MEET ME IN THE JUNGLE, LOUIS

PROMOTING PURE FOOD AT THE 1904 ST. LOUIS WORLD’S FAIR

by Marsha E. Ackermann

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A bust of President Theodore Roosevelt, rendered in the finest New York butter. A 45-foot-high Missouri Corn Palace richly embellished with cobs and husks. A larger-than-life elephant, inlaid from trunk to toe with California almonds. Food, edible and otherwise, was everywhere present at St. Louis’ 1904 centenary celebration of the Louisiana Purchase.

On the “Pike,” the Fair’s only-slightly-risqué amusement mile (thanks to the vigilance of the Board of Lady Managers), visitors could snack at dozens of concessions. There they enjoyed such relatively new or unfamiliar treats as ice cream scooped into cones, hamburgers enfolded in buns, spun-sugar “fairy floss” (today’s cotton candy), peanut butter, and Dr. Pepper, the Texas drink that called itself “King of Beverages,” and promised “Vim, Vigor & Vitality” on every bottle.

The almost 20 million people who visited St. Louis during the eight-month Exposition in what is now Forest Park could breakfast for a frugal 15¢ or enjoy the “swellest” supper of broiled squab for 60¢. On Thanksgiving, just days before the Fair would close, 326 children from 22 nations gathered at the Model Playground for “a feast fit for the gods,” as 20,000 spectators looked on benignly. The kiddy menu was heavy on meats (turkey, ham, and lamb) but also featured powdered coffee, ice cream, and bags of popcorn.

At the 47-acre Philippine “reservation,” one of this Fair’s living anthropological displays, visitors watched in horrified fascination as Igorots, classified as a semi-primitive tribe by experts on America’s new Asian colony, prepared traditional meals of roast dog.

In the Agriculture Palace, the Fair’s largest exhibit space, a rather different and more significant food story was unfolding. There, thousands of visitors were treated (if that is the right word) to a dramatic and colorful two-acre display of foods, food products, and food processes labeled to show how they endangered the public health and pocketbook. In the summer and fall of 1904, therefore, the Louisiana Purchase Expo was both a focal point and staging area for reforms that culminated on June 30, 1906, when Pres. Roosevelt, a two-time visitor to the Fair, signed into law the Pure Food, Drink, and Drugs Act.

The Whole World Was Watching

Meet me in St. Louis, Louis.
Meet me at the fair.
Don’t tell me the lights are shining
Any place but there.
— from the 1904 song by Kerry Mills and Andrew B. Sterling

It is commonplace today to credit Pure Food legislation to socialist reformer Upton Sinclair’s powerful novel. Since its publication in February 1906, The Jungle has shocked readers with disgusting depictions of Chicago’s meat-packing “jungle,” most memorably the unplanned transmutation of hapless fertilizer men into bricks of “Durham’s Pure Leaf Lard.” Sinclair’s book was important,
As the Pure Food exhibit and its director, Paul Pierce, would show fairgoers, there was much for dogs, and people, to be disgusted about. Here are some excerpts from a contemporary report of what Fair visitors saw:

A square yard of flannel colored pink with the poisonous aniline dye extracted from a pint bottle of tomato ketchup… A fluid labeled “Pure Lemon Extract” made of the deadly poison, wood alcohol and aniline dye, containing no lemon oil whatever… Cayenne pepper is a little capsicum and a great deal of nut shells ground fine and colored with aniline dyes… Jellies and jams are any old thing from macerated pumpkins to good apple sauce mixed with timothy seed and colored with aniline dyes… Another kind of fraud shown up in this exhibit is the deceitful package. Bottles that boast large contents and fail to keep the contract are here in all sizes, patterns and shapes… in the purgatory of the public gaze, like the prisoner in the stocks… shame-faced and guilty or defiant and insolent.

Sighed the author of this description, “One must often wonder whether the good and pure have gone…”

Naming Names of Brands

No attempt was made to disguise the names or makers of products singled out as culprits of deception, adulteration, or worse. In fact, the display’s creators crowed that their examples of food “horrors” were often located just steps away from manufacturer-sponsored displays of the very same food products. Robert M. Allen, Kentucky’s top food regulator and a national leader in the Pure Food crusade, was delighted to report that some angry manufacturers considered seeking an injunction, “but decided this would only increase public interest.” As the Pure Food display continued to attract crowds, a number of manufacturers foreswore the use of colors and false labels. And the City of St. Louis—the city deemed most corrupt in the nation by Lincoln Steffens in the very year that it hosted the magnificent Fair, which also included the five-day Olympic Games—created a health inspection unit in the Health Department and hired the Fair exhibit’s chief chemist to head it.

In 1904, H. J. Heinz was already the food brand of “57 Varieties” and Schlitz was already the “Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous.” Both companies, along with many others represented at the Fair and in Fair advertising, emphasized the wholesomeness of their wares as American anxiety over food and drink, especially those produced not by local farmers but by vast corporations, reached its peak. Indeed, late 19th-Century advances in food science actually heightened consumer anxiety. Acceptance of the new germ theory encouraged new food safety protocols such as determining bacteria content. But science also afforded food manufacturers new tricks to make food look better and last longer, without regard to actual wholesomeness, safety, or flavor.

Under the sign of a giant pickle outlined in electric bulbs, the Heinz company handed out complimentary jars of pickles to fairgoers, and also showed off such favorites as tomato soup, apple butter, and baked beans. The Pittsburgh-based company justified its role as a giant food processor thus: “It saves the housewives the trouble of putting up their own fruit and vegetables, and pickles, just as the factory saved their grandmothers the heavy work of weaving.” It seems unlikely that Heinz Ketchup was the source of the aniline dyes used on the above-mentioned yard of flannel, as the firm proved to be a supporter of tougher food standards.

Schlitz portrayed its product as a health food: “When tired and exhausted from sightseeing, you will find nothing more reviving and refreshing than ‘Schlitz,’” said one ad, continuing, “When the nerves need food, beer is the usual prescription… The doctor knows that malt and hops are
nerve foods and tonics. He knows that pure beer is good for you. That is why he says ‘Schlitz.’”

