü 300, “*Speisemeister*(ei),” (1828), 1829-1862; Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, A 19k III, Nr. 216, “Enrichtung des An- und Abzugsgeldes von den Schülern des Pädagogiums an den Speisemeister und Aufhebung dieser Zahlung,” (1859); Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: BayHStA, MJu 7081, “Laufen, Gefangenenanstalt, *Speisemeister*, Küchenmeister,” (1865-1904); Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart: A 32 – 114, Speisung. Kostakkorde, “Vertrag mit dem *Speisemeister* Henzler am Seminar Schöntal,” (1886).

workers' payment for food when they paid for their meals, receiving a budget from the lord for their food, and administering the workers' diets on a daily basis, the *Speisemeister* held as middling and food-relevant a position as one will find in early nineteenth-century Germany. The profession was common in theological seminaries, schools, the army, and farms until mid-century, after which work organization shifted from a nuclear-house provision-model to an industrial one with canteens.¹⁴³

The Master of Food at Maisenhälden serving the Freiherr von Ellrichshausen in 1818, for example, was contractually obliged to follow the instructions of the *Gutsherr* on what exactly to feed the workers, in what quantity, and what quality (soup, serving size, thickness), yet holding discretionary contractual liberties to, for example, not report daily details to the Freiherr, as long as he proved himself trustworthy.¹⁴⁴ The facilities he lived in (quarters, sties, field, yard and gardens) were defined as his temporary property (the fruit growing in the garden definitely his own) and near luxurious for the time. His housing facility consisting of eight rooms, a maid, a “garden” with various fruit trees and shrubs, “wood and brushwood” for the hearth, “half a centner of oil” for unspecified purposes, “room for three cows,” “two pigsties”—though the fodder for the animals he had to pay for himself.¹⁴⁵ Most likely a socially construed male, the *Speisemeister* could often have been single, and lived together with the day-laborers he managed, as well as his maid. While there was only “one wash- and one bedroom,” with “one kitchen, one

¹⁴³ E.g.: Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart: A 32 – 30, Beamte, “Ökonomieverwalter, Speisemeister und Kastenknechte,” (1819-1839; 1899); Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. 5. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg: E 173 III Bü 4033: “Gesuch des Gutsbesitzers Johannes Schedel in Möhringen um Streichung seines Sohnes Friederich Schedel, geb. 18.7.1800 in Batavia (Djakarta, Indonesien), aus den Rekrutierungslisten, da er nicht württ. Staatsangehöriger ist; Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, A 19k III, Nr. 216, “Entrichtung des An- und Abzugsgeldes von den Schülern des Pädagogiums an den Speisemeister und Aufhebung dieser Zahlung,” (1859).

¹⁴⁴ BWGLAK: Y Nr. 835, 1-2.

¹⁴⁵ BWGLAK: Y Nr. 835, 1.

pantry, one cellar” and “one room for wood” in the Master of Food’s “quarters,” he was also entrusted with “one large” (presumably adjacent) “room with pallets for the indefinite workers.”¹⁴⁶ Here, his subordinates and fellow food workers lived, slept, and may well have eaten at his table. That he should manage this small holding, or property, as a clergyman might hold a rectory, is clear, and made him a temporary lord—or indeed “Master”—in his own way.

What sort of foods did the employed receive, then, when fed at the mercy of their middling masters, and what did these foods express? Above all, the highly constricted, pre-regulated diet of the workers at Maisenhälden communicated a lack of freedom, expressed their subservience, and their subordinate position, wherein there was no flexibility or choice, and double portions or even a full stomach constituted a privilege bestowed upon them by the *Speisemeister* in lieu of their lord. With lunch functioning as the main meal, and meat on the meal-plan twice a week, including Sundays, a record of the weekly menu for the food-workers—mostly farmhands—at Maisenhälden from 1818 gives us some idea of this starch-based diet, with sides of milk and eggs, that farm workers lived on in the early decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁷ As of 1818, these workers labored in fruit production, on seven fields of trees, tending a flock of 800 sheep.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Hagen finds in manorial accounts from 1809-1810 that unmarried laborers consumed “excluding vegetables, eggs, and fruit” per year: “10 rye-bushels and 5 of other cereals; 10 bushels of potatoes; a quarter bushel of peas; 175 cheeses; 225 quarts of milk; 44 pounds of butter; three-quarters of a fattened pig; one sheep or calf; and one -quarter of a slaughtered cow.” William W. Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 232. When the middling consumed milk and eggs, this was often sweetened and spiced in rich desserts lined with cream.

¹⁴⁸ Hartmann and Paulus, *Beschreibung des Oberamts Neckarsulm: mit fünf Tabellen, einer historisch kolorirten Karte des Oberamts und drei lithographirten Ansichten*. Beschreibung des Königreichs Württemberg, herausgegeben von dem K. Statistisch-Topographischen Bureau; Vol. 61 of 61.

“Breakfast

One day bread, the other day milksoup and potatoes, as long as they are available.

	<u>At Noon</u>	<u>At Night</u>
<u>Sunday</u>	Grit-soup, Sauerkraut, and Pork	Grit or another good soup with salad or potatoes
<u>Monday</u>	Creamy soup and milk-Spatzen*	Cream-soup and milk that has stood
<u>Tuesday</u>	Meat broth with peas or lentils	Potato soup and milk
<u>Wednesday</u>	Butter-soup with Spatzen* or Schnitzel and Spatzen*	Flour-soup and milk
<u>Thursday</u>	Barley-soup with Meat and Potatoes	Bread-soup and milk
<u>Friday</u>	Broth-soup and flour or grits	Burnt soup and milk
<u>Saturday</u>	Bread-soup and Spatzen*	Flour-soup and milk

At night, give potatoes, as long as the seasons permit it.”¹⁴⁹

At the holding of Maisenhälden, even the quantities were regulated. The workers received ½ pound of soup at breakfast and lunch, with ¾ pound of “flour-food” such as Spatzen, or ½ pound of meat with ½ pound of potatoes at lunch and dinner in addition:

Beschreibung des Königreichs Württemberg (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1881), 693. See also: Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians*, 232.

¹⁴⁹ BWGLAK: Y Nr. 835, 4.

* “Spatzen”: small pieces of boiled dough based on wheat flour, similar to pasta, today more widely known as “Spätzle.”

Breakfast

Bread,¹⁵⁰ or, ¾ pound of milk-soup “in good thickness”¹⁵¹ with a side of
“½ pound potatoes,”¹⁵² on alternating days.

Luncheon

“¾ pound of soup in good thickness,”¹⁵³ and, either “¾ pound flour-
food” or, between two and four times per week, “½ pound of meat.”¹⁵⁴

Dinner

A serving of soup,¹⁵⁵ milk,¹⁵⁶ and “½ pound potatoes” when the
“seasons”¹⁵⁷ allowed it or “as long as available.”¹⁵⁸

“Flour soup” at the time referred to a water-based broth enriched with egg-yolks added to a paste of flour fried in butter.¹⁵⁹ Cream-soup was less a soup than a piece of roasted bread served with whipped cream, potentially seasoned with rose-water and sugar.¹⁶⁰ Potato soup was based on pureed cooked potatoes, with butter and salt in a meat broth, seasoned with celery and parsley, egg-yolks, served with bread.¹⁶¹ A stingy employer might have suppressed the egg-yolks, herbs, and rose-water as part of these recipes when cooks prepared these dishes for workers.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 4.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 5.

¹⁵² Ibid, 5.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 5.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 4.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 5.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 4.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 4. An approximate calorie count suggests an intake of between 1500 and 2000 kcal per day, with up to 1500 kcal per week from animal proteins and fats. The diet is similar to that described by Teutenberg of 1841 poorhouses: starchy, monotonous, with little meat, few animal fats, and a virtual absence of fruits and vegetables. See: Hauer, “Rumohr,” 58.

¹⁵⁹ Anonymous, *Neues Bremisches Koch= Und Wirthschaftsbuch*. Vol. 1. (Bremen: Müller, 1817), 33; Auguste Köhler, *Betty Gleim's Bremisches Kochbuch: ein Handbuch für die einfach-bürgerliche wie für die höhere und feinere Kochkunst* (Bremen: Heyse, 1847), 49.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 52.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 46. *Neues Bremisches Koch= Und Wirthschaftsbuch*, 45.

Neither loyalty nor work gave the worker the right to eat. In the case of Maisenhälden, working at the holding did not give you the right to eat there but in some ways loyalty paid: three meals in one day cost a “definite worker” 10 Kreuzer, and the “indefinite worker” 12 Kreuzer.¹⁶² A “day-laborer” paid between 4cr and 6cr for a lunch, depending on whether it contained meat.¹⁶³

Laborers, in this sense, were not consumers, but homage-payers when they ate, expected to be grateful for the work, bread, and board permitting their existence. Their food was entirely regulated, giving them no choice among various dishes, or decision-making power as to its composition or its serving size. They could merely decide whether to accept it, or not, and were likely to, unless they wished to work elsewhere. Refusal of it would have been interpreted as refusal of social place. Eating the food was thus an expression of subservience, obedience, and acceptance of social order. The terms were entirely dictated by the employer, and mediated and adapted through the Master of Food. Workers could not decide who they were: they were told.

In contrast, to members of the middling, identity was a purchasable commodity in the public inns of the early nineteenth century that made cost another significant factor for defining distinction. A middling meal plan at a local inn was far out of the reach of a worker. A day’s food served at a public house could cost a middle-class customer more than three times what a worker paid for his own food.¹⁶⁴ While a worker’s meal-plan involved three meals in a rural setting in 1818, costing about 10-12 Kreuzer per day, a middling couple’s meal plan, even in times of relative scarcity as was the year 1815, cost 1 Taler 10 Kreuzer per day—and involved four meals, not three. An inn-keeper in

¹⁶² BWGLAK: Y Nr. 835, 3.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 4.

¹⁶⁴ 35 Kreuzer for four meals, as opposed to 10-12 Kreuzer for three meals.

Westphalia would serve a middling guest pair (man and spouse) the following as a reasonable part of middling diet:

- a. In the morning, coffee with sugar and buttered bread [Butterbrod] ... 14 Kreuzer
- b. At noon cooked luncheon [Mittagessen] with a ‘Maaß’ beer ... 26 Kreuzer
- c. Afternoon coffee with sugar and buttered bread with optional white bread ... 10 [Kreuzer]
- d. Cooked dinner [Abendessen] with one Maaß of beer.... 20 Kreuzer ...¹⁶⁵

The number of meals and their nature formed a part of this communication of status. Both lunch and dinner were fully cooked meals for the middling consumer at the inn; for the workers, in turn, their cooked dinner was a serving of soup and milk, rather than a meal that compared to their mid-day meal. While there are various factors to take into account here—a middling meal consumed outside the home will usually cost more than one prepared oneself, for example, and the 4c meatless lunch at Maisenhälden was in particular for “definite workers;” the meals for definite workers were what we call subsidised, to make the day’s work worthwhile to the worker, who labored all day, and still should have enough to take home in the evening than he consumed throughout it—despite all these factors and caveats, the difference of 4 Kreuzer at a farm and 13 Kreuzer at an inn remains significant.

The Marxist analyst will argue that this structural composition of food administration communicates to the worker that their labor does not entitle them to a part of the share of fruit, mutton, or wool they produce, but only subservient survival. Dickens’ *Oliver Twist* comes to mind, and the young boy’s audacity to ask for more than

¹⁶⁵ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 5349, 8th February 1816.

is his due—a request that can only be acceptable in the context of undeserved charity, a paradoxical Elizabethan idea that Shaw’s Alfred Doolittle, self-proclaimed and proud member of the “undeserving poor,” likes to dispute in Sen’s terms of entitlement *avant la lettre*. That the sentence “as long as the seasons permit it” and “as long as available” should pepper the *Speisemeister’s* instructions so often also expresses a degree of nonchalance towards the workers’ stomachs. This, in turn, evinces their peripheral existence, and derivative importance to the laboring process, and the degree to which they can be easily exchanged for more willing hands, if they become unwilling or unable.

In both cases, private and public, domestic and outer, small and large scale, the decision-making power of the employer over food formed an essential part of the employers’ exercise of the power to define social status, to give rank and accord social place—in some sense, to exert a right to impose order. The symbolic organization of society according to a natural order with food authored by those who owned and controlled it retroactively implied having to encode diets and exploit mechanisms to preserve distinction.¹⁶⁶ This, however, also meant that the authors of food wielded a considerable amount of power themselves: the power to author food and therewith identity. The act of cooking became a speech act to the cooks of the nineteenth century, as they were the ones to bequeath distinction upon the consumers who paid them. The next chapter will examine the authors of food who played so central a role in this history of crafting middlingness and the social middle.

¹⁶⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Origin of Table Manners* (London: Cape, 1978), 480-495; Mary Douglas, “Deciphering a meal,” in Douglas, *Implicit Meanings*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 231-251; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Massimo Montanari, *Food Is Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Conclusion

The nineteenth-century saw ever-changing power-relations in Central Europe, and an aspiring social middle, rural or urban, had to identify their social position according to both changing superiors who provided employment to them, and the political lines defining the place they lived in. A tutor to princesses such as Louise Lengefeld was dependent on her local ruler for survival, and could exploit her connections as social capital by collecting recipes in an *album amicorum*, the content of which displayed her network to her acquaintances. The practice of imitating their superiors through cosmopolitan eating was key for demonstrating distinction among the middling more largely, and features as the most prominent characteristic of the cookbook genre of the time.

Supra-regional nationalism did not feature as prominently as it could have in the culinary literature that the middling could access, purchase, and read, when comparing recipe identification with cosmopolitan dishes, and dishes named after cities or regions. And yet, regional patriotism was not insignificant in the naming of cookbooks, where civic pride and regional identity functioned as ways to provide the prolific genre of cookbooks with profile among its fourteen (1800-1828) or sixteen (1828-1887) competing publications in any one year. This does confirm to some extent the regionalism literature of nineteenth-century German and European studies, showing that nationalism was not an overwhelming force that had reached the literate household's culinary practices quite yet. German identity is more of a minor phenomenon, and, when using cities and regions as proxies, may have functioned as an implicit rather than an explicit identity, given middling curiosity and willingness to consume dishes named after

other German-speaking cities and regions. Actively, however, the cookbook genre was unlikely to have been exploited to nationalize the middling between 1800 and 1890. This may have changed some after 1890, as we shall further explore in Chapter 5.

We may note, however, that urbanity may well have functioned as part of a collage of middlingness, as standing for a modernizing world in which political borders could not provide stability and centers of culture could serve as points of reference. The names of dishes, far from meaningless, tied patches of meaning together in curated collages to provide identification for the literate middling consuming household. If you eat what you are, then perhaps Viennese cake made the 1828 Stuttgarter merchant more debonair, or the German home-town butcher more worldly. Vienna, as a fashionable political center of global significance, may have provided appeal with its simultaneous world-political, cosmopolitan, courtly and urban air. Cities may thus well have served the twin purpose of functioning as both cultural stabilizers in the face of changing power-relations and rulers, confusing traditionally more stable ties of loyalty, and further have connected the rural middling literate with urban areas and the modernization, consumption, and style they stood for through culinary experience.

Finally, the social middle, as diverse a group as they were, included the so-called masters of food, whose power was based on food and exercised by feeding workers. Housekeepers, housewives, or heads of households exercised similar control over domestic servants and dependents, if not quite as explicitly. Workers, in turn, had next to no choice in their diet when fed by their employers or their employers' representatives. Prices kept middling meals in inns out of the workers' reach, forcing upon them a starch-soup heavy diet of controlled portion size and thickness in line with their social standing.

It may well be that one of the ways in which the aspiring social middle became middling was effectively through the control of food. Frey, Sabeau, and Hagen all note the importance of butchers, bakers, and inn-keepers in German hometowns as local elites.¹⁶⁷ Families such as the Schillers began in food-professions, as gardeners, such as Schiller's father, local inn-keepers and baker-shop owners, like Schiller's maternal grandparents.¹⁶⁸ Food, in this sense, functioned as a transitional form of power while aiming for lettered professions such as scholar or poet, just as the friends Schiller and Goethe achieved. How food-work could provide social mobility and food-knowledge leverage in improving working conditions is the topic of the next chapter.

¹⁶⁷ Dennis A. Frey, Jr. "Wealth, Consumerism, and Culture among the Artisans of Göppingen: Dynamism and Tradition in an Eighteenth-Century Hometown," *Central European History* 46, no. 04 (December 2013): 741–778; Sabeau, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen*, Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians*.

¹⁶⁸ Edda Ziegler, Christophine Reinwald, Michael Davidis, "Theuerste Schwester" *Christophine Reinwald, geb. Schiller* (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 2007), 6, 42.

Chapter 3. Cookbooks, Authors, Education: Working Women, Middling Mistresses, and the Question of Social Mobility for Female Food-Workers, 1800-1860

“Hell seemed to me to be a bourgeois kitchen.”¹

—Heinrich Heine, 1826

“When it tastes good upstairs and all are merry! Bear in mind: I have reflected!”²

—Sophie Scheibler, 1866

“Even now, I must not pull the reins too hard for a skillful cook is a sought-after item.”³

—Otto von Camphausen, 1884

This chapter examines female food workers in the German states, the managerial power of middling-status women in their households, and the German language cookbook genre, as a way of exploring the social significance of textual and practical culinary education for the larger history of individual social mobility for women. Part one discusses social relations inside the home with a focus on women between 1800 and 1830: mothers, daughters and household managers on the one hand, and cooks on the other, whose position was subordinate to them. Middling women married to middling men or as heads of household commanded and instructed their employees. The female

¹ *Ideen, Das Buch Le Grand*, (1826) in Heinrich Heine, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. I. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1876), 200.

² Sophie Wilhelmine Scheibler, *Allgemeines deutsches kochbuch für alle stände, oder gründliche anweisung alle arten speisen und backwerke auf die wohlfeilste und schmackhafteste art zuzubereiten: Ein unentbehrliches handbuch für angehende hausmütter, haushälterinnen und köchinnen*, 17th Edition (Leipzig: C. F. Amelang, 1866), frontispiece.

³ GStAPK: I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, Nr.438, 2.

employees, for their part, were subject to sexual harassment and even sexual assault from the males of the household, an important feature of both working conditions and social relations in this period. Yet, as this chapter will show, by the 1840s, conditions changed. Part two explores the parallel development of the literary genre of cookbooks between 1800 and 1840, and estate and public kitchens as part of a somewhat centralized network of culinary education. Literary works in the German language cookbook genre, though fed by French elite authors and French chefs, were largely written by and aimed at middling women, whom educators could reach in even the more conservative homes. Estate and public kitchen education, in turn, served working women as centers for gaining skills. Part three examines the impact of such education on working women's place in estate and public kitchens between 1840 and 1860, as gender-neutral spaces of personal social mobility, and the improvement of their placement even inside the middling home, as their skills came to be in high demand. In this position, cooks and housekeepers, pursuing their own status advancement and careers as individual working women, also served as co-curators of middlingness and its criteria and markers—a form of power of which they were aware.

By 1860, it was possible, if difficult, to move from maid of all work to cook, and from cook to published author. While this must be qualified in various ways, this change is significant, as it emphasizes the importance of food work for social mobility in the German lands for both genders. Further, this chapter argues that the German cookbook genre was a female-dominated literary form, whose success could well have inspired a degree of gendered solidarity between women of working and middling backgrounds, as well as a degree of solidarity between cooks of both genders, whose shared interest it was

for their trade to be respected. While male cooks were still hired into the best positions at royal courts, and famous works of gastronomy were written by male consumers of the German educated elites, the cookbook genre belonged to best-selling feminist activists and educators like Betty Gleim, working women like Marie Schandri, and perhaps even to (possibly) former maids-turned-published-authors like Anna Koller.

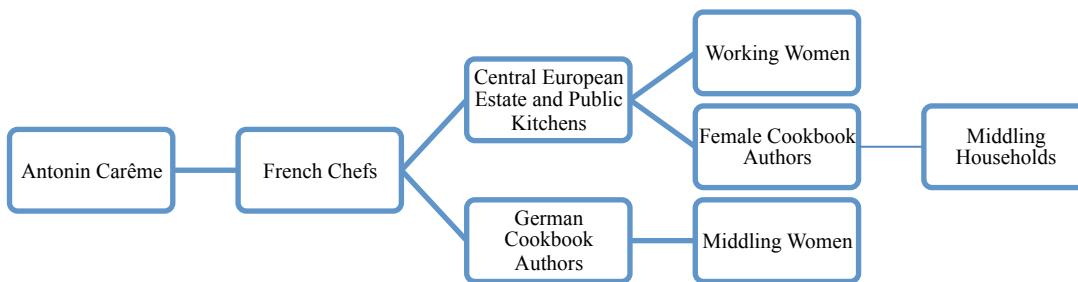


Figure 1. Flow of culinary ideas/ideals through social vectors, 1800-1840⁴

The historical significance of working women in this context is made apparent when summarizing the dynamic (Figure 1) of how culinary ideals and ideas flowed through the German states between 1800 and 1840: French-trained chefs leaving France after 1800 educated working women in estate and public kitchens until 1840, leading to a generation

⁴ Whether or not Carême and his students synthesized common practices (the five sauces, *grandes pièces*, natural tastes and combinations of ingredients, reduction of sugar in main dishes) into their artistic creations, thereby claiming credit for the work of subalterns and feeding into this dissertation's point about the significance of cooking as a speech act with repercussions of global food historical importance, will have to be the subject of another scholar's project. There may be a wider story here about inter-class "cultural appropriation" feeding the centralizing role of the court in shaping eating practices in wider society.

of working women who themselves authored cookbooks, or served in middling homes between 1840 and 1860.⁵ Meanwhile, through the varied literary genre of food discourse in German, French culinary ideas authored after 1800 trickled through the literature, reaching and orienting the middling home by mid-century. Thus, for the purposes of social history, this meant that working women became a vector for food modernization, even as they co-created or co-curated the markers of middling status along with their sometime employers. Equally, for the purposes of food history in turn, this chapter shows that mid-century German middling households crystallized trends of modern eating in ways crucial, as the next chapter shall expound, for their development in the twentieth century.

Throughout, this chapter uses the term “household”⁶ to approach and analyze relations in the home; this avoids the connotation of female domesticity tied to a perceived lack of economic productivity anachronous to this era, given that the household represented a productive workplace for more than just the household staff, and formed part of the agrarian and hometown economy predating 1860s industrialization. Further, the chronology in question also, to a great extent, predates the hardening differentiation between “public” and “private” spaces, a distinction this study finds most visible after the 1870s.⁷ It is after 1870 that we observe a change in the understanding of household work,

⁵ Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, “The Rising of Popularity of Dining Out in German Restaurants in the Aftermath of Modern Urbanization,” in *Eating out in Europe: Picnics, Gourmet Dining, and Snacks since the Late Eighteenth Century*, eds. Marc Jacobs, and Peter Scholliers (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 282-83.

⁶ Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 22-24.

⁷ On the development of the idea of “privacy” and private spaces, see: Georges Duby, *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) and Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). On breaking down the “public”/“private” dichotomy in examining women’s lives, see: Béatrice Craig, Robert Beachy and Alastair Owens, “Introduction,” in *Women, Business and Finance in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Rethinking Separate Spheres*, eds. Robert Beachy,

to then justify the term “domestic,”⁸ though, even then, as Fuchs and Thompson put it, “women’s lives rarely fit neatly into the discrete categories “public”/“private.”⁹ Kitchens, in the following, must thus be understood as workplaces that fit into three categories: estate kitchens (serving official families holding political power); kitchens that ran as part of private businesses serving a public (in this era, primarily inns and pubs—“Wirtshäuser”); and household kitchens (likely, agriculturally productive, but not necessarily political), of which the former two were the more attractive places of employment.¹⁰ All three were, as a rule, not “private” given, respectively, the political position of estate kitchens, the customers served at inns, and, given the assumption that middling households always included staff members often without kinship ties to the household owners, who often lived with their employers, the non-exclusive nature that thus characterized middling households.¹¹ The term “public kitchen” in what follows will thus not be used in opposition to the estate or household kitchen, but to refer to the primary design and social function of the kitchens in question: to cater to a paying clientele tied to, as other authors have noted, the rise of a public, civil society, and readership engaged in activities that shaped their identity as politically engaged

Béatrice Craig, and Alastair Owens (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 10, 16-17. On women’s social lives and the breaking down of boundaries between public and private lives given the political/economic dimension of family unions, see: Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: eine Familiengeschichte (1750-1850)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 260-5.

⁸ See Chapter 5.

⁹ Rachel G. Fuchs and Victoria E. Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3.

¹⁰ On the household as a workplace in agrarian society, see: Habermas, *Frauen und Männer*, 39-73, and Frevert, *Women in German History*, 22-30.

¹¹ Household kitchens could at times supplement their income by catering to customers, such as travellers, bachelors and students, however, given that this was not their primary form of income or design, contemporaries perceived households as separate from kitchens primarily designed to cater to paying customers—a distinction which this chapter will maintain.

customers whose conversations and consuming activities formed part of their self-making.¹²

In this chapter, the historian encounters a group of individuals socially construed as women, limited by law, politics, society, and culture, yet strategically exploiting food work for their own benefits. Betty Gleim’s feminism—entrepreneurial author and educator, unmarried throughout her life—may run against the grain of general maternal feminism in nineteenth-century Germany.¹³ And yet, her strategy, as well as that of other working women seeking social mobility, better working conditions or employment opportunities, as well as supplementary income through education or publication, used a key aspect of economics: “women were permitted to enter the public world of trade and commerce as long as their activities reinforced rather than undermined gender stereotypes.”¹⁴ By pressing that loophole of practical exclusion for what it was worth, some improvement was possible—especially, in the roles of nurturing cook, or educating author writing literature aimed (at least at first sight) at women. While women may have professed and performed motherly behaviors in public as part of a feminist strategy, in one of the workplaces where women were a common sight—kitchens—working women seeking education and employment created opportunities for themselves with noteworthy success, which, under slightly different historical circumstances, may have led to even

¹² Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Ian F. McNeely, *The Emancipation of Writing: German Civil Society in the Making, 1790s-1820s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Jonathan Sperber, *Property and Civil Society in South-Western Germany, 1820-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); James M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). A dearth of sources dating before 1930 on inns and public eateries prevent this dissertation from commenting extensively on the function of the inn as a social space for a politically conscious public. On the inn and tavern see Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty. *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

¹³ On maternal feminism, see: Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991).

¹⁴ Craig, Beachy, and Owens, “Introduction,” 10.

more emancipation than the rise in middling domesticity after the 1870s would later allow.¹⁵ This attitude towards independent female work, hardly mentioning husbands, which permeated the largely women-authored cookbook genre, represents a radical break from the male-authored home economic literature of the eighteenth century, where conceptions of male hierarchy dominated the logic of the descriptions of female work.¹⁶

The impact of women's work as authors, housewives, household managers, cooks and maids in this time-period and geography on global histories of eating must not be underestimated. With cookbook recipes serving as a point of orientation for practice (an ideal to aim at that structured food work), and with oral transmission and personal notebooks at the same time collecting oral and written recipes and turning into printed collections themselves, it was mostly women who brought together food knowledge in the middling home. As Chapter 4 will show, they incorporated new industrial products into the formerly Romantically inclined middling diet, reduced spice by 1860, and thus contributed to the creation of modern eating. As Chapter 5 will discuss, industrial producers had to take working women into account as they marketed canned goods, ready-meals, and instant-soups to those in charge of purchases, though fin-de-siècle advertising did not credit the workers of the household with the technologies that industry marketed as achievements of masculine, propertied food chemists and industrialists.

¹⁵ On the masculinization of work, business, and the economy, see: Ibid, 6, 10.

¹⁶ On eighteenth-century home economic literature, see: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, "Von der Hausmutter zur Hausfrau. Küchenarbeit im 18./19. Jahrhundert in der zeitgenössischen Hauswirtschaftsliteratur," in *Die Revolution am Esstisch: neue Studien zur Nahrungskultur im 19.-20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 104-105.

Working Women and Middling Managers, 1800-1840

Working Women in Households

Twenty-one year old cook Dorothea Louise Löschen served a Mr. Richter, a merchant, in Berlin in 1812. From there, she accompanied her employer to his son's residence in Hamburg, where she stayed for a few months.¹⁷ Throughout that stay, her employer's son, a merchant like his father, "half with gentleness, half with violence, persuaded her to intercourse." He repeated this action throughout the entire "month of September of 1812" among others, under the eyes of various "maids" with whom Löschen shared a room. To carry this out, one time, before witnesses, he stealthily crossed through his father's room as he slept, to get to Löschen and "complete the act." The then 22-year old cook without a propertied family beyond a poor "old invalid" father, was left a "deflowered" virgin, a "poor unfortunate," "innocent girl," robbed of her only property: her virginity.

The case of the "unmarried Löschen" might seem extreme, yet her case files are illustrative of the early nineteenth-century economic, social, and legal context she operated in. Young cooks often came from poor and impoverished backgrounds, and only left home to seek respectable employment inside a middling household at ages thirteen or fourteen, saving towards a dowry, hoping one day to marry: by the very virtue of having sought employment, they often had no support network to speak of.¹⁸ Regrettably, even though food-work was one of the functions women were allowed to carry out in public, it was no guarantee to protect them from the experiences of the "unrespectable" street

¹⁷ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 1892 (1812).

¹⁸ Frevert, *Women in German History*, 84.

worker.¹⁹ Kitchens, whether in public spaces or households, will have been spaces of sexual encounters and violence in the first four decades of the nineteenth century.²⁰

Household regulations, legally binding and state-formulated, protected employers and disadvantaged staff members of the household, incriminating them as much as possible, leaving their employers much space to find fault with their work and dismiss them, while leaving the potentially abused with next to no protection. Within these regulations, pregnancy was always a valid reason for dismissal, irrespective of context. Written “by order of the king,” household staff regulations—“Gesinde=Ordnungen” [sic] such as Saxe-Coburg’s regulations from 1797, for example—clearly state that an employer has the right to dismiss or refuse to give work to, as well as to demand back-payment of all wages from the onset of the pregnancy of all their female house-staff members, making pregnancy the sole responsibility of “the female staff-member.”²¹ This rule applied to “cooks, and kitchen maids,” “care-takers,” “wet-nurses,” as well as all kinds of other “maids...and other kinds of female household staff.”²² “Female household staff,” in this sense, when dependent on their job, when pregnant had the choice of keeping the child and losing their job, or vice-versa. Either way, they experienced no protection. The sole safety-mechanism, in the 1797 draft by Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg when a cook or female household staff member was “found to be pregnant,” was that the

¹⁹ Sara Pennel points out that southwest Germany and the Low Countries were among the few regions where women were legally allowed to work in inns and guesthouses in the eighteenth century, as typically, guild regulations prevented their activity. Sara Pennel, “Professional Cooking, Kitchens, and Service Work: *Accomplisht Cookery*,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, ed. Beat A. Kümin, Vol. 4. 6 vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2012), 116-117.

²⁰ Sara Pennel, “Family and Domesticity: Cooking, Eating, and Making Homes,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, ed. Beat A. Kümin, Vol. 4. 6 vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2012) 138.

²¹ FUBEG: Goth 8° 00039/04/4, Paragraph 13.5., p.7.

²² *Ibid*, Paragraph 1.a)-1.e), p.1.

“authorities” were to be immediately notified before the staff member was dismissed.²³ Should the mother-to-be claim her former employer as the father, in this sense, the records would show this as potential proof—and yet, it would not protect her from losing her position in a case of rape.

Further, given the formulation of staff regulations, any employer could easily fabricate reasons for dismissal besides pregnancy—“disobedience,” for example.²⁴ Equally, the duty to report staff pregnancies did not appear in every regional guide-book for house-staff government, leading to less potential proof in favor of the plaintiff in some cases. In Saxony, as much as elsewhere, these regulations remained virtually unchanged with regard to pregnancy and protection from bodily harm until at least 1838, and in usage until the turn of the twentieth century.²⁵

Should a young woman indeed gather enough proof to make a case for her former employer to be, not her rapist, but “the father” of her child, the court case pursuing the child’s right to be maintained might prove long, arduous, and fruitless. Judicial courts gave cooks’ words little weight or attention in general. Woman cooks needed witnesses—preferably men—to support their claims. Anna Maria Sauterin, former cook to Johann Florenz Geyer in 1807 in the German Southwest, for example, had the support of the local shoemaker and the local pastor to confirm her story of “impregnation”

²³ Ibid, Paragraph 36.13., p.17.

²⁴ Ibid, Paragraph 36.2, p.16.

²⁵ Compare: FUBEG: J 8° 04605, p.11: Paragraphs 18 on pregnancy and 63.1 with regard to right to leave employment after abuse, and 63.3 with regard to employers leading employees to illegal or unvirtuous actions; further, FUBEG: H 8° 08969, Paragraph 25.p), p.10, and 27.a), 27b). The sources applied to Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt 1822 and Sachsen-Meiningen, 1838. Differences are minor, and refer mainly to paragraphing and language. Given the similarity of these works, it is likely that regulations for other German states were at least comparable, if not based on contemporary laws, for convenience. See also: Eva Eßlinger, *Das Dienstmädchen, die Familie und der Sex: zur Geschichte einer irregulären Beziehung in der europäischen Literatur* (Munich: Fink, 2013); Gunilla-Friederike Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben: Kindheit und Erziehung in deutschen und englischen Bürgerfamilien 1840-1914* (Göttlingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

(Schwängerung)—a common name for the crime in the legal documents.²⁶ Dorothea Louise Löschen had a “Kaufmann Danuke” and a respectable “Lieutenant von Mask,” who may have caught the persons in question in the act, making Löschen’s guilt of premarital intercourse her greatest claim to “Alimente” or support.²⁷ In Löschen’s case, employment of about a year’s length, followed by an extramarital pregnancy on behalf of the woman cook, brought her claim credibility when she claimed to “find herself pregnant.”

The benefits that a young cook could gain from this process, if succeeding in coming this far, may however have been meager. In Löschen’s case, her requests for various remunerations owed her and payments as employee, and food and lodging until the child was born, remained entirely ignored; only her request for financial support for the child up to the age of fourteen years succeeded. The foliae and rough notes dating between 19 October 1812 and the 24th of November state that, in accordance with law, Richter was to pay for the child’s upbringing. Only presumably after her child was born did the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (seated in Berlin, in communication with Hamburg) decide that her claim was just. Until this point, we may presume the young food-worker had to fend for herself and her child.

Löschen ended up with neither employment, nor social support, nor sexual currency, despite her former respectable employment. With entries in *albi amicori* recommending among friends the wish “may your cook always be barren!”²⁸ it may well be that some

²⁶ SAK: G 784, unpaginated, first paragraph.

²⁷ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 1892 (1812). The law determined the obligation of a man found guilty of fatherhood to provide “alimente” for his children. BWGLAK: 234 Nr 35.46.

²⁸ “Dieses schreibet zum Andencken seines freundes Carl Ludolph Kasten aus Schneck in Voigtland d. R. B: Leipzig den 6 August: 1774.” SGML: A/2170/2010/34.

young cooks experienced risk and exploitation in silence, with neither a social network nor a legal structure to protect them.

Within these deplorable structural difficulties, ranging from financial disadvantage at the onset to a lack of social support, paired with a legal context that failed to provide either justice or protection, and their youth and gendered disadvantage, working women of the first half of the nineteenth century had few options when setting out in life, and even fewer when suffering rape. Understanding these structural conditions explains in part the dearth in sources, in legal documents and paper trails produced by young women in service.²⁹ Young women cooks disappear in the legal process, socially invisible and peripheral to claims concerning solely a child, mentioned to be a boy, or else, not gendered in the documents. The young women were not remunerated or compensated for their work in such cases of abuse in practice, nor was the abuse itself recognized as such. “Rape” as a term does not appear in the documents of those who, most likely pressed by desperation, went as far as to hire a scribe to write their petitions.

Some might read cleverness in the affirmation of female inferiority and entire lack of agency in petitions such as Löschen’s, where she is portrayed in part as a victim of her passions, incapable of rational choice, and thus not responsible for the taboo of unmarried intercourse. The price she paid for her self-depersonalization, however, was high: an effective non-person, the portrayal of Löschen as a creature incapable of agency frames her entirely as an objectified victim, incapable of consent, and entirely guilty of the

²⁹ Eva EBlinger has gone so far as to point out that given the patterns of contemporary textual treatments of maids and other female members of the household staff, sexual exploitation may have been the norm rather than the exception. Eva EBlinger, *Das Dienstmädchen, die Familie und der Sex: zur Geschichte einer irregulären Beziehung in der europäischen Literatur* (Munich: Fink, 2013); Christine Rinne, “Consuming the Maidservant,” in *Consuming Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century: Narratives of Consumption, 1700-1900*, eds. Tamara S. Wagner and Narin Hassan (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 63-80.

weaknesses of her sex.³⁰ In this context, the historian cannot even be sure that Löschen had a long term relationship with Richter's son, as she claims: in order to ensure her child's survival, Löschen had to strategically insist on repeated sexual intercourse with her rapist, to set his fatherhood beyond any doubt. The very insistence of the longevity of the affair, in turn, eliminated her chances to receive compensation for the months of pay their employers still owed her, let alone the physical, social, or emotional damage she sustained—both due to her claim that there hardly was any over the long course of the relationships, and due to the law's failure to comprehend the idea of rape.

Middling Ladies: Wives, Daughters, Housemanagers

For middling women, living conditions were better than those of their subordinates, though limited to the household through managing employees, and, among the rural lower middling in particular, often involving working alongside them, “supervising [their] activities.”³¹ The kitchen constituted the architectural and discursive center of the home, and was understood as a female space. Grimm's dictionary from 1838 read “metaphorically, the oven can stand for the home,”³² while, within that home, the kitchen was “sanctuary of the housewife,”³³ and the housewife, its priestess. “The priestess” in turn, “must not leave the temple,”³⁴ but should guard its fire, and provide for the dining

³⁰ Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

³¹ Pennel, “Family and Domesticity,” 123-124.

³² Entry “Ofen,” in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, 16 Vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854-1961) at “Wörterbuchnetz,” Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin-Brandenburg and Göttingen, <<http://woerterbuchnetz.de>>. (Accessed 11.11.2017).

³³ BSB: 3240982 2 Per. 6-1854,1 3240982 2 Per. 6-1854,1: *Gartenlaube*, (1853), 546.

³⁴ Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*. Reprint edition. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Friedrich Hölderlin, *Friedrich Hölderlin's sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1846), 92.

table — the “altar”³⁵ of the home. Despite these limitations, the wives and daughters of the middling estate still wielded some deferred authority derived from their middling husbands or fathers over employees like cooks and maids. See, for example, a frontispiece dating from 1823, (Figure 2) where the mistress of a household instructs her cook with the words “She may continue as before.”³⁶ Obedience to the family employing them extended commanding power even to the female members of the middling over their servants, whom they had the power to dismiss for slander, disobedience, speaking back, incompetence, or neglect of their duties.³⁷ If a servant acted against their mistress’ orders, she would “present to them their duties with love;” yet, if this did not help, “she would let them go,” without raising her voice for with shouting, she would “degrade herself even below them.”³⁸

³⁵ Brückner, “Das Nordfränkische Bauernhaus,” *Globus: illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* (Braunschweig: Vieweg und Söhne, 1865), 62.

³⁶ Anonymous, *Fuldaisches Kochbuch*, 3 Volumes (Rooschen: Fulda 1823), cover.

³⁷ FUBEG: Goth 8° 00039/04/4, 23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4-5. See also Habermas work for a discussion of various cases of this kind. Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums*, 39-41.



Figure 2. “She may continue as before,” mistress speaking to food-worker, 1823.³⁹

The formulation of the law regulating household staff’s working conditions did not distinguish between “members of the family”⁴⁰ in gendered ways, meaning that the employees had to serve and emphasize distinction irrespective of the employer’s gender. Gender distinction, in essence, only applied to the employees of the house, disadvantaging women, but not distinguishing between the members of the family. Household employees (“Gesinde”) had few rights but food, board, and livery. If they caused damage and could not pay for it, they were obliged to provide free service until their debt was paid. Staff had no right to dispute unjust reprimands or beatings, even if

³⁹ *Fuldaisches Kochbuch*, frontispiece.

⁴⁰ FUBEG: Goth 8° 00039/04/4, 23.

they were delivered on no ground, and no right to interfere with punishments unless a master risked killing a servant.⁴¹ Household staff members were disallowed from leaving the house, and had only three to four hours of free time per week. They had no right to terminate their contract unless employers “tempted” them to break the law or moral codes (presumably referring to sexual indiscretion), or in cases of excessive punishment, starvation, a failure to be paid for two months or more, the master’s intention to leave the country permanently, or, in case of illness.⁴² If unjustly maimed for life, as with any other person thus afflicted by a crime, the servant had the right to sue. Within this context, a mistress was in charge, irrespective of her gender.⁴³

The extent to which the wife of the household participated in household activities varied with financial liberty and age. A young middling woman just married and starting their household might complete virtually all household tasks by herself.⁴⁴ Cookbook authors aiming their texts at the literate middling classes however usually assumed that their readers commanded a host of household staff, or else at the very least a maid. Generally accepted was the idea that a lower middling woman would employ at least one maid, and if financially possible “servants chosen with care,” “see[ing] that they are God-fearing, industrious, honest and skilled.”⁴⁵

Urban versus rural conditions and financial factors further played a role in the degree of middling women’s participation in household tasks. Habermas notes that in the 1820s mistresses of the “Bürger”-house were involved in cooking activities, outsourcing tasks

⁴¹ Ibid, 10-13

⁴² Ibid, 18-20.

⁴³ One middling women’s financial responsibilities in charitable institutions, and inter-class prejudice regarding maid’s financial irresponsibility, see: Carola Lipp and Beate Bechtold-Comforty, *Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen: Frauen im Vormärz und in der Revolution 1848/49* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1998), 260 and 57, 163.

⁴⁴ Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer*, 1-3.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 4-5.

to staff (maids, servants), discussing meal plans with their cook, thus functioning as participant, manager, and collaborator with her food working employees. She could also carry out the primary role in market-purchasing—a task some outsourced to their cooks—and caring for a kitchen garden.⁴⁶ Middling values such as “industriousness, frugality, cleanliness, and order,”⁴⁷ were after all not incompatible with hands-on involvement. Julie Johanne Charlotte Wilhelmine Smidt (1815-1913), daughter of Johann Smidt (1773-1857), Mayor of Bremen and founder of Bremerhaven, born at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, for example, spent the summer days of August 10th to August 11th 1847 in the countryside house Dungen conserving the sour cherries and preserving their own harvest of beans alongside her maid and cook.⁴⁸ Being well placed among the senatorial elite of the city, and well-staffed, did not keep Wilhelmine from collaborating on her family’s property. The role of a wife or daughter within the middling home, therefore, was a hybrid one combining managerial command and authority over her cooks, servants, and maids in well-to-do and perhaps urban settings, with a collaborative role as a fellow worker in simpler, rural middling households.

Political views and pragmatism might well also affect the extent of involvement. To upper-class women (“aus den höheren Ständen”) one cookbook author Marie Schandri writes that all women should “familiarize themselves with the art of cooking early on, in order to either cook as housewives themselves or, in the case that the cook (female: “Köchin”) is impeded, at least for a little while be able to replace her.”⁴⁹ Such knowledge

⁴⁶ Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums*, 39-41.

⁴⁷ Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer*, 3.

⁴⁸ Nicola Wurthmann, *Senatoren, Freunde und Familie. Herrschaftsstrukturen und Selbstverständnis der Bremer Elite zwischen Tradition und Moderne (1813-1848)* (Bremen: Staatsarchiv Bremen, 2009), 425.

⁴⁹ Marie Schandri, *Regensburger Kochbuch: 870 Original-Kochrecepte auf Grund vierzigjähriger Erfahrung, zunächst für die bürgerliche Küche, herausgegeben von Marie Schandri* (Regensburg: Coppenrath, 1867), v.

qualifies them to oversee their servants, so as not to be “entirely dependent” on them.⁵⁰ She encourages women of a higher and middling social rank not to be helpless and dependent on servants.⁵¹ As the managers of their houses, they should be able to carry out the tasks of their employees as well, capable of the procurement and preparation of food.

For middling bachelors without wives, by youth, choice, or widowhood, a good option was to make place in his household for a close relation for the honorable position of house manager. To employ a family member—an unmarried daughter, sister, niece etc.—in the household of a well-earning, reputable bachelor, was more than common practice. Ignaz von Wessenberg, Vicar general of the Diocese of Constance, employed his sister as a house manager and cook, and faced the accusation of nepotism in 1807; a Jakob Eberle had proposed and expected him to employ another single woman, with “extramarital parents.”⁵² This remained a crucial phenomenon for unmarried middling women throughout the nineteenth century. Particularly for celibate servants of the Catholic Church, such employment seemed intuitive, given the impossibility of a relation with their own flesh and blood. It was further convenient for an unmarried woman from a middling family to remain under the guardianship of her relations in such a manner while employed in a reputable and respectable, even sought-after position. Composer and conductor Karl Anton Florian Eckert, for example, inquired in 1867 with an aunt to be caretaker and housekeeper in Stuttgart.⁵³

Managing the household officially like a wife would as a housemanager (“Haushalterin” or “Wirtschafterin”) may well have been the highest position a middling

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ See also Rachel Ginnis Fuchs and Victoria Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 73 on Henriette Davidis.

⁵² SAK: StAKN : 488 : 8

⁵³ BAUL: Slg. Kestner/I/C/II/85/Nr. 2, Mappe 85, Blatt Nr. 2

woman, married or unmarried, could aspire to. Elisabeth Stöckel, author of the 1833 *Bürgerliche Küche*, highlights this position as one of great social responsibility in the preface of her work, citing her position in “a local, very important household” in Vienna as a key qualification to her readers.⁵⁴ Similarly, Otto Camphausen, future Prussian minister of finance, joked with his family when he learns that his twelve-year old niece Maria wanted to become his household manager. “To be qualified for so crucial a position, she must just double her age.”⁵⁵ While the youth and determination of his family member amuses the thirty-six year old man, the seriousness of the subject itself remains indisputable, as he proposes to take Maria in at Berlin once he himself marries, and Maria turns fourteen or fifteen.

Often being close relations, or friends of friends, housekeepers could experience functional equality with equivalent women of the employers’ standing, as nieces for example might. They could become friendly with their employers, and stand in correspondence with them—Adolf Ebert with his employee Auguste, for example, who asks in his letter through his friend Friedrich Zarncke from Bad Wildungen in 1865, to have Auguste write in case “she has something to write to him.”⁵⁶ Housekeepers and women of the family worked together to nurse family members back to health, as Lotte Hohnstein did, for example, with the housekeeper “Clärchen” for her uncle in Bettenburg in 1825.⁵⁷ They ran households in their employer’s absence, much as a butler would do

⁵⁴ Elisabeth Stöckel, *Die bürgerliche Küche oder neuestes österreichisches Kochbuch für Bürgerfamilien aus der gebildeteren Mittelklasse: Eine ... vollständige Anweisung, alle Arten Speisen ... zu bereiten ; Mit Beigabe von zweihundert Speisezetteln für Wochen- und Festtage* (Vienna: Sollinger, 1833), iii. [full title not available]

⁵⁵ GStAPK: I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, 119.

⁵⁶ BAUL: NL 249/1/E/235.

⁵⁷ BAUL: Ms.0546/404-406, Blatt 404-406; BAUL: Ms.0546/382-385, Blatt 382-385.

for elite Englishmen.⁵⁸ Being recommended through networks and with the peers of society knowing of the employer relation, this safe-guarded the manager in her position, and made the employer accountable to his acquaintances. Otto Kaemmel considered the daughter of a family acquainted with his friend Karl Richter in 1882 Freiberg, and would, in giving her the position, have to acknowledge her social provenance and context.⁵⁹

Daughters who remained unmarried could do the same for their fathers after their mother's passing. The above-mentioned daughter of Mayor Smidt of Bremen Wilhelmine Smidt, for example, remained unmarried her entire life, and accompanied her father on his political travels, until his death in 1857.⁶⁰ The daughter of the mayor served as household manager, caretaker of sick family members, and diplomatic conversationist until late in his life, organizing aspects of his social, political, and economic life from 1848, after her mother's death.⁶¹ The first option for middling daughters, of course, remained marriage and motherhood, wherein mothers served as instructors to their daughters when the latter were expected to be hands-on managers for their own households in the future, and for some particularly respectable house managers, this position was only temporary. Rudolf Hildebrand noted to his acquaintance August Steche that his housekeeper Marie was getting married in Leipzig in 1879.⁶²

Within this household hierarchy, the leading women—be they wives, daughters, or house managers—may have taken up an instructive function as well towards their subordinates as much as their daughters. Johanna Katharina Morgenstern-Schulze, author

⁵⁸ BAUL: NL 249/1/E/238; BAUL: NL 249/1/E/240.

⁵⁹ BAUL: Ms.0890/455.

⁶⁰ HMSS: B.Sta.Ar.2009.69. Wurthmann, *Senatoren*, 422.

⁶¹ Wurthmann, *Senatoren*, 425.

⁶² BAUL: NL 160/S/249.

of the *Instruction for a young Lady* wrote to her “young friend”⁶³ Emilie, who lost her mother at a young age, and therefore had no-one to “instruct her in economics”⁶⁴ to be her servants’ “mother in the good, and their caregiver in sick days, not leav[ing] the bedside of the ill if these have served [her] well in health.”⁶⁵ Particularly if the maid was young, and an orphaned teenager, the middling mistress was to act as a custodian, substitute mother, firm mistress in health, and gentle caretaker in sickness. She should “not make the life of ... household staff members a burden ... with unnecessary scolding and abuse.”⁶⁶

To what extent such a relation might apply will have varied and been up to the discretion of the mistress of the home. Particularly in settings where the household mistress could afford not to work beside her employees, social distinction would have been unbridgeable, and direct contact sparse. Within lower middling households, however, where interaction was close and, if the mistress allowed it, akin to family relations, foodwork could have bridged not only social distinction, but, to some extent, marked early forms of education for the purpose of social mobility for young cooks and maids still looking to marry later in life. Despite the general, predatory and vulnerable

⁶³ Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer*, 3.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 3. economics here referring to the ancient meaning of *oikonomikon* (Οἰκονομικὸν), that is, the matters of the house or house-keeping and management.

⁶⁵ Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer*, 5.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 5. The master of the household, in turn, was conceptualized primarily as a disciplinarian. See: Adolph Freyherrn Knigge, *Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. (Hannover: Ritscher, 1796), 174. However, even for male masters, one author would cite the prescriptions of Marx Rumpolt, cook to the Elector of Mainz in the sixteenth century, to dissuade from abuse, writing that “He- the superior- should command them- the subordinate, but also conduct himself in a friendly and gracious manner. His commands and orders should not be given with proud, admonishing, snoring and blustering, unreigned words, but with softness, gentleness, friendliness, and modesty, so that...it may be taken for an amicable asking and desiring, than for a harsh order.” Abuse in turn would do nothing but render the employees “confused, more stubborn, and less willing. Anonymous, *Baierisches National-Kochbuch, Oder, Die gesammte Kochkunst, wie sie in Baiern ausgeübt wird, für herrschaftliche und bürgerliche Küchen eingerichtet, und so deutlich und faßlich beschrieben, daß Jedermann dieselbe in kurzer Zeit gründlich erlernen kann* (Munich: Fleischmann, 1824), vii.

context of maids and cooks, a degree of female solidarity may have influenced both the issuing of commands, and the passing on of skills between house managers and their subordinates, as depicted in illustrations dating to the century's early decades (Figure 3). Cookbook authors towards mid-century aimed their literature at women entirely untrained and inexperienced in household work, assuming that they had not engaged in it before, as well as at women seeking to manage a household entirely by themselves, or with servants, to provide such women with the knowledge and skills to direct their body of household staff adequately. As the next section discusses, most cookbook authors were female, and the genre they helped shape portrayed economics and culinary knowledge as a set of ideas and skills women passed among themselves. All this, toward the middle of the century, began to alter relations inside and outside the middling home.



Figure 3. Written instruction between women⁶⁷

⁶⁷Franz Anton Weilhuber, *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch oder Inbegriff aller Kochkunstvortheile, um gut, wohlfeil und wohlschmeckend zu kochen: mit Berücksichtigung und Anwendung der französischen, englischen und italienischen Küchen-Vorschriften: zum leichtern Gebrauch als Wörterbuch verfaßt*. Vol. 10 (Pappenheim: Seybold, 1823).

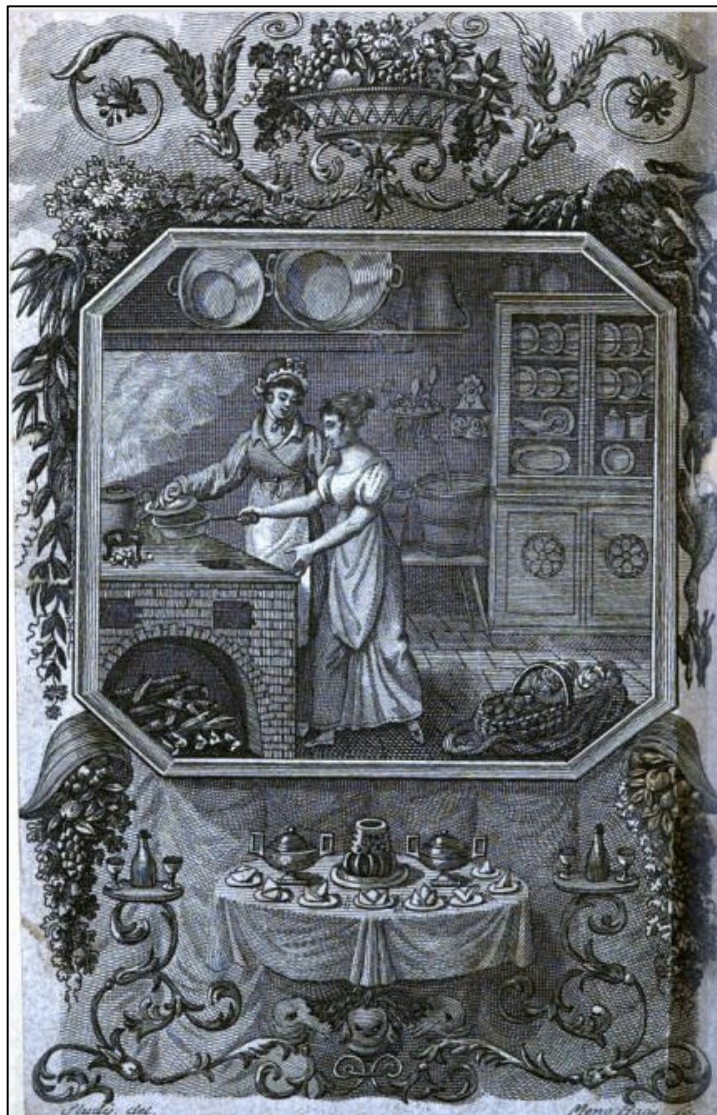


Figure 4. Foodwork in Practice ⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Sophie Wilhelmine Scheibler, *Vollständigstes Küchen-Zettel-Buch auf alle Tage des Jahres für Mittag und Abend mit Berücksichtigung der Jahreszeiten* (Berlin: Amelang, 1832).

Culinary Education in Text and Practice, 1800-1840

We have established that the economic, social, and legal context for working women in the first half of the nineteenth century was far from ideal, failing to provide either justice or protection to already disadvantaged members of society. A degree of solidarity among women in the household, however, may well have mediated across class differences, and been a key part of the instruction middling women needed to receive in managing and participating in household activities. The female-dominated culinary genre formed part of this dynamic, and played a key part in educating middling and working women in food work alongside the male-led instruction working women might receive in estate or public kitchens.

German Food Discourses and their French Connection

Before 1800 in France, elite educated men wrote about the food that their silent chefs cooked for them. “Minor academicians” penned cookbooks, prefaces, and discussions in journals, largely excluding women from literary food discourse.⁶⁹ After 1800, the master cooks of France, well-trained in the modern *hôte cuisine* of Antonin Carême, began to compose their own works, men such as Émile Bernard, Urbain Dubois, Jules Gouffé, and Auguste Escoffier.⁷⁰ Émile Bernard very briefly served Napoleon III, but then went on to

⁶⁹ Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001) 44. Ketcham Wheaton notes that while “Cookbooks had been written for and even by women in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, Germany, and Holland...France had lagged behind.” Barbara Ketcham Wheaton, *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), 209.

⁷⁰ Anne Lair, “The Ceremony of Dining at Napoleon III’s Court between 1852 and 1870,” in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle de Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 156; William Sitwell, *A History of Food in 100 Recipes* (Boston: Little and Brown, 2013).

serve at the Prussian Hohenzollern court.⁷¹ The same applied to Urbain Dubois, with whom Bernard authored the *Cuisine Classique*. Dubois, student of Carême's cuisine, worked under Adolphe Dugléré, equally a student of Carême, at the *Café Anglais* to later teach Auguste Escoffier, who became chef of the Savoy in London.⁷² Escoffier himself then founded a cooking school, further disseminating his knowledge and practices after presumably having done so at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in London.⁷³

Next to these well-networked culinary artists, further authors such as Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin and Alexandre Balthazar Laurent Grimod de la Reyniers wrote culinary works from the perspective of the gourmand. These authors were not cooks but the employers of good chefs, who used their cooks' knowledge combined with their elite education in the classics, specifically Hippocratic humoralism, to design cuisine.⁷⁴ Grimod de la Reyniers wrote the *Manuel des amphitryons, contenant un traité de la dissection des viandes à table, la nomenclature des menus les plus nouveaux et des éléments de politesse* (1808) and the *Almanach des Gourmands, servant de guide dans les moyens de faire excellente chère; par un vieil amateur* (1803-1810), describing and prescribing culinary delights for his social peers.

Other, more hands-on authors included somewhat prominent personas such as chefs to royalty and Weimarian celebrities. Francois René Le Goullon, for example, was the ducal chef to Anna Amalia of Saxony in Weimar; three years after her death in 1807, he

⁷¹ Lair, "The Ceremony of Dining," 156.

⁷² E. Neirinck and J.P. Poulain, *Histoire de la cuisine et des cuisiniers: techniques culinaires et pratiques de table, en France, du Moyen-Age à nos jours* (Paris: J. Lanore, 1988), 70. See also: Lair, "The Ceremony of Dining," 156.

⁷³ Thomas M. Hauer, "Carl Friedrich von Rumohr und Der Geist der bürgerlichen Küche," (PhD Dissertation, University of Karlsruhe, 2000), 65, 66.

