A Taste of Home:
Jewish American Cookbooks as a Response to Acculturation
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Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

“The Hebrew race has been waiting 4,000 years for Crisco”! trumpets a mid-century advertisement. The company flattered themselves with such a statement, but it also contains a shard of truth. The industrialized society that made foodstuffs like Crisco, an artificial shortening, possible were the same ones that drove and fed monumental changes in modern Jews life that affected what and how they ate. Industrialized food production, urbanization, immigration and eventually the Holocaust compelled Jews to Jewish food practices in America. Like all other human communities, Jews have historically located much of their identity in their customs surrounding food, but are among the minority of cultures for having a written, codified set of laws surrounding its acquisition and consumption. As a set of behaviors practiced in the home daily and learned from childhood, they held instinctive importance for their observers. Throughout the twentieth century, creative blending of different foodways from surrounding cultures became one of the primary markers of identity in American Jewish life. As Jewish American began to express themselves in cookbooks for their community, food became not only a reflection of a particular cultural and ideological position, but an avenue through which to encourage others to take that position.

Historically, the central concern in Jews' preparation of food had been a complicated web of food strictures and prohibitions known as kashruth, or kosher observance. In the wake of the many changes in Jewish and general American life after World War II, however, ritual observance ceased to be the common denominator in

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Jewish American food. Suburbanization, the development of different Jewish religious denominations, acculturation, and other factors sparked debate and worry over the nature of Jewish identity—which was reflected in the community's food literature. Between 1940 and 1975, cookbooks were one avenue through which Jewish authors and by extension the movements they were associated with advocated for their ideologies.

**The Kosher Dietary Laws**

The Jewish dietary laws are collectively known as *kashrut* in Hebrew, or “fit for Jewish religious consumption.” The word can also be used in context to mean the kosher quality of food, or “kosherness.” They include prohibitions against which species of animals may be consumed, the constant separation of meat and milk products (including the vessels used to prepare them), rabbinically proscribed slaughter and preparation of meat, inspection of produce for insect infestation, and restrictions of which classes of people may prepare which foods. However, this is only a broad definition of the practice, and the practical ramifications of rabbinic law extend to every type of food in agricultural and industrial societies.² Observance of the dietary laws was so much a part of daily life in East Europe that Jews associated them with the general cultural milieu of the group than with the discrete category of religion. For them, *kashruth was “of the unconscious type”...intimately bound up with the larger cultural ambience of East European Jewish life.”³

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³ Joselit, *New York*, xii
“Jewish Food”

However, in the multicultural atmosphere of twentieth century America, stringently religious Jews seized upon different world cuisines and adapted them to adhere to the Jewish dietary laws.\(^4\) In America today, the term “Jewish food,” unlike the distinctive food of any other culture, can reasonably be applied to food that was unknown to the ancestors of contemporary American Jews, such as American Chinese food or pizza. This is because there are restaurants which cater to the observant Jewish community that serve those foods, but are rabbinically certified as strictly kosher, reflect the dietary laws in the dishes they offer, and are owned and operated by Jews. They contain other marks of Jewish material culture, such as special areas for ritual hand washing, posters and booklets that contains blessings for food, and posters of Israel or famous Jewish leaders. They can reflect religious needs specific to particular times of year, such as eliminating leavened products during Passover. Kosher restaurants are also, usually, dominated by customers who are somehow identifiably religious Jews. In these restaurants, the origins of the dishes served are not of primary import to their clientele. The food's religious fitness is most important, and what unmistakeably defines it as Jewish.

Outside of the strictly religious Jewish community, “Jewish food” came to mean foods associated with East European Jewish life—matzo ball soup, pastrami, \textit{challah} [braided egg bread], and the like. These dishes can be prepared without adhering to the dietary laws, and though they may conjure images of the Old World, may not be


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technically kosher. For many Jews, they “[take] the place of food that actually meets the
laws of [kashruth].”

Popular American consciousness and collective ethnic memory
have different criteria for “Jewish food” is very difficult to define because of these
competing criteria for “Jewish.” The question of who constitutes a proper Jew is in this
way projected on to the food that the Jewish American community consumes.

This question in recent Jewish history combined with the innovations of a fully
industrialized food production system to produce mass kosher certification, more
lucrative and controversial within the Jewish community now than ever. The selection
and consumption of food according to its level of kosher certification is also one of the
most obvious ways in which contemporary religious Jews display their collective identity
and sometimes, with even more intense feeling, demonstrate their belonging to different
sub-groups within religious Judaism. As different sectors of the religious Jewish world
adapt to and innovate in a new system of food production, historical observance is often
vaunted as the model to which the observant community should aspire. Different
religious leaders, institutions, and communities sometimes present incompatible accounts
of Jewish life throughout history to support their practices. This atmosphere in
contemporary Jewish life prompted me to examine how prior generations of American
Jews—as recently as forty years ago—practiced their kosher observance and conceived
of “Jewish food” quite differently.

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The Recent Trend Towards Religious Stringency

Before examining the material below, we must first review two demographic shifts in religious observance among American Jews after World War II and the circumstances that contributed to those trends.

Enabled by the increased affluence and occupational opportunities afforded to observant Jews in America, there has been a marked tendency towards stringency of observance since the Second World War. Sociologists Steven M. Cohen and William B. Helmreich, including the immigration of the remains of the European Jewish establishment to America and Israel after the Holocaust and the insecurity about the future of the Jewish community in the wake of that event, religious communities on the whole became increasingly stringent over the second half of the twentieth century, and dietary regulations began to take on all of the significance of the sociological understanding of foodways in observant communities. At the same time, proportionately fewer American Jews observed traditional dietary laws than had once done so. Surveys conducted by national religious organizations such as the Jewish Theological Seminary confirmed “a pattern of long term decline...less than 10 percent of third-generation American Jews maintained a kosher regimen.” Religious and cultural institutions responded to this by attempting to make observance more appealing and in harmony with contemporary American ideas about nutrition and hygiene.

The ease of transportation and wealth that made suburban homes affordable after World War II enabled huge numbers of people to move to the suburbs for the first time.

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7 Joselit 172.
8 Joselit 177.
Many of these suburban pioneers were American Jews, who moved out of immigrant centers such as New York and Boston, establishing new kinds of Jewish communities that required a restructuring of religious and cultural lives.\(^9\) The same ease of transportation and newfound wealth allowed foodstuffs to be more widely available and affordable than ever before, which transformed both the American and Jewish kitchen.

**Major Genres of Jewish Cookbooks, 1940-1975**

**Guides to Acculturation**

Practical guides to American cookery and housekeeping were first published in the late nineteenth century for the millions of new European immigrants who arrived in America unfamiliar with the standards and procedures of keeping house in the United States, including cooking. Two of the most popular were *The Fannie Farmer Cookbook* and *The Settlement Cookbook*. Both were immensely popular among Jews and non-Jews throughout the twentieth century, but the later is remarkable for being written in the context of an settlement house by American Jews for Jewish immigrants. “Mission” or “settlement houses” were philanthropic institutions first established in the late nineteenth century to provide short term housing and medical care to newly arrived immigrants. Later, many expanded their services to educational programs designed to help new immigrants integrate into American society, such as English language and literacy classes.

While both were first published before 1940, they continued to be edited and

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reissued throughout the century until today. Their popularity is attested to by their presence in mainstream magazines such as The New York Times and sale at mainstream stores. Certainly, these books were popular in part because of their hardheaded practicality: they offered measurement conversion tables, explanations of culinary terminology, and sample menus.

Interestingly, The Settlement Cookbook makes no explicit mention of its beginnings in a Jewish institution. In fact, that is rather the point of the book. It instructs the reader in how to organize an American home, with thrift, science and cleanliness as its watchwords. The Settlement Cookbook is not as concerned with teaching its readers how to prepare food as “to abandon their traditional cooking practices, and adapt and assimilate to middle-class customs and values... [and] become an “American.””

Didactic Religious Cookbooks

Many of the most popular Jewish American cookbooks published during that period were those that responded to their authors’ and intended audiences’ insecurities about the religious, cultural, and demographic future of American Jewry. The burden of representing and transmitting Jewish culture fell on women, long regarded as guardians of the home in Europe and in the idealized middle class family life of many Americans. They were charged with the responsibility to endear Jewish culture to their children by creating a nurturing home that was identifiably Jewish. Food was of supreme importance in this endeavor even in homes which were not primarily concerned with the religious

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aspect of Jewish identity, for it was a visceral part of creating fond childhood memories of Jewish celebrations in their children’s lives. The authors are quite conscious of the ability of food to construct memories. They melded the popular image of the doting Jewish mother with asides on nutritional science with the hopes of making kosher cooking more attractive to contemporary homemakers. “Borrowing heavily from [areas of scientific study, the defenders of kashruth] alternately sanitized, domesticated, aestheticized, commodified, and otherwise reinterpreted the practice of keeping kosher.”

They aspired to engineer a sociologically desirable result of more children with pleasant memories of a Jewish upbringing, and presumably more likely to be involved in Jewish life in the future. The lines between food preparation and religious observance were continuously and, in this case, quite consciously blurred. One author wrote “Our mothers brought to their preparations for a holiday or Sabbath the same love and fervor and joyful anticipation that characterized their performance of sacred rites…It is not surprising therefore that the very foods themselves acquired a dignity, ordering upon sanctity, which elevated them to the status of religious traditions.”

