



VOLUME XXXIII, NUMBER 4 FALL 2017

Repast

Quarterly Publication of the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor

The Food Industry

Pages from History, Part 2

Underwood's ORIGINAL Deviled Ham
U. S. Gov. inspected. Plants and products passed with highest praise



“Branded
With The
Devil But
Fit For
The Gods.”

MADE FROM WHOLESOME HAMS FROM
SELECTED CORN FED WINTER KILLED
STOCK RAISED IN THE CORN BELT DISTRICT

**Every
HAM**

Microscopically inspected.
Smoked by ourselves with hickory
smoke.
Cured by ourselves with cane sugar.
Flavored by ourselves with pure spices.
Thoroughly cooked and sterilized twice
in the process.

The human hand touches the meat but once, when
it is cut from the pigs. Automatic machinery
does the rest in the SPOTLESS KITCHEN of the
OLDEST CANNING COMPANY IN AMERICA.

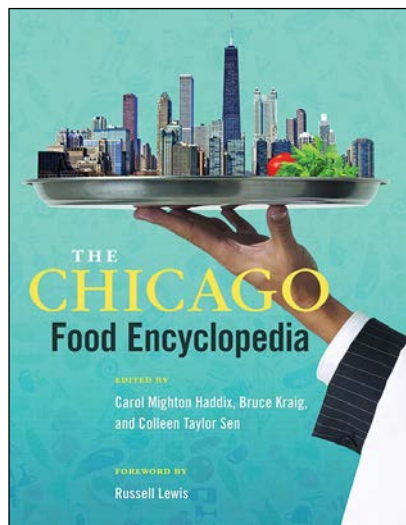
*It is deliciously appetizing and nourishing. Unequaled
for sandwiches at lunch, picnic, at tea or in the chafing-dish*
Sold by all first-class dealers. If your grocer does not sell it,
for his name and 15c. in stamps we will send you a ¼-lb. can.

WM. UNDERWOOD CO.
BOSTON, MASS.

Established 1822

Sharon Sundling
salutes
Underwood
Deviled Ham
on its 150th
anniversary,
page 5.

MORSELS & TIDBITS



Bruce Kraig (President Emeritus of the Culinary Historians of Chicago), **Carol Mighton Haddix**, and **Colleen Taylor Sen** were the editors for *The Chicago Food Encyclopedia* (Champaign, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2017; 344 pp.), an authoritative resource that documents the history of the city's food. In its 375

contributed entries and over 100 images, one can explore the impact of early settlements and mass migrations, and of near-

by farms and stockyards, roads, railroads and waterways, food companies and technologies, urban neighborhoods and markets, street vendors and lunch counters, legendary restaurants and restaurateurs, the evolution of dining trends, plus local specialties like shrimp DeJonghe, Jeppson's wormwood *schnapps*, the Greek gyro, the Puerto Rican *jibarito*, the Italian beef "sangwitch", deep-dish pizza, soul food, Korean pork belly, kosher *sushi*, atomic cake, and, of course, Polish *paczki*s. And don't forget another well-documented history, *Chicago: A Food Biography* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015; 340 pp.), written by two professors, **Daniel R. Block** (Chicago State Univ.) and **Howard B. Rosing** (DePaul Univ.).

The **Cranbrook Institute of Science** (Bloomfield Hills, MI) is presenting the traveling exhibit, "Chocolate", from Sep. 23, 2017 to Jan. 7, 2018. The exhibit was first created by the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago in 2002, and has been on the road ever since; an earlier version visited the Henry Ford Museum (Dearborn, MI) in 2008. The show explores the origins of chocolate among the Aztec and other peoples, the botany and harvesting of cacao, the history of its commodification and trade by Europeans, the culture surrounding chocolate in both indigenous and industrial societies, and the issue of sustainable cacao-growing and environmental protections.

CHAA member **Margaret Carney**, Director of Ann Arbor's International Museum of Dinnerware Design, presented two exhibits recently. "Barware" was at Morgan & York Fine Wines and Specialty Foods in Ann Arbor on Sep. 11 – Oct. 14, and "Timeless Dinnerware Design" was at this year's Sculpture Objects Functional Art and Design (SOFA) Fair at the Navy Pier in Chicago. While in Chicago, Dr. Carney presented a revised version of her talk "Anomalies & Curiosities of Dinnerware" at two venues—one for the SOFA audience at the Pier and one for the Culinary Historians of Chicago at Kendall College's School of Culinary Arts.

CHAA member **Amy Emberling** is co-author, with **Frank Carollo**, of *Zingerman's Bakehouse: The Cookbook* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2017; 240 pp.). Its publication this Fall coincides with the 25th anniversary of the Bakehouse itself. Amy and Frank, who are the bakery's longtime managing partners, have each given talks to CHAA and written articles for *Repast* about their lives and about baking. In addition to dozens of baking recipes for the home kitchen, the new book is packed with fun, detailed information about the two bakers' lives, the history of the Bakehouse, and lessons learned about running a business. So far, the two have done several signing events at various Zingerman's facilities; Amy spoke on Nov. 9 at the Jewish Community Center of Greater Ann Arbor; and the two will speak to CHAA in January (see Calendar on page 20).

NYFoodStory, the annual journal of the **Culinary Historians of New York** (CHNY), has switched to a digital-only platform with open access at <https://www.nyfoodstory.com>. The journal focuses on the past and present gastronomic life of New York City itself—its shifting trends in restaurants, changing dining etiquette, cutting-edge shops and innovative foods, and ever-changing ethnic markets. ■

Repast

ISSN 1552-8863

Published quarterly by the
Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor (CHAA)

<http://culinaryhistoriansannarbor.org/>

An archive is available at <http://cooks.aadl.org/cooks/repast>

Editor.....Randy K. Schwartz
CHAA Presidents.....Joanne Nesbit and Judy Steeh
CHAA Program Chair.....Laura Green Gillis
CHAA Treasurer.....Dan Longone
CHAA Membership SecretaryMarionette Cano
CHAA Website Editor.....Judy Steeh
CHAA Founder and Honorary President...Jan Longone



*The material contained in this publication is copyrighted.
Passages may be copied or quoted provided that the source is credited.*

For submissions or inquiries about *Repast*, contact:

Randy K. Schwartz
1044 Greenhills Drive
Ann Arbor, MI 48105-2722
tel. 734-662-5040
rschw45251@aol.com

Subscriptions are \$20/year. To subscribe to *Repast* or to become a CHAA member (which includes a subscription), contact one of our Co-Presidents:

M. Joanne Nesbit and Judy Steeh
tel: 734-213-2412 / 734-665-5813
a2culinaryhistorians@gmail.com

Or download a membership form from the web address given near the top of this box.

IN MEMORIAM



WILLIAM G. LOCKWOOD

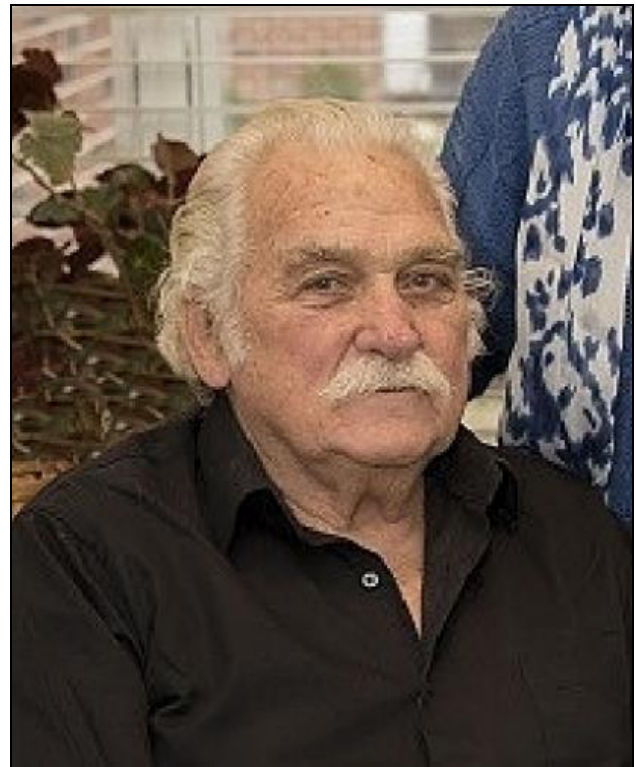
We were greatly saddened to hear of the recent passing of veteran CHAA member and Univ. of Michigan professor emeritus William G. Lockwood. He died unexpectedly at home on October 13 at age 84. Bill and his wife, Yvonne R. Lockwood, who survives him, were some of the earliest members of our organization after it was established in 1983 by Jan and Dan Longone and others. Well before that, they had joined the Grand Cru Winetasting Group that had been founded by Dan in the late 1960s. Bill also enjoyed mushrooming and beekeeping. The couple had lived in Grass Lake for many decades, and had relocated last year to Chelsea, MI.

Bill had a distinguished career as a cultural anthropologist and ethnographer at the Univ. of Michigan, where he was employed from 1969 to 1997. His work focused on immigrant and ethnic culture, including food culture, especially in Eastern Europe and the American Midwest. He observed and described how such cultures adapt to changed conditions and evolve over time, and how a self-conscious ethnic identity is formed among such groups. He often collaborated closely with Yvonne, who is of Finnish heritage from Michigan's Upper Peninsula and who recently retired from Michigan State Univ. as Curator of Folklife and Extension Specialist for the Michigan Traditional Arts Program. For more than three decades the two of them carried out extensive field research, and spoke and published widely, on regional and ethnic foodways in Eastern Europe and in the Midwest.

Bill was born in Long Beach, CA, in May 1933, and earned an A.B. degree in geology at Fresno State College in 1955. He married Yvonne soon thereafter, and served in the U.S. Army in 1957-59. In the 1960s he pursued studies and fieldwork in anthropology. The couple lived together in Bosnia in 1968-69 as Bill completed research for his doctoral degree, which was granted by the Univ. of California at Berkeley in 1970. At the Univ. of Michigan he specialized in the Balkans, Romany/Gypsy culture, ethnicity, and the anthropology of food and foodways. His 1975 book, *European Moslems*, remained for decades an essential text for contemporary understanding of the Balkans. He was promoted from assistant to associate professor in 1975, and to full professor in 1995.