⁷⁴ See also: Ibid, 69.

opened a guesthouse called “Hotel de Saxe” in 1810.⁷⁵ Though of French origin, this neighbor and acquaintance of Goethe was for a time a Weimarian author of the Romantic Era. Le Goullon titled his work based on a classical precedent, the Roman model established by the homonymous work then attributed to Casilius Apicius.⁷⁶

During the explosion of publishing in the nineteenth-century German states, educated elite men, failing to appreciate the need for simply laid-out instructions for tasty dishes based on experience, modeled their literature on the French precedent with works on gastronomy and culinary science. Famous Gastrosophic treatises included Carl Friedrich von Rumohr’s *Geist der Kochkunst* (1822), Carl Georg von Maassen with his *Weisheit des Essens* (1828), Gustav Blumenröder’s *Vorlesungen über Esskunst* (1838), and Baron Eugen von Vaerst’s *Gastrosophie oder Lehre von den Freuden der Tafel* (1851).⁷⁷ While these works certainly formed part of the larger food discursive genre, and informed it, they did not transform it. These were not practical cookery works as such, when compared to others of the genre which, while repetitive, were practical in their orientation. These works appear to have been aimed at other elite men, and perhaps some women, whose main function it was to write an eating plan with their cook from time to time, check over their cooks’ menus, or else, plan the financing of eating in their

⁷⁵ Stabi: 646839. François le Goullon, *Der neue Apicius oder die Bewirthung vornehmer Gäste so wie es die feinere Kochkunst und der Geschmack des 19. Jahrhunderts gebietet. Taschenbuch für Freunde gastlicher Bewirthung und einer wohlbesten Tafel, so wie für Mundköche, Haushofmeister und jeden, der für den Gaumen zu sorgen hat. Mit Kupfern von François le Goullon, ehemaliger Küchenmeister am Hof der Hochseel. Herzogin Amalie zu Sachsen Weimar=Eisenach. Verfasser des eleganten Theetisches*, Facsimile of 1st ed. Weimar, 1829 (Leipzig: Dr. Richter Verlag, 1984).

⁷⁶ Paul Niemeyer, *Gesundheitslehre des menschlichen Körpers* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1876), 73. Carl Barisch, “Eine Diätetik des sechsten Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, IV, (Hannover: Schlüter, 1875), 185.

⁷⁷ For a comprehensive analysis of all of the above, see: *Ibid.*

homes.⁷⁸ Cooking as such was not part of their practical experience. Much like their older French counterparts, their perspective was that of the consumer to whose educated taste their food workers were to cater.⁷⁹ Neither were these works, aiming to shape educated male consumers, bestsellers. The success of Rumohr and others could well have been confined to their class and gender, as a pleasant topic of conversation between consuming men.

Elite educated male culinary authors did not experience the large sales of their counterparts the hands-on “practical cooks.”⁸⁰ Nonetheless, German male authors with and without practical experience began to bridge the gap between the French literary culinary genre and the larger, far more significant sea of texts produced in Germany between 1800 and 1850. Influential chefs and cookbook authors in German such as Johann Rottenhöfer at the court of King Max of Bavaria, in turn, learned from the French literature, including Carême’s cookbook, but also from Brillat-Savarin’s political gastronomy. Drawing from Brillat-Savarin’s *Physiology of Taste*, (1825) Rottenhöfer insisted that “the hungry man is not the same as the full”, and that “[m]eals have become a means of government” (*Regierungsmittel*).⁸¹ He noted that “food makes the guests more

⁷⁸ See, for example, Baron von Vaerst’s work, of which two sections are dedicated to “Saying” and “Aphorisms”, 277, 287.

⁷⁹ Hippocrates, Galen, Paracelsus, as well as contemporary medical practitioners such as “Rademacher, Boerhave, Hufeland, Reil. Zimmerman, Darwin, J. Müller, J. W. Starf, J. A. Smidt, C. W. Ideler.” Ibid, xi. For a discussion of health concerns and medical science, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 69. E.g. Scheibler, *Allgemeines deutsches Kochbuch*, frontispiece: “von einem Praktischen Berliner Koch.”

⁸¹ Johann Rottenhöfer, *Neue vollständige theoretisch-praktische Anweisung in der feinern Kochkunst mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der herrschaftlichen und bürgerlichen Küche*, 2 Vols (Munich: Braun und Schneider, 1867), 8. See also Minna von Strantz, *Unsere Gemüse: mit Anschluss der Kastanie, Olive, Kaper, der Wein- und Hopfenrebe* (Berlin: Enslin, 1877), xi.

open and receptive to certain influences” and wrote, like Brillat-Savarin, that the “fate of nations rises and falls with their dining.”⁸²

Most cookbooks (approximately two thirds) printed in Germany as of 1800 were written by women, and many, irrespective of gender, were by professional food workers including cooks at inns and hotels, confectioners or sugar bakers, or restaurant owners in charge of their own kitchens.⁸³ The tone was invariably different from that of the French chefs of royal courts, or the gastrosophic works of German health enthusiasts, and to women, it meant that within the cultural confines of their child-rearing, house-, and morality-keeping functions, a degree of education entered their home. These authors read other works and integrated their ideas, including the French influence, into their works, trickling modern cuisine in middling households by 1840.

What Food Discourses Meant to Educated Women

Part of the education of the literate female members of the middling household was the reading of cookbook literature. Cookbook literature was an ideal genre with which to reach the middling wife and daughter.⁸⁴ Food, alongside and as part of the instruction of young girls to become good wives, was one of the few topics that educated women were allowed to engage in, and, in the case of writing and entrepreneurial inclinations, one of

⁸² J. A. Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du goût, ou, Méditations de gastronomie transcendante: ouvrage théorique, historique et à l'ordre du jour* (Paris: A. Sautelet et Cie libraires, 1826), xiii. [First edition 1825]

⁸³ Over half of cookbooks in the nineteenth century were authored by women, roughly between 53 and 78 per cent. 24 out of this dissertation's statistical sample of 45 cookbooks were explicitly attributed to women with a further 11 of ambiguous initials and Anonymous publications, leaving only 10 out of 45 works explicitly authored by men between 1785 and 1900. On total publication numbers, see: Carl Georg von Maassen, *Weisheit des Essens*, 2. By 1887, the number of cookbooks published in the nineteenth century rose to 1335. Count by Carl Georg, *Verzeichnis der Literatur über Speis und Trank bis zum Jahre 1887* (Hannover, 1888). Cited in: Hauer, “Rumohr,” 67.

⁸⁴ E.g. Edda Ziegler, Christophine Reinwald, Michael Davidis, “*Theuerste Schwester*” *Christophine Reinwald, geb. Schiller* (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 2007), 15.

the few areas they were allowed to write about. In all appearance embracing the function of house cook as mother and wife, as caretaker and nurturer, bound by the image that food was the most essential female work, reading cookbooks meant to go outside of the traditional conception of female education by just a bit, right under the nose of a potentially less than enthused master of the house who prioritized sons' education.⁸⁵ Increasingly, as cookbooks could educate women for positions in other households or even outside the home, they pushed the envelope of gendered conceptions and opportunities even further. If a young educator sought to reach a middling audience under the guardianship of conservative patriarchs, cookbook literature was just the way to do it.

Feminist and political patriotic activist, educator, author, and entrepreneur Betty Gleim used the genre of cookbooks to reach a wider readership, for this was a genre in which she as a socially-construed woman was 'allowed' to write, and one that every middling woman was 'allowed' to inconspicuously read. Betty Gleim, born 1781, and grand-niece to the poet Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, published her first cookbook in Bremen with Döll in 1808, aged 27, and her work on "Education and Instruction of the Female Sex" aged 29 in 1810.⁸⁶ Further works on reading, story-telling and education followed. Her work on cooking soon found imitators⁸⁷ who wished to use her name to sell cookbooks tied to this symbol of virtuous, and honorable, female education whom

⁸⁵ Joseph Kiermeier-Debre, *Schillers Frauen 42 Porträts aus Leben und Dichtung* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 2009), 19.

⁸⁶ Betty Gleim, *Bremisches Koch- und Wirthschaftsbuch*, 1, Faksimile. (Bremen: Heinrich Döll & co, 1808) iv-v. Betty Gleim, *Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts: ein Buch für Eltern und Erzieher*. (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1810).

⁸⁷ Anonymous, *Neues Bremisches Koch- und Wirthschaftsbuch herausgegeben nach Betty Gleim* (Bremen: Johann Heinrich Müller, 1817); Betty Gleim and Auguste Köhler Siemers, *Betty Gleim's Bremisches Kochbuch: ein Handbuch für die einfach-bürgerliche wie für die höhere und feinere Kochkunst* (Bremen: Heyse, 1854); Betty Gleim, *Betty Gleim's Bremisches Kochbuch: ein Handbuch für die einfach-bürgerliche wie für die höhere und feinere Kochkunst* (Bremen: J.G. Heyse Auguste Siemers geb. Köhler, 1847).

newspapers advertised as “ingenious”⁸⁸ and reviewers beyond her hometown called “famed.”⁸⁹ An endorser of Pestalozzi’s pedagogy, she had already founded her school at the age of 25 in Bremen in 1806, and re-founded it after French occupation in 1819, in the same year in which she also established a printing press in Elberfeld, running both businesses at once as a single woman of 38 years of age.⁹⁰ She was fluent in German, French, and English, and died at the early age of 46 in 1827.

An utter high-flyer and local celebrity in the free Hanseatic city-state of Bremen, Gleim was educated, entrepreneurial, well-lettered, and well-connected. Gleim was part of a lettered Republic, a public sphere based on epistolary political discussions, contributing to publications in German for larger contemporary projects of discursively constructing the German homeland, and dedicating her life-work to educating women.⁹¹ As many authors have noted and shown before, “civil society” was active and, as much of Europe, various German cities were well connected trans-nationally with strong ties to Paris, London, and the Russian court in a larger cosmopolitan network.⁹²

Gleim was a patriot and opponent of French occupation, as well as in favor of returning Alsace to German rule after the Congress of Vienna—a conference whose

⁸⁸ “Geistreich,” *Intelligenz=Blatt zum Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, Nro. 3 (1811), 9

⁸⁹ “Rühlich bekannt,” *Leipziger Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 28, Piece XLI (8. April 1811), 646.

⁹⁰ Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Sämmtliche Schriften: Lienhard und Gertrud. - Theil 1* (Leipzig: Cotta, 1819), xxvi.

⁹¹ Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume 1: Reason and the Rationalization of Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

⁹² Ian F. McNeely, *The Emancipation of Writing: German Civil Society in the Making, 1790s-1820s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Jonathan Sperber, *Property and Civil Society in South-Western Germany, 1820-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Rita Krueger, *Czech, German, and Noble: Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

decisions she followed and discussed with her contacts. Regarding Alsace, Gleim wrote with some joy in 1814, sounding much like her friend Ernst Mortiz Arndt in his *Des Deutschen Vaterland* of the year prior, that the situation has finally shifted in their favor, and that “all provinces, where our German common tongue resounds,” must be freed; otherwise, “the peace” after the Congress of Vienna, would “not be rightful.”⁹³ Gleim had the habit of discussing politics with her contacts in the German states and England, and was well aware of French publications, which she read and commented on in print. This included a noted response to Madame de Staël’s work on Germany.⁹⁴ She was skilled at networking and name-dropping in her correspondence. To her editor in 1810, for example, she recounted meeting various “meaningful people” in her travels to southern Germany,⁹⁵ Gleim monitored British perceptions of Germany on the war during the last battles against Napoleon in 1814,⁹⁶ encouraged female support of the war-effort throughout the so-called Wars of Liberation 1813-1815,⁹⁷ and cited civic pride as a primary motivation for authoring her cookbook. Gleim’s cookbook passed through over nine editions before 1871, though she did not live to see her later ones, and counts among the best-known and most-read German cookbook authors of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸

Gleim appears to have been tirelessly at work, writing constantly, composing various pieces at once, hitting resistance with her publishers. She switched presses after working for her cookbook with Heyse in Bremen in 1808 to Georg Joachim Göschen in Leipzig,

⁹³ StUBB, Aut.XXV, 24. Note that Gleim expresses her praise and admiration and elicits her best greeting to Arndt, a guest and friend of Julius Bernhard Engelmann, (1773-1844), director of a “Higher School for Daughters in Frankfurt Main” in her letter to the latter, eight years her senior. StUBB, Aut.XXV, 24. Betty Gleim, *Randzeichnungen zu dem Werke der Frau von Stael über Deutschland* (Bremen: J.G. Heyse, 1814).

⁹⁴ StUBB, Aut.XXV, 24.

⁹⁵ StUBB, Aut.LVI b

⁹⁶ StUBB, Aut.XXV, 24.

⁹⁷ Betty Gleim, “Was hat das wiedergeborene Deutschland von seinen Frauen zu fordern?” (Winter 1813/1814), in StUBB, Aut.XXV, 24.

⁹⁸ StUBB: Bre125.6 072.

who published many of the major authors of classical Weimar. While they worked together intensely from 1809, Göschen appears to have been less than enthused by all her proposals. Gleim speaks of uncountable manuscripts and book, textbook, and series ideas in her letters, some of which by far stepped over the topics a woman in her time could speak on with authority, and many of which never saw publication. In March of 1810, Gleim not only worked on the third part to her work on “Female Education” but also a tri-partite schoolbook for geography, which remained unpublished.⁹⁹ Similarly, she wrote four short works for children, and planned a Latin textbook—the latter, traditionally a subject matter for young boys rather than girls.¹⁰⁰ The first volume of her *Reading Book for Children* Gleim not only gave to girls, but also sent to a local “Latin school” in Bremen where young boys might use it.¹⁰¹

While the several book dealers, commissioners, editors, publishers and presses Gleim worked with throughout her career knew well how to use her nation-wide fame for advertising, they remained disinterested in Gleim’s ideas, and skeptical of her intellectual abilities.¹⁰² Gleim had to endure some patronizing notes by Göschen and discriminatory treatment that may well have tested her patience. Gleim did not choose the title of her work “Erziehung und Unterricht des weib. Geschlechts.”¹⁰³ The author had a more philosophic title in mind, wherein she would draw attention to the nature of certain

⁹⁹ StUBB, Aut.LVI b.

¹⁰⁰ DSBM: Bö-GS.A.Gleim, B. Brief 2 Kasten 5; DSBM: Bö-GS.A.Gleim, B. Brief 3 Kasten 5; DSBM: Bö-GS.A.Gleim, B. Brief 1 Kasten 5 See also: Helen Fronius, *Women and Literature in the Goethe Era 1770-1820: Determined Dilettantes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 181.

¹⁰¹ StUBB, Aut.LVI a. Probably referring to: Betty Gleim, *Lesebuch für Kinder zur Übung der Deklamation*, 1. Theil (Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1809); Betty Gleim, *Lesebuch für Kinder zur Übung der Deklamation*, 2. Theil (Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1810).

¹⁰² Betty Gleim, *Erzählungs- und Bilderbuch: zum Gebrauch für Mütter, die ihre Kinder gern angenehm beschäftigen wollen* (Bremen, F.A. Dreyer, 1810). The art book dealer Dreyer brought the text out commissioned by Heyse, the artist Menke providing the art, with Gleim editing the texts.

¹⁰³ StUBB, Aut.LVI a.

“ideas”—in the “philosophic or political conception of the term”—regarding female education, perhaps in an analytic sense.¹⁰⁴ Göschen corrected her, defining the term to her as “perspective, opinion, notion.”¹⁰⁵ Gleim noted that this change of title made sense, given that her original title (unfortunately not mentioned) may be misunderstood.¹⁰⁶ Gleim accepted the title of “Education and Instruction of the Female Sex” that her publisher may have found easier to market and sell.¹⁰⁷

Further, her publisher quite often owed her money. Though Gleim was typically months ahead of deadlines, Gleim’s payments and desk copies typically took longer to arrive than they should. The corrections of her work on female education with Göschen took a good while, beginning presumably in 1809, and working all the way through January and March of 1810 until the planned release date in September 1810.¹⁰⁸ Fronius has noted that the Napoleonic wars so affected Göschen “between 1808 and 1810” that he thus has “problems publishing Gleim’s book by the due date, and so, for a while avoided responding to her letter.”¹⁰⁹ This may indeed part explain part of Göschen’s tardiness on this occasion, however, Göschen still published ten books per year at the time, prioritizing other texts, and the conflicts between Gleim and Göschen throughout their collaborations were multiple. Gleim contracted out the endorsement of the agreed payment of 163 Thaler to a company in Leipzig—on more than one occasion, in July 1810, and in November 1810—an order “Herren Eggers and Franke” would not have accepted unless contractual and reasonable.¹¹⁰ Gleim was not shy to ask for payments

¹⁰⁴ StUBB, Aut.LVI a.

¹⁰⁵ StUBB, Aut.LVI a.

¹⁰⁶ StUBB, Aut.LVI a.

¹⁰⁷ StUBB, Aut.LVI a.

¹⁰⁸ Stabi: Slg. Darmstaedter 2k 1820: Gleim, Betty, Blatt 6.

¹⁰⁹ Fronius, *Women and Literature*, 182.

¹¹⁰ Stabi: Slg. Darmstaedter 2k 1820: Gleim, Betty, Blatt 5; StUBB, Aut.LVI b.

throughout her career.¹¹¹ She requested the money due for her manuscript, and inquired about discounts she should receive for “such transactions” as might be considered purchases.¹¹²

Gleim was well aware of the negotiation it would take to publish her works. Negotiations over price or content of her books she often set into a post script, after spending much space in the letter with praise, thanks, and inquiries into her editor’s health. In one letter from January 1810 regarding the acceptance of her manuscript and the determination of its price, as well as her payment, Gleim began with thanks, and after various specifications for the content of her work, followed her acceptance that exactly how much the book will cost will “of course be up to” him, to then move on to a paragraph on his wellbeing, and another, with greetings to his wife. Only the post-script then adds: “should you however find that” the price could be changed, “I ask you kindly to inform me.”¹¹³ It is at the end of her letters where she, almost rhetorically, asks whether she might not be the one to finish the last correction of her work.

Gleim’s success suggests she developed skill in toeing the line between “good woman” and “business woman” in her dealings with publishers and editors, yet there were certain limitations she could not bypass. When examining the works she actually published in that light compared to those merely mentioned in her correspondence, the trend is clear: a cookbook, an endorsement on gas ovens,¹¹⁴ a commentary on another woman’s work (Madame de Staël),¹¹⁵ a work on verse-construction, children’s reading and story books, a work on teaching women, a translation of Kettelby’s English best-

¹¹¹ DSBM: B6-GS.A.Gleim, B. Brief 1 Kasten 5.

¹¹² StUBB, Aut.LVI a.

¹¹³ Stabi: Slg. Darmstaedter 2k 1820: Gleim, Betty, Blatt 4.

¹¹⁴ DLA: Cotta’Br/Gleim,Betty Cotta, 3. Cotta: Mannheim, 25.1.1816 (1 Blatt).

¹¹⁵ DLA: Cotta\$Br, Gleim,Betty Cotta, 4. Cotta: Bremen, 28.4.1814 (1 Blatt); StUBB, Aut.XXV, 24.

selling cookbook.¹¹⁶ Three volumes on Geography, which Gleim worked on in 1810, and a Latin textbook, Göschen never published.¹¹⁷ Gleim further spent much time sending her writings, ranging from book project designs, to “brochures” to various publishers, newspapers, and book store owners, trying to bring her writing to a readership—to Friedrich Wilmar in Leipzig in 1814, for example, with a brochure, and an article for the *Morgenblatt* in 1814.¹¹⁸ Many of these remained fruitless. Gleim, it seems, had authority to speak on “female/feminine” matters and that of children, and even here, she was forced to compromise and iterate notions that echoed the limitation she herself experienced. This was a way to limit her claims, and delineate her teaching authority, raising the question of what she might have written in another historical time, and what her private notes and manuscripts might have revealed.

Perhaps this frustration with publishers formed part of her motivation to establish her own lithographic printing press in 1819 in Elberfeld specializing in images such as portraits of politically relevant persons such as Carl Ludwig Sand, as well as “drawings, maps, musical scores” and “scientific works.”¹¹⁹ Further, war got in the author’s way, slowing down the publication of her works.¹²⁰

Despite all these setbacks and disadvantages, her success was astonishing for its time. The high number of projects indicate her capacity as a thinker. Her being published at the age of 27 speaks of her determination. Founding her own school and printing press illustrate her entrepreneurial spirit, and indicate some frustration with social limitations,

¹¹⁶ StUBB, Aut.XXV, 24.

¹¹⁷ StUBB, Aut.LVI b.

¹¹⁸ Stabi: Slg. Darmstaedter 2k 1820: Gleim, Betty, Blatt 7; DLA- Cotta\$?Br, Gleim, Betty, 4. Cotta: Bremen, 28.4.1814 (1 Blatt) and DLA- Cotta\$Br, Gleim, Betty, 3. Cotta: Mannheim, 25.1.1816 (1 Blatt).

¹¹⁹ StUBB, Aut.LVI b, notes by archivist.

¹²⁰ DSBM: B6-GS.A.Gleim, B. Brief 11 Kasten 5.

which both of these institutions might allow her to bypass. Being an educator, she could equip a generation of women in Bremen with intellectual as well as accepted practical tools, while running her own press could enable her to circumvent her former editor's blocking of her various projects. Further, she remained well-networked throughout her life, and kept ties to local schools in Bremen to whom she could send her finished reading books. That she died at the age of 45 with many of her manuscripts and half of her publishing correspondence lost, makes engagement with this thinker difficult. Finally, her success and early death raise the question to what extent her own utterances were effaced or watered down by the time they reached the bookshelf.

To educated women like Betty Gleim, writing cookbooks was not necessarily an activity of profound passion, but one of the ways of strategically bypassing the constraints of her sex to reach readers. Several authors have noted Gleim's work as "socially radical in advocating higher education for girls, and careers beyond simply being a wife and mother."¹²¹ Of course feminists in the nineteenth century, as Ann Taylor Allen has noted, did not perceive a "contradiction between arguments based on social motherhood and on equal-rights doctrine."¹²² However single authors such as Gleim and others went as far to ignore men in their accounts entirely. Morgenstern-Schulze, a conservative author writing before 1800, calls it "an important duty of a girl, to be a good hostess, because through it she is capable of providing her future companion a quiet and pleasurable day...what innocent pleasure can a clever housemother bring to her husband

¹²¹ Elke Kleinau and Christine Mayer, *Erziehung und Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts. Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Bildungs- und Berufsbildungs-geschichte von Mädchen und Frauen*, 2 vols. (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1996), I, 70-84; William Rasch, "Mensch, Bürger, Weib: Gender and the Limitations of Late 18th-Century Neohumanist Discourse," *German Quarterly*, 66/1 (1993), 28-31. Josefina Zimmermann, "Betty Gleim (1781-1827) und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Mädchenbildung," (University of Cologne, 1926), also cited in Helen Fronius, *Women and Literature in the Goethe Era 1770-1820: Determined Dilettantes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 182.

¹²² Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood*, 4.

through cleanliness and order!”¹²³ The center of this conception is the husband and his pleasure, household work being in social as well as financial terms a debt owed to him, as shown in Morgenstern-Schulze’s use of the word “schuldig”, which can be rendered as a “debt owed”. To some extent such encouragement stands for a cult of domesticity wherein the housewife is constructed in the feminine image of a desirable and subservient partner, or the “ideology of domesticity”¹²⁴ which dictated the role of women as mothers and wives based on an idea of an essential gender difference. Morgenstern-Schulze’s degree of insistence, however, was the exception rather than the rule. Most female authors after 1800 emphasize above all practicality and task-orientation, which was far more strongly and directly exploited as a site of emancipation. The audience to the food works and work authored by cookbook writers and their readers was not a husband, a creature absent from most accounts, but the people enjoying her food and the audience reading her book.

The orientation of authors like Gleim early in the nineteenth century was a female public sphere in which women belonged to a global citizenship of deserved equality with men.¹²⁵ Her work on instruction for women, for example, begins with a preface “to my beloved fellow citizens (Mitbürgerinnen)...I value you, honor and respect you, indeed, love you with all my heart.”¹²⁶ “As degenerate as the world is, as refreshing is it to meet presences...on whom the eye can rest with pleasure.”¹²⁷ By mid-century, cookbook authors assume their readership to be more diverse, to again become segregated by 1900.

¹²³ Morgenstern-Schulze, *Unterricht für ein junges Frauenzimmer*, 3.

¹²⁴ Fuchs and Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 2.

¹²⁵ Gerhard Grubeck, “Der Beitrag der Frau zum literarischen Leben in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” (Ph.D. Diss, University of Vienna, 1985), 103.

¹²⁶ Gleim, *Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts*, i.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, ii.

The Relationship Between Oral, Manuscript, and Print Sources

If we accept the idea that bourgeois convention dictated an internalization of duty to the point of self-observation and -endorsement of “duty-bound marriage,” literature functioned as one of the few alleys through which frustrated wishes could be “compensated,”¹²⁸ and cookbook literature an ideal format with which to reach the middling wife. Culinary knowledge may have represented one of the few forms of education women could not be denied. Johann Caspar Schiller, Friedrich Schiller’s father, prioritized his son’s education, and, “to the disdain of the mother, neglected that of the daughters” of which he had five.¹²⁹ Given their domestic veneer and their pleasurable product, cookbooks presented the ideal stealth-genre allowing authors to acceptably package knowledge and bring it to their readers past any reactionary household censor.

Recipes from printed cookbooks found their way into handwritten recipe collections, and manuscript notebooks in turn could serve as sources for printed culinary works.¹³⁰ Whether at table, in salons abroad, over coffee-tables at home, recipe exchanges as discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation were a key part of middling interaction. Oral tradition, in turn, shaped and mediated both as part of editing discussions between authors and their publishers could find their ways into printed texts that would reach beyond an author’s immediate social circles. Further documents, such as *albi amicori*, notebooks of cooks in training and letters containing recipes for exchange, before mid-

¹²⁸ Ziegler, et al. “*Theuerste Schwester*”, 15.

¹²⁹ Joseph Kiermeier-Debre, *Schillers Frauen 42 Porträts aus Leben und Dichtung* (Munich: Detuscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 2009), 19.

¹³⁰ See the collections of hand-written recipe notebooks, letters, and postcards in WOK and HMSS: WOK: HH.R1, WOK: HH.R2-34, WOK: HH.R2A, WOK: HH.R3; WOK: HH.R23; WOK: HH.R26; HMSS: Koch-Dav.1; HMSS: Koch.Ras.1.; HMSS: Koch.Str.1.

century, and *Haushaltbücher*, school notebooks for girls, and post-cards for recipe exchange after mid-century, equally formed part of the recipe exchange networks that printed cookbooks were embedded in.¹³¹ Letters, table conversation, salon meetings, exchanges over tea, and discussions with cooks educated at guesthouses and hotels, and with maids, whom the mistress of the household might train somewhat herself: all must have formed part of the dynamic shaping cuisine in practice. Having noted the prolific nature of the cookbook genre, it is safe to say that all these dynamics and conversations throughout the century, must have been very active.

Within this dynamic, the culinary, gastronomic, and gastrosophic works of French and local educated elites first influenced, and then served as distant points of culinary standard taught at cook-educating court, estate, hotel, or inn kitchens. These reference points centralized the discussion, functioning as an ideal, “French cookbooks,” as “role models” for the German cookbook genre.¹³² French cuisine, the modern *hâute cuisine* of Carême, the wider network made up of his students, and other French chefs working at royal households finally centralized the system of culinary education. Formal cooking education in the German states mirrored this organization, and did for the working woman what it did for the middling in writing.

Working Women and Social Mobility, 1840-1860

The undisputed center of culinary civilization in eighteenth-century Europe was France. In 1789, however, the French Revolution and the revolt that cost the elites also cost their

¹³¹ Rottenhöfer, *Praktische Kochkunst*, 8. HMSS: Koch.Str.1.

¹³² Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Geist der Kochkunst von Joseph König* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1822), 15.

employees. Chefs such as Antonin Carême, well-known cook to kings, fled the country, or set up restaurants and hotels in Paris, catering to the bourgeoisie.¹³³ Carême, at first, served the English court and travelled to St. Petersburg to work, yet it was in Central Europe where he stayed. He, like Émile Bernard and Urbain Dubois, served the royal family of Prussia, rather than their counterparts in London and Paris. These political refugees catering to the elites of the German states brought with them culinary knowledge, the “modern” haute cuisine of Carême breaking with spice and establishing a new, more natural and yet sumptuous buttery way of cooking. To some consumers, and some cooks, a break with spice was a break with tradition, and a striving towards modernity, where each meat and vegetable could be appreciated in its natural form, for its very own character, in alignment with Enlightenment endeavors.¹³⁴ The transformative power of an education in the new culinary art for working women, as transmitted by such émigrés, was substantial in the decades after the French Revolution, up to and through mid-century.

The education of a cook typically took three years, and occurred in a “large kitchen,” or in a so-called “princely kitchen.”¹³⁵ The young cook’s instruction was carried out by the “herrschaftlichen Koch”— “manorial” or “stately cook.”¹³⁶ In a best-case scenario, the respectable, middling woman, even if of dignified poverty and little means, was trained at a renowned hotel or respected local restaurant; alternatively, they could leave

¹³³ Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*; Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

¹³⁴ Menell, *Die Kultivierung des Appetits*, 197.

¹³⁵ Johann Daniel Knopf and Johann Christian Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch für angehende Köche, Köchinnen und Haushälterinnen nebst einer Anleitung zu der einem Koche so unentbehrlichen Wissenschaft des innern Haushalts*, 2nd Edition (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1800), 6.

¹³⁶ M. D. Funk, *Neues Fränkisches Kochbuch, oder, Anweisung Speisen, Saucen und Gebackenes schmackhaft zuzurichten, Früchte einzumachen und Kräuteressige zu verfertigen, nebst mehreren zur Koch- und Haushaltungskunst nützlichen Vorschriften* (Gaffert: Ansbach, 1813), iii.

their hometown to seek education at a greater establishment. Anna Spöhring, author of the *Neues bremisches Kochbuch*, completed her training with a local “Herr Döhle,” well respected cook in the city-state of Bremen, around 1806. Marie Raschen, another young woman from Bremen, moved to Stade for two years in November 1832 for an education at Hotel “Zur Stadt London”.¹³⁷ Students such as Raschen were allowed to cook, and to participate in hosting guests and parties as part of their training. Dealing with various numbers of dinner guests, learning new recipes involving caviar, veal, and meat pies, as well as handling unexpected arrivals to cater to in their hotel, all formed part of their education.¹³⁸ Cookbook authors Knopf and Forst critique that the standard three-year education of such young individuals, however, is by far not enough, leading to the alleged standard situation, that both cooks and employers were unhappy—the former, with their pay, the latter, with the quality of their meals.¹³⁹

This education was likely not a piece of cake, but a difficult experience for young women seeking social improvement in this profession. The author of the *Bavarian National Cookbook*, a female cook of undetermined employment, trained many cooks and finds the most recent generation of them disappointing. She criticizes the youth of her age, writing that some, “have been imprinted with too slavish a veneration of the master” to the detriment of independent “experience and reflection” for the improvement of their work.¹⁴⁰ Others, she deplores “are the true fungi and mushroom-growths” of her

¹³⁷ HMSS: Koch.Ras.1. Archivist notes and inside cover. Date of last note, April 1833; HMSS: Koch.Ras.1. Notes dated Sunday 25 November, 1832.

¹³⁸ HMSS: Koch.Ras.1. Notes dated Thursday 19th: “20 Persons.”

¹³⁹ Knopf and Förster, *Braunschweigisches Kochbuch*, ix.

¹⁴⁰ Anonymous, *Baierisches National-Kochbuch, Oder, Die gesammte Kochkunst, wie sie in Baiern ausgeübt wird, für herrschaftliche und bürgerliche Küchen eingerichtet, und so deutlich und faßlich beschrieben, daß Jedermann dieselbe in kurzer Zeit gründlich erlernen kann* (Munich: Fleischmann, 1824), v.

time, “the upstarts, the pert, and the precocious.”¹⁴¹ These who do not know their place are irreverent of the master and wish to “meddle in handicraft,” imposing on the master even before “watching and listening” in order to understand the trade. “That is truly not to be borne.”¹⁴² The “master” in this discussion is not the master of the household but of the kitchen, that is, the teacher of the apprentice. At the same time as the education meant hard work under the watchful eye of an educator therefore, it also held the promise of one day becoming one such mentor to the next generation of cooks.

In a best-case scenario, a rural lower middling woman could become the housekeeper of a well-to-do relative, or a cook in an inn or respected family household. For the lower middling, such work would be expressedly temporary and last only until marriage. Public houses and the most esteemed elite homes of the locality were the prime employers, which would not degrade a woman’s chance of respectable marriage, with, perhaps, another food-worker or administrator, like a *Speisemeister*, beside whom they could continue to be active after wedlock, and presumably, pay more than most households could.

Self-sacrifice being the heroism of women, such service in the cause of nourishment – reflecting the essentially feminine nature of the female – allowed for work in public without compromising her integrity. Under good circumstances, a fairly well-to-do cook would provene from a respectable middling family herself, whose family could not, however, afford to marry her quickly, or who was the younger daughter among many, thus forcing her into work. In times of need or family hardship, too, women could seek to

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid, v-vi.

assist their families financially with cooking work, without losing their social respectability.

After completing her education with a local cook, Anna Spöhring sought employment in a local public establishment. Working in a household kitchen was only her second choice. Anna Spöhring cooked at “festive occasions” of various “esteemed families” in the city, but could not find constant employment among them—despite her teacher’s recommendations.¹⁴³ This half-orphaned daughter of a port tallyman in Bremen, at this point in the 1810s lost her stepmother and aunt, while her father forfeits all his property in a poor business deal. The blow kills him little later, leaving Spöhring to support her grandmother of no means. Caring for the latter, Spöhring became blind and the dependent of her brother and sister-in-law. Years later, become a poor old woman in the 1850s, Spöhring recorded the recipes she learned from Herrn Döhle through dictation, and upon returning to Bremen, published the work, so that many “daughters...might find education and skill in the art of cooking.”¹⁴⁴

Spöhring’s case illustrates that for a woman to need to work at all in a house that was not her own was a sign of relative dependency and lack of property until mid-century. If not well connected, a young cook had to accept work at a hotel, inn, tavern, or a moderate household, as either cook or maid, when the function was sometimes not economically or socially distinct at all. Cooks in underprivileged conditions sometimes slept with the maids of the household, who constituted the very bottom of the staff,

¹⁴³ StUBB: (V)Reg304 456(3), unpaginated, i-ii.

¹⁴⁴ This is the story recorded in the unpaginated preface of the cookbook. StUBB: (V)Reg304 456(3), iii. The use of various local names gives some indication that the account might be based on a historical individual, if at points exaggerated.

demonstrating that to their employers, their position was hardly any different to that of the scullery.¹⁴⁵

Regarding their living conditions, in the best of cases, a cook could be entitled to a pension after years of service. Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, for example, Vicar General in Constance, paid his former cook Josepha Karl 50 gulden a year as a pension in 1823.¹⁴⁶ In the worst of cases, cooks could expect no such aid, and had to save up meager payments to set aside for old age, as did the widowed Charlotte Tesman in 1805 for herself and her family.¹⁴⁷ In many cases, the fate and relative success of young cook before 1850 might have been determined more by the conditions of her birth, than by education or skill.

The Social Mobility and Social Reality of the Working Woman, 1840-1860

According to the claims of cookbook authors such as Knopf, Förster, and others, their genre served to educate the working woman to facilitate her social mobility, letting them advance from scullery maid to skilled cook. Such an education through the written words might make the difference between a good position at an inn, and a poorer one in a lower middling home, for not all maids or aspiring cooks could serve in grand estate kitchens or hotels where French chefs or French-educated German chefs could train them in their craft. Between 1840 and 1860, cookbooks were used as self-instruction devices aimed at career-advancement.

Anna Koller embodies this phenomenon in two ways: as a woman, and as an example of social mobility. As a woman working in the public sphere, she may well have

¹⁴⁵ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 1892 (1812).

¹⁴⁶ SAK: H 981 146.

¹⁴⁷ GStAPK: I. HA GR, Rep. 36, Nr. 2034. Also: WOK: HG.För.1789, vi.

started at the bottom and worked her way up to chef, influencing her aim to educate the serving classes. Koller was the cook at the Löwenbräu in Reichenhall, and previously employed in Traunstein and the Post-office in Ischl, when, in 1851, she published her *Newest Complete Cookbook (Neuestes vollständiges Kochbuch)*.¹⁴⁸ Hers is a social-emancipatory work aimed at individuals of the lower classes who seek to improve their social situation by getting a job in a public or middle- or upper-class household kitchen. Koller's primary audience is the "especially such persons as are in the serving class (dienende Klasse), who often find themselves confronted with difficulties" when cooking according to unclear or complicated instructions peppered with foreign idioms.¹⁴⁹ Going to lengths in her work to make the text accessible, Koller may well have started at her multi-staged career at the bottom of a kitchen's food-chain herself, therefore transliterating foreign language terms into German irrespective of the grammar of the original tongue, to let those with limited literacy who only speak their native language, and "know the words only by their sound" be able to use them.¹⁵⁰ Koller further specifies that the low price of her work has the aim to make it accessible to these members of her primary readership.¹⁵¹

Irrespective of her own background, Koller's work is conceptualized as a text for self-improvement for the serving classes seeking skill and knowledge to become part of a larger kitchen.¹⁵² Koller includes instructions on how to set tables – knowledge that may well have made the difference for a hopeful servant or kitchen personnel when applying

¹⁴⁸ Anna Koller, *Neuestes vollständiges Kochbuch: eine Anleitung, die Speisen eben so schmackhaft und zierlich, als schnell und sparsam zu bereiten* (Munich: Kaiser, 1851), title page.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, i.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, ii.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, i.

¹⁵² Ibid, 127-133.

for a job. She equally devotes a section to “Wildpret” (game), includes many recipes centered on meat or requiring the use of almonds and fine liquors, and provides instruction for making ice-cream – all characteristics of a cuisine characteristic to upper and middling cuisine.¹⁵³ While Koller’s insistence on catering to the serving classes is not the rule in mid-century texts, it illustrates the potential use of such works, and a demand for improvement. Others, such as authors Klietsch and Siebell for example equally emphasize that their work is written “in popular form” providing “short explanations of the technical cooking vocabulary and foreign words” or German translations for those lower middling who spoke little French, or else, aspiring food-workers of both sexes.¹⁵⁴

Working women in public kitchens as of mid-century was a very common sight. As a truism of the gender-discrimination of the nineteenth century, it was more expensive to employ men than women.¹⁵⁵ It is therefore not surprising that the royal *Mundköche* (personal chefs) of the German states were more likely to be men, and that in middling households of smaller income, women were more represented as cooks. The social space in between, however, which encompassed estates and public kitchens of grand hotels, inns, restaurants, and spas, was comparatively mixed. Both men and women worked in this sphere, the professions of the cook and the inn-manager or hostess (“Wirthin”) open to the otherwise more excluded female German. Even due to their lower wages, employing women as cooks in restaurants and hotels made financial sense for owners who chose from options in a competitive market. Given the lower costs of keeping

¹⁵³ Ursula Heinzelmann, “Rumohr’s Falscher Rehschlegel: The Significance of Venison in German Cuisine,” *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 6:4 (November 1, 2006): 55.

¹⁵⁴ Heinrich Klietsch and Johann Hermann Siebell, *Vollständiges und allgemein-nützlichtes Bamberger Kochbuch: Worin mannichfaltige Speise-Zubereitung vorkommt immer für 12 Personen* (Bamberg: Göbhardt, 1805), ii-iii.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

female house-servants rather than male ones, there were financial motivations on both sides of employer and employed, the interesting point here being that female industrious activity was a social reality, and one that required them to be active and resourceful. This rings of a degree of emancipation and self-reliance, which undoubtedly was present in the cookbooks of some professional cooks.

Christine Riedl was one such cook “in some of the first (class) hotels and baths”¹⁵⁶ of her area, and later hostess, perhaps even owning her own business in Lindau.¹⁵⁷ Marie Schandri was another, cook at the Inn of the Golden Cross in Regensburg for forty years, and also educating various students before publishing her *Regensburger Kochbuch* in November 1866.¹⁵⁸ Schandri’s work sold well: the 3000 books of the first edition were exhausted within ten months by October 1867, allowing her to leave her sister 3000 gulden when she died in 1868—enough to buy two small local houses.¹⁵⁹ By 1871, her book published with Coppenrath reached its fourth edition.¹⁶⁰

Schandri’s work in particular deserves attention due to her exceptional conception of all women as female workers. Schandri’s target audience consisted exclusively of women, yet, as the author emphasizes, at women *of all classes*. In Schandri’s conception, women, irrespective of rank, were in fact *working women* and should have the flexible capacity to carry out practical tasks. Schandri in this respect was highly pragmatic, her

¹⁵⁶ Christine Charlotte Riedl, *Lindauer Kochbuch: Mit 63 Abbildungen auf 9 Tafeln*, 4th ed. (Lindau: Stettner, 1865), title page.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Marie Schandri, *Regensburger Kochbuch: 870 Original-Kochrecepte auf Grund vierzigjähriger Erfahrung, zunächst für die bürgerliche Küche, herausgegeben von Marie Schandri* (Regensburg: Coppenrath, 1867), title page.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, iv. A historical reconstruction her life, suggesting „Marie“ as the nickname of „Margaretha Katharina Schandri“ in: Günther Handel, „Margaretha Schandri—Köchin des „Goldenen Kreuzes“,“ in *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, Vol. 139 (Regensburg: Verlag des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg, 1999), 325-242.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, title page.

stance being that work neither diminished rank, nor made women less respectable. Whether of higher, middling, or lower rank, the labors associated with food-preparation and household management were framed as work in Schandri's cookbook; those of a lower rank aiming to be professional cooks in public establishments or households were to learn this skilled trade for their livelihood.

On the surface Schandri's rhetoric encouraged pragmatic industriousness, rather than change. Emancipatory but not revolutionary, Schandri does not wish to challenge the social order, but speaks to a social reality which requires women to be skilled and well-informed, her text thus being conceptualized as a piece of education for all women. The reasons given for independence allude to the need to be useful and of service, thus promoting an image still in line with traditional feminine roles: as caregiver of their families or managers of a household which is not theirs. The role of the cook, furthermore, was one of few professions open to women, similar to the housekeeper, which imitates the conventional roles of the woman in the patriarchal household as surrogate mothers, sisters, and daughters for men without families. To some extent, with the family serving as the blueprint for company management in this time, female laboring activity here implied an acceptance of the status quo and thus an extension of established roles.

When considered more deeply, however, the degree of feminism and perhaps liberalism present in Schandri's cookbook is significant and considerable. Schandri's text presents a push against customary boundaries with justifications such as usefulness and service, which make her project of educating women of all ranks socially non-suspect, but nonetheless, emancipatory. Schandri's conception of all females as working, as active

members of society, irrespective of the nature of their labor, presents a breakdown of the already inapplicable separation between public and household, allegedly private, spaces. Schandri's ideas transcend boundaries explicitly: how can a sphere be considered isolated or insular, if indeed servants move in and out of it on a daily basis, and practicality demands that useful housewives of all classes ("Stände") transcend these barriers in order to fulfill their traditional tasks and roles as cooks and house-managers? Schandri's rhetoric is in that sense well-chosen, using accepted values such as utility to exercise a higher degree of connection between public spaces and the household.

To have women working as chefs in the kitchens of hotels and inns was far from uncommon, and we may consider it an area in which women could move without censure.¹⁶¹ To J. G. Sartory they were even in many ways a natural equal and co-worker in a trade that included both men and women. Sartory, like Schandri, was also a cook at a public eatery for forty years, at the Guesthouse "The Three Moors" in Augsburg ("Zu den Drei Mohren").¹⁶² He speaks to housewives and female colleagues, and cooks, crediting both groups as those who encouraged him to publish his work.¹⁶³ Strikingly, he does not speak of "education", which other male cooks do, but writes of his aim to make his cookbook "of common practical use" ("gemeinnützig"), so that "every housewife and female cook" "can draw counsel from it" when needed: counsel ("Rath"), not instruction.¹⁶⁴ The power-dynamic here portrayed is strikingly respectful and serviceable.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 66.

¹⁶² J. G. Sartory, *Die Schwäbisch-Bayerische Küche oder Neuestes Augsburger Kochbuch: enthaltend über 900 Speisezubereitungen, als: Fleisch- u. Fasten-Speisen, d. feinen Kunstbäckereien u. Mehlspeisen, d. Gelees, Crèmes, Sulzen, Compoten, eingesottenen Früchte, Säfte u. Marmeladen, mit kalten u. warmen Getränken u. Gefrorenes, nebst Vorkehrungsgerichten, Speisezetteln u. Erklärungen der in d. Küche am häufigsten vorkommenden Kunstausdrücke*, 2nd ed. (Augsburg: Matthias Rieger, 1851).

¹⁶³ Ibid, iii.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, iii and iv. For a contrasting example, see Franz Anton Weilhuber. *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch oder Inbegriff aller Kochkunstvortheile, um gut, wohlfeil und wohlschmeckend zu kochen: mit*

Sartory writes that he “presents beginners, housewives and female cooks” with his cookbook, using the word “überreichen”- which carries a tone of ceremony and festivity, used, for example, when handing an object of particular value to a social equal or superior.

Sartory literally shares knowledge with those whom he sees as engaging in the same kind of trade in his work, and though he is conscious of the divide between professional female cooks and housewives, his manner of address is gallant and inclusive in such a way as does not strongly differentiate between his own activity and theirs. Cooking in Sartory’s conception is an activity of multi-gender participation, where “practiced senses support” (“Es müssen sie vorzüglichst ein geübtes Auge, Geruch, Geschmack und Gefühl unterstützen”) a “dexterous” (“vorzüglichsten Gewandtheit einer Köchin”) female cook.¹⁶⁵ The language employed echoes some of the nuances of Schandri’s text, wherein the labor of cooking connects men and women in social spaces and the household, allowing for the exchange of ideas and work-related interaction.

Another way for female cooks to attempt some degree of financial liberty was through the pursuit of authorship. In some cases, although within the limits and constraints of her time, some female authors may have indeed been able to use the pen to gain means. Schandri, as mentioned above, remained single throughout her life, worked for her own livelihood, and made earnings with her cookbook. Henriette Davidis, one of the most important authors of this time for example, also never married and maintained herself. Apart from authoring her cookbook, this daughter of a pastor was also a poet and

Berücksichtigung und Anwendung der französischen, englischen und italienischen Küchen-Vorschriften: zum leichtern Gebrauch als Wörterbuch verfaßt (Pappenheim: Seybold, 1823).

¹⁶⁵ Sartory, *Die Schwäbisch-Bayerische Küche*, 5 and 3 respectively.

educator.¹⁶⁶ Betty Gleim, the entrepreneur and educator of Bremen, was as we have seen not only a cookbook author but also ran two businesses, was politically active, and equally remained single throughout her lifetime. Finally, bordering also the limits of cookbook authorship and other professions, Katharina Daisenberger published two cookbooks and became a publisher. Born as “Catharina Siegel,” she published the *Bavarian Cookbook* including recipes for household problems such as pests and stains with Johann Michael Daisenberger, a “bourgeois book seller” in Munich.¹⁶⁷ The title page of her second work prides her name with the title of “bookseller in Munich” (“Buchhändlerin”).¹⁶⁸ While apparently having shifted from author to bookseller, her second work went through at least fourteen editions by 1837.¹⁶⁹ By 1851, her second work had become a 17-edition success.¹⁷⁰

Financial independence, if achieved, was limited for some of these women. Davidis, in particular, died renting her apartment, and for Schandri, Gleim, and Daisenberger, writing was but a supplementary activity to their main incomes in cooking, education, and sales. It was difficult to live off the pen for any writer in the German states, not least for women, but judging from the number of editions some female authors achieved and the success of the cookbook genre in general, their achievements are remarkable and significant. Particularly from the late eighteenth century, “an increased acceptance and

¹⁶⁶ Angelica Ruge-Schatz, “Von der Rezeptsammlung zum Kochbuch- einige sozialhistorische Überlegungen über Autoren und Benutzer”, in *Essen Und Trinken in Mittelalter Und Neuzeit: Vorträge Eines Interdisziplinären Symposions Vom 10. - 13. Juni 1987 an Der Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen*, ed. Irmgard Bitsch, 2nd Ed. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), 225.

¹⁶⁷ Maria Katharina Siegel, *Baier'sches Kochbuch ... nebst Unterricht für die Hauswirthschaft ... zwey Theile* (Regensburg: Daisenberger, 1812), cover.

¹⁶⁸ Maria Katharina Daisenberger, *Bayerisches Kochbuch: Unentbehrliches Haus- und Kunstbuch: als ein nothwendiger Anhang oder zweiter Theil von dem Kochbuche von M. C. Siegel*, Vol. 2. 14th ed. (Munich: Daisenberger, 1837), title page.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Maria Katharina Daisenberger, *Vollständiges Bayerisches Kochbuch für alle Stände*, 17th ed. (Nuremberg: Lotzbeck, 1851).

institutionalization of female education” brought about what Barbara Becker-Cantarino calls the development of individuality- “a face”- in women extending beyond the roles of mother and wife.¹⁷¹ This, as well as waged employment from the nineteenth century, contributed to “shaping the contours of any one woman’s life.”¹⁷² Betty Gleim’s work, again, saw nine editions before 1871, though she did not live beyond the fourth edition of 1826.¹⁷³ Weiler even reached fourteen by 1819.¹⁷⁴ One pseudonym assumed in imitation was “Weilerin”, and this work itself may have benefited from this name to reach 13 editions.¹⁷⁵ Löffler’s cookbook, a frequently pirated work, reached more than eight editions by the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁶ The frequent imitation of these works stands not only for the success of some of these authors, but also for the popularity of the genre itself, which, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, experienced a growth in the size of its audience like never before.¹⁷⁷

The reality of the working woman who might never marry and yet demand respect for her profession, however, established itself in mid-century Central Europe. Sophie Wilhelmine Scheibler was more outspoken in her demand for respect for the skilled tasks

¹⁷¹ Barbara Becker-Cantarino, *Die Frau von der Reformation zur Romantik: Die Situation der Frau vor dem Hintergrund der Literatur- und Sozialgeschichte* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1995), 3, 246.

¹⁷² Fuchs and Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 1.

¹⁷³ Betty Gleim and Johann Georg Heyse, *Bremisches Kochbuch Nebst einem Anhang wichtiger Haushaltungsregeln, und der Angabe und Vergleichung der vornehmsten deutschen Maße und Gewichte; wodurch dasselbe für ganz Deutschland brauchbar wird* (Bremen: Heyse, 1826); Betty Gleim and Auguste Köhler Siemers, *Betty Gleim’s Bremisches Kochbuch: ein Handbuch für die einfach-bürgerliche wie für die höhere und feinere Kochkunst* (Bremen: Heyse, 1854).

¹⁷⁴ Sophie Juliane Weiler, *Augsburgisches Kochbuch* (Augsburg: Wolff, 1819).

¹⁷⁵ Sophia Juliana Weiler, *Neuestes Augsburgisches Kochbuch, enthaltend 1040 Speise-Zubereitungen und viele nützliche Beigaben: Aus den Papieren von weiland Frau Sophia Juliana Weiler*, 13th ed. (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1866).

¹⁷⁶ Friedr Luise Löffler, *Neues Kochbuch: oder, Geprüfte Anweisung zur schmackhaften Zubereitung der Speisen, des Backwerks, der Confituren, des Gefrorenen und des Eingemachten*, 8th ed. (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1833); Friedr Luise Löffler, *Neues Stuttgarter Kochbuch: oder bewährte und vollständige Anweisung zur schmackhaften Zubereitung aller Arten von Speisen*, 21st ed. (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkopf, 1897).

¹⁷⁷ Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation : Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 5.

cooks carried out, emphasizing “reflection and caution” in their trade, even proudly displaying a frontispiece representing the female cook’s independent intellectual input to the culinary art (see Figure 5).



Figure 5. “When it tastes good upstairs and all are merry!_ Bear in mind:_ I have reflected!”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Scheibler, *Allgemeines deutsches Kochbuch*, frontispiece. First used between the ninth and seventeenth editions, dated 1846 and 1866.

Over the caption, which reads “When it tastes good upstairs and all are merry! Bear in mind: I have reflected!,” Scheibler depicts a happy mixed-gender party enjoying a meal. They are being served by a male servant, while the apron-wearing female cook, outside this sphere, is clearly thinking, even as she holds a large spoon, her other hand thoughtfully pressed on her chin in a well-known gesture of introspection, carefully balancing traditional feminine caretaking and masculine cogitation. Scheibler here strategically deploys argumentative resources to make the case for recognition of female capacities. Symbolically, the image is not subversive. In the title page image, the female cook is placed below the consumers, and not above. Irrespective of where kitchens were architecturally placed, the order of social hierarchy is maintained- not least, given the female guests- along class-lines as well as in terms of gender. Nonetheless, it is not a subservient role to cook or serve food. The woman instead is autonomously reflecting.

Such acceptance allowed women much room for maneuvering once established.¹⁷⁹ As other feminists in her time did, Scheibler did not reject classical female roles or contemporary constructions of femininity, which emphasized care and all derivatives of the mother role. Instead, like Wollestonecraft, Scheibler’s image argues that what women did and did well deserved social esteem, and the faculties behind it, recognition.

Certainly, it can be argued that being divorced from the party in this image stands for the differentiation between the contained kitchen and the dining guests, the female cook remaining a marginalized figure. In this reading, the male servant is the communicator between two spheres, one of preparation and one of consumption, where Scheibler, whom we may read as the female figure in the image, remains an outsider. The female in

¹⁷⁹ Brian Vick, “Liberalism, Nationalism, and Gender Dichotomy in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Germany: The Contested Case of German Civil Law,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 82:3 (September 1, 2010): 546–584.

this image remains limited to one of the three “K’s” of the woman’s world: “Kinder, Küche, Kirche”- Children, Kitchen, and Church.

A better reading of this image however equates both the food and Scheibler’s statement as means of communication. The meals she prepares, as representatives of her person, are present at the table and enjoyed. Her work, which she has skillfully prepared, stands for her cleverness and intellect, her art and her science. Scheibler was being fourfoldly vocal: the statement in her caption, and her food, her function as a chef in the public sphere, as well as her activity as a writer are expressed statements which extend her sphere of influence well into society across traditional boundaries. Being a clever reflective woman in this sense may well have aided her case. Not overthrowing or challenging the roles of gender imposed by society made her overstepping of traditional boundaries less suspect. This caution and strategy paid off. Scheibler’s success as an author may well have aided her personal financial means: her work reached its sixteenth edition in 1866.¹⁸⁰

Scheibler’s demands must further be contextualized as forming part of the more generally voiced call for respect for the task of cooking- an aim that she shared particularly with the male cooks of her time, for whom this was a priority. The rhetoric surrounding cooking as art and science, particularly in the works by male authors, appears to stand for a degree of self and perhaps gender assertion by these authors in a sphere associated with the “weaker sex”. Some authors might remedy this emasculation by addressing a prospective male audience, as Meyfeld and Enners do.¹⁸¹ Others however, such as Weilhuber, emphatically insist on the scientificity of food-preparation.

¹⁸⁰ Scheibler, *Allgemeines deutsches Kochbuch*, title page.

¹⁸¹ Ernst Meyfeld and J. G. Enners, *Hannoverisches Kochbuch: Der besonders das alles enthält, was eigentlich zur Küche gehört* (Hannover: Hahn, 1792), v.

“It is if anything a science to prepare all edible stuffs and things in such a manner as to make them beneficial for human wellbeing, while at the same time making it not unpleasaurable in taste through solutions based in nature (“in der Natur begründeten Auflösungen”) and fitting combinations.”¹⁸² As Rottenhöfer and many other authors of this time would agree, cooking is a challenge, and a thoroughly “burdensome” (“beschwerlich”) profession, and any respect paid either male or female cooks would benefit the profession as a whole.¹⁸³

Conclusion

By the late mid-century, conditions for the working women had changed. While fifty years earlier, a young cook in a middling home may have been little more than a maid, sexually vulnerable and poorly paid, by the 1880s, cooks could negotiate more liberties. While *Gesindebücher* determined that cooks were not allowed to leave their workplace under any circumstances without permission throughout the century, the cook to Otto von Camphausen, Prussia’s former minister of finance, did precisely that during her workday in September of 1884. Camphausen was furious, and argued with his employee, who defended herself, saying that going to the market was part of her profession. Camphausen, one of the more powerful individuals in the Empire, dared not dismiss her or scold her too much: in a letter to his family he vented his frustrations, writing of her being “offended” at his corrections, and his indignation at her *faux pas*. “Even now,” he wrote, however, “I must not pull the reins too hard; a skillful cook is a sought-after

¹⁸² Weilhuber, *Teutsches Universal-Kochbuch*, iii.

¹⁸³ Rottenhöfer, *Kochkunst*, 6.

item.”¹⁸⁴ Rather than risk losing this skilled cook, the former minister decided to keep her and endure her liberties.

Arguably, by mid-century, not only men could change social class from working to middling through food-work with professions such as inn-keeping, baking, butchering, or milling. Working women could become middling if they played their cards right through working their way up from maid to cook, to cookbook author and professional leader of a public kitchen, where their skill mattered more than their gender.

Of course, none of this should be over-stated. In the house of Africa-traveller and journalist Gerhard Rohlf, he and his wife “chased off” (“gejagt”) their cook in 1877 for “licentiousness,” meaning either pregnancy or unwanted advances—or else, of course, nothing at all.¹⁸⁵ Similarly, another was fired in 1890 for “cooking very badly indeed, and being dishonest,”¹⁸⁶ suggesting that skill was an absolute prerequisite for additional liberties, while some early-century prejudices against working women were hard to die. A household could go through several cooks, if, indeed, they were not so skilled as to make themselves indispensable to the employer’s palate. Camphausen himself went through three cooks in but one month in late 1871, the first of whom he was “not able to keep” while the second “a very skilled girl, who did splendid work,” left “to get married”¹⁸⁷—an event he very much regretted. The third, he notes, seemed to be very clever and he hoped to keep her.

Several caveats thus qualify working women’s success in improving their living conditions. Yet while payment for a female cook would still be significantly lower than

¹⁸⁴ GStAPK: I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, Nr.438, 2.

¹⁸⁵ HMSS:RA.9.28

¹⁸⁶ HMSS: RA.25.54

¹⁸⁷ I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, Nr.331, 1-2.

for male equivalents, the opportunity itself, and how women exploited it, is noteworthy and historically significant. Women might not achieve the most sought-after position of house manager, or indeed cook for kings and nobility, who still most often employed male chefs, but becoming a skilled cook in a middling household, an elite house even, or a public kitchen, could make them middling. Food-work, in this sense, may well have served as a bridge between classes, not only for men as mentioned in the previous chapter, but for women too.¹⁸⁸

Working women further served as key vectors for the dissemination of modern cooking into the middling home. While French cuisine trickled in diluted form through the successful genre of German language cookbooks, after fleeing France in 1789, French chefs trained working women in estate and public kitchens from 1800-1830, leading a generation of skilled workers to enter middling homes and restaurants, and even to write cookbooks, between 1840-1860. Besides improving their own living conditions in this way, a small number of them reaching managerial positions in public eateries and achieving publication, modern young cooks entered middling homes as sought-after commodities as modernity in other forms entered the German lands in the form of the industrialization of food. Working alongside their mistresses, working women took strides in shaping modern eating.

