

HISTORY OF EREWHON - NATURAL FOODS PIONEER IN THE UNITED STATES:

EXTENSIVELY ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCEBOOK

Compiled by

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Brief Chronology of Erewhon

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1967 Aug.—Paul Hawken takes over the management of Erewhon (one small retail store) from Evan Root. He changes the name to Erewhon Trading Co. and starts to expand the business.

1968 May—Paul Hawken incorporates Erewhon Trading Company. Paul later states that he and Aveline Kushi each own 50% of the stock. However Aveline Kushi and her attorney, Morris Kirsner, agree that they offered him 50% of the Erewhon stock shortly before he left for Japan (in March 1969) but he did not accept it. To this day (Feb. 1999) Aveline has no idea why Paul did not accept such a generous offer.

1968 June—Hawken establishes his first supplier of organically grown grains, Ted Whitmer, a wheat farmer in Montana. By 1973 Erewhon had established and contracted with 57 farms in 35 states to provide the company directly with organically-grown foods.

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The initial orders contained red miso (made by Sendai Miso Shoyu Co.) and natural shoyu (made by Marushima).

1968 Nov.—On Thanksgiving day, Erewhon moves up and across the street to a much bigger and nicer location at 342 Newbury St. The company now has 6 employees: Paul Hawken, Roger Hillyard, Bruce Macdonald, Bill Tara, Jim Docker, and Jean Allison. One day later, Bill Tara leaves to start a macrobiotic East West Center in Chicago. Tofu, curdled with calcium sulfate and made by a Chinese company in Boston, starts to be sold.

1969 March—Paul Hawken and Evan Root leave for Japan. Bruce Macdonald takes over as general manager of Erewhon. Paul stays in Japan for 9 months, arranging for individual packaging of products that were formerly imported in bulk, and finding new items for Erewhon to import. He visits suppliers, works with Mitoku and Muso, and studies Japanese language and culture.

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1971 Jan.—*East West Journal* begins publication in Boston, Massachusetts.

1971—Erewhon Trading Company of Los Angeles has expanded and is now at 8001 and 8003 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90048.

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Starting in late 1969 a number of macrobiotic and/or natural foods companies grew into distributors following the models established by and with help from Erewhon: Eden Organic Foods in Ann Arbor (started by Bill Bolduc on 4 Nov. 1969), Food for Life (started in 1970 by Bill Tara as a retail store on the 10th floor of a Chicago office building), Janus in Seattle, Washington (Jan. 1972, by George Gearhart and Blake Rankin, formerly of Spiral Foods), Essene in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (by Feb. 1971), Laurelbrook in Maryland (Aug. 1971), Ceres in Colorado Springs (1973), and The Well in San Jose, California (1973, by Roger Hillyard). These macrobiotic distributors had a strong influence on the numerous other non-macrobiotic natural food distributors, such as Lifestream (started in 1969 as a retail store), Westbrae in Berkeley, California (retail: Feb. 1971 by Bob Gerner; wholesale distribution: July 1970, with Gordon Bennett), Shadowfax (1971), and Tree of Life in St. Augustine, Florida (retail: May 1971; wholesale distribution: Feb. 1972, by Irwin Carasso).

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1982 May—A \$1.3 million offer by Ronald Rossetti, president of Nature Food Centres, is accepted as the reorganization plan in the Erewhon, Inc. bankruptcy. Rossetti purchased Erewhon as an individual; it was never part of Nature Food Centres.

1986—Erewhon acquires U.S. Mills, which had been founded in 1908. In effect U.S. Mills and Erewhon were merged, and U.S. Mills was chosen as the corporate name, largely since it had been around longer.

1988 May—Chuck Verde (who was the president of Erewhon) and Cynthia Davis acquired the U.S. Mills / Erewhon business. They became the main joint shareholders. Address: 303-B Newbury St., Boston, Massachusetts.

1. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1949. Chronology of the macrobiotic movement in North America, 1949-1966. 25 Jan. 1995. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.
• *Summary*: 1949–Michio Kushi, a student of George Ohsawa, arrives in New York City from Japan, in connection with the World Federalist Movement. He writes letters back to Japan, and Ohsawa reads them to his students.

1951–Aveline Tomoko Yokoyama falls in love with Michio's letters, wins a trip to America by being the best seller of Ohsawa's newspapers, and meets Michio in New York.

1952, early–Herman Aihara, age 32, arrives in America, and settles in New York City. As early as March 1952 he was selling macrobiotic foods in New York; he imported them from Ohsawa in Japan.

1953–Michio Kushi and Aveline Tomoko Yokoyama are married in New York.

1955 Dec.–Herman Aihara and Chiiko (Cornellia) Yokota are married in New York. 1950s, late–Zen Teahouse, the first macrobiotic restaurant in the USA, is started in New York City by Alcan Yamaguchi with carpentry help from Herman Aihara. It was located at 317 Second Ave. and consisted of a small (4-table) main room containing a kitchen. Miso and shoyu were served regularly. This restaurant was later renamed Paradox.

1959 Nov. or Dec.–George Ohsawa arrives in America for the first time, staying in New York City with Herman Aihara, his closest associate. After a week he flies to California to find a source of short-grain brown rice; he locates Koda Brothers, but also gives lectures in San Francisco and Los Angeles. After one week in California, he returns to New York City.

1960 Jan.–Ohsawa presents the first of three series of lectures designed to introduce macrobiotics, and the philosophy and medicine of the Orient, to America; each for ten nights during January, February, and March of 1960 at the Buddhist Academy in New York City. During these lectures his first work in English is published, a mimeographed edition of *Zen Macrobiotics*. He and the Aiharas duplicated and bound these in the Aiharas' apartment, then sold them at the lectures for \$0.50. He also lectured at the Universalist Church, The New School for Social Research, Columbia University, and New York City College (See: *Macrobiotics: The Art of Longevity and Rejuvenation*, p. 188-89).

1960 July–Ohsawa returns to America (after a trip to Europe) and lectures daily for two months at the first American macrobiotic summer camp at Southampton, Long Island, New York. Mrs. Lima Ohsawa, aided by Cornellia Aihara, gives macrobiotic cooking classes. Many people attend, especially writers, actors, artists, musicians, and intellectuals.

1960–To serve this growing interest, a tiny restaurant named Musubi is started in Greenwich Village and run by Alcan Yamaguchi, Romain Noboru Sato, Junsei Yamazaki,

Herman Aihara, and Michio Kushi. In late 1961 Musubi was moved to 55th Street.

1960–The first macrobiotic food store (combined with a gift shop), named Ginza, is started by Herman Aihara.

1961 Jan.–The Ohsawa Foundation of New York is established on 2nd Avenue by Irma Paule, Michio Kushi, and friends. Michio and Herman Aihara were the first two presidents.

1960, late–Herman Aihara starts publishing *Macrobiotic News*, a magazine consisting mainly of Ohsawa's lectures.

1961 summer–Ohsawa comes to America again for the second macrobiotic summer camp, this time in the Catskill Mountains at Wurtsboro, New York. Lima Ohsawa and Cornellia Aihara give cooking classes. After the camp, at the time of the Berlin Wall crisis (August 1961, before the Cuban missile crisis of Oct. 1962), Ohsawa feared that a nuclear war might be near. He urged his followers to leave New York and find a place that was safer from radioactive fallout and good for growing rice. After extensive research, they chose Chico, California.

1961 Oct. 1–Thirty two people (11 families) arrive in Chico from New York City in a caravan of vans, buses, and station wagons. Among the active people in the group were Bob Kennedy, Herman Aihara, and Dick Smith.

1962 March 6–The group in Chico establishes a new food company named Chico-San as a retail store and an import and wholesale business. It was capitalized with \$10,000. In addition to a line of whole-grain products, they soon began to import a variety of macrobiotic foods from Ohsawa in Japan. The first store and food plant (they made sesame salt or *gomashio* and repackaged foods) was in the basement of a small hearing aid shop in Chico. It became the first macrobiotic food production company in the USA.

1962 Christmas–George Ohsawa visits Chico and lectures on macrobiotics.

1963–Ohsawa lectures in Boston, New York City, and at the third macrobiotic summer camp at the University of California at Chico. Lima Ohsawa and Cornellia Aihara gives cooking classes. In Chico, he suggests that the group try making rice cakes. He sends them a rice cake machine from Japan and production began in the fall of 1963. Rice cakes soon became Chico-San's first really popular and successful product.

1963–The first edition of *Zen Cookery*, a book of macrobiotic recipes, is published by the Ohsawa Foundation in Los Angeles.

1963 Sept.–The Kushi family moves to Cambridge, Massachusetts (101 Walden St., on the outskirts of Boston to the northwest) Michio stops all his outside business activities and directs his full attention to teaching macrobiotics.

1964 summer–Ohsawa lectures in California at the fourth macrobiotic summer camp at Big Sur. Lima Ohsawa and Cornellia Aihara gives cooking classes. 1965–The macrobiotic movement in America, though small, is

growing rapidly. Ohsawa lectures again in California at Mayoro Lodge, near Pulga.

1965–Michio Kushi organizes the first East West Institute out of his home in Cambridge and begins teaching macrobiotics, cosmology, and cooking to mostly young people.

1965–The second edition of Ohsawa's *Zen Macrobiotics* is prepared and published by Lou Ohles of the Ohsawa Foundation in Los Angeles. It contains much more information (including much more about soyfoods) than the original 1960 mimeographed edition.

1965–*You are All Sanpaku* by William Dufty is published.

1965 Nov. 9–Beth Ann Simon, a young heroin addict from New Jersey, dies while following a strict macrobiotic diet. This is the movement's first major setback. Ohsawa and the macrobiotic diet receive much adverse publicity, and the incident brands macrobiotics among many in the medical and health professions as a dangerous and extreme form of food faddism. The image was hard to get rid of. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration closes the New York branch of the Ohsawa Foundation, run by Irma Paule.

1966 April 23–George Ohsawa dies unexpectedly in Tokyo, Japan, at age 72–just as his teaching is beginning to spread rapidly in the West. The cause of his death: a heart attack, perhaps caused by filarial parasites he had picked up at Lambarene, Gabon.

1966 April–Erewhon opens as a tiny (10 by 20 foot) retail store downstairs at 303-B Newbury Street in Boston.

1966 summer–Michio Kushi begins to lecture each Monday and Wednesday evening in a back room of the Arlington Street Church in Boston. These talks were supplemented by cooking classes with Aveline Kushi in Brookline.

2. Product Name: [Seitan].

Foreign Name: Seitan.

Manufacturer's Name: Marushima Shoyu K.K.

Manufacturer's Address: Kamigata-dori Ko 881, Uchiumi-cho, Shodo-gun, Kagawa-ken, Japan.

Date of Introduction: 1962. January.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 3.5 oz jar.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Note: This is the world's earliest known commercial seitan product (Feb. 2005). It was first imported to the USA by Erewhon Trading Co. in 1969.

Talk with Aveline Kushi. 1992. April 9. The first seitan imported to America was made by Marushima Shoyu Co. on Shodoshima in Japan. George Ohsawa went to visit the company, talked with Mr. Mokutani (who is still the chairman, and a close friend of the Kushis, and a great admirer of Ohsawa), and showed him how to make it. Marushima began to make seitan commercially in the late 1960s. It was imported to America by Muso Shokuhin at about the same time the first miso and shoyu were

imported. She thinks it came in small jars, and was so salty that she used it as a seasoning in place of soy sauce in stews (such as soybean stews) or cooked it with vegetables; this cooking made it softer. This seitan probably started to be imported to America in about 1969.

Letter (fax) from Yuko Okada of Muso Co. Ltd., Japan. 1992. July 2. "I remember the term 'seitan' since I was a kid; it was probably coined by George Ohsawa. *Sei* means 'is' and *tan* is the first character in the Japanese term *tanpaku*, which means 'protein.' So *seitan* means something like 'right protein substitute.' Marushima Shoyu Co. developed seitan commercially in Japan and Muso has carried their seitan since Feb. 1966 when we started. We shipped seitan to Erewhon on a regular basis from 1968. [Note: Kotzsch. 1984, Dec. *East West Journal* p. 14-21 states that Muso began to export foods in 1969.] We also exported it to Chico-San [in the USA]. In Europe, we exported seitan to Paris, France." This seitan went to Institut Tenryu, which had a little macrobiotic food shop in Paris run by Madame Francoise Riviere. The first seitan Muso exported to Australia went to Spiral Foods.

Muso Shokuhin. Pure Heart–Muso general catalogue. 1990 July. p. 41. A color photo shows a 180-gm jar of Seitan. The product name is written in English (i.e., in roman letters). Under that, it is written smaller in katakana. Above the company name and address is written: "Sakurazawa Nyoichi shido" which means, "Made under the guidance of George Ohsawa."

Talk with Mr. Kiyoshi Mokutani, president of Marushima Shoyu K.K. in Japan. 1992. July 12. "The invention and development of seitan in Japan." He invented seitan in 1961-62 and took a sample to George Ohsawa, who coined the term "seitan" upon seeing it. Commercial production began in 1962. For details, see interview.

3. SoyaScan Notes.1966. Chronology of Erewhon.

Renamed Erewhon Trading Co. in 1967. 12 Dec. 1991.

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1988 May—Chuck Verde (who was the president of Erewhon) and Cynthia Davis acquired the U.S. Mills / Erewhon business. They became the main joint shareholders. Address: 303-B Newbury St., Boston, Massachusetts.

4. [Ledbetter, Jim]. 1967. Evan Root. *Order of the Universe* (Boston, Massachusetts) July. Inside rear cover.

• *Summary:* This is "the first in a series of profiles of young people who are studying the Unifying Principle under the guidance of Michio Kushi in order to deepen their own understanding and to prepare themselves to become leaders and teachers of others."

"Evan is, in many ways, the dean of young Boston friends. For the past year he has been proprietor of Erewhon, where are some food supplies are obtainable, and hundreds of people have become grateful to him for his attendance... His manner is quiet and thoughtful, punctuated by occasional bursts of hilarity which are apt to be accompanied by impromptu monologues or imitations."

Evan was born on 12 June 1943 in New York. His earlier ambition was to become a director in the theater or the cinema. "A few weeks ago, Evan 'graduated' from Erewhon and began to make plans for the future. At present, he is considering a lecture tour, a restaurant, and perhaps supplementing his studies with Haikoryu jujitsu."

Note: This is the earliest document seen (April 2006) that mentions Erewhon.

Talk with Evan Root. 1992. April 27. He notes that this "profile" was written by Jim Ledbetter, editor of this magazine, and the cartoon of Evan's head was drawn by Michio Kushi. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

5. **Product Name:** Mugi Miso, or Hacho Miso.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. (Importer). Imported from Muso Shokuhin in Japan.

Manufacturer's Address: Newbury St., Boston, Massachusetts.

Date of Introduction: 1968. August.

Ingredients: Hacho miso: Soybeans, water, sea salt.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 16 oz.

How Stored: Refrigerated preferably.

New Product—Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. Jan. 1. Wholesale-retail catalogue. Soy bean products: The following types of miso were imported from Japan: Hacho miso ("Soybean puree made from soybeans, salt & water. No chemicals used in fermentation. Aged at least 18 months"; 1 lb, 2 lb, 44 lb keg). Mugi miso ("Soybean puree. A lighter miso made with barley"; 1 lb, 2 lb, 44 lb keg).

Advest Co. 1972. Nov. "Private placement \$500,400. Erewhon Inc." On page 30 is a photocopy of the label for "hacho miso (soybean paste—soybeans only)." The text reads: "Hacho miso comes from one of the oldest manufacturers of miso in Japan. The company was originally established in 1362 and has been continuously processing miso since that time. In olden times boats would come up the Yahagi River near Nagoya bringing the raw materials for miso including the big stones which were placed on the kegs during aging. The water used in Hacho Miso is drawn from artesian wells located along the same river. The fermentation storerooms and the large cedar wood kegs used in producing Hacho Miso are over one hundred years old. The miso during its two year aging process is placed and situated so that it can freely interact with the four changes of season. Hacho Miso is easily digested and absorbed because the proteins are in a free state due to aging and fermentation. It can be used in the preparation of soups, sauces, and vegetable dishes, adding a rich and hearty flavour to them. New weight: 32 oz. (2 lb). Ingredients: Well water, soybeans, and sea salt. Distributed by Erewhon Trading Company, Inc."

Label. 1977, undated. 3.5 by 4.75 inches. Paper. Olive green, greenish brown on white. Vine illustration (hacho miso). "Erewhon Miso is produced by enzymatic fermentation and aging of soybeans a minimum of twenty-four months in wooden kegs. Its concentrated flavor makes it an ideal seasoning for enriching the taste of soups, sauces, vegetable dishes, noodles, casseroles, and fish. Erewhon Miso is completely free of chemical preservatives. Store in a cool place." Note: In 1971 Erewhon was located at 342 Newbury Street, Boston. Phone: 262-3420.

Shurtleff & Aoyagi. 1983. *The Book of Miso*. 2nd ed. p. 236. In 1968 Erewhon started to import miso and shoyu from Japan. "A wholesale and distribution company was started that year and soon it was trucking a line of fine Japanese imported red, barley, and Hacho misos to a growing number of natural food stores." By 1970 sesame

miso and tekka [miso] were added to the Erewhon line. By 1976 brown rice (genmai) miso was added.

Ad (7.5 by 13 inches, full color) in Natural Foods Merchandiser. 1989. Feb. p. 25. "Erewhon... Macrobiotic foods you can recommend with confidence." There are now 4 varieties of miso under the Erewhon brand: Hatcho (note new correct spelling), genmai, kome, and mugi.

6. Product Name: Moromi.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

(Importer). Imported from Muso Shokuhin in Japan.

Manufacturer's Address: Newbury St., Boston, Massachusetts.

Date of Introduction: 1968. August.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 7 oz.

How Stored: Refrigerated preferably.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. Jan. 1. Wholesale-retail catalogue. Products imported from Japan include: "Moromi—A thick sauce removed from the bottom of the soy sauce kegs after fermentation. Its uses are unlimited in soups & sauces"; 7 oz.

7. Product Name: Erewhon Soy Sauce. Later renamed Tamari Soy Sauce.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

(Importer). Made in Japan by Marushima Shoyu.

Manufacturer's Address: 342 Newbury St., Boston, MA 02115. Phone: (617) 262-3420.

Date of Introduction: 1969. October.

Ingredients: Water, wheat, soybeans, salt.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 16 oz or 32 oz bottle, or 18 liter keg.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Co. Inc., Wholesale Retail Catalogue. 1970. Jan. 1. "Soy Sauce (imported). Aged naturally in wooden kegs at least 18 months." In 16 oz or 32 oz bottle, or 18 litre keg.

Ad in East West Journal. 1973. Jan. 15-30. p. 24 (rear cover). "Erewhon visits a soy sauce factory [Marushima Shoyu]." Erewhon's "Tamari soy sauce" [actually shoyu] is made by Marushima Shoyu, located on Shodoshima Island. It is aged in cypress wood tanks for about 3 years.

8. SoyaScan Notes. 1969. Chronology of Eden Organic Foods, Inc. Renamed Eden Foods, Inc. in April 1971. Part I. 1969 to 1972. 31 Jan. 1992. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• **Summary:** 1969 Nov. 4—Eden Organic Foods is named and incorporated as a non-profit corporation by Bill Bolduc. Other names on the articles of incorporation are Judith Bolduc, Ronald Teeguarden, Gloria Dunn, and Linda Succop. It is a natural foods co-op retail store at 514 East William St. in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Bill is president of the company and his wife, Judy, is part-time secretary. The date of incorporation, Nov. 4, was selected by an astrologer, Michael Erlewine, because it was astrologically propitious.

Michael also designed the Eden logo of four sprouts in a circle. Also in Nov. 1969 Eden begins selling soyfoods, tamari and miso purchased from Erewhon.

Prior to this, starting in about the summer of 1969, Ronnie Teeguarden and Gloria Dunn had started a loosely-knit food buying co-op—which had no name, no assets, no formal structure, and no bank account. Original or very early members included Tim and Pattie Redmond, Mark and Nancy Retzliff, Linda Succop, Iona Teeguarden, and Bob Thorson. On about 3-5 different occasions they collectively ordered macrobiotic staples (including tamari and miso) from Erewhon in Boston, Massachusetts, using the Erewhon catalog. When the foods arrived, the members got together and divided them up at the Teeguarden-Leabu General Store, at 209 South State St. in Ann Arbor. This general store, located in the basement below Marshall's Bookstore, carried mostly antique clothing and records, and the art of local artists. By September 1969, Bill and Judy Bolduc joined the food co-op. They also joined the Zen Macrobiotic Supper Club; all of its members were also members of the food co-op.

In the fall of 1969 the Teeguarden-Leabu second-hand store looked like it was about to close, which would leave the food co-op without a home. The group (especially Ronnie Teeguarden) convinced Bill Bolduc to take charge of the food co-op and find it a permanent home, which he did—in an upstairs apartment at 514 East William St. Members of the informal food-buying co-op who worked at Eden Organic Foods included Bill Bolduc, Gloria Dunn, and Tim Redmond. An environmental group named the Environmental Defense Education Network (EDEN) also operated out of the Teeguarden-Leabu General Store; it was from this group that Eden got its name. That fall, after the Eden Organic Foods co-op was up and running, Tim Redmond went to Boston to work and study at Sanae, a macrobiotic restaurant on 272A Newbury St.

1970 summer—Bill Bolduc establishes Eden's first contact with an organic food grower (Bill Vreeland of Ypsilanti, Michigan, who grows organic wheat and soybeans). He soon makes Eden's first direct purchase of organically grown wheat, which the company mills and sells.

1970 July 6—Eden Organic Foods, Inc is reorganized upon a stock basis. Bill Bolduc (who resides at 6210 Bethel Church Rd., Saline, Michigan) owns all the shares (1,000). Other people listed on this document are Judith Bolduc, Ronald Teeguarden, and Gloria Dunn.

1970 Sept.—The fledgling company has an offer from Cynthia Shevel to move into a newly decorated mini-mall at 211 South State St. on the main street of campus. They need money to finance the move. Tim Redmond's father says he will help finance the expansion only if the business is reorganized as a for-profit corporation. So Eden is changed into a for-profit corporation, and Redmond invests the \$10,000 he borrowed from his father in Eden in exchange for 50% ownership. In Nov. 1970 Eden moves

into the mini-mall (they register the new address on Nov. 17) and soon begins to mill flour and bake granola at the new store. Bolduc and Redmond are now equal partners

1971 April 8–Bolduc registers a change in the company name to Eden Foods, Inc. from Eden Organic Foods, Inc. After the store was up and running, Redmond returns to Boston and Sanae restaurant, where he completed his studies.

1971 Jan.–Michael Potter is hired by Bill Bolduc. Mike had initially had a good-paying job at an art gallery in Royal Oak, Michigan. Then he began working for, and eventually became a partner in Joyous Revival, a macrobiotic and natural foods retail store in Birmingham, Michigan. At that time he and his wife, Carol Roller Potter (Ron Roller's sister), moved from Royal Oak to Walnut Lake, Michigan—to be nearer to Joyous Revival. In the fall of 1970 Michael Potter, while still working at Joyous Revival and at Bill Bolduc's request, had done volunteer work to try to help a failing new Eden retail store in downtown Detroit on the campus of Wayne State University. This store was owned jointly by Eden and two people named John and Darleen—two of the first people in the area interested in macrobiotics. By Jan. 1971 it had become evident that the store would not be able to survive financially, so Michael's first job after being hired was to make one last try to save it, then to help in shutting it down.

1971 May or June—Tim Redmond returns to Ann Arbor permanently, having finished his macrobiotic training in Boston. He planned to open a restaurant like Sanae in Ann Arbor but instead got increasingly involved with Eden Foods.

1971 June—Eden starts to wholesale natural foods out of the back of their retail store at 211 South State Street. They buy increasingly from original sources instead of other wholesalers. Buying clubs and co-ops come to the retail store to pick up their bulk foods.

1971 July—Eden's wholesale pricelist, dated July 26, shows that Eden is selling bulk (50 and 100 lb) soybeans, corn, soft wheat, and rye, which are being grown organically in Michigan (by Tom Vreeland). Eden stone-ground a portion of them into flour—on order. Eden is also selling numerous bulk and packaged grains, cereals, flours, and beans from Arrowhead Mills in Deaf Smith County, Texas; some are organically grown.

1971 early summer—Bill Bolduc asks Mike Potter to manage the Eden retail store at 211 South State St. Mike and his pregnant wife, Carol, move to Ann Arbor from Walnut Lake. By this time the company name was Eden Foods, Inc.

1971 Aug.—Eden Foods starts to distribute its wholesale bulk products, especially in the Detroit area. The company starts to bring in small trailer loads of staples from Arrowhead Mills in Texas. Bolduc and Redmond, realizing that Eden is the only natural foods store in the area, borrow some money and rent a 4,000 square foot Quonset hut warehouse on North Main Street north of Ann Arbor near

the Huron River. They expand their wholesale and distribution operations.

1971 Oct.—Mike Potter is given 13.5% of the common stock of Eden Foods, Inc. largely to compensate him for his many hours of unpaid volunteer work. According to Michael Potter (Dec. 1986), at this point the common stock ownership of Eden Foods is: Between Bill and Judy Bolduc 43.5%, Tim Redmond 43.5%, and Michael Potter 13.5%. Potter later says (Feb. 1993) that Bill Bolduc and Tim Redmond now own the same number of shares, but Judy Bolduc owned a small number of shares so the Bolducs owned the largest block.

1972 fall—Ron Roller starts to work part time for Eden Foods. Continued. Address: 514 East William St. in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Phone: 313-769-8444.

9. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1969. Chronology of Eden Foods, Inc. Part II. 1973 to Nov. 1981. 31 Jan. 1992. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: 1973 March—Eden moves into a larger warehouse at 310 West Ann Street in Ann Arbor, sharing it with Midwest Natural Foods, which initially was not a competitor. At about this time, Ron Roller starts working full-time for Eden. While at this warehouse, in late 1973 or early 1974, Eden receives its first shipments of imported Japanese natural foods from Mr. Kazama of Mitoku in Tokyo. Tim Redmond had ordered these foods from Mr. Kazama at a meeting of the Natural Foods Distributors Association in Florida. Initially Eden was forced to import Erewhon-branded products. Redmond recalls that at this time he was working at and managing the warehouse and Potter was working at and managing the retail store. Redmond was managing the corporation because he controlled it.

1973 summer.—The Eden retail store moves to a much larger location at 330 Maynard St. in Ann Arbor, on the University of Michigan campus. It now includes three operations under one roof in 6,000 square feet of leased space: A large natural foods retail store, a natural fast-food deli, and a natural foods bakery named Sun Bakery that had relocated itself from Kalamazoo, Michigan. This operation proved to be very profitable; it paid off all Eden's debts and paid for the new warehouse, offices, trucks, and equipment.

1973 July—Bill and Judy Bolduc leave Eden Foods, selling their stock to Mike Potter for \$2,500 cash. Tim Redmond becomes president. Redmond ends up owning 51% and Potter 49% of the shares in Eden Foods. Potter recalls that he bought the stock directly from the Bolducs than gave a small amount to Redmond so that Redmond would have majority ownership. Redmond recalls that the Bolducs sold their stock back to the corporation, then Redmond sold enough shares to Potter so that he (Redmond) would keep control with 51% of the shares.

1973 late or 1974 early—Potter and Redmond become equal owners of Eden Foods after Potter loans the company \$44,000 (entrusted to him by his father), then converts the

loan into an investment in the company in exchange for equal ownership.

1973 Sept.–Mike Potter becomes president of Eden Foods at the unanimous recommendation of an employee steering committee. At about this time Midwest Natural Foods starts to compete with Eden Foods, carrying many of the same products that Eden carries plus dairy products and frozen foods. Eden has never sold dairy products or frozen foods and, in the face of new competition from Midwest, Michael Potter reaffirms this position. This decision makes it impossible for Eden to become a full-line distributor like Midwest, and lays the groundwork for Eden's eventual decision in 1986 or 1987 to discontinue distribution to retail stores and focus on manufacturing of natural foods.

1974 spring–Eden moves from 310 West Ann St. into a larger warehouse at 4601 Platt Road. This move extricates Eden from what had become a "pathetic relationship" with Midwest Natural Foods. Redmond is sure that he and Potter became equal partners before this move.

1974 March 7–8–Michael Potter represents Eden at the meeting of Natural Foods Distributors at the Janus conference room in Seattle, Washington.

1974 Oct.–Potter makes the first of his eleven trips to the People's Republic of China. On the way back he visits Yuko Okada at the Muso Company in Osaka, Japan. Potter decides to import exclusively from Muso.

1977 Aug.–Eden Foods opens Turtle Island restaurant at 315 South State St. in Ann Arbor.

1979 spring–Cliff Adler, a painter renovating apartments in Ann Arbor, is hired by Michael Potter to work for Eden in Chicago, Illinois, to try to expand their sales to natural food retail stores. During that summer Cliff lends Eden Foods \$100,000, for which he is paid bank interest rates. Tim Redmond, however, believes Cliff was hired as a salesman in 1976, and that on 15 March 1979 Cliff became a shareholder in Eden Foods, buying 10% of the stock.

1979 Nov. 26–The Eden warehouse at 4601 Platt Road is destroyed by a large fire. According to the *Ann Arbor News* (Nov. 27–29) total damages are estimated at \$650,000. Eden Foods, organized in 1970, employs some 100 persons in distribution and production, supplies about 500 natural food stores and restaurants, has annual sales of about \$5 million, and is said by its owners to be "the largest natural foods distributorship in the Midwest." This fire burned many of Eden's key records, including records that would have helped in determining dates and facts for this chronology. Eden has never kept a written chronology of key events in the company's history.

1979 Dec.–Within 10 days of the fire, the board of directors (Potter, Adler, and Redmond) meets, authorizes a large number of additional shares of common stock, and decides to give away (free of charge) shares of Eden Foods' common stock to six key employees/managers to try to motivate them to stay with the company and help try to rebuild it. They also decide to lay off 35 other people.

Shortly thereafter Cliff Adler decides to convert his \$100,000 loan to stock (equity)

1980 Jan.–Tim Redmond decides to leave Eden Foods; he leaves in May, selling most of his stock (he kept 1,000 shares) in exchange for ownership of the Maynard Street Connection, Inc., which has a retail store and restaurant at 330 Maynard St., which are now separate companies.

1980 Feb.–Now Michael Potter and Cliff Adler each own 34% of Eden Foods shares, Frank Dietrich (of Natural Foods, Inc., Toledo, Ohio) owns 10% (which he bought for \$100,000), Ron Roller owns 5%, Michael Gordon 4%, Mark Cook 4%, Kathy Knor 3%, Bill Swaney 3%, and Bob Duha 3%. Michael Potter notes that four things saved Eden Foods (which now had a negative net worth of more than \$800,000) after the fire: (1) Cliff Adler's conversion of his \$100,000; (2) The incredible cooperation, generosity, and kindness that Eden received from its suppliers in the natural foods industry, and their trust that Eden would do its best to pay back their money at a time when interest rates were over 20%; (3) Frank Dietrich's investment of \$100,000 in the company; and (4) The great effort made by natural foods retail stores and consumers to go out of their way to help Eden survive by purchasing more Eden products. Note that it was not until Feb. 1982 that Eden ended up receiving from its insurer (Hartford Insurance Company) \$400,000 net, or \$0.50 for each dollar Eden felt it was owed.

1980 Nov.–Eden Foods headquarters moves into a 20,000 square foot building at 701 Tecumseh Road in the tiny town of Clinton (population 2,000) about 60 miles southwest of Detroit.

1981 Nov.–Erewhon Trading Co. files for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. Trying to keep up with the super-distributors in their region (especially Balanced Foods) Erewhon had moved into an 80,000 square foot warehouse and added too many items to their product line too fast—which destroyed the company. Stow Mills picked up the bulk of their business, with Westbrae scooping up most of the business for their Japanese imports. Eden had not yet recovered enough financially to take advantage of this opportunity. Continued.

10. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1969. Chronology of Eden Foods, Inc. Part III. 1983 to present. 31 Jan. 1992. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: 1983 July–Eden Foods surprises the U.S. natural foods industry by introducing Edensoy, a long-life soymilk in plain, carob, or cranberry flavors, imported from Marusan-Ai Co. in Japan, and packaged in a stand-up foil retort pouch.

1984 Jan.–The Muso Company of Osaka, Japan, appoints Eden Foods its General Agent for North America.

1984 March 2–A series of calamities hit Eden Foods in quick succession. The FDA (U.S. Food and Drug Administration) informs Eden Foods, in a strongly worded letter, that it considers eleven claims in a promotional pamphlet for Edensoy to be erroneous. The FDA advised

that the "Good for Babies" section of the pamphlet be deleted.

1985 June 14—The FDA informs Michael Potter that a six-month-old child in Canada had become seriously ill after being fed the company's soymilk as an infant formula. The mother said her decision to forgo regular infant formula was inspired by Eden's own literature—the promotional pamphlet cited above which said that Edensoy was "Good for Babies." Eden took the position: "There's a problem and we're responsible for it." To date some 18 million packs of Edensoy have been sold.

1985 June 23—Eden Foods voluntarily mails 10,686 requests for a recall of the pamphlet to its distributors and to individual retail stores.

1985 July—Eden Foods forms a joint venture partnership with four Japanese companies, and incorporates in the state of Michigan as American Soy Products, Inc.

1985—Eden opens a west coast sales office and warehouse in San Francisco, California.

1986 May—The Lima Company of Belgium appoints Eden Foods its General Agent for North America.

1986 Nov.—American Soy Products, Inc. launches a new generation of Edensoy soymilk products, in original, vanilla, and carob flavors. Made at a large, new factory in Saline, Michigan, they are packaged in Tetra Brik Aseptic cartons. This is the first aseptic soymilk plant in the USA.

1987 Jan. 1—Eden Foods stops distributing products directly to retail stores (which comprised only 10% of Eden's total sales), drops 150 products, and starts serving as a master distributor, selling only through other distributors. This decision had a very positive effect on Eden's growth; all the energy that was formerly required to attend to 10% of the business was now free to be focused on developing new products and the Eden brand.

1988 April 13—Cliff Adler and Michael Potter are in a serious car accident. Cliff is killed and Michael is seriously injured. Upon Cliff Adler's death, Michael immediately and automatically acquires Cliff's 34% share in the company—because Eden Foods Inc. and Michael and Cliff, jointly and severally, had a buy-sell contract that came into effect in the event that either Cliff or Michael should die. The value of Cliff's stock was \$500,000. Michael pays this amount from his personal funds for the stock. Potter now owns a large majority of Eden Foods' stock.

1988 May—While Eden Foods is still reeling from the effects of the car accident, the FDA files charges against Eden for publishing inaccurate information in a pamphlet which stated that Edensoy was "Good for Babies." Eden's previous major effort to recall all of these pamphlets from retail stores apparently had little or not effect on the FDA charges.

1988—Eden Foods joins OCIA, the Organic Crop Improvement Association, for independent certification of organically-grown crops.

1989 Jan. 20—Nearly 6 years after Eden Foods published its ill-fated Edensoy pamphlet, the company is fined

\$110,000 by a federal judge in Detroit, and its president, Michael Potter, is fined \$25,000 and sentenced to 30 days imprisonment. On Feb. 24 he begins to serve out his sentence in Bay City, Michigan.

1989 Oct. 12—Michael Potter is convicted of manslaughter and sentenced at the circuit court in Ann Arbor to 8-15 years in jail for his role in the April 1988 automobile accident that caused Cliff Adler's death. He begins to serve out his sentence in Oct. 1989 in Coldwater, Michigan. Ron Roller takes over as president of Eden Foods—the top position.

1989—Eden and OCIA establish standards for food processing as well as growing crops.

1991 mid-June—Ron Roller, president of Eden Foods, is asked to resign from his position. He chooses to leave and go to American Soy products to work full time. There he becomes CEO.

1992—Eden Foods now has 180 distributors, virtually all of whom distribute Edensoy. Owners of stock in Eden Foods include Mike Potter (who owns more than 50% of the shares), Tim Redmond, Mark Cook, Bill Swaney, and at least one other person.

1992 Aug.—Michael Potter returns to work at Eden Foods. He was re-sentenced and his sentence is changed to 60 months probation. 1993 Dec. 31—Potter purchases Tim Redmond's remaining 1,000 shares of Eden Foods stock, which Tim has kept since 1980. \

11. Product Name: Seitan.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. (Importer-Distributor). Made in Japan by Marushima Shoyu Co.

Manufacturer's Address: 342 Newbury Street, Boston, MA 02115.

Date of Introduction: 1969.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 3.5 oz jar.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product—Documentation: This is the earliest known commercial seitan product sold in the USA; it was imported from Japan. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1970. Jan. 1.

"Traditional foods: Importers, processors, distributors.

Wholesale-retail catalog." The company imports and sells "Seitan: Wheat and soy sauce cooked together for a long time. When used in soups or sauteed in vegetables it has a taste much like beef; 3½ oz."

Barbara and Leonard Jacobs. 1985. *East West Journal*. Oct. p. 38-39. "Flour power! Cooking with seitan, the delicious natural food from grain." "When I (Barbara) first tasted seitan, about sixteen years ago, I was fascinated by its flavor and texture. I had stopped eating meat for intellectual rather than sensory reasons, so the idea of using a grain-based product which had the texture of animal food was an appealing one. There were a few problems, however. The only seitan available at that time was expensive, and salty. And the pieces of seitan, as they came

out of their jar from Japan, were tiny and hard. Perfect for beer-snacks but not really useful for other purposes."

Talk with Lenny Jacobs. 1991. Nov. 14. Leonard first heard the term seitan in about 1969. Erewhon was importing a little package of dried, salty seitan from a macrobiotic exporter in Japan. Yuko Okada of Muso Shokuhin, or his assistant Julia Yamaguchi (daughter of Alcan Yamaguchi) might know details on this product.

Talk with Aveline Kushi. 1992. April 9. The first seitan imported to America was made by Marushima Shoyu Co. in Japan. George Ohsawa asked them to make it and showed them how. It was imported to America at about the same time the first miso and shoyu were imported. She thinks it came in small jars, and was so salty that she used it as a seasoning in place of soy sauce in stews (such as soybean stews) or cooked it with vegetables; this cooking made it softer. She is not sure which Japanese company (Muso or Mitoku) exported this seitan to America, or which American company imported it, but it probably started to be imported in about 1969.

Letter (fax) from Yuko Okada of Muso Co. Ltd., Japan. 1992. July 2. "I remember the term 'seitan' since I was a kid; it was probably coined by George Ohsawa. *Sei* means 'is' and *tan* is the first character in the Japanese term *tanpaku*, which means 'protein.' So *seitan* means something like 'right protein substitute.' Marushima Shoyu Co. developed seitan commercially in Japan and Muso has carried their seitan since Feb. 1966 when we started. We shipped seitan to Erewhon on a regular basis from 1968. [Note: Kotzsch. 1984, Dec. *East West Journal* p. 14-21 states that Muso began to export foods in 1969.] We also exported it to Chico-San. In Europe, we exported seitan to Paris, France."

Talk with Tom DeSilva, owner of Erewhon Natural Foods in Los Angeles. 1992. July 10. The first seitan sold at the Erewhon retail store in Los Angeles, by late 1969, was imported from Japan. "I used to eat that stuff with rice crackers like mad. It was just like jerky. I loved it. I could eat a whole package. But it was so salty that you had to keep eating rice crackers to cut the salt." Originally it was sold in a plastic bag, then later in a jar immersed in a dark liquid. Tom liked the product in the bag better.

12. **Product Name:** Azuki Beans.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. (Importer). Imported from Japan.

Manufacturer's Address: 342 Newbury St., Boston, MA 02115. Phone: (617) 262-3420.

Date of Introduction: 1970. January.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. Jan. 1. Wholesale-retail catalogue. "Azuki beans. Imported from the island of Hokkaido, Japan. Premium quality. Unlike the usual imported Azuki. Price: Due to foreign market fluctuations, prices on request."

13. **Product Name:** Black [Soy] Beans.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. (Importer). Imported from Japan.

Manufacturer's Address: 342 Newbury St., Boston, MA 02115. Phone: (617) 262-3420.

Date of Introduction: 1970. January.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. Jan. 1. Wholesale-retail catalogue. "Kuromame, a black soy bean import. Price: Due to foreign market fluctuations, prices on request."

14. **Product Name:** Furikake, Sesame Miso, Tekka.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. (Importer). Imported from Muso Shokuhin in Japan.

Manufacturer's Address: 342 Newbury St., Boston, MA 02115.

Date of Introduction: 1970. January.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. Jan. 1. Wholesale-retail catalogue. Products imported from Japan include the following "Condiments," each made with miso: *Furikake* ("A tangy sesame condiment made from Miso, sesame seeds, soy flour, nori and bonita [sic, bonito] flakes"; 3½ oz.), Sesame miso ("A hearty condiment for use on rice and other grains. Made from miso and unhulled sesame seeds"; 3½ oz). Tekka ("A strong dark condiment; famous for its medicinal qualities. Made from carrots, burdock, lotus, ginger, sesame oil, and miso"; 3½ oz).

Label sent to Lorenz Schaller, perhaps by Chico-San. 1973. Sept. Tekka vegetable condiment. Product of Japan. Distributed by Erewhon Trading Co., Boston and Los Angeles. 3.5 oz. 3.75 by 2.5 inches. Paper. Light green, yellow, and black on white. "Tekka is an iron rich condiment prepared by cooking several root vegetables for one day in sesame oil and miso." Tekka "has a nutty taste and pleasing flavor. It is delicious as a seasoning on brown rice and rice cream." Ingredients: Carrots, burdock root, lotus root, miso, sesame oil, ginger.

15. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1970. Traditional foods: Importers, processors, distributors. Wholesale-retail catalogue. Boston, Massachusetts. 12 p. Jan. 1. 22 cm. [2 ref]

• *Summary:* On the cover is the silhouette of three heads of grain on the plant, by a Japanese crest. The company sells the following types of foods: 1. Grains: Brown rice (short grain Kokuho Rose grown by Koda Brothers), Sweet brown rice (Koda Bros., more glutinous than brown rice). 2. Beans: Azuki beans (imported from Hokkaido), Black beans ("Kuromame, a black soy bean import"), Chickpeas (Garbanzo, imported from southern Europe). 3. Sea vegetables: Dulse (From Grand Manan Island, Canada), Hiziki, Kombu, Nori (Dried laver), Wakame (the latter 4 imported from Japan).

4. Soy Bean Products: Soy sauce ("Aged naturally in wooden kegs at least 18 months"; 16 oz, 32 oz, 18 litre keg). Hacho miso ("Soybean puree made from soybeans, salt & water. No chemicals used in fermentation. Aged at least 18 months"; 1 lb, 2 lb, 44 lb keg). Mugi miso ("Soybean puree. A lighter miso made with barley"; 1 lb, 2 lb, 44 lb keg). Moromi ("A thick sauce removed from the bottom of the soy sauce kegs after fermentation. Its uses are unlimited in soups & sauces"; 7 oz.). Seitan ("Wheat and soy sauce cooked together for a long time. When used in soups or sauteed in vegetables it has a taste much like beef"; 3½ oz.). Note 1. This is the earliest document seen (July 2005) that mentions seitan and clearly understands what it is.

5. Condiments: *Furikake* ("A tangy sesame condiment made from Miso, sesame seeds, soy flour, nori and bonito [sic, bonito] flakes"; 3½ oz.), Daikon pickle, Sesame miso ("A hearty condiment for use on rice and other grains. Made from miso and unhulled sesame seeds"; 3½ oz.). Tekka ("A strong dark condiment; famous for its medicinal qualities. Made from carrots, burdock, lotus, ginger, sesame oil, and miso"; 3½ oz.), Sesame seeds, Sesame tahini.

6. Sea salt: Grey unrefined (from the Mediterranean Sea, unwashed and unground), White unrefined. 7. Oils: Corn germ oil (unrefined, pressed. No solvents, chemicals, or preservatives), Sesame oil. 8. Noodles: Ito soba, Kame soba, Udon. 9. Beverages: Kukicha, Kohren (Lotus root powder), Mu beverage (made from 16 different herbs), Yannoh (coffee-like drink made from grains and beans).

10. Miscellaneous: Dentie toothpowder (made from eggplant and salt), Kuzu arrowroot, Umeboshi & chiso [shiso, shisonoha, or beefsteak leaves], Umeboshi ("Salt plums aged in wooden kegs for at least 3 years").

11. Cookbooks (written in America): *Cooking Good Food*, and *Cooking with Grains and Vegetables*.

The majority of the above products are imported, mostly from Japan.

The inside front cover states: "Due to the growth of our business and our belief that good quality food should be available at low cost, we have eliminated many items from our wholesale list. We have eliminated most grains because excellent quality grains are available from many sources at more reasonable prices than we are able to charge. Two excellent sources for grains are Arrowhead Mills, Box 866, Hereford, Texas, and Pioneer Specialty Foods, Box 427, Fargo, North Dakota. Also eliminated from our wholesale list is Chico-San products. For these please write directly to Chico-San, 1262 Humboldt Ave., Chico, California, or contact any health food distributor."

Note 2. This is the earliest existing Erewhon catalog seen, and the earliest document seen (Sept. 2005) concerning Erewhon and soy.

Note 3. This is the earliest document seen (March 2006) that mentions Arrowhead Mills, of Hereford, Texas. Address: 342 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115. Phone: 617-262-3420.

16. **Product Name:** Hopi Seeds: Sunflower Seeds, and Pumpkin Seeds (Dry Roasted with Tamari).

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, MA 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1970. March.

Ingredients: Sunflower or pumpkin seeds, tamari.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1971. Natural and organic foods. Price list. Effective Thanksgiving day, Nov. 1971. Talk with Nik Amartseff. 1992. April 3. See long interview. These two products were developed by Jerry Sh--, were made in a corner of the Erewhon warehouse at Farnsworth Street, and were on the market by late 1969 or early 1970.

17. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1970. Traditional foods: Importers, processors, distributors. Mail order catalogue. Boston, Massachusetts. 16 p. March 1. [2 ref]

• *Summary:* On the orange cover is the silhouette of three heads of grain on the plant, by a Japanese crest. The company sells the following types of foods: 1. Whole grains: Brown rice (short grain grown by Koda Brothers. "Not strictly organic, but the finest available in the U.S. today"), sweet brown rice (also grown by Koda Bros.), buckwheat groats (Kasha, from Pocono Mts. in Pennsylvania), wheat berries (organically grown in the Golden Valley of North Dakota), millet (organically grown), barley, yellow and white corn (organically grown in Deaf Smith County, Texas), oats, rye (organically grown in Deaf Smith County, Texas). Table of prices for different weights. 2. Fresh stone ground flours. 3. Cereals, made from whole grains and milled in a manner to allow quick cooking, incl. Kokoh (which can be used as a milk substitute or prepared as a cereal for children). 3. Noodles (udon, soba, and shonai fu--wheat gluten cakes). 4. Beans: Azuki beans ("The King of Beans... Organically grown on the island of Hokkaido, Japan), black beans (a sweet black soybean imported from Japan. Organically grown), chickpeas, soybeans ("Organically grown in Pennsylvania. A food high in protein, vitamins and minerals. Should be soaked many hours before cooking. Particularly good if cooked with Kombu"), pinto beans, whole green lentils, red split lentils. Table of prices for different weights.

5. Sea vegetables: Nori (dried laver), kombu, wakame, hiziki, agar-agar. 6. Dried fish and vegetables: Bonita flakes, chirimen iriko, daikon pickle, gourd strips (dried), daikon (dried radish). 6. Order form. 7. Beverages: Kukicha, mu herbal beverage, yannoh, lotus root powder, mugicha (barley tea), peppermint tea.

8. Soybean Products (imported from Japan): Soy sauce ("aged for at least 18 months"; 16 oz, 32 oz, ½ gallon, 1 gallon, 4.75 gallon keg). Mugi miso--Soybean puree ("Made by a special enzymatic process, this Miso is aged for 18 months. It is made from soybeans, barley, water and salt. It

is ideal for making soups and sauces and blends well with tahini to make a spread for bread." 1 lb, 2 lb, 4 lb, 44 lb keg). Hacho miso–Soybean puree ("A darker, stronger miso than Mugi Miso..."). Moromi ("A thick sauce removed from the bottom of the Soy Sauce kegs after fermentation. Its uses are unlimited in soups & sauces"; 7 oz.). Seitan ("A concentrated protein source made from wheat and soy sauce. When used in soups or sauteed in vegetables, it has a taste much like beef"; 3½ oz.).

9. Condiments: *Furikake*, kuzu arrowroot, tekka, umeboshi, sesame butter, Erewhon sesame tahini, sesame salt, white sea salt, grey sea salt. 10. Oils: Refined corn oil, corn germ oil, sesame oil. 11. Sundries: Sesame seeds, sunflower seeds, pumpkin seeds, popcorn, raisons (Thompsons), dried apricots, wheat germ (raw), apple butter, whole dried chestnuts. 12. Toilet articles: Dentie (tooth powder made from eggplant and salt), Aditi sesame shampoo, Orgene [Orjene] herbal shampoo, Fu-nori (seaweed shampoo), sesame coconut soap, vege oat soap.

13. Kitchen and tableware: Cookbooks: *Zen Cookery*, *Cooking with Grains and Vegetables*, *Cooking Good Food*, *Zen Macrobiotic Cooking*. Tableware: Rice paddles (bamboo), soy sauce dispenser, oil skimmer, bamboo tea strainer, vegetable press, vegetable brush, bamboo chopsticks (Japanese), chopsticks (Chinese), MAC knife (vegetable), vegetable knife, fish knife, grater, suribachi (3 sizes), Corona hand grinding flour mill (\$10.95).

On the inside rear cover is a United Parcel Service rate chart. Address: 342 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115. Phone: 617-262-3420.

18. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1970. Traditional foods: Importers, processors, distributors. Wholesale catalogue addition. Boston, Massachusetts. 5 p. July 1.

• *Summary*: On the cover is the silhouette of three heads of grain on the plant, by a Japanese crest. "As of July 1st., we will be set-up in our new warehouse... All orders that are to be picked-up, will be from 33 Farnsworth Street, South Boston, Mass. The new phone number for wholesale information and offices is (617-542-1358). Please continue to direct all correspondence and payments to 342 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115."

New products include: Soybeans in 100 lb (\$26.00), 50 lb, 25 lb, 10 lb, and 1 lb quantities. Kome Miso (Made with rice. It is younger and contains less salt than other Miso's. Used more as a delicacy; 44 lb (\$24.50), 2 lb, 1 lb). Koji rice, imported from Japan, will be available soon. Address: 342 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

19. **Product Name:** Soybeans.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1970. July.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. July. Wholesale-retail catalogue. The

company now sells soybeans in the following quantities and prices: 100 lb for \$14.50, 50 lb. for \$8.00, 25 lb for \$4.25, 10 lb for \$2.90, and 1 lb for \$0.30.

Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1971. Thanksgiving Day. [Nov.]. Price list. "Beans: Soybeans, organic. 60 lb for \$8.40."

20. **Product Name:** Shonai Fu–Wheat Gluten Cakes.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1970. July.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 4 oz.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. July. Wholesale-retail catalogue. "New imports from Japan... Used as crackers or in soups. 4 oz. \$0.33."

21. **Product Name:** Kome Miso–Made with Rice.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, MA 02110. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1970. July.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 44 lb, 2 lb, or 1 lb.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1970. July. Wholesale-retail catalogue. "New imports from Japan... It is younger and contains less salt than other Miso's. Used more as a delicacy. 44 lb for \$24.50, 2 lb for \$1.49, 1 lb for \$0.85."

22. LaBel, Murray; Izakowitz, Benjamin; Hillyard, Roger. 1970. Lease agreement signed by Erewhon Trading Company Inc. in Los Angeles. Los Angeles, California. 2 p. Oct. 8. Unpublished typescript. 34 cm.

• *Summary*: This lease was executed on 8 October 1970 by and between Murray LaBel and Benjamin Izakowitz (lessors, owners of the building), and Erewhon Trading Company Inc. (lessee), for a retail and wholesale grocery at 8003 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles. The 2-year lease commences on 1 July 1971 and ends on 30 June 1973. The amount of the lease is \$225/month. The lease is signed by the three parties to the agreement. Roger Hillyard (lessee) is Executive vice president for Erewhon Trading Co. Inc.

Talk with Tom DeSilva, owner of Erewhon–Los Angeles. 1995. Jan. 17. Tom is quite sure that this is the earliest lease for the Erewhon retail store in Los Angeles. From the time the store opened in about Sept. 1969 until the time of signing this lease, the rent was probably paid on a month by month basis without a formal lease agreement.

Note: This is the earliest document seen (March 2006) concerning Erewhon–Los Angeles. Address: Los Angeles, California.

23. Carberry, James F. 1971. Our daily bread–Food faddism spurts as young, old people shift to organic diets: Concern

on pesticides cited, but some see deception by quacks claiming cures. Yin and yang ice cream. *Wall Street Journal*. Jan. 21. p. 1, 12.

• *Summary*: Written from Hollywood, California, this article reports that "food faddism has been particularly prevalent lately." Kahan & Lessin Co., one of the nation's biggest distributors of organic foods, reports that its sales have doubled to \$12 million a year from \$6 million in 1968. New Age Foods of San Francisco [owned by Fred Rohé] recently opened a branch store in suburban Palo Alto, where it expects to gross \$1 million during its first year.

"Health and organic food advocates say the popularity of such items—as well as the more conventional products grown under 'natural' conditions—reflects the growing public concern over pesticide poisoning and the publicity over the dangers of food additives, preservatives, and substitutes like cyclamates."

Richard Hansen is a sociologist at the University of California at Davis; he is researching the organic food movement.

"New insights into universe: Bruce MacDonald [sic Macdonald], president of Erewhon Trading Co., a Boston and Los Angeles concern that specializes in such exotic foods as hacho miso (a soybean paste), says that organic foods appeal to many dropouts from the drug culture. 'It's not just that the body's malnourished from being on drugs a long time,' he says. 'It's also that organic foods can give a person new insights into the order of the universe.'"

Warren Stagg, the bearded proprietor of H.E.L.P., a popular vegetarian restaurant, believes in the mystical, spiritual value of certain foods. A vegetarian diet can help elevate a person to a higher level of consciousness and bring him into harmony with the order of the universe, he says. Since 75% of H.E.L.P.'s clientele are nonvegetarians, the "restaurant offers some meat substitutes such as 'beef' stroganoff made from vegetable protein, mushrooms, scallions, bell peppers and sour cream sauce, and a 'vegeburger' sandwich that's also made from vegetable protein. Other dishes on its menu include braised tofu (soybean cake) with brown rice and a salad of cottage cheese, alfalfa sprouts, sunflower seeds, grated carrots, scallions, figs and apricots."

A group of young people following a macrobiotic diet live in an old Victorian mansion above Hollywood's Sunset Strip. They are students of the late Georges Ohsawa, a Japanese philosopher who taught about the delicate balance between yin and yang; they eat ascetic meals that include pressure-cooked brown rice and seaweed soup. There have recently been well-publicized cases of the deaths or severe illnesses of a few young people subsisting on only brown rice, the extreme form of the macrobiotic diet.

"Another famous food-faddist helped found a huge business in breakfast cereals. He was John Harvey Kellogg..." according to Ronald Deutsch, author of a history of food fads called "The Nuts Among the Berries."

Deutsch then tells his inaccurate version of how Mr. [sic, Dr.] Kellogg got into the cereal business.

"One man who spends a great deal of time pooh-poohing various nutritional eccentricities is Dr. Fred Stare, chairman of the department of nutrition at Harvard University's School of Public Health." Dr. Stare discusses his pet peeves.

Note: Bruce Macdonald recalls (April 1992): "In early 1971 *The Wall Street Journal* ran a front-page feature story on the emerging new natural foods industry. A person from Merrill-Lynch came in and said, 'We could package this business and raise millions for you.'"

Advest Co. 1972. Dec. "A recent *Wall Street Journal* article named this industry as one of the ten highest growth industries for the 1970s." Address: Staff Reporter.

24. Eden Foods, Inc. 1971. Wholesale pricelist. 211 South State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48108. 2 p. July 26.

• *Summary*: This is the earliest existing Eden Foods catalog seen that is dated. The company was wholesaling the following products: Bulk grains (including some organically grown: Wheat (Deaf Smith), organic [from Texas]; Rye, soft wheat, and open-pollinated corn, organic from Michigan; Brown rice (natural, unsprayed), and sweet brown rice), bulk cereals or packaged cereals (incl. organic cracked wheat, corn flakes, wheat flakes, and rye flakes from Deaf Smith, Texas), bulk flour (all flour is stone ground on order in Ann Arbor, incl. organic soy flour), beans (incl. organic soybeans from Michigan [60 lb], and azuki beans [out of stock until fall]), noodles, oil and nut/seed butters (all unrefined and pressed, incl. soy oil in pint, quart, and 5-gallon sizes), dried fruit.

Soybean products: Tamari soy sauce (pints, quarts, and liters), Hacho Miso (Soy Paste; 1 lb), Mugi Miso (Barley Soy Paste). Note: The Eden logo with 4 sprouts in a circle is shown. Many of these soy products were obtained from Erewhon, and the grains from Arrowhead Mills. The format of the catalog, the product categories, and the product names and spellings are very similar to those used in the Erewhon catalog at this time. Address: Ann Arbor, Michigan. Phone: (313) 769-8444.

25. LaBel, Murray; Izakowitz, Benjamin; Hillyard, Roger. 1971. Lease agreement signed by Erewhon Trading Company Inc. in Los Angeles. Los Angeles, California. 3 p. July 1. Unpublished typescript. 34 cm.

• *Summary*: This lease was executed on 1 July 1971 by and between Murray LaBel and Benjamin Izakowitz (lessors, owners of the building), and Erewhon Trading Company, (of 8454 Steller Ave., Culver City, California 90230. A Massachusetts Corporation) (Lessees), for the purpose of retail and wholesale groceries, at 8001 and 8003 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles (two separate individual stores). The 3-year lease commences on 1 Aug. 1971 and ends on 31 July 1974. The amount of the lease is \$800/month. The lease is signed by the three parties to the agreement. Roger

Hillyard (lessee) is Executive Vice President for Erewhon Trading Co. Inc. Address: Los Angeles, California.

26. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1971. Chronology of Laurelbrook in Maryland. 16 March 1992. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: 1971 Aug. 23—Laurelbrook Foods begins as a macrobiotic natural foods wholesale distributor in Forest Hill, Harford County, Maryland (about 25 miles northeast of Baltimore). The company started as a division of Cycle Parts & Accessories, Inc., a motorcycle parts company that Rod was planning to start in late 1970 shortly before the idea of starting a natural foods distribution company took form. Laurelbrook company never moved from its original location, but they kept a post office box (P.O. Box 47) in nearby Bel Air. Their original price list shows that they carried 11 products, mostly bulk organic grains and beans (including soybeans) purchased from Arrowhead Mills. Erewhon was their other major supplier from the outset. The company was founded by Rod and Margy Coates, the parents of five daughters (including Sally, Judy, Marion [Ronnie], and Dora Coates) and one son (Dan). Dora was Paul Hawken's first wife; they were married in June 1971. Judy was John Deming's first wife; they were married in Aug. 1972. Both Paul and John worked with Erewhon. Rod and Margy decided to call the company Laurelbrook since they lived on Laurelbrook Road in Fallston, Maryland. Rod and Margy first got interested in natural foods in 1967 when their next to oldest daughter, Judy, who had been studying macrobiotics with Michio and Aveline Kushi in Boston, Massachusetts, and had worked for Erewhon, offered to come home and cook for her parents for two weeks and let them try out the diet.

1971 Sept. 30—Laurelbrook is still considered by Rod Coates to be a division of his Cycle Parts & Accessories, Inc.

1973 Dec.—Laurelbrook opens a new, second warehouse in Raleigh, North Carolina (at 330 West Davie St.). Four people start and run the operation.

1974—Laurelbrook, which now employs 24 people, enlarges its warehouse.

1975—Feb.—Laurelbrook publishes a 6-page booklet showing that the company now distributes about 43 different food products—including soy flour, tamari, and miso.

1976 Nov.—One of Laurelbrook's employees is trying to start a labor union. Management vigorously opposes it. Laurelbrook now employees 32 people and has a fleet of 12 trucks that delivers to 350 stores. It is still a family operation, with Rod and Margy Coates, their 3 children, a son-in-law, a niece, and a nephew working at Laurelbrook.

1977—Laurelbrook outgrows its warehouse at 330 West Davie St. in Raleigh, North Carolina, so they move into a larger warehouse facility at 2319 Laurelbrook Street in Raleigh.

1977 Nov.—Laurelbrook has 44 employees. Sales last year were about \$3 million.

1978 June—Laurelbrook is now importing foods from Mitoku in Japan.

1979 May—Rod Coates hires Richard Curry as accountant and general manager.

1980 March 17—At a special meeting of the board of directors, Rod informs the board that he will be retiring in one week, on 23 March 1980, his 65th birthday. He recommends that he be replaced as president by Richard Curry and that his (Rod's) official position be chairman of the board.

1981 March—Things are not going well at Laurelbrook. Rod and Marge feel that Richard is not doing a good job in running the company. Employee morale is down. But Richard blames the problems on Rod, and wants Rod to be less actively involved with Laurelbrook on a daily basis.

1981 March—Dora Hawken is fired from her position in the Laurelbrook office.

1981 July 21—Rod, Margy, and Dan Coates, constituting all the board of directors of Laurelbrook, resign, effective immediately. They are upset with the way Richard Curry is running the company.

1981 Aug.—Richard Curry offers to buy out the Coates' interest in Laurelbrook foods. They accept the offer. Rod and Margy keep ownership of the property and Richard was to pay them rent for using it.

1981 Nov. 21—Over the next 30 days Richard Curry places five large orders with Hain Pure Foods in the amount of \$35,577.

1982 Feb. 15—Laurelbrook Foods files for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection and does business under Chapter 11 for about 18 months. Richard Curry is president.

1982 Dec. 22—Rod Coates presents a list of items that he alleges Richard Curry sold illegally after the bankruptcy of Laurelbrook, and before the auction of the company's assets. Attached to this are letters between attorneys.

1983 Oct-Dec.—Rod and Margy Coates have to pay off the debt of \$35,577 to Hain—even though they no longer own the company. In Dec. 1983 the last of the equipment in the warehouse was auctioned off.

1990 March 4—Rod Coates dies of Alzheimer's disease. As of early 1992, Judy Coates lives in Ross, California, and Dora lives in Marin, California. Address: 505 Granary Rd., Forest Hill, Maryland 21050.

27. Gladstone & Chain. 1971. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. Report on financial statements for the year ending June 30, 1971. Boston, Massachusetts. 8 p. 28 cm.

• *Summary*: Erewhon has total assets of \$488,963 including current assets of \$406,600. Current liabilities are \$345,766. Net profit before taxes was \$152,168, and after tax profit was \$84,417. Retained earnings were \$124,203, up from \$39,786 in 1970.

In Boston the company is leasing buildings at 33 Newbury Street (\$825/month) and 33 Farnsworth Street (2

parts, totaling \$1,267/month). In Los Angeles, California, the company is leasing buildings at 8454 Stellar Drive (\$1,450/month), 7972 Beverly Blvd. (\$325/month), and 8001 Beverly Blvd. (\$800/month).

Debts—Bank notes: Erewhon is indebted to the New England Merchants National Bank of Boston in the amount of \$145,926. Interest rate: 6.5%. The company also has contingent liability to this bank in the amount of \$88,500 represented by various outstanding letters of credit.

As of July 1, 1971, the company ceased operations in its Seattle, Washington, store. All assets located in Seattle were turned over to a former employee of the corporation in consideration for the former employee's assuming all liabilities brought about by the operation of the Seattle store. Total assets turned over had a net book value of less than \$121,000. Address: Fifteen Court Square, Boston, Massachusetts.

28. Hawken, Paul. 1971. Erewhon gambles all for quality rice. *East West Journal* 1(13):6, 13.

• *Summary:* Starts with a brief history of rice cultivation in the USA, where South Carolina was the first major rice growing state. In 1912, rice was grown commercially for the first time in California. This year over 9,000 million lb of rough rice will be harvested in the U.S., but only about 25% of it will be used here; the rest will be exported, making America the largest rice exporter in the world. The leading rice-producing states are Arkansas, Texas, California, and Louisiana.

While looking for a farmer who could grow rice organically for Erewhon, Paul and Frank Ford (of Arrowhead Mills) drove into the Arkansas countryside and met Mr. Carl Garrich of the Lone Pine Rice and Bean Farm, in Lone Pine, Arkansas. Most farmers in that area had been "organic" farmers prior to World War II, growing their crop without chemical fertilizers or sprays. Formerly they used high-water culture for weed control instead of 2-4-D or Ordram. And they would rotate their crops with legumes and vetch to enrich the soil with nitrogen. "In Arkansas it was a common practice to graze cattle or raise fish on alternate years. Rice straw was stubble-mulched instead of being burned."

A week later Erewhon signed a contract with Carl Garrich, including a guaranteed income per acre. Erewhon was taking a huge risk. "If the crop failed for reasons other than floods or natural catastrophe, Erewhon would go right out of business in order to compensate for the loss." They began to prepare tons of compost. The land on which they chose to grow the first crop had been in soybeans for a while, so they felt it would be fairly fertile. Also they used biodynamic compost based on inoculation of the soil with nitrogen-fixing microorganisms, based on the work of German biochemist Dr. E.E. Pfeiffer. To complete the fertilization program, they added potash, rock phosphate, and mineralized seaweed. Then they planted an additional 300 acres of organic soybeans for next year's rice crop.

They were fortunate to have pure well water for irrigation. In late April and early May the untreated short-grain rice seeds were drilled. At first weeds seemed to be choking out the rice, then the weeds matured and died as the rice grew with increased vigor. They have refurbished an older Arkansas mill and "equipped it with a Japanese rubber sheller which will carefully remove the outer hull without harming the delicate germ and bran layers" of the rice.

Note: Mountain Ark's Guide to Whole Foods (1982, p. 7) added that Hawken first went to Arkansas looking for a farmer to grow rice organically in December 1970. Erewhon and Garrich finalized their agreement in March 1971, after Erewhon had been turned down by 8 other Arkansas rice farmers. Erewhon placed \$150,000 in a secured account as a credit against any losses the farmer might suffer. In April 1971 Garrich planted his first organic rice crop on 330 acres. That year he got a bumper-crop yield of 120 bushels per acre. Garrich, who started farming in 1941, didn't start using synthetic agrochemicals until 1950, when it seemed like a wise thing to do. He knew that organic farming required a lot more care and work to ensure the growth of the plants. Address: [Vice-president, Erewhon, Inc.].

29. B.W. [Becky Wood]. 1971. Making miso in America. *East West Journal* 1(14):6.

• *Summary:* Contains a description with photos of how miso is made at Norio and Fujimoto.

Chico-San is developing a domestic miso which it hopes to offer commercially in the near future. Miso expert, Junsei Yamazaki, has tested and developed miso in Chico, California for the last seven years. Mr. Yamazaki has one batch which has been aging for a year. He hopes to market this batch in six months. Chico-San will expand its plant for large-scale production as the miso is perfected.

"We called Erewhon to ask if they had plans for the production of miso and Bill Tara reported that there is a big and rapidly growing market for miso. But, he said, ideally miso should be made in a given area for consumption in that area." Erewhon will introduce to the domestic market a yeast grain called koji, essential to the production of miso.

There are currently two companies in the continental U.S. which produce miso on a commercial basis. One is located San Francisco and the other in Salt Lake City. Each produces rice miso made from white rice. The Norio Company has been located on the outskirts of San Francisco's Japan-town, at 1532 Post Street, since the company started in 1919. The company is owned and solely operated by Mr. and Mrs. Minoru Arikawa and son.

Fujimoto and Company, which originated in Oakland, California, moved to 302 South Fourth West, Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1945. Mr. Sekino heads the three-man plant. He speaks little English. Address: EWJ, P.O. Box 203, Prudential Center Station, Boston, Massachusetts 02199. \$6.00 for 20 issues.

30. Hawken, Paul; Rohe, Fred. 1971. Lowdown on edible oils (Leaflet). Boston, Massachusetts: Organic Merchants, c/o Erewhon. 1 p. Front and back. 22 x 14 cm. Undated. * Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210.

31. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1971. Natural and organic foods. Price list. Boston, Massachusetts. 4 p. Effective Thanksgiving day, Nov. 1971.

• *Summary:* This price list has no cover. Products include: Grains (incl. organically grown brown rice [short, medium, or long grain; Note: The short grain was probably grown by the Lundberg Brothers of Wehah Farms, Richvale, California], Ted Whitmer [in Bloomfield, Montana] organically grown wheat, hard red spring and hard amber durum, and Deaf Smith [Hereford, Texas] organically grown wheat [hard red winter], rye, and corn). Cereals. Stoneground flours (incl. Soybean flour, full fat, organic Deaf Smith; Sweet brown rice flour). Beans (incl. azuki beans, black beans [Japanese, probably black soybeans], soybeans [organic]). Seeds. Tamari & miso: Tamari soy sauce (pints, quarts, half gallon, gallon, 4.7 gallon can, 4.7 gallon wooden keg). Hacho miso (soy paste, 1 lb or 44 lb keg). Mugi miso (barley-soy paste, 1 lb, 2 lb, 44 lb keg). Kome miso (rice-soy paste, 1 lb, 2 lb, 44 lb keg).

Sea vegetables: agar agar (kanten), dulce, hiziki, kombu, nori (dried laver), wakame, wakame root, wakame (thin sheet). Tea: Lotus root tea. Dandelio herbal coffee. Mu herbal beverage. Kukicha twig tea.

Pasta. Crackers (Chico-San Rice Cakes, organic-salted, unsalted, with buckwheat, or with millet). Snacks (incl. Corn munchies [organic corn chips with soy sauce], Chico-San "Yinnies" organic rice candy [made in Chico, California]). Hopi seeds: Sunflower seeds, pumpkin seeds, almonds, cashews, or soybeans, each dry roasted with tamari. Dried fruits. Virgin oils (incl. Soybean oil, pressed and unrefined in pints, quarts, half gallon, gallon, and 5-gallon can). Nut butters. Condiments (incl. sesame salt, and Tekka [vegetable condiment]). Unusual foods: Umeboshi (plums pickled in brine) and Kuzu arrowroot. For cleanliness [body care products]: Sesame lotion [organic and biodegradable], Sesame shampoo, Orjene shampoo, Peppermint Castile soap, Toothpowder, charred eggplant and sea salt [Dentie in bag or jar], Clearlake all purpose cleaner, biodegradable. For cooking (utensils, incl. 2 sizes of "soy dispenser," suribachi with pestle, Save A Tree canvas shopping bag). Flyers: The Organic Merchants NOT List. The Sugar Story. The Oil Story. The Macrobiotic Way.

On the last page is a note from Paul Hawken, with his signature, thanking customers for their orders. Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

32. Product Name: Hopi Seeds: Sunflower Seeds, Pumpkin Seeds, Almonds, Cashews, or Soybeans (Each Dry Roasted with Tamari).

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, MA 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1971. November.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 1 oz. polyethylene-cellophane bags.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1971. Natural and organic foods. Price list. Effective Thanksgiving day, Nov. 1971.

Talk with Bill Bolduc, founder of Eden Foods. 1992. March 14. Erewhon was probably the first company in America to develop a line of tamari-roasted seeds and grains. Eden was carrying the tamari-roasted soybeans by Oct. 1972, and the full line by early 1973.

33. Product Name: Soybean Flour–Full Fat (Organic, from Deaf Smith).

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, MA 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1971. November.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 50 lb.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1971. Thanksgiving Day. [Nov.]. Price list. "Stoneground flours: Soybean Flour, full fat, organic Deaf Smith. 50 lb. \$11.00."

Ad in Tom Riker and Richard Roberts. 1979. *The Directory of Natural & Health Foods*. p. 57. Shows the label for "Organically grown–stone ground soy flour." 24 oz. On the front panel is a description of how to make soy milk from soy flour.

Note: This is the earliest document seen (Dec. 2001) concerning Arrowhead Mills and soy.

34. Product Name: Corn Munchies (Organic Corn Chips with Soy Sauce).

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, MA 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1971. November.

Ingredients: Corn tortillas, sesame oil, soy sauce.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 24 x 4 oz.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Erewhon Trading Company Inc. 1971. Thanksgiving Day. [Nov.]. Price list. "Snacks: Corn Munchies, organic corn chips w/ soy sauce. 24–4 oz. \$0.40 each."

35. Hawken, Paul. 1971. The macrobiotic way (Leaflet). Boston, Massachusetts. 1 p. Front and back. 22 x 14 cm. Undated.

• *Summary:* On the front is a description of the basic ideas of macrobiotics. "The principles of Macrobiotics are very few in number and simple. They are commonsense and can be seen every day in nature and in society. Since we live in a constantly changing relative world, the only constants are the principles of change itself. These are our principals: 1. Everything is the differentiated manifestation of one infinity. 2. Everything changes. 3. All antagonisms are complementary. 4. Nothing is identical. 5. What has a front has a back. 6. The bigger the front, the bigger the back. 7. What begins, ends."

On the back we read: "The following seven suggestions are offered for consideration as the basis for a sound program to establish physical and mental well-being:" 1. Eat only pure, whole, natural foods. 2. Choose foods which grow and thrive naturally in your local area and eat them in season. 3. Chew. 4. Eat coarse [sic, coarse] simple foods only when hungry. 5. Eat serenely and gratefully while reflecting on the origin of our food. 6. Eat two meals a day. 7. Do joyous activity and exercise. Details are given under each heading. Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210.

36. Hawken, Paul; Rohe, Fred. 1971. The oil story (Leaflet). Boston, Massachusetts: Organic Merchants, c/o Erewhon. 1 p. Front and back. 22 x 14 cm. Undated.

• *Summary:* Most vegetable oils are extracted with solvents, then refined; Organic merchants sell only crude (unrefined), pressed oils. When an industrial oil technician sees a dark color, it represented the presence of "impurities"—material that "prevents the oil from being light colored, odorless and bland in taste. From our viewpoint, those 'impurities' look desirable—the things which impart color, odor and flavor are nutrients. It is both tragic and ironic that the removal of nutrients should be equated with 'purity.' Tragic because if those nutrients were present they would contribute to the health of the consumer. Ironic because establishing the desired 'purity' really results in producing poor quality food."

"There are three methods of extracting vegetable oils from nuts, grains, beans, seeds or olives. The first is by use of a hydraulic press. This is an ancient method and yields the best quality oil. The only two materials that will yield enough oil without heating them first are sesame seeds and olives. Therefore sesame oil and olive oil from a hydraulic press are the only oils which could be truly called 'cold pressed.'" "Virgin" olive oil refers only to the first pressing by a hydraulic press without heat. "If an Organic Merchant has an oil which has been extracted [sic, expressed] by hydraulic press but has been heated prior to pressing, he will refer to it as 'pressed,' not 'cold pressed.'"

"The second method is by expeller, described in 'The Lowdown on Edible Oils' as follows: 'This is uses screw or continuous press with a constantly rotating work shaft. Cooked material goes into one end and is put under continuous pressure until discharged at the other end with

the oil squeezed out.' Temperatures between 200 and 250 degrees are normal. Obviously, this type of extraction [sic] does not qualify as 'cold pressed' either. Organic Merchants will refer to it as 'expeller pressed.'" Most expeller pressed oil is refined after extraction. So Organic Merchants will use either the word 'crude' or 'unrefined' to identify this additional classification of acceptable oils."

The last method is solvent extraction described in 'The Lowdown on Edible Oils' as follows: 'Definitely dangerous to health.'... This method is universally used by the big commercial oil processors because it more oils out quicker and cheaper. About 98% of the soy oil in the U.S. is solvent extracted.'" "What about these solvents? Most commonly used solvents are light petroleum fractions—four types of Naphtha used are Pentane, Heptane, Hexane, and Octane; another solvent used is synthetic Trichloroethylene. Some of these are commonly found in gasoline. Most used solvent is Hexane. Oils dissolved by this method are solvent extracted *dissolved* oils; they are not pressed oils."

