The Kosher Gourmet in the Nineteenth-Century Kitchen:
Three Jewish Cookbooks in Historical Perspective
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What would Lady Moses Montefiore and Mrs. Esther Levy think if they could see their nineteenth-century cookbooks lying open beside a microwave oven? Though their volumes presupposed the help of human servants rather than machines, they would probably have lauded innovation in the late twentieth-century kosher kitchen, just as they did in their own day. Their mission was to demonstrate the compatibility of Jewish ritual requirements with culinary refinement and modern efficiency, a theme that continues to inspire writers of Jewish cookbooks today.

To our knowledge, each of these volumes—The Jewish Manual; or, Practical Information in Jewish & Modern Cookery, with a Collection of Valuable Recipes & Hints Relating to the Toilette, edited by a Lady (London: T. and W. Boone, 1846), and Jewish Cookery Book, on Principles of Economy, adapted for Jewish Housekeepers, with the Addition of Many Useful Medicinal Recipes, and Other Valuable Information, Relative to Housekeeping and Domestic Management, by Mrs. Esther Levy, née Esther Jacobs (Philadelphia: W.S. Turner, 1871)—appeared in a single edition and vanished, as did The
Judith, Lady Montefiore (from a painting at East Cliff Lodge). (Engraving from Moses Montefiore, by Paul Goodman [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1925], opposite page 121.)
Little Book of Jewish Cookery (London: George Newnes, circa 1912). The sudden reappearance of all three books more than a century later is part of an unprecedented efflorescence in the publication of Jewish cookbooks, which include these modern reprints of forgotten classics.

These books are an invaluable resource for the social historian, and a vote of appreciation is due those who, recognizing their value, have made them available to us. Ostensibly just guides to cooking, these volumes, through their approaches to cuisine, kashrut (Jewish dietary laws), the toilette, and household management, project an image of the ideal Jewish woman and the world she manages from her post in the home. Comments about female education and servants, inventories of cooking utensils necessary for the complete kitchen, and advertisements for foods, goods, and services help to create a picture of domestic life in middle-class Jewish circles in the nineteenth century.

The mid-nineteenth century, when The Jewish Manual was published, was a period of rapid social mobility for English Jews, a process that threatened to erode ritual observance as an expanding Jewish middle class aspired to the lifestyles of its Christian neighbors. At the same time, there were significant numbers of destitute Jews in London; their welfare was the concern of wealthy Jewish philanthropists such as Lady Moses (Judith) Montefiore and Baroness Lionel (Charlotte) Rothschild, who were active in establishing cooking schools for poor Jewish girls as a way of encouraging economic self-sufficiency. Properly trained, they could work as cooks in Jewish households. Several of the nineteenth-century Jewish cookbooks that have survived were training manuals for precisely such schools.

The Jewish Manual, presumed to be the work of Judith Montefiore (1784–1862), was long thought to be the earliest Jewish cookery book published in English. Lady Montefiore's object, as stated in the editor's preface, was "to guide the young Jewish housekeeper in the luxury and economy of 'The Table,' on which so much of the pleasure of social intercourse depends" (p. iii). In recommending her own cookbook to the reader, she
points out: “Our collection will be found to contain all the best receipts, hitherto bequeathed only by memory or manuscript, from one generation to another of the Jewish nation, as well as those which come under the denomination of plain English dishes; and also such French ones as are now in general use at refined modern tables” (p. ii).

Lady Montefiore's volume was intended to fill a distinct gap:

Among the numerous works on Culinary Science already in circulation, there have been none which afford the slightest insight to the Cookery of the Hebrew kitchen.

Replete as many of these are with information on various important points, they are completely useless to the Jewish housekeeper, not only on account of prohibited articles and combinations being assumed to be necessary ingredients of nearly every dish, but from the entire absence of all the receipts peculiar to the Jewish people.

This deficiency, which has been so frequently the cause of inconvenience and complaint, we have endeavoured in the present little volume to supply. [P. ii]

Assuming that her reader was experienced, if frustrated, in the use of general cookbooks, Lady Montefiore affirmed the existence of a distinctive Jewish cuisine while presenting it as a cosmopolitanizing influence. The Jewish recipes, drawn from both Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions,\(^1\) were offered as a source of the “graceful originality” and “judicious novelties” necessary to the “cuisine of a woman of refinement” and reflected her heterogeneous cultural milieu.\(^2\)

Judith Montefiore's family had emigrated from Holland to England during the 1770s. Her father, Levi Barent Cohen (1740–1808), a successful linen merchant, became presiding warden of the Great Synagogue, the leading Ashkenazic congregation of London. In 1812, Judith Cohen married Moses Montefiore, a member of the distinguished Sephardic family. Moses, whose grandparents had immigrated to England from Italy during the 1740s, was a devoted member of the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London, and Judith also joined this Sephardic congregation after her marriage. Like Amsterdam,
London was a center of Portuguese Jewish settlement, and the Sephardim in both countries included Marranos from the Iberian Peninsula, some of whom had come via Italy and other countries, and more recent arrivals from the Mediterranean, particularly Gibraltar and Morocco.

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, a period during which Anglo-Jewry fought for and won emancipation, the Montefiores were at the center of Jewish life. Lady Montefiore herself was an accomplished person, admired for her intellect, grace, and philanthropic energy. Fluent in German and French, she had also studied Italian, Hebrew, and Arabic; she was an accomplished vocalist, pianist, and guitarist and a skilled horsewoman. Insatiable travelers, she and Sir Moses made many excursions through Europe and the Middle East, about which she wrote in privately printed, anonymous diaries. Judith was presumably writing from her own experience when she complained in the introduction to The Jewish Manual that “the various acquirements, which in the present day are deemed essential to a female education, rarely leave much time or inclination for the humble study of household affairs...; thus she is incompetent to direct her servant, upon whose inferior judgement and taste she is obliged to depend” (pp. iii–iv). By her ignorance, such a woman is condemned to “lavish extravagance” or “parsimonious monotony,” Lady Montefiore added. “However, there are happily so many highly accomplished and intellectual women, whose example proves the compatibility of uniting the cultivation of talents with domestic pursuits... it is the unfailing attribute of a superior mind to turn its attention occasionally to the lesser objects of life” (p. iv). Judith was herself a prime example of this happy combination, though, from her diaries, it would appear that her domestic duties did indeed require only “occasional” attention. Not having children, she did not have to organize domestic life for a large family. Her days as a young married woman were largely filled with prayers, reading (Juvenal, Boccaccio, Joseph Andrews, Hyman Hurwitz's Hebrew Stories), drawing, music, whist, long walks, visiting family, and, while she and her husband were traveling, sightseeing.³

In the first years of their marriage, the Montefiores were not
strict in their adherence to kashruth, particularly when eating away from home, whether as the guests of their Christian friends or while traveling. Describing their travels through England during the early years of her marriage, Lady Montefiore mentioned meals of beefsteak, roast duck, and mutton chops taken in inns and hotels but without any reference to kashruth. These experiences no doubt account for her intimate knowledge of European cuisine, as seen in her detailed discussion of velouté and bêchamel, and kosher substitutes for them, and her comparisons of the flavor and texture of pastries made with lard rather than with butter or clarified beef suet.

Appreciative Christian guests also dined in the Montefiores' home and at the cosmopolitan tables of other elite Jewish families. Indeed, Lady Montefiore's relatives the Rothschilds, many of them observant, were so prominent in the highest social circles that, by one account, "All over Europe the greatest chefs began to learn, if not a downright kosher, at least a baconless cuisine." Well-to-do Jews and Christians often ate together at public banquets: according to John M. Shaftesley, it was common during the first half of the nineteenth century to include a "kosher table" provisioned by Jewish caterers for the Jewish guests. It was also not unusual for individuals to observe kashruth strictly on official occasions but not in private, or at home but not while traveling. During this period, English Jews of the elite and upper middle classes were generally casual, inconsistent, and pragmatic in their observance of Jewish ritual law, as regards not only diet but also the Sabbath and synagogue attendance. The historian Todd Endelman interprets this pattern less as a rejection of Jewish tradition and more as a compromise with the social and economic demands of English life. The stronghold of Orthodoxy was the lower middle class.

After Sir Moses's first visit to the Holy Land in 1827, he adopted a stricter attitude to Jewish dietary law and even hired a ritual slaughterer to accompany him and his wife on their travels. Judging from her cookbook, Lady Montefiore ensured that Sir Moses's diet would be no less exquisite for being kosher. Even venison could grace the Jewish table: some wealthy Jewish families were known to have a ritual slaughterer accompany
them on hunting expeditions so that animals that had been trapped or otherwise caught live could be ritually slaughtered. 