¹⁸⁸ For the question of property and inn-keeping, see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Chapter 4. Making Modern Eating: Food Chemistry, the Food Laws of 1878/9, and Back to Nature Movements in the German Empire, 1860-1900

“What then shall we eat...?... Milk and blood are the most nutritious of all substances.”¹

—Carl Ernst Bock, 1853

“It is as wrong that nurses should eat third class, as that matrons should eat first class. When assistant doctors and matrons receive the same food cooked especially for them, and the nurses another one provided to them, then, order is made.”²

—Heidelberg Hospital, 1886

“May the purpose of the wellbeing of humanity be ascertained, be that in the shack of the poor, the home of the middling or in the palace.”³

—Agathe Hagenmiller, *Die Wörishofer Küche*

Change was afoot in Central Europe in the years between 1860 and 1890. The non-Habsburg German states were united under Prussian royal, then imperial rule after a war with France in 1870/71, and a wave of industrialization hit and spread with unprecedented fervor, changing work life, urbanity—and, as this chapter will argue, eating. This chapter examines the food chemical, medical nutritional, and industrial changes to food, along with the legal and social reactions. Tied to popular and academic

¹ “Der Verdauungsapparat. Von Prof. F. Bock,” in *Die Gartenlaube: Illustriertes Familienblatt* (Berlin: Scherl, 1853), 232-233.

² BWGLAK: 235.30216.

³ Agathe Hagenmiller, *Die Wörishofer Küche. Kochbuch im Sinne Kneipp's, Erprobt und Verfaßt uf Grund Beinahe 10jähriger, Diesbezüglich Praktischer Erfahrung, Nach Den Vorträgen Und Vorschriften Sr. Hochwürden Herrn Prälaten Sebastian Kneipp* (Bad Wörishofen: Hagenmiller, 1897), vi.

understandings of human nutrition and changes to middling cuisine at the hands of estate-kitchen educated female cooks, middling consumption saw a reduction in customary spices, and a pursuit of “natural tastes” paradoxically supplemented with industrially processed components.

A first section in what follows discusses Justus von Liebig, the key figure of German agricultural innovation well-known for his use of fertilizers, but also for his work on proteins. This discussion argues for a rather German story of food-chemistry, as Liebig’s name came to be associated with the meat extract today commonly known as “Oxo” in Britain. Acknowledging military interest in the first extracts and ready meals with their use for army supply, hospitals, exploration and travel, Liebig and Knorr supported German imperial expansion even as powdered soups conquered the middling market. A second portion of this chapter discusses the Food Laws of 1878/9, based on Friedrich Accum’s critiques of 1820s British industrialization and so-called adulteration. While Accum did not experience much recognition in Britain in the early decades of the nineteenth century, German policy makers owed Accum a debt when they responded to unwanted and dangerous adulteration, modification, substitution, and tampering of food with such products as margarine to stretch butter or chalk and natron to color- and texture-correct bloody and slimy milk by establishing one of the earliest food laws world-wide. A third part of this chapter examines the class-hierarchy endorsed by hospitals through meals, both for their personnel, as well as their “first,” “second,” and “third class,” patients, making explicit a three-tier model of society already actively in use in other social contexts (transport, for example) that trumped health-concerns, even in a context aimed at speedy recovery. Finally, a fourth part examines the reactions to

industrialization among (back to) nature movements, including vegetarianism and the religiously-inspired way of living of Pfarrer Sebastian Kneipp.

Contemporaries may or may not have been aware that industry marketed products such as dry soups as inventions of male-dominated industrial spheres, using science, medicine, and nutrition to sell their products as safe and authority-approved to a consuming society, even though many of these products were new only by degree and in terms of production scale, rather than kind.⁴ Dry soup, for one, this dissertation has discussed in Chapter 2. Novelty, however, as these marketing practices make evident, sold well, and a masculine, scientific modernity was meant to inspire confidence and trust in the consumer—with such names as Dr. Liebig, Knorr, and Dr. Oetker counting among the most successful of their kind, even to date.⁵

Middling consumers however were extremely aware of change to their lives, diet, and food more generally. To many middling Germans, the industrial changes to their food probably represented little more than a convenient change to cut down on their household tasks.⁶ Adulteration concerns, however, by all contemporary measures of real

⁴ See also: Deborah Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

⁵ Teuteberg draws a line tracing a diffusion of ideas between Liebig's meat-extract, Knorr's ready-soups and Swiss Maggi's "Würze" food additive, finishing with Oxo in Britain. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, *Die Rolle des Fleischextrakts für Die Ernährungswissenschaften Und Den Aufstieg Der Suppenindustrie. Kleine Geschichte Der Fleischbrühe* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), 58-74, 100-103. The present chapter also notes Henri Nestlé in neighboring Switzerland, who served as an apothecary assistant in Frankfurt before establishing his company. Albert Pfiffner, *Henri Nestlé (1814-1890): vom Frankfurter Apothekerhilfen zur Schweizer Pionierunternehmer* (Zurich: Chronos, 1993). Teuteberg also notes that Proust and Parmentier invented a meat-extract in France in 1830. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, "The General Relationship between Diet and Industrialization," in *European Diet from Pre-Industrial to Modern Times*, eds. Elborg Foster and Robert Foster (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1975), 91. See also: Yvonne Zimmermann, "Heimatpflege Zwecks Suppenpromotion Zum Einsatz von Lichtbildern Und Filmen in der Schweizer Lebensmittelbranche am Beispiel von Maggi," *Zeitschrift Für Unternehmensgeschichte* 52, no. 2 (2007): 203–226.

⁶ Giorgio Pedrocchi, "The Food Industry and New Preservation Techniques," in *Food: A Culinary History*, eds. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 481-491; Alberto Capatti, "The Taste for Canned and Preserved Food," in Flandrin and Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History*, 492-499; Jean-Louis Flandrin, "From Industrial Revolution to Industrial Food," in Flandrin and Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History*, 435-441. For an account of the invention of a traditional cuisine:

and imagined purity a significant issue, tipped the scale in favor of legal control by 1879, producing one of the earliest modern state controls for food production world-wide, with what appears to have been an active and possibly very effective policing, testing, and law-endorsing infrastructure, rivaled only by Britain and the United States.⁷

Further, nutritional debates at the time were inconclusive as to whether nitrogen was the be and end all of a healthy diet. It has been argued that “the scientific doctrine of the priority of animal protein was swiftly overthrown,” in favor of sugar and starch celebrations, but this is not entirely accurate.⁸ While “physiological inquiries in the second half of the nineteenth century turned toward studying energy metabolism,” promoting the ideas of “food [as] fuel” with “the body ... as a motor,”⁹ the rational diet that approached the human body in terms of an ideal work output and promoted starch intake guided only the feeding of the working class.¹⁰ Nutritional debates for the social middle, in turn, remained ongoing, and the middling continued to consume fruit as a luxury, and vegetables despite their alleged low nutritional value, alongside meat and milk. While the middle classes and elites *preached* starch consumption to workers in order to be productive, however, they themselves prioritized eating meat and drinking milk.¹¹ The exception to this heavy emphasis on animal-product consumption were the vegetarians of this era, who reacted to the perceived loss of control, fear of environmental

Peter Lesniczak, *Alte Landschaftsküchen im Sog der Modernisierung: Studien zu einer Ernährungsgeographie Deutschlands zwischen 1860 und 1930* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003).

⁷ Vera Hierholzer, *Nahrung nach Norm: Regulierung von Nahrungsmittelqualität in der Industrialisierung 1871–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).

⁸ Martin Bruegel, “Introduction,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, ed. Martin Bruegel, Vol. 5. 6 vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2012), 14.

⁹ Ulrike Thoms, “Industrial Canteens in Germany, 1850-1950,” in *Eating out in Europe: Picnics, Gourmet Dining, and Snacks since the Late Eighteenth Century*, eds. Marc Jacobs and Peter Scholliers (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 354.

¹⁰ Corinna Treitel, “Food Science/Food Politics: Max Rubner and ‘Rational Nutrition,’” in P. J. Atkins, Peter Lummel, and Derek J. Oddy, *Food and the City in Europe since 1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 51-61.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Thoms, “Industrial Canteens,” 351-372.

destruction, and concerns for animal cruelty with calls for harmonious eating practices inspired by eastern philosophy.¹² Such ways of looking beyond national borders for culinary inspiration among the Brahmins, in Ayurveda, or to nature itself, must further count as a key component of modern eating dynamics.¹³

The simultaneous occurrence of rapid industrial changes to food and legal and grass-root reactions to these changes, paired with debates in nutrition, lead this chapter to argue that nineteenth-century Germany must feature as a crucial site in the history of modern eating practices alongside Britain and the United States. Given the lacunae in research on nineteenth-century German food history, synthetic accounts of global food histories have not been able to integrate this important period and its developments into our longer accounts of the origins of contemporary or modern eating practices. The history of modern eating must therefore not only include eighteenth-century France and the “Anglo-World,” as Laudan terms it, but Central Europe, with its industrial innovations, adulterations, legal regulations and social reactions to food changes, all part of modern eating practices.¹⁴

Vegetarianism represents a particularly important case-study in this history. The German case of nineteenth-century vegetarianism ran a chronologically similar course to Britain and North America, yet diverged philosophically. The vegetarian movement in England began as early as the 1830s, motivated by religious fervor—Puritanism—

¹² Corinna Treitel, *Eating Nature in Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). On the earliest vegans in Germany from 1905, see: Florentine Fritzen, *Gemüseheilige: Eine Geschichte des Veganen Leben* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 11-12. Vegans did not differ significantly in their political and philosophic aims for harmony from their more flexible vegetarian peers.

¹³ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of eastern influences in fin-de-siècle marketing.

¹⁴ Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food* (New York: Free Press, 2002); Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 248-249, 308, 311.

medicine, rejections of vivisection and cruelty to animals, and aims of self-healing.¹⁵ Iacobbo places the origin of this way of life among the Romantics of early nineteenth-century England, and traces their influence to 1830s America among such well-known figures as Sylvester Graham, inventor of the Graham cracker made according to humoral logic to curb fleshly desire through its taste and composition.¹⁶ Like Britain, America saw its first vegetarian societies in mid-century, developing from the 1840s onwards.¹⁷ Treitel, in turn, places the onset of vegetarianism in modern Germany in the 1840s as well, strengthened by the hunger years around 1848, with the formalization of vegetarian societies surging after 1860 alongside the Life Reform movement and causing a blossoming of therapeutic systems.¹⁸ In the German case, however, the spiritual components of vegetarianism were eastern rather than puritan, and nature did not represent a site of Romantic wisdom, but an ahistorical site to which to escape from history, or to turn to for best practice. This turn to nature in an industrializing time must be recognized as a central precedent for contemporary, “modern” ways of eating in industrial societies today.

I propose to define “modern eating” as the simultaneous use of industrialized processed foods from substitutes, vacuum-preserved- and ready-meals laced with additives such as colorings and flavor enhancements, and reactions against such artificial consumption practices with calls for vegetarianism, veganism, or “natural” eating,

¹⁵ James Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians: The Vegetarian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007).

¹⁶ Karen Iacobbo, *Vegetarian America: A History* (Westport: Praeger, 2004), 10, 16, 21. See also: James Wharton, “Vegetarianism,” in Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas, *The Cambridge World History of Food* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1553-1564.

¹⁷ Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians*, 30-31; Iacobbo, *Vegetarian America*, 71.

¹⁸ Treitel, *Eating Nature*, 10, 16, 41, 55-57.

complemented with supplements.¹⁹ While the German responses to industrial eating were not secular, the German case diverges importantly from the cases of vegetarianism in Britain and the United States with its eastern admiration, resembling contemporary vegetarian motivations more closely than their Anglophone counterparts. Religious guidance, in turn, at the hands of such figures as Kneipp, became nationally treasured more in retrospect at a time of culture war, with common-sense healing advice by the Catholic priest aiming to serve those in the German Empire who could not afford modern medicine, and potentially dismissed religion as the escape of those left behind by modernization.²⁰

Food Chemical Innovation

The history of Food Chemistry, depending on how one chooses to define the subject before related activities carried the name, ranges back in the modern period to Jacopo

¹⁹ Seeking to eat naturally was a constant trend in cultural epochs that have influenced contemporary modern eating practices, especially in France. However, while in France eating “naturally” often meant a simple reduction in spice to appreciate foods’ own flavors, in the German context described below it is a reaction against industrialization and adulteration—a mechanism with which to regain control over food at a time when production and increasingly preparation lie in the hands of others. On the “cuisine au naturel,” see: Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2000), 7; Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 120, Emma C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris* (Chicago: Chicago University Press 2012); Massimo Montanari and Beth Archer Brombert, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 15; Treitel, *Eating Nature*.

²⁰ Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), David. Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Knopf, 1994), 15, 371; Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also: Rebecca Ayako Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany the Catholic Struggle for Inclusion after Unification* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

Beccari's 1728 discovery of gluten, and François Magendie's 1816 experiments on dogs fed with sugar and fat, both scientists seeking out the components of food—what we would define as macro-nutrients, carbohydrates, proteins, and lipids—in order to establish dietary needs for humans and animals with their subsequent applications to medicine and agriculture.²¹ After Accum's criticisms of unnatural components in food on the basis of chemistry, Jean Boussingault found nitrogen in hay and straw, while Gerrit Mulder and Jöns Jakob Berzelius named protein in 1838.²²

With major milestones in the history of the protein, in turn, the literature on chemistry credits Justus von Liebig (1803-1873), who became a German national treasure. Studying the formation of human tissue through the bloodstream with basic building blocks from food, Liebig examined gelatin, urine, and meat, boiling the latter down to its chemical compounds, and its mineral, inorganic micro-nutrients. He consequently emphasized the importance of, not the flesh itself, but the juices of meats in his book of 1847 *Chemistry of Food*.²³ That it was thus possible to *extract* the nutrition out of meat was here just one step away. Beef tablets in gelatinous form having already been in use as early as 1814 in France, Liebig published his recipe for *extractum carnis* (solid beef tea) in his 1847 article and *Letters in Chemistry* in 1851. As Brock notes, while Liebig sold the locally made *extractum* in pharmacies in Coblenz by 1853, production remained small and unable to meet demand by middle-class consumers and hospitals. Parallel to his work on fertilizers to remedy hunger and increase agricultural production, the Liebig Extract of Meat Company founded in London in 1865 with George

²¹ Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas, *The Cambridge World History of Food* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²² Kiple et al. *The Cambridge World History of Food*.

²³ Justus von Liebig, *Chemische Untersuchung über das Fleisch* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1847); William H. Brock, *Justus Von Liebig: The Chemical Gatekeeper* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 218.

Christian Giebert soon sold Europe-wide to meet the need for beef at a time of cattle plague, and no stable way as yet to ship meat from the colonies to Europe, especially to British hospitals.²⁴ By the 1890s, the company became stupendously profitable, and inspired a wide range of imitators.²⁵

Exceptionally well connected politically, academically well positioned at the Universities of Heidelberg, Halle, Bonn, Erlangen, and Giessen, famous in his life-time and president of the Academy of Sciences in Bavaria from 1858, Liebig is a well-studied figure of chemical and German history mentioned in iconic cultural productions from the *Feuerzangenbowle* (1943) to German editions of “Trivial Pursuit” as a symbol of German pride and national achievement in science; his biography and science need therefore not be excessively expounded here.²⁶ Key remains, however, the significance of Liebig as a recognizable symbol of national achievement for advertising, the dissemination of his ideas in mainstream publications during his lifetime, as well as the connections of his product to exploration, leading to a final impact in the middling home.

Popular writings concerning food and health reached the literate middle class through successful periodical publications, among which ranked highest the *Gartenlaube* as of mid-century.²⁷ A main contributor on all matters of health was Carl Ernst Bock, a medical practitioner whose many articles on diet and healthy living peppered the periodical with consistency and insistence—sometimes with several short articles in a single issue, and writing more contributions between 1853 and 1867 under the rubric of

²⁴ Brock, *Justus Von Liebig*, 226-8.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 230.

²⁶ See: Brock, *Justus von Liebig*, 292.

²⁷ For an analysis of the *Gartenlaube*'s role in shaping an imagined community, see: Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

“medical and scientific” than all other authors of the section put together.²⁸ The *Gartenlaube*, the German states’ most popular periodical, served as one discursive vector to bring medical and food-chemical knowledge into the middling German household; read in groups and by heads of households, housewives, and children alike, the journal carried out an educational function, as well as an advocating or advertising one, celebrating “German” achievements, such as those of Justus von Liebig in chemistry, and guiding the middling homemakers to feed their families according to the newest discoveries of modern science.²⁹

The human body, according to Bock, was made of “water, egg-white-like matter (protein [“Eiweißstoff”], fibre (“Faserstoff”), cheese-matter [casein], gall), fat, salts, malt, and iron.”³⁰ Thus, the healthiest foods are those containing these in the highest quantities: “only milk and blood contain all of these substances,” wherefore “humans could live very well off of these substances.”³¹ Second to these, Bock defined as nutritious eggs, meat, grains and pulses. Everything else, however, “contains only little nutrition,” and

²⁸ *Ausführliches Sachregister der Gartenlaube, Erster bis fünfzehnter Jahrgang, (1853-1867)* (Leipzig: Keil, 1868), 24-25.

²⁹ The 1854 issue contained a biography of the celebrated contemporary: “Freyherr Justus von Liebig, *Die Gartenlaube: Illustriertes Familienblatt* (Berlin: Scherl, 1854), 84.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ “Der Verdauungsapparat. Von Prof. F. Bock” in *Die Gartenlaube: Illustriertes Familienblatt* (Berlin: Scherl, 1853), 232.

³¹ *Ibid.*; scientists were aware, in connection to Liebig and his work, that animals and humans consumed more complex substances than “elements”: “Kohlenhydrate” and “Proteinstoff oder Eiweißkörper”—roughly carbohydrates, and proteins. Joh. N. Czermak “Über den Kreislauf der Stoffe durch die drei Reiche der Natur. Von Prof. Joh. N. Czermak” *Die Gartenlaube*, Nr.21 (1872): 339. Also: Joh. N. Czermak “Über den Kreislauf der Stoffe durch die drei Reiche der Natur. Von Prof. Joh. N. Czermak Schluss.” *Die Gartenlaube*, Nr.22 (1872): 354-55. While the word “protein” originates with Berzelius, there was no agreed, universal manner to speak about proteins, nitrogen, and nutrition in the period in question. On nitrogen and protein, see also: Kenneth J. Carpenter, “Protein,” in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, eds. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 882-888. Rubner, in turn, coined the word “calorie,” Marion Nestle and Malden Nesheim, *Why Calories Count from Science to Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 25. On Max Rubner’s experiments on the heat or fuel value of foods, predating the coining of “calories” by Hutchinson and Sherman in 1903 and 1914, see: Peter L. Pellett, “Energy and Protein Metabolism,” in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, eds. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 888-911 and Treitel, “Food Science/Food Politics,” 51-61.

particularly herbs and those plants defined by popular opinion as medicinal—Arrowroot, Garaghen, or Icelandic moss, even “dog fat”—were, by extension, quite useless, to the great “anger” of the author, and only considerable when aiding the body in “forming blood” or body-fat.³² A further main contributor, Dr H. Hirzel, purported that “bread rivals in nutritious value with milk, distinguishing itself through the fact that the stomach will always accept it without recoil.”³³ A summarizing table breaking down the fats, proteins, carbohydrates and water according to measurements from 1888 provides further data forming part of contemporary reasoning, (see Figure 1 below) including the idea that veal contained less protein than beef. Of these main nutrients, contemporaries conveniently noted, women, children, and the elderly needed less than adult men.³⁴

Nahrungsmittel.	Wasser.	Eiweiß.	Fett.	Kohlen- hydrate (Stärke, Zucker).
	Gramm.	Gramm.	Gramm.	
Rindfleisch	75,9	21,9	0,9	—
Kalb- fleisch	78,0	15,3	1,3	—
Schweinefleisch	64,0	14,0	17,0	—
Hering, gefalzen	48,9	17,5	12,7	—
Stodffisch	47,0	31,5	0,4	—
Hühner- ei	74,5	14,0	10,5	—
Milch	87,1	4,1	3,9	4,2
Butter	7,0	0,9	92,1	—
Käse (magerer)	40,0	43,0	7,0	—
Roggenmehl	14,0	11,0	—	71,9
Gerste (Graupen)	12,5	10,0	—	78,5
Reis	13,5	7,5	—	78,1
Erbsen	14,3	22,5	—	58,2
Lin- sen	14,5	26,0	—	55,0
Schwarz- brot	46,3	8,3	—	44,2
Weiß- brot (Semmel)	28,6	9,6	—	60,1
Kartoffeln	75,0	2,0	—	21,8
Mören	85,0	1,5	—	12,3
Schneide- bohnen	91,0	2,0	—	6,2
Weiß- kaut	90,0	1,5	—	7,1
Kohlrabi	87,0	1,3	—	9,5
Äpfel, frisch	84,5	0,3	—	14,9

Figure 1. Nutritional Values of Foods, 1888³⁵

³² Ibid; “Bonbon, diätetischer, für hustende. Offenes Schreiben an die Huste-Cousine. Von. F. Bock” in *Die Gartenlaube* (1853): 360. “Was das Leben und die Gesundheit des Menschen erhält Lebens- und Nahrungsmittel,” in *Die Gartenlaube* (1853): 423, 424. See also: Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Geist der Kochkunst* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1832), 118.

³³ “Brot, unser tägliches, Von. Dr. H. Hirzel,” *Die Gartenlaube* (1856): 52.

³⁴ WOK: HG.Sch.1888, 494.

³⁵ Ibid, 495.

Je 1 kg der nachstehenden Nahrungs- mengen enthält:	Eiweiß und Stoffenstoff	Nähr- geld- wert	Markt- preis	
Milch	15 + 7	22	20	ziemlich billig
Fleisch	105 + 13	118	160	ziemlich teuer
Käse	135 + 31	169	170	preiswert
Eier	60 + 16	76	220	sehr teuer
Fett { Schmalz } { Butter }	3 + 68	71	140	teuer
			240	sehr teuer
Zucker	0 + 40	40	70	teuer
Brot	23 + 19	42	40	preiswert
Mehl	40 + 26	66	35	billig
Kohl	10 + 3	13	20	teuer
Erbsen	77 + 24	101	30	sehr billig
Kartoffeln	7 + 7	14	10	ziemlich billig
Obst	0 + 4	4	40	sehr teuer
Bier	0 + 3	3	20	sehr teuer

Figure 2. Nutritional Value Compared to Prices³⁶

More Milk and Meat, Less Lovage and Laurels: Changes to Middling Cuisine in mid-century

Two phenomena radically altered middling cuisine at this moment in mid-century, leading to a radical reduction in spice. One was the importation of modern *hôte cuisine* from France into the middling home by virtue of employing educated women cooks familiar with Carême's principles of less condimented eating. The other was the then prevalent notion among medical doctors and food chemists, that spices—be they pepper or coffee—should be consumed in moderation, pushing milk as a healthy alternative to coffee and alcohol.³⁷ Carl Ernst Bock's work on health purported that coffee, much like spices, should be used by thinner, more phlegmatic individuals according to humoral

³⁶ WOK: HG.Dav.1892, 725.

³⁷ Ibid, 193.

logic, rather than by the proverbial large and gouty man with a tendency to redden in the face through strong temper, or the frail young female with a tendency for nerves.³⁸ Under the heading of “stimulants and irritants” to both digestive tracts and nervous systems, spices, coffee, alcoholic drinks, as well as broth should be used with medicinal intention rather than as pleasurable substances or *Genussmittel*.³⁹ Contemporary health writer Hermann Klencke agreed, and emphasized the negative impact of coffee, alcohol, and spice, as well as strong cheeses, on the skin.⁴⁰

Despite such cautionary comments, coffee’s per capita consumption “tripled from 1.7 to 5 pounds between 1850 and 1900.”⁴¹ Spices, however, changed their location in dishes according to the French model, thanks too to other modern innovations. Historians argue that the concept of nature as an essential site of simplicity and neutral authenticity guided French cuisine as of 1650, reducing strong spices to replace them with less seasoned reductions and a separation of tastes to enhance the natural flavors of foods.⁴² Thus, by the eighteenth century in France, “gone were the strong flavors, heavy spices, and acidic tastes (of vinegar or verjuice) of late medieval and Renaissance cookery,

³⁸ Carl Ernst Bock, *Das Buch vom Gesunden und Kranken Menschen*, 12th Ed. (Leipzig: Schwardt, 1878), 446.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 524.

⁴⁰ Hermann Klencke and Robert Klencke, *Diätetische kosmetik; oder, Schönheits-und gesundheitspflege: zur erhaltung der äusseren erscheinung des menschen auf grundlage rationeller gesundheitslehre*, (Leipzig: Kummer, 1888), 285. See also: Treitel, *Eating Nature*, 46.

⁴¹ Martin Bruegel, “Introduction,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, ed. Martin Bruegel, Vol. 5. 6 vols (Oxford : Berg, 2012), 18. While coffee had been a staple for the middling from 1800, Teuteberg notes a great increase in per capita consumption as of 1850, suggesting that coffee became more widely accessible and widespread beyond elite and middling homes. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, “Die Eingliederung des Kaffees in den täglichen Getränkekonsum,” in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung*, eds. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd ed. (Münster: Coppenrath, 1986), 198.

⁴² Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 7; Massimo Montanari and Beth Archer Brombert, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 15.

replaced by an increasing use of butter, cream, gravies, and sauces.”⁴³ The use of spices decreased, to be replaced by richness. In royal dining, the amount of sugar used in French main courses dropped drastically, alongside an increase in the consumption of fresh fruit.⁴⁴ Desserts now became meatless, and the primary location of sugar within the meal, which had formerly been a major component of the main course.⁴⁵ The result was “a nouvelle cuisine without the pointless elaboration of the earlier style.”⁴⁶ In the hand of Carême, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, *haute cuisine* became marked by “simplicity, elegance, and sumptuousness”⁴⁷ with increased use of cream, butter, comparatively less spice, with much of it concentrated in the “four sauces”—Béchamel, Velouté, Sauce Espagnole, and Allemande accompanying the main foci of the meal. In contrast to dishes used primarily as “vehicles” for spice, spice now complimented meat, fish, and vegetables.⁴⁸

Hence both style and science dictated a drastic reduction in what had been the norm of German middling cuisine for decades at the beginning of the century: spice, both for status and survival. The problem thus resulting was the challenge of still preserving foods throughout the winter, yet doing so without a heavy use of imported spice. Refrigeration in a compact format, though invented by Carl von Linde in 1870, was first used in breweries rather than for food refrigeration, and did not reach households until the

⁴³ David Gentilcore, “Body and Soul, or Living Physically in the Kitchen,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, ed. Beat A. Kümin, Vol. 4. 6 vols (Oxford: Berg, 2012), 155.

⁴⁴ Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal: A History of Table Service in France*, California Studies in Food and Culture; 19 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 83, 85-6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 88.

⁴⁶ Gentilcore, “Body and Soul, 161.

⁴⁷ Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, 7.

⁴⁸ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 5.

twentieth century.⁴⁹ The solution was dry items of long shelf-life: meat extracts, powdered soups, and ready meals with historic precedent.

According to dominant medical ideas, “meat broth”⁵⁰ and meat were particularly useful, besides being supremely nutritious and “particularly easy to digest.”⁵¹ As of 1863, Justus von Liebig’s product, conveniently tied to a major scientific German figure, began its industrial production, though with little actual involvement of the scientist.⁵²

Liebig was not the first to attempt to reduce meat to its essential components by removing water, argues Vincent Klink with regard to Louise von Lengefeld’s Postsuppe.⁵³ Already at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, Klink notes, Louise von Lengefeld cooked remaining meat after a day of butchering and cooking into a “dry paste, which could then be turned into a strong Bouillon when needed.”⁵⁴ In this way, she reduced about thirty liters of water with twelve pounds of beef, some marrowbones, six pounds of calves’ bones, and five chickens, into a thick tar of about one liter.⁵⁵ Similar hand-written family owned recipe books containing collected instructions included “Ragout” powder made of oriental spices, citrus peels, herbs,

⁴⁹ Fridges using ammonium cooling were first used for keeping meat in 1882 in Bremen and 1883 in Wiesbaden: Ursula Heinzelmann, *Beyond Bratwurst: A History of Food in Germany* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 192.

⁵⁰ “Was das Leben und die Gesundheit des Menschen erhält Lebens- und Nahrungsmittel,” in *Die Gartenlaube: Illustriertes Familienblatt* (Berlin: Scherl, 1853), 424.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 425, also 349.

⁵² Peter Brabeck-Letmathe, *Nutrition for a Better Life: A Journey from the Origins of Industrial Food Production to Nutrigenomics* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2016), 49.

⁵³ Vincent Klink, “Anmerkungen zur Lengfeldschen Küche,” in Louise von Lengefeld, *150 nützliche Recepte: das Kochbuch von Schillers chère-mère, Louise von Lengefeld*, eds. Viktoria Fuchs and Ursula Weigl (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1997), 192; DLA: D:Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengfeld, Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.” Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18, 83-4, 87.

⁵⁴ Klink, “Anmerkungen,” 189.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 191-192.

vegetables and strong-flavored pickled items such as anchovies and capers.⁵⁶ Alternatively, truffles, cloves, and mushrooms could be powdered with basil and leek to be then kept in a “can” (“Büchs” [sic]) for later use.⁵⁷

The main aim was speed, as well as keeping ingredients for longer than natural life permitted, converging at a point where cans, extracts, concentrates, and ready-meals met. Catering to convenience, between 1866 and 1867, Berlin chef Johann Heinrich Grüneberg developed the so called “Erbswurst,” a dried paste made from peas, fat, and seasonings, packaged for making speedy pea soup by adding water.⁵⁸

Food Modernization and the Role of the Military in the Creation and Proliferation of Meat Extracts

Anastasia Marx de Salcedo has commented upon the role the military plays as a consumer in fomenting the creation, distribution, and consumption of treated foods that serve campaigns as practical, packaged, and long-lived nourishment.⁵⁹ That large-scale institutions, be that the army in the field, its field-hospitals or associated healthcare establishments, should be a desirable bulk buyer for producers of, for example, meat extract, is not counter-intuitive. Similarly, the military had great interest in using the pea-sausage to supply their troops with easily portioned and prepared nutritious food for the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, when the ready meal was first used.

⁵⁶ WOK: HH-R1, 8.

⁵⁷ DLA: D:Schiller A.V., 3. Finlay argues early instances existed in 1742. Mark Finlay, “The Science and Culture of Liebig’s Extract of Meat,” in Harmke Kamminga and Andrew Cunningham, *The Science and Culture of Nutrition, 1840-1940* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995), 49-50.

⁵⁸ Brabeck-Letmathe, *Nutrition for a Better Life*, 59.

⁵⁹ Anastasia Marx de Salcedo, *Combat-Ready Kitchen: How the U.S. Military Shapes the Way You Eat* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2015).

We must here note that a class element remained key in structuring menus in the Prussian army—the main buyer of the Knorr pea-sausage. Menus of multiple courses for the lower officers of the army in Esslinger in 1885 included meat on a daily basis and echoed their military rank. Their diet consisted of a soup, a meat dish, one or two side dishes, and a preserved dish. A rice-soup, pea-soup, potato-soup, grit-soup, or French soup was followed by roast beef or pork, liver or chops, with a side of lentils, potatoes, salad, peas, or carrots, completed with a “sour” dish—presumably, pickled meat, fish, gherkins or something similar.⁶⁰ The meal was always concluded with a cup of coffee.⁶¹ Officers ate more comfortably than footsoldiers, for whom the starchy Erbswurst ready-meal was primarily intended.

The better known family name of Knorr, belonging to industrialist Carl Heinrich Theodor Knorr (1800-1875), took over production as of 1889, disseminating the popular products into middling homes.⁶² Paired with parallel developments in legume-based soup flour as of 1883 in Switzerland by industrialist Julius Maggi (1846-1912), and the work of German-born Swiss industrialist Henri Nestlé (1814-1890) on formula for children, a new era of food production met consumers, who were told to think of these modern products as particularly modern and healthy.⁶³

⁶⁰ BWGLAK: 456 F 141 Nr. 29.

⁶¹ Ibid. Compare with army food for soldiers and the discussion of vegetarianism in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Brabeck-Letmathe, *Nutrition for a Better Life*, 50. See also: Tehila Sasson, “Milking the Third World? Humanitarianism, Capitalism, and the Moral Economy of the Nestlé Boycott,” *The American Historical Review*, 121, no. 4 (October 1, 2016): 1196–1224; and Sara Quand, “Infant and Child Nutrition, in Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas. *The Cambridge World History of Food* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1444-1453.

	Preis per Packet	
	à ¼ Ko. ₰	à ½ Ko. ₰
Knorr's		
Leguminosen und Cerealienmehle.		
Bohnenmehl	25	45
Erbsemmehl, gelbes	25	45
Erbsemmehl, grünes (aus französischen grünen Zuckererbse)	30	55
Gerstenmehl	30	55
Grünkernmehl, sogen. Grünkernextract	35	65
Hafermehl, diastasirt, speciell für Kindernahrung u. Magenleidende	25	45
Linsemmehl	25	45
Maismehl (Mais flower, Corn flower)	30	—
Kernepuder	25	—
Reismehl, präparirt (Reismark, Reispuder)	28	50
Panirmehl	20	35

Figure 3. Knorr's selection of "legume and cereal flours", 1895⁶⁴

	₰	₰
Knorr's Suppentafeln.		
Bohnen-, Einbrenn-, Erbse-, gelbu. grün, Gersten-, Gries-, Grünkern-, Hafer- grütze-, Hausma- cher-, Kartoffel-, Körbel-, Linse-, Rumford-, Reis-, Reis-Julienne-, Sa- go-, Tapioca-Ju- lienne - Suppe in Tabletten à 6 Por- tionen à Tablette	—	20
Knorr's Suppentafeln, als:		
Curry-, Eierbuchstaben-, Eiereinlauf-, Eierriebele-, Eierstern-, Frühlings-, Juliennebouillon, Krebs-, Mockturtle-, Ochsen- schweif-, Spaetzlen-, Tapiocabouillon und Wildpret-Suppe, Potage à la reine in Tafeln à 6-8 Portionen per Tafel	—	30
Knorr's Erbswurst mit und ohne Speck per Stück	—	35
mit Schinken	—	50
mit Schweinsohren	—	50
Knorr's Linsenwürstel mit Frankfurter Bratwurstmasse	—	20

Figure 4. Knorr's "Ready Soup Selection," 1895⁶⁵

⁶⁴ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 29. See also: Knorr's Vegetable Flour. WOK: HG.Löf.1897, i.

⁶⁵ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 29.



Maggi's Suppenwürze,
die neueste Errungenschaft
auf dem Gebiete der Koch-
kunst.

*Maggi's Suppenwürze ist einzig
in ihrer Art, um jede Suppe
augenblicklich überraschend
gut und kräftig zu machen.*

Maggi's Suppenwürze, Bouillon-Extract		Aux fines herbes, Extractum purum				
per	$\frac{2}{1}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	Flasche	Probefläschchen
..	6,—	1,80	1,10	0,65		0,25

Maggi concentré de Truffes		per		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	Flasche
				..	2,20	1,30

Maggi's Fleisch-Extract
dient zur sofortigen Herstellung einer vorzüglichen Fleischsuppe nur
mit Wasser. Uebertrifft an Kraft, Billigkeit und
Wohlgeschmack alle ähnlichen Produkte.

Maggi's Fleisch-Extract in Kapseln à Dose,
enthaltend 10 Stück, .. 0,75 u. .. 1,10.

Figure 5. Advertisement for the range of Maggi products, including Maggi's "Meat-extract," 1895.⁶⁶

The prevalent idea was that it was possible to extract all the nutritious value out of a food and maintain it in dried or liquid form. Apple wine, for example, was advertised as a "universal cure" from 1871 given that apples were particularly rich in vitamins and purifying. "1 liter of Mainperle Apple wine," their advertisements read, "contained the juice of three pounds of healthy apples," as an economical addition to soups and punches.⁶⁷

The word "extract" is thus to be understood literally; for travellers and explorers such easily transportable nutritious supplies were particularly attractive.⁶⁸ For people like Gerhard Rohlfs, famous journalist and Africa explorer, and his network, including Georg Schweinfurth and Ernst Wilhelm Friedrich Horn, "Meat Extract" succeeded in drawing

⁶⁶ Dated 1895. FUBEG-PMAG-R 8o 00453, 11.

⁶⁷ WOK: HH- R2.A- 1874, loose leaflet.

⁶⁸ On scholarly skepticism towards Liebig's meat extract, which ended up losing out, see: Teuteberg, *Die Rolle Des Fleischextrakts Für Die Ernährungswissenschaften*, 30-36.

out the essence of meat. Meat being the best, strongest, and most nutritionally potent and complete nourishment available to humankind, it was essential for crossing deserts. Horn in a letter to August Petermann of 1867 wrote that the extract “contained the entire nutritional value of meat” (“den ganzen Nahrungswerth des Fleisches enthaldene Extract”) and served as an “easily transportable and safely storable” product, allowing the traveller to carry “16 pounds of meat, so about 1 month” of “animal food”, in the shape of “1 pound” of dry paste.⁶⁹ Gerhard Rohlfs, his co-correspondent, was happy to claim that “he could have hardly done without it” during his own travels through the deserts of North Africa and the Middle East during his several expeditions.⁷⁰ Rohlfs further emphasized the great advantage that this extract allowed the weakened traveller to “take in” much nutrition “without burdening the digestive organs.”⁷¹

For military campaigns within Europe, as with the French campaign in Central Europe, such preserved meals in tin or glass sealed with wax and cheese were practical enough. Yet, for German *Naturforscher*, and military campaigners in northern Africa in the period before and after the establishment of European empire there, who could sometimes only rely on backpacks, bags, and camels, the utility of such meals was limited. Gerhard Rohlfs’ friend Schweinfurth and Rohlfs himself, according to his own accounts, sometimes subsisted primarily on local dates—particularly when Rohlfs aimed to find a route through the Sahara desert for the French government.⁷² In such a situation, neither heavy and brittle glass, nor tins, for the space and weight they would occupy, were ideal travel-support.

⁶⁹ HMSS: P1.103, p.1.

⁷⁰ HMSS: P1.103, p.1.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² “zweimonatliche Dattelkost,” in Ibid.

In such cases, Liebig's food substitute, the meat extract, represented an ideal companion for Sahara explorers. Easily soluble in water, Liebig's "Fleischextract" could provide—so claimed the established scientific profession—the nourishment of meat, thus complementing the starch-heavy plant-based diet that Schweinfurth complained about in his letters to Rohlfs.⁷³ Paired with a certain prejudice against vegetables and fruits as "wobbly stuff," meat extract was an ideal solution for desert campfire night-time broth sipping.⁷⁴ Such was their enthusiasm, that some antelopes even had to serve as substitutes for cattle when Rohlfs's friend and brother-in-law Schweinfurth ran out of the extract during his travels.⁷⁵

That is not to say that there was no comprehension of the macro-molecular level of nutrition; after all, Liebig was famed for understanding "protein." Where then was the idea of the protein, or that of the denatured molecule? Understandings of protein in intellectual circles were closely tied to the presence of nitrogen in foods—an element contemporary scientists identified as an essential difference between animal and plant matter.

Popular understandings of nutrition mimicked this established idea of nitrogen as a key chemical for the human body. An 1872 account in the *Gartenlaube* said of mushrooms that they were a rare substitute for meat, due to their nitrogen levels. The author, self-identified as a traveller to the forest of Thuringia, and a visitor to their "Waldbewohner" (lit. inhabitants of the forest, connoting a lesser degree of civilization) wrote in 1872: "mushrooms, which, like meat, contain much nitrogen and thus represent such a nutritious meat-like food" could be a great supplement for poorer families whose

⁷³ HMSS: RA.9.4, p.3.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ HMSS: RA.4.87; HMSS: RA.4.94, 3.

tables could not afford the “riches’ roast” with their potatoes or bread.”⁷⁶ The essence of meat to Horn was thus not necessarily its protein: it was its “Stickstoff” (Nitrogen) and minerals, its basic chemical components—at the elementary, rather than macro-molecular level.⁷⁷

Chemical research throughout the century hunted for explanations for the relationships between organic and inorganic matter, approximating the former’s various levels of molecular complexity throughout this period, and how these flowed in nature. Edward Smith carried out dietary surveys in Britain in 1862, and Adolf Fick and Johannes Wislicenus in Switzerland studied the breakdown of bodily tissue and the calories obtained from starch in 1865.⁷⁸ Parallel to Liebig’s work on fertilizers, Edward Frankland studied nitrogen and sewage in Britain in 1865.⁷⁹ Physiologist Johann Nepomuk Czermak (1828-1873) insisted in his lecture of March 1871, held in Leipzig at his own laboratory, that animals were capable of constructing proteins from plant-matter, implying, though not saying explicitly, that a vegetarian diet is possible, perhaps even for humans.⁸⁰ The professor of physiology better known for his contributions to the study of the larynx insisted: “The animal kingdom must be able to find all necessary nutrients in naturally occurring organic matter” given that all had to be ingested through eating.⁸¹ The exact relationship between carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen in nature, and their

⁷⁶ H.S. “Ein Sonntagsmahl im Thüringerwalde,” *Die Gartenlaube*, Nr. 26 (1872) 424.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Kenneth Carpenter, *Protein and Energy: A Study of Changing Ideas in Nutrition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67.

⁷⁹ Colin A. Russell, *Edward Frankland: Chemistry, Controversy and Conspiracy in Victorian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 365.

⁸⁰ Joh. N. Czermak “Über den Kreislauf der Stoffe durch die drei Reiche der Natur. Von. Prof. Joh. N. Czermak Schluss.” *Die Gartenlaube*, Nr.22 (1872): 354-55.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 354.

presence in organic matter, remained somewhat obscure until that point, with scientists unable to determine exactly why these same elements also occurred in inorganic matter.

Tied to discussions of vegetarianism and observations of herbivores, Czermak emphasized organisms' ability to synthesize their own organs using organic matter.⁸² Liebig, in contrast, insisted that “after weeks of deprivation of meat foods, the body suffers from lower levels of bodily and mental energy,” making his extract an essential supplement.⁸³ Arguably, with the idea that “Stickstoff oder Azot (N)”⁸⁴ was essential for building organs, and is only present in meat matter in large quantities, popular discourses would argue that meat ensured a strengthening of the human body: “that led to the building of organs and their parts, fomenting their activity, and those phenomena that were evidence for the highest and most specific functions of life.”⁸⁵

Thus, as these discussions went on, the idea of being able to transport meat in powdered form to regions of the earth where supply impasses hindered travel, hampered exploration, and undercut army supplies particularly interested the Prussian state. Given that there was money to be made in this process at a time where meat was in high demand in Europe, and beef virtually impossible to transport across the Atlantic to meet it, Liebig soon had a rival in Wilhelm Horn, an unsurprisingly obscure figure within Rohlf's correspondence network, who attempted to make claims of inventing meat extracts before Liebig in 1865—though their work seems more simultaneous than Horn can provide documentation for. Horn made an effort to make sales to Prussia's military hospitals for recovering soldiers, but was rejected in 1866, on the grounds that his product was

⁸² Joh. N. Czermak “Über den Kreislauf der Stoffe durch die drei Reiche der Natur. Von. Prof. Joh. N. Czermak” *Die Gartenlaube*, Nr.21 (1872): 339.

⁸³ HMSS: RA.4.87

⁸⁴ Czermak “Über den Kreislauf der Stoffe,” 339.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 339.

“insufferable” and not adequate “for healthy or ill soldiers.” Horn’s attempted to activate his contacts for support meant taking on a famous national treasure and president of Bavaria’s Academy of Sciences: no small an action, and one bound to fail.

Irrespective of whether Horn’s claims, when compared to Liebig’s, were legitimate, surprising remains to the historian privileged with hindsight, why such figures made claims for innovation with a product that had already existed in middling households as early as 1800. As the notebook by Louise Lengefeld indicates, the idea to process meat by boiling it and reducing the resulting paste to as dry a concoction as possible for the purpose of avoiding waste when a large animal was slaughtered and the small family could not consume the valuable meat in time already existed before Liebig.⁸⁶ Deborah Valenze has noted that milkmaids were outcompeted in the early years of the French fin-de-siècle, when pasteurization disqualified the backward, traditional dairy provider by virtue of her femininity and ignorance, making scientific men the only reliable and safe providers of healthy children’s food—and formula too.⁸⁷ Here, the story may be very similar. While for a generation or two the alleged invention of the meat extract might not have surprised the middling mother or her co-working cooks and maids, soon, the combination of sufficient advertising—a quickly evolving field post-mid century—and the product’s convenience was probably sufficient to outcompete the idea that such a valuable item could be any of these things: feminine, historic, traditional.

The same mechanism applies to canned goods. In France, scientist Denis Papin “cooked and preserved foods in hermetically sealed containers or placed them raw in a sugar solution inside hermetically sealed glass jars. When Papin informed Gottfried

⁸⁶ See Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation.

⁸⁷ Deborah Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

Wilhelm Leibniz of his discoveries, the German philosopher and scientist became the first person to suggest using food preserved in this way for soldiers' rations."⁸⁸ French pastry chefs Nicolas Appert put this into practice as of 1804,⁸⁹ at the same time as this technique was already in usage in German households.⁹⁰ Teuteberg places the earliest industrial canning in Lübeck (1845) and Frankfurt (also 1845).⁹¹ Pedrocco points to industrial production as of 1848 with C. C. Hahn's factory in Lübeck.⁹²

Advertised with the association to a nationally renowned scientist (Figures 6-8) until 1897, industrial food was marketed as masculine, scientific, and new. Part of modernity seems to be its refusal to acknowledge its many, not-so-different precedents. Only after 1897, is a consumer shown in the advertisement (Figure 9), at a time when Liebig's products diversified, and Cibril, Pastoril, and Kemmerich provided competition (Figures 10-12, 14). Significantly, the addition of the female as consumer is balanced by the emphasis on academic males as creators and supervisors of the process and production: no fewer than three Prof. Dr's. To no surprise: what grandmother could make at home, the household need not spend money on. A product made by health experts, however, proclaiming cost-effective high nutritional values and purity, was another matter. This selling narrative informed the advertisements of most extract-companies, from Liebig to Puro (Figure 13).

⁸⁸ Pedrocco, "The Food Industry and New Preservation Techniques," 486.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 486.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation. See further Gisela Luther, "Von Dörrkästen und Blechbüchsen. Das Einkochen bei Henriette Davidis," in *Beruf der Jungfrau: Henriette Davidis und Bürgerliches Frauenverständnis im 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Gisela Framke and Gisela Marenk (Oberhausen: Graphium Press, 1988), 145-154.

⁹¹ Ibid, 91.

⁹² Pedrocco, "The Food Industry and New Preservation Techniques," 487.

LIEBIG Company's
Fleisch-Extract
 Nur echt wenn jeder Topf den Namenszug in **BLAUER FARBE** trägt. *J. Liebig*

Liebig's Fleisch-Extract dient zur sofortigen Herstellung einer vortrefflichen Kraftsuppe, sowie zur Verbesserung und Würze aller Suppen, Saucen, Gemüse und Fleischspeisen und bietet, richtig angewandt, neben ausserordentlicher Bequemlichkeit, das Mittel zu grosser Ersparnis im Haushalte. Vorzügliches Stärkungsmittel für Schwache und Kranke.

■ Überall zu haben. ■

Figure 6. Liebig Advertisement 1890⁹³

Liebig's
Fleisch-Extract

in Töpfen von:

$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1 Pfd. engl.
1,25	2,30	4,10	7,50

in Blechdosen von: 2 5 Pfd. engl.

11,— 35,—

Die Nachfrage nach Liebig's Fleisch-Extract ist fortwährend im Steigen begriffen, hauptsächlich findet derselbe in Blechdosen à 2 u. 5 Pfund engl. sehr viel Verwendung.

Figure 7. Liebig Advertisement, 1895.⁹⁴

⁹³ WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 12. See also: "Liebig's Fleisch-Extract," WOK: HG.Kur.1887, 761.

⁹⁴ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 11.

LIEBIG'S
Fleisch-Extract

Ist das Beste für die Küche!



Nur echt, wenn
jeder Topf den Namenszug

Liebig
in blauer Farbe
trägt.

Liebig's Fleisch-Extract

dient zur sofortigen Herstellung einer vortrefflichen Kraftsuppe, verleiht allen Suppen, Saucen, Gemüsen und Fleischspeisen etc. **Kraft und erhöhten Wohlgeschmack** und bietet, richtig angewandt, neben ausserordentlicher Bequemlichkeit das Mittel zu grosser Ersparnis zum Haushalt.

Ist vorrätig in Zinntuben à $\frac{1}{14}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ und $\frac{1}{1}$ engl. Pfundtöpfen netto, sowie in 2 u. 5 Pfd. engl. Blechdosen netto.

Figure 8. Liebig Advertisement 1897⁹⁵

⁹⁵ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, xv.

NUR AECHT, wenn
jeder Topf den Namenszug
J. Liebig
in
blauer
Farbe trägt.

LIEBIG COMPANY'S
FLEISCH-EXTRACT

Das
FLEISCH-PEPTON
der
COMPAGNIE LIEBIG

ist wegen seiner ausserordentlich leichten Verdaulichkeit und seines hohen Nährwerthes ein vorzügliches Nahrungs- und Kräftigungsmittel für Schwache, Blutarme und Kranke, namentlich auch für Magenleidende.

Hergestellt nach Prof. Dr. KEMMERICH'S Methode
unter steter Kontrolle der Herren
Prof. Dr. M. von Pettenkofer und Prof. Dr. Carl von Voit,
München.

Käuflich in Dosen von 100 und 200 Gramm netto.

Figure 9. Liebig's Meat Extract and Pepton Supplement, 1897.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ FUEBG: Dornblüth Math 8° 01467/22.

Verpackung.

Cibils

Produkte sind die beliebtesten!

Die beste Suppe oder Bouillon liefert

■ **Cibils Flüssiger Fleischextract,** ■
die schönste Sauce, das schmackhafteste Gemüse

■ **Cibils Fester Fleischextract** ■
und allen Kranken und Magenleidenden wie Gesunden kann kein kräftigeres, wohlschmeckenderes u. billigeres Pepton empfohlen werden als

■ **Cibils Papaya-Fleischpepton,** ■
das einzige auf rein natürliche (rationelle) Weise bereite Pepton.

== Siebzehn Medaillen und Ehrendiplome. ==

Die Cibils'schen Produkte sind in allen Colonialwaren-, Delikatessen- und Drogen-Geschäften zu haben, ebenso in den Apotheken.
Central-Depot Antwerpen.

17 Medaillen und Ehrendiplome.

17 Medaillen und Ehrendiplome.

Figure 10. Cibils, 1890⁹⁷

Flüssiger Fleischextract von Cibils.

Zur Zubereitung einer vorzüglichen und dabei wirklich nahrhaften, kräftigen Fleischbrühe genügt es, zwei Theilchen voll mit einer Tasse heissem Wasser, zu mischen. Ein kleiner Zusatz dieser Bouillon zu *Grüne Conserven* gibt denselben einen vorzüglichen Geschmack.

In Flaschen à ¼ Ko. Inhalt. Preis 1,50 per Flasche.

Cibils

Paris 1889. Goldene Medaille.

Cibils ist unstreitig der beste flüssige Fleisch-Extract.

Cibils ist unstreitig der beste flüssige Fleisch-Extract.

Korn 1890. Ehrendiplom mit Stern.

Fleischextracte und Papaya-Fleisch-Pepton.

23 Medaillen und Ehrendiplome.

Figure 11. Meat-Extract Advertisement by Cibils,

1895⁹⁸

PASTORIL Fleisch-Extract

zur Bereitung von Bouillon, Verbesserung von Suppen, Saucen etc. ist das bei weitem **Vorteilhafteste,**

da es bei *besonderm Wohlgeschmack und grösster Ausgiebigkeit bedeutend billiger* als die andern Marken verkauft wird — allerdings unter Ersparung der höchst kostspieligen Massen-Lieferung von Bildchen und andern die Ware zwecklos verteuern Zugaben.

Zu haben in Delikatessen-, Colonialwaren- und Drogen-Handlungen sowie in Apotheken.

General-Depot in **Hamburg.**



Figure 12. Pastoril Meat Extract, 1890, available in

Kolonialwaren shops as well as delis and pharmacies⁹⁹

Hervorragend 21% natürliches
blutbildendes Eiweiss.
Kräftigungs- und Ernährungs-
Mittel. **Fleischsaft** Preis: M.2.50.

PURO

„Puro“ medic. chem. Institut Dr. H. Scholl.
THALKIRCHEN-MÜNCHEN.

Figure 13. Puro Meat Extract¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ WOK: HG.Dav.1890, also: Cibils, 1892. WOK: HG.Dav.1892.

⁹⁸ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 12.

⁹⁹ WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 15.

¹⁰⁰ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, xvi.



Figure 14. Kemmerich's Meat Extract—yet another contemporary rival of Liebig's set before a shining sun. Note the mention of Kemmerich's method in Liebig's advertisement above¹⁰¹

Food Chemistry and the Law: The *Nahrungsmittelgesetze* of 1878/9

“Adulteration”

Dry paste and powdered instant soup, as well as meat-extracts, were, however, not the only progressions in middling consumption between 1860-1880. While we can argue for the relative newness, benefit, and significance of instant broth and pea soup wherein spices played less of a necessary preservative role for the middling home, maximizing convenience and reducing costs, other innovations were more unambiguously problematic. Additives and food substitutes, contemporaries complained, “adulterated” purchasable staples and commodities ranging from flour and sugar to coffee, chocolate, and tea, with substances of either no nutritional value, or downright detrimental.

Government-sponsored food police reports unearthed a range of “adulterations” across the country whose meaning was inseparable from the real cutting-corner practices

¹⁰¹ FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619, (9 September 1893): 287.

of producers, as well as the contemporary anxieties of the middling buyers, who were no longer in control of the production process.¹⁰² Given the overlap between industrial production on the one hand, and food substitutions, scamming consumers with cheaper substances sold as something else, industrial production and adulteration were inseparable to the contemporary and must be so for the historian. Some products made their debut as adulterating substances—margarine and saccharine, for example—until finding their niche as cheaper and allegedly healthier substitutes for the more expensive originals, in the case of margarine and saccharine, of butter and sugar.

At best, adulteration was not lethal, but often, practices were nerve-wrecking, repulsive, or potentially toxic. Wheat flour was stretched with corn and potato flour, or contained coincidental dust, or rotted with fungus; at worst, it contained mineral powders, plant matter, barite, plaster, chalk, magnesium, earth or white clay.¹⁰³ Imported pasta of a vivid yellow color was “well known to be dyed with urine rather than egg yolk.”¹⁰⁴ Much like in early decades, cakes and sweet baked goods contained lead, arsenic, copper, or chrome-derivatives for their colors, while a popular cheaper substitute for real honey was “potato syrup”—the high fructose corn syrup of the nineteenth century, if you will.¹⁰⁵ Vendors stretched sugar with barite, plaster, chalk, flour, dextrin, copper, lead and zinc, while meat, more difficult to stretch in pieces, was quite often sold despite the animal being deadly ill with anthrax or rabies, or else it came from newly born calves whose mothers’ milk was to be sold; the authorities insisted veal was a meat of low nutritious

¹⁰² BWGLAK: 233 N.13629.

¹⁰³ BWGLAK: 233 N.13629, 30-31.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 35.

value, thus considering the sale of this meat as tantamount to a scam for the buyer.¹⁰⁶ The public, in turn, had no ways of “protecting themselves from such scams.”¹⁰⁷

Milk, a particularly problematic substance, was diluted with water, sour milk was mixed with natron or chalk to give it a better appearance, “de-creamed,” giving vendors the double advantage of selling low-fat milk as whole milk, and selling the cream as well—sometimes even substituting “coffee” cream that could not be beaten stiff, for “real” cream that could.¹⁰⁸ Besides these substitutions, however, an even greater issue were the “sick milks” denominated “slimy” due to when a mother cow had infected udders, and “red milk,” when the cow bled into the milk,¹⁰⁹ all of which some purveyors sought to color- and consistency-correct with the above-cited measures.

Butter contained chalk, clay, and plaster to increase its weight, or else, was stretched or substituted with “artificial butter”—meaning margarine—the now mainstream product beginning as a false imitation product before marketing discovered its potential as its own product, and recoined it as a healthier butter-alternative.¹¹⁰ Vendors found ways around legislation. Before then, other alternative fats that found their way into what was labeled as “butter” included beef fat, olive oil, root oil, peanut oil, coconut oil, canola oil, sesame oil, and pork fat, sometimes colored with saffron or chrome yellow.¹¹¹

Coffee contained sand, fake beans made out of clay, the cheaper chicory, “extracted coffee grounds”—meaning either used granules, or else dried remains after usage—and roasted grains.¹¹² Chocolate contained petroleum balm, tolu balsam, storar or benzo resin

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 39-42.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 43.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 45-48.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 49-50.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 52.

¹¹¹ BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 13544, 5, 23.

¹¹² Ibid, 76.

instead of vanilla extract, as well as chalk, “iron ochre,” flour and starch, in mutton fat instead of cocoa butter.¹¹³ In the German sanctum of beer, hops were “substituted,” clarity enhanced, preservatives added, and color modified—wine suffered similar problems, leading to long legal discussions about how to define the beverage.¹¹⁴ Tea packets often contained leaves of plants other than the desired shrub, packaged in lead-lined paper and colored with soap stone, and the seemingly ubiquitous chalk and plaster.¹¹⁵

The problem was real, but could be attacked. While food chemistry was not a formal established discipline until the twentieth century, and researchers working in its antea often, like Liebig, were engaged in agricultural chemistry, however, his work on combustion to determine the components of various foods could also be used to police food purity. After the first publicly supported agriculture experiment station was established in Weede, W. Hanneberg and F. Strohmman developed an important procedure for the routine determination of major constituents in food.¹¹⁶ What followed was an intellectual, legal, and political process to remedy what contemporaries called “adulteration.” The food police could search the country, bringing samples to their local labs, where scientists tested the foods for quality and adulteration, sending reports to political representatives, who compiled and analyzed the data, and reacted to the situation with policy reform. By 1890, Germany had rigorous food laws and centers for testing,

¹¹³ Ibid, 78-79.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 66.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 77.

