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Indigestible Indo-China: Attempts to Introduce Vietnamese Food into France in the Interwar Period

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At the 1922 Colonial Exhibition, a journalist for *L'Illustration* reported that organizers had brought in the most talented Vietnamese chefs for the Vietnamese restaurant there, but to no avail: 'The French cook [at the restaurant] prepares knowledgeably all the best dishes of our national cuisine. Let's be frank; ordinary Frenchmen are not very adventurous when it comes to culinary explorations ... All around me no one was eating anything except the most classic offerings of our *cordons bleus*.'¹ The French at the exhibition as well as those who stayed home preferred to eat foods they considered to be French; products and dishes from the French colonies did not easily find membership in that exclusive set. In contrast, by the 1920s, the British had been eating Indian curry regularly for half a century, and even the French thought of curry as a formerly exotic but now fairly standard food.² Most French people in the metropolis had never tasted Vietnamese food, nor had any real sense of what it was, although the French had controlled Vietnam for approximately the same half-century. It took the massive waves of Vietnamese immigration after Dien Bien Phu to overcome French resistance to eating in Vietnamese restaurants, even though there had been such restaurants in France since the early 1920s, serving the Asian immigrant community. While the French were busy integrating regional cuisine into their national culture of food, they did not expend the same energy to treat foods from their far-off Indo-Chinese colonies as national resources and sources of pride, the way the British did with Indian food.³ Such neglect was not due to a lack of opportunity: Vietnamese dishes and Vietnamese agricultural products were both available in France due to the efforts of interested parties. This chapter

argues that food from France's Asian colonies made hardly a mark on the French culinary map during the first half of this century because the French focused instead on the grandly imagined culinary traditions of their narrowly defined nation-state.

Starting during the First World War, with the arrival in the metropolis of Vietnamese soldiers and workers, the French state began to take an interest in the extent to which race or culture ought to determine diet, examining closely the question of whether the Vietnamese *tirailleurs* (infantrymen) and *travailleurs* (workers) could eat French rations. Inspectors who were sent to monitor conditions decided the Vietnamese should not be urged to give up their traditional diet. Some cited health, such as Dr Maurel, who argued against giving the Vietnamese the same amount of meat as the French: 'Meat should remain a condiment for them, as it is in their homeland.'⁴ If meat formed a significant part of their diet, claimed Maurel, the Vietnamese would risk intestinal infections. He also opposed including wine in their rations, on the theory that it would overly excite their nervous system and generate insubordination. His implicit claim is that not only would the Vietnamese be incapable of digesting the physical food of Europeans, but they would be just as incapable of managing the European level of licence.

Inspector Bosc, on the other hand, saw no health concerns when he visited Vietnamese workers who had been served French food since their arrival. When they had arrived in Toulon, the *Directeur de l' Arsenal* had asked the workers if they preferred to be fed according to their 'tastes and customs', or if they would rather eat as the French sailors did. Inspector Bosc reported: 'The workers unanimously expressed the desire to be treated just like the sailors and to have the sailors' diet. That diet is indeed excellent, as can be observed from the indisputably robust appearance and the flourishing health of the Vietnamese workers.' He noted that their request had apparently been motivated by their desire to partake in every way of the European personnel's situation, and claimed that they now regretted that decision, and in particular that they missed eating rice. Bosc thought, however, that it would be difficult, now that they were used to French food, to return them to the 'traditional diet of their country'.⁵ Difficult, and yet desirable because – despite their current flourishing health – he thought they would be better off eating food that was culturally appropriate for them:

A third inspector, du Vaure, also observed a group that ate *à la française*: The cooking is done by a French chef ... It's remarkably

clean and well-kept. The Vietnamese are housed and fed like the French ... They eat exactly like the French, with rice as an extra. My impression is that they eat too well, because when they return home, how will they meet their new needs, how will they readapt to their national food? And yet they are not satisfied. Just before my visit, for instance, they had complained that the bread was not fresh.⁶

Spoiled by eating food from a European tradition, in du Vaure's view the workers had grown presumptuous, and now thought themselves entitled to opinions on that food, which would create further problems once the war ended and the time came to return the workers to their appropriate diet.