_The Jewish Manual_, which demonstrated how to achieve the ultimate in culinary refinement within the constraints of kashruth, was directed at two types of readers: those who kept kosher kitchens but lacked gastronomic sophistication and those who were tempted to abandon Jewish ritual requirements in their efforts to set a fine table. The Manual thus offered a way to refine the kosher kitchen while keeping the refined kitchen kosher. On closer reading, however, it would seem that Lady Montefiore was actually less worried about the reader’s general knowledge of Jewish ritual law, which she may have taken for granted, and more concerned with civilizing kitchens that were already kosher. Accordingly, _The Jewish Manual_ treated kashruth as a strictly logistical problem, to be solved dish by dish. Once solved, the kosherness of a preparation need draw no further attention to itself. The result, haute cuisine that was invisibly Jewish and gastronomically superior, could then be recommended

even to those ladies who are not of the Hebrew persuasion, as it will serve as a sequel to the books on cookery previously in their possession, and be the medium of presenting them with numerous receipts for rare and exquisite compositions, which if uncommemorated by the genius of Vatél, Ude, or Carême, are delicious enough not only to gratify the lovers of good cheer generally, but to merit the unqualified approbation of the most fastidious epicures. [P. 6]

Ladies “not of the Hebrew persuasion” may well have been serving Jewish guests, a situation anticipated a year earlier by Eliza Acton in a section of _Modern Cookery for Private Families_ devoted to Jewish recipes, where she wrote: “The reader will easily discover in addition, numerous dishes distributed through this volume which may be served to them [Jews] without departing from their peculiar usages,” though, she explained, “the restrictions [kashruth] of which we have spoken are not at the present day very rigidly observed by the main body of Jews in this country, though they are so by those who are denominated
strict," an observation also made by her contemporary Henry Mayhew.

The recipes in The Jewish Manual are, indeed, “rare and exquisitive,” as Lady Montefiore promised, including as they do delicacies from the Western and Eastern Sephardic repertoires. The Bola d'Amor is a spectacular confection in the shape of a cone, consisting of alternating layers of marzipan, sugary egg threads, and citron, and garnished with gold and silver leaf and myrtle. Other cakes and sweets, such as the Bola Tolieda (Toledo cake), Bola d'Hispaniola (Spanish cake), Preñesas, Sopa d'oro (soup of gold), Doce (sweet), Macrotes, and Chejados, make ample use of sugar syrup, rose and orange waters, almonds, coconut, and egg yolks. Almondegos is a meatball soup thickened with egg yolks and almonds beaten with sugar and flavored with lemon juice, mace, and sweet herbs. Amnastich is a rice and chicken stew thickened with egg yolks and seasoned with lemon juice, saffron, cloves, and sweet herbs. Savory dishes include Descadés, stewed poultry livers served on rounds of toast; Escobeche, fried fish marinated in oil, vinegar, and spices; and Impanada, a fish pie. Several of these dishes, which make later appearances in the Jewish sections of the cookbooks of Mrs. J.C. Croly, Mrs. Beeton, Mrs. Rorer, G.J. Guinteau, and others, have affinities with Portuguese delicacies still current today.

The Jewish Manual also includes some classic dishes from the Ashkenazic (mainly Western) heritage: soup dumplings made of matzo meal and seasoned with ginger and nutmeg; Luction, or baked noodle pudding; Grimstich (possibly a typographical error for grimslekh), fruit-filled dumplings made of “biscuit powder” (matzo meal), and baked in a sugar syrup; Lamlitch, triangular pastries filled with fruit and baked in melted butter and clarified sugar; Staffin, alternating layers of fruit and dough baked in a sugar syrup; and Wafflers, which required “wafer irons” obtainable “at any good ironmonger of the Hebrew persuasion” (p. 124).

Typically the Ashkenazi sweets, which were most likely drawn from Lady Montefiore's Dutch-Jewish background, use apples, raisins, brown sugar, nutmeg, and cinnamon. Recipes for French delicacies, such as soufflé, fondue, and miroton, and for British
specialties, especially puddings, have been modified to make them kosher.

The quintessential synthesis of these cuisines—Sephardic, Ashkenazic, and British—is Lady Montefiore’s Kugel and Commean. The Sephardic commean, or hamin in Judezmo, like the Western Ashkenazi shale and Eastern Ashkenazi tsboint, refers to a dish usually made of meat and beans that is kept hot overnight, often in a baker’s oven, so that it can be served warm on the Sabbath, when cooking is forbidden. About the commean, Lady Montefiore comments, “the meat &c., is extremely savoury and nutritious, but it is not a very seemly dish for the table.” The kugel is cooked in a basin set in the middle of the pan containing the beans and meat. In Lady Montefiore’s version, the kugel is a sweet English pudding made of suet, bread crumbs, and brown sugar, seasoned with nutmeg, ginger, cloves, and allspice. When done, the pudding is turned out of the basin and served with a sweet lemon and brandy sauce. This one dish thus combines terminology from two Jewish languages (Anglo-Sephardic vernacular and Yiddish) and culinary principles from two cultures (Jewish and British).

For the kosher cook, Victorian haute cuisine was a minefield, but Lady Montefiore negotiated it with great finesse. She eliminated tabooed foods such as shellfish and pork. As alternatives to bacon and ham, she proposed smoked beef and chorissa, “a sausage peculiar to the Jewish kitchen, of delicate and piquante flavour” (p. [xiii]). Her solution for lard—rendered pork fat was a staple of British and Anglo-American kitchens in the nineteenth century—is ingenious:

Melt down with care fine fresh suet, either beef or veal, put it into a jar, and set it in a stew-pan of water to boil, putting in a sprig of rosemary, or a little orange flower water while melting, this is a very useful preparation and will be found, if adapted in English kitchens, to answer the purpose of lard and is far more delicate and wholesome: it should be well beaten till quite light with a wooden fork. [P. 52]

Furthermore, Lady Montefiore admonished her readers, “it is a great mistake to imagine lard is better adapted for pastry than
butter or clarified fat; it may make the pastry lighter, but neither the color nor the flavor will be nearly so good, and the saving is extremely trifling” (pp. 103–4). She had also to avoid the prohibited combination of dairy and meat, and she found tasty ways to do so: by substituting egg yolks for butter and cream, she ensured that the Jewish table would not lack close approximations of béchamel and velouté.

She also had to assemble complete and elaborate menus in which tabooed foods and combinations of foods were eliminated and dishes containing dairy products did not appear in the same meal as those made of meat. A cursory examination of Victorian menus will demonstrate how difficult a task this must have been: indispensable to a formal dinner were larded roasts, fowl, and game, fish and shellfish, butter and cream sauces, cheeses and crèmes, suet puddings, and pies made with lard crusts. To get around the problem, Lady Montefiore found substitutes for prohibited ingredients and combinations and often provided several versions of a recipe, with and without meat or dairy products, so that the dish could be served at any meal: there are instructions for mincemeat without meat (p. 137), bread sauce that can also “be made without butter or milk” (p. 23), and a caper sauce that can be made with either butter or “a broth thickened with egg, and a little flour.” Readers are reassured periodically that “this sauce will be found excellent, if not superior, in many cases where English cooks use melted butter” (p. 19). In some recipes, where the alternatives are not clearly distinguished, there is room for confusion, as in the instructions for Brown Cucumber Sauce. Lady Montefiore did not have to invent all of these modifications. There were many precedents for making dishes without meat and dairy products in the Lenten and fasting cuisine of Christian Europe.

Even the language of cuisine was scrutinized from a kosher perspective. In the glossary, Lady Montefiore wrote regarding piqué, “a French term used to express the process of larding,” that “the French term is a preferable one, as it more clearly indicates what is meant” (p. xiii) and, she might have added, avoids the association of this process with pork lard. Lady Montefiore’s instructions call for the fat of smoked meats, truffles, or tongue.
She commented on *farcie*, "a French term for forcemeat," that "meat is by no means a necessary ingredient, although the English word might seem to imply the contrary," a point of interest to the kosher cook, who must always keep meat and dairy separate.

A distinctive palate emerges from *The Jewish Manual*, one attuned to a wide range of flavors, some of them rather subtle and complex. Consider the ingredients for blanmcange, which include milk, isinglass, beaten almonds, bitter almonds, bay leaves, lemon peel, sugar, and the juice of fresh strawberries. Other dishes are intense in flavor, sharp, or aromatic. Recipes incorporate highly seasoned prepared sauces, but with discretion—Lady Montefiore warns, "Ketchups, Soy, Harvey's sauce [vinegar seasoned with garlic, anchovies, cayenne, soy, mushroom or walnut catsup], &c., are used too indiscriminately by inferior cooks; it is better to leave them to be added at table by those who approve of their flavour" (p. xix). It was apparently common at Victorian tables to douse food with these sauces. Also important are the piquant chorissa sausage and smoked beef; tart lemon (juice, peel, and slices, candied or pickled), vinegar, piccalilli, pickled walnuts, gherkins, and capers; salty anchovies; mustard and hot peppers (white, black, chili, cayenne, and "long"); sweet herbs (parsley, chervil, mint, savory, thyme, sweet marjoram, sage, bay leaf); aromatic spices (allspice, mace, nutmeg, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, saffron, vanilla); several types of sugar and spirits (white wine, port, brandy, sherry, shrub, Madeira); and luxuries such as truffles and the gold and silver leaf that ornaments the Bola d'Amor.

Various combinations of lemon, vinegar, allspice, cloves, ginger, nutmeg, and other spices, sometimes sweetened with sugar or wine, are the basis for Oxtail Soup, Stewed Beef, Alamode Beef, Stewed Brisket, Beef Ragout, and related preparations. This synthesis of spicy, sweet, and tart ingredients is considered characteristic of Western Ashkenazic cuisine in other areas as well.

What sets the Jewish cuisine of England apart from that of the Continent is the emphasis on suet rather than goose fat, a point noted by Mrs. Esther Levy, author of *Jewish Cookery Book*. 
believed to be the earliest Jewish cookbook published in the United States. Like Lady Montefiore, Mrs. Levy aimed to show that

without violating the precepts of our religion, a table can be spread, which will satisfy the appetites of the most fastidious. Some have, from ignorance, been led to believe that a repast, to be sumptuous, must unavoidably admit of forbidden food. We do not venture too much when we assert that our writing clearly refutes that false notion.\textsuperscript{14}

She, too, wrote for middle-class women who were assisted by servants, lacked “a knowledge of family management,” and were tempted to abandon Jewish dietary laws in the effort to rise socially. Mrs. Levy complained that not only was the topic of family management neglected at school but also “during vacation all subjects that might interfere with amusement are avoided” (p. 6).

