the Jewish Home Beautiful

Fig. 80: Title page ornament from The Jewish Home Beautiful, New York, 1941, published by the United Synagogues of America; Collection of Peter H. Schweiner, New York.
The beauty of white stewed fish on the Passover table carried a special message at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. There, at the Jewish Women's Congress, Mary M. Cohen spoke to interested but uninformed Christians in her audience about the kitchen's role in creating a "bond in sanctity" between Jewish religion and family life. Noting that some people disparaged Judaism as a "kitchen religion," Cohen alluded to Israel Angell's legendary parsnip fried fish, published in Philadelphia the preceding year: "Fried fish, and such fried fish! Only a great poet could sing the praises of the national dish. ... With the audacity of true culinary genius, Jewish fried fish is always served cold. The skin is a beautiful brown, the substance fans and succulent. The very bones are full of marrow; yea, and charged with memories of the happy past. Fried fish binds Anglo-Jewess more than all the lip-professions of unity." But Cohen cited out, "where is the writer who has done justice to the glories of the white-stewed fish as it appears on the Passover table?" Cohen took up the challenge: "Golden balls, of delicate flavor, surrounding slices of the whitest habbit; ossettey peppers, with circles of lemon, adding brilliant color and spicy taste to the compound, over all the yellow sauce, almost jelly-like in consistency." It was precisely through such little customs, such culinary traditions, and not just through the dietary laws, that religious life and domestic life were bound together. This was the responsibility of the Hebrew woman, who, in Cohen's view, was a woman of character and moral force, responsible for the "purity of the domestic altar" (fig. 81)."

In 1896, shortly after the Jewish Women's Congress, the participating women organized the National Council of Jewish Women. By the turn of the century they were publishing cookbooks to raise money for their organization and its activities. Although fund-raising cookbooks have been the most prolific genre to this day, they are but one of the many kinds of Jewish cookbooks to emerge in the American context. A close reading of the humble literature of Jewish cookbooks can reveal how the malleable mediums of food shapes social life and cultural values. Unlike other material manifestations of social life, which can be built and left to stand, food is perishable, ephemeral, constantly renewed by women in their kitchens. Preparing food and eating it are daily affairs. Cookbooks, though not direct indications of what people ate, nevertheless represent Jewish cuisine and social life in ways that illuminate changing notions of Jewish womanhood and the Jewish home in the United States.
THE KOSHER GOURMET: HAUTE CUISINE RITUALLY PURIFIED

From the mid-eighteenth century kosher cookbooks in Europe instructed the reader in the preparation of an “invisible” Jewish, gastronomically superior culinary art, the result of the ritual purification of kosher cuisine. The implied reader was someone familiar with kosher, and presumably with traditional Jewish specialties, but not with culinary elegance. The spate of elegant kosher cookbooks published in Europe during the nineteenth century showed how civility and aesthetics, so important to the Reform Jewish ethos, could be combined with Orthodox and Liberal adherence to ritual law.

Jewish Cookery Book, on Principles of Economy, Adapted for Jewish Housekeepers, with the Addition of Many Useful Medicinal Receipts, and Other Valuable Information, Relative to Housekeeping and Domestic Management was in this tradition. The volume, which appeared in Philadelphia in 1871, is believed to be the earliest Jewish cookbook published in the United States. On the defensive, the author, Mrs. Esther Levy, wrote that, “without violating the precepts of our religion, a table can be spread, which will satisfy the appetites of the most fastidious. Some have, from ignorance, been led to believe that a repent, to be sumptuous, must unavoidably admit of forbidden food. We do not venture too much when we assert that our writing clearly refutes that false notion.” She then brought Anglo-Jewish cuisine to the well-to-do, probably native-born Jews of Philadelphia, who identified with the English cultural standard of the local elite. What she condemned as their laxity in regard to kashrut may well have been the result of indifference or pragmatism, rather than ideological rejection of Jewish dogma. Some of Levy’s readers were presumably familiar with fine cuisine and so eager to achieve comparable results that they had abandoned kashrut. Her task was to show them how their elegant tables could also be kosher.

The ‘Treyf’ Cookbook: “Aunt Babette” and Her Successors

Levy’s cookbook is an exception; most Jewish cookbooks published in America before World War I were not kosher. To our knowledge, only one edition of Jewish Cookery Book appeared, in contrast to the enormously successful “Aunt Babette’s” Cook Book, Foreign and Domestic Receipts for the Household, A Valuable Collection of Receipts and Hints for the Housewife, Many of Which are not to be Found Elsewhere, which was published in 1899 and went through several editions in the first year (fig. 82). In keeping with her persona as devoted mother and wife and accomplished housewife and hostess, “Aunt Babette,” the pseudonym of Mrs. Bertha F. Kramer, explained that she never intended to do more than pass along her treasured recipes to her children and grandchildren. By incorporating her readers into what she represented as a chain of transmission from mother to daughter, she removed the transaction from the realm of commercial exchange. This strategy domesticated her mass-produced cookbook and distinguished it from the work of those who cooked and wrote for a living. Her authority was derived from a lifetime of experience as head of her household, and she spoke in a personal tone to the reader: “And pray don’t get discouraged if your first attempt is a failure, but try again, and never be ashamed to ask your neighbor, or any friend, to show you how to mix a cake.” Unashamedly up to the minute, “Aunt Babette” provided menus for the “Kaffee Klatch” and complete instructions for such frivolities as the “Pink Tea.” “‘Pink Tea,’ just now so fashionable, are rather novel if carried out to the letter, and an expensive way of entertaining, too; yet, as the old saying is, one might as well be dead as out of fashion. So all those who wish to be fashionable come and listen, and I will give you a few hints in regard to getting up a ‘Pink Tea.’” Everything was to be pink: the napkins, tablecloth, frosted cakes, flowers, boutonnières, Charlotte russe, lampshades, and cap and apron worn by the waiters.
During this period of American history known as the Gilded Age the fancy dinner party was a fixture of middle-class life. As a “leader of society and a most noted entertainer,” the well-to-do Jewish woman who wanted to write a cookbook had an audience of other socially aspiring women eager to learn from her experience, which, the reader was old, consisted largely of supervising her cooke. Theme dinners, where everything was one color, were especially popular.

Though written kosher (recipes call for shellfish and ham) not explicitly Jewish, this volume was written and published by and for Jews. A star of David, the insignia of Bloch Publishing Company, appeared on the title page. A section entitled “Easter Dishes” instructed the reader on how to set the table for the Passover seder and prepare Passover delicacies. The index included an entry for “Trefa” (that which violates the laws of ritual purity), which reads, “nothing is Trefa that is healthy and clean,” thus giving precedence to hygiene over ritual purity and exhorting the reader to proceed accordingly. Uncompromising on culinary matters—“none but the best” was her motto—“Aunt Babette” did make some concessions to the kosher reader: if she did not have the drippings and poultry fat called for in a recipe for pie crust, “Aunt Babette” admonished her to use “enough meat fat (I do not mean sure—that is herring—but genuine meat fat); use half butter; if you consider this ‘Trefa’ use all fat.” A “special notice to the reader” cautioned that “wherever the word LAKD occurs it refers especially to COTTON SEED LARD, which is entire: free from hog fat, and a strictly kosher, pure and wholesome and economical as well.”

On the back pages of the cookbook, Bloch Publishing and Printing Company, as it was known in 1889, advertised The Sabbath Visitor, a “bright and entertaining magazine, the only distinctively Jewish publication for the young in the world,” books for Hebrew Sabbath schools, and a full range
of prayer books, including Minhag America by Isaac Mayer Wise. These volumes could be ordered "elegantly bound in silk velvet, with fine gilt clasps, rims and centrepiece for name, adapted for Wedding and Confirmation presents," with or without an English or German translation. Such indications confirm that "Aunt Babette's" Cook Book was ptv-dated by and intended for German Reform Jews who rejected certain ritual requirements that set Jews apart and who tried to bring elegance and decorum to Jewish life in the synagogue and home, whether through beautifully bound prayer books in translation or haute cuisine.

The Bloch Publishing Company was closely allied with the moderate wing of the Reform Jewish movement in the United States. Isaac Mayer Wise, who was leader of the moderates at that time, was married to the sister of Edward Bloch, with whom he had established the firm of Bloch and Co. in 1855. In 1883, just before the publication of "Aunt Babette's" Cook Book, the first American Reform rabbis were ordained in Cincinnati, and the ordination banquet created a stir. Shrimp were served at what came to be known as the "myfli banquet" because "apparently the Jewish caterer thought that 'kasher' food meant only the exclusion of pork products; sea foods were so good they had to be kosher." It seems that "Wise himself observed the biblical laws of kashrut, but made an exception for oysters, which he said were legally permissible. On his farm, he kept two pigs to consume the leftovers; one was called 'Kosher,' the other 'Tref.'" But Wise did not advocate the eating of pork—on scientific, rather than religious, grounds. His position was that the dietary laws should not be followed as a matter of religion but should be evaluated on the basis of their hygienic merit, humanitarian concern for the pain of animals, biblical (rather than post-biblical) sources of legislation, rationality, and appropriateness to modern life. Jews were not to be set apart by artistic and exotic practices that he viewed as later additions to the biblical foundation and not essential to Judaism.

Tref cookbooks like that of "Aunt Babette" reveal how Jewish identity was constructed in the kitchen and at the table through the conspicuous rejection of the dietary laws and enthusiastic acceptance of culinary eclecticism. At "Aunt Babette's" table Jewish diners would not be estranged from their non-Jewish friends by what they considered irrational and foreign practices. On the contrary, they would display the gastronomic cosmopolitanism and social graces appropriate to a well-to-do elite. Their Jewishness was to be defined in terms of religious concepts and ethical principles, rather than of "unasenetic" ceremonial practices.

What, then, made the tref cookbook Jewish? First, as Wise made clear, tref was an ideological issue, not simply a matter of indifference, pragnatism, or aesthetics. Inclusion of oysters, shrimp, and ham, though not worthy of mention in a general American cookbook, make the statement, in cookbooks by and for Jews, that it is not necessary to observe ritual law to be Jewish. Second, such volumes were selectively tref. They might include shrimp, oysters, ham, and bacon but less often lamb and uncured pork, particularly in the earlier publications. This selectivity is interesting when viewed in terms of culturally formed thresholds of disgust. For reasons that remain to be explored, some forms of tref—particularly shellfish, cured pork, and the unspiced headquarters of beef, were seductive, whereas other forms, like lamb, were generally repellent; ideology and hygienic purity aside, certain nonkisher foods were rejected on aesthetic grounds, a remnant of the internalization of religious taboos.

