



VOLUME XXVI, NUMBER 1 WINTER 2010

# Repast

Quarterly Publication of the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor

## Episodes in African-American Food History *Part 1*



In this 1936 photo, Mississippi sharecropper Lonnie Fair and his family pray before having their meal. Fair's landlord was the Delta and Pine Land Company, the largest plantation owner in the United States. (Alfred Eisenstaedt/ LIFE)

*Scheduled for our next issue:*

**Episodes in African-American Food History Part 2**

- Robert T. Dirks (Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, Illinois State University) presents a major analysis, “What Early Dietary Studies of African Americans Tell Us About Soul Foods”
- Leni A. Sorensen (African-American Research Historian at Monticello, Charlottesville, VA) reviews Judith Carney’s new book, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa’s Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World*
- and more.

# Repast

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Editor.....Randy K. Schwartz  
CHAA President.....Carroll Thomson  
CHAA Program Chair.....Laura Green Gillis  
CHAA Treasurer.....Dan Longone  
CHAA Founder and Honorary President...Jan Longone



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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](mailto:rschw45251@aol.com)

Subscriptions are \$15/year. To subscribe to *Repast* or to become a CHAA member (which includes a subscription), contact the CHAA President:

Carroll Thomson  
4600 W. Liberty  
Ann Arbor, MI 48103  
tel. 734-662-8661  
[culinaryhistory@aol.com](mailto:culinaryhistory@aol.com)

**PUB FOOD**

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topping for the dish. As an argument ensued and quickly grew heated, Michael bashed his brother on the head with a shovel, and John threatened to retaliate by firebombing Michael’s apartment. The police were called in and arrested John Garvin, who pled guilty to disturbing the peace. He was fined £200 by District Judge Peter Ward, who also told the defendant that in his view, there is no need for tomatoes on a shepherd’s pie.

For fear of inflaming similar passions, we hesitate to report the not-very-traditional Chicken Wings with a Variety of Dipping Sauces [Jane and Herbert Kaufer], but these served to remind us how modern and foreign influences are impinging upon pub fare, as upon everything else these days.

Hurry Up Please, It’s Time for Dessert

British pubs are not well known for sweets, but that didn’t stop us from indulging in some of the most famous desserts of the realm.

The addition of Guinness stout can help to leaven a cake batter as well as provide extra flavor. Befitting this occasion, there were actually three such cakes for us to choose from:

- Porter Cake [Jan and Tavi Prundeanu], also called Guinness Cake, used a whole 10 oz. of Guinness stout. The recipe was from the 2002 annual Irish cooking class offered by the Metro Detroit Chapter of the Irish American Cultural Institute, taught that year by Pamela and Gerald Maloney and Julie Demery.
- Mr. Guinness’s Cake [Harriet Larson and George Weible] is a spicy pound cake, made with a recipe clipped from a local paper. Harriet also brought two shortbreads from Kent.
- County Kerry Ginger Bread Stout Cake [Jan and Dan Longone] was served with whipped cream. Following a recipe from the Guinness-retail site [www.gigfy.com](http://www.gigfy.com), Jan added some flat Guinness to the gingerbread batter, and baked the cake in a fluted pan. (Old ale or claret was actually a standard ingredient in early British biscuit-type gingerbreads.) She commented that she had fun baking it, and it filled the house with a nice aroma, too.

Mincemeat Crisp [Kathleen Timberlake], based on a friend’s recipe, is prepared like an apple crisp, but the layer of apple is replaced by a layer of mincemeat made with beef suet, apple, and citron peel.

Trifle covered with syllabub [Rita Goss] was prepared using a recipe from Jane Grigson’s *British Cookery* (New York, 1985). Sherry and brandy are ingredients in both the trifle and syllabub. A trifle consists of ladyfingers or, as here, cubes of sponge cake, soaked with liquor, custard, and jelly; in Scotland this is called a “tipsy laird”. The frothy syllabub, which has enjoyed a resurgence in popularity, is a whipped infusion of the liquor with lemon juice, sugar, and double cream.

Tasting the variety of dishes we had labored to prepare, and listening to the spoken introductions of each, we dare say that we learned as much as if we’d sat by the fireplace of The Kings Head or the Cheshire Cheese. A meal’s a meal, for a’ that! ■

# SUMMARIES OF THE C.H.A.A. FALL 2009 PROGRAMS

## Regional American Food

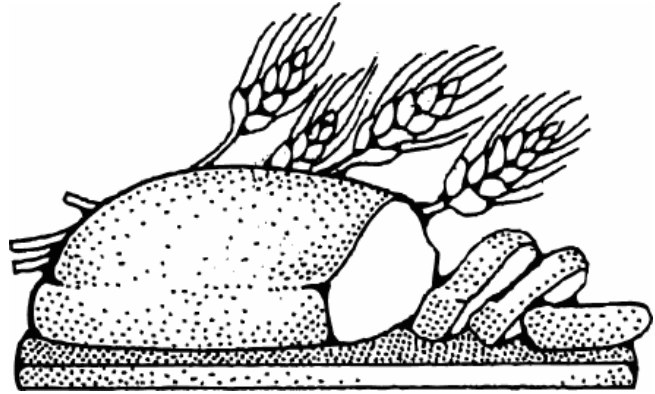
At our September 20 meeting, Prof. Lucy M. Long of Bowling Green State Univ. led a very interactive discussion, “Regional American Foodways: Sense of Place and Green Bean Casserole”. She pointed out that the fact that food carries identity, history, culture, and politics has become more widely recognized in recent years. A classic example of a regional American food is Boston Baked Beans, a custom that allowed colonial Puritans to eat a warm meal on Sunday without violating the Sabbath. Clearly, a “region” is characterized by both geographic and cultural traits. People from different localities or ethnic groups have created rival terms for, and ideas about, dishes like chili or hoagies. But today, due to mobility and other factors, peoples’ ties to specific localities and cultures have weakened. Slow Food USA and its allies have subdivided North America into 13 distinctive food regions (the Gumbo Nation in the coastal South, etc.); but their identities, they argue, are threatened and need to be safeguarded. Others, such as Raymond Sokolov, believe that American food regionalism has already mostly disappeared.

This is a complex issue, because commerce, media, travel, and other factors have played a role in introducing different foods to different regions. For example, Green-Bean Casserole had very commercial origins, but in places like Northwest Ohio, where the Campbell’s Co. and its industrial farming have had a strong base, this casserole has become a flourishing tradition. When Long grew up in the mountains of North Carolina, there was none of the barbecue that characterized the Piedmont to the east; but today, one sees signs for “Traditional North Carolina Mountain BBQ”. This is a custom that has been constructed and commodified. At the same time, some earlier forms of regionalism have shifted to the realm of memory, romance, and nostalgia. All of these issues are explored in Long’s new book, *Regional American Food Culture* (Greenwood Press, 2009).

## The Most Ancient Breads

“Bread at the Origin of Civilization: A Baker’s View” was the title of the October 18 presentation by Amy Emberling, a managing partner at Zingerman’s Bakehouse in Ann Arbor. She noted how little has changed in basic bread techniques since their first appearance about 9,000 years ago. Beer, porridge, and bread arose around the same time and were interrelated: e.g., in Egypt and elsewhere, barley cakes were used as the fermenting agent for beer, and the yeast in beer was used to leaven bread. The other ancient bread leaven was what we would call sourdough starter.

In the Fertile Crescent, the earliest cereal grains used were emmer wheat (*farro*), einkorn wheat, and barley. Of these, leavened bread can only be made with wheat flour. In his study of ancient Mesopotamian cuisine as found in cuneiform tablets, Jean Bottéro has identified 300 different terms for bread, such as *mersu*, a temple-offering bread enriched with oil or butter, milk, spices, and pinenuts. Such opulent loaves were baked in



large ovens, while common flatbreads were baked on the walls of a *tinúru*, a small, dome-shaped oven ancestral to today’s *tannour*. Early on, flour was milled by hand by grinding the grain kernels between two stones. The quern, or wheel-type mill, was invented in Assyria c. 1000 BCE. In Egypt, archaeologists have unearthed ancient loaves in a variety of shapes: round with a central crater; ovoid with a lateral slash; semi-circular; triangular; and conical.

## Early Victorian Cookery

Our presenter on November 8 was Weslie Janeway, co-author with Dusha Bateson of *Mrs. Charles Darwin’s Recipe Book: Revived and Illustrated* (Glitterati, 2009). Arriving in the Darwin bicentennial year, theirs is the first real study of Emma Darwin’s kitchen notebook, which is still owned by the Darwin family in England. Janeway told us that she was influenced by Janet Theophano’s book *Eat My Words: Reading Women’s Lives Through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), which showed that for centuries women have kept such notebooks. Emma’s, maintained during her first 20 years of marriage, was written in bits and pieces, in fits and starts and by a number of different people. However, the jottings are so meticulous that they provide excellent information on price changes, product availability, and household budgeting. Mrs. Darwin ran a very efficient upper-middle-class household, with 8 children, 12 servants, frequent guests, plus gardens and farm animals. She didn’t seem to own a published cookbook, but had a pretty good working knowledge of cookery, and obtained recipes from a variety of sources.

Rapid change in commerce, technology and transport characterized this early phase of the Victorian Era. For example, in this notebook we see culinary thickening agents evolving from calf’s-foot jelly to isinglass to thin sheets of gelatin. By the 1880’s, commercial products like Worcestershire sauce and pickled walnuts were becoming widely available. Foods introduced from overseas included oranges, Parmesan cheese, macaroni, and rice. The rice, imported from the Carolinas, found its way into recipes such as “Chas. Darwin’s Own Plain Rice”, “Chicken and Rice Cooked Together”, “Recipe for Leftover Rice”, and “Pudding Rice”. Parmesan was used to make delightful cheese straws. CHAA members prepared two recipes from the book: gingerbread and posset. The latter is a sweet creamy drink that figured in the early evolution of trifles and syllabubs.

