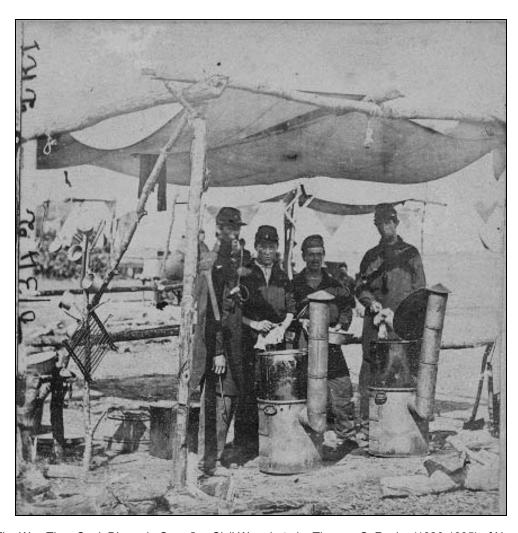


Civil War Battle Front!

Keeping Troops Fed on the Fields of Combat



"The Way They Cook Dinner in Camp", a Civil War photo by Thomas C. Roche (1826-1895) of New York. Under a tarp, four Union cooks in the Army of the Potomac are manning two kettles that each rest on a portable cook-stove. The tree-rack at the left holds what appear to be cook's cups and a grate. [Civil War Treasures from the New-York Historical Society, image PR-065-773-13.]

THE INGENUITY OF REBEL TROOPS

CHAA members Kay and Steve Oldstrom showed us a very interesting booklet lent to them by a friend in South Carolina, Cooking for the Cause: Confederate Recipes, Documented Ouotations, Commemorative (Chatham, VA: Sims-Mitchell House Bed & Breakfast, 1988). The 36-page work is by Patricia B. Mitchell and is one of dozens that she has written on historic cookery, available for purchase at her website. http://www.foodhistory.com.

In addition to many traditional recipes, the book includes documented stories of life in the Confederacy among soldiers, civilians, and prisoners. One of the themes that comes through is the ingenuity of rebel soldiers and other Southerners in coping with scarcity.

Among the ranks, not only food but cooking implements were generally in short supply. Colonel L. L. Polk of North Carolina, in a letter to his wife in September1863, mentioned that there were only three small cooking vessels for his entire company of 76 men. Berry Benson, a young Confederate scout and sharpshooter from Augusta, GA, wrote in his

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memoirs that it was a challenge for soldiers to actually use their flour rations when they were camped in the middle of the woods without pots, pans, or ovens. In one such situation, some of the troops resorted to forming balls of dough in their dirty handkerchiefs, removing these and baking them directly in the ashes of a fire. Col. Polk and his men baked their loaf on a broken old metal plowshare that he managed to find in a nearby field. The cleverest innovation was by a group of soldiers who rolled their dough into a rope shape and wrapped this spirally around a rifle ramrod. They roasted it rotisserie-style over a fire, and broke off the finished bread in pieces (pp. 14-15).

Captain Isaac Coles of Pittsylvania County, VA, recalled that "starvation rations mocked us" for more than six weeks during a ghastly encampment on the beaches at Hilton Head, SC, in Autumn 1864. The rations were down to only two items: cornmeal that had become "wormy" sometime after being barreled three years earlier, and vegetables pickled "in some devilish acid, a terrible chemical that took all the skin off of the tongue and coating of the mouth at the first mouthful." He went on:

Our cooking utensils consisted of a camp kettle and a little pan, one vessel too many for our modest needs. Our cooking was all done on the outside of the building on sandbars. The wind blew constantly. The fuel was assigned in little knots of live-oak. Live-oak being by nature as resisting and hard almost as iron, a whittler was required when the fire was started. He sat near and whittled splinters perseveringly to feed the flames, the ambitious cook puffed and blew, another assistant stood with coat open like a pair of wings to protect the precious pan from the blowing sand, and everything ready, the cook cooked the one grim dish-corn meal. In this case it took many cooks to make the broth, and even then the sand and the wind conspired to dash our one crowning dish with a sprinkling of sand that made us eat grit, and grit our teeth, and try our grit (p. 33).

Coles also mentioned a day when, "like an answer to prayer", one of their commanding general's big fat cats strayed into their bunk quarters. They pounced upon it, and the creature was butchered, parboiled, and stewed. "And it was a king's dish indeed..." (pp. 33-34).

But perhaps Capt. Coles's most intriguing revelation was about his recurring food dream during the war. He never dreamt of "the delicacies of my father's table". Instead, it was always about his "Aunt" Harriet, the African-American slave who cooked for his father's enslaved workforce. In Coles's dreams, Harriet was always walking the path toward the slaves' eating house,

bearing aloft an enormous dish of steaming cabbage on her white-capped head, and a tray of hot corn pones in her hands, and now it was this picture that arose in my subconscious mind, when the stomach though quieted by sleep refused to be comforted (p. 34).

TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE, FISHING, AND FOOD PREPARATION HIGHLIGHT WINTER PROGRAMS

Our CHAA meetings in the first half of 2012 featured illustrated talks on topics related to historical and traditional foodways, including agriculture, fishing, and the salting of meats, as well as cooking. Even though both of our April programs had to be cancelled due to family medical issues, we were still treated to four information-packed presentations this Winter and Spring at our regular meeting place and at Ann Arbor libraries.

"The History of Fishtown in Leland, Michigan" was presented on January 15 by Susan Odom, a culinary historian and manager of the Hillside Homestead farmstay in Suttons Bay. Fishtown is the lone survivor among the myriad commercial fishing villages that once dotted the shores of the Great Lakes. Typically these consisted of shanties built of scrap or other flimsy materials, along with smokehouses and boat docks, Odom explained. Commercial harvesting of whitefish and other species in this area of Lake Michigan began in 1861, while lumbering and iron making were other industries that took hold in that century, relying on immigrant European workers. The area also became a major resort region about 1885, with large steamships delivering professors, students, and families to the artsy, Chautauqua-like accommodations. Fishing peaked during 1920-40, when men in fleets of wooden boats would transfer their catches of whitefish from traps to huge nets. The nets could often be seen drying on racks called "fish reels" placed all along the shore.

The whitefish population was nearly wiped out by invasive species such as sea lampreys (in the 1930s) and, later, alewives and zebra mussels. Chinook and Pacific salmon were introduced in 1967 as a measure against alewives. Today, Carlson's Fisheries is the last surviving fishing business in Fishtown. It uses tugboats to catch whitefish and chubs from the lake, and also buys fish from Native American and other local fishermen. Much of the whitefish is smoked; the company also produces fish sausages and patés. About half of Carlson's facility was purchased in 2006 by the Leland Historical Preservation Society, and rented back to Carlson's. The Society has just published a book, *Fishtown: Leland, Michigan's Historic Fishery*, by Laurie Kay Sommers.

"Culinary Métier: Italian Salumi" was a talk and tasting presented on February 19 by restaurant chef, college professor, and entertaining speaker **Brian Polcyn**. His forthcoming Salumi: The Craft of Italian Dry Curing (Norton, August 2012), like his previous book Charcuterie: The Craft of Salting, Smoking, and Curing (Norton, 2005), is co-authored with Michael Ruhlman and directed at home cooks as well as chefs. Chef Polcyn told us that the pig is the most versatile animal in the kitchen, and salt the most powerful ingredient. He briefly reviewed the history of the pig in Europe and the New World, including the early introduction of razorbacks in the American Southeast, probably by the Spaniards. He also reviewed various breeds, such as the Berkshire, Duroc, Gloucestershire, Large Black, Red Wattle, Tamworth, and his favorite, the once-

threatened Mangalitsa, a curly-haired breed from Hungary and the Balkans. European and Anglo-American methods and terminology for butchering pork differ markedly, as do techniques for raising the animals. Traditional ranging and herding practices in Europe, which exercise the pigs, make for slower-growing but healthier animals, and tastier meat, than do confinement feedlots. Polcyn likes to meet farmers who raise pigs and to check on the quality and integrity of their operations. He visited a farm overseas where herds of the famous black Iberian pig are kept in wide-open spaces (averaging 1 acre per pig), feeding on acorns, chestnuts, and the like. In writing his book, he worked as a volunteer at selected pig butcheries in Italy, and visited a salt-curing operation in Spain for *serrano* and *ibérico* (pata negra) hams.

Polcyn teaches fellow chefs from around the U.S. artisanal techniques for butchering and curing pork at Pigstock TC, a three-day affair based in Traverse City every October. Even the choice of salt makes a big difference, he teaches them; he prefers Diamond Crystal kosher salt and Trapani sea salt from Italy. Salt-curing dehydrates pork to intensify the flavors without damaging the tissue, and salt also retards spoilage, although modern refrigeration lessens the amount needed for this purpose. Spoilage is also warded off by the acidity levels that result from fermentation that accompanies curing and aging. As the talk drew to a close, the chef treated us to samples of his self-produced *porchetta di testa*, made from Berkshire pig's head; *coppa*, a dry-cured *salume* made from pig's neck; smoked hunter's sausage; as well as his *gratin* duck terrine, cherrywood-smoked salmon, and corn relish.

"The History of Agricultural Land Use in Detroit" was presented by Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Associate Director and Curator of Maps at the Univ. of Michigan's William L. Clements Library. Detroit, founded as a fortified outpost by Sieur du Cadillac in 1701, was probably the earliest European agricultural settlement west of the Appalachians, Dunnigan told us. Some of the land in the area had already been cleared in the previous century by native tribes, who had used it to cultivate corn, beans, and squash (the "Three Sisters") before being driven out by the Iroquois. Fish were plentiful, but local game had long been depleted. French settlers were attracted to this rather swampy and mosquito-ridden region by promised allocations of free seed, plows, and the like. They and their Indian allies lived within the fort for decades, venturing out daily to their fields, pastures, orchards, and woodlots. These were ribbon farms only 3 arpents (roughly 3 acres) wide, each fronting the Detroit River and extending back from the riverbank by 40 arpents. The ribbon pattern of settlement would continue on both sides of the river until the early 1800s, even after the area was taken over by England (1760) and the U.S. (1796).