At the same time as these inspectors were emphasizing the dire consequences of feeding European food to the Vietnamese, a different part of the French military had decided to increase the amount of rice served to French soldiers to a staple of their regular diet, instead of leaving it as a rare side-dish. While the army stressed culture and race as the reason for feeding the Vietnamese workers Vietnamese food, it cited rationality instead when it came to feeding rice to French troops.⁷ Either way, the military urged everyone to eat more rice, especially once supplies of wheat and potatoes began running short.

Of course, rice is not exclusively an Asian food, and even less a purely Vietnamese food. It had been imported from many regions, such as India and Italy, before the French conquest of Vietnam.⁸ But it was the colonization of Vietnam and the subsequent realization that Vietnam's main export crop would always be rice that led directly to a serious propaganda effort to convince the French to eat more rice, in any form. It was colonialism that made one pamphleteer claim that rice was a national food – 'une denrée nationale'⁹ – even at a time when jokes about the French inability to cook rice correctly were commonplace. And it was the colonization of Vietnam that caused the military to see rice as a logical source of nourishment for the troops.

The soldiers' dislike of rice was legendary: in 1915 a *député* pleaded that rice be eliminated from the ration, since the troops refused to eat it.¹⁰ In a 1928 novel about the First World War, an overachieving colonel swore he would make his men like rice. By his orders, it was prepared in every manner, with meat or without, with sugar or with fat; no matter, the soldiers always described it as 'a gluey paste'. And, according to the novel, for weeks by the side of the road one could see the rice in 'little sticky piles like milestones'.¹¹ Despite the soldiers'

unhappiness, rice offered too many advantages in ease of transport and preservation, and the *Ministère de la Guerre* refused to give it up. The military was committed to a new rationality when it came to rations, and rice, a cheap product of French territory, was a logical resource. Informed of this debate, the *Comité de l'Indochine* discussed the need for a good recipe for cooking rice. One member offered to bring 'the exact recipe used by the Vietnamese' and another suggested that once the group found this perfect recipe, they should publish it widely, since the general French population was just as incompetent at cooking rice as the army cooks.¹²

The wartime conditions, and the efforts to find ways to stretch necessary commodities to meet consumer demand, led to another issue: could the French population in France substitute rice for wheat in significant quantities, to avoid having to buy expensive wheat from foreign sources? This question of substituting rice for wheat in small quantities in the making of bread had in fact been raised intermittently in France, from the very beginning of colonialism in Vietnam. It was clear from the first that this would allow a cheaper bread, but agricultural interests always prevented any action from being taken to promote such an idea.¹³ With the destruction of France's wheat supply in the First World War, however, the suggestion began to sound less absurd. Everyone knew that the pressure to add 10–20 per cent of rice flour to bread was coming from importers of Vietnamese rice, but that did not change the fact that such an action would significantly reduce the rapidly rising price of a loaf at a time when the government dearly desired that result.

The supporters of the infusion of rice flour created a major propaganda campaign, sending hundreds of sample little *petits pains* to all the members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies in order to demonstrate that the bread tasted just as good as ordinary wheat bread.¹⁴ The proponents of allowing bread to be made with rice flour, led by Ernest Outrey and other members of the *Comité de l'Indochine*, convinced the Chamber of Deputies to vote for it; the Senate, however, refused to go along.

Efforts to increase French imports of rice continued after the war. In the late 1920s and especially with the approach of the 1931 Exhibition, the propaganda movement found a new burst of energy. The famous chef Escoffier put out a book in 1927 called *Le Riz: l'aliment le meilleur, le plus nutritif*, which promoted the increased use of rice. Under the heading, 'La vie à bon marché', Escoffier stated that everyone ought to think about how to reduce the nation's cost of living, and that rice

should be considered one of the main factors in that effort. According to him, increased use of rice would not only keep down the cost of food, but would also increase hygiene and health, by reducing French people's intake of bread.¹⁵ By reading Escoffier's arguments, we can see what concerns the French people had regarding rice.