¹¹⁶ Owen R. Fennema, ed., *Food Chemistry, Third Edition* (CRC Press, 1996).

and the state recognized the qualification of “food chemists” and provided rigorous testing facilities for them under the watchful eye of professorial commissions.¹¹⁷

With both adulteration and legal reactions, Britain, the German states—later Empire—and the United States ran neck-and-neck throughout the century, with Germany soon catching up with Britain, and the US dragging its feet. The earliest food laws in the German states were established in Bavaria, where the *Medizinalpolizei* was active as of 1830 with regulations and standards for food specified as of 1861, thus running parallel to the first British “Adulteration Act” of 1860.¹¹⁸ The second British legislation, the 1875 “Sale of Food and Drugs Act,” in turn, developed just before the German Empire’s Food Law, where first designs began in 1877, to be finalized in 1879.¹¹⁹ The United States, meanwhile, negotiated a Food Law to counteract counterfeit from 1879 as the German Empire passed theirs, but Congress did not pass the Food Law called “first Pure Food and Drug Act in the United States” until 1906, pushed through by Harvey Washington Wiley,

¹¹⁷ BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 13690.

¹¹⁸ French and Phillips credit Thomas Wakley for his work raising awareness in mid-nineteenth century Britain. Michael French and Jim Phillips, *Cheated Not Poisoned?: Food Regulation in the United Kingdom, 1875-1938* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 33-65, on the 1875 and 1899 Sale of Food and Drugs Act. Babasaheb B. Desai, *Handbook of Nutrition and Diet* (New York and Basel: Marcel Dekker, 2000), 321, on the 1860 Act. Legislation is available through the National Archives at: “British Food and Drug Act, 1875, c.63,” facsimile, *Legislation.gov.uk*, <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1875/63/enacted>>. (accessed January 24 2018). Atkins argues a case can be made for an 800-year regulation of food in Britain, though presumably the nature and scale of adulteration changed over time, and particularly in modern times. P. J. Atkins [short cite], “Sophistication Detected: Or, the Adulteration of the Milk Supply, 1850-1914.” *Social History* 16, no. 3 (1991): 317. Bavaria, according to Hierholzer, was the “most advanced” German state according to Hierholzer, while Prussia’s food police was perceived as inadequate between the 1840s and 1850s. The situation in other German states before 1871, Hierholzer argues, is difficult to reconstruct given a dearth of sources. Hierholzer, *Nahrung nach Norm*, 62, 71.

¹¹⁹ BWGLAK: 233 Nr 13629- Nahrungsmittelgesetz I. Also: Jutta Grüne, *Anfänge staatlicher Lebensmittelüberwachung in Deutschland: der Vater der Lebensmittelchemie Joseph König (1843-1930)*. (Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 323.

chief chemist of the US Department of Agriculture.¹²⁰ Where adulteration became too serious an issue in an industrializing nation, policy eventually responded.

Parallel “adulteration” developments in Britain and the US were practically identical to those in Germany, addressing counterfeit butter and sugar, stretched flour, and dangerous milk to name a few.¹²¹ Further, the development of the “food chemist” as a recognized profession occurred simultaneously in Germany and the US between the 1860s and early 1900s. In 1862, Congress passed the Land-Grant College Act” that “helped establish colleges of agriculture in the United States and provided considerable impetus for the training of agricultural and food chemists.”¹²² German discussions regarding the regulation and recognition of the qualification with specific benchmarks of the profession of a “food chemist” (*Nahrungsmittel Chemiker*) began in the 1870s, and led to a formalization in 1894.¹²³

¹²⁰ I. D. Barkan, “Industry invites regulation: the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906,” *American Journal of Public Health*, 75:1 (January 1985), 18-26; Owen R. Fennema and Steven R. Tannenbaum, “Introduction,” in *Food Chemistry*, ed. Owen R. Fennema, 3rd Ed. New York: Mercel, 1996, 6.

¹²¹ James Harvey Young, *Pure Food: Securing the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). See also: Mitchell Okun, *Fair Play in the Marketplace: The First Battle for Pure Food and Drugs* (DeKalb: University of Illinois Press, 1986). For an account of “swindling” in the British market, see: Bee Wilson, *Swindled: The Dark History of Food Fraud, from Poisoned Candy to Counterfeit Coffee* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

¹²² Fennema and Tannenbaum, “Introduction,” 6.

¹²³ The first designs originate in 1892, and remained unchanged (unverändert) by the Bundesrath, in the final law. (Nr.140: 1893). Followed by a “Bundesraths-Beschluss” anchoring the decisions on the 22. February 1894. (Bundesrath, Seffion von 1894. Anlage zum Protokoll vom 5 April. 1894, Bundesraths-Beschluss vom 22 Februar 1894, betreffend die Prüfung von Nahrungsmittel- Chemikern.) The Law was published under “Nr. XXXVIII. Gesetzes- und Verordnungs- Blatt für das Großherzogsthum Baden, Karlsruhe, Mittwoch den 29. August 1894, “Bekanntmachung ...Verordnung fes Ministeriums des Innern: die Prüfung der Nahrungsmittel=Chemiker betreffend,” BWGLAK- 233 Nr. 13690, 365. “Paragraph 4. tritt am 1. Oktober 1894 in Kraft.” Same source as preceding sentence, (Nr. XXXVIII. Gesetzes- und Verordnungs-Blatt für das Großherzogsthum Baden, Karlsruhe, Mittwoch den 29. August 1894, “Bekanntmachung ...Verordnung fes Ministeriums des Innern: die Prüfung der Nahrungsmittel=Chemiker betreffend, p.370). All: BWGLAK- 233 Nr. 13690.

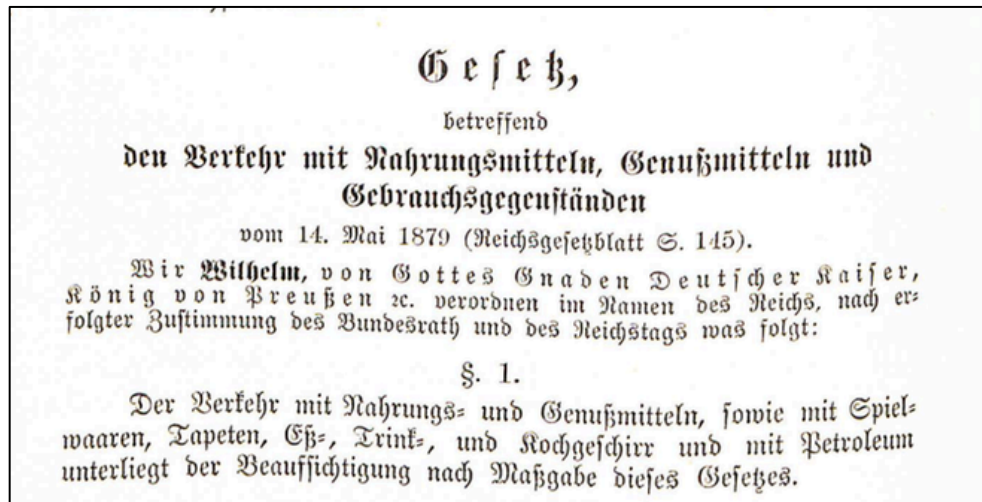


Figure 15. Food Law of 14th of May 1879¹²⁴

By the turn of the century, the German Empire held a vast and active infrastructure for countering counterfeit food products. The German Food Law was very actively in use, and various petitions and amendments followed in the period between 1880 and 1904, with the legislation of 1884 serving as a major benchmark in petitioning correspondence.¹²⁵ The food health police, in action as mentioned from the 1850s, answering to the ministry of health, adjunct to the police,¹²⁶ assisted greatly in presenting

¹²⁴ FUBEG: N 8° 05190, 524. Main work on the *Nahrungsmittelgesetz* has been by Vera Hierholzer. Vera Hierholzer, *Nahrung nach Norm: Regulierung von Nahrungsmittelqualität in der Industrialisierung 1871–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 73, 94. In a legal historical assessment over the long durée, Jutta Grüne considers 1879 but one instance in a long history of legal reform in the process of policy control in Jutta Grüne, *Anfänge staatlicher Lebensmittelüberwachung in Deutschland: der Vater der Lebensmittelchemie Joseph König (1843-1930)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 43-70; Appendix 4, 323-326. Other works mention the law in passing: Uwe Spiekerman, “Warenwelten: Die Normierung der Nahrungsmittel in Deutschland 1850-1930,” in *Essen und Trinken in der Moderne*, ed. Ruth-Elisabeth Mohrmann (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2006), 103; Detlef Briesen, *Das gesunde Leben: Ernährung und Gesundheit seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2010), 130. Note the transition from “Nahrungsmittel” to “Lebensmittel” around the turn of the century.

¹²⁵ BWGLAK: 233 Nr 13630- Nahrungsmittelgesetz II; BWGLAK- 233 Nr 13631- Nahrungsmittelgesetz III, and BWGLAK- 233 Nr 13632- Nahrungsmittelgesetz IV.

¹²⁶ Also: Axel C Hüntelmann, *Hygiene im Namen des Staates: Das Reichsgesundheitsamt 1876-1933* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008), 55. On the professionalization of the medical profession and the establishment of doctors in the second third of the nineteenth century, see *Ibid*, 34-6 and Paul Weindling,

the case to the government that the extent of food adulteration shown in their records made legal regulation necessary.¹²⁷ The involvement of medical professionals, as well as chemists, and the investigative institution at, for example, Karlsruhe, the Grand Duchy's Food Testing Station of the Technical University in Karlsruhe, fomented their activity.¹²⁸ This institution was established in June 1888, having been preceded by the Chemical Laboratory of the Polytechnic School in Karlsruhe from February 1882.¹²⁹ Others, such as the "Chemisches Laboratorium der Kgl. Zentralstelle für Gewerbe und Handel in Stuttgart," and the Chemisches Laboratorium Fresenius zu Wiesbaden were established as early as 1850 and 1848, respectively.¹³⁰ A report on the "Institutions for the technical testing of foods and drugs" in 1907 counted a full 183 individual private and state-run stations in Germany.¹³¹

Health, Race and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 20-25.

¹²⁷ Staatsministerium Reichssachenl. Medizinal-Anstalten, Betreff dem Entwurf eines Gesetzes über den Verkehr mit Nahrungsmitteln, Genußmitteln, und Gebrauchsgegenständen betreffend, Abt. 233/13630, Vol. II, Fasc. II, (1879-1882), "Materialien zu technischen Begründung eines Gesetz Entwurfs gegen die Verfälschung der Nahrungs- und Genußmittel und gegen die gesundheitswidrige Beschaffenheit anderweitiger Gebrauchsgegenstände, Nr.7: Uebersicht über die Zahl und das Resultat der in einzelnen Städten des deutschen Reichs im Jahre 1878 vorgenommenen Untersuchungen von Nahrungsmitteln und Gebrauchsgegenständen, pp. 34-37.

¹²⁸ "Großherzogliche Lebensmittelprüfungsstation der Technischen Hochschule in Karlsruhe," belonging to the "Großherzogliches Ministerium der Justiz, des Kultus und des Unterrichts ROFF, Großherzogliches Ministerium des Innern, TURBAN." (N.XXII "Gesetzes- und Verordnungs-Blatt für das Großherzogsthum Baden. Karlsruhe, Donnerstag den 28. Juni 1888.... Verordnung, p. 289, in BWGLAK- 233 Nr. 13632, Staatsministerium Reichssachenl. Medizinal-Anstalten, Betreff dem Entwurf eines Gesetzes über den Verkehr mit Nahrungsmitteln, Genußmitteln, und Gebrauchsgegenständen betreffend, Abt. 233/13630, Vol. IV, (1888-1904).

¹²⁹ "Landesrechtliche Verordnungen, "Verordnung, betr. Den Verkehr mit Nahrungs- und Genußmitteln, vom 8. Juni 1888.Großh. Minist. D. Justiz, des Kultus u. Unterrichts, Großh. Minist. D. Innern," in König, J., A. Juckenack, H. Beckurts, A. Beythien, A. Bujard, K. Farnsteiner, J. Mayrhofer, G. Rupp, and R. Sendtner, *Die Anstalten zur technischen Untersuchung von Nahrungs- und Genußmitteln sowie Gebrauchsgegenständen, die im Deutschen Reiche: Statistische Erhebungen im Auftrage der Freien Vereinigung Deutscher Nahrungsmittelchemiker* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2013), 224.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 210 and 222. For a full list of private institutions, see *Ibid.*, 223 onwards.

¹³¹ König, et al. *Die Anstalten*, reprint of the 1907 edition, xv.

A Legal History of Parallel Laws, and Lobbying

In some ways, the establishment of “food adulteration” laws in Germany ran an odd course. Some laws ran parallel in the making, one subject to lobbying, and one not, one answering to the ministry of health, and another to the ministry of trade. The *Nahrungsmittelgesetz* was based in the Interior Ministry’s division of medical institutions, while the law regarding the “trade with artificial butter” answered to the division of “Business and Trade.”¹³² The latter had a harder time remaining strict, and includes a hilarious compendium of petitions of various merchants attempting to minimize their financial losses. After much discussion, the law was established on 6 July 1897, two months after its counterpart of the *Nahrungsmittelgesetz* of 14 May.¹³³ If coordinated, keeping petitioners busy with commerce, while Interior officials had free rein to work, would have been a great tactic for pressing through a law, and various revisions in the years following.

Action, according to contemporary perception, was desperately needful, especially when it came to imported goods. The police found in 1878 in 83 German cities and towns, that out of 279 samples of coffee and tea, 45 were falsified, and one spoilt. Out of 188 samples of cocoa and chocolate, 47 were falsified, and one spoilt. Out of 508 samples of sugar or sweet goods, 25 were falsified, and six spoilt. Out of 17202 samples of flour and bread 15 were falsified, and 22 spoilt. Out of 21380 samples of meat and sausage, 65 were falsified, and 1092 spoilt. Out of 1165 samples of spices, 365 were falsified, and 24 spoilt. This leads us to rates of falsification or selling of spoilt foods of between 0.22% (bread and flour) and 6.1% (sugar and sweet goods) for every-day

¹³² BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 13544.

¹³³ Ibid, “591. Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 30. ... “Bekanntmachung...Verkehr mit Butter, Käse, Schmalz und deren Ersatzmitteln. S. 591Ausgegeben zu Berlin den 6. Juli 1897.” “Graf von Posadowky,” 592.

products, and a rate of between 16.49% (coffee and tea) to 33.93% (spices) for luxury importation items: colonial imports.¹³⁴

	Coffee and Tea	Cocoa and Chocolate	Sugar and Sweet Goods	Flour and Bread	Meat and Sausage	Spices
Total tested	279	188	508	17202	21380	1165
Falsified	45	47	25	15	65	365
Spoilt	1	1	6	22	1092	24
Percentage of samples either spoilt or falsified	16.49%	25.53%	6.10%	0.22%	5.41%	33.39%

Figure 16. Rate of Adulteration of Foods, including both “Falsification” and the sales of “Spoilt” Foods in 83 German cities, 1878.

Deciding on definitions and criteria for what foods were, legislation determined strict regulations on poisonous substances in products and packaging, while demanding open marking of ingredients not understood to be essential to a food item. Thus, law makers decided that milk must either be sold as “whole” milk or else visibly labeled as “half-cream” or “non-fat.”¹³⁵ Butter, made from substances other than those “originating in milk” had to be demarcated as such.¹³⁶

How did German law makers manifest such speed with regard to the regulation of food purity? For one, they had helpful precedent. Much of the designs of their ideas they owed to Frederick Accum (1769-1838). German born Friedrich or Frederick Accum lived in London early in the nineteenth century, and condemned food adulteration in Britain with his *Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons*. “Food adulteration” due to an “increased centralization of food processing and distribution, with a

¹³⁴ On the poor state of milk quality, see also: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, “Anfänge des modernen Milchzeitalters in Deutschland,” in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte Und Regionale Prägung*, eds. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd ed. (Münster: Cöpppenrath, 1986), 172-174.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

corresponding decline in interpersonal accountability” at the hands of a growing industrial complex processing food began in Britain in the early 1800s, and in good German fashion, Accum criticized the British condition. These included the presence of “Alum in Bread,” the stretching of flour, “adulterations of tea leaves”—a particularly heinous crime for the English—and counterfeiting expensive imports such as coffee, pepper, and cayenne.¹³⁷ Liquids such as vinegar, cream, catsup, custard, anchovy sauce, mustard, and mushroom catsup suffered a similar fate.¹³⁸ Finally, Accum notes, as did many contemporaries beyond British borders at the time, on the dangers of “copper” and “leaden” vessels for cooking.¹³⁹

Accum’s first edition sold in London in 1820, as well as in the United States, and went into a second edition in the same year.¹⁴⁰ He also authored a cookbook,¹⁴¹ and instructions for baking bread, fermenting wine, and brewing beer.¹⁴² The bulk of his

¹³⁷ Friedrich Christian Accum, *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food, and Culinary Poisons: Exhibiting the Fraudulent Sophistications of Bread, Beer, Wine, Spirituous Liquors, Tea, Coffee, Cream, Confectionery, Vinegar, Mustard, Pepper, Cheese, Olive Oil, Pickles, and Other Articles Employed in Domestic Economy, and Methods of Detecting Them*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), 147, 150, 236, 243, 298, 304.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 310, 313, 319, 324, 328, 337.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 352, 358.

¹⁴⁰ Friedrich Christian Accum, *A Practical Treatise on the Use and Application of Chemical Tests: With Concise Directions for Analyzing Metallic Ores, Earths, Metals, Soils, Manures, and Mineral Waters*. 3rd ed / with plates, Enl. (London: Printed for Thomas Boys, 1820); *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food, and Culinary Poisons: Exhibiting the Fraudulent Sophistications of Bread, Beer, Wine, Spirituous Liquors, Tea, Coffee, Cream, Confectionery, Vinegar, Mustard, Pepper, Cheese, Olive Oil, Pickles, and Other Articles Employed in Domestic Economy, and Methods of Detecting Them*, (London: Sold by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820; Philadelphia: A. Small, 1820).

¹⁴¹ Friedrich Christian Accum, *Culinary Chemistry: Exhibiting the Scientific Principles of Cookery, with Concise Instructions for Preparing Good and Wholesome Pickles, Vinegar, Conserves, Fruit Jellies, Marmalades, and Various Other Alimentary Substances Employed in Domestic Economy, with Observations on the Chemical Constitution and Nutritive Qualities of Different Kinds of Food* (London: R. Ackermann, 1821).

¹⁴² Friedrich Christian Accum, *A Treatise on the Art of Brewing: Exhibiting the London Practice of Brewing Porter, Brown Stout, Ale, Table-Beer, and Various Other Kinds of Malt Liquors* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820); *A Treatise on the Art of Making Wine from Native Fruits: Exhibiting the Chemical Principles Upon Which the Art of Wine Making Depends, the Fruits Best Adapted for Home Made Wines, and the Method of Preparing Them* (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820).

works, with its mottos and covers, were aimed at a popular audience, to the chagrin of some reviewers, peers, and certainly vendors of the items he targeted.

The chemist met resistance, not least from his peers for the popular slant of his work.¹⁴³ Criticism of Accum's previous publications included the objection of imprecision and a general lack of scientific focus: "If Mr. Accum were as accurate and perspicuous as he is industrious, his services to the science of chemistry would be less equivocal....the author has...tried to give [his work] such 'a popular form' as to place it 'within the reach even of those who are unacquainted with the principles of chemical science.' This...seems equally sagacious with that of teaching language without grammatical rules, or mathematics without a knowledge of arithmetic."¹⁴⁴ Similarly, his critics accused Accum of exaggerating the problem of "Death in the Pot" and scaring the public. His claims could further harm sales. One reviewer in 1820 wrote: "Mr. Accum certainly advances some weighty charges, and his work comes with an advantage in bearing a name not unknown to the scientific world. Of the adulterations specified, some are deleterious, and others merely fraudulent."¹⁴⁵

Other critics and members of the public however appreciated his discovery and dissemination of basic knowledge to protect oneself from the harms of the modern food industry. One endorsement read: "The money that is often laid out in the purchase of

¹⁴³ See, for example: Friedrich Christian Accum, *Chemical Amusement: Comprising a Series of Curious and Instructive Experiments in Chemistry, Which Are Easily Performed, and Unattended by Danger*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Boys, 1818). See also: Andrea Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England: A History* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007), 117.

¹⁴⁴ "A Practical Essay on Chemical Re-agents or Tests; illustrated by a Series of Experiments. By Frederick Accum, Operative Chemist," *The Augustan Review*, XVIII (October 1816): 420.

¹⁴⁵ Advertisement for: "Of Accum's Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons," *The British Review*, XXIX, p.171," in Accum, *A Treatise on the Art of Making Wine*, i.

cookery books....might...be much better expended upon a book like the present; every page of which gives warning of some danger, of which we ought all to be aware.”¹⁴⁶

In its third edition by its fourth year, *Accum's Practical Treatise on the Use and Application of Chemical Tests* was to equip the lay *curioso* at the periphery of the scientific community to determine the degree of adulteration of their own foods. This popular appeal that Accum aimed at—and apparently achieved quite well—included the cover design of his *Treatise on Adulteration*. A description of it reads:

...a death's head emblazoned upon a pall...supported by the point of a dart. ...[t]welve serpents, with forked tongues and tails entwined, form a terrific wreath around; while the middle is occupied with a large cobweb....in the centre of which a spider...so frightful that more than one young lady of our acquaintance would think it necessary to scream at the sight of it, holds in its envenomed fangs an ill-fated fly...sinking under the loss of blood, and buzzing in the agonies of death.¹⁴⁷

For the time, the near-gothic set up of the design might have sat next to its contemporary *Frankenstein* on a British middling book shelf. The motto of the work read “*There is death in the pot,*” and certainly this admonition was to bring Accum's own cookbook to mind as a guide on how to entirely avoid the risk of death and poison by home-making meals and bread, but also wine and beer, with home-tested staple ingredients such as flour, salt, and sugar.¹⁴⁸ Accum, despite reaching the public, had a ruined reputation by 1821, which forced him into exile, and forced the topic of

¹⁴⁶ Accum, *A Treatise on the Art of Making Wine*, viii.

¹⁴⁷ Accum, *A Treatise on the Art of Making Wine*, i.

¹⁴⁸ On the subsequent popularization of food adulteration knowledge in Britain, see: Rebecca F. Stern, “‘Adulterations Detected’: Food and Fraud in Christina Rossetti's ‘Goblin Market.’” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57, no. 4 (2003): 477–511.

adulteration underground again for decades.¹⁴⁹ Later discussions credited the policies brought about by famous health reformer Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890) for raising awareness in the 1830s, and British physician Arthur Hill Hassal (1817-1894) with being the “most important catalyst to reform,” leading to “real enforcement” of the Food, Drink, and Drugs Act in the 1870s.¹⁵⁰

The adulterations enumerated by Accum in his report were virtually replicated in the reports regarding the adulteration of foods in Germany in discussions and addendums from 1879 in kind, content, and even structure one to one.¹⁵¹ Despite objections to Accum’s work, his studies raised public awareness in Britain in the 1820s and 1830s, and served as the primary basis for the German so-called Food Purity Laws from 1879, or *Nahrungsmittelgesetze*: structurally, ideologically, and in terms of its aim to argue for an unacceptable degree of adulteration in common (and particularly imported luxury) foods.

German parliamentary discussions for the law were also highly informed of the legal situation in their neighboring countries, including France, the Netherlands, the US, and Britain, leading to one of the earliest modern food laws to regulate food components worldwide. In part, this information served to regulate imports from these areas, in cases where the German regulation for foods was stricter, yet it also served as argumentative basis for bringing about the act of 14 May 1878, with the argument that Germany was the last one to catch on to the trend, thus bringing about what was potentially the most thorough piece of food legislation for its time with little compassion for the economic

¹⁴⁹ P. J. Atkins, “Sophistication Detected: Or, the Adulteration of the Milk Supply, 1850-1914,” *Social History* 16, no. 3 (1991): 318-9.

¹⁵⁰ Broomfield, *Food and cooking in Victorian England*, 118.

¹⁵¹ Compare: Fennema and Tannenbaum, “Introduction,” 5, and “Entwurf eines Gesetzes über den Verkehr mit Nahrungsmitteln, Genussmitteln und Gebrauchsgegenständen (I) Abt. 233/13629 Jahr 1877 bis 1878, Vol. 1. Bundesrath No. 1333. Session von 1878/1879. Berlin, den 3 Dezember 1879, Anlage A. pages 30-81.

losses some industrialists could make in the process. Petitions to delay the law fell on deaf ears, while new information reached the ministries on new technologies for falsifying and testing; the commission was busy between 1888 and 1894.¹⁵² While this implies that the problem of adulteration did not disappear once the law was established, “falsifiers” being creative—for example, coloring their sausages and mince meats in later years—the empire had an active and functional legal, political, scientific and enforcing infrastructure to counteract it.¹⁵³

Marketing, in turn, responded by developing their food-substitutes as separate, desirable products with the major selling point of being cheaper. Like the above-mentioned examples of margarine and skimmed milk, first used to stretch more valuable products of butter and whole milk, saccharin at the time met consumers as a “cheaper” alternative to sugar, that was conveniently “five-hundred times sweeter,” meaning, one needed less of it, and spent less as a result. While the law would not permit stretching without labeling, or the sales of such products as counterfeit, industrial lobbying and petitioning continued throughout the 1890s regarding maximization of profits, minimization of losses, and lax regulations on foods and their packaging.

¹⁵² E.g. Nr. 101 Bundesrath Session von 1897, Berlin den 30. September 1897, “Anweisung zur chemischen Untersuchung von Fetten und Käse,” pp1-22, with diagrams, and notes on Schmelztemperaturen. In BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 13632.

¹⁵³ “Denkschrift über das Färben der Wurst sowie des Hack- und Schabefleisches, Ausgearbeitet im Kais. Gesundheitsamt, Berlin im October 1898,” 1-26, in BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 13632. See 18 convictions, pages 24-26.



Figure 17. Advertisement for Saccharin, 1893.¹⁵⁴

Health Concerns:

The Class System of Hospital Food

Hospital Meals in Heidelberg, 1891

Among the main buyers of Liebig's meat-extract "for the strengthening of the sick" were hospitals. Quality and nutrition were however not the only, or even the primary criteria for determining the diet of either patients or personnel. Status trumped nutritional understandings as a key political and social priority in institutions whose main aim was to cure and provide health-support.

¹⁵⁴ FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619, (9 September 1893), 288.

Patients at the Academic Hospital of Heidelberg between 1891 and 1894 ate according to meal plans organized by class: first, second, or third. First class enjoyed a three course meal at lunch with a first course of soup with rice or dumplings, followed by a main course of game, roasts, or fish, with sides of cauliflower or potatoes, finalized with “cake, compote” or else imported fruits like “oranges.”¹⁵⁵ Clear meat broth or tapioca soup, at the time often enjoyed at the Prussian court as well, were staples on the first class’s meal plan.¹⁵⁶ The second class’ meal plan, interestingly, was at times the same as that of the “assistants,” suggesting that the doctors may have eaten the well-designed plans of their first-class patients.¹⁵⁷ This included “rice soup” for starters, followed by beef, pork, or veal roasts with asparagus, peas, or cauliflower and potatoes, but no dessert, and “schnitzel with salad,” “stuffed veal breast with salad” or “tea and cold cuts” for dinner—the latter being admittedly a somewhat odd combination of items.¹⁵⁸ The third class meal plan, by comparison, lacked even more inspiration or specificity, listing “soup,” “meat,” “sauerkraut,” and “pasta” or “mash” with no mention of styles or sauces in somewhat ad hoc combinations aiming for starch and meat, with very few vegetables and no fruits mentioned throughout the week.¹⁵⁹ Their “meat” was usually limited to pork, unspecifically noted down as such (“Fleisch”), or as “sausage,” with a veal Sunday roast that, as discussed above, policy regarded as a meat of low nutritional value.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ BWGLAK: 235 Nr. 30216, “Speisezettel für Patienten I. Cl. Für die Woche vom 5-11 April 1891.”

¹⁵⁶ Ibid; New Palais on the 24th of August 1878, the Hohenzollern enjoyed a “consommé au tapioca” as part of a 8 course meal. GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 6.

¹⁵⁷ BWGLAK: 235 Nr. 30216, “Speisezettel für Patienten I. Cl. Für die Woche vom 5-11 April 1891.”

¹⁵⁸ BWGLAK: 235 Nr. 30216, “Speisezettel für Patienten I. Cl. Für die Woche vom 28 Juni-4 Juli 1891.”

¹⁵⁹ BWGLAK: 235 Nr. 30216, “Speisezettel für Patienten III. Cl. Für die Woche vom 5-11 April 1891.”

¹⁶⁰ BWGLAK: 235 Nr. 30216, “Speisezettel für Patienten III. Cl. Für die Woche vom 4-10 Oktober 1891.”

Much in imitation of Bock's logic above, that meat and starch provided all the nutrition a human could need, dinner often consisted of a meat with a starchy mash, such as "flour mash," "rice mash," or "grits." Assuming that the daily soup with every luncheon contained some vegetables, four salads per week provided vital raw food a third class patient could access.¹⁶¹ In contrast, not a day went by where the first class did not consume either vegetables, salad, compote, or fresh fruit.¹⁶² In this sense, first class eating imitated the structure and composition of courts,¹⁶³ third class diet consisted of starch and pork, while second class diets pecked from both above and below.

When comparing this to the meal plans of agrarian workers in the early decades of the century at Maisenhälden,¹⁶⁴ not much had changed. Starch remained the primary filler for the working classes—however, now with the crucial addition of the cheapest kind of meat, pork, as a scientifically and medically endorsed product allegedly crucial for the maintenance of human physiology. Striking in this analysis is how deeply entrenched a three tier class system was in the feeding plan of patients as well as personnel at a medical institution. Further, while doctors ate like the first class, and assistant doctors like the second class, nurses were asked to eat according to the third class meal plan. This caused problems.

The administrators of the Heidelberg Academic Hospital in 1886 offered their administrative and service personnel five meals in one day—along with corresponding breaks. Note that, unlike in more productive environments, like factories, which might limit the number of breaks and reduce the number of meals to heighten productivity, the

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² BWGLAK: 235 Nr. 30216, "Speisezettel für Patienten 1. Cl. Für die Woche vom 28 Juni-4 Juli 1891."

¹⁶³ See Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁴ See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Heidelberg hospital did indeed provide their personnel with much economical bread, and some coffee, yet, with some addition of “salad or vegetables” and “meat,” five eating breaks, and controlled prices, seems to have had their well-being in mind as well: in itself, a political statement.¹⁶⁵ Coffee with milk and sugar were standard items for the 7am breakfast table of the hospital staff. At 10am a cup of broth or buttered bread followed. Lunch at 1pm consisted of bread, meat soup, vegetables and meat “until a point of satiation”—mostly ox or veal. 4pm coffee and a buttered bread was finally followed by a dinner at 7.30pm consisting of meat soup, meat, salad or vegetables, and bread.¹⁶⁶ Lunch was the main meal of the day, not dinner, meaning the slower working time just after the main meal remained part of the work-day of the personnel, who spent a long time at work—at least twelve hours, from 7 am at breakfast time, to roughly 8pm when dinner ended.¹⁶⁷ To compare: Lunch cost 1.20 to 1.80 M, and Dinner 0.80 M.

Much like workers at Maisenhälden early in the century, hospital staff also had to pay for extra foods and snacks at the hospital canteen. Breakfast cost 40 Groschen, dinner 80, a sandwich 30 to 35 depending on the topping, an egg 10, and a cup of coffee with a roll 15 groschen. Lunch without dessert cost 1 mark 60 groschen, with a further 20 cents for a dessert with wine featuring as an additional charged option on the menu.¹⁶⁸

Personnel received, as part of their wages, up to a liter of wine or beer a day, irrespective

¹⁶⁵ Corinna Treitel, “Food Science/Food Politics: Max Rubner and ‘Rational Nutrition,’” in *Food and the City in Europe since 1800*, eds. P. J Atkins, Peter Lummel and Derek J. Oddy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 51-61; Ulrike Thoms, “Industrial Canteens in Germany, 1850-1950,” in *Eating out in Europe: Picnics, Gourmet Dining, and Snacks since the Late Eighteenth Century*, eds. Marc Jacobs and Peter Scholliers (Oxford: BERG, 2003), 351-372.

¹⁶⁶ BWGLAK: 235.30216.

¹⁶⁷ 5. June. 1876, Lunch and Dinner at the Prussian Court. Lunch consisted of six courses and eight dishes, while dinner consisted of ten courses, and fifteen dishes. Compare and contrast the dinner and lunch menus in: GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 24. (lunch) and BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 11. (dinner).

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

of their position¹⁶⁹. Only in 1911 did the administration begin to replace the alcoholic beverages with sparkling water and lemonade. Yet, it also means that hospital personnel lived and operated under a very slight influence.

Young women who wanted to learn to be nurses were renting at the hospital, and eating there too, and had to pay for both, rent for a year costing 84 marks. Being dependent on the hospital for their food supplies as they worked long hours, in May 1910 the nurses petitioned the Ministry for Culture and Education to improve their provisions, emphasizing that “the meal plan was often not followed, the quantity served was too small, the preparation of the food careless, the soups not provided as specified, and including sausage far too many times per week,” with a general monotony. The commission responded with the promise of increases in controls. However, the commission emphasized that “to feed the nurses according to the [meal plan] of the second class [patients] seemed hardly necessary or desirable. Instead, their food should be based on the common [third class meal plan] and called ‘Nurses’ food,’ to preempt potential conflicts over hierarchy [“Rangstreitigkeit”].” “At the same time,” the commission went on “to propose that the matrons receive the same food as the assistant doctors.” To quote their meticulous class analysis: “It is as wrong that nurses should eat [exactly as the] third class, as that matrons should eat first class. When assistant doctors and matrons receive the same food cooked especially for them, and the nurses another one provided to them, then, order is made.”¹⁷⁰

One cannot call healthcare egalitarian by any means. Both among doctors, assistant doctors, nurses, and their supervisors, as well as among the first, second, and third class

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. Abschrift, 12. Dezember 1911. “Die Getränkeablösung betreffend.” The source recommends replacing some wine and beer with sodawater and lemonade (“Sodawasser oder Limonade”).

¹⁷⁰ BWGLAK: 235.30216.

patients, roughly mimicking the three tier system excoriated by the contemporary Marx, hierarchy was a crucial topic in work and care, further stratified by gender. Doctors ate first class, assistant doctors and matrons second class, nurses much like the third class. Health was not the primary concern for these provisions, but hierarchy—“Rang,” as the commission called it—overruling both taste and arguably nutritional need, leaving veal and pork to the working ailing. In essence, medicine was not immune to social needs for stratification by class and gender, with women’s working and consuming subordination endorsed irrespective of health concerns.¹⁷¹

While in the previous decades public kitchens seemed near-gender-neutral spaces, and the cookbook genre a strikingly egalitarian, courteous literary form that addressed its readers with politeness and goodwill, by 1880, rhetoric radically shifts. For the first time, assumed gender roles are externalized, vocalized, made explicit with such overtness and vehemence, that an assumed divergence appears to have preceded it—one that the cookbook genre however never as such displayed. Authors such as Hedwig Albrecht writing in Dresden in 1898, for example, insisted that “it is firstly the wife and mother’s task to maintain her family’s health and wellbeing through nutritious and strong diet.”¹⁷² “Men” argues Hedwig “are ever working,” “modern life demanding ever so much of them,” and children are “dedicated to their school studies”; she loses no word over female work. The idea that all women are workers, as Schandri had professed in earlier decades, disappears. On the contrary: actual female workers, “cooks and maids,” are

¹⁷¹ Thoms also finds dietary class differentiation in the hospital Wenzel-Hanckesch (1877-1912) at Breslau. Ulrike Thoms, “Krankenhauskost zwischen ärztlicher Therapie und administrativer Sparpolitik,” in *Die Revolution am Esstisch: neue Studien zur Nahrungskultur im 19.-20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Munich: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 226-227.

¹⁷² WOK: HG.Alb.1898, 3.

“very disinterested” in their employer’s health or budget plans.¹⁷³ Other authors highlight in their work that their instruction “is particularly recommended to young girls...who are as yet free of modern anti-nature and value the beautiful profession of an industrious housewife more highly than toilette and society.”¹⁷⁴ In works such as these, “instruction” lies in the hands of “estate-kitchen educated” men with “experience” cooking for public kitchens for many years.¹⁷⁵ Further, with titles such as “Middle Class Cookbook,” from 1876 such insistence on order were made explicit.¹⁷⁶

Modern Reaction to Modernity:

Vegetarianism, the Kneipian Way of Living, and Supplements

Modernity is reflexive. Moderns are aware of change, and make efforts to counteract it. To grapple with modernity, in essence, is part of modernity itself. With the advent of ready meals, extracts, and many illegal substitutes modifying or adulterating their foods, as contemporaries perceived—even hospitals not catering according to the criteria reaching households through popular publications—reactions followed quickly in the form of grass-roots movements seeking to reclaim the natural food of eras gone by, before the time of industrialization.

¹⁷³ WOK: HG.Alb.1898, 4.

¹⁷⁴ FUBEG: Math 8° 01466/10, iv.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, iv.

¹⁷⁶ WOK: HG.All.1876.

Vegetarianism

Those quite thoroughly breaking with established cuisine included vegetarians. Rather than reifying or adapting the well-known menu structure, with its forming power over dishes, ingredients, and their combination in the middling home, authors of vegetarian cookbooks attempted to construct a new cuisine from scratch, building on elemental categories of nature, rather than on traditional or historic categories of cuisine. They did not organize their works as many other cookbooks did, according to “soups,” “roasts,” “salads” and “sides,” with “desserts” and “cheeses” following. Instead, their categories were potatoes, vegetables, bread, legumes, flour, dairy, and egg-dishes, drinks and soups, sauces, fruit, and juices.¹⁷⁷ Entirely opposite to general discourses, such works warned of the high contents of “nitrogen” in bread, legumes, flour, milk and egg-dishes, defining them as ingredients such that only people with “much exercise outside or who work by nature of their profession may eat these about three times per week.”¹⁷⁸ Further vegetarian cookbook authors such as E. Hering, Chairperson of the German Vegetarian Union—an association of approximately 1500 members—in 1900 advocated a reduction of stimulants, including strong spirits, much salt, and a high use of fat, guided by a refusal to use products gained by “killing animals” and a recognition of the human digestive disposition.¹⁷⁹ Vegetarian groups could eat at vegetarian restaurants, were organized and coordinated with journals such as *Die Vegetarische Rundschau Monatschrift für naturgemäße Lebensweise*, and led by principles such as

¹⁷⁷ FUBEG: N 8° 02758.

¹⁷⁸ FUBEG: N 8° 02758.27.

¹⁷⁹ WOK: HG.Weil.1900, 1, iv.

those in *Die harmonische Lebensweise* by vegetarian leader Maximilian Klein.¹⁸⁰

Der

Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund

bildet den Sammelpunkt aller deutsch redenden Vegetarier. Er nimmt ordentliche und außerordentliche Mitglieder auf. Er hat das Recht einer juristischen Person. Wer Genaueres über ihn erfahren will, verlange die Satzung desselben.

Adresse:

Deutscher Vegetarier-Bund (jurist. Person)
Leipzig.

Der Deutsche Vegetarier-Bund besitzt ein eigenes Organ,
die

Vegetarische Warte,

welche monatlich in Stärke von etwa 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Bogen erscheint. Sie orientiert eingehend über alle Vorgänge auf dem Gebiete des Vegetarismus und der naturgemäßen Gesundheitspflege. Namentlich teilt sie die Erfahrungen mit, welche die Einzelnen mit dieser und jener Einrichtung gemacht haben. Über die Küche und das Kochen bringt sie ausführliche Mitteilungen.

Mitglieder des Deutschen Vegetarier-Bundes erhalten die Vegetarische Warte gratis direkt zugestellt.

Man verlange Probenummer von der Expedition der Vegetarischen Warte, Leipzig, oder von

Th. Grieben's Verlag (L. Fernau), Leipzig.

Druck von Gustav Franke, Gütlich a. S.

Figure 18. "The German Vegetarian Union," 1900.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ FUBEG: N 8° 02758, back. Also in: Treitel, *Eating Nature in Modern Germany*, 154; 63, 62.

¹⁸¹ WOK: HG.Weil.1900, 196.



Figure 19. Cover of “The Harmonious Way of Living”¹⁸²

Critiquing contemporary trends in food production and the larger eco-social context in which it was situated, Klein can be defined as an eco-socialist *avant la lettre*. He critiqued “the economic-social situation” he saw, wherein “the large mass of the people is mostly red and sick. A fundamentally wrong mode of production dominates and the non-sensical waste in public as well as private life, tied to the pleasure-addition of our time.”¹⁸³ Besides moral depravity, and a loss of self-discipline, Klein called for a romantic education of taste, “an aesthetic sense,”¹⁸⁴ and a better treatment of animals, condemning the “heinous wrongdoings” (“*abscheulich*” and “*Schandtaten*”) against them, abolishing their slaughter, their boiling alive, testing on live animals without any “humanity” or “compassion” for the improvement of humanity’s “health, social, and

¹⁸² FUBEG: N2708.

¹⁸³ FUBEG: N2708, 3.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

moral-aesthetic” situation.¹⁸⁵ Here, Klein may be drawing on the ideas of animal rights and anti-vivisection movements active from early in the century, and formalized with the Society for Animal Protection in 1884 in Cologne.¹⁸⁶ Vegetarianism would achieve “a reconciliation between nature and culture,” improving on not only human health physically, but reforming humans’ place in the world at large.¹⁸⁷ His definition of vegetarianism was thus not only tied to diet in the sense of food, but demanded “bodily care” and “spiritual” care in a holistic approach leaning on Greek humoral precedent as well as Eastern influences.¹⁸⁸ Klein cited various spiritual figures as examples to imitate in life-style, including Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, as well as Buddha, Zoroaster, and Confucius, besides philosophers and poets from Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Sophocles, Epicurus and the Stoics, Ovid, Plutarch and Seneca, Porphyrius, Musonius, as well as Rousseau and Voltaire, Byron and Shelley—finally, Albrecht von Haller and Richard Wagner.¹⁸⁹ Besides the humoral, and romantic influences on Klein, an Enlightenment idealization of “the savage” further inspired his work, praising, for example the “beautiful aborigines of Australia” who, Klein reported, lived on a mostly vegetarian diet.¹⁹⁰ His work was a book-length exposition on the benefit of vegetarianism, the health risks of eating meat, and the negative environmental impact of meat-eating.

Pushback came from scientists who argued against the moralization of animal butchering, used human physiology as proof for the need of an omnivorous diet, and

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Verband der Tierschutzvereine des Deutschen Reiches, *Satzung des Verbandes der Tierschutzvereine des Deutschen Reiches e.V. gegründet am 24. September 1884* (Köln, 1930); *Anzeigeblatt der Ornithologischen Monatsschrift* des Deutschen Vereins zum Schutze der Vogelwelt, N.2 (Kommissions-Verlag der Creutschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893), viii.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 5.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 6.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 7.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 14.

warned against the deficiencies of vegetarianism, including “blood poverty,” damage to the “nervous system,” rheumatisms, kidney stones, clogging of arteries with calcium carbonate, and weakened immune systems.¹⁹¹ Analyzing the various kinds of vegetarianism of his time, the medical doctor Axel Winckler argued in his 1891 dissertation that vegetable eaters, bible-vegetarians, vegetarians for health reasons, those out of poverty, and those in access impasses, overdid what could be a beneficial, temporary practice for healing-purposes.¹⁹² Particularly the high levels of calcium carbonate in vegetables and, “tragically, in eggs—which vegetarianism allows!” Winckler identified as a danger to the vegetarian.

Kneipp: A “Sensible” Way¹⁹³

Catholic priest Sebastian Kneipp (1821-1897), well-known even today in Germany as a health-reformer, criticized the prices of medicines in apothecaries, and advocated that all one could need, the good Lord has supplied in nature.¹⁹⁴ His medicine cabinet consisted of herbal extracts and tinctures, teas, powders, and oils.¹⁹⁵ Advocating the value of “healing herbs”¹⁹⁶ arnica, aloe and camphor, still popular plants in contemporary German health care, Kneipp claimed to be catering to the needs of the poorest, who could not afford the medical products of the pharmaceutical vendors of their time. Chiming in on the “ongoing debate between scholars and non-scholars: ...meat or vegetables?” Kneipp argued humans should eat both and all in moderation.¹⁹⁷ His three categories of food,

¹⁹¹ FUBEG: Diss. Med 8°922(13), i.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ “Vernünftige naturgemäße Ernährung,” Hagenmiller, *Die Wörishofer Küche*, v.

¹⁹⁴ FUBEG: N3590, 113. Also: Hagenmiller, *Die Wörishofer Küche*, v.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 113.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 112, 118, 121, 137; Hagenmiller, *Die Wörishofer Küche*, vi.

¹⁹⁷ FUBEG: N 80 03590/01 (01), 59.

however, Kneipp organized according to nitrogen-content: “the nitrogen-rich” such as milk, cheese, legumes and meat, “the nitrogen-poor,” including grains, potatoes, vegetables and fruit, and finally “the nitrogen-free,” which he defined as fats and oils. The first class of foods was for children, convalescents, and the hard-working, as the “sedentary body” could not digest these foods.¹⁹⁸ Kneipp warned of the adulteration of drinks such as beer, and condemned coffee as a “poison plant” whose effect of “taking the milk and bread” one had with it “out of the body again” along with its nutrients caused “blood poverty.”¹⁹⁹ Its stimulating properties on the nerves, exactly like tea and chocolate, Kneipp continued, “shortened the lifespan and make it miserable” and should make coffee be called “the killer of men.”²⁰⁰

Apparently aiming to improve the health of the poorest, Kneipp’s works equipped his readers with basic knowledge on plants and their uses as a virtually cost-free alternative to those provided by the medical establishment. Combining common sense with safe instructions for providing basic care at home, if one could read and afford to purchase his books, Kneipp’s ideas provided a surprisingly straight-forward, middle way among the debates of the time—despite his disapproval of coffee—of an intuitiveness that rings plausible to date. Given this plausibility, it may well be surprising that Kneipp remains such a famous German figure in Germany, his name today guiding spa weekends, and selling wellness teas, though water cures predated him by millennia (the with Greeks) and centuries (with the English baths). It may well be that the increased attention this priest attracted during the *Kulturkampf* recommended him to the pope,

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 61-71.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 79.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 80.

leading to his invitation to the Vatican and his naming as prelate, that contributed to his name and his intuitive prescriptions becoming so long-lived.²⁰¹



Figure 20. “Wild Strawberry” in Kneipp’s Pflanzen-Atlas, 1894²⁰²

²⁰¹ Julien de Narfon, *Pope Leo XIII: His Life and Work* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1899), 147; Alfred Baumgarten, *Sebastian Kneipp: Biografie* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2017), 128.

²⁰² FUBEG: Math 8° 1139/3 Tab.XIV.



Figure 21. “Sage” in Kneipp’s Pflanzen-Atlas, 1894²⁰³

Based on the “Kneippean Way of Life,” doctor’s wife in Munich Korntheuer wrote in her cookbook from 1892 that a healthy diet included “more foods from the plant- than the animal-kingdom,”²⁰⁴ and provided a work that would guide the healthy middling in ways both sensible and theologically sound, as well as tied to the medical establishment. Aiming for the balance Kneipp advocated, yet maintaining the essential middling style needed for distinction, Korntheuer’s work included a separate section for “Vegetables” and various recipes for vegetable soups, however, the work as such and the recipes it contained maintained the structure from early in the century: one that began with a soup,

²⁰³ Ibid, Tab.V.

²⁰⁴ WOK: HG.Kor.1895, 3.

then considered a meat or fish portion of a dish as central for the main course with a potential starch, and a dessert, many of the dishes themselves being well-known since 1800. “Boeuf à la mode,” “roast hare,” “beefsteak with oven-roasted potatoes,” or “fish with potatoes and endives” count among some of the recipes that would have been equally often encountered in the 1800s or 1810s.²⁰⁵ These dishes, in turn, still held remnants of the many-coursed menu logic of the former era: while the menu of the middling health-concerned home might now actively try to include a side of vegetables for a somewhat different reason than before (health, rather than cost), and reduce the number of courses of the main meal of the day now eaten at lunch-time rather than at dinner²⁰⁶ to three, the core of middling dining remained the same.

Kneippean cooking, similarly to vegetarian cooking, abandoned former menu-structures (especially the *service à la Russe*), maintaining popular designs (ragout, fricassees), replacing former dish-divisions with a changing logic.²⁰⁷ Rather than organizing foods according to dishes, themselves structured by service-style, Kneippean cookbook author and restaurant owner Agathe Hagenmiller organized foods in 1897 by their function on one three-course luncheon dish, with coffee-time, salads, and supper as separate reference points: soups of various kinds, vegetables, then meat, fish, egg or flour, sweet-flour mains, sweet desserts, cakes, pastries, ice-cream, jams and compôts, finally salads and cold dishes.²⁰⁸ The logic of eating changed among those seeking “sensible natural eating.”²⁰⁹ However, while Kneippean consumers reorganized their conceptions of foods, their aspiration for style and distinction did not entirely disappear:

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 7-8.

²⁰⁶ WOK: HG.Lam.1908, Section 51.

²⁰⁷ Hagenmiller, *Die Wörishofer Küche*, 337-338.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 338-353.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, v.

thus, recipes for “fake oysters” made, as in mid-century, of veal-brains, remained in Kneipian cookbooks.²¹⁰

Despite all appearance of innovation, therefore, style did not entirely disintegrate. A middling consumer in this time could apply contemporary health ideas and integrate them into their cuisine, without losing out on appearance or class. Such popular recipe categories as “soups,” “sauces,” “roasts,” “salads,” “compotes,” and “preserved fruit,” remained.²¹¹ For larger dinners, or special occasions, in turn, the many-course menus of the earlier decades of the century stayed identical, at times reduced to six courses or meals of nine dishes.²¹² A work or two, such as *Löffler-Bechtel’s Great Illustrated Cookbook* from 1897 would continue to press the odd fifteen-course meal consisting of eighteen dishes still in use at courts.²¹³ It may well be, however, that vegetarians, Kneipian consumers, and others seeking natural foods did much to aid the image of the potato in this era. As a cheap, starchy vegetable, the former animal-fodder root unpopular in Bavaria before 1848, became an increasingly attractive option that grew acceptable on the middling plate by 1900.²¹⁴

Both vegetarianism—its more radical cousin veganism more closely discussed by other scholars—and the Kneipian turn to nature represent modern reactions to modernity.²¹⁵ They are reflexive personal technologies to tackle food changes, given that production and preparation of foods is no longer in the hands of the middling household. If the modern consumer cannot control production and processing—even through

²¹⁰ Ibid, 85.

²¹¹ Ibid, 237-269.

²¹² Ibid, 309-313.

²¹³ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, 1164.

²¹⁴ See also Chapter 5.

²¹⁵ Fritzen, *Gemüseheilige*.

regulation—in a manner that satisfies their health or identity concerns, a selective matrix must carry out that function. By selecting foods according to certain criteria, the middling and lower middling of the industrializing German lands sought to regain control over their food. Given that at this stage purchasing rather than preparation would have come to the fore of household supplying, as employing maids and cooks became a luxury for the grande middling and urban elites, the middling had to redefine themselves as consumers who wielded their power over industry through the law and their shop purchases. This action in itself represents a way of navigating, situating oneself, and attempting to direct the course of change. That vegetarians and vegans were willing to sacrifice some elite tradition on the way is in itself remarkable, however, we must note that this movement, historically significant as it was, did not reform all of the German middling, whose meat-consumption in this era rose, rather than declined.²¹⁶

Supplements

Craving better nutrition, irrespective of dietary orientation and attitudes towards industry, however, was a phenomenon across the board of society. The market for supplements developed significantly in the 1890s, leading to various so-called “strengthening substances,” many of which promised to “form blood”—one of the main aims of any food. “Hämatogen, Somatose, Nutrose, Leguminoson, Peptonen,” and “Hygiama” as well as “Eucasin” and “Diastase” counted among some of the main products claiming to contain more nutrients than chocolate, and be better for the ailing, weak, or healthy than tea or coffee in 1897. These “nourishing substances” (“Nährmittel,” Figure 22, 23 and 26) were praised for their relative cost-effectiveness as their protein content attempted to

²¹⁶ Teuteberg, *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten*, 118.

rival Liebig's meat-extract—Brunnengräber's "Sterilized Meat Juice" for example (Figure 25).

Such supplements were to some extent advertised not only at women, but for women, defining "anaemic adiposity" as a particularly feminine problem (Figure 24, "Eucasin"). As mentioned before, denying someone food is a way of denying their right to live.²¹⁷ Recommending that "women" do not eat, but instead drink a supplementary substitute to reduce their physical presence, was quite akin in the last decades of the nineteenth century to reducing their political, economic, social, and cultural import. This was far from unexpected, given the reactions to increased emancipation in preceding decades, and the parallel developments in Austria-Hungary at the same time.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ See Chapter 2, and Chapter 5.

²¹⁸ Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York: Continuum, 1993).

Dr. med. Theinhardt's „Hygiama.“



Kräftigendes Getränk zum täglichen Gebrauch für Personen jeden Alters sowohl für Gesunde, als auch für Stärkungsbekömliches.

Für Familien das beste und nahrhaft. Frühstück-, Nachmittags- und Abendgetränk. Stärkend, leicht verdaulich u. wohlschmecklich.

Ein vollvoller, reichlich Blut und Fleisch bildender Nährstoff; angezeigt bei Nervosität, Appetitmangel, Übelkeit, Magenbeschwerden, Darmkrankheiten.

Stärkungsmittel nach Kräfteverlorenen Operationen, ebenso für verende und stillende Mütter.

Ein diätetisches Nährmittel, welches von den Ärzten für Reconvalescenten, heranwachsende Kinder, geistig Angestrengte, Kranke und Leidende warm empfohlen wird.

Vorzügliche Nahrung für solche, welche durch ihre Beschäftigung gezwungen sind, eine lange Pause zwischen den regelrechten Mahlzeiten zu machen.

Nährhafter und zuträglicher als Thee, Kaffee, Chocolate.

Eine Tasse Hygiama von ½ Liter kostet nur 7 Pfg., enthält 50% mehr Nährstoffe und doppelt soviel Kraft und Wärme bildende Bestandteile, als die gleiche Menge guter Fleischbrühe mit Öl. Letztere kostet 2 und mehr als eine Tasse Hygiama und braucht 2 Stunden zur Fertigstellung, während Hygiama in 5 Minuten zubereitet ist.

Hygiama enthält den 6 fachen höheren Gehalt an leicht verdaulichen Eiweißstoffen (den Blut- und Muskel-Eiweiß) als die besten Chocoladen.

Hygiama zeichnet sich vor Hämoglobin, Samalose, Metrosa, Leguminosen, Putman etc. durch grossen Wohlgeschmack u. Billigkeit aus.

Preis der Büchse zu 375 Gr. Netto-Inhalt zu Mk. 2, 500 „ „ 2,50

Zur gen. Beachtung! Dr. med. Theinhardt's Präparate stehen unter der Kontrolle der Nahrungsmittel-Chemiker u. vereidigten Handels-Chemiker Dr. Hundeshagen u. Dr. Philip in Stuttgart. Jeder Abnehmer ist berechnigt, die in Original-Packung befindlichen Präparate bei genannten Chemikern unentgeltlich auf die richtige, auf der Etiquette angegebenen Zusammensetzung prüfen zu lassen.

Vorräthig in den meisten Apotheken u. besseren Drogerien sonst direct Dr. Theinhardt's Nährmittel-Gesellschaft (G. m. b. H.) Cannstatt Wtbg.

Figure 22. Hygiama Advertisement, 1897²¹⁹

NUTROSE

ein neues Nährmittel
(patentirt und Name geschützt).

Dargestellt von den **Höchster Farbwerken**
in Höchst a. M.

Nutrose ist der Eiweissstoff der Kuhmilch, rein und frei von allen Beimengungen.

Nutrose hat denselben Nährwerth wie die Eiweisskörper des Fleisches.

Nutrose ist leicht löslich, leichter und vollkommener verdaulich als Fleisch.

Nutrose eignet sich zur Ernährung bei Erkrankungen des Magens und Darms.

Nutrose eignet sich zur kräftigen Ernährung von Reconvalescenten, Biechächtigen und Scrophulösen.

Nutrose eignet sich besonders zur Ernährung vor und nach Operationen im Bereich des Magen- und Darmkanals.

Nutrose ist Kindern zur Kräftigung ganz besonders zu empfehlen.

Dieses in modic. Fachorganen besprochene vorzügliche Präparat ist in Probeschachteln (à 100 gr) zum Preise von 2 Mk. durch alle Drogen- und Colonialwarenhandlungen, sowie Apotheken zu beziehen.

Figure 23. Advertisement for “Nutrose,” a “Nutriment”²²⁰

Majert & Ebers
G. m. b. H.
Fabrik chemisch-pharmaceutischer Präparate
Grünau-Berlin.

Eucasin.
— D.-R.-P. No. 84682. —

bestes und billigstes Ernährungs- und Kräftigungsmittel für Kinder, Geesende, Bleichsichtige, Magenleidende, Lungenleidende, usw. überhaupt für schwächliche, nervöse u. in der Ernährung zurückgebliebene Personen, für Typhus- u. Gichtkranke.

Von ersten Autoritäten als bester Fleischersatz bei der Behandlung der Fettsucht, speziell anämischer Fettsucht bei Frauen, empfohlen.

Reines Milchpräparat. Nährwerth: 100 Gr. Eucasin mehr als 400 Gr. Ochsenfleisch.

Käuflich in allen Apotheken u. Drogenhandlungen.

Kochrezepte für Eucasin, erprobt und verfasst von dem **Mundkoch und Küchenmeister Sr. Maj. des Deutschen Kaisers, Herrn C. Hädicke.**

Kochproben und Kochrezepte versendet die Fabrik gegen Einsendung von 40 Pfg. in Marken franco.

Eucasin-Cakes.

Aeusserst wohlschmeckendes und nahrhaftestes Gebäck. Nährwert höher, als bestes Ochsenfleisch; dabei sehr leicht verdaulich u. für den schwierigsten Magen besonders: besonders Radfahrer, Ruderer u. Touristen zu empfehlen.

Käuflich in allen Drogen-, Colonialwarenhandlungen und Conditoreien in Packeten zu 50 Pfg. Die Fabrik versendet Literatur gratis und franco.

Figure 24. Advertisement for Eucasin²²¹

Brunnengraber's
sterilisiertes Malzertract
mit Diastase

zeichnet sich durch seinen vollkommen reinen Geschmack und seine hellblonde Farbe aus, wodurch sich dasselbe eine große Beliebtheit erworben hat. Es wird weiter dargestellt:

Malzertract mit Eisen, mit Leberthran, mit Kalksalz u. f. w.

Brunnengraber's
sterilisirter Fleischsaft

nimmt unter allen ähnlichen Präparaten eine hervorragende Stellung ein. Neuzert leicht verdaulich, wohlschmeckend, anregend und vorzüglich nahrhend, ist er allen Kranken und Gesejenden, bei welchen Verdauung und Körperkräfte darüber liegen, bestens zu empfehlen. Von ärztlicher Seite vielfach angewandt.