Crusaders for Reform

Then, as now, the concept of pure, safe, wholesome food, assured by government regulation and supervision, was by no means simple. Some of the moral and political cross-currents rolling the issue at the turn of the last century are at least hinted at by the number of crusading groups that used the 1904 Expo to express their views on food, drink, and drugs, not always in unison.

For example, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union was a strong advocate of food and drink purity. As members gathered at the Fair in October, they did not call controversially for alcohol abolition, but emphasized a mainstream issue, adulteration. (Alcoholic beverages were excluded from Agriculture Palace displays, although not entirely from the Fair grounds.) Food colorings and additives were routinely used in wine and whiskey, primarily to disguise a lack of proper aging. But in an issue of the official World’s Fair Bulletin, the distillers of Casper’s 11-year-old whiskey offered a free, unadulterated quart “Made by Honest North Carolina People” that would arrive in a plain box.

Because a number of states already had their own food testing laws, labs, and procedures in place, looming federal intervention was a contentious issue in 1904. For years, grocers and food processors would skillfully manipulate states’ rights to keep broader regulations at bay. At the Fair’s International Food Congress in late September, representatives of 33 states and eight foreign governments mingled uneasily. The importance of the gathering was underlined when Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, Secretary of State John Hay, and Democratic Presidential candidate Alton B. Parker sent their regrets. Harvey W. Wiley of the U.S. Bureau of Chemistry, a rising star in the food purity firmament, delivered a major address. Despite American women’s major role over many years in organizing and agitating for reliable and safe food, the International Congress was a male-only show, at least as reported in the St. Louis Republic newspaper.

Arguments over state prerogatives notwithstanding, the Congress did manage to make some aspects of the Pure Food Crusade very clear. First, by 1904, there was a strong national consensus that food makers and processors must submit to some kind of public regulation. Second, deceptive labeling and packaging, the use of toxic aniline dyes, and unnecessary use of “antiseptics” (what we now call “preservatives”) were at the very top of reformers’ priority list. Said Paul Pierce, “The man who sells me a pound of butter under a false label is just as guilty as the man who sells me a gold brick.”

A Century of Progress?

A hundred years ago, Americans looked back in homage to an international real estate deal, the Louisiana Purchase, which had made the United States the world’s most productive agricultural nation. And they vowed to make sure that agricultural abundance would fulfill its promise of healthful bounty at a time when food wholesomeness was very much in doubt.

Today, in what Eric Schlosser calls our Fast Food Nation, food is still a source of fear, as well as hope. Amid pesticides, E. coli outbreaks, mad-cow scares, unregulated herbal remedies, Atkins diets, and bariatric surgery, most of us still fail to read the content and nutrition labels that our forefathers and mothers so earnestly advocated in the run-up to 1906. Not only do we still worry about the adulterants and substitutions that concerned our forebears, but we also question the healthfulness and safety of our food’s very elements, be they fat or carbohydrates; lactose or peanut proteins. Despite years of regulation, our meat and dairy products are made under conditions not as far removed as we might hope from those denounced by Upton Sinclair (who referred to ailing cattle as “downers” 98 years ago).

But just as visitors to the Fair’s Pure Food exhibit gasped when they saw how favorite foods were poisoned with wood alcohol or with anilines or other coal-tar derivatives, and then went out to the Pike or the Agriculture Palace’s own Soda Fountain for a hearty lunch, the Fair can teach us that food is also to be enjoyed.

On November 26, 1904, newly elected Pres. Roosevelt and his family (including daughter Alice) made a whirlwind visit to the Fair, culminating with a lavish two-hour banquet. The feast was catered by the Tyrolean Alps Restaurant, a Fair concession managed by August Lüchow, fresh from opening what would become one of New York City’s most famous restaurants. Six hundred guests sat amid bouquets of American Beauty roses, carnations, and smilax. The huge hall was draped with patriotic bunting illuminated by “myriads of incandescent lights” while a 100-piece orchestra performed. This is what they ate:


The President survived the ordeal. And roast dog was not on the menu.

Key Sources

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A PRELUDE TO ELIZABETH DAVID

ALIMENTARY NATIONALISM IN ENGLAND

by Sandra Sherman

Dr. Sherman is Professor of British Literature at the University of Arkansas, and is just completing a sabbatical year of research at the University of Wisconsin. She is the author of three books and over 40 articles on 18th-Century Britain. Her new work Fresh from the Past: Recipes and Revelations from Moll Flanders’ Kitchen, forthcoming this November from Taylor Trade Publishing (an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield), is a cultural history of food during Britain’s “long 18th Century,” the period 1660-1820. The book, which Sandra researched as a Visiting Fellow at Cambridge University, includes about 120 actual period recipes together with her own adaptations of them for modern cooks (see Calendar, p. 12). Dr. Sherman’s earlier book, Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism (Ohio State Univ. Press, 2001), is a multidisciplinary study of the food crisis in Britain during the 1790s and of public attitudes toward the poor.

In the past 20 years, Britain’s consciousness of its own cuisine has risen dramatically due to an array of complementary factors. Petits Propos Culinaires, co-founded by the redoubtable Elizabeth David, has published dozens of pieces examining aspects of British cookery. Prospect Books, which manages the journal, has issued facsimiles of old cookbooks, as well as monographs on characteristically British subjects such as marmalade and rock candy, with a work on puddings in the offering. The annual Oxford and Leeds Symposia attract scholars from around the world with perspectives on indigenous cuisine. The British Library has mined its own collections to publish fabulous essays on Britain’s culinary past; country house facsistories; tofu; and local tastes, and hinted at a physiological connection: his Carter was impressed with the affinity between local foods and local constitutions and cultures. That century in Britain was marked by rivalries with France that, as Linda Colley observes in Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837, not only promoted but defined emerging British nationalism. Such rivalries, it turns out, also had a culinary dimension. While the modern counterpart of this discourse is not belligerently nationalistic, it preserves the same sort of self-conscious Britishness that defined the original.

