

# the digest

A Newsletter for the Interdisciplinary Study of Food

What follows is part of a three-year research project in a Quaker farming community in southeastern Massachusetts where they have been having a clambake each summer for for the past 99 years. Beyond the story of an individual clambake, however, is an entire chapter of social history concerning the concept of leisure in America and the development of the its seashore. It is in this context that much of the history of the clambake lies.

## THE FAMOUS TRADITIONAL NEW ENGLAND CLAMBAKE

By Kathy Neustadt

The clambake, like images of whales and nautical gear, has come to represent New England summertime in the popular imagination. Pictures of the bake's bounty illumine tourist brochures and comprise photo essays in Yankee magazine. In the Boston phonebook, under "clambake", there

are more than 30 outdoor caterers listed, with the majority of them invoking the "old-fashioned clambake" as standard and d'etre. From pavillions and

New England both their their raison commercial catered af-

A Clam Bake by Winslow Homer



(continued on p. 31)

October 1987

This double issue has been designed on the practical side to fulfill scheduling promises and on the side of timeliness to keep Digest readers abreast of the most current activities in the foodways world. Under "Summer Activities" we have the latest on courses in Minnesota, a seminar in Virginia, the Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C., and two international conferences in Norway and England (thanks are due to those who reported on these far-flung endeavors). In addition, we continue to bring you ethnographic notes, this time from British India during the 1940s (with many thanks to Rosan Jordan, for sharing her research and correspondence).

Thanks seem to be additionally in order in the production of this issue, especially to the many readers who sent in notices of recent publications, foodways activities mentioned in other journals and newspapers, as well as those who brought us up to date on their own research. We are particularly interested to note James Harvey Young's recent article, "Harper's Weekly on Health in America, 1876" in the Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences (41:2, April 1986) since it relates so directly to the prominently featured book and a current exhibition "Fit for America."

This double issue completes Volume 7. It also completes my second and final year as editor of The Digest. I have enjoyed the process of bringing the newsletter into being every 4 months enormously, and I only leave that task in order to bring a somewhat weightier document--my dissertation--into *its* existence. Until a new editor is elected, however, I will continue to receive the incoming Digest mail and will handle business as usual during this interim period--don't forget to write!

As is customary at the close of an issue, we urge you to re-subscribe--and feel free to share your resubscription form with friends. We have a great many ideas for new features, special issues, and compilation of resources which we will best be able to implement with your continued support. In the meantime, best wishes for the fall.

Sincerely,



# the digest

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## ethnographic notes

Recent issues of The Digest have included ethnographic materials concerning foodways in various parts of the world: this includes Liz Wickett's work on an Egyptian saint's festival (Vol. 6:3, Summer 1896) and Benedicte Johnson's study on Ramadan fasting and Susan Kalcik's observation on Days of the Dead in Mexico, both in the last issue (Vol. 7:1, Spring 1987).

The following is an excerpt from a letter from Major-General R.C.A. Edge, 16 September 1986, and represents part of the research of Rosan Jordan into the foodways of a sub-culture that no longer exists: the British who ruled India prior to Indian Independence in 1947. Jordan's paper on this topic, presented at the 1986 annual meeting of the American Folklore Society, explored the use of food in that society to demarcate boundaries between races while simultaneously providing occasions for negotiating across those boundaries. What follows is a document which contains a number of first-hand observations about the rules implicitly regulating those tricky social occasions when food events brought members of the various races together.

...About British eating habits in India: we ate British style meals, with modifications of content and timing to suit local conditions. Our cooks and kitchen staff were always Indian, and astonishingly well they cooked, too. The cooks were often-- but by no means always--Muslim. Some races were thought to be particularly skilled cooks, such as the Mughs from East Bengal and the Goanese (Christians from Goa).

Local fruits and other foodstuffs were, of course, fully exploited and there were certain dishes which were characteristic of the Indian "khansamah," for instance "Fruit Baskets" for pudding [dessert]. These were often highly elaborate confections: small caramel baskets filled with fruit salad and all hanging from the branches of a caramel tree.

Kitchen equipment was rudimentary: mud brick cooking fires and clay-built ovens: it was always amazing to see such beautiful food produced with such simple equipment and utensils. And the Indian cook was never fussy about timing; he would produce a meal at the shortest notice and was never put out if a

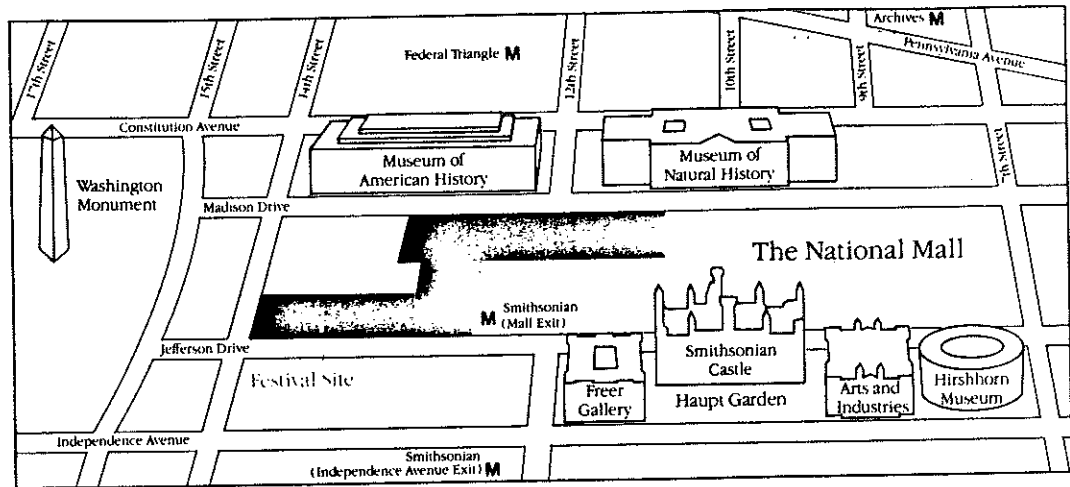
prolonged pre-dinner drinking session delayed the food for an hour or so. The Indian cook never ate the food he cooked (although he probably tasted it to see if it was all right), and generally speaking, it did not suit his palate, being too mild in flavour.

The British made a great deal of use of Indian dishes and Indian condiments, e.g., mango chutney and hot lime pickle, and, of course, ate a lot of curry and rice. But it was a strange limitation of most khansamahs that they were unable to make a decent curry. For this one had to enlist the services of one of the other servants, in my last household the *syah* [lady's maid or nursemaid]. Curry (like other Indian dishes which the British adopted) was normally treated as another "course" in a European meal, but sometimes it got a rather special status. For example, some clubs made a specialty of "Sunday Curry," a meal which was preceded by much drinking of lager beer and usually finished about five p.m.

Indians of every degree used to entertain the British a great deal. Some

(continued on p. 21)

Summer '87 has been a particularly fruitful time for the study of foodways around the globe. Thanks to a crew of correspondents, The Digest is able to keep you up to date on current research and researchers.