In the 1870s, when Mrs. Levy’s book was published, the Jewish community in Philadelphia numbered about 12,000. An old elite of Sephardic families, who had begun settling in the United States during the colonial period, had been joined by Jews from German-speaking lands and, in smaller numbers, from England. After 1840 the wave of Jewish immigration from Western Europe began, but the mass influx of East European Jews would not commence until the 1880s. The German Jews, most of them small local businessmen, shopkeepers, and traders, grew prosperous quickly during mid-century, and significant numbers of them rose to positions of prominence within and beyond the Philadelphia Jewish community. Women did much to shape the lifestyle commensurate with this prosperity.

What was their preparation for this task? Israel Joseph Benjamin, an East European Jew who traveled across the United States from 1859 to 1862, devoted two chapters of his observations to the Jewish woman, particularly to her education.\textsuperscript{15} According to Benjamin, most young Jewish women, presumably of the middle class, attended public or private schools and then high school or finishing school until the age of fifteen. Thereafter, they continued with private tutors, studying music,
singing, drawing, French, needlework, and Hebrew. Benjamin, like many others, deplored the quality of women's Jewish education, but then, American Jewish men were roundly condemned on this score as well. After completing school, men went on to compete in business, and women, who usually were married between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, were a major channel for introducing the graces and amenities appropriate to their newly acquired status. This was no easy task during the post–Civil War period, during which the "pace of social climbing increased at the same time that the distance to be travelled lengthened."\(^{16}\) Women were key players in this climb.

The Jewish press of the period, like Mrs. Levy, criticized the feminine preoccupation with fashion and luxury, balls and soirees, and the aversion to household management and neglect of religious customs while praising the ideal Jewish woman: "Her domestic status, in the eyes of the Jewish press of the day, was an elevated one: respected household manager, director of the family hearth and religious shrine, guiding influence upon children's growth and education, counselor in many vital problems to her husband and other relatives, source of moral and spiritual strength within the home."\(^{17}\) While repeatedly condemning "tables with forbidden viands . . . for which many young Jewesses betray a singular relish," the press also praised Jewish women for being even more faithful to Jewish custom than their husbands.\(^{18}\) There is a larger context for this apparent paradox, for in these and other terms diverse segments of the Jewish community competed for women, who were being pulled in one direction by the lure of the Gentile world, for which their education had so effectively prepared them, and in another direction by the emerging Reform movement, which was redefining their place in Jewish religious and family life. Mrs. Levy's *Jewish Cookery Book* offered its own resolution by advocating the acceptance of one's station in life, stressing the pleasures of running a Jewish household well, and showing the compatibility of social refinement and Jewish ritual law.

The evidence in her cookbook suggests that Mrs. Levy was an English Jew, probably Western Ashkenazic.\(^{19}\) Unlike the Jews who had emigrated from the European continent, she would not
have been viewed as a foreigner in Philadelphia, where English culture was highly valued and Jewish immigrants from England, though relatively few in number, were integrated easily. Judging by her recipes for succotash, hominy fritters and pudding, corn bread, mush cakes, squash, and okra gumbo, Mrs. Levy was familiar with the American culinary scene. But her cookbook is overwhelmingly an expression of Anglo-Jewish culture.

In addition to the preponderance of recipes for British specialties (Welsh rarebit, Scotch shortbread, Yorkshire pudding, Cumberland pudding, bubble and squeak, and the mock turtle soup so fashionable in America too), there are three very specific references to England that suggest she had firsthand knowledge of it. About the cleaning of tables in preparation for Passover, Mrs. Levy writes, “It was customary in England to lay them in fuller’s earth, which is not so well known here, and is more expensive” (p. 9). The instructions “To Scald Cream” specify “as in the west of England” and explain that “the butter is usually made of Devonshire cream this way, and if properly done it is very firm” (pp. 136–37). Regarding boiled cabbage, she writes, “The English people eat it as it is taken out of the water” rather than with a sauce (p. 148).

Other indications of Mrs. Levy’s British orientation include her explicit comparisons between English methods, assumed to be the norm, and German methods, which are cited by way of contrast: “All boiled puddings are best when made with suet. Germans use a great deal of goose fat in their cooking.” Mrs. Levy calls for suet rather than goose fat in her recipes.

She also refers several times to porging (Hebrew: nikkur), the process of removing from animals not only the forbidden fat associated with the ancient Temple sacrifices but also the membranes and veins containing fat, the sciatic nerve, and the arteries containing blood. A reason is stated in Deut. 12:23–25: “Only remain firm not to eat the blood, for the blood, it is the soul, and thou shalt not eat the soul with the flesh.” While the butcher was expected to porge the forequarters, a professional porger was required for the delicate task of removing the prohibited hindquarter veins and arteries. Such specialists were apparently common in England but not in America at the time.
Thomas F. De Voe, in *The Market Assistant* (1867), offers a detailed account of dietary practices in East Coast cities of the period, and explains with regard to Jews in New York, "The hind-quarters of the animals thus slaughtered are not sealed, and therefore not eaten in this country by the strict Jews, although their laws allow of their being eaten when operated upon by the professional porcher; but as there are none known or recognized by them in the United States, this choice part is left without seals" (p. 19). Mrs. Levy’s recipes most commonly call for cuts of meat from the forequarters—shoulder, joint, brisket, steak, fillet, ribs, cutlet, chop, collop, neck, head, knuckle, shin—as well as feet and various organ meats. There is one mention of a cut of meat called bula (p. 49), and in the case of tongue, Mrs. Levy has the housewife purge the meat herself.

There is a preponderance of Western Ashkenazic delicacies: frimsel (vermicelli) as the basis for noodle soup and for luxion, a noodle pudding; grimsolech, which in her version are matzo and fruit fritters; lamplch, puff paste stuffed with fruit; coogle, a pudding of peas and beans; sthephon, a baked pudding of ripe fruit or apples; ein gefülter magen, stuffed stomach (she also provides a recipe for stuffed milt, or spleen); dampfnudeln and krapfen; and matzo cleis soup, matzo ball soup. Instead of chorissa, there is wosht (Wurst). A trace of the Western Sephardic contribution to Anglo-Jewish cuisine may be detected in the recipe for bula, a term that continues to this day to be associated in English with Sephardic cakes.

Like Lady Montefiore, Mrs. Levy’s culinary palate was drawn to sweet-and-sour preparations (meat cooked with apples and raisins and fish stewed with vinegar, molasses, ginger, and other spices), piquant dishes such as a horseradish stew, sharp sauces, eggs as a replacement for butter and cream, and the use of many herbs, spices, aromatics, flavorings, and spirits. She specified an even greater variety of sugars than Lady Montefiore—brown sugar, coarse brown sugar, white sugar, coarse sugar, refined sugar, double-refined sugar, ground sugar, pulverized sugar, finely powdered sugar, loaf sugar, lump sugar, moist sugar, rough granite sugar, sugar syrup, and molasses. But whereas Lady Montefiore told her reader that it was cheaper to buy
certain prepared articles than to make them at home, Mrs. Levy assumed her reader would bake her own bread, make her own butter, cream, and cheese, and fatten her own poultry. Accordingly, she provided the necessary instructions.26

The extensive list of “seasonable food for each month of the year” (pp. 165–70) reveals the great variety of meat, game, fish, vegetables, and fruit available to the Philadelphia cook of the period, including forced strawberries and hothouse salad greens, imported fruits such as pineapples, and items that today’s urban cooks rarely, if ever, see—bullaces (wild plums), medlars, green apricots, and white, black, and red currants.

In the four decades between the appearance of Mrs. Levy’s Jewish Cookery Book and The Little Book of Jewish Cookery (circa 1912), the Jewish communities in England and America had been transformed by the influx of East European Jewish immigrants: the Jewish population of London more than tripled during this period. The introduction to The Little Book of Jewish Cookery suggested the heterogeneity of the Jewish community of its day in the opening sentence: “though nowadays a less hard and fast rule is observed by the generality, there are many orthodox Jews specially addicted to tradition, who will appreciate these recipes” (p. 5). Judging by the recipes, the Orthodox were largely East European Jews.

The Little Book contained no mention of servants, no consideration of social refinements, and no elaborate menus or instructions for how to set the table and serve the meal. Instead, the focus was on the rules for keeping a kosher kitchen, managing the dietary requirements of Passover, and a list of cooking utensils. Substitutions useful in the kosher kitchen were offered, such as almond milk “for use instead of milk.” New vegetable shortenings made it possible to produce dishes that were “neutral”—that is, being neither meat nor dairy, such dishes would be compatible with both: “Lard is never used, beef dripping being the best cooking fat, though nowadays popular fancy is much in favor of Palmira and Nutta, both of which are excellent vegetable fats, and very economical” (p. 11). Recipes called for treacle, golden syrup, hundreds and thousands, and baking

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powder, ingredients that were absent from *The Jewish Manual* and *Jewish Cookery Book*.

Many Jewish specialties were noted as such: “The cooking of fish is a very special point with the Jewish cook, the frying process being exactly the reverse of that in ordinary cookery; fish being first dipped in the crumbs or meal and afterwards in the beaten egg” (p. 16). Oil as the frying medium is well suited to serving fish cold, as is so often the case, particularly on holidays when cooking is not allowed.