Bill became one of the earliest presenters to the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor when, on Mar. 17, 1985, he gave a talk on "The Markets of Oaxaca". On two later occasions he and Yvonne co-presented: "Malaysian Street Food" (Mar. 21, 1993) and "Arab-American Foodways of Southeast Michigan" (Mar. 15, 1998). The couple also conceived and organized the CHAA field trip for a Lebanese dinner at Talal's restaurant in Dearborn (Oct. 15, 2000).

Bill and Yvonne would go all-out in contributing to the CHAA participatory theme meals. An example was at our



Russian *zakuski* spread in Dec. 2010, when they presented a platter of *domashnee kopchenie sigov* (hot-smoked whitefish) garnished with cherry tomatoes, green olives, and whole pickled mushrooms and gherkins. They used a whitefish caught in Lake Superior by Native Americans, and smoked by a Swedish-Finnish family that they knew up north. Other memorable instances of gastronomic prowess include their platter of honeycomb-shaped *tripes de bœuf* (beef tripe) for "A French Bistro Evening" in Dec. 2008; their homemade *bosanske urmašice*, an Ottoman-legacy date pastry popular throughout the Balkan and Anatolian regions, for "A Silk Road Journey" in Dec. 2005; and a hearty Winter dish of Roman *minutal matianum* (pork stew with apples), from Ilaria Gozzini Giacosa's cookbook *A Taste of Ancient Rome*, for our "Foods of the Ancient Mediterranean" meal in Dec. 2004.

The material on Arab-American foodways that Bill and Yvonne presented to CHAA in 1998 was further elaborated and became an important joint essay, "Continuity and Adaptation in Arab American Foodways". In 2001 the essay won the Sophie Coe Prize in Food History, the leading international award in the field. The prize panel wrote: "This essay examines the cuisine of four groups of Arab Americans to find out how and to what extent they come to identify themselves as a single social group. By looking at foods in what the authors term the public sector—restaurants, grocers, bakeries, butchers and other food purveyors—and in the private sector of home kitchens, they conclude that changes occur more rapidly in the former rather than the latter. The Lockwoods' work on this important subject offers a methodology that can be applied to other groups in other places."

In addition to Arab-American foodways, Bill and Yvonne pursued fieldwork and writing on many other Midwestern food customs, from the Cornish/Finnish pasties of the U.P. to the

continued on page 19

AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN RESTAURATEUR IN PREREVOLUTIONARY MOSCOW

by Eric Duskin

Repast subscriber Eric Duskin is Associate Professor of History at Christopher Newport Univ. in Newport News, VA. He has a Ph.D. in History from the Univ. of Michigan and has lived and worked in Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. Prof. Duskin first published in Repast in Fall 2014 with an article about The Book of Tasty and Healthy Food, the Soviet Union's first mass-produced cookbook (1939).

Vladimir Alexandrov,
The Black Russian
New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2014
336 pp., \$9.81 pbk.



A 1912 photo of Frederick Bruce Thomas in Moscow, where he went by the name Fyodor Fyodorovich Thomas. The image is from <http://www.valexandrov.com/vladimirs-black-russian-blog>.

Sometimes reality is stranger than fiction. In *The Black Russian* Vladimir Alexandrov vividly documents the almost unbelievable tale of the prominent, early-20th-Century restaurateur, Frederick Bruce Thomas. Thomas was born in 1872 to freed slaves in Mississippi and rose to dizzying heights as perhaps the most successful nightclub and restaurant owner in prerevolutionary Moscow. He lost everything in the Russian Revolution, barely escaping capture by Bolshevik troops, and wound up in Constantinople. Refusing to succumb to history's painful blow, Thomas managed to open new restaurants in the unfamiliar city, and he gained renown by being among the first to bring live jazz to the Turkish Republic. But his Turkish ventures ultimately failed, and his amazing saga came to a sad and sudden end when Thomas died destitute and alone in 1928.

Early Migration to Chicago

The events of Thomas' early life speak to the types of hardships that many African Americans faced following emancipation. After the Civil War, Thomas's parents acquired some land in Mississippi but had it stolen from them by local white farmers. The family fled to Memphis and suffered further misfortune when Thomas's father was murdered shortly after they arrived. Thomas and his family fell back into poverty and desperation. At age 18 he made his way to Chicago, found work in hotels and restaurants, and began an incredible climb to the pantheon of early-20th-Century restaurateurs.

Thomas learned about the food and hospitality service industries by working a variety of low-level jobs. In Chicago he worked as a waiter in some upscale hotel restaurants. He later moved to New York and found work as a bellboy. Thomas jumped on an opportunity to sail to England and, after a brief stint in London, concluded that Paris was an even better place for a young Black man with great ambition. He learned French quickly and worked several jobs over the next few years at restaurants, hotels, and resorts in France, Belgium, and Monaco.

Hospitality and High Society in Russia

In 1899 Thomas made the somewhat unusual decision to travel to Russia, where he found hotel and restaurant jobs in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa. His knowledge of French helped his job search because it gave him the air of sophistication that the Russian elite expected. Eventually Thomas settled in Moscow, started a family with a German woman, and worked as the maitre d' at a large hotel, restaurant, and entertainment venue called Aquarium. Thomas and some Russian partners eventually bought Aquarium, and he oversaw its operation. His success there enabled him to buy his own restaurant, which he named Maxim after the popular Paris eatery. Maxim quickly became one of the most popular night spots in Moscow, and its success allowed Thomas to find partners to go into business with him at additional restaurants and night clubs. By 1913 Frederick Thomas, the son of former American slaves, was described as one of the premier restaurateurs in all of Russia.

Thomas's fortunes began to wane with the start of World War One in 1914. His businesses struggled during the war due to growing supply shortages and the Russian government's wartime ban on alcohol sales. Most of his establishments nevertheless managed to remain open for business in the war years, and Thomas even used Moscow's depressed real estate

continued on page 10

150TH ANNIVERSARY OF UNDERWOOD DEVILED HAM

by Sharon Sundling

Sharon Sundling, a CHAA member since 1987, is now retired after a career in the food industry. She cooked in several upscale restaurants in our area, spent 17 years with the Univ. of Michigan Residence Hall Dining Service, taught in-store and adult-education classes on cooking and kitchen equipment, and for 33 years ran a successful private catering business. Her most recent article for Repast (Fall 2013) was a memoir about her mentor, Madame Charity deVicq Suczek. For the CHAA holiday theme meal last December, when Sherry prepared delicious Danish meatballs in a dill dipping sauce, she used Underwood Deviled Ham in the meatballs along with ground chuck, ground veal, and other ingredients. The deviled ham aroused the interest of the Editor, who asked Sherry if she could write something to mark its anniversary this year. The following essay is the result.



With a cute little red devil waving at you from the label, it's easy to find Underwood Deviled Ham in your local supermarket... even if located on the topmost shelf way over your head. Find where the canned tuna is shelved and you'll soon spy the little red devil dancing and smiling down at you. The catchy logo is the last of several used in the company's history: it was patented in 1870 and is, in fact, the oldest food trademark in the U.S. It's seen a lot of history!

But what exactly *is* deviled ham? Why that name? The notion of "deviled" food goes back at least as far as the year 1800, the date of an *Oxford English Dictionary* reference to a fellow in England who jotted in his newspaper diary, "At half past two ate a devil'd kidney". The word "deviled" was used for a food with hot spices added to it, such as Dijon mustard or cayenne pepper. It might thus remind one of the Devil and the fires of Hell. Deviled eggs— although no longer generally considered very spicy— would have been a classic example in centuries past because of the addition of mustard or other spicy ingredients.

A Story with New England Beginnings

William Underwood founded his company in 1822 in Boston, MA, initially as a producer and seller of condiments. Underwood was the first spice-grinding company in the U.S.

Later, the Underwood Co. did pioneering research into tin-lined steel cans, and used them to replace its fragile glass jars in 1836. The tin cans not only preserved food contents for a much longer shelf life, but also greatly reduced shipping damage. Sales rose quickly. Pioneers moving out West packed cases of canned foods from the 1840s to 1860s.

Business especially boomed during the Civil War. Previously, Army meat rations had often been virtually inedible, the meat rotten or infested with maggots. The Army purchased vast amounts of Underwood products, and these

were highly appreciated by soldiers, who found the foods well flavored, easy to prepare, sanitary, and healthful. Even after being discharged, many of these soldiers continued to buy Underwood products once they returned home.

Underwood Deviled Ham is about 150 years old. It first came out in 1867, or possibly one year earlier or later. Alongside the Original Deviled Ham, consumers would find its kindred Underwood spreads: Corned Beef, Liverwurst, White Meat Chicken, Premium Roast Beef, and Turkey. (All good, but the Original Deviled Ham is still my favorite.)

By 1895, through an association with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Underwood sponsored research into why some cans would swell and spoil. Eventually it was discovered that by treating the cans and their contents to a temperature of 250° F. for 10 minutes, virtually all bacteria would be killed. This left a product that was very safe and had a very long shelf life. The Underwood Co. was a safety leader in the food industry for a long time.

Underwood is Underrated!

Amazingly, I have enjoyed eating and cooking with Underwood Deviled Ham since the late 1940s. Deviled Ham and I go back a long and delicious way. There are so many memories...

Opening my sack lunch in grade school, if I found a thinly spread Deviled Ham on Buttered White bread, it brought joy to my heart and a smile to my face. Sometimes Mom would include a slice of cheese with it.

I also loved my grandma's recipe for Danish Meatballs with Sour Cream, and Mom's Ham Salad with Celery, Scal-

continued on page 10

A LIGHT TALE WITH A SATISFYING CRUNCH

by Gail M. Offen and Jon Milan

*CHAA members Gail Offen and Jon Milan are coauthors of *Iconic Restaurants of Ann Arbor* (Arcadia, 2016) and *Grand River Avenue: Detroit to Lake Michigan* (Arcadia, 2014). Gail, who lives in Hartland, MI, has been employed as a Senior Vice President and Creative Director at Doner Advertising and an Adjunct Professor of Advertising at Lawrence Technological Univ. Jon, who lives in Westland, MI, has spent his career as a corporate communications manager. He is also a pianist, journalist, and historian, and gives presentations on the history of Ragtime and early jazz music.*

Karen Dybis,
*Better Made in Michigan: The Salty
 Story of Detroit's Best Chip*
 Mount Pleasant, SC: The History Press/
 Arcadia Publishing, 2015
 American Palate Series
 144 pp., \$21.99 pbk.