A report on our December 13 cooperative theme meal begins on page 15 of this issue. ■

# CHANGING THE DIET OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS



## CARVER'S TUSKEGEE BULLETINS

by Elizabeth M. Simms

*A Brandeis University graduate who has worked in four New York City restaurants, Elizabeth Simms is now a personal chef, caterer, culinary writer, and teacher living in Brooklyn. In 2006, she received an Amelia Scholar's Grant from the Culinary Historians of New York to study rural Alabama foodways based on examining George Washington Carver's papers and bulletins at the Tuskegee Experiment Station.*

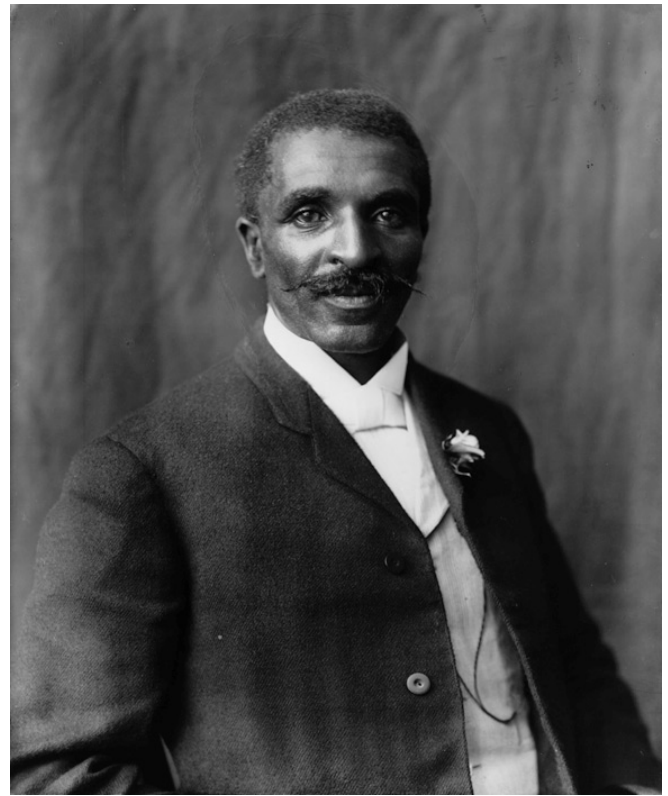
*My Dear Mr. Washington:*

*...I am glad that the bulletins are filling so admirably the purpose which they were designed. In going around from place to place I really find that they are doing a considerable amount of good, and I believe that the amount of good done will warrant their continue through the summer...*

— George Washington Carver  
to Booker T. Washington, March 18, 1903

Over the course of 45 years, until his death in 1943, George Washington Carver's Experiment Station near Tuskegee, Alabama issued 44 bulletins. Some of these agricultural bulletins contained titles such as *Three Delicious Meals Every Day for the Farmer*, *Dairying in Connection with Farming*, and *How to Cook Cowpeas*. The primary function of the bulletins was directed at farming matters; however, for those that dealt specifically with fruits and vegetables, Carver recognized the importance of presenting these not just as food staples, but also as culinary staples. This dual purpose can be immediately observed in such bulletin titles as *How to Grow the Cowpea and 40 Ways of Preparing it as a Table Delicacy* and *How to Grow the Tomato and 115 Ways to Prepare it for the Table*.

Carver appeared on the scene with his bulletins at a time that was ripe for change. Too much land was going to cotton when it should have been used for growing food crops. Black families were consuming a diet extremely low in protein and almost completely lacking in fruits and vegetables. His agricultural work showed that not only could the land be



**A photo of George Washington Carver taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston in 1906.**

re-energized after years of cotton growing, but a wide variety of fruits and vegetables could be grown and harvested both for sale and for feeding a family in the Winter. Inclusion of recipes in the Experiment Station bulletins took the learning process a step further. These bulletins would break the pork-molasses-cornmeal cycle, and change the agricultural and culinary traditions of a people.

The period following Reconstruction was one of rebirth for Black identity. W. E. B. DuBois was arguing for the intellectual advancement of the Black race, while Booker T. Washington was of the mind that power could be gained economically and psychologically by farming the land. It was Carver's mission (at Washington's direction) to advance the race through an education that would have a direct impact on people's lives: better working conditions, better living conditions, better eating conditions.

### Climate of the Times in the South

The Civil War had ended in 1865. While the war dealt primarily with the secession of states, it had also symbolized the fight for freedom of millions. For the Black community the end of slavery meant the end of bondage to a master who controlled their fates. The end of the war meant a new beginning for a Black community that had been enslaved since its arrival in America.

However, the end of slavery did not necessarily signal the fact that the Black population was equipped to meet its needs. In the words of one observer,

The Civil War did not destroy the old plantation system. It merely altered the legal status of one of

its elements. The Negro in the mass remained economically untouched by the gift of freedom, in so far as any free agency of his own was concerned. (Stone 1910, p. 13)

In fact, life post-Civil War mirrored life before it, and the Black community was slow to change. A majority of the nation's Blacks still lived in the South (89% in 1910, and 77% in 1940), and more than half of the population lived in rural areas (Hurt 2003, pp. 2-3). While change would eventually come through the younger generation becoming literate and leaving the farms, the older generation was faced with many challenges, the biggest being a plantation system that was still in place.

Land continued to be held by a few, and the former slave had no choice but to become a tenant farmer. This was not much of a change from the old farm system. The Black farmer was still working someone else's land and thus earning a profit for the white farmer. In addition, freedom from slavery placed the responsibility of making a living and providing for the family squarely on the shoulders of the former slave.

Cotton was no longer king, and no one was ready to admit to this fact. Black farmers were practicing mono-cropping despite the fact that there was now an over-saturation of cotton on the market, driving prices down while production costs remained the same:

The acuteness of the struggle for a livelihood has issued from the effort to produce enough from the constantly weakening soil...The reluctance to change has been bound up with the decreasing importance of the area itself as a cotton center, the increasing economic helplessness of the families, the high illiteracy, and the almost total absence of money. (Johnson 1934, p. 24)

The economic status of the Black farmer was dire. Black farms were valued at an average of \$799 in 1910 and then \$1588 in 1920, compared to white farms valued at \$2140 and \$3911 during the same years (Hurt 2003, pp. 2-3). Macon County, Alabama, where Tuskegee is situated, saw an average cash income of \$448 in 1928 (Woofter 1930, p. 23). This number reflects crops sold, crops consumed at home, and wages received away from home. Half of the cotton went for the land-rent that had to be paid, and corn went to the livestock as feed; whatever was left had to feed the family and pay debts. However, if there were not enough food harvested to sustain the family throughout the Winter, high prices at the store allowed only limited choices as far as purchasing nutritious and non-perishable foods is concerned. Another side effect of a small harvest was the debt incurred when the farmer was forced to buy food on credit.

Limited education compounded the problem. Though forced to farm for centuries, the newly freed African-American farmers lacked the know-how to balance commodity with subsistence production, i.e., growing enough of those crops meant for sale and also enough of those meant to feed their families.

## The Black Diet after Reconstruction

For a large number of tenant-farming families, their limited diets consisted largely of salt meat, corn or flour bread, and syrup or sorghum. Consumption of vegetables and fruits was rare, primarily due to lack of money. What little meat there was, they acquired during hunting season. Occasionally they fished (Johnson 1934, pp. 100-101).

From 1895 to 1896, a small study of African-American food habits was conducted in rural Alabama by the Office of the Experiment Stations, led by W. O. Atwater and Charles Wood (Dirks and Duran 2001). This first study was conducted in the areas surrounding Tuskegee Institute with the cooperation of the school's principal, Booker T. Washington. The study's subjects were considered to be representative of Black farm families in the "Black Belt" South. Most of them lived on plantations and were tenant farmers.

The study noted some interesting facts: the subjects lived in near poverty, and it was discovered that there was a significant decline in nutrition in the late Fall and Winter months. Cotton was still being grown. Corn, sweet potatoes, sugar, sorghum (a grain), and a small amount of vegetables were being grown for food in small plots and for those who had them, small home gardens. However, not enough was being harvested for human consumption. Staple foods were found to be salt pork, cornmeal, molasses, lard, and flour, foods that had just become affordable. The standard meal consisted of pork, sap (a mixture of molasses and bacon grease), and cornbread. Occasionally there was fresh pork, sweet potatoes, greens, opossum, or "crackling breads" (fat fried until brittle, mixed with cornmeal, water, soda, and salt, and then baked). The study also found that there was little dairy consumption.

Winter was especially hard for the farmer. Because few farmers owned their land, high mortgage debts had to be paid with the crops, and furthermore whatever was left brought in little in the way of money/credit from the market. Winter stores of corn and molasses usually did not provide enough to carry a family through the season, which prompted visits to the local store where goods were priced quite high, and credit was depleted quickly.

A WPA study later summarized the problem as follows:

Inadequate nutrition constitutes a basic problem in the South. The meager diets generally found among low income farm families in this section result not only from lack of money with which to purchase a variety of foodstuffs but also from ignorance and from food habits of long standing. Gardens are primarily seasonal in character and poorly tended, while canning and storing of food are usually at a minimum among the group which most needs these types of provision for winter diet. Lack of supplies, canning equipment, and refrigeration are frequently major obstacles to food preservation... Unless they raise the products

*continued on next page*

**CARVER'S BULLETINS** *continued from page 5*

themselves, the poorer farmer families are unable to supplement this diet with the needed quantities of milk, eggs, vegetables, fruits, and lean meat. Hence the adequacy of the diet is directly dependent upon production for home use. (Holley et al. 1940, pp. 55-56)

Thus, the existence of culinary traditions under slavery did not mean that the newly freed Blacks were now able to feed themselves adequately. Their plantation diet had consisted of leftovers from the Big House, various forms of bread mash, and occasionally meat. Now, they needed to determine how to grow food on land ravaged by cotton cultivation, and how to use these foods. They needed to know which foodstuffs that would be both nutritious and palatable could be stored to last the Winter, when food and money were scarce. These were practical issues that had to be answered.

#### Carver Comes to Tuskegee

Many factors contributed to the development of Tuskegee, its Experiment Station, and George Washington Carver's involvement there. In 1862 the U.S. Department of Agriculture was established. In 1887 the Hatch Act provided funds to establish agricultural experiment stations. The Tuskegee Institute was founded in Macon County, AL in 1881, and its experiment station was established in 1897.

Macon County is the "garden spot of Alabama" with mild Winters and hot Summers, and has an average growing season of 251 days (Carver 1913). The county was rural and secluded; once free, the Black population settled and continued to work the land. Meanwhile, Tuskegee enjoyed an independence in the county that allowed it to rise above white economic and political interference through diplomacy and displays of economic usefulness.

At the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee's principal, voiced his somewhat controversial idea of racial cooperation. He urged that Blacks should "cast down their buckets" and use vocational education as a means to social advancement; economic success would eventually bring with it political and civil rights. In the spirit of his ideals, Washington established an agricultural school at Tuskegee. The man he wished to bring to the school as teacher was a highly educated Black man, George Washington Carver.

Born in Missouri shortly before 1865, Carver was raised by Moses and Sarah Carver, a white family. (It was probably from Sarah that Carver learned cooking.) He was schooled in Kansas in the late 1870's during the mass migration of Blacks to the "free soil" states. The year 1890 found him in Simpson College (Indianola, IA) studying art and botany. He entered Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and left with a Masters in Agriculture. He was approached by Washington to come teach at Tuskegee. When he arrived at the end of 1896, Carver was the highest paid member of staff at \$1000/year, and was the only one to have received an advanced degree from a white college (Edwards 1981, p. 45).