The cuisine described was primarily Ashkenazic: Einlauf, soup dumplings, that were praised as “a favorite preparation”; Borsht, beetroot soup; Fish Savoury, a mixture of salted herring, raw onion, and hard-cooked egg; Grimslechs, in this case a matzo pie filled with dried fruit, almonds, brown sugar, cinnamon, and nutmeg; Motza kleis soup, a vegetable soup with matzo balls; Peas and Kleis, batter dumplings dropped in peas boiled in mint; Pike (Gafillte Fisch), made by stuffing the skin of the whole fish with the minced flesh and poaching the stuffed fish with carrot and onion in water; Shabbos Shalend and Tsimess, a very slowly braised mixture of barley, haricot beans, marrow bones, and meat, served with suet dumplings or boiled macaroni, and a *tsimess* of slowly stewed sorrel and spinach, nutmeg and beef dripping; and Yontuffsup, a broth made from beef, chicken, turkey, pigeons, and root vegetables, served with matzo dumplings—the meat was presented as a side dish.

From the Western Sephardic repertoire there is the *bola* cake, in this version sprinkled with hundreds and thousands. Fish Stewed, a variation of Lady Montefiore’s Fish Stewed White and Mrs. Levy’s Lemon Stewed Fish, called for a salmon or halibut to be cooked with browned onions, parsley, ginger, saffron, white pepper, and water. Fish balls were added along with the sauce of egg yolks and lemons.27 Halibut’s Head (Stewed) was similarly prepared with fishballs and an egg, lemon, and saffron sauce. Liver Savouries was a version of Lady Montefiore’s Descaides—minced fowl livers thickened with egg yolks and served on toast rounds.

Interesting appropriations and adaptations of typical British dishes include the Hanucah Cake, a dense fruitcake made of
currants, sultanas, candied peel, almonds, brown sugar, and mixed spice. A layer of sweet almond paste flavored with orange flower water was spread on top of the baked cake and the whole was covered with Royal Icing. The Passover Plum Pudding used similar ingredients but was steamed in a basin and served with a wine or rum sauce. Solomon Gundy (salmagundi) was in this version a salad of chopped herring seasoned with oil, vinegar, raw onion, parsley, pepper, and cayenne. Fish Quenelles and Pillau rounded out the cosmopolitan repertoire.

The Little Book of Jewish Cookery worked with the same basic palate as The Jewish Manual and Jewish Cookery Book but in a more streamlined and economical fashion. While fewer spices were specified, they figured both in the characteristic Ashkenazic combination of clove, allspice, pepper, brown sugar, and vinegar and in the typical Western Sephardic sauces of ginger, saffron, pepper, egg, and lemon. Here, too, imported and colonial foodstuffs were well represented—oranges, lemons, coconut, almonds, rice, coffee, sugar, rum, and spices, among others. Sometimes the exact cost of the recipe was indicated: Pentecost biscuits cost eight pence for six people.

A striking feature of all three cookbooks is their approach to kashruth, an area of religious practice where Jewish communities, historically, have diverged on a number of points. East European Orthodox Jews are usually the most stringent, requiring at least six hours between the eating of meat and the consumption of milk products; German Jews require three hours, and Dutch Jews wait just seventy-two minutes.28 Many practices deemed acceptable in these cookbooks would be totally rejected by the strictest kosher cooks today as well as in the past. Problematic ingredients include suet, which is khelev, a prohibited type of fat; rennet, because it is derived from the stomach of an animal; cochineal, a red food coloring made from insects; gelatin, which is generally made from animal tissues (according to the oed, skin, tendons, ligaments, and matrix of bones); and isinglass, a jelling agent that is often made from the swimming bladder of a sturgeon. (Sturgeon is a problem because its “scales” are discernible only under a microscope and are of a
problematic type).

Regarding the handling of meat, there are several controversial points. *The Little Book of Jewish Cookery* called for fine salt for koshering meat, yet the *Code of Jewish Law* specifies medium-coarse salt because fine salt dissolves too fast and coarse salt falls off the meat before the blood can be drained.29 The handling of liver is an issue as well: liver is too bloody to be kisheder simply by soaking and salting. Only Mrs. Levy told the reader to "Lay it [liver] in water for half an hour; then take it out of the water and sprinkle salt over it, and broil it over a clear fire; then rinse it in cold water to cleanse it from the blood," after which the liver can be prepared as one desires (p. 45).

Cuts of meat present their own dilemmas. Rump roasts and other cuts from the hindquarters, porged of the tabooed veins and sinews, figured prominently in *The Jewish Manual*, whereas *Jewish Cookery Book* and *The Little Book of Jewish Cookery* called almost exclusively for cuts from the forequarters, in part because of the lack of porgers in nineteenth-century America and in part because of the greater stringency of increasing numbers of Orthodox East European Jews in England by the early twentieth century.

Historically, many Jewish communities on the European continent have refused to eat the hindquarters under any but the most dire circumstances because it is so difficult to porge them properly of the prohibited sinews and fats.30 By 1941, even the Jewish Ecclesiastical Authorities in London had prohibited porging of the hindquarters, yet kosher cookbooks published in England continued to include recipes for these cuts "for such time as this becomes once more available."31 Furthermore, though Mrs. Levy stipulated that "we must observe to have the meat . . . koshered and porged by a butcher, that is, to take out the veins and sinews, which are prohibited" (p. 5), she also instructed the cook on how to porg the tongue and milt herself, a task that, according to the *Code of Jewish Law*, should be left to the specialist.

There is also a problem with suet, an important ingredient in all three cookbooks and, like the porged hindquarters, a
hallmark of Anglo-Jewish cuisine of the period. Defined by the OED as the “solid fat round the loins and kidneys . . .,” suet is a “forbidden fat” in Jewish dietary law: Lev. 3:3–4 prohibits “the fat that covereth the inwards, and the two kidneys and the fat that is on them, which is by the loins, and the lobe above the liver, which he shall take away, hard by the kidneys.” This fat is forbidden because of its once exclusive role as a sacrificial offering in the ancient Temple in Jerusalem. Yet only The Little Book of Jewish Cookery, probably with an East European Jewish reader in mind, stated explicitly that the “forbidden fat” must also be removed from the animal. A few pages later, however, this instruction was contradicted by the inclusion of suet in two recipes—an Anglo-Jewish Passover plum pudding calls for suet and matzo, and matzo dumplings (kleis) are flavored with onions browned in suet, an English adaptation of a continental Jewish dish.

The possibility that the term “suet” refers loosely to various types of permitted animal fat is unlikely, at least in Jewish Cookery Book, where Mrs. Levy’s usage is precise: her instructions for determining the freshness of veal specify that “the kidney turns first in the loin, and the suet will not then be firm” (p. 35). This understanding of suet, and its relevance for Jewish dietary practice, is elaborated by De Voe in The Market Assistant. In his list of “the parts we use from domestic animals,” he makes the following distinction:

*Beeves’ suet.* This untried fat is taken from around the kidney, and is much drier, shorter, more tender and firmer than the common meat or flesh fat . . .

*Beeves’ gut fat* is much like suet, but has more fibre through it. The Jews use this in cooking in the place of lard, which, by their laws, they discard; but it must be from animals slaughtered and regularly sealed by their *shoket*, or Jew butcher.32

Earlier in the volume, De Voe had stated that “The gut-fat of the *kosher* animal is also sealed, and used in the place of suet (which is never used by the strict Jews) for all cooking purposes” (p. 19).

During De Voe’s period, the strictly kosher butcher in New
York or Philadelphia might well have been a German Jew, who was often a small shopkeeper catering to a local clientele—there is an advertisement in German and English by the butchers Hammerschlag & Amram in the back of Mrs. Levy’s cookbook. Such butchers would have been less likely to supply suet, strictly defined, or meat from the hindquarter. By assuming that observant Jews had suet available to them and customarily used it, when, according to De Voe, this practice was uncommon in the United States at the time, the recipes in Mrs. Levy’s cookbook reveal the durability of their connections to Anglo-Jewish cuisine, as do the Jewish recipes in other American cookbooks, notably those by Mrs. J.C. Croly and Mrs. Rorer.33

A disparity occurs here between imported Anglo-Jewish culinary practices and American Jewish ritual standards, which became increasingly more stringent, particularly as East European Jews gained ground in the American Jewish community. Even today, when the proportion of the Jewish community that observes kashrut seems smaller than in earlier periods, the standards continue to become ever more elaborate and stringent in strictly Orthodox circles. According to Herman Pollack in his account of the food habits of Jews in Germanic lands from 1648 to 1806, “Polish Jews who settled in the Rhineland area became suspicious that the dishes used by the Jews of Germany did not meet the standard of ritual fitness. ‘Polish Jews should not eat the dishes of the German Jews,’ Kirchan had advised, ‘because the Rhinelanders eat the scraping of intestines and fats.’ ”34 In other words, strict East European Jews would have rejected even the “Beeves’ gut fat” mentioned by De Voe. Such differences in the interpretation of religious law was, and still is, a very palpable way of marking social boundaries: those who do not share the same dietary laws cannot eat the same food. Arguments over the correct interpretation are part of larger conflicts over religious and communal authority, and the cookbooks reflect them.