Erhältlich in allen Apotheken.

Dr. Chr. Brunnengraber. Rostock i. M.
Fabrik chemisch-pharmaceutischer und diätetischer Präparate.

17*

Figure 25. Brunngraber's Meat Juice²²²

²¹⁹ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/22

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid, 265. Similarly: Dr. Koch's Pepton claiming to be “more nutritious than meat-extract. WOK: HG.Dav.1887.

²²² Ibid.

Figure 26. The Somatose “Nährmittel”²²³

Helfenberger
Diastase-
Malzextrakt

in Originalflaschen
zu 200 g M. 80.

durch jede Apotheke zu beziehen,
wo nicht vorrätig gehalten,
Auch direkt durch die Königl.
Hofapotheke in Dresden.

Das Helfenberger Diastase-Malzextrakt zeichnet sich aus durch seinen hohen Diastase-Gehalt und einen niederen Gehalt an Dextrin. Dasselbe ist ein ausgezeichnetes, die Verdauung unterstützendes Nährmittel.

Man achte auf Schutzmarke und
lich Helfenberger

die nebenstehende
verlange ausdrück-
Diastase-Malzextrakt.

Chemische Fabrik in Helfenberg bei Dresden
Eugen Dieterich.

Figure 27. Advertisement for Helfenberger’s Diastase, 1897²²⁴

²²³ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, xiii.

²²⁴ FUBEG: Dornblüth Math 8° 01467/22.



Figure 28. Haemakolade—the meat and plant based nutriment for speedy recovery²²⁵

Similar advertisements advocated formula for babies, toddlers, and children. Running parallel to contemporary trends in France, where Pasteur worked to guarantee the purity of milk, Dr. “Theinhardt’s Kindernahrung” and “Muffler’s sterilized Children’s Food” brought the long-lasting, grain-based supplement or even substitute for cow’s milk that was both easy to digest, even for the frailest of children, but bringing those nutrients essential for forming blood, teeth, and bones.²²⁶

²²⁵ GStAPK: IHA Rep76 VIII B Nr 3273.

²²⁶ Deborah Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Dr. Theinhardt's Kindernahrung.



DR. THEINHARDT'S
KINDERNAHRUNG

San.-Rat Prof. Dr. Biedert,
Oberarzt am Bürgerspital
in Haguenau i. Elsaass
bezeichnet.

Dr. med. Theinhardt's
lädliche Kindernahrung
als dasjenige Säuglings-Nähr-
mittel, dessen mehligte Sub-
stanz am besten von allen ver-
daut wird. In den täglichen
mikroskopisch-chemischen
Stuhluntersuchungen war
auch nicht eine Spur unver-
dauter Stärke anzufinden.

Der zweckentsprechendste Zu-
satz zur Kuhmilch, um dieselbe
in Zusammensetzung u. Wirk-
ung d. Muttermilch möglichst
ähnlich zu machen.

Eine wertvolle und voll-
kommene Nahrung f. schwäch-
liche Kinder in allen Fällen,
wo die Muttermilch mangelt,
oder eine Beinahrung nötig
ist. Entspricht voll u. ganz
den von ärztlichen Autoritäten gestellten Anforderungen an eine
rationelle, gute Säuglingsnahrung.

Schutzmittel gegen den Ausbruch und die schlimmen Folgen der Rhachitis
(mangelhaften Knochenbildung).
Besonders reich an Blut, Fleisch, Zähne u. Knochen bildenden Bestand-
teilen (siehe Analysen auf jeder Büchse).

Diätetisches Heilmittel bei Verdauungsstörungen, Brechdurchfall.
Auch von den zartesten Kindern überaus leicht verdaut.

Von angenehmem, nicht zu süßem Geschmack; wird von den Kindern
überaus gern genommen und andauernd gut vortragen.
„Sparsam im Gebrauch.“

**Durch regelmässigen längeren Genuss beste
Ernährungsergebnisse!**

In grossem Umfang in Kinderhospitälern gebraucht.

Preis der Büchse	375 Gr.	Netto-Inhalt	Mk. 1.50.
" " "	500	" " "	1.90.

Zur gef. Beachtung! Dr. med. Theinhardt's Präparate stehen unter
der Kontrolle der Nahrungsmittel-Chemiker und vereidigten Handels-
Chemiker Dr. Hundeshagen u. Dr. Philipp in Stuttgart. Jeder Abnehmer
ist berechtigt, die in Original-Packung befindlichen Präparate bei
renommierten Chemikern monatelang auf die richtige auf der Etiquette
angegebene Zusammensetzung prüfen zu lassen.

Figure 29. Dr. Thierhardt's Children's Food with idealized gender image of a caring mother²²⁷

Mufflers sterilisirte Kindernahrung

in Glasbüchsen mit
bakteriendichtem Verschluss
D. R. P. 66767.



Hat von allen Kindernährmehlen
das günstigste Verhältniss der Nähr-
stoffe untereinander, ist reich an
knochenbildenden Mineralstoffen und
von unbegrenzter Haltbarkeit.

Sie wird bei Kindern in Fällen
von Darm- und Magenerkrankungen
und in gesunden Tagen als Zusatz zur
Kuhmilch oder als ausschliessliche
Nahrung mit vorzüglichem Erfolg
angewendet.

Zu beziehen durch alle Apotheken und
Drogenhandlungen oder direkt durch
Muffler & Cie. in Freiburg i/B.

Figure 30. Muffler's sterilized Children's Food.²²⁸²²⁷ FUBEG: Dornblüth Math 8° 01467/22.²²⁸ Ibid.

Others, however, knew of the contemporary problems newborns had in digesting milk—or, even guaranteeing its quality despite legal regulations. Marie Ernst, in her *Gesundheitslehre*, compared various kinds of milk for their nutrition value: “Cow”, “Donkey,” “Woman...” Ernst advocated that “woman’s milk” was more digestible for newborns and donkey’s milk its best alternative, and warned of the dangers of spoiled or low quality milk that might cost the child its life.²²⁹ Advising further about adulteration, she listed ways of recognizing falsified or manipulated milk, and recommended boiling even sound-looking market milk more than once.²³⁰ Ernst further recommends preserved over condensed milk, given the digestive problems the latter can cause, along with its high sugar content.²³¹

	Wasser	Eiweiß	Fett	Milchzucker	Aschebestandtheile
Frauenmilch	87,09	2,48	3,90	6,04	0,49
Kuhmilch	87,41	3,41	3,66	4,82	0,70
Ziegenmilch	86,91	3,69	4,09	4,45	0,86
Schafmilch	81,63	6,95	5,83	4,86	0,73
Stutenmilch	91,59	1,93	1,22	4,69	0,57
Eselmilch	90,04	2,01	1,39	6,25	0,31

Figure 31. Nutritional Comparison of Various “Milks”²³²

It is difficult to exaggerate the profundity and speed of how industrialization changed food habits, particularly in urban areas, between mid-century and the 1890s: even the extract soon had its substitute. Soon after the invention and popularization of meat-extract, followed the yeast-extract. Liebig supposedly found that instead of using

²²⁹ FUBEG: N 8° 05190, 100.

²³⁰ Ibid, 101-103.

²³¹ Ibid, 108.

²³² Ibid, 96.

expensive meat to produce a savory taste, the same could be done with far cheaper grains.²³³ Under the name of “Würze” or “Suppenwürze”—“seasoning” or “soup condiment”—Maggi, beside their soup-flours like Knorr and their meat-extract like Liebig’s, produced powdered soups, “boullion-extracts” and their prime product in the characteristic square bottle. Similar to many other advertisers, Maggi too emphasized the value of their product for “the convalescing” whose “appetite” would be stimulated by the improved taste of any stock (Figure 32). As medieval spices lost their appeal, and French cuisine entered the middling home, industrial trends combined with them, and brought forth a new, modern kind of cuisine, with elements of French style, industrialism, and artificial “natural” tastes as consumers embraced new products, and sought eating natural foods.



Figure 32. Advertisement for Maggi, 1897.²³⁴

²³³ The discovery is generally attributed to Liebig due to his debates with Pasteur in 1858 and 1859 on fermentation and subsequent work on extracts. Eduard Buchner and Jakob Meisenheimer, “Ueber die Milchsäuregährung,” *Mitteilungen aus dem chemischen Laboratorium der Königl. Landwirtschaftlichen Hochschule zu Berlin*, *Justus von Liebig's Annalen der Chemie*, Vol. 349, No.2 (Leipzig, Winter 1906): 150-154.

²³⁴ FUEBG: Dornblüth Math 8° 01467/22. See also: WOK: Hg.Dav.1890.

Conclusion: Marketing Science and Claiming Nature for Modern Eating

Some cookbook authors at the time partnered with food industrialists, showing in their cookbooks where their prepared ingredients could complement middling home cooking. Emma Allestein in her 1898 “Beste Bürgerlich Kochbuch” partnered with “Dr. Naumann” and his helpers for sauces.²³⁵ Equally, some industrial brands skipped the partnering altogether, and brought out their own cookbooks, based on their spectrum of products. Otherwise, small leaflets slipped into cookbooks as extras, or accompanying products, proposed ways of using “Liebig’s Pudding Powder” or “Dr. Oetker’s” items. Dr August Oetker, apothecary owner, for example, had his *Grundlehren der Kochkunst* for using his “vanilla sugar,” “baking powder,” and “pudding powder.”²³⁶ Maggi did the same, as did the Heinzelmännchen company, whose main product was a cooking firebox.²³⁷ Finally, bestselling author Henriette Davidis partnered with Liebig.

²³⁵ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/18, xii.

²³⁶ WOK: HG.Lam.1908, 344; *Dr. A. Oetkers Grundlehren der Kochkunst sowie preisgekrönte Rezepte für Haus und Küche* (Dr. A Oetker, Apothekenbesitzer, Bielefeld: 1895). See also: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, “Die Begründung der Ernährungsindustrie,” in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte Und Regionale Prägung*, eds. Hans J. Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd ed. (Münster: Coppenrath, 1986), 296.

²³⁷ WOK: HG.Maggi.1900. See next chapter. WOK-HG.Mic.1910.

**Liebig's
Pudding-Pulver**

um einen vorzüglichen Pudding ohne Eier und zum halben Preis und ohne grosse Mühe zu bereiten.

Vanille-Pudding.

Gebrauchsanweisung. — Man nehme von $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter Milch oder Rahm 6 Löffel voll und mische damit den Inhalt eines Paquetchens Puddingpulver (Mandel, Vanille, Citronen, Orange, Chocolad) in einem Behälter gut durch. Sodann lasse man den Rest des $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter Milch mit $\frac{1}{2}$ Pfund Zucker kochen und giesse in dieselbe die angerührte Pudding-Mischung, rühre es einigemal gut durcheinander und lasse einmal aufwallen. Danach fülle man die Masse in die bereitstehende Form. Gut ist es, den Pudding einen Tag vor dem Gebrauch herzurichten.

— Für 4—6 Personen. —

Erdbeeren-Pudding. Ebenso wie vorstehend. Sobald die Masse anfängt steif zu werden, rühre man beim Eingiessen in die Form frische, oder trocken abgelaufene eingemachte, Erdbeeren hinzu und servire mit einer Weinsauce. Hierzu nimmt man das Puddingpulver mit Mandel oder Vanille Geschmack.

Apfelsinen-Pudding. Wird wie vorstehend bereitet, man nehme anstatt der Erdbeeren auf 2 Paq. Puddingpulver recht dünne Scheibchen von 2 kleinen Apfelsinen, welche vorher mit Zucker bestreut und in die Form gelegt waren. Man bringe hierzu Wein- oder Frucht-Sauce.

**Liebig's
Selbstthätiges Backmehl**

findet unter ge-
männigfaltigste
haben ist dasselbe
Deutschlands in
licentess-, Colonial-
Handlungen.

Mit diesem Back-
einer Stunde
das feinste Back-



schlechter Hand die
Verwendung, zu
in allen Städten
allen feineren De-
und Drogen-

mehl lässt sich in
ohne Hefe
werk bereiten.

Bisquit-Torte. Zu 1 Pfunde Backmehl nehme ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter kalte Milch, worin $\frac{1}{2}$ Pfd. Zucker, 3 Eier, die zerriebene Schale von $\frac{1}{2}$ Citronen, $\frac{1}{4}$ Pfd. zerlassene Butter, und eine Messerspitze voll Salz eingekührt ist und arbeite dies gut durcheinander. Der Teig wird dann sofort in den Ofen gebracht und ca. eine Stunde gebacken.

Mandeln und Rosinen sind nach Belieben zuzusetzen.

Sand-Torte. $\frac{1}{2}$ Pf. geschmolzene Butter, $\frac{1}{4}$ Pf. Stärkepouder (Maizena oder Oswego-Stärke), $\frac{1}{4}$ Pf. Liebig's Backmehl, $\frac{1}{2}$ Pf. Zuckerpulver, 4 Eier (das Weiss zu Schnee geschlagen), $\frac{1}{2}$ Stange Vanille, rühre gut durcheinander und backe in einer mit Zwieback ausgestreuten Form eine Stunde.

Bisquit-Pudding. $\frac{1}{2}$ Pf. geschmolzene Butter, 3 Eigelber, $\frac{1}{2}$ Pf. gem. Zucker, einige bittere Mandeln, $\frac{1}{4}$ Pf. Milch, abgeriebene Citronenschale, $\frac{1}{4}$ Pf. Liebig's Backmehl, $\frac{1}{4}$ Pf. Maizena, 3 zu Schnee geschlagene Eiweiss, fülle mit diesem Teig eine Form Dreiviertel an und kochte im Wasserbad 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Stunde.

Apfel-Torte. Man bereite aus $\frac{1}{2}$ Pfd. Liebig's Mehl mit Zucker, Butter, einem Ei und etwas Milch einen steifen Teig, rolle ihn aus, bestreue mit Zucker und Zwiebackskrumen und belege mit Apfelschnitten, welche vorher mit etwas Butter erwärmt waren. Aisdann bestreue man wieder mit Zucker, lässt braun backen und übergiesst den Kuchen mit dem folgenden Guss: Man bringt $\frac{1}{2}$ Quartier Milch mit Zucker, Citronenschale und Canehl zum Kochen, 4 Löffel Liebig's Mehl werden mit kalter Milch angerührt, in die kochende Mischung hineingothan. Nach dem Erkalten füge man 4 Eier hinzu (das Weiss zu Schaum geschlagen.) Der Kuchen muss alsdann noch 10 Minuten backen.

Liebig's Manufactory
von Meine & Liebig
Hannover.

Figure 33. Recipe Leaflet for Liebig's Pudding and Baking Powder²³⁸²³⁸ FUBEG: Techn.8 1467/17, loose leaflet.



Figure 34. Recipe Leaflet for Dr. Oetker's Recipes²³⁹



Figure 35. Loose leaflet for Dr. Oetker's "Vanilla Sugar," with Christmas recipes, 1893.²⁴⁰

To advertise a product tied to a famous scientist, doctor, or apothecary owner at this stage became a common phenomenon. Between nature and nurture, modern science and traditional forest herbs in a time of change, marketing met demands of middling nature-lovers, and integrated the idea of consuming nature into their package designs.²⁴¹ Liebig

²³⁹ FUBEG: Techn.8 1467/17, loose leaflet.

²⁴⁰ WOK: HG.Day.1893, Oetker leaflet

²⁴¹ Treitel, *Eating Nature*.

advertised his Extract with a leafy branch in 1893, responding for the demand for “natural” and scientific food at the same time. Even Kneipp himself, contrary to his zero-cost philosophy, became a brand to advertise with, inspiring books as well as products for adherents to his ideas.



Figure 36. Liebig Advertisement 1893²⁴²



Figure 37. Kneipp's Strengthening Nutrient²⁴³

²⁴² WOK: HG.Dav.1893, 6.

²⁴³ FUBEG: N 3590.

To the contemporary reader, the prevalence of phenomena we associate with our own age may seem striking. Extracts, ready meals, powdered soup, food substitutes, supplements, and reactions to industrialized food including vegetarianism and the middle path, negotiating nature and nurture to tackle the demands of the modern world, are all features of life the contemporary can experience today, read about in the media, or watch videos about on YouTube. Modern eating, in this sense, combines all these features of industrial eating, pressed upon the consumer for reasons of price, practicality, time and health, along with reactions and rejections of adulterations of foods, seeking a natural way of eating that, in the case of Germany, never truly was (see Chapter 1), but that we seek to establish with regulating policy and everyday choices—be that a choice as decided as vegetarianism.

**Chapter 5. Fin-de-Siècle Consumption in a Modern German Empire: Royal(ist)
Restaurant Culture, Kitchen Technology, and Industrial Imperialism, 1860-1900**

“And be you ever so bitchy,
your pork roast makes me happy!”

—*Lindauer Kochbuch*, 1894.¹

Modernization in the fin-de-siècle was drastic, and in the areas under Prussian control by 1871, citizens were aware of it. The population rose from 43 million in 1875 to 67 million by 1913.² Literacy rates rose from 15% in 1770 to over 90% in 1900.³ Workers and the aspiring middling flocked to growing cities, where industry rapidly developed, and caught up the good century of a head start that Britain had had, to match and supersede its speed within four decades.

The following analysis shows how slowly, from between 1860 with the move from the inn to the restaurant, and more rapidly from 1880, a growing industry now selling new kitchen technologies to those who could afford it—stoves, fridges, ice-cream makers—alongside canning, and new advertisement techniques for coffee, tea, and cocoa, sold not only identity and social hierarchy, but a shared imagery of myth, gender, and race that would grow more stratified after 1900. Just as food production came

¹ HMSS: Koch.Rie.1.

² Jürgen Kocka, “Problems of Working-Class Formation in Germany: The Early Years, 1800-1875,” in *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 292.

³ Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 5; James Retallack, *Germany's Second Reich: Portraits and Pathways* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 11.

increasingly under the control of industry, so too did identity-construction through consumption leave the hands of individual consumers. Marketing especially curated a limited palette of social types and possible identities, composed by a limited section of society. In this process, the cultural connection between food and identity preceding the age of advertising represented particularly fertile ground for late nineteenth-century marketing in the German Empire. Be it therefore the admiration for Native American deities in the Mondamin company, Egyptian symbology in Leibniz's biscuit packaging, or the portrayal of housewives in advertisements for glass jars or coffee, consumption and identity in the German Empire were as strongly intertwined as before, and increasingly visually explicit and normative. This dynamic in turn reduced the freedom of self-definition that production and culinary knowledge had previously supplied households with. The modern consumer bought an inadequate and preselected range of identities that defined the individual increasingly through purchasing power, and compensated women with post-1884 colonial imagery for the hardening domesticity of this era that outsourced the social subaltern to racial others abroad. The social middle became increasingly alienated from the degree of self-definition with which their former foodwork had equipped them. This in turn meant a reduction of the degree of influence foodworkers had enjoyed beforehand, especially in cities.

This chapter analyzes fin-de-siècle consumer culture among the German middling with emphasis on urban areas. Part one discusses the transition from inns to restaurants as of 1860 and 1870. The restaurant finally established itself in German cities like Berlin and Frankfurt, and drew very strongly on contemporary courts for its culinary culture. Mirroring court culture, restaurants allowed the middling to taste elite cuisine through

purchasing power rather than invitation, continuing to influence middling cuisine and its cooking infrastructure alongside the cookbook genre. Part two discusses the strategies for faking middling status when finances did not meet the aspirations of the middling consumer. These included a celebration of rustic culture, dependent on distinction from rural and working subalterns. Part three discusses consumer strategies for pursuing distinction, such as purchasing kitchen technologies used in royal and restaurant kitchens alongside eating higher levels of fruits and vegetables in urban areas, which lower middling and working members of the city could not afford.⁴ Variety of ingredients was the hallmark of elite, and therefore middling aspirational eating—a production need that, as part four discusses, the urban middling increasingly outsourced to markets, rather than social networks or their own production, causing financial access to gain more importance as a criterion for middlingness than before. Finally, part five analyzes marketing techniques for new products (and those not so new, but marketed as such),

⁴ We must note that the roles of the pig and the potato can be overdrawn in the history of “German” middling cuisine, as the pig was a livestock choice made for practicality until 1860, and as of then, became the only affordable meat (see also Chapter 4) for the working and lower middling members of society. The potato, in turn, did not take on a prominent place on the middling table until the end of the century, serving as a necessary staple for the lower members of society, rather than the middling seeking to imitate their social superiors. On the history of the potato in Germany, from eighteenth-century rejection, its role as animal fodder and saving grace at a time of fluctuating grain prices between 1810 and 1848, until its final wider acceptance by the 1880s, see: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, “Einführung und Nutzung der Kartoffel in Deutschland,” in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung*, eds. Hans J. Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd Ed. (Münster: Cöpppenrath, 1986), 93-134. The stereotypical combination of pork and potatoes must in essence be historicized: pork was not a quintessentially German, or well-beloved choice of meat, but a pragmatically settled-upon, lower middling substance from an animal that omnivorously ate food scraps, and provided just the right amount of meat, as opposed to cows or chickens, for a small family. An *emphasis* and celebration of either of these foodstuffs, we must place after 1900, among vegetarians, reform movements, and whole-food advisors for the potato, and political campaigns after the First World War for the pig. It is interesting to note that in the general account of Teuteberg’s study of meat-consumption in the nineteenth century, the meat-type that supported the increase in meat consumption throughout the century was indeed pork. Teuteberg shows pork consumption tripled in the century, becoming the most prominent meat by 1907. Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten unter dem Einfluß der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 122. This, alongside the knowledge that pork was the middling’s practical choice of home-reared meat pairs well with this dissertation’s account of middling identity construction through consumption in the nineteenth century. Early twentieth century preferences for pork thus emerge out of a longer history of nineteenth-century middling custom. See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

including canned fruits and vegetables, biscuits, and colonial imports—cocoa, coffee, tea, and chocolate—with Orientalizing and gendered imagery of advertisements and product packages, that, at times, also reflected a degree of curiosity or admiration of eastern cultures. I note here that large companies such as Hengstenberg, Maggi, or Dr. Oetker needed to take a varied group of consumers into account, appealing to maids, cooks, house managers, housewives, and masters of the household, who all negotiated price and quality in the home. Taking into account the findings of Chapters 3 and 4, this chapter tells not only the story of an active social middle, but of an ambiguous modernity increasingly multifarious in its political views. The degree to which industry implicitly commodified identity, in this sense, suggesting to the buyer that purchasing power was the hallmark of self-identity-making, laid groundwork for the twentieth century by recoding society in more gendered and racial terms than in the decades beforehand.

The modernity that fin-de-siècle urban restaurant culture and industry sold, this chapter argues, was increasingly peppered with potential for political aggression, even as opportunities for alternative thought remained. On the one hand consumer culture was both royal(ist), and urban, masculine and public, which—in a time supremely aware of social change, and lack of opportunities, especially for women—required new subalterns. Some portions of industry chose to outsource the imagined locus of the subaltern (or its symbolic embodiment) to the colonies, while others resisted this trend, and yet others, as the scholarship has shown, placed the subaltern with rural areas coined as backward, traditionalist, feminine, or religious.⁵ At the same time, historians such as Suzanne Marchand have shown that some members of German society in the fin-de-siècle valued

⁵ David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, (New York: Knopf, 1994).

eastern philosophy, thought, religion, mythology, or writing techniques so as to not be easily accounted for with an account of orientalism in the sense proposed by Said.⁶ Marchand has rightly emphasized the very different nature of this intellectual stream of “German orientalism” in her work on scholarly studies of the “East”—a site of learning for enriching European culture including centrally the Bible and philosophy. Even Said’s “Orientalist” critique of European trends was sure to emphasize the differences between Britain, France, and Germany in the period.⁷ In part, chronology explains this. Germany took some time in catching up with its idealized neighbors. What Britain and France had done in decades before, Germany could only imagine before 1860, and live as of the 1870s or ‘80s. Ciarlo’s work on imperial and racialized marketing techniques finds most instances after 1884, coinciding with expansionism in Africa, and above all after the heightened political consciousness regarding colonial issues after 1905.⁸ This chapter’s contribution to that discussion is therefore to show that the admiration for the imagined or discursive Orient reached as far as product marketing in the fin-de-siècle, paired with the racializing imagery also present in marketing, even as the post-1884 colonial project and political leadership after Bismarck’s relief from office in 1890 pressed the Empire towards confrontation.

⁶ Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979).

⁸ David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). See also: Geoff Eley and Bradley Naranch, *German Colonialism in a Global Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

Public Dining, 1800-1900:

From Rural Inns to Modern, Royal(ist) Restaurant Culture

Innkeepers: The Differences for Men and Women, 1800-1850

The standard form of public eatery for the middling in the German states before 1850 was the inn.⁹ This term included such establishments as hostels, taverns, hospitals, infirmaries, rest stops, lodges, cantinas, and bars.¹⁰ Inns in remote locations in the midst of scenic beauty, or else on long-established travel routes for educated bachelors or pilgrims on their way through Europe, catered to a passing clientele—travellers, soldiers—where male owners had more leverage to induce payment and had higher chances to win in legal confrontations with their masculine clientele. Alternatively, located in towns with established guests, male innkeepers served as part of local elites. Women, in both cases, suffered the disadvantage of not being able to serve as part of a local elite, and having less legal leverage in confrontations with clients.

⁹ Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, “The Rising Popularity of Dining Out in German Restaurants in the Aftermath of Modern Urbanization,” in *Eating out in Europe: Picnics, Gourmet Dining, and Snacks since the Late Eighteenth Century*, eds. Marc Jacobs, and Peter Scholliers (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 281-300.

¹⁰ In German: *Herbergen, Gasthäuser, Hospize, Hospitale, Spitale, Gastungen, Gesellenherbergen, Wirtshäuser, and Trinkstuben*. Ibid, 281-283. On the history of the tavern in early modern Europe, see: Beat A. Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty, *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

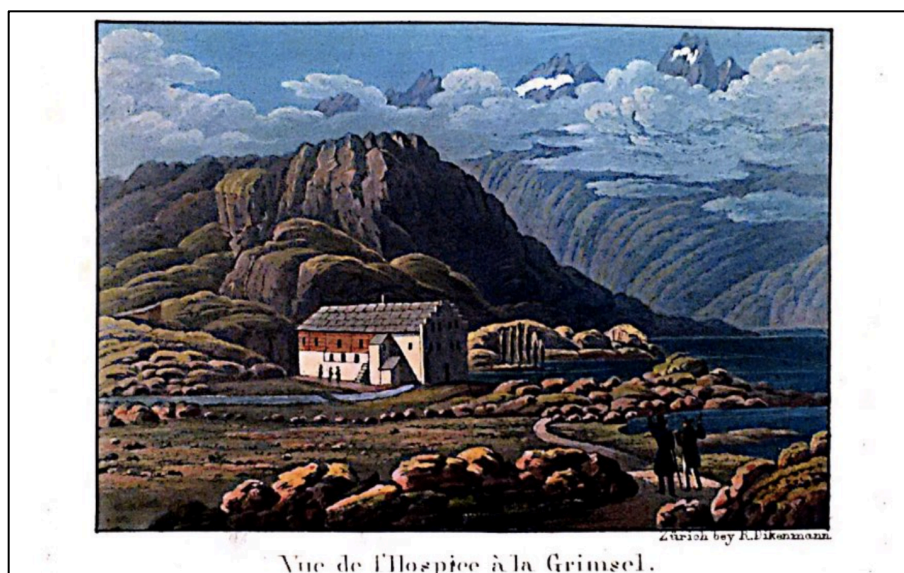


Figure 1. Remote Inn at the Grimsel Pass¹¹

Between 1800 and 1850, male inn keepers were local authorities, respected members of the town middling, using food as a stepping stone for social improvement. The local male inn-owner could be a major town figure, whose knowledge of city affairs, word, and influence could make or break another citizen's reputation. In the case of the local authorities' allegation against Joseph Bernard in 1807 in the German Southwest that he seduced a young woman, for example, Bernard makes reference to the inn owner Franz Simon Burtscher as such a main figure of local influence, able to ruin his reputation, forcing Bernard to turn to his priest for a character reference.¹²

The authority and social position of a male innkeeper rivaled that of the local spiritual leader. In extreme cases, the local inn-owner as a provider of earthly pleasures and with available financial backing, could dare to take on the spiritual leader of his community, whose profession entailed limiting the success of his pouring of brandy

¹¹ SGML: A/3086-2009, 17.

¹² SAK: StAKN : 107 : 3

during the day-time. In a case of a priest in the German Southwest in 1808, Pfarrer Banhard in Ellwangen, the inn owner in Ellwangen Joseph Anton Sauttner allegedly had said that he would pay 4-5000 fl if it rid him of the priest (an accusation he denied).¹³ That an inn-owner might have plausibly challenged the local church representative, and that the pastor thought the attack serious enough to react to it, is some indication of the leverage the inn owner held.

This type of conflict between pastors or priests and inn keepers illustrates the nature of their status. In times of hunger alcohol could threaten to increase need. Legal intervention, fairly low beyond minimal market regulations early in the century, could cause the state to stipulate a “prohibition for the production of brandy from fruits and vegetables to prevent a shortage in food”¹⁴ in the German Southwest in 1805. In September 1804 on the border to France, in which the “common man can hardly bring home his daily piece of bread,” for example, a visit to an inn for a glass of “beer or brandy” was an irresponsible and reprehensible practice that endangered “spiritual wellbeing.”¹⁵ Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, Vicar General in Constance, addressing the problem of a “drunkard” (“Süftling”) on the new testament canon, treated the “Wirtshaus” as the unfortunate alternative home for men, who went there for food, drink, and the comfort of a potential “muthwilliges Weib”, when all of the above should be provided at home. While “wife and child at home” are “in need and squalor,” the vicar treated the business owners as rivals in shaping town life. These confrontations between priests and inn-owners give a good indication of how food work writ large, and men of

¹³ SAK: StAKN : 103 : 1.

¹⁴ BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 796.

¹⁵ SAK: K 1308 18.

letters writ large, vested with economic and cultural authority, both wielded power in small town and rural middling lives.

When inn keepers were women before 1850, their social position was far more ambiguous, and their business position more precarious. The male clientele of the inn tended to objectify female personnel, including the hostess, and take advantage of their services without paying what they were due as customer. During his stay at the Hospice Grimsel in 1852, for example, a customer comments upon the attractiveness of the hostess and her sister-in-law in his travel log as “very pretty women”¹⁶—a comment he repeated at the next inn he visited as well on the following day.¹⁷ Conflicts with female innkeepers (“Wirtinnen”) were not uncommon.¹⁸

Further, female inn-owners and hostesses were more likely to be taken advantage of, and less likely to be heeded by ministries and personnel charged with debt collecting. Particularly when dealing with German men of rank or foreign troops, often widowed woman inn keepers could end up never seeing their investment again. Innkeeper widow Wichtlin in Olmütz (Olomouc), for example, who hosted two Prussian lieutenants, von Wobeser and von Frankenberg, never saw her payments. Wobeser disappeared from the army on several occasions, appearing here and there according to the ministry in Berlin, and could not be located by April 1816, when the innkeeper requested a legal ruling in her favor.¹⁹ The latter could not be found due to the commonness of his name “Frankenberg,” claimed the ministry—“a good thirty officers of his name serve in the

¹⁶ SGML: A/3086-2009, 16.

¹⁷ SGML: A/3086-2009, 21.

¹⁸ BAUL: NL 267/3/11/10.

¹⁹ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 7123, 5.

Prussian army.”²⁰ While the ministry asked for further information about the Lieutenant von Frankenberg, the widow did not pursue the matter further. Due to less literacy and less confidence than other innkeepers, and in dealing with two officers, Prussians both and of noble name, she may have had little hopes of receiving her money in the end. Similarly, innkeeper Kling in Thorn (Toruń), a widow who petitioned the return of “115 Polish florins” from Fähnrich de Matowilow (Ensign 3rd Regiment of Chasseurs) and 131 florins from Hauptmann Ougodsky (Second Captain of the Grenadiers of Ekaterinoslav) in the winter of 1815, failed to receive the payments she was due from her debtors.²¹

In contrast, male inn-owners took greater measures to minimize their losses, and often won in their confrontations with their customers. In the case of Frederick Busch against Le Huby, for example, the innkeeper knew how to help himself: he acted as french *homme de lettres* Le Huby’s banker and cash-provider for almost one year. He slept and ate at the inn, according to Busch, for 238 days. He kept various extremely detailed IOUs of the stay, had Le Huby’s signature on every sheet, itemizing the expenses he insists Huby incurred during his stay with him—various sums of “cash” [“Barem Gelde”], foodstuffs such as “bottles of wine”, “half a pound of ham,” “snuff tobacco,” but also “bills paid to the tailor,” and a “pair of shoes,” between June 1815, and February 1816.²² When Le Huby could not pay, Busch kept his and his spouse’s clothing; it was not Busch who filed a claim but Le Huby, who lost to the innkeeper, and was ordered to pay his debts to him.

Apart from the everyday disadvantages women innkeepers would experience 1800-1850, legal procedures made a great, negative difference for their business and profits.

²⁰ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 9873, N.3087.13.

²¹ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 12159, 1.

²² GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 5349, itemization.

While carrying an inconvenient risk when giving to guests on the basis of good faith, or else soldiers, who could die before paying their due, the comfort and safety of property gave male inn owners legal leverage, and a degree of authority—a form of social power—while women in the same position held no such leverage due to the legal system not taking their pleas as seriously.²³ A woman in his position did not hold the leverage to insist upon payment, proofs of name, or other documentation, or else not had the same choice in customers for her lending. Some soldiers indeed went out with a bang, ate, drank, and then died on the battlefield or disappeared, leaving innkeepers—in *these* cases, often women—to try to locate a then non-existent family to settle the debt.²⁴ Women in legal petitions therefore adopted a stance of subservience and powerlessness that portrayed any payment as an act of charity, in contrast to male innkeepers' stance of making demands. Despite owning property, even widows therefore suffered disadvantage in their business.

It may well be that an often male clientele imagined female work differently in public spaces. Women working in inns may well have noted the need to replicate the conditions of family life in these public spaces with all the feminine energy of a motherly and loving woman serving food to the master of a household or a devoted son. Inns employed women as hostesses, cooks, and servers, yet rarely served female guests unless they visited the inn with husbands or larger mixed parties. Cooks and hostesses, in this setting, a home to political conversation and discussion, could take on the role of public mothers, who fed and cared for the largely masculine clientele. Frequent guests (“Stammgäste”) came to their local inns to enjoy “spicy little sausage,” “juicy piece of

²³ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 12159, 2. Further, GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 1892; GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 7264.

²⁴ GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 12159; GStAPK: III. HA MdA, III Nr. 9873.

roast,” or a slice of “humble buttered bread” in a familiar, familial atmosphere.²⁵ Frankfurt Parliamentarian and gastronomic translator Carl Vogt reminisced in mid-century about debates on the French revolution in a favorite Wirtshaus, in which “the old cook [Köchin] appeared herself. She loved the members of a small union, to whom I belonged as well,”²⁶ treating her as an important part of the setting. Her role in itself, however, was highly gendered, and characterized as being nurturing through cooking. Working women might have found themselves confronted with or even catering to the tastes and fantasies of a majority male clientele. To carry out this public motherly function may have been a confining, but partly enabling role for women working in public.²⁷ However, what the clients wished to see, and how women wrote about their work, differed strongly.²⁸

Feminine Inns and Masculine Restaurants, 1850-1900

With the rise of the city restaurant after 1850, the greatest opportunities for professional advancement in urban centers attracted chefs. These were often French, or else, French-educated, and—male.²⁹ Compared with its neighbors in France, who ate in restaurants from the late eighteenth century, the rise of the restaurant was, as discussed, late in the German states. The same applies to hotels. While England and the United States offered travellers hotels as of 1850, Germany began catching up in the nineteenth-century’s latter third, with Berlin developing appeal as of 1875 with the Kurfürstendamm,

²⁵ I. L. Becht, *Der Weinkeller auf Schloß Salurn: Ein Sage, dem Volke erzähls* (Frankfurt: Heyder u. Zimmer, 1860), 17.

²⁶ Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie des Geschmacks: oder, physiologische Anleitung zum Studium der Tafelgenüsse*, trans. Karl Christoph Vogt (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg, 1866), vi.

²⁷ On maternal feminism, see: Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800-1914* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991).

²⁸ See Chapter 3 this dissertation.

²⁹ Teuteberg, “The Rising Popularity of Dining Out,” 282-3.

Charlottenburg, and Wilmersdorf attracting diplomatic and banking buildings, and such hotels as the City Hotel (1875), the Central Hotel (1880), the Grand Hotel Alexanderplatz (1884), the Continental Hotel (1885), the Hotels Monopol and Bellevue (1888), the Bristol Hotel (1891) and the Savoy and Palace Hotels (both 1893).³⁰ The Metropole, Imperial, and Kaiserhof followed the American model; the Waldorf-Astoria opened in 1893, and the Adlon in 1907 as part of the surge in “hotel palaces” in the imperial capital.³¹

These up and coming new forms of dining out catering to an elite urban, often male clientele who caught meals during long, industrious work-days to avoid the time-expense of lunching with their families.³² Modes of representing food-workers changed accordingly to promote the image of professional, masculine spaces. While representations of kitchens in cookbooks between 1750 and 1860 had almost exclusively portrayed women, the fin-de-siècle suddenly saw portrayals of men instead as an elevating class symbol of particularly refined cooking skills. Images depicting the imperial kitchen in Berlin’s court, for example, depicted exclusively men as cooks, and women as maids and servers (Figure 2).

³⁰ Ibid, 82.

³¹ Ibid, 151, 170.

³² John Burnett, *England Eats out: A Social History of Eating out in England from 1830 to the Present* (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2004), 87, 89

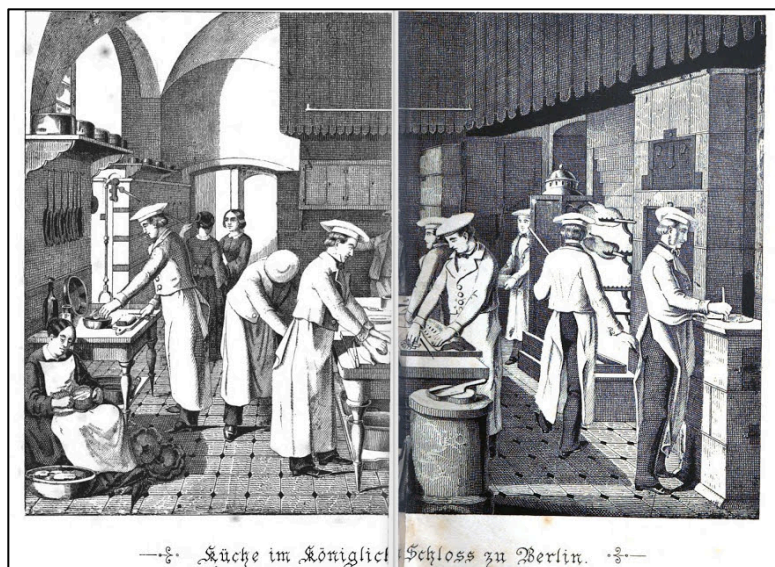


Figure 2. Representation of the “Royal Kitchen” in Berlin, 1879.³³

In representation, therefore, cooking was only prestigious, modern and urban, when carried out by a man. As the refinement of the job rose, so did the readjustment of gender roles: the male chefs in the image stand and work, while the women either sit on the ground or converse while waiting, in reiteration of stereotypes, both in terms of industry as well as subservience.

This change implied that inns, in their rural location, became second choice in terms of work prestige and consumer status *just* after it had become a slightly more egalitarian work space between 1840 and 1860. During the period as of 1830 when French chefs trained young women, and between 1840 and 1860 when public kitchens became a gender neutral space, therefore, women’s position improved, but thereafter their place of work faced urban competition and lost prestige. This sidelined women from the most prestigious work opportunities, and any well-trained woman cooks who could have

³³ L. Kurth, *Illustriertes Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen für die feine Küche* (Leipzig: Literarisches Institut, 1879), frontispiece.

worked in urban centers would have had to make do with working in private homes for lower wages. Urbanization, in this sense, most benefitted male food workers, failing to provide equal opportunities to their equally educated female colleagues. Such processes formed part of the dynamic redefining of working women's positive image and undid part of the progress that education had brought them in mid-century. As restaurant culture grew, therefore, urban culinary establishments in Germany promoted a masculine and public modernity.

Equally, while women experienced more opportunities for education after mid-century, this education was gender-specific, and functioned as a way to promote less than emancipatory ideas to the next generation. Thus, while schools' home economics classes trained young women to do accounting, at the same time, girls' reading materials explicitly pushed for submissiveness and servile attitudes.³⁴ Bestselling cookbook author Henriette Davidis, for example, penned a work for "good little girls" titled "Doll's Cook Anna" (first published in 1869 and in its sixth edition by 1881) about an angelic being called Anna, whose behavior in mild-temperedness and domesticity her young readers were to follow.³⁵ The book, the author writes, is specifically for "little, dear girls...who

³⁴ WOK: HH-H1. See discussion below.

³⁵ Henriette Davidis, *Puppenköchin Anna: Praktisches Kochbuch für kleine liebe Mädchen* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1869). On toy dolls training girls to be mothers, see: Bryan Ganaway, *Toys, Consumption, and Middle-Class Childhood in Imperial Germany, 1871-1918* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 165-200. See also: Eva Stille, "Puppenküchen," in *Beruf der Jungfrau: Henriette Davidis und Bürgerliches Frauenverständnis im 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Gisela Framke and Gisela Marenk (Oberhausen: Graphium Press, 1988), 43-50. The private toy collection of Rebetge-Schneider shows how companies such as Mondamin, Hoffman, Persil, Maggi, Knorr and others targeted young audiences with toy-size empty packages of their products between 1870 and 1910. "Päckchen, Döschen, Riesenrad—Kaufläden und Marktstände aus der Sammlung Rebetge-Schneider, Erfurt," Historisches Museum Gotha, 20 November 2016—12 February 2017. The temporary exhibition used items from a private collection usually housed in Erfurt at the Erfurter Puppenstubenmuseum, at the HMG of the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha: "Päckchen, Döschen, Riesenrad," *Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein*, <<http://www.stiftungfriedenstein.de/ausstellungen-und-veranstaltungen/packchen-doschen-riesenrad-kaufladen-und-marktstande-aus-der>>. (Accessed 14 June 2018); *Erfurter Puppenstubenmuseum*, <www.erfurter-puppenstubenmuseum.de/>. (Accessed 14 June 2018).

are very obedient,” and who, “when Mama allows it, cook” in their playtime.³⁶ Davidis emphasizes always saying please and thank you without making demands, and exalts Anna as “the most sweet-natured” cook with her “clothes, face and hands as clean and tidy as her cooking utensils,” who never tried the food she was preparing before it was ready, and should therefore inspire the reader, given that “only pious, obedient children please the Christ Child” and only they will be “happy and joyous in their hearts.”³⁷ Combining religious, social, and domestic training into one, the logic of authors such as Davidis synthesized moral, ethical, and social expectation into one nearly inescapable whole for girls and young women trained for domestic lives.³⁸

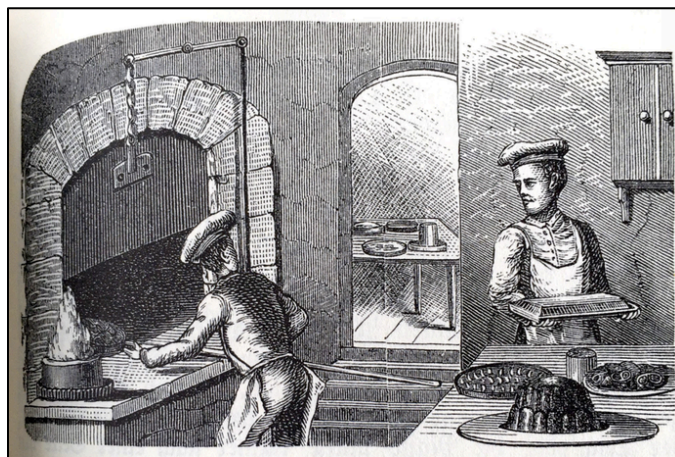


Figure 3. Representation of male chef and sous-chef.³⁹

³⁶ Henriette Davidis, *Puppenköchin Anna*, 6th ed. (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1881), 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-5.

³⁸ On class-specific domestic ideals and specifically middle-class gender roles in the British case, see: Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

³⁹ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991, facsimile of Theodor Bechtel, *Henriette Löfflers Grosses Illustriertes Kochbuch für Einfachen Tisch und die Feine Küche*, 10th ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Spiegel, 1883), section 19.



Figure 4. Representation of women working in public.⁴⁰

These changes in representation and education were made worse with food discourses that assumed and pushed feminine domesticity, especially for middling women, further dissuading female public work activity. While the cookbook genre had used an often egalitarian or polite tone in mid-century, by the last decades, an unprecedented tone emerged, combining at worst insults, and at best explicit orders tying women to their roles as servants to men more generally. As the 1894 epigraph of Riedl's *Großmutter's Kochbuch* read, "And be you ever so bitchy, your pork roast makes me happy!"⁴¹

Gradually, the cookbook genre assumed less and less that a middling woman might work, and the connection between gender and labor became complicated. Representations of women while at work in kitchens or spaces they did not own could portray them as peripheral to kitchen activities, and not in leading roles (Figure 2) or else as burdened members of the working class (Figure 4) with shadows on their features. Elegant

⁴⁰ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991, section 21.

⁴¹ "Und bist du noch so zickig, dein Schweinebraten macht mich glücklich!" HMSS: Koch.Rie.1. See also representations in Hannah Dose, "Die Geschichte des Kochbuchs. Das Kochbuch als geschichtliche Quelle," in Framke and Marenk, *Beruf der Jungfrau*, 51-70, where men are portrayed as consumers, and women as subordinate cooks. Further, Annemarie Wilz, "Das unbedingt Notwendige und das Wünschenswerte. Kücheninventar von 1850-1890," in *Ibid*, 118 and 123.

middling women, in turn, could be portrayed as working in the domestic sphere and for their families, in private (Figures 5 and 6).

It may well be that these shifts towards a hardened domesticity, amnesic of female work and the industrious history of the household, further barred or discouraged women from continuing to seek a culinary education in kitchens of prestige. As the culinary landscape changed, and restaurants and hotel eateries began populating urban centers, it is most likely that their formal lessons and apprenticeships prioritized or exclusively selected male future chefs, who were likely to uphold the high standard of their mentors.⁴² Thus, even though educational access itself became near-universal in the literate German Empire, gender-segregation permeating the educational system prepared men and women for different places of work: men, for work outside the home, recognized and financially compensated, women, for domestic labor, hidden, and unpaid.

⁴² Trocka's analysis denotes a gender-segregation of education, at the same time as schooling itself became near-universal. Ingrid Trocka, "Der Entbehrliche Luxus. Höhere Schule und Berufsausbildung für Mädchen im 19. Jahrhundert," in Framke and Marenk, *Beruf der Jungfrau*, 41.

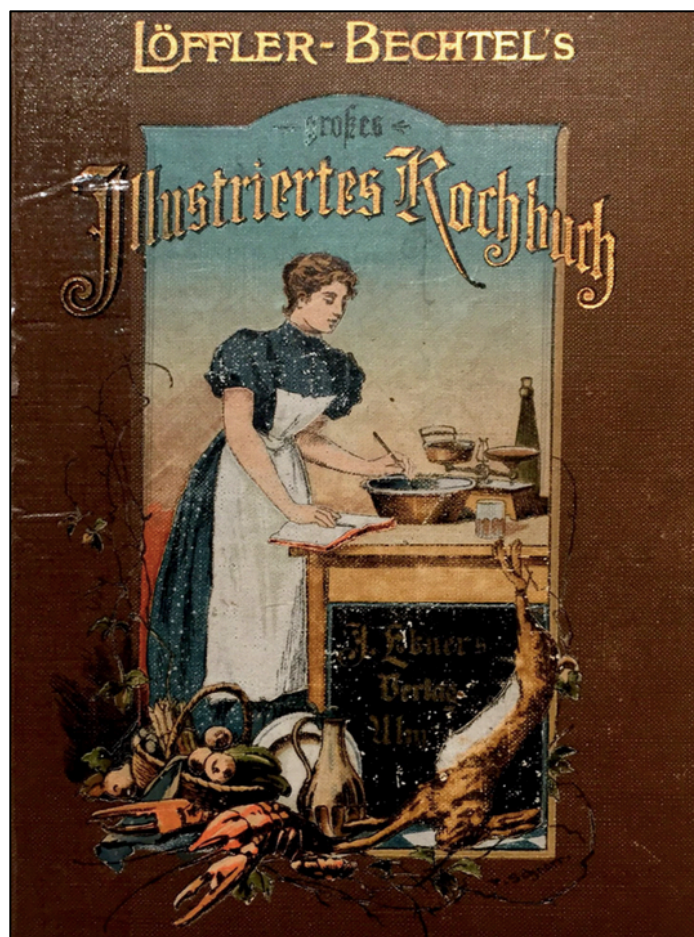


Figure 5. Representation of cooking woman.⁴³

⁴³ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, cover.

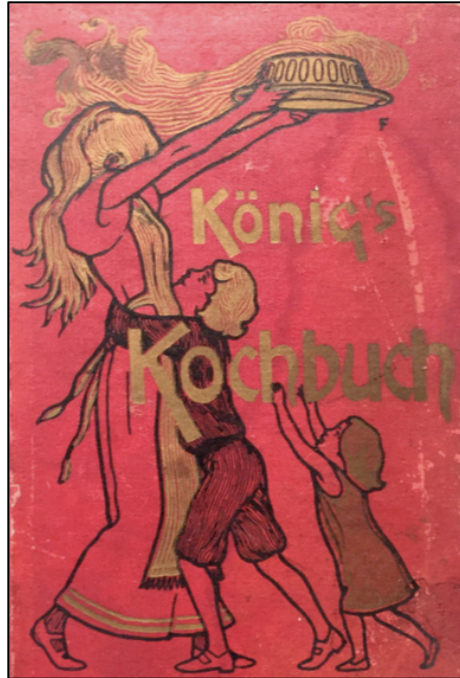


Figure 6. Representation of cooking mother with two children⁴⁴

At the same time, eating at home became a luxury that rendered home-making and domesticity a criterion for lower middlingness. Cookbook authors aware that not all women could “afford to practice the art of cooking themselves,” and living solely on their husbands’ income implied that staying at home to run a household began to function as a criterion for class, while the higher one moved up the social scale, the more cooking personnel—first female, then male—one could employ and outsource food work to.⁴⁵ Thus, gender became a key aspect of social organization in urban culinary modernity in the German states and as of 1871 the German Empire. The most elite tip of both workers and consumers were men; the middling aspiring to imitate their behaviors promoted feminine domesticity; the working in turn had little choice in the matter.

⁴⁴ WOK: HG.Kön.1900, cover.

⁴⁵ WOK: HG.Kor.1895, 3.

City Restaurants in the Fin-de-Siècle: A Cosmopolitan and Royalist Modernity

As restaurants emerged from the 1860s, these urban culinary centers promoted elite cosmopolitan eating culture.⁴⁶ Advertising represented foreign restaurants—be they Greek, French, or Austrian—alongside German “Trinkstuben” in a cosmopolitan network of meaning laying out the options for consumption. To combine German with non-German elements in advertising establishments was not a contradiction, for example, in fin-de-siècle Frankfurt. The “Old German Pub,” (Figure 7) for example, advertised itself as “Old German” and yet held the name of “Prince of Arkadia”—the center of the Peloponnese. Similarly, a few houses down on the same road, the Greek wine bar “To the City of Athens,” carried the ancient world’s capital of knowledge and democracy (Figure 8) and served Greek as well as German and French wines. Further, the “Café de Paris” catered to Frankfurt’s clientele at No.1 Goethestrasse (Figure 9).

⁴⁶ Teuteberg, “The Rising Popularity of Dining Out,” 291. Only in exceptional cases, Iwanzeck has recently shown in a study of Dresden, did cities with connections to France establish restaurants before 1850. Teuteberg’s date of 1860 as a threshold for Germany as a whole however is likely to still apply and is supported in this study. Marco Iwanzeck, *Dresden à la carte: Entstehung und kulinarische Einordnung der Restaurantkultur 1800 bis 1850* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2016), 15.



Figure 7. Advertisement of the
Altdeutsche Trinkstube in Frankfurt⁴⁷



Figure 8. Advertising of the “Zur Stadt Athen” Winehouse⁴⁸



Figure 9. Advertisement of the “Café de
Paris”⁴⁹



Figure 10. Advertisement for the Viennese Restaurant.⁵⁰

German restaurant owners in naming their eateries with cosmopolitan references not only continued a long-established trend in cosmopolitan eating in middling cuisine but also picked up on a European-wide trend of naming restaurants after faraway places. To

⁴⁷ GStAPK: I HAGR, Rep 41, N2616.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

name just a few across cafés, restaurants, and inns alluding to England and its capital, for example, the *Café Anglais* in Paris, where Urbain Dubois worked, the Inn “To the City of London” in Gartz in the Uckermark (1812),⁵¹ the Hotel “Zur Stadt London”⁵² and the “London Tavern” in 1830s Stade,⁵³ and the Restaurant “The English House” in Berlin catering to the Prussian middling and noble clientele in the fin-de-siècle,⁵⁴ as well as the “First class hotel” “Englischer Hof”⁵⁵ in small-town Bavaria. As part of a European-wide or even global web of classy eateries catering to the urban middling, the perspective of these restaurants remained Eurocentric, but transnational, profiling themselves into the network of consumption.

In larger towns like Augsburg in these decades hotels of the “first order” (“Ersten Ranges”)⁵⁶ made references to regions as in the Bayerischer Hof and Rheinischer Hof or to palaces like the Bellevue, or they carried names of prestige such as the Hotel Continental or Vier Jahreszeiten.⁵⁷ Hotels of the “second order” (“Zweiten Ranges”)⁵⁸ alluded to royalty with Deutscher Kaiser, Kronprinz, Wittelsbach, Max Emanuel, Viktoria, and Kaiserhof.⁵⁹ Others used names of other cities and countries to illustrate

⁵¹ GStAPK: I. HA Rep. 85, Abt. XII Nr. 8.

⁵² Koch.Ras.1. Dated 1832-33. Archivist notes and inside cover.

⁵³ Sophie Armster, *Neues auf vieljährige Erfahrung gegründetes Kochbuch; oder; Gründliche Anweisung zum Kochen und Braten: zur Bereitung der Backwerke, Cremes, Gelees, Getränke, etc. und alle Arten Früchte einzumachen. Ein Handbuch für Hausfrauen, Haushälterinnen und angehende Köchinnen*, 5th ed (Stade: A. Pockwitz, 1840), iii, emphasis added.

⁵⁴ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 20 and 26.

⁵⁵ DLA: T 93.0404 “Fest-Führer : Allgemeiner Deutscher Journalisten- und Schriftstellertag. Gewidmet vom "Landes-Ausschuß zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Bayern" und der "Festvereinigung",” (Munich: Schuh und Cie., 1893), 63.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 63.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 63.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 63.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 63.

their identity—Bamberger Hof, Englischer Hof, Europäischer Hof, Schweizer Hof or Hotel National.⁶⁰

Beyond the first and second order, the tourist in Augsburg could visit those restaurants called “good middling” (“Gut bürgerlich”).⁶¹ Recommended “good middling” locales for tourists and visitors to the town included such exotically named establishments as the Alhambra, Colosseum, Eldorado, New World, and Three Moors, as well as some named with modern terms such as Monopoly, Universe, and Panorama. Yet others made references to national or regional culture, including the Deutsches Haus, Heimgarten, Platzl, and Schützen-Lisl, or else the Franziskaner and Goldener Löwe.⁶² Winehouses like the Bodega, and the Rathskeller, Restaurant Francais and Wainbauer made use of the wide spectrum of associations with the fruit of the vine.⁶³ With such similar naming practices to those of elite establishments of higher repute, including referencing modern transports—e.g. Ostbahnhof—and neighboring countries — Oesterreichischer Hof—middling establishments mirrored their clientele in their social aspiration to improve their status.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Ibid, 63.

⁶¹ Ibid, 64.

⁶² Ibid, 64-5.

⁶³ Ibid, 65.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 65.



Figure 11. Advertisement for the Stock Exchange Restaurant.⁶⁵



Figure 12. Advertisement for Henkel near the Market hall.⁶⁶



Figure 13. Advertising the Restaurant Conservatory with its “bürgerlich” brewed beer.⁶⁷



Figure 14. Advertising the “French cuisine” at the Restaurant Brothers Bierbauer.⁶⁸

Meanwhile in urban centers like Berlin and Frankfurt between 1860 and 1900, the top restaurants filled with chefs trained in French and cosmopolitan cuisine and modeled their menus, courses, and dishes after royal and imperial structures. An examination of menus at royal courts between 1860 and 1900 reveals clear patterns in menu structure and

⁶⁵ GStAPK: I HAGR, Rep 41, N2616.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

choice of ingredients. After Russian style service replaced French serving style in the first half of the century, menu structure remained virtually identical until 1900. The several courses consisting of various dishes common from early in the century remained in place throughout, continuing to be associated with court-culture. Royal courts surrounding imperial royalty such as the Hohenzollern, for example, served ten courses on average consisting of a mean of fifteen dishes for official and festive dinners with such plates as pheasant cream, provençal beef, and ingredients including salmon or mandarin oranges.⁶⁹ Similarly, restaurants serving elite and middling clientele offered a similar number of courses and dishes, with ingredients much like them.⁷⁰

Royal menus were further characterized by exotic imports. Mandarins, like pineapple, remained a popular luxurious component of royal menus throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁷¹ Not only did Habsburg Empress Sissi dine on pineapple punch and orange as dessert, but Prussian royalty enjoyed “Mandarinen”, as in a dessert course in February 1878, alongside ice-cream.⁷² Even such rare ingredients as “tapioca” found their way to the royal dining table: at the New Palais in August 1878, the Hohenzollern enjoyed a “consommé au tapioca” as part of an eight-course meal.⁷³ Tapioca probably made it to the table by its pure market value alone: 13.5 grams of the

⁶⁹ See Appendix 2, Table 1.

⁷⁰ See Appendix 2, Table 3. I use the dish-counting method proposed by Flandrin, distinguishing between dishes (e.g. salmon) and garnishes or sides that form part of the same dish (e.g. soy sauce). Various dishes can be part of one course, if the chef specifies it on the menu card, using various means with which to indicate breaks between his culinary creations. A semi-colon is typical: “;”. E.g. GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 7; or GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 8. Courses are easily distinguished by the divisory line between them. E.g. GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 12. Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal: A History of Table Service in France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 3, 48.

⁷¹ Yves Péhaut, “The Invasion of Foreign Foods,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, eds. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 463, 467.

⁷² GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 5.

