

Cookbooks of the World, 1925-1975



Photo of a banquet table from the inner cover of the Soviet-era cookbook, Книга о вкусной и здоровой пище [*The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food*] (Moscow, 1955 printing). See Eric Duskin's article on page 11.

TIME-LIFE SERIES

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Endnotes

- 1. Bertelsen 2009.
- 2. Goldstein 2004, p. 678.
- 3. Dale Brown Papers, photocopied and shared thanks to the efforts of Jan Longone, J. J. Jacobson, and Kathy Schafer at the Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archive.
- 4. Hazelton 1971.
- 5. Ibid.
- 6. Claiborne 1968.
- 7. Ephron 1968.
- 8. Hess 1969.
- 9. Smith 1969.
- 10. Claiborne 1979.
- 11. Cannon 1968.
- 12. Hazelton 1971.
- 13. Oseland 2006, p. 72.
- 14. Freedman, 2012.
- 15. Personal communication with Jeffrey Alford, May 18, 2012.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Eshbach 1975.
- 18. Balsley 1975.
- 19. Hébert 2008.
- 20. Taylor 2009.
- 21. Fisher 1984.
- 22. Walter 1971, pp. 122-123.

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ÉDOUARD DE POMIANE, GASTRONOME

by Mae Sander

New CHAA member Mae Sander is a long-time Ann Arbor resident. She loves to read about the history of food and cooking, and is especially interested in the role of food in world art and literature. Mae frequently blogs about food (http://maefood.blogspot.com/), travel, and Jewish culture. Her favorite place to talk about food and culture is the Culinary History Reading Group, one of four history-related book groups that meet monthly at Motte and Bailey Bookshop. Mae loves to travel and try new foods with her husband Len, a professor of physics at the University of Michigan.

French Cooking in Ten Minutes by Édouard de Pomiane promises faster results than any other cookbook. First published in French in 1930, translated into English in 1948 and again in 1975, this charming book is still available. Pomiane's humorous and useful recipes and cooking tips have made it a classic.

Elizabeth David enthusiastically admired Pomiane, and often cited his recipes and his influence. "Most spirited and interesting of contemporary French cookery writers", she said of him.¹

In his native France, cooks remember Pomiane for his scientific approach to cuisine— a precursor of the modern molecular gastronomy movement. *Cooking with Pomiane*, a collection of his advice and recipes, has been re-issued in English twice in this century.

Art, Science, and Ferment in Paris

Édouard de Pomiane lived in Paris during very exciting times. He was not only a cookbook author and a biologist, but also a lover of music and an amateur painter with friends in the Paris art world. As a young man, he was a supporter of Alfred Dreyfus, whose trial for treason and later pardon energized political activity at all levels. In World War 1, he used his medical training as an ambulance doctor. Later, he strove to give good advice to people who were suffering in the Great Depression and then in World War 2.

Pomiane's debut as a food writer was *Bien Manger pour Bien Vivre: Essai de Gastronomie Théorique*, or Eat Well to Live Well: An Essay on Theoretical Gastronomy (1922). This book presented essential principles of cooking, the chemistry of food preparation, the science of digestion, foodways in France and other countries, and other topics—but no recipes.

In 1923, Pomiane began a weekly radio show about food and nutrition. Radio broadcasting was quite new, and Pomiane's lighthearted shows were popular. He became a well-known personality and food expert, and his new fame added to his prestige as a researcher at the highly respected Institut Pasteur, where he had already worked for over 20 years.

On the air, docteur de Pomiane, as he was known, discussed menus and recipes for good eating and good health. The science of cooking, which he called *gastrotechnie*, was an important part of his material: in his laboratory, he had studied nutrition and the chemistry of digestion. With much respect for home cooks, he explained how a scientific approach could yield better results in their kitchens.

Economy was another Pomiane specialty: saving money without giving up nutritional value. For example he pointed out that for an equivalent amount of protein, fish was inexpensive compared to meat, and also tasted good. Pomiane clearly enjoyed good food, cooking, and science, and shared his enjoyment with his listeners.

The Polish Expatriate Community

In broadcasts and cookbooks, Pomiane shared various aspects of his background as a Polish-Frenchman, intertwining memoirs and recipes.

Édouard Pozerski de Pomiane was born in Paris on April 20, 1875, and he grew up in Montmartre, then a poor, semi-rural neighborhood. He recalled:

Looking back on my childhood, I remember the delicious golden *galette* [a type of small round cake made with flaky pastry] I ate from time to time at the Moulin de la Galette on the summit of my dear Butte Montmartre. There was a garden round the windmill with arbours and a showcase with cardboard pastrycooks rolling out sheets of dough ... I knew the Moulin de la Galette when Montmartre still had its vineyards, its streams and its fields of oats.²

His parents belonged to a community of Polish expatriates, many of whom had, like them, fled from Poland because they had been involved in its unsuccessful struggles for independence. His mother's cooking was an influence on him: she often prepared Polish-style Sunday dinners for these friends.

One Sunday treat was *friands*: small stuffed pastry rolls made in *charcuterie* shops, and delivered to homes in "shining metal containers" along with piping-hot cutlets, sausages, and black puddings. After lunch, "the children went to play on the Butte at the edge of the fields of oats which grew where the busy rue Caulaincourt now runs. As they were wearing their Sunday clothes, they were not allowed to paddle in the streams which flowed all about the Butte Montmartre of my childhood."³

Life had not been similarly idyllic for Pomiane's parents. Both of them had participated in the Polish uprising against Russian authorities in 1863, and both were arrested. His father served time in Siberia, where he was Dostoyevsky's only Polish friend. His mother, daughter of a Russian general and a Polish woman, was condemned to death. She escaped to Paris; his father later escaped and joined her there.

POMIANE

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The Pozerskis' first son starved to death during the Paris Commune in 1871. Pomiane's sister was born in 1873, two years before him. Pomiane attended a Polish primary school and then the Lycée Condorcet, a French secondary school. He continued with scientific and medical studies at l'Université de Paris and various laboratories.⁴

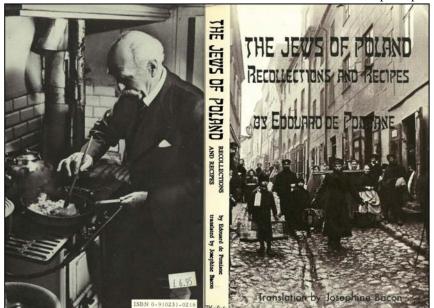
In 1921, Pomiane began to teach at l'Institut Scientifique d'Hygiène Alimentaire while also continuing his medical research at l'Institut Pasteur. During the 1920s his production of technical and popular work was prolific. In 1922 he published *Hygiène Alimentaire*. In 1924 *Le Code de la Bonne Chère* appeared; it was translated into English in 1932 as *Good Fare*. In it he presented his ideas on scientific home cooking, planning meals for better health, and a large collection of recipes. Yet another book, *La Cuisine en Six Leçons*, used the principles of the earlier books.

By 1927, Pomiane was widely recognized as an authority on cooking. In a contest sponsored by the review *La Bonne Table et le Bon Gîte*, over 2,000 chefs and gourmets voted to choose the "Prince of Gastronomes". Pomiane was a runner-up, along with Auguste Escoffier. The winner was the renowned cookbook and guidebook writer Curnonsky.

A French Catholic Enthralled by Polish and Jewish Culture

French cooking was Pomiane's main interest, but he also offered Polish and other international recipes. Elizabeth David pointed out that his ways of cooking vegetables, like tomatoes in cream or sweet-sour onions, reflect both French and Eastern European traditions.

In one broadcast Pomiane described a very elaborate recipe for *foie gras*, starting with a 900-gram whole fattened goose liver. I'm sure his listeners were wondering, just as I did when I read this, who could afford such a luxurious piece of meat? *Foie gras* has always been expensive: today in France, 900 g. would cost upwards of ϵ 160/\$225. Pomiane evidently agreed: after describing the preparation, he proceeded to present an alternative: a delicious but much less costly Polish-style dish from pork liver, made as his mother did in his youth.⁵



As an amateur ethnologist, Pomiane was especially interested in Jewish cooking, although he himself was a Catholic. On trips to Poland after World War 1 he made many observations of the customs and cooking of Jewish communities in Warsaw, Cracow, and other Polish cities, collecting information that few others thought to bother with.

He also visited the Marais, the Jewish quarter of Paris where many immigrants lived, and he talked to acquaintances and friends who were native French Jews. In 1929 Pomiane published *Cuisine Juive: Ghettos Modernes*, translated in 1975 as *The Jews of Poland: Recollections and Recipes*.

An oft-quoted maxim of Pomiane is, "One should never refuse an invitation to lunch or dinner, for one never knows what one may have to eat the next day." Also popular is his list of people you might invite to dinner— "people you are fond of, people you are obligated to invite, and people you detest"— and how to treat them.

Pomiane's 1938 publication was titled 365 Menus, 365 Recettes. At the French Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair, usually remembered for the cuisine in its restaurant, this work was for sale amongst a selection of the most respected French cookbooks of the era. It cost 90 cents. The selection also included Escoffier's Guide Culinaire, La Bonne Cuisine by Madame E. Saint-Ange, La Véritable Cuisine de Famille by Tante Marie, L'Art Culinaire Moderne by Henry-Paul Pellaprat, and L'Art du Bien Manger compiled by Edmond Richardin. All sold at higher prices than Pomiane's book. This list suggests the range of French cooking literature of the time, from haute cuisine to lower-middle-class home cooking.⁷

During World War 2, Pomiane remained in occupied Paris, writing about how to manage with the severe shortages of food and extreme rationing imposed by the Nazis. In *Cuisine et Restrictions* (1940), he discussed how to conserve scarce food; for example, he described how he would use his finger to spread a very thin coat of rationed cooking oil onto a piece of meat to be fried, and how he then licked his finger to avoid wasting any. *Conserves Familiales et Microbie Alimentaire* (1943) presented principles and recipes for preserving food— when you could get

it. Interestingly, food preservation was one of the topics originally included in his first book more than two decades earlier, *Bien Manger pour Bien Vivre*.

After the war, Pomiane continued to publish books, give lectures, mentor students, and write articles and introductions to others' works. His books have been translated into German, Polish, and Czech as well as into English, and his recipes influenced the developers of *nouvelle cuisine*. He died in 1964.

Using Pomiane in the Kitchen

Here's a big question: how well do Pomiane's recipes work in the kitchen? Pomiane specialized in home cooking. He believed that knowing how to cook improved one's appreciation of food. In his radio broadcasts, he described preparing meals for his wife and daughter. He told about his own experience with rationing during the occupation of Paris. He particularly addressed cooks with little time for

preparing and eating a meal, although he also included more complex recipes.

Pomiane's manner is always confident and reassuring. After giving a hollandaise sauce recipe he says: "If you follow my instructions carefully, you will find that, like me, you will never make a hollandaise sauce that isn't perfect. So don't be afraid of it. It's delicious with boiled fish or canned asparagus that have been heated up in their juice."

Some of his recipes have become obsolete because the ingredients are unobtainable (ready-to-cook larks, mentioned for a 10-minute lunch) or no longer popular (hare roasted with beetroot, or canned asparagus). The traditional French lunch begins with soup, so Pomiane includes far more soup courses than Americans might choose these days. Otherwise, his menus are always interesting. He often suggests purchasing pre-made foods from the specialty shops that existed in every Paris neighborhood and still do, especially for 10-minute meals. I suspect that Pomiane might have approved of Trader Joe's!

Poulet Canaille— chicken roasted with six cloves of unpeeled garlic for each serving— gave a delicious result when I cooked it. As often with Pomiane, he explains not only how to cook but also how to eat the dish:

Eat some chicken and then put a clove of garlic into your mouth. Bite it and the inside will slip out. It is exquisite. Spit the skin discreetly onto your fork and slip it onto the rim of your plate. You can repeat this pleasure five times more, sipping as you do so a very dry white wine.⁹

This passage also illustrates how his recipes have a sprightly, conversational style, despite his scientific approach. You can tell that he first spoke them out loud in his radio broadcasts.

Besides the chicken, I tried Pomiane's 10-minute recipes on a few occasions: sorrel soup, tomatoes *provençales*, and $c \alpha u r a la$ c r e me (a combination of cream cheese, heavy cream, and sugar). All succeeded in terms of speed and tastiness. In Pomiane's definition of 10-minute cooking, the timing starts when the pot actually reaches a boil. That gave me a bit of extra prep time to wash the sorrel, measure the cream and sugar for the $c \alpha u r a la$ c r e me, or cut up the tomatoes.