Even almond milk as a substitute for cow’s milk is subject to debate. The Code of Jewish Law states that because almond milk looks like milk it is deceptive in appearance. Therefore, dishes containing it should include a few whole almonds to avoid any suspicion of having transgressed the law.
Nor were meat and milk as strictly separated in these books as ultrakosher Jews would expect. Milk and meat are routinely recommended to be served at the same meal in Jewish Cookery Book. Breakfasts featured dairy foods on the main table, and “at a side table, prepared separately, there may be some remnants of cold meat or steak for those who do not like fish or who prefer meat to any other relish; in this case cold boiled potatoes can be fried instead of the milk or buttered toast” (pp. 171–72).

The meal pattern may also come as something of a surprise. Traditionally, the culinary highlights of the week are the Sabbath dinners served Friday evening and midday Saturday, both of which feature meat dishes. In Mrs. Levy’s outline of meals for each day of the week, the main meal of the day on Friday was not an evening feast but a “short dinner” served at midday: “As this is the day preparatory to the Sabbath it is generally a busy one, so a short dinner will be most convenient” (p. 176). The “Friday Night or Sabbath Supper” was a light dairy meal of coffee, tea, fish, puffs, cake, and salad rather than a meat repast. The benediction was said over raisin wine and “twist,” the festive bread, the recipe for which calls for a milk glaze. Earlier, Mrs. Levy had explained the need for making a burnt dough offering when baking the festive loaves. Saturday’s dinner was a two-course meat meal, none of it actually cooked on the Sabbath, and Saturday’s supper used up the leftovers (pp. 175–77).

The focus of the week was thus not on one of the Sabbath meals, as would have been customary in traditional circles then as well as now, but on Sunday dinner: “This is the day the husbands are at home, then something good must be prepared in honor of the lords of the household. Ladies need not be at a loss to know what to have, when they have examined this book” (p. 178). What follows is an elaborate menu. If, according to Mrs. Levy, Sunday was the “day the husbands are home,” where were they on Saturday, the Sabbath (pp. 178–79)?

To a modern reader, the mixture of liberal and strict interpretations of Jewish dietary laws and customs is familiar, but how the choices are made requires analysis. For example, Mrs. Levy writes, “it is not usual to partake of anything roasted on that eve [the first seder] or the next day” (p. 8), a point also made in the
*Code of Jewish Law.* Why, if suet is eaten year round, are there scruples about broiling liver or eating roasted meat on Passover? The pattern of choices is what gives to each Jewish community its special character.

A comparison of these cookbooks with each other and with the Jewish sections of contemporary general cookbooks reveals a gradual canonization of the Anglo-Jewish culinary repertoire—that is, Jewish cuisine becomes identified with a limited number of dishes that appear in one volume after another, often with their Jewish names. Similarly, during this period there emerges a consensus about the Jewish gustatory palette, which is characterized by “spicyness,” Jewish dietary predilections, and Jewish culinary methods. The love of fish and the distinctive method of frying it are often cited. Henry Mayhew was told that “on a Saturday there’s cold fish for breakfast and supper; indeed, a Jew would pawn the shirt off his back sooner than go without fish then; and in holiday-time he will have it, if he has to get it out of the stones. It is not reckoned a holiday unless there’s fish.”

Mayhew’s account of the specialties sold by Jewish food vendors on the streets of London during Lady Montefiore’s day is consistent with the information provided by the cookbooks:

The callings of which the Jew boys have the monopoly are not connected with the sale of any especial article, but rather with such things as present a variety from those ordinarily offered in the streets, such as cakes, sweetmeats, fried fish, and (in the winter) elder wine. The cakes known as “boilers”... are now sold principally, and used to be sold exclusively, by the Jew boys. Almond cakes (little round cakes of crushed almonds) are at present vended by the Jew boys, and their sponge biscuits are in demand. All these dainties are bought by the street-lads of the Jew pastry-cooks. The difference in these cakes, in their sweetmeats, and their elder wine, is that there is a dash of spice about them not ordinarily met with. It is the same with the fried fish, a little spice or pepper being blended with the oil. In the street-sale of pickles the Jews have also the monopoly; these, however, are seldom hawked, but generally sold from windows and door-steads.
During the same period, Eliza Acton had characterized Jewish cuisine in terms of the use of oil for cooking fish, meat, and vegetables, the predilection for cold fried fish, and the emphasis on pounded almonds, procured from a Jewish confectioner, and sugar syrup in sweet dishes. She recommended clarified marrow as a substitute for butter and, like the three cookbooks discussed here, noted that almond milk could be used to replace milk.37 Regarding the culinary palette, numerous writers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had observed that Jewish food in England and on the Continent was spicy, aromatic, herby, and intensely seasoned.38

The same core of “Anglo-Jewish” dishes appears, often with distinctive names for the recipes, in general cookbooks of the time: for example, Mrs. Rorer’s Stephon and Impernarda; the Amnastich, Frimsel Soup, Grimslichs, and Motza Kleis of Mrs. Beeton’s Book of Household Management (by 1906); and the Descaides, Amnastich, Tsimess, Kremsleh, and Lamplich of Guinteau.39 Various preparations of fish (fried, pickled, or white or brown stewed), almond puddings, pickled cucumbers, and dishes made of matzo meal are standard inclusions.

All three cookbooks are thus manuals for the preparation of Anglo-Jewish cuisine. The audience for such volumes in England is clear. But was there one in America? For whom was Jewish Cookery Book intended? The most likely audience, perhaps, was the native-born American Jews, by then in their second and third generations, whose command of English and identification with the elite Anglo-American culture of Philadelphia might have predisposed them to the Anglo-Jewish cuisine of Jewish Cookery Book. At the time Jewish Cookery Book was published, there were also many foreign-born Jewish women in America, many of them proud of their European culture and some of them not yet comfortable with English.40 Jews in German-speaking lands were, after all, the first and most prolific publishers of Jewish cookbooks in the nineteenth century, and many of those who used cookbooks surely brought them along from Europe to America; some of these volumes have survived within families to this day, as have handwritten recipe notebooks. Furthermore, Germany pioneered the domestic-science movement during the
early nineteenth century, and Jewish women were involved. The availability of European Jewish cookbooks in German during the nineteenth century may well be one reason why, as far as we know, Jewish cookbooks in German were not published in the United States.

These factors may also explain why *Jewish Cookery Book* appeared in only one edition, to be supplanted in 1889 by the popular *Aunt Babette's Cook Book*. Strong on continental cuisine, not all of it kosher, and specialties from the Western Ashkenazic repertoire, *Aunt Babette's Cook Book* was directed to a reader more interested in the “Kaffee Klatch” and “Pink Tea”—everything from the boutonnieres to the charlotte russe was to be colored pink—than in soaking and salting meat. Indeed, for almost half a century after the publication of *Jewish Cookery Book*, most of the Jewish cookbooks published in the United States, like *Aunt Babette's Cook Book*, were not kosher, a fact that suggests that Mrs. Levy's volume was something of an anomaly in this regard as well.  

Viewed as textbooks for the social reproduction of the middle class, these three cookbooks engage in what might be called a culinary rhetoric of class—that is, culinary practices and domestic arrangements are concrete ways of dramatizing social distinctions. Lady Montefiore, a patrician, was solicitous of her middle-class coreligionists, who with the increasing means and leisure to pursue “female education” had less time and inclination for domestic affairs and were more prone to boredom. In the chapter on the toilette, which advised on skin care, dress, diet, and the cultivation of the mind, Lady Montefiore formulated a notion of womanhood in terms of individuality, control, reason, intellect, and fine feeling. Entitled “Influence of the Mind as regards Beauty,” the final section made it clear that not all the milk of roses and essence of lavender in the world could make a woman beautiful whose inner life was not up to standard. What follows is a peroration on “the exercise of the intellect and the development of noble sentiments” (p. 222) and the dangers of “idleness and ennui” (p. 223). These are high-class problems:
Frivolous employment, and vitiated sentiments would spoil the finest face ever created. . . . the highest order of all beauty is the intellectual. Let those females, therefore, who are the most solicitous about their beauty, and the most eager to produce a favorable impression, cultivate the moral, religious, and intellectual attributes, and in this advice consists the recipe for the finest cosmetic in the world, viz.—

Judging from her personal diaries and from reports by those who knew her, the principles reiterated were those by which Lady Montefiore herself lived.

Judith Montefiore was not born to such high status but rose to it during a period in England of intense social mobility. The child of a successful linen merchant, she grew up in a home that identified positively both with strict religious observance and with the German Jewish Enlightenment—her father was a devotee of Moses Mendelssohn. She was the first generation of her family to be born in England, and diary entries reveal that, during the early years of her marriage, she identified herself with the “middling” class. She is credited with playing a major role in her husband’s rise to wealth and social prominence; the son of an importer of fashionable straw hats, he was secure enough financially by the age of forty to retire. From the later vantage point of her ascent, greatly facilitated by precisely the kind of education she advocated in The Jewish Manual, she deprecated the petit bourgeois tendency to follow fashion slavishly or to gravitate toward the “hackneyed,” “vulgar,” and “commonplace.” In contrast, she praised the “singularity of style,” “individual peculiarity,” “graceful originality,” and “judicious novelty” that were more characteristic of the upper middle class and elite values with which she came to identify.42

In light of its final chapter and its logistical approach to kashrut, discussed above, The Jewish Manual can thus be seen as a textbook for improving the total woman, her physical appearance, accomplishments, inner qualities, and her table as an extension of herself—not as a Jew but as a civilized person. Thus, rather than including a general statement on the principles of kashrut, as in the other cookbooks, Lady Montefiore supplemented her recipes with a glossary of technical culinary
terms, instructions to the cook about culinary procedures, and a final section on the “toilette.” The result, as suggested earlier, is a cuisine that is invisibly Jewish and gastronomically superior. If “the face is the index of the mind” (p. 220), the well-appointed table of The Jewish Manual signifies the woman of refinement. Her eye, however, is turned toward the forbidden, not in disgust, but with a sense of opportunity for transformation.