Staking Out a Culinary Border with France

In Britain’s developing culinary culture, France was usually the object of both praise and blame. In 1756, for example, Martha Bradley wrote in The British Housewife that from its “plain and exact Directions… an English Girl, properly instructed at first, can equal the best French Gentleman in every thing but Expence.” For Bradley, French cooks set the standard but epitomized extravagance. The object was thus to domesticate French cleverness by making it affordable. British national character was presented as one of good sense, translatable to the kitchen. In The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy (1747), Hannah Glasse pursues the same logic:

I have heard of a Cook that used six Pounds of Butter to fry twelve Eggs; when every Body knows, that understands Cooking, that Half a Pound is full enough… But then it would not be French. So much is the blind Folly of this Age, that they would rather be impos’d on by a French Booby, than give Encouragement to a good English Cook!

While Glasse smuggled in French-inspired dishes as extravagant as those she attacked, what mattered to the construction of alimentary nationalism was an assertion of Britishness. It sold books to an aspiring middle class in need of assurance that refinement was possible with relatively modest means.

But in these early texts, refinement was to be a British, not French, refinement, which meant estimable cuisine not “dressed” so high as to be decadent. Contemporaneously with Glasse, The London Tradesman complained that French food played at seduction, “dressed in Masquerade, seasoned with slow Poisons, and every dish pregnant with nothing, but the Seeds of Diseases both chronic and acute.” You never knew what you were eating: “Fish, when it has passed the hands of a French Cook, is no more Fish; it has neither Taste, Smell, nor Appearance of Fish.” Good, honest food was straight-forward, emblematic of British character and much more manly. This 18th-Century fight song, “Beer-drinking Britons,” typifies the sentiment:

Should the French dare invade us, thus arm’d with our poles, We’ll bang their bare ribs, make their lanthorn jaws ring; For your Beef-eating, Beer-drinking Britons are souls, Who will shed their last drop for their country and king.

Note how Frenchmen’s ribs are “bare” from eating food more stylish than substantial.

British cookbooks, too, emphasized the straight-forward nature of British fare, tying it to superior British ingredients that needed no fancy dress. Thus in The Compleat City and Country Cook (1732), Charles Carter observed that “I know no reason that we in the midst of our abundant Variety, should so far ape any of our indigent Neighbors, as to dress our more delicious Fare after the Humour of the perhaps vitiated Palates of some great Personages or noted Epicures of France.” In his The London and Country Cook (1749), Carter was impressed with the affinity between local foods and local tastes, and hinted at a physiological connection: his recipes use “such provisions as are the product of our own country… [and] are suitable to English constitutions and English palates.” Likewise, Eliza Smith’s The Compleat Housewife (1727) gave recipes for dressing “such Provisions as are the Product of our own Country, and in such a Manner as is the most agreeable to English Palates.” The idea was that national cuisine should reflect local ingredients, a taste
for which was bred into the genetic makeup of the population.

**Beef as a Bulwark of British Character**

Intrinsic to the ideology of alimentary nationalism was the claim that no ingredient was more local, more basic to what made Britons British, than old-fashioned British beef, seconded by mutton. As early as 1710, the *Tatler* exhorted readers to “return to the Food of their Forefathers, and reconcile themselves to Beef and Mutton. This was the Diet that bred that hearty Race of Mortals who won the fields of Cressy and Agincourt.” Not stinting to admonish women, the author claimed that “when I have seen a young Lady swallow all those Instigations of high Soups, seasoned Sauces, and forced Meats, I have wondered at the Despair or tedious Sighing of her Lovers.” Not surprisingly, when cookbooks sought to promote themselves, they wrapped themselves in the flag and necessarily touted beef. Margaret E. Taylor’s volume *Mrs. Taylor’s Family Companion* (London, 1795) featured a frontispiece showing hale and hearty gentlemen with supper forks raised, over the caption “O the Roast Beef of Old England.” A picture on the wall bore the same motto, the refrain of a patriotic anthem by Richard Leveridge, “The Roast Beef of Old England” (1735). The song had such a culinary afterlife that it was played by the bugler on *H. M. S. Titanic* to call first-class passengers to dine. The first stanza goes, unabashedly:

> When mighty roast beef was the Englishman’s food,  
> It enobled our hearts, and enriched our blood,  
> Our soldiers were brave, and our courtiers were good,  
> O! The Roast Beef of Old England!  
> And O! For old England’s Roast Beef!


Even outside observers promoted the idea that British beef was plain but good. In his memoir, the Swedish traveler Pehr Kalm opined that “Englishmen understand almost beyond any other people the art of properly roasting a joint... because the art of cooking as practiced by most Englishmen does not extend much beyond roast beef and plum pudding.” This compliment was no more back-handed than those that the British paid themselves. What mattered was not fancy preparation but superior ingredients. Daniel Defoe, in his *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724), described the lengths to which the British went to procure the best—that is, Scots—beef. Such beef, driven across the border and even thrown into the Kyle Rhea to swim, wound up on the finest tables. Defoe suggested that Scots grass imparted a special flavor: “These Scottish runts coming out of the cold and barren mountains of the Highlands feed so eagerly on the rich pastures in these marshes that they thrive in an unusual manner, and grow monstrously fat; and the beef is so delicious for taste, that the inhabitants prefer them to the English cattle.” Over the course of the century, British cattle grew even fatter. The French, taking offense at such posturing, attacked beef-eating as crippling—not the source of strength that Britons claimed it to be. One Monsieur Grosley declared in *A Tour to London* (1772) that “Beef is [Britons’] commonest sort of meat, and this meat, which they set a value upon, in proportion to its quantity of fat, mixing in the stomach with beer, their usual drink, must give rise to a chyle, whose viscous heaviness can transmit none but bilious and melancholy juices to the brain.” If Britain went looking for a food fight, the French would give it one.

But in the face of such counter-attacks, Britain remained culinarily stalwart. Many of its 18th-Century poems and tracts read like anti-cookbooks, espousing a type of cuisine that dismissed everyone from the kitchen except the bloke with the cleaver. In fact, a species of “meat poetry” arose expressing the idea that meat is the one real food, requisite to the basic life processes of nourishment, reproduction, and self-defense. In a section on London’s Beef-Steak Club, Edward Ward’s *The Secret History of Clubs* (1709) includes a poem “In Praise of Beef” with these red-blooded lines:

> Beef swells our muscles, fills our Veins,  
> Does e’ry Way improve us,  
> Strengthens our Sinews, and our Reins,  
> And makes the Ladies love us.