Boil water whether your recipe calls for it or not, advises Pomiane. If you don't use it for cooking, use it for coffee. With your coffee, have a cigarette and listen to the music of César Franck on the radio: this is Pomiane's 1920s-era example of leisure.¹⁰

Many French home cooks in the past used Pomiane's books. And indirectly, he influenced a huge reading public through his mentorship of best-selling author Ginette Mathiot. French friends have told me that members of an older generation could be loyal Pomiane cooks. My friend Michelle says she knows little of Pomiane, but she recalled that her mother-in-law successfully followed his recipes.

My friend Laurent described his uncle, born in 1900, as being devoted to Pomiane's cookbooks. Pomiane was not an author for the typical home cook, Laurent explained, but for people "with an interest in gastronomy, and also in science." His uncle was a chemical engineer and "a good cook with a good appetite." Both

his aunt and uncle "were good cooks and interested in good eating, but with different philosophies, and thus they had controversies. My uncle proceeded in a scientific way, my aunt followed more traditional methods."

Today, food writers and bloggers acknowledge Pomiane at times, particularly when they write about quick cooking. They describe their experiences making a recipe or two, and often report good results. In the 1990s, the BBC produced a series in which an actor recreated some of the radio broadcasts as TV shows; these rather exaggerated productions are available on YouTube.

La Cuisine en Dix Minutes, published in 1930, remains available in English as French Cooking in Ten Minutes. It was on the Guardian's top-50 cookbook list in 2010. Radio Cuisine, a two-volume compilation of Pomiane's broadcasts, first appeared in 1933 and 1936; an English-language adaptation, Cooking with Pomiane, with a foreword by Elizabeth David, is still frequently mentioned for its recipes and cooking advice.

Pomiane the Maverick

The acclaimed British writer Julian Barnes once described Pomiane as "a contrarian and *provacateur* who found in classic French haute cuisine much that was theoretically and actually indigestible." Here are several ways that Pomiane was ahead of his time or even contrarian:

- Pomiane preferred cooking and entertaining at home to restaurant dining. He disliked the excesses of *haute cuisine*. Fine French dining establishments, he said, served too many courses, especially the extra fish course in an elaborate menu with too many proteins. For travelers, he suggested picnics, not just restaurants, and wrote about "outdoor dining" in *La Cuisine en Plein Air* (1935).
- Pomiane believed that simplification in the arts reflected the spirit of his time. He named the artists Foujita and Matisse as examples of simplicity. Modern hosts, he recommended, should similarly strip down their menus.¹²
- Pomiane published not only with mainstream publisher Albin Michel, but also wrote commercial pamphlets and books. Among these: a collection of 20 recipes that "give the gout", which the reader could avoid by taking a patent medicine called Piperazine Midy. For utility and appliance companies, he wrote books encouraging use of refrigerators and gas stoves. He even wrote a book promoting the consumption of bananas.
- Pomiane stressed that scientific understanding could improve a cook's abilities. He applied cutting-edge laboratory discoveries to ordinary kitchen activity. Recent writers in the field of molecular gastronomy acknowledge Pomiane's gastrotechnie. For them, he was a kindred spirit and precursor, although he didn't share the gimmicky side of their activities.
- Pomiane's interest in foodways and cuisines outside France
 was exceptional for his time. The Jews of Poland:
 Recollections and Recipes, although long out of print,
 remains influential, as it's virtually the only prewar account
 of Eastern European Jewish cooking and recipes.
- Above all, throughout Pomiane's writing he emphasized that knowledge of cooking contributes to enjoyment of food—and enjoyment of food is key to all he wrote.

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BEFORE THE AMERICAN FOOD AWAKENING

by Dr. Leni Sorensen

Leni Ashmore Sorensen of Crozet, VA, is a longtime subscriber and contributor to Repast. She is the retired African-American Research Historian at the Monticello estate near Charlottesville. In addition to writing and research focused on foodways and garden ways in African and African-American history, for a quarter-century Dr. Sorensen has demonstrated fireplace cookery at museums and historical sites. Her most recent article for Repast (Summer 2013) examined the series of Mary Frances cookbooks written by Jane Fryer. Leni maintains a weblog, "The View Indigo House" from (www.indigohousehistory.com).

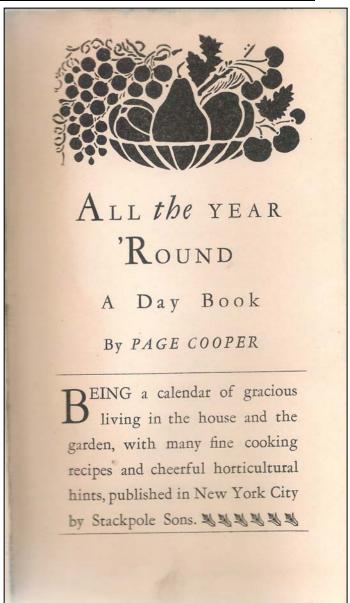
Page Cooper, All the Year 'Round: A Day Book (New York: Stackpole Sons, 1938)

Hazel Young, *The Working Girl's Own Cook Book* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950 edition; originally published 1948)

Ellen and Vrest Orton, *Cooking with Whole Grains* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1951)

When I first began to accumulate cookbooks in the 1960s, most of those that I purchased— which were almost always second-hand, and often shabby— had been published 20 and even 30 years earlier. I think I bought them just because they were books, almost more than because they contained recipes. My urge to hoard books has been a lifelong challenge. Over the years parts of my collection were lost in a fire, while others were given away or loaned never to be returned.

On the shelf that I think of as the "old books" shelf are some that I have used for cookery, but which I read more often from an historian's perspective. Their cover design and page layout tend toward plain black-and-white text, with line drawings rather than photographs. With age, the pages have browned. The printing style and heft of books— in particular, what cooks expect a cookbook to look like— have greatly evolved in the intervening years. Some of my old cookbooks are more pamphlet than book, especially the ones on butchering. Others, such as facsimiles of 18th- and 19th-Century books, are where I



turn when I need a recipe for something "old timey", such as mincemeat.

Three of my books stand out when kitchen talk shifts to 20th-Century culinary history, and I have upon occasion dragged them out to illustrate a point or two. From a distance of 60-70 years since publication, each of these books is both sweet and amusing in its own way. However, they can also be read more critically to see how well they stand up now against the shifts and swings of an evolving American food culture. I've owned all of them since the 1960s or earlier, over the years moving them from kitchen to kitchen, leafing through them periodically. Each time I do, it is clear how each one has been superseded by social and cultural changes since they were first published.

Gracious Living in Hard Times

Page Cooper's *All the Year 'Round: A Day Book* is small in format, the pages only 4½ by 7½ inches, likely because of Depression-era paper shortages. The opening page describes it as "a calendar of gracious living in the house and garden, with many fine cooking recipes and cheerful horticultural hints...."

The unnamed narrator is a wealthy Depression-era suburbanite who writes wryly of her children, her Scandinavian-American cook, and a garden where she loves to dabble when there are no guests from the city coming for the weekend. Her husband travels daily into New York City by train. All is told in what I find an irritating second-person conversational style, the narrative cast consisting largely of "you", your husband Jack and sometimes his "business cronies", and the two children, Jack Jr. and Virginia. Rufus the dog, the cook Sophie, and various and sundry relatives and guests round out the characters. When brilliant "you" are able to fend off the pushy self-invitation of a particularly unwelcome couple that you met last year on a cruise, by using the ruse of sick children or being in the middle of wallpapering the entire downstairs, you are advised that you should "Telephone your husband that he owes you eternal gratitude and a dinner at the Ritz" (p. 14). When read more for humor than for food instruction, the book is reminiscent of a Spencer Tracy/Katharine Hepburn script, perhaps one written by Emily Post.

The recipes contained in the short daily entries range from bland and ordinary to the truly odd, to a meal presented as placation. In the truly odd category Cooper suggests, on Jan. 9, for Cousin Henry the vegetarian:

Chestnuts a la mode. To make chestnuts a la mode mash a pint of well cooked chestnuts in a bowl with 4 tablespoons of butter, 2 fresh eggs, and plenty of seasoning. Butter your baking dish well. And if the mixture seems (as it probably will) pretty arid, be sorry for Cousin Henry and add as much heavy cream as your conscience will allow. Bake in a slow oven. It may turn out better than you expect.

She not only does not say what sort of seasoning to use (spices? vanilla?), but brushes off whether the resultant dish is actually good or not. Pitying poor Cousin Henry for being a vegetarian, she appends the couplet: "The vegetarian never says exactly what he means, With his cutlets made of peanuts and his sausages made of beans" (p. 13, italics in original).

On a September late afternoon after spending too long in the garden with "your" hyacinths, to placate your husband you must dash off to the market where "Your butcher has a beautifully hung steak" that you will prepare with Broiled Tomatoes. This recipe is followed by the line, "When a woman has an uneasy conscience her first impulse is to plan a perfect dinner."

Broiled tomatoes will be good, cut in halves, salted and peppered, dipped in beaten egg and dried bread crumbs. They are put in a buttered flat pan with melted butter poured over the crumbs and broiled on one side and then the other. A few minutes before they are done, put brown sugar on top of each and more melted butter" (p. 266).

The amounts of butter and cream, steak, and fresh eggs in this book, written and published in the midst of the Depression, is one major indicator of the world in which the author lived or to which she aspired. *Better Homes and Gardens, Martha Stewart Living*, or *Southern Living* would find a great precedent in Page Cooper.

Convenience Cooking for the Working Woman

In 1938, Hazel Young had published *The Working Girl Must Eat*, a collection of recipes "especially revised for emergency times and especially intended for women who work in offices or factories and cook at home." It is organized into 100 menus, with recipes and alternative choices shaped by the food shortages of the time. It was followed 10 years later by *The Working Girl's Own Cook Book*. In the new book Young addressed the immediately-postwar working girl, who had come of age and entered the workforce in the previous decade. The war had drawn women into the office and factory, and now in 1948 with most GIs returning, many of these women were cooking for one but had an eye on marriage.

Unlike Cooper's housewife, Young's reader was eager to use and grateful for the convenience of the array of canned and pre-processed goods available to the working cook on a busy day. Her Menu Pattern 31 offers a fast meal for company:

This is a favorite of one of our most glamourous "working girls," Lynn Fontanne. When Miss Fontanne and Alfred Lunt serve their friends an impromptu snack, they are apt to whip up an omelet. This is Mr. Lunt's own recipe and it is foolproof even in the hands of the inexperienced. The Lunts would probably substitute a fruit dessert for brownies (p. 130).

To folks acquainted with the New York Broadway theatre world, Lynn Fontanne had been famous for many years, having appeared in 19 stage productions between 1921 and 1949. Certainly she was a "working girl" of the most elegant breed! On this menu were Baked Omelet, Crab Meat in Mushroom Sauce, Stuffed Baked Potatoes, Tomato and Cucumber Salad, and Chocolate Brownies. The main dish called for canned crabmeat (or canned chicken as an alternative), and the sauce called for canned cream of mushroom soup as the main ingredient (p. 30).

Young makes frequent mention of foods available during the lean war years. "[W]e all got 'fed up' with frankfurters", she recalls, and "Memories are short so most people have forgotten how tired they got of cold cuts during the war years" (pp. 122, 146). Near the end of the book, in the section on "The Company Dinner", she presents a special menu for a returning soldier. It's a lovely meal: chilled consommé, broiled steak, lettuce salad with Roquefort dressing, Chantilly potatoes, sliced tomatoes, rounded out with a dessert of apple pie. She leads off the recipes with this note:

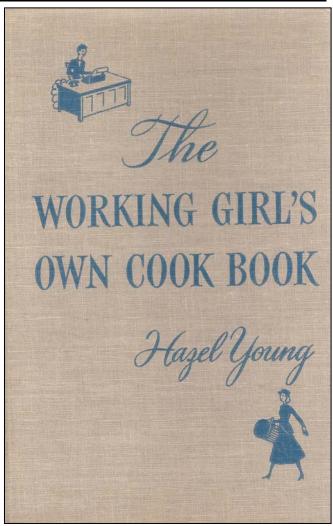
Many a GI in the grime of war has dreamt of a meal like this. It is a typically American dinner! The Chantilly Potatoes may be rather too fancy for masculine taste. They might prefer French fried potatoes or a huge stuffed baked potato. The apple pie may be served with ice cream but it seems rather like gilding the lily (p. 200).