For anyone raised in southeastern Michigan over the past 70 years, nothing could be more immediately recognizable, enticing, and warming than products and trademarks associated with Detroit-based foods from the old days. Many of us grew up enjoying Sanders ice cream, Vernor's Ginger Ale, and, of course, Better Made Potato Chips. So it's little wonder that the unmistakable yellow and red logo featured on the cover of *Better Made in Michigan* would immediately arrest our attention and interest.

Like the bag of chips that it represents, this book is a "grabber"! For example, we're immediately fascinated to learn that Cross & Peters, the company that makes Better Made, was incorporated by two Sicilian immigrants in Detroit in 1930, and that one of those men was originally employed by a rival Detroit firm, Best Maid Potato Chip Company, which was later renamed New Era.

Unfortunately, the narrative soon bogs down in a labyrinthine story about the early lives of Better Made's two founders, Cross Mocerri and Peter Cipriano, both immigrants from Terrasini, Sicily. They were distant cousins who later grew to find each other's personal company intolerable. With ever-alternating biographical paragraphs and the insistence on naming every one of the founders' respective relatives and their playmates in Sicily, the entire yarn becomes a confusing knot! Here's what we really want to know: how did this legendary chip brand get started?

Dybis provides several different accounts and perspectives on how the Cross & Peters Co. began. The most interesting comes from the daughter of the founder of Best Maid (New Era).

She maintains that a founder of Cross & Peters was originally one of *their* truck drivers who made off with the truck and its contents while the Best Maid owner was on vacation! Sadly, this narrative isn't pursued—but since the book's sources also include grandchildren of the "accused", it's understandable why such an allegation was handled carefully.

After this rather circuitous introduction, Dybis provides a history of the potato chip—tracing it back to a resort in Saratoga Springs, NY, in the 1840s. Many local "chippers" took up the craze, and, at the time, sold their chips within a few miles of where they were produced. Later, companies found ways to keep the chips fresh through improved packaging, and many of these brands became regional favorites. Potato chip consumption in the U.S. reached a high point in the 1950s, when Baby Boomers started curling up with a bowl of them in front of the TV set—a tradition that continues today!

What's truly fascinating is the history of many of Detroit's other potato chip and snack food manufacturers, including Best Maid, New Era, Superior, Krun-Chee, Wolverine, and Kar's Nuts (now owned and operated by Nick Nicolay, grandson of one of New Era's founders). There are some fun stories about fierce competition among these brands. New Era's advertisements claimed that its chips were "scientifically processed" to be healthy; customers could "feast without fear" because "partially dextrinized starches" left the potatoes more alkaline and digestible "than even fresh raw potatoes". More than 20 potato chip companies were operating in Detroit during



In the 1920s and 1930s in big cities across the U.S., street vendors, often Italian immigrants, sold bags of salted peanuts, popcorn, or potato chips just outside movie theaters. This specimen of an early Cross & Peters bag is fastened to the company's copy of a 1934 document registering "Better-Made" as a brand name with the State of Michigan. The blue and red lettering on the waxy brown bag boasts of Better-Made potato chips that are "fat and starch reduced... delicious and crisp", all for only 5¢.

Photo: Better Made Snack Foods.

ing dates) in the photo captions provided. In some places we see photos of production facilities, but the captions rarely tell us where they were located or when they were in operation or, at least, still standing. On the other hand, there are some fun ads and pictures of other products

from Better Made and its rivals. The book boasts a total of 72 photos; unfortunately, all of them are in black and white.

Dybis points out, most importantly, that Better Made is still going strong— a one-of-a-kind Detroit original that has maintained its standing in the marketplace against many national and international competitors. Better Made ships its chips from Detroit to fans across the country. This salty staple went through some tough times, but— just like the Motor City itself— it continues to hum along.

Oh, and have a bag of chips ready when you read this book— you won't be able to stop at one! ■



As of 2017, Michigan is the #1 state in production of potatoes for chips, supplying 25% of the nation's demand. Many different potato varieties, with varied growing seasons and other characteristics, can be used for making chips.

Photo: Better Made Snack Foods.

the early 1930s, but hardly any of them survive today. Fresh waves of Detroit potato chip firms arose in the 1940s and 1950s. New Era was eventually absorbed by Frito and later PepsiCo.

We also learn about chip preferences. For example, the darker chips that were pulled from the Better Made line were sold as seconds. But even they had their fans, as they had a higher sugar content; they are now sold as "Rainbow" chips. The wavy or ridged chip debuted in the 1950s. And sour cream/onion and barbecue chips are still the top-selling flavors.

Several other angles of the snack food industry are also scrutinized in the book, with interesting insights. Among them are the somewhat vicious pricing games played by competitors within the industry— particularly Frito-Lay (PepsiCo), Eagle (Anheuser-Busch), and Borden — who have been known to aggressively reduce prices in semi-collusive price wars, aimed at destroying local manufacturers. There's also a fight for shelf space. This proved highly effective for the monster manufacturers during the 1980s, although as Dybis points out, Better Made was able to hold their own during the battles.

Another obstacle, especially for young startup companies, are the slotting fees that are now standard practice within the grocery store marketplace. These are fees regularly charged by grocery chains that often exceed \$1,000 per foot for shelf space— costing manufacturers as much as \$1 million annually in major marketing regions. Still, the local chip industry seems to be back in frying— er, fine— form. Newer Michigan chippers such as Downey's, McClure's, and Great Lakes are doing well.

For fans of pretty much all of the best-known brands, this book helps to round out the information on Detroit's snack chip history. One shortcoming, however, is the lack of detail (includ-

RESTAURANTS AND THE GENEALOGY OF THE AMERICAN PALATE

by Celeste Allen Novak

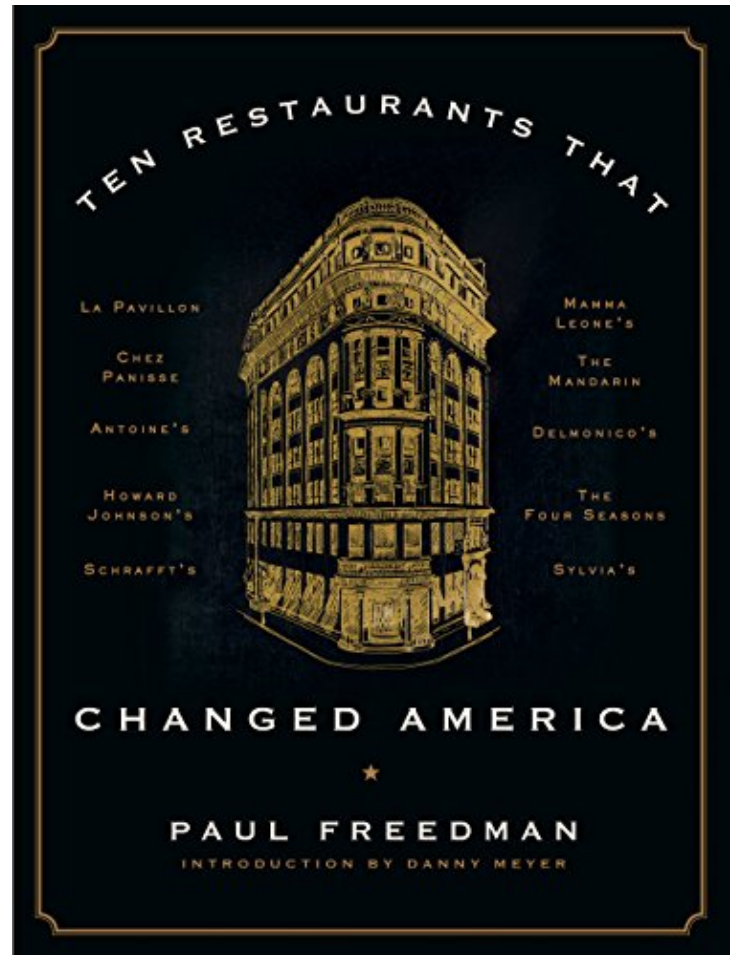
*Celeste Allen Novak and her husband Jim Novak are Ann Arbor residents who joined CHAA last year. She is a licensed architect and an adjunct faculty member at Lawrence Technological Univ. and at Madonna Univ. She is a nationally recognized leader in sustainable design, green building systems, and community planning, and was the lead author of the book *Designing Rainwater Harvesting Systems: Integrating Rainwater into Building Systems* (Wiley, 2014). Celeste graduated from Mercy High School in Farmington Hills, MI, and then earned a bachelor's in fine arts at the College of Saint Benedict (St. Joseph, MN), followed by bachelor's and master's degrees in architecture at the Univ. of Michigan.*

Paul Freedman,
Ten Restaurants that Changed America
New York: Liveright Publishing Corp. /
W. W. Norton & Co., 2016
560 pp., \$35 hbk.

I was one of six children whose mother had “gone through the Great Depression”, and my family never went to restaurants. As a result, I assumed that *Ten Restaurants that Changed America*, by Yale Univ. Professor of History Paul Freedman, was a book that would be a venture into territory unknown to me—an interesting interlude for my Summer reading, but not particularly applicable to my personal experiences with food. I was sure that Howard Johnson’s was the only restaurant listed on the cover that had had any direct effect on my life: HoJo’s on Greenfield and Ten Mile Roads in the northern Detroit suburbs had been our high school go-to place for “exotic” fried clams and real milkshakes.

But just before I started reading the book, I had acquired six boxes of recipes from ten decades of collecting by my mother and grandmothers. As I began the book, I quickly started to see many relationships among my personal experiences, my mother’s legacy, and Prof. Freedman’s free-wheeling examination of American culture and cuisine.

Ten Restaurants is a catalogue of landmark eating places in America and, more broadly, of the influence of both men and women, including immigrants and ethnic groups, on American culture. Freedman’s recounting of the creation of these restaurants, from menus to architecture, provides me with an even greater understanding of why I cannot throw my boxes of recipes away until I explore my inherited treasure-trove. This book is rich in descriptions of mouthwatering regional dishes from the 1800s to today, many of them no longer available, but it is also about more than food. From Freedman, I’ve learned that my boxes reflect the influences of such restaurants over three generations and also the genealogy of my American palate.