For instance, he addressed the question of 'the stubborn constipation which afflicts so many people in these times', and derided the popular belief that rice had astringent properties which caused constipation. Quite the contrary: 'Rice regulates intestinal health, by means of its incomparable ease of digestion.'¹⁶ Another concern he addressed was the question of class: after repeating that rice could help the French eat more cheaply, he nevertheless added: 'in its simplicity, rice is the economical food *par excellence*, but one can accompany it with so many good things, that, quite often, the dish is no longer within the reach of all pocketbooks'.¹⁷ Escoffier's insight was to see that if rice were just a worst-case scenario, only adequate when one could not afford better, then not even poor people would want to eat it.

In 1928, another pamphlet on rice declared that only ignorance, 'the mother of routine and prejudice', prevented the French from appreciating this food which fought dyspepsia, diarrhoea and flatulence.¹⁸ According to the pamphlet, each French person ate only two kilograms of rice per year: 'For a colonial power controlling eastern Indochina, which is one of the greatest producers of rice in the World, this situation is incomprehensible.'¹⁹ In 1931 the Cordon Bleu published a cookbook to encourage consumers to eat rice, 'but above all ... Rice from Indochina, because Rice from Indochina is a French product'.²⁰ In 1933 the Association des Colons Français sold a propaganda booklet for four francs called *Français: manger du riz* in which they made the mandatory joke about how badly the French cooked rice and declared that all housewives needed to learn that it takes less time to cook rice than to cook *pommes frites*.²¹ Clearly the movement hoped that rice would take over the way the potato had over a century earlier, but French nationalism had reached a different stage by this point. French cuisine was now so important to the French sense of national identity that the foods included could only be conventional French foods. The fact that rice was a colonial product did not make it count as authentically French for the French public.

Given its importance as Vietnam's main export crop, rice remained a central aspect of the attempt to persuade French consumers to eat Vietnamese food throughout the interwar period. Nevertheless, it was not the only issue. At the 1922 Colonial Exhibition, the official report reminisced about pleasures taken at the pretty octagonal 'restaurant

annamite', or Vietnamese restaurant, which was overseen by M. Frasseto, the owner of Saigon's Hôtel Continental. At his Vietnamese restaurant, 'amateurs of good French and Far-Eastern cooking would gather ... [and] the public could order birds'-nests, shark-fins and other Vietnamese dishes'.²² It is telling that the phrase used was 'could order': there were after all other items on the menu, and the French items were ordered much more frequently.²³ Charles Regismanset noted in his own loving review of the restaurant: 'Along with the most appetizing Vietnamese food, one can have the best European, French or Marseillais dishes.'²⁴ He himself ate the exotic food, but he made it clear that one could still have an exotic experience just by eating French food in the unusual environment.

At the 1931 Colonial Exhibition, the official guide again encouraged visitors to expand their meal horizons: 'Don't forget to dine with our friends from Indochina. An African proverb says that 'those who eat the same dishes end up having the same saliva', and indeed, one can only get to know the people of another country by sitting down at their table.'²⁵ *L'Illustration*, however, again reassured its readers that they could avoid any disturbingly unfamiliar tastes: at the Indo-Chinese restaurant, 'one can taste a little native cuisine at the same time as some excellent French food'.²⁶ A sardonic representation of the exposition, *A Lyauteyville*, purported to reveal that the restaurants at the exposition presented the appearance of exotic dining, but that the unfamiliar, exotic-sounding names were in fact only disguises for ordinary French dishes, such as 'les petits pois à la française'.²⁷