Wholegrains as Wholesome Eating

The Ortons were a couple with deep family roots in rural Vermont. In his early career Vrest Orton, a WW1 veteran and

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BEFORE AWAKENING continued from page 7



Harvard graduate, worked on the staff of H. L. Mencken's *American Mercury*, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, and *Life* magazine. During the 1930s he and his wife, Ellen, moved to a small village in Vermont. Along with founding a book publishing company, by the 1940s the couple began selling local crafts and foods, including wholegrain flour, by mail order (for more on this history, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vermont_Country_Store). Soon they found they needed a cookbook to teach their customers how to use the flour. The result, *Cooking with Whole Grains*, is an example of mid-century health food advocacy.

Further encouraging the Ortons to write the book was the perceived growing international interest in wholegrains, "an interest now being intensified by Gayelord Hauser's books on food and good health" (p. 13). Hauser was a German-born nutritionist with whom the Ortons shared a publisher. With the hindsight of many decades, depending on one's point of view Hauser was either a nutritional genius or a successful huckster. But he wrote and spoke widely and had a large, ardent following among Hollywood's older movie-star crowd, among them Gloria Swanson.

In their introduction, the Ortons lay out an angry and heated history of grain milling in the U.S., describing it as a business that had become deeply compromised by unremitting greed on the part of corporate industrial producers of flour and bread. They lambaste the millers, both English and American, the bakers, and the scientists whose vitamin and mineral formulations were being added to "fortify" flour. They even scold an encyclopedia:

It is rather appalling to realize how easily the milling trade has succeeded these many years keeping these facts from the public, both in America and Great Britain. We only have to look to that famous authority, *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, to obtain bonafide evidence. The erudite and technical account of milling in that compendium was written by an English miller, and it is revealing to see how nonchalantly he treats of the process by which the germ was eliminated. He says, ". . . in roller milling the germ was *easily* separated from the rest of the berry and it was *readily* sifted from the stock. The germ contains a good deal of *fatty matter* which, if allowed to remain, would not increase the keeping qualities of the flour" (pp. 7-8, italics in original).

To the Ortons, the conspiracy is clear to see.

The Ortons were bucking the trend toward industrial food, which had been steadily advancing since the early years of the century. In the account provided by food historian Andrew Smith, the Alsop Process Company of St. Louis, MO, had patented the chlorine bleaching process for flour in 1904, thus producing flour that would last longer without spoilage. At first the Federal Drug Administration merely encouraged commercial bakeries to enrich white bread, but such enrichment became the norm for B vitamins, such as thiamine (B1), riboflavin (B2), and niacin (B3), as well as for iron, folate, and calcium (Andrew F. Smith, *Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America*, Volume 1, Oxford Univ. Press, 2004, pp. 119, 123).

Companies such as the Van Camp Packing Company, Franco American, and the Joseph P. Campbell Soup Company...sought to create demand for their product, [realizing] that one way to do this was by replacing items traditionally produced in the home with those mass-produced in factories (Smith, p. 637).

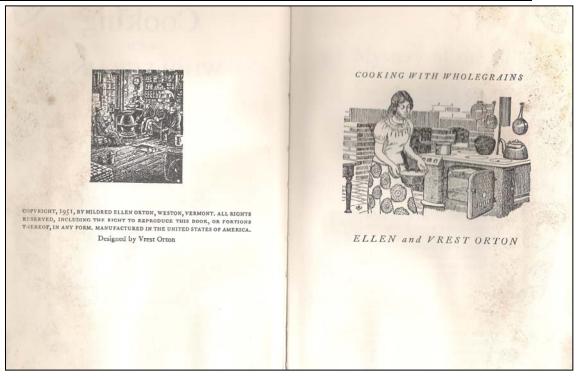
Bread and grain products such as breakfast cereals certainly fell into that category. Whether it be Nabisco, C. W. Post, the Kellogg Company, H. J. Heinz, or A&P, the food industry sold crackers and mass-produced baked goods containing flour that was inferior to the wholegrain alternatives the Ortons offered.

In their enthusiasm for wholegrains and for their claimed therapeutic properties, the Ortons included a quaint health anecdote:

We have received many letters from people who have benefited by eating our whole-grain products. The one that pleased me the most was from a lovely girl I know who, after being married for five years without issue, began eating wholegrain at least twice a day, sometimes three. Ten months later I got a letter from her announcing the birth of two bouncing baby boys. Twins! Of course we can't guarantee this every time.

In the early 1960s I bought my copy of the Ortons' book (\$1.25, marked down from \$2.50) at Lindberg Nutrition, a Los

Angeles health food store. For the most part I had taught myself to cook, and right then I was interested in learning to bake, so I used the Ortons' recipes. I had been raised around a group of 1950s "health food nuts", as they/we were often called in those days. Consequently I had, and still have, sympathy for the Ortons' polemical position. They were attempting to convert an audience accustomed to refined white bread to better, healthier bread. They were correct in noting that the rising time is longer for made breads with wholegrains, and that in fact, such breads often require several risings. Their recipes produce dense but tasty loaves.



Whether the Ortons were riding a cultural wave or helping create one, for many Americans the 1950s sparked nostalgia for "those good old days" before two deadly world wars. Looking back to what seemed a simpler, more wholesome past affected the hearts and food tastes of a segment of the buying public seeking redemption through healthy eating. Adele Davis, Helen and Scott Nearing, Ruth Stout, Gayelord Hauser, and other food and lifestyle gurus of that era wrote successful books that spawned legions of faithful adherents. In picking up on that yearning, the Ortons were also being astute businessmen.

A Landscape Robbed of Variety

Unlike most cookbooks, which are really only collections of recipes with little prose to introduce the dishes, the three under review here are intentionally educational and informative. Most of their recipes were offered in a carefully contrived context. Page Cooper wanted her audience to enjoy food as part of a genteel life of flowers and gardens, friends and family. Hazel Young, in her detailed recipe introductions, spoke directly to the "modern" working woman. Her goal was to help the reader through the daily chore of cooking, while also allowing her and her family to eat well. The Ortons summoned their readers to understand and embrace a healthful, home-cooked approach to grains, harking back to a more natural, less industrialized past.

Each of these books, however, leaves me with an odd feeling of emptiness when I review them so many years later. It isn't the recipes per se, for many of them sound good or easy or healthy. Nor is it the writing style, which tends to be brisk and charming— with the partial exception of the Ortons, who were an early example of crunchy-granola humorlessness, and a bit preachy.

Rather, it is the distinct lack of cultural diversity in these books that keeps hitting home to me. Outside of Page Cooper's Swedish-American cook and Vrest Orton's reference to the Southern debate over sugar in cornbread, there are no hints of Americans of any ethnicity or social strata other than the white middle- to upper-class, nor to any region other than the Northeastern United States. These writers seem to live in a bubble in which there were no people of color in America—Black, Hispanic, Asian, or other. None of them offer any hint that they are aware of, say, Freda DeKnight's very sophisticated *A Date With A Dish: A Cook Book of American Negro Recipes* (1948), which was examined by Donna Pierce in the Spring 2013 issue of *Repast*.

The same criticism can probably be leveled at most traditional cookbook writers of this era. Irma Rombauer's *Joy of Cooking* (1931), as well as *Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book* (1950), offered little sense of a diverse readership, much less of a diverse America. Well through the 1940s, the *Saturday Evening Post* routinely ran print ads that pictured Black mammies in turbans, and Cream of Wheat ads featuring a white-uniformed Black butler

Should these issues matter, given when these books were written? After all, the authors are of their time and place. But certainly the way they portrayed America, which robbed it of its actual heterogeneity, deserves to be noticed. And during the next two decades, all three books would be overshadowed by events of the 1950s and 60s, as the nation underwent a cultural shift none of the authors could have anticipated.

A Revolution in Society and in Eating

The world was changing. Brown v. Board of Education and the broader civil rights movement captured headlines, and television began to bring the confrontations in the South directly into folks' living rooms. There was another war, this time in Korea. With the hearings of the McCarthy era, politics got dirty and much less genteel. The suburban world of Cooper's prosperous, stay-at-home, late-1930s housewife lost most of its hired cooks and maids — initially to factories during the war years, and subsequently to the new lifestyle of baby boomers.

BEFORE AWAKENING continued from page 9

Novel Levittown-type suburbs were the setting for modern houses, cars, and labor-saving consumer goods such as Frigidaire appliances. By 1957, many working-class families were fans of "Leave It to Beaver", and the genteel living depicted by Page Cooper was no longer possible or even desirable. By the end of that decade, her book was already a quaint relic.

For the urban working woman to whom *The Working Girl's Own Cook Book* was directed, ever more canned and packaged foods filled supermarket shelves in the prosperous postwar years. These relatively inexpensive and easy-to-prepare foods, along with fast-food chain restaurants, turned the working "girl" of Young's book, now so often a working mom, into a cook on the run. Who needed cookbooks any longer when the supermarket checkout counter offered slick, full-color food and home magazines, with each month's issue full of recipes for quick and inexpensive dishes? In the pages of these magazines and elsewhere, food companies waged a war of coupons to vie for the attention of the new consumers. By the early- to mid-1960s, Hazel Young, whose recipes referred to the deprivations of the war years, no longer had the attention of the young homemaker who had been born during the WW2 era.

The Ortons continued to be successful through the 1950s, and their mail-order business got an additional boost from the 1960s counterculture. Their book has been reprinted several times over the years and is still in print, while their catalog continues to be a good source for traditional cookery tools. In fact, they and their descendants created The Vermont Country Store, now a catalog-driven empire with sales of \$90 million annually. Back in the 1950s, no one could have predicted the organic food revolution that would erupt a couple of decades later. Within that movement, a new outlook on breads and grains has played a prominent role, and the publication of baking books far outstrips anyone's shelf space. Two of the popular pioneering books of the 1970s that superseded the Ortons' book were The Tassajara Bread Book by Edward Espe Brown (Shambala, 1970) and Carla Emory's Old Fashioned Recipe Book: An Encyclopedia of Country Living by Carla Emory (Bantam, 1977). Brown and Emory focus on the details of bread and yeast, the one in a gentle Zen way and the other in full back-to-the-land homesteader mode.

Many of us continue to bake our own breads, and the Ortons' recipe for Corn Meal Waffles is one of my trusty old reliables, but there are now choices we could only have goggled at "back in the day". Baked goods of every type are now widely available in wholegrain versions, including bagels, croissants, wood-oven or other artisanal styles, muffins, cakes, and crackers. There are national companies making reliable wholegrain products, and small Mom and Pop bakeries producing handcrafted specialty breads. The interest in wood-fired bread ovens for creating pizzas, pitas, and artisanal breads has seen a rebirth. There are cookbooks explaining how to make artisanal loaves in five minutes, and breads that need no kneading. There are bread machines for the home kitchen. The Ortons could not have anticipated such changes.

My three old books will continue to reside on my kitchen bookshelf. They are reminders of a time when food and cookery were on the brink of great change and would never be the same again.

POMIANE

continued from page 5

Reading about Pomiane has made me think about the culture of Paris in his lifetime. Famous chefs, cooking reviews, gourmands, and admired restaurants contributed to the atmosphere. Proust, Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, Picasso, Matisse, Josephine Baker, Janet Flanner, Waverly Root, A. J. Liebling, Sylvia Beach, Colette, Jean Renoir, Jean Cocteau, and Luis Buñuel created images or books that teach us about the era between the wars. So did Pomiane: a doctor who taught the art and science of good home cooking.

Endnotes

- 1. David 1998, p. 427.
- 2. Cooking with Pomiane, pp. 243-244.
- 3. Ibid., p. 58.
- 4. These biographical details appear both in Mathiot 1975, p. 9, and in the official biography from l'Institut Pasteur.
- 5. Radio Cuisine, pp. 202-204.
- 6. Cooking with Pomiane, pp. 11-13.
- 7. Tinker 1939.
- 8. French Cooking in Ten Minutes, p. 47.
- 9. Cooking with Pomiane, pp. 145-146.
- 10. Radio Cuisine, p. 169.
- 11. Barnes 2003, p. 36.
- 12. Radio Cuisine, p. 7.

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COOKING WITH KHRUSHCHEV

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RECIPES FOR A NEW SOVIET LIFE

by Eric Duskin

New Repast subscriber Eric Duskin is Associate Professor of History at Christopher Newport University in Newport News, VA. He has a Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan and he has lived and worked in Moscow, Russia; Almaty, Kazakhstan; and Samarkand, Uzbekistan. While teaching at a university in Samarkand, Prof. Duskin became co-owner of a small café that specialized in the preparation of Russian and Ukrainian cuisine.