An 1893 photo of Delmonico's, at the corner of Beaver and William Streets opposite the Cotton Exchange in Lower Manhattan, is featured on the cover of Paul Freedman's book.

The author is careful to explain why these ten restaurants might not be the best in American history. It was never his intention to identify singular establishments; instead, his focus is on innovators who introduced the variety of foods that we eat as well as the way we eat them. From Delmonico's (est. 1830), the first real restaurant in America, through Chez Panisse (1971), Freedman describes the introduction of ethnic and regional menus, the organization and changes in restaurant décor and architecture, and even trends in food sourcing. “From French food to fast food”, Freedman starts each chapter with an iconic restaurant and wanders into a discussion of the entire genre of that type of food—Italian, French, Southern, Soul, fast or slow. Along the way, he includes descriptions of how these restaurants were managed, marketed, popularized, and ultimately superseded by the next American food trend. The book is illustrated with photos, flyers, buildings, advertisements, menus, and chefs.

One aspect of this interweaving of history with place is Freedman's exploration of architectural styles. He describes, for example, the process of creating The Four Seasons, an iconic restaurant on Park Avenue in Midtown Manhattan (a photo of it was featured on the front page of the last issue of *Repast*). Rest-

Right, one of Celeste Novak's grandmother's boxes of recipe booklets from the 1930s-40s, which show a variety of influences including Spanish and ethnic. At top is *The Housewife's Yearbook of Health and Homemaking* (Battle Creek, MI: Kellogg Co., 1937). More photos of the collection are on page 12.

Below, Schrafft's was a chain of moderately-priced restaurants located primarily in shopping districts in New York City, but owned by the Boston-based food and candy business of the same name.



aurants like this one, we learn, were designed in the 1950s as venues for power lunches in New York. The Four Seasons was located in the Seagram Building, designed by Phillip Johnson and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Mies once said, "Architecture is the will of an epoch translated into space." According to Freedman, The Four Seasons was the beginning of a type of restaurant created for atmosphere and service rather than an exclusive focus on food. Phyllis Lambert, an artist and sculptor who was the daughter of Seagram Co. owner Samuel Bronfman, chose the architects for the building and is just one of many influential women highlighted in the book.

The evolution of restaurants as entertainment venues is described as the brainchild of Joe Baum, a visionary at Restaurant Associates, a property development firm. He was instrumental in developing destination or "themed" restaurants in the late 1950s. These included The Newarker in the Newark airport, The Hawaiian Room in the Hotel Lexington, and The Forum of the Twelve Caesars in the Rockefeller Center. At the latter venue, established in 1957, the entire restaurant staff "was ordered to read Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* along with the recipes attributed to Apicius, author of the only extant Roman cookbook." The Forum's menu was captioned with a quote from Catullus, *Cenabis bene... apud me* ("You will dine well... at my table").

Freedman's discussion of the New York restaurants Delmonico's and Schrafft's leads to commentary on the women's movement, a theme that is woven throughout the book. He describes the influence of journalist Jane Croly, who in 1869 unsuccessfully lobbied the all-male New York Press Club to admit her and her colleagues to a dinner featuring a talk by the visiting writer Charles Dickens. Croly then founded Sorosis, the first literary and artistic club dedicated to the recognition of "women of thought, taste, intelligence, culture, and humanity everywhere, and particularly where these qualities have found expression in outward life and work." The club would meet for lunch at Delmonico's, which didn't normally admit women

unless "escorted" by men. The chapter describes the movement to attract more women, at least "respectable women", to dine out. Schrafft's, for example, catered to women customers and provided the "dainty" dishes that they were expected to eat—cottage cheese salads followed by indulgent hot-fudge sundaes. Architectural critic Lewis Mumford is quoted as admiring the design of the Schrafft's chain as "antiseptic elegance".

Freedman publishes menus from a variety of restaurants from the mid-19th Century to the present. Lush desserts, evocative regional delicacies, from Italian pasta to Baked Alaska—this book made me want to reach for my cookbooks again and get serious about mastering the elegant meal. The list of the original Howard Johnson's 28 Flavors of ice cream sent me back in time, wishing that I'd tasted #23 (Fruit Salad), while also thinking about those fried clams after our sock-hop dances. Little did I know that this East Coast chain had promoted itself at the New York World's Fair of 1939-40, which is how the fried clams of New England were introduced to the rest of America. Later, Pres. Eisenhower's network of interstate highways beckoned Americans to hit the road, to see the country, and to eat at Ho-Jo's, or at smaller joints that served burgers and fries. We learn that Howard Deering Johnson was obsessed with perfection; his aim was, "To serve the finest food

continued on next page

RESTAURANTS

continued from page 9

on the American highways at reasonable prices to a large volume of family and medium-income Americans, and serve it in an attractive atmosphere.” The author provides insights as to how this vision affected future competitors such as McDonald’s and White Castle.

Freedman, who is by training a medievalist and a social historian, provides rich detail, if not a formally structured accounting of each influential food movement. The author’s intention is to present not only a historical narrative from 1830 to the present, but to explore the archetypes of American cuisine: French, regional, ethnic, soul, fast, and organic. Along the way he explores the erosion and survival of American regional cooking; other long-simmering questions about American cuisine; the history of the trend setters of our culinary landscape; and the role of women as customers and restaurateurs. Freedman documents the amazing supremacy of women in this field, including the founders of the Mandarin Restaurant in San Francisco, Mamma Leone’s in Manhattan’s Theater District, Sylvia’s soul food restaurant in Harlem, and Chez Panisse in Berkeley.

I’d recommend taking your time to savor this book. There are numerous cultural pathways that it pursues: chefs, restaurateurs, intrigues, architecture, marketing, menus, gender, race, ethnic identity, customers, business strategies, successes and failures. At first, I was reading this book on my smartphone, as it is a heavy weight to take on a plane. However, I needed to buy the printed version to better understand the content and direction of the writer’s thoughts as well as to absorb the rich illustrations. Like the contents of my mother’s boxes, there are unsorted layers to Freedman’s work. It is a deep dive into the history of eating out, but for me it was also a portrait of American culture and an exploration of what we seek when we have a meal together. ■

UNDERWOOD

continued from page 5

lions and Almonds on lettuce. The Deviled Ham adds a nuance that is hard to describe, yet adds to the recipe’s overall flavor.

I suspect that today the Underwood Meat Spreads are not as popular as they were in my childhood. The Original Deviled Ham seems to have been replaced by “Deviled Ham Spread”, but the Underwood products remain on market shelves. Thousands, if not millions, of devotees are still putting these little cans with the red devil logo into their shopping carts to use in some favorite family recipe or other.

I urge you to seek it out. Buy a can or two. Experiment. Look up recipes on the Underwood website. Try some. Build your own delicious memories. I think you’ll be glad you did.

Remember— as the old ads said— that it’s “Branded With The Devil But Fit For The Gods”. Bon Appétit! ■

THE BLACK RUSSIAN

continued from page 4

market as an opportunity to further expand his entertainment empire. He purchased six buildings near his Aquarium night club just days before the Tsar’s government was overthrown in February 1917. For the first few months under Russia’s liberal Provisional Government business improved at Thomas’s clubs, but the upturn would be brief.

When the Bolsheviks came to power in November 1917, Thomas’s days in Russia were numbered. The government took control of his properties and Moscow fell into a lawless state. Armed bands roamed the streets and looted properties and homes. Thomas made his way to Odessa on the Black Sea in the south of Russia, which had become German-occupied territory in March 1918. In November 1918 when the war ended, the Germans withdrew and allied troops from France occupied the city. But the failure of anti-Bolshevik forces to defeat Lenin’s Red Army in the Russian Civil War led, in 1919, to an allied evacuation. With Communist troops advancing on Odessa, Thomas talked his way onto a French-controlled Russian ship and was given safe passage across the Black Sea to Constantinople.

Mounting Debts in Constantinople

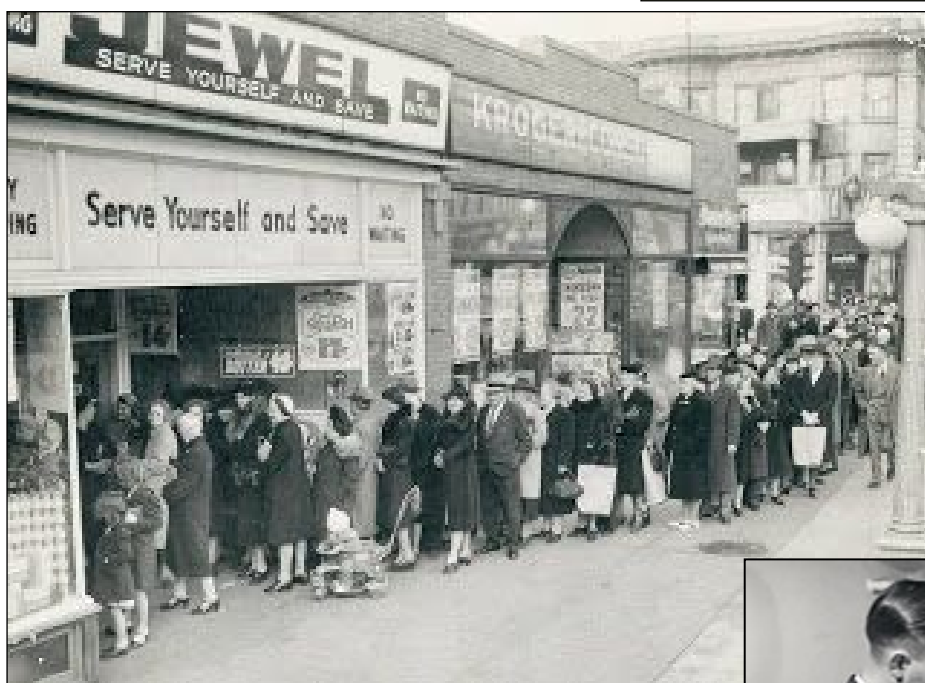
In the former Ottoman capital Thomas quickly found new business partners, and they helped him borrow money to open the Anglo-American Garden Villa. This venue served Russo-French cuisine and offered live music for dancing. Many of his early patrons were exiled Russians who remembered Thomas from Moscow. But when he started hiring American jazz bands that were touring Europe, his club also became popular among diplomats and members of the British military that was then occupying Constantinople. The Anglo-American Villa was the first establishment to offer live jazz music in Turkey. Thomas seemed to be on his way to restoring his stature as a preeminent restaurateur.