Copyrighted in 1889, "Aunt Babette's" Cook Book appeared first in Cincinnati and Chicago, moving to New York in 1901 with its publisher, the Bloch Publishing Company. It went through at least eleven editions and remained in print for more than twenty-five years. "$6,000 copies" was printed on the title page of the 1914 edition. To what may we attribute its success? First, it had little competition. Although many cookbooks were published in the United States, in this period few were addressed to Jewish readers, in contrast to England and Germany, where Jewish cookbooks had been appearing in print since the first half of the nineteenth century and had established a middle-class Jewish female readership. Perhaps more important, "Aunt Babette's" Cook Book spoke persuasively to the social aspirations of American Reform Jewish readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a culinary language they could understand: "Aunt Babette" delivered a central European bourgeois cuisine that would have been familiar to her readers but in an American idioms. There was a good fit among the publishing house, the market, and the genre, for such cookbooks were, in their way, manuals for the dramatization of middle-class values at the Jewish table (fig. 85).

Above all, "Aunt Babette" really knew what she was doing. Clearly an experienced cook herself, she offered a prodigious variety of excellent recipes that were clear, detailed, and delicious. Her recipe for "boneless fish, filled," a version of gefilte fish, is exquisite: The chopped trout, pickered, or pike is seasoned with parsley, onion, pounded almonds, and grated nutmeg, and stuffed back into the skin, so that the fish is reconstituted; it is then poached with celery root, garnished with sliced blanched almonds stuffed into the skin so that the fish "looks like it were all niples," and served with a fish sauce that has been thickened with egg yolks and enlivened with sliced lemon. Her recipes for
cakes and pastries could have produced the fondly remem-
bered delicacies with which a middle-class German Jewish
family broke the Yom Kippur fast in the Midwest in the
1900s. "There was one giant platter devoted wholly to
round plump cakes with puffy edges, in the center of each a
sunken pool that was pure plum, bearing on its bosom a
snowyיפותり of powdered sugar. There were others whose
centers were apricot, molten gold in the sunlight. There
were speckled expanes of cheese kuchen, the golden-
brown surface showing rich cracks through which one
cought glimpses of the lemon-yellow cheese beneath.
There were cakes with jely; cinnamon kuchern, and cunning
cakes with almond slice rolling side by side. And there was
freshly baked bread, twisted loaf with poppy seed freckling
its braid, its sides glistening with the butter that had been
swabbed on just before it had been thrust into the oven."36

Always at her reader's side offering helpful hints, "Aunt
Babbette" graphically described what was required: "After
the goose has been picked take some old newspapers, light them
in a coal-bucket, hold the goose over the flames in this way:
Take the neck in your left hand and the feet in your right,
swinging it back and forth over the blaze until the little hairs are
all singed off, being very, very careful that your dress or
apron does not take fire."37 Elsewhere, when explaining a
complicated procedure, she complained solicently: "I wish
I could show you this personally, for I am afraid my young
housekeepers will not understand just how" to remove the
skin from the goose in one piece.38

"Aunt Babette's" Cook Book spurned several successor
volumes, which offered to meet challenges of an era that
Kramer had never anticipated when she first published her
highly successful volume. One such successor, Fannie F. 's
Cook Book, was written by the elder sister of the novelist
Edna Ferber and appeared in 1923 (fig. 84). In her intro-
duction to this volume Ferber, author of Show Boat and
other highly acclaimed novels and plays, recalled that "there
was, in the household of my little girlhood, a book called
Aunt Babette's Cook Book. It must have been a volume
frequently consulted. The margins of its pages bore freckles,
doodles, and thumb marks of chocolate, flour, lemon
juice...such as ornament any cook book in common use.
To look back on its recipes now is to feel something like
horror at contemplation of an age that seemed devoted to
wanton waste. 'Now take ten eggs and the yolks of six
more,' orders one recipe, lavishly.39 Comparing such
extravagance with the prodigal feats of the early Romans,
Ferber characterized this cuisine as the savoy but indigest-
able and excessive creation of an 'ample, hospitable,
gingham-aproned soul, who was always pressing food upon
you long after you were sufficed,' a 'beaming, motherly
person of comfortable curves, whose white hair framed a
plain face flushed with the heat of the kitchen stove.'40
This image may tell us more about the women who
used "Aunt Babette's" Cook Book, as Ferber remem-
bered or imagined them from her childhood in the 1890s,
than about the readers "Aunt Babette" had in mind when
she respectfully dedicated her volume to the young house-
keepers of America," whom she admonished, "In order to
govern and command the respect of your servants and to
show them that you are not ignorant of the duties you
expect them to perform, you must first learn the manage-
ment of a household yourself."41 "Aunt Babette" also
stressed the importance of avoiding waste, by the standards
of her period, preparing food that was healthy and not
too highly seasoned, and treating servants kindly; the house-
keeper was to do her own marketing, plan meals ahead, and
exhibit good management more generally.

In her autobiography Ferber, who was born in
Kalamazoo, Michigan, recalled her maternal grandmother's
boundless hospitality and German Jewish cooking. Grandma
Neumann may well have been the cook Ferber had in mind
when characterizing the women of her childhood who used
"Aunt Babette's" Cook Book—Ferber's mother was remem-
bered, not as an enthusiastic cook but as a resourceful
businesswoman. Grandma Neumann, née Harriet
Lichtenstein, had been born in Milwaukee. After marrying Louis Neumann, who had emigrated from Berlin to Milwaukee in the 1840s, she moved to Chicago. Ferber remembered her grandmother’s house in the early 1890s as full of friends and relatives, twelve to fourteen seated around the expansive dining room table to enjoy her lavish hospitality.

The soup was served in a tureen. The meat was carved at the table, the vegetables dish by dish. I have that old soup tureen, a creamy china with a twirly oak leaf pattern. I never see it that my mouth does not water. The soup was almost always chicken soup with noodles (hand-rolled, homemade, hair-tiny) or beef soup with marrow- bals, a clear strong golden brew. When the cover was removed a fragrant steam arose. It seems to me an excellent custom—now largely discarded by modern households—that of serving and carving the food at the table. The eyes feasted on it first and immediately they sent their message to the stomach. “Get ready, boys!” they telegraphed to the guests. “Pancakes!” “Gather, all you fluids of digestion. Here comes the soup!” Look at this roast stuffed chicken, brown and crisp. I can see the slice melting away from the glinting carving knife.”

During Edna’s childhood an “American hired girl” or “maid of all work”—usually a recently arrived immigrant—helped to sound the house, cared for the children, and did some of the cooking. As she and Fannie were growing up in Appleton, Wisconsin, and their father’s health deteriorated, their mother took over the family store. Fannie, assisted by a maid, ran the household, while Edna worked as a newspaper reporter from the age of seventeen. Both were encouraged to cook and had attended a weekly cooking class at Ryan High School. They were taught the principles of cooking but were not focused on the cuisine: “The dishes we essayed were, however, a shade too smothered in cream sauce for my taste. Goy cooking, we called it. Ours was richer, more sophisticated food.”

Her aunt Fannie, who never succeeded as a writer, capitalized on her gifts as a cook and several years after she married published Fannie Fox’s Cook Book.

Without advocating Jewish religious observance, Edna, who was proudly Jewish, noted the prominent role accorded Jewish cooking in her sister’s cookbook: “Some of the recipes herein are culled from the finest of Jewish cookery, which for delicacy and flavor, cannot be excelled. The crumbling and toothsome tarte mite from the humble cottage cheese and the commonspace zwieback is one of these. It is called Zwieback Cherie Torte and is usually eaten to the accompaniment of choked marmalade of rapture. The attachment is strictly gastronomic, not ritual or ceremonial.

Who was expected to make this delicious tarte? The implied readers of Fannie Fox’s Cook Book in the 1920s were an “alert, well-dressed, and witty young woman” who was intelligent and capable and played bridge. A “middle-class matron” who knew how to entertain, she took much pride in presenting food attractively as in “the planning of a gown or the decorating of a room,” without, however, feeling that “a woman’s place is with her head in the oven.” This modern and practical cookbook would save her money, time, and effort as she prepared edible “objects of beauty, with an added element of surprise” for the picnic lunch, “so vital in those days of motoring,” or that festive and informal meal, the Sunday-night supper” or the children’s party. This was no scientific treatise promulgating “the stern rules of the diet fanatic” but an exemplar of “modern American household cookery at its best.” The kitchen was to be equipped with all manner of specialized pans and rots, including aluminum utensils—aluminum was the functional material par excellence—and a Dyer rotary ragbeater, a labor-saving device that would presumably compensate for the lack of servants (fig. 85).

Ferber’s memories of “Aunt Babbette.” Fannie Fox’s Cook Book suggests how alien the world of “Aunt Babbette” had become by the 1920s. The implied reader of Fannie Fox’s Cook Book inhabited a different body—he was youthful and slim, though Ferber repeatedly characterized herself in her autobiography as short and plump, explaining that in her youth “dining hadn’t become a fat”—and a different social world. This imagined reader was not a frivolous slave of fashion, a social climber who supervised a bevy of servants in the making of pink teas. Her main mission in life was not to elicit “Henry’s praises about his dear wife’s meals.” Nor was she a relentless mother laboring with a smile at the stove. Fannie Fox’s reader was envisioned as “a modern, intelligent, and capable woman (or one who wishes to be),” who lived a “modern” and “American” life that, though familial and child-centered, was compatible with her success in business or some other career of her choice. Fannie Fox’s reader presumably managed her own household with a minimum of fuss, made luscious teas, teas, suppers, and parties in her home, ate on occasion at French restaurants, and emphasized food that was light, stylish, and easily prepared—though Edna, who never married, was noted for the rich food she fed her guests, among them famous writers and playwrights. Special note was taken of the new importance of salads for lunchrooms and of sandwiches as accompaniments to salads or tea, as appetizers and canapés, luscious and main dishes, or to be served at Sunday-evening suppers (fig. 86). More than fifty recipes for sandwiches followed. The 1920s were the era of the New York toastwoman, whose cuisine Ferber dubbed the “lettuce leaf, chopped apple, marshmallow or cream-sauce sauce, too aromatic for my Jewish palate trained to a richer tangier taste.”
Perfect Salad in Jelly

2 cups boiling water
2 tablespoons gelatin
1/2 teaspoon grated onion
1/2 teaspoon vinegar
1/2 cup sugar
1 teaspoon salt
2 tablespoons lemon juice
4 tablespoons chopped apple

1 cup shredded cabbage
11/2 cups chopped celery
3/4 cup chopped nuts
1/4 cup chopped green pepper
3 tablespoons chopped pimientos

Soak the gelatine in a half cup cold water for five minutes. Heat together the vinegar, lemon juice, onion juice, sugar, salt, and boiling water. Stir in the hot liquid to the gelatine. When the jelly is beginning to set, add the cabbage and the remainder of the ingredients. Turn the salad into a mold and let it stand until firm.
Serve with a Cream or Mayonnaise Dressing.