For Mrs. Levy, the ideal woman had an ancient Jewish prototype in “our mother Sarah,” who made cakes for her husband’s celestial guests. But the contemporary Jewish woman fell short of this ideal: preoccupied with “ornamental education” and amusement, she disdained domestic responsibilities, or, if attentive to them, she was so eager to create a sumptuous table that she admitted of “forbidden food.” Mrs. Levy’s goal was to show how elegant a kosher table could be. In the process, she expressed a strong sense of social placement, perhaps yet another indication of her English background and her own solidly middle-class orientation:

> In every rank of life, those deserve the greatest praise who best acquit themselves of the duties which their stations in life require. Indeed, apart from any advantage we may desire, we should try to be equal to the task that nature seems to have imposed on us, in order that we may maintain the dignity of our character as rational beings. [P. 6]

The values espoused by Mrs. Levy are distinctly bourgeois—respectability, comfort, domesticity, thrift, neatness, duty, discipline, piety, judgment, and reason. While disdaining Jewish women who were too busy with the “ornamental education” advocated by Lady Montefiore, Mrs. Levy was solicitous about the woman with only one servant, absolving her of the responsibility of delivering a hot dinner on Mondays, when the laundry was being done. These comments are tinged with resentment toward the educational and leisure patterns of the upper middle class and pride in the industriousness of the less well-to-do.

Though Mrs. Levy assumed a norm of several servants, one servant would have been more common in America. Young couples, the prime audience for Mrs. Levy’s book, often did
without any help for a while. Mrs. Levy’s instruction “The humblest Jewish servant must sit at the [Passover seder] table during the prayers” (p. 8) reflects an earlier social pattern of integrating servants into the life of the family, as does her comment “When young ladies marry, they continue to employ their own maids in the capacity as housekeepers” (pp. 6–7), the implication being that servants stayed with the same family across generations. Other accounts suggest quite a different situation: in a chapter on cooks and cooking in *The Market Assistant*, De Voe discusses at length the ineptitude and transience of servants, singling out the “foreign aid” (pp. 430–31).

Another indication of the middling status of the implied reader is Mrs. Levy’s assumption that the men of the household were home Sundays rather than Saturdays, perhaps suggesting thereby that their businesses would suffer if they closed shop on the Sabbath. This is not a problem Lady Montefiore faced.

Mrs. Levy’s inventory of utensils for the properly equipped household is extensive, particularly when multiplied in many instances by six: three sets (milk, meat, fish) for daily use and another three for Passover. The advertisements at the back of the book promote a family sewing machine for seventy-five dollars, dressmakers, a photographer, hardware, kitchen utensils, furniture, fancy goods and toys, a pharmacy, wines, cigars, mineral waters, French confectionery and fancy chocolates, two kosher butchers, and ice cream and dining rooms for ladies and gentlemen. Very few advertisements emphasize “lowest prices.”

Though the life projected by Mrs. Levy is very elegant, requiring several servants, *Jewish Cookery Book* is practical and rather down to earth. Consistent with her disdain of “ornamental education,” Mrs. Levy supplemented the recipes, not with a glossary of specialized cooking terms or beauty hints or by admonishments to study music and literature, but with household remedies—“a good bug poison,” a cure for diphtheria (slab of salt pork tied around the neck), a recipe for pomade, and instructions for how to clean an old silk dress—as well as an inventory of seasonable foods listed by month, weekly menus, and a Jewish calendar that includes the “hours for commencement of the Sabbath.” Concerned that the refined household meet Jewish
requirements, Mrs. Levy was intent on educating her reader on both counts: she discussed the mezuzah, koshering meat, and managing the Sabbath, and described Passover in detail and with a certain fondness. *Jewish Cookery Book* was thus concerned with the practical and ritual requirements for running an elegant Jewish home, even with limited household help, and focused exclusively on the “spiritual welfare” and “approbation” of “our co-religionists.”

The only supplement to the recipes in *The Little Book of Jewish Cookery* is a set of instructions for keeping kosher. Stricter than the other two volumes, the *Little Book* stressed that milk and meat dishes should be cleaned with separate brushes and cloths, for example. The tininess of the volume, which makes it something of a novelty or toy, the relative strictness with which it deals with kashruth, and its emphasis in the recipes on an Ashkenazic repertoire suggest a shift in audience to the lower middle class, probably the daughters of East European immigrants.

Mrs. Levy’s *Jewish Cookery Book* was first reissued in facsimile in 1975 by Arno Press as part of its reprint series the Modern Jewish Experience. The series editors, Moses Rischin, Arthur Goren, and Irving Howe, are to be commended for including a cookbook among more prominent literary works, memoirs, and historical studies in the series, which included almost sixty volumes. The copy they used came from the Strozier Library at Florida State University. Bound in drab olive cloth, like the other volumes in the series, *Jewish Cookery Book* was marketed to libraries and scholars in a plain format and at a high price. The volume is still in print and is now distributed by Ayer Co.

In 1982, Pholiota Press in Garden Grove, California, under the direction of Josephine Bacon, published a “New Facsimile Edition” of Mrs. Levy’s *Jewish Cookery Book*. A one-page preface by Bacon was added, together with a reproduction of an 1869 lithograph of the exterior of Philadelphia’s Rodeph Shalom Synagogue. Bacon notes that “Mrs. Levy may well have attended this synagogue,” without indicating why Mrs. Levy would have been more likely to join this congregation than one of the other
six synagogues functioning in Philadelphia at the time. No mention of the earlier Arno reprint—or for that matter the provenance of the original volume from which the Pholiota reprint was made—appears anywhere in this edition.

Facts are handled casually in Bacon's edition: the preface states incorrectly that Jewish Cookery Book is "only the third Jewish cookbook ever published." Though knowledge of early Jewish cookbooks is still scanty, we know of at least seven that appeared in Germany, England, and Australia before the 1871 date of Jewish Cookery Book, and more may come to light as research continues. Similarly, the dust jacket states, "This Jewish Cookery Book is a valuable record of American Jewish life in the 1890s." Yet Jewish Cookery Book is a product of the 1860s. The years immediately following the Civil War differed radically from the 1880s and 1890s, when Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe flooded Philadelphia and other American cities.

The Jewish Manual was reprinted in attractive cloth and paper editions in 1983 by Nightingale Books, Cold Spring, New York. A publisher's note, by Ruth L. Gales and Lila T. Gold, mentions their "discovery" of the volume in the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library and their research to authenticate that The Jewish Manual is, indeed, the first Jewish cookbook published in English. They do not indicate that The Jewish Manual had been "discovered" several times over the last eighty years—in 1903, 1913, 1937, 1941, 1968, and 1975, to mention but six instances.46 Given the rudimentary state of our knowledge of the history of Jewish cookbooks, future research may turn up even earlier material. Although the likelihood is not great, we are now aware of eighteenth-century cookery manuscripts in Yiddish, and Jewish cookbooks were published in German at least as early as 1815.47

Following the publisher's note, a felicitous twenty-seven-page essay, "The History and Mystery of The Jewish Manual," by Chaim Raphael, a popular writer on Jewish themes, describes Jewish life in London during the mid-nineteenth century and "unravels" the mystery of who wrote the volume. As acknowledged by Raphael, the identification of "A Lady" with Judith Montefiore had been proposed by John M. Shaftesley

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more than fifteen years before and had been discussed by Sonia Lipman in her 1968 article “Judith Montefiore,” published in the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England. These articles are the basis for Raphael’s introductory essay.

The most recent of these reprints is The Little Book of Jewish Cookery, published in 1986 by Attic Discoveries, New York City and London, under the direction of Elaine D. Frumer, president. The Little Book of Jewish Cookery was originally issued anonymously in ninety-seven pages at a price of sixpence by the London publisher George Newnes in the Little Book series, which included tiny volumes on subjects like confectionery, puddings, household hints, French cookery, and etiquette.

Unlike the other reprints of Jewish cookbooks, The Little Book of Jewish Cookery is a facsimile right down to the brown binding, beige mottled endpapers, and black and red type—with one exception. It is not as little as the original, which measures a mere 3⅞ by 2½ inches, smaller than the palm of my hand. The reprint is 6¼ by 4½ inches. In addition to about sixty recipes, the volume includes Frumer’s five-page introduction, which begins: “Nineteenth Century cookery books are common but one devoted solely to Jewish culinary traditions is unique” and suggests that the volume is “over one hundred years old.” Though no author or date is indicated, a copy of the original volume was acquired by the New York Public Library in 1913, and “[1912]” is indicated on the catalog card. The book has been missing from the shelf since 1962. A copy kindly made available to me by Marilyn Einhorn is marked with the initials of the probable owner and the date 1913. The book is therefore neither unique nor nineteenth century, two points that are supported by internal evidence as well.