During his tenure at Tuskegee Institute, George Washington Carver's agenda was twofold: to relieve the worn out Southern soil by planting crops other than cotton, and to improve the diet and health of the rural Black family. He felt the need to make a significant contribution to elevating the welfare of Blacks by encouraging them to change their longstanding agricultural and dietary practices. In the larger scheme of things, the work that he was about to do at the Experiment Station—the investigation of fruits and vegetables that the Black farmer could grow and prepare inexpensively—though lesser known than his work with the peanut, was innovative in its focus and its outreach to the Black community.

In *My Larger Education*, Washington de-emphasizes Carver's contributions to sharecroppers, instead highlighting his universal popularity within the white community, an emphasis at odds with Carver's own focus (Washington 1911, pp. 223-31).

#### Diet and the Experiment Station Bulletins

The Tuskegee Experiment Station was primarily concerned with the agricultural advancement of the Black farmer, beginning in Macon County and extending as far as the instructors and graduates of the Institute traveled. However, it was not just the farmer who was important to the Black race; the farmer's wife was equally pivotal. The concerns of the time—inadequate nutrition, lack of money, providing for the Winter, and proper preservation techniques—were addressed by Carver in a variety of agricultural bulletins. Though traditionally written for, and distributed to, scientists, Carver reinterpreted the bulletin's traditional form: his language was elementary and simple, and the topics were accessible to the farmer and his wife.

In *How to Make and Save Money on the Farm*, a sense of urgency is conveyed throughout the pamphlet: Winter is approaching and there is a crop shortage. Canning methods are given for a multitude of produce: corn, string beans, okra, eggplant, tomatoes, beets, and blackberries. Instructions are also given for drying fruits to make strawberry leather, fig leather, and dried peach, pumpkin, apple, even tomato:

It is generally known what a distinct and delicious product the tomato makes when properly dried. I am sure that every housewife would try a few pounds. When eaten as a confection it is far superior to many of the so-called choice candies sold at fancy prices. (Carver 1927, p. 10)

Elsewhere, he reinforced the point that drying makes "...nutritious and palatable dainties, sufficient to last throughout the winter and spring months" (p. 4).

While subjects having to do with soil cultivation and raising animals were essential knowledge for the farming family, the recipe section within many of the bulletins was clearly intended for the housewife as she, too, was given tips. In the recipes for Griddle Cake No. 1, Carver writes: "It improves the lightness to whip vigorously before stirring in the baking powder. Sour milk and soda can be used the same as for other griddle cakes" (Carver 1910, p.15). Or, for

Creamed Peas, “a small pat of butter may be added if not rich enough” (p. 15). And in Hopping John, bacon or a beef bone can be added to the peas and rice mixture, but if the beef bone is used, it is important to “double the salt in this case or proportion it to the size of the bone” (p. 16). This collaborative effort between Carver’s bulletins and the farmer and his wife was essential not only in providing a source of income but to provide delicious things to eat every day.

Health and nutrition were also prime concerns. In *Forty-Three Ways to Save the Wild Plum Crop*, there is a chart that makes a nutritional appeal to use this fruit. The chart compares the wild plum to common cultivated fruits such as apples, cherries, and pears, and while the reader might not know what a protein is, or a carbohydrate, or a calorie, when Carver describes these as a muscle builder, a fat former, or a heat unit, it suddenly means something. The high numeric value of the plum in these categories, compared to the other fruits, emphasizes how valuable the plum is, even though usually “hundreds of bushels go to waste every year” (Carver 1917, p. 3). And Carver takes nothing for granted: he gives a recipe for making a plum sandwich (a jelly sandwich with nuts and butter), and offers a variation on the traditional strawberry shortcake, made instead with plums. In another recipe he mentions, in case there is not enough sugar for canning the plums (an equal amount of sugar to fruit is required), “the sugar may be left out and put in when prepared for the table. They are very nice this way and no one need go without nice plums because they are unable to get the sugar” (p. 4).

Pellagra, a so-called “lazy disease”, affected many of the poor in the South. It was the result of a nutritionally deficient diet that included very few vitamin-rich foods. Though not directly involved in finding a cure for the disease, its presence emphasized to Carver the need to introduce more food products from the garden into the overall diet (Richardson 1916; Tindall 1961, pp. 276-280).

It had been Washington’s intent that Carver would produce the bulletins quarterly. Due to financial restraints and lack of staff, this was not possible. Between 1898 and 1943, some 44 bulletins were issued on a variety of themes, from how to raise hogs for pork whose purchase at a store would have been too expensive, to which greens should be grown in the home garden (including some typically considered as weeds).

#### Outreach and Impact

The Institute employed various means to reach the community: school demonstrations, conferences, appearances at local fairs, a mobile school, articles in the media, and the agricultural bulletins. These methods of dissemination, especially the bulletins, were something innovative and empowering for the rural Blacks. They offered Black farmers and their wives publications whose content was based on Carver’s assessment of their specific needs. Tuskegee printed between 2,000 and 5,000 bulletins at a time, and these were freely distributed to individuals through the school’s outreach programs, fairs, conferences, etc.

Almost immediately after Carver had arrived at Tuskegee, various programs were begun that were the probable source of

this distribution. The Agricultural Farmers’ Institute was organized on November 11, 1897. This series of free monthly meetings, lectures and demonstrations were used as a means to address farmers and discuss a “woman’s helpful influence in the kitchen” (Jones 1975, p. 259).

An offshoot of the Institute was a fair organized in 1898 to display the farmer’s wares based on what he had learned from Tuskegee. Not only did the farmer show his food products, but also his wife showed hers. After years of poor-looking goods, eventually “products improved” and in particular “canned goods were more abundant and of the best quality and variety.” And, the improvement was not limited to food. The fair saw growth from a few hundred attendees in 1898-1899 to thousands by 1915 (Jones 1975, p. 259).

In 1904, two more means of outreach began: a “Short Course in Agriculture” and the Jesup Wagon. The Short Course involved classes given to farmers over a series of weeks during the Winter season. There were also classes for women and children (Jones 1975, p. 261). The Jesup Wagon was a traveling agricultural school of Carver’s design. Realizing that it was impossible for many farmers to reach Tuskegee to participate in the school’s sponsored activities, Washington conceived of this plan and Carver implemented it as a means to address farmers in Macon as well as in other counties. The success of the Jesup Wagon eventually led to its being taken over by the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Negro Extension Work (Jones 1975, pp. 263-4; James 1971).

The work carried out by Carver at the Tuskegee Experiment Station, and especially his agricultural bulletins, represented something new for the rural Blacks. The bulletins offered pertinent information on crops specific to the area. Nothing like this had been done for them before. Whereas before, the Blacks had been driven and directed by a master, here was a publication that was issued by a Black man, under the auspices of a Black institution, with content directed to both men and women. Relevant, accessible, and timely, the bulletins helped transform the food traditions and diet of a formerly enslaved people, the African-Americans of the Deep South. ■

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# THOUGHTS ON SOUL FOOD



## UP FROM SLAVERY TO SYLVIA'S RESTAURANT

by C. Q. Tillery

*Raised in a restaurant-owning family, Carolyn Quick Tillery is a graduate of Tuskegee University and a lawyer by training. She and her husband J. R. Tillery, an Air Force colonel, are based at MacDill Air Force Base outside Tampa, FL. A former Air Force officer and prosecuting attorney, she is currently Director of the Personal and Family Readiness Program for the U. S. Central Command. As a second career, she has produced a series of well-received narrative cookbooks, starting with The African-American Heritage Cookbook: Traditional Recipes and Fond Remembrances from Alabama's Renowned Tuskegee Institute (Birch Lane Press, 1996). Two of the subsequent books in her series have focused on foods associated with Hampton Univ. in Hampton, VA, one of the first schools opened to freed slaves; and with Howard Univ. in Washington, DC, whose law school trained many leaders of the civil rights movement.*

“Soul food”, the renowned southern style of African-American cooking, is deeply rooted in West African tradition and American slavery. Perfected in kitchens of a newly freed people and the Black eating establishments of the Jim Crow South, soul food caught the night train north to New York, Chicago, Detroit and other populous northern cities in search of better opportunity.

During hard times and the Great Depression, it filled empty hearts and stomachs with comfort. At Chicago rent parties it was served up as hot and satisfying as BB King's Blues. In Plattsburgh, NY, retired SMSgt John Quick and his wife Delores “Dee Dee” opened the House by the Side of the Road, a soul food restaurant extraordinaire and bar, offering a taste of home to homesick Black airmen serving at nearby Plattsburgh AFB. If the church needed a new roof or the choir new robes, church ladies sold some soul food at \$1.25 a plate. It was served with potato salad on the side along with sweet tea, tea punch, cakes, and pies. My mouth waters at the memory of those wonderful church suppers. Soul food was popularized in the North, where it came out of the closet during the “Black is Beautiful” movement and Civil Rights Era.

And it remained a southern staple. Opened as a luncheonette in 1947, Paschal's Restaurant was to civil rights leaders and strategy meetings what Fraunces' Tavern was to the Sons of Liberty and the American Revolution. With a battered suitcase and sparse hope rattling in its pockets like spare change, it boarded a Greyhound bus, traveling west, and found a home in Kansas where barbecue masters, Arthur Bryant and George and Arzelia Gates, competed head to head to put Kansas City-style barbecue on the map.

However, soul food is more than the survival food of slavery, the satisfying comfort food of the segregated south, or the communal meal of civil rights workers. At its very heart, soul food is a celebration of hope triumphant in the African American community and it commemorates the ancestral struggle to survive. When served at reunions, church socials, and homecomings, it celebrates the strong bonds of a borderless community, unified by a common culture and heritage. And at a mournful homegoing repast, soul food consoles and reminds us of our legacy. Like a treasured family heirloom, accompanied by oral tradition, its recipes are passed from generation to generation by old hands teaching young.

### Origins of Soul Food

Strongly influenced by African foods and cooking techniques, soul food emerged in the American south as the subsistence or survival food of slavery.

Slaves taken captive from the countries along the coast of West Africa were often provided a somewhat familiar regional diet of sweet potatoes and hominy during the trans-Atlantic voyage known as the Middle Passage. They arrived in America with little more than their memories of home and familiar foods, such as the fast-growing leafy greens of a type of amaranth plant; baobab leaves; rice; black-eyed peas and their cousins, cowpeas; sweet potatoes; cassava; eggplant, known as garden egg because of its oblong shape; sorghum, also known as guinea corn; okra, robust and fast growing, used as a thickening agent in soups and stews; and shea, a vegetable oil produced from shea tree nuts and used to enhance flavor, texture and the digestibility of native foods.