Those writing such lines are amateurs, men first and poets second, full of good cheer and energy. Their verses celebrate homosociality and male appetite. In “The Art of Living in London,” another poet recalls the perfect steak, and advises the tavern patron to reserve a place near where the food is served, so that he can heap his plate with meat and pudding.
RECENT LATIN AMERICAN WRITING

LIBERATION IN THE KITCHEN

by María Claudia André


What could I not tell you, my Lady, of the secrets of nature I have discovered while cooking! [...] But, madam, what is there for us women to know, if not bits of kitchen philosophy? [...] And I always say, when I see these details: If Aristotle had been a cook, he would have written much more.

— Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz

As Brillat-Savarin, the great French gastronome, proclaimed, “The pleasures of the table are of all times and all ages, of every country and of every day; they go hand in hand with all our other pleasures, outlast them, and in the end console us for their loss” (Brillat-Savarin, p. 2). Certainly, the wisdom of this century-old aphorism is very much in effect today as the pleasures of the table still introduce and eventually overrule the other physical pleasures that age outlasts. As contemporary Latin American women writers propose, the “other” pleasures alluded to by Brillat-Savarin do not necessarily begin at the table; they might even be ignited in the kitchen itself.

Over the past five decades, feminist discourse has sought to reformulate both the real and the imaginary spaces that have traditionally been assigned to the feminine. In the works of Latin American women writers, perceptions of domesticity have radically changed. Neither the house nor the dreaded kitchen stand any longer for imprisonment or repression. Instead, they are sites for experimentation and creativity. As Argentine writer Angélica Gorodischer notes, “The secret is in seeing the kitchen as a place where one enters with the same emotion as the bedroom, knowing that something intimate and wonderful is going to happen there. The kitchen is not a place we should ever have left... It is the place where we enter with a light heart and a waist full of expectations” (Gorodischer, p. 206).

While some authors concentrate on myths and popular traditions associated with food as integral sources of healing power, others choose to reinterpret the act of cooking itself as a means for the expression of love. Producing and consuming, nourishing and being nourished, cooking and eating, writing and reading, and of course, the act of love-making itself—all are pleasurable and liberating physical activities, charged by the same libidinal energy, enjoyable acts that may serve as forms of gender expression, experimentation, and resistance. In “Sin Ti Yo No Soy Nada/ Without You I Am Nothing,” Chicana poet Beverly Silva defines:

You are
The salsa in my enchilada
The meat in my burrito
The olive in my tamal
The chocolate in my mole
The chile in my beans
The tequila in my margarita
Certainly I can live without you, my love;
But without you life is like
A taco without a tortilla
Guacamole without avocado
Salt without lemon
A cake without sugar
Sunday without a dance
A cumbia without music
Juan Gabriel without Suárez
and every day without a weekend
(Rebolledo and Ribero, p. 359).

Popular narratives by best-selling authors such as Laura Esquivel (Like Water for Chocolate, 1992) and Isabel Allende (Aphrodite: A Memoir of the Senses, 1997) trace clear analogies between the kitchen and the bedroom: both are places where physical appetites may be satisfied.
Significantly, in *Aphrodite*, renowned Chilean author Allende subscribes to the feminist perception that eroticism represents a potential powerhouse, one that might produce the energy needed to change the world that women have customarily inhabited. In her narrative Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, beauty, and eroticism—and, coincidentally, mother of Eros—proposes ways to subvert every taboo and rule inscribed in patriarchal canons of decency and morality. Her spicy collection of recipes, short stories, and poems is an erotic guide, in which the body may serve as a text to be written, and conversely, the text may also serve as a “body,” a site for the expression of love and pleasure. Such an “erotic digression”—as defined by the author—aims to challenge and encourage readers to enjoy life’s simple pleasures and to take action when opportunities arise: “I repent of my diets, the delicious dishes rejected out of vanity, as much as I lament the opportunities for making love that I let go because of pressing tasks or puritanical virtue. Walking through the gardens of memory, I discover that my reflections are associated with the senses” (p. 10).

Under the pretext that appetite and sex are the main generators of history, Allende’s narrative invites women to liberate and to establish a new relationship with their bodies, their partners, their families, and the social context in which they live, “for everything in life,” according to Allende, “is reduced to a process of organisms devouring one another, reproducing themselves, dying, fertilizing the earth, and being reborn, transformed. Blood, semen, sweat, ashes, tears, and the incurable poetic imagination of humanity in search of meaning...” (p. 199). Indeed, if feminism is about transforming power, Allende’s trip through the empire of the senses allows for such transformation by letting the carnivalesque and the Dionysian enter into conventional domestic spaces.

Mexican writer Laura Esquivel’s *Íntimas Suculencias: Tratado filosófico de cocina* (Intimate Succulences: A Philosophical Treatise on the Kitchen) is another text that introduces the kitchen as a place of bonding and experimentation, and cooking as an empowering activity. More romantic than rebellious, this collection of essays, short stories, and recipes—first published in various magazines and cookbooks—has a format similar to her earlier groundbreaking novel *Like Water for Chocolate: a novel in monthly installments, with recipes, romances, and home remedies*. Cecilia Lawless described the latter as “a mixture of recipe book, how-to household book, sociopolitical and historical document of the Mexican Revolution, psychological study of male/female as well as mother/daughter relations, an exploration into gothic realms, and ultimately, an extremely readable novel” (p. 261).

In *Íntimas Suculencias*, Esquivel recaptures some of the themes already introduced in her novel. As the preface indicates, the intention behind this text is to remind us to recapture the creative power of fire, the ancient traditions, the wisdom of the elders, and bring them to our homes. “Recover the kitchen as a space of knowledge,” she advises, “where both art and life are created. Where earth’s produce are united with the air, the present with the past. Where the active and passive principles mixed form another artistic and spiritual reality through an act of love. Only love conciliates opposites and makes out of two beings one” (p. 82). Closely aligned to her culture and aware of its rewarding and constructive elements, Esquivel employs these as a frame of reference for her narratives, simultaneously sustaining both the collective memory and the Mexican traditions.