**Humorous and Nostalgic Cookbooks**

Another genre focused on a less explicitly religious Jewish identity represented through food. Books that were not primarily concerned with teaching religious behavior often marketed a mix of humor and nostalgia as the inheritance of the Jewish cook. They celebrated the popular conception of Jewish culture—warm, intimate, if somewhat

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11 Joselit 177
needing—and shared history among Jews as their attractions. Books like The Kosher Chinese Cookbook (1963) and Love and Knishes (1956) attempted to make Jewish life and communal involvement compelling by reawakening adults' nostalgia for childhood memories of Europe or parents whose culinary tastes stemmed from there.

In this books the Jewish mother is the warm, earthy urban apartment dweller who prepares traditional East European foods for her family at home and enjoys slightly more adventurous food, like Chinese, at restaurants. [See image A.] Sarah Kasdan, the author of Love and Knishes, uses all of these elements of introduce her chapter on food allergies and “healthy eating.”

...every Sunday every summer we had potato salad it should go with the fired chicken in a basket “to the park”
...[which meant] to the street car...In the basket besides the silver and dishes who had paper plates?) was enough food to feed an army so that just in case anyone should be too lazy or too stingy to bring a big basket Mama could say,

“So take from me. You welcome to it.”

The story is embellished with Yiddishisms, like “it should go with” instead of “that would go with”, rhetorical questions, and beginning a sentence with “so” that underscore the speaker's identity as an immigrant, or someone who speech is heavily influenced by Yiddish speakers.

The narrator in such books usually uses the cultural type of the “Jewish mother, by mid-century a “timeless cultural type...within the American popular imagination,”

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“emotionally extravagant and overprotective”, with her capacity for strong emotion honed by centuries of persecution, to color her commentary on recipes.\textsuperscript{14} Kasdan continues her conversation on food allergies by imagining what her own mother would have said about the subject: “Crazy! From eating you get sick? From not eating you get sick...!”\textsuperscript{15} The same widespread belief credited Jewish mothers with being, if not always good cooks, universally concerned with the quality of their food.\textsuperscript{16}

The books are often sprinkled liberally with humorous illustrations and sidebars on popular Jewish culture; food is one of the quaint and idiosyncratic markers of Jewish culture that a purchaser of such a book can visit upon opening it. We know from the number of editions published that these books were popular in their day, and continue to be felt in the willingness of twenty-first century American Jews to buy similar items, whose relationship to Jewish identity has more to do with consciousness of that identity that content of the shared culture.\textsuperscript{17}

This emphasis on buttressing traditional behaviors and the authors’ insecurities about the future of Judaism was a result of two greater insecurities: the legacy of the destruction of European Jewry and the appeal of acculturation and its weaker commitment to traditional Jewish observance. They often included introductions to the basics of \textit{kashruth} in the same fashion that a contemporary cookbook would establish which kitchen implements were necessary before listing recipes. The intention of these books was to replace the mimetic learning that had transmitted Jewish religion and

\textsuperscript{14} Joselit 70
\textsuperscript{15} Kasdan 111.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. 183
\textsuperscript{17} For an excellent and detailed study of the 'Jewish visual idiom' in the domestic life of American Jews and the movement to integrate obviously Jewish items in to Jewish households as clear markers of identity, consult chapter 4, 'Home Sweet Haym', of Weissman Joselit.

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tradition in previous generations—while men were expected to learn Jewish law, women were usually responsible for cooking, and learned the dietary laws from their mothers. [See images B and C.] Of course, their audience was diverse, ranging from those already observant of the dietary laws to those who had never been exposed, so it is impossible to tell from the books alone what the religious reality of these women was. Indeed, their religious lives are somewhat obscured by their desire to present traditional observance and women's place in it as in keeping with modern American life, but indirect references to the reality of their material lives fill in many of these gaps.

**Methodology**

**Background Information**

When I use the term “Jewish food” in this paper, I am referring to a cuisine associated with the culture and heritage of East European Jewish life unless otherwise specified. The majority of American Jews are of East European descent, and this has colored the popular American conception of what is “Jewish”. This can be distinct from “kosher food”, which means that the ingredients used to prepare the dish and the act of its preparation were in accordance with rabbinic law. I will at times refer to “kosher or Jewish food” since ambiguity did and continues to exist surrounding the distinctions between the two. This in turn affects how Jewish consumers interpret what it means for food to be ”kosher” or “Jewish”. I also make use of the term “foodways”. The word has emerged lately as a word summing up all of the associations a group of people have with

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their food: how they obtain it, process it, their religious feelings towards it, how they integrate elements of other culture into their cuisine, etc. When we speak of foodways, we speak of a group of people's world reflected through their food.

It is also necessary to briefly review the different Jewish religious movements that are popular in the United States today, their history and their ideologies. There are three major denominations with which most Jews affiliate: Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox. The Reform movement was founded in nineteenth century Germany on the principles that Jewish tradition could and should be modernized and compatible with the surrounding culture. It believes that Jewish law is not binding upon the individual, but informs Jewish life. Conservative Judaism is the largest movement, it espouses believe in the divine nature of the Bible and adherence to Jewish law while participating in modern society. Though the movement does not technically deviate from traditional Jewish law in most areas, its adherents span the spectrum from very traditionally religious to not particularly religious at all. Most Conservative Jews attend public schools, work at non-Jewish companies, consume popular media and are otherwise well integrated into American society.

Jewish Orthodoxy is numerically the smallest movement, but has grown greatly in numbers and influence since the destruction of its strongholds in Europe during the Holocaust. All Orthodox Jews agree on the divine nature of the Hebrew Bible and the authority of Jewish law, in Hebrew, halakhah. There is a great diversity of beliefs and lifestyles within the Orthodox Jewish world in America. The term encompasses communities that attempt to be completely cut off from the outside world and distinguish
themselves from it in dress and language, as well as those who observe traditional Jewish law while attending non-Jewish schools and partaking of secular institutions. It is additionally important to remember that the landscape of American Jewish denominations in the pre-World War II was not as firmly established as they are now, and there was significant overlap between Orthodox and Conservative institutions. Because Reform movement views Jewish law as potentially meaningful to the individual, but not binding, it is not greatly invested in the practicalities of ritual kosher observance and will not often be mentioned here.

Sources

The primary sources that I will discuss below were selected based on a number of criteria, including the relative number of holdings in world libraries as recorded by the database WorldCat, the book’s listing in the National Union Catalogue (published 1956), the number of editions of a particular publication, consultations with librarians at the Center for Jewish History in New York and with Ms. Eve Jochnowitz, a scholar of Jewish foodways. I read them closely and took note of their publishers, the numbers of their editions, how popular they were outside of the Jewish community, their aesthetics qualities, the ingredients they require, the genres of recipes that they include, and how they refer to Jewish culture and religious practice in the course of recording those recipes. I paid particular attention to books that were consistently re-issued after their first publication, and compared differences between the editions when possible. I also drew heavily from my experience in different Jewish communities, noting which books are
most often mentioned or most likely to be found in a self-identified Jewish or kosher house. Two books dealt with here were originally published in the closing years of the nineteenth century, but their popularity was such that they were published through the time period in question and until today. When dealing with those publications, I used editions that were published during the period in question.


Those who are familiar with food publications in Jewish American life will notice that the synagogue sisterhood cookbook is not dealt with below. These paperback collections of members' recipes usually published by a synagogue sisterhood as a fundraising effort were ubiquitous in the Jewish community. Like matchbooks or restaurant menus, they seem to multiply at will in a suburban Jewish home. Some popular cookbooks began their development as sisterhood cookbooks, but most of these booklets did not garner an audience outside of the community that produced them. They
are a “subtle gap-ridden kind of artifact, that asks its reader (at least the reader who seeks more than recipes) to fill those gaps with social and culinary history, knowledge of other texts (such as commercial cookbooks), and even personal knowledge”; too specific to a particular community to shed much light on the national experience. ¹⁹ They offer fascinating insight into regional differences between Jewish communities born of political, religious, economic, and geographical differences, but I have removed them from my evaluation of American Jewish cookery for this time period precisely because I mean to analyze which books had the most mass market appeal in order to see which trends were most widely spread across this community at the time.

Women’s literature, and cookbooks in particular, have not historically been invested with particular value by the institutions who determine what is proper for historical study, such as museums and scholarly journals. In fact

Before [the 1970's], many historians had not considered women's domestic sphere to be an important or interesting realm for study and had neglected it in their reconstructions of the past. A lack of sources, caused by two sources, has fostered this omission. First, most women have been included in the written record only if they were engaged in civic affairs or linked with famous men...Second, before the twentieth century, fewer women than men were able to writer their accounts of domestic life...More recently, especially in the last thirty years, feminist historians and others have attempted

to redress the neglect of women's household contributions and roles by using women's private writings...to reconstruct women's lives...

(Theophano 2)

Unfortunately, this assumption has condemned much of the printed records of women’s lives in an age of mass publication to the literal an figurative dustbin of history by individuals and historians. Additionally, the disposable nature of literature in modern America makes study of popular literature difficult. While once literacy was limited and manuscripts highly valued among the few who could read them, family cookbooks were added to for generations and took on the status of treasured inheritances. Today, cookery manuals are easily bought and thrown away when they fall into disrepair. In a time and place of great material wealth in the United States, the disposable quality of popular literature makes it difficult for historians today to determine the popularity of a particular text by the number of copies currently available. However, records of many books originally intended for women survive, which combined with an assessment of which are still in print and which survive in the memories of the community give us a place from which to start. Recently, the scholarly interest in foodways coupled with a longer standing interest in women’s history has produced a small but growing body of work on the nature of popular women’s literature, such as Janet Theophano’s book *Eat My Words* (2002), mentioned above, on late modern cookbooks as evidence of women’s culture.