The land around Detroit was very fruitful, and by 1755 the settlers were basically self-sufficient. The key field crops were wheat, corn, oats, peas, and, after 1780, potatoes; the leading fruits were peaches, pears, apples, and, after 1793, cherries; the common livestock were oxen, cows, steers, hogs, and sheep. There were also family, communal, and commanding officers' gardens inside the fort for growing turnips, carrots, beans, peas, and the like, and grain mills along the river. By 1780, about

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"It's Hard Living ... But Living Too High Ain't Healthy No How"¹

OB

SOLDIERS MAKING THE BEST OF ARMY FOOD, 1861-1865

by John U. Rees

Dedicated to my mother, Virginia L. "Dolli" Rees, who inspired my love of books, as well as a fascination with ordinary people's lives and "small things forgotten".

John Rees of New Hope, PA, is an independent writer and researcher in U.S. military history. Since 1986 he has written over 150 articles and monographs on various aspects of the common soldiers' experience. For 10 years he wrote a regular column in the Food History News quarterly. He has also written for Gastronomica, the ALHFAM Bulletin (Association of Living History, Farm, and Agricultural Museums), American Revolution, Military Collector & Historian, and four entries for the Oxford Encyclopedia of American Food and Drink. A list of his publications, plus a number of complete works, can be viewed at www.revwar75.com/library/rees. Mr. Rees was elected a Fellow of the Company of Military Historians in April 2009.

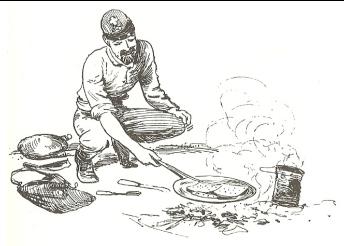
Camp Coles [three or four miles from Washington], August 20 [1862] ... Messes ... which would perhaps be repulsive to your very eyesight, are eaten by us with a relish which none but Delmonico's epicurean eaters can know. A rough life, open air, plenty of exercise, give an appetite which is not very fastidious as to its manner of being satisfied, and it is no matter if roast corn does taste rather smoky, or extempore apple-sauce is a little burned, there is still a flavor which reminds one of what we left behind.

 Anonymous soldier, Detachment 71st Regiment, New York State Militia.²

This article is intended, in part, to counter a claim made by William C. Davis about Civil War soldiers and food:

every soldier's letters and diary commented more on the awfulness of his diet than on anything else³

Many soldiers *did* write often of the foods they ate (or tried to eat), but my research shows that soldiers' complaints about food were overshadowed by simple reportage of their everyday fare, and those narratives liberally sprinkled with accounts of good, sustaining comestibles. Army food *could* be awful and monotonous, but the men fighting the Civil War often leavened



"Frying hardtack", a drawing by Charles W. Reed, from John Davis Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee, or, The Unwritten Story of Army Life* (Boston: George M. Smith & Co., 1887), p. 117.

their meals with extra and extraordinary foodstuffs and eventually learned to make do, when necessary, with the issued ration.

Having long studied American soldiers' food, I am constantly impressed that many thrived on the rough diet and hard living, and, with reduced expectations, periodically had some very satisfying meals. Circumstances varied and impacted how the troops considered what they were given to eat; for example, when dealing with onerous duty and strict discipline at a fixed post, poor food could exacerbate the situation; on the other hand, on campaign, where soldiers were less dainty as to what they ate, simple fare (augmented occasionally by purchase or pilfering) sufficed to strengthen the inner man of many. And, as will be seen, the ability to live on such rough fare as hard tack and coffee was a point of pride and the mark of a veteran soldier.

"Seeing the Elephant": New Soldiers and Army Food

For Civil War soldiers, "seeing the elephant" meant experiencing combat for the first time. In an era in which everyday food preparation was generally done individually or in small mess squads, soldiers new to army life often learned that the first beast they had to face was their raw ration issue waiting to be turned into a meal.

With President Abraham Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers two days after the surrender of Fort Sumter (13 April 1861), and with southern states' troop mobilization, thousands of inexperienced men poured into military camps and eventually marched to face their foe. Whether in camp or in the field, the troops had to be fed, and issued foods and meal preparation were everyday necessities to be overcome. As a Connecticut lieutenant put it in 1863, "An army is a big thing and it takes a great many eatables and not a few drinkables to carry it along."

Soon after being mustered in, new recruits had their first meal as soldiers, but not all were immediately introduced to army rations. Shortly after Alfred Bellard enlisted in the 5th New Jersey Volunteers in August 1861, he joined his company at a training day, where, after drilling, "we were invited to partake of a lunch that had been prepared for us. Standing at the table we

helped ourselves to a sumptuous repast of ham, coffee and cakes, being our first meal in Brother Jonathan's service" Even after arriving in Washington, DC, some soldiers had not yet been placed on rations, as noted by 2nd Rhode Island Corporal Elisha Rhodes at "Camp Clark":

Sunday June 31, 1861 ... We march to our meals up to the camp of the First Rhode Island where the food is cooked. We have excellent food and not at all as I thought it would be. If we take the field I guess there will be a change of diet. Plum pudding, gingerbread and milk and other good things are served daily.⁶

Others, however, were quickly acquainted with true soldiers' fare. In barracks at Portage, New York, Private John McMahon, 136th New York, wrote:

Sunday 17th [August 1862] ... Our rations this morning consist of potatoes, bread, meat and coffee. About noon we have all but the coffee. Some times there are beans for dinner.... Monday 18th [August 1862] This morning I was put on guard for the first time. It is not hard.... This morning we had bread with maggots in it! The boys were so mad that they throwed it away.... Thursday 11th [September 1862] ... This morning we had a good breakfast, and generally we have decent food. The other day I got some meat for the boys that stunk so [bad] I had to hold it at arm's length. I like this life better than at first.⁷

Confederates' first experiences were as varied as Federal troops'. John Jackman left home on 26 September 1861 to rendezvous with the Nelson Grays (later part of the 5th Kentucky), forming to march south. At "camp 'Charity'— so called because the people furnished us with rations while there encamped," Jackman fed one morning on a broiled "piece of fat bacon on the end of a stick, and with a fragment of corn-bread" Of the same day he recorded, "Had a good dinner. James H., who was in the commissary department, fed me on pies and such things." Three

days later the gathered troops moved to join Confederate forces at their Green River defensive line. Private Jackman noted, "After crossing a long rocky hill, we stopped on the side of a creek to breakfast. I had walked 40 miles without hardly resting, carrying my gun and 40 rounds— also some articles of clothing. My breakfast was a piece of beef, broiled on the end of a stick, without salt. After resting about an hour we pushed on.... Sept. 30th.— We moved out early.... We halted at noon to rest, not to dine, for we had nothing to eat." In the afternoon they reached the camp of the 2nd Kentucky, where Jackman, broken down from the march, was "placed in the tent of H. who gave me a pint of coffee and a piece of camp-baked bread. I slept well that night.... Oct. 1st.— We commenced camp-life— learning how to cook, pitch tents, drill, etc."

Two men in the 10th Texas Regiment told of foods eaten that first winter, 1861/62, at Galveston. On 10 November 1861 Private Isaiah Harlan related, "We have plenty to eat such as it is, beef, bread and coffee with bacon enough to grease with, bad enough, but a man that would voluntarily live as I did last spring and summer on the farm ought not to complain at anything." By the end of January 1862, Corporal Aaron Estes noted some improvement in their provender, "Wee are doing fine living on beefe and bread and al gitting fat. Wee have plenty of molasses and will soon git vegetables. I have just seene some as fine lettus and cabbage and mustard as I have ever seene."

Soft bread, pies, and cabbage were one thing, but for green soldiers salt pork and hard tack (especially the latter) were quite another. Hard tack was an important staple for campaigning troops, and most eventually came to appreciate it. Having just enlisted on 25 February 1862, a month later Private Elisha Stockwell of the 14th Wisconsin Regiment was headed south. "We got our first hardtack on the steamboat from Alton to St. Louis. It was piled on a table on the lower deck with the strongest cheese I ever ate I liked the hardtack and never got tired of it. Also on this trip we got bacon, or 'sow bosom', as the

continued on next page



Union troops preparing and eating a meal while on picket (outpost) duty.

Courtesy of the Military and Historical Image Bank, www.historicalimagebank.com (image no. CWp367d)

ARMY FOOD

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boys called it. We drank river water to wash it down." Iowan Cyrus Boyd, too, had his first taste on shipboard: "April 1st [1862] ... Our regiment [the 15th] with the 16th Iowa, 23rd Missouri and 15th Mich came down together to the landing.... We went aboard the steamer 'Minnehaha' and ... started down the stream towards 'Dixies' land.... April 2nd This morning about 4 O'clock the steamer again started.... We have made our first attack upon 'hard tack' this morning and think we shall like it. We have bid farewell to Bakers bread, cows milk and such soft things. Had a piece of meat and a hard tack for breakfast—we are gradually breaking in."