Puerto-Rican-American authors Aurora Levins Morales and Rosario Morales echo Esquivel’s sentiment that sharing the cooking and preparation of a meal strengthens the bonds between women. Handed from generation to generation, from culture to culture, recipes—as well as stories—provide a unifying force that connects family traditions around the world. In their vignette “The Dinner,” a young narrator describes the kitchen activities for a dinner party:

The table has a cloth woven by one, dyed by another, embroidered by another still. It’s too small for the table but is put there in the center every year in memory of our mothers. We prepare the meal with our own particular tools. Squatting by the doorsill she pounds garlic and herbs. And she chops with a cleaver—garlic, ginger, scallions, peppers—parts a small piece of beef into a thousand slices. Someone toasts coffee, someone else grinds bananas for banana beer. Two are washing rice. One is cleaning a fish, frying pork fat, peeling plantains, scrubbing yams, chopping hot peppers. The air is rich with smells and sounds. (p. 51)

In addition to the allegorical representations of the kitchen as a place for self-empowerment, several writers also trace interesting analogies between the acts of cooking as writing, and the act of consuming as reading. Writing, like cooking, requires mixing elements, stirring them up, and even getting your hands dirty. Meanwhile, reading leads to learning, becoming emotionally and intellectually nourished. In her exemplary essay “La cocina de la escritura” (“Writer’s Kitchen”), Rosario Ferré provides a recipe for how a woman can find her inner voice and inner power to “cook” a text. According to the Puerto-Rican writer, one must “castrate” oneself into writing by breaking loose from the emotional and psychological restraints of the patriarchal legacy. Language is, for Ferré, the main ingredient with which to redeem women in the body of a text: “words should be cooked and kneaded to leave them docile from the heat and the movement” (p. 148). A good writer, says Ferré, always keeps the kitchen fire burning with imagination and love, for “The secret of writing, like the secret of good cooking, has nothing to do with gender. It has to do with the skill with which we mix the ingredients over the fire” (quoted in Castillo, p. 319).

After years of repression, censorship, and silence, Latin American women writers are seeking to alter traditional constructs of gender as well as other oppressive social structures. The fully embodied expression of physical, emotional, and intellectual needs has finally begun to make its way into textual representation. As women begin to break free from patriarchal assumptions that have governed their lives, the vision they construct will lift them from the marginal position they have occupied in the past and place them, unconfined and transcendent, at the center of the page.

### Endnotes


continued on next page
The Oxford Sausage (1772), Thomas Warton’s mixture of light-hearted pieces, reprinted verses advertising Ben Tyrell’s mutton pies. We quote these stirring lines:

If *cheap* and *good* have weight with men,
Come all ye youths, and sup with BEN.
If *liquor* in a MUTTON PIE
Has any charms, come taste and try!
O bear me witness, *isis*’ sons!
Pierce but the crust—the gravy:—
The taster licks his lips, and cries,
O RARE BEN TYRELL’S MUTTON PIES!

Meat poetry is male poetry, celebrating big portions, lots of gravy, and the camaraderie of eating. Its themes are simple, unsuited to Frenchified tastes. It has no truck with the cult of sensibility, popularized in Henry Mackenzie’s 1771 novel *The Man of Feeling*.

In the 18th Century, Parliament itself sometimes smelled like an eating house, and its private dining rooms were famous for steaks, chops, and veal pies. Rather than skip a meal, M.P.s cooked meat themselves when the professional chefs were busy. Meat, or at least its symbolism, was that important to affairs of state.

Echoes in the 19th and 20th Centuries

As Britain pushed its post-American empire eastward, India assumed the same alimentary status (relative to British bravado) as France: its indifference to big haunches of beef signified inferiority, vulnerability, effeteness. The *Epicure’s Almanack* (1815) reported on the failure of an Indian restaurant in London whose cuisine had evoked all that was weak, unmanly, “colonial”— everything that British nabobs like an eating house, and its private dining rooms were famous for steaks, chops, and veal pies. Rather than skip a meal, M.P.s cooked meat themselves when the professional chefs were busy. Meat, or at least its symbolism, was that important to affairs of state.

Mohammed, a native of Asia, opened a house for the purpose of giving dinners in the Hindustanee style, with other refreshments of the same genus. All the dishes were dressed with curry-powder, rice, Cayenne, and the best spices of Arabia... Either Sidi Mohammed’s purse was not strong enough to stand the slow test of public encouragement, or the idea was at once scouted; for certain it is, that Sidi Mohammed became bankrupt, and the undertaking was relinquished.

At the very epicenter of empire— carnivorous London— a “Hindustanee” restaurant could only epitomize feebleness. Nor did it help that “a room was set apart for smoking from hookahs with oriental herbs,” that is, opium. The opposite of beef was decadence, whether French or Indian, and opium like wine diminished manly strength.

When the sun began to set on the Empire, British culinary nationalism, particularly its themes of carnivorousness and anti-gallicism, remained a chronic if sometimes latent condition, flaring up whenever the country’s morale needed a boost. In the heart of the Depression in 1931, Florence White founded the English Folk Cookery Association to promote traditional English foods. When a member of the Association visited Oxford that year, he asked pointedly: “Are there no mutton pies made now in England?”

The following year, White herself published a landmark book, *Good Things in England*, which collected traditional recipes and sought to diminish the allure of French cuisine. The book championed the kind of food that made people feel that they belonged to a special community; at a time of painful austerity it offered glowing evocations of vicarages, college dinners, and bustling Victorian households. *Good Things*, reprinted at intervals, remained widely available throughout the period of austerity that extended into the early 1950s when England, still recovering from war, was rationing such basics as meat, sugar, butter, and eggs. In her introduction, White declared: “If we want to learn how to improve our cookery... it is to America we should turn, not France.” France, she complained, was too rule-bound, with too much of “a great sameness to it” to be adaptable to English sensibilities. “It cannot be allowed to crush out our individual English kitchen or even to take credit for its many merits.” White’s book would later arouse the interest of Elizabeth David.