**Chronology**

I chose to bookend this project chronologically with the period immediately after World War II and the end of the 1970’s. I did this because the elements of American
Judaism that would come into sharp focus in their foodways emerged after the Holocaust and economic restructuring of the post-War era. They seem to have shifted again dramatically in the late 1970's when the third generation of Ashkenazic Jews in the U.S. came of age. Additionally, the number and popularity of American Jewish cookbooks mushroomed in the late 1970’s, producing some of the best known cookery manuals in the genre, including *The Jewish Holiday Kitchen* (1979), *The Spice and Spirit of Kosher- Jewish Cooking* (1977), and *Deal Delights* (1980), but those from 1940-1975 are relatively obscure. I read them in order to illuminate what we already know about American Jews’, particularly Jewish women’s, lives between 1940-1975.

This project is an attempt to reconstruct Jewish observance and identity from popular materials which, while widely read at the time they were published, have not often been studied because of that popular status. They were published when the influence of generations who had built up Jewish life in America was still felt, but increasingly displaced by that of their American born children. They are cultural artifacts upon which their creators lavished great care, consciously molding their identity in a medium uniquely entrusted to women: food. Perhaps most importantly, they were outlets through which lay people dealt with the issue of collective Jewish continuity after the enormous upheavals of World War II and the Holocaust.
Chapter II, American Food In The Wake of World War II

The Moving Toward a National Diet

World War II was not only a watershed event for the United States politically and economically. The event provides a neat separation between the last traces of agriculturalism that marked the US food production system until the 20th century, and the industrialized, national system that replaced it by the century’s end. The War was not in actuality a clean breaking point between modern and post-modern food production, but was so in the minds of many Americans. They returned to peacetime and civilian life with their tastes altered by years of combat meals and food rationing, and in favor of the processed, non-perishable food necessary for the war effort. As citizens of the country recommenced life in peace time, removed from their prior experiences with food by five years of war time rationing, they applied their love for modernity and technology to the food in their homes. Mass production and uniformity were synonymous with efficiency and hygiene. The major infrastructural changes, such as the interstate highway system in place on much of the East Coast by the mid 1950's, increasing centralization of livestock production and make it more efficient. This biased factory produced, national or regional brands over local ones in keeping with the post-war preference for ultra-controlled and hygienic conditions. Jewish consumers were influenced as much as if not more than others. [See image D.]

Perishable food had once been limited to the distance it could travel without spoiling, but advances in food preservation such as freezing and refrigeration, and in

efficient transportation completed what transnational Civil Railroads had begun after the Civil War. As Mark Kurlansky makes clear in his introduction to *Food of a Younger Land*, a collection of food writing by writers engaged in the WPA Writer’s Project in the 1930’s, food that was produced on a large scale and marked with a government stamp of approval in the form of FDA certification became increasingly available throughout the country at this time. It also had a cache of being of a higher status than homemade and locally produced foods. Many consumers associated commercially produced foods with modernity, science, and hygiene. Such foods were particularly available in densely populated urban areas easily accessible by national road and railways, where most American Jews made their homes. One can tell from the warnings issued to kosher observant housewives that packaged foods were gaining popularity in that community. They were one of the forces that challenged East European foodways to the extent that many Jewish authors were driven to write cookery manuals to preserve traditional recipes.

The new standardization that marked food production in this period removed some of the variables that in the past would have made it impossible for strictly kosher observant consumers to purchase packaged foods. At the beginning of the 20th century, American companies were required by law to exclude materials from food products which were known to be harmful. In 1938, the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act required them to list all ingredients on their packaging. This satisfied many observant Jews that they could confidently determine the contents of packaged food and whether or

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21 Ibid. 91.
22 Joselit 190
not they could consume it from its label. Rabbis complained that “so many preparations and packaged and canned goods the consistence of which are unknown to the average woman, that very often Trefah [non-kosher] food is bought”.

For foods which could be particularly difficult to certify and for the sake of more stringent communities, a system of rabbinic supervision was slowly cobbled together to provide explicit proof that food items were kosher. Observant Jewish consumers took to packaged foods so well that members of the community who were less comfortable with buying prepared foods were often heard to say “If this continues, we'll be buying everything [even for Passover, the time of year with strictest kashruth requirements].”

The homogenization of the American diet had been quietly advancing since the end of Civil War, when national railroads allowed food to be grown and shipped anywhere throughout the country for the first time. However, the seasons and natural limits on how long food could be stored were still the predominant factors that determined most American's diets. Technological changes necessitated by the massive project of feeding the United States Army and home front during second World War would bring about the next great wave of innovation. While the Civil War allowed for the first national railroads, the birth of the interstate highway system (originally conceived of, in part, to ensure military transportation routes in the new reality of the Cold War) allowed for food to be bought and sold across the United States with unprecedented uniformity. “The twentieth century saw the construction of all weather roads and, eventually, the interstate highway system. The advent of long-haul trucks with

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23 Joselit 190.
25 Smith 80.
roof-mounted refrigeration system, in 1948 made it possible for refrigerated and frozen foods to be easily distributed to even the most isolated communities.”

The Influence of Suburbanization

The new ease of transportation and newfound wealth gave birth to the phenomenon of suburbanization in the wake of World War II. Outmigration from urban centers also characterized Jewish settlement in the post-war period, but suburbanization posed additional problems for Jewish communities. In premodern Europe, Jewish communities had been arranged so that all were in walking distance of a house of worship, since traveling by any other means was prohibited on the Sabbath and holidays. That model declined as Europe modernized. However, Jewish continued to live in predominantly Jewish areas when they immigrated to New York. This model could survive with some success in crowded urban conditions, but was less likely to survive in a suburban environment. Former deeply binding sociological interactions, such as simply seeing the same people on the streets daily, sending one's children to the neighborhood school, and shopping at the same stores in close proximity were no longer available. Jewish tended to move to largely or wholly Jewish neighborhoods where they would maintain a consciousness of a local Jewish community. Didactic cookbooks, then, would have been a piece of portable culture that Jewish homemakers could use to preserve their culture when reconstructing it in the suburbs. Simply by occupying space in a house,

\[26\] Ibid. 91.
\[27\] For an excellent description of religious communities which did transfer themselves to the suburbs successfully—by their own criteria—consult 'And I Will Dwell in Their Midst: Orthodox Jews in Suburbia' by Eitan Diamond.
\[28\] Jackson 11.
they could impart a Jewish quality to the home.\textsuperscript{29}

**Jewish Cookbooks Before World War II**

Before 1940, Jewish cookbooks had not yet achieved popularity that could boast multiple genres and high print volumes. In opposition to the types of cookery manuals which will be discussed in the next chapter, kosher cookbooks could be divided into two groups at opposite ends of the spectrum of popularity. The first of these two categories consists of two books, *The Settlement Cookbook* and *The Boston Cooking-School Cookbook*—better known as *The Fannie Farmer Cookbook*. Both were published at the end of the nineteenth century as sets of recipes fleshed out with extensive explanations of cooking utensils and techniques, nutrition information and stern words on hygiene. [See images E, F, G and H.] Science and modernity were always of primary importance. The author of the latter prefaced her collection of recipes by saying “It is my wish that it may not only be looked upon as a compilation of tried and tested recipes, but that it may awaken an interest through its condensed scientific knowledge which will lead to deeper thought and broader study of what to eat.”\textsuperscript{30} They were a stark departure from American cookbooks published before them, which tended towards written records of orally transmitted recipes that required imprecise, subjective measurements and regional ingredients. Both were enormously popular, but *The Settlement Cookbook* more so. It is also the more interesting volume from the perspective of Jewish cookery, since it was written by a Jewish woman responding to major demographic changes in American

\textsuperscript{29} Joselit Chapter 4.
Jewish life.

Lizzie Black Kander made one of the most important contributions to American food in general when she published *The Way to a Man's Heart...The Settlement Cookbook* in 1901. Its was immediately popular, and Kander edited thirty four more editions until her death. (The book has been continuously in print since then.) The author acquired her recipes while working at the 'Keep Clean Mission' in Milwaukee in the last years of the nineteenth century. Missions or “settlement houses” were institutions founded—often in the case of Jewish settlement houses for other Jews—to provide aid to newly arrived immigrants when they arrived in the United States. The definition of aid varied widely depending on the ideology of the organization that supported the settlement house and what they were able to provide. Most offered basic medical services and information on practical life in American society to those who were often without the language skills to navigate American institutions. In time, missions expanded their programs from emergency aid to programs to better integrate immigrants into society.