But new problems quickly emerged. Thomas wanted to tour Europe to find new music acts, but his applications for a new American passport were long ignored by racist officials at the American Consulate. After waiting more than a year for a passport, the request was formally denied. Without a U.S. passport, Thomas had become a man without a country. When the Allied occupation of Constantinople ended in 1922, business at the Villa declined and before long Thomas was having trouble repaying loans. He nevertheless managed to get an additional loan, which he used to open a new Maxim restaurant and night club that became popular with tourists and locals and helped restore a degree of financial solvency. But Thomas made some bad investment decisions after opening Maxim. His debts mounted, and his creditors had him arrested in 1927.

In prison, Thomas fell ill and died. This son of former Mississippi slaves, who had moved to Moscow and built an empire of restaurants and night clubs that had entertained Imperial Russia’s high society, had lost his money, his freedom, and his life in rapid succession. Thomas’s death was mentioned in only a few newspapers, one referring to him as Constantinople’s “Sultan of Jazz”. Alexandrov notes that the exact location of Frederick Thomas’s grave remains unknown. ■

MORE SNAPSHOTS OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY

Located about 100 miles north of Cincinnati in the tiny town of Burkettsville, OH, Werling and Sons (est. 1886) is a family-owned producer of canned meats. Shown here is their label for cans of *goetta*, a German peasant food introduced to Ohio by immigrants in the 1800s. A mixture of ground pork shoulder, coarse steel-cut oats (also called "pinhead oats"), and seasonings, it is sliced and fried for breakfast like scrapple, often accompanied by apple butter. Most U.S. producers of *goetta* are situated within a 100-mile radius of Cincinnati.



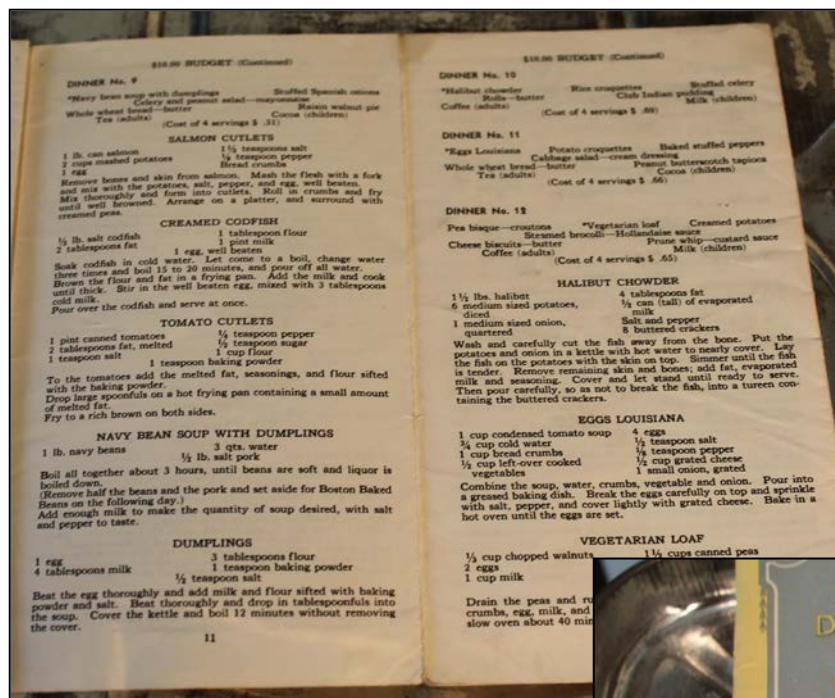
World War 2 coffee rationing in the U.S. began 75 years ago on Nov. 29, 1942. These customers are lining up to buy coffee at a Jewel food store, located at 1149 W. Wilson Ave. in Chicago. The Jewel chain, founded in Chicago in 1899, had nearly gone bankrupt in WW1 due to soaring costs and a government takeover of one of its production facilities. It was saved in 1919 by the hiring of two new company officials who had gained extensive logistics experience as U.S. Navy supply officers during the war.

Rich's Whip Topping, made from soybean oil, corn syrup, and sugar, was the world's first frozen non-dairy whipped topping. A response to milk shortages during WW2, it was developed in Michigan in 1945 by Buffalo-area dairyman Robert E. Rich, Sr. Rich got the idea when, serving as War Food Administrator for Michigan, he toured a Henry Ford soy products lab in Dearborn. The resulting company, Rich Products Corp., is today still family-owned and markets Coffee Rich non-dairy creamer, soy ice cream, and its more than 2000 other food products in 112 countries, with annual sales exceeding \$3.5 billion.



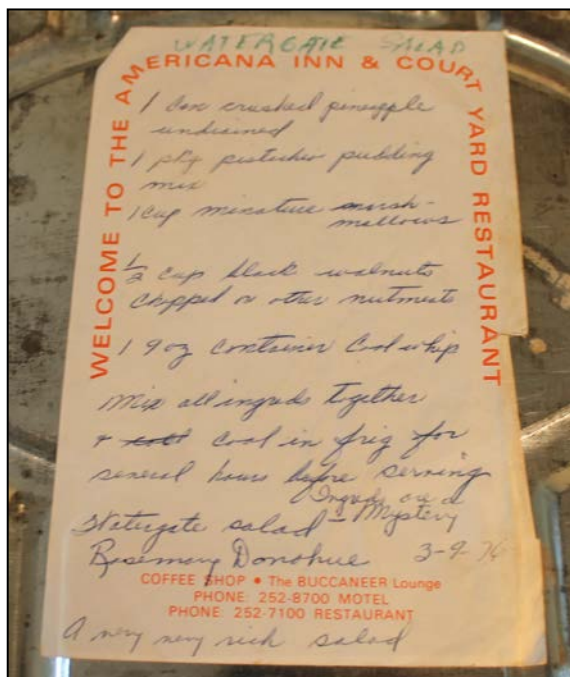
MORE SNAPSHOTS OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY

Recipe ideas provided by food companies have had a big influence on American home cooks. These examples are drawn from boxes of recipes collected over ten decades by the mother and grandmothers of CHAA member Celeste Allen Novak.



The "\$10.00 Budget" section of this Depression-era bulletin, "Bringing Variety and Economy to your Lenten Dinners" (Cincinnati: Kroger Food Foundation, 1932), popularized some regional and ethnic foods such as "Creamed Codfish" and "Eggs Louisiana".

"Women's foods" are seen in these recipe booklets, including Sucaryl's *Calorie Saving Recipes* (North Chicago, IL: Abbott Laboratories, 1951) and *Dainty Desserts for Dainty People* (Johnstown, NY: Charles B. Knox Gelatine Co., 1909, 1915, 1924).



The name of Celeste Novak's mother's sister, Rosemary Donohue, is written at the bottom of this handwritten recipe for a popular dessert salad, "Watergate Salad", along with the comments, "A very very rich salad" and "Ingredients are a Mystery". Watergate Salad was actually a renamed version of Pistachio Pineapple Delight, created by Kraft Foods in 1975. The recipe here was handwritten in 1976 on stationery from the Americana Inn and Court Yard Restaurant in St. Cloud, MN.

CHAA PULLS OFF A GLOBETROTTING VEGETARIAN FEAST

“International Vegetarian Cookery” was the ambitious theme of the Culinary Historians’ latest participatory meal, a semiannual tradition that we’ve carried on for a quarter-century. Thirty-two members and friends got together for the event last July 16 at the Ladies’ Literary Club in Ypsilanti, MI. We’re grateful to member Phil Zaret for orchestrating the whole affair and to Margaret Carney— a vegetarian herself, despite her surname— for suggesting the theme. We also give special thanks to Susie Andrews, as this was her last CHAA meal as caretaker of the facility. She has been succeeded there by Rebecca Brinker.

This fun and enlightening meal was dedicated to former members Ann and Don Fowler, vegetarians who made key contributions to the CHAA and to the Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archives. They passed away in 2009 and 2011, respectively. Don’s book review of Colin Spencer’s history of vegetarianism¹ appeared in the Winter 2000 issue of *Repast*.

Asia as a Vegetarian Homeland

Joanne Nesbit, our co-President, helped launch this meal with an East-West fusion dish called Bombay potato salad, using an online recipe from the health-conscious English celebrity chef Jamie Oliver. The salad is made with potato, fresh green peas, turmeric, cumin seeds, toasted poppy and pumpkin seeds, olive oil, lemon juice, herbs and spices. Oliver is one of many young chefs worldwide who have been heavily influenced by international vegetarian foods. Just three days before our meal, he told the Indo-Asian News Service (IANS):

I love Indian cooking. I’ve been experimenting for a few years now and whilst I’m no expert, I think I’m doing okay. I think a good *dal* [a dish made with dried split peas or beans] is one of the best things you’ll ever eat. ... I think fusion is really interesting because actually, when you look at different countries’ “traditional” dishes, many of them are fusion without us even realizing it, from histories of immigration, colonization and exploration. British “traditional” dishes are peppered with influences from across the globe.

Relying on non-meat foods, as well as deliberately abstaining from meat eating, were customs that took hold in Asia very early. The traditional diet of peasants was largely meatless, due partly to poverty and partly to the influence of Buddhism and other religions. In Asia and many other regions of the world today, cereal grains, rather than animal products or even leguminous vegetables such as beans and peas, still supply the bulk of the protein in people’s diets. Many traditional forms of Chinese spirituality hold that animals have immortal souls, and that a diet based mainly on grains is healthiest for humans. In the 3rd Century BCE, the Indian emperor Ashoka, a convert to Buddhism, banned many forms of hunting and ritual slaughter. The widespread availability of millet, rice, and legumes, and the invention of soy foods such as tofu in China, miso in Japan, and tempeh in Indonesia, were the basis for the elaboration of whole repertoires of meatless dishes that are delicious and healthy. These Asian customs and ways of thinking began to be encount-



Marianne Carduner slices her French-inspired tart of sun-dried tomato, potato, and Camembert. Photos: Mariam Breed

ered by Europeans and carried westward, beginning in the time of the Crusades and accelerating in modern times (see sidebar, “Vegetarianism Was Carried from East to West”, p. 14).