Summer is the time of fairs and festivals, occasions associated with, among other things, food and fun. One of these summer events is the **American Folklife Festival**, sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Folklife Programs and the National Park Service in Washington, D.C. Each year, the traditions of one state are the focus of the Festival; this year, June 24-July 5, 1987, Michigan was the featured state, and traditional foodways made up a major component of this event.

In preparation for this major undertaking, ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, and folklorists conducted fieldwork research throughout Michigan to identify diverse traditions and individuals recognized locally as the most skilled at these traditions. More than 100 were invited to represent their communities in the nation's capitol, representing cultural traditions ranging from autoworking to agriculture, fishing and trapping to polka, gospel to textile arts, and so on.

Foodways were also well represented. The terms "traditional foods" and "foodways" refer to those cultural skills and knowledge about food preparation and

presentation that are passed on informally from one individual to another and one generation to another without reference to an instruction manual. In southeast Michigan, for example, one "just knows" how to prepare muskrat, because it is part and parcel of the local culture.

As a museum, the Smithsonian's primary goals are education and cultural conservation: the American Folklife Festival serves both. Visitors to the Festival do not merely walk through the grounds passively, nor are the tradition bearers and traditions merely on display. Rather, each tradition is presented as holistically as possible: the cooks talk about themselves and their communities and their "art." Visitors learn about a culture that participates in and maintains a particular food, rather than just about a foodstuff and its ingredients. Foodways are presented in a manner more akin to a workshop than a step-by-step recipe demonstration.

The highlights of the foodways presentations were black cooking traditions of rural western Michigan by the descendants of freed and runaway slaves as contrasted with southern black

foodways; fish in the cuisine around the many lakes and along the numerous rivers; preparation of the Upper Peninsula pasty; Monroe muskrat; the Lebanese festive and everyday foods in Dearborn; and Mexican-American spices and sauces from western Michigan.

Michigan is a water state, and fish are important throughout the region. However, methods of cooking and eating fish exist that many of us have not experienced, because the traditions are localized or specific to certain lifestyles. For example, fishing guides on inland rivers demonstrated the manner in which they prepare fish over an open fire along the river bank for their patrons. Other traditions included the canning, baking, and smoking of fish. Smoking fish is an old method of preservation, and the process was demonstrated according to various traditions.

Michigan is also a state in which trapping and hunting are important to family subsistence, as well as being recreational for residents and tourists. The muskrat is important in the marshland area of southeastern Michigan, but especially to Monroe, Michigan. The essence of this cultural tradition was featured at the Festival: it connotes regional and ethnic identity; it is the reason for the annual Monroe community celebrations; it is the focus of informal rites of passage; and it links residents of today with the French voyagers and trappers of the 17th century. Needless to say, muskrat then is more than nourishment; it is the cultural symbol of Monroe. Thus, it should not be difficult to understand the anger and frustration of the community when the health department recently banned the public

sale of muskrat in restaurants, meat markets, and slaughterhouses. It is doubtful that this ban will kill the importance of muskrat in Monroe, but it cannot but alter the open, unguarded participation in its traditions.

Many Michiganders know pasties are the specialty of the Upper Peninsula, but few are aware of their Cornish origins or their appropriation by Finns who settled in the same area. This is an interesting story of multi-ethnic Michigan told at the Festival. Both versions of pasty were demonstrated, discussed, and debated by traditional cooks from those communities in what came to be playfully tagged as "the battle of the pasty."

The same tradition bearers and the same traditions from the Festival were also presented at the Michigan Festival, August 20-30, 1987. This is an annual event in East Lansing, Michigan, on the campus of Michigan State University, and much of the local coordination and consultation for the Smithsonian Festival and the coordinating of the Michigan Festival has been directed through the Michigan Traditional Arts Program. For more information, contact LuAnne Kozma, Michigan Traditional Arts Program, Michigan State University Museum, East Lansing, MI 48824, (517) 355-2370.

--Yvonne Lockwood  
Michigan State University

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The 7th biennial meeting of the **International Conference on Ethnological Food Research** convened at Sogndal, Norway, on June 10, 1987, under the sponsorship of the University of Oslo. Astrid Riddervold and Andreas Ropeid served as conference organizers and hosts.

Participants were taken overland by bus from Oslo to the conference center at Sogn-dal, stopping along the way to view historic churches and spectacular Norwegian scenery. A similar return bus ride to Oslo was also provided for participants following the conference.

The theme of this meeting was "Food Preservation for Conservation," and a wide diversity of papers underscored the need to further explore this subject, particularly in terms of traditional culture. Perhaps the most startling paper (there were several) was that of Françoise Sabban (Champigny-sur-Marne, France), whose work on an early Chinese farm mural revealed that ancient China was highly organized around dairy culture, and that preserved milk products were a large element in early Chinese diet.

The 8th International Conference will meet in Philadelphia (USA) in June of 1989 under the sponsorship of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies. Dr. James Turk of the Balch and food historian William Woys Weaver will serve as conference organizers and hosts. This will be the first time the conference will have met outside of Europe.

The 1987 Oxford Symposium met at St. Anthony's College, Oxford University, under the organization of Tom Jaine (Devon, England). The theme of this year's symposium was "Taste," in all its diverse aspects, from the purely chemical to social etiquette, but centering of course on food. By comparison, the Norwegian conference, which comprised some 60 participants (most of whom were ethnologists of one kind or another), centered on man and his relationship to food. The Oxford Symposium was not only larger (about 160

persons) and highly interdisciplinary, it also boasted a formidable contingent of journalists and food buffs who set the tone of the proceedings.

Papers from both conferences will be published as separate volumes by Prospect Books of London under the skillful oversight of Alan Davidson. Davidson attended the Norwegian conference (his first ethnological food conference) and was one of the founders of the annual Oxford symposia. On the international level, his invisible hands are often the catalysts that make so many good things possible.

--William Woys Weaver  
Paoli, Pennsylvania

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Ravindra Khare's NEH Summer Seminar, "Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Food," which was held at the University of Virginia, June 13-August 7, 1987, was the first one of its kind to be sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Endowment's doing so is a tribute to Ravi Khare's leadership in food studies and suggests, too, that the cultural and symbolic interpretations of the function of food and foodways in cultures is maturing.

The twelve participants came from a variety of disciplines with, as might be expected, an equal variety of research and teaching interests. Teserach Ketema is a sociologist who teaches at Texas Southern University in Houston; her research interests include population and demographic studies in developing countries. Kathy Dettwyler, a physical anthropologist, will be moving from the University of Southern Mississippi to Texas A&M University this fall; she is working in the area of African food systems, especially

infant feeding.

Graham Tomlinson, a sociologist from the University of South Carolina at Beaufort, has interests in food festivals, cultural items related to food, and the encoding of cultural traits in a culinary item. Manuel Moreno, an anthropologist from North-eastern Illinois University in Chicago, has done extensive fieldwork in India and is especially interested in the function of food in religious festivals.