Feeding off the excitement of the 1931 Colonial Exhibition were several books which set out to introduce the idea of exotic colonial dining to the French who had themselves never left France. Catherine's *La cuisine exotique chez soi* told its readers:

When it comes to planning a menu, veal with peas turns up every time. ... Exotic cuisine? Don't be frightened; you managed to accept the tomato ... Curry went, slowly, from being an exceptional curiosity to being a basic ingredient in the kitchen. We have, until now, resisted culinary exoticism much more than other people ... But why should we deny ourselves those luxuries? We have French cooking, the best in the world. Yes. Fine, especially for everyday meals, but French cooking is not the only thing there is.²⁸

She included an interview with Albert de Pourville about his years in Vietnam, in addition to emphasizing aspects of Vietnamese cuisine

that would appear bizarre to the French, such as dog and the *nuoc mam* fish condiment, he also made sure to mention some more accessible foods, even describing a curry sauce that he suggested could accompany Vietnamese chicken and pork dishes.²⁹

Indeed, curry seems to have been a common means for French consumers to feel they were being exotic without having to eat anything too difficult; after all, many of them had probably been introduced to curry on the relatively familiar ground of England, and they were certainly familiar with it long before the First World War.³⁰ Regismanset suggested eating curry on one's Vietnamese rice at the 1922 Exhibition. Escoffier gave recipes for curry in his book on rice. The author of a 1931 book, *La Bonne cuisine aux colonies*, provided his favourite method for cooking rice, and then added that while the Vietnamese ate their rice with *nuoc mam*, that could be replaced 'easily and pleasantly' by a curry sauce.³¹ In 1930, curry even was offered (as well as a choice of bread instead of rice) on the menu of a Chinese restaurant in Paris.³²

Just as they seemed more willing to eat curry than to eat specifically Vietnamese food, the majority of the French seem not to have wanted to eat in Vietnamese restaurants. Though such restaurants existed in Paris, Marseilles and other French cities, they were frequented predominantly by the Vietnamese who were in France. The major exception to this general rule were the French girlfriends and wives of the Vietnamese immigrants, who do seem to have eaten with their companions in Asian restaurants.³³

One element which increases the difficulty of studying Vietnamese food in France is the comparatively large number of Chinese restaurants which sprang up in the major cities in this period.³⁴ Unfortunately for the historian, in between the two categories of restaurant was a grey area of ambiguous ethnicity. What is one to think, for instance, of the fact that the 1938 Paris *Didot-Bottin Annuaire* listed a restaurant called 'Nuygnen' as a Chinese restaurant? Assuming that 'Nuygnen' was a misspelling of the common Vietnamese name 'Nguyen', one is left with the apparent oddity of a Vietnamese-owned restaurant claiming to serve Chinese food. But it is only an apparent oddity, because I would argue that no one at that time in France, regardless of nationality or ethnic background, paid much attention to the difference between Chinese and Vietnamese cuisine.

Vietnamese immigrants often congregated in Chinese restaurants, as shown in police reports,³⁵ and the Chinese people who ran them sometimes had come to France from Vietnam's large Chinese population. Additionally, a Vietnamese person might have picked a

Chinese-sounding name for his restaurant if he thought that might appeal more to French or Chinese customers. A story remembered by one Chinese immigrant indicates that some of the Chinese restaurants in Paris may have been owned and run by Vietnamese. In the 1920s, his brother went every day to a Parisian restaurant with the Chinese name 'Wanhualou', or 'Ten thousand flowers'. Upon hearing this, their father became furious: 'What! He goes to the whorehouse every day?!' To the father, 'Ten thousand flowers' sounded like a euphemism. The immigrant telling the story thought that a name which would seem so suggestive and inappropriate to the Chinese could only have been picked by someone Vietnamese.³⁶

The first Chinese restaurant started advertising in Paris's *Didot-Bottin Annuaires* as early as 1914, the second in 1916, and after 1920 the *Annuaire* always listed a handful of Chinese restaurants. In 1926, the first Vietnamese restaurant started advertising, but then stopped in 1928, and from then until 1936 no obviously Vietnamese restaurant advertised. Only after the mid-1930s did a number of explicitly Vietnamese restaurants spring up, such as the *Saïgon*, the *Restaurant Indo-chinois*, and *A l'Indochine*. But at the same time, many restaurants started up which were named, simply, 'Restaurant Chinois' or a similar name, and the ethnicity of their owners cannot be read from such names.