Kander's mission catered specifically to Jewish women, who she hoped to provide with the skills and practical knowledge to integrate into American society. She invested her food with the strength of science, hygiene and the order. Her programs were very popular—in 1906 none of her daytime cooking classes had any vacancies, and there were long waiting lists for admission.\(^{31}\) Though the book was not explicitly Jewish, her neat and scientific style were appealing to Jewish women who wanted to divorce themselves from the atmosphere of the Old World and assert their identity as Americans. This

reflected an entirely different approach to immigration than would later be popular among their descendants; the purpose of *Fannie Farmer* and *The Settlement Cookbook* was to teach Jews how to avoid foodways associated with East Europe. Future generations would make a break with this approach when they compiled manuals of cookery whose entire purpose and appeal was being discernibly Jewish.
Chapter III
A Taste of Paradise: Food Literature as a Response to Acculturation

Authors and publishers of Jewish cookbooks were crucially aware of the role of food in cementing Jewish identity and combating acculturation that could result in the disappearance of the Jews as a distinct group. The importance of food in Jewish culture was enhanced by the existence of the Jewish dietary laws, which date to the earliest Jewish canonical text, the Hebrew Bible, and which were subsequently elaborated in rabbinical texts. Rabbinical law requires supervision of food preparation when done outside of a private home. This supervision encompasses all aspects of how all foods are produced and handled, and is especially complex when dealing with animal products. (For a brief summary of the laws, return to page 2.) The existence of a complex system of rabbinical gives rise to the distinction between food that is usually associated with European Jewish society, and food which is prepared according to the above dietary laws. That is, the former does not automatically come under the heading of the latter, and a dish associated with the world of Jewish East Europe is by no means automatically kosher.

Culinary Confusion

Neither the majority of Jewish immigrants to the United States nor their ancestors in Europe received formal religious training, but rather took religious cues from their communities leaders and disseminated information about the accepted community practice by word of mouth and tradition. Observance of the dietary laws in the New World was usually mediated by this process. Without the power of religious leaders to
encourage attentive observance, keeping kosher was usually done in a general, simplified way. The practice was as much associated with the culture of the Old World as with timeless religion. Their religious observance was “of the unconscious type”, whose piety and religiosity were intimately bound up with the larger cultural ambience of East European Jewish life—a phenomenon Leo Baek [an outstanding German Reform rabbi and scholar of European Jewry] once referred to as “milieufrömmigkeit” ['spirit-of-environment piety']. Religious Jews imposed the practices of Europe on to their culinary lives in America, but in doing so they associated themselves with that cultural atmosphere as much as with religion.

These cultural associations of East European dishes with a traditional/religious Jewish lifestyle produced an ambiguity in American Jews eating, to the chagrin of the stringently observant. The ambiguity was that the recipes associated with that East European milieu could and often were prepared and served in Jewish settings (family celebrations, Jewish restaurants, synagogues) though they did not meet the criteria for being truly kosher. At least one scholar considered the replacement of ritually acceptable food with “kosher style” to be “perhaps...[the] most striking feature of Jewish American eating practices in the second half of the twentieth century. Those dishes were often marketed as “Jewish” or “kosher style” regardless of their ritual status in “kosher style” restaurants serving the community. The “kosher style” deli became the most popular of all Jewish eateries, because it offered the nostalgic and gustatory pleasure of eating food

32 Joselit, Jewish Jews, xii
33 Kugelmass, Between, 50, footnote 1.
associated with Jewish culture without the added expense and restrictions of being strictly kosher.³⁴ A strictly kosher deli would not be able to serve milk products on its premises, but in a kosher style one a customer could have milk in his coffee or butter his bread.³⁵ This was anything but a minor adjustment to the meal, in terms of the customers' enjoyment or the identity they enacted by eating there.

In this way, even outside the home the religious politics of Jewish cookery became an instrument in the perceived battle for American Jewish identity. In order to bolster the observance of the dietary laws in the face of a confusing array of “kosher”, “kosher style”, and “Jewish” food options, religious institutions such as the Conservative Women’s League, affiliated with the Conservative movement, published manuals of cookery with attendant primers on the dietary laws. Books published with institutional backing proved remarkably popular. Two thirds of the publications surveyed for this work were published with institutional sponsorship. Even independent authors, such as the Grossman family who authored the popular Chinese Kosher Cookbook did so with a loose affiliation to an official religious body.

The Religious Response

Attempting to transition from the mimetic and cultural nature of Jewish observance in Europe to the (ostensibly) non-religious atmosphere of the US, and across the rupture of the Holocaust, also complicated kosher observant Jews' continuation of

³⁵ Ibid.
their eating habits in the United States. Religious observance was no longer a matter of course to be enforced from within the community. By mid century immigrants who had inherited those practices in Europe had been apart from their Old World religious families for decades and often did not recall their religious upbringing.\textsuperscript{36} The children they raised in America often had no ritual religious education, and were not usually observant of Jewish law on a daily basis. “By the mid-1930's, according to the \textit{Literary Digest}, levels of kashruth observance had fallen so low that it “makes Jews and Gentile alike wonder that \textit{kosher} is still a word to four million people in the USA.”\textsuperscript{37} The introduction of industrial food production further complicated attempts to reproduce European food customs that were predicated on the close proximity of the producer to the consumer. Rabbinic law had developed in a pre-industrial world, and its espousers struggled to cope with an entirely different set of factors in deciding communal practice in the New World.\textsuperscript{38} Among the Orthodox community, this struggle gave birth to a system of modern kosher certification that is still in place today, where a rabbinic body will inspect and certify a particular product as kosher, and allow their organization’s symbol to be printed on the product’s packaging so that potential consumers can easily determine its kosher status. [See images I and J.] It seems that most midcentury kosher consumers, however, were not as stringent as to require formal rabbinic certification of all their prepared foods, but rather observed the general form of the dietary laws and purchased kosher specialty

\textsuperscript{36} The Immigration Act of 1924 effectively ended mass Jewish immigration to the United States. A wave of refugees would arrive after the Holocaust; their religious influence will be dealt with elsewhere in this paper.

\textsuperscript{37} Joselit 176.

\textsuperscript{38} Joselit, \textit{Jewish Jews}, 78.
products where appropriate, such as kosher versions of prepared foods that usually involved forbidden animal products, such as animal-based gelatin.\footnote{Gelatin is traditionally derived from animal bones. Kosher gelatin would, therefore, have to be made of the bones of animals that were slaughtered according to the laws of kashruth. For this reason kosher consumers usually purchase products that rely heavily on gelatin, such as marshmallows and gelatin desserts, from specialty kosher brands.}

The Orthodox Jewish community was particularly alarmed by ‘kosher style’ eating in all realms of kosher observant life, including literature, restaurants, and as a selling point for packaged foods. 'Kosher style' food was never certified kosher by a rabbi, and quite often in obvious violation of kosher laws (such as utilizing non-kosher meat), but entailed dishes associated with East European Jewish culture. They declined to conform to the strict letter of religious law, but

“At the same time, they held on to their affinity for gefilte fish [a mashed fish dish], brisket [braised beef], and blintzes [crepes; all of these are closely associated with a holiday or the Sabbath], chipping away at the identification between “Jewish” and “kosher” in the process.” (Weissman Joselit 173)

Institutions in this new third category (neither officially kosher nor willing to declare themselves non-kosher) was not certified kosher and often entirely in violation category presented itself in food literature, as well as in such labeled restaurants in communities with large Jewish populations, and can perhaps help to illustrate the threat posed to traditional religious practice by an ambiguous eating practice determined by

This was the label applied to restaurants which were usually Jewish owned and served traditional European Jewish fare, without strictly to the above dietary laws strictly (or at
all). These restaurants usually offered traditional European Jewish dishes, sometimes prepared with kosher meat, but not under rabbinic supervision or conforming to the attendant restrictions (and potential punishments by the supervising body for disobeying rabbinic rules, such as fines or removal of supervision), such as being closed on the Sabbath and restricting their menu to either meat or dairy items.\(^{40}\) These restaurants blurred the lines that delineated kosher food from non-kosher by introducing themselves as an intermediate third category. While traditional religious observance was in the process of decline among the majority of American Jews, by the late 1940s a strong faction among post-war Orthodox Jews began to demand increased stringency in all aspects of religious life. This meant a renewed interest in laws and customs which were infrequently practiced in Europe, if at all.\(^{41}\)

This community was equally, if not more, influenced by the sense of uncertainty about the collective Jewish future after the Holocaust, but unique in applying explicitly religious meaning to that disaster.\(^{42}\) In the panoply of explanations put forward by that community for its destruction in Europe, most believed that the correct theological response to the trauma they suffered, and to the death of millions, required a stricter adherence to rabbinic law as they rebuilt those communities in America.

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\(^{40}\) Due to the Biblical and rabbinic prohibitions which forbid combining meat and milk for consumption, kosher restaurants have adopted the practice of serving only meat foods or only dairy foods. Rabbinic supervisors have explained that this is due to he many factors surrounding the preparation of food in restaurants that are not present when preparing food in the home, where milk and meat may certainly be prepared in the same kitchen. These factors include the varying levels of halakhic knowledge of the workers and the difficulty of keeping the foods and their utensils entirely separate at all times while continuously cooking and serving meals throughout the day.


\(^{42}\) Heilman 28.
“These massive waves of migration had wrenched these people suddenly from a familiar life and an accustomed environment, and thrust them into a strange country where even stranger manners prevailed. Simple conformity to a habitual pattern could not be adequate, for the problems of life were now new and different. What was left of traditional Jewry regrouped in two camps: those who partially acculturated to the society that enveloped them, and those who decisively turned their back on it, whom we, for lack of a better term, have called haredim. They, of course, would define themselves simply as Jews—resolutely upholding the ways of their fathers. (Soloveitchik 8)\textsuperscript{43}

Moreover, their community was newly fortified with charismatic leaders and especially stringent practitioners.\textsuperscript{44} All of these factors contributed to the way the Orthodox world regarded itself and how others regarded it: as the guardians of traditional Jewish culture.