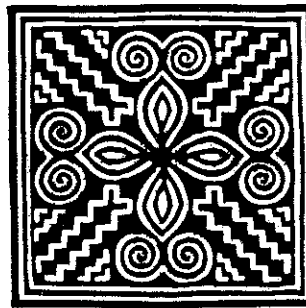
Richard Ryan's area of specialization is public administration and international development, subjects he teaches at San Diego State University's Imperial Valley Campus; two areas of food research occupy his time: food taboos affecting women and the anthropology of management. Bill Holian of Suffolk County Junior College on Long Island is a sociologist doing research in hunter-gather social management. Roberta Miller, who teaches at a Catholic college in Columbus, Ohio, is studying diachronic changes in food values in Mexico.

Richard Straw, a historian at Radford University, teaches in the history department and in the Appalachian Studies Program and studies the connections between foodways and other cultural forms, especially as the region has changed from rural to industrial. Vernon Schubal's doctorate is in religion; he teaches Islamic religion at Central Michigan University while he researches the uses of food in Islamic, especially south Asian, festivals and has recently completed a book on Shi'ite religion.

Lin Humphrey, folklorist at Citrus College in California, continues her research in the nature of power and hospitality in food-centered traditions. Talbot Spivak is

a novelist and teacher of humanities at Edison Community College in Ft. Myers, Florida, whose specialties include 18th century French literature and foodways. Finally, Theodore C. Humphrey teaches folklore at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, and continues his work on the way food functions in festive occasions to create and transmit a sense of community and identity.

--Theodore C. Humphrey  
Cal. State Polytechnic U., Pomona



**HAMLIN  
UNIVERSITY**  
DIVISION OF GRADUATE  
& CONTINUING STUDIES  
SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA 55104

The following are two foodways-related courses being taught this summer at The **Center for Refugee Ethnography** within the Division of Graduate and Continuing Studies at Hamline University in St. Paul, Minnesota. The Center, which describes itself as "an academic program providing access to refugee cultures through ethnographic research, conferences, course work, and materials," addresses itself to the challenge that refugee populations present to teachers, public assistance programs, and other support agencies.

The director of the Center is Willard B. Moore, a folklorist who has been documenting ethnic and regional traditions in Minnesota for many years: a recent publication is his co-authorship of The Minnesota Ethnic Food Book [see p.13]. Moore, who organized and coordinated "The Pepper Eaters" as the first course of



the Center's curriculum last summer, instructs and/or coordinates both of the courses on Hmong culture; Jeanne Blake, an educational consultant who has worked extensively among the Hmong in Minnesota as well as in Thailand, instructs the introductory course.

For more information on the Center or the courses themselves, write to: The Center for Refugee Ethnography, Division of Graduate and Continuing Studies, Hamline University, 1536 Hewitt Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55104.

#### **Anth 622 (formerly ModL 701)**

#### **The Pepper Eaters: An Introduction to Hmong Language and Symbolic Behavior**

The Hmong of Laos are a unique group, having maintained much of their traditional folk culture in the midst of the American urban environment. Public school teachers have received resource materials about the Hmong people in Minnesota for the purposes of cultural understanding and more effective teaching of this new minority. Unfortunately, teachers' resource materials have emphasized historical, political, and demographic information about the Hmong as a refugee group. This course provides an introduction to the culture of the Hmong as an ethnic group.

Going beyond a superficial cultural profile, this course provides an analysis of the Hmong language, major Hmong elements and the relationships among these elements. You trace the influence of native language and culture on the behavior of Hmong children in the classroom and community. Native speakers and practitioners demonstrate language and interpret cultural elements. Among the topics covered are social structure, myths and folk stories, music, food and foodways, religious and spiritual beliefs, and artistic characteristics of the material culture. Among the highlights

will be simulated experiences of culture in conflict, and a special evening meal hosted by five local families. Targeted audience: teachers K-12 (social studies and ESL teachers should find this course to be especially interesting).

#### **Anth 624**

#### **Pepper Eaters II:**

#### **Hmong Language and Culture**

More available research materials and a wide demand by teachers to learn about the Hmong refugees determines our expansion of the original course to a second-level program this summer. The growing Hmong school population continues to experience social, economic, and educational problems which will be closely examined through a variety of learning techniques.

This continuing course, "Pepper Eaters II," gives special attention to topics crucial to understanding the life of Hmong people as they move from the status of refugees toward "ethnics." Major topics include the conflicts between traditional behavior and American legal practices (especially in family and courtship behavior), the influence of planning and SDS (Sudden Death Syndrome) and other stress related phenomena on family and community life, changes in Hmong music and artistic expression, the confluence of Christianity and traditional Hmong beliefs as they are expressed in myths and in modern legends, and a history of Hmong farming and other employment patterns since immigration. Selected readings provide historical background and describe the Hmong position in the context of Southeast Asian political conflicts. Native speakers and interpreters will provide commentary and answer questions. Target audience: ESL, L.E.P., and other teachers K-12, health care personnel, minority group advocates.

--K.N.

**"French and Acadian Influences Upon the Cajun Cuisine of Southwest Louisiana,"** M.A. thesis, Home Economics at U. of Southwestern Louisiana, by Colette G. Leistner.

This study examines factors affecting the development of the Cajun cuisine of Southwest Louisiana with emphasis upon French and Acadian contributions. Discussions of the route taken by the Cajuns--to France, Acadia, exile in various locales, and final arrival in Louisiana--provides historical background. The cooking techniques and equipment applied to foodstuffs available in medieval France and 17th c. Acadia provide information on culinary antecedents of Southwest Louisiana's traditional Cajun cuisine through the mid-1950s.



The lack of manuscript or published cookbooks from the early eras investigated necessitated the use of historical journals. Memoirs, ledgers, and personal interviews yielded valuable information on the Cajun culture of the early 20th c. Of particular interest were the methods of food preparation as well as typical meal patterns.

Recognizing the importance of recording traditional recipes accurately led the researcher to test and standardize five traditional Cajun desserts--massepain (ginger-cake), croquinoles (doughnuts), petites gateaux secs (tea cakes), tarte à la bouilli (custard sweet dough pie), and tarte au mûe (blackberry sweet dough pie). This

permits the establishment of guidelines to follow for future standardization of traditional recipes. Research indicated that the recipes can be formulated to yield dishes closely resembling the original versions.

[For more on Cajun foodways, see p. 16 on The Simple Cooking 1986 Summer and Autumn issue.]

**"El Pan de Cada Dia': The Symbols and Expressive Culture of Wheat Bread in Greater Mexico."** Alicia María González, Smithsonian Institution, Office of Folklife Programs.

Everyday survival is a top priority for all people; the most basic concern for survival is food, of course, and bread has been an important and basic source of sustenance throughout the world. Yet, for all of us who consume bread, it is important to have the "right" type of bread to suit the time of day or meal (breakfast, lunch, dinner, or snack) and the occasion (holiday or ritual feast). How the bread is prepared immediately relates bread to that culturally specific way of making it; and this relationship is clearly linked to the much taken-for-granted occupation of the baker, in this case the panadero, or Mexican baker.