⁷³ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 6.

substance cost between 40 and 60M.⁷⁴ The list of unexpected ingredients does not stop there: while the menu-card from 21 April 1873 does not specify whether the salmon serving as the third course of the meal was raw or cooked, the cook has specified that the fish is served with soy sauce (“sauce soya” in French.)⁷⁵

The organization and contents of royal and upper tier restaurants was virtually identical. While the King (and later Emperor) dined on an average of ten courses consisting of fifteen dishes, the *Bürger* could enjoy an approximate eight courses with sixteen dishes at a restaurant like the *Englises Haus* in Berlin.⁷⁶ Ingredients and dishes were just as similar, with the ever-present salmon, chicken “à la royale,” and ice-cream being part of the menu.⁷⁷ This is not surprising.⁷⁸ When the French *hôte cuisine* fled the Revolution and travelled to Central Europe, they settled equally at courts and restaurants. Sharing this provenance, both Bürger and Kings/Emperors could enjoy the splendor of *hôte cuisine*. The capital of Prussia may have been exceptional in this regard, but it is more likely given the non-exclusive migration of French chefs to various places in the German states that this practice spread throughout all the spaces of the former Holy Roman Empire, and later German Empire, throughout the nineteenth century.

⁷⁴ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 29.

⁷⁵ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 8.

⁷⁶ See Figures 1 and 2.

⁷⁷ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 26.

⁷⁸ Knoch argues fin-de-siècle grand hotels catered to the “dream” of “living as a great lord.” Habbo Knoch, *Grandhotels: Luxusräume und Gesellschaftswandel in New York, London und Berlin um 1900* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016), 9.

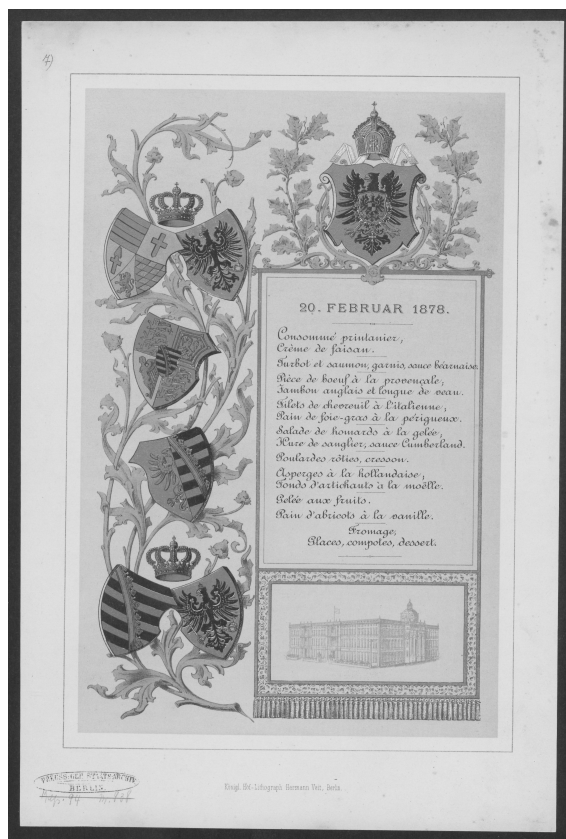


Figure 15. Dinner Menu from the Berlin Palace, 1878.⁷⁹

Members of the royal courts also frequented restaurants. They could not only appreciate the value and quality of restaurant menus, comparing them with the dinners they enjoyed on festive occasions at court, but formed part of a network of French-trained chefs and elite consumers. Master of the Stables, Stallmeister Gebhardt II, for example, who “by highest royal command” of the “Ober Hof- und Haus-Marschall Schuckler” was extended an invitation for a dinner on 18 October 1861, at the Royal Palace at Königsberg, held in the “Muscowiter Saal,”⁸⁰ visited several restaurants in Berlin. There, in March 1881, for example, the menu, while differing in style and presentation from the highly ornate and

⁷⁹ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 7.

⁸⁰ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 13.

formal images used to decorate royal menus (this menu shows a group of four children picking apples from a tree near a farm), was virtually identical in organization, length (sixteen dishes as part of nine courses), and content to that of the Prussian King and German Emperor's. Indian "potage" is followed by a dish of truffles and sweet-water crabs (*Crépinettes d'homards à la bordelaise*), the ever-so-frequent salmon or soles, followed by "Marcassin en croute à la Marcassin," "Huitres au rocher de Cancal," "Poulardes," "Bécasse," "Salade," "Epinards," and "fonds d'artichauts," "Glaces à la bordelaise," finishing with cheeses and dessert.⁸¹ In design, the *Englisches Haus* drew its inspiration from royal chefs and the illustrations in their work.⁸² During Gebhardt II's visit there in March 1871, guests could enjoy "oysters," "caviar," "goose-liver paté," and the desirable dessert "ice-cream" as part of eight courses consisting of fourteen dishes.⁸³

Special occasions among the middling were, of course, stylized after their contemporary elites'. Compared to previous decades, the number of courses and dishes they consisted of hardly changed. The recipes, however, became even more cosmopolitan, imported the logic of French cuisine, and sported newer ingredients such as potatoes and tomatoes. The menus of middling feasts consisted of salads and soups such as clear ox tail broth, followed by seafood or meat dishes, such as mussels or mutton, a main dish of fish or poultry—including smaller juniper birds or flightless turkeys—salads, vegetables like artichokes and asparagus, pate, cheese, ice-cream and desserts, like cake, fruit, almonds, raisins, and compôts—or else, the dessert course

⁸¹ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 25. Even the menu-cards are printed by the Royal Lithographer Louis Veit, Burg Str. 6. Berlin, a family business that passed from father to son throughout the period in question. BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 26.

⁸² GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 26.

⁸³ GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 26. GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 13 and 14, respectively. A few years later, in March 1877, same restaurant served seven courses, with a choice of fifteen dishes throughout the meal.

consisted of all of the above at the same time, plus butter and cheese.⁸⁴ Some of these meals were concluded with a coffee.⁸⁵

Weddings, irrespective of whether celebrating the union of elites or middling members of society, were as grand as possible. In comparing the three weddings of Bertha Müller to "Regierungsassessor Dr. jur. Justus Hermes" in May 1880, the "Wedding Feast" of Major Max Seubert in the "Hall of the Lauer'schen Hauses," in Mannheim in April 1868," and the "Royal wedding of the "Prince of Prussia...with her highness... Princess Augusta Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein," for example, the palace served fewer courses than the restaurants at which the middle-class couple fêted their guests.⁸⁶ All served virtually the same number of dishes, 17 or 18, and the dishes of the Major's wedding hardly differed from that of a royal culinary display.

At a wedding feast, a well-educated middling member of society chasing social status would only fail in small ways to fully imitate his more affluent superiors, either from a lack of appreciation of the social meaning of ingredients, or else, to limit costs. Potage, caviar, trout, ragout, homard, salade, compotes, glaces—the French menu does a good job in structuring itself, much as in previous decades, after the elite model. Only on very close examination does the veneer break down. The Major's menu also included "sardines," the lower-class fish and only seafood a person of limited means could afford far from the shore, and "filets de boeuf" which do not guarantee the quality of a boeuf à la mode.⁸⁷ The range and variety as well as the exclusion of certain ingredients associated

⁸⁴ HMSS: Vol.002, 119, 191-121.

⁸⁵ HMSS: Vol.002, 121.

⁸⁶ BWGLAK: 69 von Seubert Nr 120. See also Appendix 2, Table 4.

⁸⁷ On herrings, the lower-class fish, see also: Günter Wiegelmann und Anette Mauss, "Fischversorgung und Fischspeisen im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer quantitativen Analyse," in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte Und Regionale Prägung*, eds. Hans J. Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd ed. (Münster: Copenrath, 1986), 75-92.

with lower classes made the difference between upper class, royal dining, and the middling member's diets, who as ever pecked upward and downward the social scale.

The Aesthetics of Carême and Rottenhöfer

Irrespective of public or home dining, the stylistic point of reference for presenting food to the middle and social elite, as early in the century, was royalty and the work of Antonin Carême as passed through Johann Rottenhöfer.⁸⁸ The impact of a chef like Antonin Carême is best understood as that of an artist. A master musician or painter will produce milestone work in theory and practice, that is to say, innovation in technique, applying these ideas in their daily production, and train students who in turn become influential and successful, taking what they have learned with them to other countries and through time. Thus was the relationship between Antonin Carême and major chefs throughout the nineteenth century. After leaving France and working in Russia and England, his students Émile Bernard, Urbain Dubois and Adolphe Dugléré worked for the Hohenzollern in Prussia and the Café Anglais respectively, to later instruct Auguste Escoffier who would lead the Ritz, Carlton, and Savoy in London.⁸⁹ At the same time, Carême's work on haute cuisine *Patissier Royal Parisien* (1822) made its way through Europe as a key work by the chef who had cooked for Napoleon Bonaparte. Shaping cookbook literature and guiding instruction at estate kitchens in the German states,

⁸⁸ Carême in turn drew on chefs such as François Massialot (1660-1723). Other great cuisiniers of the period 1650-1789 included Varenne, Bonnefons, and Marin. Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 132, 243.

⁸⁹ Anne Lair, "The Ceremony of Dining at Napoleon III's Court between 1852 and 1870," in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle de Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 156; Edmond Neirinck and Jean-Pierre Poulain, *Histoire de la cuisine et des cuisiniers: techniques culinaires et pratiques de table, en France, du Moyen-Age à nos jours* (Paris: J. Lanore, 1988), 70.

Carême's work finally made the greatest impact through Johann Rottenhöfer's *Kochkunst* (1858), who combined the chef's work with Brillat-Savarin's political gastronomy.⁹⁰

Comparing Carême's presentation style as adapted by Rottenhöfer to the cookbook genre as of 1880 makes the impact of Carême's work clear, as mediated by Rottenhöfer. Comparing the presentation of concentrically arranged hors d'oeuvres or small portions in round pyramidal shapes in Carême and Rottenhöfer, and the middling Löffler from 1815, 1859, and 1897 respectively, for example, (Figures 16 to 19) show the influence. The round aesthetic of presentation of purées and other foods molded into half spheres and mounds further illustrate this point (Figure 20). Finally, the presentation of meat with decorative spears drives home the not often cited but clear guiding function of Carême's designs, the effect of which permeated the German cookbook genre by the 1880s right through into the twentieth century (Figures 21 to 23).

⁹⁰ Claudia Kreklau, "When 'Germany' Became the New 'France'? Royal Dining at the Bavarian Court of Maximilian II and the Political Gastronomy of Johann Rottenhöfer in Transnational European Perspective, 1830–1870," *International Review of Social Research* 7, no. 1 (2017): 46–56.

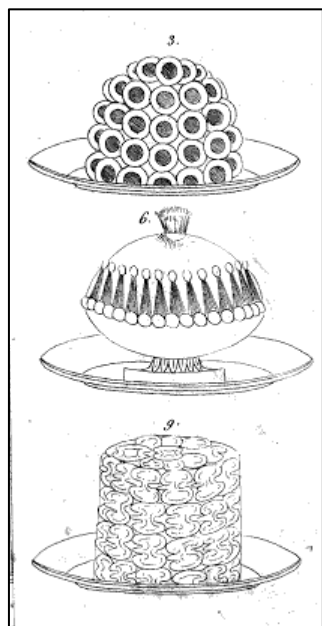


Figure 16. Mounds in Carême's *Patissier*,
1815⁹¹



Figure 17. Presentation in Carême's style in
Rottenhöfer's *Kochkunst*, 1859.⁹²



Figure 18. Presentation in the Lindauer
Kochbuch, 1865.⁹³

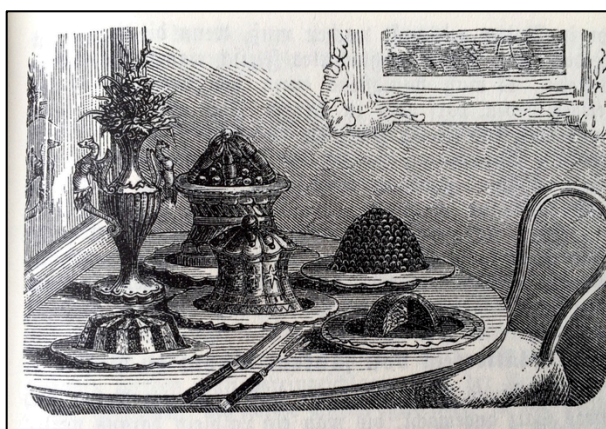


Figure 19. Pasties presented in mounds in the *Löffler's*
Illustriertes Kochbuch, 1883.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Marie Antonin Carême, *Le patissier royal parisien, ou traité élémentaire et pratique de la pâtisserie ancienne et moderne; suivi d'observations utiles aux progrès de cet art, et d'une revue critique des grands bals de 1810 et 1811* (Paris: Dentu, 1815), 438-9.

⁹² Johann Rottenhöfer, *Neue vollständige theoretisch-praktische Anweisung in der feinern Kochkunst mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der herrschaftlichen u. bürgerlichen Küche: Illustriert v. Em. Drexler*, Vol. 4. 12 vols (Munich: Braun & Schneider, 1859), 121.

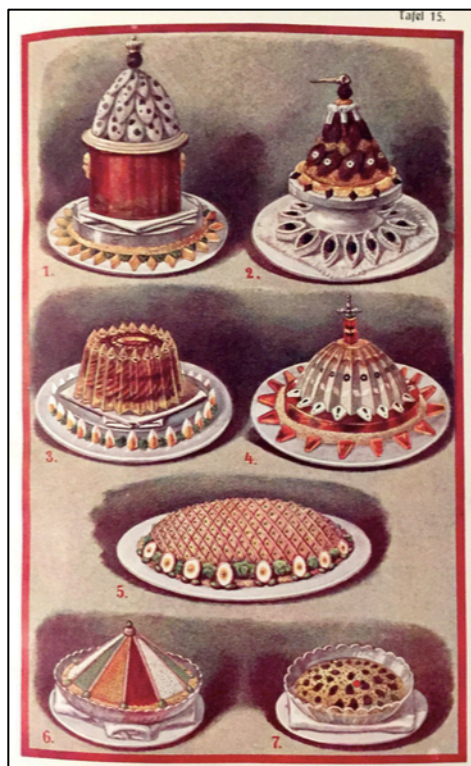


Figure 20. Round presentation designs, 1911.⁹⁵

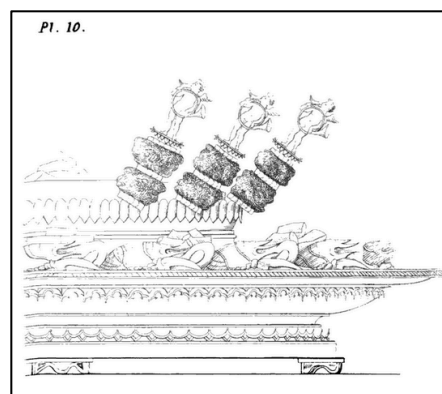


Figure 21. Meat Presentation in Carême's *L'art de la cuisine*, 1847.⁹⁶

⁹³ *Lindauer Kochbuch: Mit 63 Abbildungen auf 9 Tafeln* (Lindau: Stettner, 1865), Tafel 3.

⁹⁴ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991. Similarly: WOK: HG.Sch.1888, Tab VII and WOK: HG.Löf.1897 1900, 700.

⁹⁵ WOK: HG.Dav.1911.

⁹⁶ Marie Antonin Carême and Armand Plumery, *L'art de la cuisine française au dix-neuvième siècle: traité élémentaire et pratique* (Paris: Kerangué & Pollés, 1847), 224-5.

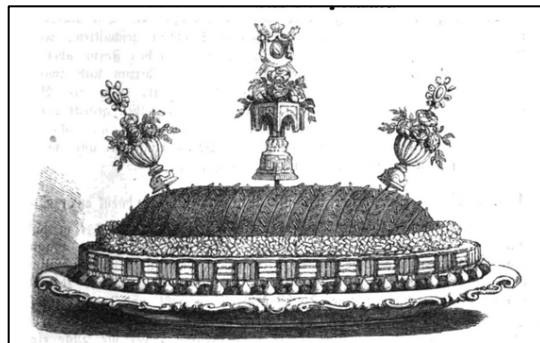


Figure 2. Presentation of Meat in Rottenhöfer's Kochkunst, 1859.⁹⁷

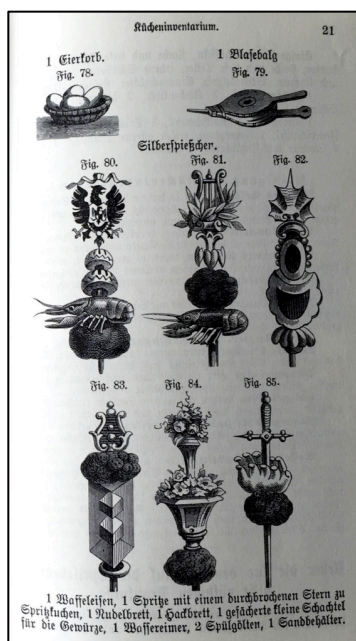


Figure 23. On decorative spears for presenting meat.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ibid, 191.

⁹⁸ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991, 21.

In the 1860s already, the style was standard in presenting foods and conceptualizing table layouts. The 1865 *Lindauer Kochbuch*, for example, imitated the aesthetic, as did the *Bamberger Kochbuch* of 1879.⁹⁹ The heavy use of such molds and spears to achieve the desired effect made these utensils essential additions to any well-equipped kitchen (Figures 21-23, 24-25) while on the table, the aesthetic Carême had designed dominated Russian and French table settings most clearly, both trend-guiding styles throughout the century. German table lay-outs meanwhile were primarily characterized by a flower-arrangement at their center (compare Figures 26-29).



Figure 24. Explanation of the use of molds.¹⁰⁰

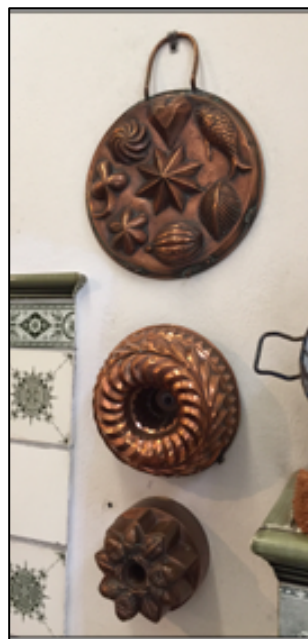


Figure 25. Copper molds.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ See also: HMSS: Koch.Rie.1, tables I to VIII.

¹⁰⁰ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991, 15.

¹⁰¹ HMSS.

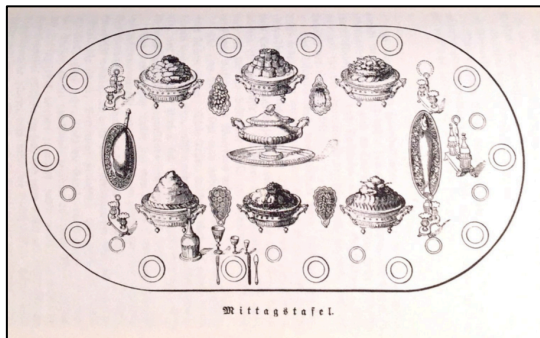


Figure 26. Table layout for a Luncheon in the Bamberger Kochbuch, 1879.¹⁰²

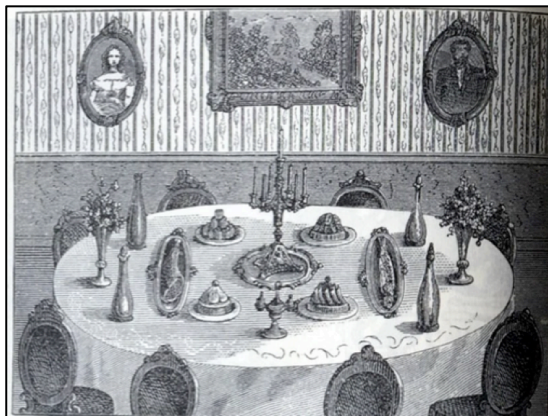


Figure 27. French Style Table Setting¹⁰³

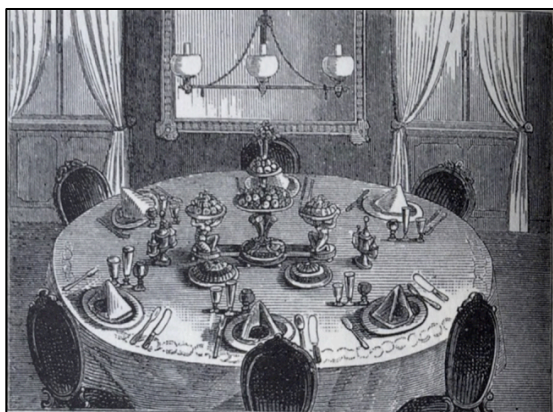


Figure 28. Russian Style Table Setting¹⁰⁴

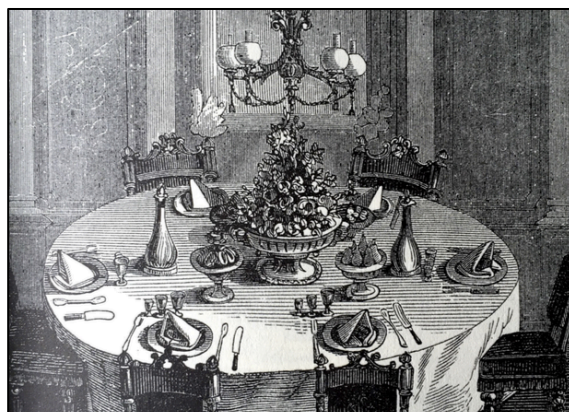


Figure 29. German Table Setting.¹⁰⁵

The influence of the royal and imperial ideal permeated even service in modern transports such as steam ships and trains, which offered their travellers meals, snacks, and drinks aboard attempting to imitate restaurant culture for some of their more distinguished guests. Menus from the 1860s were structured, again, according to the logic

¹⁰² WOK: HG.Hom.1879, Louise Richter und Sophie Charlotte Hommer, Bamberger Kochbuch, (Hamburg, Berendsohn, 1879), 513.

¹⁰³ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991, 70.

¹⁰⁴ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991, 72.

¹⁰⁵ WOK: HG.Löf.Fac.1991, 71, Section 19.

of royal and restaurant cuisine. For the price of 2.50M per meal, aboard steamships on the Bodensee in Bavaria, for example, the guests could enjoy a menu of soup, followed by fish, a dish of roast beef, and pork roast, with a side of salad, compote, a dessert of cake, cheese, butter and fruit.¹⁰⁶ A simpler menu could involve a course of soup followed by fish with buttered potatoes, beef roast, veal with salad or compote, and cake.¹⁰⁷



Figure 30. Menu on a steamship, 1869.¹⁰⁸

To no great surprise, their clientele expected these standards, and often agreed that they were met. A “Graf Farco, Landowner,” described the food as “good and generously portioned.” Another, “Leo Müller, Rentier,” called the served dishes “very laudable.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ BWGLAK: 421-1 No.6110, I/VI, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ WOK: S.EK.Wil.1994.

¹⁰⁹ BWGLAK: 421-1 No.6110, I/VI, 3.

Other times, however, the traveler's expectations were not met. In 1903, the Bavarian General Directory of State Trains in Munich recorded a complaint by a customer about a menu served aboard near Lindau a week prior. The customer asserted that the meal of "soup of the day, white fish with buttered potatoes, roast beef with green beans, peas, and macaroni, veal roast with salad and compot, prince regent pie, cheese and butter as well as fruit" were "unappetizing and hardly edible."¹¹⁰ Similarly, in the same month and to the same ministry, a customer complained that the train was out of bread. When he demanded it for his meal, the waitress said "Eat macaroni—then you don't need bread rolls—that is how I do it too," to the great dismay and shock of the customer.¹¹¹ The superintendent of "train station catering" Sedlmayr responded to such complaints emphasizing the great skill of his cook, Otilie Resiger, citing her credentials as a cook at the "Franziskaner Geist" and describing her as the very "best" of cooks.¹¹² Resiger, of course, needed to be defended in this context to safeguard the reputation of Sedlmayr's business—an eatery more likely closer to an inn, than a high-end restaurant. Despite the added logistical difficulties of cooking on a ship, however, the standards expected of the personnel were not less than that of their counterparts on stable ground.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

**When Finances did not match Status:
Age, Slumming, Faking it, Accepting Middlingness**

Middlingness came with expectations, but age made allowances for non-royal inspired behavior characteristic of a social group always aspiring to imitate elites. In the early stages in life, compromises were allowed to otherwise minimum middling standards. Schoolboys, for example, took their buttered bread to school to curb their midday hungers (Figure 31). The breadbox of Gerhard Rohlfs from mid-century, for example, read “Food my Passion.”



Figure 31. Breadbox of Gerhard Rohlfs, approx. 1840.¹¹³

¹¹³ HMSS.

When able, students would always dine out and use the oven as extra storage space—a commode for extra clothing,¹¹⁴ or as a mere container for their food—a “Speiseschrank” for snacks.¹¹⁵ Where the purse would not render status, however, sometimes the social network could. Young, well-connected bachelors living in larger cities like Berlin could pay to eat at the homes of their work contacts. Otto Camphausen, for example, ate at a senior colleague’s home once a week, where “for much money a frugal but worthy luncheon” was available to him.¹¹⁶ Such young bachelors employed a house manager, and lived in one-bedroom homes with a kitchen they ignored as much as they could.¹¹⁷ However, as a last resort, when neither money nor social networks could remedy hunger, student bachelors would themselves cook. “If ever you are broke, then take up a cookbook,” the *Student Cookbook* of 1875 advised, calling cooking a “science” to make the activity appeal.¹¹⁸ The essential basics among long-lived, low-cost, and practical ingredients were butter, lard, and bacon, salt, sugar, tea and coffee, chocolate powder, potato flour, meat-extract, grits and rice, jam and flour, ham, sausage, and condensed milk.¹¹⁹ Fresh daily purchases of perishables combined with these pantry items provided by industry and custom then rendered the subsistence diet of the studioso. The dishes students could therewith cook were certainly simple, practical, and based on few ingredients. The resonance of menu structures however still guided the kinds of meals they ate: soups, cold soups, egg-dishes, potato-dishes, and salad. With the distant ideal of the royal-guided restaurant as a point of orientation, these recipes aimed to be “cheap,

¹¹⁴ Johanna Boy, *Studenten-Kochbuch* (Oschersleben: Köppel, 1875), 8.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁶ GStAPK: I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, Nr.93.

¹¹⁷ GStAPK: I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, Nr.119. Berlin den 5/7 May 1845.

¹¹⁸ Boy, *Studenten-Kochbuch*, 5.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

quick, and tasty”¹²⁰ alternatives until the real middling meal could be afforded again. Even when not cooking, however, students could use the oven in winter for heating the home,¹²¹ and *always* make their own tea, coffee—and “spirits!”¹²²

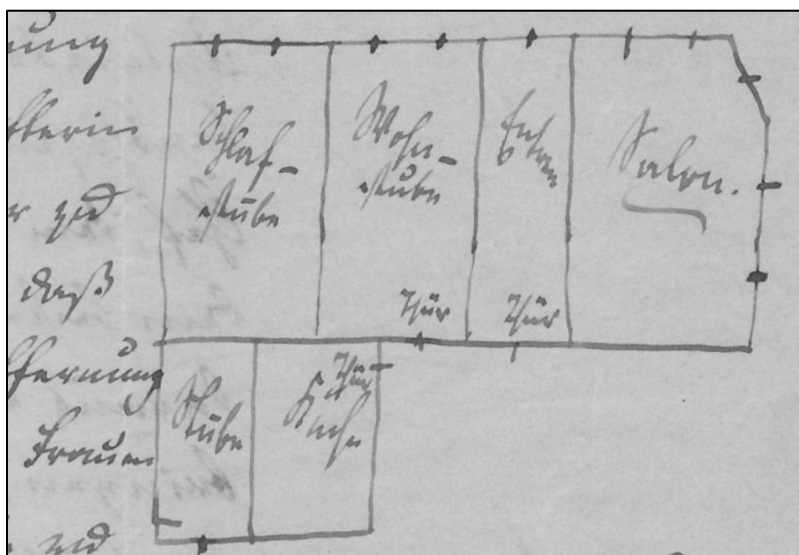


Figure 32. Camphausen’s sketch blueprint of his bachelor apartment in 1840 Berlin, kitchen on the bottom right.¹²³

Once the middling stages of life were reached, and the purse still would not render what status demanded, there was always creativity to fake the status one should have. Meat remained a primary feature of middle-class eating habits until the end of the century. While the middling made sure there was always sufficient meat in the house, they could not always afford to be picky with their food. As late as the 1860s, particularly in small towns and semi-rural areas, Germans seeking to be recognized as middling could not afford to throw away less conventional parts of the animal. Organs thus played

¹²⁰ Ibid, 6.

¹²¹ Ibid, 6.

¹²² Ibid, 5.

¹²³ GStAPK: I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, Nr.119. Berlin den 5/7 May 1845

a major part in middle-class dining. Sometimes baked, sometimes marinated, boiled, or seared, cow's lungs, brains, and udders demonstrate the slightly paradoxical aspects of being "middling" Germans in the 1850s and 1860s, where efforts to dine well and appear to dine well meshed with the practical necessity of hunger and scarcity of meat, as well as the processing of limitations in the aftermath of the harvest failures and hunger in the years 1845-1848.

Emma Allestein instructs her readers how to marinate a calf's brain in gory detail, with appropriate vegetables and spices such as cloves and ginger.¹²⁴ Lungs received similar treatment, blood-drained, "boiled" in saltwater, and cooked in a casserole with butter, breadcrumbs and parsley, an egg, and a bit of flour.¹²⁵ Udders, in turn, could be either boiled in water,¹²⁶ or thin-sliced, salted and peppered, "pan-fried in butter until brown," then served with salad or vegetables, lentils, peas or *Sauerkraut*.¹²⁷ Baked with "parsley, onion and lemon-peel, in some butter, covered in eggs and bread crumbs," they went best with mustard or gherkin-sauce.¹²⁸

Cookbook authors were well-aware that not all organs appealed to the middle class, and thus provided recipes to clothe and hide the unappealing meat in tasty-looking dishes. Allestein wrote regarding the serving of kidneys, for example, that "in some households, the kidneys are seldom, or begrudgingly eaten."¹²⁹ Oehm thus provided a remedy for the hesitance towards organ meat: "False Oysters from Cow's Brain."¹³⁰ "Boiled, let to rest in water for eight days, served with anchovy-butter" and broth, bread-crumbs and lemon

¹²⁴ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/17, 35.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 111.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 19.

¹²⁷ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/17, 19.

¹²⁸ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/08, 39-40.

¹²⁹ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/17, 123.

¹³⁰ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/08, 33.

pieces, baked, and served in oyster-shells, these soft pieces of cow's brain transformed into an apparent luxury dish: "when oysters are in season," Oehm specified, "one can receive some deep shells in guesthouses, which one can clean, dry, and keep" to serve the cow's brain in repeatedly.¹³¹

Not only does the transformation of brain matter into oysters aid an attempt at distinction and appearing well off, but this recipe clothes the idea of eating brain with the idea of something else—much as food processing can and does today, be that a meal-worm burger, or a chicken nugget shaped as a tyrannosaurus. If these mid-nineteenth-century "how to" instructions failed to clothe mental images with presentation, then "lemon or anchovy-sauce" might at least remedy an organic taste¹³² as aspiring middling Germans pursued their characteristic distinction through a high consumption of meat.¹³³

Finally, while it was part and parcel of middlingness to aspire—sometimes, members of the social middle simply decided to celebrate their own social standing. While at times able to dine like the emperor, sometimes the middling chose *not* to, and instead celebrated their liberal citizens' freedoms with noise, folk singing, and rustic dancing, not reminiscent of court culture. On some middling occasions, like the slightly more raucous and informal, masculine occasion of a soldier's farewell from his company, decorum would not apply and the menu sported several raucous toasts alongside lists of dishes.¹³⁴ During the "Goodbye to Superintendent Otto Dreyer in 1891 Gotha," for example, the soup was followed by a toast, a ham with macaroni, a toast, salmon with

¹³¹ Ibid, 33.

¹³² FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/17, 19.

¹³³ Claudia Kreklau, "'Organic' Tools for Social Standing: Oehm's and Allestein's Recipes for Brain, Lung, and Udders, 1850-60s," *H-Nutrition Recipes Project: What is a Recipe?*, June 2017, <https://networks.h-net.org/node/181281/pdf>.

¹³⁴ FUBEG: Goth 4° 00155-171 (31): Gotha, Den 15. April 1891. Zum Abschied von Superintendent Otto Dreyer (1837-1900). - Enth. Programm des Festessens mit Speisekarte. Gotha: Hellfarth, 1891.

potatoes, a toast, a roast, salads and compot, butter and cheese.¹³⁵ On others, one could combine royal dining styles with “uncramped”¹³⁶ middling practices. During the General Journalist and Writer’s Convention in Bavaria in 1895, for example, the dinner menu at the general meeting was structured according to the logic of the many-coursed meal of several dishes, starting with a soup, fish and meat, salad and compot followed by cheese and butter, and yet, the composition of the dishes was less than royal: “ox tail soup, samlets...ox liver, chickens in Stanley style, roast venison with preserved fruits, Nesselrode pudding, baked goods and fruit, cheese and butter.”¹³⁷ Further, the party enjoyed twelve songs all throughout the dinner.¹³⁸

In touristic appreciation of a German region, in turn, a middling traveller would taste the local spirit and its peasant practices while maintaining their middling practices and expensive entertainments. Middling tourists travelling to rural Bavaria, for example, combined the rustic appeal of buying “fresh foods” from carts “pulled through the town twice a day by donkeys” with their four meals daily—including the quintessential middling meal of “coffee and cake” in the afternoon.¹³⁹ Within the confines of the daily program, “music and happy dance,” were a rural norm.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, their stays could include “singing and dancing, Schuhplattlertanz, and fireworks.”¹⁴¹ Irrespective of where they chose to spend their vacation time, however, the middling of the 1890s communicated their status by not bringing their own foods on the road. For the very

¹³⁵ Ibid, 1.

¹³⁶ “zwangloses Mittagessen,” DLA: T 93.0404 *Fest-Führer: Allgemeiner Deutscher Journalisten- und Schriftstellertag. Gewidmet vom "Landes-Ausschuß zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Bayern" und der "Festvereinigung* (Munich: Schuh und Cie., 1893), 39.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 45.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 46.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 175.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 177.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 181.

adventurous, who finished their breakfasts at 5am to hike through the Bavarian countryside through the lake regions near Garmisch, for example, their second breakfast was enjoyed back in the city, not by the lake itself. The use of fireworks, in turn, and the leisure time they took out of their work lives in themselves indicated sufficient distance from the lower working who catered to them during their stays to satisfy the middling taste for distinction.

Kitchen Technology for Distinction and Imitation:

Stoves and Fridges

As discussed in Chapter 1, technological innovation in cooking infrastructures, from kitchen lay-outs to stoves and utensils, largely lagged between 1750 and 1850, as Germans proved hesitant and unable to implement innovations already common in Britain and the United States. Most common were brick and mortar ovens centering the house and home both in terms of family life and architecture until the early fin-de-siècle.

The earliest cast-iron ovens or stoves for heating and cooking dated as far back as the 1780s; the six-plate stove and ten-plate stove, as well as the Franklin-stove, and George Bodley's closed-top cooking surface from 1802, were well established along the North American east coast, and increasingly, from 1800, in Britain, but German kitchens did not innovate.¹⁴² Best-selling cookbook author, entrepreneur and feminist educator Betty Gleim wrote to the editor of the *Morgenblatt* journal in 1816: "you should consider the adjoined treatise about gas [ovens] a pleasant and edifying contribution for the

¹⁴² Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *Encyclopedia of Kitchen History* (London: Routledge, 2004), 955, 956, 838, 957.

Morgenblatt...In England, this practical invention...already enjoys considerable success, and has proven itself useful for estate- and home-economics; in Germany...it must still prove itself useful. [It is up to us] to win the German public over...in the light of its track-record in England.”¹⁴³ German readers were well-aware of the technological changes to the cooking infrastructure in American and especially British kitchens in the 1820s. A cookbook author publishing in 1821 noted that “ovens made of iron have been...supplied with grips, in order to be able to carry them from one place to another.”¹⁴⁴ Yet, as late as 1842, cookbook authors observed that in “most middle class houses [bürgerlichen Häusern]...people still cook over an open fire,” using wood.¹⁴⁵ The architectural nature of the brick and mortar stove top and ovens made the established technology unmoving and unmovable, slowing down the adoption of new ovens in all but the most well-off households. Only the very well-to-do, who could afford to let one kitchen grow cold, and install a new one, with enough space in their house, and enough funds to equip a second one, were the primary consumers of movable iron ovens as of the 1860s.

Technological change did not reach the German population until the twentieth-century: in the meantime, modern gas stove-oven combinations were an elite item of upper class status for the urban middling. Hybrid iron ovens in use from as early as 1820, but more frequently as of 1860, burned both wood and coal. Larger models, built, advertised and sold in Germany as of the 1880s, used coal and gas. The latter, however,

¹⁴³ DLA: Cotta\$Br, Gleim, Betty Cotta 3. Cotta: Mannheim, 25.1.1816 (1 Blatt).

¹⁴⁴ FUBEG: Math 8° 01473/06: Johann Christian Eupel, *Der Vollkommene Conditor, Oder Gründliche Anweisung zur Zubereitung aller Arten Bonbons, Stangenzucker, Conserven, Zuckerkuchen, Essenzpasten ... und Rezepte zu allen Gattungen der Kunstbäckerei zls zu Torten, Makronen ... ferner zu den beliebtesten Arten künstlicher Getränke und Chokoladen*, 2nd Ed. (Sondershausen: Voigt, 1821), 8.

¹⁴⁵ FUBEG: N 8° 05425 (01): i.

were aimed primarily at restaurants and hotels, perhaps stately kitchens, and only secondarily at urban near-elite households willing to invest in a modern kitchen that broke with the molds of “old.”



Figure 33. Small town “rural” stove, turn of the century.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ WOK.



Figure 34. Large restaurant used stove, 1900 approx.

Note the taps on the left-hand side, indicative of gas provision.¹⁴⁷

Alternatively, if one could not afford a new large oven, but needed a cooking stove on a small budget, for blue-collar migrants from rural areas to the city in newly built houses, for example, smaller stoves were an option (Figure 35). Such models allowed for one heating plate, a small baking tray, one provision-area for coal, and an ash-tray. Further, in order to save on coals and wood, the lower end of the social middle, and the urban working, would have bought a fire-box or “Kochkiste,” (Figures 36 and 37) in use in Germany until the end of the Second World War. Lined out with straw, iron plates heated in an oven, and placed into the box along with a pot of food, could allow slow-cooking without the use of additional fuel. Contemporaries often complained of the difficulty of maintaining constant temperatures in brick and mortar ovens, and that while

¹⁴⁷ WOK.

the kitchen stayed warm throughout the day, the warmth spoiled food more quickly.¹⁴⁸ Advertisers thus emphasized that “new” iron ovens, “Kochapparat” or “Kochmaschine,” were an efficient and less wasteful means to cook.¹⁴⁹ “Self-cookers,” in turn, made to be heated and preserve heat, could also save on energy costs (Figure 38). Finally, a “spirit-gas cooker” (Figure 39) could serve as an alternative where space was even more limited. For poorer Germans living in apartment buildings of several stories housing multiple urban families at once, where the placement of the kitchen and ventilation became a problem, “gas” and “petrol” cookers began to outcompete larger stove tops and ovens—a development that had existed in Britain since 1800.¹⁵⁰



Figure 35. Small, single hot-plate stove (right), small wood or coal-powered stove, (left).¹⁵¹



Figure 36. “Kochkiste,” or Fire-Box, Brand “Heinzelmännchen.”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ FUBEG: Math 8° 01467/22, p.4;.

¹⁴⁹ FUBEG: N 8° 05425 (01): vii.

¹⁵⁰ Lothar Abel, *Das gesunde, behagliche und billige Wohnen* (Leipzig: A. Hartleben, 1894), 289.

¹⁵¹ WOK.

¹⁵² WOK.

Heizelmännchen
 □□ kocht, bratet und backt □□
ohne Feuer □□ ohne Aufsicht



„Heizelmännchen“-Apparate werden in folgenden Grössen geliefert:

No.	einteilig				doppeltteilig		
	1	12	13	14	15	16	17
Mk.	14,-	16,-	18,-	20,-	28,-	31,-	33,-

□□ Kohlen- und Gas-Ersparnis, □□
 Kein Anbrennen, kein Ueberkochen,
 Erhaltung der Nähr- und Genusswerte.
 □□ Ausführliche Prospekte gratis und franko. □□

„Heizelmännchen“-Compagnie, G.m.b.H.
 □□ BERLIN NW. 40, Heidestrasse 52. □□

Ge druckt bei Imberg & Lohson in Berlin W. 9.

Figure 37. Advertisement for the Heizelmännchen

Firebox.¹⁵³Figure 38. “Self-cooker,”¹⁵⁴Figure 39. “Spirit-Cooker”¹⁵⁵¹⁵³ WOK: HG.Mic.1910.¹⁵⁴ WOK: HG.Goe.1900, 46.¹⁵⁵ WOK: HG.Weil.1900, vii.

Restaurants and hotels started to replace inns and guest-houses in Germany as of the 1870s, but did not pick up in urban areas until the 1880s.¹⁵⁶ A particularly well-to-do urban family could, of course, purchase and use these items as well, relying on three to six hot plates powered with wood, coal, coke, gas, and thus imitate the restaurants catering to the social elite. The largest and most modern kitchens in homes were therefore the infrastructural equivalent of eating like the king eats: your chefs or cooks, cooked like a restaurant chef would. In cases where middling women embraced the home-making role, therefore, this financial distinction added prestige to their confined work and gendered roles, sweetening domesticity.¹⁵⁷



Figure 40. Iron stove, 1890.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Teuteberg, “The Rising of Popularity of Dining Out,” 282-3, 291. See also: Jean-Robert Pitte, “The Rise of the Restaurant,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, eds. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 478-9.

¹⁵⁷ Note a photograph where young students of a cooking school surround their object of prestige—an iron stove—in the late nineteenth century. Trocka, “Der Entbehrliche Luxus,” 41.

¹⁵⁸ WOK: HG.Dav.1890.

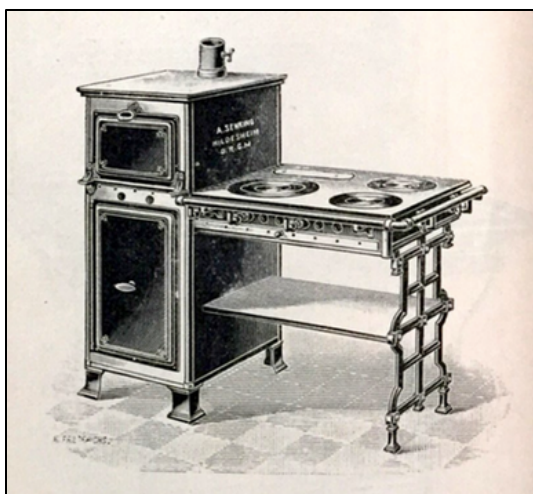


Figure 41. Iron Stove Advertisement.¹⁵⁹

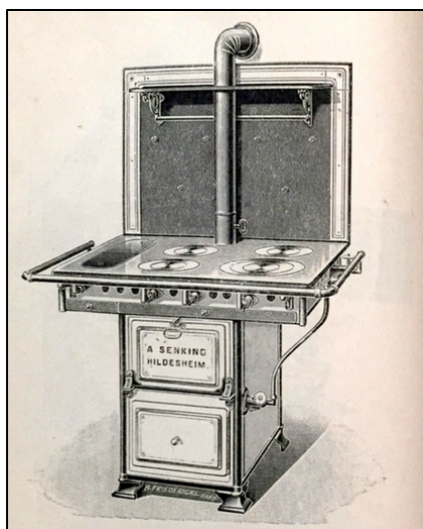


Figure 42. "Gas Oven" Advertisement.¹⁶⁰

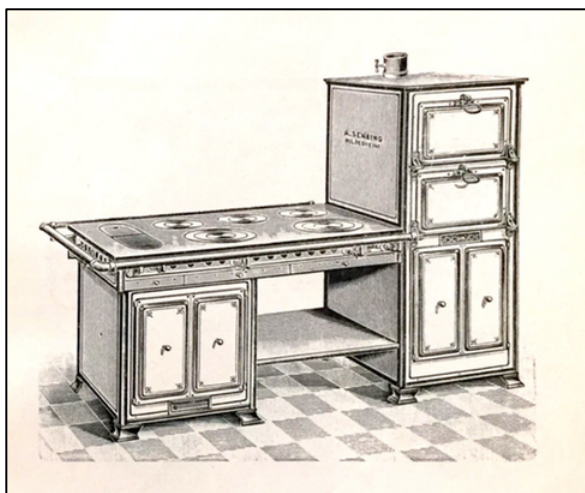


Figure 43. Gas oven advertisement.¹⁶¹

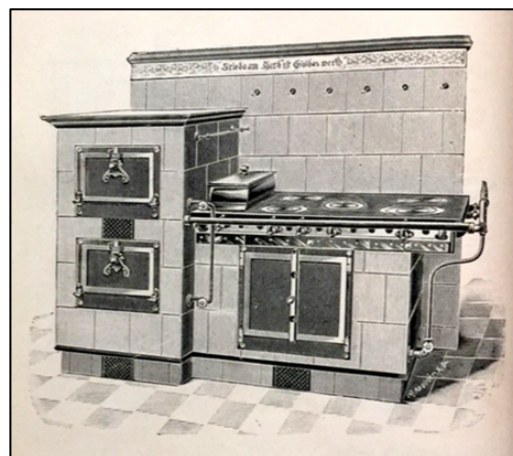


Figure 44. Brick/Iron Stove combination;
compare with stove in Figure 2 above.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ WOK: HG.Goe.1900.

¹⁶⁰ WOK: HG.Goe.1900.

¹⁶¹ WOK: HG.Goe.1900. See also large "Gas Ofen" with five hot plates and two oven compartments in WOK: HG.Goe.1900.

¹⁶² WOK: HG.Goe.1900.

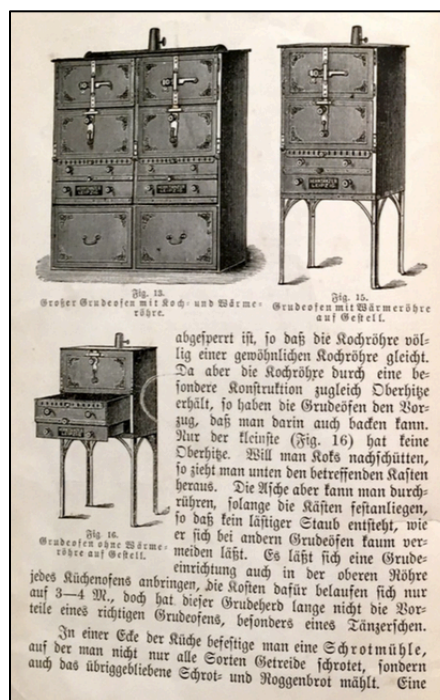


Figure 45. Coke-fuelled “Grudeöfen,” cooking and heating stoves imitating wooden furniture designs.¹⁶³

Stove-makers even catered to varied tastes among their elite domestic clientele. Designs, either seeking to imitate the look of ornate living-room furniture, or else to embellish older brick ovens with enameled tiles, contrasted with more “modern,” surgical painted iron surfaces (Figures 41 through 45). These “modern” designs did not imitate the traditional, customary and established brick ovens, but stood for a new kind of cooking. The choice of design, apart from being determined by funds, could well have expressed a political preference, or national identity. Imitation of nobility and royalty, primary trend-setters for the social middle, could have inspired the purchase of designs, the consumer’s taste serving as some indicator of their ideals: the more modern, technologically driven a society, for example, the more functional, and the less embellished their stoves and kitchens were. With this variety, producers promoted female identification with

¹⁶³ WOK: HG.Weil.1900, x.

consumerism, and their roles as guardians of the domestic sphere of influence.¹⁶⁴ None of this is surprising: as production grew, so did marketing, and consumer-identity, accordingly.



Figure 46. Store Advertisement for “Anton Laymayer’s” Kitchen Apparel.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ On very similar phenomena in the French case, see: Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market- Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

¹⁶⁵ WOK: HG.Löf.1897.



Figure 47. Advertisement for “The Future of the Gas-kitchen.”¹⁶⁶

By the time movable ovens became popular in Germany, in the early twentieth century, technology had moved ahead: gas ovens had been replaced with electric ones. The German middling seeking to improve their kitchens, therefore, and the country more largely, skipped the phase of movable, gas-powered ovens of the British and American nineteenth century, and moved directly to the electric ones. The spike in industrial development paired with innovation led to a popularization of electric ovens, rather than gas-powered ones, and contributed significantly to shaping the cooking infrastructure of Germany to this date. Germans continue to cook electric while gas-ovens remain rare.¹⁶⁷ Electric cooking in turn, safer than gas-cooking in a time of unreliable gas-supply and

¹⁶⁶ WOK: HG.Löf.1897.

¹⁶⁷ Example: Küppersbusch, still in operation, founded in 1875. “140 Jahre Küppersbusch.” Accessed January 13, 2017. <http://www.kueppersbusch.de/unternehmen/140-jahre/>.

frequent fires, brought about a new phase in German cuisine, away from the direct use of “Promethean” fire.



Figure 48. Advertisement for “electric heating” by Prometheus G.m.b.H.¹⁶⁸



Figure 49. Prometheus’ advertisement, 1911.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, xiii.

¹⁶⁹ WOK: HG.Dav.1911.

The same distinction function of stoves we can observe in the story of refrigerators. Refrigeration, though invented by Carl von Linde in 1870, was first used in breweries for serving “fresh and frothy beer”¹⁷⁰ rather than for food refrigeration.¹⁷¹ Fridges using ammonium cooling were first used for keeping meat in 1882 in Bremen and 1883 in Wiesbaden, but would only reach households in a widespread way in the twentieth century.¹⁷² Before then, between 1860 and 1890, storing and cooling foods for the middling and elites alike meant filling several rooms with different kinds of food, while the poorer and especially the urban working classes had cupboards for the same purpose.

For the middling, the so-called “Speisekammer” or “Vorratskammer,” served as the equivalent of the well-known British pantry.¹⁷³ This room, either located in the cellar or on the first floor near the kitchen, was distinct from the cooling room used especially for cool drinks in summer. In the country’s large homes of the middling and elites, “ice-pits” and “ice-cellars” covered in oak with good drainage served as room-size fridges, often located on the bottom floor or a *souterrain* level of the house.¹⁷⁴ An attic, in turn, or additional cellar, with a lower temperature and elevated wooden shelves, often laid with straw, and potentially a small interior garden, housed fruit over the winter.

For the working and lower middling for whom space was sparse, especially in urban areas, “food-cupboards” were the norm for storing provisions—a “cupboard, in which

¹⁷⁰ *Wiener Weltausstellungs-Zeitung: Central-Organ für die im Jahre 1873 stattfindende Weltausstellung in Wien, sowie für alle Interessen des Handels und der Industrie*, Nr 277 (Wien, Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei, Dienstag den 14 October 1873), 2.

¹⁷¹ Theodor Koller, ed. *Neueste Erfindungen und Erfahrungen auf den Gebieten der praktischen Technik, Elektrotechnik, der Gewerbe, Industrie, Chemie, der Land und Hauswirthschaft* (Wien: Harleben, 1882), 253-4.

¹⁷² Ursula Heinzlmann, *Beyond Bratwurst: A History of Food in Germany* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 192.

¹⁷³ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

¹⁷⁴ Abel, *Das gesunde Wohnen*, 296.

foods (provisions or remains) [were] kept.”¹⁷⁵ Towards the end of the century, “in the city, one [could] purchase ice at any time and for little money,”¹⁷⁶ and “ice-boxes” (“Eiskästen”)¹⁷⁷ taking up little space became more common for holding temperature-sensitive items. These boxes were lined with metal, prone to rust as ice melted, thus making “porcelain-lining” a selling-point for “ice-cupboards” (see Figure 50) by 1890.

Given the affordable price of ice, the middling throughout the century made ice-cream in imitation of royal dining. By the end of the century, however, technology eased the process, and became an accepted addition to the middling and elite repertoire of utensils. The so-called “Eismachine,” and ice-cream maker, by companies such as Alexanderwerk (still in operation today), replaced the bowl-on-bowl techniques preceding it with a wooden bucket lined with metal.¹⁷⁸ Depending on the affluence of the family, the ingredients would vary in price, and include, as throughout the century, cream, sugar, many egg-yolks and a flavorful ingredient such as coffee.¹⁷⁹ As imitation of elites required ice, refrigeration, and indeed ice-cream, producers were keen to occupy market-niches.

¹⁷⁵ Bd. 16, Sp. 2124, “Speiseschrank,” in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Das deutsche Wörterbuch*, ed. Daniel Sanders, (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1852). Available at: “Wörterbuchnetz - Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm Und Wilhelm Grimm.” Accessed 16th Feb 2018. <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GK00350#XGK00350>.

¹⁷⁶ Abel, *Das gesunde Wohnen*, 296.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 297.

¹⁷⁸ The WOK holds an original of the here cited Alexanderwerk ice-cream maker from around 1900.

¹⁷⁹ DLA: A.Hauptmann, Carl-Nitsche Kochbuch der Martha Hauptmann 1881-1891, 69.

Eis- und Speisen-Schränke
 anstatt des stets oxydierenden Metalles mit Innenwandungen und Eisbehälter
 von *dickem, weissglasierten Porzellan*, bester Ventilation und Ab-
 führung, Sommer und Winter nutzbar, solid, absolut rein, frei von Ge-
 ruch, liefert zu Fabrikpreisen unter Garantie gegen Bruch im Porzellan

R. v. Bandel,
Dresden-Strieschen, J. und 10 Straße.

Figure 50. Advertisement for an “Ice-Cupboard,” 1890.¹⁸⁰

Unentbehrlich für jede Küche.



Alexanderwerk-Eismaschinen
 mit unverwüsthlichem Holzstoffweimer

zur billigen und mühelosen Bereitung von Eiscremes, Frucht-
 Gefrorenem aller Art mittelst Salz und Rohels innerhalb 10 Minuten.
 — Ladenpreis von Mark 9.— an. —

„Alexanderwerk“.
 Fleischschneidemaschinen, Brotschneider, Frucht-
 und Schmalzpressen, Messerputzer „Kobold“, Wring-
 maschinen, Serviettenpressen.

Zu haben in allen Küchengeräthhandlungen. Man fordere
 Maschinen mit der Bezeichnung „Alexanderwerk“.

„Alexanderwerk“ A. von der Nahmer, Remscheid.

Figure 51. Ice-cream maker, 1893.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 20.

¹⁸¹ WOK: HG.Dav.1893, also WOK: Dav.Dav.1893.

Finances over Connections:

Changes in Consumption Habits in Fin-de-Siècle Urban Centers

As much as the German middling knew that they were what they ate, they also knew that they were whom they knew. Food gift networks remained crucial throughout the century as symbolic social webs of status-exchange. Fresh fruit being a luxury item for first class eating already sending seasonal or regional specialties to another area of Germany, where access to the limited good was difficult and demand likely to be high, meant that the produce traded up in value the further it travelled, particularly if it were well-known to be from elsewhere. In his correspondence to his brother-in-law Schweinfurth, Rohlf's writes in thanks in a letter of 1872, "we just recently received some delicious grapes from your sister Palowna from Botzen [sic],"¹⁸² and in turn sent Schweinfurth in 1877 some "dried fruit, very exquisite ones from Bremen, that are probably of French or palatine origin."¹⁸³ Fruits, in essence, were not only a sign of first class eating, but coveted rarities throughout the year.¹⁸⁴ Much like in the early decades of the century, fruits were available fresh between July and September, leaving consumers to preserve them as soon as they were picked to provide for the rest of the year. Being located near a major port city like Bremen, with good access to foreign products and special imports, featured as advantages in such network exchanges. Cake was an equally treasured item throughout the century that correspondents either asked or thanked their friends and family for.¹⁸⁵ Finally, cured meats could be coveted items, particularly if they were a regional specialty.

¹⁸² HMSS: RA.4.94, p4 of 4.

¹⁸³ HMSS: RA.9.4, p.3.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter 4, first class eating at Heidelberg Hospital.

¹⁸⁵ SGML: A/3085/2010; SGML: A/3395/2010.

For example, in a letter to Gustav Wustman to Rudolf Wustman from 1901, the former thanks the latter for the ham he sent.¹⁸⁶ While today's airports might sell us tea and chocolate as courtesy gifts, in this time, fruit and cake are likely to have been similar universally acceptable and desirable items. Such networks, in turn, were often the preferred means of acquiring great quality foods, as Camphausen discusses in one of his letters. In 1884 the retired Prussian minister writes, "while I do not have close relatives who would have the kindness to send partridges into my kitchen, the Berlin market supplies me well with these items,"¹⁸⁷ showing that market-procurement was second-choice to the members of his social group. At the same time, his admission indicates that urban living in a center like Berlin meant a significant change in lifestyle, access, and consumption patterns for the upper middling members of society, who increasingly had to rely on financial means rather than social networks to determine their class identity.¹⁸⁸

Finances, rather than whom you knew well, began to determine class status more and more. Next to meat, variety served as a hallmark of the elite urban diets. Fresh fruits, vegetables and fish were a luxury the lower urban classes could not afford. An urban, blue-collar, lower middling nuclear family of about three in the urban north-west in 1898-99, for example, would live on a monotonous diet resembling contemporary tendencies of monoculture. The mother would purchase milk, bread and pork on a daily basis from local vendors for 0.23-0.25M and 0.3-0.45M per day. Milk, bread and pork cost approximately 0.12M per person and 0.08M respectively per day. Other key and

¹⁸⁶ BAUL: NL 297/1/1045.

¹⁸⁷ GStAPK: I.HA Rep.92 Camphausen, Nr.438, 2 Blatt.

¹⁸⁸ See also Lohmeier's analysis of the market hall refurbishing in Berlin, which caused this consumer space to become more palatable to city elites: Andrew Lohmeier, "Bürgerliche Gesellschaft and Consumer Interests: The Berlin Public Market Hall Reform, 1867-1891," *Business History Review* 73, no. 1 (1999): 91-113.

commonly purchased but more expensive staples included vinegar, butter, gherkins and onions, plums, salt, sugar, spices, cinnamon, coffee and cocoa. The purchase of an imported luxury item, or colonial product, could cost 0.9M for cocoa, 0.8M for coffee, or 1.1M for a pound or a kilogram of almonds depending on provenance—such a sum otherwise covered the food needs for a nuclear family for two days.¹⁸⁹ A pound of coffee could cost between 1.25M and 1.80M while surrogates cost 0.3M a pound, and cocoa, 1.2m-2.4M per pound.¹⁹⁰ Tea cost between 2M and 6M a pound.¹⁹¹ Local essentials like vinegar and butter in contrast cost 0.5M and 0.63M respectively. Once per month, beef for 1.23M-3.6M or chicken for 3.2M could be part of the meal plan. With costs of 50M in the fall (September) and 90M in November, 100M in December, and 90M between January and April, a small nuclear family could not afford to pay 4.1M for fish, 3M for beer (very often, though they did), or 7M for apples.¹⁹² With an income of up to 133M per month, costs of over 100M per month were damaging. Such budgets and habits did not allow for visiting restaurants in urban centers.