Looking back over the 18th Century, we see a celebration of British food that was never far from contentiousness, even if only to sell books. If by today’s standards such contention seems crude, it nonetheless contributed to defining a self-conscious alimentary culture that inspired later interpreters and (at the very least) is great fun to recover! The latest outburst of alimentary nationalism appeared recently on the website of a well-known British personality, Gary Bushell, who declared: “A soggy croissant will never replace eggs, bacon, and buttered toast.”

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**LIBERATION IN THE KITCHEN continued from page 7**


**Works Cited**


YUAN MEI: PROFESSION, POET; AVOCATION, COLLECTOR OF RECIPES

by Ann F. Woodward

Ann Woodward is a longtime member of CHAA and past editor of this newsletter (1994-98). A fiction writer specializing in mysteries set in medieval Japan, she and her husband Jack divide their time between Ann Arbor, MI, Charlevoix, MI, and Bisbee, AZ. Ann tells us, “After finding myself seduced by retirement into idleness for the past five years, I have suddenly gone back to work as a writer. I began this process by reading widely in Japanese history and literature, hoping for an idea for a story. In the first half-hour I encountered Yuan Mei.”


The poet was Yuan Mei and he lived in China in the 18th Century (1716-1798) during the Qing dynasty. The material I had found came from a larger book and dealt with his old age. Being a poet and nearing 80, he was expressively vocal about this condition.

On people’s insistence that he still write poems for them and his continuing willingness to do that:

Can it be that though my body sinks to decay
My writing brush alone is still young.

On frailty:

If I step into the garden, a servant rushes to hold me;
If I climb the stairs the whole household panics.

On being unable to sleep:

Now that I am old I am frightened of the night for it seems longer than a year.

On diminished abilities:

This winter cricket’s wings must both be there,
Or it would not be able to fashion its songs.

When he was 78 (or so; in East Asia, the count of age makes a newborn already one year old) his sight improved for no accountable reason and he was able to give up his spectacles. Perhaps encouraged by this miracle, at the end of 1796 he was finishing his cookery book, though parts of it had been circulating in manuscript for years. It is called Shih Tan, “The Menu.”

He had always cadged recipes from the cooks of his friends by sending his cook to learn to make especially delicious dishes he had tasted in their houses. He was no easily satisfied gourmand; he tells tales of being offended by lavish display of endless but tasteless dishes, and of a host who was begged by a (rude!) guest never to be invited again, the food was so bad. He delivers quite obvious cautions for the cook: his hands must be clean, the ingredients “fresh and in good condition,” he must not let ashes from his pipe get into the food. The only recipe mentioned here is one for a kind of wafer made with egg white and flour and cooked in a scissors-like iron mold, then dusted with “frosted sugar and pine-kernels.” He cautions that it is impossible to make more than four dishes in one day, or quality will suffer; assistants are no good, for they will have their own ideas. He praises chicken, pork, fish and duck as “the original geniuses of the board” and dismisses sea-slug and swallow’s-nest as having no character, served merely to impress because of their expense. There are two paragraphs about black groats wine called wu-fan in Chinese. This is made with “dark-cooked millet” and he could not stop drinking it, though drunkenness was not his habit.

Yuan Mei had always been known for his joviality and his love of company.

If you want to call, you need only pause outside the hedge and listen;
The place from which most laughter comes is certain to be my house!

All that was important to him—truth; absolute honesty; the inclusion of all things, no matter how improper; loyalty to those he loved—went into his verse, as well as humor, for which he was criticized. He did not bother with politics but his views, which Waley says were typical of his time, included “the right of women to be educated” and he and his friends sometimes had “lady-pupils.”

He left detailed instructions about the disposition of his property and especially the manner of marking his death—no priests, scriptures, or chanting; notices for certain people on colored paper, for others on small slips, etc.

Curiously, because a few excerpts from Shih Tan appeared in English in Prof. Herbert A. Giles’ History of Chinese Literature (1901), and because the whole volume appeared in French in 1924 thanks to an unknown translator who called himself Panking, Yuan Mei has been known in the West more for the cookery book than as a poet. He would have laughed. There were at least 6,300 poems.

Note: Arthur Waley’s beautiful English and poetic sense served his authors well, as evidenced in the few quotations above.

Editor’s Note: Yuan Mei’s recipes themselves are very hard to come by in English. However, Jacqueline M. Newman’s interesting article “Cold Food and Ice in the Chinese Culinary,” which appeared in her journal Flavor & Fortune (9:1, Spring 2002), included a version of Yuan Mei’s iced bean-curd braised with meat-stock and vegetables, a recipe he “pirated” from Prefect Wang and that he called far superior to swallow’s-nest. Ask me for a photocopy of Newman’s article.
Mark Napierkowski is a third-generation sausage-maker working as an independent contractor for Zingerman’s Deli in Ann Arbor. In a presentation to the Culinary Historians this past January 18, “Artisan Sausage-Making in the New Millennium: Dead or Alive?,” Mark shared how he has labored to preserve the expertise that he inherited from his dad’s old storefront operation in the strongly Eastern European immigrant town of Natrona Heights, northeast of Pittsburgh, PA. In much of Eastern Europe even today, there are still itinerant butchers who visit farms every winter to slaughter pigs and fill families’ larders with their favorite hams and sausages. The cold of winter, when livestock feed is scarce anyway, is best for preserving the meat. Raw meats need not be cooked if they are kept cool and are cured, i.e., treated to the antibacterial action of salt and its traditional impurity saltpeter, a nitrate. Fermented sausages, such as salami, represent a still more complex technique.

Mark explained that the taste of today’s commercial sausages, made in batches as large as 3000 lbs., suffers from the use of industrial-grade meats, ersatz spices, and other poor ingredients. By contrast, artisanal sausages are made in batches no larger than 150 lbs. Mark favors the pork of free-range Berkshire pigs sold by select producers in Iowa, Minnesota, and Canada. We tasted his family recipe of cured pork kielbasa, which uses fresh spices like Tellicherry pepper and marjoram and is smoked over hickory and apple wood; and his warm German-style bologna, a cooked sausage of finely-ground beef, yellow mustard, white pepper and other spices. He has also made Portuguese-style pork chouriço; fish sausages, traditional in the Upper Great Lakes, Japan, and China; and Japanese-style vegetarian sausages. The Slow Food movement and similar groups aim to create conditions in which it will be less difficult for small producers to practice these arts.