Refined oils are susceptible to rancidity, because their antioxidants are removed during refining. Crude oils retain their natural anti-oxidants. A rancid oil has a biting sharp taste and is unhealthy. A crude oil contains all its natural vitamin A, vitamin E, lecithin, and all other natural food factors.

On the bottom back of one edition is: "Preprints available from: Erewhon Trading Co., 8454 Steller Drive, Culver City, California 90230. Phone: (213) 836-7569." Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210.

37. Rohé, Fred. 1971. The sugar story (Leaflet). Boston, Massachusetts: Organic Merchants, c/o Erewhon. 1 p. Front and back. 22 x 14 cm. Undated.

• *Summary:* This leaflet, printed with brown ink on orange-yellow paper, begins: "No Organic Merchant sells white sugar or any products containing white sugar because it is a foodless food. It is 99.96% sucrose and when taken into the human body in this form is potentially dangerous. It is touted as an energy food, but such propaganda is misleading for there is ample evidence that white sugar robs the body of B vitamins, disrupts calcium metabolism, and has a deleterious effect on the nervous system."

"There are three kinds of sugar which are not white: light brown, dark brown, and Kleenraw. They are all made the same way—by adding back molasses to refined sugar... For Kleenraw they add back 5% molasses, for light brown they add back 12% molasses, for dark brown they add back 13% molasses."

"Organic merchants do not sell brown or 'raw' sugar or any products containing brown sugar either, because the plain fact is that brown sugar is a shuck" (phony).

Turbinado and Demarara sugar are similar to brown sugar. So what kind of sugar should we use? The writer recommends following the advice of J.I. Rodale: "So far as we are concerned, the answer is none. If you would be

healthy, omit all sugar and just get accustomed to doing without it." Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210.

38. Rohé, Fred. 1971. The NOT list (Leaflet). Boston, Massachusetts: Organic Merchants, c/o Erewhon. 1 p. Front and back. 22 x 14 cm. Undated.

• *Summary*: This leaflet, printed with brown ink on beige paper, has the Organic Merchants logo ("1971 member of OM—Organic Merchants") in the upper left corner. The text begins: "You, the consumer, will see many improvements in the quality of material goods during the coming decade due to the activities of the movement known as 'consumerism.' One such activity can already be seen in the efforts of Organic Merchants. True, Organic Merchants is an organization of businessmen, but in its purpose it is nothing less than 'consumerism' come to life.

"When a businessman inquires about Organic Merchants, he receives an application which, if he wants to join, he must read, sign and return with his check for a year's dues. This application is actually a no-nonsense commitment, reading as follows:

"I recognize my kinship to the brotherhood known as Organic Merchants. I understand that the purpose of our brotherhood is to provide information to the public regarding agriculture, the food industry, and nutrition and that this information shall be provided without profit.

"I understand that the purpose of our brotherhood is to set quality control standards, making them in the form of a public contract that validly demonstrates a serious commitment. Therefore, I agree not to sell any food products containing:

"white sugar—"raw" sugar—turbinado sugar—corn syrup—bleached white flour—hydrogenated fats—artificial flavor—artificial color—cottonseed products—monosodium glutamate—synthetic vitamins—synthetic sugar substitutes—synthetic salt substitutes—synthetic preservatives, emulsifiers, or other synthetic food chemicals.

"I also agree not to sell refined salt, refined oil, & refined flours (white flour, degerminated corn meal, gluten flour, white rice flour) and to begin gradual elimination of products containing these items.'

"The above promise represents a truly remarkable phenomenon. There has never been a stricter set of quality control standards. Organic Merchants can rightfully claim to be the guardian of food integrity.

"But it is not enough to set standards, not even enough to live up to them. You, the consumer, must understand these standards, why they exist, their importance to the planet, to you, to everyone. So the principal duty of Organic Merchants is to inform." Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210.

39. Greenberg's Natural Foods. 1971. Largest selection of macrobiotic foods in the country (Ad). *East West Journal* 1(20):20.

• *Summary*: "Complete macrobiotic supermarket. Direct receivers: Lima [Belgium], Erewhon, Chico-San, Spiral, Infinity, Sun Circle Ranch. Organic grains, flours, beans, specialty foods, books, cooking utensils, fresh fruits and vegetables, whole grain baked goods, cosmetics and vitamins. Mail order catalog available." Note: This company was run by Arnie Greenberg. Address: 125 1st Ave., New York, NY 10003. Phone: 212-254-3151.

40. Alexander, George. 1972. Brown rice as a way of life. *New York Times Magazine*. March 12. p. 87, 90, 92, 94, 98, 100, 102, 104. [3 ref]

• *Summary*: The *New York Times Magazine* is part of the Sunday New York Times and may be simply listed as such. Discusses: Richard Nixon's declining health; he is sanpaku. Yin, yang, and the Zen Macrobiotic Diet, which has "something more than 10,000 adherents across the U.S., most of them living in macrobiotic communities—particularly in New York City, Boston [Massachusetts], San Francisco [California], Seattle [Washington] and Los Angeles. David C. Prentice and the Tao Bookstore in Boston. George Ohsawa. Bruce Gardiner, "the gaunt editor of Order of the Universe, a macrobiotic monthly magazine." Comments by Huston Smith, a professor of philosophy at MIT, and by Philip Kapleau, spiritual director of the Zen Meditation Center in Rochester, New York. The 1965 death by starvation of Beth Ann Simon, a young woman following a Zen macrobiotic diet in Clifton, New Jersey. Diet No. 7. Abstinence from marijuana. Attitudes toward sex. Herman Aihara. Vitamin B-12. Dr. Gerald Hass, a Boston pediatrician, who has examined many macrobiotic children and generally found them to be healthy though small in height and weight. Concerns of other pediatricians, incl. Dr. Cyril Ramer of San Francisco—who says that for children the macrobiotic diet is very inadequate in protein, vitamins, and iron.

Photos show: Richard Nixon's face. Gerald Hass. Japanese foods being sold at the Erewhon store in Boston. Address: Science editor of *Newsweek*.

41. Farmilant, Eunice. 1972. Macrobiotic cooking. New York, NY: New American Library. 224 p. Foreword by Herman Aihara. May. Index. 18 cm. [31 ref]

• *Summary*: This pocketbook has a color (beige) photo on the cover of ears of wheat, one wooden spoon filled with soybeans and one filled with unpolished rice. It is "A basic introductory guide to cooking and eating the macrobiotic way." The author's interest in macrobiotics began in April 1968. Basic information on soyfoods (especially miso, tamari, and tofu) is given on pages 29, 33-38, 213-14. Soy-related recipes include: Wheat berries and black beans (i.e. black soybeans, p. 78). Sprouts (incl. soy sprouts, p. 82-83). Miso pickles (p. 124-25). Miso soup (p. 128-29). Cream of miso soup (p. 135). Black beans and wheat berries (p. 139).

There is an entire chapter on miso and tofu (p. 142-46) including: What makes miso so beneficial? Barley miso

(nutritional analysis). Miso-vegetable stew. Miso-rice. Miso stew with vegetables. Miso-vegetable spoon bread. Homemade tofu (curded with fresh lemon juice).

Pizza—Macrobiotic style (with miso, p. 149). Chop suey (with tofu and miso, p. 151-52). Miso bechamel sauce (p. 159). Miso gravy. Simple tahini and tamari sauces (p. 160). Tempura dip (with tamari). Simple miso spreads (p. 161). Miso-vegetable spread. Miso-watercress spread.

There is a directory of macrobiotic stores and restaurants in the U.S. (p. 191-203, subdivided alphabetically by state, and within each state alphabetically by city). The following states have the following number of stores and restaurants: Alaska 1, Arizona 4, Arkansas 1, California 32, Colorado 4, Connecticut 18, District of Columbia 3, Florida 14, Georgia 7, Hawaii 2, Illinois 7, Indiana 2, Iowa 5, Louisiana 4, Maine 14, Maryland 7, Massachusetts 51, Michigan 12, Minnesota 3, Mississippi 2, Missouri 3, Nevada 1, New Hampshire 20, New Jersey 9, New Mexico 3, New York 61, North Carolina 5, Ohio 14, Oklahoma 3, Oregon 2, Pennsylvania 8, Rhode Island 5, South Carolina 1, Texas 4, Utah 1, Vermont 26, Virginia 4, Washington 3, Wisconsin 2.

There is also a directory of stores, restaurants, and centers outside the U.S. (p. 204-07, subdivided by country). The following countries have the following number of stores, restaurants, or centers: Australia 1, Belgium 2, Brazil 2, Canada 15, Denmark 4, France 29, Germany 1, Holland (Netherlands) 2, India 1, Italy 1, Japan 3, Portugal 1, Puerto Rico 1, Spain 1, Sweden 1, Switzerland 2, United Kingdom: England 13, Scotland 1, Vietnam 2.

A list of wholesale distributors in the U.S. (p. 208-09) includes Shiloh Farms (Route 59, Sulfur Springs, Arkansas), Erewhon Trading Co. (8003 W. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90048), Chico San Foods (1262 Humboldt Ave., Chico, California 95926), Erewhon Trading Co. (33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210), Deer Valley Farms (Guilford, New York 13780), Infinity Food Co. (171 Duane, New York, NY 10013), Mottel Foods (451 Washington, New York, NY 10013), Juniper Farms (Box 100, Sugar Loaf, NY 10981), Pioneer Specialty Foods (Fargo, North Dakota 58100), Merit Food Co. (Pill Hill Lane, Box 177, Bally, Pennsylvania 19503), Essene (58th & Grays Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143).

42. LaBel, Murray; Izakowitz, Benjamin. 1972. Notice: Non-responsibility. Los Angeles, California. 1 p. July 21. Unpublished typescript. 34 cm.

• *Summary:* Erewhon Trading Co. Inc. is making building improvements and alterations on a store at 8001-8003 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles. The are "remodeling for the purpose of installing an air conditioning and heating system, with carpentry, electrical work, plumbing, etc."

Note: LaBel and Izkatowitz own this store and are leasing it to Erewhon. Address: Label: 6378 Warner Dr., Los Angeles, California 90048.

43. Hawken, Paul. 1972. Re: Recapitalization of Erewhon Inc., current officers and board of directors. Letter to Morris Kirsner, 89 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts, Sept. 1. 2 p. Typed, with signature.

• *Summary:* Morris Kirsner is Erewhon's attorney. Paul has talked with Michio Kushi and the following is agreeable to him. Structure [of Erewhon] before investments: East West Foundation 3,832 shares, 38.3%. Michio Kushi 2,554 shares, 25.5%. Paul Hawken 2,554 shares 25.5%. Employee trust 1,060 shares 10.6%.

Structure after John W. Deming Jr.'s investment of \$150,000: East West Foundation 3,832 shares, 35.4%. Michio Kushi 2,554 shares, 23.6%. Paul Hawken 2,554 shares 23.6%. Employee trust 1,060 shares 9.8%. John W. Deming 831 shares 7.7%.

Structure after Advest's investment of \$350,000: East West Foundation 3,832 shares, 30.0%. Michio Kushi 2,554 shares, 20.0%. Paul Hawken 2,554 shares 20.0%. Employee trust 1,060 shares 8.3%. John W. Deming 831 shares 6.5%. Advest 1,939 shares 15.2%.

Both Advest's and John Deming's investment is based on their purchasing stock at \$18.05 [sic, \$180.50].

The officers of the corporation will be as follows: Paul Hawken, president. William Garrison, vice-president. John W. Deming, vice-president. Tomoko Kushi, treasurer. Paul West, general manager. James Gronemeyer, general manager.

The Board of Directors will be as follows: Tomoko Kushi, Michio Kushi, Morris Kirsner, Paul Hawken (Chairman), John Deming, One representative from Advest.

"I hope this supplies you with all the necessary information and that we can bring this to rapid and speedy conclusion."

Talk with John Deming. 1994. Dec. 28. Neither of the proposed investments by John or by Advest ever happened. Michio Kushi nixed them both. Paul Hawken believed that he owned 25.5% of Erewhon and Michio told him repeatedly that he did, but Michio would never give Paul a document which proved this ownership. John is quite sure that Paul did not actually own any Erewhon stock. Address: President, Erewhon Inc., 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

44. Product Name: Tan Pups (Skewered Seitan Deep-Fried in a Breaded Batter).

Manufacturer's Name: Nik and Joanne Amartseff.

Manufacturer's Address: 216 Gardner Rd., Brookline, MA 02146.

Date of Introduction: 1972. October.

Ingredients: High-protein wheat flour. Broth: Water, kombu, sauteed onions, soy sauce, fresh gingerroot. Batter: Pre-ground corn meal, fresh onions, garlic, salt, soy sauce, some of the concentrated liquid in which the seitan had been cooked, and maybe some water.

How Stored: Unrefrigerated and perishable.

New Product–Documentation: This was probably one of America's first two commercial seitan products. With this extremely innovative, all-American product, seitan was transformed from a salty black seasoning into a juicy meat substitute, and the pattern was set for most subsequent seitan products in the western world.

Talk with Nik Amartseff (P.O. Box 100, Cambridgeport, Vermont 05141. Phone: 802-869-2942; by June 20: P.O. Box 135, Chesterfield, New Hampshire 03443. Phone: 603-256-6750). 1992. May 24. Nik created this product. He and his first wife, Joanne Street Amartseff, made this product together out of their home, though they never operated under a company name. Joanne now lives in Mission Hill, near Brookline, Massachusetts. They first made the product at Gardner Road in Brookline. It was sort of the Erewhon executive house. The name was a play on two words: "Tan" came from Seitan, and "Pups" came from Hot Dogs.

Nik thinks he first made seitan at home in Los Altos, California. He learned the process by reading about it, either from an early issue of *East West Journal* (which began publication in Jan. 1971), or from a book. *Order of the Universe* (which he also read later) did not start publication until about 1972. He and Joanne first moved to 216 Gardner Rd. in Boston in May, 1971, when Paul Hawken invited them to Boston from Los Altos, California, where he and Joanne worked at Fred Rohé's New Age Natural Foods. Nik immediately began to work at the Erewhon warehouse and to live at the Erewhon executive house together with Paul and Dora Hawken, Bill and Renee Tara, Hy and Laura Lerner, and some single people including Wally Gorell and Bill Garrison. The women did the cooking in the house, but some of them (including his wife) also cooked the lunches for the workers at the Erewhon warehouse.

Before Nik and Joanne arrived, Renee Tara was baking ready-to-eat unyeasted macrobiotic goodies at home on Gardner Road and selling them at the Erewhon retail store. When Bill and Renee left for England, Renee asked Joanne if she would like to continue this little cottage industry. So in the early spring of 1972 Joanne stopped cooking for Erewhon and took over Renee's business, with the help of Nik's sister, Vera, baking at the Gardner Road house to supplement the family income. Joanne's project was quite successful right away, in part because she did not toe the macrobiotic line very strictly. She sweetened up Renee's strict macrobiotic line and added a number of innovative sweet baked snack foods, which apparently no one else thought of or dared to attempt, such as cookies, yeasted cinnamon-maple nut rolls, fruit tarts, and fig newtons. Nik continued to work full time at Erewhon, but during his time off he experimented with making seitan. He had two ideas: One was to use small pieces of seitan mixed with sauteed vegetables as a filling for piroshki (small cases of dough around the filling; Nik is part Russian), and the other he called Tan Pups—skewered deep-fried seitan on a stick.

Joanne recalls that they may have sold these two seitan foods a few times (she is not sure) but they were not regular items. However Nik is quite certain that for at least the last few weeks before he and Joanne moved to New York state, in order to have some extra money, they "baked like crazy" and sold Tan Pups and Piroshki.

In May 1972 Nik quit Erewhon for a while, and he and his wife moved to New York state. They returned to the Gardner Road house in Boston in Sept. 1972 and Joanne resumed baking. At this point Nik began baking with Joanne, mainly out of necessity to make some money. Their two lines of baked products were (1) Joanne's former line of sweet snack foods, and (2) savory products (such as the Piroshki and Tan Pups). Their two seitan products were on the market by about Oct. 1972 and they soon became popular.

They made Tan Pups entirely by hand as follows: The night before make raw wheat gluten from whole wheat flour (which they bought in bulk from Erewhon). The next morning, cook the loaves of gluten in large enamel kettles with water, kombu, sauteed onions, garlic, and freshly grated gingerroot. About half way through the cooking, add soy sauce. Removed the seitan and simmer the liquid until it is reduced to about ¼ its original volume. Slice the seitan into pieces about ¾ inch square and 3 inches long (like a hot dog with a square cross-section; the traditional New England Corn Dog influenced the product concept). Set aside any scraps or trimmings to use later in making Piroshki. In a blender, prepare a thick batter (having a consistency between crepe and pancake batter) using pre-ground corn meal, fresh onions, garlic, salt, soy sauce, some of the concentrated liquid in which the seitan had been cooked, and perhaps some water. Skewer the seitan pieces from one end, then dip them in the batter (without dusting in a dry breading), and deep-fry, placing them like spokes of a wheel in cast iron pots. When they are crisp and piping hot, deliver to stores.

These savory vegetarian foods (typically 100 Tan Pups and 50 Piroshki) were sold at only two outlets: Most at the Erewhon retail store at 342 Newbury St. in Boston, and the rest at The Organic Food Cellar, also on Newbury St. At Erewhon, they were sold on (or later in) a glass case about 10 feet from the entrance of the store. The products were sold in bulk, without packaging or labels. Nik usually delivered them by 3:00 in the afternoon, which was found to be a prime selling time. Most were sold by 6:00 and almost none were left the next day. He delivered 2-3 times a week. The work was exhausting.

But there was a lot of turmoil at the Gardner Road house, so Nik and Joanne moved in with John Deming in Allston (Massachusetts), then with friends in Saugus, then to Gloucester (27 miles northeast of Boston) by Nov. 1972. At each of the 3 houses they made the Tan Pups, Piroshki, and sweet snack foods.

In early 1973, Kathy and Mike Atherton, friends of Nik and Joanne's (Mike was employed at the Erewhon

warehouse) moved to Boston from New York. Joanne was due to have a child in June 1973. The business was too labor intensive and soon the family would need more money. So the Amartseffs gave their friends the home business (free of charge) and it was moved to the friends' home in the north end of Boston. Nik gave them the recipes and his two outlets, and showed them how to make all the products. Nik was re-hired to work full time at Erewhon by Bill Garrison. Nik and Joanne's son was born in June 1973.

The Amartseffs' friends continued to sell Tan Pups and Piroshki through at least the autumn of 1973, then they moved on—and the products went off the market. The business never did have a real name.

Nik never heard of nor tasted Tan Pops, the successor of Tan Pups, made by John Weissman.

Talk with Joanne Amartseff. 1992. July 8. She just talked with Nik's sister, Vera, who both Nik and she think has an excellent memory. Vera (who now lives in San Francisco) does not recall them making any seitan products before Nik and Joanne left for New York.

45. Advest Co. 1972. Private placement \$500,400. 1112 shares. No par value common stock. Erewhon Inc. (\$450) per share. These are speculative securities. Hartford, Connecticut. 34 p. 28 cm.

• *Summary:* Contents: Offering. Risk factors. Use of proceeds. Capitalization. Historical statement of income. The company: Sources of supply, management, employees & facilities. The market. Recent developments. New opportunities. Exhibits: (1) 1972 financial statement. (2) Sample product labels. (3) Photographs of facilities.

Erewhon Trading Company, Inc. is a manufacturer, packager, importer, and distributor of organically grown foods and natural products. Founded in January 1968, the company is a Massachusetts Corporation with its principal offices at 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston. It proposes to issue and sell privately 1112 shares of its common stock at \$450 per share. Advest Co., a member of the New York Stock Exchange, has been retained to act as the selling agent. The company reserves the right to approve each investor and to limit the number of investors to 15. The minimum number of shares purchased by any investor will be 55 shares.

"Management: The business of the company may be deemed to be highly dependent upon Paul Hawken, its president and director, and if the company should lose his services, its business may be materially adversely affected.

Use of proceeds: Net proceeds expected to be received by the company from this offering will be approximately \$475,000. Approximately \$250,000 of the funds raised will be used to pay back loans from the New England Merchants National Bank. An additional \$50,000 will be used to pay accounts payable, and the balance (\$175,000) will be available for additional working capital, to support new products and expanded sales, and to open a third retail store in Cambridge.

Erewhon's sales were \$491,546 in 1970, then 1,864,833 in 1971, and an estimated \$3,160,011 in 1972. Net profit after taxes was \$31,709 in 1970, then \$84,417 in 1971 and \$14,663 in 1972.

Company history: "Erewhon Trading Company, Inc. was organized in May 1965 by Evan Root to sell natural and organic foods. The company's first store was a small basement level shop on Newbury Street in Boston. Paul Hawken succeeded Mr. Root as manager in August 1967. In November 1969, the company moved its retail shop to 342 Newbury Street where it presently occupies approximately 2,000 square feet of street level space. The store is decorated in a 19th century country store motif and sells a wide range of package and bulk food products, fresh produce, books, and cooking accessories. Sales from this location exceed \$450,000 annually.

"This year (1972) the company also opened a West Coast retail store in Los Angeles, California and a nearby warehouse. This location serves the local retail market and distributes Erewhon labelled packaged foods to the western states. Its retail store has a 'country store' decor... This facility is operated under its own general manager.

"The tremendous interest in organic foods, as reflected by growth in the company's Boston retail store, led to the need to supply a growing number of independent health and organic food retail stores. Consequently the company opened a warehouse in late 1969. Since that time this facility has quadrupled in size and presently occupies 5 floors or 40,000 square feet of two older warehouse buildings at #33 and #29 Farnsworth Street, South Boston.

"This location serves as the company's headquarters, its processing and packaging plants, and its warehouse. Presently about 500 natural food stores throughout the country are supplied with approximately 300 different items. From its two locations [Boston and Los Angeles] the company shipped approximately 2 million pounds of wheat, 2 million pounds of rice, 50,000 gallons of soy sauce and a million pounds of oil in 1971. By dollar volume importance the ten most important product classifications in fiscal year 1972 were grains 23.7%, nut butters 10.1%, fruits 9.9%, vegetable oils 9.1%, raw seeds 7.5%, soy products 6.9%, roasted seeds 6.2%, shampoos and soap 5.8%, beans 5.3%, and pasta 3.1%. Since that time, the company has introduced its own line of granola and nut butters. Both these products are processed at the South Boston warehouse with equipment owned by the company... The greatest number of customers the company serves are in the northeast, accounting for more than 70% of its total revenues." The largest single customer is Star Market, a division of Jewel Tea, which is expected to account for about 6% of company sales in fiscal 1972. Star Market, a regional supermarket chain, purchases its organic and natural foods exclusively from Erewhon. It has 100 feet of shelf space in the form of individual gondolas expressly for Erewhon products.

"Supply: Erewhon has been a pioneer in the development of organic foods supply. The company has often encouraged farmers to switch over to organic cultivation by ensuring them a fixed price and quantity order. Erewhon presently has close relations with over 50 farms and has developed a strong reputation and high degree of loyalty among the organic farming community.

"The company purchases a large portion of its grains and oils from one source, Arrowhead Mills, Deaf Smith County, Texas. This grower-processor works closely with Erewhon to plan production and inventory the company's needs. Arrowhead maintains approximately 30,000 acres under organic cultivation. Rice is purchased from four growers in Louisiana and California." Erewhon "spends approximately \$10,000 annually to have foods verified organic by two independent testing laboratories... Validity is also sometimes ensured by an independent program conducted by Rodale Press, Inc... Based on soil analysis, independent visit, and quarterly laboratory testing, this program certified 70 farmers on the West Coast in 1971." Continued.

Note: This is the earliest document seen (Dec. 2001) connected with Erewhon that uses the term "natural food" (or "natural foods"). Address: 6 Central Row, Hartford, Connecticut 06103.

46. Advest Co. 1972. Private placement \$500,400. 1112 shares. Erewhon Inc. (Continued–Document part II). Hartford, Connecticut. 34 p. 28 cm.

• *Summary*: Continued from p. 12. Management of Erewhon: Paul Hawken–President & chairman. Born on 8 Feb. 1946 in San Mateo, California. Attended Berkeley High School in Berkeley, California. Graduated from Nevada Union High School 1963. Worked one year as a carpenter. Traveled in Europe 1964-65, studied at Alliance Française. Returned to the USA and enrolled at San Francisco State. School was closed by demonstrations, so he went into business for himself–Commercial photography, portraits, and advertising. Left business in 1966 to come to Boston to begin working at Erewhon in Aug. 1966. Married [to Dora Coates], one child.

Tomoko Kushi–Stockholder. Michio Kushi–Director East West Foundation. Morris Kirsner–Attorney at law.

John Deming, Jr.–Retail manager. Born 27 June 1947 in Tacoma, Washington. Graduated from Bolton High School at Alexandria, Louisiana, in 1965. Attended Tulane University (New Orleans) until 1967, majoring in English. Began his own business, opening a natural food store in Jackson, Mississippi. Sold the business in Aug. 1971 and went to work with Erewhon in Los Angeles. Married [to Judy Coates in Aug. 1972].

Gordon William Garrison, Jr.–Vice-president. Born 19 Dec. 1946 in New York, NY. Graduated Bennington High School 1964. Attended Norwich University [Northfield, Vermont] 1964-65. Attended University of Vermont 1965-69, and graduated in 1969 with a B.A. in philosophy and

art. Job Experience: Camp counselor, construction worker, ski instructor and patrolman, carpenter, farmer, tree surgeon, and lecturer. In 1970 started with Erewhon. Single.

Paul West–General Manager. In Feb. 1971 began employment with Erewhon. Married with two children.

Christopher J. Connolly–Production manager. Began work at Erewhon in 1970 in Los Angeles. Transferred to Boston in Oct. 1971. Single.

"Employees and facilities: The company maintains a retail store with 2,100 square feet at 342 Newbury Street, Boston, and a second retail store with 2,500 square feet at 8001 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles. Supporting this store and the Western regional wholesale market is a 14,000 square foot warehouse at 8454 Stellam Drive, Culver City, California.

"The company's headquarters and principal warehousing, packing, and processing facilities are located on 5 floors of two adjoining buildings at 33 Farnsworth Street, South Boston. This location comprises approximately 40,000 square feet. The company presently operates two packaging lines in Boston, 2 shifts daily, and one Packaging line in Los Angeles." The company employs approximately 40 people.

"The Market" Because it has grown with the organic movement and has followed rigorous standards of food purchase and preparation, the company enjoys an impeccable reputation for integrity in the rapidly growing organic foods market. The company believes it is presently the largest supplier of organic foods in the East.

"The market for natural, organic and health foods is a dynamic and rapidly growing one. A recent *Wall Street Journal* article named this industry as one of the ten highest growth industries for the 1970s. The National Nutritional Foods Association estimates there are about 250 manufacturers and distributors in the industry whose total sales were estimated by Dr. Dennis Wood, of Arthur D. Little, to have grown from \$140 million in 1970 to \$200 million in 1971 and possibly \$400 million in 1972. These products are sold in over 3000 independent stores and by many food chains. Their level of importance is indicated by the recent printing of a separate Sears & Roebuck catalogue for health and organic foods."

There is a diversity of motivations underlying consumer demand for organic foods. Three categories of demand appear to exist: Cultural, economic, and taste. Organic foods usually taste better than non-organic foods. "The growing public concern for ecology also lies behind the purchase of these foods. Presently many members of such organizations as the Audubon Society, Friends of the Earth, and the Sierra Club purchase organic foods to boycott the farmers and chemical industries whose use of pesticides and artificial fertilizers the groups consider harmful to the environment. The many life styles and philosophies that are loosely grouped as 'counter culture' also underlie the motivation to purchase organic foods. Youth predominates in this category, but some spokesmen are such notables as

René Dubois and Buckminster Fuller. In its broadest terms, the 'counter culture' is a search for a better answer to man's modern pattern of life. Man's present life style has led to a dangerous disruption of his environment."

"In fiscal year 1972 the company attempted a vigorous program of distributor sales aimed principally at broadening its market geographically and increasing sales. This program was successful in increasing sales, but its implementation required a rapid and inefficient expansion of the work force and substantial price discounts on distributor products. By consequence, the company's overall gross margin contracted, while its operating expenses increased, resulting in a 10-month net loss of \$50,000 on sales of \$2.8 million." Since that time distributor sales were effectively discontinued and substantial numbers of personnel were laid off. Gross margins have returned to their previous levels.

"Since its founding, the company has never employed a salesman full-time or run a continuous advertising campaign. Sales growth has been largely in response to externally developed demand and limited by capital."

Photocopies show the following Erewhon-brand labels: Maple granola, Peanut butter, Apple juice, Olive oil, oil of sunflower, corn germ oil, oil of soybean, short grain brown rice (organically grown), whole wheat flour, hacho miso (soybean paste). Photos also show the front and interior of an Erewhon retail store. Address: 6 Central Row, Hartford, Connecticut 06103.

47. Product Name: Oil of soybean.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, MA 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1972. November.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: One quart glass bottle.

How Stored: Refrigerated.

New Product–Documentation: Advest Co. 1972. Nov. "Private placement \$500,400. Erewhon Inc." On page 29 is a photocopy of the label for this product. The handwritten text reads: "Erewhon oils are pure and complete oils which are freshly pressed from natural vegetable sources. They are absolutely free from any chemical processing or refining. This unique oil contains natural lecithin, vitamin E, and unsaturated fats. Ideal for salads, baking, and sauteing. This oil should be kept in a cool place after opening and used within a reasonable time. Any cloudiness or sediment in the oil is an integral part of nutritious, unrefined oils. Product of U.S.A. Distributed by Erewhon, Boston 02210, L.A. 90230." An illustration (line drawing) shows about 12 soybean pods hanging below 4 soybean leaves.

48. Erewhon Inc. 1972. Distributor price list. Boston, Massachusetts. 4 p. Effective December 8, 1972.

• *Summary:* Includes: Three varieties of Wehah Farms organically grown rice in 50 lb bags ("Colusa" and Golden Rose" are both short grain; the third is sweet brown rice).

Azuki beans (100 lb bags). Tamari & miso: Tamari soy sauce (8 oz, pints, quarts, half gallon, gallon, 4.7 gallon can). Hacho miso (30 x 1 lb or 44 lb keg). Mugi miso (24 x 1 lb or 44 lb keg). Kome miso (20 x 1 lb or 44 lb keg). Granola. Rice cream (toasted). Cereals: Infant cereal (Koko). Tsampa Tibetan barley cereal. Stone ground flours (incl. Soybean flour, full fat, organic; brown rice flour, organic). Grains & beans (incl. soybeans, organic' Barley, pearled).

At the bottom of the last page: "Thank you very much for your order. We try to get our distributor orders out as quickly as possible, but you should allow seven to ten days to be on the safe side... When placing orders please call Bill Garrison or Paul Hawken and when checking on shipping dates and rates, please check with Doug Bray. Thank you."

An illustration at the top left corner of the front page is clip-art of a man cutting barley. Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

49. Erewhon, Inc. 1973. Erewhon visits a soy sauce factory (Ad). *East West Journal* 2(20):24. Jan. 15-30.

• *Summary:* "Soy sauce has been produced in Japan since it was introduced, along with Buddhism and the vegetarian diet, from mainland China over one thousand years ago. Today there are 5000 Japanese companies brewing a total of over 300 million gallons of soy sauce each year.

"One of these companies is Marushima Shoyu, located on Shodoshima Island, four hours by boat from Osaka through the Kii Strait. Marushima is a very old company, using traditional methods of manufacture, and it is here that Erewhon Tamari soy sauce is made. All soybeans used at Marushima are of unusually high quality, and come only from the island of Hokkaido."

A description of the process for making this soy sauce is then given. Whole soybeans are washed, soaked, then steamed and boiled in a 14-foot-high cooker. Toasted whole wheat is "ground into flour, mixed with the cooked soybeans and placed in a large room, right on the wooden floor, which is kept very clean." The *koji* is placed in vats and spring water is added. The soy sauce changes color month by month until, after about one year, it begins to turn very dark and a rich aroma permeates the storage room. It is then poured into cypress-wood tanks and left to age for two more years. Unlike this pure, aged product sold under the Erewhon label, most other brands are aged only one to three months in concrete or metal containers.

"We at Erewhon would like to thank Marushima Shoyu for the wonderful product they make available to us."

Note: This was written by Paul Hawken. An illustration (line drawing) shows a traditional shoyu keg labeled "Marushima" and a gallon glass jar labeled "Tamari." Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

50. Erewhon. 1973. Supplying natural food stores, co-ops and communities (Catalog). Boston, Massachusetts. 10 p. Effective April 6, 1973.

• *Summary:* The number of products in Erewhon's catalog has increased dramatically during the past year. An illustration at the lower center of the cover is clip-art showing a man cutting barley. A message on the inside front cover is signed "Thank you all, Paul Hawken." Below his message is a smaller reproduction of the man cutting barley and below it: "Good morning."

Contents: Grains: Incl. brown rice (short grain, "Colusa," OG {organically grown}, California; medium grain, "Golden Rose," OG {organically grown}, California; medium grain, OG, Louisiana; long grain, OG, Texas; glutenous [sic, glutinous] sweet, OG, California). Wheat (Deaf Smith, hard red winter, or hard amber durum, OG, Texas; Ted Whitmer, hard red spring, OG, Montana; soft white pastry, OG, Washington [state]). Barley, pearl. Buckwheat groats. Corn. Millet. Oats. Popcorn. Rye. Cereals: Incl. Rice cream. Soybean flakes (Deaf Smith, OG). Stoneground flours: Incl. soybean flour, full fat, OG, Texas. Sweet brown rice flour, OG. Beans: Incl. Azuki beans (100, 50, or 25 lb). Soybeans (OG, Texas, 60 lb). Seeds and nuts: Incl. Almonds. Peanuts (spanish, split). Sesame seeds. Tamari & miso: Tamari soy sauce (8 oz, pints, quarts, half gallon, gallon, 4.7 gallon can). Hacho miso soy paste (1 lb or 44 lb keg). Mugi miso barley-soy paste (1 lb or 44 lb keg). Kome miso rice-soy paste (1 lb or 44 lb keg). Sea vegetables: Agar-agar, dulce, hiziki, kombu, nori, wakame, wakame root. Tea: Incl. Mu herbal beverage No. 9 and No. 16. Kukicha twig tea. Celestial Seasonings herb teas (39 flavors). Pasta: Wholewheat spaghetti, elbows, flat macaroni, and shells. Granola: Five flavors. Snacks: Incl. Corn munchies (organic corn chips with soy sauce). Chico-San corn chips and rice chips. Soybean oil (5 gallon tin). Olive oil. Peanut oil (organic, pint, quart, or 5 gallon tin). Butters: Almond Butter (Golden Farms, OG). Peanut Butter (Erewhon, old fashioned). Sesame butter. Sesame tahini. Honey (Paradise Valley, unheated, unfiltered, clover or orange). Condiments: Sea salt. Sesame salt. Tekka (vegetable-miso condiment). Unusual foods: Ame (rice and barley malt-glucose syrup). McHenry's sorghum molasses. Kuzu arrowroot. Sauerkraut. Umeboshi (plums pickled in brine). For cleanliness: Dr Bronner peppermint castille soap. Infinity herbal products (shampoo and soap). Natural Living Company (sesame cream shampoo, sesame lotion). Orjene (herbal shampoo). Tom's coco-orange all-purpose soap. For cooking: Knives (vegetable, utility, paring), chopsticks, rice paddle, tea strainer, "soy [sauce] dispenser" (4½ inch), oil skimmer, vegetable brush, suribachi, Chinese wok, Quaker City hand grinding mill. Austria Email iron-enamel pressure cookers. Save-a-Tree canvas shopping bags, shoulder bags, and bike bags. Flyers: Organic Merchants N.O.T. list. The Sugar Story. The Oil Story. The Macrobiotic Way. Macro-Ecology. Packaged in cellophane bags with recipes (1 lb,

1½ lb, and 2 lb); Incl. brown rice, wheat kernels, pearl barley, alfalfa seeds (OG), sesame seeds, pumpkin seeds, sunflower seeds, mung beans (sprouting), soybeans (sprouting or cooking, OG), pinto beans, chickpeas, green lentils, green split peas, split red lentils, morning cereal (6-grain cereal blend), infant cereal (koko), tsampa Tibetan barley cereal, rice cream, soybean flour (full fat, OG, 24 oz), soybeans (OG, 2 lb).

A long note at the top of this list states: "In our retail store we like to sell 'bulk' whenever possible. But we have found that to many new customers coming into our store everyday, pre-packaged foods such as we are presenting here offer a better introduction to the world of whole-grain cooker. Each package has an appealing 'kitchen-tested' recipe on the front so that new friends unfamiliar with these foods can give them a try. Furthermore, some people prefer to buy packaged foods because they feel for various reasons that food sold exposed is not as clean or pure. There is some truth to that, of course, depending on the store, but in any case we are happy to offer a complete line of Erewhon grains, cereals and flours in attractive, biodegradable cellophane packages. We will be expanding this line of cereals and grains and welcome your comments and suggestions. Please let us know how we can serve you better." Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

51. LaBel, Murray; Izakowitz, Benjamin; Hawken, Paul. 1973. Lease agreement signed by Erewhon Trading Company Inc. in Los Angeles. Los Angeles, California. 4 p. April 17. Unpublished typescript.

• *Summary:* This lease was executed on 17 April 1973 by and between Murray LaBel and Benjamin Izakowitz (lessors, owners of the building), and Erewhon Trading Company, Inc. (of 8454 Steller Ave., Culver City, California 90230. A Massachusetts Corporation) (Lessees), for the purpose of retail and wholesale groceries, at 8001 and 8003 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles (two separate individual stores). The 7-year lease commences on 1 July 1973 and ends on 30 July 1980. The amount of the lease is \$900/month. The lease is signed by the three parties to the agreement. Paul Hawken is President of Erewhon Trading Company, Inc.

Note: The street name, Steller, is spelled like this twice in the lease. Address: Los Angeles, California.

52. Erewhon. 1973. Supplying natural food stores, co-ops, schools and communities (Catalog). Boston, Massachusetts. 12 p. Effective Aug. 20, 1973.

• *Summary:* The structure and design of this catalog is quite similar to the previous one of April 6, however some new products and sizes have been added. The illustration and note from Paul Hawken are similar. OG = Organically grown. products: Cereals: Soybean flakes (Deaf Smith, OG, 25 lb). Stoneground flours: Soybean flour, full fat, OG, Texas, 50 lb. Beans: Azuki beans (100, 50, or 25 lb).

Soybeans (OG, Texas, 50 lb). Tamari & miso: Tamari soy sauce (8 oz, pints, quarts, half gallon, gallon, 4.7 gallon can). Hacho miso soy paste (1 lb or 44 lb keg). Mugi miso barley-soy paste (1 lb or 44 lb keg). Kome miso rice-soy paste (1 lb or 44 lb keg). Pasta: Wholewheat shells (with rice and soy flour, 15 lb). Snacks: Corn munchies (organic corn chips with soy sauce). Hopi Seeds (all dry-roasted with tamari, 1.38 oz or 25 lb): Almonds, cashews, pumpkin seeds, soybeans, sunflower seeds. Vegetable oil, pressed and unrefined: Soybean oil (pint, quart, 5 gallon tin). Condiments: Tekka (vegetable-miso condiment, 3 oz). For cooking: Soy [sauce] dispenser (4½ inch). Packaged in cellophane bags with recipes (1 lb, 1½ lb, and 2 lb): Soybeans (sprouting or cooking, OG, 1 lb or 2 lb) stoneground soybean flour (full fat, OG, 24 oz), soybeans (OG, 2 lb). Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

53. Hawken, Paul. 1973. Erehwon: A biography. The view within. *East West Journal* 3(8):11-16. Aug.

• *Summary:* An early, critical history of Erehwon, written without any capital letters [all lowercase], expressing the viewpoint of one of its early, important, and very innovative presidents. "Arrogant" is a term often used to describe the attitude of the people running the company. A store by the name of "Erehwon" opened in May 1966 on Newbury St. in Boston, first manned by Evan Root, then Paul Hawken. "On Thanksgiving day 1968 we opened a new store down the street [at 342 Newbury St.] which still exists today. At that time we were doing about \$250 a day and the rent on the new store, with utilities, totalled over \$1,000. It was a chance we took, a big chance, and seemed to set the pattern for many to come. The decision to place our economic life on the line was based on growth. By then Erehwon had grown to be six people, and all of us felt in our bones that we had a tiger by the tail. A sort of giddy optimism pervaded the new store, abetted by all of us working 12 to 20 hours a day—Bruce Macdonald, Jim Docker, Jean Allison, Bill Tara (later to leave for Chicago, Illinois), and Roger Hillyard. The intensity was so thick you could scoop it up and bag it. All of us felt like passengers on a very fast vehicle bound for unknown places. Business was increasing very rapidly and it seemed we could do no wrong. Time moved very quickly and I was soon to leave for Japan to establish a source of imported foods. My position as to coming back was ambivalent, so Roger Hillyard was appointed head in my absence. Bill Tara, who had set up Food for Life in Chicago on the tenth floor of a downtown office building, left for Los Angeles with Aveline [Kushi] and set up another Erehwon due to Aveline's prodding. It was later to prove to be our worst mistake and almost led us to bankruptcy.

"While I was away, roaming around Japan looking for pure foods and wise men, Roger [Hillyard] and others were busy establishing a wholesale business based primarily on the products that were being sent back from Japan. In

retrospect, those times were chaotic, and I do not think the chaos let up until four years later, the spring of 1973. The chaos was (as I think back upon it) caused by thinly veiled ambition clothed in a stylishly cut suit of concern for our biosphere and guts. Perhaps this was a reflection of our urgent need to make up for years of bad living, bad ideas, and trash foods. In any case our actions were hasty, well-intentioned, very salty, and somewhat crude, but like a moldboard plow, we just kept coming.

"Chico-San saw us coming and promptly freaked out. They were very dismayed by their loss of New York business as our wholesale market developed. Chico-San had given us the impression in a number of personal conversations that they encouraged our self-reliance and particularly the importance of Japanese foods. Bob Kennedy, the head of Chico-San, candidly admitted that they lost money on imported items and they were able to stay in business only because they sold rice cakes. So it came as quite a surprise to us when they reversed their attitude. They began to express doubts about our motives and ability to procure good foods. Their attitude seemed to change into one where they were the 'official' food company, and that was that—appointed by the crown as it were. I can certainly see now how our brashness and youth did nothing to allay their doubts. In retrospect I have much sympathy, while realizing also that they did little to establish a real dialogue.

"Chico-San was formed by middle-aged people who split from New York City after Ohsawa walked into one of their meetings one night stoned on Scotch [whiskey] and announced the bomb was going to drop. This was during the Cuban [missile] crisis and there were many who shared that fear. They formed a well-organized caravan of families and trekked across the United States in a trip that got national coverage. Their purpose was to find the one place in America that was safest from radioactive fallout and also ideal for growing rice. Eureka! Chico, California. No one was more surprised than the local residents. The rift that opened between Erehwon and Chico-San has never closed."

Hawken then describes the struggle to get organically grown brown rice from Wendell and Homer Lundberg of Richvale, California, starting in the fall of 1969. Bob Kennedy, who had worked for years trying to find a farmer in the area who would grow rice for Chico-San, signed an exclusive 5-year contract with the Lundbergs. "He had to just about sign his life away... in order to guarantee that the farmer would not lose money in case of a severely short crop." Chico-San would not sell the rice to Erehwon, so Hawken contracted with a farmer in Arkansas. "It was ironic because a year later the Lundbergs almost went out of business trying to get rid of all that organic rice that Chico-San had contracted for but could not buy."

Hawken returned to Boston in Dec. 1969, then was fired by Aveline Kushi. He left and worked in San Francisco with Fred Rohe at New Age Natural Foods. Hawken returned to Erehwon in Boston in the summer of 1970.

In 1970 the "natural foods boom" started and swept Erewhon along with it. "If there is one person who is 'most' responsible for Erewhon being here today and not bankrupt, it is John Deming, who brought a sense of joy and happiness wherever he went in the company. He assumed the manager's position at the retail store and made it the finest part of the company. His positive attitude was in contrast to the apprehension that all of us shared about the future. He gave Erewhon some money without which we would surely have failed. On his twenty-fifth birthday John came into a trust which sort of blew his mind. He had known nothing about it. He wanted to just give it to Erewhon, but it is on the books as a loan. It came just in time to pay back overdue creditors and panting bank officers."

A table (p. 16) shows Erewhon, Inc.'s sales and sources of supply in 1966 and then in 1973. In 1966 Erewhon had about 200 retail customers. The company bought Koda rice from Sam Rabinowitz; imports from Chico-San, Infinity Co., Japan Foods Corp., and Wing-Wing; Lima (Belgium) products from Merit; grains and flours from Better Foods; and flour from Walnut Acres [founded by Paul Keene].

In 1973 in Boston the warehouse served about 200,000 customers (incl. 200 retail natural food stores, 43 Star Markets, 50 co-ops, 25 schools, 9 distributors, 10 restaurants, and 5 bakeries), and the store about 10,000 customers. In Los Angeles, the warehouse served about 75,000 customers (incl. 150 retail stores, 20 co-ops, 3 bakeries, and 10 distributors) and the store about 5,000 customers. A produce company in Los Angeles was supplied by about 40 organic farmers, and sold to 20 retail stores. Concerning soy products, Erewhon bought organically grown soybeans from Lone Pine in Arkansas [Carl Garrich of the Lone Pine Rice and Bean Farm], and soy oil from California. From Muso Syokuhin in Japan they imported tamari, and kome and hacho miso [plus azuki and black beans]. From Mitoku, Inc. they imported tamari and mugi miso.

Suppliers of organically grown grains included: Short, medium, and sweet rice (Wehah Farms, California). Medium rice (Willow Farms, Louisiana). Spring and durum wheat; flax (Ted Whitmer, Montana). Long rice (Jerry Ladds?, Texas). Winter wheat (Frank Ford, Arrowhead Mills, Texas). White wheat (Lewis Cox & Bill Ingram, Washington state). Buckwheat (Penn Argyl, Pennsylvania). Corn (Bill Stockett, Texas). Millet (Chuck Moses, North Dakota). Oats (Fruen, Minnesota). Rye (Mike Skinner, Colorado). Peanuts (Chas. Warnken, Texas).

Note 1. This is the earliest document seen (March 2006) that mentions Mitoku, or Muso Shokuhin.

Note 2. This is the earliest document seen (March 2006) that mentions Food for Life (started by Bill Tara in Chicago). Address: [President, Erewhon].

54. Gladstone & Chain. 1973. Erewhon, Inc.: Report on financial statements for the year ended June 30, 1973. Boston, Massachusetts. 8 p. 28 cm.

• *Summary*: A balance sheet shows that Erewhon's total assets decreased to \$967,959 in 1973 from \$1,052,148 in 1972. Sales increased from \$3,160,011 in 1972 to \$3,475,204 in 1973. Net income before taxes was \$47,010, up from \$20,095 in 1972. Erewhon owes \$411,283 to the New England Merchants National Bank. Note that the Advest stock offering, which was supposed to take place in late 1972, never happened. Address: Fifteen Court Square, Boston, Massachusetts.

55. *East West Journal*. 1973. Whole foods directory. 3(11):46. Nov.

• *Summary*: Gives the name, address, and Zip code of 46 natural foods stores and restaurants, arranged by region, including: Erewhon Natural Foods (342 Newbury St., Boston, Massachusetts 02115), Yellow Sun Natural Foods Co-op (35 North Pleasant, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002), Commonground Community Restaurant (Brattleboro, Vermont). Oak Feed Store (Coconut Grove, Florida), Beautiful Day Trading Co. (College Park, Maryland), Eden Natural Foods (347 Ludlow Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45220), Ceres Harvest Natural Food [Foods] (3632 West Colorado Ave., Colorado Springs, Colorado), Food for Life (2231 North Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60614), Eden Foods, Inc. (Ann Arbor, Michigan), Wholly Foods (2999 Shattuck, Berkeley, California), Erewhon Natural Foods (8001 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90048), Janus Natural Foods (712 7th Ave. South, Seattle, Washington 98104).

Note 1. This is the earliest document seen (March 2006) that mentions Ceres Natural Foods (Colorado Springs, Colorado).

Note 2. This is the earliest document seen (April 2006) that mentions Janus Natural Foods (Seattle, Washington). Address: 29-31 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: 617-482-9174.

56. Erewhon Trading Co. Ltd. 1973. [Meeting of natural food distributors]. 16 Wellesley St. West., Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada. 1 p. Dec. 19. Unpublished manuscript.

• *Summary*: This is a record of the first meeting of a group of friends each representing a company involved in the distribution of natural and organic foods in the United States and Canada. These companies are based in many major centers in the country and the purpose of the meeting was to establish a basis for intercommunication among people and the sharing of a general direction through friendship and knowledge of one another.

"The meeting was arranged by Paul Hawken and took place in Toronto, Ontario at the house of Michael Pate on December 7-9, 1973. The people present were: Paul Hawken, Bill Garrison—(Erewhon Inc. Boston, Massachusetts), Tom De Silva [DeSilva]—(Erewhon Inc.

Los Angeles), George Gearhart–(Janus Foods Inc. Seattle, Washington), Tom Swan–(Food for Life. Chicago, Illinois), Rod Coates–(Laurelbrook Foods Inc. Bel Air, Maryland), Roger Hillyard–(The Well–San Jose), Frank Calpeno–(Ceres Natural Foods, Colorado Springs), Michael Pate–(Erewhon Trading Company, Toronto [Ontario, Canada])."

Note: This is the earliest document seen (April 2006) that mentions The Well in San Jose, California. Address: Toronto, ONT, Canada; Or: P.O. Box 44, Milliken, ONT, Canada. Phone: 416-291-1471.

57. George Ohsawa Macrobiotic Foundation. 1973. *Useful names and addresses*. 1471–10th Ave., San Francisco, CA 94122. 55 p. 21 cm.

• *Summary*: This macrobiotic directory lists names and addresses of macrobiotic people, organizations, food stores and restaurants, and bookstores in the United States (each category broken down by state), Canada, and abroad. The leading states for individuals are California (7.3 pages), New York (1.5 p.), and Massachusetts (1 p.).

There are listings for the following foreign countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Costa Rica, Denmark, England, France, Germany, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, South Vietnam.

There are ads for the following companies: Sunflower, The Queensberry Bakery (112 Queensberry St., Boston 02215), East West Foundation Center, Sanae Inc. at 2 locations (Sanae Restaurant at 272A Newbury St., Boston, and The Seventh Inn at 288 Boylston St. in Boston), Prasad (1956 University Ave., Berkeley, California) (p. 0). Eden whole earth grocery and delicatessen, and Sun Bakery (330 Maynard St., Ann Arbor, Michigan) (p. 18). Janus Natural Foods (712 7th Ave. South, Seattle, Washington 98104. Phone: 206-MA4-1084) shows that they distribute (import) tamari and miso, as well as sea vegetables. They carry the following brands: Erewhon, Spiral Foods, Deaf Smith, Pure & Simple, Chico-San, Arrowhead Mills (p. 27). Cliffrose (129 Coffman, Longmont, Colorado). Ceres Harvest Natural Foods (3632 W. Colorado Ave., Colorado Springs, CO 80904; wholesale and retail) (p. 39). The Good Karma Cafe (501 Dolores St., San Francisco), and The Good Earth (123 Bolinas Rd., Fairfax, CA 94930) (p. 50). Greenberg's Natural Foods, Inc. (125 1st Ave., New York, NY 10003).

The George Ohsawa Macrobiotic Foundation is a non-profit organization located at 1471–10th Ave., San Francisco, California 94122. It was founded in 1971. The aim of the Foundation is to spread the teaching of the unifying principle and its practical applications in daily life. Address: San Francisco, California.

58. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1973. Chronology of Ceres Natural Foods (Colorado Springs, Colorado). 25 Sept. 1992. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: 1973–Ceres Harvest Natural Foods is located at 3632 West Colorado Ave., Colorado Springs, CO 80904.

Their ad in *Useful Names and Addresses* (p. 39), published in 1973 by the George Ohsawa Macrobiotic Foundation [California], reads: "Open weekdays 9-6, Sundays 12-6. Complete stock of organically grown staples, fresh fruits & vegetables. Bulk purchases–Wholesale & retail. Call (363) 636-2898. They are also listed in the *East West Journal* of Nov. 1973 (p. 46). According to James Silver (Dec. 1991) Ceres was started by Frank Calpeno. Frank's sister, Wendy, was known as the "Natural Foods Lady."

1973 Dec. 19–Ceres Natural Foods is represented at a meeting of natural food distributors in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, by Frank Calpeno. Frank also attends meetings in March and Nov. 1974, and March and May 1975.

1974–Ceres, Inc. is now located at 2582 Durango Dr., Colorado Springs, CO 80910 (According to Marcea Newman's *The Sweet Life*, p. 151).

1976 Jan.–Ceres is now a member of the Natural Foods Distributor Association. Ceres is also a major account of Erewhon, with James Silver handling their account. Silver recalls that when Ceres went out of business, Erewhon lost a lot of money. Address: 3632 West Colorado Ave., Colorado Springs, CO 80904. Phone: 363-636-2898.

59. Erewhon. 1973? The oil story (Leaflet). Boston, Massachusetts, and Culver City, California: Erewhon. 1 p. Undated. Front and back. 6 panels each 22 x 10 cm. Undated.

• *Summary*: This 6-panel leaflet is printed in dark green ink on beige paper. On the front panel is written: "erewhon: The unrefined oil story." Below that are three golden and green sunflowers. No author is listed, but the text is different from that written earlier by Paul Hawken and Fred Rohé. It begins by stating clearly that the simple term "cold-pressed" can prove very misleading. "We do not sell any cold-pressed oils, having chosen to call our oils simply 'pressed' because of the fact that all vegetable oils are heated during the process of pressing. To make this distinction clearer it will be helpful to look closely at two phases of oil processing: extraction and refining—or the lack of it." Both phases are explained clearly and in detail. Erewhon does not refine its oil.

"If you have any questions about our oils or any Erewhon products, please write us. Erewhon, 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Erewhon, 8454 Steller Drive, Culver City, California 90230."

On the back panel: "We hope you will try our full line of oils: Safflower oil. Sesame oil. Olive oil. Sunflower oil. Corn oil."

60. Gerner, Bob. 1974. Log of trip to Japan to study traditional natural foods, 28 Feb.–2 March 1974. Part I (Log–unpublished). Westbrae Natural Foods Inc., Berkeley, CA 94710. 26 p. Unpublished log. Handwritten. 20 x 8 cm.

• *Summary*: 1974 Feb. 28. Meet Bill Shurtleff and Mr. Masa Miyashita of Kikkoman export dept. (good man, speaks fluent English) at the Imperial Hotel (*Teikoku*

Hoteru, built in the 1920s by Frank Lloyd Wright) in Tokyo. Talk for 4 hours. Westbrae hires Shurtleff as an interpreter and guide.

March 1. Dinner at Sasa-no-Yuki, beautiful old restaurant that specializes in tofu cuisine.

March 4, Monday. Visit Kikkoman in Noda with Shurtleff and Miyashita. Tour Plant #7, then Plant #4 (the Goyo-Gura), which produces the emperor's shoyu in the traditional, natural way. "Saw 5 batches of moromi mash from 1 month old to 12 months old, and tasted each one. Delicious. Great color change between the 1 month and the 12 month moromi. We saw all the traditional tools. The moromi vats were made of cedar and last approximately 200 years." See a movie on how shoyu is made. Lunch at a sushi shop. Visit two miso retail shops with Shurtleff near his home. One had 42-45 types of miso (mostly rice miso, with 1 each Hatcho, barley, and cooked miso), the other 32-35 types. Tasted many and learned the differences. I buy Saikyo sweet white miso and Hatcho miso.

March 5, Tues. Attend a cooking class at Lima Ohsawa's house, then have dinner with Lima and the class members. Sick for the next 2 days.

March 9, Sat. Call then meet Mr. Kazama of Mitoku. He represents Erewhon. We may import through Kikkoman's Pacific Trading. Plan trip to Sendai Miso-Shoyu. Sendai is interested in using organic soybeans to make shoyu but would like a contract stating that all of it will be purchased when done. Dinner at the natural foods restaurant, Hakumon run by a Frenchman named Pierre.

March 11, Mon. Meet Shurtleff early at Tokyo station. Take bullet train (Shinkansen) to visit two Hatcho miso plants (Hayakawa Kyuemon Shoten, and Ota Shoten in Okazaki city, Aichi prefecture). Both plants claim to be over 600 years old. They use modern steamers and koji rooms. They pile 4-6 tons of rocks atop each large vat of miso, age it for 2 summers. It becomes very mellow when fully aged. They also use about half of their Hatcho miso to make Akadashi miso. It also contains caramel coloring, barley syrup, MSG, shoyu, a white miso, and preservatives. They sell a lot of Akadashi but only a little Hatcho miso. Lunch at an udon noodle shop that hand makes and cuts the noodles. Lots of slurping. Then visit a plant that makes real tamari and shoyu. All the tamari is mixed with junk. Train to Kyoto; stay at Friends World College. Note: This is the earliest English-language document seen (Feb. 2005) that contains the term "real tamari."

March 12, Tues. Visit a tofu maker, a yuba maker (*Yuba Han*), then the company that makes Saikyo sweet white miso. The owner lies to us initially about his miso aging and caramel coloring (which tastes and looks like tar). Then he reverses himself without batting an eye. Lunch at a 300 year old Zen vegetarian restaurant (*Okutan* near *Nanzenji* temple); so beautiful that I start crying. Fantastic place. Light snow falling by the pond. Enjoy Simmering Tofu (*Yudofu*) in a broth. Then we go to a 400-year old tofu restaurant (*Nakamura-ro*) at a shrine (*Gion*) for dessert of

amazake and *Dengaku* (skewered and braised with sweet miso). On to a second miso factory. It is a bore and the owner does not seem sincere but he has a great reputation among macrobiotics. He makes both natural and sweet white miso. Shurtleff visited him last year. For white miso the soybeans are boiled; for red miso they are steamed. Some white miso contains sodium thiosulphate bleach. Visit another yuba shop. They use granite grinding stones to make soymilk, cast iron pot to cook it in and copper skimming tables. A very beautiful place. Meet Ty Smith at a soba shop. He is a chain smoker, just quit working for Muso, and promoting a cooperative effort between Janus, Chico-San, Erewhon, and The Well to import foods from Japan. Evening at Jittoku coffee house, owned by an American, in a large old Japanese treasury (*kura*). Back to Tokyo by train. Talk until 1:00 A.M.

March 14, Thurs. Meet Kazama and Shurtleff, and take express train to Sendai Miso-Shoyu. We are treated royally by Mr. Muro. Long introduction and discussion. Visit their 2 plants, one modern, one traditional, natural. They make only rice miso. Their production of natural miso is more than all that imported to America by Erewhon and Janus. They age their natural shoyu 18-24 months at the request of Michio Kushi and Erewhon. They have 9 aging vats for the first year, then it is switched to other tanks. They invite us to have a shoyu taste test among 3 products: Kikkoman regular shoyu, Sendai regular, Sendai natural. Both Bill and I choose Kikkoman as best; good aroma, color, and taste. They congratulate us on our good taste. Sendai regular had very strong salty taste. We both liked the Sendai natural least; good color, no aroma, very mild taste. Sendai people say only one year is needed to ferment shoyu naturally. We might sell them organic soybeans (we had purchased 12 truckloads from a farmer) and get shoyu back in 1 year. We meet the president (Sasaki?), born 1928. Elegant geisha-hosted tempura and sushi dinner with president, 2 vice presidents, production manager, and a consulting professor (Shibasaki sensei). After dinner to a traditional bar for *doboroku* (thick, unrefined sake with a low alcohol content), then a sushi house. Shurtleff leaves for Tokyo on night train.

March 16, Sat. Visit Shurtleff and Aoyagi's home for lunch. We have dried-frozen tofu main dish, salad with creamy tofu dressing, strawberries with tofu whipped cream. Delicious. Then we learn how to make tofu at home. It's easy. I'll make it at home in California, then at our Westbrae Natural Foods retail store on Gilman Street (Note: This led to a long series of tofu classes by Gerner, Liz Horowitz, and later Shurtleff & Aoyagi; The retail store changed its name in late 1976 to Gilman Street Gourmet).

Note: This is the earliest document seen (April 2006) concerning Westbrae Natural Foods. Continued. Address: President & Chairman of the Board, Westbrae Natural Foods Inc., 1224 10th St., Berkeley, California 94710.

61. Gerner, Bob. 1974. Log of trip to Japan to study traditional natural foods, 28 Feb.–2 March 1974. Part II (Log–unpublished). Westbrae Natural Foods Inc., Berkeley, CA 94710. 26 p. Unpublished log. Handwritten. 20 x 8 cm. • *Summary*: Continued: March 19, Tues. Take bullet train to Kyoto to meet Steve Earle of Muso Shokuhin. We 3 go to Okayama to see Fuchu Miso, that makes mugi miso (the barley miso sold in our store) and sweet white miso. The president's wife is the epitome of Japanese woman. For lunch we have tofu burgers with Italian sauce and mushrooms in a bento made by Akiko. Delicious. Take a boat to Shodo-shima where Marushima Shoyu Co. is located. Island is also famous for toasted sesame oil. Arrive at a ryokan at 6:30 P.M. VIP treatment. Bath before dinner and served in private room by geisha. Too much fish! Note: This is the earliest English-language document seen (May 2003) that uses the term "tofu burger."

March 20, Wed. Miso soup for breakfast. Visit Marushima Shoyu where Muso gets its "natural" shoyu for export to America. They have the newest wheat roasters (they roast it with sand), biggest presses. We see cement aging tanks in a temperature-controlled room, then onto a large red building with 150 aging tanks. But we see no whole soybeans, only soybean meal (*dashi daizu*). "I feel the owner is a liar and this is a bogus operation. The scene gets heavy and ugly. Bill is great and presses on with questions." The owner claims that 40% of their shoyu is natural, aged for 3 years and made with whole soybeans; 60% made with soybean meal, temperature controlled for 7 months. Thus there should be about 120 vats of natural versus 60 regular. But where is the natural? Their faces turn red. We have caught them red handed. The owner take us to one musty, dirty old building with 25 vats, only 8 of which contain shoyu, some only half full. Lots of cockroaches. Looks like no one ever goes here. Still no sign of a single whole soybean. Uneasy departure. Steve Earle is embarrassed. We take a train to Tokyo. We present Earle/Muso with a list of inconsistencies and ask for a written reply.

March 21, Thurs. Visit Mr. Kazama's miso factory (*Ikeda Kojiro Miso Shoten* in Kawaguchi-shi near Tokyo), that makes barley miso, the only brown rice miso in Japan, and shoyu. Call Ty Smith of Muso. He says Muso was very happy with our findings concerning the problems at Marushima, and that they have contacted a new source in Kyushu. Marushima said their president died a year or so ago and his son took over. They have lost the old feeling and tradition.

March 22, Fri. 6:00 A.M. Meet with Bill Shurtleff at his tofu master's tofu shop (*San-Gen-Ya*, run by Mr. Toshio Arai). We watch how he makes tofu. Beautiful place (12 feet square) attached to their home. Beautiful people; they don't speak English. Both make tofu starting early in the morning. He delivers in the afternoon and she sells out of the shop. He gave me hot rich soymilk (from *kinugoshi*) with wild mountain honey. Both incredible. So sweet and

delicious. They also serve us freshly made agé, kinugoshi, and natto. Lunch at Shurtleff and Aoyagi's home: Noodles and tofu, Chinese fried tofu, tofu pudding, agé, kinugoshi, and mikan orange. We go over my notes from the miso factory. We copy all of his notes. Then I leave, very sad, but the friendship will remain. Akiko is a remarkable lady. Meet Mr. Kazama and go to Pacific Trading. Lousy meeting with Mr. Masaaki Miki (sales manager), and Masa Miyashita (export dept). Go to airport.

Results of the trip: (1) Westbrae started (about 9 months later) to import many varieties of miso, plus shoyu, and other products from Mr. Kazama in Japan. Bob Gerner was the founder, president, and chairman of the board of Westbrae; (2) Bob Gerner and Liz Horowitz taught "Tofu and Miso Cookery Classes" in Berkeley during 1976; (3) Westbrae published and distributed widely two brochures, *What is Miso?* (May 1976) and *What is Tofu?* (July 1976) written by Shurtleff and Aoyagi; (4) In 1976 Westbrae Natural Foods Inc. decided to sell its retail store at 1336 Gilman St. in order to focus on being a distributor and importer. The store had been losing money. Bob Gerner bought it in June 1976 for the low price offered by the highest bidder. He remodeled the store, renamed it Gilman Street Gourmet, and re-opened it in Sept. 1976. In the spring of 1977 Gerner added a deli to the store; there he made and sold Tofu Burgers, Tofu Treasure Balls, and Tofu Steaks Sauteed in Ginger Sauce. The same week that the deli opened, Gerner sold 3,000 to 4,000 of his new Tofu Burgers out of the Westbrae booth at the New Earth Exposition in San Francisco. Bob's nephew and sister (Margaret) made the tofu burgers. The burgers sold equally well at the same Expo in 1978 and 1979; (5) Shurtleff and Aoyagi wrote *The Book of Miso* and their New-age Foods Study Center moved toward becoming Soyfoods Center.

Note: In late November 1974 Mr. Kazama came to a meeting at Pajaro Dunes by Santa Cruz, sponsored by The Well. The idea was to set up a natural foods trade association. Erewhon wanted to control all imports of Japanese natural foods from Japan. Janus and The Well both had to import through Erewhon. They said Westbrae must buy through them via The Well (Roger Hillyard/Pure & Simple), and pay a 5% commission. Kazama had to defer to them. Gerner refused and they backed off. Ty Smith, now head of Erewhon, was upset that Westbrae was not paying a commission. Gerner told him "Tough." So Westbrae ended up importing from Kazama. Address: President & Chairman of the Board, Westbrae Natural Foods Inc., 1224 10th St., Berkeley, California 94710.

62. Meeting of Natural Food Distributors. 1974. Erewhon Trading Co. 1 p. March 7-8. Unpublished manuscript. • *Summary*: This meeting, a follow-up to the Dec. 1973 meeting in Toronto, Canada, was held at the Janus conference room on 7-8 March 1974, near Seattle, Washington. The meeting began with a brief period of meditation. Those in attendance were: Boyd Foster

(Arrowhead Mills), Mike Potter (Eden), Bill Garrison (Erewhon/Boston), Loren Specter and Tom DeSilva (Erewhon/Los Angeles), Michael Pate (Erewhon/Toronto), Tom Swan (Food for Life), Rod & Margy Coates (Laurelbrook), Charlie Smail (Shadowfax), Erwin Caruso [sic, Irwin Carasso] (Tree of Life), Roger Hillyard (The Well), Frank Calpeno (Ceres), George Gearhart (Janus), Tim Hartman (Janus), Blake Rankin (Janus).

George Gearhart was selected chairman. Each company presented a brief report of its current status.

"Eden—Mike Potter. Eden began as a retailer four years ago [i.e. 1970] and eventually borrowed \$30,000 to set themselves up as a distributor. Wholesale distribution began with products from Arrowhead Mills and Erewhon. The warehouse physically separated from the retail store and the company has recently begun to make money. The retail store is a complete natural foods center with a bakery and mill in the basement (bakery is a separate enterprise) and a restaurant upstairs. The restaurant presently turns \$225 per day. Rent on the retail facilities is \$1200 per month. The wholesale operation works out of a warehouse which is shared with Midwest Distributors (a health food jobber)."

Note: This is the earliest document seen (April 2006) concerning Tree of Life.

63. Erewhon. 1974. Natural and organic foods: Supplying natural food stores, co-ops, schools and communities (Catalog). Boston, Massachusetts. 16 p. Effective June 1974.

• *Summary*: The structure and design of this catalog is quite similar to the previous one of April 6, however four pages of new products and sizes have been added. The background of illustration has been changed but the foreground is the same; it is now copyrighted by Erewhon. The note from Paul Hawken has been replaced by a similar one signed "the erewhonians." OG = Organically grown.

New additions to the catalog: Flyers: (1) Organic Merchants: The flour story. The salt story. (2) Issues of *East West Journal*. From Vol. IV, No. 6, July 1974, "Energy" to Vol. IV, No. 9, Oct. 1974, "Healing." (3) Natural Recipes: Three by five inch tear-off pads, each pad containing 100 of the same natural-food recipe. Four assortments (A-D), eight different pads in each assortment. There is one soy-related recipe pad in each assortment: (A) Soybeans au gratin. (B) Miso soup. (C) Soybean casserole. (D) Soyburgers. Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

64. Lagodmos, Ted. 1974. Re: Erewhon is now the exclusive representative and agent of Muso and Mitoku in North America. Letter to Blake Rankin, Janus Natural Foods, Inc., 1523 Airport Way South, Seattle, WA 98134, July 19. 1 p.

• *Summary*: Concerning Japanese products and our import status: "The basic program that has been finalized with both

the Muso and Mitoku companies can be defined in this way:

"The Erewhon company is the exclusive representative and agent for the above companies in North America... All product labels will have the Erewhon name. Authorized regional wholesalers may purchase direct from Muso and Mitoku subject to Erewhon's approval." Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

65. Ford, Frank. 1974. Pack to nature: Nutrition made easy in the home or in the woods. Fort Worth, Texas: Harvest Press. vii + 157 p. Introduction by Roger Hillyard. Index. Oct. 18 cm. [13* ref]

• *Summary*: This book, containing over 250 recipes, describes how to use whole, natural food staples in quick, easy to prepare dishes. By Sept. 1976 this book had become *The Simpler Life Cookbook from Arrowhead Mills*.

In the introduction, Roger Hillyard (writing in Oct. 1974 from Soquel, California) recalls that in late February of 1969, he and his wife and daughter were returning to Boston from California. They stopped in the small Texas town of Hereford to visit Deaf Smith County and the company that was supplying food to a growing number of natural foods followers and devotees—including Erewhon. Four years later they spent a year in Hereford working with Frank Ford and Arrowhead Mills. "During the five years I have worked with, lived with, and been friends with Frank, I have witnessed one of the most dramatic and beautiful personal unfoldings. Frank never wore that robe of self-righteousness, and he helped me to exchange mine for something more embracing."

Soy-related recipes include: Quick soy pancakes (with soy flour, p. 35). Soybean salad (with cooked soy flakes, p. 43). Quick tamari orange salad dressing (with tamari soy sauce, p. 47). Paul's salad dressing (with tamari, p. 47). Soybean chili (with dry soybeans and "tamari soysauce," p. 54). Sprout soup (with 2 cups fresh soybean sprouts, p. 54). Sprouted lentil soup (with soy flour, p. 55). Squash stew (with soy flakes, p. 55). Tamari bouillon (p. 56). Vegetable-soy-sesame soup (with soy flakes, p. 59). Basic soybeans (p. 74). Basic soy flakes (p. 75). Basic bulghur-soy grits (p. 75). Lentil soy loaf (with cooked soybeans or soybean flakes, p. 84). Soy & mushroom loaf (with soy flakes, p. 85). Soy patties (with soy flakes, p. 87). Stuffed peppers (with soy flakes, p. 87). Soyflake & tahini spread (with soy flakes, p. 106).

A 2-page directory titled "Some Natural Foods Sources" (p. 153-54) lists 30 of the natural food industry's pioneers, including Akin Distributors, Inc. (Tulsa, Oklahoma), Arrowhead Mills, Inc. (Hereford, Texas), Basic Needs (Grand Prairie, Texas), Cinagro Distributors, Inc. (Atlanta, Georgia), Cliffrose (Longmont, Colorado), Collegedale Distributors, (Collegedale, Tennessee), The Concord (Snowflake, Arizona), Deer Valley Farms (Guilford, New York), Eden Organic Foods (Ann Arbor, Michigan),

Erewhon Trading Company (33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210, and 8454 Steller [Stellar] Dr., Culver City, California 90320), Food for Health (Phoenix, Arizona), Food for Life (Elmhurst, Illinois), Good Food People (Austin, Texas), Great Plains Distributors (Kansas City, Missouri), Happy Health Products (Miami, Florida), Janus (Seattle, Washington), Laurelbrook Foods (Bel Air, Maryland), Lifestream Natural Foods (Vancouver, BC, Canada; Ratana and Arran Stephens), Mottel Health Foods (New York, NY), Naturally Good Foods (Hereford, Texas), Nu-Vita Foods Inc. (Portland, Oregon), Organic Foods & Gardens (City of Commerce, California), Shadowfax (Binghamton, New York), Shiloh Farms (Sulphur Springs, Arkansas), Taiyo, Inc. (Honolulu, Hawaii), Tree of Life (St. Augustine, Florida), Vim & Vigor (Honolulu, Hawaii), The Well (San Jose, California), Walnut Acres Inc. (Penns Creek, Pennsylvania).

A small photo on the rear cover shows Frank Ford out hiking, wearing a backpack.

Note: This is the earliest document seen (Dec. 2001) concerning Lifestream Natural Foods (Vancouver, BC, Canada). Address: Deaf Smith County, Texas.

66. [Meeting of natural food distributors at Pajaro Dunes, Watsonville, California]. 1974. Nov. 21-24. Unpublished manuscript. *

• *Summary*: This was the third and most important meeting held by this group of natural food distributors. No known documents remain. But the meeting is referred to in a Steering Committee Report of a meeting held 22-23 March 1975 in San Francisco. The following companies were present at Pajaro Dunes, and appointed a steering committee: Arrowhead Mills, Eden, Erewhon/Boston, Erewhon/Los Angeles, Lifestream, Laurelbrook Foods, Manna, Shadowfax, Tree of Life, The Well, Ceres, Janus, Food for Life, Cliffrose.

Bob Gerner of Westbrae later recalled: In late November 1974 Mr. Kazama of Mitoku came to a meeting at Pajaro Dunes by Santa Cruz, sponsored by The Well. The idea was to set up a natural foods trade association. Erewhon wanted to control all imports of Japanese natural foods from Japan. Janus and The Well both had to import through Erewhon. They said Westbrae must buy through them via The Well (Roger Hillyard/Pure & Simple), and pay a 5% commission. Kazama had to defer to them. Gerner refused and they backed off. Ty Smith, now head of Erewhon, was upset that Westbrae was not paying a commission. Gerner told him "Tough." So Westbrae ended up importing from Kazama.

67. **Product Name:** Nik's Snaks (Tamari-Roasted Seeds, Nuts, Soybeans, and Trail Mixes).

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Trading Co., Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, MA 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

Date of Introduction: 1974.

How Stored: Shelf stable.

New Product–Documentation: Talk with Nik Amartseff. 1992. April 3. See long interview.

The 1975 Erewhon catalog, titled Erewhon Harvest '75, lists an entire page of "Nik's Snaks," containing about 30 products. Of these, eleven are tamari-roasted whole-food snacks. The 30 products are sold in 5 sizes: 2.5 oz, 3.5 oz, or 6 oz. pick-up packages, or 25 lb bulk. The soybeans (dry roasted with tamari, no salt) are sold only in 25 lb packs. Other tamari-roasted seeds include: Spanish peanuts, sunflower seeds, roasted almonds (all 2.5 oz or 25 lb), cashews or pumpkin seeds (25 lb). Non tamari-roasted products include: Raisin walnut mix. Roasted mixed nuts. Raw mixed nuts. Raisin nut mix. Peanut raisin mix. Trail mix. Honey almond granola. Chia seeds. Bee pollen. Alfalfa seeds. Date sugar. etc.

68. Newman, Marcea. 1974. The sweet life: Marcea Newman's natural-food dessert book. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Co. 161 p. Illust. by Linda Stine. Index. 29 cm. A 1981 revised edition contained 176 p. [63* ref]

• *Summary*: This early and beautifully presented natural foods cookbook contains very innovative and tasty tofu dessert recipes made with limited natural sweeteners and no dairy products. It discusses the harmful effects of refined and denatured foods, with details on white flour, sugar, oil, salt, eggs, milk, and baking powder [which contains alum, a product of aluminum; "it may even be harmful"].