The Soviet Union's first mass-produced cookbook, *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food*, was intended to help usher the Soviet people into a glorious world of communist abundance and equality. In the 1950s and 1960s, when many Soviet citizens moved into new, single-family apartments, millions of copies of *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* found a place in people's kitchens. This popular cookbook became a key resource for mid-20th-Century Soviet homemakers by offering advice on kitchen organization and meal planning, explaining how to cook with new, industrially produced foods, and providing recipes for a distinctive Soviet cuisine.

The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food was a lavishly illustrated 400-page collection of recipes and domestic advice that had first appeared in 1939. The prewar and abbreviated wartime editions of the cookbook were printed in limited numbers, because they were intended only for the members of Joseph Stalin's elite who had their own kitchens and access to a variety of foods. A large, illustrated version of the cookbook was reissued in 1952, but, with the 1955 edition, the government printed an unprecedented one million copies and began establishing The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food as a kitchen manual for all Soviet families. Eventually, many millions of copies of The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food would be published and sold to average Soviet families as they moved into the new apartments the government was building for them.

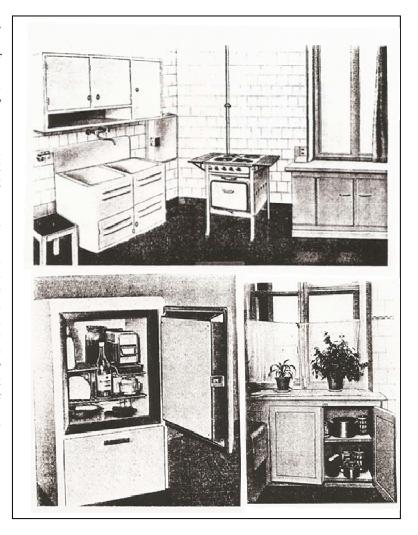
At right, the Soviet kitchen as depicted in *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* (1955 printing)

The Rise of the Single-Family Kitchen

Nikita Khrushchev, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1953-1964), launched a landmark campaign to build new housing for the people of the USSR in the 1950s because he believed that providing every family with its own personal apartment (and kitchen) would lay the foundation for a classless, communist society. In 1957 Khrushchev announced a grand program to construct thousands of new apartment buildings with millions of single-family units, and in short order many Soviet families began moving into their first-ever singlefamily apartment.2 Under Stalin, in the 1930s, it had been common for city residents to live in overcrowded communal apartments where several families had to share one kitchen and one bathroom. Wartime destruction in the 1940s made a bad housing situation even worse. Frequent food shortages and the constant struggle with the other tenants for time and space in the kitchen had made cooking in communal dwellings difficult, at

The 1950s promised better times for nearly everyone in the Soviet Union as Stalinist terror ended and new housing and more food gradually became available.³ The Khrushchev regime published *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* in this period to provide common Soviet citizens with a guide to life in their new single-family apartments. The cookbook begins with several

continued on next page



SOVIET COOKBOOK continued from page 11

lifestyle chapters, including "Choosing Food for Lunch, Breakfast, and Supper", "Setting the Table", and "The Kitchen". The chapter on kitchens includes an explanation of how kitchens should be laid out, along with several illustrations that are meant to depict the standard for a modern Soviet kitchen. Such kitchens were to have a four-burner stove, a double sink, several cupboards filled with an abundance of kitchen equipment, and a refrigerator/freezer.⁴ Compared to the cooking space in most communal housing, the modest kitchen depicted in the book, which was similar to what was actually being built, must have seemed almost ideal.

The chapter on kitchens also includes a long list of cooking paraphernalia that readers were told should be stored in a standard kitchen, including colanders, sieves, cheese and vegetable graters, *pirogi*-makers, and a coffee grinder (presumably for spices, since coffee beans were rarely sold), and it contains an even longer list of provisions that should always be present in a kitchen, such as flour, dairy products, sugar, bread, cheese, eggs, and various fruits and vegetables. As described and depicted in the cookbook, the modern Soviet kitchen was to be a place where homemakers would be able to easily prepare a wide variety of meals for their families. But reality fell short of this ideal. Regularly finding all the provisions listed would have been difficult for Soviet homemakers in the 1950s and 1960s.

Using Canned and Processed Foods

Another signature feature of the cookbook was its emphasis on using canned and processed foods, which were still fairly new products for many Soviet homemakers in the 1950s.

The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food contains many hundreds of recipes, dozens of color illustrations, and numerous small black-and-white illustrations. The recipes are divided into a dozen chapters, such as "Cold Dishes and Zakuski [Appetizers]", "Fish", "Meat", "Beans, Peas, and Lentils", and "Sweet Foods". The pages with recipes generally have sidebars that provide details on the different varieties of a particular food. or how a food was raised or grown, or how a food was processed by the Soviet food industry. The book's contents (recipes, text, and illustrations) send a strong message about the importance of the Soviet food industry for every kitchen. This message can be found at the very beginning of the book. The cookbook's preface not only called upon Soviet homemakers to use the products of Soviet industry, but its pages were also bordered with illustrations of processed meats, canned fish, and canned fruits and vegetables.

The cookbook's more than 50 full-page color illustrations might be its most impressive feature. Most of these color illustrations depict industrially prepared foods. One sees mass-produced *pel'meni* (Siberian cheese- or meat-filled pasta), canned peas, bouillon cubes, canned fish, canned tomato juice, packaged cheeses, and canned corn. These eye-catching illustrations were probably meant to encourage Soviet homemakers to incorporate such products into their everyday diet. The recipes in the book also furthered the promotion of industrial foods by including them as ingredients. Soup recipes, for example, made use of canned vegetables, other recipes called



Canned Peas from *The Book of Tasty* and *Healthy Food* (1955 printing)

for canned fish, such as anchovies, and most of the baking recipes mention margarine as a substitute for butter.

Promoting industrially produced foods was certainly not confined to the Soviet culinary world in the 1950s. If any American cookbook from the 1950s corresponds to *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* in terms of its popularity and its effort to provide a broad range of recipes for the average homemaker, it is probably *The Joy of Cooking*. The 1953 edition, like *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food*, calls for processed foods to be a cooking staple. As one example, the 1953 edition of *The Joy of Cooking* devotes an entire section to the use of canned soups in meal preparation. That book also has a section devoted to frozen foods, and countless recipes that call for canned goods.⁵ In both the Soviet Union and the United States of the 1950s, use of industrially produced foods became inexorably tied to the very concepts of a modern kitchen and a modern homemaker.

Once, when I asked an elderly Soviet immigrant from Saratov, Russia, whom I met in a Russian grocery outside Washington, DC, if she remembered using *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* in the 1950s, she said that she had used it but quickly added, "We used it when we could find the ingredients. That was always the problem." Despite major improvements in people's standard of living in the Khrushchev era, difficulties persisted. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, various foods in urban areas periodically became hard to find and sometimes even

some basic foodstuffs became scarce. These food scarcities compelled many city-dwellers to supplement their diets with items grown in *dacha* (Summer house) gardens. However, the overall food situation in the 1950s and 1960s was vastly improved over previous decades, and people in cities were primarily buying and eating food that was produced by Soviet food industries or imported from the communist countries of Eastern Europe and distributed through government channels to government retail shops. When people bought *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food*, they were buying a manual for preparing meals from the canned and processed foods that they could increasingly find stocked in Soviet stores.

A Palette Broader than Russia Itself

The selection of recipes for *The Book of Tasty and Healthy* Food was part of a longstanding government effort to create a Soviet cuisine that combined the foods of the many nationalities living in the Soviet Union. In the 1920s and 1930s, Soviet authorities had made a point of including foods from different national groups in the menus they established for workplace cafeterias and restaurants.6 As more and more families moved into new apartments and purchased The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food in the 1950s, many homemakers gained first-time access to recipes for dishes from distant regions and countries. There had been some excellent prerevolutionary Russian cookbooks that had also included recipes from many non-Russian cuisines, but most working-class families in the mid-20th-Century Soviet Union would have never seen those cookbooks. Their publication had long been banned, and most people in the country had learned to read only after the revolution. The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food became many people's first cookbook. This was the cookbook that taught many in the USSR how to prepare foods that they had previously encountered only outside the home or that they might never have eaten before.

Along with Russian favorites, such as blini (crepes folded over a variety of fillings, such as sweetened cheese or caviar), shchi (cabbage soup), and beef stroganoff, the cookbook includes recipes for many dishes from non-Russian people and parts of the Soviet Union, such as Uzbek plov (a rice, vegetable, and lamb pilaf), Georgian kharcho (beef and walnut soup), Ukrainian borshch, Jewish or Polish babka (cake), and shashlyk (spicy, marinated shish kebab) from the Caucasus region.⁷ The cookbook also includes foods from outside the Soviet Union. The influence of French cuisine, for example, can be seen in the recipes for soufflés, omelets, and tortes, among other things, and it is possible that American preferences influenced the decision to include instructions for making macaroni and cheese and preparing chocolate milk.8 In addition, the Soviet food industry was mass-producing many ingredients of foreign origin, such as ketchup, tomato sauce, and mayonnaise, and these items were incorporated into many of the book's recipes.

The cookbook's many hundreds of recipes and meal recommendations are generally easy to prepare (so long as the ingredients are available). *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* was intended for everyday use, and it was hoped that the meals prepared from its recipes would be regularly served in most people's homes. The Khrushchev regime wanted everyone in the Soviet Union to claim the cookbook's recipes as their own. All the recipes in the cookbook, taken together, were meant to establish a distinctive and standardized Soviet cuisine in which

the foods of many different cultures would become part of everyone's diet.

The history of Soviet cookbook publishing in the 1950s reflects the Soviet leadership's rather contradictory approach to nationalism. On the one hand, the Soviet government wanted people to be proud of their national heritage, and it provided many national groups with ways to preserve and promote their languages and cultures. This somewhat pro-nationalist orientation was one reason why the USSR was maintained as a collection of different national republics. Yet, Soviet authorities also believed that building a communist society required people to supplant separate national identities with an identity that was based on socialism and loyalty to the Soviet state. The government demanded loyalty. Anyone suspected of lacking support for socialism or the USSR could expect arrest and persecution.

Cookbook publishing in the 1950s reflected this policy dichotomy. Khrushchev approved the publication of cookbooks that focused on particular national cuisines as a way of promoting national cultures, but *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* was privileged as the only cookbook with large press runs and wide distribution. People were not persecuted for their dietary choices, but it was hoped that the multi-national cuisine and industrially produced foods promoted in the cookbook's pages would facilitate a shift from traditional, national diets to the government's notion of a Soviet cuisine. In other words, it might be fair to say that the families who regularly prepared and ate the foods found in *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food* would be, from the government's perspective, embracing a truly Soviet culinary culture.

Legacy

In the final analysis, Nikita Khrushchev's plan to build the foundation for an egalitarian, communist society by giving every family its own apartment and moving families towards a Soviet culture achieved far less success than the first secretary had hoped. While most everyone had been excited about having their own single-family apartment, many were not satisfied with their new Soviet homes. Complaints about the apartments' shoddy construction and small size were ubiquitous and well-founded. Likewise, most people never saw themselves primarily as Soviet citizens. People's sense of themselves as Georgians or Lithuanians or Russians or almost any of the other national groups that comprised the USSR ultimately proved to be people's strongest identity, and the Soviet Union would end its existence by being pulled apart along national lines.

Yet, this cookbook from a bygone Soviet era might still be influencing people's cooking. The effort to popularize foods from different nationalities gave people across the Soviet Union a common cultural element that outlasted the Soviet Union itself. In the years following *The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food*'s mass publication, people from all corners of the Soviet Union did come to like and eat many of the same foods and, today, many of the foods found in the cookbook remain popular. Praise for the Georgian foods found in the cookbook seems almost universal in the countries of the former Soviet Union and many other items from the book, such as mayonnaise-based salads, *shashlyk*, and Russian and Ukrainian soups, continue to be prepared in homes from the Baltic to Central Asia.

AROUND THE WORLD IN 27 COOKBOOKS

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TIME-LIFE'S "FOODS OF THE WORLD" SERIES

by Cynthia D. Bertelsen

Cynthia Bertelsen is a writer and nutritionist based in Blacksburg, VA, where she chaired the Peacock-Harper Culinary History Friends group at Virginia Tech. She has also been a member of the Southern Foodways Alliance and the Culinary Historians groups in Washington, New York, and Ann Arbor. Since 2008, Cindy has written an acclaimed weblog on food history and culture, Gherkins and Tomatoes (http://gherkinstomatoes.com). She contributed articles and columns to the Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America and several newspapers and magazines; her book Mushroom: A Global History was published in 2013 as part of the Edible Series from Reaktion Books. She served as a nutritionist and food consultant in Paraguay, Haiti, Honduras, Morocco, and Burkina Faso.