The February 15 meeting was a definite change of pace for our group. Each participant took a few minutes to describe “Gastronomic Events I Would Like to Have Attended or Would Like to Relive.” Among the events retold from direct experience were the annual slaughter of a pig at a family cottage in 1940s Northamptonshire, England; a meal of reindeer meat among native herding families in Arctic Sweden; a local Turkish-style open-pit lamb roast in 1972; a local Roman-style feast for 14 reclining diners in 1978, based on Apicius’ recipes; and a continental-style family meal at L’Ambassadeur Restaurant in Mexico City in the late 1950s. Among the events re-imagined from history were the wedding feast of a wealthy man in ancient Macedonia; Mark Twain’s longed-for meal following his long absence from America, in A Tramp Abroad (1879); a 1912 dinner by Escoffier’s Ligue des Gourmands dedicated to Sarah Bernhardt; and a 1936 dinner of a Boston gastronomy club hosted by historian Samuel Eliot Morison.

“Dining on the Rails: The Challenges of Maintaining a Highly Visible Service” was an illustrated lecture on March 21 from railway buff Thomas C. Cornillie, a recent Univ. of Michigan graduate specializing in the social history of industrialization and de-industrialization. According to Tom, dining cars were introduced by the Pullman Co. in the 1860s and spread rapidly to other lines. In the earliest diners, famous for fine food and wine, white stewards glided among the linen- and crystal-covered wooden tables while African-American chefs and waiters served meals from hot, cramped kitchens using coal-fired stoves. These plantation-style diners gave way to simpler “lunch-counter cars” around 1910; Amtrak, formed in 1970, retained the lounge cars, but only for ready-made or warmed-over foods. Railroads, at first dependent on ice, later pioneered mechanical refrigeration. Dining service was maintained as a focal part of the train experience despite being consistently unprofitable; one 1926 report for the Pennsylvania RR noted that the average meal cost $1.48 but was sold for $1.17. Dining-car workers, still largely African-American, were finally unionized in the 1930s. Some of the chefs’ recipes made it to print. Our members prepared two of these: Almond Cakes, from ex-slave and Pullman chef Rufus Estes (see Repast Fall 1999, p. 6); and Wenatchee Apple Cake, from chef Richard Rusnak of the Great Northern RR.

Local food historian Howard Paige led an informal discussion of African-American cookery at our April 18 meeting. Howard is the author of Aspects of African-American Foodways (1999) and other works. Lately, with a grant from Michigan State University, he has been researching African-American cookery as an historical component of cuisine in the Great Lakes region. One of his conclusions has been that it is most helpful to think of the American South—not the American Midwest nor Africa itself—as the “motherland” of Great Lakes African-American cookery. Interestingly, the earliest known African-American work devoted solely to cookery, published in Paw Paw, MI in 1866, was written by Malinda Russell, a Tennessee native who fled the South during the Civil War (see Jan Longone’s column in Gastronomica Feb. 2001).

On May 16, the Five Lakes Grill in Milford, MI was specially opened for a five-course dinner prepared for 63 CHAA members and friends. Owner Brian Polcyn, the Certified Executive Chef who founded the restaurant in 1995 and is Professor of Charcuterie and Butchery at Schoolcraft College in Livonia, supervised dinner preparations and spoke to us about the arts involved. Assorted charcuterie from chef Richard Rusnak of the Great Northern RR formed the first course: Italian lonza (air-dried pork loin), Hungarian csabay (a paprika-rich salame), Spanish chorizo, French saucisson sec, chicken mousseline, and a country terrine with cherry chutney and truffle oil. A recipe that Brian devised for the 2000 Culinary Olympics team formed the fourth course: breast of Indiana duckling accompanied by a sausage of duck, foie gras and mushroom, a wild-leek custard, potato gnocchi, and red-currant sauce.
In Memory of Mila Simmons

On May 11, following a stroke, our long-time member and dear friend Mila Simmons died at age 64. Several CHAA members attended the memorial mass on May 18. Julie Lewis reports that all of Mila’s extended family was there—from the Philippines, Hawai’i, Los Angeles, Mississippi, etc.—and that her brother Alex gave a very moving tribute. After a lunch at Dynasty Chinese Buffet, people talked about their memories of Mila. Our group extends special condolences to her husband Curt and other family members.

Mila will be very sorely missed. She volunteered much of her time not only to CHAA but also to several medical and other charities. Above all, Dr. Milagros S. Simmons was a respected environmental chemist who worked to understand and combat water pollution, from the Great Lakes to her native Philippines. She spent most of her career in teaching and research at the University of Michigan, retiring a few years ago as an Associate Professor in the School of Public Health.

To honor her memory and valued contributions to our group, we would like to donate a book to the Clements Library Culinary History archive. To make a donation, please send your check, payable to Clements Library and designated as a gift in memory of Mila Simmons, to: Clements Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1190. Your gift will be tax-deductible.

In conjunction with Marsha Ackermann’s article (page 1), we want to mention some other retrospectives on the 1904 Exposition in St. Louis. According to tradition, an ice-cream vendor on the fair’s Pike ran out of serving cups, prompting the invention of the waffle-style cone. As the story goes, one or more of the Middle Eastern immigrant vendors of zalabia (a flat, circular pastry baked between two charcoal-heated iron platen) helped out by rolling the wafers into cone shapes suitable for serving ice cream. The late Jack Marlowe examined the various claims in a cover story, “Zalabia and the First Ice-Cream Cone” (Saudi Aramco World July/August 2003). The Exposition has been credited with helping to introduce or popularize many other foods, such as the hamburger sandwich, hot dog, machine-ground peanut-butter, puffed rice, iced tea, and Dr. Pepper soda. The food aspects of the fair were prominent enough to stimulate a well-researched coffee-table book, Pamela J. Vaccaro’s Beyond the Ice-Cream Cone: The Whole Scoop on Food at the 1904 World’s Fair (St. Louis: Enid Press, 2004; 174 pp., $23.95 paper). Vaccaro discusses the agriculturists, cooks, restaurants and concessions, food vendors and food company displays and giveaways at the fair. One chapter examines what foods were in fact introduced at the fair, including some that were seldom heard of again, such as Cottolene, a lard substitute (“shortens your food, lengthens your life”). The book also reprints some recipes from the Saint Louis’ 1904 World’s Fair Souvenir Cook Book by Sarah Tyson Rorer, the famous dietician, columnist, cookbook author and food purity advocate, who ran the fair’s 1200-seat East Pavilion Café and Model Restaurant and gave cooking demonstrations.