Soldiers' correspondence, diaries, and postwar literature, evincing both fondness and antipathy, show that hardtack held a special place in their collective consciousness. Wilbur Fisk, former private in the 2nd Vermont Volunteer Regiment, speaking to a group of fellow veterans in 1895 recalled a river crossing prior to Gettysburg, where "my comrade and myself ... got into a deep place and we got our haversacks all wet. The contents, principally hard tack, were thoroughly soaked.... [O]ur haversacks were stuffed full and You know boys how soon hardtack will lose its flavor— if it ever had any, by being soaked in water." Capt. Francis Donaldson, of the 118th Pennsylvania, expressed this mixed attitude, writing in April 1862 of "the despised sheet iron cracker." Only six months later Donaldson noted, "I can make as enjoyable a meal on [hard] crackers as others can on roast chicken and trimmings." And Sgt. Joseph Barquet, 54th Massachusetts (Colored), noted, "In a cracker four inches square, you can find a world. Out from a little circular hole comes weevils, red ants Wash them down with brackish black coffee; no sweetening"11

Northern armies were more consistently supplied with hardtack than were their southern counterparts. Pennsylvania Major Frederick Hitchcock described a popular preparation:

Our bill of fare for Christmas dinner consisted of boiled rice and molasses, "Lobskous" and stewed dried apples....The dish consisted of hardtack broken up and thoroughly soaked in water, then fried in pork fat.... One of the boys ... improvised the following blessing:

Good Lord of love Look down from above And see how a soldier's grub has mended,— Slushed rice, Lobskous, and shoat, Where only hardtack and hog were intended.¹²

Most soldiers eventually learned to live on army rations at their simplest. By 1863, Vermont Private Wilbur Fisk was a veteran, having enlisted in 1861, and served in the 1862 Peninsula campaign and at the Chancellorsville defeat. He wrote "On the March", 13 July 1863, describing the march of Sedgwick's 6th Corps toward Middletown, Maryland, following the Battle of Gettysburg:

I had an excellent breakfast that morning ... a slice of fat pork ... plenty of hard tack and coffee. I had a tin plate and tin cup; on my plate I fried my pork, and in my cup I made my coffee. My hard tack I converted into fried cakes, superior to ordinary doughnuts, from the fact that they had the benefit of an extra cooking.... [M]y appetite had been accumulating all night. I

A Victual-Rich Vocabulary

The significance of food in the Civil War is further underlined by the humorous epithets uttered by soldiers. A sample:

"dough bellies"	infantrymen
"chicken thieves"	
"soft breads"	Army of the Potomac
	soldiers
"pound-cake brethren"	easy-living soldiers
"coffee coolers"	stragglers
"desecrated vegetables"	dessicated vegetables
"salt horse"	salt beef
"Virginia rabbits"	pigs
"cast-iron biscuits", "teeth dullers"hardtack	
"Lincoln pies", "McClellan pies"hardtack	
"a square meal"	hardtack.
	шъ
	— JUR

don't recollect of ever eating a breakfast that relished better ... I doubt if ever the Prince of Wales enjoyed a meal better. My breakfast operated to a charm. I felt like a new man, good for twenty-five miles marching, the toughest they could bring on.¹³

By contrast, troops new to campaigning (and to campaign rations) had to accustom themselves to soldier life. Having seen service in the September 1862 Antietam campaign and at Chancellorsville, Massachusetts Private Walter Carter still noted in late July 1863,

We have been living on hard bread, pork, coffee and sugar for over three weeks now, and our systems are completely run out. We have not the substance within that can bear up any longer.... I cannot drink the coffee; it hurts me, and consequently I live on raw salt pork, (lean), hard bread and sugar. I cannot sustain a working life on that "fod". What would a farmer think of such living, while in the hot, noonday sun? What do they do more than we?¹⁴

By the following year Carter was a hardened campaigner, and wrote from "Across the Pamunkey River" in Virginia: "May 29, 1864 [M]y health is excellent, and I can now eat hardbread, pork, and drink coffee with a keen relish; I depend a good deal upon sugar, and manage to have a good supply with me generally." 15

Experienced Soldiers and the Practicalities of Food Preparation

As they gained experience, most soldiers went through a spontaneous toughening process that was also reflected in their changing response to dietary hardships and hunger.

Lieutenant Cyrus Boyd, mentioned earlier, commented on cooking in relation to the transition from new soldier to veteran:

Feby 16th [1863] ... One year ago such times as these would have made us all sick. But we are pretty tough and are not much affected by such small matters [as the rainy weather



Tar-covered canvas haversack and tin plate carried by Edgar S. Yergason, 22nd Connecticut Regiment, in 1862 and 1863. Note the hardtack on the plate. Also shown are several utensils, including a combination knife, fork, and spoon, and (center) a small bag for carrying coffee or sugar, sometimes both mixed.

Courtesy of the Military and Historical Image Bank, www.historicalimagebank.com (image no. CWR23D~1)

and mud]. When we landed at Pittsburgh [Landing, Tennessee] we knew nothing about soldiering. We could not cook and we could not eat. Hard bread and "sow belly" we could not *stomach*. Now we can digest all we can get.¹⁶

Illinois Private John King described green troops from an experienced soldier's perspective:

New recruits, as a rule, were very poor companions at first for an old soldier to chum with. Fresh from the luxuries of the home table they were naturally dainty when brought face-toface with hard tack, sow belly and coffee, and these too prepared in a rude way with rude cooking in utensils that were in no danger of being worn out with scrubbing and cleaning. A recruit would sit down to such a meal prepared much better than the recruit could think of doing it, yet it was not anywhere near what he had been used to at home. He would, nine cases out of ten, turn up his dainty nose.... A fond mother would bear it and try to please, but an old soldier would not.... In nearly every case where a recruit tried to chum with an old soldier the union was dissolved about the second or third meal ... and the recruit was requested to cook for himself and by himself.... After a few weeks of horrible fare these recruits made the most companionable chums.... They were good men and made good soldiers, only they had a lesson of hardship to learn and this is the way they learned it.¹⁷

King, a soldier in the 92nd Illinois, also told how practiced troops handled meal preparation:

The great study of soldiers when campaigning was to cut their luggage down to the lowest possible weight. The cooking outfit for two men consisted of one very light long handle sheet iron frying-pan, one tin coffee-pot with handle melted off and wire bale attached through two bayonet holes at the top, two tin cups, two tin plates, two knives, and two forks. The coffee-pot answers the triple purpose of boiling coffee, rice, and sweet potatoes. The frying-pan answered for the various purposes of frying meat, baking pancakes,

corndodgers, and in fact everything on the march that was baked, roasted, fried or stewed, was done in the frying-pan. The coffee-pot and frying-pan could not be dispensed with, but all other cooking utensils could be. On the march in the squads of two, one carried the coffee-pot and the other the frying-pan and each carried his own tin cup, plate, knife and fork. When the army camped for the night one man of each squad would go for rails or other fuel for a fire and the other went for water. A fire was quickly built, the coffee boiler with water for coffee was placed upon the camp fire, the frying pan with slices of meat was by its side, a rubber blanket was spread upon the ground near the fire, then two tin plates, two tin cups, two knives and two forks, one little rubber sack filled with sugar and one with salt were set out, haversacks filled with hard tack were opened and supper was ready. In half an hour after camping a whole army of thousands ... was eating, all divided into groups of twos, threes, or fours. 18

Private John Green told how horse soldiers ate on the move. Encountering Federal cavalry at Little Salkehatchie River in South Carolina, February 1865, he observed:

After riding nearly all night we came to a plantation where they had some corn & fodder, so we stopped to feed horses & men. We found the sweet potato bank & also some hogs. A detail was made to kill as many hogs as were needed & give a receipt to the owner for hogs, potatoes, corn & fodder consumed. The hogs were skinned & cut up, each man getting his portion of hog & potatoes. Each mess would scoup a hole in the sand, put the potatoes in that hole, cover them over ... then build a fire right over them, get a stick, put the piece of pork on the end & prop it in front of the fire to cook, then lie down to catch a nap while our food was cooking & the horses eating. In about 3 hours the bugle called us to boots & saddle[s]. We then had to saddle, scratch our potatoes out of the fire, take our meat in our hands & eat as we hurried along. 19

ARMY FOOD

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While there *were* times when any sustenance would do— half-cooked, spoiled, covered with dirt, and consumed on the fly—eventually the men craved something more, and prepared in some way that at least mimicked home-cooked dishes.

"A very palatable mess": Seasoned Soldiers and Cooking Innovations

Early on, many officers encouraged the men to make only boiled or stewed dishes. Vermonter Wilbur Fisk wrote in June 1862, "Hard crackers and meat are the sum total of our living, the visits of sutlers [itinerant merchants] being almost as rare as those of angels.... [A]ll attempts to modify the flavor of our plain fare—as, for instance, to warm over our meat in a spider [fry pan] and fry our crackers in the surplus fat—is promptly frowned down by the authorities that be." Despite such admonitions, fried and roasted foods proliferated on both sides, and, whenever possible, fresh vegetables and other uncommon items were procured. Among the foods found or purchased by the troops were pigs, ripe or unripe fruit and vegetables, and pies, cakes and canned goods bought from sutlers.

Given access to extra victuals, soldier/cooks attempted new methods of cooking, and imitated homemade soup, stew, hash, pudding, flapjacks, "fried cakes", corndodgers, boiled or roasted corn, "succotash", baked beans, and applesauce. The men also improvised new dishes aimed at rendering their hardtack, salt pork, and beef more palatable. In 1862 Private Fisk set out a common theme for soldiers' cooking: "these ... boys ... out-Graham Sylvester Graham himself, in his most radical ideas of simplicity in diet.... Coarse meal, cold water and salt have been the ingredients composing many a meal for us, which a thanksgiving supper, in other circumstances, will scarcely rival." These, then, are a few examples of soldiers' ingenuity in preparing meals and creating dishes with simple or makeshift utensils.²¹

Several dishes were soldier-invented or borrowed from sailors' fare. Artilleryman John Billings noted that skillygalee was made "by soaking hardtack in cold water, then frying them brown in pork fat, salting to taste." Another name for this preparation was lobscouse ("scouse"). Walter Carter, 22nd Massachusetts, wrote in 1862 of a parcel from home, "How we did laugh at father's pepper We use it a great deal in scouse, made of hardtack, salt horse [nickname for salted beef], pork, and water, all stewed together, which makes a very palatable mess." [Editor's note: on the origins of lobscouse as seafaring food, see Ann Woodward's review of the book Lobscouse and Spotted Dog, in Repast, Fall 2003.] Dishes by other names were variations on the same theme. The 2nd Minnesota Regiment soldier drummer William Bircher related that, "generally ... on a march, our hardtack was broken into small pieces in our haversacks, we soaked these in water and fried them in pork fat, stirring well and seasoning with salt and pepper, thus making what was commonly called a 'hell-fired stew'." Hardtack was also fried in fat and eaten with sugar or molasses.²²

New Jersey Private Alfred Bellard told of making "hish & hash, consisting of pork, tomatoes, potatoes, crackers and mushrooms all stewed together and seasoned with a little salt and pepper. This dish was considered a great luxury by the soldiers, but at the present time would probably be thrown to the dogs." And Wilbur Fisk's tent-mate's specialty was "hash" made by filling a small bag with hard crackers, which were then pounded "as fine as flour.... He cuts up his meat as fine as his patience will allow....The next thing is to get a spider [fry pan] and pour into it some broth or 'pot liquor'" The meat (Fisk called for beef) was then put in and as "soon as this is made to boil, the cracker flour is stirred in. If he has any potatoes ... he boils and smashes them, and mixes them in too.... I have heard unimpeachable critics pronounce it bully" Drummer-boy Bircher called a similar preparation made with crackers, dried apples, and raisins, "hardtack pudding".23

Left, a soldier's tin pot ("coffee boiler") carried by Austin E. Stearns through three years of service in Company K, 13th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. In this pot he cooked his coffee, beans, and other items.