The eventual growth of the Orthodox community and the ways in which it would affect religious identity among all American Jews is beyond the scope of this work, but their interest in exacting adherence to the dietary laws challenged the organic growth of 'kosher style' eating that developed in most Jewish communities in the first half of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{45} “[Kosher-style] enables its adherents to practice kashruth “without


\textsuperscript{44} Helmreich 46.

\textsuperscript{45} Glazer 58. The author provides an insightful look at mid century Jewish American eating habits and Jewish identity from her perspective as the daughter of a kosher style restaurant owner.
pain or effort” by disentangling the food from the traditional restrictions governing its use, a Judaized version of having your cake and eating it too.” The factors that lead to the creation of purely cultural Jewish eating establishments quite consciously lead to the creation of strictly kosher Jewish eating establishments, primarily defined by their adherence to Jewish law rather than by the cultural associations invited by their cuisine. In the case of strictly kosher restaurants, the quality with which their patrons associated themselves with was not a broadly defined Jewish identity, but strict religious observance. Just as 'kosher style' eating veered away from the normative food practices of East Europe, strictly kosher restaurants created an entirely new way of 'eating Jewish' by insisting on scrupulous adherence and official certification. In Europe the kashruth standards of an institution were entirely at the discretion of its owner, and no institutions for the certification of restaurants existed. Most Jews lived in tightly knit, interrelated, geographically centralized communities where the reputations of innkeepers, bakers, butchers, and others who supplied food could vouch for the food itself. Natives to a town would know through their regular social interactions where “the Jewish tavern” was, and newcomers would ask the Jews of that town.

Tuchman and Levine discuss how for first generation immigrants and their

46 Joselit 173.
47 I have searched for references to the ways in which Old World Jewish communities informally certified or otherwise agreed that a certain eating establishment was acceptably kosher, but have not found any sources that explicitly describe the matter. However, we know that most Jews lives in small semi-rural towns for most of their collective history in Europe, which would not have been able to support multiple vendors of kosher food. (Indeed, “eating out” at a restaurant regularly was almost unknown until the post-War period.) I believe the most likely explanation as to how a community collectively approved of a vendor's food was through their knowledge of the vendor him or herself.
children, eating forbidden foods was a way for them to demonstrate that they could demonstrate their rejection of the parochialism of the ghetto; consuming everything available to other Americans meant that they were no longer greenhorns. Conversely, identifying as strictly traditional required its own array of symbols and opportunities for performance, that is, to publicly display that affiliation. The influence of the increasingly stringent Orthodox community in the post-war years manifested itself in many non-Orthodox, but consciously Jewish homes as “postwar religious revival, [in which] kashruth enjoyed a sudden burst of popularity in the kitchens of suburban Jewish housewives.”

Writing the New Culture

As American Jews grew away from the world of European Jewry and mimetic learning was lost, cultural and religious groups of all ideologies reacted by attempting to interest American Jews in “traditional” Jewish life. Religious and business establishments were very involved in producing cookbooks for their own purposes; only a third of the sources surveyed for this project were published without any institutional backing. The vast majority of Jewish cookbooks published during this period were the locally produced synagogue fundraiser pamphlets produced by every community from their own resources and sold within a modest radius of that community. These books are not included in this study because they tend to be very particularly suited to the

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49 Tuchman and Levine discuss how eating forbidden food was a safe way Eating foods at the opposite end of the spectrum, Levine 385.
50 Joselit 217.
communities which produce them, rather than representing elements that had national appeal at the time. However, their universal appeal among communities at the time suggests that publications of Jewish cookery were particularly given to sponsorship by a given organization, further linking the genre to ideologically oriented institutions.

Most manuals of Jewish cookery published during this time period can be divided into one of three genres. They were those primarily defined by nostalgia or which invoke popular images of Jewish life and identity for the sake of humor; those which were written expressly for the sake of instruction others how to prepare food according to the dietary laws, and the practical homemaking guides that were produced to integrate new Jewish immigrants to the United States into Jewish life. Individual volumes could and did incorporate elements of different genres at times. I will pay less attention to the last group in the following analysis as it was not a direct product of the time period in question.

**Popular Genres of Jewish Cookbooks and How They Differed**

The most popular Jewish cookbooks from the period 1940-1975 fall in to the following genres. The writing of each genre of cookbook was inspired by its author's unique conception of American Jewish life, incorporating his or her political and religious ideologies. Additionally, each genre perceives of its audience differently. The oldest are “Americanizing”, such as Fannie Farmer and The Settlement Cookbook, which sought to teach new Jewish immigrant the basics of American cooking and housekeeping.
The second genre is in the same vein as the pamphlets and mothering classes produced by synagogues to encourage women to infuse their parenting with Judaism, and preached strict observance of the dietary laws. They were often concerned with countering conceptions of Jewish cookery as old fashioned and unhealthy. The bi-lingual Yiddish English 'Tempting Kosher Dishes', published by the Manischewitz company, contains a two page color insert proclaiming the advancement and superior hygiene of their facilities, saying “In these sunlit bakeries, cleanliness and sanitation are not words, but deeds...”, adding information about the “human like machines” which ensure that one's matzohs arrive in one's home “practically untouched by human hands.” [See images D i and ii.] A third category emerged which predicated its appeal on popular images of Jewish life and the cultural type of the Jewish mother.

The changes in the popular conception of how to represent Jewish domestic life are strongly evidenced when one compares the obviously Jewish content of the earliest and later books against each other. Though Kander gained her experience while working in a synagogue settlement house intended for Jewish women, her Passover and ethnically Jewish recipes are tucked between sample menus for Lent and 'New England Thanksgiving Dinner' (which begins with patently non-kosher 'Cream of Oyster Soup'). Indeed, writers belonging to the first genre mentioned above were quick to point out what

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51 It is important to note that the Yiddish title of this book, 'Batamte Iddishe Maykhlim', would more literally be translated as 'Tempting Jewish Foods'. However, it seems that the Manischewitz company chose to translate the second adjective as 'kosher' in accordance with their brand's emphasis on the dietary laws.

52 Tempting Kosher Dishes, 79.

(in their opinion) the hygienic benefits of kashrut were in order to make it more appealing. However, the earliest American Jewish cookbooks are notable for their absence of explicit mentions of the dietary laws or even of identifiably Jewish terms (often Germanized in print). *The Settlement Cookbook* by Lizzie Kander and *Fannie Farmer* were two such books, published for the first time in the early 20th century for the benefit of new immigrants and still in print today. Both books are primarily concerned with teaching new immigrant women how to keep an American house according to the popular imagination of what such a home should be: primary, clean, hygienic and providing sensible food. *The Settlement Cookbook* was indeed published by administrators of a settlement house in the Midwest established for Jewish immigrants.

Nostalgia was central to the presentation of Jewish life in the latter two genres. Though as time wore on fewer and fewer of their number could recall Europe itself, the authors' intended audience had fond memories of holiday celebrations, lifecycle events, and elements of daily life that were marked by their parents' or grandparents' identity as recently arrived immigrants. Memories inextricable from that immigrant past offered authors an opportunity to entice their readers to traditional observance of religion or culture with the (real or imagined) tastes and smells of their grandparents' kitchens. Food recalled feelings of community, continuity and tradition, and authors of cookbooks from each of the three main genres hoped to attract readers to Jewish life, as they envisioned it, with those associations.

Nostalgia also gave the religious observance the patina of warm memories as
well as the weight of history, and provided the first genre with an avenue by which to make strict observance of the dietary laws attractive. The Manischewitz Passover Cookbook follows an introduction to the general dietary laws, and to the more stringent ones that define the Passover holiday, with a description of successful immigrant Jews lavishing food on their children as a result of the poverty in which they grew up. This scene ties together the love and sacrifice that the reader's parents or grandparents endured for her sake with the necessity of observing the dietary laws. The Chinese Kosher Cookbook similarly ties observance with warm familiar relationships when it explains that it was written so that family members could prepare and enjoy food together. “[Our grandmother] figured out a way to make her grandchildren's favorite dishes Kosher, so she could cook them and there'd be no excuse for our not coming over to dinner each time we were asked.” (Grossman x) Here, dietary regulations are not burdensome, but an expression of that fondly remembered community as they implied that such was the proper way for a Jewish family to eat. The editor of a small scale kosher recipe book said more explicitly, “Kashruth need not be a burdensome affair”. [See image K.]