Although Ferber stressed the contrast with "Aunt Babetic," her sister's cookbook shared with the earlier volume a love of good food and gracious hospitality, economy, efficient management, and wholesomeness, albeit expressed in terms that had changed since the 1880s. The reader of Fannie Fox's Cook Book may not have been particularly extravagant or have spent days on end with her head in the oven, but here and there recipes still invited her to fix over individual servings of salmon and caviar mousse, to splurge on lobster, or Newburg with two teaspoons of chopped truffles, to offer such substantial dishes as noodle ring filled with creamy chicken and sweetbreads with mushrooms and greens peas, and to spend time preparing rich kuchen (coffee cakes made with sweet yeast dough), pastries, ice creams, and puddings. She, too, entertained, but differently.

First, the recipes were intended to produce the maximum effect with the least effort, which accounts in part for the importance of arranging food on serving platters to create a spectacular visual impression. Some of the most time-consuming aspects of cooking (reducing sauces, sheeling crab, peeling brains) are not visually apparent to the diner; where such painstaking labor was missing, the appearance of effort became all the more important. Also, with the emphasis on lightness, visual appeal replaced abundance.

Second, the events at which these dishes were to be consumed had also changed, suggesting new leisure patterns, distinctive ways of staging informality, and the commercialization of domestic sociability. The Domestic Handbook, a complimentary guide to entertaining published by the Baltimore Jewish Times around 1930, instructed the hostess of a bridge or mah-jongg party: "Again informality is the keynote and the dining room and larger tables should not be used unless the number of guests make it necessary." For the luncheon preceding or following such a party "the table is set more informally than for a dinner and is generally decorated with flowers," though "the table is laid as for dinner, with service plates, on each of which is placed a folded lunch napkin." High Rock ginger-ale recipes followed, including a ginger-ale salad. The author assumed a woman at home, with a social life of her own and the means to entertain in an elegant manner, even on informal occasions.

Hospitality, the Domestic Handbook asserted, is a "mark of civilization." The punctilious observance of social rituals assumed priority over ritual laws: "Whatever the size, however, formal entertaining augurs a certain ritual and the formal service must be subject to certain conventions," one more reason for the proliferation of etiquette books during that period. Both mey dishes and traditional favorites—"leek" ("Palestine" recipe) for soney cake using Gold Medal flour), "schech," "kreplach," sweet-sour fish, geflite fish, stewed milk, and kuchen of various kinds—were to be presented in a socially impeccable manner. Such a formal dinner, the reader was told, might be necessary as a way of honoring someone in her husband's firm. Marks of Jewish middle-class status in the 1930s included a return of the woman to the home—tangible evidence that her husband's income was adequate to support the family—and the elevation of child-care and homemaking as female activities, albeit in new terms. The elegance promulgated by Domestic Handbook suggested even higher social aspirations and expressed the ethos of Baltimore's well-established German Jewish community.

The Science of Kosher Cooking

The last edition of "Aunt Babetic's" Cook Book appeared at the beginning of World War I, to be followed in 1918 by Jewish Cook Book, aversively by Bloch Publishing Company as "the direct successor to the Aunt Babetic Cook Book, which has enjoyed undisputed popularity for more than a generation and which is no longer published" and as the "best and most complete kasher cook book ever issued in this country." The author, Florence Kreiser Greenbaum, was identified in the "publishers' note" as an instructor in cooking and domestic science at the Young Women's Hebrew Association of New York, which had been estab-
lished in 1902, the Association of Jewish Home Makers, and the Central Jewish Institute, the latter two under the auspices of the Bureau of Jewish Education.

Featuring "1600 tested recipes according to the dietary laws with the rules for kashering," Jewish Cook Book boasted over 100,000 copies sold by 1937. The publisher billed the volume as modern, practical, economical—"the first strictly kosher cook book ever published in English in this country—and as the most economical cook book ever issued for the Jewish household." Jewish Cook Book was to be the means by which "the Jewish housewife can achieve culinary perfection." These claims, though inflated, do suggest that Levy's Jewish Cookery Book had been forgotten (or perhaps ignored) by cookbook publishers and readers—if not by cookbook writers, Greenberg lifted entire recipes verbatim from Levy's cookbook, for example. "English lemon sewed fish," without ever crediting Jewish Cookery Book. (This is the dish that Mary M. Cohen had celebrated at the Chicago World's Fair.) Nor did this German Jewish publisher take notice of the kosher volumes issued in Yiddish since at least 1901 by the rival Hebrew Publishing Company. Consistent with the publisher's claims, most of the Jewish cookbooks available in English in the United States before World War I were not kosher.

To allay any fear that these recipes had been concocted in a laboratory kitchen, Bloch assured the reader that the recipes had been used in Greenberg's own household for three generations and were still being used on a daily basis, thus involving again the authority of the experienced housemaker. Preface of the book's "truly international" character—there were favorite recipes from "America, Austria, Germany, Russia, France, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, Etc., Etc."—Greenberg "had special emphasis on those dishes which are characteristically Jewish," having been passed down through the generations, particularly specialties for the Jewish holidays. According to the first jacket, the recipes "retain the flavor of 'mother's dishes' in modernized form." Ruminant of Levy's defensiveness, Greenbaum would make it possible for the Jewish housewife "to serve the simplest as well as the most elaborate repast—from appetizer to dessert—without transgressing the dietary laws." 

Meals prepared according to Jewish Cook Book would be wholesome, attractive, and sufficient for a family of five. Editions published during the Great Depression gave "directions for making meat substitutes and many economies of the house, which have been added to meet the needs of the present day." With abundant pride in Jewish cookery and the Jewish cook, Greenbaum integrated domestic science, kashrut, and traditional cuisine.

At the beginning of World War II Mildred Groenberg Bellin published a revised and enlarged edition of Greenbaum's Jewish Cook Book (fig. 87). Bellin was a graduate of Smith College, where she had studied dietetics, and directed meal-planning clubs and cooking classes at the Jewish Community Center in Albany. During the 1930s her own little cookbook, Modern Jewish Meals, had been issued by Bloch Publishing Company, which claimed to have sold more than 90,000 copies. Using "her own kitchen as a laboratory," Bellin offered her book as an answer to the constantly recurring question: "What shall we have for lunch and dinner today?" In an era of balanced meals' mother's food, though delicious, was too rich, too high in protein, and too low in green vegetables, fruit, and milk; these "deficiencies" of the Jewish diet had become axiomatic in the dietary literature of the day. Modern Jewish Meals was "first and in the preparation of 'modern, economical, palatable, scientifically prepared Kosher food' that was also dainty in appearance, easy to make, seasonal, and varied. The issue was no longer hunger—how to get enough food—but nutrition and variety, factors in ensuring "balance" in the diet of the poor and excitement in the diet of the well-to-do.

Bellin feared that culinary boredom would tempt Jewish cooks to use tref and offered the science of balancing meals as a kosher way to achieve wholesome variety—hence
the preponderance of menus and the arrangement of recipes by month of the year to stress seasonal availability and appropriate combination of foods at a single meal. The volume suggested how "our housewife can soon utilize her limited number of Kosher cuts in so many ways that she won't feel the need for the more numerous non-Kosher foods in order to get variety" and substituted Kosher cuts in recipes that normally called for non-Kosher cuts of meat. To encourage the use of Kosher meat and facilitate shopping, Bellin provided the names for cuts used in Kosher markets so that the women would know what to ask for.

The publisher's preface to the new edition of Jewish Cook Book noted that Bellin "combines modern theories of dietetics with the flavor of mother's cooking" and had brought together "modern American cooking" and "old Jewish dishes." Accordingly, Bellin enlarged the number of Passover recipes and included guidelines for "interesting, varied and balanced menus" for Passover meals, as well as for "one week of each month, the Jewish holidays, Thanksgiving, and "buffet suppers, parties, campfires and picnics, light afternoon and evening refreshments, and luncheon parties." When a newly revised and enlarged (3,000 recipes) edition appeared in 1958, Bellin proclaimed that "Jewish cooking, in its fullest sense, is international cooking based on the dietary laws." Accordingly, she expanded the compass of the book to include "the food customs of the Jewish inhabitants of North Africa, the Levant, and the Far East," and, after commenting that like the United States the new State of Israel was a xenting pot, she provided international Israeli recipes previously published by Hadassah, for example, "Yachni," or "Israeli boiled dinner," a dish from Bukhara.

Resolutely Jewish in their orientation, Greenbaum and Bellin brought the nutritional ideas of their day into the Jewish kitchen. Instead of rejecting the immigrant diet as inherently unhygienic and un-American, as had earlier food reformers, they rationalized what Jews ate, supplemented the traditional repertoire, and literally made science palatable in Jewish terms. Primarily concerned with nutrients, they, and other diabetics recognized that, if they imitated their immigrant charges by violating the laws of kashrut and condemning the foods they loved, immigrants who rejected the bland creamed vegetables and mayonnaise salads that the diétitians advocated would also be rejecting the nutritional program that travelled with this cuisine. Accordingly, the diétitians tried to increase the nutritional value of the foods that immigrant Jews were already eating. The cookbooks they wrote were important adjuncts to their cooking classes and institutional kitchens in schools, orphanages, vacation houses, and other charitable organizations.

YIDDISH COOKBOOKS FOR IMMIGRANTS

The audience for Jewish cookbooks had been reshaped by the mass influx of East European Jewish immigrants, many of whom observed greater stringency with regard to the dietary laws than had the earlier waves of German Jews. In the years between the wars the American-born children of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe would have been the generation most likely to attend Greenbaum's cooking classes and use her cookbook, and their children in turn would have turned to Bellin's revised edition. But their European-born parents and grandparents had their own cookbooks, in Yiddish, which from the beginning of the century had taken a variety of forms on questions of the position of what to eat. Attempts to change the Jewish diet, whether to make it more elegant, more kosher, more scientific, more American, or less bourgeois, took a variety of forms in the Yiddish cookbooks published in America. Some authors condemned Old World cuisine and promulgated Anglo-American cooking in its stead, others promoted vegetarianism. One of the earliest Yiddish cookbooks published in America was Hinde Amshanski's Leb-ahiv in azey tsu hokhen un habe (Manual for how to cook and bake) (fig. 88) which was privately published by the author in 1901 and could be purchased, according to the title page,
for fifteen cents at R. Kantrowitz's religious bookstore and at all "standkeepers." 92 In the subtitle of the little volume Amkhański derived her authority for the recipes that followed from her forty-five years of experience in European and American kitchens, adding in the foreword that "the best guarantee that my manual will be very useful to every woman and entirely satisfying to many homes is the fact that I have for many years in New York run restaurants that nourished the finest people with their capricious stomachs and all were satisfied with my food." Here was the voice of a working woman, a professional cook and restaurateur, who offered the best of Jewish food in a language her immigrant sisters could understand—a Yiddish that was exact and clear. Like her, most of them were working women. After long hours in the factories, where so many of them were employed at that time, they had little energy or time and few resources to expend on cooking. Addressing "Jewish daughters," Amkhański noted proudly that her recipes were for "pure Jewish dishes prepared in the finest Jewish houses in Russia and Galicia, Hungary, France, England, and America." Stressing economy, she assured the reader that such food would "protect children from dyspepsia and other stomach ailments." Kashrut was taken for granted and there followed recipes for such traditional dishes as fnale (layers of dough and apple baked with honey), nagele (pellets of baked dough and rum cooked in honey), kugel (Passover pancakes made of matzah meal), and kugel (dumplings), as well as American oatmeal, sago, pancakes, apple pie, and potato salad. The third edition included chapters devoted to vegetarian cooking, cleaning the home, maintaining an orderly household, the right food and drink for hot summer months, and how to maintain a strictly kosher kitchen.