With few options available to them, slaves often employed practices and ingredients closely approximating African ones. For example, West African vegetable stews or soups seasoned with shea, sesame or palm oil, onions, and hot red peppers to which pieces of meat, fish, or fowl might be added, along with okra as a thickening agent, evolved into southern gumbo, popularized in the Cajun and Creole cooking of Louisiana. In fact, the word “gumbo” derives from an African word for okra. Ingredient modifications, such as the substitution of fatback for African cooking oils, made the dish uniquely southern.

The African influence was also found in techniques such as one-pot cooking, roasting and frying (including chicken), serving traditions conducive to communal living, and the use of other foods familiar from Africa (some indigenous and some not), such as yams, sweet potatoes, black-eyed peas, peanuts, various grains such as rice or corn, and honey.

However, a slave's diet was often dictated by the master's provisions and such factors as the proximity to wild fish or game, the season, the time of day allotted to slaves to forage for themselves, and the influence of other ethnic groups. For instance, slaves who worked from sunrise to sunset, six days a week and sometimes seven, would likely hunt and fish at night and, as a result, depended upon nocturnal creatures such as raccoon, opossum, and catfish, or crepuscular creatures such as rabbit, most active at dusk or just before dawn.

While there is no single interpretation of slave life that applies to all cases, typically rations consisted of cornmeal, salt pork or bacon, and molasses. Booker T. Washington, former slave and founder of Tuskegee Institute (now University), recalled in his



autobiography *Up From Slavery*: "Our usual diet on the plantation was cornbread and pork, but on Sunday morning my mother was permitted to bring down a little molasses from the 'big house' for her three children, and when it was received how I did wish that every day was Sunday!" Frederick Douglass, former slave and abolitionist, in later years recalled slave children being fed cornmeal mush that was placed in a trough, to which they were called "like so many pigs". The children made homemade spoons from oyster shells, and competed vigorously for every bit of food.

Not always calorically sufficient and offering very little variety, this diet of slaves was supplemented by hunting, fishing and gardening when time and the master permitted. In addition, they also salvaged and creatively prepared remnants from the slaughterhouse considered undesirable by the master: pig feet, pig ears, neck bones, hog jowls, ham hocks, pig tails, chitterlings (pig intestines), hog maws and tripe (stomach), mountain oysters (testicles), tongue, fatback skin for cracklings, the head for hog's head cheese, and offal (organ parts such as heart and brain). It has been said that all parts of the pig were consumed except the oink.

Because of the proximity of hog-killing time to the Christmas holiday season, delicacies such as chitterlings were often associated with these festivities. In later years, Booker T. Washington would write:

Christmas was the great event of the whole year to the slaves throughout the south, and in Virginia during the days of slavery. ...It was, in many cases, the season when slaves that had been hired out to other masters came home to visit their families. It was at this season that the year's crop of hogs was killed... This came, as a rule, during the week before Christmas, and, as I recall, was one of the annual diversions of the plantation... For days after this event, every slave cabin was supplied with delicious sausage, chitterlings, and side meats. ("Christmas Days in Old Virginia", *Suburban Life*, 5 [Dec. 1907], pp. 336-37; reprinted in *Tuskegee Student*, Dec. 21, 1907)

To this day, soul food offerings, such as chitterlings, are associated with the popular homecoming holidays of Thanksgiving and Christmas as well as other special celebrations. Soul food went uptown and to the big house on an episode of "The Cosby Show" in which it was served from silver bowls and tureens.

Many years after Dr. Washington wrote "Christmas Days in Old Virginia", it was remembered that the night before the 87<sup>th</sup> birthday of his daughter, Portia Washington Pittman, "Mr. Teddie cooked and brought cornbread and peas. Cora brought pig's feet, hog's ears, and chittlins. I brought, some people call them, Kansas City Wranglers" (Roy L. Hill, *Booker T's Child: The Life and Times of Portia Marshall Washington Pittman* [Washington, DC: Three Continents Press, 1993]).

Pork and sometimes poultry dominated the southern diet because agricultural land dedicated to farming could not be spared for grazing stock such as cattle. It is this use of pork parts that distinguishes soul food from other traditional southern cooking, in most instances. However, in the impoverished antebellum south it was not unusual for former slaves to teach whites the art of survival food cooking. Nor is it uncommon to find Appalachian or other poor whites and those raised in predominately African-American communities who are familiar with soul food.

Another important component of soul food was the preparation of fresh vegetables. Again, slaves gathered what grew wild such as fiddlehead ferns and pokeweed or dandelion leaves, and also salvaged what was discarded by the master, such as turnip and beet tops. Some slaves maintained small plots made available to them to grow their own vegetables. They grew what was familiar from Africa, readily available in the south, and easily grown in a somewhat similar climate.

Included in these garden plots were root vegetables such as yams and sweet potatoes, black-eyed peas and brown beans, as well as hot peppers and corn. In addition, they added new types of greens such as collards, kale, and mustard, which were also included in the traditional southern country-style diet. Leafy greens such as collards and the leafy tops of turnips and beets were boiled with fat back, hog jowls and the other fatty parts of the pig as a substitute for the shea, palm and other indigenous oils of Africa. Even the cooking liquid from the pot (pot likker) was consumed, often with a mound of cornbread.

Today, soul food has entered the mainstream. At Sylvia's famous soul food restaurant in Harlem, where blue collar workers and celebrities rub elbows with one another, you are as likely to run into a Bill Clinton, Nelson Mandela, Mayor Bloomberg, or Governor Pataki as you are a taxi cab driver, housewife, or hungry NYU student. ■

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# FEEDING THE MOVEMENT



## PASCHAL'S RESTAURANT AND SELF-RELIANCE IN THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

by Angela Jill Cooley

*Angela Jill Cooley is a Ph.D. candidate in History at the University of Alabama. In 2008 she was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Univ. of Michigan's Clements Library, where she conducted research for her doctoral dissertation, "Eating Jim Crow: Southern Food Practices from Civil War to Civil Rights". Jill's long-term goal is to teach American and Southern history at the university level.*



**An historical photograph of the lunch counter at Paschal's. (Alan S. Weiner/ New York Times)**

In October 1960, Atlanta police arrested over 50 people during a sit-in at the Magnolia Room restaurant in Rich's department store. The arrested protestors, including Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and several members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), objected to the store's refusal to serve African-American customers on an equal basis. The activists stayed in jail for more than three days while city officials, merchants, and student leaders negotiated an agreement to desegregate downtown eating facilities. When Atlanta mayor William Hartsfield ordered their release, the freed activists joined their friends and families at Paschal's Restaurant to celebrate.<sup>1</sup>

The decision to meet at Paschal's was an obvious choice for the activists and their families, many of whom regularly patronized the black-owned eatery located on what is now Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard. Since 1947, the restaurant owned by brothers Robert and James Paschal had built a reputation within the African-American community for serving good food in a respectful environment. Among others, families, college students, businessmen, social activists, and religious organizations found sustenance and fellowship at Paschal's. For a community suffering the injustices and brutality of segregation, Paschal's Restaurant served as a vehicle for self-reliance and provided a platform from which the fight for equal opportunity could take place.

### Origin of the Restaurant

Robert and James Paschal grew up in Thomson, GA, a small town about 120 miles east of Atlanta. Their father, Henry Paschal, taught them the value of hard work and determination. Despite suffering from painful arthritis, Henry worked in cotton fields during the morning and waited tables at a local hotel in

the afternoon. As an African-American man trying to earn a living for his family in the segregated south, Henry suffered numerous indignities. He labored in a dining room where his own family could not eat and where white customers tended to treat black waiters as if they were not even there. James remembers learning to contain his anger over such injustices in favor of improving his circumstances and those of his family.<sup>2</sup>

In 1934, the elder brother Robert moved to Atlanta, where the urban environment offered more opportunities for an ambitious young man. Robert worked in Atlanta's white-owned food service industry— first waiting tables at a downtown cafeteria and later serving at a drug-store soda fountain. Robert reportedly excelled at his job and held some managerial power at the soda fountain, but his race prevented him from progressing any further. Despite his limited job prospects, Robert reveled in the black middle-class lifestyle offered by the city. He and his wife participated in community clubs and frequented social events. In May 1936, Robert won the honorary title of "Mayor of West Hunter Street". A local black high school sponsored the "election" as a fundraiser. Although the position held no real power, it revealed that Robert had made a name for himself socially as well as professionally. Atlanta's African-American community feted "Mayor" Paschal at an inaugural ball, where the high school presented him with a gold medal.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, younger brother James stayed in Thomson, where at age 14 he already demonstrated the attributes of a budding businessman. With the help of his many siblings who still lived at home, James operated a paper route, a vegetable market, several shoe-shine stands, mail-order cosmetics sales, and a small convenience store. At the same time, he attended high school, played basketball, and helped his ailing father at

the hotel. James considered his job at the hotel to be part of his business education. He listened to the white businessmen who frequented its dining room, paying rapt attention to how they conducted business. Despite his hard work, segregation culture limited James's opportunities in Thomson, and he dreamed of joining Robert in the city and opening his own restaurant.<sup>4</sup>

After a stint in the Army during World War 2, James's dream became a reality when he moved to Atlanta. As planned, he and Robert pooled their savings and opened a small sandwich shop on West Hunter Street (now Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard). Although both brothers pitched in to get the business started, Robert took charge of the kitchen while James primarily controlled business and financial matters. Initially, the brothers sold cold-cut sandwiches and sodas in a space so small that it did not even have a kitchen. When Robert developed his special fried chicken recipe— for which their restaurant would come to be known— they prepared chicken sandwiches at Robert's house and carried the food to the shop in a taxi. This first location sat 40 customers at eight tables. When those seats filled, patrons stood at the walk-up window to order. Within two years, the brothers built a kitchen and enlarged their dining room to seat an additional 40 people. They expanded their hours and menu, offering breakfast at 7:00 a.m.; a midday lunch with fried chicken and a selection of vegetables; and dinner including veal cutlets and oysters.<sup>5</sup>

The phrase "stopping by Paschal's" became a familiar refrain across black Atlanta. Located at the Atlanta University Center among several historically black colleges and universities, the restaurant became a favorite hang-out for young college students. Marian Wright Edelman, who attended one of those schools, Spelman College, in the 1950's, recalls "sneak[ing] off campus to Paschal's Restaurant for its addictively good fried chicken." James Paschal also regularly hired young African-American college students, and gave a first job to many men and women who would later become business and government leaders.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the college crowd, the restaurant attracted families, social groups, religious organizations, civic clubs, and businessmen. Many groups held monthly meetings or special receptions at Paschal's. Every morning, a group of African-American civic leaders and businessmen started their day at the restaurant with breakfast and coffee. Of the regular breakfast club, Julian Bond recalls, "No morning was ever complete without a meeting of the Paschal's Precinct, a gathering of wannabe politicians, has-beens, might-bes, and is-toos!" In 1959, success compelled Robert and James to expand their operations once again. They moved the restaurant across the street, where they built a larger facility and added a night club and hotel.<sup>7</sup>