Chapter 1, titled "Natural necessities: Equipment, techniques, and ingredients," gives good definitions of and introductions to amasake (p. 6), miso (p. 10), tamari (p. 12), and tofu (soybean cheese, p. 13). Soy-related recipes include: Basic cake II with tofu sour creame (p. 25). Cheesecake tofu pie (p. 37). Cantaloupe cheesecake (p. 37, with tofu). Upside-down tofu cake (p. 38). Mincemeat filling with miso (p. 50-51). Tofu poppy seed filling (for pastries or phylo, p. 53). Instant tofu creame (p. 59). Tofu creame (p. 59). Tofu creame whip (p. 60). Tofu sour creame I and II (p. 60). Tofu custard (p. 62). Apple tofu delight (p. 82). Creame puffs with amasake filling (p. 82). Cherry tofu strudel (p. 88). Tofu sour creame cherry tart (p. 92). Thanksgiving squash-mincemeat pie (with miso in the filling, p. 98-99).

The inside dust jacket gives a brief biography of the author, who was born and raised in New York. In Berkeley, California, she studied Japanese and natural-food cooking, and helped to start a "noodle bar" where she baked her first dessert. Now she lives in Boston and caters weddings, parties and school fairs with natural and organic foods and desserts.

An Appendix (p. 151-52) lists the name and address of 39 suppliers of natural foods in the USA (divided by region), and 2 in Canada. This list includes the following companies: Erewhon Trading Co. (33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210), Good Nature Distributing

Co. (Box 447, Export, Pennsylvania 15632), Infinity Co. (173 Duane Ave., New York, NY 10005), Shadowfax (25 N. Depot St., Binghamton, NY 13901), Sundance Organic Food (R.D. #1, Box 146A, Coventry, Connecticut 06238), Walnut Acres (Penns Creek, Pennsylvania 17862; founded by Paul Keene), Collegedale Distributors (Box 492, Collegedale, Tennessee 37315), Laurelbrook Foods (Box 47, Bel Air, Maryland 21014), Tree of Life (Box 1391, St. Augustine, Florida 32084), Ceres, Inc. (2582 Durango Dr., Colorado Springs, Colorado 80910), Cliffrose (129 Coffman St., Longmont, Colorado 80501), Eden Foods (Box 100, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107), Food for Life (420 Wrightwood St., Elmhurst, Illinois 60126), Akin Distributors (Box 2747, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101), Arrowhead Mills (Box 866, Hereford, Texas 79045), Shiloh Farms (Box 97, Sulphur Springs, Arizona 72768), Sunrise Distributors (Box 5216, Phoenix, Arizona 83010), Erewhon Trading Co. (8454 Steller [sic, Stellar] Dr., Culver City, California 90230), Janus Natural Foods (1523 Airport Way, South, Seattle, Washington 98134), New Day Distributors (1242 S. Berendo St., Los Angeles, CA 90006), The Well/Pure & Simple (795 West Hedding St., San Jose, CA 95126), Lifestream Natural Foods, Ltd. (724-26 W. 6th Ave., Vancouver 9, BC, Canada), and Natural Foodstuffs (1 Main St., Box 27, Sutton, Quebec, Canada).

Note: This book contains the earliest recipe seen (Dec. 2005) for a tofu cheesecake. It is also the earliest English-language document seen (Dec. 2005) that uses the term "cheesecake tofu pie" to refer to a tofu cheesecake. For the story of how Marcea got interested in tofu and wrote this book see: Marcea Newman. 1994. Oct. Re: Early work with tofu and tofu cheesecakes in America. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

69. DeSilva, Tom; Hillyard, Roger; Hartman, Tim; Kimbro, Bob. 1975. Steering Committee report, being the result of a meeting held March 22 & 23, 1975 upon the request of 14 companies in the natural food field. Unpublished manuscript.

• *Summary:* "At Pajaro Dunes, Watsonville, California on November 21-24, 1974 the following companies agreed to pursue the subject of organization and appointed a 'Steering Committee:' Arrowhead Mills, Eden, Erewhon/Boston, Erewhon/Los Angeles, Lifestream, Laurelbrook Foods, Manna, Shadowfax, Tree of Life, The Well, Ceres, Janus, Food for Life, Cliffrose." Address: 1. Chairman.

70. Natural Foods Distributors Association. 1975. Minutes, May 1-5. Boston, Massachusetts: Erewhon. Unpublished manuscript.

• *Summary:* This meeting was held on 1-5 May 1975 at 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts, the residence of Michio Kushi. It was attended by Boyd Foster and Chuck Brockett (Arrowhead Mills Inc., Hereford, Texas), Frank Calpeno and Howie Schickler (Ceres Natural Foods, Inc., Colorado Springs, Colorado), Tim Redmond (Eden),

Tom DeSilva and Ty Smith (Chairmen; Erewhon, Inc., Boston, Massachusetts), Tim Hartmann (Janus Natural Foods, Inc., Seattle, Washington), Rod, Marge and Dan Coates, Frank Mabrey and Dave Raleigh (Laurelbrook Natural Foods, Inc., Bel Air, Maryland), Gene Newman (Manna Foods, Inc., Scarborough, ONT, Canada), Charlie Smail (Shadowfax Whole Foods, Inc., Binghamton, New York), Irwin Carasso (Tree of Life, Inc., St. Augustine, Florida), Roger Hillyard (The Well, San Jose, California), Aaran Stevens (Lifestream Natural Foods, Ltd., Vancouver, BC, Canada).

Companies that were members of the Natural Food Distributors Assoc. in June 1975, but that were not at this meeting were: Cliffrose Natural Foods, Inc. (Longmont, Colorado), Eden Foods Inc. (Ann Arbor, Michigan), and Food for Life, Inc. (Elmhurst, Illinois).

Note: This is the earliest document seen (April 2006) concerning Manna Foods, Inc. in Canada. Address: Erewhon, Boston.

71. Erewhon Trading Co. [Los Angeles, California]. 1975. Wholesale price list. July 1975. Culver City, California. 10 p. Catalog and price list.

• *Summary:* On the front cover is a copy of an analysis of carrots performed by Agri-Science Laboratories Inc. of Los Angeles. They contain no Organo-phosphates—None detected as Parathion < 0.010 ppm.

Products include: Whole grains. Cereals. Flours—Freshly milled whole grains (incl. Raw soy flour, organic). Beans (incl. Soybeans, organic, Texas {10 or 16 lb}, Soybean flakes, organic, Texas). Butters (incl. Peanut butter, Sesame butter). Applesauce. Carbonated drinks. Juice. Chips. Goodies. Nik's Snaks. Granola. Soybean products: Tamari soy sauce (4 sizes, 8 oz to 4.7 gal). Hacho miso, soybean paste (1 lb or 44 lb). Mugi miso, Barley-soybean paste (1 lb or 44 lb). Kome miso, Rice-soybean paste (1 lb or 44 lb). Sea vegetables. Specialties (incl. Kuzu arrowroot, umeboshi {Plums pickled in brine}, Sesame salt). Seeds. Nuts. Fresh produce—Organic. Dried fruit—Bulk. Dried fruit—Packaged. Books and flyers (Deaf Smith County Cookbook, Oil Story, Pasta Cooklet). Redwood rennetless natural cheeses (Raw or pasteurized). Pasta (Bulk or packaged, incl. Soya-rice shells). Salt. Oils (incl. Soy oil). Erewhon packaged goods: Grains, cereals, flowers, seeds, beans. Teas. Celestial Seasonings bulk herb teas or tea bags. Cosmetics. Cooking utensils.

Inserted is a letter on Erewhon letterhead from Loren M. Spector, general manager, dated 1 July 1975. It begins: "Dear customers: Please find enclosed our summer price list." On the back are "July specials." Address: 8454 Steller Dr., Culver City, California 90230. Phone: (213) 836-7569.

72. Gladstone & Chain. 1975. Erewhon, Inc. Report on financial statements for the year ended June 30, 1975. Boston, Massachusetts. 13 p. 28 cm.

- *Summary:* A balance sheet shows that Erewhon's total assets increased to \$1,275,744 in 1975 from \$1,126,167 in 1974. Total current liabilities are large, \$901,009 in 1975, up from \$723,640 in 1974. Sales increased from \$4,306,572 in 1974 to \$5,538,037 in 1974. Net income before taxes in 1975 was a loss of \$37,101, compared with a profit of \$262,691 in 1974.

Pages 3 and 7 state that Erewhon owes \$103,800 to the New England Merchants National Bank. This demand note is in default and the bank has declined granting of further credit to the company. The note balance is to be satisfied from the sale of California assets. On 21 Feb. 1974 Erewhon entered into a stock purchase agreement with a stockholder to purchase all of this individual's 210 common shares within 3 years for \$54,000. Erewhon also owes \$27,000 to a former stockholder for the purchase of 1,000 shares of common stock. In Massachusetts, the company now is committed to leases at 29 and 33-39 Farnsworth Street, Boston, 342 Newbury St., Boston, and 1731-1737 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge. In California there are leases at 8454 Steller Dr. and 8500 Steller Dr., Culver City, and 8001-8003 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles. Plus 303 Howe Ave., Passaic, New Jersey.

On 1 Aug. 1975 Erewhon sold substantially all of its assets used in operations in California for \$350,000, payable as follows: \$100,000 in cash within 15 days of closing, \$100,000 due 90 days from Aug. 15, \$50,000 due in 3 installments in January, April, and July 1976, and \$100,000 due in quarterly installments of \$12,500 each from 31 Oct. 1976 to 31 July 1978. The book value of the assets sold was \$407,260, subject to liabilities of \$204,876.

In 1975 Erewhon had bad debts of \$22,706 and interest expense of \$28,665. Address: 11 Beacon St., Boston, Massachusetts.

73. Erewhon Trading Co. 1975. Erewhon talking food. Miso and tamari (Ad). *East West Journal* 5(10):43. Oct. 15.

- *Summary:* A lengthy description of how traditional miso and tamari (shoyu) are made in Japan and some philosophical reflections on the processes and ancient wisdom that created them. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

74. Erewhon [Los Angeles, California]. 1975. Erewhon. November/December 1975. Culver City, California. 22 p. Catalog and price list.

- *Summary:* On the front cover is an illustration (line drawing) of Benjamin Franklin, wearing a fur hat and glasses. Below is a quote from his *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1739): "Keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee." Other quotes are scattered throughout the catalog.

Products include: Pasta (packaged and bulk). incl. Soya-Rice Shells (organic) "Eat to live, Live not to eat." Bulk staples—Grains (including Sweet Rice from California), flours (freshly milled whole grain), cereals, beans (incl. organic soybeans and soybean flakes from Texas), seeds. "Knowledge like a rich Soil, feeds if not a world of Corn, a

world of weeds." Erewhon packaged staples—Grains, flours, cereals, beans (incl. organic soybeans), seeds. "A long life may not be good Enough, but a good Life is long Enough."

Granola. More packages—Arrowhead grains, cereals, and beans, Fearn Soya Foods (from Fearn Soya Products, incl. Soy-O-Pancake Mix {Wholewheat or Buckwheat}, Soya Powder {Natural or Low Fat}), Earthwonder meals-in-a-bag. Arrowhead Mills The Simpler Life food storage program (nitrogen packed in #10 metal cans; incl. soybeans and soy flakes). Juice. "They that cannot Obey, cannot Command." Spreads (nut butters {peanut butter, sunflower butter, sesame butter, sesame tahini} and fruit butters {Pure and Simple, sweetened only with honey}). Rocky Hollow Herb Farm's line of organic and natural herbs, spices, and essential oils. "Time is an Herb that cures all Diseases." Goodies: Nik's Snaks, chewies (incl. pemmican), chips (incl. Mother Earth Tamari Chips, Corn Munchies—Pure & Simple). "To lengthen thy Life, lessen thy Meals." Rennetless cheese from Redwood Natural Foods. Dried fruit (bulk or packaged, incl. calymyrna figs, medjool dates, monukka raisins). Tamari & miso (Tamari soy sauce—4 sizes aged 2 years, Hacho miso—3 sizes aged 2 years, Mugi miso—3 sizes aged 18 months, Kome miso—3 sizes age not given). Vegetable oils (incl. Arrowhead Soy Oil in 3 sizes). Garden fresh produce. Sea vegetables. Herb teas (incl. Celestial Seasonings). "Make Haste slowly." Body care (incl. Tom's soap and shampoos, Dr. Bronner's soaps, Cattier products), "When the well's dry, We know the worth of Water." Potpourri: Condiments (incl. "kuzu arrowroot, umeboshi (plums pickled in brine)," cookware (Quaker City grain mill, Corona stone mill, Mac steel utility knife, Soy sauce dispenser), publications). "Hunger is the best Pickle." Important stuff (Ordering information). "Drive thy Business, let it not Drive Thee."

On the last page, John Fountain extends "grateful appreciation to all those whose positive accomplishments have created Erewhon: Lima and George Ohsawa, Aveline and Michio Kushi, Cornelia and Herman Aihara, Michel Abehsara, Yvette & Jacques DeLangre, William Dufty, Frank Ford, Paul Hawken, Carolyn Heidenry, Roger Hillyard, Bob Kennedy, Bruce McDonald, Tommy Nakayama, Shane and Lou Olds [sic, Shayne Oles], Fred Rohe, Dr. Pietro Rotundi, Evan Root, Tyler Smith, Bill Tara, our customers, staff, suppliers, and growers, Susan and Lou Remy and all." Address: 8454 Steller Dr., Culver City, California 90230. Phone: (213) 836-7569.

75. Erewhon Trading Co. 1975. News from nowhere (Japanese fermented foods—Miso, tamari, and koji). *East West Journal*. Nov. 15. p. 29.

- *Summary:* The subtitle states: "Erewhon news from Nowhere is a regular *East West Journal* column providing information about food. We hope that this will be a valuable educational service, enabling readers to select what they eat knowledgeably. If you require more information about food, we invite you to visit us at our

retail stores." Note that though the column is written in the first person, no author is given.

"In my opinion the most fundamental change in the creation of traditional fermented foods occurred with the shift of the Japanese rural-based economy after World War II. The movement of the population to the cities and the emphasis on production and manufacturing by large numbers of city dwellers who consumed increasingly larger amounts of food created a demand for soybeans beyond the capacity of the rural of the rural population's productivity. The Japanese turned to America for their soybeans and began to use varieties that did not lead to the fine product to which the native beans had formerly contributed. The result was an economic necessity for research, carried out by American and Japanese technicians, and the results created several basic changes in the manufacturing process.

"First, the koji mold was investigated, and out of the hundreds of strains of mold bacteria [sic] present in the traditional mold culture, certain strains were isolated and propagated for their effectiveness to create the fermentation under laboratory conditions. Thus, new strains of 'hybrid' cultures were developed that would break down the American beans of inconsistent quality. The technicians failed to see the process as a whole, not realizing that the long-term fermentation and great attention in handling the raw materials at different stages was an art that depended on a great variety of naturally occurring bacteria to produce an environment where natural competition worked to strengthen the culture."

"Except for the small number of true traditional makers in Japan, I would say that Americans in their own backyards will, within the next ten years, be producing finer miso and tamari than the majority of producers currently working in Japan." Address: Massachusetts.

76. Dorsey, Chip. 1975. Laurelbrook Foods (Leaflet). Bel Air, Maryland. 6 panels. Undated. 28 cm.

• *Summary:* Margy Coates (March 1992) says this leaflet, green ink on tan paper, was probably published in 1974 or 1975. Contents: Our story. Policy. Growing. Our new warehouse. Delivery. "It was thanks to the contagious enthusiasm of our children and their belief in natural foods that the idea of Laurelbrook was formed. We also received encouragement from Erewhon of Boston, Massachusetts, and Arrowhead Mills of Texas, and it was their valuable co-operation and guidance that gave us our start in 1971. It all began with a stock of 76 items, four people, and a used half-ton [Datsun] pickup truck... Our little 18-inch mill had to grind continuously to meet the demand."

"In 1974, we enlarged our Bel Air warehouse, adding three lower level receiving docks and more than doubling our storage space... In the office, hand typing and extending invoices have given way to a mini-computer... There are now 24 people employed at Laurelbrook to keep pace with the growing demand for fine natural products.

The company's new warehouse at 330 West Davie Street in Raleigh, North Carolina, started with four employees in Dec. 1973. Illustrations show an aerial view of the Laurelbrook facility in Bel Air, and the company's delivery routes. Address: P.O. Box 47, Bel Air, Maryland 21014. Phone: 301-879-1717.

77. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1975. Erewhon harvest '75. Boston, Massachusetts. 48 p. Catalog and price list.

• *Summary:* On the front cover, a brown and white photo shows a rustic farmer, holding a pitchfork, standing by his horse and hay wagon with wife and child. On the rear cover, Erewhon's president, Tyler Smith, writes a poetic passage about the beauty of wheat. Products include: Grains: Lone Pine in Arkansas grows organic short grain and long grain brown rice. Wehah Farms in California grows organic short grain brown rice and non-organic sweet brown rice [glutinous rice]. Baker in Louisiana grows organic medium grain brown rice. Organic hard red winter wheat is grown in Nebraska and in Deaf Smith, Texas. Organic hard red spring wheat is grown by Ted Whitmer in Montana and Ricke in Minnesota. Organic hard amber durum wheat is grown by Whitmer in Montana. Organic soft white pastry wheat is grown by Wild Winds in New York. Other organically grown grains are pearled barley (Idaho), whole unhulled buckwheat for sprouting, hybrid yellow or white corn (Deaf Smith), open-pollinated yellow corn (Minnesota), blue corn, whole oats, and rye. Cereals include organic soy flakes from Deaf Smith (25 lb). Flours include organic soybean flour (25 lb, steelground, full-fat). Pasta (packaged or bulk) includes Japanese soba, Soy Rice Shells.

Snacks from "Erewhon L.A." include Chico-San Yinnies, and Date-Nut Delight. Erewhon Aztec organic corn chips. Baked goods from Cable Springs Bakery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Fruit juices from Erewhon, Heinke's, Knudsen, Lehr's (natural grape juice from Germany), and Biotta (Swiss Vegetable juices).

Dairy Products: Cheeses from Alta Dena (also kefir and yogurt) in California, Superior Cheese Co. in Massachusetts, Redwood Natural Cheese Co. in California. Also Favorite Foods yogurt.

Dried fruit, including organically grown Monukka and Thompson raisins, prunes, dates, apricots, apples, Bing cherries, black mission figs, and Calimyrna figs. Peanut-, apple-, sunflower-, and sesame butters. Sesame tahini. Pure & Simple "fruit butters sweetened with honey only; terrific old-fashioned jams (apple, apricot, peach, plum, raspberry, strawberry, grape, cherry). Erewhon apple sauce. "Pumpkin Sour" apple sauce and apple butter made in Plainfield, Vermont. Tree of Life fresh fruit preserves from Florida (8 varieties).

Seeds & nuts, incl. Erewhon organic soybeans in 1-lb packs, and Erewhon organic stoneground soybean flour in 24-oz packs. Arrowhead Mills packaged products, incl. Bulghur-soy grits (24 oz), Soy flakes (16 oz, organic),

Roasted soy flour (24 oz, organic). Beans, incl. Aduki (25 lb, from Japan or Mainland China), yellow soybeans (50 lb, organic, New York), black soybeans (25 lb, non-organic from Japan, or organic from New York), green soybeans [dry] (25 lb, organic). Erewhon granola (17 products, including various sizes), Arrowhead Mills granola, Back to Nature granola (unsalted).

Oils, incl. Arrowhead Mills soybean oil (pints, quarts, or 5-gallon jug). Honey. Baking, incl. Premose barley malt, and Yinnies grain syrup from Chico-San. Tea, incl. 2 pages from Celestial Seasonings, and Erewhon Mu tea (9 or 16 herbs), Lotus root tea, Kukicha-branch twig tea. Springwater.

Tamari & Miso: 4 pages of descriptions and prices for Hacho miso (all misos are sold in 1 lb or 44 lb keg), Mugi miso, Kome miso, Tamari soy sauce [actually shoyu] (8 oz, pints, quarts, ½ gallons, gallons, or 4.7 gallon tin), Barley koji (1 lb). Specialties, incl. Unrefined sun-dried sea salt with natural trace minerals from the north coast of Brittany in France, Tekka, kuzu, umeboshi, sesame salt, Herbamare salt, nigari, brown rice vinegar, non-alcoholic beer (Birell, Kingsbury), Bambu instant coffee substitute.

Fearn Soya Foods: Soya granules, Soy-O wheat cereal, Soy-O corn bread & muffin mix, Soy-O bran muffin mix, Soy-O pancake mix–buckwheat, Soy-O pancake mix–wholewheat, Sesame burger mix, Natural soya powder.

Sea vegies: Agar-agar, dulse, hiziki, kombu, wakame, nori seaweeds (a description of each is given). Note: This is the earliest document seen that contains the word "vegies" spelled as such.

Erewhon certified organic produce, incl. Daikon grown in California. Soaps, incl. Cattier clay products and Dr. Bronner's Peppermint castile soap, Orjene, Nature's Gate, Tom's Natural Soap.

Cookware, mostly imported from Japan, incl. Soy [sauce] dispenser, 4½ inch. Growing [sprouts and sprouters]. Cast iron. Flyers, incl. Talking Food series, Natural recipes (3 by 5 inch tear-off pads. Soy-related recipes include: Soy au gratin, Soy casserole, Miso soup, Soyburgers, and Soy loaf).

A map shows Erewhon's delivery region (Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey) and schedule. The company also has an office near New York City at 303 Howe Ave., Passaic, New Jersey 07055. Phone 212-594-6455.

Note: This is the earliest document seen that uses the word "vegies" (one of two documents), or "Sea vegies." Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: 617-542-1358.

78. Hawken, Paul. 1975. The magic of Findhorn. New York, NY: Harper & Row. 216 p. 24 cm. *

79. Hillyard, Roger. 1975. Biographical sketch. Hereford, Texas. 1 p. Undated. Unpublished manuscript. Followed by an interview on 17 April 2006.

• *Summary:* Born on 28 Aug. 1942 in Seattle, Washington, Roger was raised in the San Francisco area. In early 1965 he met Susan, his wife to be, through mutual friends in the Haight-Ashbury district of SF—where he was living. She was a photographer, working as a sort of apprentice with Ruth Bernard, a professional photographer. In June 1965 he graduated from San Francisco State College with a degree in language arts. He then became technical director for the San Francisco Mime Troupe, produced an experimental film series, and developed one of the first "light shows" in San Francisco.

In Jan. 1966 he started macrobiotics, then in July 1967 he and Susan left San Francisco and moved to New Mexico, where they lived on a 100-acre farm. They were married on Thanksgiving, 23 Nov. 1967 in Placitas, New Mexico. Their first child, Cyrena, a daughter, was born on 13 July 1968 in Santa Fe, New Mexico. In Oct. 1968 they moved to Boston, Massachusetts, where Roger pursue his interest in macrobiotics. He worked at the Erewhon retail store at 303B Newbury St. for 2 weeks, but wasn't "together" enough, so he worked in a hospital as an operating room orderly for 3 months. In Feb. 1969 he began work at the Erewhon retail store at 342 Newbury St. In Aug. 1969 [actually probably early Oct. 1969] he took over as general manager of Erewhon's over-all operations. He managed Erewhon-Boston and oversaw the financial aspects of Erewhon Boston and Los Angeles until March 1971. During this period the company grew substantially, wholesale activities were expanded, a warehouse at 33 Farnsworth St. was opened and developed, the staff grew from 6 to 45 members, the retail store's daily sales grew from \$700/day to \$2,000/day, and imports from Japan expanded (including the largest American stock of hacho [Hatcho] miso).

Roger and Susan's 2nd child, Christopher, was born on 24 Dec. 1970 in Somerville, a suburb of Boston, at a Seventh-day Adventist hospital that offered natural childbirth. They were living in Newton at the time. Roger and his family left Boston in mid-1971 and drove to Los Angeles, where he spent 4 months managing Erewhon–Los Angeles. He is currently the manager of Deaf Smith Organic Farms, a joint venture of Erewhon and Arrowhead Mills. He is married, with 2 children. Note: That joint venture, created by Paul Hawken and Frank Ford, never developed. Address: Hereford, Texas.

80. Re: Natural Foods Distributor Association. 1976. Letter to The Well, 795 West Hedding, San Jose, CA 95126, Jan. 3. 2 p.

• *Summary:* Written on the new letterhead of the Executive Committee, Natural Food Distributor Association, this letter states that membership presently stands at ten companies: Arrowhead Mills, Ceres, Eden, Erewhon, Janus, Laurelbrook, Manna (Canada), Mondo (Erewhon, Los Angeles), Shadowfax, and Tree of Life. Cliffrose has recently dropped its charter membership option. Three other

companies have not yet paid their dues: Food for Life, Lifestream, and The Well.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will be held in Seattle, Washington, on 15-17 Jan. 1976. The association officers are presently: Chairman: George Gearhart (Janus Natural Foods). Secretary: Tyler Smith (Erewhon). Treasurer: Tom DeSilva (Mondo Trading Co.). Bi-annual host: Boyd Foster (Arrowhead Mills). Address: San Jose, California.

81. Erewhon, Inc. 1976. Erewhon. Autumn 1976. Boston, Massachusetts. 17 p. Catalog and price list.

• *Summary*: On the front cover is a photo of six adults and three children standing atop the Erewhon warehouse building at 33 Farnsworth Street in Boston. In the background are skyscrapers and the Boston skyline. The people are: Front row (left to right): Maureen Young, Richard Young, Holly Young (youngest child), Tansy Young, Lori Young. Back row (left to right): David Simon, Jeanne Bleiweiss, Tom Herzig.

On the first page, Tyler Smith, writes about this catalog and upcoming events. "To help stimulate our customers, in the late Fall, Erewhon will present a lecture and demonstration day in both the New York and Boston areas which will feature as the main teacher, Mr. Bill Shurtleff, author of *The Book of Tofu* and *The Book of Miso*. He will be coming to this area on a lecture tour from Japan."

Contents: Grains. Cereals. Flour. Pasta. Juices. Beverages. Spring water. Natural sodas. Nik's snacks. Barbara's bakery. Bliss pastries (whole-grain, sweetened with unfiltered honey, made at Cable Springs Bakery). Donna's butter cookies, Butterchews, Lind's candy bars. Chico-San candies (Yinnies, Yinnies San-Wich). Crackers & Chips (incl. tamari corn chips or corn tortilla chips). Rice cakes & bread. Cheese. Butter. Yogurt. Kefir. Produce. Dried fruit. Seeds & nuts (incl. alfalfa seeds unsprayed, almonds, Brazils, cashews, peanuts, pecan halves, pistachios, pumpkin seeds, sesame-brown, sunflower seeds, walnuts). Granola. Beans (incl. aduki [azuki], organic black soybeans or yellow soybeans from New York, and black soybeans from Japan). Seed & nut butter (almond butter, cashew butter, peanut butter {Erewhon or Deaf Smith-crunchy, or unsalted}, sesame butter, sesame-peanut butter, sesame tahini, sunflower butter). Fruit butters. Oils: Erewhon oils, Arrowhead oils (incl. Soy oil). Condiments-sauces: Erewhon sauces (incl. 4 sizes of tamari soy sauce), Erewhon miso (kome {rice & soy}, Hacho {soy only}, or mugi {barley & soy}-each in 3 sizes), Erewhon Japanese imports (incl. shiitake mushrooms, barley kogi [sic, koji] to make mugi [miso], kuzu arrowroot powder, tekka seasoning, nigari (to make tofu), umeboshi), salt (incl. Herbamare salt, unrefined sea salt from France), olives, pickles, sauerkraut, brown rice vinegar (from Japan), Pure and Simple vinegar (Honey, red wine, apple cider natural), mulled cider spices. Baking (incl. barley malt syrup). Niblack's. Fearn's [sic, Fearn's] (incl. Rich Earth

wholewheat & soy pancake mix, Soya powder natural). Honey-syrup. Erewhon packages: Beans, grains & seeds (incl. soybeans yellow organic), hot cereals, flours (incl. soybean full-fat organic), baking. Arrowhead packages. Sea vegetables (agar-agar, hiziki [hijiki], kombu, nori, flavored nori with tamari, wakame, dulse). Fmali ginseng. Teas: Erewhon, Celestial Seasonings. Body care: Cattier clay, Dr. Bronner's, Natural Living, Nature's Gate, Orjene, Tom's, luffas. Cookware (incl. soy dispenser glass). Readables: Magazines, books, posters, flyers-recipes. Apparel. Discontinued-sale. New products (Bob Swanson was the former owner and creator of Llama, Toucan and Crow, a New England distributor; Chico-San's organic rice cakes).

Erewhon's New York / New Jersey office is located at 303 Howe Ave., Passaic, NJ 07055. Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: 617-542-1358.

82. Shurtleff, William; Aoyagi, Akiko. 1976. Tofu & Miso America Tour: 29 Sept. 1976 to 3 Feb. 1977 [Itinerary with two maps]. Lafayette, California: New-Age Foods Study Center. Unpublished manuscript.

• *Summary*: On 13 Sept. 1976 the authors bought a large, white 1975 Dodge Tradesman 300 van (used, with 40,000 miles on it). On one side Akiko painted in large, bold letters "Tofu and Miso America Tour 1976-77." Their *Book of Tofu* had been published in December 1975 and *Book of Miso* on 23 Sept. 1976. On Sept. 29 they packed the van full to the ceiling with their books on tofu and miso, plus Larry Needleman's tofu kits-and departed.

This trip had four main purposes: (1) To introduce tofu and miso to America; (2) To introduce people to the many benefits of a meatless/vegetarian diet; (3) To encourage people to start soyfoods companies, especially tofu shops; and (4) To promote the authors' newly-published *Book of Tofu* and *Book of Miso*.

This itinerary includes the name and address of 64 people and organizations visited. Many of these were pioneers in the soyfoods and natural foods movements: Sept. 29-David and Kathleen Sandler, Robert Dolgin, Don Wilson, Farm Food Co. (San Rafael, California). Oct. 1-Petaluma, California. Oct. 2-Josephine County Food Center, Grants Pass, Oregon. Oct. 3. Heliotrope Natural Foods (Salem, OR). Oct. 4-West Bank Cafe (Corvallis, OR). Oct. 5. Visit Linda Shurtleff (McMinville, OR). Visit *Rain Magazine* (Portland, Oregon). They do an interview which is published in their Nov. 1976 issue. Oct. 6. Blake Rankin and Janus Natural Foods (Seattle, Washington). Oct. 7. Janus. Oct. 8-Luke Lukoskie and Sylvia Nogaki of Island Spring (Vashon, Washington). Oct. 10-Jack Grady, a macrobiotic (Spokane, WA). Oct. 13-Univ. of Minnesota. Oct. 14-Georgie Yiannias of Wedge Food Co-op and Ananda Marga (Minneapolis, Minnesota). Our largest class with 300 people. Oct. 15-Barbara ("Bobbie") Reinhardt Shurtleff dies of colon cancer at Alta Bates Hospital, Berkeley, CA. Oct. 15. Famine Food Co-op (Winona,

Minnesota). Oct. 16–Bonnie Maroney of The Wisconsin Farm (Ettrick, WI). Oct. 19–Visit George Strayer and Larry Kruger of the American Soybean Assoc. (Hudson, Iowa). Visit David and Ann Tucker (Iowa City, Iowa). Oct. 20. Outpost Natural Foods (Milwaukee, WI). Visit Bountiful Bean Co-op. Oct. 21. Visit Dr. Danji Fukushima and Kikkoman Foods (Walworth, Wisconsin). Oct. 22–Visit Drs. Hesselstine, Wang, Wolf, Mustakas, Cowan at Northern Regional Research Center (Peoria, Illinois). Oct. 23–Morning class on commercial production for Les Karplus and 5 people at Vegetarian Incorporated (Urbana, Illinois). Oct. 23–24. Side trip to visit ADM and Staley (Decatur, IL). Oct. 24–Les and Debbie Karplus of Vegetarian Inc. (Urbana, IL). Oct. 25–Visit Dr. L.S. Wei of the Univ. of Illinois Dept. of Food Science (Urbana, Illinois). Evening program for Karplus in Urbana. Oct. 26. Purdue University (Indiana). Oct. 27–Chris Steele (Lansing, Michigan). Oct. 28–Mike Potter and Louis Howie of Eden Foods (4601 Platt Rd., Ann Arbor, Michigan). Oct. 29–Calico Market (Erie, Pennsylvania). Oct. 30–Visit Greg Weaver and Jay Thompson of Rochester Zen Center (Rochester, New York; Later Northern Soy). Visit Genesee Co-op. Oct. 31–Alternative Health Education Center (Rochester).

Nov. 1–Visit Arnold Karmody at Empty Cloud (Canandaigua, New York). Meet Dr. Keith Steinkraus (Geneva, New York). Nov. 2–Visit with Dr. Steinkraus at New York Agric. Exp. Station (Geneva, NY). Lunch together with his wife, Maxine. Nov. 3–Tom MacDonald at Hannibal, New York. Nov. 4–Ira and Kathy Leviton of Corncreek Bakery (South Deerfield, Massachusetts). Visit Laughing Grasshopper tofu shop just before it begins operation. Nov. 5–Fritz Hewitt of Common Ground Restaurant (Brattleboro, Vermont). Visit Tom Timmins of Llama, Toucan & Crow (Brattleboro). Nov. 6. Shep Erhard (Franklin, Maine). Nov. 7–Ann S. Johnson at Univ. of Maine (Orono, ME). Nov. 8–Visit Marine Colloids (Rockland, Maine). Nov. 10–Drive to Boston, stay with Nahum & Beverly Stiskin (Brookline). Nov. 13–Tofu & Miso program in Boston. Visit Erewhon Natural Foods (33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts), Martha Trundy, Jeffrey & Gretchen Broadbent. Nov. 14–Visit to shops in Boston's Chinatown. Michio and Aveline Kushi give a big party in our honor at their home at 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, then take us out to dinner at the Seventh Inn. Nov. 15–Tofu-making class at a home in Boston. Nov. 17–Visit offices of *East West Journal*. Sherman Goldman conducts long interview, later published in Jan. 1977 issue. Miso-making class at home of Ken Burns. Nov. 18–Visit Joel Wollner in Cape Cod. Nov. 19–Radio show then program for Joel. Nov. 20–Peter Smith at Quaker group in Pennsylvania. Nov. 22–Visit Woods Hole, Massachusetts to study sea vegetables. Evening program at New Bedford, MA. Nov. 23–Stay with Seung Sahn, Sa Nim at Providence, Rhode Island Zen Center. Meditate and show students how to make tofu. Evening at Insight Meditation Center, Barre, MA, a Vipassana center in a former Catholic

seminary, co-founded in 1976 by Jack Kornfield, Joseph Goldstein and 3 others. We have dinner, meditate with the sangha, and hear Jack talk about Vipassana. Nov. 24 Sit morning zazen with master and students at Providence zendo. Nov. 25–Thanksgiving. Akiko and I stay alone in a house near Hartford, Connecticut and taste a good tofu pumpkin pie. I read about seaweeds. We take a long walk in the countryside. Nov. 26–Program for Erewhon Natural Foods in Hartford. Article in *The Hartford Courant* (Dec. 1). Nov. 27–Long River Food Coop in Connecticut. Nov. 28–Stay with Susan and Kirk Gershuny of Snowflower (Tivoli, New York). They plan to make soy ice cream soon. Nov. 29–Drive in Deep snow to the New York Farm in Franklin, New York. Stay in a big house they built. Nov. 30–Carl Bethage of the East West Center in Gardiner, New York. Also did a radio program.

1976 Dec. 1–Visit Frances Moore Lappé at her upstairs office in Hudson-on-Hastings, New York. Then visit her large home on the hillside. Dec. 1–5–We missed a program for Annemarie Colbin in New York City (partly because we feared our van would be burglarized on the street) so we stayed Dec. 1–5 at the luxurious home of Leo S. Nikora (Niki; Bobbie's friend). I work on writing *The Book of Kudzu*. Dec. 6–7. Program for 40 people (Hosts: Nancy N. Bailey and Robert Rodale) at Rodale Press (Emmaus, Pennsylvania); I am surprised they serve white sugar on their dining tables. Dec. 8–Tim Snyder of Ecology Co-op in Philadelphia. Dec. 9–Stay at home of Sylvia Anderson in Pleasantville, New Jersey and do a program upstairs in a modern university. Study magnificent photos of Edward S. Curtis. Dec. 10–Visit Jay and Freya Dinshah of the North American Vegetarian Society (Malaga, New Jersey); their poor vegan child has bowed legs. Dec. 12–Cindy Blouse in Dallastown, Pennsylvania. Dec. 13–Visit Laurelbrook Foods, a natural foods distributor in Forest Hill, Maryland. We meet Rod and Margie Coates. Dec. 14–Big program hosted by Ella May Stoneburner and Seventh-day Adventists near Washington, DC. Dec. 15–Michael Rosoff (who ran the East West Center in Washington, DC) planned to host a class in a DC church. After we witness a robbery, we are afraid to leave our van on the street. So we do a scaled-down program in the home of Murray and Pam Snyder, which was the East West Center in Baltimore, Maryland. Visit Laurelbrook Foods Warehouse #2 in Durham / Chapel Hill. Dec. 16–Roanoke Food Co-op in Copper Hill, Virginia. Dec. 17–18–John Shuttleworth and Jim Morgans of *Mother Earth News* (Hendersonville, North Carolina). They do a long interview and take photos. Program at night. Note: An audio tape of Bill's talk at this program is filed with Soyfoods Center documents for 1976. Dec. 19–Chandler Barrett in Atlanta, Georgia.

Note 1. This is the earliest document seen (April 2001) concerning the work of Ira Leviton or Tom Timmins with soy. One evening, before Shurtleff was scheduled to speak at Leviton's Corncreek Bakery, Leviton drove Shurtleff to see the Laughing Grasshopper Tofu Shop which was under

construction on the second story of an old wooden building in the nearby town of Millers Falls, Massachusetts. Much of the equipment was made out of wood—including wooden curdling vats and a wooden cider press. The company opened in Jan. 1977.

Note 2. This is the earliest document seen (April 2006) concerning Llama, Toucan & Crow in Brattleboro, Vermont. Address: 790 Los Palos Manor, Lafayette, California 94549. Phone: 283-3161.

83. Shurtleff, William; Aoyagi, Akiko. 1976. *Tofu & Miso America Tour*: 29 Sept. 1976 to 3 Feb. 1977. Continued from Jan. 1977. [Itinerary with two maps]. Lafayette, California: New-Age Foods Study Center. Unpublished manuscript.

• *Summary*: Continued: 1976 Dec. 21. Arrive at The Farm in Summertown, Tennessee. Meet Margaret Nofziger and Stephen Gaskin. Stay until 2 Jan. 1977. We stayed most of the time at "Hoot Owl Hollow," a large community owner-built home with many families; our host was Edward Sierra. During the next few weeks we stayed in a parked mobile home (owned by the Sandlers) in a lovely valley about 1 hour drive away. I worked on *The Book of Kudzu* final draft. Heavy confrontation with Farm folks—as I am about to start a program—about how they didn't like my way. Write a 4-page pamphlet titled "What is Tempeh?" jointly with Cynthia Bates. 1976 Dec. 31—This is our first year with significant income (\$27,390, mostly from Autumn Press royalties) but no profit. During 1976 thirty articles and book reviews about our work with tofu and miso were published in magazines and newspapers in the USA and Japan.

1977 Jan. 2—Our *Tofu & Miso America Tour* continues. Jan. 3—Stay in a suburban home with Lynn Delacruz in Meridan, Mississippi. Jan. 4—Program for Atlantis Distributors in New Orleans. That night we stay in a trailer home with John Gabriel and his wife in Houma, Louisiana. They are from The Farm and make commercial tempeh in their trailer. Jan. 6—Jim Baker (Dallas, Texas). After the program I meet Dr. Ralph Sand who is studying tofu and soy cheeses at Anderson Clayton. We also visit with my cousin, Bob Shurtleff, near Dallas. Jan. 7—Jane Binante in Denton, Texas. Jan. 9—Jim Hemminger of Gregg St. Tofu Co. (started by Thom Leonard) in Fayetteville, Arkansas. His partner is Mary Weingartner. We sleep on the floor of a small house in Fayetteville and the next morning see Jim make tofu in a bathtub. Jan. 10—East Wind in Tecumseh, Missouri. Jan. 12—Stay with Robert Nissenbaum (a fine, humble fellow) in St. Louis, Missouri. I finish typewritten manuscript of "What is Tempeh?" Jan. 13—Program at a restaurant, The Sunshine Inn (St. Louis). Sponsored by The Ethical Society. Stephen Uprichard, Dale Deraps, and Robert Nissenbaum are there.

Jan. 15—Meet David and Danette Briscoe (Kansas City, Missouri; they soon start publishing *Soycraft*, a small periodical on soyfoods), dinner with Thom Leonard at his

home in Lawrence, Kansas (we have miso soup with miso that Thom made, then do a big program sponsored by the Mercantile Community Co-op in downtown Lawrence at either the Lawrence Library or Community Center—in a big downstairs room. I tape the lecture. Unbeknownst to me, Ken Bader, CEO-to-be of the American Soybean Assoc., is in attendance). Jan. 16—Visit Bob Amelay of the Omaha Food Co-ops in Omaha, Nebraska. Jan. 17—Drive across Nebraska to Denver. Jan. 18-19—Dave Bolduc and Christie Shurtleff in Boulder, Colorado. The first night we do a big tofu program in the historic Boulder Theater. That afternoon we have an audience with the Karmapa—a high Tibetan spiritual leader, who has diabetes; we give him an inscribed hardcover copy of *The Book of Tofu*. Akiko recalls cooking tofu burgers for him. That evening in a large, packed hall, we witness his Holiness conduct the Black Crown Ceremony. Jan. 20. Jimmy Carter is inaugurated as president. Jan. 24—Program for The Colorado Farm in Hotchkiss, Colorado—way out in the boondocks. Jan. 25—Stay with Andrea Chin in Taos, New Mexico. Visit Lama Foundation high above Taos in the snow (Steve Durkee, teacher). They have many small meditation cubicles around the hillside and have just finished a nice adobe meditation hall. Near Durango, Colorado, we visit Ed Tripp, who looks lonely, sad and desolate, farming a little patch of organically grown wheat and living alone in a bare shack on coffee and cigarettes. Jan. 26. We stay somewhere in New Mexico. Jan. 27—Program at the First Unitarian Church in Albuquerque (79 p.m.) hosted by Michele E. Martin of Jemez Bodhi Mandala Zen Center, Jemez Springs, New Mexico. Sit meditation in their cold Rinzaï zendo then soak in the hot springs outside in the snow. Their teacher, Sasaki roshi, is not there. Jan. 28—Susan Berry in Silver City is supposed to host a program. We cannot find her house. At one point along in here we do a program in or near Utah in a remote church up on a little bluff. Dinner before at Frosty Hot Dog place. Jan. 29—Long drive across Arizona to San Diego. Jan. 30—Big program in San Diego for 350 people at the Ocean Beach Community School hosted by David and Barbara Salat, publishers of *Well Being* magazine. Afterwards we stayed overnight on their houseboat in San Diego Bay. Magical. Akiko had a bad cough and was very tired.

In Los Angeles we spend a day (in late January or early February 1977) with Lewis Headrick and Jimmy Silver visiting three small tempeh shops: Bali Foods (in Baldwin Park, run by Mr. Henech Khoe), Country Store Health Foods (in Sun Valley; Joan Harriman), and Toko Baru (in West Covina; Randy Kohler). One evening we had dinner with Mr. Yamauchi and perhaps Al Jacobson. I gave a presentation on tofu. Afterwards, in the parking lot, Mr. Yamauchi gave me an envelope containing several hundred dollars in bills—his way of saying thank you for the work we were doing on behalf of tofu. Feb. 1. Drive to northern California, then have dinner at the home of Herman and Cornelia Aihara (Oroville, CA). Feb. 2. Last program of

the tour for Harold Lockhard of the Sacramento Natural Foods Co-op (Sacramento, California; Program is in a modern college building).

On 3 Feb. 1977 arrive home in Lafayette, California.

On this 4-month tour the Shurtleffs, trying to do for soyfoods what Johnny Appleseed did for apples, presented 70 public programs attended by about 3,646 people, did many media interviews and appearances, and travelled 15,000 miles. They had a gross income of \$18,020 from honoraria and sales of their books (Book of Tofu, Book of Miso), tofu kits, pamphlets, and nigari. Total trip expenses were about \$5,361 plus about \$7,200 for books from the publisher, leaving a net income of about \$5,459. It was a huge, challenging, and exhausting Odyssey that bore abundant fruit in the founding of a new tofu shop almost everywhere they spoke.

1977 Feb. 9—Meeting in Lafayette (790 Los Palos Dr.) with Robert Dolgin and David Sandler (from the Farm and Farm Foods in San Rafael) and Larry Needleman leads to the establishment of Bean Machines, Inc. (BMI). The Farm places a firm order for a Japan tofu system.

1977 Feb. 12—Bill and Akiko leave America and fly to Japan. Air fare paid by Hydrometals. Address: 790 Los Palos Manor, Lafayette, California 94549. Phone: 283-3161.

84. Coates, Rod. 1976. Re: Union membership cards. Letter to Laurelbrook Foods' employees, Nov. 5. 2 p. Typed, with signature.

• *Summary:* The letter begins: "Dear fellow employee." Laurelbrook management spent a lot of time and money trying to quell a union that one of company's employees was instigating. This letter encourages employees to think twice before joining that union. Margy Coates adds (March 1992): "I think the union was part of Erewhon's downfall." Address: Owner, Laurelbrook Foods, P.O. Box 47, Bel Air, Maryland 21014. Phone: (301) 879-1717.

85. Order forms containing names and addresses of people who purchased publications or materials from New-age Foods Study Center in November 1976 (Archival collection). 1976. Lafayette, California. Order forms filled out by the person who placed the order.

• *Summary:* BOT2 = The Book of Tofu, Vol. 2—later titled Tofu & Soymilk Production. BOM = The Book of Miso. BOM2 = The Book of Miso, Vol. 2—later titled Miso Production. WIT = What is Tofu? pamphlet. WIM = What is Miso? pamphlet. TB = Tofu box. TK = Tofu Kit. NN = Natural nigari. CTE = Catalog of commercial tofu-making equipment. CKS = Catalog of koji starter for miso or shoyu.

November: Evan Root of Erewhon, Inc., 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210 (plus follow-up letter of 15 March 1977 from same address). Alec Evans, Welcome Home Bakery, 231 S.W. 2nd St., Corvallis, Oregon 97330 (BOT2, TK, Tofu Cassette). Ira Leviton, Corncreek whole grain bakery, 60 Elm St., S. Deerfield, Massachusetts

01378 (100 WIT, 100 WIM, TB). Lulu Yoshihara, General Delivery, Denman Island, BC, V0R 1T0, Canada (BOM2). Jean Celle (According to the Book of Tofu he started a company, however, there is no proof that it exists), Fondation Macrobiotique Vellave, 36 bis, Avenue Charles Du Puy 43700, Brives Charensac, France (BOT2, BOM2, CKS). Frank Konishi, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Carbondale, Illinois 62901 (BOT). Tim Redmond, Eden Foods, 4601 Platt Rd., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104 (BOT2, BOM2, CTE, CKS). Bernadette of Lifestream Natural Food Store, 1813 West 4th Ave., Vancouver, BC V6J 1M4, Canada (50 WIT, 50 WIM). K.K. Fung, 4661 Chancellor Cove, Memphis, Tennessee 38118 (BOM, BOT2, BOM2, NN, CTE, CKS). Dr. Tsutomu Mochizuki, c/o Shinshu Miso Research Institute, 1014 Minamiagata Machi, Nagano City 380 Japan (3 BOM). Max Sprenger, Knorr Research Institute, Leutschenbachstrasse 46, CH 8050 Zurich, Switzerland (BOM, BOT2, BOM2, 3 WIT, 3 WIM, CTE, CKS). Vegetarian, Inc., 1310 W. Main, Urbana, Illinois 61801 (BOT2, 2 BOM2, NN, CTE, CKS). Wholistic Health Education Foundation, 715 Monroe Ave., Rochester, New York 14607 (BOM2, 50 WIT, 50 WIM, NN, CTE, CKS). Bruce Walker, 2131 Red Deer Road, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7K 1C8, Canada (BOT2, BOM).

Note: This is the earliest document seen (July 1999) that contains the word "wholistic." Address: New-Age Foods Study Center, 790 Los Palos Dr., Lafayette, California 94549. Phone: (415) 283-3161.

86. Product Name: Brown Rice (Genmai) Miso.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon (Importer). Made in Japan by Sendai Miso Shoyu Co.

Manufacturer's Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, MA 02210.

Date of Introduction: 1976.

Ingredients: Brown rice, soybeans, water, sea salt.

Wt/Vol., Packaging, Price: 16 oz.

How Stored: Refrigerated preferably.

New Product—Documentation: Ad in East West Journal. 1977. "Erewhon: Our traditional foods are the foods of the future." "Recently a brown rice (genmai) miso has been added to the Erewhon line of imported foods. Based on the traditional techniques and standards, this new variety was two and a half years in development before Mr. Ko Haga, brewmaster of Sendai [Miso Shoyu K.K.] produced what he considered a successful brown rice koji, or starter." Sendai "produced a huller which merely scratches the bran along the ridges of each grain; even though only 1% of the grain is lost in the process, this is sufficient to permit spores to enter the inner starches. You will find genmai miso much sweeter than the kome [white rice] variety, due to the higher ratio of rice to soybeans in this special product. Sendai uses a regionally grown rice, called Sasanishiki, which is highly regarded in Japan, and the soybeans used are the 'Prize' variety grown organically in Minnesota by

farmer Ed Ricke. Genmai miso is more expensive than the other varieties Erewhon offers. Besides being the first miso made with organic soybeans," it also undergoes an 18-month fermentation.

Shurtleff & Aoyagi. 1983. *The Book of Miso*. 2nd ed. p. 236. In 1968 Erewhon started to import miso and shoyu from Japan. "A wholesale and distribution company was started that year and soon it was trucking a line of fine Japanese imported red, barley, and Hatcho misos to a growing number of natural food stores." By 1970 sesame miso and tekka miso were added to the Erewhon line. By 1976 brown rice (genmai) miso was added.

Ad (7.5 by 13 inches, full color) in *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. 1989. Feb. p. 25. There are now 4 varieties of miso under the Erewhon brand: Hatcho (note new correct spelling), genmai, kome, and mugi. Note that all still use the esoteric Japanese names. Plastic bag packages are colorful and attractive. On each is the prominent endorsement: "Recommended by Michio Kushi. Macrobiotic quality."

87. Oblinger, Jan. 1977. Tofu, nutty burgers served on 'veggie line' at UMO. *Bangor Daily News (Maine)*. Feb. 16. p. 6.

• *Summary*: "Students at the University of Maine at Orono are eating strange things these days. And they've never been healthier. The Office of Dining Services is making available to students a vegetarian menu in addition to the regular meat and potatoes fare served in the campus' dining halls." Included on the unique menu are tofu burgers—"a small part of the college's campaign to get more vegetables and less meat to those students who want it." Many students who eat at the veggie line do not consider themselves vegetarians; they just like the food. The Bear's Den, a student restaurant at the Memorial Union, now offers a tofu salad sandwich, as well as a meatless "nutty burger" based on cottage cheese.

"According to UMO's assistant manager of dining services, Anne Johnson, tofu is purchased from Peter and Judy Beane of the No-moo Dairy in South Portland [Maine], the only source north of Boston [Massachusetts]... Some of the other hard-to-find items are bought through a Boston company named Erewhon."

"The university learned about tofu in a book by Bill Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi, who demonstrated cooking with tofu and miso at the college in November. They showed how to prepare tofu or miso for less than eight-and-a-half cents a pound."

Contains "veggie" recipes for Nuttyburger, and Maveric Chili (with 1 cup whole soybeans). Five photos show students "dining on the tofuburger," which contains soybean curd, carrots, onions, and sunflowers. Most said the flavor "was hard to describe. Several said it tasted a lot like a fish sandwich." Address: Daily News Staff.

88. Eden Foods. 1977. Spring and summer catalog 1977. 4601 Platt Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48104. 53 p.

• *Summary*: On the cover are bags, trays, and scoops filled with natural foods. Page 25 states that Eden now sells Tamari Soy Sauce (Eden, or Marushima), plus Hacho, Mugi, and Kome Miso. This is the first catalog in which Erewhon's name is not listed after any tamari or miso products.

On page 25 is the first record of "Eden Tamari: Natural Shoyu" which is sold in 8 oz, pints, quarts, or 1 gallons cans. A photo shows the quart bottle with label, and the dispenser. It is "made from whole soybeans and naturally fermented in wooden kegs for 30 months... The Muso Shokuhin Company has been supplying the macrobiotic community of the United States with tamari, miso and sea vegetables for the last ten years. All of Eden's Japanese imports are supplied by Muso." Address: Ann Arbor, Michigan. Phone: (313) 973-9400.

89. Root, Evan. 1977. Re: Payment of bills. Letter to Bill Shurtleff, March 15. 1 p. Handwritten, with signature on letterhead. Photocopy.

• *Summary*: Discusses payment problem. "Thank you for the information on koji and koji starter supply. I wish you good continued good fortune on your wonderful work." Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: (617) 542-1358.

90. Erewhon, Inc. 1977. Erewhon. Summer 1977. Boston, Massachusetts. 23 p. Catalog and price list.

• *Summary*: On the front cover is a photo of a rose flower and leaves. On the first page, Jeffrey Flasher (apparently the new president) writing about this catalog, notes: "Erewhon's summer catalog of 1973 listed approximately 450 products, of which 30% were either grown, manufactured, or repackaged in the Northeast. Although last summer's catalog offered nearly 1,000 products, fully 25% were either grown, manufactured, or repackaged in the Northeast... Between July and December Erewhon will be introducing 50 to 75 new items produced in the Northeast." "No sugar or preservatives added to any food in this catalog." Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: 617-542-1358.

91. Erewhon Trading Co., Inc. 1977. Erewhon: Our traditional foods are the foods of the future. *East West Journal*. June. p. 67. [3 ref]

• *Summary*: This informative advertisement is largely about miso. Erewhon imports Hacho [Hatcho] miso from Japan; the source company first made Hacho miso in 1337. "We are grateful to Muso Shokuhin Company of Japan, a macrobiotic natural foods company, for originally distributing hacho miso to the United States through Erewhon and for the work they continue to do in developing sources of high-quality organic foods for Japan and the rest of the world. Erewhon is also grateful to Mr. A.

Kazama of Mitoku Company, Ltd., of Tokyo, for encouraging the development of large-scale miso production without the use of chemical additives to speed the aging process. When Mr. Michio Kushi, the founder of Erewhon first convinced Mr. Kazama of the sizable market for naturally produced miso, he initiated a search which resulted in the president of Sendai Miso Company agreeing to produce enough to keep up with the demand.

"Recently a brown rice (genmai) miso has been added to the Erewhon line of imported foods. Based on the traditional techniques and standards, this new variety was two and a half years in development before Mr. Ko Haga, brewmaster of Sendai, produced what he considered a successful brown rice koji, or starter."

"Sendai uses a regionally grown rice, called Sasanishiki, which is highly regarded in Japan, and the soybeans used are the 'Prize' variety grown organically in Minnesota by farmer Ed Ricke."

Last year 85 tons of traditionally produced miso were imported into the United States from Japan. Erewhon now has 3 locations in the USA, in addition to the headquarters and main warehouse at 33 Farnsworth St.: 342 Newbury St., Boston, Massachusetts 02115; 1731 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138; 1 Civic Center Plaza, Hartford, Connecticut 06103. Address: 33 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210.

92. Kushi, Michio. 1977. *The book of macrobiotics: The universal way of health and happiness*. San Francisco, California: Japan Publications, Inc. x + 182 p. June. Illust. Index. 26 cm.

• *Summary*: Many followers of macrobiotics consider this to be the author's classic work on the subject. The preface tells briefly how Mr. Kushi got involved with macrobiotics and came to America. He began to lecture in New York in 1955. His teachings began to spread, especially after 1963. By Feb. 1977 he has conducted 5,000 lectures and seminars in America and Europe. One Appendix is titled "A Historical Review of the Macrobiotic Movement in North America" (p. 168-71).

Concerning soyfoods, the book discusses miso (p. 51-52), protein (p. 69), tamari (p. 51-52, 131-33), tekka (52, 133), and tofu plaster (130; "more effective than an ice pack to draw out fever"). Concerning smoking, the author believes that it "does not contribute to produce lung cancer" if the smoker eats a proper traditional (macrobiotic) diet (p. 115).

"In 1949, Michio Kushi, during his postgraduate studies at Tokyo University, was inspired by the teaching of George Ohsawa. He came to the United States in connection with the World Federalist movement. Besides him, Aveline Tomoko Yokoyama in 1951, Herman Aihara in 1953, Cornelia Chiko Yokota, Romain Noboru Sato and his brothers Junsei Yamazaki, Shizuko Yamamoto, Noboru Muramoto and others came to the United States during the following years. After experience with various enterprises

they respectively began to teach macrobiotics, mainly in New York. George and Lima Ohsawa also visited America from Europe to conduct seminars. Macrobiotic summer camps, restaurants, and food stores began to operate on a small scale with many American people. Educational activity was organized as the Ohsawa Foundation at that time. However, on the occasion of the Berlin Crisis in 1961, the major active people related to the macrobiotic movement made an 'exodus' to Chico, California. Robert Kennedy, Lou Oles, Herman Aihara and others began Chico San, Inc., as a food manufacturing and distributing company, and established the Ohsawa Foundation in California. Later, the Foundation moved to Los Angeles, its main activity being publishing George Ohsawa's works. The San Francisco center was established. At a later date, Jacques and Yvette de Langre, Joe and Mimi Arseguet and many others shared educational activities in California and other areas of the West Coast.

"In the meantime, after educational activity in New York, besides several seminars on Martha's Vineyard and various local colleges, Michio and Aveline Kushi moved to Boston in order to concentrate on education for the younger generations. They organized the East West Institute in Cambridge which later moved to Wellesley and then transferred to Boston. To meet the increasing demand for good food, a small basement food store, Erewhon, was opened. Erewhon was managed and developed over the years by the Kushis, Evan Root, William Tara, Roger Hillyard and Paul Hawken. Erewhon was followed by a small restaurant, Sanae, managed at different times by Evan Root, Tyler Smith, and Richard Sandler. Lectures by Michio Kushi continued for five years in Arlington Street Church, Boston, with repeated visits to many major U.S. cities. Erewhon developed into a larger store, on Newbury Street in Boston, and added its wholesale operation from a warehouse on the South Shore, Boston Wharf, distributing constantly to an increasing number of natural food stores. The warehouse facility has been managed by Paul Hawken, William Garrison, Tyler Smith, and currently Jeff Flasher and other associates as well as the Kushis. Erewhon further established a Los Angeles store which also developed into a wholesale operation—managed over the years by the Kushis, William Tara, Bruce Macdonald, and currently by John Fountain and Thomas DeSilva...

"The *East West Journal*, a monthly newspaper, established in 1970—managed over the years by Ronald Dobrin, Jack Garvey, Robert Hargrove, and currently Sherman Goldman, Lenny Jacobs and other associates—is continuing to introduce to the wider society, the new vision for the present and future world. Educational activities directly concerned with teaching and other educational projects have been administered since 1973 by the East West Foundation, a nonprofit educational organization managed by the Kushis, Edward Esko, Stephen Uprichard, and other associates." Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

93. Coopers & Lybrand. 1977. Erewhon, Inc.: Financial statements for the years ended June 30, 1977 and 1976. Boston, Massachusetts. 9 p. 28 cm.

• *Summary:* Erewhon's total liabilities increased to \$1,322,099 in 1977, from \$913,256 in 1976. Net sales also increased to \$8,379,860 in 1977, from \$6,806,301 in 1976. Net income before taxes increased to \$244,191 in 1977, from \$182,426 in 1976.

On 1 Aug. 1975 the Company sold substantially all of its "West Coast Division for cash and notes." The net gain was \$86,872. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

94. East West Foundation. 1977. Food policy recommendations for the United States: Statement of Michio Kushi, September 21, 1977. 359 Boylston St., Boston, MA 02116. 32 p. 28 cm.

• *Summary:* On September 21, 1977, Michio Kushi and several associates, including Dr. Robert Mendelsohn, M.D., met in Washington with members of the White House staff. The meeting, which lasted approximately two hours, began with a 45 minute presentation of a series of recommendations by Michio Kushi, a description of the activities and goals of the East West Foundation (founded 1972), and a history of Erewhon (fiscal 1978 sales estimated at \$10 million). An outline of the East West Journal's position on various political, social, and economic applications of the national food policy was also included in the meeting's agenda.

Recommendations for seasoning foods and to aid digestion of grains, was traditional foods such as pickled vegetables and naturally fermented soy bean products (such as soy sauce, miso, tempeh, etc.). Note: Dr. Mendelsohn died in about May 1988. Address: Boston, Massachusetts. Phone: 617-536-3360.

95. Erewhon, Inc. 1977. Erewhon. Harvest 1977. Boston, Massachusetts. 23 p. Catalog and price list.

• *Summary:* On the front cover is a photo of a table dispenser of Erewhon Natural Shoyu (but the neck band reads "Erewhon Tamari Soy Sauce"). On the first page, Jack Garvey (apparently the new president) writes about the meaning of the word "Erewhon," which derives from a book of that title written by Samuel Butler. Address: 33 Farnsworth Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02210. Phone: 617-542-1358.

96. Laurelbrook Foods. 1977. Purchases from Erewhon—Boston and Los Angeles, 1972-1977. Bel Air, Maryland. 1 p. Unpublished manuscript. Internal company memo, Sept. 22.

• *Summary:* In 1972, Laurelbrook purchased \$27,753 worth of goods from Erewhon—Los Angeles and \$76,685 from Erewhon—Boston, for a total of \$104,439. In 1976, Laurelbrook purchased \$12,905 worth of goods from Erewhon—Los Angeles and \$144,141 from Erewhon—

Boston, for a total of \$157,046. Address: P.O. Box 47, Bel Air, Maryland 21014.

97. Stuttmann, Leonard M. 1977. Re: Work developing soynuts. Letter to William Shurtleff at New-Age Foods Study Center, P.O. Box 234, Lafayette, California, Oct. 10. 2 p. Typed, with secretary's signature on letterhead.

• *Summary:* "Your letter was extremely flattering and I am so pleased that you found our soynuts of the highest quality. That kind of comment justifies the almost two years we spent in research in and out of Michigan State University... There are many varieties of soybeans. Much of our product development time was spent in testing almost eighty different varieties of soybeans. In addition, we found that there were even distinct differences in the palatability of the same variety grown in different regions of the U.S. based primarily on climatic and soil conditions. We narrowed our varietal selection to a single type grown in a specific area of Michigan." Good soybeans "must be identity preserved!"

To make good soynuts at home: Select a good variety of whole soybeans that are of uniform size. Rinse the beans and soak them overnight. The volume should have increased approximately 2½ times over the volume of the dry beans. Remove any excess water by spreading the soaked beans on paper or cloth toweling. Heat vegetable oil to 325°F. Oil roast [deep fry] the soybeans for about 12 minutes. The color should be golden brown, the taste bland, and the texture crunchy without being hard. A well-done soynut should fraction into small pieces *without* undue jaw pressure.

"Actually, Bill there is very little that is revolutionary about our processing technique. The real secret is varietal selection and careful supervision of roasting technique using lower heat over a longer period of time.

"P.S. We have pretty much confined our marketing efforts to Michigan and now we feel we are ready to expand out. Could you help us by giving us a recommendation to Erewhon and others?"

Note 1. The letterhead reads—Line 1: INARI, Ltd. Line 2: "International Nutrition and Resources Inc." Note 2. This is the earliest document seen (Dec. 1998) concerning INARI (a manufacturer of soynuts) or the work of Len and Irene Stuttmann with soyfoods or soynuts. Address: President, INARI, Ltd., 2331 Forest Rd., Lansing, Michigan 48910. Phone: (517) 882-3323.

98. Daniels, Stevie. 1977. The growing natural foods market. *East West Journal*. Nov. p. 39.

• *Summary:* Between 1968 and 1973 sales of natural foods in the USA multiplied tenfold, from \$60 million to almost \$600 million. During the recession of 1974-75 sales slowed somewhat, and many marginal operations went out of business—according to the *Small Business Reporter*.

Midwest Natural Foods in Ann Arbor, Michigan, had sales of roughly \$25,000 its first year, but now 5 years later

has sales of \$6 million annually, with 750 active accounts. Midwest began with 3 employees and now has 65.

Laurelbrook Foods had sales last year of about \$3 million. Laurelbrook began with 5 employees in 1971 and now has 44. Margy Coates of Laurelbrook says people in her company are exhausted trying to keep up with the high demand, but everything is going well.

Tree of Life in St. Augustine, Florida, started 5 years ago with a staff of 10, now employs 90 people and reports growth of 20% a year. They originally distributed only in Florida, but now their market has spread to ten southeastern states.

Erewhon is a Boston-based natural foods company that began eleven years ago with a capital investment of \$5,000 and one employee. Now the company has 170 employees and sales of nearly \$10 million a year. If all continued to go well, the company will move to a new 77,000-square-foot warehouse this year. Jack Garvey, personnel and education manager, says the company has had to hold down growth to a manageable rate of 30% a year. With no public loans, no stock, and no capital source besides sales, they can't afford to stock as much as they'd like to.

Note: This is the earliest document seen (Dec. 2001) concerning industry and market statistics for the natural foods industry in the USA.

99. Shurtleff, William. comp. 1977. Large natural food distributors, health food distributors, and book distributors in North America. Lafayette, California. 1 p. Undated. Unpublished typescript.

• *Summary*: Most of the following companies are presently distributing *The Book of Tofu*, *The Book of Miso* and *The Book of Kudzu* published by Autumn Press. For each, the company name (listed alphabetically) and address are given:

Large natural food distributors (28): Arrowhead Distributing (Denver, Colorado), Beautiful Foods (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), CC Grains (Seattle, Washington), Chico-San Inc. (Chico, California), Clear Eye (Rochester, New York; \$3 million/year in sales), Dari Farms Natural Foods (Tolland, Connecticut), Eden Foods (Ann Arbor, Michigan; Phone: 313-973-9400. Tim Redmond, Michael Potter), Erewhon (Cambridge, Massachusetts; Phone: 617-354-2001. John Fogg, President), Erewhon West (Vernon, California; Phone: 213-582-6144. James Silver), Japan Food Corp. (JFC—South San Francisco, California; also in New York), Laurelbrook Foods (Raleigh, North Carolina), Llama Trading Co. (Greenfield, Massachusetts), Midwest Natural Foods (Ann Arbor, Michigan), Pure and Simple/The Well (San Jose, California; Pure & Simple changed to 1045 Pepitone, San Jose, CA 95110; Jon Hoefler), Rainbow Distributing (Denver, Colorado), Reality Natural Foods (Haleiwa, Oahu, Hawaii), Redwood Natural Foods (3245 Santa Rosa Ave., Santa Rosa, California; Greg Hartman. Phone: 707-546-5878). Rock Island Foods (Ignacio, California), Shadowfax

(Binghamton, New York), Starflower (Eugene, Oregon), Tree of Life (Augustine, Florida), United Naturals (Eureka, California), Westbrae (Emeryville, California), Lifestream Natural Foods (Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada), Manna Foods (Scarborough, Ontario, Canada).

Large health food distributors (8—also carry books): Akin (Tulsa, Oklahoma), Akin Southeast (Jacksonville, Florida), Balanced Foods (Bergen, New Jersey), Collegedale Distributors (Collegedale, Tennessee), Foods for Health (Phoenix, Arizona), Health Foods Inc. (Des Plaines, Illinois), Kahan and Lessin (Los Angeles, California), Natures Best (El Segundo, California).

Large booksellers [distributors] (3): Nutribooks Corp. (Denver, Colorado), Bookpeople (Berkeley, California), Landstrom (South San Francisco, California).

100. Erewhon, Inc. 1978. Hippocrates—Greek physician and father of Western medicine taught: (Ad). *East West Journal*. Feb. p. 9.

• *Summary*: "Let food be thy medicine and thy medicine be food." A photo shows a marble bust of Hippocrates. Across the bottom of this full-page black and white ad are the addresses and phone numbers of Erewhon's four stores: Three in Massachusetts (Boston, Cambridge, and Brookline), and one in Connecticut (Hartford). Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

101. Erewhon, Inc. 1978. Food from the sea of life (Ad). *East West Journal*. March. p. 9.

• *Summary*: This full-page black and white ad shows a dolphin jumping in front of a wave. It discusses hijiki, a sea vegetable. "Enjoy Erewhon hijiki and also try these other fine Erewhon sea vegetables: Kombu, Wakame, Nori, and Arame." Gives the addresses and phone numbers of Erewhon's three stores in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in Hartford, Connecticut. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

102. Timmins, Tom. 1978. New England's Laughing Grasshopper tofu shop. *Soycraft (Lawrence, Kansas)* 1(2):1-3. Winter (March).

• *Summary*: An excellent description, with many technical details of the process and equipment, of how tofu is made and marketed at Laughing Grasshopper. The company is now producing 5,000 to 5,500 lb/week of nigari tofu. They buy nigari from both Erewhon Inc. (a direct importer) and Westbrae. Address: Laughing Grasshopper, 3 Main St., Millers Falls, Massachusetts 01349.

103. *Erewhon News (Newbury Street)*. 1978. Good morning rice with overnight amasake. April 10-16. p. 2.

• *Summary*: "Have you tried Amasake Rice for breakfast? Amasake Rice is a naturally sweet breakfast cereal that you can make easily at home... Amasake is made by fermenting cooked grain with 'koji' spores. Koji, the enzyme-rich culture used to make miso, breaks down the natural

carbohydrates in the rice to their simple sugar form. The result is a surprisingly sweet rice porridge that is easily digestible and gives quick and lasting energy to start the day. The recipe for Amasake is quite simple." This recipe for "Overnight Amasake" calls for 3 cups cooked brown rice, 1 cup water, and ½ handful koji starter.

This newsletter is produced by Joel Wollner (Editor & Assistant Manager), and George Rosendale (Manager). Address: 342 Newbury Street [Boston, Massachusetts]. Phone: 262-3420.

104. Shurtleff, William. comp. 1978. Mailing labels of companies buying large quantities of *The Book of Tofu*, and *The Book of Miso* from Autumn Press. Lafayette, California. 1 p. Undated. Unpublished typescript.

• *Summary*: Mailing labels (including the company name, purchaser or key contact person, and address) are given for the following companies: Erewhon, Inc. (Cambridge, Massachusetts), Nutri-Books Corp. (Denver, Colorado), Lifestream Natural Foods (Richmond, BC, Canada), Manna Foods (Scarborough, Ontario, Canada), Midwest Natural Foods (Ann Arbor, Michigan), Nature's Best (Torrance, California), Laurelbrook Foods (Bel Air, Maryland), Feather River (Bellevue, Washington), Arrowhead Mills (Denver, Colorado), Llama Trading Co. (Greenfield, Massachusetts), Reality Natural Foods (Honolulu, Hawaii), Tree of Life (St. Augustine, Florida), Eden Foods (Ann Arbor, Michigan), New Leaf Distributing Co. (Atlanta, Georgia), East West Journal (Brookline, Massachusetts), Mother Earth News (Hendersonville, North Carolina), Bookpeople (Berkeley, California), Landstrom (South San Francisco, California), Health Foods Inc. (Des Plaines, Illinois).

A single-letter code, A through D, appears in the upper right corner of each label. A = Biggest buyer. B = Second biggest buyer, etc. Erewhon and Nutri-Books are the two biggest buyers. Address: Lafayette, California.

105. Coopers & Lybrand. 1978. Erewhon, Inc.: Financial statements for the years ended June 30, 1978 and 1977. Boston, Massachusetts. 9 p. Sept. 1. 28 cm.

• *Summary*: Erewhon's total liabilities increased to \$1,852,423 in 1978, from \$1,322,099 in 1977. Net sales also increased to \$10,155,870 in 1977, from \$8,379,860 in 1977. Net income before taxes decreased dramatically to a loss of \$200,717 in 1978, from a profit of \$244,191 in 1977. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

106. Mori, Shigeru. 1978. Re: Cold Mountain Dry Koji. Letter to Lorenz A. Schaller, Natural Order Co., P.O. Box 4, Angelus Oaks, CA 92305, Oct. 24—in response to inquiry. 1 p. Typed, with signature on letterhead. [Eng]

• *Summary*: Suggests that Mr. Schaller order Cold Mountain Dry Koji from Erewhon Natural Foods. Note: This koji is made by Miyako Oriental Foods, a subsidiary of Mutual Trading Co. Address: Mutual Trading Co., Inc.,

431 Crocker St., Los Angeles, California 90013. Phone: 213-626-9458.

107. *Boston Globe*. 1978. Living section. Nov. 13.

• *Summary*: For organic foods in Boston, visit Erewhon at 1731 Massachusetts Ave. (including locally grown organic produce), or Cambridge Natural Foods at 1670 Massachusetts Ave., or the Organic Food Cellar at 1050 Massachusetts Ave. Address: Massachusetts.

108. O'Byrne, Marjorie. 1978. Getting around. *Boston Globe*. Nov. 19. Local New England section.

• *Summary*: The Sun Pot, a manual yogurt maker, provides an easy way to make smooth and creamy yogurt at home—with no electricity or timer required. It can be purchased at Erewhon, Inc., 342 Newbury St., Boston, MA 02115. Phone: 262-3420. Or Erewhon, Inc., 1731 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138. Phone: 492-2599. Address: Massachusetts.

109. Erewhon, Inc. 1978. Why seaweed? (Ad). *East West Journal*. Dec. p. 24.

• *Summary*: A full-page black and white ad. "Sea vegetables are a truly delicious and versatile food." Address: 3 East St., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02141. Phone: (617) 354-2001.

110. **Product Name**: Erewhon Natural Shoyu.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon Products [Los Angeles, California].

Manufacturer's Address: Los Angeles, California. Phone: (213) 836-7569.

Date of Introduction: 1978. January.

New Product–Documentation: Ad (¼ page, black and white) dated 1978. Source unknown. An illustration (line drawing) shows a dispenser of Erewhon Natural Shoyu. The text underneath it reads: "Aged two years in wooden barrels using well water, sea salt, and whole soybeans. Rich in available protein, vitamins, natural sugars and minerals."

111. **Product Name**: Wheatmeat (Seitan), and Wheatmeat Sandwiches.

Manufacturer's Name: Kushi House/East West Center. Then Macrobiotic Kitchen Unlimited.

Manufacturer's Address: 708 North Orange Grove Ave., Hollywood, California.

Date of Introduction: 1978.

New Product–Documentation: Talk with Marijke Steevensz. 1999. July 9. Phone: 213-937-0777 or 213-876-2813. Pronounced Ma-REE-kuh. She and her husband Roy Steevensz first made seitan (which they always called "Wheatmeat") and Wheatmeat Sandwiches at their East West Center on [7357] Franklin Ave. in Hollywood. She does not recall where the term "Wheatmeat" came from. They began making it commercially sometime between 1975 and 1978. They sold the plain Wheatmeat only to

Erewhon, but they sold the sold the Wheatmeat Sandwiches to many other stores as well. In 1979 they moved their food manufacturing operations into a big commercial kitchen named Macrobiotic Kitchen Unlimited (MKU) at 708 North Orange Grove Ave., Hollywood, California. They discontinued the sandwiches and sold the Wheatmeat in the Los Angeles area, including at their adjacent retail store and restaurant named Grain Country at 787 Melrose Ave. (at Orange Ave.) in Los Angeles. They made seitan at MKU from 1979 to 1984. In 1979 they were the only company making seitan in the Los Angeles area, "but now everybody is doing it." Marijke learned how to make seitan from Cornelia Aihara in the early 1970s. Cornelia visited their East West Center in Los Angeles, did cooking classes, and made seitan. She also learned part of the process from Jacques Delangre, who also taught cooking classes their center. Grain Country opened in May 1979. Carlos Richardson of Gold Mine Natural Foods now makes seitan and sells it at Erewhon in Los Angeles. Marijke and Roy taught Carlos how to make seitan in cooking classes when Carlos lived in Hawaii.