Right, Union soldier's tinned iron mess gear.



Cornmeal was a southern staple, and cush (or slosh) was a dish associated with Confederate troops. Sergeant William Heartsill, 10th/15th Consolidated Texas Regiment, described it in October 1863, near Chattanooga, Tennessee: "Well dinner is ready, only one dish however; prepared in this manner, chop up a small quantity of fat bacon into a frying pan, get the grease all out of it, put in a quart of water, when it boils crumble in cold corn bread and stir until dry, and you are ready for a dinner of 'CUSH'." Lieutenant Robert Collins, in the same unit, added that "'cush' ... with some of the corn-bread burned to a black crisp, out of which we make coffee, was fine living" A soldier in the Army of Northern Virginia asked, "how to do the largest amount of good.... The result is that 'slosh' or 'coosh' must do. So the bacon is fried out till the pan is half full of boiling grease. The flour is mixed with water until it flows like milk, poured into the grease and rapidly stirred till the whole is a dirty brown mixture."24

Troops both of the North and South aspired to exceed plain soldiers' fare. Drummer-boy William Bircher observed his comrades' mode of baking beans (this method was mentioned several times by soldiers, before, during, and after the war):

about three o'clock in the afternoon ... they had an enormous camp-kettle about two-thirds full of parboiled beans. Near by they had dug a hole in the ground about three feet square and two deep, in and on top of which a great fire was to be made about dusk, so as to get the hole thoroughly heated and full of red-hot coals by the time tattoo sounded. Into this hole the camp-kettle was then set, with several pounds of fat pork on top of the beans, and covered with an inverted mess-pan.

Leaving the kettle to bake all night, the next morning Bircher was awoken and informed: "breakfast is ready ... if you never ate baked beans before, you never ate anything worth eating." 25

It is fitting that we close with another simple recipe. Mary "Mother" Bickerdyke, noted volunteer nurse and indomitable presence with the Union western armies, made a special dish called *panado* for soldiers recovering from a wound or illness. It consisted of "hot water, brown sugar, whiskey, and crumbled hardtack, mixed into a mush. She once joked, 'when I get home, boys, I shall publish a starvation cook-book, containing receipts for making delicious dishes out of nothing." ²⁶

Endnotes

- "It's hard living ... but living too high ain't healthy no how. Some days we buy things & have real home dinners, but not near so well cooked. But I can stand my hand in the eating line. It don't take much to do me you know, Anyway I am so well & healthy as I ever was in my life. More so, I am astonished at myself." Sgt. George R. Pace, 64th Georgia, Camp Sidney Johnston, August 1863. George R. Pace letter, 2 August 1863, "Letters, Newspaper Articles, Books and Reminiscences of Olustee" (Battle of Olustee, 20 February 1864), http://battleofolustee.org/letters/index.html.
- William B. Styple, ed., Writing and Fighting the Civil War: Soldier Correspondence to the New York Sunday Mercury (Kearny, NJ: Belle Grove Publishing Co., 2000), p. 117.

Confederate Soldiers and Scanty Food

Though they did experience times of plenty, Southern soldiers were notoriously ill-supplied.

Confederate surgeon Owen Urban noted, "I am very well & hearty as a pig on half rations of corn meal & ½ rations of bacon and poor beef sometimes." Private John Harris, 19th Louisiana Regiment, wrote of his April 1864 food allotment, "We would have starved on this in the commencement of the war. But we have learned to live on little and are much healthyer than we were then." ²⁷

Union Private Wilbur Fisk described the May 1863 Second Battle at Fredericksburg, where "We took a number of prisoners, Mississippians They were old [i.e., veteran] troops. They had plenty of bacon and hard biscuit to eat, and their appearance hardly justified the idea that they were in a starving condition. They had no coffee, and they were destitute of many little luxuries that we enjoy. Some prisoners came and delivered themselves up as we were charging up the hill said they came to get something to eat; they were tired of fighting on an empty stomach."²⁸

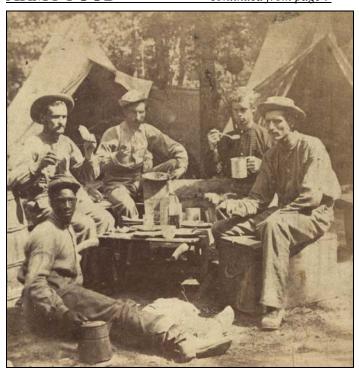
Food shortages and military privation contributed in part to the Confederate mystique. The legendary, singular shout that Confederate troops used when attacking was described by historian Shelby Foote as "a sort of fox-hunt yip mixed up with a sort of banshee squall." He recalled that "An old Confederate veteran ... [years after the war] was asked ... to give the Rebel Yell. The ladies had never heard it. And he said, 'It can't be done, except at a run, and I couldn't do it anyhow with a mouthful of false teeth and a stomach full of food." 29

— JUR

- 3. William C. Davis, A Taste for War: The Culinary History of the Blue and the Gray (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003), p. x in Introduction. For my recent review of this book, see Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture, 12:1 (Spring 2012), pp. 103-105.
- 4. Lt. Samuel W. Fiske, October 1863, 14th Connecticut, in Davis, *A Taste for War*, p. ix. For a primer on the Federal Army standard and campaign ration, see John U. Rees, "'The foundation of an army is the belly': North American Soldiers' Food, 1756-1945", Part II, "Salt Beef to C Rations: A Compendium of North American Soldiers' Rations, 1756-1945", http://revwar75.com/library/rees/belly.htm.
- 5. David Herbert Donald, ed., *Gone for a Soldier: The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard* (Boston, Toronto, London: Little, Brown and Co., 1975), p. 4.
- 6. Robert Hunt Rhodes, ed., *All For the Union: The Civil War Diary and Letters of Elisha Hunt Rhodes* (New York: Orion Books, 1985), p. 13.

ARMY FOOD

continued from page 9



"Camp Dinner", a photo by Thomas C. Roche (1826-1895) of New York, shows five Union soldiers in the Army of the Potomac, including an African-American. [Civil War Treasures from the New-York Historical Society, image PR-065-773-12.]

- John Michael Priest, ed., John T. McMahon's Diary of the 136th New York, 1861-1864 (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., Inc., 1993), pp. 24-25. See also Claire E. Swedberg, ed., Three Years With the 92nd Illinois: The Civil War Diary of John M. King (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1999), pp. 16-17.
- 8. William C. Davis, ed., *Diary of a Confederate Soldier: John S. Jackman of the Orphan Brigade* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), pp. 12-15, 17, 18.
- 9. Isaiah Harlan letter, 10 November 1861, Harlan Letters, Confederate Research Center, Hill Junior College, Hillsboro, TX, and Aaron Estes letter, 29 January 1862, Texas Collection, Carroll Library, Baylor University, Waco, TX, cited in Scott McKay, "Food Documentation Relative to the 10th Texas Infantry" (Department of Texas, Trans-Mississippi Department, and Army of Tennessee), author's collection (originally found, but now unavailable, on the World Wide Web).
- Byron R. Abernethy, ed., Private Elisha Stockwell, Jr., Sees the Civil War (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1985), p. 11; Mildred Throne, ed., The Civil War Diary of Cyrus F. Boyd, Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, 1861–1863 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1998), p. 25.
- Emil and Ruth Rosenblatt, eds., Hard Marching Every Day: The Civil War Letters of Private Wilbur Fisk, 1861-1865 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), p. 365; J. Gregory Acken, Inside the Army of the Potomac: The Civil War Experience of Captain Francis Adams Donaldson (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books,