The Centrality of Gender to Jewish Cookery Literature

Approaching religious evangelism through cookery manuals was an obvious consequence of the emphasis post-War Jewish communities placed on the Jewish home as incubators of identity. “Despite the divisiveness and fragmentation that characterized

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55 Joselit 177.
American Jewish life for much of the twentieth century, the community came together and coalesced around the ideal of a domesticated Jewishness in which the home and its inhabitants became the core of a modern Jewish identity.” 56 Contemporary sources stated that “The Jewish God...is a Household God.” 57, who was worshipped more often than not around the holiday and celebratory table, and “holidays [became] family and eating festivals” 58. Therefore, it was only appropriate to shore up the traditional seat of Jewish life and identity by recalling formal religious (i.e. the dietary laws) and informal cultural (particular dishes associated with East European life) eating practices. They believed that “eggbeater is today the most effective weapon for propagating the faith.” and so marshaled Jewish women in to service to infuse all of their household activities with a Jewish flavor 59. The Jewish wife and mother was charged with making her home a “classroom of Judaism”. Women responded ecclesiastically to this deference to their roles, and synagogues offered mother's classes to compliment the information provided to published literature. It appears that their children readily accepted the centrality of the home and their mothers to collective Jewish identity. Novelist Philip Roth wrote of his childhood in Newark, New Jersey, that it was his mother “who was the repository of our family past, the historian of our childhood and grow up and, I now realized, it was she around whose quietly efficient presence the family had continued to adhere.” 60

56 Ibid. 5
57 Qtd in Ibid. 6.
58 Ibid. 188.
59 Ibid. 217.
60 Qtd. In Weissman Joselit 71
The Role of Gender and Parenthood in Jewish American Cookbooks

The language that books use when discussing women in Jewish communities is fairly consistent across all three of the genres described, but characters are used to different effect. Female relatives of the writers are repositories of communal culture, and the kitchen is a decidedly gendered area, though it is governed by rabbinical rules determined by male rabbis. With the exception of Fannie Farmer and The Settlement Cookbook, they sometimes have the feel of a women only space, somewhat reminiscent of the women's section of a traditional synagogue. In books that are included to generous digressions from cookery, such as Love and Knishes, men are only marginal figures like the delivery man who installs a new stove or the invalid who receives a bowl of chicken soup.

While the genres' conceptions of appropriate female behavior overlap to some extent, each has a clear idea of who it envisions as a 'Jewish homemaker'. Humorous and nostalgic books present a character broadly based on the cultural type of 'the Jewish mother'--identifiably Jewish in her speech and the traditionally East European dishes that she prepares. Jewishness is inherent to her because it permeated the environment in which she was raised, presumably by immigrant parents unless she herself immigrated.

In the books concerned with promoting purely religious observance, exemplified in this case by The Jewish Home Beautiful, Jewishness is a discrete identity that can be set apart from the cultural trappings of East European life. Indeed, the role of this genre is to make the dietary laws appealing to middle class Jewish women who do not observe
them and so divorce them from a broader, and to some disconcertingly *ethnic* ethnic identity. The model offered to them by books like *The Jewish Home Beautiful* and *The Manischewitz Passover Cookbook* is of an elegant middle class home that is ennobled by its adherence to the dietary laws, not humbled by it. [See images L and M.] Women who did not want to associate themselves with the “Jewish mother” type were reassured that they could be “kosher and stylish”.

To be attractive to people who prized their participation in American society, the image of the Jewish home publishers put forward could not be evocative of rural East Europe, but “a thing of beauty as precious and as elevating as anything painted on canvas or chiseled in stone.” In doing so they invested the role of the Jewish wife and mother with almost supernatural ability to maintain the religious tradition—at once a great honor and heavy burden when Jewish religious life was perceived to be so endangered. She was warned that

>...[i]t is well for every mother to remember that the ethical and historical lessons associated the the holidays, have been as deeply impressed upon many a youthful mind by memories of unique foods and symbolic ceremonies round the family table, as by books and teachers. (Greenberg 14)

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61 Joselit 187.
62 Greenberg 14.
A New Model of Jewish Literacy

Before the Holocaust, rabbinic texts were always published in Hebrew, and unavailable to most Jews due to their cost and the relatively high level of education necessary to read and interpret them. Practical books of law published in Yiddish existed, but did not purport to represent the unchanged text, in contrast to English language translations of important rabbinic texts that emerged in the post-WW II United States. These and other English language religious works which would become popular in the second half of the twentieth century are remarkable for functioning as a collective replacement for the organic, unconscious transmission of laws and customs surrounding food that had marked East European Jewish foodways for as long as the culture had existed.63 Food regulations had been recorded in volumes of rabbinic law for centuries, but they were meant for intense study by an elite few who would advise their communities. American cookbooks were the first to widely publish practical guides to the dietary laws in English and preempt the explosion of English language religious material that would be published in the wake of the Holocaust and its enormous cultural consequences.

The books whose main appeal are humor and nostalgia are perhaps the most obvious products of their time. Volumes like Love and Knishes, which offer at least as much kitsch and popular conceptualization of Jewish society as they do cookery advice. Their popularity indicates that they resonate with their audiences' conceptions of Jewish identity. They offered authors interested in Jewish cultural continuity the opportunity to

63 Soloveitchik 21.
encourage families to continue Jewish foodways by appealing to nostalgia or gentle humor. They also spoke to the profound ambivalence about Jewish identity and religion's place therein by affording a way for consumers to cook in a discernibly 'Jewish' way without being overburdened by religious observance. When the author of that book writes, “Milchiks [dairy food] is milchiks and flaishiks [meat food] is flaishiks and on the table of an orthodox Jew the two shouldn't ever meet” she is not making a comment about what all Jews should do according to the Law, but distinguishing herself from new, more stringent practices than those with which she grew up, and incorporating that tradition in to her cookbook.

The third genre is composed of two wildly popular cookbooks. Before the 1960's, immigrants were expected to adjust to American society upon their arrival. *Fannie Farmer* and *The Settlement Cookbook* were so popular because they presented systematic guides to American standards of hygiene and culinary aesthetics. Their approach was a scientific one: meals were planned according to the nutrition needs of one's family and with the help of graphs, charts and tables demonstrating the proper amount of certain nutrients and where they could best be found. Scientific claims are often cited to a particular professor or government department. This may have been part of the volumes' particular success among American Jews, in keeping with their oft recorded respect for academia and the professions and desire to be as scientific as their fellow Americans, in contrast to Old World superstitions about food. Kander certainly was in a

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64 Kasdan 48.
65 Kander 27 and 39.
position to observe which approaches registered with her intended audience, as she operated her mission from a Milwaukee synagogue. The fact that she felt it necessary to explain innovations in the late 19th century kitchen is very interesting, and can perhaps be explained by her students' relative ignorance of many of the labor saving and electrical devices to be found in the American kitchen that were not present in their homes in Europe. These include reliable indoor plumbing, electric light, gas stoves and ranges; since many of these innovations were not introduced in America until the late nineteenth century, it is fair to assume that they had not yet found their way to the small semi-rural towns from which most Jewish immigrants came. The book is still in print today, attesting to its enduring usefulness. In comparison with others written in the 1940-1975 period. It is succinct, scientific, serious, and not explicitly ethnic. Interestingly, the full name of the book is 'The Way to a Man's Heart...The Settlement Cookbook', which the author of Love and Knishes may have been referenced when she added the following to her dedication page: “If the way to a man's heart is through his stomach, then knishes will get there faster...and stay longer.” This quote likely acknowledges Kander's work as a basic text of domestic American Jewish life at the time, upon which Kasdan builds.

Of course, the lines between different genres were blurred at times. The Chinese Kosher Cookbook is a guide to preparing Chinese food according to the Jewish dietary laws, but is heavily strewn with humor. [See image N.] Multilingual puns, cultural references to life in Europe and in the Northeastern United States, and comical stories are interspersed throughout the book. Many of the recipes are given humorous Yiddish
nicknames and explanations rooted in middle class Jewish culture of the time, such as “Far Blun Jed ['Confused' in Yiddish] Egg Drop Soup...FAR BLUN JED is what a Jewish mother calls her son when he wants to join the Peace Corps instead of becoming a doctor.” 66. Quite at odds with this jovial attitude is the quotation from Deuteronomy 14 detailing with which animals are clean and which unclean in ponderous King James English, and a verification of their kosher status by an Orthodox rabbi. The authors state in their introduction that their intention in writing the book was to provide a guide for creating strictly kosher versions of popular American Chinese dishes.

A number of different explanations for the book's risible tone are possible, but its introduction states explicitly that it was written so that kosher observant Jews could enjoy strictly kosher Chinese food with their less observant family. It is possible that its casual attitude is meant to make observance of those dietary laws more appealing by dissociating them from incomprehensible Hebrew texts and European rabbis.

Each one of my sources that is primarily concerned with teaching religion comes complete with an introduction to the fundamentals of the dietary laws. This would be necessary in a culture where such practices are no longer learned mimetically and, at the time, were not readily accessible in English. These introductions were meant to replace the traditional mimetic learning which had made up the majority of a person's religious education in European Jewish society, particular for women. The easily accessible glosses may have been the first time that religious educational materials of such a basic

nature were made available in the vernacular language. It was certainly the first time that they were available in English, a trend which would eventually be fed by other demographic changes in American Jewish society. The new availability of traditional texts and primers in religious observance and the growth of that genre of cookbook were two elements of a post-War religious revival that presaged future demographic trends in American Jewish life.
Chapter IV: The Material World of American Jewry as Reflected in its Cookbooks, 1940-1975

A cookbook speaks not only to text, but to the reality of its author's daily life—the items, processes, and routines which together made up her society's foodways. In the texts of recipes they make recommendations of which ingredients the amateur chef aught to use, and more interestingly which they simply assume are used. They also describe the kitchen that they assume their readers will have at their disposal. Both area of information give us a peak at the relative wealth of this community and how their daily lives played out. As manuals of how to interact with the material world, these cookbooks are a slice of life during a transitional period in Jewish American history. What sort of ingredients do they ask for? (Are any particularly rare, expensive?) Do they suggest how to prepare ethnic foods, or do they assume that you already know how? How large are the recipes that they recommend? What is the proportion of particular courses, or occasions, to others?