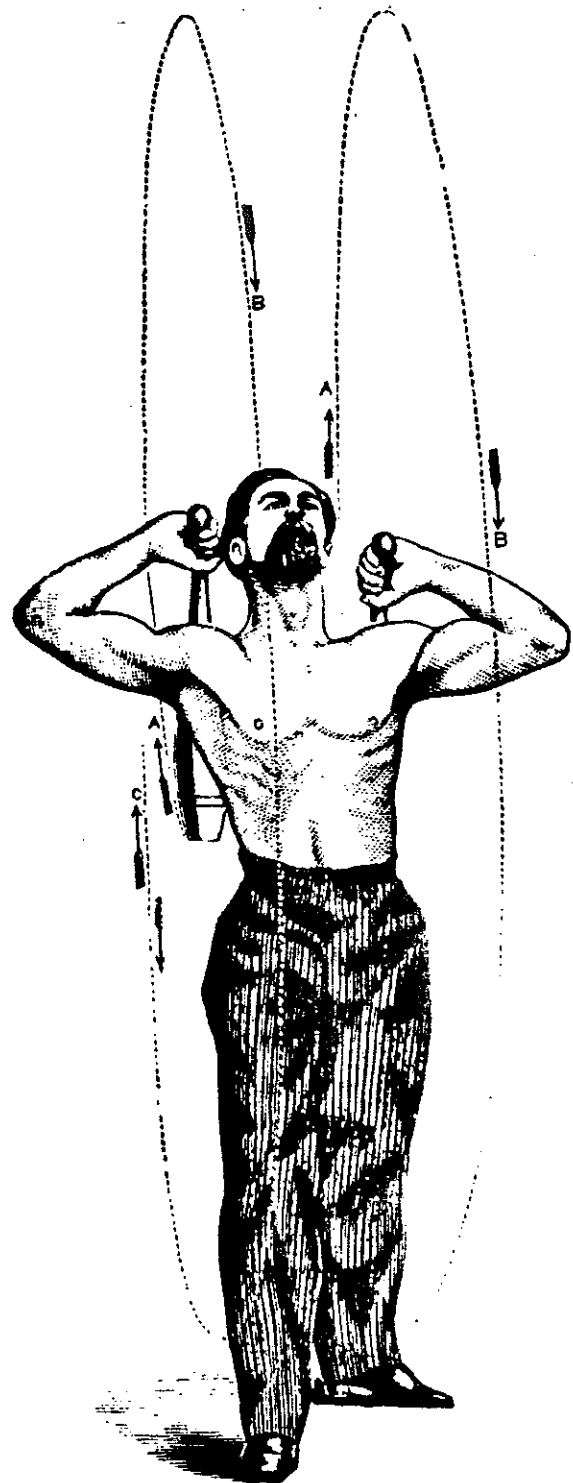
Therefore, this study, which was first inspired by the Mexican bread varieties and their meanings, focuses on bread; the technologies associated with bread making; the way it is a part of the lives of Mexican people north and south of the United States/Mexican border; and its symbolic value seen through the eyes of the consumers, and especially the panadero, who has been a cultural broker and who continues to make this a widespread and vital tradition.

**"Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society, 1830-1940,"** at the Museum of Our National Heritage, 33 Marrett Road, Lexington, Mass.; telephone: (617)861-6559. September 13, 1987-April 18, 1988.

The upcoming exhibit, "Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society, 1830-1940," explores the origins of the country's love affair with fitness: how Americans have thought about health, the self-cures they have adopted, and the quest for the ideal physical form during the era of industrialization. Much of the reform movement had its focus on diet and the particular evils of over-stimulating and dyspepsia-producing condiments. Concern with the effects of diet on physical and moral health stimulated the development of "health foods" after the Civil Wars and promised health and renewed vitality.

Beginning in the 1830s, health reform became a widespread movement, exhibiting itself in such forms as the temperance movement, vegetarianism, gymnastics, and a variety of health regimens and "cures." Between the years 1860 and 1890, "survival of the fittest" became an American preoccupation, and recreational sports evolved as an important part of daily American life. From the 1890s through the 1940s, support for the "strenuous life" began to develop, along with a rise of amateur and professional sports.

Developed under the direction of historian Harvey Green at the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum in Rochester, New York, the exhibit will open at the Museum of Our National Heritage in Lexington on September 13, 1987 and will run through April 18, 1988--the day of the Boston Marathon. In conjunction with the exhibit,



related programs will include talks on sports nutrition and medicine, fitness workshops, sports clinics, films, and a demonstration of historical bicycles.

For more information, contact the Museum. [The accompanying book by the same name is reviewed on p.14.]

## books in print

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**Cather's Kitchens: Foodways in Literature and Life.** Roger L. Welsch and Linda K. Welsch. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. 177 pp. \$16.95. Discusses food and food-related settings in My Antonia, O, Pioneers! and other works by the American writer Willa Cather (1873-1947).

**Feeding Behavior: Neural and Humoral Controls.** Robert C. Ritter, Sue Ritter, and Charles D. Barnes, eds. Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1986. 352 pp. \$60. The control of food intake from a neuroscience perspective.

**Festivals, Family, and Food.** Diana Carey and Judy Large. Available through HearthSong: A Shop for Families, 156 North Main Street, Sebastopol, Cal. 95472. 216 pp. \$12.95. Featuring 20 festivals, with games, recipes, and other activities aimed at creating a familial culture. [For more, see p.17.]

**Foodworks: Over 100 Science Activities and Fascinating Facts That Explore the Magic of Food.** Ontario Science Centre. Illustrated by Linda Hendry. \$7.50. Dozens of hands-on projects for ages 8 and up. [For more, see. p. 17]

**Hearthside Cooking.** Nancy Carter Crump. EPM Publications, Inc. \$19.95. An introduction to Virginia plantation cuisine, including bills of fare, tools, techniques, and original recipes with their adaptations for modern fireplaces and kitchens.

**I Hear America Cooking.** Betty Fussell. \$24.95. Viking Press. Explores the culinary traditions of six sections of the U.S., based on research on historical cookbooks and conversations with cooks around country.

**In Search of the Perfect Meal: A Collection of the Best Food Writing of Roy Andries De Groot.** Lorna J. Sass. St. Martin's Press. \$24.95. Journalist and gastronome De Groot, who died in 1983, considered the components of the perfect meal.

**Markets and Famines.** Martin Ravallion. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 204 pps. \$43. Discusses the role of the market in food allocation and other issues in the economics of famines; includes a case study of the 1974 famine in Bangladesh.

**Science Experiments You Can Eat.** Vicki Cobb. Illustrated by Peter Lippman. \$10.89. Thirty-nine delicious experiments for budding scientists. Ages 9-14. [For more, see p. 17]

**The Paris Edition: the Autobiography of Waverly Root, 1927-1934.** Edited by Samuel Abt. North Point. 224 pps. \$16.95. An entertaining journey through the newsrooms, cafes, and bordellos of Paris with one of the world's foremost writers about food, complete with portraits of the notables of the day.

**The Minnesota Ethnic Food Book.** By Anne R. Kaplan, Marjorie A. Hoover, and Willard B. Moore. 450 pages. St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Press, 1986. \$29.95.