Turkish Foods that Crossed the Bosphorus

A number of Asian food customs important to vegetarians around the world today were first brought westward by the Ottoman Turks, as far west as what are now Hungary (in Central Europe) and Algeria (in North Africa). Leading examples include yogurt, the fermented-milk product; whole-wheat groats preserved via a process of parboiling, drying, and cracking, called *bulgar* in Turkish and *burghul* in Arabic; *pilav* (pilaf), a way of preparing dishes of boiled *bulgar*, rice, or other grains; and thin, rolled-out sheets of refined wheat dough, called *yufka* in Turkish or *phyllo* in Greek.

Yogurt, cheese, and other dairy products had arisen early in the pastoral history of Asia as ways to preserve milk and to benefit from its high protein and great flavors year-round (for more information, see Daniel Cutler’s article from our archives²). Yogurt was featured in the dish *tzatziki*, a cucumber salad contributed to our meal by Gwen and John Nystuen based on a recipe from Sofi Konstantinides that begins:

My mother always had a cheesecloth bag filled with fresh yogurt hanging over the sink in our kitchen. The

continued on next page

VEGETARIAN FEAST *continued from page 13*

excess moisture would slowly drain overnight, and the next day the yogurt—thick and smooth, almost like cream cheese—was ready to use.³

Gwen used this cheesecloth trick to demoinsturize some store-bought, Greek-style whole-milk yogurt. Then she chopped some garlic and some small, unpeeled Persian-style cucumbers, dressing these with the yogurt and with olive oil and red wine vinegar, stirred in gradually. She garnished the salad with sprigs of fresh dill and served it with sliced sectors of white and whole-wheat loaves of *pitta* that she purchased. *Tzatziki* is the Greek

version of a custom also seen in Iraq (*jajeek*), Armenia (*cacig*), and Turkey (*cacık*). The pocket bread *pitta* originated in the Balkans in ancient times and diffused outward from there (compare Romanian *pita*, Turkish *pide*, Georgian *peda*, and Italian *pizza*).

A simple watermelon salad is frequently eaten for breakfast in the Middle East (*salāṭa baṭṭikh*) and in Greece (*salāta me karpouzi*). Our version from Jane Wilkinson and Howard Ando was made with diced watermelon and cucumber, sliced green olives, thinly sliced red onion, crumbled feta cheese, and mint. Jane dressed it with a vinaigrette, and beautifully garnished it with edible yellow nasturtium blossoms from their own garden.

Vegetarianism Was Carried from East to West

Vegetarianism, at least as an intentional and year-round practice, had to be introduced to modern Europe “from the outside”. This was due to various religious traditions prevailing in the West.

The sacrifice of certain animals had been an important part of Jewish, Greco-Roman, Christian, and Muslim rituals. In the Old Testament, God commands Noah after the flood: “Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you” (Genesis 9:3). In fact, refraining from meat consumption was a key part of the symbolic self-denial of fast days. But abstaining year-round was a concept discussed only by a scattering of theologians, and dismissed by them as an ideal that had prevailed in Eden but that was probably unattainable in the here and now. By the Middle Ages those individuals or sects who totally abstained were being treated as heretics because the practice seemed to violate God’s commandment.²⁰

In Asia at this same time, somewhat the reverse was occurring. Early Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains had often engaged in meat-eating when they could afford it.²¹ But in the Middle Ages, many Hindu authorities began to question the killing of cows and other animals based on *ahimsā*, the principle of compassion and non-injury toward living creatures. When India was increasingly subjected to Western penetration, these moral reservations about meat-eating became elevated and institutionalized as a symbol of cultural identity, a way of sharply distinguishing Hindu people from Westerners. Especially in southern and western India, non-vegetarian eating came to be seen as unclean and was associated with the lower castes and with outcasts. In Gujarat, a Mughal province on the west coast of India, vegetarianism became the defining cultural characteristic and one that is still a focus of Hindu nationalist agitation.²²

It was in Japan that soybean foods were first encountered by Europeans—in 1603 by Portuguese Jesuits and in 1613 by English Captain John Saris. By the 1670s, soy sauce was widely available in London as an import from Asia. In 1689 an English minister, John Ovington, wrote about what he’d seen on a trip to India. In a chapter on an English factory at Surat, a seaport in Gujarat, he sang the praises of “Several Sorts of Indian Dishes” made there, writing that “Bambou and Mangoe Achar [pickle], Suoy the choicest of all Sawces, are always ready to whet the Appetite.”²³

Ovington described India as “the only publick Theatre of Justice and Tenderness to Brutes, and all living Creatures.” The evidence that millions of South Asians were living on quite palatable diets based on rice, dried peas and beans, and fresh produce, helped introduce to Britain the idea that vegetarianism could be a viable part of Christian morality. The first vegetarian cookbook in the Western world soon followed: *Wisdom’s Dictates* (1691) by Thomas Tryon, a Christian merchant and pacifist influenced by Hinduism.²⁴ By the 1800s, a Hindu-derived vegetarian movement in Britain was thriving.²⁵

Likewise in France, the idea of year-round meatless eating arose when French visitors were able to observe traditions in the East. In places such as India, Lebanon, and Algeria, French nationals were exposed to the ascetic practices of Sufi Muslims, who often abstain from meat during periods of retreat and meditation. Influenced by Sufism, the emperors of Mughal India ate little meat, and banned the slaughter of animals at certain times.²⁶ François Bernier, a French physician who served the Mughal emperor in India for eight years in the 1660s, converted to vegetarianism for its health benefits and wrote, “the Indians who live on nothing else [than plants] are just as strong, and at least as healthy as us”. In the 1700s, the idea that God had designed the human body for a meatless diet gained a large following among French scholars due to the influence of rationalist clerics and medics, not only Bernier but also Pierre Gassendi, Louis Lémery, and Philippe Hecquet.²⁷

The Société Végétarienne de Paris was founded in May 1880 by Abel Hureau de Villeneuve, a scientist afflicted with rheumatoid arthritis. Even though the trend toward meatless eating was already further ahead in England by that time, London’s *Pall Mall Gazette* couldn’t resist taking a nationalistic swipe at the French group, insinuating that their new diet was well suited to paupers and beef-haters:

Vegetarianism ought to commend itself to many French people, with whom “rosbif” and “bifteck” are not the institution that they are in England. Indeed, the great bulk of the French lower and lower middle classes, like the peasantry and the bulk of the working classes in Scotland, are vegetarians without being conscious of it, and probably more from necessity than choice.²⁸



Gwen Nystuen's dishes of Greek *tzatziki* (left) and Georgian *charkhalis chogi* (below).

The Aegean was also represented in a gorgeous selection of fruits and nuts that Jan and Dan Longone dubbed “Pomona’s Harvest”, after the Roman goddess of fruit and nut trees. There were dried figs and dried apricots imported from Turkey, and tiny Black Corinth grapes from California. Turkey is the leading fig-producing country in the world and is especially famous for those from İzmir (Smyrna) Province on the Aegean coast. The *Aydın İnciri*, a fine variety of fig from neighboring Aydın province, has been granted protected designation of origin status from the European Union. The Black Corinth grape is the undried form of the Zante “currant”— actually a grape rather than a currant— which is named after the Greek island of Zakynthos or Zante, formerly its major producer and exporter. Also part of “Pomona’s Harvest” were cantaloupe, honeydew, and watermelon; pineapple; tiny bananas; cherries; strawberries and blackberries; candied strips of coconut; and cashews, pecans, and Spanish Marcona almonds.

Kosher rules regarding meat have sometimes prompted observant Jews around the world to renounce meat-eating altogether, thereby avoiding many troubles. Gil Marks’s Jewish vegetarian cookbook⁴ includes a recipe for *charkhalis chogi* [Gwen and John Nystuen], a dish of roasted beets served at room temperature in a sour cherry sauce. This is a Winter dish from Georgia, in the Caucasus region, where it’s made with dried sour cherries. Marks notes that sour is the favorite traditional flavor in Georgia, and that this dish exemplifies the fact that, “While



Georgians prefer their dishes mildly flavored, they are indulgent with fresh herbs, often adding several kinds to one dish.”⁵ The recipe calls for sliced roasted beets, dressed in a sauce made from puréed boiled cherries, sautéed chopped onion, and fresh cilantro and parsley. Gwen garnished the dish with additional cilantro and parsley, and served it in a beautiful bowl.

Flour Power: Teff from Africa

Ancient Greek historians related stories of vegetarian peoples in Africa, but these tales were considered fantastical (which says a lot about the status of meat and fish in Europe at

continued on next page

VEGETARIAN FEAST *continued from page 15*

the time). Herodotus described an island people off the coast of present-day Libya or Tunisia, whose staple food was the fruit of the *lōtos* plant. Some believe this to have been similar to a date or jujube. Diodorus Siculus mentioned various Ethiopian tribes that subsisted on tree fruits or on the roots of “marsh reeds”. The roots, he wrote, were pounded into a glutinous mass that was shaped into balls and baked in the sun.

When we ate fried balls of teff falafel [Howard Ando and Jane Wilkinson], we might have imagined that we were sampling those sunbaked balls described by Diodorus— even though the teff dish was invented by Howard, with inspiration from the writings of Ethiopian-born chef Marcus Samuelsson. Teff is a hardy, fairly drought-tolerant grain crop of East Africa whose seeds are ground into a coarse flour to make *injera*, the well-known, spongy, pancake-like Ethiopian sourdough flatbread. For about 15 years now teff has been grown in western states such as Idaho, Nevada, and Kansas, both as animal fodder and for human consumption. Howard purchases light-brown teff flour from the bulk foods section at Whole Foods. He noted that teff is gluten-free (unlike wheat, barley, or rye) and includes high levels of digestion-resistant starch, which is good for controlling blood-sugar levels. Although the overall protein content is much lower than in wheat, it is estimated that Ethiopians have traditionally drawn nearly 65% of their dietary protein from teff, and only about 10% from animal products.⁶

Howard made us his teff-based versions of both falafel and *tabbūlah* salad for this meal. Apparently the spicy, deep-fried little balls known globally as falafel originated in Egypt, possibly as a Coptic Christian food for Lent; they’re ever-present there today and are called *ta’mīyah*, literally “something to eat”. *Tabbūlah* is tightly associated with Lebanon; both it and falafel are popular for *meza*, the Levantine spread of little dishes. In the falafel Howard substituted teff for the ground fava beans normally used in Egypt, but he stuck with the standard flavorings of minced onion, garlic, and parsley. Because of the lack of gluten, he also needed to add an ingredient to help bind the warm, cooked-teff batter before forming it into balls for frying; for this purpose he used tapioca, rather than egg, to end up with a vegan dish. In the *tabbūlah* he substituted teff for the usual *bulgar* wheat, but kept the chopped parsley, tomato, onion, lemon juice, and olive oil. To both dishes he added an Ethiopian *berbere*-type of spice mixture. Howard tells us that he’s also had fun making his own *injera* with pure teff flour. To leaven the flour-water mixture, he lets it ferment for the traditional period of several days before pouring it on the hot griddle; most restaurants in the West add yeast and wheat flour to their “injera”.