Once upon a time in America, a cook—depending upon his or her ethnic heritage, of course—thought an exotic recipe to be one calling for a small clove of garlic or a dash of soy sauce, if the local Mom-and-Pop grocery store even sold it. Arugula, forget it. Cilantro? Dried and sold in jars by the McCormick spice company. Hummus? Who eats dirt, huh?

Fifty years ago, or even 40 years ago, most Americans relished meat, potatoes, hamburgers, iceberg lettuce, and canned vegetables. Thanks in part to the home economics movement and cooking/nutrition classes for immigrant women, American cooking became quite homogenous from the late 1800s until the 1930s. Carolyn M. Goldstein, who has provided a good survey of the domestic science/home economics movement, summed up: "In the place of traditional ethnic foodways, they [home economists] held up New England Yankee cookery as the cultural ideal that would elevate foreigners— as well as African Americans and Native Americans— to a higher standard of living and thereby transform them into true Americans."

All that has changed. What happened?

Culinary historians offer many explanations for why and how the American food revolution occurred: the popularity of Julia Child's *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, young Americans'

Volumes in the "Foods of the World" Series

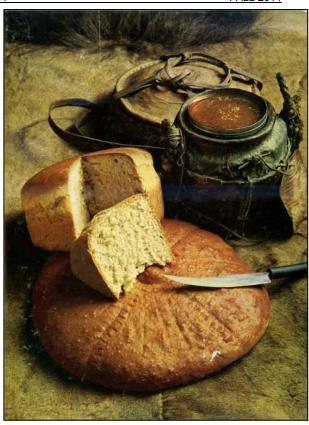
- African Cooking (Laurens van der Post, 1971)
- American Cooking (Dale Brown, 1968)
- American Cooking: Creole and Acadian (Peter S. Feibleman, 1971)
- American Cooking: The Eastern Heartland (Jose Wilson, 1971)
- American Cooking: The Great West (Jonathan Leonard Norton, 1971)
- American Cooking: The Melting Pot (James P. Shenton, Angelo Pellegrini, Dale Brown, Israel Shenker, Peter Wood, 1971)
- American Cooking: New England (Jonathan Norton Leonard, 1970)
- American Cooking: The Northwest (Dale Brown, 1970)
- American Cooking: Southern Style (Eugene Walter, 1971)
- Cooking of the British Isles (Adrian Bailey, 1969)
- Cooking of the Caribbean Islands (Linda Wolfe, 1970)
- Cooking of China (Emily Hahn, 1968)
- Classic French Cooking (Craig Claiborne, Pierre Franey, 1970)
- Cooking of Provincial France (M. F. K. Fisher, 1968)
- Cooking of Germany (Nika Standen Hazelton, 1969)
- Cooking of India (Santha Rama Rau, 1969)
- Cooking of Italy (Waverly Root, 1968)
- Cooking of Japan (Rafael Steinberg, 1969)
- Latin American Cooking (Jonathan Norton Leonard, 1971)
- Middle Eastern Cooking (Harry G. Nickles, 1969)
- Pacific and Southeast Asian Cooking (Rafael Steinberg, 1968)
- Quintet of Cuisines (Michael and Frances Field, 1970)
- Russian Cooking (Helen and George Papashvly, 1969)
- Cooking of Scandinavia (Dale Brown, 1968)
- Cooking of Spain and Portugal (Peter S. Feibleman, 1969)
- Cooking of Vienna's Empire (Joseph Wechsberg, 1968)
- Wines and Spirits (Alec Waugh, 1968).

participation in the Peace Corps, the influence of the 1960s counterculture movement, the influx of immigrants from Asia and Latin America, the Vietnam War, the burgeoning impact of television and other media, and the increasing affluence that gave middle-class Americans the freedom to travel and to buy specialty food products, activities once basically reserved for the very wealthy.

There were, of course, many other reasons for this bellwether change in American eating and cooking habits. One of the most significant phenomena underlying the change, as well as reflecting and symbolizing it, was the series of brilliantly-conceived cookbooks first published in 1968 by the Time-Life Corporation, the "Foods of the World", commonly known as the Time-Life Cookbooks. Prior to their appearance, American cooks could find the occasional ethnic cookbook, such as Gloria Bley Miller's *A Thousand Recipe Chinese Cookbook* (1966), and *The Art of Mexican Cooking* (1965) by Jan Aaron and Georgine Sachs Salom. The Foods of the World series sold over 500,000 subscriptions, bringing the world's food to American tables.



Covers of the volumes on the Pacific & Southeast Asia (left) and Africa (right)



These popular cookbooks emerged in a time of great social ferment, yet the strongest spice in the kitchens of most Americans was black pepper— and not too much of it, thank you. In addition, there was ongoing and rampant prejudice against immigrant foods, most notably garlic, which were looked upon with suspicion. Usually, immigrants could not even find the food ingredients they longed for from their former homes, much less cook dishes such as *hummus* or *pho*.

Organizing the Project

Papers belonging to one of the main authors of the series, Dale Brown, offer insights into the origins of this groundbreaking series of cookbooks. The papers reside in Special Collections at the University of Michigan. A witty prospectus, dated May 2, 1966 and written by Richard William, "whom everyone called Dick", according to Brown, outlined the series in detail. William was the series director and loosely based his prospectus on "earlier memoranda on foods", from Jay Gold, Jeanne Lemmonier, Norton Wood, Stan Fillmore, Nancy Shuker, and Suzanne Massie.³

Offered initially through subscription for \$4.95 per volume, and later available in bookstores, these slim but lavishly-illustrated books, with their companion spiral-bound recipe booklets meant for kitchen use, took readers on a tour of the world in 27 volumes. Each book totaled 208 pages with text of 40,000 words, with sometimes stunning photographs taken by photographers hired for the project. Readers wishing for more indepth explanations of some ingredients and words could turn to the short glossaries located at the end of most of the books. The recipe indexes appeared both in English and in the languages associated with the various cuisines and countries, although most

of the people involved could not function well in any languages other than English and possibly some French.

A former pianist turned gourmet, Michael Field, headed up the editorial board. Over 40 people worked on each book, making the works truly cookbooks-by-committee. Writers such as Laurens van der Post, Santha Rama Rau, Dale Brown, Jonathan Norton Leonard, Joseph Wechsberg, Peter S. Feibleman, and Waverly Root contributed text and commentary. Writers and consultants worked together on the books, with consultants coming from the countries being written about. According to Nika Hazelton in "Because All Men Eat", the authors had no say about the recipes or illustrations; she knew this firsthand, as she wrote the volume *The Cooking of Germany*. The carefully selected kitchen staff in the Foods of the World kitchen extensively tested all of the 100 or so recipes found in each volume. John Clancy, a former short-order cook who had worked with James Beard, directed this recipe testing.

Each author received \$10,000 plus travel expenses, although he or she could not match the more upscale accommodations afforded to the photographers of the series, such as Richard Jeffrey, Eliot Elisofon, Matt Greene, Enrico Ferorelli, Anthony Blake, Mark Kauffman, and Brian Seed. With no royalties to pay, Time-Life made "one hell a lot of money" on the Foods of the World series, as Nika Hazelton so aptly put it.⁵

Launching the Series with Provincial France

No doubt because of the success of Julia Child's 1961 cookbook, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, and because French cuisine enjoyed a special place in American restaurant life, Time-Life's editorial team decided that the first volume in

TIME-LIFE SERIES continued from page 15

the series would be *The Cooking of Provincial France*, released early in 1968. Michael Field, the series editor, was also a notable Francophile and had written a composite review of three of the most important precursors to the Time-Life series for *The New York Review of Books* in 1965. Penned by one of the best writers the United States has ever produced, M. F. K. Fisher, *The Cooking of Provincial France* arrived to great fanfare. But savage reviews soon followed, written by a few of the then-big names in food writing.

In their reviews, New York Times food editor Craig Claiborne and curmudgeon food writer John Hess both seemed to reflect the idea of the unwashed masses who wouldn't know the difference between haute and low. Claiborne led the charge in a scathing review published on February 19, 1968, taking umbrage at some of the recipes selected for the volume. He quoted Fisher, saying "She has stated quite succinctly that 'Haute cuisine owes a great deal to true provincial cooking, but has very little in common with it,' an observation that seems to have escaped the notice of those in charge of recipe selection." Later, in a conversation with Nora Ephron about the review, "His face turned deep red, his fists clenched. He stood to pace the room. 'The misinformation! The inaccuracies in that book! I made a stack of notes thicker than the book itself on the errors in it. It's shameful!" Hess, in his review of the French version of the book, spent much time chortling about the reaction of Robert J. Courtine, whom Hess termed "France's most feared gastronomic critic". Courtine critiqued the French version with a number of footnotes, and slashed the text with observations like the following: "To recommend a great wine with Roquefort is grave error."8 Ephron also pulled no punches in her essay, "Critics in the World of the Rising Soufflé (Or Is It the Rising Meringue?)", pointing out some of the ludicrous goings-on behind the scenes.

Still, the American version of the first volume sold half a million copies in less than 18 months. One typical ad featured the headline, "The most heart-warming compliments you have ever received for your cooking can begin here in *The Cooking of Provincial France*". The same ad offered a deluxe Recipe File free with each purchase, and a free 64-page Kitchen Guide just for examining the book in a 10-day trial.

Craig Claiborne, despite all of his antagonistic innuendos aimed at Michael Field, soon cranked out his own volume in the Time-Life series, *Classic French Cooking*, with the help of his friend Pierre Franey. In a subsequent review, published in 1979, he said this about the series:

A prime example is the laudably ambitious Time-Life Foods of the World series. The recipes are interesting, well researched and authentic (except perhaps for the initial volume, dealing with the provincial foods of France, which is inaccurate in spirit).¹⁰

Another popular food writer of the time, Poppy Cannon, gushed with enthusiasm over the much-maligned first volume.¹¹

In addition, as Nika Hazelton surmised in her perceptive 1971 essay for the *New York Times*, the Time-Life Cookbooks series provided an example of mass culture at its best, even though "with so many people involved, so many egos in bloom,

intrigues flourished that would have made the Borgias' court blanch with envy." ¹²

Time-Life also added American cooking volumes to the series, enlisting the aid of stellar writers such as Eugene Walter, who wrote the entry *American Cooking: Southern Style*, and Peter S. Feibleman, who wrote *American Cooking: Creole and Acadian*.

Food-related companies mounted creative merchandising campaigns tied to the series. During Christmas season in 1978, Amana offered a free set of eight of the volumes with purchase of any of its electric ranges, trumpeting this as a "Once in a LIFE TIME offer".

Some Predictable Shortcomings

Nowadays it's easy to look at these cookbooks and cluck a bit about their occasional lack of authenticity. Given the state of food and grocery shopping in America at the time, the recipe developers faced great obstacles in developing recipes that approximated those of the cuisine in question. Take the case of *kecap manis* mentioned in *Pacific and Southeast Asian Cooking* (p. 106). In one of his books, James Oseland, the well-known current editor-in-chief of *Saveur* magazine, points out that while the Time-Life volume recommended making *kecap manis* by boiling soy sauce with palm sugar or brown sugar, nowadays people can buy it easily in almost any grocery store. ¹³

Most of the volumes were not written by people born and raised with the cuisines covered by the books. The "cookbook by committee" approach resulted in the books having a rather standard assembly-line look and feel. As Claiborne so loudly proclaimed, sometimes unfortunate recipe choices detracted from the overall achievements of the project. That few of the authors and others involved in the production of the books, other than the culinary consultants, could speak or read the languages in question was a failing that would most likely not happen if the series were to be produced today. The inability of the recipe developers to glean information from original sources cast a black mark against the books.

And the books could not be considered to be comprehensive by any means. The African volume— in itself a miracle at the time, given the short shrift given to African cuisine even today—lacked any mention of the cuisine of the Sahelian countries of Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Chad. Paul Freedman, in his talk at the 2012 Cookbook Conference in New York, stated emphatically that few people likely cooked from the African volume, basing his comments on the stains he saw in his mother's more heavily used of these cookbooks. ¹⁴ And that might well be so, even though most of the recipes in the African volume entailed a minimum of ingredients or preparation techniques that were unfamiliar to Western cooks. Jeffrey Alford, co-author of several cookbooks including *Beyond the Great Wall* and *Mangoes & Curry Leaves*, commented:

The one I most remember was the Africa book, written by Laurens van der Post. He was absolutely not a "food person", but it was written in a very loving and appreciative (albeit slightly colonial) way. And that was 42 years ago. What those books did, for me, was to widen the scope of the cookbook world.¹⁵

Nika Hazelton was fair when she said that the series cookbooks are best seen as

travelogues into culinary fairylands, where food is always interesting, appetizing, fresh, well-cooked, and well-served. They remind me of Disneyland: charming and often irresistible combinations of nostalgia and phantasy, where all is the way we would like it to be, with no nasty surprises lurking around dirty corners.¹⁶

A Lasting Influence

However flawed these books were believed to be by some figures in the food establishment, not only did housewives and others with a fascination for cooking take to them, but cooking teachers and hostesses also relied on the series, spreading the word about the rich treasures to be found in cuisine from across the globe. Mrs. Edith Gilbert, a Chicago socialite who hosted up to 1,000 guests in her house in any given year in the 1970s, relied on the Foods of the World to provide her with ideas for theme parties and other events. The Lucille Gilman, the wife of a professor at Occidental College in Los Angeles, taught students how to cook and celebrated their graduation with the French Onion Soup recipe from *The Cooking of Provincial France*.