- 1998), pp. 70, 160-161; Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War, 1862-1865* (Boston, New York, London: Little, Brown and Co., 1998), p. 256.
- 12. Kevin Rawlings, We Were Marching on Christmas Day: A History and Chronicle of Christmas During the Civil War (Baltimore, MD: Toomey Press, 1996), p. 73.
- 13. Rosenblatt, eds., pp. 119-120.
- 14. Robert Goldthwaite Carter, *Four Brothers in Blue* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1979), p. 340.
- 15. Carter, p. 414.
- 16. Throne, ed., pp. 123-124.
- 17. Swedberg, ed., p. 189.
- 18. Stephen E. Osman, "Dinner with the 92nd Illinois", *Military Collector & Historian*, XLVIII: 4 (Winter 1996), pp. 182-183.
- A. D. Kirwan, ed., Johnny Green of the Orphan Brigade: The Journal of a Confederate Soldier (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), p. 188.
- 20. Rosenblatt, eds., pp. 30-31.
- 21. Osman, pp. 182-183; Carter, pp. 84, 101, 122, 138, 124-127, 140, 149-150, 160, 178, 411, 414, 420, 474-475; Rosenblatt, eds., pp. 9-10, 30-31, 93, 113, 119-120, 249-250.
- 22. John D. Billings, Hardtack and Coffee or The Unwritten Story of Army Life (Boston: George M. Smith & Co., 1887), p. 117; Carter, p. 160; William Bircher, A Drummer-Boy's Diary: Comprising Four Years of Service with the Second Regiment Minnesota Veteran Volunteers, 1861 to 1865 (Orig. pub. 1889; reprint: St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press, 1995), p. 126; Stephen W. Sears, ed., On Campaign with the Army of the Potomac: The Civil War Journal of Theodore Ayrault Dodge (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001), pp. 55-56. See also diced pork stewed with hardtack, in John William De Forest, A Volunteer's Adventures: A Union Captain's Record of the Civil War, ed. James H. Croushore (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1996), p. 5.
- 23. Donald, ed., p. 159; Rosenblatt, eds., p. 93; Bircher, pp. 126-127.
- 24. McKay, "Food Documentation Relative to the 10th Texas Infantry" (author's collection), taken from William W. Heartsill, Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army (Marshall, TX, 1876; reprinted, Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot, 1987); R. M. Collins, Chapters From the Unwritten History of the War between the States (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones, 1893; reprinted, Dayton, OH: Morningside Bookshop, 1982); Carlton McCarthy, Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861-1865 (Richmond, VA: Carlton McCarthy & Co., 1882), p. 59.
- 25. Bircher, pp. 127-129.
- 26. Davis, A Taste for War, p. 65.
- 27. Larry J. Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee: A Portrait of Life in a Confederate Army* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), p. 59.
- 28. Rosenblatt, eds., p. 80.
- Shelby Foote, The Civil War, A Narrative: Red River to Appomattox (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 1046.

"Sappers and Miners of the Army"

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SUTLERS IN THE CIVIL WAR

by Philip M. Zaret

CHAA member Phil Zaret has worked for many years as a volunteer at the University of Michigan Libraries—chiefly, developing an index of culinary references found in manuscripts at the William L. Clements Library. He used that index in compiling the article below, as well as his article "Coffee Cravings Among the Troops" in our Summer 2011 issue.

A sutler is, historically, a person who follows an army to sell food, liquor, and other items to its soldiers. The word is said to derive from *soeteler*, a Dutch term for a camp cook or other person performing dirty or menial work

An early informal system to supply goods to American troops was eventually replaced by a formal system operated by the armed forces themselves. During the Civil War, however, for soldiers who could afford it, the sutlers filled in the gaps between government issues and gifts from home.

What follows are quotes that I have selected describing the sutler experience from the buyer's and the seller's point of view during the Civil War. The quotes are drawn from the Manuscript Culinary Database, or "Food Index", at the University of Michigan's William L. Clements Library.

The Food Index is a computerized database of food-related passages drawn from the library's manuscript collections. It is the only such database in the world. The Clements contains on the order of 500,000 individual manuscript items: letters, diaries, and other bits and pieces from the lives of real people, mostly from 19th-Century America. A scholar who visits the library's reading room can use one of the laptop computers there to access the Food Index and locate significant quantities of specifics in a relatively short time. Everything has been done to appeal to the real and immediate needs of the history professional.

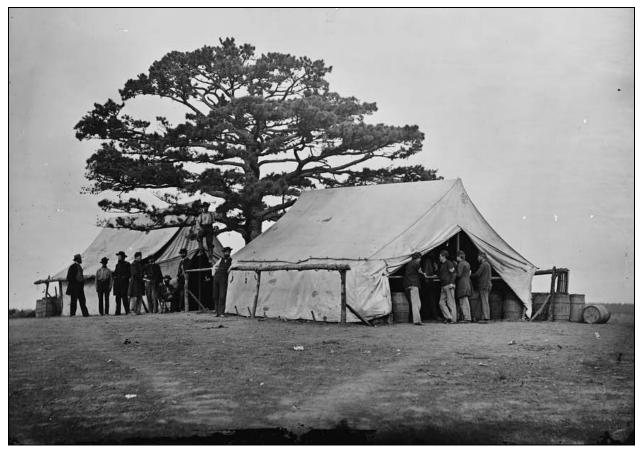
The Food Index includes nearly 10,000 records on the Civil War alone. The selected manuscript passages below, which I accessed via the Index, are located in the following Clements Library collections: Aplin Family; Aughinbaugh, William; Barnett, George A. C.; Boston, William; Boughton, Clement & Abner; Driver, George; Gilbert, Henry C.; Hacker, Philip & Rohloff; Hale, James K.; Hussey-Wadsworth; Hutchins, Daniel B.; Jackson, Isaac; Jones, William C.; Marshall, Henry Grimes; McKinney, David; Pippitt, Henry; Schoff Soldiers' Letters; Sherry, Robert; Starbird, George & Solomon; Taylor, Samuel; Tew, Charles F.; Willis, Thomas D.

Pricing and Gouging

There is nothing here but barracks and sutler shanties. The sutlers sell supplies quite cheaply.

We have plenty of sutlers here. Some of their prices are: butter 80 cents a pound, cheese 50 cents, potatoes 10 cents and milk 80 cents for a 1-pound can.

continued on next page



Sutler's tent attached to the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, in Bealeton, VA, August 1863, a month after its victory at Gettysburg under Gen. George Meade.

> Library of Congress photo, digital ID cwpb 03891.

SUTLERS

continued from page 11

This morning I did not feel like eating the salt horse [salted beef] and bread for breakfast, so I went to the sutler, who keeps oysters and got a stew, and that not quite satisfying my ravenous appetite, I took another bowl. They charge 20 cents a bowl and we get more than we do at home for 12 cents and good too they are at that. So you see my breakfast cost me 40 cents. I don't indulge, however, in that line only [i.e., except] when I don't feel well and can't go the regular rations.

We get soft bread here and there are lots of sutlers and plenty of competition, so things are much cheaper than anywhere we have been: apples 6, 8 & 10 for 25 cents; ginger cakes 20 for 25 cents; butter 40 cents per pound, etc.

We in the tent got a barrel of apples 2/3 full of a sutler who was going away and paid \$1 for it and so cost each one only 6 cents a piece. We think it quite a treat. We have pretty good bread and as long as we can get butter, we can get it and we mean to have butter too as long as the money holds out.

Our sutler whose name is Hale has commenced operations here and of course charges high for everything. I don't patronize him much.

The sutlers are doing good business now except ours, he is gone north for goods, so he isn't getting any of the boys' pay this time. It beats all how high they sell things & what big prices the boys will pay for something to eat that is a little extra, but they live so poor that when they can get anything to eat for money, they will have it.

Our sutler is open again. He's been at great cost and trouble to keep up and his prices are higher, but not quite outrageous, e.g., small cans of concentrated milk at New York about 25 cents, selling for 75 cents, cheese 50 cents per pound, matches 2 bunches for 5 cents, etc.

All Manner of Goods for Sale

The sutler since has posted a bill on his door, Nothing to sell. But inside one finds all soldiers need. The luxuries, to wit, baked and fried apples, cakes, apples, lager, cigars have been coming since yester noon.

I heard a girl's voice in Company H., soldiers cry, apple dumplings. The brainless spendthrift of a piper boy darts over and now he's in again with two of 'em, each size of a three-penny apple on Broadway, the cost, 5 cents each, cold as ice and only half cooked, a good sample of soldier's folly in general.

The sutler had 21 little stoves yesterday and by noon today he had sold every one.

You have neglected me utterly, except for sending a 25 cent needle case I could have purchased of any sutler.

Especially Liquor

We went ahead to arrange camp, a full half of our company gloriously drunk with lager beer from sutler for most part.

The boys have been so filled with luxuries from peddlers and sutler. Lager has been sold at sutler's very freely, but he shuts it off at times, so no bad cases of drunkenness occurred.

Our sutler, with so much shifting, didn't get to selling till yesterday about 3 PM. Had been closed, moving about 24 hours. It was astonishing how crazy all privates seemed to get rid of money for lager. Long ere he opened tent the guards, 4 men, kept bayonets crossed thus [diagram] at the door thereof to check the crowd of full 100 waiting in line, i.e., one before the other. In such case none are allowed to break into line, but must go in on rear. Well, that line began to go in at 3, I said, and it didn't stop its slow (of course) step inward till 9 (colonel's order). It began again at 7 this Sunday morning and at closing at 10 (regiment order) the line was just as long. All the time nearly all captains and lieutenants in camp with field officers were inside the sutler's tent to prevent possible disturbance. Such precaution has so far been sufficient to prevent any big quarreling among the rabid spendthrifts.

The sutler sells beer all the time and the boys drink till they act like a set of fools. He sells 6 or 8 barrels per day and so many get drunk that the guard house is full all the time. There are 20 in the guard house now.

I would rather write to relatives and friends than drink ardent spirits, as many of my fellow soldiers do— not to their credit, nor to the sutlers' either.

Just as I had got as far in my writing yesterday as you see above, some officers came in and insisted upon my immediately going to the theatre with them. I begged off very pleadingly so that we finally compromised the matter by my agreement to go up the street and play billiards with them. But before we arrived at the saloon we ran across somebody else who compelled us to stop in a sutler's shanty and drink some whiskey. I am not much of a tippler but when I am among men I can punish my share of hot stuff. Last night however, instead of my punishing the whiskey, it punished me.

I was induced to walk up a very high hill, near Department Headquarters. and to enter a large tent used by a vender of soldiers supplies, vulgarly called a sutler, and when there to partake very freely of much green seal (alias Jersey cider diluted with sulphuric acid to make it sparkle) and a decided muchness of Heidsieck [a brand of Champagne] which the old boy Heidsieck himself would never own. When I say I partook very freely of these beverages I wish you to understand that I gobbled down many goblets of it. In addition to this we made for to disappear a very great muchness of pickles and lobsters besides numerous other lunches too insignificant to mention.