The traditional cuisine of East European Jewish immigrants came under attack in H. Braun's Die jüdischen Kochbücher... (The Family Cookbook...). 93 Copyrighted in 1914 by the Hebrew Publishing Company, this kosher volume adopted the critical tone of voice familiar in Yiddish cookbooks published by male translators in Europe, through some women writing in Yiddish also addressed their readers condescendingly. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the A.H. mentioned on the English title page of the volume was the prolific translator and lexicographer Alexander Harkavy, who issued largely through the Hebrew Publishing Company many books addressed to newly arrived Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe— including dictionaries, letter-writing manuals, teach-yourself English textbooks, and translations of world literature into Yiddish. 94 The authority for the recipes was derived from other cookbooks—the subtitle specified French, Italian, and German cookbooks—not from male scientists, not from the personal experience of the author, whose gender and identity were hidden behind the initials. As the foreword explained, "The modern art of cooking has risen to the highest level, and no longer rests in the hands of the ignorant cook, but on the contrary, it is the result of a study of men of science who have made..." 95

Alerting that what we eat determines the kind of life we will enjoy, this self-professed "modern" cookbook advocated light and easy-to-digest food to stimulate the sluggish appetites of office workers. The approach was characteristic of the New Nutrition of the period, which did not yet have a sound scientific basis for determining nutritional requirements and identified proper food with a bland Anglo-American diet—poppered here with hints of a social program that rejected bourgeois dining prejudices. 96 The implied readers—the author assumed that they were no longer poor, hungry, and doing physical labor too often—were discouraged from eating soups, gefilte fish, kishke, and other traditional favorites. Soup, the reader was told, was not nutritious and took up too much space in the stomach that should be reserved for better food. Gefilte fish was overcomplicated and overcooked. Salty herring was questionable because appetizers were superfluous. The kitchen emerged as a place of danger, where modern hygiene led to "less bad results."

To the question, "Is there a Jewish cuisine?", Braun replied that, in the strict use of the term, the answer was no, with the possible exception of tsukrin, a Sabbath stew that cooked slowly overnight. Both Jews had learned to cook from their neighbors and in this way developed a so-called Jewish cuisine, Braun continued. Although the volume would include the allegedly Jewish dishes from Lid (the region of Jewish settlement in Lithuania, Belorussia, and Latvia), southern Russia, Besarabia, Romania, and Hungary, "we say at the outset, we will not make a specialty of it." The emphasis was placed instead on the Anglo-Saxon tradition, which was viewed as "healthier and more nutritious." The project of Americanization was thus implemented under the guise of science via the Anglo-American cuisine of the laboratory kitchen. Nor were the contents of the volume entirely consistent with the foreword, for there were thirty-one pages of recipes for soup, nine recipes for appetizers, including herring, and a recipe for gefilte fish. There were also instructions for preparing tea in American, English, and Russian styles and recipes for Wellsley fudge, preserved pineapple, junket, blumenkraut (with Irish moss, English fruit pies, sandwiches, and more than seventy salads and vegetable dishes. Kashrut was guaranteed.
The reader whom Adela Kprev Zamenkin addressed somewhat condescendingly in Der frey in handbuch (The woman’s handbook), privately published by the author in Yiddish in 1930, was a Jewish working girl not yet enlightened by notions of social justice: “Today’s typical Jewish woman of the working class is the daughter of a mother who never went to school, never read books and magazines, knows nothing about any new ideas and practices in society and the home. And regarding many social injustices, that mother’s ignorance is retained by her daughter. The young Jewish daughter even here in America is also usually not far away from her mother, because for the most part she goes directly from the ship to the factory and is thus left behind the times like her mother with regard to concepts pertaining to food, hygiene, household management, and child rearing.”

Restrictive immigration legislation passed in 1924 had curtailed the flow of Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe to the United States, so those whom Zamenkin addressed may well have been the latest to arrive and the most conspicuously out of step with the stable American-born generation that had emerged in the decades since the 1880s (fig. 89).

Consonant with new advances in nutritional science after World War I, Zamenkin stressed natural food, balanced meals, calories and vitamins (which were by then much better understood), and the other subjects associated with home economics and domestic science in the 1930s: child-rearing, sex hygiene, and table manners. While disparaging the bourgeois social pretensions of the etiquette books, Zamenkin told the reader in detail how to eat soup without slurping and “how to avoid looking like an animal.” Other topics included correct posture; the use of such utensils as a napkin ring for each person, a clean tablecloth, and serving spoons; the placing of a little butter on the edge of one’s plate; not reaching but asking for food to be passed; not serving foods in the containers in which they were bought; not drinking food in tea or coffee; and economy and efficiency. Zamenkin’s list of what a person should and should not do implied how working-class Jews, presumably in crowded living environments, actually conducted themselves at table. The reader was then instructed on systematic housekeeping, followed by the cookbook proper, organized by seasons.

FOOD COLUMNISTS AND NEWSPAPER COOKBOOKS

From at least as early as the 1930s Jewish newspaper, both English and Yiddish, issued cookbooks compiled by their recipe departments: among them were The Jewish Times (Baltimore), The Sentinel (Chicago), The Jewish Daily Forward (New York), The Jewish Ledger (Connecticut), and The Jewish Exemplar (Brooklyn). Each newspaper had its own readership, and each volume had its own emphasis.

Proclaiming in 1935 that a good cookbook was as indispensable to a home as was a bed, The Sentinel Jewish Cook Book offered to enhance traditional culinary knowledge with a comprehensive and trustworthy guide to the “distinctive and delightful table offerings” of Jews in various countries. Making clear the focus on Jewish cuisine, the preface continued: “While the greatest number of the dishes contained in this work are characteristically Jewish, yet no particular emphasis has been placed on Kathreth. Some recipes, too, have been included that are either favored in Jewish homes where the stricest dietary considerations do not prevail or that might with advantage and without prejudice to anything essential in Jewish life, be introduced in the menus of Jews as of others because of their nutritive as well as palatable quality.”

The usefulness of the volume was to be enhanced by “valuable scientific data” such as nutritional information and menu planning and the presentation of American dietary items. “Farmer’s chop-suey” (four cream served with tomatoes, scallions, radishes, cucumbers, and pumpernickel), “gefilte huletts” (“muffled poultry neck”), taffy
apples, and a large section of Passover dishes suggest the range of recipes.  

By the fourth edition a year later, The Sentinel Jewish Cook Book was setting out a somewhat ethnographic and museological role for itself as "an earnest attempt to preserve many of these traditional recipes before they are entirely forgotten." What "good Jewish cooks of the last generation" knew was in danger of being lost and with it the "toothsome ness and wholesomeness" of a cuisine that had been created by Jewish housewives who had "borrowed the best methods of food preparation from every country in which they lived and then improved upon those methods." What can be seen so clearly in The Sentinel Jewish Cook Book—though the phenomenon is much older and widespread—is the clear detachment of traditional cuisine from the ritual requirements of kashrut. The result is "kosher-style" food, itself the expression of a sentimental attachment to culinary traditions on the part of those who have rejected the dietary laws. As the extreme, culinary Judaism, or 

*Freitagnacht* as it was known among German-speaking Jews, is a term applied to those whose piety is expressed almost exclusively by eating the appropriate holiday foods. Food associated with traditional kasher cooking comes to embody Jewnness, even when it is not itself kasher.

In 1946, when Regina Fischwater, a food columnist for the *Jewish Daily Forward*, issued *Jewish American Cook Book: 1600 Selected Recipes* (fig. 90), she explained in the preface: "In offering this book in English, I have considered the fact that many of our children, who have grown up with the preferences of their own particular home cooking, are unfamiliar with Yiddish print, and although their tastes are present, there is lacking the facility of reaching these recipes. Their mothers have been able to participate in our contest and thereby exchange favorite dishes, but many of the daughters have been unable to do this. It is to these daughters, therefore, that I conserve this work; and to their mothers who have offered me their pet dishes for consideration all these years, I dedicate this book."  

Kashrut was not mentioned, because it was assumed, and Fischwater wrote with pride about "the vast variety of dishes that constitutes Yiddish cuisine" and their presence in America thanks to the Jews from many lands who had brought their traditions with them. Some typically Jewish dishes had even made their way into non-Jewish homes and restaurants, she noted, and Jews had adapted American delicacies to their own taste and customs—for example, "stuffed bologna," in which shredded cabbage was sauteed in chicken fat and spiced onto slices of bologna, which were then rolled and fastened with toothpicks. The stuffed bologna rolls were placed in a caserole, topped with condensed tomato soup, and baked in the oven. This two-way exchange had allowed her "to construct this book not only as a part of our tradition but as a part of the American traditional way of cooking." This formulation suggested by extension that Jewishness is part of what it means to be American.

*Jewish American Cook Book* contained a wide array of traditional dishes and many variations on them, as can be seen from the variety of fillings proposed for blintzes (jelly and sun, liver, millet, sweet potato, swal and lung, prune). Avoiding gluttony and social pretensions is the interest of clarity, Fischwater used plain language to name the dishes: for example, "stewed brain balls," "open baked lung pie," "triangles" (kreplakh), "stewed odder and vegetables" (fig. 91). Even when people were no longer poor and could afford more expensive cuts of meat, the cheaper cuts—offal and extremities—were still valued and used, particularly in traditional dishes. Fischwater offered recipes for these items without apology, euphemism, or sentimentality; she preferred no obfuscating French menu language or aristocratic pedigrees for the dishes in her book. Not
STUFFED DUMPLINGS

Clean a 3 pound droma in cold water, remove inside and clean, using salt as a scouring agent. Wash in cold water several times and stuff with the following mixture: 1 pound beef, 1 pound ground rice, 1 cup fried onions, 2 teaspoons paprika, 2 teaspoons salt, 1 large carrot and 1/4 box cornflakes, mixed thoroughly. Tie both ends with cotton, and place into a pan of cold water, adding water to a boil and cook 5 minutes. Scrape droma, then place into fresh water with added salt, and cook 2 hours on a low heat. Place the droma over a ground beef patty, spreading over it crushed garlic mixed with salt, pepper and 1 tablespoonful (lit). Pour 1/2 cup water into the pan and bake until browned.