Memories surround these books, too, in a way not common to other cookbooks. That cooks used them, and heavily, becomes clear with the quickest of Google searches:

My mother had Cooking of Southeast Asia and the Pacific by Rafael Steinberg, and I remember that she used it for her Gourmet Club back in the 1970s. I recently looked at her spiral recipe book, and felt a tug at the heart when I saw all the splatters of sauce and grease on the pages. It's the kind of thing that would be gross if you saw it in a thrift store copy, but for me it was a visceral bridge to a time when my mom was whipping up dishes wrapped in banana leaves in a Colorado college town.¹⁹

As with any classic, the Foods of the World series left a legacy and influenced a number of future writers, including Kathleen Flinn, Andrea Nguyen, and John Martin Taylor, among others. On his blog, "Hoppin' John's", John Martin Taylor, a popular food writer and cookbook author, told a story of how the Foods of the World series affected him:

But the Time-Life book, one of the first in the series, made me yearn to go to France, and Mark Kaufman's photos of the people, the markets, the villages, and the techniques were both intriguing and instructional in ways that no other cookbooks had been for me. The photo of four-year-old Jean-Baptiste Goethals, eating a sandwich of buttered bread topped with radishes, was a revelation to me. People eat radishes on sandwiches? With butter? I immediately began eating them, much to the astonishment of my roommates at the University of Georgia.²⁰

True, many younger cooks and chefs have never heard of the Time-Life cookbooks. That is a pity, for some of the recipes are timeless, such as the pizza sauce in the Italy volume and the Cuban black bean soup in the Caribbean book. But word is getting out. The series has even inspired a discussion board, "The Foods of the World Forums" (http://foodsoftheworld.activeboards.net/). Several used-book



Photo of a street vendor of $f\bar{u}l$, the Egyptian national dish of stewed fava beans, from *Middle Eastern Cooking* (Time-Life, 1969).

sites, including Amazon.com, sell copies of these out-of-print books.

M. F. K. Fisher perhaps summed up best, albeit inadvertently, just why Time-Life's Foods of the World should be consulted now, decades after their publication:

There are many of us who cannot but feel dismal about the future of various cultures. Often it is hard not to agree that we are becoming culinary nitwits, dependent upon fast foods and mass kitchens and megavitamins for our basically rotten nourishment.²¹

These cookbooks served as windows into culinary ethnography, describing traditional dishes that even at the time were in danger of being forgotten or ignored. Take beaver and skunk and possum, all mentioned in dialect in Eugene Walter's book on Southern cooking. In a discussion of soul food, a Southern preacher named Witherspoon enlightened Walter on the niceties of cooking these different meats:

Well, you take your dead 'possum and put it in the ashes, don' mind the smell of fur burnin', and you hol' his tail and turn him in those ashes. Then you scrape all the hair off and take him out back under the chinaberry tree and clean him well, you have to cut the glands out from under the arm. ... Nothin' finer on earth.²²

The initial allure of these cookbooks lay in their partly subliminal association with upper-class strivings, travel, exotic places, and fantasy, as well as the desire of the authors and publisher to educate readers. But more than that, they opened the doors to the greater world, to a place and state of mind that encouraged acceptance of The Other, making a place at the table, as it were— for everyone, regardless of politics, race, creed, or national origins.

I consider the foregoing only a beginning assessment of the significance of the Time-Life books. The full impact of the series needs, I believe, to be examined in greater detail, perhaps in a doctoral dissertation dealing with the growing acceptance of ethnic food in conjunction with the rapid changes in society that occurred in the 1960s and afterwards.

Endnotes and references for this article are on page 2.

MICHIGAN: FEEDING ITSELF AND THE NATION

Are all 50 states so generous in their culinary gifts to the world— or is Michigan truly a hallowed ground when it comes to food traditions and food products? That was among the questions that danced in our heads at the CHAA "Feeding Michigan" participatory theme meal, held last July 20 at the Ladies' Literary Club in Ypsilanti. There, 30 members and friends of the Culinary Historians gathered themselves and their carefully prepared dishes that chronicled the colorful culinary history of our state. We have member Phil Zaret to thank for organizing the meal, and others such as facility caretaker Susie Andrews for all of their help.

Like time travelers riding a magic carpet across centuries, at this one meal we got to taste bits and morsels of the food customs of the original Indian natives; the earliest arrivals from France, Britain, Germany, and Holland; the later waves of urban and industrial immigrants; and purveyors whose products have become famous, from Kellogg's Cereal to Jiffy Mix.

In the summary that follows, we shamelessly "toot our own horn" and celebrate the grand parade of culinary history from our Wolverine State.

Native Foods

Long before the arrival of Europeans, the Great Lakes region was a cornucopia of food abundance. The Sauk, Potawotomi, Odawa, and Ojibwa were the main settled tribes of Native Americans in Michigan (a term derived from *mishigamaa*, Ojibwa for "large lake"). Their dietary staples were corn, beans, and squash, which they called "the three sisters". Beans and corn were cultivated in alternating rows, with the cornstalks acting as bean-poles. What we today call pinto, Great Northern, Navy, kidney, and black beans were all being grown by Great Lakes tribes prior to European contact. They baked beans in clay pots that were lowered into pits covered with hot ashes. There were two dishes at our meal that featured corn kernels (we cover the bean dishes further below):

- fried corn [contributed by Sherry Sundling]. Sherry used a recipe from her paternal grandmother, who moved to Michigan from Indiana.
- baked corn pudding [Gwen and John Nystuen]. Gwen used a recipe from *James McNair's Corn Cookbook* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1990) incorporating fresh corn, butter, cream, and eggs.

Alongside the good earth itself, the waters and shorelines provided the natives with a second food bounty, including lake whitefish, lake trout, walleye, turtle, loon, and muskrat (in Ojibwa, adikameg, namegos, ogaa, mi-zhee-kay', maangwag, and wazhushk', respectively). We sampled an appetizer of smoked

whitefish dip in wonton wrappers [Bob and Marcella Zorn]. Whitefish is still the key focus of the fishing, and fish hatching, carried out by tribes in northern Michigan; the activities are protected by treaties dating back to 1836. Today, whitefish accounts for more than 90% of the value of commercial fishing in the Great Lakes.

Every Fall, tribal families harvested wild rice (Ojibwa *manoomin*, "food that grows in the water") from canoes maneuvered along lakeshore plots. Like corn and beans, the rice was easily dried for use in the Winter. Sugar was also produced along family lines: in Spring at the family "sugar bush", the trunks of maples and birches were gashed, and the sap was gathered in wooden troughs or birch-bark baskets, then concentrated by boiling or freezing. The syrup and sugar kept well and were used as basic seasoning ingredients in cooking. Also sometimes used for seasoning were pine needles, which are spicy, and coltsfoot-leaf ashes, which have a salty taste.¹

Maple sugaring, wild rice harvesting, lake fishing, preparations of corn, beans, or squash— these and many other native food techniques would later be adapted by European settlers. Back in Europe, the New World bean alone revolutionized peasant livelihoods and led to a population explosion.

The French Legacy

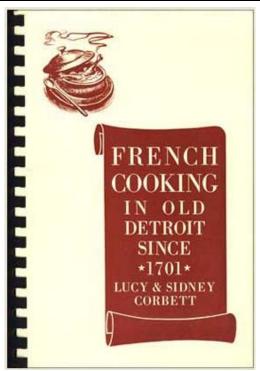
The first Europeans to settle in our region were French missionaries, fur trappers, traders, and farmers. Michigan was part of the French province of Louisiana from 1682 until 1762, when Britain defeated France in the French and Indian War and the region fell under British control. It was the French who introduced metal cookery implements to the Great Lakes area, such as knives, spiders, griddles, and Dutch ovens. Some of these settlers were able to reproduce classic French dishes on Michigan tables, including $coq\ au\ vin,\ b\alpha uf\ \grave{a}\ la\ bourgignonne$, and the bean stew cassoulet.

In 1701 Antoine Cadillac, a French army officer and former fur trapper, founded Fort Pontchartrain du Détroit, a fortified furtrading settlement that evolved into the city of Detroit. Along with Sault Sainte Marie in the Upper Peninsula (U.P.), Detroit was one of the earliest European habitations west of the Appalachians. The land surrounding the fort was subdivided into family-owned farms, typically ribbons 3 by 40 acres, with 3 acres fronting the Detroit River. Today's Belle Isle, in the middle of the river, was called Île aux Cochons (Hog Island) by the French because of all the pigs they kept there. Local game had long been depleted by earlier Indian settlers, but the French farmers were able to raise pigs and other animals, and fish were still plentiful. Besides producing pork, beef, mutton, grains, and legumes, these wealthy farmers were experts with fruit, harvesting European-style orchard fruits (apple, pear, peach and, after 1793, cherry) as well as native wild berries (blueberry and cranberry).

Significant French-speaking populations survived into the late 1800s in Detroit and in certain outlying communities such as French Town (Monroe).

Howard Ando and Jane Wilkinson prepared three dishes representing the prosperous French heritage in Detroit:

 a Michigan Summer fruit salad of peaches, cherries, and blueberries.



- bœuf à la bourgignonne, the classic Burgundian ovenbaked stew. It was made with beef chuck that was marinated in red wine, and with onion, garlic, and carrots that were sautéed in bacon fat. A sauce was reduced from beef stock and cognac, and the dish was garnished with baby onions and mushrooms.
- black walnut cake, made from "an old farm recipe" in Lucy and Sidney Corbett's *French Cooking in Old Detroit Since 1701* (Detroit: Wayne Univ. Press, 1951). The cake has a cream butter frosting on the outside and between the layers.

For the more working-class descendants of the French fur traders, many of whom intermarried with native peoples, the typical foods included leavened bread loaves; maple syrup; bouillon (a soup made with peas, beans, or corn, and flavored with salt pork); patat et pois, a dish of new potatoes and peas served in a milk-flour gravy; meat and vegetable stews called fricassées; meat-balls, -dumplings, and -pies, called respectively boulettes, glissances, and tourtières, which were often smothered in gravy; boudin sausage; and fish and other aquatic creatures such as duck, turtle, frogs' legs, and muskrat, which were often served with wild rice.²

At our meal, a dish representing this more humble French heritage was Detroit fish pudding [Robin Watson], a fish pie from Lucy and Sidney Corbett's book mentioned above. Robin used whitefish, onion, rice, and hard-cooked eggs in her pie, and served it with a hot cheese sauce made from cheddar, mayonnaise, and sour cream.

Foodways for a New State

A surge in white settlement and commerce in southern Michigan followed the completion of the Erie Canal during 1823-25, and the construction, between 1824 and 1835, of the Chicago Road (now Michigan Avenue) from Detroit to Chicago, which followed an old Sauk trail. Among the towns in southern

Michigan founded in 1823-29 were Northville, Plymouth, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Tecumseh, Adrian, Jackson, and Niles. Settlers were streaming in from eastern states like New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, as well as from closer lands in Ohio and Indiana. Recognizing this growth, the U.S. government admitted Michigan as a state in 1837.

These farmers, mechanics, and other new inhabitants had carried along with them the customs of their former regions. Thus, the foods of the new state were a synthesis of Anglo-American, European, and Native American. Staple foodstuffs included pork and beef, dairy products, potatoes, beans, bread and other goods baked from wheat or corn, and white sugar and molasses.