**White Trash Cooking.** By Ernest Matthew Mickler. 134 pages. Berkeley, Cal.: Ten Speed Press, 1986. \$12.95, paper.

Cookbooks have been coming in various sizes and shapes for many years now: it's part of what makes the culinary world so interesting to its aficionados. Ethnographies, on the other hand--following an undermining of authorial authority and a "crisis of the text"--have only recently begun to experiment with their forms. The Minnesota Ethnic Food Book and White Trash Cooking highlight the potential confluence of these two bodies of literature and together propose profitable avenues for further experimentation and insight.

Two of the authors of The Minnesota Ethnic Food Book, Kaplan and Moore, are professional ethnographers--folklorists by training--while Hoover is a specialist in food and nutrition: their training is in evidence in this very carefully researched and documented book. Fourteen ethnic groups and their foodways are featured--"a sampler of ethnic foodways," we are told; not by any means inclusive--and much of the information comes from interviews and field notes, supported by "broadbased library and archival research."

Each section of the book entails an ethnographic portrait of the particular group's foodways, followed by a section of footnotes. The recipes are presented in the back of the book, a dozen or so selections for each ethnic group, "chosen to help illustrate some of the points made in the

essay." The recipes have not only been carefully tested but each is introduced with a note giving contexts for such meals, and there are many notes on variation. Photographs throughout the text situate the materials in a larger cultural context, while line drawings in the recipe section help with the mechanics of preparation.

If there are criticisms to be made of The Minnesota Ethnic Food Book (subtitled, "With more than 150 recipes"), it might be that the book does not seem to have achieved a comfortable identity out of the spectrum of possible ethnography-gastronomy mixes. It is an awfully weighty tome to be simply an annotated cookbook--for one thing, it is almost too big and heavy to fit into a standard recipe book stand. On the other end, if it is to stand as an ethnographic and academic collection of foodways fieldwork, it cries out for a larger theoretical discussion about food and ethnicity or about the history of Minnesota's ethnic migrations or its natural resources in relation to production, distribution, preparation, and consumption, along the lines of some of Jack Goody's work, for example.

White Trash Cooking is on surface a wholly different kind of book. Originally produced on a shoe-string budget, with its paper cover and a spiral binder, the book seems to have no pretenses about being *more* than a cookbook. In the mild controversy concerning the possible bad taste of its title and the actual content of its pages--recipes which called for "oleo" and methods for preparing alligator tails--there was some questions about whether White Trash Cooking was a cookbook at all.

Part of the charm, and no doubt much of the financial success, of White Trash Cook-

ing is due to its ambiguous identity. It looks like a cookbook, its pages turn like a cookbook, but much of what is included within its pages encompasses more. There are the quick glimpses of the personalities behind the recipes--cooks like Betty Sue, Minda Lynn, and Netty Irene--which Mickler produces through quotes and paraphrases; there are the photographs, imperfect color reproductions with remarkably evocative, even haunting,

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**"Then Reba let out a high-pitched laugh, slapped her leg, and licked the last bit of Rainbow Icebox Cake from her lips."**

**--White Trash Cooking**

---

power; there's even Mickler's introductory essay, which makes the critical differentiation between white trash and White Trash.

In the use of humor as an aid to insights, White Trash Cooking is reminiscent of another recent and unofficial ethnography, The Preppy Handbook. Both managed to capture something essential about a group which hitherto had no official status, "ethnic" or otherwise, while eschewing their own seriousness. Like all serious students of foodways, Mickler has used the food of a group of people to expose something broader about their lives; what he has failed to do--and what this reader at least can't help yearning for--is to say what he thinks it means, analyze it, summarize it, make a larger sense out of it.

The Minnesota Ethnic Food Book and White Trash Cooking have things to learn

from each other. For example, future foodways surveys following the Minnesota model might consider a separate recipe book along the lines of Mickler's as a companion to the more comprehensive text meant for closer study (the Time-Life international cookbook series is produced like this). Other regional or ethnic "cookbooks"--even especially those meant to be funny--might benefit from a more careful methodology, either in collecting or presenting materials, using the Minnesota book as a model; greater depth might also be attempted in relation to the individuals who actually participate in the culinary tradition and experience.

Every author and every cookbook can hardly be expected to share the goal of one great ethnographic-gastronomic literary merging--although certainly the best cookbooks must capture something of the cultural context of the foodways presented and truly fine ethnographies must be sensitive to food in its myriad cultural forms. The Minnesota Ethnic Food Book and White Trash Cooking each, in their own way, propose new ways to stretch the genres, even as they challenge them.

--K.N.

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**Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society, 1830-1940.** By Harvey Green. 367 pages, illustrated. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986. \$24.95.

Americans are a "bundle of nerves," suffering from "high-status maladies" like neurasthenia, and have been fit for reform for the last 150 years. Since the 1830s, Americans have longed to return to the Eden of the colonial past when, they ima-

gined, their forebearers were healthier and heartier. Historian Harvey Green's book looks at that quintessential American trait--perfectability--in the development of a fitness-conscious society.

The decline of healthfulness in early 19th century America was linked to industrial development and urbanization. Religion and morality were closely linked, Green shows, and individual health (or illness) determined social salvation. The pre-Civil War "Muscular Christianity" movement and the rise of organized sports in colleges and community organizations replaced Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier as outlets for the pressures of urban life. In fact, after the frontier was "officially" closed in 1893, the YMCA is credited with channeling young men's energy that would have been spent in sexual wantonness and crime. Boy Scouts, another

nativism, giving way to "selective breeding and racial nationalism." Middle-class women were encouraged to build strong bodies to bear healthy children, and were warned to choose their mates carefully to ensure the heartiness of the [white, Anglo-Saxon] race and to have many children, so that the "lesser" immigrant races would not dilute the vitality of the country.

Along the way, Green introduces individual reformers like "Granola" inventor and cereal baron John Harvey Kellogg, who eschewed meat, coffee, and tea, and banished hot liquids (including soup) at meals; Horace Fletcher, "the high priest of chewing," whose followers were known as the Christian Endeavor Army and included William and Henry James; Henry D. Perky, who marketed shredded wheat biscuits ("strength in every shred"); and Charles W. Post of Battle Creek, whose Grape-Nuts (1898), Post Toasties (1908), and Postum are still with us.

Early reforms like indoor bathing, household cleanliness, and furniture improvements, then bottled and mechanical cures, and 20th-century self-help manuals like Physical Culture magazine and home exercise machines are all there. So is the story of the rise of wooded resorts and warm springs that catered to smug neurasthenics, who wanted a cure that was pleasing as well as healthy. Those invalid resorts became the exclusive country clubs of today.

Rowing machines, exercise regimens, arguments for and against vegetarianism: they're all in Fit for America, as fit for today's consumption as they've been for the past 150 years.