Fig. 91. This recipe for dromos, a traditional Jewish dish, illustrates the "Yiddish cuisine" characteristic of Flexner's cookbook.

reform, but pride in the culinary skills of her Yiddish readers and the desire to transmit this knowledge to their English-speaking daughters prompted Flexner to publish her cookbook.

The Jewish Examinor Prize Kosher Cookbook (revised and enlarged, 1949) resulted from the kosher-recipe contest sponsored by the newspaper (fig. 92). The distinctiveness of this book’s approach was signaled clearly by Rabbi Abraham H. Heller’s essay “Kashrut: Advancing the Cause of Jewish National Survival,” addressed to “those of the Jewish people who retain in principle at least, as organic relationship with K’lal Yisrael. The acceptance of Kashrut implies adherence to the ideal of Jewish survival,” a statement that must have resonated in the years right after the Holocaust and the formation of the State of Israel. Identifying the religious with the national, Rabbi Heller drew on rational (hygiene), ethical (animal cruelty), and aesthetic arguments: “The aesthetic element in Jewish life as far as food is concerned
A פראטיליבר שבת

 صالח כל שבת ושבת אורות
 יבשאם חsemblyי קור אפרתרו

 נאלו מערער מערר
 נבון חכמים וימי נבון חכמים

Fig. 93: Gold Medal Flour Cookbook, Minneapolis, 1921, published by Gold Medal Flour, Yeshiva University Archives
expresses itself not only in a positive special table of its own but in the rejection of certain foods antagonistic to its group taste. Call them taboos if you will, but the Jew need not apologize for his aversion to meats of animals that feed themselves on decomposed food or for rejecting the use of the fish, clammy in appearance and ugly to the sense of touch." As this passage makes clear, disgust is a powerful determinant of food choice, which gives to the visceral reaction from 

"Bilekura"—pen name for Adelaide Etenson Lowe, the editor of the women's page and compiler of the cookbook—reassured the reader that kosher cooking was not complicated, while admonishing her that "many homes have broken down because the 'lady of the house' did not know how to cook and never wanted to learn... I have never known a good cook who had marital trouble." The women who contributed to the book—"each recipe a masterpiece"—were identified by name and address.

The Business of Eating

Newspapers played an important role in the transmission of culinary traditions and innovations, not only through their food columns and cookbooks, but also through advertisements for the food industry. Large food companies sponsored contests, published recipe booklets, and employed domestic scientists and dietitians in their efforts to promote their products to the largest possible market. Washburn-Crosby Company (Gold Medal Flour), Proctor and Gamble (Crisco), Wolf's (kasha), the Rumford Company (baking powder), and the Aluminum Goods Manufacturing Company were among those that targeted the Jewish market for their products (fig. 95). The challenge faced by companies specializing in Jewish holiday products, for which the market was assured, was to get women to use holiday foods all year long, the goal of the cookbooks published by Manischewitz and Rokeach. Instrumental in the process of product promotion were dietitians who developed recipes in commercial test kitchens and taught domestic science in the public schools.

The promotional cookbooks are particularly interesting because they illuminate how the food industry used tradition to market change and helped determine what was served on Jewish tables during the decades before and after World War II. Firms that solicited recipes from women appropriated a technique used by women's organizations to stimulate the participation of their members in collaborative efforts and to promote a particular style of cooking. The Gold Medal Flour Company invited Jewish housewives to submit their favorite recipes, promising up to $500 in prizes for the best entries.
fund-raising projects—but with two important differences. First, recipe contests encouraged competition, rather than egalitarian cooperation (fig. 94). Second, in those instances in which women were paid for recipes that were published, they were offered money for the transaction rather than freely giving the recipes for a good cause. The wages paid were minuscule compared to the potential income «either from the cookbooks themselves, or, when the cookbooks were sold cheaply or given away as a promotion, from increased use of the products promoted in their pages. Recipe contributors were thus coopted by the food industry, and the exchange of knowledge about food from one woman to another was commercialized. Recipes were sold rather than given, and women were paid to devise new and more ways to use commercial products. Their participation, in turn, was used by the food companies to legitimate recipes included in the cookbooks by appraising to the authority of home cooks in their own kitchens.\textit{Tempting Kosher Dishes Prepared from World Famous Manischewitz's Matzo Products} (fig. 95), first published in the 1920s, featured 250 recipes in Yiddish and English, each of them tested in the Manischewitz Experimental kitchens by Miss F. O. Galt B.S., "Domestic Science Expert and Graduate in Institutional Management." Readers were enjoined to send in their favorite recipes: "We shall carefully test recipes submitted, and pay liberally for such recipes as are accepted for publication in future editions of this book." Thanks to consumer participation, "Housewives, from every quarter of the globe...have made possible this book of delicious kosher dishes... They sent us the treasured recipes that have pleased their own families.... Each recipe was tested in our own kitchens.... Some of these recipes are old favorites.... Some are so distinctly new as to offer one tempting surprise after another.... The dishes cover every range of co-ukery from a half-dozen ways to prepare the ever-useful Matzo Koosdel [dumpling] to a
delightful method of making Strawberry Shortcake.\textsuperscript{15}

Not only would the reader be equipped to avoid the monotony of matzoh at every meal during Passover, but thenceforth everything could be made from matzoh all year round, including matzoh beer cake, matzoh cookies, chocolate pudding, matzoh sufganiyot, and “strawberry cream matzoh balls”. A recipe for a matzoh cake filled with strawberry cream was included in the book.

Crisco was advertised in a new substitute for the fats Jewish housewives were accustomed to using, though solid vegetable shortenings had already been available in "Aunt Babelle’s time." Published in a bilingual Yiddish-English Zunick in the early 1930s. It was noted in the book for its scientific and nutritional value - "Ever since it was put on the market, Crisco has been the principal cooking fat in many Jewish homes. It is also a great need, taking the place of heavy fats and oils which have been used in Jewish food for hundreds of years."

Goose-fat, chicken-fat, and olive oil were good enough, but when there was nothing to take their place, but when it became possible to obtain a steady Kosher and Pure fat in the form of Crisco, Jewish women quickly appreciated its merits. In Crisco they find a pure, sweet-flavored fat which they can use for meat, dairy, and produce foods. They find in Crisco a fat which is so easily digested that it makes everything in which it is used more digestible.\textsuperscript{18} Other uses included price, said flavor, freshness without refrigeration, lightness and fluffiness, texture for use as shortening, and purity for frying. Described as a "modern" cooking fat, Crisco was also said to meet the highest standards of kosher and bear the kosher symbol (in punctum) of a "prudent Orthodox rabbi," unsung in the Jewish recipe booklet elsewhere, in "The Story of Crisco". "Crisco is Kosher. Rabbi Margolies of New York, said that the Hebrew Race had been waiting 4,000 years for Crisco. It confirms to the strict Dietary Laws of the Jews. It is what is known in the Hebrew language as a "parah", or neutral fat. Crisco can be used with both "milk" and "fleisch" (milk and flesh) foods. Special kosher packages, bearing the seal of Rabbi Margolies of New York, and Rabbi Liss of Cincinnati, are sold to all Jewish trade. But all Crisco is Kosher and all of the same purity. The food industry, recognizing the revenues to be gained from the Jewish market, integrated Crisco into its general promotional efforts. Thus, in order to adjoin any foods, in order to the pan of the non-Jewish consumer that can of Crisco not bearing the kosher seal were any less pure, the company assured that all of Crisco was Kosher."

In this gendered division of labor, men verified the ritual purity of the scientifically created product, while women guaranteed its presence in the kitchen. A cookbook was necessary because Crisco could not simply be substituted for butter, oil, or chicken fat without modifying the recipe. The ratio of fat to water was different for each. The booklet featured recipes of "true Jewish foods," each of which "has been tested in a truly Orthodox home," a consideration of greater importance to the target reader than the scientific kitchen (fig 97). By placing Yiddish and English versions of a recipe on a single page, the cookbook's aim was to encourage Yiddish-speaking mothers and their English-speaking daughters to cook traditional dishes together — with Crisco. The suggestion was that Crisco preserved culture; it was presented as a singular innovation in a cuisine that had otherwise been transmitted perfectly intact. The cookbook promoted the idea that, as they were over their biblical cookbook together, the mother would transmit the traditional cuisine, showing the daughter how it could be made with Crisco, while the daughter would bring greater receptivity to the new product and new dishes. Intergenerational transmission would move in two directions and Crisco would be there, right at the next. Wherever Manischewitz expanded in market by decontextualizing a ritual food and offering ever more and
new ways to use matzoh, the challenge for Proctor and Gamble was to persuade the most stringent consumer—the strictly Orthodox Jewish woman—to use Crisco in every conceivable traditional dish. For other companies, like Rokeach, which sold bottled borscht and gefilte fish, the challenge was to encourage the Jewish housewife to treat fully prepared food products as raw ingredients for creating new dishes (fig. 98). In test kitchens and recipe booklets Rokeach promulgated the borscht jello ring, a Jewish answer to pimento salad 35 and the gefilte fish quiche, both dishes that would later make regular appearances in charity cookbooks.

These are but a few indications of how deeply the commercial food industry penetrated Jewish domestic culture in the United States. The industry created entirely new products to replace those that set limitations on kosher cuisine—pamper fats, not only Crisco but also the later nondairy creamers, and fake gel, including simulated bacon and crab. They created a market for prepared Jewish foods. They expanded the use of holiday foods. The penetration of the food industry into the home was accomplished through a four-part process: the industry decentralized festival foods, then elaborated them as “cuisine,” sought the rabbinical imprimatur for new products, and finally wired their adoption to female networks of transmission.

**RECIPES FOR CREATING COMMUNITY**

The charity cookbook, by far the most prolific genre of Jewish cookbooks, is best seen in relation to the history of Jewish women’s voluntary organizations. By the early nineteenth century Jewish women in the United States were already forming a wide array of voluntary organizations that increased in number and changed in nature as the twentieth century approached—bungalow societies, sewing societies, orphanages, infant asylums, building-fund committees,
Sunday schools, settlement houses, and groups offering mutual aid, relief to the distressed, or comfort to the sick. Some were autonomous, whereas others were auxiliaries to men's organizations or to synagogues. Although there were European precedents for Jewish women's groups, in the form of kibbutzim and Tovvim, Protestant women's groups in the United States provided an added stimulus and model.