Among the pork recipes at our meal:

- potato sausage [Sherry Sundling], homemade with potato, pork butt, beef chuck, onion, and spices, put through a grinder and stuffed into casings. Sherry used a 19th-Century family recipe from her paternal grandmother, mentioned above.
- roast pork loin with a stuffing of pork sausage, dried cherry, and wild rice [Rita Goss and Morris Friedman], based on a recipe from *Midwest Living* magazine.
- Aunt Delia's Old-Fashioned Baked Beans [Susan Bishop], a recipe from the Michigan Bean Commission that uses Navy beans, pork, onion, sugar, dry mustard, catsup, and salt. The more famous Boston Baked Beans are sweetened with molasses, a side-product of Caribbean sugar production that became plentiful in New England in the 1700s when it began to be imported to distill into rum. By contrast, in Michigan the sweetener used is generally white or brown sugar. While Susan oven-baked her dish in a bean-pot, across America today "baked beans" are most often boiled in a stove-pot.

Michigan led the U.S. in dry bean production for more than a century, from the mid-1800s until the 1990s, when we were overtaken by North Dakota. The industry is centered in the state's Thumb region, and an annual Michigan Bean Festival is held there in the town of Fairgrove. It's believed that the term "Navy bean" was first applied after Commodore Perry's campaign on Lake Erie during the War of 1812, in which the dry beans were an easily-stowed source of protein. Later, when the Civil War greatly spurred the American canning industry, bean production boomed. Michigan still produces white beans such as Navy and Great Northern, but where the state leads the nation is in the production of black beans, cranberry beans, and small red beans, most of which are exported to Mexico and other countries. There were two other bean dishes at our meal:

- sweet apple/ bean bake [Fran Lyman] made with Randall's Great Northern Beans, diced apples sautéed in butter, white and brown sugar, catsup, and small amounts of molasses and cinnamon. Randall Beans, a product line sold in glass jars and ready to eat, grew out of a Randall family tradition of bringing jars of home-cooked beans on hunting trips. The firm was founded in 1876 in Tekonsha, MI (toward Battle Creek).
- Michigan Navy Bean Soup [Judy Steeh], which had become a daily fixture in the Dining Room of the U. S. Senate by the first decade of the 1900s. The canonical

continued on next page

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ingredients for this famous Senate Bean Soup were specified in a 1967 memo from the Architect of the Capitol to the Librarian of the Senate: Michigan Navy Beans, smoked ham hocks, onion, butter, salt, and pepper (milk or cream being notable by their absence). Judy didn't want to be censured by the U. S. Senate, so she followed that ingredient list scrupulously, with Navy beans from the town of Pigeon (in the Thumb) and ham hocks from Ernst Farm (southwest of Ann Arbor).

Three baked goods at our meal also reflect such older Michigan traditions:

- cottage cheese dill bread [Phil and Barbara Zaret], adapted from Carole Eberly's *Michigan Cooking... and Other Things* (self-published, Lansing, MI, 1977).
- rhubarb coffee cake [Nancy Sannar], using a recipe from Omena Shores Bed and Breakfast, which is located in a renovated 1852 barn in the Leelanau Peninsula. Today, Michigan stands third in the nation in rhubarb production. Nancy served the cake with Guernsey ice cream, made at the family-owned Guernsey Farms Dairy (Northville, MI, est. 1940).
- cherry buttercrumb pie [Pam Dishman], made with fresh tart cherries from Michigan. Today, our state produces about 20% of all sweet and 75% of all tart cherries in the U.S. The sandy soil and protective lake effect have made northwestern Michigan an ideal region for growing Montmorency and other tart cherries, beginning in 1852. The annual National Cherry Festival in Traverse City dates to 1925.

The Univ. of Michigan Special Collections Library owns period Michigan cookbooks collected by CHAA founding members Jan and Dan Longone, such as:

- the earliest-known cookbook from Michigan, by M. Miller, The Western Artist: Comprising Upwards of 300 Choice Recipes (Detroit, 1845).
- the earliest-known African-American cookbook from anywhere, by Malinda Russell, *A Domestic Cookbook* (Paw Paw, MI, 1866), the only surviving copy known.

Enriched by Immigrants

In the 1840s, large numbers of immigrants began to arrive in Michigan, mostly from Europe (led by Germans and Irish) with smaller numbers from East Asia. The high tide of immigration, for the state and for the country as a whole, occurred in the years around the turn of the century. Many of these families supplied farmers in the Saginaw Bay/Thumb area and in the western part of the state, miners and lumber workers in Northern Michigan, and proletarians in the automotive industry around Detroit.

Organic pork bratwurst [brought by Gwen and John Nystuen] represents our extensive German heritage, which is still visible all over Michigan. In the Saginaw Bay/Thumb area more than a century ago, Germans established successful businesses where they grew sugar beets on land that had been cleared by lumber companies, and they raised vegetables, orchids, and other produce in greenhouses. The sugar beet production was based largely on immigrant laborers from Poland and Mexico, representing some of the state's earliest major influxes of those

ethnic groups. The largest greenhouses in the state, totaling 250,000 square feet before their sale in 1922, were those of German immigrant Otto Roethke's family in Saginaw. His son, Theodore Roethke, attended the Univ. of Michigan and became an internationally-known poet whose works included a series of poems recollecting his boyhood years working in the family greenhouses.³

Dutch farmers in western Michigan used their experience from the Netherlands to drain marshes around Lake Michigan, turning the black muck into rich bottomland for the truck farming of ground crops such as celery, onion, carrot, and potato. These dishes express their legacy:

- celery pasta salad [Phil and Barbara Zaret], made with rotelle pasta, sliced celery, corn kernels, red bell pepper, deli ham, and vinaigrette, and decorated with stalks of celery. The recipe is from the Michigan Celery Promotion Co-operative based in Hudsonville, MI, a town where 55% of adults consider Dutch as their primary ancestry. The Dutch farmers in this area near Kalamazoo founded a booming local industry when they began growing and marketing celery in the 1850s. By the turn of the century, vast fields of cultivated celery surrounded Kalamazoo. The local variety was partly shielded from the sun to achieve a white or yellow color and a sweet, non-bitter taste. This fine "table celery" was considered a delicacy and a health restorative, shipped by rail across the country. Wealthy hostesses presented the vegetable to their guests in diningtable vases and other dishes designed specifically for this
- boerenkool [Randy Schwartz and Mariam Breed], a kale-potato mash with minced pork. The dish boerenkool (the word is Dutch for "kale", or literally "farmer's cabbage") is a particular variety of hutspot ("mash-pot"), a genre of potatoes mashed with another vegetable such as cabbage or carrot. Hutspot was originally a peasant tradition, and is now enjoyed as a comfort food and an emblem of Dutch identity on both sides of the Atlantic. Randy and Mariam used a recipe from a 31-page booklet lent by Jan Longone: Mrs. Rena Dieters, Hollandsche Kookerij Boek: A Book of Authentic Dutch Recipes Collected from the Dutch Housewives of Holland, Michigan (Holland, MI: Steketee-Van Huis Printing, 1936), which was used especially for sales to visitors at the annual Tulip Time Festival.⁴

In the 1840s, experienced immigrant miners from Cornwall, England, supervised the newly established deep-mining operations of copper and iron in the U.P., which by 1900 would lead the U.S. in extraction of those metals. Finnish immigrants began to settle in 1864 in the mining town of Calumet, in the U.P.'s northernmost Keweenaw Peninsula; by 1910, the small town included speakers of English, German, Italian, Hungarian, Finnish, Swedish, Croatian, Slovenian, and many other languages. Our U.P. dishes included:

• delicious cocktail-sized versions of the pasty [Laura and Dan Gillis]. The national dish of Cornwall, the pasty is a large, hearty, turnover-style baked pastry with a filling of meat and root vegetables in a pie-like suet crust. U.P. miners of all ethnic groups commonly took pasties into the mines as the main item in their lunch pails or sacks. The typical filling included diced beef and/or pork, onion, potato, and rutabaga.⁵



Above, Laura Gillis's cocktail-sized pasties

Norwegian rye bread and Swedish white bread [Sherry Sundling] were made with recipes from Sherry's mother-in-law's mother, Josephine Jensen Hansen, who emigrated from Norway to the U.P. before 1890. Both breads are made with lard and were served with whipped butter. The rye loaf becomes *limpa* with the addition of orange zest.

With the rise of the automotive and manufacturing industries after 1900, the Detroit region attracted masses of foreign-born workers. Working-class boarding houses sprang up in the city, each serving typically three meals daily for about 30 people, and ethnic grocery stores and butcher shops also proliferated. The districts of Poletown and Hamtramck (home of Kowalski Sausage) were populated overwhelmingly with working-class Poles. A 1939 WPA guide to Detroit noted that there were 35 different native languages spoken by students attending public schools in the city. The local fare of these immigrants included:

- *kapusta* [Marion Prinz Holt and Nick Holt], a Polish dish of braised sauerkraut, served with butter beans and *kielbasa* sausage.
- holubtsi [Sonia Manchek], a Ukrainian dish of stuffed cabbage. Sonia followed a recipe from her grandmother, an immigrant in the early 1900s. She wraps the leaves around a filling of rice, ground chuck, onion, green pepper, and celery, then bakes them in a tomato sauce and serves them with sour cream.
- kibbah bis-sayneeyah [Judy Steeh], a layered, baked Levantine casserole of ground lamb meat, fine-ground burghul (cracked wheat), pine nuts, and spices. The dish is cross-cut into diamond shapes for serving. Judy's paternal grandfather, Karam George Steeh, a Syrian Orthodox Christian born in Turkey in 1886, emigrated from Ottoman Beirut to New York City in 1906. There he met and married Dora Lappin, who was from Tripoli in what is now Lebanon. They moved to Mount Clemens, just north of Detroit, and established a successful grocery store. It was Dora's recipe that Judy used for the kibbah (pronounced "kibbee" by Lebanese). Growing up, her family frequently ate Lebanese fare such as kibbah, sfeehah (a small meat pie), koosah mihshee (squash stuffed with minced lamb), and mihshee waraq 'inab (grape leaves stuffed with minced lamb). Today, the Detroit area has the nation's largest concentration of Arab-American people.
- Coney hot dogs [Jan Arps], despite the name, are a distinctly Michigan ethnic tradition. Jan, drawing inspiration from a recent book by Katherine Yung and Joe

Grimm, Coney Detroit (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 2012), used authentic ingredients such as beef-pork hot dogs in natural casings (made by the Dearborn Sausage Co., founded in 1946 by European immigrant Victor Kosch), a tangy ground-beef chili topping, chopped raw onion, yellow mustard, and steamed buns. Possibly the earliest place to serve such a Coney-style hot dog was Mama Vicki's (also called Coney Island Lunch), established by a Greek immigrant in Port Huron, MI, in the late 1910s or early 1920s. From there, the phenomenon spread

to Detroit, Flint, Jackson, and other cities. Today, southeastern Michigan boasts hundreds of Coney eateries, mostly owned by people of Greek, Macedonian, or Albanian heritage, although there are also some Lebanese, Yemeni, and Korean owners.

In the early 1930s Detroit boasted of being the Potato Chip Capital of the World, with 22 companies, many of them started by immigrant street vendors. Two such vendors were the Italian partners Cross Moceri and Peter Cipriano, who kettle-cooked potato chips in a home kitchen and sold them outside of Detroit movie theaters. They went on to establish the Cross & Peters Company in 1930, which evolved into Better Made Potato Chips.

After World War 2, the Great Migration of African-Americans and other southerners further reshaped Michigan cookery. And with the 1966 relaxation of U.S. quotas on immigration from Asia, larger numbers began to arrive in our state from the Middle East, China, Korea, Japan, and the Indian subcontinent.

Big Business and Small

Several of our dishes paid homage to Michigan food businesses whose products have become— or in some cases have yet to become— famous on the regional, national, or international level:

- Corn Flake treats [Susan Bishop] are a simple candy made with Kellogg's Corn Flakes, butter, and hot sugar and corn syrup. Spoonfuls are dropped onto wax paper and allowed to cool. Kellogg's was founded as the Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Co. by health-foods promoter Will Keith Kellogg in 1906. By 1911, there were over 100 rival brands of corn flakes being produced just in Battle Creek, which is still known as the Cereal City.⁶
- apples baked with Faygo Redpop [Sherry Sundling] is a Weight Watchers confection from the 1970s. Michigan is third in the nation in apple production. The recipe also calls for brown sugar (or a low-calorie substitute), cinnamon, and currants. Faygo Beverages is a carbonated soft-drink company, founded as the Feigenson Brothers Bottling Works in Detroit in 1907 by Russian immigrant brothers Ben and Perry Feigenson. They were originally bakers, and their first beverage flavors— Grape, Strawberry (renamed Redpop in 1969), and Fruit Punch— were modeled after their cake frostings.
- blueberry buckle [Margaret Carney and Bill Walker] was made with a recipe calling for Jiffy Baking Mix, which has been produced since 1930 by the Chelsea Milling Co. of

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Chelsea, MI. The firm itself was founded in 1901 but has roots going back to the early 1800s. Michigan leads the nation in blueberry production.