Talk with Tom DeSilva, owner of Erewhon Natural Foods in Los Angeles. 1992. July 10. He thinks that the first American-made seitan sold at Erewhon was made by some of the girls at the Kushi House on Franklin Ave. in Hollywood.

112. Coates, Rod. 1979. Quality—How do you measure it? What is it worth? (Brochure). Bel Air, Maryland. 4 p. April. 28 cm.

• *Summary*: "Eleven years ago two of our five daughters, Judy and Dora [Coates], were living in Boston [Massachusetts] with Michio Kushi's family and working with Erewhon Trading Co. It was Judy who said, 'Dad, its time for you and Mom to change your diet!... Judy came to cook for us in Maryland and a remarkable change took place after she arrived! No more meat, sugar, alcohol or highly processed foods. Gone were the pies, cakes, candies, cokes and all sweet stuff, both solids and liquids. We began to say, 'If it tastes good, its off the diet.' It must admit, it was tough going for the first few weeks. But from then on we never looked back! In fact we were so impressed with our new 'Well Being' that we decided to follow Erewhon's example and establish a business distributing whole, natural foods to those people concerned with improving their health... Our first suppliers were Arrowhead Mills in Texas and Erewhon in Boston."

Discusses the work of Paul Hawken and Erewhon to locate and help farmers who "had been growing and would continue to grow their crops organically using the established Rodale standards. During the early years, the Lundberg Brothers, Ted Whitmer and sons, Lewis Cox, Frank Ford, Carl Garrich, John Baker, George Crane, A.P. Thomson (Golden Acres) and others have established methods of improving their soils and producing crops that are grown without the use of chemicals, herbicides or

pesticides." Address: Laurelbrook Foods, P.O. Box 47, Bel Air, Maryland 21014. Phone: (301) 879-1717.

113. Shurtleff, William; Aoyagi, Akiko. 1979. Distributors of natural nigari in North America (Document part). In: William Shurtleff and A. Aoyagi. 1979. Tofu & Soymilk Production. New-Age Foods Study Center. 336 p. See p. 312.

• *Summary*: Corn Country Whole Food Supply, 1310 W. Main, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Tel. 217-384-5856.

Eden Foods, 4601 Platt Rd., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. Tel. 313-973-9400.

Erewhon West, 4770 District Blvd., Vernon, California 90058. Tel. 213-582-6144.

Erewhon Trading Co., Three East St., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02141. Tel. 617-354-2001.

Janus Natural Foods, 217 S. Findlay St., Seattle, Washington 98108. Tel. 206-767-7770.

Laurelbrook Natural Foods, 505 Granary Rd., Bel Air, Maryland 21014. Tel. 301-879-1736.

Lama Trading Co. [formerly Llama, Toucan & Crow], 21 Frost St., Brattleboro, Vermont 05301. Tel. 802-257-7182.

Tree of Life, 315 Industrial Dr., St. Augustine, Florida 32084. Tel. 904-829-3484.

Westbrae Natural Foods, 4240 Hollis St., Emeryville, California 94608. Tel. 415-658-7521. The most reliable source.

Note: This is the earliest document seen that mentions "Erewhon West." Address: P.O. Box 234, Lafayette, California 94549.

114. Barton, David. 1979. Foods from the Far East. *Whole Foods (Berkeley, California)*. Oct. p. 28-34, 54.

• *Summary*: Mutual Trading Co. is making 500 tons of miso a year, and this is expected to increase by 10-15% in 1980. Their miso sales are up 300% in 5 years. Erewhon wholesale sales by product for the year ended June 1979 were: Miso \$100,000, shoyu \$200,000, tofu \$110,000. Japanese trade commission figures for 1978 natural food imports are: Miso \$625,528, and shoyu \$1,466,909.

115. Eivers, Richard Warren. 1979. From alternative to big business: The story behind Erewhon's unionization. *New Age Journal (Boston, Massachusetts)*. Nov. p. 31-34, 36-40.

• *Summary*: On 27 April 1979 the "workers in Erewhon's production, trucking, shipping, and kitchen departments voted 42-19 to form a union affiliated with Local 925, the Service Employees International Union, and they have since been negotiating a contract... Erewhon employees cite as a major reason for the unionizing effort—in addition to concerns about wages, working conditions, and medical benefits—their feelings that behind Erewhon's New Age image lay the reality of an uncaring and unresponsive management willing to exploit them just as any 'straight' business might."

The natural foods industry is rapidly becoming big business. *Whole Foods* magazine reports that the "estimated 1978 sales of the seven largest distributors amounted to \$156 million; in a recent 12-month period 6,400 health and natural food retail stores did over \$1.1 billion in sales." Erewhon's sales now top \$11 million yearly.

The history of the events leading to unionization are discussed, beginning in Dec. 1976 when the "Production Caucus" began to meet. A document titled "History of the Production Caucus" was started and kept track of ongoing developments. Management refused to deal with this group; repeatedly rebuffed, they grew bitter and suspicious. Jack Garvey, Michio Kushi, Evan Root, and Bunny Meagher all worked to stop unionization—but they failed.

A sidebar describes the Alternative Food Workers Alliance (AFWA), a union formed at Westbrae Foods in Berkeley 3 years ago (Dec. 1975); see separate record.

Photos show: The inside of Erewhon's warehouse, "Zoraih" (Lane Curland), Jeff Flasher, Rob Pell, Tim Reagan.

116. Riker, Tom; Roberts, Richard. 1979. Directory of natural and health foods: A sourcebook for dietary revolution. New York, NY: Putnam (A Paragon Book). 320 p. Index. 37 cm.

• *Summary:* The first part of this book (p. 7-49) consists of essays on natural foods and nutrition (some reprinted). Part two is a commercial catalog/directory of natural foods available in 1979; it lists and describes (with many photos and labels) products from most of the major U.S. natural foods manufacturers. An Index (p. 293-308) lists participating companies alphabetically.

Soy-related products include: Hain Super-E Soy Oil and Crude [unrefined] Soy Oil (Los Angeles, California, p. 55). Health Valley Soy Moo (Montebello, California, p. 56). Edward & Sons Miso-Cup (Union, New Jersey, p. 57). Family Orchards Fruit & Nut mixes, incl. Back Packer+*, Hi-Fiber Mix+, Hi-Iron Mix+, Hi-Protein Mix+*, Hiker's Helper, Mixed Nuts*, Mountain Munchies*, Tamari Mixed Nuts* (+ = contains Soy Nuts; * = contains Tamari Peanuts) (Berkeley, California, p. 60-61). Niblack Tamari Pumpkin Seeds (Pepitas), Tamari Roasted Sunflower Seeds, Liquid Lecithin, Granular Lecithin (Rochester, New York, p. 72-73). Arrowhead Mills Unrefined Soybean Oil (Hereford, Texas, p. 75). Good Morning New England Granola incl. Cashew-Raisin Bran-ola (with okara soy fiber), Happy Trails Mix (with roasted soynuts) (Amherst, Massachusetts, p. 79). Elam's Soy Flour (Broadview, Illinois, p. 81).

A long section on Erewhon and its products (p. 84-108) is probably the reproduction of an Erewhon catalog. Erewhon is now located at 3 East Street, Cambridge, MA 02141. Following several pages about the company and its philosophy and standards, each of its major products is discussed in detail, often with nutritional analyses. A label for Soy Flour (organically-grown stone-ground, 24 oz.) is

shown; the main recommended use is for making soy milk! A major part of the presentation is titled "Japanese food guide." Products described include: Umeboshi (2 pages): Plums pickled in brine (umeboshi). Umeboshi paste. Plum concentrate (*bainiku ekisu*). Miso (2 pages): Hatcho, waka-Hatcho, soybean, barley, brown rice, rice, and natto miso varieties. Tekka (made with Hatcho miso). Sweets made from mizu ame [rice syrup]. Nigari. Gomashio. Koji starters for various types of miso or shoyu. Goma-muso (60% barley miso and 40% whole sesame seed butter). *Gomamiso furikake* (with barley miso, whole roasted sesame seeds, and shredded nori seaweed). Kombu candy. Kokkoh. Dried tofu (*Kohya-dofu*). Brown rice sake. Mirin. Gluten cakes (*Kuruma-fu*). Seitan (Gluten cooked in shoyu). Rice crackers seasoned with tamari soy sauce. Kuzu (3 pages). Tamari and shoyu (4 pages; Johsen Shoyu is made in Sendai and tamari is made by San-jirushi Co.). Seaweeds (4 pages): Kanten, arame, hijiki, kombu, ne-kombu, nori, seasoned nori, kanten, kanten flakes, wakame, and mekabu.

Good Food brand Soy-Millet Bread (Austin, Texas, p. 120). Arrowhead Mills Bulgur-Soy Grits (p. 121). Erewhon Morning Cereal, and Infant Cereal (each containing soy beans). Chico-San Black Soybeans (imported), and Azuki Beans (Dainagon imported small red), and Lima Soy Sauce (Chico, California, p. 126-27). Arrowhead Mills 7 Grain Cereal, and Deaf Smith Crunch (granola-type cold cereal) (each contains soybeans, p. 130).

The section on pages 188-197 is titled "Soy." It lists Farm Foods Tempeh Kit, Tempeh Starter, Natural Nigari for Curding Tofu, Soyflour, Whole Cleaned Soybeans, Good for Ya Textured Vegetable Protein (Summertown, Tennessee, p. 189). New England Soy Dairy Tofu (with many tofu recipes, Greenfield, Massachusetts, p. 192-96).

The Redwood Sprouter Co. sprouter containing Soy Sprouts (1976, Austin, Texas, p. 202-04). Worthington Foods (a photo shows their line of 38 products). Millstone Burger-Like (with soy flour and TVP), Wheat Fries (with wheat gluten), Tender Cuts (with wheat protein and soy flour) (Penryn, California, p. 222-23). Sunrise Health Products Lecithin Granules (p. 274-75).

117. Leviton, Richard. 1980. Soycrafters Conference: The birthing of a new industry. Director's report: Missed all the meals. *Soycraft (Colrain, Massachusetts)* 1(2):16-23. Winter.

• *Summary:* A report on the Second Soycrafters Conference, held 26-29 July 1979 at Hampshire College, Amherst, Massachusetts. Over 50 workshops and lectures were presented on all phases of the soyfoods industry. "Miraculously, the \$19,000 conference broke even financially, and attracted significant national press in the following three months."

The section titled "The view from the guests" (p. 20-23) contains brief statements (all positive) about the conference from the following attendees: Luke Lukoskie (Island Spring), Rebecca Uchida (Mu Tofu Shop), Michelle

Ajamian (Amesville, Ohio), Shag Kiefer (Redbud Creek Tofu), Will Truslow (Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts), Dr. Joseph Rakosky (Rakosky Services, Melrose, Illinois), Marvel Huffman (Lecanto Tofu), Francine Watanabe (La Soyarie, Hull, Quebec, Canada), Dr. Charles Howes (Loma Linda Foods, Mt. Vernon, Ohio), Timothy Metzger (Dannon Milk Products, Long Island City, New York), Lee Cunningham (Wonder Life Corp., Des Moines, Iowa), Joseph Jaffer (Waymart, Pennsylvania), Chico Wagner (Yaupon Soyfoods), Dr. Malcolm Bourne, Frank Pilotte (Golden Key Farm, Grant Park, Illinois), David Patten (Brightsong Tofu, {Redwood Valley}, California), Patti Smith (Erewhon, Cambridge, Massachusetts), Larry Needleman (Bean Machines, Bodega, California), Peter Driscoll, Goodhart Foods (Petosky, Michigan), Bill Shurtleff (New-Age Foods Study Center), George Strayer (Agricultural Exports, Hudson, Iowa), David Blumberg (San Francisco, California), Dr. Keith Steinkraus (Cornell Univ., Ithaca, New York), Bob Bergwall (Nasoya Foods, Leominster, Massachusetts).

Photos show: (1) Overview of the conference registration hall incl. Richard Leviton talking with George Strayer. (2) Kathy Leviton adding finishing touches to large trays of tofu cheesecake. (3) A woman preparing scrambled tofu and fried soyisage patties in the Hampshire College kitchens. (4) Members of Okita Enterprises and the Tennessee Farm: Charles Ishigawa, Robert Dolgin, Eddie Okita, and Michael Moorman. (5) Dr. Walter Wolf (Northern Regional Research Center, Peoria, Illinois). (6) Robert Rodale, Rodale Press, Emmaus, Pennsylvania. (7) Dr. Malcolm Bourne, Cornell University, Geneva, New York. (8) Michael Cohen, holding a baby and talking with Dr. Clifford Hesseltine.

Note: This is the earliest publication seen (Feb. 2003) that mentions Brightsong Tofu. Address: Colrain, Massachusetts.

118. Belleme, John. 1980. Re: Building a miso factory in North Carolina. Pasteurizing miso and selling dry koji. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, Sept. 29. 2 p. Typed, without signature or letterhead.

• *Summary*: "Our miso project is going quite well. This summer I located the remaining equipment in New Jersey and ordered our vats from Arrow Tank Co. in Buffalo [New York]. The owner is stone deaf; it was an interesting afternoon.

"We are now leveling the site for the miso factory. It's going to be one of those metal Butler buildings, about 4,000-sq-feet. Besides the miso project, we are working on other projects such as building a structure for summer camps, shiitake mushroom farming, and preparing our land for growing soybeans. There's just Jan. and I, so our hands are full."

While in Japan, John noticed that Mr. Onozaki's wife and most older traditional people never boil their miso soup. "People go out of their way to buy Mr. Onozaki's

unpasteurized miso. These people believe that there is a very beneficial bacteria in miso which is killed by heat. More specifically, old people in rural Japan strongly feel that if you smoke, it is best to drink unpasteurized miso every day.

"On the other hand, the people at Sendai [Miso Shoyu Co.] and Michio [Kushi] believe this is nonsense. I have great faith in the wisdom of tradition. People that live close to the earth do not waste their time if not for good reason. Also, the people at Sendai pasteurize all exported miso, much of which is sold by Erewhon." John asks Shurtleff's opinion on these matters.

John would like to sell some of the koji he makes as dry koji. He asks how to dry it and the effect of drying on the enzyme activity of the koji. "Finally, do you know anything about the nutritional benefits of koji in making amasake or pickles?"

Talk with John Belleme. 1980. Oct. 3. The rebuilt cypress vats are 7 feet tall and 5 feet in diameter. Each costs \$1,000 with stainless steel hoops. John is deeply interested in macrobiotics. Address: Route 3, Box 541, Rutherfordton, North Carolina. Phone: (704) 287-2940.

119. Ferretti, Fred. 1980. Brown rice and whole grain at Amherst. *New York Times*. Sept. 3. p. C1.

120. Business Trend Analysts, Inc. 1980. The health and natural food market: An analysis of current performance & future prospects. Dix Hills, New York. viii + 234 p. Oct. No index. 28 cm. Spiral bound. Project director: Amadee Bender. [9 ref]

• *Summary*: Section 12 (p. 85-113) of this study is titled "Soyfoods & Other Soy Products." It consists largely of statistics compiled by the Soyfoods Center and Soycrafters Association of North America. On pages 95-110 is published, without permission, complete lists of all U.S. tofu shops, tempeh shops, and miso and koji manufacturers from books copyrighted by Shurtleff and Aoyagi. Acknowledgement of the source of all this information is given only at the bottom of tables, on the last page of the plagiarized list of manufacturers, and in Appendix 6, page 234. No permission was obtained from the Soyfoods Center to use any of this material.

On page 113 is a table on U.S. lecithin production from 1976 to 1979, based partly on U.S. Census figures. Production averaged about 60 million lb/year, worth \$19 to \$23 million. The estimated percentage consumed for health purposes rose from a estimated 2.5% worth \$500,000 in 1976 to an estimated 5.5% worth \$1.3 million in 1979.

Page 232 lists the largest health food wholesalers in the USA: Balanced Foods Inc. (Ridgefield, New Jersey), Landstrom Distributing (San Francisco, California), Erewhon, Inc. (Cambridge, Massachusetts), Health Foods Inc. (Des Plaines, Illinois), Kahan & Lessin Co. (Compton, California), Nature's Best (Torrance, California), and Tree

of Life Inc. (St. Augustine, Florida). Address: Dix Hills, New York.

121. McKnight, Jack. 1980. Food: Cider preserved. *Boston Globe Magazine*. Nov. 30. Photos by Elizabeth McKnight.
• *Summary*: Willis and Tina Wood make apple cider jelly on their 67-acre farm in Weathersfield, Vermont. They produce 12 tons of the dark, tart-tasting jelly each fall using a 100-year old family recipe. They started making cider jelly on this farm in 1882 and for a while they were the only people in the world making it. Erewhon in Boston is one of their biggest distributors. The product is totally natural, with no additives. It's just pure, concentrated apple juice. Address: Massachusetts.

122. Smith, Patti. 1981. Three places in New England. *Erewhon Monthly*. Feb. p. 1-2.
• *Summary*: "Beginning in the late 60's in a tiny store in Boston, Erewhon has since grown into a large natural and organic food distributor. Our first wholesale catalog offered food for sale by mail or United Parcel Service; we now deliver food throughout the Northeast in tractor-trailers. In March, 1970 we listed 96 products in our catalog; we currently list approximately 4000 products!"

"Within New England, through increased sales, we provide jobs for over 175 people in our warehouse and retail stores and service over 2,000 customers with 4,000 products. Every person at Erewhon can be proud of the results we're producing on the planet." Address: New England Regional Manager, Massachusetts.

123. Erewhon Mail Order. 1981. Erewhon. Natural foods mail order catalog. Brookline, Massachusetts. 16 p. May. Catalog and price list.
• *Summary*: This is a new mail order catalog, whose prices become effective on 1 May 1981. On the front cover is a woodblock print of a man with a sickle cutting sheaves of grain in a field. He is wearing a hat, and behind him on the ground is a wooden barrel. Erewhon is now located at 26 Washington St. in Brookline Village—also the home of Erewhon Mail Order. There are retail stores at 342 Newbury St. in Boston and 1731 Massachusetts Ave. in Cambridge. Address: 236 Washington Street, Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-738-4516.

124. Belleme, John. 1981. Update on work with miso in North Carolina (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 24. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.
• *Summary*: Erewhon Trading Co. recently filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. They are in receivership and on the verge of bankruptcy; they are no longer delivering products to stores, only manufacturing. Erewhon owes Mr. Kazama of Mitoku \$400,000 plus the shipments on the docks.

John plans to sell a miso fermentation kit, consisting of koji plus instructions for making miso at home. Address:

Route 5, Box 258, Rutherfordton, North Carolina 28139. Phone: 704-749-9537.

125. Cowen, Peter; Doherty, William F. 1981. Bankruptcy petition filed by Erewhon Inc. *Boston Globe*. Nov. 18. Economy section.

• *Summary*: "Erewhon Inc., a Cambridge-based natural food store chain, is seeking protection from its creditors while it reorganizes its financial affairs. In a petition filed in federal court here under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act, Erewhon listed 551 creditors to whom it owes a total of \$1.5 million. The firm also said it has \$4.4 million in assets and another \$3 million in general claims against it.

"The major creditor is the Commercial Trading Corp., which is owed more than \$1 million. Under a factoring agreement Commercial Trading has a secured interest in Erewhon's inventory and accounts receivable. Judge Harold Lavien granted Erewhon permission to continue paying its 130 employees while the case is pending. The reorganization petition under which Erewhon will continue to operate the business was filed Nov. 10 by Michio Kushi, president of the firm. While it remains under the protection of Chap. 11, Erewhon will be run by Arthur Blasberg Jr., a business consultant and attorney.

"The privately-owned firm has three stores in Massachusetts and distributes its products worldwide... According to company officials, its sales reached about \$18 million recently but had been falling off sharply to the point where it now has about \$7 million to \$8 million in annual sales.

"The firm's attorney, Frederick G. Fisher of Hale & Dorr, told the bankruptcy court in arguing for Chap. 11 protection that the company's problems were caused by its expansion 'beyond its ability to find capital.' In addition, Fisher said, 'Mr. Kushi was not able to provide it with day-to-day management. He's a philosopher, teacher and writer and he was absent from the business on trips.'" Address: Globe staff, Massachusetts.

126. Smith, Patricia J. 1981. Re: Early history of Erewhon, and Michio Kushi's teaching. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, Nov. 2—in response to inquiry. 1 p. Typed, with signature.

• *Summary*: Erewhon began as a small retail store on Newbury St. in April 1966. It was incorporated as a distributor/manufacturer in March 1969. Michio Kushi began teaching in New York in 1954. Address: New England Regional Manager, Erewhon Inc., 3 East St., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02141. Phone: (617) 354-2001.

127. Burns, Ken. 1981. Re: George Ohsawa and history of macrobiotics in America. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, Dec. 9—in response to inquiry. 7 p. Typed, with signature. [1 ref]

• *Summary*: An excellent, in-depth history by a very knowledgeable source. Numerous fond personal

recollections and character sketch of Ohsawa. 1959 Dec.–Ohsawa first visited the USA. 1960 Jan.–He published, in mimeograph form, his astonishing book *Zen Macrobiotics* in English in New York City. "Although not in great detail, here he introduced miso, tamari, and tofu to the general public. The first two especially quickly become essential ingredients in the diet of almost all macrobiotic people in the US.

"During January, February, and March [1960] he lectured extensively at the Buddhist Academy in New York City. He returned to the US in July and lectured at the First American Summer Camp on Long Island daily for two months.

"The Second American Summer Camp was held in July and August of 1961. I am not sure whether he was present or not. This was in Wurtsboro, New York. In that year also, thirteen macrobiotic families left New York and moved to Chico, California on his advice. The next year, 1962, they founded the first American macrobiotic food distribution and processing center in this country.

"In 1963, in the summer he came to the US again and lectured in Boston, NYC, and at the Chico Summer Camp.

"In 1964, he lectured at the Big Sur Summer Camp.

"In 1965, he lectured at Mayoro Lodge near Pulga, California.

"In 1966, on April 24th he died in Japan.

"All in all, George Ohsawa visited this country either five or six times, each time lecturing, and speaking to the people individually without rest. He was ceaselessly active. I have heard many anecdotes concerning him during that period. As best I can determine, his affect on people was quite simply shattering—they had never seen anything like it."

Also discusses Michio and Aveline Kushi, Boston, Erewhon, East West Journal, East West Foundation (est. 1972), Amherst Summer Program (since 1974), Kushi Institute (fall 1978), Herman Aihara, Musubi, Ohsawa Foundation, GOMF (1970), French Meadows Summer Camps, Shizuko Yamamoto, Masahiro Oki, Michel Abehsera. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

128. Evans, Barry. 1982. Re: The American Miso Company announces the opening of its miso shop in North Carolina. Linden's Elf Works is sole agent in marketing and distribution. Letter to Friends of The American Miso Company, Jan. 4. 1 p. Typeset, with signature on letterhead.

• *Summary*: "Dear Friends—We at The American Miso Company are proud to announce the opening of our miso shop in Western North Carolina. This long awaited dream of making American miso has evolved from a genuine need here in the United States for an unpasteurized miso made with organic ingredients and fermented under natural conditions in large wooden vats."

"Through the joint efforts of producer John Belleme and his teacher, Takamichi Onozaki from Yaita, Japan, we are

now making absolutely delicious miso that will strengthen the body and delight the palate.

"The Lindenself Foundation, doing their business as Linden's Elf Works, located in Piedmont, North Carolina, has been appointed as the sole agent in marketing and distribution of The American Miso Company brand products... Their address is Route 1, Box 43-D, Rougemont, North Carolina. Your phone contact is John Troy at... 919/364-2723. Enclosed is the Linden's Elf Works distributor price sheet which includes all the pertinent information for your upcoming Spring catalogue. With kindest regards, Barry Evans, President."

Note 1. This letter was precipitated by Erewhon Trading Company's announcement in Nov. 1981 that it was filing for Chapter 11 bankruptcy. Note 2. This is the earliest document seen (June 2000) that mentions the company's new name, "The American Miso Company." Note 3. This is the earliest document seen (July 2000) that John Troy of Elf Works in connection with miso or soy.

Note 4. Talk with Barry Evans, owner of American Miso Co. 2000. June 29. Linden's Elf Works never distributed any miso made by AMC; Great Eastern Sun, Barry's new company, was the distributor. During the first year or two, John Troy purchased a significant percentage of the miso made by AMC for his sauces and dressings. To this day, he remains an important friend and advisor, but the percentage of miso he buys is now quite small. Joel Dee, a pioneer with his Miso Cup, worked with John Troy. Joel lived in the little town Saluda, North Carolina, where John Belleme lives today. Last year, Joel introduced Organic Miso Cup using miso from AMC; he is now a significant customer. Address: President, The American Miso Company, Rutherfordton, North Carolina.

129. Hillyard, Roger. 1982. History of Erewhon, natural foods, and macrobiotics in America. Part I (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, Feb. 7. 2 p. transcript.

• *Summary*: Roger got involved with macrobiotics in San Francisco in about 1965. He lived in San Francisco, was doing light shows at the Avalon Ballroom, read the book *You are All Sanpaku* [by Sakurazawa Nyoiti (George Ohsawa); English version by William Dufty], and got involved. Also in about 1965, Herman Aihara and Bob Kennedy used to come to town to lecture in a church on Oak Street. Bill Tara and Paul Hawken, who were filmmakers, lived in a warehouse on lower Mission St. described in the *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, by Tom Wolfe (largely about Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters). "A little macro scene started. We heard that Boston was macro Mecca."

Roger arrived in Boston in Oct. 1969. Erewhon started when Michio and Aveline Kushi were living in Cambridge, Massachusetts; in their basement they had a little food, which they would sell to people who came to hear Michio lecture. "The food was but a vehicle to the larger teaching.

The food is like an asana or yoga posture, but the goal is enlightenment. You can get stuck on the food. That is why Michio had very, very little involvement in Erewhon's food business, His focus was on the philosophy of macrobiotics and spreading it."

The Erewhon store was (at the time) in the basement of today's Redwing Books. Evan Root started the store, but he wanted to get out of it into a restaurant. Paul Hawken took over the sleepy little store. Bill Tara (who was from Santa Cruz) also worked there for a while. The tiny store had few customers, a very limited selection of products, and a little mail order business. Shortly after Roger arrived, the Erewhon store at 342 Newbury Street opened—in Nov. or Dec. 1969. Bruce Macdonald and Jim Docker helped to renovate the new store. The whole thing was called Erewhon Trading Co. In Feb. 1970 Roger started to work in this retail store.

Shortly thereafter, Paul Hawken went to Japan. At that time the only companies importing food from Japan were Chico-San and Infinity Foods in New York; both were macrobiotic. Erewhon bought from them, and then started doing a little wholesaling. After Paul went to Japan, Erewhon started importing directly from Japan. Paul got in touch with Mr. Kazama and helped to get Mitoku into the natural food export business. Kazama was an old friend of Obiyashi, who was an old friend of Michio Kushi's from Columbia University. Muso was shipping to Chico-San and Infinity. Erewhon imported from Muso and Kazama. Roger thinks Mitoku started in about 1970-71. Before that they sold soccer shoes and cranes. The fact that Paul was in Japan was instrumental in getting Erewhon's imports started.

The Erewhon retail store would sometimes get huge shipments, such as a 40-foot-long truck of rice that filled up the whole Erewhon storeroom. It was something like Kokuho Rose [a brand of short grain brown rice grown by Koda Bros. in Dos Palos, California]; it is not organically grown. There was really no room for it, and no refrigeration. At about this time the Lundberg Brothers in California started growing brown rice organically. At one time a boxcar of 100,000 lb of Lundberg rice arrived, so Erewhon needed more warehouse space. Also involved were Jean Allison (from California) and Wally Gorell (from the Straight Theater, Haight-Ashbury district, San Francisco). In about mid-1970 Erewhon leased a 10,000 square foot warehouse space on the 5th floor of 33 Farnsworth St. [a big brick warehouse] in Boston. The space had a nice milling room. Then the wholesale business took off. Roger left Boston in April 1971. He had been running both the distributing company and the wholesale company, but there was a store manager. The retail store expanded into its back room. Then the wholesale business grew like mad. Orders came from non-macro natural foods stores, from new macro groups, etc.

How did the natural food movement get started? As Roger recalls, it was not started by macros. In about 1966

or 1967 Sunset Natural Foods became New Age Foods, an early natural foods store run by Fred Rohe. The natural food movement sprung out of the new consciousness—the counterculture—as did macrobiotics. The macrobiotic movement fed the natural foods movement. One Erewhon customer was Mr. Natural in Carbondale, Illinois. Although he was not a macro, he bought miso, tamari, rice, etc. There were lots of other non-macro stores like that too. But there were also lots of macro stores. Bill Tara opened a store and macro center on the 14th floor of a downtown building in Chicago; out of that grew Food for Life. Tom Waxman started Essene in Philadelphia. These were two mini-Erewhons. Each started as a small retail store, then became a wholesaler. Erewhon provided the model.

Erewhon set up a branch distributor in Canada, which later became Manna, with Gene Newman, a macro. Westbrae was a Berkeley political organization started by Bob Gerner, making granola. Erewhon West was connected with Bruce Macdonald. Bill Tara, with Aveline Kushi's prodding, started the Erewhon store in Los Angeles; it did a little distributing. Bruce Macdonald went to Los Angeles, then Bill Tara left for England—Roger doesn't know why. Erewhon West started growing. Jimmy Silver ran the Big Sanae, which became the Seventh Inn. Roger then went to Texas and in Jan. 1972 he worked with Deaf Smith for about a year. Later Erewhon West was sold to John Fountain, but really to John Demming—as a separate business from Erewhon.

The Well [a wholesale and distribution company in San Jose, California] was an offshoot of Fred Rohe's New Age Foods, ca. 1969-1970. It was never macrobiotic. Fred sold stock in his business, had 2 stores in San Francisco, then opened a big natural foods store [actually a supermarket] named New Age Natural Foods on California Street in Palo Alto. The whole thing was a fiasco; the Palo Alto store never made money.

Deaf Smith Farms was established as a joint venture between Erewhon and Arrowhead Mills; it never worked out. In April 1971 Bruce Macdonald started a marketing company named Pure & Simple. In March 1972 Roger started working at the Well in San Jose. Bruce went to Green Mountain Grainery in Boulder, Colorado. Gradually The Well became Pure & Simple, and started importing from Mr. Kazama and Muso.

Paul Hawken was the first person to work with farmers to get them to grow grain organically for Erewhon. One of these was Carl Garrich of Lone Pine, Arkansas—after Erewhon moved to 33 Farnsworth Street. Roger did a lot of work with farmers at Arrowhead Mills, but not connected with macrobiotics.

Major macrobiotic wholesale distributors: Erewhon East and West, Laurelbrook (later), Food for Health, Essene, Manna in Canada (later). Llama (later) was not macro.

Macrobiotics played the major, primary role in introducing soyfoods to America. A little was also coming through Japan Foods [San Francisco] and Nishimoto

[Trading Co., Los Angeles]. The macros made these foods available, but don't overcredit it; the time was ripe and it just happened. The main contribution of macrobiotics was simply making these foods available and teaching about them. Michio always said that macrobiotics is not just about food and the diet.

"It was frightening when we stopped to think about it. The business was doubling and tripling at a crazy rate." Roger still has his early notes but no accounting books. Address: California.

130. Hillyard, Roger. 1982. History of Erewhon, natural foods, and macrobiotics in America. Part II (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, Feb. 7. 2 p. transcript.

• *Summary:* While Roger was in Boston, no tofu was sold at the Erewhon retail store at 342 Newbury St.—since there was no refrigeration and no room. He thinks tofu was introduced after Erewhon got 33 Farnsworth St.

The trickiest question, which has no place in this book, is about work as a disciple / discipline vs. for money / as business. Work can be a spiritual practice (*karma yoga*), and that is how many of the early workers at Erewhon viewed it.

Roger does not know why so many people left Erewhon. Maybe Michio planned it that way. He does not know why Erewhon went bankrupt; maybe it was because the company was undercapitalized, there was no worker equity, and Michio did not know American business. "Maybe Michio did not care so much. Distributing foods was always a minor focus for Michio."

Other macrobiotic food distributors outside the U.S. were Lima in Belgium (by far the earliest), Harmony and Sunwheel in England, and some company in Italy. Address: California.

131. *Vegetarian Times*. 1982. Erewhon fighting to stay in business. No. 54. Feb. p. 83.

• *Summary:* "The company, with annual gross sales of an estimated \$12 million, has a debt of \$4.3 million... Erewhon defaulted on a secured bank loan and, unable to reach a new agreement with the bank, filed for protection of its assets under bankruptcy law..."

'It all comes down to management,' confided one insider. 'Erewhon was horribly mismanaged.'

"It's difficult to lay the blame squarely on the shoulders of any one individual and, in fact, the people remaining at Erewhon are understandably reluctant to discuss their problems, but the two names which most commonly do come up are Mishio [sic, Michio] Kushi and Tom Williams.

"Williams, the company president, was brought into the organization a little less than a year ago to 'straighten things up,' but he's now missing and nobody knows where to contact him. Mishio Kushi, the man who introduced America to macrobiotic principles and who also founded and owns Erewhon, has been criticized for holding the

company too tightly. It is rumored that Mishio Kushi tried to sell shares in the company in an effort to raise capital, but that he was too inflexible in his business dealings to interest investors."

132. Wollner, Joel. 1982. History of Erewhon, macrobiotics, and soyfoods in America (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, Feb. 2. 2 p. transcript.

• *Summary:* Discusses Evan Root, Redwing Books, Erewhon's first tofu, Charles Kendall, tempeh. Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

133. Belleme, John. 1982. Re: New developments at American Miso Co. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, March 3. 2 p. Typed, without signature or letterhead.

• *Summary:* "We got a really good response from our light miso. People reported using it for dressings, dips and even desserts. We have decided to market our white miso through our wholesale company in bulk only during the winter. We also plan to market a mellow barley and a mellow rice miso, both of which should have a good shelflife.

"Mr. Onozaki just visited our factory for two weeks. He said our koji is some of the best he has ever seen. I was really worried about our koji and his comments settled my anxious mind. He also said our long-term miso is developing fine.

"The ownership of our factory is finally settled. The following will not be participating: Erewhon, Michio [Kushi], Mitoku, Johsen, Oak Feed and Sandy Pukel. This leaves only Barry Evans and myself, we are now the sole owners."

"I am sending you 10 pounds of Mr. Onozaki's rice miso. It is hopefully just like the miso we are making. We are getting a really good response from the East Coast macros; they love Mr. Onozaki's miso. Last year we imported 20,000 pounds.

"Barry and I are starting a wholesale company in Asheville. It's tentatively called Great Eastern Sun Trading Company. We are specializing in hard-to-get macrobiotic foods—will send you a catalog in a few weeks."

Note 1. This is the earliest document seen (March 2006) that mentions Great Eastern Sun, a macrobiotic trading company in North Carolina.

Note 2. On 31 May 1982 John wrote a 2-page typed letter to Dr. Hiroshi Ito at the National Food Research Institute asking for help in making a white miso. Address: Route 3, Box 541, Rutherfordton, North Carolina. Phone: (704) 287-2940.

134. Root, Evan. 1982. Re: History of macrobiotics. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, March 4. 1 p.

• *Summary*: Discusses Sanae, Erewhon, Paul Hawken, Michio Kushi. Address: Relationships, 39 Harvard St., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-739-3300.

135. Cowen, Peter. 1982. Bankrupt Erewhon Inc. bares its assets and liabilities. *Boston Globe*. April 8. Economy section.

• *Summary*: "Erewhon Inc., which is attempting to reorganize under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy code, yesterday reported that it had liabilities of about \$3.9 million and assets of slightly more than \$1 million, exclusive of its three retail stores.

"At the same time, parties to the reorganization announced that Ronald L. Rossetti, president of a Wilmington [Massachusetts] firm that operates 86 health food and vitamin stores, had been named president and chief executive officer of Erewhon.

"Rossetti, 38, was associated with the accounting firm of Coopers & Lybrand for six years before joining Nature Food Centres Inc., which he now owns and runs. In a news release distributed yesterday, those involved in the reorganization of Cambridge-based Erewhon said that, under a proposed reorganization plan, all 'administrative and priority claims' against Erewhon would be paid in full once the plan is approved.

"Further, unsecured claims of more than \$800 would be settled by a payment of about 18 percent of the claim, 6 percent payable in cash and the balance in four annual installments of 3 percent each. Unsecured claims of \$800 or less would be settled with a 15 percent cash payment. Finally, holders of Erewhon's \$560,000 in subordinated debentures would receive 3 percent of their claims, as full payment.

"In its statement, the company's financial difficulties were attributed to a shortage of equity capital 'to finance and sustain its operations and growth,' costs 'greatly exceeding' the firm's estimates for its move to Cambridge in 1978, and 'intense competition' in the health foods field.

"Rossetti, in attempting to bring the company back to profitability, 'will attempt to increase sales growth by expanding distribution of Erewhon products nationwide,' the firm said. The operation of its three retail stores will be continued under Erewhon's name." Address: Globe staff, Massachusetts.

136. Hawken, Paul. 1982. History of Erewhon and macrobiotics in America. Part I (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, April 18. 3 p. and 5 p. transcripts.

• *Summary*: Hawken played an important and very innovative role in establishing the natural foods industry in America and in building Erewhon into a major distributor of macrobiotic and natural foods.

Chico-San imported foods from Tokyo CI (Centre Ignoramus); Muso didn't exist at that time.

The Kushi's never made tofu or nigari tofu. They were not big tofu eaters, largely because tofu was considered too yin—ridiculous. Then people started craving it, and buying it from Chinatown. But the tofu they bought was not made with nigari.

By the mid-1960s there were roughly 300 to 2,000 people actively involved with macrobiotics in the USA—including Michio Kushi's students, Herman Aihara's students, and those in New York and Boston.

Beth Ann Simon had started using heroin again before she died [on her No. 7 macrobiotic diet]. The family covered it up, blaming Japanese and tamari. But she was not the only one who died. George and Lima Ohsawa's only child died within a year of being born in Tokyo (according to Lima) from excess salt.

Erewhon was started by Aveline Kushi, not by Evan Root. Paul does not know who gave Erewhon its name [it was Aveline Kushi]; of course, it is "Nowhere" scrambled, as in the title of the famous 1872 novel by Samuel Butler about a utopian island divested of machinery. Originally various people would drive to Pennsylvania to see the Mennonites and Walnut Acres. It was a buying club for students who lived in the Kushi's house in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Foods such as wheat, [whole-wheat] flour, oatmeal. Nothing imported from Japan. It was started with \$500 cash in the basement of the Kushi's house. It backed into being a store since it was cheaper to buy larger quantities. The food was divided up into little bags and a price was written on each. It was sort of a way of buying food for people at the Kushi's house, like Aveline doing her shopping for 10-12 people in the first big macrobiotic study house. It began to outgrow the house and outside students wanted good food. It was never seen as a business or a money-making venture. Good food was so difficult to get in those days.

Another source of good food was Infinity Foods in New York City, started and owned by Howard Rower; they had a warehouse and were wholesaling by mid-1965. Soon Howard was importing miso and tamari (shoyu / soy sauce) from Tokyo CI. "This 'guaranteed' its quasi-medicinal effects. Otherwise it didn't work. It was actually the best food—really." Then Howard started to import directly from the manufacturers of miso and shoyu in Japan: Hatcho miso and Marushima shoyu (whose owner knew Ohsawa intimately). Paul visited Marushima in 1969. Paul thinks Marushima bought their shoyu from other shoyu factories on the island, or maybe they made it in the early days. Paul thinks there is a big difference in taste between shoyu made from whole soybeans and that made from defatted soybean meal (*dashi daizu*). Paul was suspicious of Marushima shoyu in 1970; he demanded that Muso Shokuhin change to Johsen [Sendai Miso Shoyu] as their source; Johsen has a long history and the owner was also one of Ohsawa's cronies.

Paul left Erewhon in 1973. He went to Japan three times. The first trip was in March 1969, when he set up

Mitoku in the natural foods business; before that they were an importer or hockey equipment. Muso was called Osaka CI; neither of those two companies were exporters before that time.

In the early days of the below-ground store in Boston, more of the foods came from Lima Foods in Belgium than from Japan. The miso and shoyu in those days came from Infinity Foods in New York City. They did not carry tofu because there was no refrigeration. None of the food was sent by the Kushis' friends.

In the early days of that store, Evan Root just tended the store, which had sales of about \$20–\$30 a day. The store was Aveline's idea. Evan was Aveline's close friend—and not the only one. The store was originally called simply "Erewhon." Paul later added the words "Trading Co." when he incorporated it in the late fall of 1967. Paul and Aveline each owned 50% of the corporation. During its first year as a corporation, sales went from \$1,000/month to \$9,000/month—and not because it was macrobiotic.

Erewhon was the first natural food store (as opposed to health food store) in America. It sold no pills. Many of the customers were not macros; they wanted whole foods. In mid-1968, as Paul was ready to leave Erewhon, someone came into the store and asked: "How do you know the oil is cold-pressed? And how do you know the grains are organically grown? He couldn't answer. So he wrote letters and found out that most were not what they claimed to be. Then Paul decided to use Erewhon to create a true food supply. He went directly to farmers. He didn't trust anyone. The idea was to know where the food came from and to have no middlemen between Erewhon and the producers.

In Oct. 1968 the little Erewhon retail store moved up and across the street to a new location at 342 Newbury Street. At that time they began to sell wholesale and to import from Japan, by correspondence with Mr. Kazama. The first import order from Japan, dated Aug. 1968, was *aka miso* (red rice miso—superb) from Sendai Miso Shoyu and Marushima shoyu. Soon customers who used to drive 400 miles to buy staples from Erewhon started to open their own stores. The natural foods business mushroomed. Erewhon started selling tofu in 1968 at 342 Newbury; they got it from a Chinese tofu maker in Boston. Nigari came in much later, after 1973. Neither Evan nor anyone else wanted to work at or run Erewhon; they all wanted to teach macrobiotics.

Paul was selling whole dry soybeans at that, but mostly non-macros were eating those soybeans. Erewhon's first supplier, in mid-1968, was a wheat grower in North Dakota. Carl Garrich in Lone Pine, Arkansas, was much later. Paul got his first soybeans from a guy in a boxcar who was an insurance salesman, but who worked one day a week selling soybeans and wheat. Paul also bought soybeans from Deaf Smith County, Texas. Paul knew Frank Ford of Deaf Smith County in the early days. Paul was vice president of Arrowhead Mills before Roger Hillyard even worked for them. He ground his flour in a boxcar.

Paul wrote an long and detailed article about the early history of Erewhon titled "Erewhon: A biography. The view within," published in the Aug. 1973 issue of *East West Journal*. He was upset at the time. It was critical of the Kushis, and Paul explained why he was about to leave Erewhon. Robert Hargrove, editor of the journal, ran it anyway. Since then, Erewhon's history has been sanitized. Continued. Address: California.

137. Hawken, Paul. 1982. History of Erewhon and macrobiotics in America. Part II (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, April 18. 3 p.

• *Summary:* Continued: Erewhon grew rapidly. One year after moving to the new location they had sales of \$35,000 to \$40,000 a month, both wholesale and retail. Paul thinks Erewhon had a retail catalog from 1967 to 1970. Paul was president (until 1973, when he left) and half owner. Then he left for Japan. Before leaving he made a great error, by signing over his half of the stock to the corporation in case something happened to him. It was put in escrow, but he could never get it back. When Paul left for Japan, Roger Hillyard, Bill Tara, Bruce Macdonald, and Jim Docker were all working for Erewhon. He had hired many or all of them, and everything was in place for takeoff. Erewhon did not get its big brick warehouse until July 1970.

When Paul first went to Japan in the spring of 1969, He traveled with Mr. Kazama of Mitoku, visited many factories, and set up sources. He tried to find out where Tokyo CI and Osaka CI were getting their foods. He was in Japan for about 9 months, from March to December.

When he returned, he opened Erewhon in Los Angeles; Roger Hillyard was still in charge of Erewhon in Boston. Then he started Organic Merchants with Fred Rohe, and started writing "The Sugar Story," "The Oil Story," and other leaflets. His main interest was now in providing accurate information about foods. In mid-1970 Erewhon stopped its mail order catalog and business when it moved into the brick warehouse.

Originally Erewhon Los Angeles and Erewhon Boston were one; about 4 years later they split in two.

When Paul left in 1973, Erewhon was contracting directly with something like 57 farms in 35 states producing organically grown foods, including lots of produce. This program began in 1968, included the Lundberg Brothers (who grew brown rice organically in Northern California), and led to the wholesale business. Paul and Erewhon helped many other natural food companies to get started.

The Natural Food Distributors Association [Organic Merchants] was not successful because it was Paul's idea and he left. Lack of money and fundraising were secondary. His goal was to see cooperation in the industry.

In conclusion Paul says: "Read the article [in *East West Journal*] and then we should talk again. You'll have a lot more questions." He asks Shurtleff to send him a photocopy of the article as well as the final draft of the chapter on the

history of macrobiotics (including Erewhon); he'll be glad to recheck it. Address: California.

138. San-J. 1982. Some soy sauces are called tamari. But they're not! San-J is the real tamari (Ad). *East West Journal*. April. Rear cover.

• *Summary*: This ad is a combination of black-and-white and color. In black-and-white are 5 quarts of so-called tamari under the following brands: Westbrae, Erewhon (2), Llama, and Pure & Simple. In color are 2 bottles of San-J Tamari (wheat free, in 5.7 oz refillable dispenser and 20 oz glass bottle). The text explains that this real tamari is: Made only from soybeans. Mellow, smoother, richer than regular soy sauce. More protein than regular soy sauce. San-J Tamari will enhance any dish. A concentrated, economical product.

139. Therrien, Lois. 1982. Erewhon bought by Nature Food. *Boston Globe*. April 8. Economy section.

• *Summary*: "Erewhon Inc., the Cambridge-based health food retailer, has been purchased by the owner of Nature Food Centres Inc. for an undisclosed sum. The company, which had been trying to reorganize under the federal bankruptcy laws, was purchased by Ronald L. Rossetti, 38, who had been named president and chief executive officer in April after Erewhon filed for protection under Chapter 11."

"The health food company will remain as a separate entity from Nature Food Centres but Erewhon products will be marketed in Nature Food Centres stores, according to Anthony Barber, vice president of finance for Nature Food Centres. Nature Food Centres, based in Wilmington [Massachusetts], operates 86 vitamin and health food stores in the United States." Address: Globe staff, Massachusetts.

140. *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. 1982. Erewhon plan accepted. May.

• *Summary*: A \$1.3 million offer by Ronald Rossetti, president of Nature Food Centres, has been accepted as the reorganization plan in the Erewhon, Inc. bankruptcy. On 10 Nov. 1981 Erewhon, a Boston-based natural foods wholesaler, was forced to file for bankruptcy under Chapter 11 of the U.S. bankruptcy laws because of debts totaling \$4.3 million. Then on 15 Feb. 1982 Laurelbrook Foods also filed a Chapter 11. Richard Curry was president. The company didn't have the capital to finance growth.

141. *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. 1982. Laurelbrook files for Chapter 11. May.

• *Summary*: "Laurelbrook Foods, Inc., a major East Coast natural foods distributor [in Bel Air, Maryland], filed Feb. 15 for reorganization under Chapter 11 of the U.S. bankruptcy laws, and was scheduled to submit a repayment plan to its creditors by March 10. This is the second East Coast distributor which has recently filed a bankruptcy petition. Last January, Erewhon, Inc., a Boston-based

natural foods wholesaler, was forced to file a Chapter 11 because of debts totalling \$4.3 million. Laurelbrook president Richard Curry declined to comment on the subject."

"One large East Coast-based supplier, who spoke with Natural Foods Merchandiser off the record said, 'This is another example of a company which didn't have the capital to finance its growth, or the management strength to attract new capital. Many of us felt with Laurelbrook that it was just a matter of time. The distribution business today is tough. You've got increased energy costs, high interest rates and a tough economy. This year will be a real test for many companies.'"

142. *New Age Journal (Boston, Massachusetts)*. 1982. Erewhon changes hands. May. p. 15.

• *Summary*: Erewhon, one of the oldest and best known natural foods manufacturers in the U.S., was sold on April 2 to Nature Food Centers, which operates a chain of 85 health food stores primarily devoted to marketing vitamin pills and other dietary supplements. Erewhon had sales of \$17 million a year. The company has been plagued throughout its history by financial and labor crises (see "From Alternative to Big Business," *New Age*, Nov. 1979). In 1981 alone Erewhon's losses amounted to more than \$1 million.

143. Chowka, Peter Barry. 1982. Natural foods: A commodity in crisis. *New Age Journal (Boston, Massachusetts)*. July. p. 32-41.

• *Summary*: Includes sidebars or discussions on: "Erewhon: High hopes, high standards—and low profits." Michio Kushi. A history of health foods. Wildwood Natural Foods and Good Earth: Small, beautiful, and profitable. The McGovern Committee and Dietary Guidelines. Bread & Circus (whose first store opened in 1975). Dr. Michael Jacobson of Center for Science in the Public Interest. Talk show host Gary Null. Address: Massachusetts.

144. *Vegetarian Times*. 1982. Erewhon names new president. July. p. 67.

• *Summary*: Erewhon, which filed for bankruptcy last November, has announced the appointment of Ronald L. Rossetti and its new president and CEO. Rossett, age 38, is currently head of Nature Food Centers, Wilmington, Massachusetts. It is anticipated that Michio and Tomoko Kushi will continue to be involved with the company.

145. Pure Sales. 1982. Some soy sauces are called tamari. But they're not! San-J is the real tamari (Ad and poster). *East West Journal*. Aug. Inside front cover.

• *Summary*: This ad is a combination of black-and-white and color. In black-and-white are 5 quarts of so-called tamari under the following brands: Westbrae, Erewhon (2), Llama, and Pure & Simple. In color are 2 bottles of San-J Tamari (wheat free, in 5.7 oz refillable dispenser and 20 oz

glass bottle). The text explains that this real tamari is: Made only from soybeans. Mellow, smoother, richer than regular soy sauce. More protein than regular soy sauce. San-J Tamari will enhance any dish. A concentrated, economical product. Address: 250 Newport Center, Newport Beach, California 92660. Phone: (714) 760-1076.

146. Benson, Taylor. 1982. Foodcrafters' market study: The U.S. soy sauce market. Colorado: Foodcrafters. 8 p. Oct. 28 cm. [6 ref]

• *Summary:* Contents: I. Existing domestic markets. Overview of the existing domestic natural foods market. Overview of the existing domestic shoyu and tamari market (sources are cited). II. Market survey results. Background information on the survey. Survey questions and results (1,190 respondents in Oct. 1982 at Pearl Street Market, in Boulder, Colorado, at Rainbow Grocery in Denver, and via a mail-in questionnaire from random natural food consumers around the USA). 1. Have you ever used shoyu? (9.2%), tamari? (70.6%), soy sauce? (12.6%), none of these? (7.6%). 2. How did you first learn of the product? Friend (52.7%). Family (10.9%). 3. What size do you usually purchase? 16 oz (33.6%). 4. Which brand do you purchase? Private label (40.8%). Kikkoman (11.8%). Erewhon (9.1%). 5. If you heard about a new brand that was low in salt and naturally fermented, how likely would you be to try it? Definitely (36.4%). Probably (35.5%). 6. How important are the following items to you when you evaluate your product? Price (#3), company rep., bottle shape, package, label, advertising, aroma (#2), taste (#1). 7. Are you a vegetarian? Yes (33.6%). No (35.3%). Partially (31.3%). What is your age (25-34 = 50.4%). 9. What occupational category describes you best? 10. What is your average annual household income? (Under \$5,000 = 18.5%). 11. Sex? Male (53.8%). Female (46.2%). 12. How many people do you shop for? (1 other = 44.3%; Yourself = 29.5%). 13. How many years of school have you attended? (16 years = 41.6%).

Summary of the market survey results. III Market strategy. Address: Colorado.

147. Houtz, Rhoda. 1982. Ronald Rossetti, Nature Food Centers, and Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 10. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Ronald Rossetti, owner of Nature Food Centers, bought Erewhon (including the 3 Erewhon retail stores in the Boston area—Newbury, Brookline, and Cambridge) and filed a reorganization plan with the court. He is now the owner of Erewhon Inc., which is a separate and independent company from Nature Food Centers; there is no affiliation between the two. Michio Kushi transferred his Erewhon stock to Mr. Rossetti. The plan Rossetti filed offers to pay creditors 18% (18 cents on each dollar owed) over 5 years.

Erewhon is no longer manufacturing any of its own products, is also no longer a distributor, and his totally

moved out of the warehouse at 3 East Street. The Erewhon brand products are now being manufactured by subcontractors with careful quality control. Michio has been retained as a consultant. He is on the board of directors of the new Erewhon but is not chairman of the board.

Erewhon Inc. does not presently sell to any retail outlets, only to master distributors and a chosen few distributors. Nature Food Centers owns retail stores; it is not a master distributor. Stores by the name of Erewhon in Los Angeles are not connected with Erewhon Inc. Address: Nature Food Centers.

148. Jacobs, Lenny. 1982. Recollections of the early days of Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 11. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Lenny is absolutely certain that when Paul Hawken left Erewhon, other people had to purchase his stock. Paul had and apparently still has a lot of bitterness about this. The guy at the branch of Erewhon in Toronto, Canada, was extorting a lot of money from the company. There was also a scam with a guy from Free State of the Arc; he took lots of money and ran, then later wanted to give it to Erewhon. Paul used that as a reason for quitting Erewhon; he may not have known that the money was dirty money.

When he resigned, Paul Hawken called a public meeting. It was a big event, with many people in attendance. Paul was very bitter and he aired lots of "dirty linen." It may be that later the Kushis gave him another 25% of the Erewhon stock; Lenny is not sure. Lenny is planning to do a story on Erewhon. People can still trust the Erewhon label for quality. Address: Publisher, East West Journal, Brookline, Massachusetts.

149. Oak Feed. 1982. Catalog and price list. Coconut Grove, Florida. 1 p. Back to back. 36 cm.

• *Summary:* At top of page 1: "Your Japanese connection: Importers and wholesale distributors of macrobiotic foods. Lowest wholesale prices available. Abbreviations: E = Erewhon. M = Mitoku. W = Westbrae. * = New product. Contents: Miso and tamari. Sea vegetables. Tea. Noodles. Condiments. Vinegars, pickles & mirin. Beans. Crackers. Miscellaneous foods. Kitchen utensils. Body care products. Medicinal products.

Miso and tamari: Onozaki miso (11 lb or 44 lb). Tamari-filled dispenser (W). Organic shoyu (Lima Ohsawa). Authentic tamari (4.75 gal. or dispenser). Hatcho miso (M). Soybean mame miso (M). Mugi (barley) miso (unpasteurized). Mugi miso (W). Genmai (brown rice) miso (W). Genmai (brown rice) miso (unpasteurized, 44 lb). Organic brown rice miso (unpasteurized, 22 lb). Kome (white rice) miso (W). Instant miso soup (light or red, M). Soba (buckwheat) miso (M). Natto miso (22 lb or 2.2 lb).

Condiments: Goma muso. Goma muso furikake (M). Tekka. Jinenjo tekka (M). Seitan condiment. Umeboshi. Roasted sesame oil. Black sesame salt. Black tahini.

Also: Barley miso pickles. Aduki beans [azuki]. Black soybeans. Kuzu. Address: 3030 Grand Ave., Coconut Grove, Florida 31333. Phone: (305) 448-7595.

150. Smith, Patricia J. 1982. History of Erewhon, natural foods, and macrobiotics (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, Nov. 7. 1 p. transcript.

• *Summary:* This interview was conducted after Erewhon declared bankruptcy. What caused Erewhon's demise? The main reason was that the company grew too rapidly. Erewhon was distributing many products that were taboo for macrobiotics, such as frozen meat and vitamins. Erewhon was selling the very foods they advised people not to eat. The company lost integrity. She does not think that poor management was a major cause. Erewhon was a social, philosophical, and economic experiment. One reason the company had to grow was to pay for the move to the large and very expensive warehouse at 3 East Street in early 1978. No single factor caused Erewhon's demise. By 1982 Erewhon was located at 5 Waltham St., Wilmington, Massachusetts. Patti went to Boston in 1977, after working for Erewhon—Los Angeles, in California.

Erewhon failed on one level but on another it succeeded because of the many people in other companies who are still carrying on the ideas that it started. Erewhon pioneered in developing quality foods and maintaining standards, until near the end.

Note (based on a talk with Patricia on 28 May 1996): She was in Los Angeles from 1970-1974 (not with Erewhon), then in Los Angeles affiliated with Erewhon from Aug. 1974 to Aug. 1977. Then she lived in Boston from 1977-82. She lived and studied with the Kushis for 2 years in Boston. She feels extremely close to Aveline and Michio, as if they were her parents. Address: New England Regional Manager, Erewhon Inc., 3 East St., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02141. Phone: (617) 354-2001.

151. **Product Name:** Amazake.

Manufacturer's Name: Infinity.

Manufacturer's Address: Jamaica Way, Boston, Massachusetts.

Date of Introduction: 1982.

Ingredients: Incl. rice, water.

How Stored: Refrigerated.

New Product—Documentation: Talk with José Antunes, owner of Smoke & Fire Natural Foods, Inc. in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. 1998. July 14 and Sept. 16. He began studying macrobiotics in 1974 in Portugal. After he got out of the air force (in Africa), while he was sick with typhus and in the hospital for several months, he read a book by Georges Ohsawa. He continued his studies at the Community Health Foundations and Kushi Institute in London, England, in 1974-76 with Bill Tara; there he first learned about tofu and amazake. Then he studied in Boston. Being very independent, he wanted to create his own business. He had learned how to make amazake at cooking

classes in the Kushi Institute in Boston. So in about 1981 or 1982 in Boston, he and his ex-wife, Melissa Crane Morehouse, started making amazake at their home on Jamaica Way and selling it at the first Erewhon store and the first Bread and Circus store. Their amazake business was named Infinity, and it lasted for only about eight months. The product sold well, but the process was very labor intensive.

152. Hawken, Paul. 1983. More history of Erewhon and macrobiotics in America (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, Jan. 16. 2 p.

• *Summary:* The following are Hawken's comments on a draft history of Erewhon, by Shurtleff. Erewhon was not the "General Motors of the natural foods industry." What vanity! By 1980 various natural food distributors had expanded until they were 2-4 times as big as Erewhon—and very profitable. Erewhon was known throughout the industry as being undercapitalized, mismanaged, a laggard, behind the times. Its market share declined from 1973 on. By that time, Landstrom [in Southern California] had crossed over from health foods to natural foods and had sales of \$100 million a year.

Erewhon was not the victim of runaway expansion—unless you mean expansion of new products. From 1973 to 1981 Erewhon barely managed to double its sales—and it did this largely by adding new products such as vitamins, jam, yogurt; these products were in conflict with its basic philosophy of good food. After a while it would sell almost anything, but its core business and market share were declining. Inflation was another major factor that helped to double its dollar sales. There was lots of movement but very little real growth from 1973 to 1981.

The story of the relationship between the Lundberg brothers, Chico-San, and Erewhon concerning organically grown rice is not well known. Bob Kennedy still does not believe this story. In 1968, before the Lundbergs signed a rice contract with Chico-San, two of the brothers walked into the Erewhon store in Boston and said, "We're growing organic rice; do want to buy some? Paul said, "Sure." They went back to Chico-San but Chico-San said, "Don't worry, we'll sell the rice to Erewhon." The risks on Chico-San's part were overstated. Paul knows the contract well. The Lundbergs were appalled to see Chico-San's mark-up on their rice; Chico-San basically doubled the price per pound. Paul said he would not buy rice from Chico-San at that price. Though very likeable people, the Lundbergs didn't realize how the contract would restrict them and their market. The Lundbergs put pressure on Chico-San to lower their prices on rice, and Chico-San did. However Paul is sure that Chico-San was unable to sell the volume of rice that had contracted to buy. And this was long before the fire at Chico-San. So the contract was broken. The Lundbergs had been desperately looking for a way to get out of that contract. During that time Paul had set up Carl Garrich (Lone Pine, Arkansas) as a grower of organic rice for

Erewhon. After the contract was broken, Paul and Erewhon designed the Lundberg's rice bag using a Currier & Ives design. Paul believes that "people should know where their food is coming from." Erewhon had no pretensions of controlling organic rice.

Chico-San had been putting out the word in the rice valley of northern California that they wanted to buy organic rice. It was the Lundbergs, however, who developed a very clever method for growing the rice to Chico-San's basic specifications—no chemicals. The Lundbergs came to Erewhon before actually growing the rice, or at least before harvesting it.

Paul was shocked when he first heard of the contract between Chico-San and Lundberg. By trying to control this rice, Bob Kennedy blew it. Chico-San had an exclusive for only 2 years; it probably expired at the end of the 2nd year, before the fire. Erewhon was definitely buying rice from the Lundbergs before Chico-San burned down.

Chico-San was upset at all the natural food companies up and down the East Coast and even in California—Food for Life, Janus, and others. Erewhon's whole mission was to get good food to the people. Chico-San's rice was expensive because it underwent so many mark-ups. Chico-San had antipathy to all macrobiotics other than their own version. Paul had no antipathy for Chico-San. The Lundbergs deserve the credit.

The issue of Paul's losing his Erewhon stock. This is not correct as written. The macrobiotic movement has a huge gap between the stated goal and the reality. The falling out in which Paul was involved concerned what he viewed as Michio's dishonesty. When Paul came back from Japan, he did not realize that the stock was no longer his. A year later, when he drew up a stock ownership plan, he said that he wanted his stock back. Michio said he would give it back to Paul but not to the others. It wasn't that clear. He never said "No, you can't have your stock back." Michio is somewhat anti-Semitic and very rich. Address: California.

153. Kennedy, J. Robert. 1983. History of Chico-San and macrobiotics in America (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, Jan. 6. 2 p. transcript.

• *Summary:* Discusses rice cake production, George Ohsawa, Paul Hawken, Michio Kushi, early relationship with Erewhon and Lundberg Brothers (rice farmers). Kennedy and his group came to California for two reasons: brown rice and nuclear safety. They started to make rice syrup (amé) in 1972. Future plans to make miso and shoyu in America. Chico-San first imported miso from Ohsawa, himself, in Tokyo starting in 1961. Herman Aihara in New York ordered 2-3 shipments. Then they started to order from Muso Shokuhin. Address: Chico, California.

154. Kazama, Akiyoshi. 1983. Early years of selling macrobiotic foods to the western world (Interview).

SoyaScan Notes. June 21. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Mr. Kazama worked for a German export company named Ravenna; he ran their Tokyo branch office, exporting machines, cameras, transistors, etc. That company started in 1959.

He first heard of macrobiotics (before Paul Hawken arrived in Japan) from Mr. Shin Obayashi, a friend of his from Waseda University. Obayashi and Michio Kushi (from Tokyo Univ.) had won Japanese government scholarships to study in the United States. Both studied at Columbia University. Obayashi is no longer living. Mr. Kushi asked Obayashi to help him find a company in Japan from which Kushi could import Japanese natural foods. Before that, Kushi had to buy such foods from Chico-San at very high prices, like medicine. Mr. Obayashi contacted Mr. Kazama. Mr. Kushi found out the names of Chico-San's sources by reading the Japanese labels on their products. He sent these names to Mr. Kazama, who in turn bought the foods from Chico-San's sources. Evan Root and Paul Hawken suggested that Kushi and Erewhon should buy directly from Japan.

Mr. Kazama was accustomed from his office machines business to taking a low markup, so he charged Erewhon a commission of only 10%. Thus Erewhon got low prices, which was a key to their success. Mr. Kazama shipped the first order to Erewhon 3-4 months before Hawken arrived in Japan. Hawken's brother-in-law, a lawyer, helped provide the funds for opening the first letter of credit. In about 1969 Mr. Kazama established a new company named Mitoku, which he owned. It was independent of Ravenna.

Originally Mr. Kazama had bought his shoyu from Marushima, but Muso objected, saying it was their exclusive source. Muso asked Marushima to stop selling to Kazama, which Marushima did. Kazama then searched the length of Japan to try to find a company that still made shoyu in the traditional way. He finally located Sendai Miso Shoyu. Sasaki Jube, the 7th generation owner, made both traditional and modern shoyu products. He set aside a warehouse for only his traditional products, and insisted that all his brewmasters should master the traditional process first. Sasaki eats brown rice. Mr. Kazama found Sendai by himself and first went there alone. Sendai first sold its existing traditional product to Kazama in about 1970, then they expanded their production by adding on new fermentation rooms as orders increased.

Sendai has a special process for keeping a large amount of shoyu moromi in a huge vat; they then use half of this in each new batch, so that part of each batch is old and part new. Thus the finished product is not clearly 2 years old but maybe an average of 2 summers old. Thus in each bottle, there may be some shoyu that is 3 or 4 years old. Sendai gets very consistent quality. They still use well water, but the maximum amount they can use is limited by the government.

Today Mitoku's biggest customer is Westbrae, followed by Erewhon. Address: President, Mitoku Co., Tokyo, Japan. Phone: 03-201-6706.

155. Leviton, Richard. 1983. In search of the elegant plate: Using tofu in restaurants. *Soyfoods*. Summer. p. 22-32.
• *Summary*: *Soyfoods* magazine recently interviewed 50 restaurants around the country to learn how they were serving tofu, the amount of tofu they used each week, and their prognosis for tofu's future in restaurants. The interviews focused on natural foods and macrobiotic style restaurants—where much of the current use and innovation is taking place. The 50 restaurants represent an estimated 8% of America's estimated 600 natural foods restaurants. The 50 restaurants interviewed purchase about 111 tons of tofu yearly; by extrapolation, all natural foods restaurants would purchase a total of 611.5 tons of tofu yearly, or 2.25% of current tofu production. Asian restaurants are estimated to use an additional 3,822 tons, or 14% of total production. Many restaurants prefer to buy their tofu in bulk directly from the manufacturer. Leading centers for tofu innovation in restaurants are Boston (from the macrobiotic community), New York, then San Francisco and Los Angeles (which have large numbers of Asian-Americans and tofu manufacturers). Open Sesame, one of Boston's foremost macrobiotic restaurants, uses 350 pounds/week of tofu according to owner Gary Welkin. Also discusses tofu use and dishes served at various natural food vegetarian restaurants: Lotos/Lotus Cafe (Rochester, New York; owner Greg Weaver), Woodlands (Vancouver, BC, Canada), Blair Island (Eugene, Oregon), Meyera (Santa Monica, California), Penthouse Garden (New York City; chef George Roeger), Greens (San Francisco, California; run by Zen Center, head chef Jim Phalon), Sojourner Coffee House (Santa Barbara, California), Amazing Grace (San Francisco), Blue Heron (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Sunshine Inn (St. Louis, Missouri), Pachamama (Boulder, Colorado), Brownies (New York City), Moosewood Restaurant (Ithaca, New York), Latacarta (Boston), Blind Faith (Evanston, Illinois), Whole Wheat 'N' Wild Berries (New York City), Earth Angel (New York City), Green River Cafe (Greenfield, Massachusetts), The Garland (Tucson, Arizona), Cafe Shalom (Boston). At macrobiotic restaurants: L'Odeon (Boston), George's (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), Grain Country (Hollywood, California), Paul & Elizabeth's (Northampton, Massachusetts), Five Seasons (Jamaica Plain, near Boston; owner John Pell), The Caldron (New York City; they have been open since 1970, and making their own tofu since 1975), Angelica's Kitchen (New York), Seventh Inn (Boston), Harvest Cafe (Washington, DC). At mixed cuisine natural foods restaurants: The Unicorn (North Miami Beach, Florida; Terry Dalton, owner, opened in late 1979, uses 335 lb/week of tofu), Nature's Oven (Miami), The Natural Cafe (Santa Fe, New Mexico), The Eatery Amulette (Monmouth Junction, near Princeton, New Jersey), The Haven (Santa

Fe, New Mexico), The Copper Star (Tucson, Arizona). At tofu fast food takeout restaurants and delis: The Unicorn (Florida), Erewhon Healthycatessen (Los Angeles), The Patisserie (Boulder), Golden Temple (St. Louis). Natural foods Oriental restaurants: The Wok (Greenfield, Massachusetts), Real Good Karma (San Francisco; has served tofu since 1976), Souen (New York City), Golden Horde (Cambridge, Massachusetts), Plum Tree (New York City), Shangrila (San Francisco), Inaka (Los Angeles), Fuji-Ya (Minneapolis). Specialty atmosphere white tablecloth restaurants: Trader Vic's (San Francisco), Cambridge Crossing (Salt Lake City, Utah), The Good Earth (chain of 30 restaurants owned by General Mills). Address: 100 Heath Rd., Colrain, Massachusetts 01340. Phone: 413-624-5591.

156. Tara, Bill. 1983. Re: Comments on William Shurtleff's "History of Macrobiotics" manuscript. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, June 9. 2 p. [1 ref]
• *Summary*: "I would check the reference to Paul Hawken owning 50% of the stock in Erewhon. My reason for this is as follows: During this period of time there were many discussions which took place between myself, Paul, the Kushi's and others regarding an equitable distribution of stocks in the company to the management. No plan was ever finalized. Paul's desire was 50% for himself. Michio and Aveline were hesitant since that would have meant that future stock participation by management would be severely limited. It was my understanding that the upshot of these discussions was that Aveline would hold the shares in her name in trust until such time that an equitable proposal was put forward by management. In lieu of stock participation, many employees including Paul, myself & Roger Hillyard were given cash bonuses and extensive time off from our work to pursue our own travels and study. (Paul went to Japan under such an arrangement, Roger traveled through the U.S. and I traveled through Europe.)"
"Paul did not 'set-up' Mitoku & Muso. They were already in operation and exporting. Paul did however, cement a good relationship with these companies and make more efficient arrangements for shipping and quality control.

"As per Paul's shock regarding the shares. I can only say as stated above, plus the fact that what you want and what you have are two different things, if the shares had been legally his, they could not have been taken away and Paul could never be accused of having been ignorant of the law in business matters."

"Erewhon in Los Angeles was started by myself and Aveline Kushi. I had moved to Los Angeles to set up a center there immediately after establishing a center in Chicago [Illinois] and getting the shop opened. The shop was opened in 1970 and our original purchase of miso and tamari were made through Chico-San. We later received our first direct shipment from Japan prior to Paul's arrival. I was joined by Bruce Macdonald and we began distribution

up the California coast as far north as San Francisco, distributing miso and tamari as well as some Japanese condiments and seaweeds to small co-ops and natural food shops. Our biggest customers were the co-ops in Berkeley and Fred Rohe in San Francisco."

"What can I say regarding Paul's impression of Erewhon in 1970? We were all younger then. My impression was that Erewhon was a very happy place to work at Farnsworth Street. There was a high degree of comradery [camaraderie] and a poor understanding of business. The words arrogant and dogmatic were words often used to describe Paul—rightly or not.

"Bill, I hope these comments are not in any way taken to be disparaging of Paul and his involvement in the natural foods movement. His energy and vitality combined with his sharp business sense was one of the main driving forces behind the wide distribution of Japanese foods. Combined with Michio's educational work, this forged the beginning of the wide acceptance that we are now seeing for many of the traditional food items. It would be sad, I think, to allow Paul's own personal frustrations to overly color what was an exciting and adventurous experience for all involved." Address: The Kushi Institute, P.O. Box 1100, Brookline, Massachusetts 02147. Phone: (617) 731-0564.

157. Kingaard, Jan. 1983. Spotlight on Erewhon. *Whole Foods (Berkeley, California)*. Oct. p. 18.

• *Summary*: A black-and-white photo shows Charles T. Verde (Erewhon's president and CEO) and Cynthia C. Davis (vice president of marketing). "Today's Erewhon has evolved from a cupboard in Michio Kushi's kitchen in 1966, into a \$17 million modern corporate manufacturing concern in 1981, through Chapter 11 Federal Bankruptcy reorganization in late 1981, and on to new ownership in 1982." Erewhon has three retail stores and the company now manufactures and markets a line of more than 100 natural food products including cereals, nut butters, granolas, Japanese imports, oils, and snacks.

"Erewhon defines 'natural' to mean without chemical additives or preservatives; no artificial colorings or flavorings; no refined sugar (the only sweeteners used are honey, pure maple syrup, and barley malt); and products which contain no hydrogenated oils (only cold pressed rather than chemically extracted)."

158. Erewhon Mail Order. 1983. Erewhon. Natural foods mail order catalog. Brookline, Massachusetts. 16 p. Nov. 1. Catalog and price list.

• *Summary*: This is a new mail order catalog, whose prices are effective from 1 Nov. 1983. On the front cover is a woodblock print two wooden barrels, a wooden tub, two sacks of corn, a sheaf of wheat, several ears of corn, and a scythe. Erewhon is located at 26 Washington St. in Brookline Village—also the home of Erewhon Mail Order. There are retail stores at 342 Newbury St. in Boston and 1731 Massachusetts Ave. in Cambridge. Products grown

organically, without chemicals, are marked with the code "OG."

Contents: Whole grains & cereals (incl. Erewhon granolas). Flours. Pastas. Beans (incl. azuki beans, black soybeans from Japan, yellow soybeans from Minnesota). Seeds, nuts & dried fruit (incl. alfalfa seeds, sesame seeds, and tamari roasted nuts and seeds). Sea vegetables. Misos and tamari soy sauces. Japanese macrobiotic specialty products. Condiments, vinegars & sauces. Sea salts. Erewhon vegetable oils. Baking & home products (incl. koji rice for making amasake and miso, nigari for making tofu, tempeh starter). Sweeteners (Yinni rice syrup, barley malt, maple syrup, clover honey, wildflower honey {unfiltered}) Erewhon nut butters. Fruit spreads. Snack foods. Sweets. Perishables (incl. bread, mochi, produce, amazake, tempeh). Beverages. Supplements. Natural cosmetics & body care. Cookware & appliances. Books & publications. Ordering & shipping information. Zone & shipping charts. Address: 236 Washington Street, Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 1-800-222-802 or (617) 738-45168.