Credit and Other Arrangements

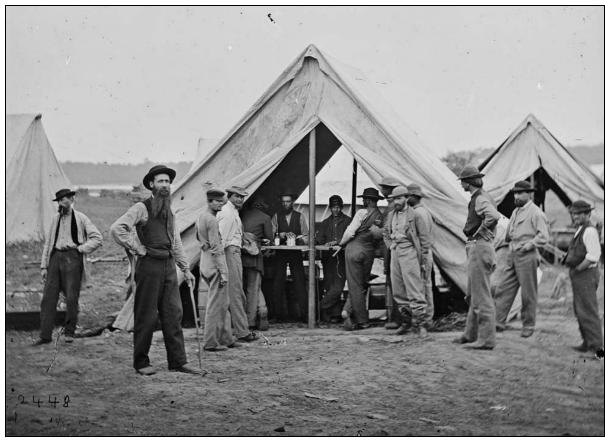
My money has got down to the last dollar now, but I can get "tick" [ticket voucher] at the sutler's easy enough until pay day.

At this distance from payday, the boys are perfectly willing to get their checks cashed at a discount. The sutler gives the boys seven in cash and three in tickets, i.e. trade.

A person can't buy anything but from the sutler when he [i.e., the person] has no change.

Sutler's tent attached to the 2nd Division of the 9th Corps in November 1864, when it was supporting the Union siege of Petersburg, VA. This division, part of the Army of the Potomac, was commanded by Brig. Gen. Robert B. Potter of Schenectady, NY.





I assure you I am all out of money and the sutler stopped the credit system so we would completely ----[expletive?].

The sutler this morning began to take blanks [credit?]. I treated myself to some apples— first I have ate in long time.

Send a stamp on every envelope, then I can pull them off and trade them for cake at the sutler.

I can get paper and envelopes from the sutler by paying from 35 cents to 60 cents for paper per quire and from 20 to 30 cents for envelopes. Old Palmer has got a sutler for this regiment. We can get things on credit but I dislike to do it although I have got a little. I am going to get as little as possible.

I'm half afraid your credit at the sutler's was altogether too good. When my money gave out, I went six weeks without entering the sutler's tent. When I went in the other day, he wanted to know if I'd been off anywhere.

Monday morning & about money matters with me I don't need much. I am in debt to the sutler the enormous sum \$000.00 [i.e., the writer has avoided incurring a debt with the sutler]. I don't deal with him any only [i.e., except] when I want paper & can't get it anywhere else & then I pay money. I don't use money only [i.e., except] to buy writing material.

I have had no pay yet and am anxiously watching for Mr. Keighin, our sutler, on his return from Peoria, with whom I sent for money.... I have been looking out for Keighin the sutler by every boat for the past 3 weeks, hoping he would bring me some money, but I have seen nor heard nothing of him.... If Mr. Keighin the sutler is coming down soon, send by him a pair of boots made of calf skin, double soles and medium length in

legs.... I am anxious to pay Mr. Keighin, the sutler of the 77th, a little bill I owe him, but cannot ascertain the amount, or when I shall admit it.... My friend Keighin & his friends the mules have arrived in the land of cotton & [African epithets].

Recovery [of health] is impossible on government food, so I owe the sutler \$55.

My sutler's bill was larger this payday than any other. For when I worked on the fort, I had to buy bread and cheese for dinner.

We may get paid soon, but it may be a false alarm, but when you see the sutlers around, the paymaster is not far off.

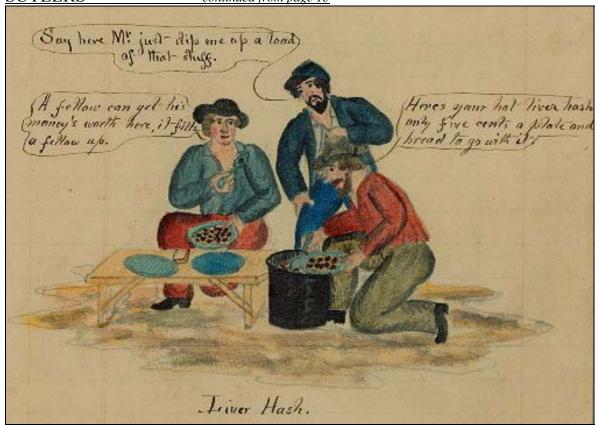
They Followed the Armies

The brig Hope owned by Mr. Webster has been sent here to me by the Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Webster has on board goods, which will be of use to the troops. As you have no sutler at Newport News, it has occurred to me that it might be a convenience to have him and his goods there. If you will give him a place at your upper wharf, he and his goods will be under your control to be disposed of by your troops at fair prices, but not otherwise.

Sutler's wife sighted—she is no great shakes.

Tip has been keeping a sutler shop on a small scale and has made good wages (he sent home 100 dollars last week). He goes to Baltimore to buy his goods. He means to make money out of his imprisonment. Keep dark about his money. [Tip has been in Annapolis on parole, awaiting exchange.]

SUTLERS continued from page 13



"Liver Hash" is from one of the watercolor sketchbooks created by Confederate soldier John Jacob Omenhausser while he was interned in the Federal Civil War Prison at Point Lookout, MD, between June 1864 and April 1865.

Starting at right, a sutler says, "Here's your hot liver hash only five cents a plate and bread to go with it." One rebel prisoner remarks hungrily, "Say here Mister just dip me up a load of that stuff." A second prisoner says, "A fellow can get his money's worth here, it fills a fellow up."

Civil War Treasures from the New-York Historical Society, image ae00031.

[A P.O.W. writes:] At Guinea Station, guards allowed a sutler to sell to us. I bought \$1.30 worth of small sweet cakes, same number as often received for half a dime.

[A P.O.W. writes:] York and I went over to the gate to see if we could get anything off the sutler for we were very hungry and had nothing to eat, we did not succeed.... I went over to the gate to get my potatoes that I ordered by the sutler, but did not get them as he could not fill out all the orders before mine.... I went over to the gate to see if the sutler had came with the potatoes but he failed to connect.... I went over to the gate but did not get anything off the sutler.

The sutlers have all been ordered [to detach] from the army and the pontoons have gone to the front.

It seems the country back of us is full of guerrillas. They have taken some sutlers and, it is reported, some of our baggage train. I doubt the latter.

The Johnnies throwed 5 or 6 shells in our camp this morning, one shell went right thru the top of the sutler's shop. You ought to seen the sutler run. You would have laughed. He grub the money box and dug out.

A Shot at Riches

They introduced me to a sutler named Wood. He has made a fortune following Ulysses S. Grant's army.

Mepham brought to the room a sutler named Corson. He is rich, is from Michigan and is considered a very smart businessman.

Uncle John is now the sutler of our regiment & I think he will

do well.

[A sutler writes:] I cannot write anymore. Business is lively. Customers are all round the shanty, waiting for me to finish this letter, so they can get some goods.

Had a council of administration convene to fix amount of sutler's tax.

Residents of Harper's Ferry sell food at reasonable costs; this is not true of sutlers.

We will be paid \$58 next May, unless the cheating sutler gets a part of our wages. But he can't get any off me, for I and two others pledged upon our honor not to trade with the cheating rascal.

You are down on the sutlers and reasonably so, the sappers and miners of the army. They cheat the poor family at home of $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the soldier's earnings.

Wretched sutlers, making fortunes out of our soldiers.

Court martial against Samuel Graham, Colonel of the 5th New York Volunteer Artillery, presided over by Lorenzo Thomas. Charge: Selling office of sutler for \$1000. Found guilty. Dismissed from service.

John has gone to Nashville. I will inform him of his good luck when he returns. He will feel very sore at paying the \$300, which I suppose he will do. His sutlership is not worth much to him. He has no capital & don't keep much to sell. He is cowardly too about taking any risk.

"LEARNING TO COOK AND KILL AT THE SAME TIME"

OB

COOKERY IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR: THE ALEXIS SOYER AND FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE CONNECTIONS

by Janice Bluestein Longone

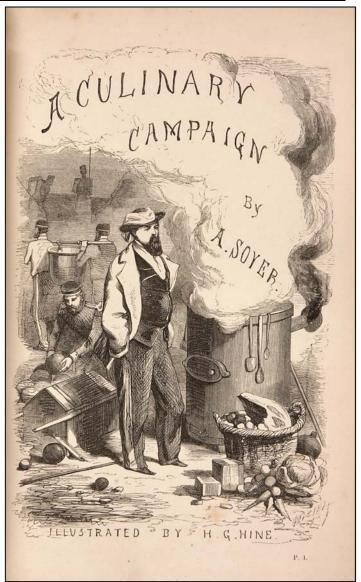
Jan Longone is a Curator of American Culinary History at the University of Michigan's William L. Clements Library, and a founding member of the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor. This article is reprinted, with permission, from the Clements periodical The Quarto, No. 34 (Fall-Winter 2010).

Virtually the only cookery manuals distributed on the battlefields and in the hospitals of the Civil War were compilations, in whole or in part, of recipes authored by Alexis Soyer. Of the dozen or so published in the North and in the South, nearly all were based on *Soyer's Culinary Campaign* (London, 1857), his reminiscences of service in the Crimean War (1853-56). Thus, soldiers on both sides of the American Civil War relied on recipes devised by a Frenchman to save British lives in an earlier conflict. Sadly, many of these manuals failed to acknowledge Soyer as the source, and some are even erroneously attributed to Florence Nightingale.

No central camp mess or corps of trained cooks existed in the early days of the Civil War. Soldiers were issued rations and prepared their own food or pooled it for larger-scale but not-yet-institutionalized cookery. Often, several men were arbitrarily assigned to serve as cooks. It was not until 1863 that the U.S. Army introduced company messes with trained cooks, although cooking by squads and individuals continued. In addition, there was no system to adequately care for the enormous number of casualties caused by the weapons of 1861-65.

The horrors of the Crimean War were a recent memory, and the work of the British Sanitary Commission and of Alexis Soyer and Florence Nightingale was well known in America. American camp and hospital manuals relied almost entirely on their experiences in the Crimea.