--Millie L. Rahn

Museum of Our National Heritage

**DR. SCOTT'S ELECTRIC HAIR BRUSH.**

An Honest Remedy  
 PREFERRED AND TRIED BY OUR BEST PHYSICIANS.  
 Made of Pure Bristles of the Highest Quality  
**Not a Wire Brush  
 But Pure Bristles.**  
**IT IS WARRANTED TO CURE**  
 Dandruff, Itchiness, and all other scalp diseases. It will positively produce a rapid growth of hair on bald heads, where the glands and follicles are not totally destroyed.  
 Preparation: The Full Size Bottle and Small Bottle, each with its own box.  
 ALL DEALERS WILL REFUND THE PRICE IF NOT AS REPRESENTED.  
**A BEAUTIFUL BRUSH, SAVING**  
 MONEY NEVERTHAT IS NOT AN OVERSTATEMENT.  
 A Small Bottle shown at the bottom of the box and containing of one inch.



new movement, subtly promoted military preparedness, and Theodore Roosevelt was a model for the virtues of "the strenuous life."

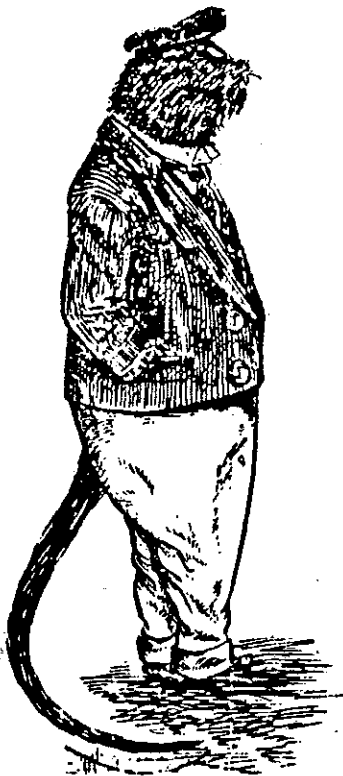
The darker side of health, fitness, and body-building, however, was racism and

# publications

The Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor (Michigan) is a group of individuals who share an interest in the history of food and its social meaning and implication. Since the founding of the organization in 1983 by Jan Longone and a small group of serious food people, membership has increased and now represents diverse interests.

A newsletter of the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor is published three times a year and costs \$7.50. The first issue, which

THE MONROE MUSKRAT



came out in June, features an article on Michigan cook-books and recipes, a report on medieval gastronomy, & the Michigan foodways represented at the Smithsonian Institution's American Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C. [see p.5].

A subscription to the newsletter is also included with membership dues, which are \$15 for one person, \$20 for a couple; the group meets September-May on the third

Sunday of the month, 7-9 p.m.

For more information concerning the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor, their fall schedule, and/or their newsletter, contact Susan Fussell, 316 Westwood Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI 48103.

CommuniCator, the newsletter of the Council on Nutritional Anthropology, is available to those who are not members of CNA as well, for \$5 per volume, beginning with the current volume. To order, write to the Council on Nutritional Anthropology, c/o the American Anthropological Association, 1703 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009.

For those with a very direct and experiential interest in foodways, the summer catalogue of **Festive Foods** is out. The company sells oils, vinegars, coffees, teas, dried vegetables, spices and herbs, and chocolates and cocoas in bulk at reasonable prices. The group also seems to be a very helpful one; for example, they offer free recipes for the perplexed with the purchase of their exotic mushrooms, and they encourage larger, organizational patronage through additional discounts. To receive the catalogue, contact Festive Foods at 20 Carrollton Rd., Sterling, VA 22170; (703) 450-4504.

Cajun cooking and foodways are the featured topics of the 1986 Summer and Autumn issue of John Thorne's Simple Cooking. Thorne's introductory essay sets an appropriately exotic mood and is followed by a range of recipes, cookbook reviews, and general commentary on Cajun food and culture. Requests for back issues of Simple Cooking should be directed to The Jackdaw Press, Box 371-Essex Station, Boston, MA 02112; a subscription to Simple Cooking is \$12 for one year, \$21 for two. [For an abstract on recent work on Cajun foodways, see p.10.]



### Herb Song

Summer time, stretch out in the sun, Spread out your arms feel the earth is breathing, Light in the air pours  
 copper on your hair, gold on your arm & your shoulder gleaming. Chorus: Parsley, tarragon, fennel and savory,  
 lavender baskets for the making, Rosemary, marjoram, dill and sweet cicely, Lemon balm when your heart is  
 aching.

From Festivals, Food and Family: Sylvie Mehta, Stroud Folk Singer.

### NEW BOOKS ON FOOD FOR CHILDREN

Recent discoveries of this genre include two hands-on, working manuals for discoveries in food listed in the most recent roster of the Quality Paperback Book Club (Camp Hill, Pa. 17012-0002). The first is entitled **Science Experiments You Can Eat**, by Vicki Cobb, illustrated by Peter Lippman (\$9.50). Hailed as "a first-rate introduction to the sciences of matter" by Scientific American, it offers 39 toothsome experiments for the young scientist. Second of the offerings, and in a similar vein, is **Foodworks: Over 100 Science Activities and Fascinating Facts That Explore the Magic of Food** (\$7.50). Issued by the Ontario Science Centre and illustrated by Linda Hendry, the book offers 24 projects which introduce children to ideas about food and nutrition and goes beyond to tackle larger questions, like how popcorn pops and why Swiss cheese has holes.

From Hearth Song: A Catalog for Families comes the offering **Festivals, Family and Food** by Diana Carey and Judy Large, published by Hawthorn Press of Gloucestershire, England. (The book is available for \$15.95 from HearthSong, P.O. Box B, Sebastopol, Cal. 95473; (707) 829-0900.) The English influence is perceptible, with the seasonal calendar highlighting such festivals as Candlemas, Whitsun, and Michaelmas. Each section contains an introductory section on the lore surrounding the various times of the year, songs, games, and traditional and innovative food recipes and activities. There are also chapters on birthdays and teatime, rainy days and convalescence, and so on.

Although intended to nurture family culture--"if celebrating festivals was formerly the focus of community life, then rediscovered in the modern context, such seasonal activities may enrich family life"-- Festivals, Food and Family unfortunately falls seriously short on cultural diversity, and the lack of traditions outside of the English experience of the Christian calendar greatly limits the book's appropriateness and appeal. The concept behind the book remains an intriguing one, and it would be no surprise to see more of such collections in the future.

--K.N.

## call for papers

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The 1988 national meeting of the Popular Culture Association will be held at the Clarion Hotel and Pallas Suite Inn, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 23-26, 1988. Paper proposals are being sought through area chairs with specific topics of interest. Of particular relevance to Digest readers is the section on Literature and Culinary Arts, directed by Mary Anne Schofield, English Dept., Saint Bonaventure University, Saint Bonaventure, NY 14778.

The deadline for receipt of submissions

of proposed papers is September 1. Abstracts should be 250 words in length. All participants must pre-register (\$50 non-refundable; \$15 for students, retired, and unemployed), and all participants must be members of the Popular Culture Association (\$25). For more information and the conference's flier, contact Ray B. Browne, Secretary-Treasurer, PCA, Popular Culture Dept., Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403.