How are we to account for this sudden interest in reprints of Jewish cookbooks? Indeed, what are we to make of the recent efflorescence of Jewish cookbooks more generally? Never in the entire history of Jewish cookbooks have so many titles been in print. At one level, Jewish cookbooks follow more general trends in the publishing industry, which is witnessing a vigorous proliferation of cookbooks. The Jewish publishing field is also
growing. At another and perhaps more interesting level, these cookbooks are a medium for articulating the many visions of Jewish life being dreamt and lived across the globe—food is a powerful resource for giving tangible expression to the choices that are being made.

The reprints of early Jewish cookbooks open vistas on how the tables of the past fulfilled the aspirations of those who dined at them. They bear close reading. A malleable medium for expressing subtle distinctions of class, religious orientation, and cultural identification, these cookbooks reveal how changing notions of womanhood and domestic life are embodied in the very food we eat. As such, they offer a feast for the imagination.49

Notes

1. The term “Sephardic” refers to the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula and their descendants. Those who subsequently settled in Italy, Holland, England, and the Americas are designated Western Sephardim. Those who settled in the Balkans and Mediterranean areas are Eastern Sephardim. Some survived as Marranos, or crypto-Jews, by maintaining their Jewish practices in secret. The Jewish vernaculars of Sephardim include Judeo-Portuguese and Judezmo (Ladino). The term “Ashkenazic” refers to Jews stemming from the Rhine area and settling in a territory extending from Alsace to Smolensk and from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Jews from Germanic lands are designated Western Ashkenazim. Those in the Slavic territory are Eastern Ashkenazim. Their Jewish vernaculars are Western and Eastern Yiddish, respectively.

2. Pp. iii–iv. When identifying dishes as “Jewish,” my concern is not whether they were originally or uniquely Jewish but rather that these preparations were an established part of the culinary repertoire of Jews. Many parallels with the cuisine of others are readily apparent.


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8. In *London Labour and the London Poor* (reprint, New York: Dover, 1968), vol. 2, p. 120, Henry Mayhew observed Jewish old-clothes men who gambled on Saturdays, seldom attended synagogue, and, if they were not family men, patronized Christian "cook-shops," "not being particular about eating 'tryer'—that is, meat which has been killed by a Christian." Such examples suggest that laxness in observance cut across class lines, penetrating even the more conservative strata.


10. Most recently, Jean Anderson's *The Food of Portugal* (New York: Morrow, 1986) includes analogs to many of Lady Montefiore's Western Sephardic dishes, which I note in parentheses: Anderson's Sopa Dourada (Sopa d'Oro) also consists of toasted bread tossed in sugar syrup and egg yolks; Anderson defines queijadas (chejados) as "a family of tarts with egg-thickened fillings" (p. 48); her Almondegas, meatballs, are also a component of Lady Montefiore's Almondegos soup; her Bolo (bola) is a generic term in Portuguese for cake; her Chourico (chorissa) is sausage; her Empada (Impanada) is a meat or fish pie; Doce (Dose) are sweets; fios de ovo (the sugary egg threads in the Bola d'Amor) "are used both as an ingredient in and a decoration for a variety of egg sweets" (p. 47); Escabeche (Escobeche) is marinated fried fish or meat. There are also affinities between several of Lady Montefiore's dishes and the Spanish albóndigas, escabeche, empanadas, bollo, chorizo, and huevo hilado, or threaded egg. Some of the terms and dishes also survive today among the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles, where Western Sephardim began settling three centuries ago: see *Recipes from the Jewish Kitchens of Caraçao*, compiled by the Sisterhood of Mikve Israel-Emanuel (Netherlands Antilles, 1982). There are also survivals in the Judezmo language and kitchens of Eastern Sephardic Jews: see Elsie Menasce, *The Sephardic Culinary Tradition* (Cape Town: Sephardic Cookbook Corporation, 1984), and Zette Guinaudeau-Franc, *Les Secrets des Cuisines en Terre Marocaine* (Vilo: Jean-Pierre Taillandier, circa 1980), with a section on Jewish cuisine. Some of the dishes for which Lady Montefiore provides recipes appear in earlier cookbooks as well: for example, various editions of Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, first published in London in 1765, include Jewish recipes. The Jewish sections of other cookbooks are discussed below.

11. Because different dishes are often known by a single name, I have noted variations from one cookbook to another in the dishes designated by a single term. Similarly, I have retained the spellings found in the cookbooks themselves. Variations in the spelling of food terms can be a source of important information, though it is not always easy to differentiate a typographical error from a variant form. Distinct historical and regional variations in the names of dishes, their pronunciation, and their orthography sometimes make it possible to trace the history of a food and its terminology, or even to suggest the cultural identity of the author. A ripe candidate for study is grimlslekh (Western Ashkenaz) or kremulek (Eastern Ashkenaz), which is found throughout most of the historic territory of Ashkenaz and varies rather consistently by region. The *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry* at Columbia University has collected hundreds of variations of these terms, which when combined
with the recipes in cookbooks would provide an extraordinary basis for analysis. Other names offer evidence that distinct Anglo-Jewish forms have emerged, for example, **booler** and **impernarda**, instead of **bola** and **impanada**.


13. The recipe states: “Peel and cut in thick slices, one or more fresh cucumbers, fry them until brown in a little butter, or clarified fat, then add to them a little strong beef gravy, pepper, salt, and a spoonful of vinegar; some cooks add a chopped onion browned with the cucumbers” (p. 29). What happens to the beef gravy if the cook chooses the butter option? Lady Montefiore is unclear.

14. *Jewish Cookery Book*, p. 3. Mrs. Levy was not the only one to note laxness or, more accurately, selective observance among her contemporaries in America. In *The Market Book containing a Historical Account of the Public Markets in the Cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn with a Brief Description of Every Article of Human Food Sold Therein, the Introduction of Cattle and Notices of Many Remarkable Specimens* (1862), Thomas De Voe notes: “There are many Jews settled in New York, who possess great privileges. They have a synagogue and houses, and great country-seats of their own property, and are allowed to keep shops in town. They have likewise several ships, which they freight, and send out with their goods. In fine, they enjoy all the privileges common to the other inhabitants of this town and province. During my residence in New York this time, and in the two next years, I was frequently in company with Jews. I was informed, among other things, that these people never boiled any meat for themselves on Saturday; but they always did it the day before; and that in winter they kept a fire during the whole Saturday. They commonly eat no pork; yet I have been told by several men of credit, that many of them (especially among the young Jews), when traveling, did not make the least difficulty about eating this, or any other meat that was put before them; even though they were with Christians. Both men and women were dressed entirely in the English fashion” (p. 270). *The Market Book* was reprinted in 1969 by Burt Franklin, New York. With regard to Mrs. Levy’s city, “It is an interesting commentary on the life of the early Philadelphia Jewish community [eighteenth century], that, although ritual practices were observed by individuals haphazardly and in accordance with the particular individual’s piety, the religious practices of the formal congregation became increasingly more intense, better defined, and more orthodox” (Edwin Wolf II and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1957], p. 141). This is reminiscent of Endelman’s observation about English practice during the same period.


19. Mrs. Levy does not appear in the published sources I consulted. As a result nothing is known about her except what can be inferred from the cookbook itself. An examination of city directories, census, marriage, death, cemetery, naturalization, and synagogue records in Philadelphia, beyond the scope of this essay, will be undertaken in connection with a more extensive history of Jewish cookbooks that is in progress.


21. P. 84. C. Husson in L’Alimentation animale . . . (Paris: Dunod, Libraire-Editeur, 1881), p. 147, notes the ancient and exclusive role of Alsatian Jews in the fattening of geese—“Mais sa culture était toujours ardue, dont les juifs de Metz et de Strasbourg avaient seuls la possession” (p. 146)—and provides an illustration of a woman feeding a goose, the caption for which reads: “Femme juive engraissant une oie suivant l’usage antique.” I am grateful to Elliot Klein for bringing this source to my attention.

22. Wolf and Whitman’s history of Jews in Philadelphia provides detailed information about the ritual slaughterers, inspectors, and butchers but makes no mention of poggers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even in England, the hindquarters were not always porged but might be sold at a good price to non-Jews. Porged hindquarters would have been expensive on two counts—the choiceness of the cuts and the expense of porging.

23. See Max Grunwald, “Aus dem jüdischen Kochbuch,” Menorah 6, no. 9 (1920): 518–20, for a discussion of many of these dishes and others that appear in the cookbooks discussed here. Grunwald identifies lempeln with Moravia and magen-kugel, stuffed stomach, with Bohemia.

24. Though bola (and variations on the term) does not appear in the OED, it does turn up in various Jewish cookbooks and other texts in English, Dutch, Hebrew, and Spanish. Theodora Fitzgibbon, The Food of the Western World (New York: Quadrangle, 1976), defines bola as “a Jewish yeasted cake” and provides a recipe. Max Grunwald defines bojas as “cakes made of crushed matzoh: Passover; Sephardim” in the entry “Cookery, Jewish” in Valentine’s Jewish Encyclopedia, edited by Albert M. Hyamson and A.M. Silbermann (London: Valentine, 1938), p. 156. Italian Jewish cookbooks use the terms bolo o bolo and bolo to refer to particular cakes from the Italian Jewish tradition. Abraham Lopes Cardozo, “A Lyric Excursion into Sephardic Gastronomy,” American Sephardi 5 (1971): 81, explains that “to the Portuguese Jews of Holland, even today, a bolo is not merely a generic name for pastry. It specifically refers to a round pastry made of sugar, milk, and ’sucade’ [finely cut preserve of unripe lemon-peel] which in Dutch is called bolus.” Cardozo discusses bolo and other Sephardic food terms that appear in an eighteenth-century Hebrew hymn composed by Moshe de Judah Piza of Amsterdam. I am grateful to David Bunis for drawing my attention to this source, as well as to D. Pardo’s Compendio de Dimin que Todo Israel deve Saber y Observar (Amsterdam, 1689), which mentions bollos. Sara Vos, Oorspronkelijk Israëlietisch Kookboek (Amsterdam, 1914), p. 160–61, provides a recipe for bolussen. Mayhew’s London Labour, vol. 2, p. 124, mentions “the cakes known as ‘boilers’—a mixture of egg, flour, and candied orange or lemon peel, cut very thin, and with a slight colouring from saffron, or something similar—that are now sold principally, and used to be sold exclusively, by the Jew boys.” Mayhew’s observations were made during the 1840s and 1850s and are thus contemporaneous with the period of The Jewish Manual. It would be
worthwhile to compare the Jewish cuisines of London and Amsterdam during this period, particularly as they reflect the interaction of Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions and the interrelations between the Amsterdam and London Jewish communities.