#### Role in Civil Rights Movement

At the same time, Paschal's also began to play a larger role in history as the "unofficial headquarters of the [civil rights] movement". During the trying days of 1960's activism, many entrepreneurs feared hosting civil rights gatherings, but the Paschal brothers welcomed the opportunity. Atlanta's civil rights leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, Andrew Young, Julian Bond, and John Lewis, most of whom were already Paschal's regulars, planned many well-known campaigns in back-room booths. King's sister recalls

the restaurant as "the scene of late-night planning meetings and strategy sessions as ML [King] and [SCLC] prepared for their battles for justice all across the nation."<sup>8</sup>

It is not a stretch to say that Paschal's Restaurant fed the civil rights movement— both figuratively and literally. Not only did the facility serve as the location of high-level strategy meetings, but the owners sustained the movement's ground troops as well. SNCC headquarters were located across the street, and grassroots activists regularly ate at Paschal's where they could get a couple of pieces of chicken, two vegetables, a roll, and sweet tea for about a dollar in 1960. Understanding their meager finances, Robert and James frequently gave free meals to activists as well. The brothers also posted bail and, as the Rich's sit-in example reveals, stayed open late so that jailed protestors could reunite with their families.<sup>9</sup>

At the height of civil rights violence, Paschal's Restaurant represented one of Atlanta's few public venues where whites and blacks could get together on an equal basis. Moderate and liberal whites challenged racial mores by patronizing the restaurant to dine and socialize with African-American friends and colleagues. At the adjoining nightclub, long-time hostess Ora B. Sherman often seated patrons in integrated groups, providing one of the few opportunities for the races to meet and mingle in an increasingly divided region. James recalls, "They [white customers] knew they were welcome to come and enjoy good food and excellent service, even though blacks were not allowed to patronize their eating places." Paschal's fame spread across the nation, and white stars such as actress Jayne Mansfield stopped there while in Atlanta.<sup>10</sup>

Although whites could more safely patronize black eating establishments, Paschal's recognized the potential danger associated with interracial eating during this volatile period. In southern restaurants, segregation seldom meant actual separation of the races because whites and blacks constantly intermingled in eating situations. Most commonly, African Americans worked in white restaurants— cooking, serving, bussing tables, etc. In this way, African Americans interacted with white owners and white customers but in a servile position that accommodated preconceived white cultural constructions of race. Paschal's contravened this familiar cultural ritual, as well as Atlanta law, by allowing the races to mingle on an equal footing as consumers. This action placed the restaurant, its employees, and its customers at some risk, and they took reasonable precautions. Frances Pauley, a white liberal in Atlanta, recalls eating dinner at Paschal's with civil rights attorney Don Hollowell when someone asked them to move away from the window. Despite the threat posed by police or white-supremacist intervention, Paschal's played a significant role as one of the few public places where black and white leaders could meet to discuss the important issues of the day.<sup>11</sup>

In the wake of desegregation, Paschal's broke another racial barrier, and again transgressed southern cultural norms, when it became Atlanta's first African-American restaurant to hire a white waitress. In 1965, Susan Bady, a student at Ohio's Antioch College, waited tables at Paschal's during a school break. Although Bady apparently became something of a curiosity in Atlanta's African-American community—

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**PASCHAL'S**

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"[e]veryone wanted to know... 'why would a white girl want to work in a Negro restaurant'" — she describes the Paschal brothers as gracious and helpful and their customers as friendly and welcoming.<sup>12</sup>

Although desegregation saw the end of some African-American businesses, Paschal's carried on with a large integrated customer base. Black leaders continued to use the facilities as a staging ground for social justice activities, and local and national politicians recognized it as a place to speak to their constituents. In March 1968, Congressman John Lewis, then a member of SNCC, witnessed King planning the Poor People's Campaign at Paschal's. A month later, following King's assassination, mourners gathered there for a funeral march in his honor. The restaurant temporarily had to close its doors because of the large crowd. Throughout the 1980's and 1990's, civic and religious groups like the Concerned Black Clergy continued to meet at Paschal's, and the early 1990's saw the restaurant host Vice President Al Gore.<sup>13</sup>

In 1996, the Paschal brothers sold the business to Clark Atlanta University. A year later, 88-year-old Robert died from cancer. James continued to work until his death in December 2008, even reviving the franchise in partnership with a local real estate developer. Today, Paschal's restaurant lives on with several locations at the Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport and as an upscale eatery in Atlanta's Castleberry Hill neighborhood. The new locations continue the brothers' legacy by serving their special recipe fried chicken and other soul food favorites.<sup>14</sup>

For almost 50 years, Atlantans knew Robert and James Paschal as purveyors of uncommonly good fried chicken and other fare. But the brothers' most important accomplishment actually might have had very little to do with food. In March 2001, James Paschal stated, "There were a lot of things right with the world in which my brother and I had grown up. But then, there were also far too many things that were wrong. We wanted to live long enough to make some of those things right."<sup>15</sup> With their personal commitment to racial uplift and civil rights, the Paschal brothers righted many wrongs, and this achievement is no doubt the Paschals' greatest legacy. ■

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11. Kathryn L. Nasstrom, *Everybody's Grandmother and Nobody's Fool: Frances Freeborn Pauley and the Struggle for Social Justice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 53. For further discussion of black servile images in segregation culture, see Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998).
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Book Review

# THE EMPIRE OF MADEIRA WINE

by Wendell McKay

*CHAA member Wendell McKay, who holds an M.A. in history from the University of Akron, is a cook at Zingerman's Delicatessen in Ann Arbor. In our last issue Wendell reviewed a biography of Nikolay Vavilov.*

David Hancock,  
*Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste, 1640-1815*  
 New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009  
 680 pp., \$50 cloth

own right, is part of a series from Yale University Press, the Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History.

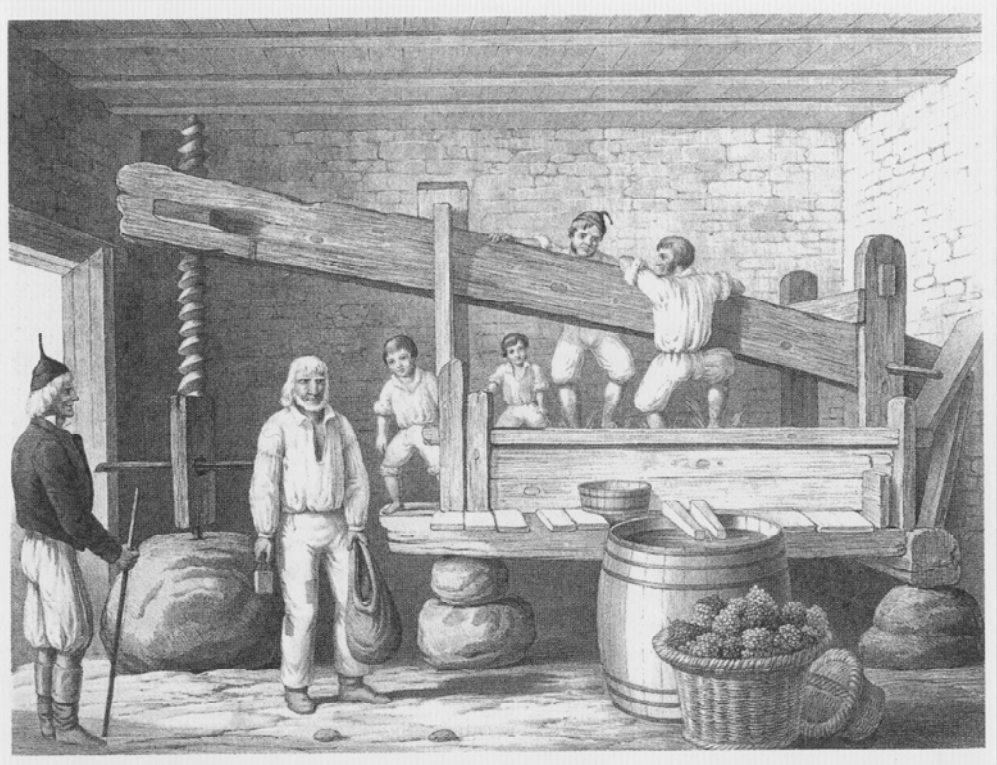
The production, transportation, and consumption of Madeira wine in the early modern era would seem a natural fit for Hancock, whose previous work has examined various aspects of early modern trade, in particular the activities of London merchants of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries. While the story of Madeira alone would surely be interesting enough, it's quickly apparent that Hancock uses the commodity's story to examine larger issues in the creation of the Atlantic trading system, with a subtlety that certainly threw this reviewer a few times. The story starts with the Portuguese settlement of Madeira in the early 15<sup>th</sup> Century, and comes to a close in the wider Atlantic world of the early 19<sup>th</sup>, when the name "Madeira" meant both an island and a unique kind of wine that came to embody a certain kind of social distinction, for both good and ill.

Madeira, though it was probably known to European mariners from the early 14<sup>th</sup> Century, was claimed and settled by the Portuguese in 1419-20, then in the first flush of their rising world power under Prince Henrique the Navigator and the House of Aviz. Though the Azores, also settled by the Portuguese, occupy a more central position in the North Atlantic, Madeira was ideally suited to take advantage of the Atlantic winds and sea routes between Europe and Africa— and later Europe and America— provisioning ships and later establishing a nascent sugar industry. The latter would be made obsolete by the much larger operations in Portuguese Brazil, favored at any rate by Portuguese colonial policy. As sugar declined during the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, wine became more important as an export.

Portugal, itself a wine-producing country, bequeathed the expertise of its vintners to its tiny maritime colony, giving it the product that would make it famous. Though vines had been cultivated since the beginning of Portuguese rule, they didn't

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The vintages of the mid-Atlantic island of Madeira have long given the world some of its most distinctive wines. Almost since its settlement in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, its position betwixt Europe, Africa, and the Americas has made Madeira a vital component of the trans-Atlantic network that revolutionized world trade. Madeira wines became a prized social commodity in many societies, but particularly in colonial America. A number of books have covered Madeira and its wines, but University of Michigan professor David Hancock's engrossing *Oceans of Wine* is probably the first to do full justice to the island, the wines, and their larger place in world history. The book, of vast size in its



**A wine press on the island of Madeira, in an illustration reproduced in *Oceans of Wine*.**

The illustration was made by Thomas Picken for a book written by W. S. P. Springett, *Recollections of Madeira* (London: Day & Haghe, 1843).