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## calendar

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### October 5

Sponsored by the American Institute of Wine and Food and the Women's Culinary Guild of New England, in the Boston area. Elizabeth Luard, author of The Old World Kitchen, will speak about her work. For more information, call Jane Lavine, (617) 566-3008.

### Early October

Culinary Historians of New York. Betty Fussell, author of I Hear America Cooking, will speak on "Cookbooks as Literature." For more information, contact Marilyn Einhorn, 50 E. 10th St., New York, NY 10003; telephone (212) 477-5066.

### October 21

Culinary Historians of Boston, 1309 Beacon Street, Brookline; 7 p.m. Eleanor Alcorn of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Department of European Decorative Arts, will speak on "Court Patronage and the Development of Table Wares in 18th c. Europe." For more information, call Jane Lavine, (617) 566-3008.

### October 21-25

American Folklore Society Annual Meeting, The Regent of Albuquerque, Albuquerque, New Mexico. [Foodways papers: see p. 19.]

### November 4

Culinary Historians of Boston, 1309 Beacon Street, Brookline; 7 p.m. Food author Karen Hess will speak on a topic to be announced. For more information, call Jane Lavine, (617) 566-3008.

### November 21-24

American Studies Association and the Canadian Association for American Studies International Convention, New York Hilton at Rockefeller Center, New York, NY 10019. Convention theme, "Creating Cultures: People, Objects, Ideas." [See p. 19.]

### December 3

Culinary Historians of Boston, 1309 Beacon Street, Brookline; 7 p.m. Dr. William Ober will speak on "Food as Aphrodisiac." For more information, call Jane Lavine, (617) 566-3008.

The American Studies Association and the Canadian Association for American Studies will be sponsoring an International Conference on the theme "Creating Cultures: People, Objects, Ideas," at the New York Hilton, November 21-24, 1987. The theme of this year's conference is built on the understanding that 1) cultures are social products that shape or control thought and behavior, and 2) that cultures are created, perpetuated, revised, or rejected by people with varying intentions, objectives, and degrees of consciousness.

On Tuesday, November 24, from 1-3 p.m., there will be a session on "Food, Society, and Culture in 19th century

America," with participation by Susan R. Williams, Mary Ellen Hern, Arlene D. Horvath, Jeff Titon, and Angus Gillespie (abstracts from this session will appear in a future issue of The Digest).

For more information, contact the American Studies Association, 309 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104. The deadline for pre-registration (which should be sent to a separate address: ASA, P.O. Box 7780-1429, Philadelphia, PA 19182) is **October 31**; fees are \$35 for members, \$15 for students, and \$55 for non-members; an additional \$10 will be charged for registration after this date.

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The American Folklore Society will be holding its 99th annual meeting October 21-25 at the Regent of Albuquerque Hotel in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The panel sponsored by the Foodways Section of the AFS this year will focus on "Food, Festivity, and the Performance of Identity." Chaired and organized by Susan Kalcik, the panel will include six papers.

Linda Humphrey's paper, "Traditional Foods? Traditional Values?" proposes that "an analysis of student-collected folk recipes suggests that the word 'traditional,' when applied to food and foodways, adds status, power, and authority to what might otherwise be considered ordinary dishes." Her examination of the student collections indicates that "traditionality is not a static concept, but a flexible and dynamic process...Students' recipes, taken from their lives, provide evidence that 'tradition' comes not just from the values of community, but from family and individual

interpretations." Viewing the recipes gathered by the students as "a small cultural window into the function and meaning of traditional foods as well as some insight concerning the symbolic use of the word 'traditional,'" Humphrey concludes that "the meaning is not only in the text but also in the context. A traditional food is not a thing but an event, a process that symbolizes far more than the basic ingredients of the recipe."

Ted Humphrey's paper is entitled "Food and Festive Performance of Identity." Moving beyond the materialist view of food to a symbolic one, he proposes that "the way in which food and foodways become, in festive contexts, powerful symbolic performances of a community's identity." Beyond the the temporal structuring of food examined by Mary Douglas, Humphrey's work suggests "correspondences that go even deeper and that

communities perform visions of their identity in their festive events, particularly (though not exclusively) in the foods that are the focal points of those events, in the rituals associated with them, and in their location on the overall context of festivity."

Moreover, "foods are transformed by their contexts into markers of social meaning that transcend their literal function of nourishing the physical body and nourish symbolically the larger body, the community itself."

Rosan Jordan's paper is a general introduction to foodways and the Mexican festival "Dias de Muertos" (Days of the Dead, All Souls and All Saints Days). Susan Kalcik then focuses on one particular food in the Days of the Dead celebration in Oaxaca, pan de los muertos. [For more by Kalcik on the foodways of Days of the Dead, see the cover article of the last issue, VII:1, Spring 1987.] She examines the history of Bread of the Dead in Spanish and Native American contexts, traditions of manufacture, types, shapes and ritual and artistic uses. Noting the centrality of bread in the symbolic systems of many cultures, Kalcik analyzes the ways in which pan de los muertos "reflects the Mexican sense of death and resurrection as part of the cycle of life. The eating of bread gives life to the living and signals the continued presence of the dead in the lives of the living...The celebration of the Days of the Dead and the ritual uses of the Bread of the Dead link the living and dead of the community and family and assure the living that when they are dead, they too will continue this linkage."

"Halloween Brunch: Affirmation of Group Identity in a Temporary Community" is the subject of Nancy Klavans' presentation. In

it she defines temporary communities as "social gatherings where membership in the community rarely extends beyond a few years," notes the growing numbers of such groups, and discusses the lack of research into their dynamics. Klavans examines "mechanisms for establishing and maintaining a sense of group identity" in the context of a group of parents of pre-schoolers and finds that "the parents have established a variety of events, most of which involve some level of food and festivity, in an attempt to create a sense of group involvement." The Halloween Brunch which the group has held for five years, is examined as an example of one such celebration.

The final paper is by Olivia Cadaval, "The Food Kiosko: Negotiating Identity in the Washington, D.C., Latino Festival." Citing the integral nature of the food stall in the "social organization of villages, towns and cities throughout Latin America...part of the everyday, the market, as well as a complement to fiestas, carnivals, and civic celebrations," Cadaval examines a similar stall, called the kiosko, in the Washington Latino festival. In this context, "the food kiosko," she claims, "draws from both market and celebration traditions but its principal product is not the produce and foods of a region, but rather identity...the vendor is challenging the public with a different world view." Designating three principal "communication arenas"--decoration, preparation, and presentation--the paper "analyzes the performance of the kiosko vendor and sees within this performance multiple statements of emerging identity within a still-forming multi-ethnic community within the larger and surrounding cosmopolitan society."

## BRITISH AND INDIAN FOODWAYS

(continued from p. 4)

people, e.g. Maharajahs and suchlike, used to produce high class European meals, but at lower levels one always hoped for an Indian meal, which would certainly be superb, in preference to a brave attempt at European cooking, which might be awful. The company at dinners was, of course, often mixed, Indian and European, and the cuisine at such occasions might be that of either race. But it was usual (and certainly usually advisable) for the host's nationality to determine the cuisine; a "European trained" cook could seldom be relied on to produce Indian food and vice versa.