These manuals were usually small pocket booklets meant for individual soldiers, learning how to cook and kill at the same time. They were given to the troops by civic, sectarian, and quasi-governmental aid societies. It is surprising that Soyer's contributions to army cookery have gone unrecognized. This is due less to infrequent attribution than to the fact that

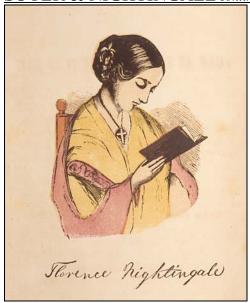


Alexis Soyer's culinary memoir of the Crimean War influenced both Union and Confederate military cooking.

such manuals are virtually unknown today. Few appear in culinary bibliographies. All are rare, and in several cases only a single copy is known. Absent from cookery collections, they are buried in Civil War archives. How many were actually in circulation and what use they had is impossible to say. They were wartime ephemera that maimed and dazed young men were unlikely to treasure and retain after returning from the war.

Alexis Soyer (1809-58) was a public figure in England. He was the renowned chef at London's Reform Club, helping to design its vast kitchens and ingeniously introducing all manner of labor-saving and food-conserving methods. Soyer's genius for organization began with his work during the Irish potato famine of the 1840s, when he set up a soup kitchen in Dublin that served many thousands a day. The Crimean War was the first conflict to be covered by photographic and telegraphic reporting. When news of the deaths of soldiers from "Crimean fever" and starvation in filthy hospitals appeared in the British press, the public outcry was deafening. The government responded by sending Florence Nightingale to reform the care

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Florence
Nightingale, seen
here in the
frontispiece to
her Notes on
Nursing, was
often incorrectly
credited as the
author of Soyer's
recipes. Her
contributions to
Civil War nursing
are without
question.

of the wounded. Shortly thereafter, Soyer volunteered to go to the Crimea, at his own expense, to help improve the food for all soldiers in hospital, in camp, and on the battlefield.

Born in France, Alexis Soyer was a flamboyant, self-promoting personality caricatured by Thackery as the French chef, Mirobolant, in *Pendennis*. When he died of fever contracted in the Crimea, Florence Nightingale wrote, "His death is a great disaster. Others have studied cooking for the purpose of gourmandizing, some for show, but none but he for the purpose of cooking large quantities of food in the most nutritious manner for great numbers of men. He has no successor."

On Soyer's return to England, with his health undermined by Crimean fever, he wrote *Soyer's Culinary Campaign*. In addition to 512 pages of first-person narrative, this book contains substantial addenda on "Hospital Diets", "Army Receipts", and "Receipts for the Needy". The last includes recipes, little changed from their original form in *Soyer's Charitable Cookery; or, The Poor Man's Regenerator* (London, 1847), a compilation of his soup recipes from the Irish famine. These three groups of receipts represent the reservoir from which the Soyer-based recipes of American Civil War-era manuals were derived.

The contributions of Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) to modern nursing, hospital administration, sanitation, and public health education are legendary. Her work during the Crimean War was credited with dramatically reducing the mortality rate of soldiers. What is less known is her influence on the American Civil War. When fighting broke out, the U.S. Secretary of War called on her for advice. Nightingale suggested the appointment of sanitary commissions. English historians proudly boast, "the colossal labours and unprecedented success of the U.S. Sanitary Commissions grew naturally from the seed which Florence Nightingale sowed in the death-stricken fields of the Crimea."

In 1859 Nightingale published her pioneering *Notes on Nursing: What It Is, and What It Is Not,* reprinted in Boston in 1860. Two chapters on "Taking Food" and "What Food?" were often included in Civil War manuals and in official governmental and medical documents. These often had Soyer's recipes, sometimes credited to him, sometimes to Nightingale, and sometimes printed without attribution. The changes made by the American authors are fascinating.



This carefully staged scene shows Army of the Potomac commissariat staff issuing bread and bacon near Fairfax Courthouse, Virginia. Note the stack of loaves at left.

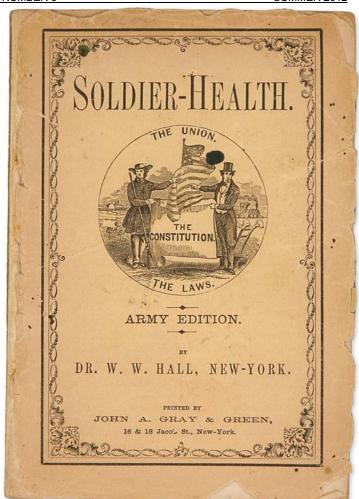
Photo by Timothy H. O'Sullivan (1840-1882) For example, the 1861 Richmond edition of *Directions* for Cooking by Troops, in Camp and Hospital, Prepared for the Army of Virginia ... with Taking Food & What Food? cites Nightingale as the author. However, the recipes are all from Soyer. When Nightingale mentioned groats in discussing "What Food?" an editor felt the need to explain that perhaps "groats" was a misspelling; what was meant was "grits". Perhaps he was not familiar with groats (buckwheat), which would require much different preparation than grits (corn).

Camp Cookery and Hospital Diet, for the Use of U.S. Volunteers, Now in Service (New York, 1861) contains the full text of Soyer's "Hospital Diets" and "Army Receipts". The publisher, with an eye to the home front, also included recipes from Soyer's "Receipts for the Needy", "for the benefit of the families left at home in distressed circumstances." Thus, cheap recipes for the Irish refugees of 1847 were offered to the New York distressed of 1861; indeed, some of the needy could well have been present at both times. Deleted from the New York manual are two "Needy receipts"— conger eels and stewed mussels, both plentiful in American waters but never well appreciated.

The rare Camp Cookery, Prepared for Massachusetts Volunteers (Boston, 1861) is part of a regimental history collection. It has a hurried look to it, perhaps printed hastily for the early wave of Massachusetts troops. It is all Sover but in a hodge-podge. No attribution is given; even subtle references to the Crimean War have been deleted. Some recipes are abbreviated, others truncated, and overall the appearance is of cut-and-paste. Soyer's text has been changed in several places to make the language less intimidating. His corn "puree" becomes corn "mush"; "maitre d'hotel butter" becomes "butter"; and "Poor Man's Potato Pie" becomes, simply, "Potato Pie". Finally, although this manual is the least physically imposing of the books examined, it is closest to the battlefield, ending with an abrupt reminder of the real business at hand: "If a man bleeds badly from a wound in his arm or leg, a handkerchief should be tied round the limb."

Soldier-Health. Army Edition (New York, 1864) was published by Dr. W. W. Hall, editor of Hall's Journal of Health. His preface decries the loss of life due to poor sanitary conditions during the Crimean War and concludes: "A sick soldier is not only useless himself, but adds to the encumbrances of the army; hence, a true and wise patriotism requires that each man for himself should study how to preserve his own health in the highest possible condition." Hall included Soyer's "Army Receipts" and "Hospital Diets", little changed. One useful recipe was for "Boiled Rice Semi-Curried", for the "Premonitory Symptoms of Diarrhea".

Regulations for the Medical Department of the C.S. Army (Richmond, 1863) is a recent addition to the Clements Library. This particular copy belonged to Surgeon Thomas H. Fisher, in charge of General Hospital No. 3, Lynchburg, Virginia. All of its recipes are attributed to Soyer, including "Mutton Stewed and Soup for One Hundred Men" and "Crimean Lemonade". This book is not a field manual for soldiers but rather one of a number of official documents issued for use by professional medical personnel.



A copy of Dr. William Whitty Hall's book on military health, from the Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archive, Clements Library.

The inclusion of Soyer's recipes— attributed or not— and of Nightingale's advice continued for many years. Soyer's influence is apparent as late as the 1896 *Manual for Army Cooks* published by the U.S. Commissary General of Subsistence. The book is thoroughly Americanized, but there are Soyer recipes for Turkish Pillau and Crimean Kebabs. A 1945 work, *Catering and Cooking for Field Forces*, produced for Allied land forces in Southeast Asia, even includes a recipe for "Date Barm", which requires a Soyer Stove.

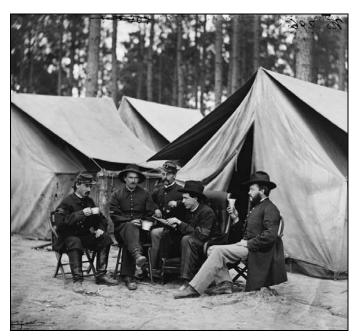
The subject of what and how soldiers ate during the Civil War cannot be told as a single story; circumstances and experiences varied widely. The printed literature tells us one tale, diaries present another view. Lawrence Van Alstyne of the 128th New York Volunteers kept a diary throughout the war, laid it away upon his return, and, 45 years later, decided to publish it. His *Diary of an Enlisted Man* (New Haven, 1910) offers a poignant view of Civil War cookery:

I will say something about our kitchen, dining room and cooking arrangements. Some get mad and cuss the cooks, and the whole war department, but that is usually when our stomachs are full. When we are hungry we swallow anything that comes and are thankful for it. The cook house is simply a portion of the field we are in. A couple of crotches hold up a pole

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on which the camp kettles are hung and under which a fire is built. Each company has one, and as far as I know, they are all alike. The camp kettles are large sheet-iron pails.... If we have meat and potatoes, meat is put in one, and potatoes in the other. The one that gets cooked first is emptied into mess pans.... Then the coffee is put in the empty kettle and boiled. The bread is cut into thick slices, and the breakfast call sounds. We grab our plates and cups, and wait for no second invitation. We each get a piece of meat and a potato, a chunk of bread and a cup of coffee with a spoonful of brown sugar in it. Milk and butter we buy, or go without. We settle down, generally in groups, and the meal is soon over. Then we wash our dishes, and put them back in our haversacks. We make quick work of washing dishes. We save a piece of bread for the last, with which we wipe up everything, and then eat the dish rag. Dinner and breakfast are alike, only sometimes the meat and potatoes are cut up and cooked together, which makes a really delicious stew. Supper is the same, minus the meat and potatoes. The cooks are men detailed from the ranks for that purpose.... I never yet saw the cooks wash their hands, but presume they do when they go to the brook for water.