**EMPIRE OF MADEIRA** *continued from page 13*

assume their true importance until the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, when sugar had been spent as an economic force on the island. Perhaps more importantly, the 80-year period of Spanish rule over Portugal came to an end in 1640 with the rebellion led by the House of Braganca's King João IV and the strengthening of the famously long-lived Portuguese alliance with England. The collaboration between Portuguese and English, then British, lay at the heart of the empire of Madeira wine, as Portuguese growers and entrepreneurs traded and contracted with English merchants and shippers to transport Madeira throughout the growing Atlantic system, chiefly, as it turned out, to the Anglophone colonies in North America.

The standard European wines often suffered through the long voyages to the Americas (or Africa or Asia), but Madeira—which was fortified through various kinds of heating, frequently in sea voyages as ships' ballast but more often through the unique Madeiran *estufagem* technique—was more than sturdy enough not only to survive the journey but also to thrive on it. Though Madeira would achieve only slight popularity in the metropolises of Portugal or England, or indeed the vast colonial market of Brazil (where Portuguese mercantile interests penalized Madeira in favor of port or other wines exported from the Portuguese metropole), it became a genuine force in the 13 American colonies and, to a lesser extent, the West Indies, assuming a considerable importance in the changing political and social culture of the time.

That would be the official story, but Hancock enriches it considerably by applying an integrated analysis—almost Braudelian in its detail—to the story of Madeira. Proceeding from such bare bones, he delves deep into the minutiae of Madeira wine—its production, packaging, transportation, retailing, and consumption all receive their due. One of his main concerns in presenting the story this way is to avoid privileging any one aspect of the system, an error for which he gently chides several historians in the introduction. The book itself is divided into sections on production, shipping and selling, and consumption. In arranging his work so, Hancock emphasizes the decentralized and collaborative nature of the “Madeira complex”, with each step taken by different sets of people. Madeira, though firmly ensconced in a Portuguese imperial system, lay at the center of an international, intercontinental network that bound together actors of many different nationalities and backgrounds, and Madeira wine's success was a result of their willingness to cross boundaries in trade or negotiation.

The idea of imperial change and transformation deriving almost solely from statist, metropolitan causes has been rightly challenged for some time, but few have challenged it with such a rich store of archival evidence as Hancock. Letters, journals, and ledgers from several different countries bring to life not only the motives for commercial enterprise in the early modern era, but also the actual processes by which it occurred.

Madeira's vines were grown in a number of different valleys across the island, the most prized varieties originating in the south. Grown from vines along remarkable trellis systems, the grapes (the four primary varieties being Sercial, Boal, Verdelho and Malmsey) were processed using methods that changed little over hundreds of years, a continuity that certainly didn't apply to the distribution and selling side. First sold to passing ships on

their way to Africa or the Americas, Madeira wine became the province of a network of Anglo-Portuguese distributors and merchants during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries. These developed an elaborate system of contacts that ensured the wine's smooth arrival in its intended markets. Individual growers and traders like Pantaleao Fernandes and John Henry March, families like the Leacocks, and famous firms like Newton and Gordon, all contributed to the growth of this system and used their knowledge with mercantile finesse to bring about Madeira's transatlantic supremacy by the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

In tracking Madeira's sale and reception in the Americas, the book both breaks new ground and temporarily lost this reviewer, who had been expecting the book to be solely about Madeira. *Oceans of Wine*, on crossing the Atlantic, widens from a close analysis of Madeira to cover the *general* experience of imported wine in colonial America, a story in which Madeira figures so heavily because it was the most reliably sturdy wine to survive the crossing. Hancock uses Madeira to explore the growing world of American drinking culture, from the great harbor taverns of New York and Philadelphia to the tiny “general stores” of the Appalachian frontier, most of which sold Madeira in some form. Such a ubiquitous item of colonial America both transcended social distinctions—as people from all classes drank Madeira—and reinforced them—there were “right” and “wrong” ways to drink Madeira, and such strictures included the vessels in which they were drunk.

The latter development is one of the most interesting, as both Madeira shippers and glassware manufacturers encouraged the idea of material accuracy in consumption. One had to use the right kind of decanter, the right glass, the right manner of toasting, in order to be a true Madeira connoisseur (this section will make depressingly familiar reading for many modern readers). Nor was the pressure entirely one-way; many customers, particularly the well-off, in the colonies maintained close relationships with their Madeira suppliers. Changing tastes during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century led to a considerable degree of supplier concern for customers' preferences, such as the growing preference for pale, dryer wines as opposed to the darker, more full-bodied variety. In this way, Madeira wine and its distribution mechanisms influenced and foreshadowed both the development of American culture and the larger history of modern Atlantic commerce.

*Oceans of Wine* is an excellent history fulfilling the worthy purpose of uniting different kinds of history (and even science) to demonstrate how one product could both reflect and impact a process of world-historical importance such as the development of transatlantic commerce. Indeed, Hancock specifically includes in the footnotes (whose breadth, depth, and richness are a great added bonus to the work) an appreciation for “popular” history and science titles such as Giles Morton's *Nathaniel's Nutmeg* and Michael Pollan's *The Botany of Desire* (and, of course, the many food-related works of Mark Kurlansky), recognizing the intellectually stimulating effect they have on both readers and scholars. Hancock's own *Oceans of Wine* offers a fantastic test case for such histories' even greater efficacy when carried out on so vast, illuminating, and unimpeachably scholarly a scale. The fluency and accessibility of his writing make reading it a pleasure. One might even suggest Madeira as the perfect accompaniment, even if one can only stretch to a glass of Blandy's “Rainwater” of indeterminate variety and vintage. ■

# RAISE A PINT TO THE PUBS O' THE ISLES!

On December 13, about 30 CHAA members gathered in the Earhart Village Clubhouse for a cooperative meal celebrating "Traditional Pub Food from the British Isles".

The theme of our meal commemorated 2009 as the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of three different events:

- On December 31, 1759, Arthur Guinness signed the original lease for his brewery in Dublin, Ireland. Thanks to its sales of dark stout, Guinness grew to be the world's largest producer of beer and ale.
- January 25, 1759 was the birthday of Scottish poet Robert Burns, who wrote the lyrics to many an air turned pub song, such as "Auld Lang Syne", "Parcel O' Rogues", "Comin' Thro' the Rye", "A Man's a Man for A' That", and "Green Grow the Rashes". People of Scottish heritage all over the world congregate on his birthday every year, dubbed Burns Night, to down a meal of haggis, bashed neeps and tatties, and whiskey, and to recite "Address to the Haggis", a poem of Scots pride written by Burns. "Bashed neeps and tatties" are mashed turnips and potatoes, while haggis is an ancient Scottish type of preserved pudding, or sausage, made of sheep's offal and fat, oatmeal, and seasonings, traditionally encased in the large stomach of a sheep and then boiled.
- The British pottery firm Josiah Wedgwood and Sons was established on May 1, 1759 in the town of Burslem, in what would become the city of Stoke-on-Trent in the English Midlands. Thanks in part to royal favor, the firm became England's finest maker of china. Industrial processes introduced by Wedgwood also made it possible for the first time to mass-produce glazed dishes that were oven safe, notably a game pie dish (1786) with an inner liner and a cover ornamented with hunting scenes. This dish filled in for the traditional coffin of pastry dough at a time when wheat was in short supply in England.

Our tables, arrayed before the lit fireplace of the great hall, were decorated with darts, dominoes, and other pub-goers' entertainments. Music from The Chieftains and The Clancy Brothers lofted overhead as the afternoon retreated into evening.

## A Brief History of the British Pub

The British pub evolved out of the Roman tavern of late antiquity and the alehouse of the Middle Ages. The taverns were inns that offered lodging, food, and wine to those traveling on the network of Roman roads (Britain was under Roman rule roughly 100-400 CE.). The alehouse of Saxon times was a domestic dwelling that practiced the home brewing of ale, generally by the woman of the house, hence the term "alewife". Locals would gather at an alehouse to drink and socialize together. In Norman times, on a town's monthly fair (market) day, farmers arrived from miles around, filling the streets and drinking places. The latter became crowded and festive, even sometimes the place to arrange a marriage.

## Beer, Ale, Porter, Stout

Arthur Guinness was brewing ale at first, but he soon fastened upon beer as his main focus. Both products are made from barley that is malted (allowed to germinate) and then fermented with the addition of brewer's yeast. To make beer, which had become common in England only in the 1400's, one further adds hops, essentially a spice that retards spoilage of the finished product.

A particularly dark beer called stout became the leading Guinness beverage. The roasting of some of the barley prior to fermentation gives this beer its dark color and bitter, sometimes smoky, taste. Thanks to its flavor, Guinness stout matches famously with cheese and many other edibles. In addition, it came to be used as an ingredient in the cooking or baking of a bewildering variety of traditional dishes in Ireland and the rest of the British Isles, from beef stew to braised roast pork to Guinness cake.

As the drink of choice among street and river porters, such dark brews had come to be known as porter's ale and porter's beer— later, simply "porter"— a few decades before Guinness founded his brewery. Stout porter, a term shortened to "stout", is an even darker version of porter. Guinness stopped making non-stout porters in 1974.

Gradually the alehouses and the later beer houses came under common law and public regulation, including the requirement to serve all visitors who arrived in reasonable condition, whence the name "public house", or "pub" for short. Commercial beer breweries arose because beer, more than ale, was most efficiently produced on a large scale. Beginning in the 1700's, and especially after 1900, more and more pubs were tied to a specific brewery, selling only that brewery's products, which led to the distinction between "tied houses" and "free houses".

A pub can be the focal point of a whole community. The typical British pub today is still a local establishment; most customers walk to it, and there are lots of regulars. The atmosphere is informal and democratic, with large tables bringing together people who aren't necessarily close pals. Often the interior is dimly lit; in fact, windows were once traditionally smoked or frosted to obscure the clientele from the street. A pub can be as quiet and low-key as someone's family room. The emphasis is on drinking and conversation, although a match might be playing on the telly, or customers might be engaged in cards, darts, billiards, skittles, or dominoes. On weeknights the patrons are overwhelmingly male, while weekends bring in lots of couples.

For centuries, the leading British pubs have featured substantial meals. A daily repast called an "ordinary" might be prepared, so called because of its set price and time. On Fleet Street in London, the Cheshire Cheese Tavern (est. 1667), a favorite of the writer Samuel Johnson, offered The Pudding as its ordinary every Wednesday and Saturday during Winter. This savory pudding weighed in at around 80 pounds:

*continued on next page*

**PUB FOOD***continued from page 15*

It is composed of a fine light crust in a huge basin, and there are entombed therein beef-steaks, kidneys, oysters, larks, mushrooms, and wondrous spices and gravies the secret of which is known only to the compounder. The boiling process takes about sixteen to eighteen hours...