159. Shurtleff, William; Aoyagi, Akiko. 1983. George Ohsawa and the macrobiotic movement: History of work with soyfoods. Soyfoods Center, P.O. Box 234, Lafayette, CA 94549. 46 p. Nov. 10. 28 cm. Unpublished typescript. [92* ref]

• *Summary*: A comprehensive history of the subject. Contents: Introduction: Acknowledgement of Ron Kotzsch. The roots of macrobiotics: *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine*, Shinto classics, Ekiken Kaibara (1630-1714), Nanboku Mizuno (late 1700's—early 1800's), Sagen Ishizuka (1850-1910), Manabu Nishibata. The life of George Ohsawa (1893-1966): To Paris 1929-36, return to Japan and World War II, Internationalism 1946-53, ran school Centre Ignoramus, "world journey" 1953 to India, Africa, then Paris, started Muso Shokuhin (macrobiotic food company) in Osaka, Japan, in 1959, work in Europe 1956-66, earliest reference seen to soy (miso) in 1956, first visit to New York City Dec. 1959, post-visit institutions, second visit 1960, first American macrobiotic summer camp on Long Island, exodus to Chico, California, Aug. 1961 to escape feared nuclear war, establishment of Chico-San, move of Michio and Aveline Kushi to Boston in 1963, *Zen Cookery* 1963, *Zen Macrobiotics* second edition 1965, growth of the movement, Beth Ann Simon's death blamed on macrobiotics in 1965, response of U.S. Food and Drug Administration is to close N.Y. Ohsawa Foundation, Ohsawa's general macrobiotic teaching, view of Western civilization as one in crisis, with fundamental biological change required to improve it, death in 1966 in Tokyo at age 72 of cardiac failure, seen as sage by his followers, seen as inconsistent crackpot by his critics, work carried on by wife Lima and by his students. Development of macrobiotics in Boston: Kushi's lectures and classes from 1965, early food sales from house, Erewhon's start in 1966 and subsequent growth, establishment of organic suppliers

in the U.S., first imports from Japan 1968, 1970 natural foods boom, National Food Distributors Association, *East West Journal*, Autumn Press founded in Japan by macrobiotic student from Boston, Boston institutes, centers, and foundations from 1972 on, increasing popularity of soyfoods (tofu, tempeh, and miso) in Boston, Erewhon from 1973 to bankruptcy in 1981 and sale to Ronald Rossetti in 1982. Development of macrobiotics in New York City: Void after departure of Aihara group and Kushis, establishment of Infinity Foods in mid-1960's, Michel Abehsera's restaurants, cookbooks, and tour. Development of macrobiotics in California: Influence of Chico-San on natural foods movement to 1970, Lundberg rice 1968-69, Yamazaki miso and shoyu 1970, 1972 fire in Chico-San warehouse, educational activities and institutions, growth of Chico-San, Noboru Muramoto. Nutritional views of macrobiotic diets: General critical attitude from 1965 to 1977, not countered by macrobiotic leaders, scientific studies pro and con, specific critique of the diet, turnaround in attitude since 1977 (*Dietary Goals* published by U.S. Senate's McGovern Committee), Dr. Mendelsohn, Nathan Pritikin, cancer cures and Anthony Sattilaro (1980). Macrobiotics in Europe and Latin America: First European company Lima N.V., other distributors, centers, publications, tours, active in South America since 1954. A major contribution: Type of overall influence on soyfoods, number of followers in 1981. Address: Lafayette, California. Phone: 415-283-2991.

160. Shurtleff, William; Bennett, Gordon. 1983. Proposal for a Soy Sauce Council of North America. Lafayette, California: Soyfoods Center. 2 p. Unpublished typescript. 28 cm.

• *Summary*: Contents: Definition. Purpose. Membership. Funding. Communication, proposals, and voting. Initial activities: Standards, soy sauce press release program. Your participation.

"Definition: The Soy Sauce Council of North America (commonly referred to as the "Soy Sauce Council") is an organization within the Soyfoods Association of North America." This idea was proposed by the authors, a cover letter, questionnaire (containing 10 questions, mostly related to terminology), and 4-page list of potential members were drafted, and a mailing was done to all potential members. Eleven companies responded to the questionnaire and their responses were tabulated. The respondents were: Chico-San, Erewhon, Granum, Kikkoman-Wisconsin, Kikkoman-International, Mandarin Soy Sauce, Mountain Ark, Pure Sales, San-Jirushi, Westbrae, and Mark Fruin.

But Michael Austin and at least one other leaders of the Soyfoods Association did not like the idea, so it was never implemented. Address: 1. Director, Soyfoods Center, Lafayette, California; President, Westbrae Natural Foods.

161. **Product Name:** Erewhon Shoyu Tamari.

Manufacturer's Name: Erewhon, Inc.

Manufacturer's Address: Boston, Massachusetts.

Date of Introduction: 1983. December.

New Product–Documentation: Ad in Whole Foods. 1983. Dec. p. 51. "The look is new but the flavor is still aged." "Our look may be new. But all 150 Erewhon Natural Food products are still made the same quality way."

Leaflet. 8½ by 11 inches, color. Reprinted in Soyfoods Marketing. Lafayette, CA: Soyfoods Center. Ad (full-page, color) in Whole Foods. 1989. Feb. p. 27. "Made in Japan 400 years ago." Shows chopsticks on a small bowl or shoyu next to two types of sashimi against a black background.

162. Erewhon Trading Co. 1983. Order food by mail? Naturally (Ad). *New Age Journal (Boston, Massachusetts)*. Dec. p. 4.

• *Summary*: A half page black-and-white ad. "Erewhon's mail order natural food brings the highest quality natural and organically grown products right to your mailbox. Shopping for macrobiotic food, all natural cosmetics and body care products has never been so convenient." An illustration shows a mailbox full of Erewhon brand products. Address: 236 Washington St., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 1-800-222-8028.

163. Cauwenberghe, Marc Van. comp. 1983. The macrobiotic archives. Vol. I, Issues 1 through 6. Kushi Institute, 17 Station St., Brookline, Massachusetts. 354 p. 28 cm. In a 3-ring binder.

• *Summary*: This is a compilation of various early published and unpublished documents relating to George Ohsawa and macrobiotics.

164. Erewhon, Inc. 1984. Made in Japan 400 years ago (Ad). *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. Jan. p. 3 (unnumbered) of 12-page color advertising insert. Soyfoods Pavilion '84. Marketing soyfoods in America.

• *Summary*: This 8½ by 11 inch ad begins: "To the ancient Japanese shoyu masters, making the finest possible soy sauce was more than just a matter of pride. It was a matter of necessity. Because, in medieval Japan, no one served inferior shoyu to a shogun twice." "Our great taste comes naturally." The full-page color photo shows the tips of two chopsticks on the edge of a small bowl containing shoyu for dipping sauce. Above that are sliced fish and orange fish eggs. In the lower left a bottled labeled (confusingly) "Erewhon Shoyu Tamari." Note: Shoyu and tamari are different types of soy sauce.

165. Leonard, Thom. 1984. Re: Thoughts on miso in America. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, Jan. 3. 3 p. Handwritten, with signature.

• *Summary*: Thom was surprised and pleased to see the "Ohio Miso" logo in the history chapter of the new second edition of *The Book of Miso*. "I, too, have found it strange that many influential people in the macrobiotic community

have such resistance to the use of the English language in describing the varieties of miso." Thom prefers the terms "brown rice" and "barley" to *genmai* and *mugi*. "Last spring I was asked to give a miso workshop to employees of Erewhon's retail division. I stressed the importance of demystifying miso, including the use of English variety names. A beginning (belated) at least.

Next month, in Ireland, Thom will "begin making miso on a small scale, 800 pounds a week. My shop space is small, my finances smaller... I don't have a company name yet, but favor The Irish Miso Company, trade name of Eire Miso." "We are renting a beautifully re-done cottage on a south-facing hillside above the River Nore, and will be here at least a year."

Update: Talk with Thom. 1984. Sept. 24. He was in Ireland for a year, but he couldn't raise the money he needed. He planned to export miso to the USA. The Irish economy was slow and the UK market was small. He is planning another miso company. His wife is in Dublin, Ireland. He will go back to meet her there, and then perhaps on to Japan. He is now staying with Jim Hemminger, Remelle Road, Monroeville, Ohio 44847. Address: Kilkieran, Inistioge, Co. Kilkeny, Ireland.

166. Soyfoods Assoc. of America. 1984. Soyfoods Pavilion '84. Marketing soyfoods in America (Ad). *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. Jan. 12-page color advertising insert.

• *Summary*: Contains large color ads by Legume Inc. (6 frozen tofu entrees), Erewhon, Inc. (shoyu tamari), Vitasoy (USA), Inc. (natural and coconut soy drink, sweetened with maple syrup), San-J International, Inc. (tamari, teriyaki sauce, tamari crackers, teriyaki crackers), Tofu-Time, Inc. (Tofutti "nondairy tofu frozen dessert"), Eden Foods, Inc. (Edensoy soy beverage in plain and carob flavors, retort pouch), and Westbrae Natural Foods (natural ramen in 100% whole-wheat, buckwheat, brown rice, mushroom, seaweed, miso, 5-spice, and curry flavors).

Contains black-and-white ads by Westbrae Natural Foods (shoyu, tamari, and soy sauce), Chico-San, Inc. (imported miso and soysauce), Fantastic Foods, Inc. (tofu burger mix), Penguin's, Inc. (dairy-free frozen dessert), Nasoya Foods (Firm Style Tofu, Soft Style Tofu, Marinated & Broiled Tofu, Tofu Burgers, Tempeh, Tempeh Burgers, Tofu Vegi-Dip [Creamy Dill, Soyannaise, Bleu Cheese, Onion, Creamy Garlic], Corn Cakes [Plain with Bran, Blueberry, Cranberry]; Non-soy products in the "Oriental Cuisine" line include Fresh Noodles, Wonton Skins, Egg Roll Wrappers), Hinode Tofu Co. and Azumaya, Inc. ("The #1 and #2 tofu producers in America").

The only article, whose author is not given, is titled "Soyfoods Pavilion debuts at Natural Foods Expo '84." On the front cover of the insert is a list of members of the Soyfoods Association of America (formed in Feb. 1983) that participated in Natural Foods Expo '84. In addition to the advertisers mentioned above, they include: Farm Foods, Laughing Moon Food Co., Paradise Distributors, Inc.,

Soyfoods Magazine, Tempeh Works, Inc., and White Wave, Inc. Address: 526 East 20th St., New York, NY 10009.

167. Kotzsch, Ronald E. 1984. Natural foods pioneer Erewhon. *East West Journal*. Feb. p. 24-29.

• *Summary*: A very well written and accurate history of Erewhon from its founding in 1966, to its declaration of Chapter 11 bankruptcy in the fall of 1981. The company was able to clear its \$3 million indebtedness by paying 11 cents for each dollar owed. In early 1982 "the company was sold by the Kushis to Ron Rossetti, owner of the Nature Food Centres retail chain. Later that year [in July] Rossetti accepted as financial partners Charles T. Verde and Cynthia C. Davis, who became respectively president and vice president of marketing. Since then the operation has been totally in their hands. Erewhon has a production facility at Natick, Massachusetts." A photo shows Davis and Verde with 5 Erewhon products.

168. Kotzsch, Ronald E. 1984. Paul Hawken: Prophet of the next economy. *East West Journal* 14(4):32-37. April. [1 ref]

• *Summary*: From 1967 to 1973 Hawken was involved in the Boston macrobiotic community. Contains a brief history of Hawken's pioneering work in establishing Erewhon as a major distributor of macrobiotic and natural foods. Four good photos show Hawken, including a full-page color cover photo. Address: Dartmouth, New Hampshire.

169. Warsh, David. 1984. A new trend for businesses. *Boston Globe*. April 22. Economy section.

• *Summary*: "Paul Hawken was just 21 when he started Erewhon, a health foods retailer in Cambridge, in 1967 with \$500 in cash. He built it into a big little business, sold it in 1973, moved to California from Boston and undertook a series of turn-arounds, 'to see,' he says, 'if I really knew something about business.'"

"He did. When he decided that the mesquite charcoal that one little company sold to restaurants was an ingredient instead of a fuel, he doubled the price, and also doubled the demand. Suddenly a charcoal stove was a status symbol. You can't go into a California restaurant without being offered mesquite-flavored chicken, mesquite-flavored fish.

"Today Hawken runs Smith and Hawken, a beautiful little mail-order tool business with \$5 million in sales. 'What I'm good at is seeing how markets change. I could probably start a conceptually sound business a week,' he says, 'but I lose interest after a certain point. I don't have an instinct for the jugular.'"

Hawken is in Boston promoting the paperback edition of his new book, "The Next Economy: What to do With Your Money and Your Life in the Coming Decade." It is about the coming information-based economy. He is already at work on another book to be called "Corporate Courage." It's about what corporations really are and how

they function. "It will open with a history of their development from what he calls 'the original sin'—the invention of limited liability in the last century.

"I learned my lesson at Erewhon, the hard way, very early on," says Hawken. "One day a customer came into the Newbury street store and said, 'How do you know these products are really as pure as you say they are?'" So I began investigating my suppliers, going out to their farms, and what I found was outrageous. Half of them were lying to me about not using chemicals. In the end I had to put the entire system together myself." Address: Globe staff, Massachusetts.

170. Kotzsch, Ronald E. 1984. Made in Japan—naturally: Natural foods from the Muso Company are popular worldwide. *East West Journal*. Dec. p. 14-21.

• *Summary*: "Muso was founded in 1966 as a macrobiotic food company, aiming to provide the highest quality traditional Japanese foods. It is now the oldest and largest macrobiotic food concern in Japan. Within the natural foods movement in the country it is one of the top three firms. Also, since 1969, it has been a major exporter of macrobiotic foods. With its Tokyo-based competitors the Mitoku Company and Ohsawa Japan, it dominates the large and growing international trade in Japanese foods."

Shuzo Okada, one of George Ohsawa's earliest and most devoted disciples, was the son of a family of Osaka textile merchants. After Ohsawa's death in 1966, Okada invested \$3,000 to establish Muso Shokuhin in Osaka, with his eldest son Teizo as director. Yuko Okada, the second eldest Okada son, was head of the export division; he had spent 6 years living in Boston, mostly working for Erewhon. Initially the company was located in Fukusenji, a dilapidated Buddhist temple.

Today "the company has gross annual sales of over \$25 million and employs over 120 people. In addition to the Osaka headquarters, built at a cost of over \$1 million, it has an 18,000-square-foot production and warehouse facility in Osaka, as well as branch offices in six other cities. It wholesales over 1,800 products in the domestic market... Muso has accounts with nearly half of Japan's 3,400 natural food outlets. In addition, it has developed a rapidly growing franchise chain of fifty-two stores, mostly in the Kansai area...

"About \$5 million a year comes from international sales... Growth in the international sector has been steady despite the blow of the 1981 Erewhon bankruptcy. (Muso had credits of about \$200,000 when its chief customer failed, and lost over \$150,000 of that.) Muso, which is now owned by more than fifty investors, was able to survive the shock. Muso exports about 270 different products...

"At present a runaway best seller is a soybean drink made of soybeans, pearl barley, kombu sea vegetable, and malt sweetener. Marketed in North America as Edensoy it has proven an excellent dairy substitute."

There follows a description of the Nanki Umeboshi Co., Muso's principal supplier, and then of the Kanemitsu Miso Co. (in Fuchu City, Hiroshima prefecture) which has been in business for 300 years. "While it once made sake and soy sauce as well, it now produces only miso—1,300 tons a year." There are now some 2,000 miso makers in Japan and Kanemitsu is one of only 200 which produce more than 1,000 tons annually. It is one of a very few which produce miso according to traditional methods... It is aged in natural temperatures for two years, run through a masher, then packed in either 40-pound wooden kegs or 1-pound plastic pouches. "All the miso going into the pouches is pasteurized by 84°C heat. If it were not, gases produced by the continuing fermentation would burst the bags. Kegs may or may not be pasteurized."

Photos show Yuko Okada.

171. Kotzsch, Ronald E. 1985. The early years of macrobiotics in Great Britain (Document part). In: R.E. Kotzsch. 1985. *Macrobiotics: Yesterday and Today*. Tokyo and New York: Japan Publications Inc. 292 p. See p. 219-21.

• *Summary*: "Great Britain is one of the few European countries which had little or no macrobiotic activity during the Ohsawa years. The first signs of life were in the late 1960s when Greg and Craig Sams began to promote macrobiotics in London. Of Anglo-American parentage, they had learned of the movement while in the States. The brothers started a food company, Harmony Foods, and opened a small restaurant in the Portobello Road section of London. While there was little formal [macrobiotic] teaching done, macrobiotic food and literature were made available. The warmest reception was in the emerging counterculture..."

"In 1970 Bill Tara, then a manager of Erewhon [he had studied with the Kushis in Boston and Los Angeles], passed through on a longer trip eastward and gave several talks. Two years later he returned to look into the possibility of opening an Erewhon operation somewhere in Europe. When the plan fell through, Tara decided to stay on and began to manage Ceres, the Sams brothers' food shop. Well-spoken and with experience in teaching macrobiotics in Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles, Tara started to hold public meetings and talks in his home. In 1974, working with Peter Bradford, a Britisher just returned from a period of study in Boston, Tara set up Sunwheel Foods. This was a macrobiotic food company modeled after Erewhon. It dealt in macrobiotic staples including imported specialty items from Japan. It also produced and distributed more generally popular items like peanut butter and granola. That same year Tara, Bradford and others organized the Self Health Center to promote macrobiotics and other holistic and spiritually-oriented teachings."

In 1975 Tara helped arrange a seminar for Michio Kushi in London, followed by Kushi's first European tour. "With this visit began a new era of macrobiotics in Europe..."

"By 1976 the group which had grown up around the Self Health Center in London felt ready for a major expansion. They organized the Community Health Foundation and rented a large, five-story Victorian school in East London. A restaurant and bookshop were opened on the ground floor. The first Kushi Institute, earlier than even the Boston school, was established in the upper level... The CHF was among the first self-supporting centers of macrobiotic activity. It served as a model for macrobiotic groups in other countries including Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland.

"As interest [in macrobiotics] developed on the continent, Tara traveled widely and lectured in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Scandinavia. Also, many aspiring teachers and leaders went from other countries to the Kushi Institute in London. Thus Tara and the London center played a major role in the development of macrobiotics throughout Europe... In 1981 Tara returned to the United States to become director of the Kushi Institute of Boston. Denny Waxman, head of the Philadelphia East West Center, went to London to run the CHF and the Kushi Institute. He stayed two years. Since then the operations have been run by Kenyan born Jon Sandifer and others." Address: The New North Church, Hingham, Massachusetts (18 Mar 1985).

172. Ozora, Colleen. 1985. Of Granum and macrobiotics: A visit with Blake Rankin. *Macrobiotics Today (Oroville, California)*. Nov. p. 3-7.

• *Summary*: In 1969, while a student at UCLA, Blake Rankin came in contact with Erewhon-Los Angeles. After graduation from UCLA he and several friends set up a small health food store in Victoria, BC, Canada. Then he spent 3 months in Boston living in a Kushi study house and working in an Erewhon warehouse. Back in Seattle, he worked at Spiral Foods, an offshoot of Chico-San. Shortly after that he and George Gearhart, the proprietor, closed the store and in 1972 opened a wholesale company, Janus Foods. It was successful. [Note: Miso and shoyu, imported from Japan, were among the company's best-selling products.] After 2 years Rankin left and went to Japan for 6 months, where he traveled with Mitoku and Muso. Mr. Kazama, a friend of Aveline Kushi's brother, had not been in the food business before starting Mitoku. Then he went to Nepal and India on a spiritual search. In late 1973 he returned to Seattle and worked for Janus. Then he returned to Japan where he worked for Mitoku and studied calligraphy. In Japan he met his future wife, Yoko. Returning to Seattle, Rankin started Granum in 1981 as a distributor and importer for Mitoku products from Japan. Now the import company has a small retail store and a 10,000 square foot warehouse. Expected 1985 gross is more than \$500,000.

This article contains numerous photos of Blake and Yoko Rankin, and their two children. Address: GOMF, Box 426, Oroville, California 95965.

173. Kotzsch, Ronald E. 1986. Japan's natural foods pioneer: Mitoku's success is due to its network of quality suppliers. *East West Journal*. Jan. p. 18, 20-25.

• *Summary*: Mitoku "has been and (at present) remains the larger of the two main exporters of natural foods from Japan. With its chief competitor, Muso Shokuhin (see Sept. 1984 EWJ), it shares the bulk of a \$14-million-a-year market for superior Japanese food products.

"The central office of Mitoku is located in the prestigious Marunouchi building, in front of Tokyo Central Station... There is a staff of six Japanese and two foreigners (Christopher Dawson, a new Zealander, and Robbie Swinnerton, an Englishman)...

"The founder, sole owner, and guiding spirit of Mitoku is Akiyoshi Kazama, now fifty-five years old... A graduate of Waseda University in Tokyo, Kazama was selected in 1956 to study business in the United States... He became the first Japanese national to serve in the American Army following World War II. After two years as an American G.I. in Korea and Japan, Kazama returned to Japan and settled in Tokyo. He became an import-export agent for a German company dealing in opticals and electronics. Then in 1967 he got involved in the emerging natural foods business...

"At the time the newly formed Erewhon Trading Company of Boston was trying to import foods directly from Japan. Its owner, macrobiotic teacher Michio Kushi, was introduced to Kazama by letter through a mutual friend. Kazama agreed to use his trade expertise to ship \$3,000 worth of high-quality Japanese foods, selected by Kushi, to Boston...

"In 1969 Kazama formed a separate company to handle steadily increasing shipments, and called it Mitoku. Through the 1970s Mitoku continued to grow. It remained the principal supplier of Erewhon, which had become a leader of America's natural foods industry. Also, it played an important role in the development of other companies such as Janus, Laurelbrook, and Oak Feed... The company moved into the European market as well, becoming a major supplier of Lima of Belgium, Sunwheel of England, and other major distributors...

"When in the fall of 1981 Erewhon finally collapsed, Mitoku was its largest creditor and took a \$300,000 loss. Erewhon's demise nearly destroyed Mitoku... Mitoku has become a major supplier to Westbrae, Great Eastern Sun, Tree of Life, and the reborn Erewhon, all vigorous American firms...

"Over the last five years, Mitoku's annual sales have grown at about 20 percent a year. During the 1984-85 fiscal year gross sales were about \$7.5 million. During that period Mitoku bought some 300 food products from eighty-three producers... It sold to fifty-six customers around the world, including ten in North America and about thirty in Europe...

"Just this past month, Mitoku has introduced a line of especially high quality products under its own label."

The author and Mr. Kazama visited a number of Mitoku's suppliers. Descriptions are given of Mansan Company Ltd. (making tamari and soybean miso since 1895), Sendai Miso Shoyu Co. Ltd. (the Sasaki family which runs the company started making miso in 1853), Fukaya Honten Shoyu (a small maker of organic shoyu).

174. Bushnell, Davis. 1986. Erewhon: Back from Nowhere. *Boston Globe*. May 26. p. 11. Business section.

• *Summary*: Wilmington, Massachusetts—An anagram of Erewhon is "nowhere." And that appeared to be where natural foods manufacturer Erewhon Inc. was going in November 1981 when it filed for reorganization under Chapter 11.

Today Erewhon is going somewhere. To Charles T. Verde, president and chief executive officer, that means the company is on the way to a successful restructuring. "All our creditors have now been paid," said Verde, 44, explaining that previous claims against Erewhon of \$4.8 million have been settled for \$1.5 million. Last month Erewhon acquired a small cereal manufacturer, US Mills Inc. of Omaha [Nebraska], for about \$5 million, Verde said. In addition to its own mass-market cereals, the Omaha facility will also produce the nine new cereal products that Erewhon plans to introduce in the next year.

"We will be profitable because we're going to focus on cereals, the largest category—\$75 million to \$90 million annually—in the natural foods industry," said Verde. For the fiscal year ended last June 30, though, Erewhon lost "just under \$500,000" on revenues of \$3 million, he said. This year Erewhon will report sales of \$3.3 million, while its three retail stores, which are accounted for as subsidiaries, will have total sales of \$4.2 million, up 200,000 from a year ago...

"In April 1966 Michio Kushi opened an Erewhon Trading Co. store on Newbury Street in Boston to serve those espousing macrobiotics (the promotion of longevity through diet). 'Kushi was one of the forces behind the macrobiotics movement in this country,' said Verde, adding that Kushi's popularity prompted the opening of a Cambridge store in 1976 and a Brookline outlet in 1978. And then the troubles began... "In November 1981 the manufacturing and distribution operations went into Chapter 11. Yearly sales were about \$15 million, but there were also losses of \$2 million," he said. Kushi gave up control of the company (he is on retainer now as a quality adviser), which was then acquired by Ronald Rossetti, owner of Nature Food Centres Inc., whose Wilmington offices Erewhon now shares.

Verde was named president of Erewhon in the fall of 1982 and he, in turn, hired a former Gillette marketing colleague, Cynthia C. Davis, as vice president of marketing the following spring. First, the distribution operation was disbanded... "When Cynthia Davis, now executive vice president came in, she gave the packaging a contemporary

look and weeded out the unprofitable products. Some 200 items were reduced by half."

Rossetti sold his stock last year for an undisclosed amount to a person Verde describes as "an East Coast investor." Verde said that he and Davis, 35, also have equity positions in Erewhon. Sixty-five percent of Erewhon's sales now come from the Northeast, 20 percent from California and the remainder from the Southwest and Southeast. Three years ago, said Verde, distributors wouldn't return phone calls because they had the attitude, "Who needs Erewhon?" Today, 40 distributors serve the company.

The *Boston Globe* (19 April 1987) notes that "Erewhon is the title of a satirical romance published in 1873 by English author Samuel Butler. In the mid-19th century, Butler went to New Zealand, where he became a successful sheep farmer. The narrator of his book finds a remote mountain colony in New Zealand where many institutions and attitudes are the opposite of conventional ones."

Address: Globe staff, Massachusetts.

175. *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. 1986. Erewhon Inc. Nov. p. 59.

• *Summary*: "Erewhon Inc., located in Wilmington, Massachusetts, will change its corporate name to U.S. Mills Inc. Erewhon acquired U.S. Mills in April of 1986.

"We are completely merging the operations of the two companies, and this created the need for a single corporate identity," said Charles T. Verde, president of the new U. S. Mills Inc. The company will continue to use Erewhon as a brand name."

176. Hawken, Paul. 1987. Truth or consequences: The best way to differentiate your company from competitors, says the author, is to tell customers the simple truth about your products or services. *Inc.* Aug. p. 48-50, 52.

• *Summary*: Twenty years ago Hawken, suffering from asthma, was trying to restore his health. He began to experiment with diet and discovered that when he stopped eating the normal American diet of sugar, fats, alcohol, chemicals, and additives, he felt better and could breathe freely. So he "started the first natural food store in Boston, one of the first in the country. In the beginning it was a modest operation, grossing \$300 a day. When I finally sold the business after about seven years, Erewhon Trading Co. was grossing more than \$25,000 a day. That was in 1973. I went abroad to write a book about a community in Scotland [Findhorn]." With Erewhon, Hawken had helped to launch a new industry.

"A couple years later, I returned [to America] and discovered another reason to go into business for myself: I was unemployable. I had not held a salaried job in my adult life. I had no college degree... I spent the next 3 years consulting for various companies, doing three turn-arounds for companies in deep trouble, and writing another book. Then, in 1979 my friend Dave Smith and I founded Smith

& Hawken, an importer and direct marketer of high-quality garden tools." Today Smith & Hawken has gross sales of \$20 million.

"With a truly original product, you must, in effect, create a new market, as opposed to establishing a new niche in an existing market. You're competing not against other products, but against the inertia of the marketplace.

"At Erewhon, we started out as absolute food geeks: our foods were so far outside the mainstream that people couldn't pronounce half the names. We were treated with suspicion or derision. A trucker unloading some millet asked us if we ate this bird food. By about 1970, however, we knew we had located the center of the stream. Natural food stores were opening as quickly as they could line up vendors. We had already added a wholesale operation to our retail business, and we were landing a hundred new accounts a month, on top of expanded resales to existing customers. We were gliding." Address: Mill Valley, California.

177. *East West*. 1987. Natural Foods: The best and worst. 2nd annual awards. Oct. p. 32-36.

• *Summary*: Only packaged natural foods with nationwide distribution are judged. Best soy milk: Edensoy, but the Tetra Brik package doesn't biodegrade, burn, or recycle. Best sandwich spread: Nasoyanaise by Nasoya Foods. Worst shoyu: Natural shoyu from Erewhon. So heavy it is best dispensed with an eye dropper. Best Tamari: San-J. Worst line of fake meat products: Worthington Foods. Worst beans: Honey Baked Style Vegetarian Beans with Miso from Health Valley. Best Miso: Miso Master Mellow White Miso by American Miso Co. for Great Eastern Sun.

178. Hawken, Paul. 1987. *Growing a business*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster. 251 p.

• *Summary*: This is the companion volume to the 17-part PBS series. In this book the author claims that he started and sold Erewhon. In fact he did neither. The book begins: "When I started my first company in Boston twenty years ago, I had little interest in business. I was just trying to restore my health... Tired of spending so much time shopping, I started the first natural foods store in Boston [Massachusetts] and one of the first in the country. In the first year of operation on Newbury Street, it grossed about \$300 a day and I had fun doing it... When I sold the business after seven years, Erewhon Trading Co. was grossing \$25,000 a day. That was in 1973."

Erewhon Trading Co. was started by Aveline Kushi. Paul Hawken was the second person to manage the small retail store, but he did not own the company. He never sold it because he never owned it.

179. DeBona, Don. 1988. Re: History of The American Miso Co. Letter to Bob Carr at Cleveland East West Center, March 13. 6 p. Handwritten.

• *Summary*: "The American Miso Co. was begun in 1979 by Barry Evans, Sandy Pukel, Joe Carpenter, John Belleme, Michio Kushi, James Kenney, and several other partners. It was arranged for John Belleme and his wife to travel to Japan and study for 7-8 months with the Onozaki family of traditional miso makers. John Belleme returned and began making traditional miso for the then named Oak Feed Miso, Inc., previously called the Erewhon Miso Co., and presently the American Miso Co.

"Meanwhile, Barry Evans began a new company in order to distribute our miso. This company was, and still is, called The Great Eastern Sun Trading Co., located in nearby Asheville, North Carolina. Barry Evans eventually became the sole owner of the American Miso Co. also. I came to work for Great Eastern Sun in 1983. Prior to this I had worked for several years for Laurelbrook Foods, a large natural foods distributor in Maryland, and then on a Permaculture farm along the Maryland/Virginia border for two years growing organic winter wheat, barley, soybeans and summer produce according to the principles set forth in Masanobu Fukuoka's classic, *The One Straw Revolution*... We still do some farming and quite a bit of gardening on our 100 acres here at American Miso Co., in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Escarpment. I met my wife at a macrobiotic study house in 1980.

"We arrived at American Miso Co. in February 1985 and I took over the position of miso maker after John Belleme's departure in December 1985 [Note: Belleme was fired by Barry Evans.] I was trained to make miso by Akinori Takei, my Japanese teacher and friend, who had also studied with the Onozaki family in Japan. Takei-san remained with me for approximately another year; since then I have been on my own. We are a small enterprise and make approx. 250,000 lb of miso a year with only 3 employees and myself. We make all of our own koji (both barley and rice) by hand in a centuries-old fashion." Address: Route 3, Box 541, Rutherfordton, North Carolina 28139.

180. Kushi, Aveline; Jack, Alex. 1988. *Aveline: The life and dream of the woman behind macrobiotics today*. New York, NY: Japan Publications. 331 p. Foreword by Michio Kushi. April. No index. 22 cm.

• *Summary*: In this autobiography, Aveline Kushi tells her life story as the first lady of macrobiotics in America. She also adds much interesting detail to the history of macrobiotics and the natural foods movement in America, including the history of Erewhon Trading Co. (p. 192-204). Aveline was born Tomoko Yokoyama in about 1923 to devout Christian parents in the remote Japanese village of Yokota. After surviving a life-threatening illness, she quit teaching schoolchildren and went to Tokyo to enroll in the Maison Ignoramus, "The School of Ignorance" founded by macrobiotic educator George Ohsawa. There she became inspired by his teachings and dream of realizing One Peaceful World by elevating the physical, mental, and

spiritual health of human beings. Recognizing her leadership ability, Ohsawa sent her to America, without a penny in her pocket, to spread his teachings. At the Greyhound bus station in New York she met Michio Kushi, and they were married in 1953. Over the next 4 decades they played the leading role in introducing macrobiotics to the western world—while Aveline also raised a family of 5 children!

The book could be improved by the inclusion of more dates (for example, we are not told when Aveline was born, when Erewhon was founded in Boston or Los Angeles, etc.) and by an Index. Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6876.

181. Wollner, Joel. 1988. Soy-based cheeses—Concerns for the consumer. Can a traditional product be patented. *Soya Newsletter (Bar Harbor, Maine)*. March/April. p. 2.

• *Summary*: In this letter to the editor, the writer is concerned about two issues raised in the article titled "Soy Cheese Market" (*Soya Newsletter*, Jan/Feb. 1988). He wonders to what extent the present success of soy cheese in the natural foods marketplace is based on consumers' lack of awareness that casein is a dairy product. His own informal survey, conducted shortly after *Soya Kaas* was first introduced and already finding widespread acceptance, found very few consumers who knew that casein is derived from milk. "In fact, over 90% thought *Soya Kaas* was strictly vegetarian, containing no milk-derived ingredients."

He is also shocked that Simply Natural has patented a product (named *Soyalite*) made by fermenting fresh tofu in miso and discovered by accident. This process "is well known and practiced by thousands of people all over the United States, and has been since the late 1970's. I first learned of 'miso-pickled tofu' (as we called it) in 1978, while manager at Erewhon Natural Foods retail store in Boston [Massachusetts]. One of our employees had learned the process while studying with Noburo Muramoto, a teacher of Oriental food-crafting in Escondido, California. Her miso-pickled tofu was a big hit among the Erewhon staff, and we began selling it ready-to-eat in the store and published the recipe in our weekly consumer newsletter. Soon after, miso-pickled tofu became a favorite dish among Boston's diverse natural foods community, and found a place in the menus of local natural foods restaurants." Address: Director, Mitoku USA Inc., New York.

182. Belleme, John. 1988. Tamari: Reborn in the U.S.A. [San-J International begins production in America]. *East West*. June. p. 14, 16-18.

• *Summary*: In 1804, almost half a century before Commodore Perry's ships forced open Japan's ports to American trade, the Sato family's fleet of small boats began ferrying their homemade tamari and other goods up the Kiso, Ibi, and Nagara Rivers. From the port city of Kuwana in the Bay of Ise on the Pacific Coast, the Satos received goods from larger ships and delivered them to communities

upriver. Takayoshi Sato is currently the president of San-J International, the remnant company, almost eighty years since the Satos closed their maritime business. Faced with the loss of livelihood, the Satos turned to making tamari and soybean miso on a large scale in 1909.

With the dollar at an all-time low against the Japanese yen, and 100% of all natural shoyu and tamari sold in the U.S. being imported from Japan, the opening of the San-J International tamari plant could not be more timely. American importers of Japanese foods have seen a 50% increase in the price of shoyu and tamari in the past eighteen months. There are just a few companies in Japan still making genuine tamari. San-Jirushi at Kuwana is the largest, producing roughly half of the country's annual production of 6,000 kiloliters (1,500,000 gallons).

William Shurtleff first proposed exporting San-J tamari to the U.S. in 1977. Shurtleff gave a sample of San-J tamari to the president of Mitoku, which supplied Erewhon with Japanese foods. Shortly thereafter, Erewhon began importing San-J tamari in five gallon tins. Next John McLaughlin, a Richmond businessman, tasted San-J tamari and was impressed enough to go to Japan and talk to the Sato brothers. The meeting led to the founding of San-J International in December 1978, a Japanese-American joint venture to market San-J tamari and eventually build the Richmond plant.

Today, industrial giants such as Stouffer's and Campbell's use San-J tamari exclusively in all their frozen food lines. San-J makes the point in their ads: "One teaspoon of tamari—which contains just a pinch of salt—is the seasoning equivalent of a full tablespoon of salt. Tamari seasons with protein, not sodium." In the manufacture of tamari, the mixture of koji and brine, called *moromi*, is left to ferment for about six months. Tamari is pasteurized (2% ethyl alcohol is added to prevent the growth of yeasts and molds). The Richmond plant can make about 1 million gallons of tamari and tamari shoyu (tamari with 20% wheat added) a year, about two times the current annual sales of the imported product.

The Richmond process will differ from that used to make tamari in Kuwana. First, in Japan, San-J tamari is aged for at least 12 months at room temperature. In Richmond, fermentation is accelerated to approximately 6 months by heating the fermentation vats with electric coils. Second, the San-J tamari from Japan is aged in old cedar vats while the Richmond plant is using fiberglass vats lined with epoxy resin. Every major importer of natural Japanese foods has expressed interest in bottling San-J tamari in their private label. However, only Eden Foods Clinton, Michigan, has negotiated a contract with San-J.

183. Carasso, Irwin. 1988. Brief history of Tree of Life, Inc. natural food distribution company from St. Augustine, Florida (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Oct. 18. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Irwin Carasso (born on 2 June 1951) got interested in natural foods and vitamins through his brother. He went to school in Boston, and though he never got involved with the macrobiotic movement, he used to shop at Erewhon. At one point he decided to move back to Florida and start a natural food retail store. He opened Tree of Life in St. Augustine in May 1971. He drove a truck up to Boston, met Paul Hawken, and started carrying some the Erewhon products, as well as those from Arrowhead Mills, and some New York importers. In Feb. 1972 Carasso founded a natural foods distribution company, which he also called Tree of Life, in the same building as his natural food store. He was age 20 at the time. In about November 1973 the company moved to Industrial Drive in St. Augustine.

The key policies that allowed this company to grow into the largest natural foods distributor in America (and one of the few pioneers to survive) were a strong focus on service, clear communication at every level (to suppliers, customer, etc.), and a high level of integrity and honesty about the products that were carried. Tree carried a much broader line of products than the "purist" natural foods distributors, and they were sometimes criticized harshly by competitors for carrying turbinado sugar, all vitamins, unbleached white flour, etc. Yet if people wanted an item and it was reasonably good, Carasso would carry it and explain clearly what it was. The vitamins were a key to profitability and growth. "The real health food fanatic was always a closet junkie." Carasso didn't mind if the company carried raw sugar as long as they called it raw sugar. The top quality service was accompanied by higher prices than most competitors charged. Tree offered a whole range of products that were not available at the time, dairy products (from California) and bulk foods, more packaged foods than most early competitors. But they started without the major health food and vitamin lines, since none of the "old line" distributors or major vitamin companies would sell to them.

Tree's first and only acquisition was in 1978, when Irwin bought the Marty Bellman Co., a small (less than \$2 million a year sales) health food distributor in Sun Valley, California, in order to get their vitamin lines. The old line distributors put pressure on the vitamin manufacturers (such as Schiff and Plus) not to sell to small, new competitors.

Irwin sold Tree of Life in April 1982 to a group of financial people called Wilson Financial, but he kept Marty Bellman Co., renaming it Hi-Profit Distributors. Sales at the time were about \$31.5 million a year. Irwin felt that he had done what he wanted to do and he wanted to do something different with his life. In Dec. 1985, Wilson Financial sold Tree of Life for \$15 million to a Dutch firm named Wessanen of North America, which was owned by a \$1,000 million company from the Netherlands named Royal Wessanen NV Co. Then last year, Wasannen bought the Balanced Food chain (Balanced, Midwest, Collegedale, Midwest Dietetics) and SunRay. Then in Sept. 1987 Irwin

sold High-Profit Distributors back to Tree of Life. At that time he got out of the industry. He has never seen a history of Tree published previously. "The funny thing about this whole industry is that, except for some of the old line distributors, Tree was probably the only 'new-age' natural foods company that made any money. Most of them did not survive. I think it was for two reasons. First, their product ranges were too narrow. And second they had a philosophy (too purist) that inhibited their business, and prevented them from doing what they wanted to do. None of them ever had a goal to make more than 1 or 2% profit. Tree looked to make 10% profit. Tree carried 10,000 items. Erewhon at its peak had several hundred, maybe 500. Tree financed its growth entirely internally, starting with \$125,000 total in the early years. The business was run very tight, with C.O.D. terms."

Note: This is the earliest (and only) English-language document seen (April 2003) that uses the term "health food fanatic." Address: St. Augustine, Florida and Malibu, California. Phone: 904-471-0470.

184. Bolduc, Bill. 1988. Re: Early history of Eden Foods, Inc. to 1973. Part I. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, Nov. 5. 2 p. Revised 4 Dec. 1991 by Bill Bolduc, Ron Teeguarden, and James Silver.

• *Summary:* The following account is based on hours of discussion between Bill Bolduc, the Redmonds, and the Silvers between 1988 and 1991. Bill is not familiar with the details of the history of the food co-op in Ann Arbor prior to 1969. But Ronnie Teeguarden says that in about July 1967 he and Gloria Dunn started a loosely-organized food buying co-op—which had no name—in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Within a few weeks, a number of their friends and acquaintances (a group of eclectic pathfinders, students, graduates, macrobiotics, dropouts, musicians) informally joined the group. These included Tim Redmond, Mark and Nancy Retzlöff, Linda Succop, Iona Teeguarden, and Bob Thorson. From time to time, they collectively ordered macrobiotic staples from Erewhon in Boston using the Erewhon catalog. When the foods arrived, the food co-op members got together and divided them up at the Teeguarden-Leabu General Store, located a half flight below street level at 209 South State Street, below the Herb David Guitar Studio in Ann Arbor. Run by Ronnie Teeguarden, with help from Gloria, this store's main business was selling local art, second hand clothes and records, etc.

Bill Bolduc and Judy Succop [Linda Succop's sister], were married in June 1969 in Ann Arbor. They were not yet members of the co-op at that time. A few days later, they went to Berkeley for the summer. When they returned to Ann Arbor at the end of that summer, they lived in Saline, Michigan, 12 miles outside of town with Mark & Nancy Retzlöff, Linda Succop, and Tim Redmond. Bill, who wasn't working or going to college, was trying to figure out what to do next. By September 1969, Bill and Judy Bolduc

joined the food co-op. They also joined the Zen Macrobiotic Supper Club; all of its members were also members of the food co-op.

In the fall of 1969 the Teeguarden-Leabu second-hand store looked like it was about to close, which would leave the food co-op without a home. The group (especially Ronnie) convinced Bill Bolduc to take charge of the food co-op and find it a permanent home, which he did.

On 4 Nov. 1969 Bill Bolduc incorporated Eden Organic Foods, Inc. as a non-profit corporation in the state of Michigan. The name "Eden," which stood for Environmental Defense Energy Network, was coined at this time by Bob Thorson during a discussion between, Bill Bolduc, and Gloria Dunn at a coffee shop. Thus, the term "Eden" was first used in connection with this co-op or business in Nov. 1969.

Eden was born under a good star. The date Nov. 4 was carefully chosen to be astrologically propitious. At the time, Bill was an intense student of astrology with Michael Erlewine—who is now world famous in the field, and the owner of Circle Books, an astrological publishing company. In 1970 Michael also designed the Eden logo of the 4 sprouts in a circle. Eventually Michael became one of Bill Bolduc's students in macrobiotics.

Bill was president of Eden Organic Foods and his wife Judy (who was working as a secretary at the University of Michigan School of Music) was secretary. Bolduc used \$200 of his own money to rent a converted apartment above the bicycle store at 514 East William St. in Ann Arbor, near campus. People from the community loaned \$1,500 to help stock the co-op store and buy an 8-inch Meadows stone mill to grind flour.

The question arises: When was Eden Foods established? Bill Bolduc and Tim Redmond believe that the founding should be dated from Nov. 1969, when the company was first named; before Nov. 1969 the food co-op was not even a business. It was dead and had disappeared for about a month until Bill resurrected it by placing an order to Erewhon using his own money.

Eden Organic Foods first began selling soyfoods commercially in November 1969, starting with their first order from Erewhon in Boston. They would buy "tamari" (actually shoyu) and miso (kome = rice, mugi = barley, and Hacho varieties) in bulk from Erewhon (which imported them from Japan). At their store, Linda Succop (Bill's wife's sister) would repackage the products, putting the shoyu into bottles and the miso into plastic bags. They were labeled using plain white pressure-sensitive gummed labels with a rubber stamp. One stamp contained the name and ingredients for each product, and another, that was stamped below it, gave the company name and address. They wrote in the weight or volume by hand. Also at William St. a tiny Meadows Mill was used to grind grains and seeds into flour. Continued. Address: ELI Research Corp., 660 Northland Blvd., Suite 28, Cincinnati, Ohio 45240. Phone: 513-851-0330 or 513-751-9090.

185. Bolduc, Bill. 1988. Re: Early history of Eden Foods, Inc. to 1973. Part II. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, Nov. 5. 2 p. Revised 4 Dec. 1991 by Bill Bolduc, Ron Teegarden, and James Silver.

• *Summary:* In Sept. 1970 the fledgling company had an offer to move into a newly-redecorated mini-mall [at 211 South State St.] on the main street of campus. New personnel and financing would be needed. Bolduc called Tim Redmond, who had been studying and working at the Sanae macrobiotic restaurant in Boston, to ask for help. Tim returned to Ann Arbor and joined Bolduc in the expansion effort. To raise money for the move, the two approached Tim Redmond's father, who said he would help finance the expansion only if the business was reorganized as a for-profit corporation with Tim having equal ownership. They agreed and in about Oct. 1970 Eden was reorganized as a for-profit corporation with Bolduc and Redmond each owning 50%. At that time the partners shortened the company name to Eden Foods Inc. Bolduc and Redmond then borrowed a 4-figure sum from Tim's dad, had the new store remodeled, and entered the big time. After the new store was opened and running, Redmond returned to Boston and the Sanae restaurant, where he completed his studies. But with this move they fell from the graces of the political co-ops. In November 1970 they did a "Brown rice, seaweed, and dirty hot dog" Bob Dylan commercial on a local radio station; it was a big hit. They bought a 15-inch Meadows Mill and a rotary-drum roaster, then milled flour and baked granola in the back of the store.

In 1970 Bill had located Tom Vreeland, an organic farmer in Ypsilanti, Michigan. An Eden Foods Wholesale Pricelist dated 26 July 1971 shows that the Eden store at 211 South State St. was wholesaling soybeans, soft wheat, corn, and rye, all grown organically in Michigan. Eden was also selling organic flours that they ground from these grains.

In the spring of 1971, after realizing they were the only "natural food" store in the area, and having some other "health food" store owners in Detroit express an interest in carrying more food, they decided to wholesale foods out of the back of their retail store at 211 South State Street. Bill flew to Boston to meet Tim Redmond. They visited Erewhon (they wanted to convince Erewhon to let Eden be their distributor at lower prices), then Bill flew to Arrowhead Mills in Deaf Smith County, Texas, to make arrangements buying in bulk at wholesale prices. In the summer of 1971 they ordered their first 20-foot trailer load of organic foods from Arrowhead Mills, and ran an ad in *East West Journal*. Soon they started to distribute their foods to 4-5 accounts in Detroit. They bought a 1964 16-foot green Dodge van and a dry weight weigher/dumper machine. Their two main brands were Arrowhead Mills and Erewhon, but soon they developed the Eden brand with printed labels, onto which they would rubber-stamp the product name (such as bottled tamari and packaged miso).

Soon they added other brands: Celestial Seasonings, After the Fall, Timbercrest, etc.

The wholesale operation quickly outgrew the back of the retail store, so they borrowed more money and rented a 5,000 square foot Quonset hut (resembling an airplane hanger) down on Main Street by the Huron River. Tim Redmond, Mark Retzliff, and Bill Bolduc ran the wholesale operation. Retzliff later co-founded Alfalfa's, a natural foods supermarket chain based in Boulder, Colorado.

In October 1971 Bolduc hired Michael Potter, who was living in Detroit, to run the store. Just before this, Potter had managed a natural foods store named Joyous Revival in nearby Birmingham, Michigan. Prior to this time, the company had been owned by Bill and Judy Bolduc (50%) and by Timothy Redmond (50%). Potter was given 13.5% of the stock and the other principals' share reduced proportionally.

In the late summer or fall of 1973 the Bolducs sold their shares back to the corporation, which then gave a portion of these to Tim Redmond and Michael Potter so that these two men now owned 51% and 49% respectively.

The Bolducs then left Ann Arbor, moving to Cincinnati, then to Illinois, then back to Ann Arbor. Bill is certain that when he left Eden Foods, the company was not importing any products from Japan. He would guess that it was not until about 1975 that Eden started to import a line of foods from Japan. Their first supplier in Japan was Muso Shokuhin, a leading macrobiotic and natural foods exporter in Osaka. Initially, all of their imported products were required to bear the Erewhon brand. Imported soyfoods included miso and shoyu. Sales hit \$175,000 in 1973.

Note: Eden was the first of the many macrobiotic distributors based on the Erewhon model to open in America. Others that soon followed included Food for Life in Chicago (1970), Janus in Seattle, Washington (1972 Jan.), Essene in Philadelphia (by 1971 Feb.), Laurelbrook in Maryland (1971 Aug. 23), Ceres in Colorado Springs (by 1973), and The Well in San Jose, California (1973). Address: ELI Research Corp., 660 Northland Blvd., Suite 28, Cincinnati, Ohio 45240. Phone: 513-851-0330 or 513-751-9090.

186. Erewhon. 1989. Erewhon... Macrobiotic foods you can recommend with confidence (Ad). *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. Feb. p. 25.

• *Summary*: This color ad (7.5 by 13 inches) shows colorful packages of five types of Erewhon products: Misos, seaweeds, ramen, rice crackers, and sweets. In the center is a gold plaque that reads: "Recommended by Michio Kushi. Macrobiotic quality." This same endorsement is in the upper left corner of each package. Erewhon now has four varieties of miso under its brand: Hatcho (note new correct spelling), genmai, kome, and mugi. Note that all still use the esoteric Japanese names. Plastic bag packages are

colorful and attractive. Slogan at the bottom of the ad: "Our great taste comes naturally." Address: [Massachusetts].

187. *Whole Foods*. 1989. Bios: U.S. Mills. March. p. 110.
• *Summary*: U.S. Mills, established in 1908, specializes in 100% natural products. Our Erewhon cereals, granolas and nut butters are produced in our facility in Omaha, Nebraska. We also import a complete line of macrobiotic products from Japan, including shoyu tamari. In addition, we are the exclusive importer of Kentaur cereals from Switzerland. When the name Erewhon or U.S. Mills appears on the package, be assured your customers are getting the very best. U.S. Mills Inc., 395 Elliot St., Newton Upper Falls, Massachusetts 02164; (617) 969-5400.

188. Belasco, Warren J. 1989. *Appetite for change: How the counterculture took on the food industry, 1966-1988*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books. 311 p.
• *Summary*: A colorful overview of how the American counterculture has affected mainstream food patterns. Part I describes the making of a countercuisine that was politicized by the Movement, the work of early pioneers of eating lower on the food chain (such as Frances Moore Lappe), and the early organic food movement. Part II discusses the antithesis, the rage of the Big Food industry and the counterculture criticism of Big Food. In 1970 some 1.06 billion pounds of additives went into food, or about 5 pounds per capita. In Part III we face the persistent fact of American culture: its inability to adjust. And the co-opting of natural foods by Big Food.

Reviewed by Charles Bowden in the *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, 25 Feb. 1990. p. 2, 11.

The sub-chapter titled "Hip Enterprise" discusses: Crescent Dragonwagon and her *The Commune Cookbook*, Mollie Katzen, the Moosewood Restaurant (founded 1972 in Ithaca, New York) and *Moosewood Cookbook* (1977), Common Ground Restaurant (Brattleboro, Vermont), Common Ground Restaurant (founded 1973 in San Francisco, California; all you can eat for 60 cents—but no talking), Far-Fetched Foods (a health food store opened by Jerry Sealund in 1966 in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco; the employees were organized as a commune, sold only nutritious food, avoided expensive vitamins and dietetic items found in older health food stores, and sought new sources of supply, such as organic truck gardens. "Charles Perry reports that after being robbed 12 times in the Haight, Sealund closed the store, worked for an All Saints bread-baking operation and the Black Panthers' free breakfast program, and then organized another organic grocery in the more tranquil Santa Rosa)."

Fred Rohe opened his first store in the Haight district of San Francisco in 1965. A former chemicals salesman and part-time producer of rock concerts, Rohe characterized himself as a devout Buddhist. "As his clientele shifted from older people to flower children, Rohe repositioned accordingly. In addition to organic foods, Rohe's first store

sold Rodale Press books and rock albums, and offered a meditation area complete with altar. By being so overtly countercultural, Rohe's well-stocked store filled the gap between the older drugstore-type health food store and the limited-inventory new wave conspiracies, and his sales increased tenfold in four years. From his original Haight-Ashbury store, Rohe established outlets [of New Age Foods] in Santa Cruz, San Anselmo, and Palo Alto. To foster bulk purchases and to maintain organic standards, Rohe joined with other Bay Area merchants in establishing a wholesale cooperative. What looked suspiciously like a cartel to some was defended as a 'tribal council' whose aim was to establish a viable 'alternative to poisoned, processed and synthetic foods of the not-so-super markets.'

There is a poor history and discussion of Erewhon and its ties to East West Journal, then on to Mo Siegel, who started Celestial Seasonings in 1970 at age 21, and sold it in 1984 to Dart & Kraft Inc. for a reported \$8 million to \$10 million.

189. Davis, Cynthia. 1990. U.S. Mills and Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Feb. 6. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Cynthia arrived at Erewhon in 1983. In April 1986 Erewhon acquired U.S. Mills, which had been founded in 1908 under the same name, U.S. Mills. They were and are a cereal manufacturing company. Their two main cereal brands were Uncle Sam's Cereal (the product that the company was founded on), and Skinner's Raisin Bran (America's first raisin bran, introduced in 1926). In effect U.S. Mills and Erewhon were merged, and U.S. Mills was chosen as the corporate name, largely since it had been around longer. Ronald L. Rossetti had acquired Erewhon after it filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy. He was and still is head of Nature Food Centres, a chain of health food stores. Erewhon was purchased by Rossetti as an individual, not by Nature Food Centres. Contrary to what the media often said, Erewhon was never, in any way, owned by, or part of, or a subsidiary of Nature Food Centres. The misconception (created by the media) that Nature Food Centres owned Erewhon caused real problems for Erewhon at one point. Then in Nov. 1986 Erewhon Inc. bought U.S. Mills. Ron Rossetti is presently no longer involved with U.S. Mills or Erewhon. In May 1988 Chuck Verde (who was the president of Erewhon) and Cynthia Davis acquired the U.S. Mills/Erewhon business. They are now the main joint shareholders. At that time they brought in another company as an investor. Erewhon is their brand name for the natural food industry; the product charter has not changed and they are selling to the same market. Surprisingly U.S. Mills has nothing written about their long, interesting, pioneering, and complex history. However Cynthia feels that the history of Erewhon written in Ron Kotzsch in East West in Feb. 1984 was an good, accurate history up to that time. Address: U.S. Mills Inc., 395 Eliot St., Newton, Upper Falls, Massachusetts 02164-1131. Phone: 617-969-5400.

190. Wollner, Joel. 1990. Re: History of early work with amazake, koji, and Rice Dream in America. Letter to Jan Belleme, Saluda, North Carolina, June 23. 3 p.

• *Summary*: "Starting in the early 1970s, Erewhon imported scant supplies of a highly perishable, fresh rice koji along with its regular line of Japanese products. Most often, this koji was spoiled or worm-infested by the time it arrived in Boston, Massachusetts. But on those few occasions when a usable amount arrived intact, we had the rare pleasure of attempting to make amazaké at home." One attempt was made on Thanksgiving of 1973. In spring 1977 the Erewhon flagship store on Newbury Street in Boston began to sell Cold Mountain Misos, then Cold Mountain Koji. The misos sold well but not the koji, so Joel and his wife, Wendy, developed a simple method for making amazake at home.

Mona Schwartz in Florida began to order koji from Joel and developed a good recipe for making it into amazake. Joel learned and perfected the process, then described it in detail in the 10-16 April 1978 edition of his newsletter *Erewhon News (Newbury Street)* under the title "Overnight Amazake." "You can imagine my surprise—no, shock—when, later that spring Charles Kendall, macrobiotic aficionado, keeper of the Erewhon Company store, and supplier to our store of 'homemade' organic sauerkraut (his own), approached me one day in the store and asked if I would consider selling the refrigerated amazaké drink he had developed." The rest is history.

In about the spring of 1985, Joel and Sjon Welters drove to Moniteau Farm where Robert Nissenbaum and Dave Carlson, calling themselves Imagine Foods, were making a frozen confection from amazaké. "This new incarnation of an old Boston study-house favorite, was actually made from a mixture of amazaké, which they first made from Cold Mountain koji and Chico-San brown rice, combined with Chico-San rice syrup and various natural flavorings, and run through a soft-serve ice cream machine. (A frozen dessert made in several flavors from rice kayu sweetened with rice syrup and/or barley malt syrup was sold at Erewhon Newbury Street in 1977-78.)"

But Imagine Foods was having technical and flavor products with its product. In Fayetteville, Arkansas, Joel and Sjon had developed a "series of amazaké-like beverages and desserts made by enzyme conversion from whole grains, including brown rice... Of course, our work was top secret, since, at the time, enzyme processing was virtually unknown in the natural food industry, and used for little more than processing corn syrup in the conventional food industry. Robert and Dave had no knowledge of it at all.

"Sjon and I confirmed (to ourselves) the rightness of our enzyme process for use in Rice Dream to make a single brown rice base ingredient for the mix. This development alone would solve the technical and flavor problems to make a commercially feasible product with a broadly

appealing taste and texture. We decided to invite Robert and Dave to relocate to Fayetteville and purchase the base ingredient, which would be made in our plant, from us. Months of negotiations would pass before the enzyme process solution was finally revealed to Imagine Foods [by whom?] at the next NNFA show. But then, through a series of twists and turns, Sjon and I lost control, and the enzyme process project was 'diverted' to California Natural Products. More than this, I am not prepared to discuss at this time." Address: 19 Pepper Hollow Drive, Clifton Park, New York 12065. Phone: 518-383-0299.

191. Coates, Margy. 1990. Roger Mahlon Coates (Rod). March 23, 1915–March 4, 1990. Fallston, Maryland. 5 p. Undated. Unpublished manuscript.

• *Summary:* Margy Coates is the wife of Rod Coates, founder of Laurelbrook Foods. He died of Alzheimer's on 4 March 1990. This is a tribute to the man she loved. A large head-and-shoulders photo (p. 1) shows Rod, dressed in a motorcycle jacket and helmet, smiling, on his motorcycle. Below that is a family tree for Rod and Margy (born Margery Kelly, 1919, in Catonsville, Maryland). They had six children between 1942 and 1950, as follows: Sarah "Sally" Elmslie Coates (born 1942), Judith Horner Deming (born 1943; Her first marriage was to John Winton Deming in Aug. 1972. Their children were Lhiana Shee Deming, born 1973, and Emily Deming, born 1977; Her second marriage was to Arnold Knepper), Daniel Gardner Deming (born 1945), Marion Atwood Coates (born 1946), Dora Mahlon Coates (born 1948; Her first marriage was to Paul Gerard Hawken in June 1971. Their children were Palo Cheyenne Hawken, born 1972, and Iona Fairlight Hawken, born 1974. They are now divorced), and Nancy Turnbull Coates (born 1950).

Page 2, titled "The Greatest Happiness Comes from the Greatest Activity," describes the major activities in Rod's life. His first love was motorcycles. As a youth, he was an Eagle Scout. From 1950 to 1970 he was with Triumph Motorcycle Corp. in Towson, Maryland, as Service Manager for the Eastern USA. From 1970 to 1980 he was owner and manager of Laurelbrook Foods in Bel Air, Maryland. Page 3 shows the amateur racing awards he won between 1940 and 1957. Rod's leisure activities centered around the workshop. Page 4 shows the many cars he restored from 1920 to 1958. Page 5 shows a floor diagram of the buildings occupied by Laurelbrook Foods. Also included are some of Laurelbrook's Christmas Cards from the 1970s and a photo showing Rod and Margy sitting on the back of a Laurelbrook delivery truck. Address: 2516 Laurelbrook Rd., Fallston, Maryland 21047. Phone: 301-877-1695.

192. Tara, Bill. 1991. Pioneering macrobiotics and soyfoods in London (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 18. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Starting in the late 1960s, the pioneering work with soyfoods in London was done by Craig and Greg Sams. They and their parents were Americans, and they had gone to college in America. Their father was employed by the U.S. armed forces as an historian; they spent a lot of their time growing up between America and England. Greg fell out of a tree while going to college in Berkeley in the late 1960s and was paralyzed from the waist down, so he was confined to a wheelchair, but was still very active and innovative. In the late 1960s they set up a macrobiotic natural foods cafe/restaurant on Portobello Road in London, then changed it into Ceres Grain Shop, a natural foods retail store. As volume increased, they began to distribute their products out of the back of their shop, and in about 1971 founded Harmony Foods Ltd. as a distribution company located in a warehouse on Ladbroke [sic, Latimer] Road. The model and evolution was similar to that of Erewhon in Boston. Harmony Foods was the first natural foods distributor in England, and probably the second in Europe after Lima Foods of Belgium. Soon they were importing macrobiotic foods from Japan, and distributing organically grown grains from England and from The Camargue (a marshy island in the delta of the Rhone River in the south of France), etc.

Among their early Japanese imports were bulk miso and "tamari" (actually shoyu), imported from Muso in wooden kegs. They repackaged the miso and shoyu in glass bottles under the Harmony Foods label in London. This was the first Japanese miso and shoyu sold in England. In about 1972, as soon as Erewhon started having miso and shoyu packed in Japan, the Sams had the same thing done with theirs, then they applied their own labels in London. But they continued to import in bulk as well. A Chinese company in London made tofu and bean sprouts, then sold the tofu to the Sams brothers; they sold it unpackaged in open trays in water. At that time, tofu was not emphasized much in macrobiotic circles so not much was sold; it was considered too yin. The Sams also sold deep-fried Rissoles filled with TVP instead of meat; as early as 1970 the Rissoles were being made by an Israeli guy (name?) who owned a shop (name?) by the Hempstead Heath. Marigold Foods also used TVP in the mid-1970s.

In 1970 Bill Tara, then a vice president at Erewhon in Boston, passed through London on his way to India. One purpose of his trip was to scout out the possibility of Erewhon setting up a distribution point or center in England. Paul Hawken was president of Erewhon at the time, and Erewhon was importing miso and tamari from both Muso and Mitoku in Japan. Bill and Paul had been roommates in a warehouse in San Francisco, then they took over the Erewhon food store from Evan Root, Paul starting 2-3 months before Bill. In London, the Sams brothers were just opening a new natural foods restaurant in the Notting Hill area so Bill and Paul Petrofsky spent 2 weeks fixing it up. Paul later started Baldwin Hill Bakery with High

Lerner. Bill stayed in London 2-3 months during this first visit.

In about 1972 Bill returned to London with Russel Demerais, on the Erewhon payroll, again to start and Erewhon distribution center. But Erewhon went through a cash crisis and Harmony foods had grown dramatically. So Bill and Peter Bradford (an Englishman who had come to America in about 1970 and worked for Erewhon doing organic agriculture at Erewhon Farms near Keene, New Hampshire) began to work for the Sams brothers both at Ceres Grain Shop (the retail store) and Harmony Foods (in the warehouse). Bradford, who now has a very successful natural food store in England named Clearwater Natural Grocer, has been one of the most important promoters of soyfoods in the UK. At this time, Craig Sams set up a bakery. By now, miso and tamari sales had increased; Harmony was still affixing its own label to unlabeled packs.

In 1974 Bill and Peter established Sunwheel as a natural food/macrobiotic distributor. They picked up exotic Japanese imports that Harmony found unprofitable and wanted to drop—so there was little or no competitive feeling with the Sams. By late 1974 Sunwheel Hatcho Miso, Mugi Miso, and Tamari were on the market, imported from Muso (Yuko Okada) in Japan. Sunwheel also made granola and peanut butter. Sunwheel never sold any other soyfood products; they had very limited warehouse space and no refrigeration.

Note: On 17 Aug. 1975 Renée Tara wrote William Shurtleff in California. She was living at 30 B Market St., Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts., England. She is writing a European Macrobiotic Cookbook. She requests information on miso and invites Shurtleff to visit.

In about 1977 Sunwheel acquired a retail store that had been started in and by the Community Health Foundation. By 1979 Sunwheel was very successful, but it needed to be recapitalized or sold. So the partners decided to sell it to a larger health food company; Peter kept the retail store.

In Nov. 1975 Bill established the Self Health Center which by 1976 grew into the Community Health Foundation (CHF). By 1976 CHF was offering classes in soyfoods. Paul Jones was the key man with tofu; he taught classes and started making tofu out of his home in the Highgate area. Paul Jones was definitely the first Caucasian to pioneer tofu in England. Simon Bailey, a baker who was originally with one of the first natural foods stores in England, located in Bath, taught about tempeh. These people were experimenting in the kitchen with soyfoods and taught in a sort of an apprenticeship program. Jon Sandifer, who is still with CHF, learned tempeh from Simon Bailey. CHF sold some tofu and tempeh through its own sit-down restaurant named The Seven Sheaves, then renamed The Natural Snack and changed to a cafeteria. A few people did experiments with miso but it never got to a commercial scale in part because of persistent rumors that Lima Foods was going to start making it.

By the late 1970s soyfoods were growing in popularity in the UK. Two separate groups promoted them; the vegetarians and animal rights people (who liked TVP), and the natural foods and macrobiotic people. Marigold Foods also used TVP in the mid-1970s.

Much of important pioneering commercial work with soyfoods in Europe was done by macrobiotic groups in the Netherlands and Belgium. Bill often went there to teach in 1974-79. Tofu, and later tempeh, were emphasized by groups such as Manna in Amsterdam and De Brandnetel in Antwerp. Macrobiotics was much more active in the Lowlands than in England.

The Sams brothers later started Whole Earth as a marketing company for their jams. They sold it fairly soon. Greg Sams (disabled) is no longer in the food business; he runs The Chaos Shop in London which sells photographic reproductions of computer-generated chaos patterns. Craig started Realeat Co. and now may be with the Haldane Foods Group. Address: Director, Nova Inst., P.O. Box 4648, Estes Park, Colorado 80517. Phone: 303-586-6265.

193. Kennedy, J. Robert. 1991. History of Chico-San's distribution and import operations (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Oct. 3. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Chico-San never really developed its own distribution company. It used other established distributors, such as Balanced Foods in New Jersey, K&L (Kahan & Lessin) in Los Angeles, Landstrom in San Francisco, and Health Foods Incorporated in Chicago. "We had a tough time getting started in selling macrobiotic foods. Chico-San also sold a lot of macrobiotic foods through its mail-order service because most of the large distributors only wanted the best-selling items such as rice cakes, soy sauce, and sesame salt; they wouldn't take the complete macrobiotic line." In late 1962, shortly after the company was established, Chico-San got a few vans and began a few small routes down to the San Francisco Bay Area and as far north as Redding, distributing 2 types of whole-grain bread (a rice loaf and an unleavened whole-wheat bread) and gluten-nut crackers to the Berkeley Co-op and established (old-line) health food stores. The Berkeley Co-op was one of the first to carry the full line of macrobiotic products. These routes continued until about 1964-65.

Chico-San's first really successful product was rice cakes. They were introduced in 1963 but initially the big distributors took showed interest. That changed starting in about 1964 when a new generation of rice cake machines began to make a better product and a few of the big distributors started to carry them. By 1965 Chico-San's rice cakes and other popular products were being sold at more than 150 California outlets. It was the national popularity of the rice cakes that kept Chico-San from developing its own distribution company, and relying instead on large established distributors—and later brokers.

By about 1966-1967 rice cakes and rice chips (senbei) were beginning to cut a wedge into the mass market nationwide, so Chico-San created the Spiral Foods brand for these mainstream products, keeping the Chico-San brand for the health food market.

Concerning imports of miso and soy sauce from Japan, Chico-San first imported directly from George Ohsawa; he located the manufacturer, put the order together, and shipped it himself. Then came Nippon C.I., which was started by George and some of his disciples in Tokyo, but it didn't last very long. In 1966 Chico-San started importing from Muso Shokuhin in Osaka. But after Muso started selling a lot to Erewhon (which became a major competitor for Chico-San), Bob felt that product quality began to decline, so he began to do all his importing from Ohsawa Japan, a company that was developed by George's sister-in-law (Lima Ohsawa's sister), Flora Tanaka, at George's request. Bob felt the quality of products from Ohsawa Japan was better than from Muso, but the prices were higher and the company was not quite as professional in its business dealings.

Concerning the sale of Chico-San to Heinz, Bob is overall not very happy with the outcome. Granted, rice cakes are now much more widely known and sold in supermarkets, but the loss of Chico-San "put a big hole in the process of selling macrobiotic foods." Bob and Herman Aihara bought back the macrobiotic line from Heinz and created Ohsawa America in Chico to try to sell it. Early general managers were Marty Roth, then Lane Seiger (who had previously worked for Bob at Chico-San). But the volume was not there on relatively few products to sustain a company profitably and eventually the company ran up debts of \$300,000. At that point Bob basically gave the company to Sierra Natural Foods in Brisbane, California. Sierra had several thousand products; they only paid for the inventory. Bob is now working to develop new products from rice—such as a rice-crust pizza and crackers. Address: Chico, California. Phone: 916-891-0970.

194. Jacobs, Lenny. 1991. The early history of seitan (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 14. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Lenny is not sure who coined and popularized the term "seitan" or when, but he thinks it was George Ohsawa. People who might know for sure include Aveline or Michio Kushi, Yuko Okada, Alcan Yamaguchi, or other macrobiotic old-timers. Lenny first heard the term seitan in about 1969. Erewhon was importing a little package of dried, salty seitan from a macrobiotic exporter in Japan. Yuko Okada of Muso Shokuhin, or his assistant Julia Yamaguchi (daughter of Alcan Yamaguchi) might know details on this product.

Yumié Kono Johns came from one of the macrobiotic centers in Japan and was cooking at the Seventh Inn in Boston. Lenny first learned how to make seitan from her. Before that time neither Aveline Kushi nor Cornelia Aihara

knew how to make seitan; they said it was too difficult. Lenny heard from both Yumié and Aveline that seitan was Ohsawa's recommendation for a high-protein, non-meat food, that was especially good as a snack with beer. It was unbelievably salty and dry, so you almost had to drink something cold (like beer) with it. You could hardly eat it alone. Some people used to cook it with beans instead of pork. For details see Tan-Pops (1972).

In the early 1970s a deep-fried seitan product on a stick, called Tan-Pops was sold at some Boston natural food stores. Whoever made it may well have been the first commercial manufacturer of seitan in America. There were a lot of people making seitan in Boston in the early 1970s. In about 1972-75 Mat Chait of the Ricycle, a really bright and entrepreneurial guy, used to use a commissary at Erewhon's warehouse to prepare a number of wholesome natural foods, then he had a gas-powered portable steam table that he would put on the back of 5 trucks, each with an umbrella over the top, to sell food at key spots in Boston. Each truck always had a seitan dish.

Lenny and Barbara are revising their book *Cooking with Seitan* to introduce a new generation of "seitaners" (seitan makers), including a lot of people who are making new and innovative types of meat analogs.

Concerning new gluten products, Arrowhead Mills has a "Brother Ron Pickarski formulation" to which you just add water and mix, with no kneading or washing. It comes in a box and contains some other ingredients in addition to the gluten flour. Farm Foods in Summertown, Tennessee has a similar product. They say it is not vital wheat gluten, and they call it something like "Instant Gluten."

Concerning early publications on seitan, *East West Journal* ran one early article, and also used seitan in cooking columns before the 1985 article on seitan that he and Barbara wrote. Sandy Chianfoni (Lenox, Massachusetts), who bought Upcountry Seitan from the Donovans, used to distribute the booklet titled "Cooking with Seitan" by Winston Donovan. It was just a small pamphlet to help sell the product. Winston cured himself of his heart disease but succumbed to a brain tumor. He and Ken Burns were consuming quite a bit of wild ginseng. Mark Mayell at *East West Journal* has another seitan cookbook, which is small and about 80 pages long; it was used to promote a company product. Address: New Age, Brighton, Massachusetts. Phone: 617-787-2005.

195. Redmond, Tim. 1991. Early work with Eden Foods and macrobiotics. Part II. 1971 to 1979 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 11 and 23. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: In the summer of 1971 Tim and Bill Bolduc first met Mike Potter, who had been managing a macrobiotic natural foods store named Joyous Revival in Birmingham, Michigan. Mike was born in about December 1949. There used to be free concerts on Sundays in the park in Ann Arbor. Mike would buy a 50-lb bag of rice from

Eden plus a few odds and ends, take it out to the park, cook the rice, and sell it by the bowl to people in the audience.

The growing wholesale business made such large demands on Tim's time that he and Bill began to look for someone to manage the retail store. In the fall of 1971, they hired Mike Potter as manager. For a while Mike worked for little or no wages. In 1972 Bill and Tim offered Mike an ownership position, and gave him about 13% of the total stock in lieu of his service. Bill and Tim now each owned 43.5% of the company's stock. This ownership structure lasted for about one year. In about Nov. 1972 the retail store was moved from 211 State Street into a much larger location at 330 Maynard St. Potter continued to manage the retail store until about 1974.

When Bill Bolduc left the company in the late summer or fall of 1973, he and his wife Judy sold their shares back to the company. Bill left for a variety of reasons, in part because of a little friction that existed at the time. Tim now ended up owning 51% of the company stock and Michael Potter owned 49%. Tim was the president. This arrangement continued for about a year until about the winter of 1974, when Potter convinced Redmond to give up 1% of his stock for a certain amount of money he knew the company needed at the time. Tim and Mike Potter were now 50-50 partners. Potter became the president shortly thereafter.

In 1974 Tim Redmond made initial contacts with Muso, a leading macrobiotic supplier. Mike Potter now he traveled to Japan and developed Eden's contacts with Muso. Eden began importing directly from Japan, but Erewhon had an arrangement with Muso which stated that Muso could only sell products to American natural foods companies under the Erewhon brand. Eventually the growing number of natural foods importers, including Eden, protested this policy. There were meetings in Florida and California. Yuko Okada of Muso and Mr. Kazama of Mitoku came to a meeting that was held in Florida, and in about 1975 or 1976 Eden began to do business with Mr. Kazama of Mitoku, importing under the Eden brand. This move by Mitoku broke the Erewhon-Muso monopoly. Today Eden again imports all of its Japanese products from Muso.

In 1973, after about 1½ years of operating out of the rudimentary Quonset hut, Eden was ready for a bigger warehouse. So they found an old building near the middle of Ann Arbor, several streets west of Main Street, down by the railroad tracks. They shared this building and their trucking with Midwest Natural Foods which was run by Hank Bednarz and David Rock. During this period of 1½ to 2, Eden and Midwest became competitors. Eden sold only dry bulk and packaged natural foods; Midwest sold packaged health food lines, vitamins, and frozen or refrigerated goods. Though the two companies proved to be philosophically incompatible, they were the first to act as a full-line "super distributor."

Still growing, Eden moved to larger location on Platt Road in the spring of 1974. The previous 50/50 ownership

structure continued until the summer 1979, when they took in Cliff Adler as a junior partner. Cliff purchased 10% of the company stock at a favorable price, leaving Mike and Tim with 45% each. Shortly after the disastrous fire occurred in Nov. 1979 at the warehouse on Platt Road, several key employees were encouraged to stay with the company by awarding them shares of stock. Also one outside person purchased some stock from the company; this provided money that the company greatly needed. The retail store and restaurant were made into an independent company (named The Maynard Street Connection, Inc.) from the Eden Foods wholesale operation.

In May 1980 Tim resigned his position with the company, sold most of his stock back to the corporation (he kept only a few shares), and took over management of the retail store and restaurant, which had been the beginning of the company. There were many personal reasons that Tim left. Since the company's future looked uncertain, he received a relatively low price for his stock. He still owns the stock he did not sell at that time. Tim and a friend operated the retail store and restaurant for about 3 years, then they sold it at the end of 1983. In mid-1984 Tim and Mike Potter had lunch and Mike invited Tim to come into the new soymilk venture, American Soy Products (ASP). Tim worked as a consultant for the first 9 months until mid-1985, at which time he became an employee of ASP. Tim is still one of a few people who own shares of stock in Eden Foods; others include Mike Potter and three other people.

Tim is interested in the question: When was Eden Foods founded? He once asked Michael Potter where Michael got that July 1967 date. He recalls that Michael said he had asked the National Bank of Detroit (NBD) in Ann Arbor, which carried Eden's first bank account. It is Tim's guess that the July 1967 date was when Ronnie Teeguarten opened the account for his used clothing store (Teeguarten-Leabu General Store). Tim feels that "Eden Foods did not start in July 1967 by any stretch of the imagination. To say [as a 1991 Eden publication does] that in 1967 'The first checking account was opened for Eden Foods' seems blatantly incorrect." The concept may have started as early as 1967 but the entity and the name did not start until Nov. 1969.