26. As late as 1901, the editors of Mrs. Beeton’s Book of Household Management (London: Ward, Lock), vol. 2, pp. 1247–48, noted in their general observations on American cookery, “The American housewife had, till some few years ago, to lead a somewhat hard life” and unlike her English counterpart was expected to have practical knowledge of the dairy and to bake bread at home, thus offering a greater variety of baked goods than at English tables.

27. Though the egg-lemon liaison has long been a feature of British and continental cuisines, the combination of fish forcemeat balls, solid fish, and egg-lemon sauce seems to be a particular favorite of Western Sephardim. Affinities may be found in medieval Catalan cuisine: see Rudolph Grewe, “Catalan Cuisine in an Historical Perspective,” National and Regional Styles of Cookery, Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium 1981, edited by Alan Davidson, pp. 170–78 (Leeds: Prospect Books), and “Some XIII Century Sephardic Recipes,” paper presented at the conference Food for Thought: Meeting the Needs of the Research Library, New York Public Library, March 1986.


33. Mrs. J. C. Croly (Jennie June), Jennie June’s American Cookery Book, Containing Upwards of Twelve Hundred Choice and Carefully Tested Receipts; Embracing All the Popular Dishes, and the Best Results of Modern Science, Reduced to a Simple and Practical Form. Also, A Chapter for Invalids, for Infants, One on Jewish Cookery; and a Variety of Miscellaneous Receipts of Special Value to Housekeepers Generally (New York: American News, 1868); Sarah Tyson Rorer, Mrs. Rorer’s New Cook Book: A Manual of Housekeeping (Philadelphia: Arnold and Company, 1902).


35. Mayhew, London Labour, vol. 2, p. 120.
36. Ibid., p. 124.
37. I would disagree with Elizabeth Ray, who edited *The Best of Eliza Acton* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1974), p. xx, that Eliza Acton's recipes are undoubtedly those of the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. They are better seen as Anglo-Jewish cuisine—a selection from and synthesis of Western Sephardic, and in this period, largely Western Ashkenazic culinary practices.

38. In the section “Cuisine Israélite en Lorraine,” *Cuisine Messine* (1890; reprint, Marseille: Lafitte Reprints, 1979), p. 278, Auricoste de Lazarque writes, “Les épices, cannelle, muscade, safran, vinaigre et sucre ensemble, raisins secs de malaga, etc., y sont très employés.” Krauss, “Aus der jüdische Volksküche,” p. 37, writing about Jewish food through history, states, “weshalb wir schon oben von einer Neigung der Juden zu stark aromatischen Speisen sprechen konnten.” In her dedication to Baroness Lionel de Rothschild in *An Easy and Economical Book of Jewish Cookery* (London: P. Valentine, 1874), Estella Atrutel writes, “The Jewish formula of cooking is certainly not confined to the old English roast, boiled or grilled, but largely partakes of the more savoury dishes of France, Italy, and Germany.” Home economists and dietitians in the twentieth century also recognized this characteristic of Jewish food, sometimes disparaging it as unhealthy. Anglo-Jewish cooking shared its spiciness with various continental cuisines: Mrs. Beeton’s *The Book of Household Management* (1901), vol. 2, p. 1285, contrasts German and English cuisine in terms of “the more constant use of seasoning of every description in the former” and mentions specifically fresh and dried herbs, and the use of all-spice, pepper, and cloves to season the basting juices for roasts. So does G.J. Guiteau, *Continental Dishes for English Tables with an Appendix on Jewish Cookery* (London: Andrew Melrose, n.d. [1920s]), p. 5, who mentions not only the use of herbs and spices but also the serving of stewed fruit with meat and the love of smoked and pickled fish. Both Atrutel and Guiteau associated Jewish food with “continental” cookery. It should be noted that English cuisine of earlier periods also made ample use of such spices and herbs. See Hess, *Martha Washington’s Booke of Cookery*.

39. Mrs. Rorer attributes several of the Jewish recipes to a Miss Katherine Cohen. Guiteau explains that “the majority of them [the recipes] have been translated from the Yiddish in which they were described by the cooks” (p. 132). Several, however, appear to have been taken from *The Jewish Manual*.

40. Benjamin notes the competing cultural standards of his day (1859–62), when comparing English and German Jews in New York City. Regarding the more observant English Jews, he writes: “They knew nothing of the writings of the German-Jewish theologians. . . . This reverence for the traditional shows itself also in their family life, animated by the warm Jewish feeling for the Sabbath and holidays; and the cheerful satisfaction which such a life affords them, combined with their ignorance of German cultural progress, keeps them far from every innovation. The same is true of the Polish Jews” (pp. 78–79). The Polish Jews, in turn, considered themselves superior in learning.

41. “Aunt Babette” [Mrs. Bertha F. Kramer], “Aunt Babette’s” *Cook Book, Foreign and Domestic Receipts for the Household. A Valuable Collection of Receipts and Hints for the Housewife, Many of Which are not to be Found Elsewhere* (Cincinnati and Chicago: Bloch Publishing, 1889). Though never explicitly identified as Jewish, this volume was written and published by Jews. A Star of David, the publisher’s insignia, appears on the title page. A section entitled “Easter Dishes” consists of instructions for setting the table for the Passover seder and Passover recipes. That the volume was a favorite in Jewish households is mentioned in the introduction to a later kosher cookbook issued by the same publisher.
42. Compare Lady Montefiore’s admonitions against slavish adherence to fashion with Aunt Babette’s advice: “Pink Teas,’ just now so fashionable, are rather novel if carried out to the letter, and an expensive way of entertaining, too, yet as the old saying is, one might as well be dead, as out of fashion. So all those who wish to be fashionable come and listen, and I will give you a few hints in regard to getting up a ‘Pink Tea’” (p. 497).


45. P. 4. Mrs. Levy seems rather well prepared for the task. I would disagree with Josephine Bacon’s assessment of Mrs. Levy in her preface to the 1982 reprint of Jewish Cookery Book: “Her Hebrew appears to have been nonexistent. Mrs. Levy uses some highly original transliterations of Hebrew names, which in the ‘Jewish Calendar’ section are almost unrecognizable. Had they been printer’s errors, they would surely have been referred to on the corrections page which makes no mention of them.” First, the errata page makes errors of its own: see the “correction” that reads “Page 28, line 5, for ‘Frimsel’ read ‘Griebus.’” Frimsel is correct. The printer has created an error. Second, in the Jewish calendar section, there are obvious printer’s errors: “Rosh Hodesh,” the correct form, and “Rosh Rodesh,” an error, appear on the same page, with no correction in the list of errata. Other errors are of this kind, entailing a single letter. When seen in terms of Ashkenazic pronunciation and orthographic conventions of the period, most of the spellings are credible: the only totally fantastic spelling, “Sencibus Tobra” for Simhat Torah, is more likely the creation of a printer schooled in Latin than of Mrs. Levy.


47. Rahel Aschmann’s Geprüftes Kochbuch für Israeliten (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1835) is not the earliest Jewish cookbook, though, as the recent Sotheby’s Important Judaica catalog (November 25, 1985) asserts, it is one of the earliest “kosher” cookbooks. Ulf Löchner recently brought an even older one to my attention: I. Stolz, Kochbuch der Israeliten; oder, prakt. Unweisung, wie man nach den jüdischen Religionsgründen alle Gattungen der feinsten Speisen kauscher bereitet (Carlsruhe, 1815).
48. The three volumes discussed here are not the only Jewish cookbooks to have been reprinted. See, for example, Sara Vos's volume *Oorspronkelijk Israelietisch Kookboek*, cited above, which was reprinted in 1978 by Amphora Books.

49. I thank Leonard Beck, Caroll Boltin, Maxwell Gimblett, Rudolph Grewe, Marvin I. Herzog, Jenna Weissman Joselit, Grace Kirschenbaum, and Cara De Silva for comments on an earlier form of this essay, Dalia Carmel for access to her collection, and Jane Kelton for her bibliographic assistance.
ERRATA

p. 57 after block quote
Ladies “not of the Hebrew persuasion” may well have been serving Jewish guests, a situation noted in later editions of Eliza Acton’s Modern Cookery for Private Families, in a section devoted to foreign and Jewish recipes: “The reader….

p. 84, footnote 14
De Voe is quoting Peter Kalm, a Swedish naturalist who visited America in the mid-eighteenth century.

p. 83, footnote 10
Hannah Glasse’s The Art of Cookery Made Plane and Easy, first published in London in 1747, includes Jewish recipes by 1765.