Religious taboos seldom gave much trouble: if one was entertaining a Hindu, one did not serve beef; if a Muslim one steered clear of pork and bacon. With alcohol the position was little different from the European norm: one offered it and the guest could accept or refuse as he liked. Strict Hindu vegetarians were a (comparatively rare) problem which one had to deal with ad hoc, usually after consulting with the person concerned; and occasionally one had the really difficult guest, always a Hindu and usually a Brahmin, who would only eat food cooked by his own servant. This, too, obviously needed special treatment. Incidentally, Sikhs were treated as Hindus with the exception that they were usually enthusiastic whiskey drinkers, whereas high caste Hindus were commonly teetotal. Sikhs, of course (officially), did not smoke.

At very large multi-racial parties thrown, for example, by the Governor or by an Indian dignitary, there had to be provision for every main taboo, and even then the really strict Hindu might eat nothing. Of course, over the years, the tendency has been for taboos to be less

strictly observed. I noticed a great change between 1948, when I left, and 1968 when I revisited the country. I expect my father (who retired in 1920) would have noticed even more.

The princes and other rich Indians habitually used to throw lavish parties for senior Europeans (mainly), where the food and drink was everything that the greedy and thirsty man could desire, but with the war and then independence, there has been a change. There are no longer any princes, and--more important--both India and Pakistan are "dry" (for reasons of principle and religion respectively) and this inhibits lavish entertaining, in public at any rate. But, having written that, I recall an occasion during the war when we were about to construct a "safe" naval harbour and dockyard within the area of the Nawangar State, a project in which the Jam Sahib took the liveliest interest; so much so that he decided to ask the team doing the reconnaissance to what he described as "pot luck." This proved to be a barbecue for which a whole sheep had been roasting in a pit for the past 24 hours. This excellent delicacy was washed down with copious draughts of brandy and champagne as well as the Jam Sahib's own special liqueur made of rose petals. Alas! the Jam Sahib is now dead and his State has been eaten up by Independent India.

Indian food is nowadays readily available in the UK, and one result has been a great improvement in the English idea of how to make a curry, as well as the widespread adoption of Indian chutneys, pickles, spices, and other delicacies, but it is interesting to note that there has been no corresponding adoption by the Asians of English dishes such as fish and chips!

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## NEW ENGLAND CLAMBAKE

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fairs to firemen's fundraisers and church gatherings, as community celebrations or tourist entertainment, the clambake has come to stand for New England summers. Little, however, is actually known about how it came to be so.

"Why do you cook clambake this way?" the persistent tourist challenges the Bake Master with whom I am working. "Because it's the way the Indians did it before us, and it's the way these people here today want it done," he answers firmly. According to both local reckoning and archaeological evidence, the clambake has a Native American origin. Howard Russell, in Indian New England Before the Mayflower, cites evidence of both pit and pile methods--below ground and above--and considers clambaking a heritage of the Algonquins. At Plimouth Plantation, Living Museum of 17th Century Plymouth, clambakes are a part of the regular schedule at the Wampanoag Summer Campsite, just as they are at the annual Indian Pow-wows at Mashpee.

The English settlers most certainly came into contact with the general cooking and steaming techniques of their Native American hosts, and with the clambake in particular, but there is little evidence that the newcomers embraced clambakes into their own cultural culinary repertoire in the early years. However, by the latter part of the 19th century, there came into existence a new manifestation of clambakes, no longer native but remarkably American--that is, the commercial clambake. Appearing in southeastern Massachusetts in the 1870s, and in Rhode Island even earlier (Maine's history of clambaking is somewhat different), commercial clambaking began with men who worked as journeymen bake masters, moving from

site to site, and quickly evolved into the establishment of what were called clambake pavillions, outdoor dining facilities where the public came to the bake master.

In the historical, ideological context of Darwin and Spenser's social perfectability with its particular application to industrialization as a social phenomenon, the concept of clambaking became enmeshed with other ideas about fitness and health, along the lines of Harvey Green's work [pp. 11 and 14-15 of this issue], and of leisure as an antidote to the dirty business of the machine world. Such notions among the wealthy led to the development of seaside summer communities, both sanctuaries and refuge from the city, where health and spiritual wholeness could be regained through sunshine and salt air. For the working classes, temporary flight was afforded by the development of a public transportation system carrying them away from the city and their toil and of public amusement areas which greeted them when they stepped off the steam ship or, more often, the trolley car.

"First Class Public Clambake," the notices read in the "Amusement" section of New Bedford's Evening Standard Times, and so they were. One of the oldest and largest of the local New Bedford bakes was able to claim in 1877 that "the managers have spared no pains to make this the Bake of the Season, providing all the usual requirements of a first-class bake, viz: clams, quahogs, green corn, potatoes, onions, fish lobsters, dressing, tripe, sausages, tea and coffee, melons, &c." For amusement, customers were encouraged to visit the owner's vineyards and to fish in his pond, "one of the prettiest situated ponds in this vicinity, stocked with 150,000 black bass";

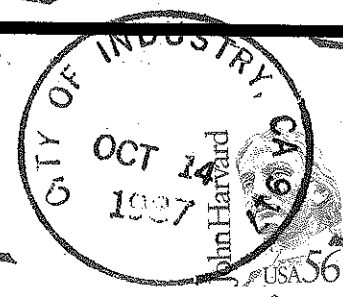
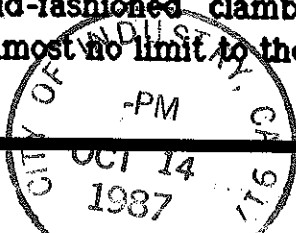
in addition, "A Quadrille Band has been engaged to enliven the occasion with music." Admission was 75¢.

Many of the larger pavillions were able to feed 1200 customers at a time, and some establishments had two seatings a day. On the occasion of the Bicentennial of the town of Rochester, Massachusetts, in the late 1800s, ten thousand people were claimed to have been served clambake at Otis Sisson's Sylvan Grove, and the newspaper reported that "a bake 20 feet long, ten feet wide, and four feet high remained untouched at nightfall representing those unfed at nightfall as darkness caused the festivities to cease."

Commercial clambaking establishments were already able by the turn of the century to tout themselves as serving "a genuine old-fashioned clambake," and there was almost no limit to the kinds of groups

who patronized them: the Christian Society of Assonet, the Bristol County Fruit Growers' Association, the fifth annual family reunion of the Allen family, the Dartmouth Grange, as well as the flocks of individuals. Employers annually treated their workers to a clambake each summer; church groups and political organizations used clambakes as fundraisers; as late as 1934, pavillions in the New Bedford area were still holding "daily men's lunches."

The Hurricane of '38 literally swept most of the pavillions away; The Depression, rationing, and the War likewise had their deleterious effects: for many years, the public clambake all but disappeared. But like the phoenix rising from the ashes--or in this case, the hot rocks--the clambake has revived itself and once again takes its place as a multi-faceted symbol of time and place--an extraordinary meal.



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