Some people have stated their opinion that the 1979 fire was caused by arson in order to collect insurance money. Tim is sure that these opinions are incorrect. During 1977 and 1978 Eden had been expanding rapidly and had gotten into a tight financial position. Cliff Adler helped the company in this situation. In 1979 they were having the most profitable months they ever had. The business was not in bad financial shape. Moreover the fire cost Eden hundreds of thousands dollars more than they ever recovered from the insurance company. Address: Vice President of Marketing and Sales, American Soy Products, Inc., 1474 N. Woodland Dr., Saline, Michigan 48176. Phone: 313-429-2310.

196. Silver, Jimmy. 1991. History of work with natural foods, Erewhon, Pure & Simple, and Pure Sales. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 9 and 15. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Jimmy was born on 21 March 1942 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His father was an officer in the Army Medical Corps. After a brief stay in Baltimore, when Jimmy was in 4th grade, the family moved to Manhasset, Long Island, New York. He grew up there and graduated from high school. He graduated from Oberlin College in Ohio, then did graduate work at the University of Illinois in the Inst. of Labor and Industrial Relations. He finished his course work after 18 months, but did not write his thesis, then went to New York as a labor organizer. After receiving a draft notice during the Vietnam War, he enrolled in the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor studying Medical Care Organization. Again he completed his course work for the doctoral program, but facing the doctoral thesis, he dropped out in 1967 or 1968.

He was briefly introduced to natural foods and macrobiotics in 1967 in Ann Arbor by a friend named Earl Rosner. One day, in the midst of the psychedelic counterculture he had a deep inner realization that Americans were destroying their ecosystem, both within and without. He quit using psychedelics and began to eat only natural foods. He read *You are All Sanpaku* and *The Book of Judgment*, early macrobiotic works. He bought the books and "health foods" at an old-line health food store named Zerbo's, run by Harry Zerbo in nearby Livonia, Michigan. At the Kuwahara trading post in downtown Detroit he bought real Japanese food—such as various sea vegetables, soba, and noodles—and Koda Brothers Kokuho Rose brown rice.

At about this time (1967-68) Jimmy got into the music business, and was sort of in business with a poet name John Sinclair, who was a great bear of a man, who the media regarded as the Pharaoh of the Hippies, and who managed a band named the MC-5. Jimmy and John were partners in a production company named Trans-Love Productions—Gets You There on Time. Jimmy managed a rock group named Iggy Pop and the Stooges. After a few months John introduced Jimmy and Susan (his girlfriend of several years and wife to be) to Jim Semark, another poet who was into macrobiotics, Baha'i, and meditation. In mid-1968 Semark invited Jimmy and Susan to a macrobiotic cooking class taught by Michio Kushi at Semark's home in Detroit; then they soon met Michel Abenhsera—who they thought was wonderful and very down to earth.

Jimmy and his wife, Susan, were married on 23 Oct. 1968 in Ann Arbor. He and Susan were in Ann Arbor at the time the food co-op changed into Eden Foods but they were never members of the co-op or the Zen Macrobiotic Supper Club—for reasons that he cannot now recall. He and Susan were loners and membership in such groups wasn't their style. Jimmy's parents still lived on Long Island in New York so when he and Susan visited them, they used to go

into the city and buy foods from Arnie Greenberg (who owned Greenberg's, a Jewish deli-grocery store at 125 1st Ave., near Ratner's vegetarian delicatessen, in New York City). Arnie carried foods bulk and packaged natural foods from suppliers such as Infinity. Infinity Foods was a small food warehouse on the 2nd or 3rd floor run by a bunch of Scientologists (including Howard Rower and Jason Hammond [son of John Hammond Sr. of Columbia Records and brother of the white blues guitarist John Hammond Jr. of John Hammond and the Nighthawks]) who were into macrobiotics and natural foods. Jimmy had their catalog and visited their warehouse. Located in downtown New York at 171 Duane St. on the west side near the commercial produce and meat area, Infinity started in the mid-1960s and was the first company to import macrobiotic foods from Japan—before Erewhon. The Erewhon retail store used to carry Infinity's products. Then Infinity fell on hard times and disappeared. Arnie would also ship him macrobiotic staples by Greyhound bus. He recalls Gloria Dunn, who looked like a gypsy, and he recalls Eden Organic Foods which was on the second floor of a building near downtown Ann Arbor. Shortly after Bill Bolduc started Eden, Jimmy and his wife left for Los Angeles with Iggy Pop.

Their first daughter, Rachel was born on 23 Jan. 1969 in Ann Arbor. He went to Los Angeles with his band in the spring of 1970. He played music at night then during the day would hang out at the Erewhon retail store on Beverly Blvd. in Los Angeles with Bruce Macdonald and Paul Hawken. He thinks that Michio Kushi had sent either Bill Tara, Bruce Macdonald, or Paul Hawken from Boston to open a branch of Erewhon in Los Angeles in about the summer of 1969. Years later when the store became a wholesale company, it was given the name Erewhon West, since it had different ownership from Erewhon in Boston. At the end of the summer of 1970, he and his wife moved to Los Angeles to live with Aveline Kushi, who had a house on Franklin Ave. in Hollywood. He wanted to work with Erewhon, not in the retail store on Beverly Blvd., but in the little warehouse that they were just acquiring kitty-corner to across the street from the retail store. In about 1970 it began wholesaling and distribution business. But when Jimmy returned in the fall, Hawken was gone; he had moved to San Francisco and gone to work with Fred Rohe. Hawken had apparently had a falling out with Michio and Aveline Kushi. So Jimmy worked with Bruce Macdonald ("a wild man then, as ever").

Jimmy and his family then moved to Boston, where they lived and worked from Dec. 1970 to 1976. Jimmy had been asked by Michio Kushi to take over the failing restaurants (Sanae and The Seventh Inn) in Boston. Both were owned by Sanae Corporation. Richard Sandler and Warren Durbin had grandiose plans to expand Sanae, so they opened The Seventh Inn on Boylston St. in Boston. It was an immediate failure and they struggled with it for years afterwards—then they just up and left. Paul Hawken at Erewhon had promised to help Jimmy with Sanae.

Then Jimmy worked in Los Angeles with Erewhon West (owned by John Fountain—John Deming was the financial backer) from 1976 to 1980. John Deming's family controls the Murphy Oil Co. in Louisiana and they are extremely wealthy. Erewhon West had financial troubles trying to compete with Nature's Best and K&L—big, established distributors. In 1980 Deming fired Fountain and was going to liquidate the company—just shut it down. So Jimmy and Jeff Hilgert bought the assets from Deming and in June 1980 they transformed Erewhon West into Pure Sales. The company has done various things over the years. Initially it sold natural food consumer products. John Fogg developed the excellent marketing concept for So Tamari in about 1981. When Erewhon went bankrupt in 1981, they voided their contract with Pure Sales to permit the use of their name for a royalty—so within 90 days Pure Sales eliminated the Erewhon name from all of their products; all of the Japanese products became "So'" products (So' Tamari, So' Ramen, etc.), a name Jimmy coined, which meant nothing but sounded Japanese. Continued. Address: President, Pure Sales, P.O. Box 5116, Irvine, California 92716-5116. Phone: 714-540-5455.

197. Silver, Jimmy. 1991. History of work with natural foods, Erewhon, Pure & Simple, and Pure Sales. Part II (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 9 and 15. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* In 1982 Jimmy and Jeff Hilgert sold their business (which was growing very fast), except for the name (Pure Sales), to Fillmore Foods, a supplement company that wanted to expand into natural foods. Fillmore Foods named the new company Pure & Simple—its rebirth. Bruce Macdonald, always one to see an opportunity, started Pure & Simple making natural tortilla chips in San Diego. The chips were reasonable successful. "Its not clear to me whether Bruce coined the name Pure & Simple or whether he found it on the back of a Corn Nuts package."

When Phil Parente / Patenti got involved in raising money to take over New-Age Natural Foods (Fred Rohe's company), somehow Pure & Simple became part of the package. Bruce Macdonald took the name Pure & Simple, which he controlled, to Parente, offered to trade the name for shares in the company if Parente would continue producing his chips. He also suggested many other product ideas to expand the line. Parente agreed. Then in the early 1970s Parente was sued by the company that makes Corn Nuts because they wanted to use the Pure & Simple name. The two companies fought a legal battle over this name for several years. Parente won. Then Parente began to expand Pure & Simple. An ex-disc jockey named A.J. Celeri got Parente involved in some carrot packing operation that his family had been involved in. Then they got into organic chickens and eggs, and finally opened a big New Age natural foods supermarket in Palo Alto. A good idea that had arrived too early, it was not successful. Soon the whole thing was completely out of hand. In the end, Phil Parente

ran the original Pure & Simple into the ground. He had the mafioso from the produce market chasing him, and all the people who had invested money in the company were also after him. Pure & Simple never filed formal bankruptcy papers; it just went down the drain. During this period Pure & Simple and The Well were both located in the same warehouse [at 795 West Hedding St.] in San Jose. Jimmy thinks that Pure & Simple was the name of the whole company, which owned the line of Pure & Simple branded grocery products, such as jams and juices. The Well was simply the fresh produce distribution arm of Pure & Simple.

The Lundberg brothers, producers of organically grown rice in Richvale, California, had a brother-in-law or a cousin named Dick who worked as a salesman for Shade Foods, a maker of yogurt toppings in Belmont, California. Dick went to Bill Shade and recommended that Shade acquire the Pure & Simple name and run the company. So Shade Foods bought Pure & Simple, which at that time was only producing a line of jams and a few other minor products. They were grossing about \$4,000 a month and they had about \$9,000 a month in expenses. Shade Foods ran Pure & Simple for about a year—into the ground. Roger Hillyard knows this whole story. Roger had a brokerage named Omega and he took Jeffrey Hilgert (who was employed by John Deming at Erewhon—Los Angeles) to Shade Foods in hopes that Jeffrey would take over the marketing of the Pure & Simple products. Jeffrey convinced Shade Foods to sell the company to Deming. Shade agreed to sell. Jimmy later bought Pure & Simple (along with Erewhon—Los Angeles) from Deming. When Jimmy sold his business (Pure Sales) to Fillmore, most of his 100 products or SKUs [SKU = stock keeping unit] were under the Pure & Simple brand. These products went off the market in about 1985-86 when the whole thing, with \$5 million in sales, fell apart. Now Pure Sales is now primarily a supplier of organically grown ingredients to natural food manufacturers.

Of all the original natural food companies based on the Erewhon format, Eden Foods is the only one that has survived and thrived in its original format. But Eden might not be in existence if it hadn't been for soymilk. Address: President, Pure Sales, P.O. Box 5116, Irvine, California 92716-5116. Phone: 714-540-5455.

198. Silver, Jimmy. 1991. Early macrobiotic natural food distributors in America (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 15. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Erewhon: Paul Hawken was a very charismatic, very intelligent person with an exceptional ability to envision potential and then organize people so as to make things happen. He was a real innovator. He has presented many people with a lot of opportunities and challenges to grow and learn. Roger Hillyard, Bruce Macdonald, and Bill Tara also played key roles in building Erewhon in the early days. Bruce and Paul are alike in many ways. Paul's Smith & Hawken is still a major customer of Muso and Yuko

Okada, but now they buy Japanese gardening tools by the container.

Essene was owned by Denny and Howard Waxman. They were in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) and definitely modeled after Erewhon. By 1969 or 1970 they had a very successful little retail store at 320 South Street in Philadelphia. Then they expanded into a wholesale distribution company. Denny is still in Philadelphia lecturing on macrobiotics.

Laurelbrook was near Baltimore, Maryland, owned by Rod Coates, the father of Judy and Dora Coates. Dora Coates was Paul Hawken's first wife. Judy Coates was John Deming's first wife. Jimmy thinks that Laurelbrook started as a wholesale distributor, not as a retail store. Rod died of Alzheimer's disease. Judy Coates lives in Ross, California, and Dora lives in Marin, living over one of Paul Hawken's buildings.

Ceres in Colorado Springs was started by Frank Calpeno. Frank's sister, Wendy, was known as the "Natural Foods Lady." Ceres was an existing account of Erewhon in 1976. Jimmy handled their account. They went out of business causing Erewhon to lose a lot of money.

The Well was located in San Jose, California. Paul Hawken may have stimulated Fred Rohe to start it. It was Fred's first distribution business; he had a very non-exclusive view. Jimmy thinks that "If Fred had never met Paul, Fred would be a rich man today. Paul gave Fred a much bigger vision of what he ought to be doing; he overexpanded and ended up with nothing. Phil Parenti came along later when a financial opportunity arose. Roger Hillyard and Bruce Macdonald know a lot about The Well. Roger Hillyard runs a coffee shop named Farley's on Potrero Hill in San Francisco. Bruce Macdonald lives in Vermont. Bruce had started a company named Pure and Simple in San Diego or Encinitas. They made corn ships. Bruce folded Pure & Simple into the Well in exchange for stock. Bruce had to fight a lawsuit for several years against a company named Corn Nuts which had the phrase "Pure and Simple" on the back of their little Corn Nuts package. Phil won, so The Well used the trademark Pure and Simple for all their branded products.

Mountain Rose was in Colorado. Bruce Macdonald took it over for a while, then Arrowhead Mills took it over for a while and finally closed it down.

Janus had a little retail store in Seattle, Washington, which started after the distribution company started.

There was a long and bitter history between Erewhon and Chico-San, but they tried to keep things nice on the surface. Part was a difference in personality between Michio Kushi and Herman Aihara. Address: President, Pure Sales, P.O. Box 5116, Irvine, California 92716-5116. Phone: 714-540-5455.

199. Silver, Jimmy. 1991. Early non-macrobiotic natural food distributors in America (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*.

Dec. 15. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Arrowhead Mills was started by Frank Ford in Hereford, Texas. Paul Hawken had a strong impact on the company's development. Paul and Frank became good friends—they have much in common. Frank is a big bear of a guy, very charismatic, intelligent, and sweet, who became a born-again Christian. He is a very interesting, wholesome man, a farmer who had unsuccessfully run for political office. Frank has become a sort of figurehead for Arrowhead—whose eminence grise was named Homer. At one point Erewhon cooperated and later they became competitors.

Shadowfax was more like Midwest Natural Foods. Founded by Charlie Smail and located in upstate New York (perhaps Binghamton), they didn't like the macros. Michel Abehsera was one of their advisors. Michel is now the mentor of a Jewish community in either Montreal or Toronto, Canada.

Llama, Toucan & Crow in Brattleboro, Vermont, was started by Bob Sanders [sic, Swanson], Barclay McFadden, and one other person. Both a natural foods distributor and retail store, the latter opened in 1976. The distribution part was bought by a company that later became Stow Mills. Barclay McFadden became CEO of Stow Mills, and Bob Swanson started Sandpoint Distributing after that.

Lifestream was just across the border in Vancouver, BC, Canada. Arran Stephens started it, and he now owns a company named Manna Milling that is a very big purveyor of natural cereals in Canada and the USA; their brand name is Nature's Path. Lifestream had an eastern branch in Toronto, named Lifestream East, which then became LifeSource, which is now run by an Indian man named Parshan Sahota, who now owns a remnant of what used to be Landstrom.

Tree of Life was founded by Irwin Carasso. Jimmy thinks his family was in the food distribution business in Florida, and he heard they helped to bankroll the company in the early days with \$250,000. Tree of Life was an early customer of Erewhon.

Food for Life in Illinois was another one of these early companies. Address: President, Pure Sales, P.O. Box 5116, Irvine, California 92716-5116. Phone: 714-540-5455.

200. Teegarden, Ron. 1991. Founding and early history of the food co-op (in Ann Arbor, Michigan) that later became Eden Foods (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 10. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Ron ran a business named the Teegarden-Leabu General Store located in the basement of Marshall's Bookstore (that sold radical and anarchist literature), which was below the Herb David Guitar Studio at 209 South State Street a few blocks off Main Street in Ann Arbor. The store was financed by his partner and best friend Vic Leabu (pronounced luh-BOE then but luh-BUU now; it's Romanian not French), and Gloria Dunn worked there a lot.

A very kind black lady named Rose from Marshall's Bookstore rented Ron and Vic the space for \$50.00 a month because she liked the creative work they were doing and Marshall's was using the basement. The store sold antique clothing from the 1920s, art from local artists, and records; it was not a thrift store.

In about the summer of 1969 Ron and Gloria Dunn started a small food-buying co-op. The co-op was an eccentric, inventive, creative expression—and food was part of it. Co-ops were very new in those days. Within a few weeks some friends, who were also involved in macrobiotic cooking, joined the circle of people that were buying food together. These included Vic Leabu, Tim Redmond, Mark and Nancy Retzliff, and Bob Thorson. The informal group ordered food from Erewhon roughly 3-5 times; Gloria and Ron put together the orders which were probably pre-paid. When the food arrived, those who had participated in the order divided it up at the Teegarden-Leabu General Store. Ron Teegarden brought whole grains and miso into the co-op. Vic Leabu's influence gradually increased, while Gloria's declined. At the maximum, no more than 12 people were ever involved with the food co-op to which Ron belonged. It was never thought of as a business, it had no assets nor board of directors, and it never paid any money for the space that it used occasionally. It was just a bunch of people buying together.

When the co-op first started, there was only one little old-line health food store in Ann Arbor; the room was about 10 feet square and it did not sell natural or macrobiotic foods except very expensive brown rice in little bags.

To go back a bit: In early 1968 Ron felt he was becoming severely debilitated—from smoking pot (as was the fashion in those days) and the incessant pressure of being a varsity tennis player at Michigan on a full athletic scholarship and a pre-med student with a heavy academic load. In retrospect, he felt like he almost had chronic fatigue syndrome from burning the candle at every end. So he wrote a letter to George Ohsawa (not knowing that Ohsawa had died) asking for advice. He got a great letter back from Herman Aihara saying, in effect: "Eat miso soup and tekka every day, use them to help you give up coffee, and if you ever come to California, please come and stay with me." Ron was deeply impressed with Herman's kind and generous offer to a person he didn't even know. So Ron sold his dope to buy an airplane ticket to California, and appeared at Herman's door in long hair and a beard. They took him in and within a week his life changed and has never gone back. "It was a revelation." He became thoroughly macrobiotic, quit drugs, and returned to Ann Arbor; thereafter his memory became clearer and he dropped everything to start what has become a lifelong interest in Oriental medicine and healing. Ron notes: "I am eternally grateful to Herman as great man." Shortly thereafter Ron and Iona, who had known each other for years but ever gotten along well, were married; she then quit drugs, started a macrobiotic diet, joined the co-op, and soon

became a fantastic cook. In 1971 she wrote a cookbook titled *Freedom through cooking: The macrobiotic way*.

Jimmy Silver was not a member of the co-op but he was a key influence because he had been macrobiotic for about 2 years, he had an advanced understanding of the philosophy and practice, he had long hair and was very hip, but he did not use drugs—which was very rare at that time. He was so healthy, his wife was very beautiful, and they were both very pure. He managed a rock group named the MC-5 whose motto was "Sex, drugs, and rock and roll." People looked up to him as the leader of the macrobiotic movement in Ann Arbor. Ron doesn't know where Jimmy got his food—he never came into the co-op. Nor does he recall that the co-op ever had a bank account and he does not see why they would have needed one.

But after 2-6 months the local health department wouldn't let them keep grains in the basement of Marshall's Bookstore, so they moved it to an upstairs location at 514 East William Street; that was when Bill Bolduc and Tim Redmond (with important guidance from Jimmy Silver and help from Mark Retzliff) began to organize the co-op and transform it into a company, which was first given a name—Eden Organic Foods. At that same time, Ron greatly decreased his involvement in the food co-op. He shopped at the co-op quite a bit but he does not recall ever working there. He was busy with his own store and he became motivated to try to finish school (he was in school but carrying a light load), then he wanted to move to California, so he and Iona sold their second-hand general store for \$300.

The question arises: When was Eden Foods established? Ron Teegarden believes that the idea for Eden Foods was born in mid-1969 with the establishment of the original unnamed food co-op that ordered macrobiotic foods. "That was when the seed was planted, though it didn't bloom until later that year when the name Eden was coined and a real macrobiotic food company came into existence." Ron is happy to have been connected with this group and to helped to plant the seed that has become one of America's most successful natural food and macrobiotic food companies—Eden Foods—but he feels that he deserves very little credit for what he did and he certainly does not want to be called "the founder." "Most of the credit for establishing the company goes to Bill Bolduc." He is now deeply involved with Chinese herbs, has just raised close to \$1 million, and plans to build an upscale store in Hollywood by late 1992, and eventually take his concept nationwide.

Follow-up talk with Ron. 1993. March 6. The time from 1967 to 1969 is quite hazy in his mind. It seems like another life and another world. "It's a funny, fuzzy feeling to know that I was part of Eden and part of Erewhon when it first started." Ron also started the Acupressure Center in Berkeley. Ron did not follow developments at Eden Organic Foods after he left Ann Arbor in 1970. He does not recall having ever met Michael Potter, and he still does not recall that the food co-op ever had a bank account or that he

ever signed a signature card for that account (yet "We probably did have a bank account; Maybe Vic got it and I might have signed it. Maybe that's where the money went every day.") And he has never been aware that the name "Eden" may have been derived from letters in his last name—but he is not sure that his recollections are correct. His new Herbal Emporium in Hollywood is coming along very nicely. Address: The Tea Garden, 1334 Abbott Kinney Blvd., Venice, California 90291. Phone: 310-450-0188.

201. Hillyard, Roger. 1992. Work with Nihon CI, Muso, Mitoku, and Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Feb. 10. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. Address: Farley's Coffee Shop, #1315 18th St., Potrero Hill, San Francisco, California 94107. Phone: 415-648-1545.

202. Kushi, Michio. 1992. Introduction to *Culinary Treasures of Japan*, by John and Jan Belleme. 16 p. Jan. Unpublished manuscript.

• *Summary:* This manuscript, which was published in a condensed form in the actual book, tells the story of Mitoku and their work to export traditional Japanese natural foods to the Western world. Michio Kushi was instrumental in getting Mr. Akiyoshi Kazama involved in this work. Mr. Kushi, who became a World Federalist after World War II, came to the U.S. in Nov. 1949 to study at Columbia University. He continuously sought ways of establishing world peace, and increasingly came to believe that a proper diet is the basis for health, happiness, and peace.

In April 1966 the author's wife, Aveline, opened a small store named Erewhon in Boston. Michio began to search for a Japanese source for foods that Erewhon would sell. He was introduced to Mr. Kazama (who lived in Tokyo) through a Japanese friend, Mr. Obayashi, who resided at that time in New York City. Michio felt that Mr. Kazama understood his desire for foods of high quality. So Mr. Kazama "began his search for food producers and manufacturers who were sincere and willing to supply the kind of quality we requested. I know that for him, at that time, it was a great gamble. It was also a painstaking and slow step-by-step process."

Mr. Kazama was born on 1 Feb. 1930 in Yamanashi prefecture. He graduated from Waseda University in Tokyo, then was selected to study business in the United States. After arriving in Chicago, Illinois, he was drafted by the U.S. government to serve in the American Army in Korea and in Japan from 1956 to 1958. Upon his return to Japan, he settled in Tokyo where he became an import agent for a German company dealing in optics and electronics. After the Kushis contacted him, he became involved in the emerging natural food business. [He founded a company named Mitoku. Mi = Michio. To = Tomoko (Aveline's given name in Japanese). Ku = Kushi].

In 1968 Mr. Kazama made his first shipment of Japanese natural foods to Erewhon; the order was worth \$3,000. The Kushis first met Mr. Kazama in Boston in

1970. Over the years, the volume of Mitoku's exports steadily grew, and expanded to Europe, Australia, and the Middle East. Today Mitoku ships its products to about 35 countries. Approximately 40% of Mitoku's exports go to America, 40% to Europe, and 20% to Australia and other regions. Annual sales are about \$10 million. Among the major suppliers are Sendai Miso Shoyu Co. Ltd., Hatcho Miso Co. Ltd., Hagaromo Miso, Ltd., Hanamaruki Miso Co. Ltd, San Iku Foods Co. Ltd.

Distributors of Mitoku's products include the following: In the USA: Westbrae Natural Foods Inc., Great Eastern Sun Inc., U.S. Mills Inc., Tree of Life Inc., and Shojin Natural Foods (Hawaii). In Canada: Koyo Foods Inc., Flora Distributors Ltd., and Timbuktu. In Costa Rica: Distribuidora de Productos Macrobioicos S.A. In England: Sunwheel Foods Ltd, Clearspring Natural Grocer, Meridian Foods Ltd. In France: Celnat, Tama. In Belgium: Lima N.V. In the United Arab Emirates: Emirates Trading & Marketing Est. In South Africa: Key Health. In Austria: Naturkostladen, Lebenszeichen. In Switzerland: S'lotusbluemli, Terrasana, Futonhaus. In Sweden: Kung Markatta. In Norway: Alternative Import. In Finland: Makro Bios. In Portugal: Armazens Da Matinha. In Spain: Kunga. In Italy: La Finestra Sul Cielo, Probios S.R.L., Dalla Terra al Cielo, Solo Natura. In Israel: Tivoli Ltd. In Australia: Pureharvest. In New Zealand: Enso. In Singapore: Nature's Best. In Yugoslavia: General Export. In Japan: Seibu Department Stores Ltd., Tokyu Department Stores Ltd. Among the countries reached indirectly through trans-shipment are Hungary, reached through Austria, various South American countries reached through the United States, and other countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Iceland, Andorra, Ireland and the Caribbean Islands."

As Mitoku developed its international operations, Mr. Kazama hired many students from Western countries, including Blake Rankin (USA), Ferro Ledvinka (Italy), Christopher Geoffrey Dawson (New Zealand, starting 1979), Robbie Swinnerton (England), Terrie Adams (USA), and Michelle Harbroun (France).

"For the past 10 years, Mitoku has echoed and supported the macrobiotic perspective with its motto 'Isshoku-Dogen.' These words, though they have been forgotten in the last few centuries by the very people in the health care field who should remember them well, mean literally 'medicine and food have the same source,' and can be translated as 'food is medicine.' This saying has been used and known as part of the ancestral heritage of wisdom transmitted from generation to generation for several thousand years in Oriental countries such as China, Korea and Japan.

"In an attempt to preserve Japanese traditions, Japan has instituted a 'Living Treasures' program granting official recognition and support to [living masters in] various cultural areas such as theater, music, dance, sculpture, carpentry, weaving... and arts and crafts. Ironically, though,

Japan has not granted the same official recognition to its traditional methods of food processing and production in spite of the fact that increasingly large numbers of people throughout the world are now appreciating traditionally processed Japanese food products and have become aware of their important health benefits. The Japanese traditional arts of producing miso, soysauce, tofu, natto, amazake, rice vinegar, sake, mirin, condiments and pickles as well as cooking methods and preparation are unique among the culinary practices of the world... These foods are also works of art... It is my hope and recommendation that official recognition and support be granted by the 'Living Treasures of Japan' to those who have dedicated their life to the traditional art of food production and processing in spite of the hardships and commercial disadvantages they are compelled to face in business competition and present-day economical conditions." Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146.

203. Roller, Ron. 1992. Work with and history of Eden Foods and American Soy Products in Michigan. Part II. After 1980 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Feb. 25-26. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* In Feb. 1982 (27 months after the fire) the settlement from the insurance company was paid. Shortly after that, in 1982, Eden bought Schmidt Noodle Co., a supplier to Eden.

In Sept. 1982 Ron went to Japan, where he picked up 25 new items for the Eden import line from the Muso Co. One of these was Edensoy soymilk. He visited the Marusan soymilk plant. Ron recalls how they took him into the room overlooking the aseptic packaging room, where 16 huge machines were busily filling and sealing Tetra Brik Aseptic cartons (most of which were sold in Japan): "It just blew me away. It was like a personal revelation. Here was a unique, non-dairy product, being made on a huge scale, and there was a big need for it in the American market." When he visited the Muso office, Ron noticed very large shipments of this same soymilk being shipped to Spiral Foods (run by James Wilson) a macrobiotic distributor in Melbourne, Australia. This also impressed and surprised him.

Back in America, Eden coined the name Edensoy and developed the artwork for a stand-up foil retort pouch—since the Tetra Brik Aseptic packages had not yet become legal in this country. The product was introduced to America in 1983 at a natural foods trade show in Denver, Colorado. The response was "phenomenal." No previous Eden product had ever attracted as much attention. At the show, they picked up 30 distributors for the soymilk. Edensoy soon became by far the company's most successful product to date. Eventually imported Edensoy accounted for about 40% of Eden Foods' total sales! "It turned into a bigger thing than any of us had anticipated."

Also starting in about 1982 there was a big growth of interest in macrobiotic foods. Because of its large line of

macrobiotic foods, Eden was now uniquely well positioned to take advantage of this growth.

Edensoy soymilk opened a lot of doors to new distributors. Inevitably these distributors came to Eden for the soymilk and then almost always ended up carrying the rest of the Eden line. The combined sales growth of Edensoy and the macrobiotic foods led to a big increase in Eden's sales to other distributors. Shortly after that, Eden began to import Edensoy to a public warehouse in Los Angeles to service the West Coast market. Eventually that led to Eden sharing a warehouse with Sierra Natural Foods in San Francisco, and soon the rest of Eden's products were stocked there too.

During the mid-1980s, in large part because of Edensoy, Eden's sales to distributors began to overtake wholesale sales to natural/health food stores. The latter were beginning to drop because of competition from full-line super-distributors. Eventually the latter comprised only 10% of Eden's total sales. At that point, in about 1986 or 1987, Eden stopped wholesaling directly to retail stores and started to sell only to distributors. Eden delivered its products on its own trucks to these distributors, and this extra service also gave them a competitive edge. Discontinuing wholesale distribution to retail stores had a very positive effect on Eden's growth. All the energy that was formerly required to attend to that 10% of the business was now free to be focused on developing new products and the Eden brand.

The period from March 1984 to June 1985 was a difficult one for Edensoy. The problems with the FDA, the Edensoy promotional pamphlet, and the Edensoy recall were described in detail in the *East West Journal* (Dec. 1985).

On 13 April 1988 Cliff Adler and Michael Potter were in a serious car accident. Cliff was killed and Michael was seriously injured. Cliff was a very outgoing person with lots of charisma, and his death had a profound emotional impact on the company; his many close friends felt deep loss. Ron, who was purchasing director and a director of the company, took charge of running the company in this time of confusion. He organized a management team, started daily management meetings, put budgets in place, and severely curtailed spending to start accumulating money for the FDA fine. Within a month, Ron became vice president; Mike was president and CEO.

In about Nov. 1989 Ron became president of Eden Foods and president of Schmidt Noodle Co. Mike remained CEO. Yet despite these problems, in the two years from 1989 to 1991 sales at Eden Foods almost doubled—making them two of the most profitable years in the company's history.

Right after Cliff died, Ron took his place as a director of American Soy Products, Inc. (ASP). In Feb. 1991 he became CEO of ASP. Ron was president of Eden Foods. In mid-June 1991 he was asked to resign from his position at Eden Foods. He chose to leave and go to ASP to work full

time. Michael is now chairman of Eden Foods and his sister is president. Ron is now president of ASP, a joint venture company. Ron works for ASP above all because he believes in the company and its products. Address: President, American Soy Products, 1474 N. Woodland Dr., Saline, Michigan 48176. Phone: 313-429-2310.

204. Bolduc, Bill. 1992. Pioneering organically grown crops in Michigan. More on the early history of Eden Foods, Inc. (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 14. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: In the early years, Bill was strongly in favor of developing local sources of foods, and especially in developing organically grown sources. He was philosophically opposed to importing foods. In 1970 he first hit the road in his car in search of organic growers like Tom Vreeland (who Erewhon ended up stealing from Eden), and Ahmish farmers in Ohio and Indiana that supplied buckwheat and molasses to Eden. Then he found the Schmidt Noodle Co. and got them started as a supplier, plus all the original juices.

Within Eden, Bill was the person who initiated the idea of finding local organic farmers. The first organic farmer that Eden contracted with was Tom Vreeland near Ypsilanti, Michigan, and the first organic crops they bought were soybeans, wheat, corn, and rye. These crops, organically grown in Michigan, are shown in the Eden Foods Wholesale Pricelist of 26 July 1971, so they must have been grown during 1970. In July 1971 Eden was at 211 S. State Street. Bill found Tom Vreeland through a chiropractor named Dr. Blossom, who was a close friend, who supported Eden, who was a member of the Church of God (a nationwide Christian church), as was Tom Vreeland, and who attended the opening of the store at 211 S. State St. Tom was already growing crops organically before Bill met him; he had never switched over to chemical farming. Bill was looking for farmers such as Tom who were already growing crops organically; he was not trying to convert chemical farmers to organic methods, but if they wanted to convert, Bill would help them and give them a market for their crops.

The inspiration for finding local organic farmers came from 3 sources: Paul Hawken of Erewhon, Robert Rodale, and Frank Ford of Arrowhead Mills. He talked with all of them at about the same time. Hawken had crisscrossed America in his BMW looking for organic farmers. Bill happened to be in Boston, Massachusetts, when Hawken returned from that expedition. Talking with Hawken encouraged Bill to look for more growers over a wider area. Bill also went to Emmaus, Pennsylvania and met with Robert Rodale Jr. to get the names of names of organic farmers and specifications for organic crops. And he talked with Frank Ford.

Then Bill found other organic farmers like Ernie Fordos (he grew beans from the thumb area of Michigan, and still grows for Bill), and Dale Kunkel (carrots, cabbage, sold in

the Erewhon retail store). When Bill couldn't find local organic growers for a desired crop, he would buy from a non-organic source—as he did with sunflower seeds from Ontario, Canada. Both he and Tim Redmond spent a great deal of time finding organic sources. By 1973 when Bill left the company, roughly 15-20 farmers were growing crops organically for Eden.

Bill does not have any early Erewhon catalogs or Eden Catalogs. Tim Redmond is the only person he knows who has early Eden materials.

During at least one trip to China, another person went along with Mike Potter. They bought all kinds of antiques and "made a fortune" when they sold them back in the USA. Address: Organic Processing Corp., 1430 Clifton Rd., Xenia, Ohio 45385. Phone: 513-767-9266 or 1-800-647-2326.

205. Coates, Margy. 1992. History of Laurelbrook Foods in Maryland (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 18. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Margy and her husband, Rod, started Laurelbrook Foods, opening for business on 23 Aug. 1971. She was about 52 at the time and Rod was about 56. Eventually they got in "over their heads." The company was always located in the same place: 505 Granary Rd., Forest Hill, Maryland 21050. They had a P.O. Box 47, in nearby Bel Air, Maryland. The inspiration and impetus that led to founding the company came from their daughters (especially Judy, Dora, and Marion [Ronnie]), although she and Rod had always been pretty interested in natural foods. Their daughters had been living and studying macrobiotics in Boston, Massachusetts. Dora married Paul Hawken after they started the Laurelbrook.

Rod had been interested in motorcycles from the time he was a kid. After World War II, he became very interested in British motorcycles made by Triumph. For years he was on the American Motorcycle Association Competition Committee. He raced some himself (he won the 100 mile amateur race at Daytona Beach, Florida), then began to repair and sell Triumph motorcycles out of their home garage. They lived in New Jersey, but when Triumph Corp. set up a company in Towson, then Timonium, Maryland, Rod went to work for them as a service manager from 1950 to 1969. The company changed hands, went down hill, and in 1970 Rod and many others were laid off.

Rod wanted to start his own business selling motorcycle accessories. He planned to call the company CPA Inc. (for Cycle Parts and Accessories). Rod had his severance pay plus some retirement funds, so they bought 2.63 acres of land at 505 Granary Rd., built a small warehouse to start with, and rented the front to a local girl named Mary Page and her natural foods company named Springbottom Natural Foods. But as the building was going up, their kids then convinced them to start a natural foods business instead of a motorcycle shop. They had been eating natural foods for the past 2 years, influenced by their daughters,

especially Judy and Dora who were living in Boston and studying macrobiotics. So their natural foods wholesale distribution company, Laurelbrook, was in the back of the building. The earliest letterhead seen reads "Laurelbrook Foods, Div. of CPA Inc." CPA never got off the ground.

Initially Laurelbrook bought its products mainly from Arrowhead Mills (Judy brought Frank Ford for a visit), and Erewhon. Later they also bought from Timbercrest (dried fruits), Lundberg, and John Baker and Carl Garrich (both rice farmers). Beautiful Day in College Park, Maryland, was their first customer. Laurelbrook was a family business. Sally and Dan worked there almost from the start, and many nieces and nephews worked there. Margy and Rod did all sorts of work, packaging, grinding, making deliveries, and the like. Early competitors were Essene in Philadelphia (the biggest competitor), Erewhon in Boston, and Shiloh Farms in Pennsylvania.

Then the problems began. Some employees were using drugs and stealing merchandise from the warehouse. One person tried (unsuccessfully) to start a labor union. In about 1978, by the time Rod was age 65, he wanted to retire; the company had gotten too big for them and was growing too fast. Margy thinks this rapid growth was the main cause for Laurelbrook's downfall. "We were not big business people and we didn't quite know how to handle it—the complex finances, dealing with the banks, etc. We thought we needed a manager. So we brought in Richard Curry." At its largest, shortly before Richard Curry came in, Laurelbrook had 50 employees. Richard started replacing our people with his people. Richard wanted to add a lot of new products to the company's line. At that time, Tree of Life was probably Laurelbrook's biggest competitor. "We didn't really like the way things were going, but it was so complicated that we couldn't do much, hope for the best, and go along. Sally had a lot of faith in Richard." After long, unpleasant negotiations, Richard bought Laurelbrook from the Coates in August 1981, then about 6 months later he put it into bankruptcy (on 15 Feb. 1982). He had gotten in over his own head (which the Coates hadn't realized). So he ordered lots of goods from their suppliers (who were by now the Coates' close friends), sold them, then never paid the suppliers. Rod and Margy had to deal with lawyers and were deeply saddened and stressed by the way things ended.

They traveled to England (where Rod had motorcycle friends) and tried to enjoy retirement, but Rod didn't seem like his old self. Margy knew that something was wrong, but she thought it might be stress and would go away. Rod died of Alzheimer's disease on 4 March 1990.

Dora married Paul Hawken when Paul was head of Erewhon. Although Laurelbrook got a lot of supplies from Erewhon, this marriage did not have much effect on the relationship between Laurelbrook and Erewhon. Dora went to Findhorn with Paul, and right after that they separated. John Deming (who Judy married) also worked at Erewhon

and also went to Findhorn. Address: 2516 Laurelbrook Rd., Fallston, Maryland 21047. Phone: 301-877-1695.

206. Coates, Margy. 1992. Re: History of Laurelbrook Foods. Part I. Origin and early years. Letter to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, March 19. 6 p. Typed, with signature.

• *Summary:* This excellent, in-depth and detailed history of Laurelbrook Foods is written by one of the owners and founders on the original Laurelbrook stationery.

"In 1967 our next to oldest daughter, Judy, who had been with Erewhon and Michio Kushi, persuaded us to try a macrobiotic diet. While we were not really into natural foods, we always did cook from scratch, read labels, drank fruit juices instead of sodas, etc. She would come and cook for us for two weeks and let us try it out.

"Well, that was a rough two weeks, but we did it and felt great, even though we had thought we felt fine before. Also, although I've never been heavy, all of a sudden I found I looked good in slacks. So we stuck with it. Not forever, but for quite a while.

"When Rod [Margy's husband] had the traumatic experience in 1970 of having his beloved Triumph Corp. fold up, under new and poor management, and partly because of the Japanese influx, we decided to set up a warehouse and sell cycle parts and accessories. On August 7, 1970 we bought 2.63 acres of land in Harford County at 505 Granary Road, which connected business Route 1 with the north end of the Route 1 Belair bypass. We built a warehouse on it with money from Rod's severance pay.

"Three of our daughters had lived in Boston [Massachusetts] and worked with Michio Kushi. Ronnie (Marion) married Marty Russell in June 1970. He had also worked with Michio and became a natural foods baker. Dora married Paul Hawken in June, 1971, and Judy married John Deming in Aug. 1972. John and Paul had worked at Erewhon. The Hawkens and the Demings both went to Findhorn, and it was at the end of their stay that Dora and Paul split up.

"Since we already had the warehouse building, it didn't take much to persuade us to distribute natural foods. A visit from Frank Ford of Arrowhead Mills helped cinch the deal. We had already established a business on paper named 'Cycle Parts and Accessories' (CPA), so Laurelbrook Foods (named after the road we lived on) started by renting from CPA. We actually opened for business Aug. 23, 1971. The CPA business never got off the ground.

"The warehouse was 50 by 150 feet, with a basement under it 50 by 100 feet. We rented the front end of the building to a natural food store, Springbottom Natural Foods. This was entirely separate from us, run by Mary Page, a neighbor. Mary had been selling natural foods from her home for some time, and I had been a customer of hers. She was there a year, then got her own place. And by then we needed the space.

"That's how we got in the business of distributing natural foods. And it kept us stepping from the start. Rod and I really loved that whole business. He used to say it reminded him of the motorcycle business as most of the people involved were real enthusiasts, and so many of the stores were Mom and Pop family type shops, as was so often the case with motorcycles.

It was a very personal business for us; we really felt so warmly toward our customers and suppliers. Our son, Dan, came in with us, I think, in 1972, just after he got back from Vietnam. And our oldest daughter, Sally (now Sally Morris) came in 1973, both of them backbones of the business. Sally did the buying, and everything else that needed to be done. Dan, like Rod and me, did everything.

"My niece, Elise, worked in packaging almost from the beginning, and right through with Richard until the end. My sis-in-law worked with us for a while, as did a son-in-law, two nephews, and the older grandchildren when the need arose. Our youngest daughter, Nancy, who is a potter, made honey pots for us to sell.

Our first price list [1 page, dated Aug. 23, 1971] is the only one I have left. Later it was 5 or 6 legal size pages, double columns on both sides. All the borders were typed up by hand. We didn't get our first computer until about 1976. A local woman worked very closely with us, printing up our price lists and flyers, until about 1975, when we got our own photocopy machine.

"Arrowhead Mills and Erewhon were our first suppliers. Then Timbercrest for dried fruit, and Westbrae and Eden Foods. Our macrobiotic items came from Erewhon. We worked very closely with Erewhon but I don't believe we got any special dispensation more than other distributors. We got our rice from Lundberg Brothers (California), Carl Garrich at Lone Pine Farm [Lone Pine, Arkansas], and John Baker (Louisiana). Wheat came from Ted Whitmer and soap came from Tom's Soap in Maine.

"Very soon we started finding our own sources and suppliers, and dealt locally as much as possible. Apple juice and from Murray's Orchard and Golden Acres in Virginia, Dunkelberger's Tap 'n Apple from Pennsylvania, Bauman's apple butter from Pennsylvania. Various beans, seeds and soft wheat from nearby farms, and potatoes from Pennsylvania. Donna's cookies were made in New Jersey using our ingredients. Enos confections was a sesame seed candy made by an old woman in Pennsylvania, with antiquated machinery. Honey Pure sodas were made locally. And when we got into refrigeration we had Erivan yogurt, with the cream on top, made by a woman in Pennsylvania in the rented side of a bank building. Goat milk ice cream came right here from Harford County, and so on.

"We milled flour right from the start with a small Meadows Mill, and started packing almost right away. The only product we actually made ourselves was a candy, Chattanooga Chew Chews, made with sunflower seeds, pecans, sesame seeds, barley malt, honey and safflower oil.

"When we made deliveries, we would often pick up supplies on the trip home. Carob from Famarco on the Virginia Beach run; Crocks from Williamsburg on the same trip. Grains and seeds from Wm. Hill in Richmond, Virginia.

"I think our biggest competitors in the early days were Essene in Philadelphia, Charlie Smail at Shadowfax in Binghamton, New York, and Shiloh Farms who delivered from their Pennsylvania headquarters. Later on, Neshaminy Valley in Pennsylvania, and Tree of Life in Florida." Continued. Address: 2516 Laurelbrook Rd., Fallston, Maryland 21047. Phone: 410-877-1695.

207. Macdonald, Bruce. 1992. How Erewhon got involved in wholesaling and distributing natural foods (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 16. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

- *Summary:* In the spring of 1969, during Bruce's tenure as general manager, Erewhon got into the wholesale business, running it initially out of their retail store at 342 Newbury Street. Paul Hawken was not involved in the wholesaling to other companies before he left for Japan. Their store was divided into 3 parts: The front half was the retail store, the back half contained the mill (a little 5-inch Meadows Mill later used for grinding whole-grain flours), a walk-in refrigerator, and packing tables (where Bruce recalls working with Jim Docker, packing little 1-5 lb paper bags of grains), and the basement (connected to the ground floor by a dumb waiter) was the warehouse for storage of commodities.

The wholesale business began in the basement. It started because Erewhon got a good deal on some sesame oil. A company named Sesame Products had developed the Egyptian salt method of removing the husks of the sesame seeds. The company apparently went bankrupt, but actually they were a front for some illicit import dealings, such as electronic parts from Mexico. They got caught, and had to sell their high-quality oil. Erewhon bought the oil and some amber bottles, bottled the oil, and that was their first wholesale product.

Next Erewhon expanded its line of mechanically pressed, unrefined oils. Bruce had seen some expeller-pressed corn oil at Paul Keene's Walnut Acres, so he ordered it from Shawnee Milling Co. in Shawnee, Oklahoma. Erewhon considered hexane solvent extraction to be the "big bad method" of removing oils, expeller pressing to be so-so (because the temperature in the worm-screw reached 140-160°F), and hydraulic pressing to be the best since it kept the product coolest. This golden corn oil foamed upon being heated and tasted like butter in baked goods. Erewhon's third natural oil was a safflower oil. (In 1970 Paul Hawken wrote a pamphlet titled "The New Oil Story").

Next Erewhon added a line of grains. They got non-organic brown rice from Koda Brothers in Dos Palos, California. The company was owned by Japanese-

Americans, who were the first to break out of the cooperative marketing scheme, in which all growers mixed their rice together. They had rubber rollers, which did not scratch the grain during dehulling. Their Kokuho-Rose white rice has been the rice of choice for 30 years among Japanese-Americans. Bruce thinks they may have first sold brown rice (in 100 lb peat bags) to Infinity in New York, then to Erewhon.

Then Erewhon added a line of products imported from Japan. These first arrived in about Nov. 1968, just as the Erewhon retail store at 342 Newbury St. was opening. All the Japanese imports came in bulk from Muso Shokuhin in Osaka, rather than individually packaged. Tamari (from Marushima) and miso (including bulk mugi [barley] and Hatcho miso), moromi, etc. came in wooden kegs, loose, rather than in containers, so there was lots of breakage. Most of these imported products were stored in the basement. Erewhon bought some noodles (soba and udon in 5 kg boxes) from Japan Foods, then from Nishimoto Trading Co. and also from Muso. The product line was very simple, consisting of no more than 400 different items. The best-selling wholesale items were the oils, tamari, miso, rice, and imported kuzu, umeboshi (salt plums) and azuki beans. In the retail store there was no produce case or freezer, no vitamins or supplements, no potatoes or dairy products.

Initially, Erewhon's largest customer was the 4-5 macrobiotic study houses in Boston, Massachusetts, accounting for roughly 50% of sales. Erewhon had an old van that delivered the food to the study houses, initially at retail prices; this business kept the retail store afloat. By the late spring of 1969 the wholesale business began to take off, and the macrobiotic study houses were now allowed to buy at wholesale prices. Some additional delivery trucks were acquired.

The macrobiotic products, other than what Erewhon imported, were only available in health food stores, through Chico-San. Because of the high mark-ups at several stages in the process, these products were tremendously expensive for consumers. So Erewhon decided to sell direct to East Coast stores, cutting out the distributors, to keep prices down. Now things started to move very fast, and Erewhon soon achieved national distribution. "It was like introducing products into a vacuum. The whole natural foods industry was starting up, all these little places like Eden Foods in Ann Arbor [Michigan], Tom Swan in Chicago [Illinois], etc.

Bruce traveled to New York and lined up new wholesale customers among macrobiotic restaurants and food stores. Samsara, a macro restaurant in the lower east side run by George Abehsera, was Erewhon's first customer and its biggest restaurant customer. (Michel Abehsera's younger brother, George later became the baron of the clay and soap business, Three Sheaves, Pierre Cattier, then Nature de France). Right around the corner was Arnie Greenberg, who had a deli on the lower east side, and was

one of the first to merchandise macrobiotic foods; he rapidly became Erewhon's best customer. He was very busy selling a mish-mash of foods though he had no particular personal commitment to macrobiotics. Before him, Irma Paule in New York City had run "The Little Cupboard" but had gotten in trouble and was no longer in business at this time. Other good restaurant customers were the Paradox, the Caldron (Gloria Bremmer at 308 E. 6th St.). The Good Earth, a retail store run by Townley, soon began to order; he was one of the original honest organic produce retailers. The restaurants and the food stores accounted for about equal sales volume for Erewhon. Erewhon shipped all its goods to New York (its sole market) via common carrier; Erewhon owned no delivery trucks of its own. There were no other natural food stores in Boston. One other unique customer was Jimmy Silver, who was macrobiotic, the manager of a rock band named Iggy Pop and the Stooges, and had hair down to his waist. He would drive down from New York with his cute little wife, Susie, and buy \$300.00 of food at a time for the whole band. It was the biggest single order that Erewhon ever got in those days. Not long after that, Jimmy dropped out of the music scene and came to Boston.

Then Roger took over from Bruce as general manager in about Oct. 1969, right after Bruce married Maureen, his first wife, and left for Los Angeles to set up a branch of Erewhon there. The little store had sales of about \$400/day. The day of Bruce's wedding, in about Oct. 1969, was the first day that Erewhon's sales topped \$1,000/day. It was a milestone day and in those it seemed like big money. But 2 years Erewhon's sales were \$20,000/day.

How did Erewhon finance this growth? At the beginning Erewhon, the trailblazer, was extremely profitable, since they had essentially no competition, and had thriving retail stores in Boston and Los Angeles. The dollar was very strong (from 1967 to 1971 one dollar was worth 355 yen), so Erewhon could buy an item for \$1, sell it for \$3.50 and still be \$2 under any competition (mainly Chico-San). Erewhon invented the concept of a natural food store. Fred Rohe in San Francisco had developed a related idea, perhaps a little before and in parallel with Erewhon. His Sunset Health Foods, later named New Age Foods, was a modified health-food store that sold vitamins, whereas Erewhon was a pure natural foods store, that didn't sell vitamins. In addition, Erewhon had quality standards and a philosophy of foods that no one in the industry had.

After Bruce left, Erewhon moved into its first real warehouse on Farnsworth St. This represented the first real commitment to the wholesale business. A fleet of trucks was acquired. Eventually semis were delivering all over New England. Address: P.O. Box 100, Cambridgeport, VT 05141. Phone: 802-869-2010.

208. Macdonald, Bruce. 1992. The origin and development of Erewhon's operations in Los Angeles. Part I. 1969 to

1971 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 16. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Erewhon started a retail store in Los Angeles because Aveline's youngest son, Hisao, had some form leg disorder, congenital or from infancy, probably in his knee. Aveline found a Japanese doctor in Los Angeles who she believed (and it turned out that she was right) could cure it. But the doctor had to see Hisao almost daily. So in about August 1969 Aveline moved to California. Bill Tara went with her, while Michio stayed in Boston, Massachusetts. Aveline got a very nice house at 7511 Franklin Ave. in Hollywood. Later she moved into the former Japanese embassy, which was a mansion in a very nice neighborhood, several blocks away on [7357] Franklin Ave. Bruce also lived in this mansion. In Los Angeles, Bill Tara started Erewhon's second retail store, in large part because Aveline needed good macrobiotic food. Tara rented a very small space at 8003 Beverly Blvd. and called the new store "Erewhon West." Later the name changed several times, but it ended up being just "Erewhon." He got some cinder blocks and boards, ordered a shipment of food from Erewhon-Boston, then he opened the door. Initially, business was extremely slow.

Bruce was married on 13 Sept. 1969 to Maureen Traill in Boston. The marriage ceremony took place in the Old South Church, and some 200 people (including Michio Kushi) attended. It was the biggest wedding in the Boston macrobiotic community to date. Maureen had lived in a macrobiotic study house run by Susan Hillyard, and had studied cooking with Aveline Kushi and Susan Hillyard. About 2 weeks after the wedding, in early October 1969, Bruce and his new wife left Boston. At that time, Roger Hillyard took over as general manager of Erewhon-Boston from Bruce. They drove to Los Angeles, arriving in late Oct. 1969. The first thing he did was to build a walk-in cooler. Bill Tara, who was always more interested in the teaching, philosophical, and scholarly side of macrobiotics, left shortly after Bruce arrived. Bruce was more oriented toward the business side. Bruce became the head of the store, and Jimmy Silver soon came out from Boston to work with him at the store. Soon shipments of foods began to arrive directly from Japan, sent by Paul Hawken with whom Bruce talked frequently by phone, so in the summer of 1970 Bruce put out a wholesale price list and rented a warehouse (about 2,000 square feet) catty-corner across the street (something like 7990 Beverly Blvd.). Soon the first Erewhon products packaged in Japan began to arrive, and because of these retail packs the wholesale business took off. The first seitan came in shrink packs; it later came in jars. Tamari was the best-selling import, followed by miso, then umeboshi. The foods still arrived in small boxes or single kegs; containers did not begin until later. At about this same time Tom DeSilva, a lawyer who became a yoga instructor, applied for a job as a janitor; he just wanted to be around.

Erewhon West soon outgrew its first warehouse, in part due to a deal made with the Lundberg Brothers. Bob Kennedy of Chico-San was the pioneer in contracting with the Lundbergs to grow short-grain brown rice in California. Chico-San had exclusive rights to all the rice produced by the Lundbergs. But Chico-San sold this rice for a high price, which prevented him from selling the amount he had contracted to buy. So a side deal was made, between Erewhon and the Lundbergs, in which the Lundbergs packaged the unsold rice exclusively for Erewhon and labeled it "unsprayed." Chico-San would not allow it to be labeled "organic." With this arrangement, Erewhon got into the rice business in a big way, selling their rice for \$11.00 a bag versus about \$30.00 for the same product from Chico-San labeled "organic." Brown rice soon became Erewhon's biggest product; they sold it to Eden Foods, Laurelbrook, Tom Swan in Chicago [Illinois], Tree of Life in Florida, Food for Health in Tucson (Arizona), some distributors in Northern California, Green Mountain Granary in Boulder (Colorado), etc. It was rice that gave Erewhon nationwide distribution, putting their products in every natural food store in the USA. Bob Kennedy was furious but he was stuck with his contract, and Bruce thinks the Lundbergs eventually let Kennedy off the hook.

Now Erewhon-West began to catch up with Erewhon-Boston in sales because of two factors. They could get a shipment from Japan 3 weeks faster than Boston, and they were near the source of brown rice.

In late 1970, to keep up with the explosive growth, Erewhon rented a second warehouse at 8454 Stellar Drive (10,000 square feet). In his "spare time," entrepreneurial Bruce founded two other businesses of his own: Pure & Simple, and The Natural Living Company. Pure & Simple, located in the Stellar Drive warehouse, was the first of America's new wave of natural food snack companies. Bruce had talked over the idea with Paul Hawken, who felt that snack foods were not appropriate for Erewhon at that time. The company's first product was Corn Munchies, which was the first natural corn chip. They would make corn tortillas, cut them into wedges, fry them in sesame oil, and season them with tamari. The Corn Munchies soon became very successful. The Natural Living Co. made bodycare products and cosmetics, starting with Sesame Shampoo and Sesame Lotion. Bruce had met a brilliant chemist named Carlos de Villalvilla, a Cuban aristocrat who was head of research for Max Factor. Bruce asked him to develop a line of cosmetics without preservatives or mineral oil (a vegetable oil should be used instead of a petroleum derivative).

By early 1971 Erewhon had outgrown the 10,000 foot warehouse and another 20,000 square feet in an old bakery, from which they did all transshipments to distributors. The store expanded twice, taking over the corner fish store, to 8001 Beverly Blvd. Continued. Address: P.O. Box 100, Cambridgeport, Vermont 05141. Phone: 802-869-2010.

209. Macdonald, Bruce. 1992. The origin and development of Erewhon's operations in Los Angeles. Part II. 1971 to 1991 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 16. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: In one of its first issues (the very first was published in Jan. 1971), *East West Journal* published an interview with Bruce while Erewhon—Los Angeles was at the peak of its activity. They arranged for imports of natural foods from Japan to come into Los Angeles. They developed labels for the products with nice stories about each product; Burton Block did the graphics and helped with the text. He later became famous with the Nutragen designs.

In early 1971 Bruce found out that Paul Hawken had somehow obtained some stock and thus ownership in Erewhon and had not mentioned it to Bruce. So Bruce went back to Boston and discussed the matter with Paul. Paul said, essentially, "That's the way it is." Ultimately Bruce felt that Michio was to blame for the problem, but "when I found out that Paul had some stock, I felt he had broken a blood bond with me and deliberately deceived me. I was not upset at Michio. Basically I have always felt that he was just stupid. He had the greatest opportunity—like the founding of the computer industry and he was Bill Gates—and he couldn't comprehend the American entrepreneurial spirit. Michio's approach was the traditional Japanese one. You come to work for a company, we pat you on top of the head, you have lifetime employment, but don't ever ask to own any of it. He should have offered the people who conceived and built Erewhon partial ownership in the company to motivate them and to keep them around. Failing to do that was Michio's biggest mistake."

In 1970 *The Wall Street Journal* ran a front-page feature story on the emerging new natural foods industry. A person from Merrill-Lynch came in and said, "We could package this business and raise millions for you."

Bruce had always thought and that Aveline always owned all the Erewhon stock—from day one to the bitter end. The Kushi's attorney, Morris Kirsner, had put it in her name because they were worried about something happening like had happened to Irma Paule who ran the Ohsawa Foundation in New York. After Beth Ann Simon died in Nov. 1965, the FDA raided the Ohsawa Foundation late one night and found its Nature's Cupboard to be selling food, as well as books, recommending the food as a cure for illness. Charged with "false advertising," the center was closed down, and the focus of macrobiotic teaching shifted to Boston. Michio was always concerned about teaching and being a purveyor of the foods about which he was teaching.

Seeing no future for himself in Erewhon, Bruce left Erewhon forever in May 1971 to attend to his two other thriving businesses. Bruce had been willing to work hard to build the company for a small salary (\$150/week), reinvesting all earnings, on the understanding that he would become a part owner later—the entrepreneurial way.

Erewhon had more than 99% of the market share on all of the Japanese imports. Bob Kennedy was buying from Tokyo C.I., which was very tiny. They had excellent sources for oils and grains, had built "Erewhon" into the top brand name, and had developed an aura of almost invincibility and quality. In short, they owned the market they had created.

What happened to Erewhon—Los Angeles. One of the people who financed the early growth of Erewhon was John Deming, whose family were wealthy rice [sic, oil] barons. He married Judy Coates, lived on a trust fund, and invested something like \$150,000 to \$200,000 in Erewhon. Paul Hawken was close friends with him, in part because Paul married Judy's sister, Dora. Then (according to hearsay) something happened and John asked for his money back. Erewhon said they couldn't pay him, but offered him Erewhon—Los Angeles instead. So Deming ended up owning Erewhon—LA. [Note: For John Deming's version of this, see Dec. 1994 interview with him].

Today the store is owned by Tom DeSilva; it is named "Nowhere" and in the spring of 1991 it moved into a very fancy million-dollar complex up the street because the landlord refused to renew the lease.

During much of the early history of Erewhon, Paul Hawken was in Japan. Paul's main reason for going to Japan was so that Erewhon could develop consumer packages and have the products (tamari, miso, noodles, seaweeds, kuzu) packaged in Japan. Hawken didn't return from Japan until the Erewhon store and 2 warehouses in Los Angeles (8554 Stellar Drive, plus part of an old gigantic bakery) were up and running at full speed. They could get imports from Japan 2-3 weeks sooner in Long Beach than in Boston. From the West Coast, they shipped the goods as far east as Chicago, Illinois.

Warren Clough of Shiloh Farms was involved with organic farming before Erewhon; Warren was a very early pioneer.

Very little documentation remains on the early history of Erewhon. In about mid-1971 *East West Journal* published an interview with Bruce about Erewhon, conducted by his first wife, Maureen. It contained a photo of Bruce, and a good chronology of developments at Erewhon—Los Angeles. That was the real active time for the West Coast. In Aug. 1973 Paul Hawken wrote a self-serving article in *East West Journal* titled "Erewhon: A biography. The view within," which is full of inaccuracies. Bruce thinks that Patricia Smith (Patti, in Monrovia, California) might have early Erewhon catalogues. She was working for Trader Joe's until several months ago. She now has a new job elsewhere. Address: P.O. Box 100, Cambridgeport, Vermont 05141. Phone: 802-869-2010.

210. Macdonald, Bruce. 1992. The origins and early history of Pure & Simple, The Well, and New Age Distributing (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 16. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* In late 1970, Bruce was managing the Erewhon store and distribution company in Los Angeles. To keep up with Erewhon's explosive growth, he rented a second warehouse at 8454 Stellar Drive (10,000 square feet). In his "spare time," entrepreneurial Bruce founded two other businesses of his own: Pure & Simple, and The Natural Living Company. Pure & Simple, located in the Stellar Drive warehouse, was the first of America's new wave of natural food snack companies. Bruce had talked over the idea with Paul Hawken, who felt that snack foods were not appropriate for Erewhon at that time. Pure & Simple's first product was Corn Munchies, which was the first natural corn chip. They would make corn tortillas, cut them into wedges, fry them in sesame oil, and season them with tamari. The Corn Munchies soon became very successful.

Bruce left Erewhon in May 1971 over an ownership dispute. His first move was to merge Pure & Simple with The Well, a natural food distributor in San Jose. Originally the Well had been named New Age Distributing, but Fred Rohe had started to get into financial troubles, so he had split off the distributing company as a separate business, which Phil Parenti / Parente was running.

Note: A letterhead shows that in Sept. 1979 Pure & Simple Natural Foods Inc. was located at 1045 Pepitone St., San Jose, California 95110. Phone: 408 / 295-7479. Jon Hoeffler ordered books on miso and tempeh. Address: P.O. Box 100, Cambridgeport, Vermont 05141. Phone: 802-869-2010.

211. Weissman, John. 1992. Pioneering work with seitan, Wheatmeat, and Tan Pops in America, 1974 to mid-1976 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 31. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* John was probably the second person to make seitan commercially in the USA. He was working in a health food store named Panacea in the middle of Manhattan in New York City. He and his girlfriend baked homemade buckwheat-crust pies, and they could see that homemade foods sold very quickly at the store. He saw freshly made, unique foods as a potential market. On 13 June 1974 John turned 26 years old. That fall he moved to Boston and began to live with a macrobiotic couple who were his friends, Sakee (or Ronald) Israel and his wife, Fern Ross-Israel. John recalls that Fern was pregnant. [Note: Fern and Sakee had been married on 19 Oct. 1974 in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. Their first child, Kate, was born at home on 3 May 1975.] Sakee was a musician, who drove a taxi cab to make money. John was a dabbler with macrobiotics—and still is. Several months after John arrived in Boston, Fern told him that several people from the Erewhon retail store had told her that if someone were to make seitan, they thought it would sell well at the store. Fern had learned to make seitan either in a macrobiotic cooking class or from another woman in a study house. She knew seitan was hard to make, so she taught John and her

husband how to make it in the form of little salty, gingery meatball-like chunks.

At the time, John had never heard of seitan before, but he does recall that an early seitan product named Tan Pups (seitan skewered on a bamboo stick and deep-fried in a breaded tempura batter) had been on the market in Boston, but was no longer; they were probably America's first commercial seitan product. John does not know who made Tan Pups nor when they were introduced. [Note: Tan Pups were introduced in March 1972 by Nik and Joanne Amartseff in Brookline, Massachusetts.] They had been sold at the Erewhon retail store on Newbury St., but had been on the market for only about 6 months. John recalls hearing that the maker moved to Maine or New Hampshire after discontinuing Tan Pups in Boston.

John was a blues musician at the time, painting houses as a source of income. John had just been let go from a house painting job and he was desperate for money. Soon in late 1974 he and Sakee, as business partners, began making seitan in their apartment at 17 Dent Street in West Roxbury, and selling it in bulk (5-10 lb of chunks) to one macrobiotic study house where Pat Murray lived. She bought 5-10 pounds at a time. (She later owned a health food store in Newburyport, Massachusetts.) For fun, as a sort of joke, they named their fledgling business Gimme Some Food Co. but after a month or two, when their products began to sell, they changed the name to the Wheatmeat Company—since in late 1974 John coined the term "Wheatmeat" to refer to their seitan. His trademark registration says he first made seitan in May 1976, but he was making it commercially before that. Within a few weeks, in late 1974, he and Sakee began selling Wheatmeat in bulk to the Erewhon retail store and then to other health food stores (such as Organic Food Cellar). It was sold refrigerated, in the form of rather salty little gingery meatball-like chunks in a large glass jar. A customer or the store clerk would lift out the chunks with tongs. By early 1975 the Wheatmeat Co. introduced "Wheatmeat Sandwiches," stuffed in pita bread in two flavors—one with homemade cole slaw (but no mayonnaise, using grapefruit juice instead of vinegar; Fern showed them how), another with tomatoes and lettuce; each had a sauce and was Saran-wrapped with a little paper label. John felt the sandwiches would have a broader appeal than plain macrobiotic Wheatmeat (seitan), but their main drawback was a short shelf life—only several days. Fairly soon they also began to sell Wheatmeat Cutlets in about 8-ounce polyethylene bags. Each piece was rolled flat. Later (about 1979) he introduced an unflavored, unsalted slab of wheat gluten, also labeled Wheatmeat, but with a different label and appearance (it was light tan instead of dark brown). It wasn't on the market for long because the shelf life was too short.

Next, in the spring of 1975, came Solar Burgers (although the name was not introduced until 1976). Based on information about protein combining in *Diet for a Small Planet* by Frances Moore Lappé, John began grinding

cooked soybeans into the wheat gluten and selling the burger-like patties.

Then came Tan Pops, pieces of seitan that were skewered, breaded and deep-fried. In the spring of 1975, several months after they introduced the Wheatmeat Sandwiches to Erewhon, Fern recalls John and Sakee began to make Tan Pops in their home kitchen at 17 Dent Street and sell them in Boston. John only vaguely recalls making Tan Pops at Dent Street. Concerning the name of this product, John Weissman recalls (he is more than 50% sure) that he coined the name Tan Pops (based on Tan Pups, a similar earlier product, of which John had tasted one or two) after he separated from Sakee Israel, had met the owners of Baby Watson Cheesecake Co., and was working with Robert Allen. The "Tan" came from sei-tan (*tan* means "protein" in Japanese), and the "Pop" referred to something on a stick, like a Popsicle. He also recalls that at many people did not like the name Tan Pops, which they said reminded them of Tampons (the female hygiene product). But he does not recall what this deep-fried skewered seitan product was named while it was made at 17 Dent St. before he named it Tan Pops. [Fern Israel is not sure when this product was first named Tan Pops, but she thinks it may have been so named from the day it was introduced; this is the only name she can recall that it had.]

In the spring of 1975, at about the time of the birth of Fern's first child, John moved out of Fern and Sakee's home, and he and Sakee went their separate ways in terms of their business; it was a very amicable separation. John had moved in with his girlfriend at 51 Oak Ave. in West Newton. At that time there was a company named Baby Watson Cheesecake Co., owned by two men named Peter and Kenny. One of the owners of Baby Watson had tasted a Tan Pup formerly sold at Erewhon (but no longer available) and liked it very much. He talked to John and suggested that, since he was already making seitan, he start deep-frying it to make a product like the Tan Pup. Baby Watson was already carrying the Wheatmeat Sandwiches, but they thought a product like the Tan Pup would sell even better. At this point, John either developed or renamed the Tan Pop. He recalls that the Tan Pup was breaded with a typical (soggy and thin) tempura batter based on wheat flour. John developed a thick batter using coarse corn meal and sesame seeds; it became delightfully crunchy after deep frying. John and a friend, Rob Allen, were soon making the seitan and deep-frying the rectangular Tan Pops out of John's home. The Tan Pops were sold first at Erewhon and then at Baby Watson; They were incredibly successful, in part because of the innovation of dipping the seitan in the corn batter before it was fried. To make the Tan Pops, slab or steaks of seitan were cut to size (approximately 3 inches wide, 4 inches long, and 3/4 inch thick) and placed on a tray. Each was dusted with a dry mixture of wheat and coarse corn flour, then an 8-inch long stick was pushed into one end so that it looked like the famous old New England Corn Dog. Then he dipped the skewered cylinder into a

seasoned batter (with cinnamon, basil, powdered garlic and onion, plus sesame seeds) and deep-fried it. He put each store's order of Tan Pops in a brown paper bag. At the store he would line one or more wooden bowls with paper towels, arrange the hot Tan Pops in the bowl like spokes on a wheel, then place them near the cash register. He was soon selling to 3 Erewhon stores, Baby Watson, and 1-2 organic food sellers, plus a few others totaling 10-12 outlets for the Tan Pops.

In the spring of 1976 John moved the kitchen to a location behind a bar in Waltham, Massachusetts. With friend Robert Allen, they introduced a new line of smaller seitan sandwiches, in hamburger-sized pita pockets. They were named after people he knew, like the "Billy Biggins," a Wheatmeat sandwich with grated carrots and tahini sauce, etc. Billy Biggins owned the bar. Then they rented space in a basement "mall" in Central Square, Cambridge, to begin a restaurant featuring Wheatmeat, Tan Pops and waffles. The developers ran away after somehow failing. John named another pee-wee sandwich the "Weymouth Whitney," after the construction manager. It contained Wheatmeat, sauerkraut, caraway seeds, and Russian dressing made with Hain eggless mayo. These little sandwiches didn't sell very well.

He also named the burger "Solar Burger" and reformulated it with TVP. Robert Allen suggested that their company might sell the Solar Burger to other, competing sandwich makers—which they did. Shortly thereafter they stopped making their own sandwiches. John also sold wheatmeat in bulk to other sandwich-makers. While at Waltham, John conceived a new company name—Vegetable Protein Company. Continued... Address: VegPro Co., 133 Nottinghill Rd., Brighton, Massachusetts 02135.

212. Young, Rich. 1992. Early history of macrobiotics and natural foods in America (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 28. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: First the names of some good sources: For Infinity Foods and Shadowfax: David Simon, 201-209-1646 (now doing business as Wholesome Brokers, still into scientology, formerly with Erewhon and a macrobiotic). For early Erewhon: Evan Root, 617-566-4783, in Brookline; he is very down to earth and sensible, like Jimmy Silver. For Erewhon—Los Angeles: Tom DeSilva, 213-655-3537. For Essene: Howard and Denny Waxman (brothers who founded Essene, which is still in business in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). For Laurelbrook: Margy Coates, 301-877-1695, is one of the angels on this planet.

Rich worked for the Kushis for over 13 years. He studied with them at Arlington Street Church before Erewhon existed. Evan and Peggy Taylor, Ronnie Coates and Marty Russell started Sanae; Rich worked there for 18 months, washing dishes and buying. Then he worked at *East West Journal* for 18 months when Robert Hargrove was editor, in advertising and sales. Then for the Seventh

Inn for 18 months, shortly after it started and the two guys who founded it quit. It never got off the ground. Evan Root was followed by Ty Smith who was followed by Richard Sandler. Then in 1972 Rich went to work from Tom Chappel of Tom's of Maine (natural toothpaste).

Bruce Macdonald married Maureen Traill, his first wife, in the first "official" macrobiotic wedding in Boston, Massachusetts, at the Old South Church on Copley Square. Then Bruce and Maureen moved to Los Angeles where Bruce played a major role starting Erewhon-Los Angeles. Bruce has had 6 children by four women. Now Bruce runs home-based Right Hand Press which publishes the teachings of Linda Green, an Avatar, dowser, and pendulum-using spiritual teacher from Oklahoma.

Rich thinks that one of the first people to develop a process for putting soy sauce on nuts was Nik Amartseff, who created Nik's Snacks that were sold by Erewhon. Nik started out working with Fred Rohe's New Age Foods in San Francisco. Ask Rich about Erewhon's Hopi Seeds and Nik's Snacks.

Rich began to work at Erewhon in 1974 when Bill Garrison was the president; he continued until the company went bankrupt. When Paul Hawken left Erewhon, Bill Garrison took over. In 1975, under Bill, the company was losing money. Michio brought in Ty Smith on the condition that if Ty could make the company profitable, Michio would give Ty shares in the company. At 33 Farnsworth St., as president Ty (who Rich has great respect for) made the company profitable, but Michio reneged on the deal. So Ty left—he is now in Hawaii running a combination convenience store, deli and gas station. Tom DeSilva knows how to reach him. Then Michio brought in as president Jeff Flasher, who was very close to Ty and thus knew that Michio could not be trusted. One day Jeff went to Michio and said that Erewhon could stay at 33 Farnsworth Street and probably stay profitable, but it wouldn't grow as fast due to the limited space. Or Erewhon could move into a much larger warehouse and potentially sell a lot more food, but they would incur significant debt in the process. Jeff left the decision up to Michio and Michio decided to go for the larger warehouse, with the promise that he (Michio) would come through with a certain amount of money by a specified date. Michio was not able to do this.

Jeff Flasher is a wonderful person and his wife, Linda, at the time was extremely intelligent and helpful to Erewhon. Another reason for the downfall was the pressure of the full-line distributors, which led Erewhon to greatly expand its product line and to include many products of marginal quality. It was a choice between being a manufacturer (they made nut butters and granolas) and a brand name (from imports), versus competing with the full-line distributors. Michio chose the latter approach. That was a major reason for Erewhon's downfall. Address: Right Hand Press, Cambridgeport, Vermont.

213. Amartseff, Nik. 1992. The invention and commercialization of roasting soybeans, seeds, and nuts with shoyu or tamari: Hopi Seeds and Nik's Snaks at Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 3. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* In about 1969-1970, Nik met Paul Hawken at New Age Natural Foods in Palo Alto, California, where Nik had been hired by Fred Rohe to create the natural deli department. Nik knew David Mastrandrea. Paul offered Nik a job at Erewhon. When Nik saw the coming demise of New Age, he accepted Paul's offer, and arrived in Boston in about May of 1971.

At about the same time, Paul met a guy named Jerry (his last name started with "S," perhaps "Sh," and sounded like a German Jewish name). Jerry was roasting very small batches of sunflower and pumpkin seeds in iron skilletts in his home kitchen in Berkeley, California; while they were still hot, in the skillet with the fire off, he would season them by rapidly mixing in undiluted tamari and continuing stirring until the liquid was evaporated and the flavor absorbed by the seeds. He bagged them and peddled them on the streets. Nik thinks that Jerry launched the first such commercial product, probably in about 1968. He had become reasonably successful when Paul met him in about 1969-1970, so Paul invited him to come to Boston, where Paul set him up in a corner of the recently acquired warehouse at 33 Farnsworth St. Jerry started production using his former simple, skilletts, then Paul helped him to buy a used cast-metal tumbler-style coffee roaster, converted to a peanut roaster, that could process 50 lb at a time. After being roasted, the seeds were poured into a large rectangular sieve, custom fabricated for this purpose. Jerry was making and packaging this line of Hopi Seeds as a one-man operation. Each seed was roasted and seasoned separately. They were on the market sometime between late 1969 and early 1970. His production soon exceeded his ability to handle it; he was selling through Erewhon wholesale. When Nik arrived in May 1971, Hawken asked Nik to assist Jerry. But after 1 month, Jerry suddenly disappeared—it was apparently related to his selling marijuana on the streets. Soon thereafter, by the summer of 1971, Nik increased the line from 2 products (sunflower, and pumpkin seeds) to 5 (almonds, cashews, and soybeans). They were sold in 1 oz polyethylene-cellophane bags. Erewhon had received a shipment of specially processed, split soybeans, from a new easy-to-clean, easy-to-empty roaster made of sheet steel was developed (it's construction resembled a cement mixer). While the roasted seeds were still inside, Nik would spray in the tamari using a sprayer with a long nozzle, then finish cooking them on low heat.