The importance of these voluntary associations both in terms of the social and cultural needs they filled for their members and in terms of their power in the larger community, is not to be underestimated. By the 1890s virtually every Jewish community in the country, from the largest in the East to the smallest in the Far West, had a women's organization, in many instances, even before there was a synagogue. According to American Jewish historian Jacob Rader Marcus, the smaller the Jewish community, the higher the percentage of Jewish women who joined. Indeed, women's groups and their fund-raising projects were often key factors in building synagogues and other organizations. The 1901 Cook Book Compiled for the Benefit of the Building Fund of Temple Israel in Omaha, Nebraska, is an early example.

It is not surprising to find that so many of the early Jewish cookbooks were published by Reform Jewish women's groups in widely dispersed communities in the far western states. Unlike the East European Jews at the turn of the twentieth century, who settled primarily in the largest cities, mainly in the East, German Jews had vacated forth across the land during the nineteenth century to settle in communities large and small. In Oregon and Nebraska, California and Iowa, Georgia and Texas, they expressed their Jewishness largely through philanthropy and often turned to cookbooks to raise money for charitable causes.

It was characteristic of the Reform Judaism of the period to define itself through the rejection of Jewish ceremonialism and a commitment to philanthropy, a combination that reached an apotheosis of sorts in the ne'gev charity cookbook.

Such philanthropic efforts to train Jewish girls and women in cookery and household management should be viewed within the larger context of East European Jewish immigration to England, Germany, and the United States and the concomitant social divisions and tensions within the Jewish community. German Jews had started arriving in the United States in significant numbers in the 1840s and had quickly achieved positions of power and social prominence in their communities. The mass immigration of Jews from eastern Europe began in the 1880s. Through charitable work, the German Jewish elite could fulfill their sense of social responsibility, while keeping their social distance from the newcomers, whose uniform ways repelled them.

In the 1890s the National Council of Jewish Women was formed, and chapters were established across the continent. Shortly thereafter Hadasah, a Zionist women's organization, began its rise to the position of largest women's association in the United States. For such groups cookbooks were a philanthropic tool and a particularly appropriate one, for a major activity of women who belonged to philanthropic organizations was holding meetings at which food was served. Edna Ferber's mother was a member of the Ladies' Aid Society in Appleton, Wisconsin, which met once a month at the home of a member. As Ferber recalled from the 1890s, "A mammoth supper was served. We, being not so well-to-do as some of the other Jewish families, naturally tried to oust them in largeness and variety. Huge plates of cold fish, tongue, sausages hot and cold, baked dishes, salads, vast curled and caked, ice cream, all were set out." The Council of Jewish Women was publishing fund-raising cookbooks as early as 1908-9 (in San Francisco) and 1912 (in Portland), a logical extension of the culinary activities of these chubwomen.

By far the most successful American Jewish charity cookbook is The Settlement Cook Book, which has grown through some forty editions and sold more than 1,500,000 copies since it first appeared in 1901. The force behind the
book was Lizzie Black Kander (1858–1940) (fig. 99). The daughter of a merchant, Lizzie grew up on the South Side of Milwaukee, where she finished high school. Two years later, in 1881, she married Simon Kander, then a clothing salesman. She never had children and devoted her time to philanthropy and social work. As a member and later president of the Ladies’ Relief Sewing Society, she helped repair old clothes for immigrants. By 5:00 in the morning, she would get her household chores out of the way and spend the rest of the day doing social work. She founded and served on the boards of many organizations, including the Milwaukee School Board, and helped to introduce manual training and domestic science into the Milwaukee school system. She was also a founder of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, a society that provided vocational training for children. In 1900 this mission, together with the Sisterhood for Personal Service, established The Settlement in the Jewish immigrant neighborhood of Milwaukee. Kander was one of the founders.

As president of The Settlement from 1900 to 1918, an active volunteer, and an expert cook in her own right—her husband had become a Wisconsin state legislator and she mingled with Milwaukee’s leading hostesses—Kander organized and taught cooking classes for the new immigrants who had settled in the city, many of them from central and eastern Europe and most of them Jewish. Kander and Mrs. Henry (Fanny Greenbaum) Schoenfeld decided to publish the lessons and the recipes. The preface to the thirty-first edition explained why:

Most of the pupils were of high-school age; the time they could devote to cooking classes was limited to after-school hours. The youngsters particularly enjoyed eating the results of their labor. But there were difficulties: the children spent much valuable time copying the simple recipes devised for them, and when they brought home what they had learned, there was often opposition from their parents to the new ways.

The committee in charge felt that printed lessons would help solve these problems. Time spent in copying would be saved, and print might add dignity and importance to the endeavor in the eyes of the immigrant parents.

The first edition was printed in 1901, thanks not only to the support of the men in the organization, who exhibited little confidence in the project, but to a cooperative printer and the sale of advertisements. It appeared in about 1,000 copies and sold out immediately. New editions were issued in quick succession. The book was so successful that, by about 1909, the proceeds were used to buy the site for a new settlement house and shortly thereafter to pay for the building. The women then formed the Settlement Cook Book Company, a philanthropic trust devoted to educational projects, which continues to function to this day.

The recipes were culled from Kander’s cooking lessons, members of the cookbook committee, and their friends in elite social circles, as well as from students and famous chefs. Over the years the committee members tested the recipes repeatedly in their own kitchens, as did the Settlement Cooking Classes, the Milwaukee Public School Kitchens, the School of Trades for Girls, “experienced housewives,” and by the 1940s, “authoritative dietitians.” The volume, which could not have achieved great success on sales to students alone, included recipes for the novice and experienced cook alike and was directed to both the East European Jewish immigrant teenager and the well-to-do German Jewish matron.

Although this encyclopedic cookbook appeared to be intended for everyone, the institution’s sponsors were Jewish, as was their immediate constituency in the early years. Editions published before Kander’s death reflected the predilections of the wealthy German Jewish women who created the work. Like other Jewish cookbooks of the period The “Settlement” Cook Book (1903)” was steeped in the characteristic way. There were recipes for broiled liver lob- ster, frog legs à la Newburg, shrimps à la Creole, fried oysters, creamed crab meat, and crawfish butter; there were headquarters cuts of meat (rump and tenderloin), presumably unegged; and butter and cream appeared in meat recipes. But in the early editions, pork per se was absent, perchuts were made with buxter, not lard (though lard did make the occasional appearance), and at the beginning of the meat chapter there was a nominal explanation of kasha, confined to the method of slaughtering and draining of blood. There were some Jewish specialties, like kigel, matzoh ball, matzoh pancakes, and filled (gelfish) fish. There were many recipes from the German culinary repertoire that would have extended the appeal of the book to the large German population of Milwaukee, for example, German pancakes, “Husten Pfeffer” (marinated rabbit), and a whole chapter on kuchen. The dish designated “Bertliner Platt Kuchen” (fritter made by deep-frying rounds of kuchen dough stuffed with pretzels) seemed to indicate a German specialty, but “Aunt Babette’s” Cook Book glossed the Berlin pancakes as “Punim Krapfen,” an indication that the place of such dishes in the Jewish culinary repertoire is often not immediately apparent from their German names. In time, it was precisely the instructions for preparing European and Jewish dishes, particularly baked goods, that came to be identified as the signature recipes of The Settlement Cook Book: As the dust jacket of the twenty-fourth (1941) edition stated, “Unusual Cakes, Torten and Cookies, for which this book is famous, make baking a pleasure, especially at holiday time.”
By 1930 the volume, now in its eighteenth edition, had more than tripled in size, to encompass more than 600 pages. Pork had its own section and three Jewish specialties were also included. Although many of the earlier recipes had been retained intact, some, like the filled fish, had lost such nice touches as bay leaves and almonds, lovers of an earlier and more elegant style. After World War II readers were reassured that they would still find the "heirloom" recipes in new editions of the book, which had been updated to include casseroles, barbecues, cocktail appetizers, and snacks for teenagers.

Newhere is the approach to the many Jewish dishes in the 1930 edition as great as in the "Seder upper menu," which appeared between those for Easter and Thanksgiving dinners. (It was not uncommon among Reform Jews to celebrate both American and Jewish holidays.) In Kander's hands, the ritual Passover meal had been transformed into a domestic-science feast. Food that had once been eaten because of what it symbolized had become ornamental, in a menu that included what was described as "Individual Charoset Appetizer," p. 318, half a lemon shell, surrounded by a quartered hard-boiled egg, thin slice of horseradish root, sprig of parsley and radishes on a bed of Watercress. Serve with salt water. Instead of the egg, homestyle, hannen, and parsley being consumed, one by one, at the appropriate points in the reading of the Hagaddah, the entire seder platter was miniaturized, multiplied, and presented in a single moment, as the appetizer course of a formal dinner. The communal platter became an individual smorgasbord, detached from the Passover narrative and divorced of symbolic significance. The ceremonial had been rendered entirely culinary.

In 1965, in a review of the three durable cookbook classics, The Joy of Cooking, The All New Funny Farmer's Beston Cooking School Book, and The New Settlement Cookbook, cookbook author Michael Field expressed surprise that M. F. K. Fisher, the doyenne of American gastronomy, should have been such a fan of The Settlement Cookbook, because the edition Field reviewed was so "impersonal, simplified, and unsensitiv". "No doubt Fetscher was referring to the editions so popular during the 1930s and 1940s—with white covers and a procession of single women in aprons making their way to a man's heart—not the one Field reviewed (fig. 100). The book has undergone such thorough revision over the years and long after the death of its author that little more than the title is recognizable. Even the author's name has now disappeared from the spine page.

The Settlement Cookbook is a good example of the transformation of a textbook for cooking classes into an autonomous commercial venture, albeit for charitable purposes. The Settlement in Milwaukee was neither the only one to offer cooking classes nor the only one to publish a formaking cookbook. The Council of Jewish Women issued The Neighborhood Cookbook to raise money for The Neighborhood House in Portland, Oregon. First published in 1912, the volume went out of print in ten months and was revised, enlarged and reissued in 1914. Helen K. Lippitt, chairman of the cookbook committee, explained that the book was produced in all parts of the United States. The by last the decades of the nineteenth-century cooking classes were a staple of public school education; they were a vocational subject in industrial-training curricula for immigrants by the 1890s in New York and other cities. The Official Souvenir Booklet of the 1895 Fair in Aid of the Educational Alliance and the Hebrew Technical Institute included a photograph of a cooking class, in which uniformed young women—in aprons, anil to protect their sleeves, and caps—were busily occupied in an instructional kitchen (fig. 101). Jewish women had pioneered in the development of domestic science in Germany during the nineteenth century. In the 1870s Lisa Morgenthern (1830-1909) established the Kochschule des Bismarck Hausenverein, the leading cooking school in Berlin at the time. What all these cookbooks underscore is the gap in class and culture between the German Jewish cooking...
teacher and the East European Jewish immigrant women they served.