The stratification of subsistence cost between the lower middling and the well-to-do becomes obvious with a comparison of such costs. A menu at a restaurant in the center of Frankfurt cost 8M; the leisurely trip to a rural town cost between 0.35M and 1.65M (3.05M-7.90M for the express train) depending on the distance, the stay at an inn overnight, 0.80M, and a festive meal for 5M.¹⁹³ When a city-dweller, therefore, eating out was hardly an option for the lower middling.¹⁹⁴ While in contemporary US cities like

¹⁸⁹ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 18, 31.

¹⁹⁰ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 23; 25.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, 26.

¹⁹² WOK: HH.H1.

¹⁹³ DLA: T 93.0404, 174-204.

¹⁹⁴ Kelly Erby, “Public Appetite: Dining out in Nineteenth-Century Boston” (PhD diss., Emory University, 2010).

Boston, immigrants identified the niche needs of urban workers who needed to dine out, it would have been the German equivalent practice to take a ham sandwich to work instead, drink milk and beer, and perhaps supplement their diet of daily pork with whatever a land-patch would render.¹⁹⁵ It may well be that urban workers were at least in part dependent on factory canteens.

Whether or not a city-dwelling family might have supplemented their market and shop purchases with self-grown produce in so-called “Schrebergärten” is likely to have been a question of finances and a more typical phenomenon of the early twentieth rather than the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, contemporary nutritional debates assigned so low a value to vegetables, and questioned the high sugar content of fruit, so that a health-minded family might not bother to grow such foods.¹⁹⁶ At the same time, however, to counteract the stress of the city, with all its then popular neurasthenic effects on the mind, a garden and its nature-bound work might have functioned as a therapeutic outlet for the overworked. Further, the sales of small plots of land in the city outskirts in less desirable areas provided vendors with an income in a potentially attractive market-niche, who could use the name of the famous sport-paedagogian Moritz Schreber, after whom such gardens were posthumously named, to advertise their land rentals.¹⁹⁷ It may well have been down to individual families’ choices, assessing the cost of a land rental for a fixed amount of time, paired with the consideration of whether they had enough

¹⁹⁵ See also Lesniczak’s comparison of bread, milk, and meat-consumption among rural and urban workers, 1860-1910: *Alte Landschaftsküchen im Sog der Modernisierung: Studien zu einer Ernährungsgeographie Deutschlands zwischen 1860 und 1930* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003), 110. Lesniczak finds the main ingredients in an urban worker’s diet were potatoes (dependent on region—the north more than the south), bread, milk (somewhat more in the west than the east), and meat. Peter Lesniczak, “Derbe bäuerliche Kost und feine städtische Küche,” in *Die Revolution am Esstisch: neue Studien zur Nahrungskultur im 19.-20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Munich: Franz Steiner, 2004), 133.

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

¹⁹⁷ Walter Hering, “Ihr Städter, erwerbt Euch Gärtchen!” *Deutscher Garten*, (Leipzig: Gartenbauverlag Trowitzsch & Sohn., 1895), 337. Further: *Die Gartenlaube* (1883), 371-2.

time to tend it, alongside the desire or need for produce on the side, that influenced urban gardeners' decision making. An examination of eating conditions of hospital personnel however suggests that there were no other unmentioned agrarian or garden side-products of fruits or vegetables that might have supplemented the "monotonous" and often poorly prepared diet of bread and lean meat that lower members of society were used to.¹⁹⁸ At worst, this meant that the carb-rich diet of the lower middling only saw itself differentiated from the diet of the worker through its intake of meat and virtually no intake of either fruits or vegetables as a main part of the main meals, making coffee essential for the regulation of digestion, with beer of varying amounts, between a quarter of a liter to a liter a day, an expensive but allegedly nutritious go-to drink beside it.¹⁹⁹ Either way, as a rule produce consumption must have been very low among the urban working and lower middling, as even self-grown produce could not provide the bulk of a diet. If at all, the lower middling and working of large German cities had to grow their vegetables themselves and may not have done so unless market prices rose too high for pork and wheat given the contemporary conviction among nutritional experts that vegetables and fruits were nutritionally useless.

In very great contrast, the table of a grand family such as Martha Hauptmann's between 1881-1891, would include mussels, crabs, wild duck and doves, game and eel, soups with veal dumplings, venison and pork ribs, chicken fricassee, beef filets with mushroom, English roasts, truffles, ham pasties, and all kinds of other meats and

¹⁹⁸ "einförmig." In "Heidelberg, den 9. Februar 1910, Universität Heidelberg Krankenhauskommission No. 120 Auf den Erlass vom 17. Dezember v.Js. Nr. B. 15980, 8 Anlagen, "Die Verköstigung der Krankenschwestern im Akademischen Krankenhaus in Heifelberg betr." An: Grossh. Ministerium der Justiz, des Kultus und Unterrichts Karlsruhe, in BWGLAK: 235.30216.

¹⁹⁹ Abschrift, 12. Dezember 1911. "Die Getränkeablösung betreffend." The source recommends replacing some wine and beer with sodawater and lemonade ("Sodawasser oder Limonade"), in BWGLAK: 235.30216.

vegetables, with a vast variety of desserts to complement the menu and follow on from the main dishes. While vegetables took on a peripheral function in the high middling logic of cuisine, they could be part of such dishes as cabbage rolls, carrot soup, or spinach pudding. Further, endives, cauliflower, and salads served as side-dishes to the meaty mains. The desserts included not only sugar, spices, and a variety of fruits including citrus, but also the coveted and expensive imports of nuts, cocoa, tea and coffee. What you could purchase, therefore, and did not have to rear yourself, became a key criterion for upper middling belonging.

Technology and Industry:

Selling Hierarchy and Empire

Fruits and Vegetables: the Canned Good

While fresh fruits and vegetables were a desired item, their preserved equivalents could serve as acceptable substitutes. With harvests between June and September in the fall, crops sustained individuals across the social spectrum throughout the whole year. While before the 1860s, preserving vegetables often involved high amounts of vinegar and spices, as of the 1880s and after the impact of *hâute cuisine* in middling homes, preserving could include less spices. Preservation with nutmeg, pepper, estragon, laurels in vinegar did not disappear, but preserved goods diversified.²⁰⁰ Particularly the social

²⁰⁰ HMSS: Koch.Hey.1. Bertha Heydens, *Kochbuch odr gründliche Anweisung, einfache und feine Speisen mit möglichster Sparsamkeit zuzubereiten*, 16th Edition (Enßlin: Reutlingen, 1887). See also Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

middle needing vegetables in the winter had the option of having staff preserve produce themselves, or purchasing them in stores.

At least by the 1880s, German middling housewives and their cooks knew how to conserve vegetables in saltwater. Popular greens for home-preserving included asparagus, green peas, carrots, cauliflower, mushrooms, and morels.²⁰¹ Alternatively to jams, fruit in glass containers,²⁰² in sugared water, made “reineclaudes,” “pineapple,”²⁰³ and “pears”²⁰⁴ popular. Further, rare meats and seafood in cans joined the produce in the pantry, such as “junipers and larks,” partridges, doves, and shrimp.²⁰⁵

In terms of technique and materials, much stayed the same, with merely greater scales of production to cater for the needs of the urban middling. Industry and shops catered to the demand for glass jars, or tin cans (Figures 52-54). Pots for sealing the containers well in a high-temperature environment and so-called “provisions cookers” provided more specialized tools for a customary practice in place since before 1800, possibly for the more affluent in urban areas to process the seasonal goods the ground rendered between June and September.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Ibid, xxi, 364, xxi, 364, xxi, 365, xxi, 365, xxi, 365, xxi, 365.

²⁰² Ibid, 363.

²⁰³ Ibid, xxi, 366.

²⁰⁴ DLA: A:Hauptmann, Carl/Nitsche, Hauptmann, Martha, 2 Kochbücher, p.46.

²⁰⁵ HMSS: Koch.Hey.1, xxi, 366, xxi, 367, xiii, xiii, xxi, 365.

²⁰⁶ BWGLAK: 233 Nr. 13632, 1-2; WOK: HG.Löf.1897 1900, 1158. The industry producing these slight variations in older technologies attempted to lobby against tight regulations for canned goods that would make the use of cans containing lead or copper illegal in 1888 and their stock unsellable. They however failed to prolong debates over the law. The debate gives some indication of their importance, and attempted reach: See Chapter 4.

Krumeich's Konerven-Krug
 D. R. G. M.
 aus braun=alzglasiertem Steinzeug.



Einfaclter
 ficherter
 Derfaclt!

 Zerpringt
 nicht beim
 Kochen!

Superfllig
 prafilch
 billig!

 Eclt-
 unburch-
 lflig!

— Weit über eine Million im Gebrauch. —
 Konerven bleiben jahrelang frisch!



Gratisbroflüre: „Wie erreclt man naturfrilche Konerven?“
 durch die Verkaufsstellen; wo nicht erflfllich, wende man sich an
Wilhelm Krumeich, Ransbach 51.
 (Westerwald).

Figure 52. Stoneware²⁰⁷

Ginmach-Gläser

jeder Gattung, Größe und Form mit den
 besten luftdichten Verschlussvorrichtungen,
 langjährig bewährt, von den ersten Koch-
 Autoritäten anerkannt und empfohlen, sowie

Glasgeschirre jedweder Art,
 von den einfachsten bis zu den reichsten,
 empfehlen

Vereinigte Radeberger Glashütten (Sachsen).

Eigene
 Niederlagen
 mit reichhaltigen
 Lägern
 in allen Gläsern

in Dresden-A., Breitestraße, Rauhallen 4—6,
 „ Chemnitz, Große Brüdergasse 14,
 „ Frankfurt a. M., Heiligkreuzgasse 1,
 „ Nürnberg, Tafelhofstraße 18,
 „ Leipzig, Roßplatz 15.

Preisourante gratis.

Figure 53. Glass Jars²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ WOK: HG.Dav.1911.

²⁰⁸ WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 20.



Figure 54. “Konservenbüchsen” and Preserving-Pot.²⁰⁹

By the 1880s, shops also sold industrial convenience, and simply buying tinned fruit and vegetables also became a more common option. Comparing the prices of vegetables and fruits makes it evident that vegetables were a fraction of the price of fruit, with fruits ranging between 0.80 and 1.20M per pound of fruit, and 0.35M-1.25M per pound of vegetable.²¹⁰ Besides markets, where prices for keeping a stall were low, keeping a shop or “Delicatessen” store could provide the urban middling with products all year round, increasingly irrespective of season.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ WOK: HG.Dav.1892. Equally the “Rex” Provisions cooker: WOK: HG.Mic.1910.

²¹⁰ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 16; WOK: Hg.Dav.1893.

²¹¹ See also price-lists for fruit and spices in: WOK: HG.All.1899.

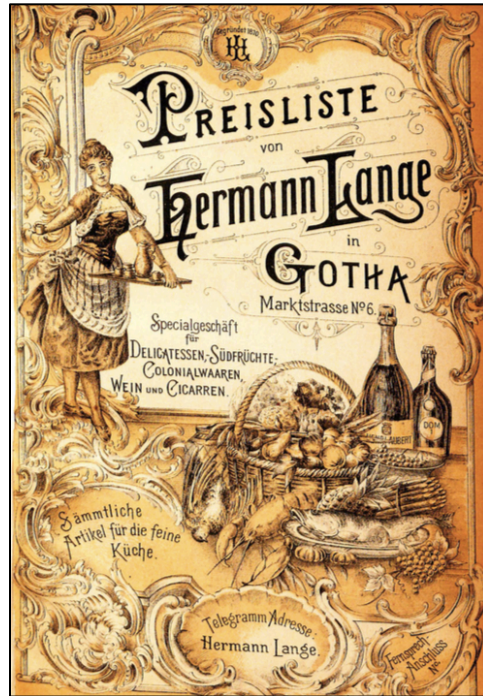


Figure 55. Catalogue of Herman Lange's "Delicatessen, Exotic Fruit, Colonial Import, Wine and Cigar"

Shop in Gotha, 1895.²¹²

Shops could present their customers with an increasing range of industrial products from the 1880s. One novel product present in diets across the middling spectrum was gelatin for savory or sweet dishes.²¹³ Endorsed by best-selling cookbook author Henriette Davidis, and making use of the bones of the cattle trade, the practical dry good was popular across the social spectrum.²¹⁴ An alternative to the popular meat extract by Liebig and a host of other companies was "spiced salt"²¹⁵ consisting of dried vegetable powder such as carrots, leeks, and onions in salt, soluble nutriment, and dried biscuits

²¹² FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453. See also for a price list of canned vegetables: WOK: Hg.Dav.1893.

²¹³ WOK: HG.Dav.1892.

²¹⁴ E.g.: DLA: A.Hauptmann, Carl-Nitsche Kochbuch der Martha Hauptmann 1881-1891, 63; WOK: HH-H1: July 16th 1898.

²¹⁵ WOK: HG.All.1899.

that could last for a long time.²¹⁶ All of these (see Chapter 1) had historical precedents, but clever marketing catering to the needed convenience and speed plus a long-shelf-life ensured an increase in the outsourcing of food production outside the home. Companies such as Hengstenberg's used new techniques for profiling their brand with a specifically designed logo of a rearing stallion to sell a very simple product—vinegar—effectively and successfully (Figure 57).

Ira Spieker's study of a grocer's credit-sales record from 1891-1898 in a small town in Westfalia shows that the main food products sold were "butter, rice, salt, sausage, sugar and bread" followed by a far more limited range of spices ("pepper, mustard, vinegar, as well as cinnamon and vanilla") than before mid-century. Further followed pearl barley, fruit or meat jelly, herrings, flour, starch and oil, finally meat extract and chicory. The most popular "Genußmittel" as Spieker calls it, was coffee, with some tobacco, and some wine.²¹⁷ Such purchasing behavior, likely more pronounced in larger towns and cities, would support the idea that former consumption of a range of spices not only declined in quantity and variety, but that there was in effect a degree of confluence between advertising products and consumer behavior—that is, the advertising worked—and that novel industrial products thus did much to rival former food practices as industry took over household tasks, such as preserving foods, preparing ready-meals, and instant soups.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ See discussion in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

²¹⁷ All: Ira Spieker, *Ein Dorf und sein Laden* (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 271.

²¹⁸ See also Chapter 4.

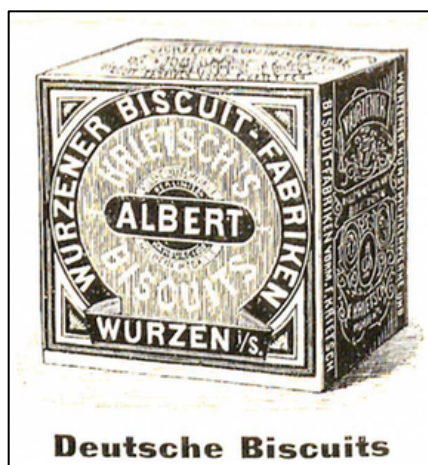


Figure 56. Biscuit Advertisement displaying “German Biscuit” box, 1895.²¹⁹



Figure 57. Advertisement for “Hengstenberg” vinegar, 1897.²²⁰

The “adulteration of coffee” (see Chapter 4) endemic in the age also produced new products to fill the niche of better taste and color for less money than quality coffee

²¹⁹ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 28.

²²⁰ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, xii.

would cost. Brands such as Franck and Kessler provided their customers with “coffee additive” to give the liquid a “beautiful color” and increase the “aroma” (Figures 58 and 59). Cheaper alternatives to “bean-coffee” such as chicory and grain-based broths brought forth “Brandt Kaffee,” based on coffee, yet made for being mixed with its substitutes (Figure 60).



Figure 58. Coffee-Additive, 1890.²²¹



Figure 59. “Kaffeezusatz,” 1892.²²²

²²¹ WOK: HG.Dav.1890, 14.

²²² WOK: HG.Dav.1892.



Figure 60. Brandt Coffee, 1890.²²³

From Lore, Crown, and Provenance to Industry and Empire

As soon as industrial products came about, marketing strategies had to be fairly inclusive across the imperial centers' social spectra to appeal to the widest possible market.²²⁴ Housewives were often in charge of purchases, but whenever they could afford it, outsourced shop and market-trips to their household personnel. This meant that companies had to code messages that appealed to a fairly wide range of buyers, from maids and cooks, servants and working housewives, to middling women and household managers, ladies and masters of the home, who controlled expenditure with high expectations for spending responsibly while gaining quality. The imagery that appealed across these different groups included lore, the crown, fantasies of empire and the wise Orient, as well as female family types such as the grandmother.

²²³ WOK: HG.Dav.1890.

²²⁴ See also Kirsten Schlegel-Matthies, "Anfänge des modernen Lebens- und Genussmittelwerbung: Produkte und Konsumgruppen im Spiegel von Zeitschriftenannoncen," in *Durchbruch Zum Modernen Massenkonsum: Lebensmittelmärkte Und Lebensmittelqualität Im Städtewachstum Des Industriezeitalters*, ed. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Münster: Cöpppenrath, 1987), 277-308.

Fairytales and myth provided ample imagery to profile technology and industrial products. The Alexanderwerk, for example, produced “knife cleaners” called “goblin,” (“Kobold”²²⁵) and a common firebox carried the name of “Heinzelmännchen” (see Figure 61)—the fabulous creatures who work at night while the artisan sleeps, drawing on fairy-tale imagery to outsource work to modern technology, combining new and old.



Figure 61. Print on top of a Heinzelmännchen Fire box.²²⁶

Just as early in the century, providing products to royalty and nobility gave stores and items the prestige of “purveyor to the court” and influenced marketing until the end of the century. Wittekop and Company emphasized that they delivered cocoa to the Duke of Braunschweig in 1892, while Lobeck and co. purveyed the royal court at Dresden in 1893.²²⁷ Tea serving the “German Emperor and King of Prussia” as well as several other

²²⁵ WOK: HG.Dav.1893, also WOK: Dav.Dav.1893.

²²⁶ WOK.

²²⁷ FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619 (9 September 1893): 287.

royals of ducal rank in Baden and Coburg-Gotha served as a sales point for Messmer in 1895.²²⁸



Figure 62. Tea for Kings and Dukes.²²⁹



Figure 63. Wittekop Advertisement sporting the Brunswick lion, 1892.²³⁰

²²⁸ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 26.

²²⁹ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 26.

²³⁰ WOK: HG.Dav.1892, also, WOK.HGDav.1893.

Other products, for which provenance could stand for quality, as early in the century, emphasized the imported nature of the product. Cocoa, for example, found a selling point in being from the Netherlands. Blooker's, De Jong, and Van Houten not only carried the Dutch names, but De Jong used a serving woman in what Germans would have perceived as a national costume with a white cap on their cocoa tin.²³¹



Figure 64. Van Houten's Cocoa, 1895.²³²



Figure 65. Cocoa tin de Jong, after 1900²³³

²³¹ WOK: HG.Kur.1887, 760.

²³² FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 24.

²³³ CBM.

Industry, light, and art-nouveau styles also found their way into newspaper advertisements. Combining simple, geometric shapes with asymmetrical and flowing fonts in prints black and white with minute, repetitive decorations that drew on historical precedent, companies such as Hartwig & Vogel, Wittekop & Co, and Gaedke's portrayed their products as industrial, modern, and full of light, with increasingly elaborate logos to profile their brands and protect their names. Moving from simple graphics to more decorated styles, cocoa took on a modern, industrial, and pleasurable image in fin-de-siècle advertising.



Figure 66. Graphic cocoa Advertisement for Hartwig & Vogel, 1887.²³⁴



Figure 67. Decorated Wittekop cocoa advertisement with “Schutzmarke,” 1890.²³⁵

²³⁴ WOK: HG.Dav.1887.



Figure 68. Shining Gaedke's cocoa, 1893.²³⁶

This dissertation has discussed at length how imperial imitation, especially of Britain and France, inspired, led, and gave meaning to middling consumption.²³⁷ Be it through recipes and dishes, the use of certain ingredients, or the structures and practices of middling cuisine, the desire to be (like) an empire played a strong role in pre-1860 middling eating habits. Until 1890, the cosmopolitanism driving industry-led product profiling and sales continued in the tradition of Germans seeking to be more like their neighbors. As of 1890, however, increasingly, marketing shifted its focus from the metropole of empire, with its fin-de-siècle and industrial culture, to the imagined periphery. Zuntz's "Java Coffee" for example (Figure 69), combined its prestige of "court pueveyor" with a bold-lettered reference to a coffee-producing region in 1895.

This trend, of increasingly making reference to a cultural other in consumption, populated the shops shelves with "Chinese Tea" in appropriately Orientalizing font—also by Zuntz" (Figure 70)—as did Riquet with their tea tin sporting either a minute Chinese man in alleged national dress beside a box of Souchong, or a Chinese man beside a very

²³⁵ WOK: HG.Day.1890, 10.

²³⁶ FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619 (9 September 1893): 288.

²³⁷ See Chapter 2.

large box of tea (Figure 71). Coffee by “Wittwe-Hassan” participated in the trend of pairing oriental with European symbols in their advertisements, in this case with a paean to globalization as well (Figure 72).

Die
Kaffee-Brennerei
mit Dampftrieb
von
A. Zuntz sel. Wwe.
Hoflieferant

→ Sr. Majestät des Kaisers und Königs, ←

Sr. Königl. Hoheit
des Grossherzogs von
Hessen-Darmstadt
und bei Rhein,

Sr. Hoheit
des Herzogs von Sachsen-
Meiningen,

sowie mehrerer anderen kaiserlichen Hofhaltungen.
Bonn, Berlin und Hamburg,
empfehlen Ihre unter dem Namen

**Zuntz's Gebraunter
Java-Kaffee**

rühmlichst bekannten Specialitäten.
Unübertroffen in **Aroma, Kraft und Wohlgeschmack.**
in Original-Packeten à ½ Pfund,
in den Preislagen
à Mk. 1,70, 1,80, 1,90, 2,— das Pfund.

Gegründet
1837.

Viel
fach
prämiert

Figure 69. Coffee-Advertisement, 1895.²³⁸

ZUNTZ Chinesischer
THEE

Eigene Einfuhr von
A. Zuntz sel. Wwe. Königl. Hofl. Bonn, Berlin, Hamburg.

a Mark 2,50, 3,—, 3,60, 4,—, 6,— per 1 Pfund
in Original-Packeten à 75, 125, 250 und 500 Gramm netto Inhalt.

Vorzüglichste Qualitäten neuester Ernte.

Figure 70. “Chinese Tea,” 1895.²³⁹

²³⁸ FUBEG: PMAG-R 8o 00453, 22.

²³⁹ Ibid.



Figure 71. Tea Tin for Riquet, post-1900²⁴⁰



Figure 72. Advertising “Hassan” coffee.²⁴¹

As the decade progressed, however, an entirely new trend emerged: the conceptualizing of Germany as an empire that dominated the world. Berger’s “Germania cocoa” in 1893 used the Roman term for north-central Europe to market their product

²⁴⁰ CBM.

²⁴¹ GStAPK: I HAGR, Rep 41, N2616.

(Figure 73). In the same year, the advertisement for chocolate by Suchard showed a child in Bavarian costume sitting literally on top of the world, with a star marking its center in Berlin (Figure 74). Surrounded by four other children representing peoples on four continents, white North America, native America, Africa, and Asia admire the central figure. Light emanated from the figure representing Germany, somewhat equated with Europe, as all stand on clouds. This materialization of an ethereal concept using children as types for geographic areas of the world was not uncommon or exclusive. In 1897, Stollwerck represented an imperial eagle lording it over both the western and eastern hemispheres for their “Eagle Cocoa,” also surrounded by clouds (Figure 75).



Figure 73. Germania Cocoa, 1893.²⁴²

²⁴² FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619 (9 September 1893): 287.

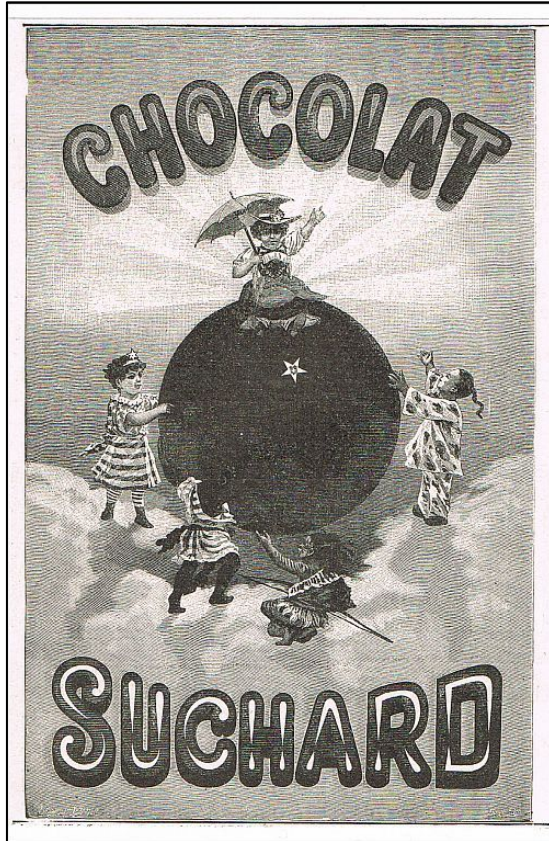


Figure 74. Suchard chocolate on top of the world,
1893.²⁴³



Figure 75. Stollwerck's "Eagle Cocoa," 1897.²⁴⁴

Food, consumption, and sales had never not been political in the nineteenth century, but this shift towards explicit politicized imagery represented a new phase in which product advertising and consumption became intertwined with propaganda. Ciarlo has rightly pointed out that 1884 marked a strong and prominent shift in advertising techniques, incorporating increasingly racial and racialized, even typologized depictions of cultural or ethnic others as the German empire gained Tanganyika and other colonies in Africa, and “advertised empire” through the consumption of the so-depicted “inferior”

²⁴³ FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19): *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619 (9 September 1893): 309.

²⁴⁴ FUEBG: Dornblüth Math 8° 01467/22.

other, with important consequences for violence in Africa in decades to come. The idea that Germans would colonize the world and require handbooks to survive other climates, floras and faunas produced such works as the *Colonial Cookbook* by the order of the Committee for Colonial Economics. It aimed to equip readers for life “in the tropics,” with such recipes as “ape back,” “antelope head,” “antelope pie,” “elephant feet,” “elephant heart,” “hippopotamus meat,” “hippo bacon,” “parrot goulash,” “zebu hump,” and “tapir meat.”²⁴⁵ Expositions, in turn, used mangos, pineapples, oranges, bananas and papayas to show the benefits of German East-African occupation.²⁴⁶ Some German consumers, politically mobilized, were certainly ready to set colonization into action, and live the colonial life that Britons and Frenchmen had in India and Algeria especially, as equal citizens of world-leading powers. Even those German imperial citizens who remained at home, however, could vicariously participate in imperial consumption. To no surprise, by the first decades of the twentieth century, products sold empire, even when it made no sense to do so. The Viennese Kuhlemann’s “Imperial” fig coffee, for example, celebrated empire, coffee and figs, as a desired reality to be enjoyed by the consumer purchasing the imperial dream in Central Europe (Figure 76). As different classes lived in close proximity in urban centers, therefore, clearly perceiving social difference, a new subaltern was needed: besides women, the racial other in the empire became the new, substitute subaltern, to whom, as if to salve the pain of lack, the abuses of subalternity could be outsourced in the forms of representation, poverty, and violence.

²⁴⁵ WOK: HG.Day.1911, 1120.

²⁴⁶ Mario Kliewer, *Geschmacksgaranten: sächsische Hoflieferanten für exquisite Nahrungsmittel um 1900* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015), 167.



Figure 76. Imperial “Fig” Coffee, 1918.²⁴⁷

At the same time, however, German history often does not fail to surprise: even as this imperialistic shift in advertising occurred, political divisions *also* found their way into product marketing, and made romantic, liberal, and philosophic streams of German history evident in some companies’ sales strategies. Not all consumers and industrialists seemed interested in endorsing the colonial cocktail of political world-domination through consumption. Carefully encoded, somewhat subversive, and deeply rooted in the thought of cultural leaders admiring “other” cultures’ thought, some companies depicted Germany, its consumers, and their products as the fruits of learning—even if these connections were as imaginary as those of their empire-endorsing counterparts.

²⁴⁷ WOK: HG.Kro.1918. Austria embraced orientalism before their northern neighbors did. See: On coffee-house orientalism, see: Tag Groenberg, “Coffeehouse orientalism,” in *The Viennese Cafe and Fin-de-Siecle Culture*, eds. Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg, and Simon Shaw-Miller (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 59-77.

Mondamin, for example, who produced pudding powder and thickening agents, chose the company name from a deity of maize. As agrarian author Franz Staudacher's treatise on *Ancient and Modern Agriculture* declared in 1898, "Mondamin was the friend of humans" who "with his golden hair and green feather adornments" turned into maize for the "Aztec, Maya, Chbchas and inhabitants of the Inca kingdom."²⁴⁸ With corn-based meal being the company's first product, the Berlin corporation chose this traditional name ethnologists had discussed as early as 1871, and tied to "foods of peace."²⁴⁹ With "golden hair," and *fern-weh* curiosity, this marketing choice of partial admiration, partial appropriation of the American plant and cultural figure echoes Germany's tendency in philosophy and medicine to seek truth, wisdom, or inspiration outside their own immediate circle. Mondamin advertised its "Maize product" as "extraordinarily pure, fine, efficient, and prize-winning at the Berlin exposition of 1885" where it was decorated with the first prize of its class.²⁵⁰ In creating a logo, the company included a cob of corn surrounded by two protecting lions on their hind feet onto its German-stylized coat-of-arms symbol topped with an "M," a combination of a historical German style with an African animal, an American foodstuff, and a Latin letter, depicting a fusion of cultural elements leading to the product itself.

²⁴⁸ Franz Staudacher, *Antike und moderne Landwirtschaft* (Wien: Frick, 1898), 63.

²⁴⁹ "Natur und Völkerkunde: Antiquitäten Amerikas," *Neue Freie Presse*, 12 (Wien, Dienstag den 5. Dezember 1871): 4.

²⁵⁰ WOK: HG.Dav.1887.



Figure 77. Advertisement for Mondamin products, 1887.²⁵¹



Figure 78. Mondamin Advertisement, 1890.²⁵²

Similarly, Hermann Bahlsen (1859-1919), the founder of the Bahlsen company in 1889, took the name of the distinguished idealist philosopher, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, for his dry cake—later “Keks”—Leibniz, given that his company was in the German theodicean thinker’s home town during his service to the local court. In 1904, Bahlsen’s Leibniz biscuits incorporate the Egyptian symbol “Dschet” simplified as “tet” into their

²⁵¹ WOK: HG.Dav.1887.

²⁵² WOK: HG.Dav.1890. Further: WOK: HG.Dav.1892.

packaging, standing for “everlasting” —in this case, standing for the long-lasting shelf life and consistent freshness of their biscuit.²⁵³ To add a further cosmopolitan dimension to the product, the company maintained the word “cake” adopted from the English along with the idea of a British dry biscuit, despite the existence of the German word “Plätzchen” from at least mid-century.²⁵⁴ This highly specific combination of German philosophical tradition—especially optimistic philosophy and calculus, two among many of Leibniz’s polymathic abilities—with an archeologically based ancient symbol from the north coast of Africa, and English terminology, speaks of a significant trend in fin-de-siècle German marketing strategies and the cultural attitudes that underpinned them.



Figure 79. Advertisement for the “Leibniz” Biscuit, 1893.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ “Introducing the TET-Packaging,” *Bahlsen Group*, <<https://www.bahlsengroup.com/us/company/about-us/history/>>. (Accessed 27 January 2018). The package design was similar to Figure 56 above.

²⁵⁴ Ernst Hermann, *Neues illustriertes Recept-Lexicon der Conditorei* (Nuremberg: Ebner, 1856), 40.

F. A. Lehmann, *Der praktische Conditior, eine Sammlung auserlesener Recepte der Conditorei & Liqueur-Fabrikation mit vollständigen Erläuterungen und vielen praktischen Regeln, nebst einem Adresskalender, die Bezugsquellen von Waaren, Formen, Maschinen und alle in das Conditoreifach einschlagenden Geräthschaften enthaltend* (Kaiserlautern: Ph. Rohr, 1873), 91; Johann Christian Eupel, *Illustrierter Konditor* (Weimar: Voigt, 1879), 184. Henriette Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche: Zuverlässige und selbstgeprüfte Recepte ... Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anfängerinnen und angehenden Hausfrauen* (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1881), 496.

²⁵⁵ FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19), *Illustrierte Zeitung*, N.2619 (9 September 1893): 287.

Given the charged, layered and symbolic meaning of these brand names and adornments, their use must be considered deliberate, calculated, and telling of consumer culture. Be it Hufeland's interest in the Brahmins, Ayurvedic dietary recommendations, and deployment of Taoism in his *Makrobiotik*,²⁵⁶ Nietzsche's fascination with Zoroaster,²⁵⁷ or Schopenhauer's influential reiterations of Buddha,²⁵⁸ the very specific brand of nineteenth-century "German orientalism" did not exclusively degrade the other, but admired the East as the originating geography of the Old Testament, as a site of knowledge and cultures beyond, historicistically distinct, coherent, and valuable.²⁵⁹ The success—even the lasting success of these products and companies to date—speak of a consumer-aware choice to buy a product coined as other, or else, an educated recognition of something non-German—here, Egyptian and Native American—and continued consumption of these symbols and their foods (unawareness of or indifference to the symbols of otherness may also have played a role). Within the long intellectual strands of the idealist tradition ranging from Humboldt through to the fin-de-siècle, wherein exploration catered to intellectual appetite, and cosmopolitanism in the *Vormärz* to a taste for distinction, a strand of historical development clearly survived the fin-de-siècle, and became evident in something as unexpected as a biscuit wrapper, pairing modern industrial packaging techniques with a German oriental admiration. Further, in light of

²⁵⁶ Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, *Makrobiotik; oder, Die Kunst das menschliche Leben zu verlängern* (Wittich, 1805), 198-201, specifically: xxii, 202 and 296 on the postponed extinction of one's allotted life-energy, 203 on Brahmin vegetarianism, 204 on not drinking throughout the meal. The first edition dated from 1797 completed in 1796. See also: Sander Gilman's discussion of Kant and Hufeland, which rightly points out the differences in the thinkers' ideas on health in: Sander L. Gilman, *Diets and Dieting: A Cultural Encyclopedia* (London: Routledge, 2008), 83-85.

²⁵⁷ Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra: ein Buch für Alle und Keinen*. 4 vols. (Chemnitz: Schmeitzner, 1883-1891).

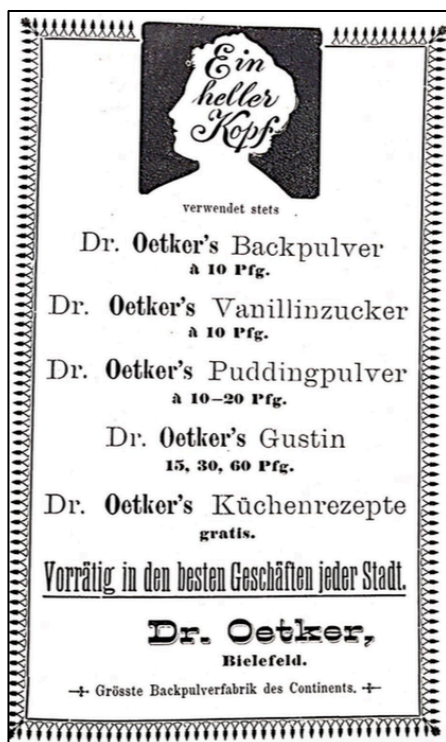
²⁵⁸ Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung; 4 Bücher, nebst einem Anh., der die Kritik der Kantischen Philosophie enthält* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1819).

²⁵⁹ See also: Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

cosmopolitan consumption in the Vormärz, as the second chapter of this dissertation has discussed, this integration of otherness into consumption as an act of cultural assimilation had a long precedent, and might therefore not be quite so surprising after all.

Women in Advertising

How then to placate the still disadvantaged female members of the social middle? Besides the above-discussed prestige in property (stoves, fridges) and consumption of elite foods, praise for domestic prowess and a representation of them as key consumers in advertising became central as of 1890. Maggi had a middling woman explain the value of its condiment to two elite ladies in an advertisement of 1897, while Dr. Oetker began to call a woman's profile "a bright head" for using the company's range of baking products. Palmin, a company producing a cheaper alternative to butter much like margarine based on palm oil, sought to give the product a glamorous profile using art nouveau presentation of cooking with three identical, elegantly black-clad women carrying their cooked dishes. Ironically, the dress and hair in the representation did not truly lend themselves to cooking activities.

Figure 80. Maggi, 1897²⁶⁰Figure 81. Advertisement for Dr. Oetker, 1897²⁶¹Figure 82. Advertisement for Palmin, 1910.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, 11.

²⁶¹ WOK: HG.Löf.1897, v.

²⁶² WOK: HG.Mic.1910.

Next to the glamorous ladies depicted in the advertisement, who more likely took credit for their staff's work, the social type of the old grandmother began to feature quite strongly in marketing as well. Richter began to use the "Richter granny" as of 1900 to encourage his consumers to drink his product. The elder woman's caption read "Drink Richter coffee, like I do!" on advertising cards. Richter's coffee tins equally portrayed the lady, as if to suggest to the buyer that age and tradition sanctioned and endorsed this coffee.



Figure 83. Richter Coffee, 1900.²⁶³

When pressed into the domestic sphere, and/or demoted in modern, urban, public life, women's representation in society can become symbolic to compensate for a lack of suffrage, political power, or economic opportunity. Appearing in advertising in

²⁶³ CBM.

typologized form as of the 1890s, this may have applied, and provided advertisers further opportunity to encode a women's contribution to larger society as providing (Figure 80-82) and consuming (Figure 83). While the market recognized them as partly in control of purchasing their products, their role in a hierarchical society modeled around the emperor, with the colonies at the periphery, saw a higher level of stratification and confinement according to class, gender, and race, than in the decades before; the domestic sphere became a less significant place of work, and modern industry, and even modern restaurants attracted a professional, male workforce.²⁶⁴

It is not difficult to argue on the basis of these sources that marketing in the fin-de-siècle sold identity. Racializing bodies in representations, assigning gender roles to female bodies, selling political ideas and ideals with reference to empire and imperial power, all contributed to crafting the self through consumption. These advertising practices however sold not only identity, but also hierarchy. The trends in marketing to highlight myth and the value of imported products, and to seek out an imagined orient or exotic other full of unknown wisdom, played an equally important role in this consuming era, however, reminding us that products were as multifarious as political views.

Conclusion

German modernity is diverse, extreme, and paradoxical. Perhaps it is the coexistence of seemingly irreconcilable cultural phenomena that makes the fin-de-siècle, the cultural epoch between 1860 and 1930, so fascinating. It may be a question of nuance, but a

²⁶⁴ Liebig's company further endorsed fairly direct consumption of especially thus coded female racial others from "Italians" and "Spaniards" to "Arabians" and "Indians" in their collection of "Fruits and Beauties," 1887-1891. Friedric Orend, "Henriette Davidis und Liebig. Erfindung und Vermarktung," in Framke and Marenk, *Beruf der Jungfrau*, 169.

significant one nonetheless, that the decades before this epoch, until 1860, had demonstrated a degree of minor yet important shift in women's education and employment, that the last decades of the century managed to undo. The age-old historiographical point that liberalism lost some strength and appeal thanks to a small-German unification carried out by war may still hold, when we note that excluding Austria from unification meant allowing Prussia and its increased militarism to guide its empire's culture from 1871, and support imperial aggression and colonial expansionism from 1884.

In essence, things grew worse for social others after 1880, even as intellectual alternatives persisted on the side. Gender-roles and imperialism stratified society more and pressed women into the domestic sphere, just as politics identified new subalterns in the colonies. Canning, just as before, and much like powdered soups and extracts, had their precedent in the domestic sphere in the hands of maids, cooks, and housewives, but gained the scientific profile of doctors. Some trends, like cosmopolitan style eating both inside the home, with imported products, and outside the home, in the exclusive restaurant, remained in place, but an aggressive imperialism began to permeate marketing as of the 1890s. Admiration for France and Britain was rivaled by the *fin-de-siècle* by a self-image of an empire that sought to dominate rather than imitate. The esteem intellectuals had had for decades for foreign lands and other cultures survived in the marketing of some products.

The rise of industrial marketing marks an important change in the marketplace for identity: as food production was outsourced to industry, so was identity-construction—and this business hardened class, race, and gendered identities. The social middle,

alienated increasingly from agriculture in cities, dependent on markets and shops for increasingly processed foods, lost a degree of self-definition through production, shaping them primarily as consumers. In practice, identity construction through food and the social order it promised, fuelled by science and industry, was now to a greater extent than ever in the hands of vendors and their designers. Social hierarchy, formerly endorsed by deference, with increased differences in prices and inflected by race and gender, outsourced to an economic system that supported new hardened domestic ideals and imperial rule. The degree to which, in particular, women's gendered roles became explicit in cooking literature and advertising, alongside the verbalization of social standing as "Bürgerlich," indicates a larger cultural shift—as if former possibilities found their answer in this era. You were no longer just what you ate, but what you could afford to eat. While food had served as a means of social control throughout the century, with control of diets determining access, self-making, and self-image, the confrontation with products one could or could not buy—be those fresh fruits and vegetables, meats, 8M meals at restaurants in Frankfurt, cast-iron stoves, or up to three rooms for food storage in the home—it was no longer necessary to "keep" people in their place, as imperial law and financial stratification already carried out this function. If production caters to demand, then the need for new subalterns was great for the middling and even lower members of urban German society in the fin-de-siècle. Colonial subjects represented a convenient image for this purpose. This form of violence and identification of the human being through their production (employment) and consumption (purchasing power) was novel—and largely outside the consumers' control. The externalization and making explicit of what one was able and allowed to do, as legally codified, financially

inescapable, and enforced through advertising, placed the financially affluent on a scale that listed men, women, and racial others in a hierarchy that flattened all of them out into two dimensions. It further effaced a memory of alternative models of existence, endorsing gendered and racialized hierarchies as the only modes of being in modernity.

Gendering functioned as a key component of social organization, which marketing equally essentialized and stabilized in its representation. While culinary education as of 1830 improved women's chances for better employment from 1840, to peak successes in 1860, as of 1860, conditions worsened. With the rise of the restaurant, a male-dominated sphere, women became relegated to the rural inn, where they were second choice for consumers and chefs. Male cooks gained the best positions in royal kitchens and urban areas, meaning that elite food was particularly elite when cooked by men. Gendered education, in turn, promoted subservience and domesticity among women, whose public roles industrial marketing liked to streamline into consumption. With domesticity becoming a privilege specific to the social middle while elite women did not need to labor at all, and with working women needing to work outside the household, the kind of status-accruing dynamic of taking pride in domestic labor, equipped with expensive technologies such as professional chefs would have, reached larger German cities. Industry met the middling home's demand for distinction with stoves, fridges, and ice-cream machines. It is crucial to note that as industrialization radically altered working relations in cities, the middling household went from being a productive part of an agrarian economy run by an entrepreneurial housewife or manager, to a space increasingly set aside from productivity; a lack of historical consciousness in this regard

allowed the forgetting of former public female labor.²⁶⁵ In contrast to the United States or Britain, Germany's rapid but late industrialization led working women into work in cities in factories or middling homes, at the same time rendering female domesticity a mark of elite distinction.²⁶⁶ The misconception that women had historically only stayed at home and never worked spread quickly, eliminating the historical consciousness of both female work, and the industrious history of the household.²⁶⁷

To answer then a key question of contemporary food studies: Why are there no great woman chefs?²⁶⁸ The short and obvious answer is, in a society organized by gender hierarchies, women do the work that men do not want to do, that is, work that is dirty, labor intensive, time-consuming, and/or of little financial gain, social recognition, or prestige. This includes child-rearing, seamstressing, cleaning, and yes—cooking. Until the point at least that any of these occupations suddenly become marketable, financially attractive, in high demand, or even chic. Between 1860 and 1900 restaurants were closely tied to the political tip of the empire, socially prestigious, and more financially attractive than cooking jobs elsewhere, hence male cooks wanted to do this work. While further research on the individual decision making process of chefs would be required to determine their exact motivations, the analysis above can shed some light on how the institutional structures of urban public cooking would have looked to potential *chefs de cuisine* (or “masters of the kitchen” to translate the French) in the fin-de-siècle. Gender's

²⁶⁵ Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*, Reprint edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

²⁶⁶ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁶⁷ See: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, “The General Relationship between Diet and Industrialization,” in *European Diet from Pre-Industrial to Modern Times*, eds. Elborg Foster and Robert Foster (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1975), 82.

²⁶⁸ Charlotte Druckmann, “Why Are There No Great Women Chefs?” *Gastronomica* 10, no. 1 (2010): 24–31.

role as a key organizing criterion in determining occupational positions in German society meant that women worked in homes—their own, or others’—and at best became, not great woman chefs, but great woman cookbook authors, or great cooks hidden in a family kitchen.

The close ties of restaurants to royal courts and the degree to which court culinary culture served as a guide for the middling is noteworthy. That the middling dined like royalty represented a form of political imitation. Members or employees of the court, even moderately peripheral members of the royal household still belonging to the court out of tradition, counted among the social middle, with respect for their profession and skill. They could indicate their support for the crown and the legitimacy of the ruler through imitation, integrating aspects of such dining into their own meals for festive occasions, and signaling no need for political change. The middle’s ties or desired ties to traditional elites were strong. Whether a member of the military without a title to his name visited an imperial dinner, or whether a middling lady corresponded with a bishop about recipes, ties to the upper class, as around 1800, still remained a key characteristic of middlingness, and part and parcel of middling aspirationalism.²⁶⁹ The motivation, between 1800 and 1900, for keeping social contacts with the upper class, however, may at this point have differed. For someone like Louise von Lengefeld, Schiller’s mother-in-law, serving as educator to the princesses of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt may have been to seek and maintain employment, and keep an active social circle, but for fin-de-siècle consumers, eating out at a restaurant in imperial or royal style was a profoundly modern action.

²⁶⁹ WOK: HG.All.1876.

As regards the meaning of royal(ist) dining, in the light of the *Sonderweg* debate, and the emphasis on a bourgeois proverbial “selling out” to traditional elites for personal advancement, we note in this chapter that royal court cuisine remained cosmopolitan at the hands of French, French-trained, and French-influenced chefs, cooks, homemakers, and household staff members throughout the fin-de-siècle. Imitating royal cuisine, therefore, by studying the works of master chefs like Antonin Carême and Johann Rottenhöfer, imported cosmopolitanism into the royal court, the royally-inspired restaurant, and the middling wedding meal, and served as a point of orientation for a part of middling cuisine design until the end of my period of study. While eating like the king, therefore, may well have meant to approve of social order, hierarchy, distinction, and empire, as well as to accept discrepancies in privilege and opportunity in the German states, the North German Confederation as of 1866 and the German Empire as of 1871, its meaning is most likely to have shifted along with drastic changes in political orientation and priorities after Chancellor Otto von Bismarck left office in 1890, and the Empire, along with its European rivals, sought colonies in Africa in a scrambling, increasingly militarized manner. Royalist cosmopolitanism would only change its meaning in acts of consumption, when royal culture itself changed.

The modernity that the fin-de-siècle German imperial middling consumed was specific, contradictory, full of unexplained ideas and unquestioned images selling identity. Eating like the modern German emperor endorsed and celebrated a German urban imperial modernity, wherein being middling and urban was equally to be quintessentially modern. German modernity was, in essence, imperial and public, though influenced by class and French precedent; it was a curated compound of historical

precedent and political import, economically constrained and socially visible in the cultural produce of public and private food. All this need not mean that the social middle was politically mobilized, or politically disinterested. It need not mean that the middling were conformist or pressing for change. It does mean, however, that to be publically middling, meant to be publically patriotic and in favor of the German Empire with all the social distinction a traditional social structure brought, at the same time as it was modern, fast, and technological, paired with industry and urbanity. This space, in turn, sidelined femininity and female participation among the middling and elites, with public spaces that catered to a masculine, male clientele.

In eras of drastic change, social status rises in importance, as if to curb existential anxiety in an unpredictable time. Distinction from subaltern others and strong ties to those higher up social hierarchies, as well as to equals, can function as ways to satisfy the need for social standing. Strategies in the fin-de-siècle built on pre-existing trends, such as imitating royal dining habits, and keeping staff in service, while exploring new paths, such as purchasing equipment and products, increasingly outsourcing distinction to economics, even as the social middle celebrated itself as the winners of modernity in the face of those less economically fortunate. Appearances remained crucial, suggesting ever more strongly that a middling German was middling if he or she could convince others that they were, whether superiors, peers, or inferiors, using an array of techniques and strategies, especially imitating superiors and exercising control over subalterns. Superiors and subalterns changed somewhat, responding to the changes modernization imposed on life, yet, unlike their peers in Britain and France who tended to reject such a label,²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, C.1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self:*

Germans *sought* to be identified as middling. Perhaps, this was because middlingness in the German case is not entirely explained in terms of economic structures, or political mobilization,²⁷¹ or even just a social identity,²⁷² but was a form of social control and cultural self-identity exercised through habits and practices of distinction for the individual benefit of the subject, rather than for their class or imagined community at large.

Perhaps, in the aftermath of rapid change, social stratification according to gender, race, and even class represented a poor but popular coping mechanism for authors of culture—including marketing designers—to handle the uncertainty of an unknown future without any guarantees.²⁷³ To paraphrase Ciarlo: the mind flooded with advertisement images may soon see the world through the lens of marketing.²⁷⁴ Given the deep connections between food and identity preceding industrial marketing, food advertisements were a particularly effective site to codify identities, stratify society, endorse increasingly economic hierarchies, and use gendered and racial imagery to do so. These images, however, I would suggest, were not always a direct reflection of former history, nor an accurate memory, nor a reflection of then contemporary reality, but a specific fantasy that went against previous historical realities, and thus took a specific desire, effort, or intentionality to construct. While it is after 1900 that marketing develops in leaps and bounds, after the slow beginnings of mid-nineteenth century “Inserate,” the

Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 323; Sarah C. Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 10.

²⁷¹ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966).

²⁷² Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

²⁷³ Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York: Continuum, 1993).

²⁷⁴ Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire*, 16-17.

mid-way branding logotypes of the decades that follow here show how consumer culture, intuitively guided by daily or multi-weekly food purchases, did much to inflect reality.²⁷⁵ Industry gained power over identity-construction through food—this essential substance for human life was increasingly under their control.

As a category still crucial for political campaigns, relevant in economic transactions and discourses, socially exercised, and culturally recognized, the German middling represent a noteworthy, hybrid, and modern identity category describing the self-identity of individuals whose actions cannot be accounted for by politics, economics, or sociology alone, but who seem to remain in need of this identity, not unlike those visible in contemporary Europe and North America in the present day. We too outsource hierarchy to purchasing power, thereby reifying gendered and racialized differences rather than dissolving them, as economics promises yet fails to do.

²⁷⁵ Dirk Reinhardt locates the advent of modern advertising in the German press between 1848 and 1860 as tied to increased political publishing. See also his notes on 1860 advertisement motifs and symbols. Dirk Reinhardt, *Von der Reklame zum Marketing: Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland* (Berlin: Wiley-VCH, 1993), 177-179, and 14, respectively; also 180-181.

Conclusion

Nineteenth Century German Historiography and Food History: Making Middlingness and Modern Eating

Debates on the middle class in Germany have focused on questions of *when* a middle class might have been formed, *whom* to include in that grouping (according to specific criteria), and which political ideologies dominated among them to guide their action or explain their passivity in the prelude to Fascism. In this study, I decided to look instead at the *how* and *what for* of middle class formation by examining activities, strategies, habits, practices, and speech acts aimed at forging middlingness as a self-identity around the fertile and telling subject of food.¹ In this investigation the question therefore moved away from “When was there a middle class, who were they, and why did they fail?” to “How did Central Europeans between 1800 and 1900 construct class distinction, and what was, from their point of view, the benefit in constructing this identity?” Therefore rather than looking at one distinct social group, this dissertation examined a range of strategies and utterances involved in the construction of middlingness. In doing so, this study by-passes the concerns of structuralism, class-consciousness, political mobilization, or a fixation on singular criteria such as legal status, property, profession, or even education, in order to provide an account of the verbs or actions that shaped the

¹ The activities and strategies we can designate as foodways, and the utterances and speech acts as food discourses. See glossary.

noun or social group. This, in turn, accommodates individual agency, as subjects make themselves in modern times.

The range of strategies and activities aimed at making oneself and others middling was vast: imitation of superiors, networking with peers, control of and distinction from subalterns, food ownership, dietary control, catering to a taste for class, purchasing and gifting, preparation and consumption, and the writing of food discourses. These activities and utterances aimed at crafting middlingness involved individuals from across society and illuminate the striving of individuals for middlingness in the nineteenth century, making it evident also that there was a marketplace for class identity that gave food workers employment by at least 1800.

Actions and speech surrounding food were omnipresent, inescapable, and involved a range of agents across the German states throughout the century. Housewives harvested, preserved, purchased and sold produce, reared livestock, fattened and slaughtered a range of so-called tame animals, commanded a servant or maid, worked alongside them, prepared food, taught their subordinates or their daughters the culinary skills and knowledge they held, wrote down, collected and exchanged recipes, bought and read recipe books, or even authored handwritten or printed cookbooks themselves. With these activities, housewives fed their families with class-appropriate meals, stylized in customary, traditional romantic, French, cosmopolitan, or modern styles, which catered to their need for distinction, equipping their families with identity, and authoring and crafting their social status.

Where a household lacked a wife, a housemanager took on these tasks. This individual, most likely a woman of middling family origin herself, fulfilled the same

social functions of a wife as leader of a household, an attractive working opportunity for younger women to maintain their status until marriage, or for unmarried older women to preserve distinction in a respected environment. Husbands may have provided budgets, and heads of household attempted to regulate their wife's or staff's behavior, but may have had little direct involvement in actual food-related activities, serving more likely as primary consumer for the purpose of maintaining rank in his own home, or else as food critic for the meals his wife, housekeeper, cook, or maid served. Cooks and maids likely answered to female superiors first by virtue of constant contact rather than rank, and may have found direct interaction with their male employers somewhat difficult. Sexual assault, unhindered by laws entirely inadequate to protect young women without a social network and working under household regulations slanted in the employer's favor, caused this theoretically respectable and respected profession for young women to be as dangerous as any other, and as likely to lead them to social ruin, poverty, or starvation. Some, however, could deploy their culinary knowledge and skills to make a stab at social mobility themselves by cooking up distinction for their employers to the point where those thought twice about mistreating them, for risk of losing them. French and cosmopolitan culinary knowledge served them as intellectual capital. Therefore, in some limited ways, the food related professions allowed for some degree of autonomy and budding independence for women in the nineteenth century. Women identifying as workers in a profession that was both a science and an art could theoretically rise from maid to cook in an inn or household, or even housemanager or cookbook author, as some individuals did, against great odds. Innkeeper and inn hosts, in turn, while having a harder time in rural areas or smaller towns, especially in times of war when serving

soldiers, and even more so when they were women, could count among town elites when they were men, but would by the end of the century still have to see themselves as the more rustic, middling option to the more fashionable urban restaurant in a metropole like Berlin or Frankfurt.

The spaces these agents worked in made food activity and the class distinction they encoded almost inescapable. From households, town inns and city restaurants to bakeries, patisserie shops, colonial import stores, marketplaces, public and estate kitchens, local courts, modern steamboats, trains, and train-station restaurants, as well as, in extreme cases, legal courts—food, the stuff of survival, constructed identity every day of the week. If a farm worker's hunger did not remind him of his place in society, then the local inn's extraordinary prices did. A housewife knew of what her social superiors ate, because she could read about them, and even gather tips from her culinary literature, about how to fake affluence by filling oyster shells from her local guesthouse with cow's brains to mimic oysters at home. An innkeeper or butcher might not easily gain a knighthood, or become a general, but, by participating in a range of food practices, could count among his town's elite, satisfying this agent's desire for acceptance, social recognition, distinction—a very human sense of achievement and even personal fulfillment in the modernizing era.

In effect, the quest for survival, alongside the social need for distinction, and the desire for social mobility in this period, must lead us to conclude that already throughout this century, Germans were engrossed in making class class through food as early as 1800 if not before. While middling Germans seemed to believe they benefitted tremendously from the social distinction of being members of the social middle, the food

workers they employed gained patronage and payment, as well as, in some special cases, the possibility of one day rising into the social middle themselves.

The side-effect of these class-constructing activities was to rework culinary trends, in ways that significantly shaped the development of modern eating. In the last years of the Holy Roman Empire and in the decades following French invasion, German rural middling households romantically imitated medieval royal courts with high use of spice, meat, and dominant service styles. As they balanced aspiration with necessity, their half self-sufficiency meant prioritizing survival and organizing consumption around the lean winter months, with preservation techniques that ranged from the somewhat effective (early forms of canning, curing, and smoking) to the poisonous. In towns adjacent to courts, the middling working for local regents could get a taste for royal cuisine—a demand town shops knew to cater to. Cookbooks provided instructions for recipes stylized as French, English, Italian, or Spanish, alongside recipes from German cities and regions. The middling imported these foreign trends with enthusiasm, imitating the courts who ate in a cosmopolitan manner. While French food played a particularly significant role, the presence of British, Russian, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish dishes not only demonstrates that the middling were open to foreign cuisine, but allows the historian to read the cookbook genre as a who's who of imperial history. The middling may have, in the aftermath of the Enlightenment, consumed cosmopolitan foods with a range of attitudes—from royal imitation, to liberal cosmopolitanism, to passive imperialism. This imitation of imperial centers, however, laid the groundwork for later colonial acceptance. At the same time, the middling in charge of feeding the rural working poor enacted a dire and limited diet in the *Vormärz* era that kept satiety out of

the poorest's reach, risking their starvation as harvest failures threatened their subsistence in one of the most climatically volatile periods in centuries.

From 1830, food education and working women's food work transformed the social middle's diet in ways that by 1900 resembled modern cuisine today. French chefs fleeing or migrating to the German states after 1789 educated working women as cooks in so-called "estate" kitchens. These women working in middle-class households, added to the cosmopolitan royal trends with more contemporary French cuisine, a less spiced way of eating that radically altered middle-class dining. Their skill being in high demand, female cooks could negotiate improvements in their work life, enjoying alongside cookbook authors and house managers for a short time a range of humble but real opportunities to gain income.