Carving and serving The Pudding was carried out with due pomp and ritual by a retinue of attendants.

At more run-of-the-mill British drinking establishments, hungry patrons had nothing to choose from beyond simple salty snacks—until recent decades. Beginning in the late 1950's and early 1960's, more and more pubs began to offer a basic platter of bread, cheese and pickle (see the discussion of ploughman's lunch, below), or a hot dish cooked on the premises, typically by the landlord's wife. This prepared item might be steak and ale pie, chicken in a basket, fish and chips, Welsh rabbit, or a Sunday-style roast. "Bangers and mash", a meal of sausages, mashed potatoes, and gravy, became famous as working-class pub grub in England.

Today, most pubs serve a basic lunch and dinner at the drinkers' tables or in a separate dining room, and the "gastropubs" serve restaurant-quality meals. However, the number of pubs in Great Britain is declining, and more than half of the smaller villages no longer have a "local". Of those that remain, some have become "cutesy" places, an imitation of an American imitation of the British pub. There are also "theme pubs" that cater to sports or rock fans, bikers, or specific ethnic groups. The reduced quantity and evolving nature of pubs gave a slight note of urgency to our cooperative dinner.

#### Back and Forth with Ploughman's Lunch

It was no great surprise at our meal to notice, or to remember from travel, that the food typical of British pubs is neither complex nor refined. On the other hand, we were delighted by the strong accents that are added to enliven what might otherwise be fairly basic flavors.

We appreciated, for example, the cheeses, pickles, and other preserves that are teamed with bread to make a Ploughman's Lunch, of which we sampled five versions:

- Pat Cornett contributed a version featuring homemade baguette, butter, three cheeses from the Isle of Man sold by Costco, a cranberry chutney that she made using the *Christmas Memories Cookbook* (Mystic Seaport Museum Stores, 1985), and an apple-pear-ginger chutney of her own invention.
- Carroll and John Thomson prepared a Ploughman's Lunch with French bread and butter, pickled onion, sliced tomato, and a West Country English Farmhouse Cheddar sold by Trader Joe's.
- Nancy Sannar prepared a "ploughman's platter" consisting of appetizers that incorporated bread, pickles, cheese, and banger-style sausages. These last were purchased at Ackroyd Scottish Bakery & Sausage on 5-Mile Road in Redford, MI, which also sells haggis and meat pies.
- Laura and Dan Gillis fashioned delicious "mini ploughman's sandwiches" using Zingerman's Farm Bread sliced thin, Montgomery's Farmhouse Cheddar from

### Marmalade, Piccalilli, Chutney, Worcestershire

While jams, jellies, and other preserves in Britain go back to ancient times, some of the varieties with more "tang" are made with ingredients first encountered in warmer lands as Britain came to rule the seas.

The earliest known British recipes for marmalade are from the mid-1500's, when it was still being made with quince (Portuguese *marmelo*) instead of the now-standard Seville orange.

British piccalilli and chutney, both adaptations from India, date back to the 1600's. Diced mango fruit was so standard in British chutney that "mango" became an English synonym for "pickle". Also having Indian roots is Worcestershire sauce, produced since the 1830's and made with pickled tamarind extract.

Given the seagoing and colonizing history of the British Isles, its cuisine has long been shaped by foreign influences and immigrants, the subject of a recent book by Panikos Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008).

Somerset, England, Branston Pickle (see below), thinly sliced fresh tomato, and lettuce.

- Rich Kato contributed two other cheeses: a mature Scottish cheddar, and Denhay Farmhouse Cheddar from England.

Branston Pickle, used in Laura Gillis's sandwiches, is a sweet and spicy commercial jarred pickle relish that is often served in pubs as part of Ploughman's Lunch. First produced in 1922 in the vicinity of Branston, Staffordshire by Crosse & Blackwell, it consists of diced turnip, carrot, onion, cauliflower, egg, and gherkin in a brown, chutney-like sauce made from vinegar, tomato, apple, dates, sugar, and spices.

Interestingly, while these food elements and their combination go back a long way, the term Ploughman's Lunch itself is of fairly recent coinage. The English Country Cheese Council invented the phrase in 1960 as part of its campaign to promote sales of British cheese in pubs.

Scotch Eggs [Bonnie and Patrick Ion], traditionally a picnic food, are often served as a cold snack in British pubs, or else eaten warm with a tomato sauce. To make them, hard-boiled eggs are encased in a layer of sausage meat, then coated with bread crumbs and deep-fried in oil until golden brown. The first known recipe in print is from Mrs. Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery* (London, 1809); another early recipe was in Margaret Dods, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (Edinburgh, 1826).

Bubble and Squeak [Marion and Nick Holt] was made in a skillet by frying sliced, cooked cabbage and potatoes in butter, along with diced ham and bacon. The original version, which existed in England by the 1700's and enjoyed a resurgence in the early 1800's, was made by chopping up the leftovers from a Sunday roast: cabbage and beef or mutton. Only later did potato replace such meat. The dish is traditionally served with pickles



(cucumber or walnut) or a sharp sauce such as Wow-Wow (made with pickled walnuts, mustard, mushroom ketchup, and other ingredients). Kindred dishes, but probably older and always meatless, are the *colcannon* and *champ* of Ireland, and the *clapshot* and *rumbledethumps* of Scotland. In these, the potato is mashed in the skillet (often with the help of milk or cream), and the cabbage might be replaced with kale, turnip, carrot, scallions, or some other vegetable.

Scottish potato cakes [Randy Schwartz and Mariam Breed], croquettes of mashed potato and cheese that are fried in butter, relied on a recipe from *Hieland Foodie* (Edinburgh, 1999) by Clarissa Dickson Wright, one of the “Two Fat Ladies”. The recipe calls for crowdie, a fresh, crumbly cheese of Scotland. In retrospect, Farmer’s Cheese would have made a better substitute than ricotta, which was too moist and sweet.

That’s Just Offal!

Turning to the heartier meat offerings, we were drawn to a delicious Braised Oxtail [Joanne and Art Cole], a staple of Winter menus at British pubs. The chunks of tail, purchased at Sparrow Market in Ann Arbor, were dredged

*continued on next page*

### Pubs in the Birth of Food Industries

Since robust-flavored cheeses, salty condiments, and vinegar-based bottled sauces are foods that often go well with drinking, British inns and taverns have long featured them. In fact, they have sometimes helped boost them from local to regional fame or even international commerce.

A creamy, blue-veined cheese called Quenby was originally produced by a single family in Leicestershire. Some 30 miles away, in the early 1700’s, innkeeper Cowper Thornhill of the Bell Inn, situated on the Great North Road in the village of Stilton, began buying large quantities of the cheese. It was eventually renamed Stilton and went on to world renown.

Harvey’s Sauce, also now world-famous and traditionally made with ingredients like vinegar, anchovies, and walnut ketchup, was first commercially produced in the late 1700’s at The George, a pub in Bedford that closed in 1927 (see below).

In the early 1800’s, Jeremiah Colman got his start producing prepared mustard at a water mill in the village of Bawburgh, on the River Yare near Norwich. The mill had been founded centuries earlier by a family that went on to establish the Kings Head pub in the same village in 1602, which still exists as a free-house pub with fine dining.

### Harvey’s Sauce at the George Inn

*Harvey’s Sauce, along with red-currant jelly, mushroom ketchup, and tomato sauce, are key ingredients in the best gravy to be served with breaded, fried mutton cutlets. Or so we are told by George Ellwanger, who visited England and went on to record the creation story behind Harvey’s.*

The universal employment of bottled sauces, such as Worcester, Halford, Harvey’s, etc., and pungent condiments, like gherkins, mustard, chow-chow, and ketchup, would seem to be more or less necessary in England, owing to the monotony of her roast beef and mutton and the extensive use of cold meats, poultry, and game. Harvey’s sauce, mentioned among the ingredients of the above-mentioned recipe, owes its origin to this circumstance: During the middle and later years of Mr. Meynell’s mastership of the hounds in the celebrated Quorn country there often appeared in the field Captain Charles Combers, who was born at Brentwood in 1752, and who was more familiarly known as “The Flying Cucumber” from the manner in which he put his horses along. On one occasion, when on his way to Leicestershire, he stopped, as was his wont, at Bedford to dine at the George, then kept by a man named Harvey, where he ordered a steak; and when it was served Combers requested Harvey to let his servant bring from his buggy a quart bottle which contained an admirable sauce. Having poured some of it into his plate and mixed it with the gravy of the steak, he asked Harvey to taste it, and the host pronounced it to be a most excellent relish. “Well, Mr. Harvey,” said Combers, “I shall leave the bottle with you to use till my return, only be careful to reserve enough for me.” On the next day Harvey had to provide a wedding dinner and introduced the sauce, which afforded such general satisfaction that several smaller parties were made up, and the contents of the bottle were soon exhausted.

In due time Captain Combers returned, and, having been told that no more sauce remained, said: “Never mind; I can make some more from my mother’s recipe; and, by-the-bye, I will give you a copy of it.” He was as good as his word. Harvey made it in large quantities, sent it to the different shops in London, advertised it as “Harvey’s Sauce,” and by its extensive sale realised a large income. He subsequently sold the recipe for an annuity of £400 or £500, which he received for the remainder of his life.

—George Herman Ellwanger, *The Pleasures of the Table: An Account of Gastronomy from Ancient Days to Present Times* (New York: Doubleday Page and Co., 1902), pp. 277-8.



The Old George Inn, a pub in Bedford where Harvey’s was commercialized. (*Bedfordshire Times*, 4 June 1987)

**PUB FOOD**

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in flour and sautéed in butter, then cooked with beef stock, red wine, tomato purée, and such vegetables as onions, carrots, and parsnips. Much of the beefy flavor of the dish came from the small amount of aspic that was retained following the lengthy simmering and cooling. The amount of labor, from the hours of cooking over two days to the final removal of fat and bone, left the Coles swearing that they would never again attempt the dish. (We hope they might be persuaded otherwise.)

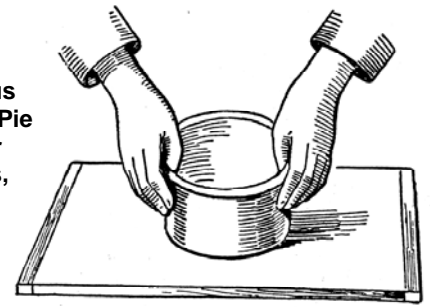
The famous Steak and Kidney Pie [Sonia Manchek] was made with floured diced beef, lamb kidneys, and much the same type of stewing ingredients as with the oxtail just described. The filling is cooked separately until the meat is tender, then placed in a pie dish and topped with a crust for baking. This pie, and a similarly named pudding version, have become British national dishes, yet they date only from the mid-1800's. In pubs, the pie is often baked in a large, rectangular, casserole-type dish.