Another dish ever-present in Egypt today as peasant and urban street food is *kusharī* [Randy Schwartz and Mariam Breed], easily prepared there from items kept in the pantry. It’s a stovetop casserole assembled in layers in a pot: elbow macaroni; a mixture of brown or black lentils and short-grain rice, which have been cooked separately but then well combined; and a tart and spicy tomato sauce called *dim’a musabika*. The dish is topped with chickpeas and crispy, caramelized slivers of onion. Randy and Mariam used Amy Riolo’s Egyptian cookbook⁷ for the ingredients and cooking, and Clifford Wright’s *Mediterranean Feast*⁸ for the layered presentation. *Kusharī* has

had an interesting evolution. It began as a simple lentil-rice mixture, a Mediterranean version of the Persian and Indian dish *kichri*, which is a mixture of mung beans and rice (see our 2005 article on *kichri*⁹ by Mariam’s Afghani mother, Mermone, who tops the dish with a yogurt sauce called *quroot*). Noodles began to be added to Egyptian *kusharī* in the 1800s under the rule of the Ottomans, whose policies encouraged adding wheat noodles to simple rice in order to enhance its protein content. Among British colonials in India, *kichri* took a completely different turn, evolving into *kedgerie*, a breakfast hash of curried rice, chopped egg, and smoked fish.

Moroccan couscous and vegetable salad was prepared by Caroline Mitchell, a new CHAA member, using Jeanne Lemlin’s James Beard Award-winning vegetarian cookbook.¹⁰ She used the fine-gauge semolina pasta of North Africa now internationally known as couscous, along with raisins, sliced almonds, chickpeas, scallion, tomato, grated orange rind, olive oil, herbs, and spices. Couscous, normally eaten hot alongside a stew, is also widespread in Mali and other countries of sub-Saharan Africa.

Cheese Was the “Meat” of the European Peasant

The folks at Rustico Cooking, a school of Italian cooking in New York, remind us of the important role of cheese in the Italian diet:

In Italy, cheese appears at nearly every meal: sometimes it is served as a course on its own, after the main course in place of dessert; other times it is incorporated in dishes as diverse as pizzas or risottos. ... In Italy, Mozzarella-producers will frown if you eat their creamy, fresh cheese even a day after it’s been made: they say (and I agree) that Mozzarella is best savored right after it’s been lovingly shaped by hand, and that it loses aroma and becomes drier and stringier with every passing hour. Most gastronomy shops and cheesemongers in Italy sell Mozzarella produced that very day under a sign proclaiming “Mozzarella del Giorno” (“Today’s Mozzarella”). The Mozzarella is sold in plastic bags in which it floats in a lightly salted, briny water solution that prevents it from drying out.¹¹

Cheese figured especially large in *la cucina povera*, the cookery of the poor peasants, because it was a versatile and high-protein food that could be made inexpensively on the farm. If aged, it could be kept in the cupboard for a long time.

La caprese di bufala or *insalata caprese* [Annika and Alex Pattenau, guests of the Longones] is a simple but famous *antipasto* salad of Capri in Italy. Fresh slices of mozzarella cheese, tomato, and basil leaves are layered alternately on a plate, bringing to mind the tricolor Italian national flag. The dish is seasoned with olive oil, salt, and pepper. Marcella and Victor Hazan once listed “good crusty bread” as an additional ingredient because, they explained, the juices left on the plate “form a delectable pool that, in between bites of the salad, you sop up with a crusty piece of bread. It is almost better than the salad itself.”¹²

Vegetarian lasagna [Margaret Carney and Bill Walker] was made by omitting meat from Margaret’s mother’s recipe. In a

big metal casserole dish for baking, Margaret layered spinach lasagna noodles, tomato sauce with oregano, spinach, mushroom, and four cheeses (cottage, ricotta, parmesan, and mozzarella). By leaving out the meat, she was actually getting closer to the authentic recipe of the Old Country. Arthur Schwartz has described what happened to Italian cuisine in America:

As the Italian immigrants and their descendants got richer, so did their food, and richer could easily be interpreted to mean heavier. The southern Italian diet was based on vegetables and pasta. The easy availability of meat here, and the lower quality of the vegetables, turned the cuisine upside down. In America, instead of eating meat three times a year as they did at home, even a working-class immigrant family could afford to eat meat three times a week. Meatballs got larger, with less bread to extend the meat—and consequently became heavier. Where eggplant was fried and layered with tomato sauce and mozzarella back in Naples, veal (and eventually chicken) was treated the same way here.¹³

We enjoyed five other Italian-influenced treats at our meal:

- *Risotto ai funghi porcini* [Judy Steeh] was a delicious risotto made with arborio rice, porcini mushrooms, onion, butter, broth, and cheese, adapted from a recipe in the Romagnolis' family cookbook¹⁴.
- Tomato and zucchini casserole with crisp cheddar topping [Barbara and Phil Zaret] also has black Kalamata olives, ricotta cheese, herbs, and spices. In this recipe, created by Melissa Clark for her recent article about Summer potluck meals¹⁵, the cheddar is grated and combined with flour, rolled oats, lemon zest, and more spices to form crumbs that are sprinkled atop the casserole before baking.
- Very Full Roasted-Vegetable Tart [Sonia Manchek] was baked in a big metal casserole dish using a recipe from the "Peppers" chapter of a cookbook by celebrity chef Yotam Ottolenghi¹⁶. It calls for red and yellow bell pepper, eggplant, zucchini, sweet potato, cherry tomato, onion, ricotta, feta, eggs, cream, olive oil, herbs and spices.
- Spiralized zucchini and carrot salad [Bernie and Barbara Banet, guests of Howard Ando and Jane Wilkinson] is a vegan dish that also boasts scallion, cilantro, garlic, olives, toasted sesame seeds, and a dressing made with lime juice, olive oil, and ginger. The Banets used a recipe from their neighbors' international cooking group.
- *Torta di carote e zenzero* [Laura and Dan Gillis], a sweet tart of carrot and ginger, was gorgeous in its latticed upper crust. The recipe, from Joyce Goldstein's book of Italian Jewish food¹⁷, incorporates a very simple filling of grated carrot, white sugar, and chopped candied ginger.

Moving a bit northward to France, we were treated to a wonderful sun-dried tomato and potato tart [Marianne Carduner, a guest of the Nystuens] that was also bursting with Camembert cheese, onion, butter, and thyme. The recipe, inspired by the



Laura Gillis's *Torta di carote e zenzero*

French *tartiflette* of cheese, bacon, and potato, came from the recently-published vegetarian cookbook associated with *Cook's Illustrated* magazine¹⁸.

And moving far north to Iceland, we sampled *ofnbakað rúgbrauð* (oven-baked rye bread) [Phil and Barbara Zaret], a light, yeasty, but full-flavored version of rye with a great texture. Phil baked the loaves at home using a recipe from Nanna Rögnvaldardóttir's coobook¹⁹. He started the dry yeast in a warmed mixture of milk and corn syrup, then added roughly equal measures of rye and wheat flour, along with salt and more milk, to form the dough.

Layers of Sweetness in the Americas

CHAA member Fran Lyman first tasted the exquisitely moist *pastel de tres leches* ("three-milk cake") during a stint with the Peace Corps in San Salvador. It's a sponge cake which, after baking, is soaked in three kinds of milk (evaporated milk, condensed milk, and heavy cream). Because little or no butter is used in the batter, the baked cake is full of air bubbles and doesn't get soggy from the soaking. To make her version, Fran used a recipe from food personality Nigella Lawson, and topped it with mocha whipped cream to achieve a *quattro leches* effect!

Rita Goss, who is originally from Kentucky, was kind enough to bring her creamy Kentucky corn pudding as well as her friend Karen Feldman to our meal. This dish relies on eggs, milk, cream, flour, sugar, and baking powder for its deliciously sweet, custard-like consistency. The recipe came from the Old

continued on next page

Reaching the U.S. Mainstream

In America, there were some early vegetarian preachings and teachings from the likes of Sylvester Graham (a Presbyterian minister) and W. K. Kellogg (a Seventh Day Adventist), who were motivated both by moral and health considerations. Kellogg famously advised, "Eat what the monkey eats— simple food and not too much of it."²⁹ Over the course of a century, Adventist members developed scores of innovative soyfoods, as well as other vegetarian foods.³⁰

Still, vegetarian eating remained only a fringe practice in the U.S. until the early 1970s, when the countercultural movement and the American culinary revolution combined to make many, especially young people, receptive to radical dietary change as part of an ideal to "be natural" and to "save the planet" from the effects of industrial agriculture. Jean Hewitt, the Home Economist at *The New York Times*, became interested in such "natural foods" while doing research for an article. The resulting *Natural Foods Cookbook*³¹, a compilation of recipes contributed from across the U.S., included a chapter on Vegetarian Main Dishes as well as chapters on meat and other dishes. Frances Moore Lappé, the author of the important paperback *Diet for a Small Planet*³², gave her first public speech at an environmental conference at the Univ. of Michigan in 1972. Ellen Buchman Ewald's *Recipes for a Small Planet*³³ took things further than Hewitt's book by implying that natural foods are necessarily vegetarian. It presented dozens of original recipes for meatless main dishes based on the principle of complementary proteins.