- Vernor's Boston Cooler [Sherry Sundling] is a kind of sundae made with Vernor's Ginger Ale and scoops of vanilla ice cream, served in a tall glass. Vernor was founded by Detroit pharmacist James Vernor just after the Civil War. Its Boston Cooler was already becoming popular before World War 2, and Vernor's finally patented the name in 1970.8
- PB&J sandwiches [Rich Kato] were made with 8-grain bread from Zingerman's Bakehouse in Ann Arbor; Sweet Ella's organic peanut butter, made by the Koeze Co., a Grand Rapids firm founded by an 1880s immigrant from the Netherlands; and blackberry jam from Cooper Family, a tiny family firm making preserved-fruit spreads, founded in 1995 in Brethren, northern Michigan. A much larger spoon-fruit company, American Spoon, was founded further north in Petoskey, MI, in 1981.
- cheese and bread platter [Jan and Dan Longone] included bread from Zingerman's Bakehouse and three cheeses from Zingerman's Creamery: Aged Chelsea (goat), Manchester, and Great Lakes Cheshire (both cow). Milk and cheese make the dairy industry the most valuable segment of Michigan agriculture today. The famed Zingerman's Delicatessen, founded in Ann Arbor in 1982, is now the center of a community of nine local Zingerman's food businesses.

Currently, the food and agriculture sector accounts for 25% of Michigan's economy, and the state is second only to California in the diversity of its agriculture. Besides those mentioned above, other well-known food brands that arose in Michigan include Post cereals; the sausage firms Kowalski, Koegel, Thorn Apple Valley, and Ball Park Franks; Vlasic and McClure's pickles; Brede horseradish; Better Made potato chips; Kretschmer wheat germ; Pioneer and Big Chief refined white beet-sugars; Gerber and Enfamil baby foods; Pet-Ritz pie crust; La Choy, a leading purveyor of pre-packaged "American Chinese" foods; Germack pistachios; Sanders and Kilwin's candies; HoneyBaked Ham; Domino's and Little Caesar's pizzas; Eden organic foods; Al Dente pasta; Garden Fresh salsa; and Camacho tortilla chips.

Endnotes

- 1. More about the traditional Indian foods of our region can be found in *Repast*, Winter 2002, and in a new cookbook, *Mino Wiisinida ("Let's Eat Good!")* (Odanah, WI: Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, 2014).
- 2. For more on the French-colonial heritage in Michigan, see *Repast*, Winter 2004 and Spring 2007. For more on Detroit's culinary history, see Marguerite Humes et al., eds., *Celebrating 300 Years of Detroit Cooking, 1701-2001* (Detroit Historical Society Guild, 2002); and Bill Loomis, *Detroit's Delectable Past: Two Centuries of Frog Legs, Pigeon Pie and Drugstore Whiskey* (History Press, 2012).
- 3. For more on the German heritage, see Agnes Dikeman, "Depression-Era Cooking on a German-American Farm in Michigan", *Repast*, Spring 2007.
- 4. On Dutch-American food history in the Great Lakes region, see *Repast*, Summer 2014.
- 5. On pasties, see the essay by CHAA members Yvonne R. Lockwood and William Lockwood, "Pasties in Michigan's

- Upper Peninsula: Foodways, Interethnic Relations, and Regionalism", in Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge, eds., *The Taste of American Place: A Reader on Regional and Ethnic Foods* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), pp. 21-36; and Rachel Laudan's article, "From a Pasty in Cornwall to the Cornish Pasty", *Petits Propos Culinaires* 100 (Feb. 2014), pp. 150-159.
- 6. On Kellogg's and Post cereal history, see *Repast*, Summer 1995 and Spring 2009.
- 7. Cynthia Furlong Reynolds, *Jiffy: A Family Tradition, Mixing Business and Old-Fashioned Values* (Chelsea, MI: Chelsea Milling Co., 2008).
- 8. Keith D. Wunderlich, "A Concoction Aged by the Civil War: Vernor's is 'Detroit's Drink'", *Repast*, Winter 2013. During much of the 20th Century, several Detroit-based beverage companies (including Vernor's, Faygo, and the beers Stroh and Pfeiffer) benefited from a symbiotic relationship with local bottle distributor M. Jacob & Sons, founded in 1885 by Lithuanian immigrant Max Jacob. Together with the beverage companies, M. Jacob & Sons rose to national prominence. The firm, now operating globally but based in Farmington Hills, MI, was renamed MJS in 2014.

SOVIET COOKBOOK continued from page 13

Endnotes

- 1. The cookbook's early history is discussed in Edward Geist, "Cooking Bolshevik: Anatas Mikoian and the Making of *The Book about Delicious and Healthy Food*", *The Russian Review* 71 (Jan. 2012), pp. 2-20.
- 2. Discussions of Khrushchev's housing program can be found in Steven E. Harris, Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life after Stalin (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013); Mark B. Smith, Property of Communists: The Urban Housing Program from Stalin to Khrushchev (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 2010); and Blair A. Ruble, "From Khrushcheby to Korobki", in Russian Housing in the Modern Age: Design and Social History, eds. William Craft Brumfield and Blair A. Ruble (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993).
- 3. See G. I. Khanin, "The 1950s: The Triumph of the Soviet Economy", *Europe-Asia Studies* 55:8 (Dec. 2003), pp. 1196-1197.
- 4. The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food [Kniga o vkusnoi i zdorovoi pishche] (Moscow: Pishchepromizdat, 1955), pp. 33-38.
- 5. Irma S. Rombauer and Marion Rombauer Becker, *The Joy of Cooking* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), pp. 66, 269, 568, and 858-875.
- 6. For one example, the growing popularity of Georgian food across the Soviet Union is discussed in Erik R. Scott, "Edible Ethnicity: How Georgian Cuisine Conquered the Soviet Table", *Kritika* 13:4 (Fall 2012).
- 7. See pp. 88-89, 91, 99, 169, 173, 239, 280, and 322.
- 8. See pp. 242, 254-255, 258, 297-298, and 348-359.
- 9. An Uzbek cookbook published in 1957 is discussed in Glenn R. Mack, "Creating a Central Asian Cuisine for Uzbekistan", *Repast* 21:3 (Summer 2005), pp. 2, 7-10.
- 10. Complaints about Khrushchev-era apartments are documented in Harris, *Communism on Tomorrow Street*.

& TIDBITS MORSE

"Eat: The Story of Food", a new six-hour miniseries from the National Geographic Channel, will premiere on November 21. The filmmakers describe its focus as "the evolution of food over the course of humankind, from our ancestors throwing raw meat onto a fire for the first time, to teams of lab technicians perfecting the crunch of a potato chip. More important, it will show how this evolution of what we eat and how we eat it has actually defined human civilization and cultures around the globe." Culinary Historians of New York (CHNY) member Andrew F. Smith served as a consultant. For more about the miniseries, including associated books, educational materials, events, and exhibitions, see http://channel.nationalgeographic.com/channel/eat-the-storyof-food/.

After living in Ann Arbor for over 60 years, CHAA member Eleanor Hoag has moved from Michigan. A retired World History and Geography teacher at Pioneer High School, Eleanor joined our group in 2000. In September she wrote us, "Since I am now 91, I finally decided it was time to live closer to one of my children, so Haines, Alaska, where my daughter and granddaughter live, is my destination. I shall miss the CHAA meals and other gatherings in my new, very small, hometown."

Helen Zoe Veit, a Michigan State Univ. history professor who spoke to our group last May about food science and the rise of modern American eating during the Progressive Era, is the editor of a new book that came out in the Spring. In Food in the Civil War Era: The North (Michigan State Univ. Press), Veit uses extensive excerpts from five Civil War-era cookbooks and housekeepers' manuals to paint a portrait of cooking and eating habits in the urban north during this period.

Jennifer Jensen Wallach's How America Eats: A Social History of U.S. Food and Culture (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012), which shares its main title with Clementine Paddleford's seminal work from 1960, reveals as much about historical change as that earlier book revealed about regional difference. Wallach, a Univ. of North Texas historian specializing in African-American studies, makes a survey of the subject that is succinct, yet far outstrips the usual superficial treatments. First, she dispenses with the Thanksgiving myth and explores the English ambivalence toward indigenous foods such as corn and shellfish, and other disharmonies between the farmer-settlers and the native people. The emergence of a multiracial American

cuisine was hardly a smooth one; to African slaves, for example, cornmeal, the cornerstone of their imposed diet, was a hated symbol of their subjugation. Technological advances, from canals and railroads to canning, are seen to have shaped American taste as crucially as other, more obvious factors. A late chapter on "Food Habits and Racial Thinking" examines the role of the food industry in simultaneously stereotyping and expropriating the customs of Asian, Hispanic, African, and other people. The book also pays due attention to issues of politics and gender. Prof. Wallach was the recipient of the CHNY Scholar's Grant for 2013.

Rowman and Littlefield, just mentioned above, invites interested authors to submit book proposals for two new food history subseries within its Studies in Food and Gastronomy series. The two subseries are "On-Site Food Service, Catering and Concessions", exploring unusual places or situations that have their own signature dishes, repertoires, and modes of eating; and "The Historic Kitchen", exploring the kitchen scene in specific times and places important in the history of food. Each book will be 70,000-80,000 words, due 12-18 months after contract. For more information, contact series editor Ken Albala at kalbala@pacific.edu.

Zingerman's Food Tours is organizing its first trip to Hungary on May 18-28, 2015. Hungary has an incredibly rich and varied food tradition reaching back at least 1500 years, including an Eastern European Jewish influence. Hungarian guides and an experienced leader from Zingerman's will travel with 15 guests. For more info, see http://www.zingermansfoodtours.com/.

Upcoming conferences include:

- Nov. 29 Dec. 1, 2014, "Ferment The Evolution, Science, Practice and Philosophy of Modern Gastronomy" (Wellington, New Zealand), a joint meeting of the New Zealand Food History Society and the Australian Symposium of Gastronomy. For info, see http://nzfoodhistory.macmate.me/NZ Food History/Home. html.
- March 26-27, 2015, "First International Conference on Food History and Food Studies" (Tours, France), organized by the European Institute for the History and Cultures of Food (IEHCA). For info, http://www.iehca.eu/IEHCA v4/.

On September 26, the U.S. Postal Service issued "Celebrity Chefs", a series of five first-class stamps honoring 20th-Century American cooking professionals Edna Lewis, Felipe Rojas-Lombardi, Joyce Chen, James Beard, and Julia



Edna Lewis



Felipe Rojas-Lombardi



Joyce Chen



James Beard TOTELLE US



Julia Child

Child. A USPS statement said, in part, that the chefs had "revolutionized our understanding of food. Seeing cooking as a source of delight, they invited us to feast on regional and international flavors and were early but ardent champions of trends that many foodies now take for granted. As they shared their know-how, they encouraged us to undertake our own culinary adventures."

CHAA CALENDAR

(Unless otherwise noted, programs are scheduled for 4:00-6:00 p.m. and are held at Ann Arbor Senior Center, 1320 Baldwin Ave.)

Tuesday, Nov. 18, 2014
4:00-6:00 p.m., Univ. of Michigan Hatcher Library,
Room 100, The Gallery,
Jan Longone lectures about the exhibition,
"The Life and Death of *Gourmet* Magazine, 1941-2009".

Sunday, Nov. 23, 2014 4:00-7:00 p.m., Ladies' Literary Club (218 N. Washington Street, Ypsilanti, MI), Members-Only Participatory Theme Meal, "Global Comfort Food".

Sunday, Jan. 18, 2015
Amy Emberling,
Managing Partner of Zingerman's Bakehouse,
"Magyar Foodways — More than 1,000 Years
of Inspired Cooking".

Sunday, Feb. 15, 2015

"Helping the Honeybee", a panel discussion on the crisis in bee colonies, with three local beekeepers:

- Lisa Bashert, Ypsilanti Food Cooperative
- Germaine Smith, Tilian Farm, Ann Arbor
- Dick Dyer, Dyer Family Organic Farm, Ann Arbor.

Sunday, Mar. 15, 2015

Margaret Carney, Dir. of the Dinnerware Museum, "Anomalies and Curiosities of Dinnerware".

On the Back Burner: We welcome ideas and submissions from all readers of *Repast*, including for the following planned future theme-issues. Suggestions for future themes are also welcome.

- Spring 2015: Traditional Foods of Florida and Georgia
- Summer 2015: Reminiscences of Food Professionals
- Fall 2015: Restaurants and Menus.

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Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor

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