In Marseilles, the first Chinese restaurant started advertising in 1924, and lasted three years before closing. Then, in 1928, one opened on the rue Torte, where there would continue to be from one to three Asian restaurants until the start of the Second World War. In 1932 the first clearly Vietnamese name appeared; Trung Nguyen Quan's restaurant lasted until 1943. When his restaurant disappeared, it was not because of a sudden drop-off in interest in Vietnamese food, for several new restaurants started during the war, with names such as Restaurant Haiphong, Nguyen Van Mô, and Restaurant Annamite. That last was run by the same Frassetto who had run the 'Restaurant annamite' at the 1922 Marseilles exhibition.

In addition to these official, advertising restaurants, whose owners may have hoped for and even obtained a partially European clientele, we also have reports from police agents about tiny hole-in-the-wall Vietnamese restaurants. Usually unmarked and up a flight of stairs, these restaurants provided regular meals to poor students and workers, and in port cities such as Marseilles, Bordeaux and Le Havre served crowds of Vietnamese sailors as well.³⁷ The police tried to keep a close eye on this genre of eating establishment, since they knew that these seedy places generally became spaces of resistance to French authority

and provided their clientele with not just nourishment, but also access to opium, cocaine, gambling and frequently Communist and anti-colonial ideas. By 1927, the police noted a couple of these restaurants in Le Havre and more in Marseilles, and by the 1930s Bordeaux and Paris also had a number of these sites where the Vietnamese immigrant community met.³⁸

One might ask why a significant number of Vietnamese immigrants chose to open restaurants, despite not having run restaurants before coming to France and despite the lack of French interest in eating in these restaurants. Le Huu Khoa explains in his book, *Les Vietnamiens en France: Insertion et Identité*, that owning restaurants allowed them to avoid competing directly against French commerce, and to avoid France's taxes by underreporting their revenues. More positively, it meant they could always feed their families, even when business was bad. Additionally, restaurants generated economic solidarity within the Vietnamese community: Le Huu Khoa cites a restaurant owner who declared, 'When one has a restaurant project, it is easy to borrow money from fellow countrymen.'³⁹ The solidarity, moreover, worked in both directions. A Vietnamese immigrant who opened a restaurant in Bordeaux in 1928 recalled proudly: 'Because of my restaurant, I could give work, lodging and food to Vietnamese students at the time and help them continue their studies. In 1936, I opened a restaurant in Paris ... I gave all the profits to an association of students who were fighting for Vietnam's political independence.'⁴⁰

While the illicit restaurants tended to open and close rapidly, as the Vietnamese owners tried to stay ahead of the police, legitimate restaurants often did not endure much longer. Given the distance between France and Vietnam, the authentic ingredients that Asian immigrants wanted were hard to obtain. Competition between restaurants was fierce, and restaurants frequently folded because the police had received anonymous tips regarding illegal activities on their premises, tips which were likely to have come from other Vietnamese restaurant owners.⁴¹ The solidarity of the Vietnamese community had evident limits. Moreover, even the Vietnamese never ate exclusively in Asian restaurants: many ate European breakfasts, for instance, and the police reports show that the Vietnamese also frequented ordinary French cafés.⁴² Indeed, as their politics grew more radical, some Vietnamese preferred meeting in French cafés and restaurants, to avoid the police informants who targeted Asian restaurants.⁴³ Furthermore, aside from the police, the majority of the French ignored the very existence of Vietnamese restaurants until after the Second World War.