Reports of the College Settlement Association in the first years of this century indicated, for example, that the cooking school attempted to follow kasher cooking "warmth in care was taken to avoid the combination of food which would be in opposition to Jewish customs." Apparently, the cooking classes in settlements were heavily subscribed by Jewish children, "whose first question on applying for admittance was, 'Is it kosher?'" Yet the settlement cookbooks included the treif dishes so loved by the ladies. Similarly, while the immigrant girls learned the rudiments—Kanter's second lesson included toast (fig. 102), soft-cooked eggs, hard-cooked eggs, white sauce, and egg vermicelli (hard-boiled eggs with white sauce on toast), her lady friends experimented with Manhattan cocktails, sauce béarnaise delmonico, lobster à la Thackray, frozen nesselrode, and Lalla Roohk cream. At the Educational Alliance in New York in 1902, "the Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Classes reported that two new cooking

* Students at the Milwaukee settlement house founded by Mrs. Kanter were taught how to make must during their "seceded cooking lesson."
Clothes had been formed, that mother's meetings had been arranged. Women who had traveled to Japan, for example, brought back recipes for sashimi and tempura. The Auxiliary Society of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society of New York Orphan Asylum was typical of those women's organizations of its day that tried to raise money for worthy causes by publishing cookbooks. The Auxiliary Cookbook (1909) extolled the dignity of women and the primacy of the home: "It takes a hundred men to make an escapement, but one woman can make a home." Just what kind of home the authors had in mind may be seen in the section entitled "A Woman's Housework as Physical Culture School":

Sweping gives much the same motion as is used in handling golf clubs. For perfection of arm and shoulders there is nothing better. Sweeping should have a chapter by itself. First you are shown on all fours, then on tiptoe to see how far the cloth will reach. The upwinding for calf-development is superb.

This passage, reflecting a preoccupation of the period with physical culture, treated housework as play, invoking golf, a sport of the day, to encourage the social role of women's work as a problem that could be solved by "phylogenetic doting." This was hardly the view held by women who worked as professional housekeepers or who cleared house, exhausted from weeding, cooking, and tending children. Since this volume identified the women in the Auxiliary who contributed recipes, it probably reflected what the women actually served their families and friends. On a blank page headed "Recipes," a former owner of my copy of the book wrote: "For Mrs. Paddock's masterpiece." An indication that she was familiar with recipes from the most famous cookbooks of her day.

The "Best by Test" Cookbook, compiled by Mrs. Alfred Loeb for the Hebrew Infant Asylum in 1914, also celebrated the home. It drew upon domestic metaphors for social order, providing in the preface "a recipe that has often been tried and never found wanting": "Into the milk of Human Kindness, add a large portion of Charity and Pity; flavor liberally with Generosity, season with Good Nature and Unselfishness; mix well; put it into your Soul, and serve with your whole Heart to those less fortunate than yourself.

If you are a Wife, sweeten with a little of the Mother Love. If unwedded, flavor with a portion of the maternal instinct born in every woman." Recipes for filled tomatoes, croquettes, turnovers, white sauce, cream dressings, sweets, and culinary confections were abundant. The recipe for caviar à la king would have made Financier Merritt Farmer, doyen of ornamental cuisine, proud: "Cut bread in shape of a butterfly. The body make of Caviar. For the eyes use pearl onions. Inside of wings use hard-boiled eggs chopped and line edge with thin slices salmon." The pattern of the early cookbooks was apparent here too. Although there were no recipes for pork, one section was devoted to fish, shellfish, and oysters. Here and there a Jewish dish made an appearance, for example, "Matzoh Klose" (dumplings) in the section on pomegranates.

THE HOME AS SANCTUARY

By the 1920s synagogue sisterhoods were creating a special type of cookbook, one that catered food in the context of holiday celebrations and the making of a Jewish home. Sisterhood Temple Emanu-El in Boston published The Center Table in 1922, to raise money for a new Jewish center. The recipes for sufganiot and electric-refrigerator desserts were preceded by the Talmudic epigraph "A true wife makes a home a holy place." The 1929 revised edition put forward two theories: First, "the home as we know it... is gradually disintegrating," because people are turning to the community at large as their home, and second, according to psychologists, the first four years of a child's life are formative and should be spent "in a home-like Jewish atmosphere." To meet these twin challenges, a Jewish mother's prime function is to safeguard her home and to make it Jewish, and nowhere could she do this more effectively than at the table. The author, Hymie L. Robowitz, continued, "Many Jewish customs center about the table where the family meets. This is especially so of holidays. The Jewish table may be said to be the center of the home; in its altar of friendship, and, if properly provisioned, the family's source of strength and health."

These followed blessings, in English only, as well as dietary principles, and recipes for both traditional Jewish dishes and modern American inventions as candle light salad, a ritual object made edible:

Place a slice of canned pineapple on plate. Place 1/2 teaspoon mustard in bowl, on top of honey, put a maraschino [sic] cherry to represent the light. Cut 1/4 round strip of green pepper and insert on side of bun to represent holder of candle. Cover pineapple with whipped cream or any fresh salad dressing. Very attractive.

-R. C. I.
principles derived from nutritional science, and technologi-
cal advances: "Food must be to the body that which fuel is to the steam engine..."

Whereas The Corner Table, a product of the oldest Conservative synagogue in New England, stressed the combination of religion and science, The Israeli Home Beaut-
tiful, published in 1941 by the National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, another Conservative Jewish organization, suggested that Jewish life required more than "faith, knowledge or observance": "To live as a Jewess, a woman must have something of the artist in her. The Jewish woman today, guided by the memories and traditions of yesterday, must herself create new glory and new beauty for the Jewish home of today" (fig. 103).45

What followed was a script for a pageant to be presented by mothers and their married daughters. By sharing the role of hostess at each of the holiday tables in the pageant, they would symbolize "the transmission of the tradition from one generation to another." The purpose of the pageant was to urge every mother of Israel to assume her role as artist, and on every festival, Sabbath and holiday, to make her home and her family table a thing of beauty as precious and elevating as anything painted on canvas or chiseled in stone... A little skill and love and understanding can transform the humblest surroundings into a sanctuary where holy and beautiful than the house decorated elaborately, but without love and intelligence and religious warmth.46

The author went on to explain that women had been turning to Christmas and Va-hann's Day features in women's magazines and department stores for holiday ideas and that they needed to be encouraged to search more deeply into "their own treasure house" (fig. 104). Traditio-
nal Ashkenasim holiday recipes followed.

The pageant was presented from 1932 to 1940 in such settings as the National Convention of the Women's League at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Atlantic City and the Joint Sisterhood Assembly in the Temple of Religion at the New York World's Fair—an exhibition that celebrated the "World of Tomorrow" in the streamlined contours of high technology. It was an extraordinary context for a pageant that emphasized the aesthetics of ritual, the artistic creativity of the Jewish woman, and nostalgia for yester-year.

In the suburbs, where single-family homes included spacious dining rooms and were set on garden lots, the themes of art and festival were extended to include flower arrangement. In New Rochelle, the sisterhood of Temple Israel and the Garden Circle collaborated in producing The Blessings of Food and Flower. Sensory delight, craftsmanship, and artistic perfection were significant components of Jewish religious observance, according to the two rabbis who wrote the introduction, "Food and Faith." The editor's ten-year-old son captured the life style of the complex in a poem that was included in the volume:

Just a little time to spend
Doing all these things
Baking cake and apple pie,
Meat and bread and such,
Going to all the meetings.
Then entertaining friends for lunch.
In the afternoon that day,
I arranged my flowers around
Then still have time for dinner and My family, friends and town.47

The recipes in the volume were an eclectic mix of the "hirtloom" dishes long associated with grandmothers and aunts and the personal joy offerings—puff mousse (made of chicken livers, chervil, gelatin, butter, and cream cheese), minced lamb canapés à la Wurtemberg, Tanta Betsy's chicken in the pot, up to date farfel, Aunt Besie's gefilte fish, stuffed lox balls, hallah, and matzah charlotte for Passover ("This is an old family recipe").
The section on holiday dishes stressed the role of love and art in helping "children feel the spirit of religion." For each holiday, a color scheme and flower arrangement or centerpiece were specified, followed by a menu. For Sukkot the centerpiece consisted of "a miniature succah [sic] built with wet imker toys and leaves" and a "carnetopia overflowing
with fruit.” Sylvia Hirsch, “authority on table decor,” explained that “flowers add beauty and glamour to every occasion, whether formal or informal.” The watchword was “gracious dining.” Photographs of flower arrangements were entitled “Yom Kippur,” “Halloween,” “Hanukkah,” “After the Ballet,” “Gourmet’s Delight,” “The Wedding Table,” and “Sukkot,” among others.67

The Jewish Home Beautiful and The Blessings of Food and Flowers reimagined the “kitchen religion” valorized by Mary Cohen at the Jewish Women’s Congress in Chicago in 1893. In her apology for the apparent ugliness of immigrant life, Cohen had praised the religious faith that was to be found even in the most squalid living conditions. By the 1930s the message of The Jewish Home Beautiful was that faith was not enough and that art, though it was also necessary, had to be inspired by Jewish sources. By the 1950s the message of The Blessings of Food and Flowers was that Jewish life was the good life.”68
ENDNOTES

I would like to thank Charles Block, Ken Cauthen, Marilyn Eisen, Jan ione, and Joan Perkoff for bringing particular volumes to my attention.

1 Mary M. Cohen, “The Influence of the Jewish Religion in the Home,” in Papers of the Jewish Women’s Congress Held at Chicago, September 4-5, and 7, 1893 (Philadelphia: 1894), pp. 15-25; I thank Shalom Goldfarb for kindly making this copy of this book available to me. The organizers of the Jewish Women’s Congress, which was part of the Parliament of Religion at the World’s Columbian Exposition, also compiled a book of Jewish hymns to mark the occasion.

2 Israel Zangwill, Children of the Ghetto (London: 1977), pp. 48-49; first published in 1902 by the Philadelphia Jewish Publication Society of America, which had commissioned the novel. Children of the Ghetto was set in London’s East End. The book met with instant success, was translated into several languages, including Yiddish and Hebrew, and was later adapted for the stage. Cohen refers to Zangwill’s book in her essay, and the Ghetto Children is given a full-page advertisement in Papers of the Jewish Women’s Congress (also published by the Jewish Publication Society of America), where it was praised by reviewers in the British and American press. On the early publication history of Children of the Ghetto, see Jonathan D. Sarna, “The Americanization of Jewish Literature, 1880-1936: A Composite History of the Jewish Publication Society (Philadelphia: 1989), pp. 39-40; Zangwill was not only the author to celebrate—and continue—the Jewish alien for art; she also M. Sapir, More Mourners and Anders (Leipzig: 18); Dietzsch also noted the importance of food in Jewish immigration. Quoting from Thora Ew槿laska, Mary L. Schapiro, “Jewish Dietary Practices,” The Journal of Home Economics 11/2, 1919, 59, this authors say an orthodox Jew is at home anywhere in the Sabbath meals, however difficult it may be to procure them. She continues, “I have known people, who could hardly afford bread during the week, to pay as many as forty or even fifty cents per pound for their Sabbath fish.” Sabbathin is a favorite kind of fish.