Pork pies [Julie and Robert Lewis] are eaten cooled, with their succulent aspic jelly locked inside a firm cylindrical crust. Julie, who was raised in the village of Flore in Northamptonshire, England, used a recipe created by Beatrice Ojakangas of Minnesota, based on Beatrice's careful study of pork pies in the pubs surrounding Covent Garden in London. The recipe appeared in the Cuisinart periodical *The Pleasures of Cooking*, May/June 1985. The filling is made with smoked ham and bacon as well as lean pork shoulder, and it gets its distinctive tang from ingredients like sage, cinnamon, allspice, nutmeg, and anchovy paste. In this recipe, the dough is made with chilled lard (the more traditional warm lard reportedly helps ensure that the crust doesn't get soggy during baking), and is molded around a soufflé-type dish to achieve the desired height, whence the name "raised crust". The cylinder of dough is then removed from the mold, filled with the pork mixture, and sealed with a round of dough at the top. Toward the end of the baking process, the top and side crusts are brushed with egg glaze for a golden brown, and aspic is poured through a hole in the top. Julie served her pies with Colman's Mustard, pickled onions, pickled walnuts, Damson plum chutney, and a green-tomato chutney like her mom used to make.

The pork pie, with roots in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, might be the oldest pie of England. It was already a favorite of hunters and pub-goers in the Midlands when John Dickinson helped spread its fame far and wide by setting up a pork pie concession at the Melton Mowbray railway station in Leicestershire in the 1840's. (The revered Melton Mowbray Pork Pie, which has EU Protected Designation of Origin status, is hand-formed with no mold, and made with uncured pork, giving the filling a grey color.) More information about the evolution of pork pies can be found in *Repast* Fall 2003, p. 5.

There are plenty of other British meat pies that, like the pork pie, are baked inside lard crusts; however, in many cases the crust isn't raised but is formed into a flatter shape and pleated tightly, making a nice portable meal for farmers, mineworkers, fishermen, and the like. These include "plate pies" with circular upper and lower crusts, dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries; and semi-circular, turnover-type pies, such as the pasties of Cornwall and the bridies of Scotland.

**Julie Lewis showed us the pages on Raised Pie Crust from one of her old college textbooks, including these two illustrations.**



**FIG. 76.—MOULDING A PORK PIE WITH THE HANDS**



**FIG. 77.—RAISED PIE MOULD**

S. Elizabeth Nash, *Cooking Craft: A Practical Handbook for Students in Training for Cookery and for the Homemaker* (Fourth ed., London, 1959)

Notice the cleverness of such pies, which combine a modest amount of meat with pastry and/or vegetables to make a satisfying meal; and, for that matter, of dishes of sausage or offal, which make use of seemingly useless parts of a beast. Both are ways to get the most out of the family budget for meat, a form of thriftiness that has characterized the diet of the British laboring classes.

**Worth Disturbing the Peace**

Shepherd's Pie [Judy Goldwasser], a warm meat dish, was made with a recipe from Peter Arkle, Judy's Scottish son-in-law. It uses ground lamb, onions, mushrooms, green peas, and seasonings, topped with a layer of mashed potato and mashed carrot. At Peter's urging, the condiment that Judy provided was a bottle of HP Sauce, a brown concoction made from malt vinegar, fruit, and spices. Named after the Houses of Parliament, HP arose in Nottingham in the 1890's and is still hugely popular in Britain, although now manufactured instead in the Netherlands by Heinz.

In earlier times, shepherd's pie was made with leftover roasted meat that would be minced by hand. A pastry-crust topping was once common, especially in Scotland. Later, when the potato became dominant, mashed potato would be used to line the entire pie in the baking dish, not just the top. "Cottage pie" is an older name for the dish, first recorded in 1791, while "shepherd's pie" is a term that didn't appear until the 1870's, when mincing machines were developed. Either name can be used, regardless whether the meat is lamb, mutton, or beef.

By any name, shepherd's pie is a cherished one-dish meal, delicious and easy to make—and opinions about the best way to make it can certainly inflame passions. In April 2008, *The Daily Telegraph* reported a row ensuing after chef Michael Garvin baked a shepherd's pie for his brother, John, in their hometown of Blackburn, Lancashire, "after a day spent drinking". When John complained that the pie wasn't topped with sliced tomatoes, Michael replied that tomatoes were not an appropriate

*continued on page 2*

# MORSELS & TIDBITS

CHAA co-founder **Jan Longone**, Adjunct Curator of American Culinary History at the Univ. of Michigan's Clements Library, gave a talk at the historical dinner held at Zingerman's Roadhouse on March 16. The dinner re-enacted certain aspects of the "Beefsteak", a tradition in New York saloons beginning in the 1860's, in which men got together to feast on choice cuts of meat grilled over coals. Associate Curator **JJ Jacobson** had an article on "Native American Food and Foodways" in *Quarto* (Fall-Winter 2009), a Clements publication.

And now for some news from our sister organizations...

- Culinary Historians of Ontario Program Chair **Liz Driver**'s majestic bibliography of Canadian cookbooks, *Culinary Landmarks*, was bestowed with the Canadian Culinary Hall of Fame Award from Cuisine Canada last November. In addition, on December 13, Driver and three other CHO members were among the food experts involved in a debate about Classic Canadian Sweet Treats, held at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The scholars took sides to argue the relative merits of the butter tart, carrot pudding, fruitcake, and various other delectables.
- Culinary Historians of Chicago President **Bruce Kraig** gave the opening remarks at last October's "Beef: From Plains to Plate", the third annual symposium of the Greater Midwest Foodways Alliance. Recordings of most of the presentations can be found at [www.chicagopublicradio.org](http://www.chicagopublicradio.org). (Dr. Kraig's article on Turkish *yufka* was our cover story in Winter 2005.)
- **Jacqueline Newman**, a founder and member of the Culinary Historians of New York, has been presented with the CHNY's 2009 Amelia Award for lifetime achievement in culinary history. The award recognizes her decades of work elucidating the culture and history of Chinese food. (Dr. Newman's article on Chinese snacks was our cover story in Spring 2002.)
- **Jeri Quinzio**, Newsletter Editor for the Culinary Historians of Boston, has authored a new book, *Of Sugar and Snow: A History of Ice Cream Making* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2009; 304 pp., \$24.95 cloth). Scholarly but also fun to read, it has been called "a chilling page-turner" because it debunks several cherished myths, while showing that ice cream actually evolved out of wine slush in 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Italy. Jeri also wrote the foreword for a newly reprinted edition of a 1907 book by Maria Willett Howard, *Lowney's Cook Book* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 2010; 464 pp., \$23 paper). In it, she profiles the book's original publisher, the Walter M. Lowney Company, an innovative Boston producer of chocolate, cocoa, and confectionary.
- **Joan Peterson**, a founding member of the Culinary History Enthusiasts of Wisconsin and author/publisher of the award-winning Eat Smart travel guides, will be leading two culinary tours this year, to Peru (Sep. 14-23) and to Turkey (Sep. 27 – Oct. 6). For more information, visit <http://eatsmartguides.com/tours.html>. (Dr. Peterson's article on *halvah* in Ottoman Turkey appeared in our Winter 2009 issue.)

If you've noticed an uptick in local food-on-film action recently, maybe it's because of those tax breaks that Michigan has extended to out-of-state film crews. Here are two examples, combining milk with cookies:

- The crew of the forthcoming comedy "**Cedar Rapids**", starring Anne Heche and Ed Helms, filmed at the Rentschler Farm Museum in Saline for four days last November in exchange for a \$4000 donation to the Saline Area Historical Society, which manages the historic farm. The fourth and final scene that was shot involved the actors milking Holsteins in the west end of the Hay Barn. SAHS President David Rhoads was on hand and later quipped, "I felt sorry for the cows by the time the actors had been shown how to milk, gone through the dry runs (no pun intended) and then several different filming runs."
- CBS Films is likely to begin shooting "**The Christmas Cookie Club**" in Ann Arbor this Fall. The film script is based on the popular debut novel of the same name, set in Ann Arbor and written by Ann Arbor author Ann Pearlman. Her novel recounts the interwoven lives of 12 girlfriends who exchange homemade cookies every year at a holiday reunion party, and it also describes the history of several ingredients used in the cookies.

Visitors are welcome at the following museum shows:

- "Fran, Have You Supplied the Table? Foods, Service and Etiquette in the Federal Era" is a current exhibit at Dumbarton House in Washington, DC, running through June 12, 2010. The exhibit presents a perspective on upper middle-class dining in the context of preparation, presentation, and manners, as discovered through a unique collection of silver, porcelain, serving wares, and letters. For more info, see <http://dumbartonhouse.org>.
- "From Mocha to Latte: Coffee, the Arab World and the \$4 Cup" is a current exhibit at the Arab American National Museum in Dearborn, MI, running through Aug. 15, 2010. The exhibit explores the role of coffee in the history of the Arab World, and consequently in the rest of the world. For more info, see <http://www.arabamericanmuseum.org>.

Get ready for two upcoming conferences in England:

- April 24, 2010: 25<sup>th</sup> annual Leeds Symposium on Food History and Traditions: "Crunch" (the history of cookies, cracknels, and similar confections). Friends Meeting House Friargate, York. For more info, see <http://www.historicfood.com/leeds.htm>.
- July 9-11, 2010: 29<sup>th</sup> annual Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery: "Cured, Smoked, and Fermented Foods". St. Catherine's College, Oxford. For more info, see <http://www.oxfordsymposium.org.uk>

**On the Back Burner:** We invite ideas and submissions for these planned future theme-issues of *Repast*: African-American Food History, Part 2 (Spring 2010); Historical Stoves and Other Kitchen Equipment (Summer 2010). Suggestions for future themes are also welcome. ■

# CHAA CALENDAR

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

Sunday, March 21, 2010

[CHAA members only]

At Zingerman's Roadhouse  
(2501 Jackson Avenue, Ann Arbor)  
Ari Weinzwieg, Managing Partner,  
on his new book,  
*Zingerman's Guide to Better Bacon*.  
Also includes a bacon tasting.

Sunday, April 18, 2010

Dr. Maria C. Andre,  
Professor of Spanish, Hope College,  
"Chicanas and Latin American  
Women Writers: Exploring the  
Realm of the Kitchen as a  
Self-Empowering Site"

REPAST  
1044 GREENHILLS DRIVE  
ANN ARBOR, MI 48105-2722



Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor

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*First Class*