If the French occasionally did display some interest in Vietnamese food, as when Regismanset raved about shark-fins or when Escoffier promoted rice, generally the French were at least as interested in food from places that were *not* their colonies, such as China and India. Colonial provenance did not serve as a decisive factor in determining whether the French would take to a given product. In the early part of the century, the French mainly wanted to eat what they saw as authentic French food, regardless of how recent or artificial a category that actually was, including many provincial dishes but hardly any from the colonies. To the extent that the French did, gradually, take an interest in colonial products, that interest was only a small part of France's growing twentieth-century interest in products from Asia and all over the world.

Notes and References

- 1 *L'Illustration*, 21 October 1922, pp.377–8.
- 2 See S. Zlotnick, 'Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 16, nos 2–3 (1996), pp.51–68; N. Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain', *Western Women and Imperialism* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp.238–42; C. Driver, *The British at Table, 1940–1980* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983), p.73; 'Curry', *Larousse Gastronomique* (Crown Publishers, 1989), p.352. For comparisons between French and British attitudes regarding food, see S. Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1996), particularly pp.1–5, 291–300, and 327–32.
- 3 On the use of food in shaping French modern identities, see T. Zeldin, 'Eating and Drinking', *France 1848–1945: Taste and Corruption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); J.-P. Aron, *Le mangeur du XIXe siècle* (R. Laffont, 1973), pp.7–10; J.-V. Pfirsich, *La Saveur des sociétés: sociologie des goûts alimentaires en France et en Allemagne* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1997), pp.20–4, 102–111, 182. On French adoption of food from around the world, see A. Capatti, *Le goût du nouveau: origines de la modernité alimentaire* (Paris: A. Michel, 1989); C. Fischler, 'Le supermarché planétaire', *L'honnivore* (Paris: O. Hacob, 1993); Aron, *Le mangeur*, pp.181–4. For a discussion of French colonizers' attitudes towards Asian food in colonial Vietnam, and Vietnamese attitudes towards French food, see 'Seeking familiar foods under the disruptions and dislocations of colonialism', ch. 5 of my dissertation, *Negotiating Power Through Everyday Practices in French Vietnam, 1880–1924* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2000).
- 4 Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer (hereafter CAOM): Service de liaison avec les originaires des territoires français d'Outre-Mer Series 1, Carton 1, Dossier 12 (hereafter SLOTFOM 1: 1/12) (7 November 1916).
- 5 CAOM: Archives of the Governor General of Indo-China, dossier 15670 (15 February 1917).