A still-popular cookbook called *The Vegetarian Epicure*³⁴ showed how meatless dishes can be delicious enough to be savored, as opposed to dutifully swallowed like medicine. *The Farm Vegetarian Cookbook*³⁵, written collectively by Stephen Gaskin, Louise Hagler, and others, was based on practices at The Farm, a large, rural, spiritually-based "hippie" community in Tennessee whose hundreds of residents ate vegan fare made from their own soy, sorghum, and other crops.

Gabrielle Hamilton, in a recent food column, described what it was like to see the health-food trend go mainstream in the U.S. middle class:

At some point in the '70s my mom bought her first pair of bluejeans. ... And then, around this same time, you opened the fridge one day and found she had glass jars lying on their sides, cheesecloth held with rubber bands over their mouths, alfalfa sprouts growing inside. And there on the kitchen-counter, nestled like a flock of broken fledglings fallen too early from the nest, were eight little glass jars wrapped in kitchen towels and set on an electric medical heating pad meant for sore back muscles, incubating her homemade cultured yogurt. Which turned out tangy and creamy and expert.³⁶

VEGETARIAN FEAST *continued from page 17*

Stone Inn, a restaurant established in 1924 in a 1787 home in Simpsonville, KY; Rita had saved it from the "American Century in Food" issue of *Bon Appétit* (Sep. 1999, p. 26).

Other dishes from the U.S. at our meal:

- Green bean, corn and basil salad [Sherry Sundling] uses fresh green beans and corn kernels, cherry tomato, thinly sliced onion, basil, minced garlic, and vinaigrette. Sherry used a recipe from *Fine Cooking* magazine but added chunks of fresh mozzarella.
- Summer peach-tomato salad [Sandy Regiani, a guest of Sonia Manchek], from *Cooking Light* magazine (Jun. 2010), also has red onion, fresh basil, crumbled feta, and a honey vinaigrette.
- Mango-curd tartlets in phyllo dough [Sherry Sundling] were little masterpieces, topped with whipped cream and pieces of strawberry, mango, and mint. Sherry started with recipes in *Bon Appétit* and *Saveur* magazines, and took it from there.
- Susan's toffee bars [Gwen and John Nystuen] are a popular, shortbread-like cookie with an upper layer of chocolate and topped with pieces of walnut and coconut. The recipe is from *Good Housekeeping* in the 1980s, apparently inspired by the grandmother of the magazine's home economist at the time, Sue Whittier. ■

Endnotes

1. Colin Spencer, *The Heretic's Feast: A History of Vegetarianism* (Hanover, NH: Univ. Press of New England, 1995).
2. Daniel S. Cutler, "Milk Products of Ancient Israel", *Repast*, Spring 2004, pp. 8-9.
3. Sofi Lazarides Konstantinides, *Sofi's Aegean Kitchen* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1993), p. 25.
4. Gil Marks, *Olive Trees and Honey: A Treasury of Vegetarian Recipes from Jewish Communities Around the World* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2004), pp. 212-213.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
6. G. R. Jansen, L. R. DiMaio, and N. L. Hause, "Amino Acid Composition and Lysine Supplementation of Teff", *Journal of Agricultural and Food Chemistry*, 10:1 (Jan. 1962), pp. 62-64.
7. Amy Riolo, *Nile Style: Egyptian Cuisine and Culture* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2009), pp. 47-48.
8. Clifford Wright, *A Mediterranean Feast* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1999), pp. 599-601.
9. Mermone van Deventer, "Remembering Kichri Quroot, a Dish of Afghanistan", *Repast*, Summer 2005, pp. 3-4, 10.
10. Jeanne Lemlin, *Quick Vegetarian Pleasures* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992), p. 74.
11. Rustico Cooking, "The Character of Italian Cheese", <http://www.rusticocooking.com/cheeses.htm>.
12. Marcella Hazan, "Victor's Capri-Style Tomato and Mozzarella Salad", *Marcella Cucina* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), p. 399.

13. Arthur R. Schwartz, *Arthur Schwartz's New York City Food* (New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 2004), p. 161.
14. Margaret Romagnoli and G. Franco Romagnoli, *The Romagnolis' Table*, Book Club edition (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1975), p. 79.
15. Melissa Clark, "A Great Potluck Starts With a Plan", *New York Times*, Jun. 28, 2017, p. D2.
16. Yotam Ottolenghi, *Plenty: Vibrant Vegetable Recipes from London's Ottolenghi* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2011), p. 84.
17. Joyce Goldstein, *Cucina Ebraica: Flavors of the Italian Jewish Kitchen* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998), p. 173.
18. *The Complete Vegetarian Cookbook* (America's Test Kitchen, 2015), pp. 341-342.
19. Nanna Røgnvaldardóttir, *Icelandic Food and Cookery* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2002), p. 203.
20. Spencer, op. cit.
21. Dwijendra Narayan Jha, *The Myth of the Holy Cow* (New York: Verso, 2002).
22. See Chapter 5, "Vibrant Vegetarian Gujarat", in Parvis Ghassem-Fachandi, *Pogrom in Gujarat: Hindu Nationalism and Anti-Muslim Violence in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2012).
23. William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi, *History of Soybeans and Soyfoods in the United Kingdom and Ireland (1613-2015)* (Lafayette, CA: SoyInfo Center, Jun. 14, 2015), available in full text at <http://www.soyinfocenter.com/books/183>.
24. Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2008), pp. 60-77.
25. James Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians: The Vegetarian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007).
26. Margaret Puskar-Pasewicz, *Cultural Encyclopedia of Vegetarianism* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010), p. 135.
27. Stuart, op. cit., pp. 138-162.
28. "Vegetarianism in France", reprinted in the *New York Times*, Mar. 7, 1881, p. 3.
29. For more information, see Randy K. Schwartz, "Kellogg vs. Seventh-Day Adventist Church: The Excommunication of the Kelloggs", *Repast*, Spring 2009, pp. 6-9.
30. See, e.g., William Shurtleff, "Episodes in a Global Diffusion: Tofu from China to America", *Repast*, Summer 2002, pp. 4-7.
31. Jean Hewitt, *New York Times Natural Foods Cookbook* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971).
32. Frances Moore Lappé, *Diet for a Small Planet* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971).
33. Ellen Buchman Ewald, *Recipes for a Small Planet* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1973).
34. Anna Thomas, *The Vegetarian Epicure* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).
35. The Farm, *The Farm Vegetarian Cookbook* (Summertown, TN: The Book Publishing Co., 1975).
36. Gabrielle Hamilton, "Health Food You Can Love", *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, Aug. 13, 2017, p. 20.

WILLIAM G. LOCKWOOD *continued from page 3*
 "Coney" hot dogs introduced by Balkan immigrants. To provide a better sense of the breadth of his interests and scholarship, we conclude by listing a sample of Bill's writings over the years, in chronological order. ■

Selected Publications of William G. Lockwood

- William G. Lockwood, *European Moslems: Economy and Ethnicity in Western Bosnia* (New York: Academic Press, 1975).
- William G. Lockwood, "Bosnian Muslims", in Stephen Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980).
- Yvonne R. Lockwood and William G. Lockwood, "The Cornish Pasty in Northern Michigan", in Alan Davidson, ed., *Food in Motion: The Migration of Foodstuffs and Cookery Techniques* (Leeds, UK: Prospect Books, and Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983).
- William G. Lockwood, "East European Gypsies in Western Europe: The Social and Cultural Adaptation of the Xoraxane", *Nomadic Peoples*, No. 21/22 (Dec. 1986), pp. 63-70.
- Yvonne R. Lockwood and William G. 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.
- Yvonne R. Lockwood and William G. Lockwood, "Finnish-American Milk Products in the Northwoods", in Harlan Walker, ed., *Milk: Beyond the Dairy, Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1999* (Totnes, UK: Prospect Books, 2000), pp. 232-239. A version of this was later published in *Repast* (Fall 2009).
- William G. Lockwood and Yvonne R. Lockwood, "Continuity and Adaptation in Arab American Foodways", in Nabeel Abraham and Andrew Shryock, eds., *Arab Detroit: From Margin to Mainstream* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 2000).
- William G. Lockwood and Yvonne R. Lockwood, "Bosnia-Herzegovina", in Kenneth Albala, ed., *Food Cultures of the World Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4 (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp. 51-60.
- William G. Lockwood, "United States: Ethnic Cuisines", in Solomon H. Katz and William Woys Weaver, eds., *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*, Vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2003), pp. 442-446.
- William G. Lockwood, "The Coney in Southeast Michigan: Something More Substantial for the Working Man", in Patricia Lysaght, ed., *Time for Food: Everyday Food and Changing Meal Habits in a Global Perspective: Proceedings of the 18th International Commission for Ethnological Food Research* (Abo, Finland, 2012).
- William G. Lockwood and Yvonne R. Lockwood, "The Transformation of Traditional Foodways in the Bosnian American Community", in Patricia Lysaght, ed., *The Return of Traditional Food: Proceedings of the 19th International Commission for Ethnological Food Research* (Lund, Sweden, 2013).

CHAA CALENDAR

(Unless otherwise noted, programs are scheduled for 3:00 – 5:00 p.m. and are held at the Ann Arbor District Library – Malletts Creek Branch, 3090 E. Eisenhower Parkway.)

Sunday, December 10, 2017

4-7 p.m., Ladies' Literary Club of Ypsilanti
(218 N. Washington St., Ypsilanti),
Members-only participatory theme meal,
"Along the Blue Danube"

Sunday, January 21, 2018

Amy Emberling and Frank Carollo,
Managing Partners of Zingerman's Bakehouse,
on their new book hot from the oven,
Zingerman's Bakehouse: The Cookbook

Sunday, February 18, 2018

Helen Zoe Veit, Assoc. Prof. of History
at Michigan State University,
on her forthcoming book,
Small Appetites: A History of Children's Food

Sunday, March 18, 2018

Jamie Berlin,
local beekeeper and educator,
"Honey Bee Health: How It Affects Us
and What We Can Do"

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

- Winter 2018: un-themed
- Spring 2018: The Food Industry: Pages from History (Part 3).

REPAST
1044 GREENHILLS DRIVE
ANN ARBOR, MI 48105-2722

.....

Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor

Volume XXXIII Number 4, Fall 2017

First Class