Ingredients and Ideology

The ingredients requested are, on the whole, interchangeable with those that would be found in any cookbook at the time. This includes several which are entirely outdated today, such as the listing of monosodium glutamate (MSG) as a seasoning in The Kosher Chinese Cookbook and requests in all quarters for vegetable shortening in place of butter. Both products appear slightly strange when blatantly requested in a recipe since their effects on health have been contested in the decades since the book's
The use of shortening itself is interesting, because as a non-dairy form of solid fat it could take the place of butter in recipes, rendering them acceptable to be eaten with meat. This was probably a response to the utility of such a product, but Crisco (the most famous brand of vegetable shortening) became aware of their brand's potential for popularity in the Jewish market early on. They advertised directly to kosher consumers with advertisements in Yiddish and English language newspapers, and bilingual recipe books with the confidence that “The Hebrew race has been waiting 4,000 years for Crisco.”

Whether a volume calls for butter, shortening, or meat fat is actually quite revealing about its author's intentions and awareness in writing the book. I believe a clue such as this can even help the reader deduce the author's religious and cultural orientation when it is unclear. *Love and Knishes*, for example, was first published in 1956, is ambiguous about its position on the Jewish dietary laws. While it divides its recipes in chapters determined by their status as meat or milk, and makes reference to the need for the separation, it does so in an overblown and dogmatic way that suggests it is poking fun at a grandmotherly tradition. Kasdan's chapter on dairy foods begins

Milchiks is milchiks and flaishiks is flaishiks and on the table of an orthodox Jew the two shouldn't ever meet. The saying I'm taking from Mr. Kipling, also a writer, except I'm changing a little because Mr. Kipling is saying “East is East

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68 Joselit 187.

69 Kasdan uses non-standard Yiddish transliteration for “dairy foodstuffs” and “meat foodstuffs”, respectively.
and West is West,” but if he should ask me I would tell him that East will meet West before milchiks will meet flaishiks. This is the law. Dairy foods will never be eaten with meat because it is written that a kid should not be stewed in the milk of its mother. (Kasdan 48)

Without the benefit of explanation of the rabbinic laws surrounding the extrapolation of the Levitical verse to divorce all dairy and meat products, Kasdan blunt statement “This is the law” sounds primitive and slightly ridiculous. I also find it significant that she specifies the practice of “an orthodox70 Jew”, which seems to remove that practice another degree from herself. Orthodox literature often uses language of universal observance, referring not to what observant or Orthodox Jews do but rather to an objectively correct way of behaving that is simply Jewish. Additional examples of this attitude can be found in contemporary Orthodox cookbooks and publications. A popular religious outreach organization has entitled the section of its website which teaches the reader how to keep kosher “a guide to eating Jewishly” [sic].71 This identification distills all of Jewish identity to the observance of Biblical and rabbinic laws without regard for the regional customs, economic differences, and conscious ideological choices individual Jews have involved in their culinary lives. Kasdan's introduction to dairy foodstuffs is one instance of a Jewish writer negotiating her people's collective and her individual relationship to a shared history which cannot definitively be defined as religion or culture

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70 Today this term would be formatted with an upper case letter, as Orthodoxy is an official denomination within American Jewry. Though Orthodox institutions existed at the time the book was written, it seems that the author was using the term to mean "traditionally observant", as opposed to belonging to that denomination.

71 See http://www.chabad.org/generic_cdo/aid/113424/jewish/Kosher.htm

Casser 48
but carries the weight of both.

Unsurprisingly, religiously didactic books such as *The Jewish Home Beautiful* call for shortening the most often because they are the most concerned with scrupulously observing the dietary laws. While other books, such as *The Art of Jewish Cooking* and *Jewish Cookery* give strongly worded introductions on the subject of those laws and how they were traditionally followed, their enthusiasm does not seem to be born out in the practical experience of a cook who must prepare elaborate meatless dishes regularly. Specifically, the weekly Sabbath celebrations, holiday cycles and lifecycle events all require sufficiently impressive desserts and baked goods made without meat or dairy. Of course, people and communities who place less emphasis on those celebrations (or eschew the traditional meat heavy meals for meatless ones, enabling them to have dairy desserts) would have less reason to adapt these recipes. Perhaps the tendency for dairy desserts represents a community that is more flexible about serving dairy dishes after meat ones, in opposition to rabbinic law.

The ingredients that these manuals ask for are not unusual, except when they prepare meat dishes. Many of these dishes are made with cuts of meat that were and are not popular in mainstream food marketing72, such as liver, chicken necks, calves' feet, bones, cow intestines, chicken fat and goose fat.73 The Yiddish terms for these cuts of meat go untranslated with some regularity. Recipes advise the reader with some


73 As noted above, the prohibition against using butter in meat meals made solid animal fats the traditional choice where butter would be used, and rendered chicken and goose fat could be bought in Jewish supermarkets. The author of *Love and Knishes* even sought fit to dedicate an entire chapter to the substance, entitled 'Put Some Schmaltz in It'.

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frequency to have her meat prepared a certain way by the butcher. Perhaps one of the reasons why meat dishes and vocabulary survive is that since many readers would have been restricted to kosher butchers and the cuts of meat available there, they had more practical impetus to continue preparing traditional meat dishes than others.

The methods that Jewish cookbooks use to categorize their recipes is obviously different from non-Jewish and non-kosher ones. In each book surveyed, recipes were categorized by their ritual status (meat, dairy, pareve, and/or Passover appropriate) and the religious occasion for which they were meant.

The Elimination of Home Koshering

It is equally important to recognize what is absent in the books' descriptions of kosher housekeeping. In Europe, meat usually underwent the final step of the koshering process at home by the cook. This final step involved several hours of soaking in salt water, surface salting and draining to remove any blood which could have remained in the meat after slaughter. (Some cuts of meat, like blood laden liver, required an even more intensive koshering process.) Significantly, earlier books often describe the process for making meat kosher, while later ones generally do not. I believe that this reflects the popularization of selling meat that has been made completely kosher, rather than requiring consumers to complete the process at home. This underscores the triumph of the commercialization of two trends: the tendency towards stringency that made customers more comfortable with meat that had been made kosher entirely under rabbinical supervision, rather than in their own kitchens, and the emphasis on hygiene

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that pervaded all food production in the post-War years. Washing and draining slabs of meat in their own kitchens did not mesh well with the idea of kosher laws as conducive to greater hygiene, which made it all the more desirable to move the process out of the home and into the factory.

The removal of the final step in the koshering process from the home also reflects the professionalization of kashrut, which grew in tandem with the more stringent requirements of the kosher observant community. As the process of kashering meat was taken from the hands of the housewife and placed in the hands of rabbis and rabbinical organizations, which could tout their stringency as a selling point for their products. This is related to different Jews' relationships with Jewish tradition and acculturation in that it removed an element of observance from domestic life, and placed it firmly in the realm of the rabbis and organized religion. In early modern Europe, all but the most difficult ritual food preparations could be performed in the home in a way that did not exist in early modern conceptions of religion, where 'religion' per se was not a separate category of life. This also reflects the simplification and shortening of the food preparation process from the point of view of the consumer, a prominent trend in all of American foodways during the same period. Where a non-kosher observant American housewife may be tempted to buy a frozen steak to save her time, a kosher observant one may have been tempted to buy a pre-kasherated one for the same reason. In this, trends among Jewish cooks echo those in their surrounding environment.
Conclusions

We have seen that as acculturation to American life increased among American Jews in the mid twentieth century, there was a corresponding rise in literature designed to interest them in Jewish religious life. “In kosher cookbooks, sermons, and in such upbeat pamphlets as Yes, I Keep Kosher, the affinity of kashruth to the modern world was repeatedly and imaginatively invoked.”74 This was a result of many changes within American Jewry and outside of it. Outside of the community, as the twentieth century progressed cultural diversity became more highly valued, and taking pride in one's immigrant heritage, including foodways, became more acceptable. Fannie Farmer and Lizzie Kander held on as the “sensible, flat heeled” grand dames of American cooking, but their belief that American food should be homogenized did not.75 The second generation was welcome to eat what they associated with the Old World without being thought of as un-American. New methods of food production placed another layer of distance between the consumer and her food, as well as being religiously problematic.76

Within the community, several trends contributed to the popularity of different genres of Jewish cookbooks. The trauma of the Holocaust and mass emigration to the United States awakened insecurity about the collective future of American Jews as an ethnic group. A segment of the Orthodox population responded to the loss of Ashkenazic Jewry's traditional home and millions of observant Jews with theological explanations that demanded new stringencies and awareness of ritual law. Jews from other

74 Joselit 177.
75 Fritz 36.
76 Joselit 190.
denominations also responded to this loss as well as a sense of nostalgia for the eating practices that their parents and grandparents had brought with them from Europe, resulting in a renewed interest in East European Jewish foodways in the middle of the century. Authors capitalized on nostalgia for shared formative experience with food, usually closely tied to religious holidays, to sell their books and encourage religious observance, if they were so inclined. They were entirely conscious of the importance of food in their daily lives, and attached religious meaning or their affection for their culture's foodways to their writings.

Reviewing the intention and content of Jewish American cookbooks published over the course of the twentieth century is indicative of how their authors and readers thought of themselves as Jews and Americans. *Fannie Farmer* and *The Settlement Cookbook* represent an era when immigrants were expected and often eager to adopt elements of American middle class life. Cookbooks that were popular among Jewish Americans after World War II offer a more complicated picture of different communities attempting to make their eating practices reflect their combinations of the two identities. Whether evangelizing, nostalgic, or promoting a cultural Jewish identity, they reflect the shit from an assimilationist viewpoint in public life to a degree of acceptance of ethnic diversity among Americans. Believing that “you are what you eat,” each book negotiates a path among the influences of religion, custom, practicality, and American consumer culture to encourage the reader to eat as a reflection of her identity.
Bibliography


A. “The Jewish mother” was a popular character in mid-twentieth century Jewish cookbooks. The importance that she attached to preparing and consuming food is one of her identifying characteristics. From *Love and Knishes* by Kasdan.