- 6 SLOTFOM 1: 1/12 (30 July 1916).
- 7 On the use of rice in European institutions (prisons, orphanages, and so on), see P. A. Coclanis, 'Distant Thunder: The Creation of a World Market in Rice and the Transformations it Wrought', *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 4 (October 1993), p.1,052.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p.1,054.
- 9 P. Cordemoy, *L'alimentation nationale et les produits coloniaux: le Riz* (Publications de l'agence économique du Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine, 1928), p.6.
- 10 CAOM: Minutes of the Comité de l'Indochine (hereafter CI) (14 October 1915), p.142; coded as 100 APOM 724. The Comité de l'Indochine was a lobbying group for French business interests in the colony.
- 11 R. Dorgelès, *Le Cabaret de la belle femme* (Paris: A. Michel, 1928), p.172. Cited in Capatti, *Le goût*, p.152.
- 12 CI (14 October 1915), p.142.
- 13 A. Lahille, *Projet d'utilisation du riz indochinois dans la metropole* (1916), p.3.
- 14 CI (9 September 1915), p.125.
- 15 A. Escoffier, *Le Riz: l'aliment le meilleur, le plus nutritif; 120 recettes pour l'accommoder* (Paris: Flammarion, 1927). p.5.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p.67–8.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p.6.
- 18 Cordemoy, *L'alimentation nationale*, p.6.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p.9.
- 20 Cordon Bleu, *L'Art d'accommoder le riz: Petit Recueil de Recettes Pratiques pour mettre en valeur et faire apprécier un excellent Produit Colonial Français* (1931), p.6.
- 21 M. Pasques, *Français: mangez du riz: 150 recettes pour accommoder le riz et lui permettre de figurer sur toutes les tables* (1933), p.6.
- 22 A. Artaud, *Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille: Rapport Général* (Marseille: Commissariat général de l'exposition, 1923), p.205.
- 23 *L'Illustration*, 21 October 1922, p.378.
- 24 C. Regismanset, *8 Jours à l'Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (G. Crès, 1922), p.35.
- 25 A. Demaison, *A Paris en 1931: Exposition coloniale internationale: guide officiel* (Paris: Mayeux, 1931), p.36.
- 26 *L'Illustration*, 25 July 1931, p.433.
- 27 J. Camp and A. Corbier, *A Lyauteyville: Promenades Sentimentales et Humoristiques à l'Exposition Coloniale* (Société nationale d'éditions artistiques, 1931), p.105.
- 28 Catherine, *La cuisine exotique chez soi, avec des souvenirs gastronomiques recueillis par Charlotte Rabette* (Paris: Éditions des Portiques, 1931), pp.12–14.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p.25.
- 30 For example, E. Richardin's *L'Art du bien manger* (Paris: Editions d'art et de littérature, 1907) provided two curry recipes on p.677.
- 31 R. de Noter, *La Bonne cuisine aux colonies: Asie – Afrique – Amérique: 400 recettes exquises ou pittoresques* (L'Art culinaire, 1931), p.18.
- 32 Live Yu-Sion, *La diaspora chinoise en France: immigration, activités socio-économiques, pratiques socio-culturelles* (EHESS, 1991), p.472.
- 33 SLOTFOM 3: 1/41 (30 September 1929); 3: 23/1 (11 February 1929.)

- 34 On the Chinese community in France, see Live, *La diaspora*; Wang Hung-Hsi, *Un petit coin de Chine en France: cuisine, shopping, traditions* (Paris: Julliard, 1973); Li-Hua Zheng, *Les Chinois de Paris et leurs jeux de face* (Paris: Harmattan, 1995); Tan Yim Phong, 'Restaurants et ateliers: le travail des sino-khmers à Paris', *Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien* (Paris), vol. 25, nos 1-4 (1984), pp.277-92. Much more work has been done on Chinese restaurants around the world than on Vietnamese restaurants. See Chi Kien Lao, *The Chinese Restaurant Industry in the United States: Its History, Development and Future* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University School of Hotel Administration monograph, 1975); Chung Yuen Kay, *At the Palace: Work, Ethnicity and Gender in a Chinese Restaurant* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1985); F. N. Pieke, 'Immigration et entreprenariat: Les Chinois aux Pays-Bas', in *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1992), pp.33-50; S. Lu, 'The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment', *Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 3 (Summer 1995), pp.535-53.
- 35 SLOTFOM 3: 27/87 (2 February 1921).
- 36 M. Holzman and Tsong-Heng Liang, *Chinois de Paris* (Paris: Seghers, 1989), p.40.
- 37 SLOTFOM 3: 27/87 (2 February 1921 and 10 April 1931).
- 38 SLOTFOM 3: 27/87; 3: 1/56; 3: 1/327.
- 39 Le Huu Khoa, *Les Vietnamiens en France: Insertion et Identité* (Paris: Harmattan, 1985), pp.58-9.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p.35.
- 41 SLOTFOM 3: 1/56 (4 January 1927). On this competition, see also 3: 4/unnumbered dossier (3 March 1927).
- 42 SLOTFOM 3: 23/1 (16 January 1929); 3: 22/1 (21 October 1929); 3: 27/87 (29 August 1931).
- 43 SLOTFOM 3: 14/714 (3 July 1930).