In St. Louis, the Missouri History Museum has mounted exhibits on the Lewis and Clark expedition (through Sept. 6) and the 1904 fair (through 2008). The Toledo Museum of Art, in Ohio, is exhibiting (through July 25) much of the dazzling tableware from the Libbey Glass Company’s display at the 1904 fair, including an ornate 134-pound punch bowl, the largest piece of cut glass that the company had ever made.

On May 3, an Elizabethan dinner featuring meat pies, herb tarts, lamb, ale, and dried fruit was served at the Pierre, a restaurant in New York City. The meal, a benefit for a local Bard-loving troupe called Theater for a New Audience, was based on a menu created by psychologist and food historian Francine Segan. Segan has recently published Shakespeare’s Kitchen: Renaissance Recipes for the Contemporary Cook (New York: Random House, 2003; 288 pp., $35 cloth). Her volume covers Elizabethan food generally, from salads and biscuits to a Spring Pea Tortellini and an awesome-sounding Lobster with Pistachio Stuffing and Seville Orange Butter. The recipes are updated for modern cooks, but Segan accompanies each with an explanation of its history, and often the verbatim original recipe. One section gives complete directions for pulling off an Elizabethan meal for friends. A bibliography details the period cookbooks and manuscripts upon which Segan’s recipes are based.

The Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, a serious annual gathering now held at the Headington Hill campus of Oxford Brookes University in England, resumes on September 3-5, 2004 under the theme “Wild Food: Hunters and Gatherers.” Among the scheduled presenters is our New York-based friend Andrew F. Smith, speaking on “The Fall and Rise of the Wild Turkey.” The theme for Sept. 2005 will be “Food Authenticity in Our Modern Age.” For more information, visit http://www.oxfordsymposium.org.uk/.

Noted authors Joan Nathan, Mimi Sheraton, and Hasia Diner will be some of the keynote speakers at a symposium in the nation’s capital on October 10-11, “Are We What We Eat?: American Jewish Foodways 1654-2004,” organized by the Judaic Studies Program at George Washington University. The conference will cover major trends of Sephardic and Ashkenazi food in the U.S., including talks on such topics as the American context for Jewish breads (matzo, the bagel, and pita); Jewish cookbooks and historical change; and “What Happened to Chopped Liver?: Transformations of the Jewish Diet and Interaction with its Surrounding Culture.” The presentations, at GWU and the Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History, are free and open to the public, although an RSVP is requested. A kosher dinner of historic American-Jewish foods, held at the Grand Hyatt and co-sponsored by The American Institute of Wine and Food, costs $100 and requires reservations. Further information at http://www.gwu.edu/~judaic/350/food_conf.htm or 202-994-2190.
Saturday, July 31, 2004
Theme Picnic, “Foods of the Presidents”
3:00 – 7:00 p.m. at the home of members
Octavian Prundeanu and Jan Arps
on Base Line Lake
(7778 Base Lake Drive, Dexter, MI)

June 7 – October 1, 2004
“The Ice Man Cometh... and Goeth”
Univ. of Michigan Clements Library
This exhibit, curated by CHAA founder Jan Longone,
explores the American ice industry from early New England
pond ice harvesting to mechanical refrigeration.

Sunday, October 17, 2004
“Hot Meals in Cool Kitchens: Selling Air-Conditioning in the 1950s”
Marsha E. Ackermann, Lecturer in History,
Eastern Michigan University

Sunday, November 21, 2004
“Fresh from the Past: Why 18th-Century Food Matters Today”
Sandra Sherman, Prof. of British Literature, University of Arkansas

Sunday, September 19, 2004
“History of Refrigeration in America”
by Jan Longone, exhibit curator (see above),
3:00 – 5:00 p.m. at the Clements Library
(co-sponsored by Clements Library)
In 1904, St. Louis hosted a World's Fair to celebrate the centennial of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. It was delayed from a planned opening in 1903 to 1904, to allow for full-scale participation by more states and foreign countries. The Fair opened April 30, 1904, and closed December 1, 1904. St. Louis had held an annual St. Louis Exposition since the 1880s as agricultural, trade, and scientific exhibitions, but this event was not held in 1904, due to the World's Fair. A number of foods are claimed to have been invented at the fair. The most popular claim is that the waffle-style ice cream cone was invented and first sold during the fair. However, it is widely believed that it was not invented at the Fair, but instead, it was popularized at the Fair. In 1904, St. Louis hosted a World's Fair to celebrate the centennial of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. It was delayed from a planned opening in 1903 to 1904, to allow for full-scale participation by more states and foreign countries. The Fair opened April 30, 1904, and closed December 1, 1904. St. Louis had held an annual St. Louis Exposition since the 1880s as agricultural, trade, and scientific exhibitions, but this event was not held in 1904, due to the World's Fair. Read more. This page contains text from Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia - https://wn.com/Louisiana_Purchase_Expositi

The 1904 World's Fair took place at an important historical turning point in American food culture. While there may not be conclusive evidence that any single food item was invented from scratch on the fairgrounds, American foodways were undergoing a radical transformation, and, for a few brief months in a single place, the fair captured an entire culture of eating that was being remade for the modern world. Far from being invented at the St. Louis fair, the hamburger was already a notorious public health threat. A full two acres of the Agriculture building in St. Louis were dedicated to the Pure Food Exhibit.