### HOW TO SET A PASSOVER SEDER TABLE

Because Passover is the holiday when Jews celebrate their liberation from slavery in Egypt, they treat themselves like royalty during the festival. Homes are spotless after the ambitious spring cleaning; clothes are the most beautiful they own; the food and wines are the best they can buy. The table, being the center of the Seder festivities, reflects the spirit of the joyous occasion. It is covered with a lovely rich cloth. The china, silverware, and glassware sparkle and gleam. Fragrant flowers and leaves form a colorful centerpiece.

With this gracious background, the picture is completed with the traditional Seder symbols. At the head of the table, where a place has been set for the father of the family, the essential foods for the ceremony are arranged:

1. **Three matzos**, each wrapped separately, are placed on top of each other on a plate. A portion of the middle matzo will later be put away to be used as the Afikoman (symbolic end of the meal). Matzo covers of exquisite materials are used in many homes. They have pockets for the three pieces of matzo and are usually ornately decorated. A dish of salt should be nearby, ready for sprinkling on the matzo before eating, after the blessing is made.

2. **There are five symbolic foods**, which should also be placed near the head of the family: lamb shankbone (Zeroa), roasted, the symbol of the Paschal lamb that in ancient times was sacrificed in the Temple; roasted egg, which is a token of grief for the destruction of the Temple; bitter herbs (Moror), which can be any variety, but usually is horseradish, and serves as a reminder of the bitterness of slavery; Charosis, a mixture of fruit, nuts, cinnamon or ginger, and sweet wine, which symbolizes the mortar made to hold together the bricks that the Jews
C. Manischewitz also offers sample menus for the meal, combining traditional East European foods like fish and horseradish with luxury food items like asparagus tips. Passover cookies, or *kikhlekh*, are inventively renamed “Kichlettes.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEDER SUGGESTIONS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wine for Kiddush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitefish and Pike with Horseradish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken Soup*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passover Mandlen*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honeyed Duck* with Orange Sauce*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusty Roasted Potatoes*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asparagus Tips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Vegetable Salad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matzos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit Meringues*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kichelettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Coffee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
into the home of matzo products. These ready baked products are
made in modern bakeries with the latest in equipment and
innovative processes. The dough is kneaded, rolled, and formed into
hundreds of different shapes. They are baked to perfection, resulting in
a product that is both delicious and nutritious.

The matzo process is a time-honored tradition that dates back to
the time of the Exodus from Egypt. The matzo is baked in a single,
unbroken piece, with no rising or proofing. This process results in a
product that is both thin and crisp, with a unique flavor and texture.

Modern matzo bakeries continue to use traditional methods of
preparation, while also incorporating new technology and
innovations. The result is a product that is both authentic and
contemporary. This弱点

D. Jewish companies eagerly announced the modern ways in which they production food as
mechanization became a byword of quality and hygiene.
D. ii. The cover of “Tempting Kosher Dishes, published by the Manischewitz food company. Many cookbooks published by and for Jews during this time period were sponsored by commercial or ideological institutions. Brands such as Crisco and Gold Medal Flour published Yiddish cookbooks to encourage Jewish customers to buy their products.
**TO MEASURE DRY INGREDIENTS**

Insert measurement spoon into measuring cup or table.

- 1 tablespoon = \(\frac{1}{2}\) teaspoon
- 1 teaspoon = \(\frac{1}{2}\) tablespoon
- 1 teaspoon = \(\frac{1}{4}\) tablespoon
- 1 tablespoon = \(\frac{1}{2}\) tablespoon

**TABLE OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Rule</th>
<th>1 cup</th>
<th>1 tablespoon</th>
<th>1 teaspoon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 cup</td>
<td>8 fluid ounces</td>
<td>2 fluid ounces</td>
<td>2 fluid ounces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tablespoon</td>
<td>0.5 fluid ounces</td>
<td>0.5 fluid ounces</td>
<td>0.5 fluid ounces</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 teaspoon</td>
<td>0.25 fluid ounces</td>
<td>0.25 fluid ounces</td>
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**TERMS USED IN COOKING**

- **Baking**
- **Boiling**
- **Broiling**
- **Browning**
- **Cooking**
- **Frying**
- **Roasting**
- **Salting**
- **Simmering**
- **Stewing**
- **Stirring**
- **Steaming**

**COOKING**

- **Brown:** Cooking by direct exposure to heat over a glowing fire.
- **Roast:** Cooking in boiling water.
- **Blanching:** Placing boiling water over food.
- **Braising:** Marinade with gravy of liquid in a saucepan.
- **Poaching:** Placing food in simmering water.
- **Broiling:** Cooking dry, by exposure to heat from above.
- **Deep Frying:** Placing food in hot fat.
- **Browning:** Cooking in fat.
- **Frying:** Cooking in hot fat.
- **Grilling:** Cooking dry, by exposure to heat from above.
- **Grilling:** Cooking dry.
- **Poaching:** Cooking in boiling water.
- **Roasting:** Cooking dry, by exposure to heat from above.
- **Steaming:** Placing food in boiling water.
- **Stewing:** Cooking in a small quantity of water.
- **Simmering:** Cooking in a small quantity of water.
- **Boiling:** Cooking in hot water.
- **Stirring:** Cooking in hot water.
- **Browning:** Cooking in hot water.
- **Blanching:** Placing boiling water over food.
- **Braising:** Marinade with gravy of liquid in a saucepan.
- **Poaching:** Placing food in simmering water.
- **Frying:** Cooking in hot fat.
- **Grilling:** Cooking dry, by exposure to heat from above.
- **Grilling:** Cooking dry.
- **Poaching:** Cooking in boiling water.
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- **Steaming:** Placing food in boiling water.
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- **Grilling:** Cooking dry.
- **Poaching:** Cooking in boiling water.
- **Roasting:** Cooking dry, by exposure to heat from above.
G. Lizzie Kander teaches her reader how to lay the table for a formal meal.
**Chapter 2**

**Feeding the Family**

**Infant Feeding, Invalid, Cookery**

*Food* is that which when taken into the body furnishes growth, repair and activity. It is therefore necessary to select and prepare food that will meet these requirements. The chart below, prepared and recommended by the Committee on Foods and Nutrition, National Research Council, tells exactly what is needed by persons of different age and activity groups and indicates more than one food to meet the requirements of each group. The chart on page 20 amends the needs of children, youth and those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

The following charts indicate the amount of food needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of food that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Vitamins* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 22 and 23 give the amounts of vitamins needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of vitamins that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Protein* is essential for the proper functioning of the body. It is necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 24 and 25 give the amounts of protein needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of protein that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Carbohydrates* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 26 and 27 give the amounts of carbohydrates needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of carbohydrates that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Fats* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 28 and 29 give the amounts of fats needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of fats that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Minerals* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 30 and 31 give the amounts of minerals needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of minerals that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Water* is essential for the proper functioning of the body. It is necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 32 and 33 give the amounts of water needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of water that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Vitamins* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 34 and 35 give the amounts of vitamins needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of vitamins that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Protein* is essential for the proper functioning of the body. It is necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 36 and 37 give the amounts of protein needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of protein that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Carbohydrates* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 38 and 39 give the amounts of carbohydrates needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of carbohydrates that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Fats* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 40 and 41 give the amounts of fats needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of fats that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Minerals* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 42 and 43 give the amounts of minerals needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of minerals that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Water* is essential for the proper functioning of the body. It is necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 44 and 45 give the amounts of water needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of water that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.

*Vitamins* are essential for the proper functioning of the body. They are necessary for the formation of blood, for the maintenance of healthy bones, for the proper functioning of the nervous system, for the production of antibodies, and for the maintenance of the proper functioning of the body. The charts on pages 46 and 47 give the amounts of vitamins needed by persons of different age groups and activities. The charts are based on the average of a large number of persons, and indicate the amount of vitamins that should be consumed. The charts are not intended to apply to all persons, but should be consulted by those engaged in heavy mental work, as compared with those of adults engaged in moderate work. A woman's diet, which is largely determined by her household duties, is more likely to provide than a man's, unless he takes care to provide for himself. The chart on page 21 gives more detailed information than the chart on page 20.
I. A contemporary *hekhsher*, or kosher seal, is visible in the bottom left corner of a carton of orange juice.

![Tropicana Orange Juice Carton](image)

J. Some of the wide array of kosher symbols currently in use.
K. Religiously didactic cookbooks continuously insisted that observing the dietary laws need not be onerous. Here, a light hearted depiction of a “Jewish mother” shows her proudly carrying a dish emblazoned with the Hebrew characters that spell “Kosher”.

SOUPS

[Image of a woman holding a dish with Hebrew characters]
L and M. Pages from *The Jewish Home Beautiful* that offer examples of elegant place settings for various holidays. The book and others like it attempted to demonstrate that traditional Judaism was compatible with middle-class American aesthetics.
N. *The Chinese Kosher Cookbook* spans two genres by using humor to encourage religious observance. When one opens to the chapter listed in the table of contents as 'Pork', one sees the following.