House staff and housewives between 1840 and 1860 combined the novel French cuisine gained from cooks and cookbooks with the industrial changes in food chemistry and nutrition. What resulted was "modern eating": the practice of accepting and rejecting industrial food changes, combining processed and preserved foods, substitutes, ready-meals and supplements carrying additives at the same time as consumers react against adulteration and artificiality with calls for "natural" eating.² The social middle on the one hand embraced industrial change with the convenience their products brought them. Instant soup, ready meals, flavor enhancers, and convenient cans simplified food preparation at home. The middling and the legislators representing them, however, also reacted against what they perceived as excessive food manipulation with laws regulating

² See introduction of this dissertation for a distinction between modernity as an ideology, a historical epoch. A reflexive scholarly attitude may maintain the term in order to examine an era in light of modernizing processes, meaning its material and knowledge-specific developments, alongside the range of phenomena, people, or ideas then defined as counter, pre-, or early modern.

“food adulteration” in 1878/9. The vegetarianism of the German social middle, in turn, unlike their cousins’ in Britain and the United States, was not driven by Protestant asceticism, but by a quest for health they trusted they could find in nature itself as part of the wider quest for natural eating, inspired in part by eastern philosophies.

By the time the German Empire arose in 1871, class distinction was militarized, industrial, masculine, urban, and supportive of hierarchy. Class-specific eating permeated the health care system, catering to patients according to social distinction rather than nutritional benefits. Large cities were home to an urban restaurant culture that that was both royal(ist), urban, public, and endorsing of hierarchies according to criteria of class, gender, and race. As attractive employers, urban restaurants employed male rather than female chefs, limiting female food work to smaller restaurants and inns in towns and rural areas, domestic labor, and the role of buyers. New were subalterns slowly coopted into product marketing, selling empire and industry. Other, more liberal industrial producers like Bahlsen and Mondamin, however, equally processed admiration for cultural others in their products, drawing their inspiration from Ancient Egypt and North American mythology.

Modern eating is the heir to a complex history, which through consumption provides the contemporary consumer with a range of strategies for self-making. On the one hand, substitutes, vacuum-preserving, and ready-meals are the consequence of military-sponsored food practices brought about by war demands, and exploration in Africa between 1860 and 1890, that spurred on Knorr’s and Liebig’s production with government and military contracts. Their consumption was meant to support a high degree of productivity among a working population. Colorings and flavor enhancements,

including Liebig and Maggi's yeast extract, represented strategies to capitalize on sales by cheapening ingredients or processing poor quality foods of little flavor, aiming to make them palatable to buyers. Vegetarianism, veganism, or calls for natural eating pressing against these fast foods and processed foods substitutes, in turn, aimed to recalibrate modern life by recentering it on the human, nature, and spiritual living—an attitude some companies even then supported if only by label—or, to press for a different modernity entirely.

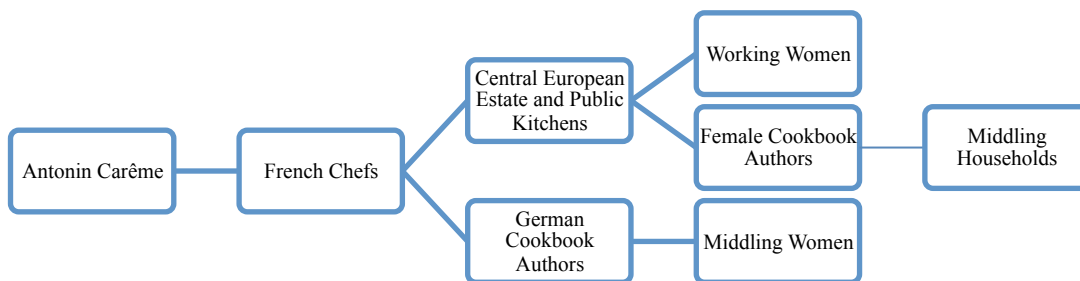
Eating modern means eating history, to consume a long list of culinary hegemony over the past two millennia, and to accept, push back, and constantly wrestle with politics as part of self-making. The unaware consumer may not realize the culinary heritage present on their dinner plate, but be it through political orientations, economic attitudes, or intellectual appetites, food consumption provides a code, and food history, the long genealogy of foods as matter and idea over time. After such power hubs as Greece, Rome, France, and Britain had made their marks on dominant eating habits and practices in Europe, Germany's impact was strongest in the nineteenth century.³ While food historians know well the impact of late eighteenth-century French cuisine and US-American food production in the twentieth century, this dissertation has sought to show the role of the extreme and ambiguous laboratory of modernity that is nineteenth-century Germany.⁴ It was all there, in a surprisingly varied symbolic diet where absolutism,

³ Claudia Kreklau, "When 'Germany' Became the New 'France'?: Royal Dining at the Bavarian Court of Maximilian II and the Political Gastronomy of Johann Rottenhöfer in Transnational European Perspective, 1830–1870," *International Review of Social Research* 7, no. 1 (2017): 46.

⁴ Rachel Laudan is right to state "Middling cuisines spread rapidly to become the predominant cuisines in the wealthier parts of the world," in the nineteenth century, yet leaves out Germany in her analysis, emphasizing that "[p]articularly important in the shift to middling cuisines was the Anglo world." It is further true that "[b]y the end of the twentieth century, American cuisine was the most rapidly expanding branch of modern Western cuisine," yet, we see precedents and parallelisms for the trends Laudan analyzes, as this dissertation shows, in nineteenth-century Germany. Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*:

royalism, and vicarious imperialism coexisted with cosmopolitanism and liberalism, moving through capitalist industrialism, as well as military expansionism, colonialism, orientalism, and racialization, paired with a modern hunger for nature and spirituality—a range of paradoxes and extremes of modernity. In this society where agents strove to improve their own social standing and intentionally crafted middlingness, they equally made modern eating.

Figure 1. From French Absolutism to German Modernity



Cooking in World History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 248-249, 308, 311. I note that Laudan uses the term “middling” to refer to food as related to class (substance over agent, “middling in the sense of bridging high and low cuisine...rich in fats, sugar, and exotic foodstuffs, featuring sauces and sweets, eaten with specialized utensils in dedicated dining areas,” 247), rather than, as in dissertation, to a social grouping shaping cuisine (agent over substance). While Laudan maintains that “nutritional theory abandoned the idea that cuisine determined and reflected rank in society in favor of a single cuisine, appropriate for every class of people,” emphasizing a “global shift from diets composed largely of grains to diets high in sugar, oils, and meat,” this dissertation would suggest that class remains relevant for modern consumers, and highlights the role of individual food choices and their meaning, including the choice of alternative diets that do not follow the sugar/oil/meat pattern. Prices, in turn, continue to stratify access, contradicting Laudan’s idea that “the improved social, political and economic status of the humble...is a welcome end to millennia of inequality forcibly expressed by culinary distinctions.” Ibid, 248. See also: Helen Zoe Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

Future Research

Theorizing Food Modernization

We need comparative work on how the different features of food modernization manifest themselves in different chronologies, and geographies, and under different political, economic, social, cultural, or even climatic conditions. Global comparisons of food modernization may lead us to understanding the relationships between producers, legislators, and consumers in creating a safe and healthy dietary basis for our time. In this work, the process of modernizing food seems to involve four phenomena, here, with reference to when they occurred in Germany:

- Phase one (before 1860) “customary eating,”⁵ these were habitual consumer practices that supplemented home-production and processing with market-purchases, already involving, however, techniques for preservation and the use of additives.
- Phase two (1860-1878) the introduction of industrialized practices of integrating processed foods from substitutes, vacuum-preserved- and ready-meals laced with additives such as colorings and flavor enhancements into the customary diet, outside of the consumer’s control.⁶

⁵ On customs as distinct from traditions, see: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁶ The difference between stages one and two, will be in degree rather than kind. Perceptions of change, however, particularly in terms of scale, speed, and the consumers’ lack of immediate control, as opposed

- Phase three (1878/9 and after) saw legal intervention on part of the state regulating the new and industrial, artificial forms of food production through minimum standards in sales, with adjoining quality control mechanisms, such as sample studies through a food policing and scientific testing apparatus connected to emerging educational, professionalization, and employment structures.
- Phase four (1860 onwards) saw an increase in popular reactions against artificial consumption practices with calls for vegetarianism, veganism, and “natural” eating as a way of regaining control and seeking health in a food-economy where the consumer has little access to food other than those produced by agriculture and industry.⁷

These four phases overlap, and do not necessarily occur in this order. Their precise chronology, however, is a good indicator of how successfully industry, law-makers, and consumers effect policy and consumption changes. In the German case, phases two and four occurred virtually simultaneously with phase three following in quick succession—an indicator of a functional process of policy-making taking public health concerns seriously. In other settings, phase four may well occur before phase three, making the power of grass-roots mobilization versus an economic-political alliance

to choice, define the modern experience of eating, where the consumer no longer produces foods themselves, and must, in a work-environment un conducive for self-sustenance, rely on industrialized agriculture to cater to their needs.

⁷ Any of these stages may also include or necessarily involve inter- and exchange with other geographies of products and cuisine (see definition of cuisine in appendix). This includes trading with neighboring states, and appreciation of their specialties (French cheese, “Belgian” chocolate, “Dutch” cocoa, “English” tea, etc.), recipe accumulation through travel, culinary knowledge brought through forced or voluntary large or small-scale migration, and imperial relations, causing exchanges through colonial center-periphery connections. Power asymmetries, cultural imaginings, and inter-cultural contact will be context specific to the particular geography and time in history.

evident. In turn, a muting of popular reactions, or a postponed introduction of tighter regulations may be indicative of a lack of public access to reliable information, repression, or an alliance between law makers and industry to maximize profits, to name but a few possible options.

This flexible model focusing on various agents and how their influence and control over food and diets change—foodworkers, law makers, consumers, industry—may allow for fruitful comparison. Food modernization, problematic, ambiguous, and in need of regulation, may manifest in any society experiencing industrial alterations to customary diets. In the era between 1860 and 1914, the *fin-de-siècle*, foodways changed radically in the global north-west. Evident immediately after the onset of industrialization, Britain, the United States and Germany experienced these stages between 1780 and 1920, Britain first, between 1780 and 1860, and the United States and Germany virtually simultaneously, between 1820 and 1920, and 1860 and 1900. Germany's experience of these stages, as the above chronologies make evident, was accelerated. While Britain began industrializing earliest of the three, and Germany last, the United States experienced two surges in industry early and late in the nineteenth century alongside both other countries.

The First World War changed consumption habits yet postponed a production-explosion on the basis of existing technologies until after 1945. From 1867, brands such as Nestlé in Switzerland popularized sterilized condensed milk. In the United States, British migrant William Underwood bottled sauces and pickled cucumbers as of 1817.⁸ Canning companies Campbell, Heinz and Borden rose to fame as of the 1870s, while canning factories contributed to the massive undertaking it was to feed a world at war

⁸ Ibid, 488.

between 1914 and 1918. Similarly to canning, “the first refrigerator to be based on the compression and expansion of certain gases”⁹ run by a steam engine was patented in 1851 by John Gorrie, intended for hospital use. Meanwhile, in Germany (in the 1870s, by Carl von Linde)¹⁰ and France (in 1876, by Charles Tellier)¹¹ cooling devices were used in breweries and for trans-Atlantic meat transport, respectively.¹² Their home usage did not become widespread until after 1950. Until then the rich had cellars where wine and iced food could be kept, and the less affluent, ice boxes, or cool ovens, and only slaughter houses used refrigeration as early as just after World War I.¹³ France saw great resistance to canned food, until the First World War necessarily popularized its usage.¹⁴

In the decades after the Second World War city elites could still afford greater varieties of fruits, meats, and fish. Having fluctuated from 1850 until after the Second World War, after the hunger years from 1914 until 1950, in Germany “meat consumption began to grow substantially and steadily.”¹⁵ In contrast to France, Germany

⁹ Ibid, 490.

¹⁰ Ursula Heinzlmann, *Beyond Bratwurst: A History of Food in Germany* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 192.

¹¹ Yves Péhaut, “The Invasion of Foreign Foods,” in *Food: A Culinary History*, eds. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 464.

¹² Giorgio Pedrocchi, “The Food Industry and New Preservation Techniques,” in Flandrin and Montanari *Food: A Culinary History*, 490.

¹³ Alberto Capatti, “The Taste for Canned and Preserved Food,” in Flandrin and Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History*, 498.

¹⁴ Martin Bruegel, “How the French learned to Eat Canned Food, 1809-1930s,” in: *Food Nations : Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*, ed. Warren James Belasco and Philip Scranton (New York: Routledge, 2002) 113-130.

¹⁵ Hans Jurgen Teuteberg and Jean-Louis Flandrin, “The Transformation of the European Diet,” in Flandrin and Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History*, 448. Also: Keith R. Allen, *Hungrige Metropole. Essen, Wohlfahrt und Kommerz in Berlin* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse, 2002); Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning : Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Fritz Keller, *Die Küche im Krieg : Lebensmittelstandards 1933 bis 1945* (Wien: New Academic Press, 2015); Gesine Gerhard, *Nazi Hunger Politics: A History of Food in the Third Reich* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015); Alice Weinreb, “‘For the Hungry Have No Past nor Do They Belong to a Political Party’: Debates over German Hunger after World War II,” *Central European History* 45, no. 01 (March 2012): 50–78.

began to consume higher amounts of pork between 1850 and 1975.¹⁶ France ate more fish between 1781 and 1964—a trend similar in Germany that ceased after the Second World War.¹⁷ Fruits once prized as exotic, from pineapples to bananas, became standard consumables after the 1950s whenever Cold War trading tariffs and hegemon rivalries allowed.¹⁸ Supermarkets in the United States and Germany replaced markets, grocers, and street vendors in the first half of the twentieth century, causing major players to grow.¹⁹ In the United States, the discovery of vitamins caused a “Vitmania” in the 1920s that lasts to date.²⁰

It is true that Germany went through the stages of food modernization more quickly, in all likelihood, than any other country in history until that point. As of now, however, industries can hypothetically change diets even more quickly given more advanced technologies, and “catch up” on more than a century of industrialization in a compressed amount of time—China may be the prime example. Further, the developed world has not solved its food problems, and is exporting its problems along with its food.

The global North-West is now not starving, however, its less affluent may be overfed and undernourished. Microwaves and freezers made their way into households by the 1990s, feeding a working population that may wish to outsource their cooking to chefs, but must sometimes make do with factories.²¹ “Negative nutrition”²² (sugar, fat,

¹⁶ Teuteberg and Flandrin, “The Transformation of the European Diet,” 449.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 449.

¹⁸ Péhaut, “The Invasion of Foreign Foods,” 466.

¹⁹ Daniel Block, “Food Systems,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, ed. Amy Bentley, Vol. 5. In the Modern Age, 6 vols. (Oxford: Berg, 2012), 52-53.

²⁰ Harvey A. Levenstein, “The Perils of Abundance: Food, Health, and Morality in American History,” in Flandrin and Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History*, 521.

²¹ Claude Fischler, “The ‘McDonaldization’ of Culture,” in Flandrin and Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History*, 536.

salt) has brought the north-west new chronic diseases tied to obesity and diabetes, raising new questions on how to seek health in a period of affluence, while food industries export processed food world-wide.²³ The 1960s saw the advent of “McDonaldization” combining the Fordist model with food production—in ways that grand chef Escoffier had used in his *hôte cuisine* more than half a century before for a rather different purpose—leading to an array of fast food chains by the 1980s.²⁴ By the year 2000, Coca-Cola had famously succeeded in making its label one of the most recognizable symbols world-wide. *Hôte cuisine*, however, is also alive and well, and the profession remains dominated by men.²⁵

The new affluence and rate of production in the global North-West runs the danger of making healthy food an elite product, and spreading the health risks of fast food to developing economies. Food, when it passes a border, changes its meaning. Thus, “Italian” cuisine in the US has never been as prestigious or upmarket as “French” cuisine, due to its association with poor, Catholic immigrants to New York’s Little Italy, rather than what could be whipped up by a Parisian-trained *cordon bleu*.²⁶ Fast food has a distinct northern and western prestige to it, which inspires consumption in rising powers like China and developing economies such as Guatemala. Thus, contemporary food industries not only export fast foods stylized as Western, but also the coronary

²² Levenstein, “The Perils of Abundance,” 526.

²³ Jutta Heibel, *Vom Hungertuch zum Wohlstandsspeck: Die Ernährungslage in Frankfurt am Main 1939-1955* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Waldemar Kramer, 2002); Rainer Horbelt and Sonja Spindler, *Die deutsche Küche im 20. Jahrhundert: Von der Mehlsuppe im Kaiserreich bis zum Designerjoghurt der Berliner Republik: Ereignisse, Geschichten, Rezepte* (Frankfurt: Eichborn, 2000).

²⁴ Fischler, “The ‘McDonaldization’ of Culture,” 533, 538.

²⁵ Charlotte Druckman, “Why Are There No Great Women Chefs?” *Gastronomica* 10, no. 1 (2010): 24–31. See Chapter 5.

²⁶ Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, “*Anglo-Americans in Late Nineteenth-Century Roman Kitchens, Kitchens in Britain and Europe, 1500-1950*, Centre for the Study of the Body and Material Culture, Royal Holloway, University of London, (8 January 2017).

heart diseases, high blood pressure, and effects of diabetes such consumption brings with it, in ways that mimic former class-connected health inequalities.²⁷ McDonalds, therefore, ongoing work by Ioulia Fenton shows, is a fancy place to eat in contemporary Guatemala, with all the luxuries of modernity (e.g. free wifi-access, guaranteed hygiene), despite a widespread awareness that the food itself does not match criteria for “healthy” food in any way. As emerging economies change their customary eating and embrace western imports, they are already importing a lack of health along with their culinary imitation of the global elite.

Climate change and material foci on food dominate contemporary discussions of food, yet we must realize that modern individuals also eat to construct identity and to assert status. Food politics and economics rightly consider food security, and explore possible radical changes to human consumption habits in the light of rising world populations, with such designs as vegetarian diets, insect consumption, or food alternatives, all bound up in mono-cultural mega-lobbying debates about the health, risks, and threats to environment and people of soy, wheat, milk, corn, genetically modified organisms, and poisonous pesticides or fertilizers—an already vast set of problems to consider.²⁸ Yet, new diets will only be accepted when their meaning makes them palatable. We live at a historic point in time where, perhaps for the first time, our technology and medical knowledge has the capacity of giving “modern eating” a positive meaning, and our culinary knowledge has the capacity for designing eating

²⁷ Sander L. Gilman, *Obesity: The Biography*, Biographies of Disease (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Sander L. Gilman, *Fat: A Cultural History of Obesity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).

²⁸ Lester R. Brown, *Outgrowing the Earth: The Food Security Challenge in the Age of Falling Water Tables and Rising Temperatures* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004); Paul August Roberts, *The End of Food* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008); Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food* (New York: Free Press, 2002).

habits that are exquisite and mean all that which is best about humanity. Food design does not only imply constructing matter, but also constructing meaning. Choosing which identities to curate, and knowing well which kinds of dishes will sell for the identity they sell, will be the challenge for future food chemists, industry, professional cooks, and advertisers, under the watchful eye of consumers and law makers. Let them choose wisely and construct a wide range of options: cosmopolitanism, a celebration of integration, a careful selection of cultural patrimony and heritage supported by already active UNESCO programs for recognizing cuisine for the artform and science it is, and a valuing of food work writ large. There lies much potential here.

It remains true that eating is self-making. Modern appetites for identity are eclectic, the modern subjects' hungers multifarious, and not all features of modernity taste good when put together. Why maintain what is proven to cause a stomach ache, and knowing what we know of the past, why not take control of the cooking spoon of history? Modernity too is a constructed project that human agents can control. Legislators, scientists, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, the food industry, food workers and wider populations will all be a part of our next stages of development.

The Future of German Food History

This project was not able to cover a plethora of topics in a few years of research and writing. The industrial production of status symbols such as Meissen porcelain, for example, do not feature as heavily as would have been possible.²⁹ Drinks, especially wine and beer, but also juice and carbonated drinks, quite common by the 1860s, also do not feature prominently, given a well developed literature on German brewing and

²⁹ Note upcoming work by Suzanne Marchand on the topic of porcelain.

viticulture.³⁰ Festivities, such as Christmas, New Year's, or Easter, do not take center stage, but remain side notes of larger trends and practices.³¹ Agricultural production features only in a limited way, given Teuteberg's extensive work on the topic.³² Religious fasting and confessionality were not main concerns beyond notes of non-confessional foci among cookbook authors for the most part of the century.

The topics of confessionality, migration, and German imperialism and sugar provide some of the best ground for further inquiry, as Gilman and Treitel note.³³ If indeed food consumption was a main way to argue for belonging, then to what extent did further regulations for a kosher diet affect belonging? How did vegetarianism fit into this picture? And, with a strict dietary code in action, what was the relationship, if any, between Levitical law and the Food Laws of 1878/9? If German sugar beets and Bismarck's attitudes towards the colonies were indeed connected, as Gilman suggests, then here, as elsewhere in food history, the impact of food policy on international

³⁰ E.g. Kevin Douglas Goldberg, "German Wine and the Fermentation of Modern Taste, 1850-1914," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2010). Note ongoing work by Jeffrey Pilcher on the topic on German breweries.

³¹ On Christmas in Germany see: Joe Perry, *Christmas in Germany: A Cultural History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

³² Among others, this includes: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, ed., *Durchbruch zum modernen Massenkonsum: Lebensmittelmärkte und Lebensmittelqualität im Städtewachstum des Industriezeitalters*, Studien Zur Geschichte Des Alltags (Münster: Cöpppenrath, 1987); Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten unter dem Einfluß der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972). Note the upcoming PhD dissertation on agricultural production by Carolyn Taratko at Vanderbilt University.

³³ Corinna Treitel, "Why Natural Food? Answers from the German Past," Keynote at the South East German Studies Workshop, Emory University, Atlanta, (22 February 2018); Sander L. Gilman, "Karl Schaper: Life among the Sugar Beets," Paul Raabe and Adolf Flach, *Karl Schaper, das grafische Werk, 1960-1982: Zeichnungen, Radierungen, Objekte zu den Werken von Virgil, Ovid, Kleist, Brecht, Sonderausstellung der Herz-August-Bibliothek in den musealen Räumen vom 20. Vi.-26 IX. 82; Ausstellungskatalog Der Herzog August Bibliothek* (Braunschweig: Waisenhaus, 1982), 42. On the history of Austrian sugar, see: Werner Kohl and Susanna Steiger-Moser, *Die österreichische Zuckerindustrie und ihre Geschichte(n) 1750-2013* (Wien: Böhlau, 2014). For an overview of the history of sugar between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries in Germany, see Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, "Der Beitrag des Rübenzuckers zur 'Ernährungsrevolution' des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Unsere Tägliche Kost: Geschichte und Regionale Prägung*, ed. Hans J. Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, 2nd ed. (Münster: Cöpppenrath, 1986), 153-162.

aggression has been of exceptional importance and historic impact. Do we need to rethink colonial history in terms of food, to understand the transition from a colonial modernity, to a (neo-colonial) internationalist one? As late as 1900, Pan-Germans exploited the idea of exotic paradisiacal foodscapes in lands far away deeply ingrained in the European imagination to further their imperialist agenda.³⁴ While this study has been able to show how imperial aspiration and colonial rule shaped middling eating at the center, further work on merchant catalogues, trading logs, and inter-racial relations in the colonies themselves will be able to shed light on racial dimensions this study has but been able to hint at.

Table manners, table conversation and etiquette, and table décor, while appearing in some places, could be developed in the future with literary sources that portray dining scenes in detail. Physical or physiological taste, alongside its artistic and aesthetic connotations in food and diet, may be fruitful subjects for another investigation, perhaps entailing an investigation of deep genealogies of religious symbols and cuisine as ritual.³⁵ It is the hope of this author that the answers of this dissertation empower new questions such as “What does middling identity-construction reveal about the experience of confessional others?” and “How did modern eating practices impact confessional self-identity construction?” for further investigation.

³⁴ Mario Kliever, *Geschmacksgaranten: sächsische Hoflieferanten für exquisite Nahrungsmittel um 1900* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015), 166-176.

³⁵ Michael North, *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 170; Karin Wurst, *Fabricating Pleasure: Fashion, Entertainment, and Cultural Consumption in Germany, 1780-1830* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), xii; Warren G. Breckman, “Disciplining Consumption: The Debate about Luxury in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890-1914,” *Journal of Social History* 24: 3 (April 1, 1991): 485–505. For an example of historical ethnographic work on food and religious significance, see: Elizabeth Pérez, *Religion in the Kitchen: Cooking, Talking, and the Making of Black Atlantic Traditions*, North American Religions (New York: New York University Press, 2016).

This dissertation began with a narrative of how global power centers from Greece to France shaped their own age's culinary *Zeitgeist* over time. This historical account is both attractive and helpful for the historian of food, who aims to decode the connections between power and food over time, from control over resources and production, decision-making over distribution, and rights to consumption, political, legal, and economic. It is however also an incomplete story that further work on the great power of subaltern agents must revise. If cooking is authorship, then food preparation is a speech act, and even though social subalterns often tasked with food preparation over time were made very conscious of the tastes and demands of their employers and social superiors, including the obligation to cater to their worldview and self-identity, their influence in speaking through food is significant. Over time, the influences of global and social subalterns, that is, the laboring poor and gendered and racialized others, have been recorded in the culinary practices of various power centers, and made lasting impacts. The story of the Chinese origins of ketchup, and this sauce's long journey through eighteenth-century Britain, nineteenth-century Germany, and the twentieth-century United States of America, could form the topic of another discussion.

The history of food in nineteenth-century Germany leaves much room for development. Until now, it had left the *Bürgertum* and its habits and practices related to food largely unexplored. It may seem surprising that it has taken near five decades to explore the food, foodways, and food discourses of so crucial a group in so key an era of so central a European geography as the social middle in nineteenth-century Germany. Since 1971, nineteenth-century studies in German food remained largely guided by

Teuteberg's work, and driven forward by himself, his colleagues, and students.³⁶ Their emphasis was often statistical, some with a focus on production, legal regulation, and some in depth studies of key phenomena, such as the meat-extract, with an effort to ascertain figures of per capita consumption.³⁷ More recent tomes supplementing their early work under the guidance of Teuteberg have done their best to provide small-scale accounts of culinary cultural features of the nineteenth century.³⁸ These explored the home-economic genre, rural-urban dietary differences, as well as charity feeding, workers' cantinas, hospital food, and breast-feeding in the later decades of the nineteenth century.³⁹ Much as in the English language literature, the period after 1860 received more attention.

³⁶ Hans Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegmann, *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten unter dem Einfluß der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), Teuteberg and Wiegmann, *Unsere Tägliche Kost*; Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, ed., *Durchbruch zum modernen Massenkonsum: Lebensmittelmärkte und Lebensmittelqualität im Städtewachstum des Industriezeitalters* (Münster: Cöpppenrath, 1987), Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, *Die Rolle des Fleischextrakts für die Ernährungswissenschaften und den Aufstieg der Suppenindustrie. Kleine Geschichte der Fleischbrühe* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990).

³⁷ Peter Lesniczak, *Alte Landschaftsküchen im Sog der Modernisierung: Studien zu einer Ernährungsgeographie Deutschlands zwischen 1860 und 1930* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003); Vera Hierholzer, *Nahrung nach Norm: Regulierung von Nahrungsmittelqualität in der Industrialisierung 1871-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010). Teuteberg's own short pieces focused on consumption after 1850, with persisting attention to per-capita consumption of meat, potatoes, and grains, and workers in the Kaiserreich. Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, "Der Verzehr von Nahrungsmitteln in Deutschland pro Kopf und Jahr seit Beginn der Industrialisierung (1850-1975). Versuch einer quantitativen Langzeitanalyse," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 19 (1979): 331-388; "Die Rolle von Brot und Kartoffeln in der historischen Entwicklung der Nahrungsgewohnheiten," *Ernährungs-Umschau* 26:5 (1979): 149-154; "Die Nahrung der sozialen Unterschichten im späten 19. Jahrhundert," in *Ernährung und Ernährungslehre im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Edith Heischkel-Artelt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 205-287; and "Wie ernährten sich Arbeiter im Kaiserreich?" in *Arbeiterexistenz im 19. Jahrhundert. Lebensstandard und Lebensgestaltung deutscher Arbeiter und Handwerker*, eds. Werner Conze und Ulrich Engelhard (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 57-73.

³⁸ Hans Jürgen Teuteberg ed., *Die Revolution am Esstisch: neue Studien zur Nahrungskultur im 19.-20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004).

³⁹ Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, "Von der Hausmutter zur Hausfrau: Küchenarbeit im 18./19. Jahrhundert in der zeitgenössischen Hauswirtschaftsliteratur," in Teuteberg *Die Revolution am Esstisch*, 101-128; Keith R. Allen, "Schul- und Armenspeisungen in Berlin 1880-1914: Der Menschenfreund Hermann Abraham und seine Kritiker," in Teuteberg, *Die Revolution am Esstisch*, 190-202; Ulrike Thoms, "Essen in der Arbeitswelt: Das betriebliche Kantinenwesen seit seiner Entstehung um 1850," in Teuteberg, *Die Revolution am Esstisch*, 203-218; Ulrike Thoms, "Krankenhauskost zwischen ärztlicher Therapie und administrativer Sparpolitik," in Teuteberg, *Die Revolution am Esstisch*, 219-231; Jürgen Vögele, "Die

What remained on an aside was in effect middle-class cuisine and meal-structure, the period 1800-1860 more generally, and the trans-national element of German cuisine more largely. The consequences of this gap in the literature were strikingly far-reaching. For one, it led Teuteberg and Wiegelmann and the historiography more largely to misplace the larger turning-points in food consumption and cuisine in Germany “outside” the nineteenth century exclusively (1789 and 1914-1918), with some attention to grain-shortages in the 1830s and the hunger years before 1848.⁴⁰ Second, it has led to an assumption of continuity in the lacuna of research 1800-1860, that has led the scholarship to miss the distinct cultural epoch that was the period between the fall of the Holy Roman Empire and the Austro-Prussian War. This was a cosmopolitan, inclusive, importing, implicitly imperial but culturally open culinary culture. Third, this has led not only global histories of food to be unable to integrate much of nineteenth-century German cuisine into accounts searching for the origins of contemporary eating, but led us to fail to see how crucial a role the German states played between 1789 and 1890 more largely in the creation of modern eating. Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation have aimed to remedy this problem by providing crucial research that inflects findings of Chapters 3 through 5, reinterpreting the inputs and repercussions in this European geography into wider histories of global modern eating.

The shortcoming of previous food historical work on nineteenth-century Germany in the German language remained that it often still relied on political chronologies,

Kontroverse um das Bruststillen: Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der öffentlichen Gesundheitsfürsorge,” in Teuteberg, *Die Revolution am Esstisch*, 232-248.

⁴⁰ Teuteberg and Wiegelmann, *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten*, 327. Such thinking guides the work of, for example, Michael Huhn, “Zwischen Teuerungspolitik und Freiheit des Getreidehandels: Staatliche und städtische Maßnahmen in Hungerskrisen 1770-1847,” in Teuteberg, *Durchbruch zum Modernen Massenkonsum*, 37-90. Burgholz’s study of food access runs in a similar vein. Dieter Bugholz, “Privater Lebensmittelverbrauch und kommunale Lebensmittelvorsorge während der Urbanisierung Preußens,” in Teuteberg, *Durchbruch zum Modernen Massenkonsum*, 91-126.

feeding food historical findings into a backbone of political narratives.⁴¹ This need not, however, be the case. Cuisine can be studied as an art, and consumption in terms of identity. Examining the movement of personnel, what they expressed with their culinary creations, what food meant to cooks and cookbook authors, as well as consumers, allows us to assess the implications of key political events on cultural histories, yes—however, it allows us to provide cultural histories with their own narratives. Thus, as in this work, 1789 is key, however not because poverty and political discontent held a dimension of hunger, but because the loss of employment at the French court and in grand aristocratic houses in France led cooks to migrate to Central Europe. By examining such questions as culinary education (here, in Chapter 3), as well as cookbook authors' and readers' interaction with cuisine in theory and practice, we in turn can assess the way ideas flowed over geographies and through society thanks to cookbook authors, house managers, female cooks and maids, whose impact on history tends not to take center stage in longer historical narratives. Further, examining what meanings food took on for consumers allows us not only to assess questions of identity throughout the nineteenth century, but provides us with a coherent narrative driving consumption onward as modern consumers made themselves through food, foodways, and food discourses. Future work will do well to examine individual agents' habits and practices, analyze food meaning in transnational perspective, and combine political, economic, social and cultural studies with questions and tools drawn from the histories of gender, colonialism, medicine, and science.

⁴¹ My thanks go to Astrid Eckert from pointing this tendency in cultural histories out to me from the day I began this project.

Any future work on German nineteenth-century food will be operating in an active and vibrant field. Attitudes have changed significantly and promisingly in the past five years, to the great benefit of the area's development. When I began this project in early 2014, some scholars across the university I spoke to about my work protested that food cannot have meaning because people "eat what they have in their fridge!" Others speculated that I, as a woman, "must really like to cook." The former statement reached beyond the healthy amounts of scholarly skepticism with which we challenge our peers, to a place of lacking reflexivity: it missed the basic structures underlying their own experiences, ranging from previous purchasing choices, the availability of products tied to agricultural production and trade relations, the confinements of personal finances, time-preparation constraints due to the structures of a modern working lifestyle, the technological and logistical infrastructure ranging from the invention of the supermarket, fast transport, and our ability to store preserved food and to refrigerate and freeze perishables, as well as family- and community-specific habits and practices. The latter assumption, in turn, touched the heart of a question historians have since focused on: the sexism involved in the assumption that when men cook, it is chic, and when women cook, it is domestic. All of these key issues, however, originate in the nineteenth century. It was precisely this lack of reflexivity seemed to obviate the need for study.

Perhaps it is not a coincidence that in the aftermath of the 2008 crash scholars meditate upon and explore food as a fundamental, meaningful substance enabling and enriching human subsistence. We cannot maintain the idea that food is meaningless. "Food history has exploded in the last three decades" and we have gone from studying what was considered "one of the most universal and mundane features of everyday

life,”⁴² or “a topic of limited interest and impact”⁴³ to a “[serious]... subject of academic inquiry.”⁴⁴ Food, is, “along with sex and death... one of those sets of processes that are common to all human beings.”⁴⁵

German studies and German historical studies of food have seen significant development in recent years, and are bound to see more. Ursula Heinzelman’s *Beyond Bratwurst* provided an overview of eating in Central Europe since the Bronze Age; Gesine Gerhard covered *Nazi Hunger Politics*; Corinna von Treitel published her *Eating Nature*, Alice Weinreb’s prize-winning dissertation came out as *Modern Hungers*, while a host of upcoming scholars of the subject at top institutions are due to graduate with their works in the next five years, and more work by distinguished scholars such as Suzanne Marchand with her study on porcelain will equally see the light of day.⁴⁶ The Culinary Tradition in Saxony Series has brought out two great studies on the city of Dresden.⁴⁷ Conference panels on food are becoming more common, the Prussian Privy Archive in Berlin held an exhibition on war and rationing in 2016, food museums scattered across Germany hold repertoires of sources this dissertation was but able to survey, and special expositions on fin-de-siècle consumer culture, and documentaries by the German network ZDF on food history have helped disseminate findings on

⁴² David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* (London: Routledge, 1997), 1.

⁴³ Carol Helstosky, *The Routledge History of Food* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), xii.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, xii.

⁴⁵ Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine, eds., *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage. Heritage, Culture, and Identity* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

⁴⁶ Ursula Heinzelman, *Beyond Bratwurst: A History of Food in Germany* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014); Gesine Gerhard, *Nazi Hunger Politics: A History of Food in the Third Reich* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015); Corinna Treitel, *Eating Nature in Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Alice Autumn Weinreb, *Modern Hungers: Food and Power in Twentieth-Century Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017). A great thank you to Dr. Marchand for kindly sending me her unpublished chapters.

⁴⁷ Marco Iwanzeck, *Dresden à la carte: Entstehung und kulinarische Einordnung der Restaurantkultur 1800 bis 1850* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2016); Benedikt Krüger, *Gehobene und exquisite Küche in der Konsumgesellschaft: Dresden um 1900* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2016).

purchasing, producing, cooking, and eating in Germany's past centuries to a wider audience.⁴⁸ Early modernists have been active, and the coming years will see more publications than we would have expected ten years ago. Further, the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* and the *Social History of Medicine* brought out special issues on food in November 2016 and April 2018, demonstrating the interest of historians of medicine in food.

Even the public has caught on with force. The contemporary food obsession, ranging from paleo-diets and veganism to gluten-free and lactose-alternatives, raw food, and food-prepping and food-hacking, is swamping online, television, and print content in ways that were bound to find their parallels in scholarly examinations. Anthropologists, sociologists and celebrity chefs do their bit to study and educate on health and cooking in increasingly holistic ways that consider climate (change), environment and production, and the use of pesticides—making the rounds in the news, and lying on the tables of EU parliamentarians, and almost deal-breaking for German government formation during pre-coalition talks in 2017—all the way through transportation, energy consumption and carbon footprints, and encouraging locally grown foods. If the EU food regulations were different, and had the public not groaned

⁴⁸ ZDF Terra X, "Terra X: Die Geschichte Des Essens - Vorspeise 1/3 - ZDF.De," produced by Cristina Trebbi, Susanne Utzt, Christian Twente, Josef Tratnik, Friederike Haedecke, Ricarda Schlosshan, and Michael Büsselberg, documentary film, 45 min, accessed April 5, 2015. <http://www.zdf.de/ZDF/zdfportal/programdata/893f31cb-04ff-3cec-b768-ccdc04d351b6/20422259?generateCanonicalUrl=true>; ZDF Terra X, "Terra X: Die Geschichte Des Essens: Die Geschichte Des Essens - Hauptspeise 2/3 - ZDF.De," produced Cristina Trebbi, Susanne Utzt, Christian Twente, Josef Tratnik, Friederike Haedecke, Ricarda Schlosshan, and Michael Büsselberg, documentary film, 45 min, accessed June 26, 2015. <http://www.zdf.de/terra-x/geschichte-des-essens-mit-christian-rach-folge-2-hauptspeise-37723460.html>; ZDF Terra X, "Terra X: Die Geschichte Des Essens - Dessert 3/3 - ZDF.De," produced by Cristina Trebbi, Susanne Utzt, Christian Twente, Josef Tratnik, Friederike Haedecke, Ricarda Schlosshan, and Michael Büsselberg, documentary film, 45 min, accessed June 26, 2015. <http://www.zdf.de/ZDF/zdfportal/programdata/893f31cb-04ff-3cec-b768-ccdc04d351b6/20426380?generateCanonicalUrl=true>. (Disclaimer: these videos may lose their online availability).

at American “chlorine chicken” in 2015, perhaps TTIP might have had a better chance at uniting Europe and North America into what might have been the most powerful economic zone in history.

All this work makes the particular value of studying food evident: food covers so many aspects of life and historical reality, allowing the historian to combine approaches from the history of science and medicine to politics and gender, to consider agriculture, environment and economy alongside the benefits and dangers of modernization, or, as this dissertation has, to examine the social and cultural meaning of food for society, with its impact on identity, or self-making in the modernizing age.

Further, considering the nineteenth century as a laboratory for modernity may well be a fruitful way to examine the origins of the present—even in a comparative perspective. After all, Germany and the US have something in common. Unlike their French and British counterparts, who used the word “bourgeois” as an insult for others, German and Americans *sought* to be middling.⁴⁹ In both of these countries sharing strong connections through migration, modern identity remains key in mobilizing voters, attitudes towards education, choice of profession, consumer behavior, and more. It further seems to be the German-American model of middlingness, tied to the promise of prosperity and happiness, that enjoys success in the emerging economies worldwide: as the Hegel quote which serves as this study’s epigraph also maintains, middlingness may be the modern equivalent of a medieval striving for righteousness, at times exploited to

⁴⁹ Sarah C. Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 8; Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, C.1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

justify every individual's social standing and life experience, to remain a core identity for generations to come.

Appendix 1. Louise Lengefeld's Recipe Book

Table 1. Handwriting Analysis in Louise Lengefeld's Recipe Book

Hand	Page numbers	Recipe numbers
H1	1-129, 136-138	1-64, 70, (pp133-135: 68-69),
H2	129-135, 139-144	65-67, (pp133-135: 68-69), 71-74
H3	145- 148	75-77
H3.1	149-150, Index pp.6.	78-79, "Fassgen Kirschen;" "Sellerie."
H3.2	151	80, "Salzgurken"
H4	152-156	81-85
H5	157-164	86 "Mandelgrün", -92 "Krebspastetlein"
H6	165- 166	93" MandelBrezeln"
H7	166- 168	94 "Linsensuppe;" 96 "Rotes Kraut"
H8	169, Index pp.8	97 "Citronenbrey"
H9	170-172	98 "Stockfisch"
H10	173-201	99 "Ganze orangen", 145 "Hollippen"
H11	201-204, Index pp.9-22.	146, "Danziger Brand" -150 "Oehl"
H12	Index pp.1-3	NA
H13	Index pp. 4-5	NA
H14	Index pp.7	NA

Table 2. Signing and Notes in in Louise's Recipe Book

	Signed
H3	“probandum est [line] P. E:G.” (page 148)
H5	"v.B." on pages 157 with "Mandelgrün", 158 twice with "Butter Brühe" and "Aal zu braten", on p.159 with "Stockfisch", 161 twice for "abgerührten Teig" and "kalten Teig", and finally next to "Krebspastetlein" as well, on page 163. "v.B" signed every single recipe she contributed.
H6	In red ink: “von Franckenhausen.” (page 165)
H10	“V.J” on page 173 with "Orangen" and again page 201 with "Hollippen," marking the beginning and ending of her contribution.

All:

DLA.D: Schiller A.V. Gleichen-Rußwurm, Luise Lengefeld, Verschiedenes, Gemischte Sammlungen von Kochen, gebackenes, eingemachten, Weinen, und anderen nützlichen Recepten.” Kochbuch z.T. mit fremder Hand geschrieben. 115beschr.Bl.gbd.93.121.18.

Appendix 2. Comparison of Fin-de-Siècle Royal, Restaurant, and Festive Dining at Courts and among the Social Middle

Table 1. Official Dinners at the Royal/Imperial Court of Prussia, 1861-1888

Date of Dinner	Courses	Dishes	Re.f number
18. Oct. 1861	18	18	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 21.
20. Jan. 1867	8	18	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 17.
17. June 1871	8	19	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 15
21. April 1873	10	19	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 8
5. June 1876	10	15	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 11.
8. Sept. 1876	11	12	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 18.
10. Sept. 1877	10	13	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 28.
21 Jan. 1877	8	16	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
20 Jan. 1878	8	18	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
18 Feb. 1878	10	13	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 19
20. Febr. 1878	9	18	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 7
24. Aug. 1878	8	12	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 4
1. Sept. 1878	10	20	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 10.
4 Jan 1879	11	15	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
11 Juni 1879	10	14	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
2 Sept. 1879	8	16	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
5 Sept. 1879	11	11	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
6 Sept. 1879	10	13	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
21. Sept. 1879	10	14	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 3
21. Nov. 1879	10	12	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 23.
22. Nov. 1879	10	12	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 12.
27 Feb. 1881	9	18	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
22 Jan. 1882	9	9	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
22 Jan. 1884	8	11	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
18 Jan. 1885	9	10	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
12. Sept. 1886	10	13	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 19.
24 Mai 1888	8	11	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.7, unnumbered.
Average	10	14	

Table 2. Official Luncheons at the Royal/Imperial Court of Prussia, 1861-1888

Date of Lunch	Courses	Dishes	Reference number
5. June. 1876	6	8	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt) Nr.4, 24.
Average	6	8	

Table 3. Dinners at several Restaurants

Restaurant	Date of Dinner	Courses	Dishes	Ref: GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7 (Oberzeremonienamt)
Englisches Haus, Berlin	10. März 1871	8	16	Nr.4, 26.
Englisches Haus, Berlin	26. März 1877	7	15	Nr.4, 20.
Unnamed	22 Mar. 1879	9	14	Nr.7, unnumbered.
Unnamed	21 Mai 1879	10	14	Nr.7, unnumbered.
Unnamed	28 Mai 1880	8	14	Nr.7, unnumbered.
Sehnert's Hotel zum schwarzen Bären, Brandenburg	27. Sept. 1880	7	8	Nr.7, unnumbered.
Unnamed	10. März 1881	9	17	Nr.4, 25.
Unnamed	22 Mar. 1885	7	15	Nr.7, unnumbered.
Unnamed	2 Oct. 1885	6	11	Nr.7, unnumbered.
Unnamed	None	6	9	Nr.7, unnumbered.
Carl Hiller, Berlin, Ksl. Kgl. Hoflieferant	None	6	10	Nr.7, unnumbered.
	Average	8	13	

Table 4. Three Weddings

Location	Date of Dinner	Courses	Dishes	Reference number
Restaurant Flora, Charlottenburg	25 May 1880	10	17	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7, Nr.7, unnumbered.
Restaurant Lauersches Haus, Mannheim	18 April 1868	12	18	BWGLAK: 69 von Seubert Nr 120.
Palace at Berlin	27 Feb. 1881	9	18	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7, Nr.7, unnumbered.
	Average	11	18	

Table 5. Festive Occasions

Occasion	Date of Dinner	Courses	Dishes	Reference number
11th Charity Ball of the Herold	4 Nov. 1880	6	8	GStAPK: BPH Rep. 7, Nr.7.
“Goodbye” of the Superintendent Otto Dreyer	15 April, 1891	4	9	FUBEG: Goth 4° 00155-171 (31)
Funeral Feast for Duke Ernst II of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha	23 Aug. 1893	10	19	FUBEG: Hist 2° 02299/01 (19)
	Average	7	12	

Appendix. 3. Glossary

Classical cuisine: in the scholarship on French cuisine, can refer to dining habits from the Classical Age, c.1660 and 1800, potentially coined as “classical” in retrospect by gastronomic authors in the first half of the nineteenth-century.¹ A problematic and Franco-centric term. See: Modern cuisine.

Commensalism: “the sharing of food.”²

Cooking: the treatment of food for consumption, as part of cuisine; can involve the use of heat or acid for the purpose of denaturing proteins or softening cell-walls. According to Wrangham, the act that makes us human.³

Cuisine: “the food elements used and rules for their combination and preparation.”⁴

Culinary spirit of the age: a hegemony of cuisine brought about by current power-centers able to centralize resources (foodstuffs, culinary knowledge, personnel) to determine dominant food practices at any point in time, always subverted and contributed by social subalterns who author through cooking and culinary discourse through writing.⁵ Notable culinary hegemonies include Spain, France, Britain, Germany,

¹ Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal: A History of Table Service in France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

² Carole Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 96.

³ Richard Wrangham, *Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

⁴ Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, 19.

⁵ First proposed in Claudia Kreklau, “When ‘Germany’ Became the New ‘France’? Royal Dining at the Bavarian Court of Maximilian II and the Political Gastronomy of Johann Rottenhöfer in Transnational European Perspective, 1830–1870,” *International Review of Social Research* 7, 1 (2017): 46–56.

and the United States.⁶

Dish or Course: concept invented in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France to describe one portion of food typically served on one plate (“dish” or *mets*) in sequence or at the same time, depending on the service style. E.g. “hors d’oeuvres,” “salad,” “entrée,” “dessert,” etc.⁷

Eating: the act of ingesting (organic) matter. Purposes vary. Typically survival is one of them.⁸ Another is pleasure (“oral gratification”).⁹ Meanings of eating vary significantly, including integrating (the other), destroying, consuming (the objectified other), or “imaginatively shaping” the body and self.¹⁰ Synonyms: consuming, dining, etc.

Etiquette: “the customs governing what, with whom, when, and where one eats.”¹¹

Food discourses: discourses about food, wherein discourse refers to the totality of practices regarding a certain object, the “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.”¹²

Food worker: historical agents who operated in the production, processing, or serving of food. This included farmers, butchers, bakers, household managers, household staff such

⁶ On culinary hegemony, see: Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 63, 134, 150-151, 242.

⁷ Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal*, 48. Jacqueline S. Thursby, *Foodways and Folklore: A Handbook*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008), 20-21.

⁸ Ronda L. Brulotte and Michael A. Di Giovine, eds., *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 1.

⁹ Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, 9.

¹⁰ Respectively: Shannon Lee Dawdy, “‘A Wild Taste’: Food and Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Louisiana,” *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 3 (June 20, 2010): 389–414; Anna Elise Igou, “Dangerous Appetites: Violent Consumption in the Works of Flaubert, Baudelaire, and Césaire.” (PhD diss., Emory University, 2013); David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

¹¹ Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, 19.

¹² Definition of discourse: Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Psychology Press, 2002), 49, cited in Sara Mills, *Discourse* (London: Routledge, 2004), 15.

as cooks, maids, and serving staff, but also housewives and house managers across the social spectrum.¹³

Food: “that which people eat.”¹⁴ Definitions of “food” and “non-food” will vary across cultures. E.g. raw ingredients can be defined as food, while scholars drawing on Hippocrates differentiated between edible raw materials, and their treated forms, defining the latter as food.¹⁵

Foodways: “the beliefs and behavior surrounding the production, distribution, and consumption of food.”¹⁶

Galenic Medicine: Galen, Hippocrates’ systemic interpreter, applied the idea of four humors more narrowly to the human body, in his account of the wet, dry, hot and cold humors, blood (hot and moist), phlegm (cold and moist), black bile (cold and dry), yellow bile (hot and dry). These had to be balanced out with diet, and ingredients thus prepared and combined with spices etc. according to the desired effect, each foodstuff and supplement having its own description according to Galen’s model. E.g. vegetables were cold and moist, pepper was hot and dry. Galen enjoyed a revival in the Renaissance, which is not to say that he ever disappeared in the Middle Ages—where he

¹³ On “Hausmütter” see: Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 19.

¹⁴ Isabel González Turmo, “The Concepts of Food and Non-Food- Perspectives from Spain,” in *Consuming the Inedible : Neglected Dimensions of Food Choice*, Anthropology of Food and Nutrition, v. 6, eds. Jeremy MacClancy, C. J. K. Henry, and Helen M. Macbeth (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 43.

¹⁵ Deborah Valenze, “The cultural history of food,” in *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies*, 1st edition, ed. Kenneth Albala, (London: Routledge, 2013), 104.

¹⁶ Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, 2.

was merely combined with other interpretive systems of medicine.¹⁷ (Artistotle, Astrology, Religion, etc.)

Gastronomy: the study of cuisine as an artform, as coined by Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin.

Habitus: “The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification...of these practices.”¹⁸ It is “necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application.”¹⁹ It is structuring” and also “a structured structure”—as the latter is “itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes.”²⁰

Haute Cuisine: “a differentiated cuisine...as compared with a low cuisine,”²¹ a “distinct cuisine for the rich”²² that allows “the hierarchy between ranks and classes” to take on “a culinary form.”²³

Hippocratic Medicine: We attribute *miasma* theory, the theory of humors, and the balance of the system of four (the cardinal points, the four seasons, the four humors, the four elements) to Hippocrates who formalized Ancient Greek medicine. Greek medicine and dietetics at this stage had more to do with lifestyle design, from choosing the

¹⁷ David Gentilcore, “Body and Soul, or Living Physically in the Kitchen,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, Vol. 4. 6 vols., ed. Beat A. Kümin, (Oxford: Berg, 2012), 146.

¹⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 165-6.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 166.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 166.

²¹ Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class : A Study in Comparative Sociology*, Themes in the Social Sciences (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 98.

²² *Ibid*, 127.

²³ *Ibid*, 113.

location of your house, its orientation, your clothing, your sleeping and resting pattern, activity routine and physical work-out, as well as your eating habits according to balance in a quadripartite system. Some geographies were more balanced and healthy than others—marshes, for example, with their wetness, were the home of miasma and caused disease—while all of these choices had to be organized around the personality-type of a particular person (sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, melancholic), which in turn could be determined by their time of birth, sex, etc. The latter (astrology) became particularly significant in medieval medicine. The medical advisor in Greek times was thus more of a life-coach, than strictly speaking a healer: healing was necessary when lifestyle design failed, often then the fault of the coach.²⁴

Meal: an occasion or time of day routinely marked out for eating. E.g. breakfast, lunch, dinner.

Menu: typically a list of the dishes served as part of a meal.

Middling(ness), Social Middle: an individualistic identity, held for individual purposes, by individual agents with individual motivations, strategies, aspirations, habits and practices,²⁵ who used property,²⁶ legal status,²⁷ their level of education,²⁸ and

²⁴ For a summary see Gentilcore, “Body and Soul,” 166-8.

²⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) xi. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 165-166.

²⁶ Jonathan Sperber, *Property and Civil Society in South-Western Germany, 1820-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

David Warren Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

²⁷ Robert Beachy, *The Soul of Commerce: Credit, Property, and Politics in Leipzig, 1750-1840* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

²⁸ Denise Phillips, *Acolytes of Nature: Defining Natural Science in Germany, 1770-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Further: Reinhart Kosselleck, “Einleitung—Zur anthropologischen und semantischen Struktur der Bildung,” in *Bildungsgüter und Bildungswissen*, ed. Reinhart Kosselleck, vol. 2 of *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1985–92), 11–46, especially 13–

consumption,²⁹ as *arguments* for making the case for middle-class identity and belonging for themselves or others. If an individual was able to *convince* their superiors, peers, and inferiors that they were in fact middling, they *were* middling: the key part of “making” middlingness, was, in this sense, social recognition. The focus of these middling individuals was social mobility, and not a bourgeois revolution. Middlingness functioned as a form of social and cultural capital, through which other forms of capital (political, economic) could be acquired.

Modern cuisine: in the scholarship on French food history the term “modern cuisine” either refers to 1. the “modern cuisine” and “modern French style of cooking” established by Antonin Carème, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, or, 2. the culinary practices carried forward as of Antonin Carème into the contemporary age, through the triumph of French cooking in the “modern” age after the French Revolution.³⁰ This portrayal is too Franco-centric, and in this dissertation, the term “modern cuisine” is not employed in this way, nor used as by Flandrin to distinguish between “modern” and “classical” cuisine.³¹ These categories, I argue, are too introspective and limited to the French context. Laudan describes wider trends in mid-seventeenth century Europe from a diet heavy in spices prevalent in the Middle Ages, to one reduced in spice, and combined with rich sauces as a shift preceding a modern

15. Cited in: Jonathan Sperber, “*Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and Its Sociocultural World*,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 69:2 (June 1997): 271-297.

²⁹ Wolfgang Kaschuba, “*German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800: Culture as Symbolic Practice*,” in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 392-422; Wolfgang Kaschuba, *Lebenswelt und Kultur der unterbürgerlichen Schichten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte ; Bd. 5. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1990)

³⁰ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), Peterson, T. Sarah, *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Cooking*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

³¹ See “Classical cuisine” above.

cuisine or modern diet rich in carbohydrates, fats, and sugars, globalized by the Anglo-World from 1920 onwards.³² This former depiction of a decline of spice however does not apply to Central Europe, given the persistence of spice in nineteenth-century Germany middling cuisine until its decline from 1840, and its slow replacement with industrial products as of 1860 and its near-elimination by 1900. See: “modern eating.”

Modern eating: the simultaneous use of industrialized processed foods from substitutes and vacuum- preserved and ready-meals laced with additives such as colorings and flavor enhancers, plus reactions against such artificial consumption practices with legislation and calls for vegetarianism, veganism, and “natural” eating, all complemented with supplements visible in nineteenth-century Germany and in the present today. While the scholarship has been right to point to the long-lasting effects of French cuisine in the eighteenth century, and the repercussions of the Anglo-World from 1910 that have shaped eating practices in the present, this dissertation show that our understanding of modern eating practices is not complete without nineteenth-century Germany.

Practices: ““ways of operating””, in this case, with food. Such behaviors can include cuisine, commensalism, and consumption.³³

Service a la Française: French-style service as established by Louis XIV wherein all courses that form part of the meal are served at table simultaneously.

³² Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 207, 308-9.

³³ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xi.

Service a la Russe: Russian style service, probably invented at the Russian court around 1810 and established in Europe between 1800 and 1900, wherein courses are served sequentially.³⁴ England held on to French-style service until as late as the 1880s and 1890s, while Germany embraced Russian style service as early as 1810.³⁵

Symbolism: ““the specific meanings attributed to foods in specific contexts.”³⁶

Taboo: ““the prohibitions and restrictions on the consumption of certain foods by certain people under certain conditions.”³⁷

Taste: “Taste is a match-maker; it marries colours and also people,”³⁸ and is thus class-specific, speaking for and of the person’s social origin, reifying them, guiding them, coloring their perception. By extension, food must be good to eat, good to think, and good to “be,” that is, to exist socially, in the Lévi-Straussian sense.

³⁴ David I. Burrow, “Food at the Russian Court and the Homes of the Imperial Russian Elite,” in *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*, ed. Daniëlle de Vooght (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 109; Bernard Chevallier and Marc Walter, *Empire Splendor: French Taste in the Age of Napoleon* (New York: Vendome Press, 2008), 67; Adamson Weiss Melitta and Francine Segan, *Entertaining from Ancient Rome to the Super Bowl: An Encyclopedia* (Westport: Greenwood, 2008), 226.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 121, 132.

³⁶ Counihan, *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, 20.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 19-20.

³⁸ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 239.

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General Regional Archive of Baden-Württemberg, Karlsruhe
- CBM: *Coffe Baum Museum, Stadthistorisches Museum Leipzig.*
Coffe Baum Museum, City Historic Museum, Leipzig.
- DHDM: *Deutsches Hygiene Museum Dresden*
German Hygiene Museum Dresden, Dresden.
- DLA: *Deutsches Literatur Archiv.*
German Literary Archive, Marbach.
- DSBM: *Deutsches Schrift- und Buch Museum*
German Literary and Book Museum, Leipzig.
- FUBEG: *Forschungs und Universitätsbibliothek Erfurt-Gotha.*
Research and University Library, Erfurt and Gotha.
- GStAPK *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*
Prussian Privy State Archive, Berlin.
- HMG: *Historisches Museum Gotha*
Historical Museum, Gotha.
- HMSS: *Heimatmuseum Schloss Schönebeck*
Heimat Museum of Schönebeck Castle, Bremen.
- SGML: *Stadthistorisches Museum Leipzig.*
City Historic Museum, Leipzig.
- STSG: *Schloss Friedenstein, Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser und Gärten*
Friedenstein Castle of the Thuringian Trust for Castles and Gardens
- Stabi: *Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.*
Berlin State Library, Berlin.
- StAKN: *Stadtarchiv Konstanz*
City Archive, Constance.
- StUBB: *Staat- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen.*
State and University Library, Bremen.

- SVM: *Schillerverein*, Marbach
Schiller Society, Marbach.
- WOK: *World of Kitchen*
World of Kitchen Museum and Library, Hannover.

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