4 Cohen, op. cit., p. 120.

5 Eleanor Wurman, “Sabbath Songs, in Principles of Economy Adapted for Jewish Housewives, with the Addition of Many Useful Medical Recipes, and Other Valuable and Important Hints in Housekeeping and Domestic Management (Philadelphia: 1877), rep. New York: 1970, p. 53. For a fuller discussion of Levy and her cookbook, see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Kosher Gourmet.” Nothing is known about Levy, nor Rothschilds, except what can be surmised from the cookbook itself. Judging by her statements to Anglo-Jewish practices and the preparation of European specialties, we can only have come from the United States. She may well have been American, a fact of many of her Jewish recipes. She is too familiar with American regional specialties. Advertisements for Jewish housewives in Philadelphia that appeared in the book suggest the volume was addressed to local Jewish market.


8 Ibid., p. 474.

9 On the nature–coordinated mad and the creative cookery more generally, see Mary Strohman, Petticoat Salon of Women Cooking at the Town of the Great One (New York: 1980), p. 84.

10 “A leader of society and a most noted entertainer” is how the author of The Adelaide Cookbook identified herself; that is not how names, but only by reputation. She explained that she increased her store of recipes by learning from the cooks she acquired. The book was copyrighted in 1882 by Emil Gaulman and published in 1883 by Leon W. Coxe, Cincinnati. Leon W. Coxe was a brother of Isaac Mayer Wiser, leader of the modern wing of the Reform Jewish movement.


13 Ibid., pp. 216, 191. The admissibility of sex as a kosher food is a matter of debate. See Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Kosher Gourmet," pp. 69-73. According to Thomas F. De Vore, "The Market, Associate, Conceiving a Hall Depopula- tion of Dairy Articles of Human Food Sold in the Public Market of the Class of Fresh, Beef, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn, Including the Various Domestic and Wild Animals, Poultry, Game, Fish, Veggies, Fruits, &c., &c., &c., with Many Curious Brands and Advertisers (New York: 1867), p. 19, sex was never used by the strict Jews; instead of sex, which he defined as "the use of meat from around the kidney," this author "Bovine's gout," which is "much like sex, but far more filter through it. The Jews use this in cooking in the place of lamb, which, by their laws, they abhor; but it must be from animals slaughtered and regularly sprinkled by their priests, or Jew busters." Schapiro, op. cit., p. 48, noted: "The use of sex, sheep, or goat is forbidden (not the fat).

14 "Avon Baloney’s" Cookbook, 2nd ed. (1889).

15 Wise reported the same data as 1855, but for the 1930s she found an insipid ignora; the white movement, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. See Levenson, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

16 Ibid., p. 197. During the 1870s and 1880s pork was decried as unhygienic, hard to digest, and unhealthy by middle-class Americans more generally. See Levenson, op. cit., pp. 21-22.


18 Eduard Freud, ABaby’s Handbook (New York: 1926), p. 81. This passage first appeared in Freud's autobiographical work, Puss in Boots (1917). The renaming of the spread was not done, according to a step that made it even more unrefined, for anxiety had to resist the insistent attack for years to come. But Freud's attempt to make her success in impugnation that the Primary theme of the image. In later volumes like The Sentiment Cookbook recipes for baked goods were one of the great contributions.

19 "Avon Baloney’s" Cookbook, pp. 72-73.

20 Ibid., p. 75.


22 Ibid., p. v.i.

23 Felderk, "Fascinated,” Cookbook, p. 5.

24 Felderk, "Fascinated,” Cookbook, pp. 24-25. Svein remembered her grandmother vividly (p. 27): "A stump, tiny woman, overprotective, a glutton, my closest memory of her is as she sits up eleven in the morning at the far end of the dining-room table. She had been up and out for hours, she was wearing her rag bag dress with the velvet lining, her little black velvet bonnet with the jet argenté attached on one side. The button straps were fastened from back to chest, for greater ease, as well they might be. Nor was she talking with the usual volubility but she was poring over her customary stored brochure—the twin fandolik of her German background. Between bites of cheese sandwich and dainties of cold she would not start her morning's encounter with market man, with neighbor, with a clairvoyant met by the way.

25 Ibid., p. 90.

26 Felderk, "Fascinated,” Cookbook, p. viii.

27 Ibid., p. 90.

28 Felderk, "Fascinated,” Cookbook, p. 104.

29 "Avon Baloney’s” Cookbook, pp. 6-7.
Feodor, Paulea Inoue, p. 180. "Aunt Beets" provided only fourteen recipes for sandwiches, throughly realistic and important for "pandemic lunches" and their indispensability, particularly when cook with pride recipes are


Florencia Knofer Greenhain, Junior Cook Book, 1600 Recipes According to the Junior Dietetic Laws with the Rules for Feeding, The Famous Recipes of America, Boston, Carus, Russe, Filer, Island, Ronaumes, etc., etc. (New York: 1923). These claims are made in the "publishable note," dated 1914. I would like to thank Herbert C. Oakes for making this volume available to me.

Kohl's, "Cooking, housekeeping, and sewing classes were being offered to Jewish immigrant women in New York at the Educational Alliance by the 1880s. See Rachel Glaser, The Jewish Woman in America: Two Female Communities, 1800-1914, (New York: 1975), pp. 43-46, 66-67. The Henry Street Settlement House supplemented the cooking instruction in the public schools with a system of "housekeeping centers." See also, Lillian D. Walk, The House on Henry Street (New York: 1931), pp. 103-104.

Mildred Sindel, Modern Kosher Meals. Recipes and Menu for Each Month of the Year Based on Current Food Supply (New York: 1934), advertisement at back cover.

Greenhain, op. cit. pp. 385-386. This dish, a classic presentation in Anglo-Jewish cuisine, was called "lemon stewed fish" by Levy (p. 19). She called "stewed white" in The Jewish Cookbook (London: [1864], repr. New York: 1983). The Jewish Cookbook is believed to be the oldest known cookbook published in English. The waker was identified only as "A dish," but it is thought to be Jewish, Louise M. Anonó. See Kühnella:Kühnmelt, "Küher Gourmet." Both Greenhain and Mary C. Mulin associated the dish with Passover.

Greenhain, op. cit. See for example, Schapir, op. cit.

Beloff, op. cit., p. 45.

Beilin, The Jewish Cookbook According to the Junior Dietetic Laws, Recipes of America, Boston, Carus, Russe, Filer, Island, Ronaumes, New York (1923), dust jacket.


See Levremont, op. cit., pp. 72-85, 147-60, on the "new" and "stewed" nutrition.

See Schapir, op. cit., pp. 51-54. Schapir noted exceptions to the Jewish average to vegetables with bland sauce and many common words in which a "useful" stew would break away from this part of the faith and be "served in remembrance." Part of the remembrance in the history of Jewish cookbooks and the Jewish diet remaining to be investigated.

The Yahal of the vegetable cookbook, which deserves attention in its own right, is beyond the scope of this essay.

Hilda Aronhime, Le-vai (a kirk of tea books is an bite. Original recipes for a public school, with an additional 48 recipes compiled on an anonymous basis. Ein book is a short guide to the best dishes in 48 public Jewish recipes. The book is an expansion on original recipes in public. The second and third editions were published by different publishers.

According to Lulu G. Green and Wilima Wilbur Tabor, A Dictionary of Food, 1966, A Concise English Dictionary (New York 1966, New York: 1936), p. 276, sou is a "rounded mach prepared from the pulp of several species of pine. Its "pods" are similar to palm nuts, and its 120 seeds is used as a thickener, often in puddings.

H. Bruns, Das Jusephs kochbuch, heute noch wohn amtsbuch (New York: 1914)


Bruns, op. cit., p. ix.

See Levremont, op. cit., pp. 72-85.

Bruns, op. cit., p. ix.


Juda, op. cit., p. 203-207.

The Sentiment Publishing Co., Ltd., The Sentiment Jewish Cookbook (Chicago: 1935). I would like to thank Harold Schwartz for providing a copy of this edition of the cookbook. This book was published in 1935.

These recipes appear in the fourth edition (1936), which was edited by Josephine Wenzens.

Rudolph Frankel, Junior American Cookbook 1600 Select Recipes (New York: 1940), p. iii.


Alfredo Petrino, L. "A Personal Word to All Bakers," in Babka, op. cit., p. 4.

"Fusswurst," "Fusswurst" and "Fusswurst" from World Famous Manhattan's Motto Neck, 3rd ed. (Cincinnati, 1930).

The corned beef and in which "Aunt Beets" referred to was invented in the late nineteenth century, but apparently had an empirical basis. "Since 1899, women invented the process of dehydrating corned and other vegetable foods by forcing steam through the meat under a vacuum. Three years later the French invented a process of hydrogenation that made possible its ready commodity to families today. From this point on, hydrogenated vegetable shortening became more and more popular, and, as a dietary substitute, was used less and less frequently. Edward C. Djerassi, Jr., and Willem Wobben, The Life and Death of America's Food Industry (New York: 1964), p. 202. A further implication of nineteenth-century shortenings such as Cottolene, from the perspective of the kosher cook, was that, while they did not contain lard, they did contain beef shortening.

"Corey Recipes for the Jewish Housewife" (Cincinnati: 1953), p. 82. I would like to thank Joan Schachter for making this book available to me.

Herman Moritz, ed. A Calendar of Days with 611 Recipes Including the Story of Corey, 14th ed. (Cincinnati: 1979 [1st ed. 1898], p. 91) I think Roger Alhabarsh for a copy of this book. Corey was particularly sensitive in the kosher diet, for all natural oils having been forbidden by his Jewish diet, because all naturally occurring herring oil was eaten by Europeans Jews are descended from animals, from milk (dairy) or tinned from meat. Most fish have special cooking properties, particularly for frying and baking. A neutral oil added flexibility to the kosher kitchen. Furthermore, the need of manufacturers facilitated commercial supervision. "It is made in a building devoted exclusively to the manufacture of this one product. In sparkling, bright rooms, cleanly uniformed employees make and pack... Special machines handle the oil and the finished product. No hand touches Corey since until your kitchen the sanitary tank is opened." (ibid., p. 14). Hydrogenated vegetable oil was first marketed under the name "Corey." (1930).

Perfection brand consisted of finely chopped cabbage, celery, and red pepper in a veal or tomato sauce, though molded aspics have a much older history. The commercialization of gelatin in the 1930s made it much easier to prepare pails of salad, which in turn became very popular. See Shapiro, op. cit., p. 99.