Editor's note: As part of its Great Food reprint series, Penguin Books recently issued *The Chef at War* (2011; 144 pp.), consisting of excerpts from Alexis Soyer's writings about his cooking experiences in the Crimean War.



Hospital stewards of the 2nd Division of the 9th Corps in October 1864, when it was supporting the Union siege of Petersburg, VA. This division, part of the Army of the Potomac, was commanded by Brig. Gen. Robert B. Potter of Schenectady, NY.

Photo by Timothy H. O'Sullivan (1840-1882)

Library of Congress photo, digital ID cwpb 03960.

WINTER PROGRAMS continued from page 3

1,500 people lived on either side of the river around Detroit, and 12,100 acres were under cultivation. The boundaries of ribbon farms were surveyed from 1818 into the 1820s, and as Detroit grew throughout that century, the city repeatedly gobbled up more of the ribbons. Thus, many streets in modern Detroit, as well as in Monroe and other nearby towns, follow the names and boundaries of certain farm owners such as Livernois and McDougal.

To help mark the centennial of Julia Child's birth, CHAA founding members Jan and Dan Longone presented their personal "Reminiscences of Julia" on May 20. Refreshments at this meeting included two desserts from Mastering the Art of French Cooking: Reine de Saba cake made by Julie Lewis, and Charlotte Malakoff by Sherry Sundling. The Longones recalled that they were already being "seduced by all things French" in the 1950s, influenced by Samuel Chamberlain's "Clémentine in the Kitchen" column in Gourmet magazine and Waverly Root's columns in the International Herald Tribune. In the next decade there was Vol. 1 of Mastering (1961) by Julia Child and her co-authors, the first episode of Julia's TV series, "The French Chef" (1962), and James Michener's travel writings. The Longones' first meeting with Julia came in 1980, by which time they were well-known dealers in antiquarian books on food and wine. With a few other food and wine connoisseurs, they journeyed to Manhattan that year to meet with Child, Craig Claiborne, Pierre Franey, Barbara Kafka, and others in an unsuccessful attempt to win their support for establishing a culinary arts program at Antioch College in Ohio. Later, however, Julia would ask the Longones to appraise a cookbook collection that she was donating to the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe/Harvard. After her first appraisal, Julia's solicitor called them to report that the IRS was questioning how any cookbook could be worth \$3000! The Longones assembled auction and dealer catalogs to convince the IRS that their appraisal was accurate.

In 1981, Julia prevailed upon Jan to join her as a Board member for the newly forming American Institute of Wine and Food. Jan continued to appraise major book collections related to the Institute or to various libraries. For example, when Julia's co-author Simone Beck died in 1991, Julia felt that her cookbook collection should also be donated to the Schlesinger, and Jan was asked to appraise it. Each time she did an appraisal, Julia sent Jan a short personal note thanking her, expressing her gratitude and asking when they could see each other again. "This is typical of Julia," Jan told us, "she ALWAYS was a lady; she answered all mail, she always wrote and said the right and proper personalized thing. It was partially her generation and upbringing, but it was also Julia!" The Longones sometimes visited with the Childs at their home in Cambridge, MA, or their apartment in Santa Barbara, CA, and Julia would remark that Jan and Dan reminded her of herself and Paul. The couples continued to see each other over the years at culinary and fundraising events. We heard several examples of how much people loved and respected Julia, not only for her culinary knowledge but for her unfailing kindness and courtesy. "Julia was a real person and cared about everyone," Jan remarked, "she listened to what you said and took the time to talk with people." Fittingly, in 2001 a previously unnamed variety of heirloom tomato was named the Julia Child because it combines sweetness and boldness!

MORSELS & TIDBITS

New CHAA member **Michelle Krell Kydd** gave a free workshop, "Smell and Tell: Using Your Sense of Smell for Creative Inspiration" at the Ann Arbor District Library on June 13. Michelle, who recently moved to Ann Arbor from New York, is a flavor and fragrance expert, an award-winning blogger (http://glasspetalsmoke.blogspot.com), and a passionate smellevangelist. Her workshop was especially designed to enable writers, foodies, and artists to become better at describing smells.

Paul S. Kindstedt, Co-Director of the Vermont Institute for Artisan Cheese, has a new book, Cheese and Culture: A History of Cheese and its Place in Western Culture (White River Jct., VT: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2012; 256 pp., \$24.95 hbk.). He organized the work chronologically, but has also woven in archeology, anthropology, linguistics, and geography. The book uncovers the Neolithic origins of cheese in Southwest Asia, and follows with chapters on the sacred significance of cheese in ancient times, the development of know-how in the use of animal rennet to coagulate milk, the rise of a cheese trade in the Mediterranean and other regions. systematic cheese making under the Romans, the role of feudal noblemen and monks in developing distinctive local varieties, the impact of market forces in England and Holland, and the supplanting of traditional with industrial methods. The author is a Professor of Food Science at the University of Vermont and a nationally recognized expert on dairy chemistry, cheese science, and cheese making. He gave a talk about the book to the Culinary Historians of New York in May.

Members of culinary history organizations are very well represented among the authors of the Edible Series, published by London-based Reaktion Books in association with the Univ. of Chicago Press. These books, now numbering over 30, are concise hardbacks priced at about \$16-18. Among the latest batch of new and forthcoming releases:

- Lobster: A Global History (2011; 144 pp.) by Elisabeth Townsend of CH Boston
- Bread: A Global History (2011; 160 pp.) by William Rubel of CH New York
- Champagne: A Global History (2011; 136 pp.) by Becky Sue Epstein of CH Boston
- Rum: A Global History (2012; 144 pp.) by Richard Foss of CH Southern California
- Cocktails: A Global History (2012; 128 pp.) by Joseph M. Carlin of CH Boston
- Pudding: A Global History (2012; 128 pp.) by Jeri Quinzio of CH Boston.

We were saddened to learn recently that the prominent medieval scholar and culinary historian Constance B. Hieatt died at her home in Essex, CT, last December 29. She was perhaps most widely known as co-author of the popular book *Pleyn Delit: Medieval Cookery for Modern Cooks* (1976, 1996). Born in Boston, she was raised in New York City and Connecticut, and spent most of her career as Professor of English at the University of Western Ontario. She and her colleagues studied writings in Middle and Old English and in Old Norse, translating and interpreting many such works into modern English editions. These ranged from classic literature

such as "Beowulf" and "The Canterbury Tales" to old cookery manuscripts, including Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (1985); An Ordinance of Pottage: An Edition of the 15th Century Culinary Recipes in Yale University's MS Beinecke 163 (1988); Libellus De Arte Coquinaria: An Early Northern Cookery Book (2000); and Cocatrice and Lampray Hay: Late Fifteenth-Century Recipes from Corpus Christi College Oxford (2012).

Visitors are welcome at two currently-running exhibits in New York:

- "Beer Here: Brewing New York's History" runs through Sep. 2, 2012 at the New-York Historical Society. Cocurated by **Debra Schmidt Bach** and **Nina Nazionale**, the show traces the history of commercial beer brewing in the state. Highlights include the influence of British ale and German lager traditions; wealthy colonial brewing families; cultivation of hops (both for brewers and doctors), in which New York led the nation between 1840 and 1910; the state's water and ice resources; the advent of bottling, pasteurization, and refrigeration technologies; the history of temperance and Prohibition; and the modern rise of microbrewing. Visitors are offered beer sippings as well.
- "Lunch Hour NYC" runs through Feb. 17, 2013 at the New York Public Library. Co-curated by author and CHNY member Laura Shapiro and NYPL culinary librarian Rebecca Federman, the show includes segments on street food, Horn & Hardart Automats, home lunches, school lunches, charity lunches, and power lunches. Visitors are also treated to some of NYPL's vast collection of 45,000 restaurant menus, and famous songs and writings either celebrating city lunch spots or conceived inside them. Last year, NYPL won a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to create a fully searchable archive of its menus; the data entry is being assisted by crowd-sourcing.

Participants are also welcome at two upcoming conferences:

- "Sugar, Spice, Isinglass and Cakes, Great and Small" is the theme of the annual Historic Foodways Symposium, to be held Saturday, August 18, 2012 in Fort Lee Historic Park, Fort Lee, NJ. For information and registration, contact Deborah Peterson at tel. 215-256-4615 or e-mail deborahspantry@comcast.net, or visit www.deborahspantry.com.
- "Foodways: Diasporic Diners, Transnational Tables and Culinary Connections" is the theme of the annual Conference of the Centre for Diaspora and Transnational Studies, University of Toronto, to be held October 4-7, 2012. For information and registration, visit http://www.utoronto.ca/cdts.

On the Back Burner: We invite ideas and submissions for *Repast*, including for these planned future theme-issues: Making the World Safe for American Cookbooks: How the American Century Assimilated French, Italian, Jewish, and Other Cuisines (Fall 2012); Civil War Sesquicentennial, Part 4 (Winter 2013); Historical African-American Cooking (Spring 2013); American Cookery at the Turn of the Century (Summer 2013). Suggestions for future themes are also welcome.

CHAA CALENDAR

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

Sunday, August 12, 2012

4-7 p.m., Earhart Village Clubhouse
 (835 Greenhills Drive, Ann Arbor)
 Participatory theme meal marking the centennial of Julia Child's birth
 (CHAA members and guests only)

Sunday, September 16, 2012

Katherine Yung and Joe Grimm, authors of Coney Detroit (Wayne State University Press, 2012), which traces the history of the "Coney Island" genre of restaurant

Sunday, October 21, 2012

3-5 p.m., Ann Arbor District Library, Pittsfield Branch (2359 Oak Valley Drive)

Darrin M. Karcher, Poultry Extension Specialist,
Dept. of Animal Science, Michigan State Univ.,

"The Chicken..."

Sunday, November 18, 2012

3-5 p.m., Ann Arbor District Library, Pittsfield Branch (2359 Oak Valley Drive)

Darrin M. Karcher, Poultry Extension Specialist,
Dept. of Animal Science, Michigan State Univ.,

"...And the Egg"

First Class

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Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor

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