When Nik arrived in May 1971, the main soy products that Erewhon sold were traditional tamari and miso, imported from Japan, plus soybeans and soy flour (toasted from Arrowhead).

By the fall of 1971 Nik was no longer directly involved with manufacturing the tamari-roasted seeds and nuts; he

had been promoted to installing Erewhon's first semi-automatic equipment to make the Hopi Seeds, granolas, etc. The main management people at Erewhon in those days were Paul Hawken (the alleged head), Bill Tara, Hy Lerner, and Yuko Okada (of Muso Shokuhin). Wally Gorell (who was designing packages for a while). Erewhon was setting up its West Coast operations at this time and there seemed to be an ongoing power struggle between Hawken versus Tom DeSilva and Roger Hillyard. At one point, Roger went to Arrowhead Mills. Nik continued to work for Erewhon until about May 1972. Later he returned in Sept. 1973 and stayed until about 1977.

At one point, Wally left Erewhon and Paul Hawken got a small graphic design firm to design a more sophisticated label for the Hopi Seeds and to change the name. The name they came up with was Sol Seeds, with a stylized logo of the sun. But the name had not been researched and the owner of that registered trademark threatened to sue. By now Paul Hawken was gone and Ty Smith was president. When Nik returned to Erewhon in Sept. 1973, he renewed his involvement in this line, which still contained only 5 items. By about 1974 he had built the line into one that contained up to 12 products, including trail mixes and mixed nuts and seeds. So at that time Ty honored Nik by renaming the line "Nik's Snaks." The name "Sol Seeds" never appeared on a commercial Erewhon product. By the time Nik left Erewhon in about 1977, there were about 18 items in the Nik's Snack line, a total of about 30 products including the various sizes of one product. Nik had taken a home operation, that never got sophisticated but was based on a good idea, and made it sophisticated in terms of the manufacturing process, product development, the package design, and the marketing. Nik's Snaks were a good-selling product for Erewhon for as long as the company existed. Many other natural foods companies developed their own competing lines of "tamari-roasted seeds and nuts." Address: Right Hand Press, P.O. Box 100, Cambridgeport, Vermont 05141. Phone: 802-869-2010.

214. Deming, Judy Coates. 1992. Recollections of Laurelbrook and Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 11. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Judy's former husband, John Deming, lives in Palo Alto (Phone: 415-853-1231). He is a author [unpublished] and investor, but is no longer involved with food. Judy moved to Boston from Baltimore in April 1967. Before Judy met John, she was living with the Kushis, cooking at the house, and working a little at the first little Erewhon retail store at 303-B Newbury St. While Evan Root was in charge of the store, she recalls bagging and boxing foods at night and shipping them to individuals via the U.S. mail—probably at retail prices. Then she worked at Sanae. Later she cooked lunches for employees at the Erewhon warehouse at 33 Farnsworth Street. John Deming moved into the Kushi's house on Boylston St., where Judy

was now living, and he went to work at the warehouse. She and John were married in Aug. 1972, very shortly after they met. She recalls Bruce Macdonald's wedding to Maureen Traill, because she made Maureen's wedding gown. Maureen now lives in Lexington, Massachusetts, near Boston (Phone: 617-862-4687). She and Richard Young were later married.

It was Paul Hawken who had really gotten Judy's parents (Rod and Margy Coates) interested in founding Laurelbrook and distributing natural foods. Paul, who at the time was married to Judy's sister, Dora Coates, would come down from Boston with Dora to visit the Coates family. Dora had met Paul when she went to stay with Judy at one of the macrobiotic houses in Boston.

John Deming gave some money [sic, some land in Mendocino County] to Herman Aihara before he and Judy met. After John and Judy moved to Los Angeles, John Deming ended up owning Erewhon Los Angeles—in about 1975. He worked closely with John Fountain, who had the initial interest and convinced John Deming to invest in it. Judy did not know much about John's financial dealings. John Deming and Jimmy Silver did not part under good terms; there were problems related to Erewhon—Los Angeles; she thinks Jimmy sued John. She and Jimmy are very close friends but John is scrupulously honest.

Dora now lives in Oakland and works for a company named Environs in Oakland. Address: P.O. Box 1411, Ross, California 94957. Phone: 415-457-2155.

215. Hawken, Dora Coates. 1992. Recollections of Laurelbrook and Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 12. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Formerly married to Paul Hawken who was one of the early presidents of Erewhon, Dora now works for Environs in Oakland. In her recollection, the reason her parents decided to switch from a motorcycle business into starting a natural foods distribution company was that, first, they had been eating macrobiotic and natural foods for several years before starting Laurelbrook. Judy played the leading role in providing and teaching about the foods. Dora got involved with macrobiotics because of Judy. Rod and Margy knew how good it felt to eat such foods, and they both lost weight, even though neither was overweight. They also read quite a bit about macrobiotics and natural foods. Then, her father talked to Paul Hawken. When Paul found out Rod Coates had lost his job, wanted to start a new business, and already had a warehouse which he planned to use for motorcycle parts, Paul told him that this was perfect opportunity to get in on the ground floor of a growing new industry. At the time, Rod even had a motorcycle parts letterhead drawn up. So Paul played a major role in Rod's decision. This happened at just about the time that Paul and Dora were married.

Paul is now writing a book on how businesses are affecting the environment. He left Smith & Hawken about 1

month ago because there was nothing more creative to do there. He prefers to be an entrepreneur rather than a manager. She is surprised he stayed there as long as he did. Address: Oakland, California. Phone: 510-658-7633.

216. Hawken, Paul. 1992. The ecology of commerce. *Inc.* April. p. 93-94, 96, 98, 100; July. p. 33-34, 36, 38, 41, 44. • *Summary:* Businesses, capitalism, and the free market are destroying the world (and thus themselves), yet they alone may have the power, capital, and organization to save it from ecological and social catastrophe. Because businesses have become the most powerful institution on the planet, they must begin to take responsibility for the whole and switch from the "economics of degradation" to the "economics of restoration."

"Paul Hawken started Smith & Hawken, the garden-and-horticulture-catalog company in 1979. Paul was the founder, in 1966, of Erewhon, one of the first natural foods companies in the country. He is the author of *The Magic of Findhorn*, *The Next Economy*, and *Growing a Business*. This article was adapted from a speech he recently gave to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco."

For a host of responses to this article and Hawken's answers to them, see the July issue of *Inc.* Address: Mill Valley, California.

217. Kotzsch, Ronald. 1992. Recollections of the early days of Erewhon and Japan (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 11. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. • *Summary:* Ron does not have any early Erewhon catalogs because he does not collect things. He gave all the research materials he gathered while writing his PhD thesis on George Ohsawa and the history of macrobiotics to Marc van Cauwenberghe's library; much of the material was in Japanese (photocopies of Ohsawa's books) and the rest was the English-language notes Ron took while reading these many books and other Japanese-language writings. However he will check to see if his sister has any early Erewhon catalogs.

Ronald was the manager and only employee of Erewhon in the summer of 1967, from early June to August, while the retail store was still downstairs at 303-B Newbury St., shortly before Paul Hawken arrived. Ron thinks he took over from Eizo Ninomiya, a Japanese fellow who barely spoke English and who replaced Evan Root in the spring. Eizo had come to teach a rather obscure form of jujitsu. Ron quickly learned that he was not cut out to be a businessman. The main products he sold (from rough wood shelves) were Kokuho-Rose brown rice, whole wheat flour and beans (which he bagged), Sahadi sesame butter, sea vegetables, and miso. He remembers bagging foods endlessly. Erewhon was probably ordering a lot of products from Infinity Foods, so the miso may well have come from them. He lived at the Gardener Road house and he would give Aveline the day-end receipts, which averaged about \$50-60 a day that summer. One day he couldn't account for

\$5 and it was a big thing. In the evenings he and 8-10 other people would gather for Michio Kushi's talks in a back room at the Arlington Street Church. Ronald thinks he was replaced by Paul Hawken and Bill Tara. Ron does not know who owned Erewhon.

Ron went to Japan in the fall of 1967 with a vague plan to study Japanese culture and macrobiotics. He had studied Japanese at Harvard for a year the previous year, before he discovered macrobiotics. He was the first person from the Boston community to go to Japan for this purpose. Cecil and David Levin came in the spring of 1968. Ron studied with Japanese people, including an acupuncturist named Take Nouchi. He took flower arrangement classes at Nippon C.I., which had a cubbyhole in a huge commercial building. He lived with Michio Kushi's parents for the first 4-5 months (early Dec. 1967 to early April 1968), in Japan, at Hoya near Tokyo, then he moved to Kyoto and enrolled in Kyoto University as a research student. After 4 months, in Aug. 1968, he returned to America.

In 1976 Ron resolved to finish his graduate studies. To receive a doctoral degree in History of Religions from Harvard he needed only to write a dissertation. So he brushed up his Japanese and flew to Japan in Feb. 1977. He enrolled immediately in Kyoto University, got some jobs teaching English in colleges there, and spent the next 18 months collecting books and papers about Ohsawa, 95% in Japanese, and conducting 15-20 interviews. In July 1978 he returned to Boston and for the next 18 months he read and took notes on the documents he had collected. In the 2-3 years after he finished the thesis, he received 200-300 requests for copies of it, indicating that there was an interest in the history of macrobiotics. This led him to write a book on that subject at the request of Japan Publications. It has sold about 7,500 copies. In 1987 his book *Macrobiotics: Beyond Food* was published.

Ron continues to write: he is now interested in Rudolf Steiner, Anthroosophy, and Waldorf Schools, plus the Alexander Technique related to body awareness. He is the editor of a magazine that deals with Waldorf education. He writes a little for *Natural Living* and *New Age* magazines. Address: 4 Hulst Rd., Amherst, Massachusetts 01002. Phone: 413-256-6478.

218. Kushi, Aveline. 1992. The founding of Erewhon and its ownership (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 9. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. • *Summary:* Aveline selected the name Erewhon because George Ohsawa's favorite book was *Erewhon*, a utopian novel published in 1872 by English author Samuel Butler. It is a beautiful story. Erewhon is Aveline's goal for the beautiful peace of the country. She named the company in April 1966, shortly after the first retail store was started downstairs at 303-B Newbury Street in Boston.

The company started with \$3,000 capitalization. Aveline owned all of the stock. The Kushi's attorney, Morris Kirsner, suggested that Aveline should own all of

the stock. In 1969 Paul Hawken and Evan Root went to Japan together. Aveline thinks that before they went, she and Michio offered Paul stock in Erewhon and Evan stock in Sanae, a restaurant he had started. Evan preferred to be paid in cash instead of stock, so they sent him money every month while he was in Japan. Aveline is not sure whether or not Paul accepted the stock he was offered, but she thinks he may have accepted it. Morris Kirsner's files would probably show exactly what happened. (Note: Later she and Morris Kirsner says that Aveline offered Paul 50% ownership in Erewhon and he did not accept it. To this day (Feb. 1999) Aveline has no idea why Paul did not accept such a generous offer.) But after Paul returned from Japan the situation at Erewhon was completely different. So many other people had worked so hard to build the company that it did not seem fair that Paul should be the only shareholder besides herself.

After Beth Ann Simon died in 1965, the media tried and tried to talk with Michio. He did not want to talk with them so he told them to talk with his lawyer first. Then the FDA (or maybe the FBI) raided the Erewhon store at 303-B Newbury St. At the time Evan Root was in charge of the store but he was out buying food. Michio's father, Keizo Kushi, who spoke almost no English and was slightly deaf, was minding the store. He called Aveline, who was cooking at her home. She rushed over to Erewhon. The FDA were looking for books such as the little yellow paperback book *Zen Macrobiotics* (not the red book *Zen Cookery*) by George Ohsawa. At the time it was illegal to sell books that prescribed or recommended the use of foods as medicine. Aveline had told Evan to always keep that book hidden, and to sell it only to people who he was sure he could trust. The FDA could not find the book, so they asked if they could search the back room, which was dark. They asked if Aveline had a flashlight. She didn't. They went to their car to get one. During the few minutes while they were gone, she ran into the back room, found a big box of the forbidden books, dumped them in the trash can, and covered them with newspapers. When they returned, she escorted them into the back room and sat casually atop the trash can while they searched. Fortunately their flashlight was dim; even though they eventually looked in the trash can they did not find the books. Still suspicious, then they asked if they could talk with Mr. Kushi. Aveline said, "I'm sorry, but I am the sole owner of Erewhon. He has no connection with it." The Kushi's attorney had advised that all shares of stock be in Aveline's name, since Michio was teaching and lecturing about food.

At one point in the late 1960s they calculated the average age of the workers and managers at Erewhon; it was 22 years. When Erewhon eventually filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, Aveline cried as she signed the final papers. It was as if her own child had died. She adds of herself and Michio: "We were teachers, not businesspeople. When you see these Erewhon pioneers, please tell them that we are sorry." Aveline hopes someday

to have a reunion of all the people who worked at Erewhon. Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6869.

219. Kushi, Aveline. 1992. The founding of Erewhon-Los Angeles (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 9. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Aveline went to Los Angeles with her youngest son, Hisao, so that a Japanese doctor could care for her son, who had slipped and damaged his knee. The doctor, an elderly gentleman, was a traditional Japanese chiropractor who specialized in bone massage (*honetsugi*) therapy. Bill Tara accompanied her to Los Angeles. Initially she stayed at Jacques Delangre's house. Every day Bill Tara drove Aveline and Hisao to Japantown to see the chiropractor. Aveline felt sorry for Bill Tara who had very little to do. She ordered all her personal food from Erewhon, so it occurred to her that she should start a macrobiotic natural foods store, which Bill Tara could manage. Without telling anyone, she opened Erewhon-L.A., renting a space near the farmers' market. Soon an accountant from Erewhon-Boston called her and got very upset with the idea of her opening this store. She apologized, but said it had already been done.

The new store attracted students, and she soon needed a place for them to live. So she rented a big house on Franklin Avenue in Hollywood, and Bill Tara started giving lectures. The house, which had a gazebo in the back yard, could accommodate 5 or 6 friends besides her 4 other children who had come from Boston to stay with her. After the Franklin Avenue house filled up, she moved the group out of that house and leased another larger place several blocks away on Franklin Ave. (probably at 7357 Franklin Ave.) in Hollywood, with a big living room and library. Thirty people could stay there, and she started making 30-60 futons for the students to sleep on instead of mattresses. Later in Boston she taught some students how to make futons.

Aveline and her children stayed in Los Angeles for 2 years, then they returned to Boston. After she left, Aveline asked Carolyn Heidenry to come to Los Angeles from Boston and take over management of the Franklin Street house and of Aveline's activities. Carolyn did that and also started a restaurant named Sanae West. Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6869.

220. Kushi, Michio. 1992. Recollections of the early history of seitan (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 9. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* The word seitan was created by George Ohsawa about 20-25 years ago, a few years before Michio left New York for Boston. Michio first heard the word "seitan" from Ohsawa, when Ohsawa came to American with samples. He gave some samples to Michio, who thinks they were made by Marushima Shoyu at Shodoshima in

Japan. Michio thinks the original concept came from China, but the style of product was very different.

Soon the seitan was made commercially and exported from Japan, probably by both Muso and Mitoku, and sent to Michio in New York. Michio thinks the commercial product was first imported by Erewhon. Initially only a small amount was imported; Michio gave out many samples. At about the same time, Aveline started to use and make seitan in her cooking classes, and to teach others how to make seitan. Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6869.

221. Kushi, Michio. 1992. The main reasons for Erewhon's decline and bankruptcy, and current work with macrobiotics worldwide (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 9. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Michio has thousands of files in his basement, and some of them probably contain early catalogs and other information about Erewhon. Erewhon definitely started to import from Mitoku first, and then Muso—but they were about the same time. Michio set up all these connections before Paul Hawken went to Japan. Mr. Kazama came to America and they talked about the items Michio wanted to import. Then Muso was approached. Michio thinks Erewhon started importing foods from Japan 1-2 months before Hawken went to Japan. Hawken and Evan Root went to Japan at the same time. The main purpose of Hawken's trip was to study Japanese language and culture, and to set up more good connections for Erewhon and to arrange for products to be packaged individually; previously all were shipped in bulk. Paul didn't find out any new sources, Mr. Kazama did that.

Michio believes that there were two main reasons for Erewhon's decline and bankruptcy: (1) The company tried to expand too much too fast. At the end it was selling 4,000 products; (2) This rapid expansion led to Erewhon having many poor quality products. The company should have concentrated on high quality macrobiotic foods. Management wanted to have a wider selection of products, in part because competitors were offering a wide selection. Also, Erewhon gave up its virtual monopoly on macrobiotic-quality products imported from Japan and revealed many secrets about the Japanese manufacturers and suppliers of those foods and how those foods were made. If he had to do it over again, Michio would concentrate on only the best quality foods, and let the company grow slowly and naturally. For example, the quality of tamari soy sauce began to decline at a very early date. Likewise with the umeboshi plum and sea vegetables. "The quality of every product was declining because of too rapid growth in the company's sales. Moreover the educational activities didn't keep up with the company's growth. Muso and Mitoku have been keeping good quality as best they can but the so-called other natural food buyers, who were not concerned with macrobiotics, also started to go to Japan and buy those products, not only from Muso

and Mitoku, but from other suppliers too—especially suppliers of soy sauce and miso with lower quality. These inferior quality products were retailed for a cheaper price at stores in America. The public did not know about the difference in quality, so Erewhon began to face big competition.

Even though Aveline owned Erewhon, neither she nor Michio ever received any salaries or money from the company. They wanted to let the management of Erewhon have a free hand, so they didn't tell them how to run it—to slow growth and concentrate on keeping quality high. "Erewhon was more like an educational place." There were debates over whether or not Erewhon should carry organic cheese and vitamins. Michio and Aveline opposed carrying these products, but let management do as it wished.

At the time Erewhon was growing most rapidly, the company needed money to finance the expansion, but bank interest rates were extremely high—about 15-18%. Inventory control for 4,000 items is very difficult and expensive; it requires a large warehouse and shallow inventories. During the last few years, Erewhon was able to fill only 40-50% of its orders because so many items were out of stock. Also as the company grew, many non-macrobiotic employees had to be hired to drive the delivery trucks, and they created a labor union. Erewhon had to battle with this union for 1½ to 2 years, and that cost a great deal of money. Truck drivers cut prices to stores in order to try to meet the prices of competitors. Financial difficulties piled up starting at the time when interest rates jumped and the union was formed.

Bill asks why Aveline and Michio didn't give talented managers a share of the ownership in Erewhon to motivate them to stay with the company. Michio says that Paul Hawken owned one-third of the Erewhon shares. Evan Root owned shares in Sanae. The Kushis paid all or part of Evan and Paul's travel and living expenses in Japan. Paul got his one-third shares after he returned from Japan and became president. When he resigned, he was definitely paid for the value of his shares. Paul wrote from California that he needed the money and offered to sell back his shares. So Michio and Aveline sent him the money and Paul sent his shares back to them. Only later did Michio learn that Paul needed the money because of his divorce from Dora Coates. Other people (whose names Michio also remembers) also owned some shares. Michio does not feel that giving managers ownership would have helped Erewhon. Michio thinks that the people who managed Erewhon during its last 5 years had the necessary business skills necessary to manage a company of that size that was growing rapidly.

Another reason for Erewhon's fall was that Michio did not pay serious enough attention to what was happening at Erewhon. He was too involved in teaching in America and Europe. At the time he noticed what was happening and stepped in, the situation had already become too serious. There was much sloppiness allowed by management, even though their intentions were good. He should have noticed a year before. It was a very sad situation. "Yet Erewhon had

meaning as a pioneer company. That spirit still remains. My purpose at present is to continue education all over the world. Macrobiotics is now spreading all over the world, even to the Soviet Union, Thailand, and Japan. In Leningrad some 300 medical doctors are now studying macrobiotics as a group to help find a solution to the health problems of their country. His books are being translated into many Eastern European languages. Also it is very important to reach the scientific, medical, and nutrition professions—as well as governments. Their attitudes are now rapidly changing. Macrobiotics is now growing tremendously. My main concern with natural foods is that the quality be kept very good. My current effort is to elevate the quality of each product. For example, miso should definitely be fermented for 2-3 years. Soybeans and grains should all be organically grown, and only very good sea salt should be used—such as that made by S.I. Salt, an American company in New Mexico, and Lima salt in Europe [from Lima Foods in Belgium]. Michio now goes to Japan twice a year, and there he gives many lectures all over the country, helps to set up chapters of One Peaceful World, and works with food makers on product quality. He also formed the Japan Organic Natural Food Association (*Yûki Nosui Sanbutsu Kyôkai*) in Japan, of which he is president. About 200 companies are members.

On the one hand, Michio is happy with the way his work is going now. "But of course, I am always dissatisfied too. My time and my ability are limited. I can't help as many people as I would like. The demand is so great. So I always feel sad on that point. Whenever you talk with people from Erewhon, please extend my best wishes. And say always that Michio is thinking of them and their happiness. I hope sometime in the future we can get together. Then we can talk more about how to build one peaceful world—and not only food, but more about health, families, government, economics, and spiritual matters, and how to make the many countries more united and harmonious in one world. Let's work together." Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6869.

222. Macdonald, Bruce. 1992. Introduction to macrobiotics and early work at Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 5. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Bruce was born on 5 Feb. 1946 in New London, Connecticut. In 1964 he entered the University of Connecticut, and essentially majored in LSD. He was an early buyer (for personal use only) of LSD from the Boohoo Church in Florida. This "Church" was the original importer of LSD from Sandoze Labs in Switzerland. Arthur Klets was head; Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert were involved.

At Christmas, 1965, Bruce dropped out of the university because he had a kidney disease that just wouldn't go away. He went to a doctor who gave him, sequentially, 4-6

varieties of antibiotics. Each one worked for several weeks until the microorganisms became resistant. Seeing that he was on a dead-end road at age 18, he freaked. He took a bus to New York and sitting near him was Kathy Bellicchi (who is now living in Brookline, Massachusetts). She said to him, "Just eat brown rice and salt and it will go away." Bruce began to study macrobiotics, and yin/yang. Finding a chart which showed buckwheat to be the most yang grain, he decided to start eating buckwheat as his main food. He moved to Vershire, Vermont (a good, clean, quiet place for healing) and began living in a cabin with Bort Carleton (a shoe tycoon in Boston), who was also involved with macrobiotics. Bort also sponsored a macrobiotic study house. Soon he was cured—permanently—of his kidney disease. He became a true believer in macrobiotics. He and Bort would drive to Boston to listen to Michio Kushi's lectures in the old church.

In June 1967 Bruce moved to Boston, and began to live in the University Road study house. After four quick affairs with lovely young women ("I was really yang"), Michio called him over to 216 Gardner Road and asked him to "chill out" (calm down) with these girls, since Michio was "involved" with the same young ladies. Michio and Aveline had initially gotten together in a marriage arranged by George Ohsawa, who sent Aveline to America to marry his best student. Michio and Aveline had an "open marriage," and both of them had affairs with younger people of the opposite sex the whole time that Bruce was in Boston. This was well known in the upper echelons of the still small macrobiotic community.

By late 1967 Bruce was working as a carpenter for Michio's landlord (Mr. Fogelman), redoing his house at 216 Gardner Rd. Paul Hawken hired Bruce to be the contractor and carpenter to remodel the new Erewhon retail store at 342 Newbury St. Bruce did most of the design and contract work, then he assisted Jim Docker (a master carpenter) in the remodeling, getting thick planks from Boston piers for the floors, and constructing the shelves with dowels rather than nails. Erewhon had a little store below street level at 303-B Newbury Street, that later became Tao Books. While the business was at 303-B Newbury, in Aug. 1968 the first imports from Japan started to arrive from Muso Shokuhin. These included tamari (soy sauce) and miso. But Erewhon was unable to get Hatcho miso ("the Emperor's miso") in foil packs, and that was Erewhon's first contact with Mr. Kazama; he was able to get that product for Erewhon in less than boat-load quantities. From then on, Erewhon started to import from both Muso and Kazama/Mitoku. The Erewhon store at 342 Newbury St. opened in November 1968, on Thanksgiving day, and several months later, in March 1969, Paul Hawken went to Japan. Paul asked Bruce to take over as general manager of Erewhon. Roger Hillyard ran the retail store in the front of the building.

What finally happened to Erewhon? Michio always said that Erewhon was a school; he should have said it was a

business. Address: Right Hand Press, P.O. Box 100, Cambridgeport, Vermont 05141. Phone: 802-869-2010.

223. Root, Evan. 1992. Recollections of early work with Erewhon and Sanae. Trip to Japan with Paul Hawken (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 11. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. Followed by a letter of April 29.

• *Summary:* Evan (his first name rhymes with "heaven") does not have any early Erewhon catalogs, but he thinks Marc van Cauwenberghe might have some in his library on macrobiotics. He does have a letter to the general public announcing the opening of the first Erewhon retail store on 9 April 1966. It was at 303-B Newbury St., below street level. Initially Evan owned (titularly) 100% of the stock in Erewhon, but soon he passed it to Aveline Kushi after legal documents were drawn up. While he was at Erewhon the little retail store sold the following soy products: whole soybeans and probably soy flour (probably from Walnut Acres or a Mennonite community, both in Pennsylvania), soy sauce and miso (probably both obtained from Infinity Foods in New York; Infinity imported these products from Japan). Hamanatto was also sold. No tofu was sold at the store, but firm tofu was available from nearby Chinatown.

The Kushis imported miso, shoyu, condiments, etc. from Japan about twice while Evan was managing the Erewhon retail store. This direct importing was infrequent and the quantities were small due to the lack of cash. It was much easier to buy from Infinity or Chico-San and not tie up the money. In fact it was the norm to stretch out those friendly distributors as long as possible for payment.

Before he left Erewhon, in Oct. 1967, Evan personally hired Paul Hawken, with Aveline's permission, to take his place. Then Evan opened the first macrobiotic restaurant in Boston, named Sanae (meaning "young rice plant" in Japanese); it opened in early 1968 on Newbury St. In late March 1969, Evan and Paul Hawken left Boston and traveled to Japan together. Several months before they left, Evan had been given 50% of the shares of stock in Sanae by the Kushis for the work he had done at Sanae. The Kushi's lawyer, Morris Kirsner, had drafted the agreement to read that if Evan did not return to management of the company within 18 months, he would agree to sell this stock back to the Kushis at an agreed-upon price. Evan thinks that Paul had a similar type of stock arrangement in Erewhon, but he is not sure what it was (Note: See interview with Aveline Kushi, March 1993). Evan went to Japan mainly to study the language and culture. He ended up staying there 3 years and 7 months, largely in Tokyo (Setagaya-ku, Shoin-jinja-mae). He studied Japanese at the Tokyo School of Japanese Language. After 18 months, there was a lad named Hiro Fujieda living with the Kushis in Boston. Rather than Hiro pay rent to the Kushis, Hiro's family would pay Evan monthly in Japan on a monthly basis—until the value of the stock was paid off. Evan used this money to support his studies.

After about a year, in late 1971 or early 1972, Evan went to work for Muso Shokuhin in Osaka. He translated letters that arrived from Europe and America into spoken Japanese, and then answered the correspondence. By the end of his stay in Japan, Muso was exporting quite a volume of natural foods and exports were a big part of the company focus. Evan thinks that Ty Smith took his place when Evan left.

Returning to Boston in early Oct. 1972 (along with Mr. Masuda and Michelle Matsuda), Evan became an employee of Sanae after several months, working as maître d'. In 1971, while Evan was in Japan, Sanae had expanded to open another larger branch restaurant in Boston, originally called "Sanae" but informally called "Big Sanae," then later formally named The Seventh Inn (at 269 Boylston St.). When Evan was in Japan, he heard that the restaurants were not doing well, so Yuko Okada (originally of Muso Shokuhin, who was working at Erewhon) took over management of Sanae. Hiroshi Hayashi, a top cook in a lineage, traveled to Boston from Japan, bringing with him his disciple, Chika Abe, to take charge of cooking at Sanae. His disciple, Mr. Yozo Masuda, later joined them. Hayashi is now at a restaurant named Latacarta in Peterborough, New Hampshire (Phone: 603-924-6878).

Evan's recollection is that Paul Hawken's trip to Japan was more to study the language and culture, but he did work on Erewhon business while he was there. Moreover, he returned from Japan after about 9 months to work at Erewhon. Evan feels that few of the people involved in early macrobiotic businesses saw themselves strictly or even mainly as businessmen. "None of us were in it, as I saw it, for the money. For us, the whole thing was a Cultural Revolution with respect to Japan." Evan also identified strongly with the phrase "Biological Revolution."

When Paul Hawken returned from Japan, he built Erewhon into a big natural foods company. Address: 541 Washington St., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-566-4783.

224. Root, Evan. 1992. Recollection of his first encounter with seitan (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 11. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Evan first tasted seitan in Boston before he went to Japan in late March, 1969. "The seitan was in a glass jar, and it was this very hard, tough, gnarly, salty stuff. In Japan, I remember getting Kofu Cutlets at a macrobiotic restaurant in Tokyo." He thinks that the product in America originally bore a Chico-San label, or maybe an Infinity Foods label, but not an Erewhon label. Eventually there may have been an Erewhon label. Later he saw seitan in vacuum-packed poly bags. In Japan, he does not recall Muso exporting seitan. Nippon C.I. probably exported seitan to Chico-San, since Chico-San was their first major customer in America. Address: 8 Ayleston St., Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts 02130. Phone: 617-566-4783.

225. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1992. People who might have early documents on Erewhon Trading Co. (Overview). April 6. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.
• *Summary*: Bruce Macdonald says try Patricia "Patti" Smith (via Jimmy Silver) in the Los Angeles Area. She saves things like this. Mark Mayell of *East West Journal* says: Try Alex Jack in Becket, 125 miles west of Boston (Alex says he has nothing on Erewhon). He collects documents; Try Michio and Aveline Kushi in Brookline or Becket; Try Ron Kotzsch, who wrote his PhD thesis on Ohsawa. He lives in Amherst, Mass, 100 miles west of Boston. The offices of Natural Living (formerly East West) have copies of all back issues of East West Journal at the offices. They are available for perusal by researchers who obtain permission. The main articles are indexed in a computer from 1981 to the present.

Alex Jack says try Evan Root in the Brookline-Boston-Jamaica Plain area; he was the first employee. Also try Aveline Kushi; she has extensive archives from the early days at her home in Brookline. Aveline is working on her archives now. Carol Heidenry says they are in 75 boxes that were organized and labeled in March 1992. Aveline is excellent at saving things, and Erewhon was her thing.

226. Chait, Mat. 1992. Early recollections and work with the Ricycle and soyfoods in Boston, 1970-1972 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 18. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: In the late 1960s Mat had started graduate school in counseling psychology at Hunter College in Manhattan, New York. But under the influence of yoga, Swami Satchitananda, Hinduism, vegetarianism, and macrobiotics, he decided to drop out and to study macrobiotics in Boston with Michio Kushi. He arrived in Boston in about December 1969. Nine months later, Mat started operating the Ricycle at Boston University in September 1970 at Boston University. He recalls: "The design of the Ricycle was absurd. It consisted of a steam table (which without its food weighed 600-700 pounds) welded onto the back of a girls bicycle. To move the Ricycle, he pedaled it (rain or shine; or pushed it up even gradual hills), but it was so heavy and clumsy as to be almost immobile." At night it was kept in the garage of the macrobiotic study house at 6 Ellery Street.

During the first 6 months, Barbara Grace prepared most of the desserts and whole grain breads at the kitchen of a big study house across from the Brookline High School. Marion (who had an Italian last name) prepared the vegetable and grain dishes in another study house. (Note: Marion married Frank Calpeno, who owned Ceres Natural Foods, a fairly big macrobiotic food distribution business in Colorado Springs, Colorado; they moved to Colorado in the early 1970s). Dora Coates (whose parents started Laurelbrook Foods) also cooked for Mat for a while. The business took off quickly, with the help of many magazine and newspaper articles. Mat got a loan, so in early 1971, in

the dead of winter when it was too cold to be out on the street, Mat built a kitchen inside the Erewhon warehouse, and it began operation at the end of March 1971. Since Paul Hawken was in California at the time, Mat got permission from the acting president of Erewhon.

Every day the Ricycles would offer a grain dish, whole grain bread, a vegetable dish, a dessert, and often a soup—but there was a different menu every day. A number of popular dishes contained soy as an ingredient. A miso-tahini spread was usually available with the bread. Miso soup and Miso Rice were often served. For Miso Rice, miso was mixed with a little water then stirred into a pressure cooker of hot rice that had just been cooked, and allowed to stand for a few minutes. Mat vividly recalls that on days when he had to stand in front of Boston University in the freezing cold for 6 hours without moving, the miso soup would keep him warm. After Mat opened the kitchen at Erewhon, he contracted with David Kalan of Crane's Call Bakery, a macrobiotic bakery, to make most of the desserts and other baked goods for the Ricycle. Sometimes the vegetable dish of the day had tofu in it, or the grain dish had miso in it.

While building the kitchen inside Erewhon, Mat constructed two more Ricycle carts. Mat launched these in the spring of 1971; one served its macrobiotic lunches on weekdays at MIT in Cambridge, and the other in downtown Boston at government center. He was unable to get permit to operate at Harvard Square. The other 2 Ricycles were operated by people that Mat employed; they were paid a percentage of their sales.

One year at the Christmas reunion, Mat did an elaborate impersonation of Michio Kushi (complete with makeup and a built-up nose construction), wrote, sang, and led the audience in a song about miso to the tune of "Get me to the church on time." The words went: "I'm drinking miso in the morning. Hatcho or mugi is sublime. Aveline or my daughter, go heat up the water, and get my miso soup on time. If you use onion, sautee it first, if you use daikon, it satisfies your thirst. For I'm drinking miso in the morning..."

Mat left Boston in about December 1972 to take an acting job in New York. At the time he sold and shipped all 3 Ricycles to an eccentric millionaire's son in Texas. He does not have any recollection of Tan Pups being on the market but he does remember seitan imported by Erewhon from Japan, perhaps by Japan Foods, in the form of little dark salty chunks. Perhaps Robert Hargrove might know more about this. Perhaps Erewhon made the Tan Pups.

Concerning Paul Hawken's departure from Erewhon in late 1973, it has always been Mat's understanding that Aveline Kushi owned the company but that the Kushi's negotiated to pay him \$30,000 when he left.

Mat once visited Erewhon's little farm in Keene, New Hampshire. They made sauerkraut there on the top floor of a building; one would jump up and down on the cabbage in

a barrel to press it. Address: 8-23rd Ave., Apt. 302, Venice, California 90291. Phone: 213-465-0383 or 213-469-5408.

227. Gerner, Bob. 1992. The OM (Organic Merchants) meeting on Mount Shasta in California organized by Fred Rohe (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 11. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: The OM (Organic Merchants) meeting held on Mt. Shasta at the end of June 1970 was organized by Fred Rohe of New Age Natural Foods. Before the OM meeting on Mt. Shasta, there had already been 1 or 2 meetings. The purpose of this meeting was to start a trade association of natural food retailers on the West Coast and to encourage the establishment of new stores of this type. The 1-2 day meeting took place outdoors on the side of Mt. Shasta and everyone slept outdoors in sleeping bags up near the top near a ski cabin. In the morning, they got up early and all chanted "Om." Ezra Hendon (an attorney, who still lives in Berkeley and who was the public defender for all of California up until a few years ago) was selected to be the executive director of OM. He ran the group for about three years. Fred Rohe continued to be the guiding light. The association provided members with literature (pamphlets such the "The Sugar Story", "The Oil Story"), checked out suppliers to see if they were bogus or not (Talbot and Hendon checked out Dr. Bronner, who locked them in his laboratory with him and ranted and raved at them until they were terrified), etc. OM decals were created and member stores affixed them to the front door or windows.

OM ceased to exist because they couldn't afford to pay the executive director, Ezra Hendon, adequately; he ended up having to bake bread in Bob's store to make ends meet.

Bob first met Paul Hawken at this OM meeting; he thinks Paul was either working with Fred Rohe, or was representing Erewhon. Bob thinks that New Age Natural Foods in Palo Alto did not open until after Westbrae opened on 2 Feb. 1971. Other people who were at the meeting were Allen Talbot (now an attorney who lives in Berkeley) and Joel of Wholly Foods, stores from Chico and Redding were represented, someone from Good Natured Grocery, etc. Bob does not recall Chico-San being represented.

Talk with Tom DeSilva of Erewhon—Los Angeles. 1992. July 10. Organic Merchants, representatives of the natural foods industry, met once a year for 4-5 years. Tom kept the minutes from all those meetings, but he does not know if he still has any of them. Address: Owner, Berkeley Natural Grocery Co., 1336 Gilman St., Berkeley, California 94706. Phone: 415-526-2456.

228. Israel, Fern. 1992. Early recollections of seitan in America (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 9. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Fern first learned how to make seitan prior to the summer of 1974, probably from either Aveline Kushi or Tamara Uprichard, the wife of Stephen Uprichard. In the summer of 1974 Fern went to visit the Wiscoy Valley

Community Farm in southern Minnesota. The farm was run communally by a group of macrobiotics who lived by farming the land, grew all their crops (they may have been the first macrobiotic group to grow adzuki beans) organically, ground all their own flour, cooked on wood stoves, refused to buy imported food products from Japan, etc. They wanted to Americanize macrobiotics. She may have also learned to make seitan there, but probably not.

She knew about seitan by 19 October 1974, for on that date she was married to Ron Israel in West Roxbury, Boston, and for the wedding she personally made sweet & sour seitan balls—starting with seitan she had made herself.

Fern clearly recalls the first commercial seitan product that she ever tasted, which was named the Tan Pup—and which she loved. It was deep fried in a breaded batter (with corn, sesame seeds, and spices), had a skewer through one end, and measured about 4 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 3/4 inch thick. It was sold at the Erewhon retail store at 342 Newbury St. in Boston, in a special non-refrigerated bakery case, behind glass doors, 5-10 feet from the cash register, together with baked products. Fern thinks the product may have been made by Cathy Creighton. She probably first tasted Tan Pups at about the time her first child, Kate, was born at home on 3 May 1975. It may have been at about that time that Johnny moved out to live with his girlfriend Annie, and that he and Sakee split up as partners. She is quite sure the product was not on the market before 1974.

Before Fern's first child was born, she taught her husband and John Weissman (who was living with them) how to make seitan. The two men formed a partnership (their business may have been named the Wheatmeal Company) and began to make seitan commercially. Soon they were selling it commercially in the Erewhon retail store in Boston under the brand name Wheatmeal. She does not remember Pat Murray ordering seitan, nor recall that the macro study houses ever ordered seitan. Then they began to make Tan Pops (a close relative of the former Tan Pups that Fern loved so much) in their home in West Roxbury and to sell them at Erewhon. (Sakee does not recall making Tan Pops). Fern has no recollection of the business named Baby Watson Cheesecake Co. Fern's second child, a boy, was born at home in December 1976.

Fern thinks (but she is not sure) that after she and Sakee stopped making seitan, Chris Lorensen Bailey started to make bulk seitan at her home in Boston, and to sell it in the Erewhon retail store.

Fern talked about this with her good friend Enid Strauss, and Enid's husband Andy; they made felafel balls at about the same time as Fern's husband and John Weissman were making Tan Pops. Enid thought that Fern and her husband made the first Tan Pups. For more information she suggested contacting Helen and Matthew Sandler, who founded Matthew's Bakery in Boston. They now live in Aspen, Colorado.

She also talked with Tamara Uprichard (in Heath, Massachusetts), who recalls that Hiroshi Hayashi at the

Seventh Inn was the first to teach the fast way of making seitan from ground whole wheat. Hiroshi now has a natural foods restaurant named Latacarta in Peterborough, New Hampshire (Phone: 603-924-6878). Address: 82 Buckingham Rd., Milton, Massachusetts 02186. Phone: 617-696-1665.

229. Jacobs, Lenny. 1992. Macrobiotic pioneers—where are they now? (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 27. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Nahum Stiskin is now in New York City in the field of investments. His former wife, Beverly Stiskin, lives in Brookline, and is an Alexander therapist. Nahum has a black cloud and a real bitter feeling regarding his past life. He doesn't like to talk with people. Lenny ran into him 8 years ago at an ABA show and he said to Lenny, "Don't bother me." Mr. Ehud Spurling, the owner of Inner Traditions Press in Rochester, Vermont also knows how to reach Nahum.

Bill Garrison is on the West Coast somewhere. He applied for the job of financial manager of the Kushi Foundation. Anthony "Tony" Harnett is owner of Bread and Circus in Newton, Massachusetts. Jim Ledbetter is in Southern California; the Kushis keep in touch with him. Jim started *Order of the Universe* magazine. Robert Hargrove is in the Brookline area where he owns Robert Hargrove and Associates.

Nik Amartseff got involved with cocaine at some point in about the late 1970s and his life fell apart. But now its back together.

Marcea Newman now lives in Australia; Lenny saw her at Anaheim not long ago and spent a lot of time with her and her husband (who has designed a very interesting Chinese herbal database on a Macintosh computer); its a very expensive diagnostic tool. You can enter your symptoms and it will suggest which herbs to take, or you can key in the name of an herb, and it will tell you all about it.

Eric Utne was the manager of Erewhon in about 1970 or 1971. He came to Boston in the late spring of 1969, at the same time as Lenny's wife to be. Lenny arrived in Boston in the summer of 1969 from Chicago, Illinois. He left Boston for Minneapolis in 1971; then Eric Utne, Lenny, and Peggy Taylor (who is now the editor at *New Age Journal*) started a restaurant at the University of Minnesota named Whole Foods. They ran it for 2 years. Then Eric and Peggy returned to Boston, and Eric went to work at the *East West Journal*. Lenny left for Boston in the fall of 1973; he wanted to start a bakery, then he and Bob Phelps (who now runs Redwing Books) planned to start a seaweed harvesting business. The Robert Hargrove, Eric Utne, and several other people (the majority of the staff of *East West Journal*) asked Michio Kushi to either give them the magazine (free of charge) or they would quit. They did quit and started *New Age Journal*. Michio Kushi asked Lenny if he would please work for *East West* for a few months, which he did—

though he ended up staying for years until he finally left to work at *East West Journal*.

The Seventh Inn was a really successful restaurant, but Michio refused to share any of the ownership with the people who ran it and he tried to control it too much. Originally called Sanae, it was started by Richard Sandler (who selected the location and designed the kitchen, but never really worked there after it was in business), Evan Root, and others. Lenny was a cook there. Richard and another guy named Warren Durban quit before the restaurant was finished, and they gave it over to Lenny and Bill Anton (who is still in Japan). Then Yuko Okada and Hiroshi Hayashi started to run it; they changed the name to The Seventh Inn. There were two Sanae Restaurants, one on Newbury St. and the other on Boylston St. Address: New Age, Brighton, Massachusetts. Phone: 617-787-2005.

230. Kendall, Charles. 1992. People involved with food and macrobiotics in Boston from 1971 to 1981. Memories of Tan Pups, Tan Pops, and seitan (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 20. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Charles lived in Boston as part of the macrobiotic community for about 10-12 years, from about July 1971 to December 1981. In 1970-71 Charles started to work for Erewhon packaging products. Then he became their roaster, roasting grains and seeds for the Erewhon cereals. At one point he left for a year and studied Sanskrit. From about 1974 to 1978, Charles worked at the Erewhon warehouse running "The Company Store," which sold products to Erewhon employees and "friends of the community." They could buy small quantities of Erewhon products at wholesale prices + 10%. George Crane helped to start this store. After leaving The Company Store, Charles then he went back into roasting for Erewhon.

Charles remembers Tan Pups (skewered deep-fried seitan in a breaded batter) as an excellent product, and thinks they may have been made by a woman out of her home as a small operation—but he is not at all sure. He tasted Tan Pups but he is not sure if he ever bought Tan Pups for The Company Store. He also remembers Tan Pops which his store brought from Johnny Weissman; he recalls that their quality gradually declined after he began to use gluten flour. Charlie liked Tan Pups better than Tan Pops.

People who were living in Boston during this period, who were involved with food, and who might know who created and made Tan Pups include, in order of importance: (1) Andy Strauss, who made peanut butter cookies, and who was out delivering to all the stores. He is now studying kendo in Japan. Andy was a good friend of Sakee Israel. Try contacting him at: 4 Bentley St., Brighton, Massachusetts 02135. Phone: 617-254-7977. (2) Tyler Smith, who came back to Boston from Japan in 1973 or 1974. He worked for a while at Tao books, then took over Erewhon, was there for 12-18 months, then left. Ask Ty who ran the Erewhon retail stores on Newbury St. or in

Cambridge during this time. (3) Richard Young keeps in touch with many people interested in macrobiotics and has their addresses and phone numbers in his notebooks. He now lives in his home town of Quincy, Massachusetts. Phone: 617-328-4197. (4) Hannah Bond lives in Cambridgeport, Vermont. Bruce Macdonald lives there too. (5) Matthew and Helen Sandler were in Boston from about 1969-1982. Helen was very discerning about quality and knew a lot about what foods people were making. (6) Tony Harnett who now owns Bread & Circus, but who started as a small store and purchased seitan from Johnny Weissman. (7) Ann Burns, Ken Burns' widow, still lives at 16 Warren St, Brookline, MA 02146. Phone: 617-734-4115. (8) Victor Marin used to distribute foods in Boston. He now runs a little seaweed company (Ocean Harvest Sea Vegetables) on the coast of northern California (in Ukiah or Comptche), and harvests sea palm (Postelsia). (9) Chris Erickson, who worked at the Erewhon warehouse for many years with the roasting and nut butter line. He lived in Cambridge and is now in Kentfield, California. He arrived in Boston about 1970-71. His phone: 415-721-7249. Note: In Oct. 2004 Chris was murdered by his own son, with whom he was living in San Francisco. (10) Wendy Esko now lives on Lower Main St., Becket, MA. She is part of the macrobiotic community there. Her phone: 413-623-5645. (11) Nik Amartseff. (12) Ron Kotzsch. (13) Kazuko Awamura was a cook at the Erewhon warehouse. Address: Owner, Kendall Food Co., 46A Route 112, Worthington, Massachusetts 01098. Phone: 413-238-5928.

231. *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. 1992. Nature Food Centres goes public. May. p. 3.

• *Summary*: "Wilmington, Massachusetts.—Nature Food Centres, a 94-store health food chain based in Wilmington, Mass., became the second major natural product retailer this year to become a publicly traded company. On March 11, Nature Food Centres merged with the Revere Fund, a publicly owned company, enabling the chain to offer 2.5 million shares of its stocks. The deal raised more than \$15 million and left a new entity called Nature Food Centres Inc. as the surviving company. 'It was one of those win-win situations where everybody came out doing quite well,' says Ronald Rossetti, president of Nature Food Centres... Rossetti says, 'in accounting terms, it's called a reverse acquisition.' Stocks are listed in NASDAQ under Nature Food Centres name, with the trading code of NAFD."

232. Sandler, Matthew; Sandler, Helen. 1992. Early work with natural foods in Boston. Plans to launch a soymilk product named Luppy (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 24. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. • *Summary*: Matthew's brother, Richard Sandler, arrived in the Boston area in about 1964-1965 to study macrobiotics. Those were the early days. Nahum Stiskin and Richard Sandler, were already in Boston when Matt arrived in about late 1965. Matt moved to Japan in about 1968; Nahum

Stiskin was living in Kyoto, Japan, when Matt arrived. Steve Helfer (a student of macrobiotics) had arrived in Japan before Matt. After a while, Matt brought Helen to Japan so they could get married—which they did in about 1971, at the Jewish Community Center. Matt had known Helen when they were in Boston; they lived together a macrobiotic study house.

Helen and a lot of other Americans studying macrobiotics in Japan took cooking classes, taught in Japanese, from Lima Ohsawa in Tokyo at Tokyo C.I. (Centre Ignoramus). Matt and Helen left Japan in about 1971-72, returning first to New York, and then to Boston in about 1973. He finally left Boston in 1984.

While in Boston, Matt started a bakery named Matthew's All Natural, located in Woburn, just outside of Boston. It's first products were sweets such as carrot cakes. The discovery of barley malt, a complex carbohydrate sweetener, was a major breakthrough for the company. Helen Sandler developed a line of English Muffins sweetened with barley malt, and then a line of whole-grain breads which were introduced in 1979. The company soon became quite large and successful, and it is still in operation. The bakery did not use soy in any form in its products.

Evan Root started the original Sanae. Matt's brother, Richard Sandler, who arrived in Boston before Matt, started The Seventh Inn (also called Big Sanae). He rented the space and made it into a restaurant with his own hands; his partner was Warren Durbin (originally a film editor from California who came to Boston to study macrobiotics and who now lives in Vermont). Richard is now a photographer living in Greenwich Village (Phone: 212-777-7138).

Barry Creighton invested a lot of money in his Cable Springs Bakery; it was a good idea, but ahead of its time, so it wasn't that successful. When it went bankrupt, Kathy Bellicchi took it over. Helen Sandler (who had her own company) then shared the bakery with Kathy, and baked cakes there starting in about 1975. Helen does not remember any commercial soy products in Boston, except the Tofu Cheesecake sold at Sanae (it was a Sanae special) and 1 or 2 other restaurants in the late 1970s. Matt liked the Tofu Cheesecake; Helen didn't. Matt recalls that the Tofu Cheesecake was sold, pre-sliced, at a number of retail stores, including Erewhon. He thinks it was sold in the first tier of products that Erewhon sold out of the cooler. He thinks it was made by an underground business that made only this product. Helen experimented with "Tofu Cream," made by mixing tofu, vanilla, and maple syrup—but it was never commercialized since it had such a short shelf life and the retail stores had no refrigeration.

Another excellent product in Boston was Tan Pups, made by Nik Amartseff and his wife. It was a natural meatless hot dog made of seitan, deep-fried on a stick. Nik was one of the most creative food product developers in Boston at the time. He also developed the formulations for most or all of the Erewhon cereals, granolas, and snacks, as

well as their labels and packaging. "He was a real fertile mind."

Matt is planning to launch a soy dessert named Luppy (in 2 flavors), within the next 6 months. The product will be aseptically packaged in tubs. His company is named Luppy Foods. He remembers Luppy soymilk from Japan as a soymilk sweetened with brown sugar and sold in little bottles.

When Yuko Okada first brought soymilk to the USA, he started by trying to make a deal with Knudsen. That didn't work out and for some reason he had a problem with Eden Foods in Michigan at the beginning. So Yuko called Matt, who at that time was still owner of Matthew's All Natural bakery, and asked Matt if he wanted to distribute the soymilk product over his route which extended from Maine to Philadelphia. Matt also distributed foods frozen and refrigerated as far west as Denver. The product Yuko was offering was quite similar to the Luppy soymilk Matt had enjoyed in Japan. Before Matt could say yes, Yuko had made a deal with Eden Foods to import.

Update on Matt's soymilk dessert. 1992. July 15. It will be a pudding-type product, the soymilk will be supplied by American Soy Products in Michigan, and it should be on the market by about Nov. 1992. Address: P.O. Box 10277, Aspen, Colorado 81612. Phone: 802-869-2010.

233. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1992. What happened to major macrobiotic institutions in America? (1963-1992) (Overview). May 19. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Two of America's main macrobiotic institutions were Erewhon, a pioneering natural foods company, and the *East West Journal*, a major counter-culture magazine. Both were founded and owned by Michio and/or Aveline Kushi. They hired a succession of young amateur macrobiotic men to run these two companies but they never allowed these people to own any part of the company and they paid them low wages. Some of these young managers were exceptionally qualified (e.g., Paul Hawken and Bruce Macdonald at Erewhon, or Eric Utne at East West), but they were not willing to work year after year for low wages and with no ownership in the companies they were building. Michio should have known that one cannot run a growing company using a succession of inexperienced managers. Moreover, Michio gave the responsibility to the managers and some of the staff but he always kept ultimate authority. He often discouraged entrepreneurship among his managers, and he often "pulled the rug out from under their good ideas" or reintroduced the same ideas as his ideas.

234. Tims, William. 1992. Studying macrobiotics in Boston and tofu making in Otake, Japan (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 21. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Bill grew up in Oklahoma. In 1969 while attending the University of Oklahoma he developed an

interest in Oriental culture, philosophy and religion. He started studying Buddhism and Taoism. One day he came across a little spiral-bound book titled *Zen Macrobiotics* by George Ohsawa. Within several months he quit school and hitch-hiked to Boston, arriving in Jan. 1970.

He lived in a study house with Tom and Mary Hatch, then lived with Michio and Aveline Kushi on Boylston Street, before they moved to 62 Buckminster Rd. First he worked as a carpenter, then starting in early 1972 he worked at the Erewhon warehouse. Paul Hawken was president of Erewhon, but he left Boston, then came back and left again.

In about the spring of 1975, at one of Michio Kushi's "Way of Life" talks, which he gave every Tuesday and Thursday night, Michio said that he had made arrangements for 3 Americans to go to Japan to study traditional food processing. Bill never saw a written announcement of this. Bill signed up for the program along with about 20 other people. Bill had to return to Oklahoma in the summer of 1975, but he returned to Boston in Dec. 1975. He expected that he, Charles Kendall, and one other person would be leaving for Japan in Jan. 1976. He was surprised to find that he was the only one going. Everyone else, for reasons unknown to him, had backed out. He was a bit curious and suspicious as to why no one else wanted to go.

In Jan. 1976 Bill flew to Japan. He spoke no Japanese and had almost no money. It was his understanding that if he paid his flight to Japan, in exchange for the work he would do in Japan, he would be provided with a room and board, a small salary, and a flight back to America. Michio and Aveline had never suggested to Bill that he start a tofu shop in America after he returned, and Bill never had an interest in making tofu. He was going to Japan mainly to learn about the country and its culture; the tofu was accidental. In Osaka, Bill met Lima Ohsawa. An older man who was a friend of Lima's became Bill's guide. After several days in Osaka they took a train together to the little village of Otake, about 15 miles south of Hiroshima. They were greeted with great fanfare and met by a man who was the tofu master—who spoke no English. Bill never understood the relationship between the tofu master and Michio Kushi. The tofu master set Bill up in small apartment with a bike, 5 minutes bike ride from the tofu shop. Bill's guide spent 2 days with Bill at the village translating (since no one else in the village spoke English), then he left. Many villagers asked Bill if he was a soldier from a nearby U.S. military base.

Bill worked hard at the tofu shop with 7-8 other employees (mostly older women), not including delivery boys, for the next 7-8 months, until August. The master was very much a traditionalist; he was the only person Bill met in Japan who ate brown rice, but he never mentioned macrobiotics. The master was a hard worker, very stern and yang, but a good, strong, often loving man who treated Bill specially and kindly. Bill has very good memories of him. He made nigari tofu and 13-14 different products (incl. egg

tofu, burdock tofu, varies deep-fried types), and his dream was to have his style of tofu shop all over the world.

For Bill, the best times were when the master allowed him, twice a week, to take the company truck alone, all day, to deliver okara to dairy farmers in the countryside. Bill was able to do a bit of exploring of temples, shrines, and gardens on these trips. Sometimes the master would be gone for 1-2 days and Bill was responsible for the tofu shop from start to finish. Most of the tofu was delivered to huge supermarkets in Hiroshima. The villagers were amazingly kind to Bill.

But there were difficulties. The master belonged to several different Buddhist sects; Bill was required to go with the master to every religious meeting he attended. Bill hated this because he couldn't speak any Japanese, he had to sit on his knees in seiza for hours at a time, and he was tired from 6 days of hard work at the tofu shop. He desperately wanted some time off from the long hours, both to rest and see more of Japan. At times Bill felt like he was being "used" to work long hours for meager pay, and at other times he realized that this was what a traditional Japanese apprenticeship required. Moreover he was delighted to have this opportunity, difficult though it was.

Returning to America, Bill attended Herman and Cornelia Aihara's annual summer camp in California, then he returned to Boston on about 1 Sept. 1976. Ed Esko and Stephen Uprichard immediately offered him a job at the East West Foundation. He worked there until 1982, eventually becoming vice-president.

Bill was the second American (after William Shurtleff) to study tofu-making in Japan with a traditional Japanese master. Tims and William Shurtleff met in November 1976 at Ken and Ann Burns' house at 16 Warren Street in Boston—shortly after Tims had returned from Japan. Tims was happy to see that Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi were doing a nationwide tour to introduce Americans to tofu. Before Bill Tims went to Japan in Jan. 1976 it was difficult to get tofu in Boston; it was considered a luxury. But after he came back, a number of tofu products were being sold commercially—including a tofu cheesecake made by a Boston woman. He also remembers big slabs of seitan (Wheatmeal) sold at Erewhon.

In 1982 Bill moved to Arkansas to start Mountain Ark, along with Frank Head, Joel Wollner, and Tom Monte. Frank was the only one who ever had any financial involvement in Mountain Ark, and he is the only one of the original four left at the company, which is currently for sale and will be liquidated if it is not sold by June 30. Bill never worked at Mountain Ark.

Four or five years ago a news flash came on CNN that there had been a terrible earthquake in Otake, Japan, the little village where he had lived. He watched the destruction on TV with sadness. Several years ago he heard that the old tofu master had died.

Bill now runs his own business, Natural Health Center, which he and his wife Carol started in 1983. He does

macrobiotic consultations and sells macrobiotic foods by mail order. Address: Natural Health Center, 45 North Hartman, Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701. Phone: 501-521-9105 (or 9195).

235. Wollner, Joel. 1992. Re: Brief history of his work with macrobiotics. Letter (fax) to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, May 19. 2 p.

• *Summary:* In 1969 Joel, while a student at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, first made contact with Boston macrobiotic activities. In Ithaca, he often visited the Ithaca Seed Company, a counter-culture bookstore with strong macrobiotic and Zen leanings and, what attracted him, the best local inventory of books on traditional Oriental arts, literature, culture, and philosophy. In about 1970, Ithaca Seed opened a small restaurant in the back of the bookstore, serving standard macrobiotic fare. "The first whiff of hijiki sent me scurrying back to Basho [the famous Japanese haiku poet].

Joel first moved to Boston in the summer of 1972 and lived there until the summer of 1974, when he and his wife moved to Cape Cod, Massachusetts, only 90 miles away. They moved back to Boston in 1977, stayed until the summer of 1982 (during this period they ran a macrobiotic study house), then moved to Arkansas.

Joel first worked at the Erewhon retail store (at 342 Newbury Street) in the summer of 1972, but only for 1 month. Paul Hawken was president. After several years experience in the "real world," he returned to the Erewhon in the spring of 1977, as manager in training at the Newbury St. store. He was assistant manager at Newbury St. in late 1977, store manager in early 1978, store manager at Brookline in 1980, and retail CEO in 1981. He stayed at Erewhon until the new owner [Ronald Rossetti] took over command, then he moved to Arkansas, where he and friends started Mountain Ark Trading Co. in Fayetteville.

He lived in various Boston area macrobiotic "study houses" from summer 1972 through spring 1974, when he married and moved to an apartment. Throughout this period his roommates and closest friends worked at or managed various macrobiotic community enterprises: Erewhon, The Seventh Inn, East West Journal, Tao Books, East West Foundation, etc.

In the summer of 1974, Joel and his wife moved to Cape Cod where they lived until spring 1977. Throughout this time they maintained close ties with the Boston macrobiotic community. In 1975 they started the Macrobiotic Center of Cape Cod. In Nov. 1976 they hosted William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi's tofu and miso tour visit to Cape Cod, with activities that included a well-attended lecture-demonstration, an interview on local radio, and lunch (Nov. 19) with Claude Alan Stark, who presented Shurtleff with an inscribed copy of his book *The God of All: Sri Ramakrishna's Approach to Religious Plurality* (1974, published by the author). Address: Joel Wollner Associates,

P.O. Box 1343, Clifton Park, New York 12065. Phone: 518-371-7014. Fax: 518-373-8337.

236. Wollner, Joel. 1992. Re: Ode to Tan Pops. Letter (fax) to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, May 19. 2 p.
• *Summary*: "Did you ever eat a 'Tan Pup?' [sic, Tan Pop]. Hot? If not, you can't imagine the ecstasy (and agony) you missed. A Tan Pop's crusty exterior belied a succulent interior, redolent of soy sauce, garlic, and herbs. The vegetarian's version of the famous 'Corn Dog,' from which their name was played, the Tan Pop was a crispy-crust, batter-fried chunk of Wheatmeal, ¼ pound, stuck on a skewer. More exotic than any blanketed hot dog, freshly cooked, steamy hot Tan Pops were so incredibly irresistible, they made many a glutton of gluten. No one, outside their maker, Johnny Weissman, of the Vegetable Protein Company, Cambridge, MA, knew the exact recipe. In the years I worked at Erewhon's Newbury Street store, from 1977 to 1980, Tan Pops were a big hit, with a loyal following. Two mornings each week, 'Johnny Wheatmeal,' as we called him, brought in a batch of 50 or more steamy hot, freshly made Pops. I can still smell them today, mouth watering. We displayed them still hot in a large wood bowl at the checkout counter. I believe the store paid around 50¢ to 60¢ each, and they retailed for 75¢ or 85¢. As soon as they arrived, the store staff started in eating them, and eating too much of them. One Tan Pop was great, but rich as they were, two or more was courting belly aches. Still, there were never enough to go around, but Johnny would only complain about how difficult they were to make. I don't know how long Tan Pops were sold at Erewhon before I started working there, nor do I know what became of Tan Pops or Johnny Wheatmeal in recent years. I remember learning that Johnny held a federal registration of the name 'Wheatmeal.' He also marketed Wheatmeal cutlets of several ounces each, refrigerated or frozen, plain (unseasoned) or cooked in soy sauce broth, which he sold to Erewhon and other Boston area natural food stores. As I recall, the Wheatmeal ingredients included wheat gluten and soy protein. Johnny Wheatmeal was something of a vegetable protein visionary, who experimented with many wheat and soy protein products, such as sausages. I also remember that Andrew Levine, formerly a clerk at Erewhon Newbury, used to spend a fair amount of time chatting with Johnny Weissman. You can reach Andy at Yellow Emperor in Eugene, Oregon (503) 485-6664."

Note: To find out who developed the forerunner of Tan Pops, Joel suggests contacting Matt and Helen Sandler in Aspen, Colorado, or Hannah Bond (also known as Anne Harris) in Athens, Vermont. Both, in fact knew, that the forerunner was Tan Pops, developed by Nik Amartseff of Brookline, Massachusetts, in about March 1972. Address: Joel Wollner Associates, P.O. Box 1343, Clifton Park, New York 12065. Phone: 518-371-7014. Fax: 518-373-8337.

237. DeSilva, Tom. 1992. Brief history of Erewhon—Los Angeles. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. July 10. And Jan. 1995. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: When Tom arrived in Los Angeles (he never did live or study macrobiotics in Boston), Bruce Macdonald was in charge of Erewhon's West Coast operations and Jimmy Silver was in charge of the Erewhon retail Store. In Sept. 1969 he moved into the Kushi House at 7511 Franklin Ave. in Hollywood. He shopped at the Erewhon retail store before he began to work there and he recalls it as being "very primitive." Then in Oct. 1969 he went to work for the Erewhon retail store at 8003 Beverly Boulevard (one store down from the corner) just as Erewhon got their first warehouse, which was about 1,200 square feet, catty corner across the street.

Tom has kept the early leases for the Erewhon retail store. It has always been his understanding that he had all the leases, including the very first one. However during the first year that the store was in business (from the fall of 1969 until Sept. 1970) the rent may have been paid on a month-to-month basis. He has heard that Jacques Delangre and John Fountain paid the deposit and the first month's rent. The first formal lease may have been necessary when Erewhon to make improvements—such as putting in a wooden floor and building nice shelves. The earliest lease he has was signed and executed on 8 October 1970 by and between Murray LaBell and Benjamin Izakowitz (lessors, owners of the building), and Erewhon Trading Company Inc., for a retail and wholesale grocery at 8003 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles. The 2-year lease commences on 1 July 1971 and ends on 30 June 1973. The amount of the lease is \$225/month. The lease is signed by Murray and Benjamin (lessors), and Roger Hillyard (lessee), Executive vice president for Erewhon Trading Co. Inc. The second lease was signed and executed on 1 July 1971. Erewhon's address is now given as 8001 and 8003 Beverly Boulevard. The lease is now for \$800/month, reflecting the fact that store has now roughly doubled in size by moving into the adjacent building at 8001 Beverly Blvd. So the store has expanded. For details see LaBell 1970, 1971, and 1973. Tom was managing the store when it expanded. Roger Hillyard sent a fellow named Jim (who is now a doctor) to Los Angeles to start the expansion. Jim burned out 2-3 months before the expansion was finished, so Tom finished the job and opened the expanded store.

In 1975 Tyler Smith became president of Erewhon in Boston, Massachusetts. In about July 1975 Smith told Tom that he planned to sell Erewhon—Los Angeles to John Fountain, and Smith asked Tom to stay on. At the time, John Fountain and John Deming were both in Boston negotiating this deal. In Aug. 1975 Smith sold off the West Coast operation, including the right to use the Erewhon name, to John Fountain, who was financed by John Deming. Fountain formed a new corporation named Mondo Trading Company (a name known to relatively few people)

to acquire Erewhon—Los Angeles. Tom's understanding has always been that John Deming loaned John Fountain the money (\$200,000) he needed to buy Erewhon—Los Angeles. It was a 5-year loan. Erewhon folded after 5 years because Fountain couldn't pay off his loan to Deming. Shortly after Fountain acquired Erewhon—Los Angeles, Tom went to work for him a president of the company—Mondo. Fountain wanted to stay behind the scenes. In essence, he didn't want anyone to know him. Fountain worked at the warehouse. When he took over, the warehouse was in Culver City (about 15 miles west of downtown Los Angeles). Shortly thereafter Fountain purchased a warehouse in the City of Commerce and moved Erewhon's warehouse operations there. It was larger and closer to Fountain's home. Fountain bought a home in Huntington Park (about 10 miles south of Los Angeles), so the new warehouse was only 5-10 minutes drive from his home, instead of the former 45 minute drive. For Fountain the new warehouse was also a real estate investment; he leased it to the corporation (Mondo / Erewhon—Los Angeles). Continued. Address: Owner, Erewhon Natural Foods Market, 7660 Beverly Blvd. (at Stanley), Los Angeles, California 90046. Phone: 213-655-3537.

238. DeSilva, Tom. 1992. Brief history of Erewhon—Los Angeles. Part II (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. July 10. And Jan. 1995. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: John Deming apparently had nothing to do with John Fountain's operation of Mondo / Erewhon—Los Angeles. Deming had his own Erewhon store in Orange County. Fountain agreed to allow Deming to own and operate this store using the Erewhon name but with no connection to Mondo. Tom signed virtually every check paid by the Mondo and he does not recall any payments made to Deming during the 5-year duration of the loan. He is quite sure that Mondo had to make royalty payments (about 2 tenths of one percent of gross sales for use of the Erewhon name) out of operating income to Erewhon—Boston. Mondo had gross sales of about \$10 million a year. It is Tom's understanding that John Fountain retained the right to use the Erewhon name for the five years that he was involved with the corporation.

Both Fountain and Deming were heavily involved in and strongly influenced by the Free Enterprise Institute run by Andrew Galambos. Erewhon managers were encouraged to be involved with this institute. Tom felt that Fountain and Deming were trying to introduce to Erewhon a philosophy that was "impossible to implement under the circumstances." It was a philosophy of free enterprise that was Libertarian to the extreme. Tom thinks that interfered with the growth of the company. Before Fountain bought the company, the employees were encouraged to be involved with Werner Erhard's Est. "I did them both and survived."

Erewhon, in both Los Angeles and Boston, was undercapitalized from day one. This created tremendous problems, because the company's sales grew so fast. Tom was constantly aware that Erewhon—Los Angeles struggling financially. He does not know why John Deming wasn't aware of this also. He wasn't around much and part of the time he was busy with his store in Orange County—which never really got off the ground. "My main job was dealing with past-due creditors. Fountain had to factor his accounts receivable." Tom used to like to get out of the warehouse one week, so he would drive down to San Diego, Riverside, and Orange counties and pick up produce in the farmers' fields. He knew each of these men personally, and he had to tell them that he was unable to pay them amounts of \$10,000 to \$20,000.

In late 1979, John Fountain was obligated to come up with something like \$200,000 that he owed John Deming. Being unable to, he had to relinquish the company to Deming. Deming was livid. Deming proceeded to sell off the assets piecemeal. John Deming was very conscientious and fair by eventually paying in full all monies owed to Erewhon's creditors. He could have just filed bankruptcy (which he never did) and left them hanging. There was an Erewhon Natural Foods retail store in Northridge that had been opened after Fountain purchased the company. Tom remembers walking the property with both Fountain and Deming before Erewhon began renting it. Fountain sold that store to Deming for \$50,000—presumably in cancellation of \$50,000 of his debt. Deming had hired a man named Robert Jenkins as a consultant. In one day, Jenkins sold the store to Tree of Life for \$100,000 (but not all cash; Tree would pay part of it in products), making an instant profit (on paper) of something like \$50,000.

The corporation found difficulty selling the Erewhon store at 8001 Beverly Blvd. in Los Angeles. Tree of Life looked at it. Nobody saw the potential, partly because the store was somewhat run down. Erewhon needed to meet a payroll payment, so they offered to sell the store to Tom DeSilva if he could make the down payment they were asking. Tom got Tyler Smith and Jeffrey Flasher to go in as partners with him and they bought the store. On 13 Jan. 1980, the new owners took over. A year later the partnership fell apart. Tom made an offer and bought out both partners, becoming the sole owner in early 1981.

Tom does not think that the collapse of Erewhon—Los Angeles in late 1979 was in any way directly related to the bankruptcy of Erewhon—Boston two years later. On 10 Nov. 1981 Erewhon in Boston filed for bankruptcy protection under Chapter 11 of the Federal Bankruptcy Act because of debts totaling \$4.3 million. In May 1982 Ronald Rossetti purchased Erewhon. Tom flew back to the East Coast and met with Rossetti because he was using the Erewhon name for his store under an old oral agreement with Michio Kushi. Rossetti said he would honor that agreement; it was not committed to writing until several years ago in an exchange of letters.

Tom moved his Erewhon Natural Foods Market to its present location from 8001-8003 Beverly Blvd. and began business on 15 May 1991. As of January 1995, Tom's store is profitable. Address: Owner, Erewhon Natural Foods Market, 7660 Beverly Blvd. (at Stanley), Los Angeles, California 90046. Phone: 213-655-3537.

239. Okada, Yuko. 1992. Re: History of Muso Co. Ltd. (Muso Shokuhin) in Japan. Letter (fax) to William Shurtleff at Soyfoods Center, July 2. 2 p. [Eng]

• *Summary:* Muso was formed as an establishment in February 1966, and Yuko has worked for the company since that time. His current title is president of Muso Co., Ltd. for Export and Import division, a position he has held for the last 6 years. Yuko first went to the USA in April 1970. First he worked at the Erewhon retail store and at the Erewhon warehouse as production manager and import manager. After 2 years he began to manage a macrobiotic restaurant [the Seventh Inn] for 2½ years as executive vice president. After the restaurant had paid off all its debts, he returned to Erewhon as import manager, and was also in charge of determining the cost of all production.

Yuko thinks that Muso began to ship foods to Erewhon in 1968. [Note: Kotzsch. 1984, Dec. *East West Journal* p. 14-21 states that Muso began to export foods in 1969.] The main food items shipped during the first year were shoyu (made by Marushima Shoyu Co.), several types of miso (made by Kanemitsu Miso Co. and Ohta Hatcho Miso Co.), black soybeans, azuki beans, many types of sea vegetables and teas, buckwheat noodles, umeboshi pickles, and takuan (daikon pickles).

The following Westerners have worked for Muso over the years: Paul Hawken (March-Oct. 1969), James Docker (several months), Jim Ledbetter (several months), Evan Root (several months), Tyler Smith (6 months), Steve Earle (4 years). Only Americans have worked at Muso.

Muso moved to their present address in the Kosei Building on 1 Dec. 1986. The company still maintains a domestic distribution company at its former address at Otedori 2-5-1, Higashi-ku, Osaka. Address: Muso Co., Ltd., Kosei Bldg., 2nd Floor, Tanimachi 2-5-5, Chuo-ku, Osaka 540, Japan. Phone: 06-942-0343.

240. Okada, Yuko; Sandler, Matthew. 1992. Memories of macrobiotics in Boston and Erewhon (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. July 15. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Concerning creativity with foods in Boston from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s. Americans first really met Japanese foods in Boston via macrobiotics. There were very few Japanese restaurants in the USA before World War II. In Boston there was a sense that everyone was working with food in order to heal the world. Any person who had an idea for a food and made that food, even on a home scale, had access to the shelves of the Erewhon retail store. The early students of macrobiotics in Boston had a

mission and felt inspired by Michio Kushi's dream of One Peaceful World. "Michio was able to inspire every person, one by one. Each person felt like they were chosen and privileged. You could feel the winds of change all around you. Anything was possible. The answer to America's problems was macrobiotics." Many people had come to Boston after being heavily involved with psychedelic drugs. They found that the macrobiotic could heal the problems that they had developed from using drugs.

Matt Sandler's first best-selling products were carrot cake, banana cake, maple-spice cake. Helen Sandler was known as the cake lady.

Both Yuko and Matthew stress that Paul Hawken was by far the most important person in building Erewhon into a major, pioneering company with a totally new vision. It was Roger Hillyard, rather than Bruce Macdonald who was the first to distribute Erewhon products, which he did out of the back of the Erewhon retail store. Roger cleared a space at the back of the store, bought a mill, and ground then wholesaled whole wheat flour. Bruce's role was to showcase the Newbury Street store by making it into a work of art through creative carpentry and natural interior design. Paul Hawken was very interested in both Japanese language and culture. He learned the language in Kyoto at the Nihongo Gakko (Japanese language school). Paul lived in the Okada's big manor home in Sakai city near Osaka for about 8 months. Then he moved to Kyoto, where he lived on a hill in Sakyō-ku; Alkan Yamaguchi lived right above him in a separate house on the same hill.

Matt thinks that Jeff Flasher played a major role in the fall of Erewhon because he (Jeff) made the decision to greatly expand Erewhon's product line and move into a huge new warehouse. Matt feels that was the fatal decision; he believes Erewhon should have stayed with their good name and limited themselves to selling only high quality products. Flasher was in jail on a drug count and in order to get out he contacted (Matt thinks) Bruce Macdonald. Bruce said he would employ Flasher in his company. So the authorities let Flasher out and he went back to work for Erewhon and basically ruined the company. Address: 1. Muso Co., Ltd., Kosei Bldg., 2nd Floor, Tanimachi 2-5-5, Chuo-ku, Osaka 540, Japan; 2. P.O. Box 10277, Aspen, Colorado 81612. Phone: 1. 06-942-0341.

241. Okada, Yuko. 1992. Macrobiotic food companies in England: Greg Sams and Harmony Foods, Peter Bradford and Sunwheel (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. July 15. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Muso Shokuhin's first account in England was Harmony Foods, which had been started by Greg Sams. Teizo Okada lectured in England. Either Greg or Craig Sams attended one of the lectures had a consultation with Teizo about his personal medical problems. Greg later invented the idea of spreadable fruit, which later became a famous product worldwide. Harmony now has the lion's share of the spreadable fruit market in the UK.

Peter Bradford founded Sunwheel Foods in England. Peter was in Boston, Massachusetts, working at Erewhon in about 1972-73. He returned to England and several years later he started Sunwheel in competition with Harmony Foods, which had been founded earlier. Muso Shokuhin was Sunwheel's first source of Japanese natural and macrobiotic foods. Address: Muso Co., Ltd., Kosei Bldg., 2nd Floor, Tanimachi 2-5-5, Chuo-ku, Osaka 540, Japan. Phone: 1. 06-942-0341.

242. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1992. The remarkable food-related creativity that took place in Boston from the late 1960s until the late 1970s, especially within the macrobiotic community (Overview). July 13. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: A flowering of original food product development took place in Boston during this period. There were a number of reasons for this (1) The meeting of two food cultures, Japanese and American, together with new ideas related to diet and health, as embodied in the macrobiotic teachings of Michio and Aveline Kushi. Just as the meeting of two oceans currents leads to a region at the boundary of great biological activity and development, so does the meeting of two cultures. Young Americans were introduced to a host of new basic foods which they quickly began to use and process in new ways. These included miso, tofu, seitan, amazake, umeboshi salt plums, sea vegetables, rice syrup, rice cakes, azuki beans, mochi, and many more. To cite but four examples: (A) Seitan: Japanese had used seitan as a salty condiment or seasoning. By late 1972 Americans had transformed it into a succulent meat substitute. (B) Tofu: It had never occurred to Japanese to put tofu in a blender. By the mid-1970s Americans in Boston were combining it with a sweetener to make delectable dairyless tofu cheesecakes and cream pies, or to make low-fat, cholesterol-free salad dressings, dips, and spreads. (C) Amazake: Japanese serve this as a hot beverage like tea, most in teahouses; The only flavoring used is gingerroot. Americans transformed it into delectable ice creams (free of dairy products and sugar), or thick, sweet drinks resembling milk shakes sold refrigerated in plastic bottles. Americans also used amazake as an all-purpose natural sweetener in place of sugar, honey, or maple syrup. They also learned to make a rice milk resembling amazake using commercial purified enzymes instead of koji; at this point, the line separating amazake and rice syrup became somewhat blurred. (D) Rice Syrup: Japanese use *amé* or *mizumamé*, made from koji, as the basis for taffy-like candies or, in very limited ways, as a sweetener. Americans soon began to make rice syrup using commercial enzymes instead of koji and to use it as an all-purpose natural sweetener in place of sugar, honey, or maple syrup.

(2) The closely-knit, almost communal nature of the macrobiotic community in Boston, was one in which many people, mostly young people (including many women),

were working closely together with a common vision. New ideas were shared more than guarded or patented. Joel Wollner notes that it was almost like the art community in Paris during the impressionist era of the late 1800s.

(3) The Erewhon retail store (opened in April 1966) provided a ready testing ground for new local products. Many got their start in one or more of these stores. The Erewhon Trading Co. (which started importing Japanese natural and macrobiotic foods in Aug. 1968), and which began wholesaling and distributing in the spring of 1969, greatly helped to expand the market for good products.

(4) The community was fortunate to have a number of exceptionally talented entrepreneurs in the food business, including Paul Hawken, Bruce Macdonald, Roger Hillyard, Bill Tara, and many others. Many of these individuals later left the area to start their own food companies.

(5) It was during this period that the natural foods, macrobiotic foods, organic foods, and vegetarian movements (all closely related, and often based on similar philosophical, ethical, and spiritual values) began to grow in the United States, in part in reaction to the overly-processed, overly chemicalized, unhealthful foods produced by big food companies, and the highly-chemicalized food growing techniques used by American farmers—and in part because of the leadership and inspiration of the community in Boston.

243. Waxman, Howard. 1992. History of Essene, natural foods retailer and distributor (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Sept. 21. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Essene began in March 1969 as a macrobiotic natural foods retail store named Essene Macrobiotic Supply at 2031 Samson St. in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Primarily a juice and snack bar, it was founded by Denny Waxman, Charles Smith (Smitty), and Stanley Petrowski; Stanley left after several months. Howard was not involved with the company at that time. After about a year, the growing retail store moved to 320 South St. (at 3rd) in Philadelphia and changed its name to Essene Traditional Foods.

By Feb. 1971 a distribution company, also named Essene Traditional Foods, was started in the retail store—following the Erewhon model. An ad in *East West Journal* (Feb. 1971, p. 10) shows that "Essene," at 320 South St., was a distributor and wholesaler of natural and traditional foods, including miso, tamari, sea vegetables, and organic grains, vegetables, and beans. They made stone-ground wheat flour on the premises. The distribution company soon outgrew the store and by May 1972 had moved into a small warehouse at 58th & Grays Ave., Philadelphia PA 19143. Then it moved to a larger warehouse in Boyertown, about 1 hour drive outside Philadelphia. The distribution company went out of business in about 1976-78; it had been in business for about 5 years.

In 1981, when Bill Tara returned to the United States to become director of the Kushi Institute of Boston,

Massachusetts, Denny Waxman, head of the Philadelphia East West Center, went to London to run the Community Health Foundation and the Kushi Institute. He stayed two years. Denny now lives in Portugal.

The retail store is still in business, owned by Howard. He moved to his present address about 3½ years ago, from 320 South Street, Philadelphia, PA 19147. Address: Owner, Essene Natural Foods, 719 S. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19147. Phone: 215-922-1146.

244. Whiteman-Jones, Michael; Shurtleff, William. 1992. The modern evolution of soyfoods. *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. Dec. Soyfoods 2000 special supplement insert. p. 4-6.

• *Summary*: A colorful overview of the history of soybeans and soyfoods from 1100 B.C. to the present, worldwide. Discusses the history of tofu, Samuel Bowen, Benjamin Franklin, T.A. Van Gundy, Madison College, Henry Ford, Seventh-day Adventists, Erewhon, Asian Americans, Kikkoman, the \$1,000 million soyfoods market in America, countries with the highest per-capita consumption of soyfoods, the future of soyfoods. Address: 1. NFM; 2. Soyfoods Center, P.O. Box 234, Lafayette, California 94549.

245. Kushi, Aveline. 1993. The early years of Erewhon and its ownership. Paul Hawken (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 13. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Aveline calls to say that 3-4 days ago her attorney for 27 years, Morris Kirsner, showed her a book by Paul Hawken titled *Growing a Business*. She and Morris had to laugh when they read that Paul claimed at the start of the book to have started Erewhon and then to have sold it. She talked with Mr. Kirsner about this and they agreed on the following: Originally Aveline owned all of the Erewhon stock. Shortly before Paul left for Japan, she offered him 50% of this stock. At roughly the same time, she offered 50% of the stock in Sanae to Evan Root. Michio, Aveline, Paul, and Evan all went together to Morris Kirsner's office to sign the documents. Evan was happy to sign the agreement, but Paul did not sign. Aveline does not know why Paul did not sign; he said he didn't need the stock. Aveline can get copies of all Erewhon's legal documents from Mr. Kirsner to show what happened.

After Paul and Evan went to Japan, Evan wanted to stay longer in Japan to study, but he needed more money. So Michio and Aveline bought back Sanae stock from Evan, and sent him money each month. After Paul returned from Japan, he went to Los Angeles, California, and stayed at the macrobiotic house there for 3-4 months. Aveline was also there and Erewhon-Los Angeles was now in business selling macrobiotic natural foods. Bill Tara and maybe Bruce Macdonald were in Los Angeles at the time.

When Paul and Aveline returned to Boston. Erewhon's situation was completely different. It was now a fairly large

wholesale and retail company instead of just a single retail store as it was when Paul left. Aveline wanted to offer Paul (and other top managers) stock after Paul returned. There were many long meetings of the 3-4 main Erewhon managers, but no agreement could be reached about who should get how much stock. So in the end, Aveline continued to own all the stock. Neither Paul nor any of the other leaders/managers of Erewhon ever owned any stock. At one of these meetings, with Michio, Aveline, and various other managers present to talk about Erewhon, Paul expressed himself in a very negative way about many things related to Erewhon. Michio, uncharacteristically, got very angry at Paul. Paul organized at least one meeting of employees and explained his viewpoint. "Everyone (including Evan Root) was shocked. What he said was completely untrue. Not long after that, Paul left Erewhon. Aveline thinks Paul Hawken was a twin.

Aveline's main project now is a prison project. This has been her dream for the past 10 years. She and Michio would like to offer their 400 acres of beautiful land at Ashburnham (near Gardner, about 1 hour drive northwest of Boston near the New Hampshire border), Massachusetts, to the state of Massachusetts. They could build a prison on the land and Aveline and Michio would be able to play a major role in determining the type of food that was served (macrobiotic natural foods), the daily schedule (incl. yoga and dô-in), and the policy. Her youngest son, who is now a lawyer in Massachusetts, is working on this project.

Followup talks with Morris Kirsner. 1993. March 22 and April 8. He will look for the early Erewhon legal documents. He handed them over to Hale and Door, the Boston law firm that handled Erewhon's bankruptcy, and they have the corporate minutes stored in their warehouse. He will ask them to send the documents to him. Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6869.

246. Potter, Michael. 1993. History of Eden Foods. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Oct. 31. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: This interview attempts to clarify numerous details concerning the history of Eden Foods. Before starting work as a volunteer at Joyous Revival (in Birmingham, Michigan) in about 1970, Mike had worked at an art gallery in Royal Oak, Michigan, for quite a while and was making very good money for a young man at the time—about \$500/week take home pay. The end of his employment at the art gallery and the start of his employment at Joyous Revival overlapped by at least several months. During most of the time that he volunteered at Joyous Revival, his main source of income was unemployment compensation from the U.S. government. Gradually he became the driving force at Joyous Revival, quit his job at the art gallery, and devoted himself full time to Joyous Revival. At that time he and his wife moved from Royal Oak to Walnut Lake, Michigan—nearer to Joyous

Revival. Howard Tannenbaum and Carl Weinstein lived in the Potter's household. The store pretty much supported the household.

Bill Bolduc had gone to Michael a number of times before 1971 and asked him to move to Ann Arbor and work for Eden. But he was dedicated to making Joyous Revival successful. One day in the fall of 1970, while Mike was still engaged in Joyous Revival, Bill asked Michael to meet him at the retail store at Wayne State University that was partially owned by Eden Foods. Mike rode his motorcycle down to the appointment and saw the store for the first time. Michael used to live near Wayne State and he thought he could help develop the store. So Mike worked vigorously, as a volunteer, at the Eden retail store at Wayne State University for only a short period of time in the fall of 1970—before he was hired by Bill Bolduc of Eden Foods in Jan. 1971. By Jan. 1971 it had become evident that the store would not be able to survive financially.

Within 2 weeks after Mike was hired by Bolduc in Jan. 1971, he closed down his household at Walnut Lake in Oakland County, Michigan, and moved to Ann Arbor in Washtenaw County, Michigan, to work full time at the store. He moved to Ann Arbor in the fall of 1971 (conflicts).

"I got hired by Bill Bolduc and I went to work at 211 South State Street. I asked Bill what he wanted me to do and he told me to manage the store." Royce Seeger was there; he had been involved with Vic Leabu (pronounced luh-BOE; he later changed the pronunciation to luh-BUU), Jimmy Silver, and many others. Mike did not get paid by Eden Foods until 1973; he worked as a volunteer. The company refused to pay him for the first few months because he was collecting unemployment compensation and why should he be paid by the company when he could get free money from the government—was the logic at the time. That seemed okay to Mike. He started to get paid by Eden Foods shortly after his unemployment benefits expired.

The first meeting of the Natural Foods Distributors Association that Mike visited was in Seattle, Washington. He was manning Eden's booth there and Mr. Kazama visited the booth. Mike was not involved with imports at that time. Because Tim had lived in Boston, Massachusetts, and worked at Little Sanae there, he was basically Eden's person in communication with the Japanese side of things at that time. Tim may have attended an earlier meeting in Florida. Mike attended all meetings after the Seattle meeting. Mike agrees that all initial Japanese imports had to bear the Erewhon brand. Before the first order arrived from Japan, Mike talked by phone with Yuko Okada, who worked with Erewhon in Boston at the time. At some time between when Tim placed the first order from Mitoku and when it arrived, Michael decided that Eden should get all future imports from the Muso Co.

Mike stayed at the retail store while it was down on Riverside Drive and at the end of Ann Street. He didn't

create an office for himself at the warehouse until they moved into Platt Road.

Michael met Clifford Adler for the first time when Ron Roller brought him over to Mike's home on Oakwood in Ann Arbor. It was about the summer of 1978 and Cliff was a painter renovating apartments in Ann Arbor. Ron introduced Cliff as a person who might be good to help Eden Foods. About 7-9 months later, in the spring of 1979, Cliff began to work for Eden Foods; at that time Michael was living in the small town of Manchester, Michigan. Michael's son, Jason, had finished kindergarten in Ann Arbor and they moved to Manchester in about Aug. 1978. Cliff definitely did not start to work at Eden in 1976 (as others recall). The date of his first paycheck could be obtained easily from the Social Security Administration. Eden needed a salesperson in Chicago. The company had been wholesaling foods for a while. The biggest nearby city was Chicago and they didn't have much business there. As a challenge, Cliff went to natural foods stores in Chicago and tried to sell them Eden's products. Where Cliff got \$100,000 to invest in Eden Foods has been the subject of much conjecture.

After the chaos of the fire, decisions came first and the paperwork came later. The first decision, in early December (within 10 days after the fire), was to give stock to 6 key employees to try to motivate them to stay with the company and try to rebuild it—and to lay off about 35 people. These two decisions were announced as one on the same day. The second decision was that Cliff would convert his \$100,000 loan to equity. The third decision, in early 1980, was Tim's personal decision to leave, and to convert his Eden Foods stock into ownership of the corporation named the Maynard Street Connection, Inc.

After the fire, Eden had a negative net worth of more than \$800,000. Four things saved Eden Foods after the fire. (1) Cliff's conversion of his \$100,000; (2) The incredible cooperation, generosity, and kindness that Eden received from its suppliers in the natural foods industry, and their trust that Eden would do its best to pay back their money at a time when interest rates were over 20%; (3) Frank Dietrick's investment of \$100,000 in the company; and (4) The great effort made by natural foods retail stores and consumers to go out of their way help Eden survive by purchasing more Eden products.

From the insurance company Eden ended up receiving \$400,000 net, or \$0.50 for each dollar Eden felt it was owed. Eden had sued its insurer, the Hartford Insurance Company. Eden's lawyer told Michael that Eden would win the case, but the insurance company was planning to appeal it. He asked Michael if Eden could go 2 more years without the money. Michael said "Impossible." The attorney said, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. You'd better settle." Michael told the attorney, "If they'll give us \$400,000 plus \$45,000 (which is what the insurance adjuster wanted), I'll take it." The insurance company

accepted the deal. Mike feels that the insurance company ended up paying Eden \$400,000 less than they owed Eden.

Michael has quite a few important documents from before the fire. Continued. Address: Chairman, Eden Foods, Inc., 701 Tecumseh Rd., Clinton, Michigan 49236. Phone: 517-456-7424.

247. Hillyard, Roger. 1993. Work with Erewhon, Arrowhead Mills, and The Well (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 10. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Fred Rohe started out working for Thom's Natural Foods, a retail store in San Francisco. Then Fred bought Sunset Health Foods (a health foods retail store at 1319 Ninth St. in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco) and renamed it New Age Natural Foods—at the same address. Roger thinks it was in about 1965 or 1966, because he was living in San Francisco at that time and had just gotten involved in macrobiotics—in Jan. 1966. He started buying his foods from Marina Health Foods (on Chestnut) but when Fred opened his store, Roger started buying his foods there.

At some point Fred bought a chicken farm, transformed it into a natural chicken farm, and created New Age Resources as the company that owned it.

Then Fred teamed up with Phil Parenti and they did two big things at about the same time: (1) They opened a second store on California Street in Palo Alto, which was a natural foods supermarket (perhaps the first of its type in the USA). David Mastandrea was the manager and Nik Amartseff may have run the deli. At the time the store opened in Palo Alto, Roger was on the East Coast in Boston with Erewhon. (2) Fred and Phil started a distribution company named New Age Distributing.

Then they got into financial difficulties; they had tried to do too much too fast. The stores reverted to Fred and the distribution company and chicken ranch went to Phil. That's when Phil renamed the distribution company The Well. But legally and corporately, it was still New Age Natural Foods—which was the parent company of The Well. Phil was active from day to day at The Well. Then The Well purchased Pure & Simple from Bruce Macdonald; the products at that time were apple juice, corn chips, and fruit butters. By the time of the natural distributors conference at Pajaro Dunes, California, the line had expanded to other fruit juices and Japanese imports, which were coming from Mr. Kazama of Mitoku—all sold under the Pure & Simple brand and distributed by The Well, which was now a master distributor. Some of these products were sold to other distributors, and all were sold to retail stores.

Irwin Carasso, the founder of Tree of Life, sponsored the natural food distributors conference in St. Augustine, Florida. Roger thinks Irwin was the 2nd or the 3rd person who began importing natural foods directly from Mr. Kazama in Japan—First Erewhon, then Pure & Simple, then Tree of Life. Eden Foods started importing after Tree of

Life, and after that St. Augustine conference; but they imported from Muso. Initially Erewhon had insisted that everyone import the Japanese products under the Erewhon brand; they maintained that monopoly for quite a while.

At the time the *Deaf Smith Country Cookbook* was published (1973), Roger and his ex-wife Susan (and 2 kids) were living and working Hereford, Texas. They spent a year there. While Susan was working on the cookbook, Roger was contracting with local farmers for everything from grains to maple syrup, helping to establish Arrowhead's line of consumer packaged products (graphics, copy, etc.) and (most important) he got Arrowhead's distribution system and network going, selling to other distributors. Roger was employed by Arrowhead. Irwin Carasso was one of the first to be named a wholesaler of Arrowhead Mills' products. Next came Shadowfax. The NNFA convention that year was in Washington, DC.

When they left Texas, after a year, the hopped back in the school bus, drove to Los Angeles and hung out there for a couple of weeks (staying with Bobby Orgo, who worked for Erewhon in Los Angeles), then they drove to Atascadero, but they had no destination. They went to visit Bruce Macdonald (who at that time was living in Santa Cruz, California, and working each day for The Well—Pure & Simple). He sold the Pure & Simple brand than went along with it from Southern to Northern California.

Roger, Susan and their family ended up living in Soquel, California (near the Pacific Ocean and Santa Cruz), in about mid-March 1973; his youngest son was born on March 29, right after they got settled. Jean Allison (from Boston) came out and helped Susan for a while.

The Well went out of business in about 1979. It continued to grow and expand. In very few years, it grew from \$3 million to \$10 million in sales. The peak year was in about 1978, then it went rapidly downhill. It had the wholesale distribution entity, a small production facility in San Jose where it manufactured fruit butters and bottled tamari and some oils, and also raised alfalfa sprouts. Then (in about 1976-77) it bought out Max Kozek, the organic wholesale supplier from Los Angeles. It also had a project to produce 40 acres of organic carrots in the San Joaquin Delta, and about 10 acres in Borrego Springs (east of San Diego). It also had some acreage of organic apples and peaches (small, real old, so there was not production and it was not of high quality), and substantial crop investments in organic produce via contracts with individual growers, as with John Mason who was a hothouse tomato grower in California. Then it bought a wholesale distribution company [Essene Traditional Foods] in Boyertown, Pennsylvania. With also those ventures, scattered near and far, The Well was (1) undercapitalized, and (2) it lost an incredible amount of money on some of its individual ventures, such as the organic carrots (nematode problems). Phil Parenti owned most of the stock at this time, but he did not have a controlling percentage. The other main stockholder was not a regular participant in the company;

Roger does not remember his name. Roger had only stock options. The Well just folded up shop and disappeared; it was not sold to anyone. But the Pure & Sample brand name was sold to Jimmy Silver and John Fountain. Phil Parenti went to Monterey, California, and worked with his father in property development. Roger does not know where he is now. Address: Farley's Coffee Shop, #1315 18th St., Potrero Hill, San Francisco, California 94107. Phone: 415-648-1545.

248. Fellman, Louis. 1994. History of pioneering work with tofu cheesecake, Sprucetree Baking Co., and Soy Delites. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 19. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

- *Summary*: Louis played a major role in developing America's first commercial tofu cheesecakes—which were named Tofu Cream Pies and were delicious. The product was originally developed by Sprucetree Baking Co. in Maryland. From the outset, it was sold with two different toppings: Blueberry and strawberry. Louis was not with Sprucetree when the product was launched in about 1976 by Howard Grundland, who started and owned Sprucetree on Belair Road in Overlea, a suburb of Baltimore, Maryland. Several people helped Howard start the bakery, including Murray Snyder and Norman Zweigel. Louis does not know who first had the idea for the tofu pies and who developed the first recipe.

Louis started working at Sprucetree right after the first East Coast Macrobiotic Summer Camp in about August or September 1977. [Note: In Oct. 1973 Sprucetree began operations on Belair Road in Overlea.] Sprucetree was making the tofu pies when Louis arrived in 1977 but it was only one of about 30 baked goods (including bread, cookies, other desserts, etc.) that they sold. Louis left Sprucetree twice. The first time was 6-8 months after he first arrived; he was lured back to New York City by Jim Guido, who used to own two East-West restaurants in the city. Louis worked there as a baker, and made tofu pies (which he now called "Tofu Cheesecakes") for the restaurant. He made many tofu cheesecakes and improved on the original recipe. John and Yoko Lennon used to come in to the restaurant (on 74th Street and Columbus Ave.) almost daily and enjoy Louis' tofu cheesecakes. The restaurant was crowded every night and was one of the hot, chic places to eat on the Upper West Side. Louis hired Alan Hoffman to be his assistant at the East-West restaurant. Alan later became the baker at Souen.

In about June 1978, after about 6 months in New York City, Louis returned to Sprucetree. He helped finance Sprucetree's move across town from Belair Road to 4105 Aquarium Place at Reisterstown Road in Baltimore. The company continued to make its tofu pies and other baked goods. In late summer of 1980 Louis found a new job as production manager at Erewhon Natural Foods. So he moved to Boston, Massachusetts, and soon hired Alan Hoffman (a baker at the Souen restaurant, who baked tofu

cheesecakes using Louis' recipe) to be his assistant. Within 18 months he was married, with a child on the way, and Erewhon had declared bankruptcy. Next he worked briefly for Great Eastern Sun in North Carolina. Louis and his family moved to New Jersey where his mother was living. There he took jobs to make money, such as selling cars. At this time Tofutti was becoming famous; Louis (now living at 436 Jefferson Ave., Staten Island, New York) considered opening a tofu shop that made fresh tofu in New York City. He and Alan Hoffman even looked at some locations for the tofu company. While waiting for customers to come into the car showroom, he planned a company to make tofu pies which would be profitable and widely distributed. He found some friends who had a food shop in northern New Jersey with an oven and mixing machines. In 1983 Sprucetree stopped making tofu pies/cheesecakes. Continued. Address: Abraham's Natural Foods, P.O. Box 4201, Long Branch, New Jersey 07740. Phone: 908-229-5799.

249. Snyder, Murray. 1994. Tofu cheesecake, Marcea Newman Weber, and macrobiotics (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Sept. 19. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

- *Summary*: Murray remembers that Sprucetree Baking Co. made a tofu cheesecake, but he does recall being the source of the recipe. He was the originator of the Sweet Rice Cookie—which Sprucetree also made. When Murray thinks of that cheesecake, he thinks of Marcea Newman (who was married to Dan Weber in December 1982 in Australia, so her name is now Marcea Weber. She and Dan and her children live in Faulconbridge, NSW, Australia). Marcea is a native of New York, but in about 1969-1970 she went to California to study macrobiotics (perhaps with Herman or Cornelia Aihara); she ended up at a macrobiotic study house in San Francisco run by Nan and Dave Schleiger. Murray first met Marcea in California, then she returned to New York.

Murray arrived in Boston on Valentine's day in Feb. 1971. He stayed there studying macrobiotics until Oct. 1972. A little later in 1971 Marcea Newman moved to Boston from New York. He and Marcea got their own apartment and lived together in Boston during 1971 and 1972. At this time Marcea was baking (very carefully testing and converting old family recipes to macrobiotics; her mother was an excellent baker) and she taught Murray how to bake. At the time she did not sell her baked goods. It was from some recipes that she gave Murray that he evolved into the Sweet Rice Cookie, the Babka, etc. Using recipes given or taught to him by Marcea, Murray rented out the kitchen in the Erewhon warehouse and started to do some baking.

In 1974 Marcea's pioneering book titled *The sweet life: Marcea Newman's natural-food dessert book* was published. It contains a recipe for "Cheesecake Tofu Pie" (p. 37), as well as many other innovative desserts and dairylike products that use tofu as a major ingredient.

"Marcea was the person who developed the Tofu Cheesecake that Souen, a macrobiotic restaurant in New York City, eventually made and sold. She was very friendly with them and she lived nearby in New York. She also knew the people at The Caldron restaurant."

Murray still has a book of large-scale recipes for baked goods that he made at Erewhon from 1971 and later gave to Howard Grundland. It contains recipes for Sweet rice cookies, Dried fruit square, Babka peanut square, Chestnut bar, Kanten cake, Apple crunch, Apple-tahini juice pie, Rice bread. There are no tofu recipes in that book.

Murray can think of only two ways that he could have been the source of the recipe for tofu pie [cheesecake] made by Sprucetree starting in 1975 or 1976: (1) He suggested that Howard Grundland use the recipe in Marcea Newman's book *The Sweet Life*; (2) He brought Howard a tofu cheesecake made in New York City by either The Caldron or Souen; (3) He could have learned the recipe from his ex-wife, Pam. Note: For more on America's first tofu cheesecake see letter from Marcea Newman Weber, Oct. 1994.

People that Murray remembers living in Boston during 1971 and 1972 were Michael Rosoff, Lenny Jacobs, Jim Ledbetter, Eric Utne and his brother (Tom?), Phil Levy, Paul Hawken, Bruce Gardner, Tom Hatch, and Matt Chait. Matt Chait used the Erewhon kitchen before Murray began baking there. Matt developed the Ricycle, which were bikes with food trays that went out to the colleges. Tony Harnett also worked in that kitchen; he went on to do Bread and Circus. Matt and Murray created Macrojacks—the original caramelized popcorn with barley malt, raisins, and peanuts "which is now made by 2-3 other companies and sold all over the place." In late 1971 or early 1972 they had purchased their heat sealer, boxes, and labels, and they began to make and sell Macrojacks—fairly large quantities. They were all ready to make this into a big business, but circumstances prevented that from happening.

Murray was in Brazil from Oct. 1972 to April 1973. He returned to Baltimore, Maryland, and in 1973-75 he probably made trips up to New York. When he thinks of early tofu desserts, he thinks of the cheesecakes made at Souen (in New York City; it was started and owned by Yama, a Japanese man) and The Caldron (in New York City; it was originally owned by a man named Marty Schloss, plus his wife, Glory, and mother [Seena], who were a good friend of Marcea's). The Caldron had an extensive baking operation, and they may have made a tofu cheesecake even before Souen. Whenever Murray went to New York he would always go to The Caldron to see what innovative new products they had, and he would always bring a number of items back to Baltimore for people to taste test. Marcea would probably remember if The Caldron was known for making a cheesecake, and when and where they got the idea and recipe.

Murray agrees that a remarkably large percentage of macrobiotic students and teachers in the early days were

Jewish. He would guess that in 1971-72 roughly 30-35% of the macrobiotic students in Boston were Jewish. "One reason is that many Jewish people of that era were seekers. They were looking for answers; they wanted to know what life was all about and how they could help society. There were unexplained things that were not being talked about in their religion, culture, schools, etc. Historically, there is a strong thread of humanistic ideals within the Jewish culture.

The macrobiotic movement, as he used to know it, is presently very stagnant. Many old problems have never been resolved. Not everybody wanted to follow a strict, Japanese model—and rightly so. "But I think more people are eating what we would consider to be macrobiotic-type food and loosely following what we consider to be a macrobiotic diet. There is definitely a lot of literature and books being sold under the guise of macrobiotic education. Somewhere down the line, macrobiotics may even become invisible because the basic tenets are going to be integrated a lot of educational and wholistic teachings." Murray is a macrobiotic counselor and teacher, but he is "trying to offer a much broader, more flexible, more embracing way to present macrobiotics without creating a dogma."

Note: Call from Howard Grundland. 1998. Aug. 31. Murray Snyder died recently of throat cancer. Address: Macrobiotic Holistic Health Care, 157 East 61st St., 5th Floor, New York, NY 10021. Phone: 212-308-3818.

250. Deming, John W., Jr. 1994. Work with Erewhon and the natural foods industry, 1969-1971. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 28-29. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: John was born on 27 June 1947 in Tacoma, Washington, where his parents were stationed after World War II, though they came from the South. His mother, who was from Arkansas, was the daughter of the founder of Murphy Oil, and the sister of the man who made it into a Fortune 500 company. So John's family was in petroleum business and quite wealthy. Coincidentally, Murphy Oil is also a major soybean grower. John grew up in Louisiana. He attended Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, until 1967, majoring in English. He spent his junior year in Europe (Wales and Spain), then returned to Tulane. He was active with SDS and psychedelics, then dropped out in early 1969.

Buying an old Volkswagen bus with tuition money from his parents, he drove to Vermont. There he helped to develop one of the first communes in Vermont—named Johnson's Pasture and located 15 miles west of Brattleboro—and played a key role in making it work. There were no "macroids" [followers of macrobiotics] in the commune. In May 1969 Deming met John and Chris Abrams at the commune; they would later introduce him to macrobiotics and become close friends. Realizing he had some money from an inheritance (he began to receive substantial amounts of money from various trusts starting at this time) and tired of the commune, he decided to move to

California. "That was where the hippie scene was most intense, and I wanted to do my own thing." So he got in a Volkswagen bus with 9 other people and drove to Mendocino County, California.

There, in Sept. 1969, he used part of his inheritance to purchase (from his great aunt who lived in Berkeley) 55 acres of beautiful land, an old fishing camp on the Noyo River and on the Skunk Railroad Line west of Fort Bragg. On the land he started his own commune and lived lightly on the land (which had no electricity) until Aug. 1970. In the summer of 1970 John and Chris Abrams came to California to live with John on his land. (John's father was a well-known heart surgeon and professor at Harvard Medical School). Chris developed terrible eczema on her hands soon after they arrived, but she cured it with a 10-day rice diet—based on the macrobiotic teaching of George Ohsawa. She gave John Ohsawa's book *Zen Macrobiotics*, which he read in one or two nights. This was his introduction to macrobiotics. "I was so taken by the book and so impressed by Chris and by the cure of her eczema, that I decided very quickly to dedicate much time and energy to the philosophy and diet of macrobiotics. I got deeply into it. I read everything George Ohsawa wrote and I was just floored. I went for the whole thing hook, line, and sinker. I wanted to save the world and I thought that this was the way to do it. After using pot all summer, I went on a 10-day rice diet. I had never felt better in my entire life." John now had long hair and a big beard. He soon began to visit Herman Aihara about every two weeks and to learn about macrobiotics from him. After a while, John was the only person left on the land, so in late 1970 he decided to give it to Herman Aihara. Herman later cut down all the redwood trees, sold them for cash, and finally sold the land for cash.

John got into the natural foods movement in 1970. New England, New York, and California were hotbeds of this new-age, vegetarian type activity and John wanted to bring it to the South. He hoped to become a leader of this movement. So he drove to Jackson, Mississippi, where he met a Jewish woman named Renée Rosenfeld, about 55 years old from Belgium, who was really into macrobiotics. They started a little macrobiotic restaurant in her house; they typically served 5-6 people lunch that they prepared themselves. After about 2 months, in Nov. 1970, they started a small natural foods store (about 3,000 square feet, paid for by John) named the Singing River Granary. It was successful as a business. At his store John read a short essay by Paul Hawken published as a brochure, which he felt was the best single statement he had seen about why he was interested in macrobiotics and what the philosophy meant to him. John thought, "I've got to meet this guy Paul Hawken. He has a gift with words." One day in early 1971 Roger and Susan Hillyard from Erewhon drove into town to find out who was buying so much macrobiotic food from Erewhon. Roger was going from Boston to Los Angeles to set up Erewhon—Los Angeles. He loved the store and he said "Any

time you want to come to work with us, you're welcome." John took a trip to visit Erewhon—Los Angeles, arriving right after the big earthquake struck the San Fernando Valley near Los Angeles on 9 Feb. 1971. He liked what he saw. Aveline was there, living in a big macrobiotic study house with Tom DeSilva and others. Returning to Mississippi, John sold Singing River Granary in Aug. 1971, moved to Los Angeles, and went to work with Erewhon. He began by helping Jim Gronemeyer (a very colorful figure) to expand the Erewhon retail store. John met Paul Hawken when Paul came to Los Angeles and invited all the Erewhon employees down to a beach house he had rented at Carlsbad (about 80 miles southeast of Los Angeles). Dora, Paul's wife, was also there, wearing a bikini on the beach, about 6 months pregnant, and looking lovely.

In mid-Sept. 1971 John flew to his cousin's wedding in Boston, then visited the Erewhon warehouse (at 33 Farnsworth St), where he talked to "Big Bill" Garrison, the manager, who offered John a job. "I realized that here I was in Boston at the center of the center, the heart of the heart of everything. A stoned-out hippie in Tucson, Arizona, once told me that Michio Kushi knows more about the Universe than any other person on the planet. I knew I wanted to study with Michio." Continued. Address: 555 Bryant St. #255, Palo Alto, California 94301. Phone: 415-853-1231.

251. Deming, John W., Jr. 1994. Work with Erewhon and the natural foods industry, 1972-1973. Part II (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 28-29. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: So after 2 months in Los Angeles, John moved to Boston, arriving on 1 Oct. 1971. Other people who were there when John arrived were Bill Garrison, Jimmy Silver, Bill Tara, Paul Hawken and his wife Dora Coates Hawken, and Judy Coates. John moved into the macrobiotic study house on Gardner Road that was under the direction of Jimmy and Susan Silver. He began to work at the Erewhon warehouse. There he met Judy Coates, Dora's elder sister, who was the cook at the Erewhon warehouse. "She was cute as a button, and she was the girl that everybody had their eyes on—though her boyfriend at the time was Norio Kushi. She was just popping around, cooking these great meals."

After 2-3 months of living at the Gardner Road house, John was invited by Aveline Kushi to move into the Kushi house at 62 Buckminster Road in Brookline. John considered this an honor and accepted. Shortly thereafter he grew to know Paul Hawken better. After John had worked for about 3 months in the warehouse (it was run very efficiently and everybody worked very hard), in early 1972, Paul called John into his office and asked him to be Erewhon's first official "salesman." However John was to take no orders, but instead be Erewhon's "ambassador." He would just visit natural foods retail stores across New England and talk about Erewhon's philosophy and products. He drove around in the snow and usually spent the night

with one of Erewhon's customers. By the spring of 1972 John had had enough of the job, so Paul asked him to co-manage the Erewhon retail store (which was having problems) at 342 Newbury St.—together with Wesley and Jane. John soon became the sole manager—at \$2.50/hour. "That's where I really came into my own." The store began to do very well financially. Sales doubled. Paul and John became very close friends. "He was a great guy. Just a wonderful guy, and so charismatic. We felt like together we could take this company to the moon. He urged me to get involved with Judy Coates. The macroid community was very in-bred."

On 27 June 1972 John celebrated his 25th birthday, and to his great surprise discovered that funds from a trust were now available to him. During the next few months he decided to give, then (at Paul Hawken's wise insistence) to loan roughly \$50,000 to Erewhon—at a time when Erewhon was facing its first major financial crisis. John's loan saved the growing company. He and Judy Coates were married in Aug. 1972 in Boston. Paul Hawken and John Deming married sisters, Dora and Judy Coates. John and Judy went to live in Allston, Massachusetts (not far from Boston); Nik and Joanne Amartseff moved in with them. John remembers Nik as a very interesting person whose ancestry was Russian and East Asian. John and Judy's first child, Lhianna, was born in Boston on 27 Sept. 1973.

At some point in about the fall of 1972 John talked to Paul about his wish to invest \$150,000 (a new portion of his inheritance from trusts from his parents and grandparents that had recently become available to him) in Erewhon in exchange for stock. Erewhon was in financial difficulty and needed the money. "We were all new-age guys and we were saying, 'We're doing this for the good of humanity, we don't care about the money.' We were going to set up a foundation, and set up a village outside of Boston where all the people would live and work in harmony on a farm. We had great dreams. I was a good right-hand man to Paul." Paul also worked with a company named Advest, a venture capital company in New England, that planned to raise \$350,000 in a private stock offering for Erewhon. But at the last minute Michio Kushi nixed both deals; apparently he wanted to be the sole owner of Erewhon. Paul Hawken believed that he owned 25.5% of Erewhon and Michio told him repeatedly that he did, but John thinks Michio would never give Paul a document which proved this ownership. Whenever Paul would broach the matter, Michio would create some kind of an excuse, such as saying to him, "Well, actually we're all in this together. There's not really any need to put it down on paper." There was also a little naïveté on Paul's part. John is quite sure that Paul did not actually own any Erewhon stock.

In the Aug. 1973 issue of *East West Journal* Paul Hawken wrote a long, excellent article about Erewhon titled "Erewhon: A biography. The view within." He had some nice words for John Deming: "If there is one person who is 'most' responsible for Erewhon being here today and not

bankrupt, it is John Deming, who brought a sense of joy and happiness wherever he went in the company. He assumed the manager's position at the retail store and made it the finest part of the company. His positive attitude was in contrast to the apprehension that all of us shared about the future. He gave Erewhon some money without which we would surely have failed. On his twenty-fifth birthday John came into a trust which sort of blew his mind. He had known nothing about it. He wanted to just give it to Erewhon, but it is on the books as a loan. It came just in time to pay back overdue creditors and panting bank officers."

John left Erewhon in late 1973, at the same time Paul Hawken left. Paul went to Findhorn alone in Scotland, came back to the USA and told John how great it was. Paul and Dora lived for 2 months in John and Judy's house in Lexington, Massachusetts. There Paul and John went into business together, starting a little rice brokerage company named Winton-Gerard (after their two middle names). They sold organically grown brown rice. Then in Nov. 1973 they went back to Findhorn together with their wives and children. Dora was pregnant with her second child, Iona Fairlight Hawken, a girl; her first child was Palo Cheyenne Hawken, a boy [born in 1972]. They were in Scotland for the winter solstice in Dec. 1973, watching the sun barely rise then set in a period of 2-3 hours. Peter Caddy had a charismatic personality. John was the head gardener at Findhorn for the last 2-3 months he was there. To grow those huge vegetables, "We trenched down about 3 feet and put in this incredibly powerful, all natural compost of seaweed and manure. I don't think it was the elves and fairies that grew those huge vegetables. During the summer the sun is in the sky almost 24 hours a day for 2-3 weeks." John and Judy returned to America after the summer solstice in 1974.

John and Paul continued to run their rice brokerage company from Findhorn, had many misunderstandings, and later had a big blowup. "Looking at it later, I was very self righteous, and I think we were equally at fault. I would even be willing to shoulder more of the blame. Paul wasn't an easy guy to work with."

"I'm very proud of what we did at Erewhon in Boston and the people I worked with. It was one of the high points of my life. The esprit de corps that we had rolling back then was superb. For the rest of my life I have been searching to find that same kind of feeling we had. It was a privilege to work with Paul Hawken and to get to know him as well as I did, even though we had a tremendous falling out later. I went through a period of about ten years when I absolutely hated the guy. But now I like and admire him very much. "The two people who deserve the most credit for Erewhon are Paul Hawken and Michio Kushi. Continued. Address: 555 Bryant St. #255, Palo Alto, California 94301. Phone: 415-853-1231.

252. Deming, John W., Jr. 1994. Work with Erewhon and the natural foods industry, 1975-1978. Part III (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 28-29. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: In 1975 John got involved with Erewhon again, when the company decided to sell its West Coast operations. John had a lot of dealings with Ty Smith, and he loaned some money. It is an unpleasant memory for John. He had met John Fountain when Fountain was living in Michio Kushi's home and studying macrobiotics in Boston, Massachusetts, in the 1972. Fountain ran an ice cream factory in Southern California. They became close friends and are still close friends—Fountain got Deming interested in the philosophy of Andrew Galambos. Deming and Fountain reconnected over an interest in buying Erewhon L.A. "We had decided to go into business together. We looked around, one thing led to another, and we finally decided to buy Erewhon—Los Angeles. I financed the purchase."

On 1 Aug. 1975 Erewhon, under Ty Smith, sold substantially all of its assets used in operations in California. The selling price was \$350,000, payable as follows: \$100,000 in cash within 15 days of closing, \$100,000 due 90 days from Aug. 15, \$50,000 due in 3 installments in January, April, and July 1976, and \$100,000 due in quarterly installments of \$12,500 each from 31 Oct. 1976 to 31 July 1978. John Fountain was responsible for coming up with all this money.

"I thought I was purchasing it jointly with him, but it turned out I wasn't; I discovered that I was basically a passive investor in John Fountain's venture. I had a lot of respect for John's business talent which, it turns out, was somewhat misplaced. I let John run the business, but I felt very frustrated. If the company had made a lot of money, I would have made a lot too. But the company never made any money. I was pretty naive, though John Fountain didn't do anything dishonest. It was probably the stupidest business decision of my entire life. The basic problem was that at the time Erewhon was a declining business. Other people were coming along and doing everything better. Erewhon West had financial troubles trying to compete with Nature's Best and K&L (Kahan & Lessin)—big, established distributors. Erewhon was essentially a middle man, and that was the problem; the middle men were getting squeezed out of that business."

During this time, John and his family were living in Pacific Palisades. He was studying the philosophy of Andrew Galambos (a brilliant, complex, and learned astrophysicist) largely by listening to him talk. The basis of Galambos' philosophy was the concept of non-coercion. John notes: "Very briefly, the free market is simply the phenomenon that emerges from *all* non-coercive interactions between human beings (and ultimately all animals). The political state is the phenomenon that emerges (or results) from all coercive interactions. Property is a human being's body (biological entity) and all non-

procreative derivatives thereof. Coercion is any attempted interference in the property of another without that other person's (the owner's) permission."

John Fountain attempted to apply the ideas of Galambos among employees in the daily operations of Erewhon West. For example, he tried to credit and pay people for their ideas to the extent that these ideas contributed to the success of the business.

That year Deming and Fountain decided to expand Erewhon by opening another retail store—to be named the Erewhon Natural Grocery. Deming, who was living in Irvine, built (from the foundation up) the ultimate natural foods store in nearby Santa Ana, California, about 30 miles southeast of Los Angeles. It was located in South Coast Village, a little shopping center associated with South Coast Plaza—the largest shopping center in Southern California. John's dream was that this would be the first of a chain of beautiful natural foods retail stores, named Cuisine, which would also cater to the gourmet food crowd. In retrospect, John spent much too much money in building this beautiful store—which came to represent another bad business decision. He hired Bill Bolduc to manage the store, and also hired a professional produce manager. The store opened in Jan. 1977. John and Judy's second child, Emily, was born on 10 June 1977. At the end of the summer of 1978 John and his wife Judy separated. Continued. Address: 555 Bryant St. #255, Palo Alto, California 94301. Phone: 415-853-1231.

253. Deming, John W., Jr. 1994. Work with Erewhon and the natural foods industry, 1979 on. Part IV (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 28-29. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: In late 1979 John Fountain was obligated to come up with some money for John Deming. Being unable to, Fountain had to relinquish the company to Deming. Deming fired Fountain and ended up taking over Erewhon L.A. under very bad circumstances ("which again proved to be a very dumb mistake"), brought in some professional business consultants to look at the entire operation, we tried several different things but nothing worked the way John wanted to see it work, so John decided to liquidate the entire company and get out. Deming proceeded to sell off the assets piecemeal. There was an Erewhon Natural Foods retail store in Northridge. Fountain sold that store to Deming, and the same day Deming sold it to Tree of Life West. John does not think he made a profit on the sale. Deming found difficulty selling the Erewhon retail store at 8001-03 Beverly Blvd. in Los Angeles, partly because the store was somewhat run down. John Deming (d.b.a. Erewhon—Los Angeles) needed to meet a payroll payment, so he offered to sell the store to Tom DeSilva if he could make the down payment they were asking. Tom got Tyler Smith and Jeffrey Flasher to go in as partners with him and they bought the store. On 13 Jan. 1980, the new owners took over.

Deming sold another large part of Erewhon—Los Angeles to an East Coast vitamin company (sort of a competitor to GNC) that was a division of the same company that owned Marvel Comic Books.

Jimmy Silver and Jeff Hilgert bought the remaining assets from John Deming and in June 1980 they transformed Erewhon West into Pure Sales. Then they defaulted on their payments to Deming, after writing him a note saying they weren't going to pay him for various reasons. John was infuriated—it was the last straw. John sued Silver and Hilgert for the money they owed under the contract. They counter-sued him for \$1.5 million. That scared John, so he proposed that they just forget the suits. He got no more money from Silver and Hilgert.

Also in 1980 John and his wife, Judy, were divorced. The divorce was not related to John's financial problems. He still feels that Judy is great person. "Her mother's a saint. I love her dearly. And you'll never hear a bad word from me about Judy. She is just a fabulous person, and she has been a great mother to our children."

John returned alone to Boston, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1981 and "basically went into a depression for about a year and that caused me to change my life. I really thought everything through. There were 2 or 3 week periods when I didn't get out of bed except to get food. I wasn't married. I had only one close friend (a fellow named Kristen Carlson) but I was ashamed of my poor state of mind and did not allow him to know how bad of I was. Several other friends I had weren't interested in seeing me because I was such a downer. That was probably the most important year of my life because I came out the other end of it realizing that you've got to be master of your own fate. You've got to learn—learning is the only option we have in life—and just keep learning and growing. Since that time my life has done nothing but get better and more successful in all ways." Sober self analysis made John feel down. "I got out of it by dropping that sober self analysis and learning how to think more clearly about life. I read a book by David Burns titled *Feeling Good* and I think that was the turning point of my life. I learned that my feelings were more or less derived from my thoughts."

After 10 years of being single, John married again in 1988 to a Korean-American woman named Tabitha Lee; they have a 7-month old baby.

John is now thinking seriously about getting back into the natural foods business, in the nutritional supplement market, with some very professional people. They are engaged in negotiations right now.

John believes that one should live without in any way coercing others, and that society should be governed by that principle. He feels that gratitude is one of the most important things in life.

"I believe any social movement is dangerous the moment it turns to political organization or organizations (hence coercion) to achieve its ends. The whole environmental/new-age movement has turned into a horror

story. I think the environmental movement is one of the most dangerous forces on the earth right now. There is a very serious and long-term danger to the environment. But the environmental movement response will, I think, cause more pollution and environmental degradation because they call for more and more government control and regulations. Yet bureaucrats generally don't care about the environment. I think Newt Gingrich and the Chamber of Commerce are just as dangerous in this regard as the environmental movement. Idealists often turn to coercive means, without understanding the social ramifications of coercion—which are horribly dangerous. For example, they want to force everybody to recycle. I also think the women's liberation movement is another very dangerous movement." There were and are very good reasons for concern by women about the way they have been traditionally treated, but their response has been really dangerous. "I am a strong libertarian. I don't even believe in voting. I think its dangerous." Address: 555 Bryant St. #255, Palo Alto, California 94301. Phone: 415-853-1231.

254. Hawken, Paul. 1994. *The ecology of commerce*. New York, NY: Harper Business. *

• *Summary*: This book was first published in serial form in the magazine *Inc.* in 1992. Address: Mill Valley, California.

255. Bolduc, Bill. 1995. *Work with natural foods in California, including Erewhon (Interview)*. *SoyaScan Notes*. Jan. 23. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Bill left Eden Foods in 1973. Then he spent some time in India, where his spiritual teacher, Muktananda, had an ashram in Ganeshpuri. Shortly after returning to America, he helped a fellow from Ann Arbor, Michigan, start an business importing products (such as incense) from India to be sold at Muktananda's ashrams around America.

Then he was contacted by John Deming, who asked him to help build, open, and manage his state-of-the art natural foods store in Santa Ana, California, about 30 miles southeast of Los Angeles. Bill moved to California in 1 Oct. 1976 to begin work on renovating the inside of the building, which was part of a small shopping mall named South Coast Village. He and his wife flew to California and rented a house nearby. The interior of the store was gorgeous, with custom bulk bins built specially for the store, etc. Bill hired the staff and the store (named something like Erewhon Natural Foods) opened in Jan. 1977. As manager, Bill responsible for making the store profitable. By about Feb. or March 1977, Bill had mapped out an entire solid advertising and promotional program, with sales projections and all. He asked Deming how much money he could spend on advertising. Deming said he was sorry but had no money to spend, not even for printing leaflets to distribute by hand. Bolduc quit on the spot. He had no idea of the other

financial problems related to Erewhon–Los Angeles that Deming was facing at the time.

After leaving Deming's store, Bill did a few odd projects, then in about August 1977 was hired on a project basis to help Phil Parente / Parenti to ease out of Pure & Simple in San Jose—after Roger Hillyard quit. He worked in and around a huge warehouse in San Jose; there was still a sprouting operation and they made nut butters. All of the operations staff left San Jose in Dec. 1977 so no shipments were made after that, but the accounting staff stayed as the business was being closed.

After that Bill was hired as marketing manager by Larry Brucia at Marin Foods. He had an office in San Rafael and commuted to the store across the San Rafael bridge. Bill worked at this job for several years, then he had to move back to Cincinnati with his two boys (of which he had custody). Address: Owner, 4015 Cherry St., Cincinnati, Ohio 45223. Phone: 1-800-514-3683.

256. McFadden, Barclay. 1995. History of Llama, Toucan & Crow, Lama Trading Co., and Stow Mills (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Jan. 20. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

- *Summary*: Llama was started Jan. 1973 by Bob Swanson as a little nameless natural food distributor in the basement of The Good Life, a natural food retail store in Brattleboro, Vermont. Swanson was employed as a clerk at the Good Life. The distribution operation started because The Good Life found it difficult to get good natural foods as far north as Brattleboro; Balanced Foods was the only distributor of any consequence in the area at the time, and their service was irregular, their products were expensive, and they carried more pills than foods. Swanson would drive his pickup down to New York and buy foods from a distributor named Mottel (run by a man named Lenny). Soon other natural food stores learned of Swanson's activities, contacted him, and he began buying for those stores as well as for The Good Life. Soon Swanson's natural foods distribution business outgrew the basement of The Good Life, so in 1974 he moved his operations into a small building in Greenfield, Massachusetts, located about 20 miles south of Brattleboro.

Bob Swanson, Howard Rower, and one other person [George Hannides, pronounced HAN-uh-dees], had all put money or sweat equity into the company as it was getting started. They were having a difficult time agreeing on a name. Barclay has heard that when they couldn't come to an agreement, they each decided to choose their favorite animal. Barclay thinks that Swanson chose the llama, he would bet that Rower chose the crow, and the third person must have chosen the toucan. So the company was named Llama, Toucan & Crow. In 1975 the company moved back to Brattleboro, where they bought an old 5-story frame building at 21 Frost St. The building was a logistical disaster, and it was not the same building that Bob Swanson

had occupied prior to moving to Greenfield. They had their own flour mill.

In late 1975 and early 1976 the company got into financial difficulty. In May 1976 Barclay bought 95% of the business from Swanson, Rower, Petty Perry (the former owner of the Good Life), and many small shareholders. Some of the original shareholders kept the remaining 5% of the stock, but Barclay bought them out 7-8 years later. Barclay acquired Llama immediately after graduating from the Business School at the University of Virginia. He had some experience in the food business while working for Distribuco, an institutional food service distributor in California. He also spent a year in the cotton business.

One of the first things Barclay did after becoming the majority shareholder was to change the company name to Llama Trading Company.

In 1976 Jane McFadden, Barclay's wife, opened a natural food store named Llama, Toucan & Crow in downtown Brattleboro, Vermont, but it had no financial connection with the wholesale distributing company which had formerly had the same name. Nor was Jane ever actively involved with Barclay's distributing company.

In the spring of 1977 Barclay moved his distributing company to 33 Riddell St. in Greenfield because that was the only building he could find in the area that was suitable, i.e. that was large enough, that the company could afford, and that was located reasonably close to where the company's employees lived. The company stayed in Greenfield for a few years, but then outgrew their building.

In 1979 Bill Miller decided to sell Stow Mills. The company was an old-line pill distributor that was started in 1969. Since Stow had a large share of the food supplement business in the region and Llama carried almost exclusively food products, Barclay thought that a merger would make a lot of sense. He knew he could hold onto his natural food customers, but he was not sure he could hold onto Stow's pill customers, so he decided to keep the Stow Mills name for the company formed by the merger, even though Llama bought Stow. Richard Youngman had joined Barclay as a shareholder at the time they bought Stow Mills; Richard is still a shareholder.

In 1980 the new Stow Mills moved back to Brattleboro, Vermont, relocating on Quinn Road. In 1981, after Erewhon declared bankruptcy, Stow Mills purchased Erewhon's inventory plus a little extra for good will for less than \$100,000. Stow Mills picked up most of Erewhon's natural foods store accounts. In about 1984 Stow Mills bought (at a liquidation) the remains of New England Health Foods, a distributor that had started in about 1979. In 1986 Stow bought New England Organic Produce from Gene Fialkoff. In 1988 Stow moved from Brattleboro to Chesterfield, New Hampshire (relocating on Stow Drive). In 1991 Stow bought Beautiful Foods, a distributor in Philadelphia.

During these years, about 70-80% of the company's growth has been internal and the remainder has been as a

result of acquisitions. In the summer of 1993 Stow opened a new facility (a distribution warehouse plus offices) near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Today Stow is primarily a natural food distributor, with about 85% of their sales being of natural foods, and with most of the rest of being supplements. Stow is the second largest natural foods distributor in America, after Tree of Life. Stow and Tree (through Balanced Foods, which is owned by Tree) are strong competitors in New England, the Northeast, and the Mid-Atlantic regions.

Barclay does not know how to contact Bob Swanson. Address: CEO, Stow Mills, Inc., P.O. Box 301, Stow Dr., Chesterfield Corp. Park, Chesterfield, New Hampshire 03443. Phone: 603-256-3000.

257. Oates, Bill. 1995. History of The Good Life, and Llama, Toucan & Crow (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Jan. 25. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: It was Bill's idea to start The Good Life, which opened in March 1971 as a natural food retail store at 80 Main Street in Brattleboro, Vermont. Brattleboro was a very active center of the counterculture in the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1964-65 he had lived in Indonesia, where he was doing research for his PhD dissertation on a peasant revolt in West Java, and he grew to be very fond tempoh. Back in the USA, he entered academia at Lyndon State College in Lyndon, Vermont, teaching Chinese and Southeast Asian History during the Vietnam War. Bill was partners in The Good Life with Peter Strong and Patricia Perry. Bill and Peter were hippies at the time. Peter, who had been a student of Bill's, had worked with David Hatch, who owned and ran Hatch's, in Saint Johnsbury, Vermont. Hatch's may have been the earliest natural food store in Vermont; they did not carry supplements. For a while Peter Strong ran Hatch's.

When the three partners opened The Good Life in March 1971 they sort of used Hatch's as a model. Many of their original employees came from the Total Loss Farm Commune at Packer's Corners in Halifax, Vermont. The commune still exists (they used to make many baked goods for The Good Life), and a book was written about the group. There were some problems in getting good quality natural foods. The Good Life didn't carry vitamins or supplements. Like Hatch's, they would buy some foods from Erewhon in Boston, Massachusetts (Paul Hawken served as a wise advisor for them), and they would also drive a van farther south to New York City, where they would buy from Richter Brothers, Bazzini Nut Co. and others. In New York they would go to Chinatown and buy tofu from a Chinese manufacturer on Mott St. [probably Fong-On]. Prices of some goods were lower in New York City, Erewhon didn't carry everything, and "frankly they were very disorganized as a business. Paul Hawken was more of a thinker than a manager—a fascinating person." They were buying hard red winter wheat (organically grown) from Ted Whitmer in Montana. They would pay 8-9

cents a pound for the wheat plus 7 cents a pound to have it shipped to Vermont. Ted Whitmer said that if they bought a truckload of 40,000 lb, they could have it shipped on a back-shipment under an exemption for agricultural products; the ICC was still setting rates for freight shipments. So The Good Life took the plunge and in June or July of 1971 bought a 40,000 lb shipment of winter wheat from Whitmer, and paid only 2¼ cents per pound to have it shipped to Brattleboro. So the cost delivered to their store was about 11¼ cents per pound—a great price, compared with the 19-20 cents per price they would have to pay for Deaf Smith organic wheat from Erewhon [purchased by Erewhon from Arrowhead Mills in Texas]. Ted Whitmer gave The Good Life his list of all his wheat customers (about 25, including a nunnery and some co-ops) in the New England area to help his customers reduce freight costs. So The Good Life contacted all of Ted's customers and started selling their organic wheat to other food stores and groups for 14-15 cents per pound. Most of the stores picked up the orders of wheat at The Good Life, but some of it was delivered to the stores. All the wheat was sold within a month. The origin of Llama, Toucan & Crow can be traced directly to this shipment of wheat. Bob Swanson joined The Good Life as an employee after the first big shipment of wheat, and he used to do a lot of the driving. By the second year, the Good Life contracted with Ted Whitmer to buy 500,000 lb of his wheat, with payment in advance.

Since The Good Life was selling wheat to a growing number of stores, they wanted to buy other foods as well. They drove to New York and picked up several thousand pounds of food each week at special discounted prices, as the retail store thrived. They began to sell some of this food from New York at wholesale prices to customers who purchased wholesale wheat. So they soon found themselves in the wholesale business, and by early 1972 they were delivering foods at wholesale to more than 5 accounts. Then they discovered that the commodities law that enabled them to ship large amounts wheat inexpensively from Montana, would also allow them to ship other foods, such as dried fruits from California, at ridiculously low prices. So they put together a 40,000 lb shipment of dried fruits from California, consisting mostly of dried organic dates, then used organic raisins and other fruits to make a total of 40,000 lb. Now they were really in the wholesale business. Bob Swanson's job expanded from just delivering the food to taking the orders and ordering the food. By the end of 1972, The Good Life found itself with a thriving wholesale business, doing about \$3,000 to \$4,000 a week—about the same as the retail store. They were making two delivery runs a week, one north to Vermont and New Hampshire, and one south to Connecticut and Massachusetts. And people still came to The Good Life to pick up their supplies—at excellent prices. The tail was now wagging the dog. By this time Peter had gone off to Nepal—to discover himself. Patricia and Bill were running the retail store,

which had always carried, in addition to natural foods, imported cheese and wines. They sold no vitamins until many years later. Bill and Patricia decided that, as from the outset, they wanted to be in the retail store business, so they said to Bob Swanson, "If you want this wholesale business, it's yours, free of charge." Why free of charge? "It was right, and it was the right thing to do. You've got to remember, this was the early 1970s."

Bob accepted their offer, and in Jan. 1971 he began running the business out of the cellar of The Good Life for several months, until he located a very tumble-down warehouse facility for his new company in Brattleboro, at 21 Frost Street. The building has since been demolished. It had been owned by DeWitt Beverage Company, a beer distributor, and Swanson's business occupied only one floor of about 5 floors. Swanson operated out of this location for about 8-9 months, then he moved the company down to Greenfield.

Bill has no idea how to contact Bob Swanson now; later Bob went to his home town in Woodbury, Connecticut, where he helped a friend run a natural food store. Then he may have moved to Colorado. Peter Strong, who is now somewhere in Texas, might know how to reach Swanson.

When Barclay McFadden purchased Llama, Toucan & Crow, he had no background in the natural food business. Bill thinks that he was in the military, perhaps either a career officer or he may have been a graduate of West Point.

Bill and his wife now have a consulting company that works with country inns and bed-and-breakfasts in Vermont—mainly helping them to get started or to buy. Address: Box 1162, Brattleboro, Vermont 05302. Phone: 802-254-5931.

258. Rower, Howard. 1995. History of The Infinity Company and Infinity Foods. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Jan. 22. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Howard grew up in a Jewish family in Boston, Massachusetts. In about 1964 or 1965 he got interested in macrobiotics. John Hammond, his next door neighbor and a blues singer, was involved in macrobiotics and he told Howard about it one day. So Howard went to the Ohsawa Foundation in New York City, which was run by Irma Paule in those days. He bought some groceries from her and began practicing macrobiotics. George Ohsawa came to New York in 1965 for a summer camp (See Kotzsch 1985, p. 137) and Howard met him. "Ohsawa said he was looking for a guy like me and he wanted me to grow rice in New York state. I found out that was a pretty impossible task so I asked him to pick something easier. He said 'Okay, grow kuzu.' I said, 'Okay, when you get back to Japan, send me some kuzu plants.' And he said, 'Oh no. That's not the Zen way. The Zen way is for you to do it yourself, now.' I spent about 6 months finding out what a kuzu plant was. Finally I got some old agricultural bulletins that described how good

kuzu was, then later described how bad it was. I finally managed to find somebody in the South who dug up some kuzu in the winter and sent it to me. I grew it in my garden in New York. The next year when Ohsawa came, I sat him down under this huge kuzu vine, like an arbor, at the back of my house. I said 'There's the kuzu you wanted.' I took some of the kuzu roots and actually extracted kuzu from them and put it in a test tube. I showed it to Ohsawa, told him it was the first kuzu ever extracted in New York, and gave him the test tube. He was astonished and delighted. He said, 'Now we have to begin to work. I knew I was right. You *are* the man I'm looking for. You must begin to import macrobiotic food products from Japan at once. I will ship them to you.' So we started this relationship and in 1965 I began importing foods from Ohsawa in 1965. He used to send me tamari [soy sauce] and miso in beautiful little 18-liter wooden kegs, tied with rope." Howard sold these products to health food stores and to Michio Kushi.

Also during 1965 Howard read a book about grain and he got very interested in freshly-ground flour. A grain of wheat is alive, but as soon as you mill it, it dies. After 5 days the taste and nutritional value have both declined. So people should mill flour, then keep it refrigerated, and use it as soon as possible. So Howard bought a little home flour mill, and set it up in his house. He ground some wheat flour, his wife made some bread, and they really liked the bread. They served the bread to friends who came to dinner, then they wanted fresh flour, so he made flour for them. Pretty soon he was delivering flour to people, then a health food store wanted to sell it, so he had a label made, even though he didn't have a company name at all. So he threw the *I-Ching* to help him choose a name. The hexagram was "Perseverance Furthers." He was going to name the company "Thomas J. Perseverance" so it would sound like a real person. His brother, who was visiting at the time, said "That's a stupid name. You might as well call it Infinity if you're going to have a dumb name." Howard liked the name Infinity, and decided to name his company The Infinity Co. However, later he did have some labels printed on which Perseverance Foods was the company name—just for fun. He once had a lawyer named Bill Pratt, so he sold "William Pratt Old Barrister" brand honey. One of his children pinched his thumb in the flour mill at home and his wife became concerned that a more serious injury could happen. Moreover everything in the house began to dusted with a thin layer of flour.

Howard started The Infinity Company in about 1965 at 188 Duane Street in New York, in the lower Manhattan neighborhood named Tribeca. It distributed, imported, and manufactured natural foods. George Hannides (pronounced HAN-uh-dees) came to work with him, and he later became a minor working partner. the Infinity Food Company in New York.

Howard had a friend who practiced karate in a loft at 188 Duane Street, and his landlord gave Howard a small space that had a desk in it on another floor of the same

building. So Howard moved in his mill and started doing business as The Infinity Company. Within 2-4 years Howard incorporated the company and changed the name to The Infinity Food Company. Then the health food stores began asking Howard to make other kinds of fresh flour, such as rye flour or corn meal. He did, and soon the product line had expanded to 250 different products. Eventually he had two 30-inch flour mills plus a 24-inch mill and some little 8-inch ones. He had a room full of mills, and milling was a large part of Infinity's manufacturing business. In addition, at one point, the company was getting truckloads of dried fruit and of fruit juices from California, plus jams and jellies made without sugar from the City of Industry, California.

"Michio Kushi was operating out of a house on Harvard Square in Cambridge. He was selling groceries in the hallway. He had started out in New York, then he ran into some kind of terrible financial trouble. He fled to Cambridge to avoid his creditors. His wife, Aveline, ran the business and he was the guru. In the early days, Michio was Erewhon's biggest asset. He used to go around and lecture, then people would say 'Where can we get this food,' and he'd say 'Go to Erewhon.'" Howard is not sure whether or not he ever sold products to Erewhon in the early days. Howard is not sure whether or not he began importing foods before Erewhon. "Erewhon didn't have any kind of an operation going on when I had my warehouse. They became important later. In the beginning, they may have been getting some products from Ohsawa in Japan at the same time I was. Erewhon was located in the Kushi house in Cambridge, where a few of the real loyal macrobiotics lived with the Kushis and helped to pay the rent. They had sort of a grocery display in the hall, and they sold some foods. In the early days, Erewhon bought miso, tamari and other typical macrobiotic products from Infinity." Continued. Address: 84 MacDougal St., New York, NY 10012. Phone: 212-982-3620.

259. Rower, Howard. 1995. History of The Infinity Company and Infinity Foods. Part II (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Jan. 22. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: "A Rabbi came and inspected, and we had a kosher seal on everything, because there were Hassidics who wanted to become macrobiotic and couldn't eat our food unless it was certified by a Rabbi—who we paid \$500 a year." As he spent time with owners of health food stores, he became interested in organically grown foods. Then he began importing—peanut butter in 500 lb pails from Argentina because the peanuts there were grown without any chemicals.

Within the first two years Jason Hammond, John Hammond's younger brother, began to work for Howard. John Hammond also worked with Howard for a while, milling flour. The company grew very quickly. So Infinity was moved from 188 Duane St. to 171 Duane St., then to

173 Duane St., and finally in about 1974 to a 30,000 square foot warehouse 157 Hudson St. By this time Infinity was a big macrobiotic and natural food distribution company.

In April 1966 George Ohsawa died. Shortly thereafter Howard went to Japan. He found that Ohsawa did not own or control any companies. "He just went around to traditional Japanese food manufacturers whose methods he liked, he bought the foods and just re-sold them to me." Mitoku and Muso still operate this way, as trading companies. So Howard traveled around to visit various food producers, made contracts with them, and began importing directly from them.

In about 1967 Bob Kennedy from Chico-San in California came to New York and offered to buy Infinity Foods. "He felt we were a threat to each other. He feared me as a competitor and wanted to eliminate me. Erewhon wasn't that big yet; they only started in April 1966.

In 1968 Howard got involved with scientology and "that just destroyed my life. It was also the downfall of Infinity Foods. It took all of my energy, and eventually I had no energy left to run my company. So in about 1976, the year the company had its largest sales ever, I just went out of business. I declared bankruptcy and closed the doors. I was the saddest day in my whole life. It was horrible. George Hannides' doctor told him that if he kept working at Infinity his wife would soon be a widow, so he left, exhausted from the stress, and started selling restaurant equipment. And Jason Hammond was in the army by then. I still have scars from that. My whole family does. It's a terrible and scary thing. You just have to really be careful."

Howard didn't even try to sell his growing company which was in a growing industry. "When one is half crazed from being part of a religious cult, one isn't really sane. I wasn't trying to get out. I was trying to focus on straightening my life out when actually my life was already straightened out. It was a terrible trap. In the end I had to choose between scientology and Infinity, my company, and I chose the wrong thing. I lost it. It's really sad. I feel like I've always been in a hole, and always climbing out of the same hole. I'm just like anybody else. I just lead my life. I just keep trying to move forward."

Howard describes himself as a "pack rat" and a Gemini. He has an entire warehouse full of "stuff," including documents, including some early catalogs from Infinity. Howard now owns and manages real estate in lower Manhattan, and he raises beef cattle on a big ranch (1½ million acres) in Central Australia. He had a gallery in Soho where he sold Australian aboriginal art; he closed it 3 months ago but he plans to re-open it soon in Tribeca. Long after he closed Infinity, Howard spent time in Australia with aboriginal people, and he has been adopted by an aboriginal family. Now he rarely goes to his offices any more. He now runs his businesses mostly from his home at 84 MacDougal St. in Greenwich Village by talking with secretaries by phone. Address: 84 MacDougal St., New York, NY 10012. Phone: 212-982-3620.

260. Silver, Jimmy. 1995. Purchase of the Erewhon and Pure & Simple brand names from John Deming (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Jan. 24. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: From the day that Jimmy began to work for Erewhon–Los Angeles in 1976, he always believed that John Fountain owned the company and that John Deming was only an investor. "For years, John Fountain ran that company into the ground. I have no idea why Deming wasn't paying attention to what was happening. Then Deming showed up and said to me 'Listen, this company really belongs to me, and I need to know what you think about what's happening.' I told him, then he said 'I'm going to get rid of Fountain and I really need to have you stay. It's going to be a great opportunity for you.' But when he found out what was really happening, and there was going to be work involved, he became somewhat dismayed by the whole thing. It was totally bizarre."

So Jimmy stayed on and worked for John Deming, who sacked John Fountain in late 1978 or early 1979. Jimmy then hired Jeffrey Hilgert. In early 1980, Jeffrey negotiated with Shade Foods (a maker of yogurt toppings in Belmont, California) for Erewhon–Los Angeles to buy the Pure & Simple name, plus a few jam products, from Shade. No physical assets were purchased. Payments were made over a period of several years.

Jimmy had recommended to John Fountain that Erewhon–Los Angeles be converted from a wholesale distributor to a master distributor of branded products that were sold nationally. When John Deming came in, he liked the idea and told Jimmy to make the change. So Jimmy arranged for K&L, Nature's Best, and many other distributors to take on the line of products that Erewhon–Los Angeles had formerly distributed for itself. The Erewhon–Los Angeles warehouse and offices were moved from Vernon to Santa Ana, California. The Santa Ana warehouse was much smaller—no more than 8,000 square feet. It housed only the imported Japanese products and Johnson's Spaghetti Sauce.

When Jimmy and Jeff Hilgert bought Erewhon–Los Angeles from John Deming in mid-1980, they basically wanted the right to use two names: Pure & Simple, and Erewhon. Erewhon–Los Angeles was a very small company, with sales of only about \$35,000 a month at the time, and there were large debts which Silver and Hilgert agreed to pay off for Deming. "He said, 'I have to have this amount of money'—which was a ridiculous sum. He should have just given us the company and walked away. It wasn't really worth anything, except that it had these two valuable names—if it could control them.

"John presumably had an agreement with Michio Kushi which allowed him to use the name Erewhon in exchange for paying royalties—a percentage of the sales of the business—to Michio. This is what all the subsequent problems hinged on. After Erewhon went bankrupt, they

informed John (without our knowing it) that they were going to require us to stop using the Erewhon name—because we had no right to it, because Deming had never executed the appropriate documents with Michio and wasn't paying Michio any royalties. The agreement that John had told us he had with Michio—that he had sold us—did not exist! By the time we discovered this, we had already paid him something like \$80,000 to \$100,000. I didn't find out until much later that Erewhon notified him that they were going to withdraw the use of the name from him. At that point, John came to us and said 'Look, you still owe me several hundred thousand dollars for the business, but I'd like to accelerate the payments because I really need cash, and in exchange I'll reduce the amount of money you owe me to \$250,000.' He wanted us to pay the balance due over 6 months rather than over something like 5 or 10 years. So we began accelerating the payments. He knew that both he and we would be sued by Erewhon, but we didn't know it. After we had paid him \$180,000 of the \$250,000, Erewhon sued us. We went to John and asked him to defend us against the Erewhon suit since we still believed he had this agreement with Michio. Even though we had paid him \$180,000 and were in the process of paying the rest, refused to defend us. He told us it was our problem, that he didn't think it was a productive use of money, and that he thought he thought we should just walk away from it. So Jimmy hired a lawyer to defend himself, and asked John to produce a copy of his signed contract with Michio. I guess we neglected to scrutinize his agreement with Michio at the beginning because we trusted him and he had been using the Erewhon name for years. John did show us a copy of a written agreement at the time we made the deal, but the agreement had time frames on it, and it had to be renewed and renegotiated, and he said he was in the process of doing that. I learned a lot from this experience, but the tuition was high.

"In June 1980 we signed the agreement to purchase Erewhon–Los Angeles from John Deming, then we renamed it Pure Sales, which had two major lines of branded products: Erewhon, and Pure & Simple—plus Johnson's Spaghetti Sauce. At the same time we were paying Deming, we were also paying Shade Foods for rights to use the Pure & Simple name. We took Deming's business from \$35,000 sales a month to about \$350,000 a month within about a year.

Concerning names: Erewhon–Los Angeles had been a natural foods distribution company in Vernon, California, run by John Fountain. There was a time when Jimmy used both the names Erewhon–Los Angeles and Erewhon West, then Erewhon West took precedence as a name when the company became a master distributor of branded products and its products began to be distributed nationwide. The name change took place before Erewhon–Boston declared bankruptcy.

"After Erewhon refused to allow us to use the Erewhon name, we had to come up with a new name and re-label all

our products in 90 days at a cost of something like \$50,000 to \$90,000. I called the pasta "Johnson's" and the tamari So' Tamari, So' Pasta, etc." John had had his lawyer, Fred Marks, write several very specific sentences into the agreement describing the conditions under which we would not have to pay John. There was a hearing in Boston, Massachusetts, and we had to go before a bankruptcy judge there. When we lost the lawsuit, because there was no valid agreement between Deming and Kushi, our lawyer asked the judge to issue the order in the language that Deming's lawyer had written into our contract. And he did and the judge did. We got a court order losing to Erewhon but it was worded in John's lawyer's language. So we went back to John and said 'We're not going to pay you for the balance due.' We told him we thought he should pay back the \$180,000 we had already paid. He refused. After a month or two he sued us for the \$50,000. So we counter-sued him for everything that we had paid him plus our costs of relabeling—a total of about \$250,000 to \$350,000. John came to us and said that he would drop his suit if we would drop ours. We did not pursue our case because we wanted to focus on our booming business and we did not have the resources to prosecute a lawsuit—nor were we willing to go through the emotional energy drain. So we walked away from it. John had lots of money and for him the whole thing was like a monopoly game. Address: President, Pure Sales, P.O. Box 5116, Irvine, California 92716-5116. Phone: 714-540-5455.

261. Tara, Bill. 1995. Early work with Erewhon and natural foods (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Jan. 18. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Bill and Paul Hawken were roommates in San Francisco, living in a studio in the warehouse district. Paul was single and Bill had a girlfriend named Renee. Bill and Paul worked together, doing light shows for rock and roll concerts. They also produced some concerts together. They began practicing macrobiotics together in San Francisco in about mid-1966. They learned about macrobiotics from Roger Hillyard (who was also doing light shows in San Francisco), who gave Paul the little yellow-covered book by George Ohsawa titled *Zen Macrobiotics*. Paul started following the diet as prescribed in the book in an attempt to cure his asthma. Bill became interested in macrobiotics at about the same time because he had always been interested in Eastern philosophy, but he had never realized that it might be applied to diet and food. A young architect, Peter Milbury, was also in San Francisco and interested in macrobiotics.

Paul left San Francisco in about mid-1967 to visit a rock and roll club in Washington, DC, for whom he was designing a light show. After that meeting, he went to Boston to meet with Michio Kushi. He was impressed, so he returned to San Francisco, settled his affairs, and moved to Boston. A month or so later, Bill and his girlfriend Renee also moved to Boston, where Bill began to work at the

Erewhon retail store at 303-B Newbury Street (below street level).

In Nov. 1968, on Thanksgiving day, the Erewhon retail store moved up and across the street to a much bigger and nicer location at 342 Newbury St. The next day, after moving the store and attending big party to celebrate the move, Bill left Boston for Chicago to start his next venture. Michio has asked Bill if he would like to go to Chicago to help set up a macrobiotic store and center. Several people in Chicago were already interested in macrobiotics—Vincent (a jeweler) and Lillian Barseviech (who later went to Boston and lived and cooked in the Kushi house for a long time). Bill found the idea to be interesting and it also gave me an opportunity to do a little teaching about macrobiotics, which was becoming his main interest. In downtown Chicago, several weeks after arriving (in December 1968) Bill opened a little macrobiotic food store, named the East West Center, on the tenth floor of an office building in the Loop. Vincent and Lillian had the space ready when Bill arrived with a stock of foods from Boston. He sold foods, gave lectures several nights a week, and organized potluck dinners. Later John Palumbo (a shiatsu practitioner, still works in Chicago as a shiatsu therapist) also starting giving some talks.

After about 9 months, in the autumn of 1969, Bill received a call from Aveline Kushi in Los Angeles, who asked him if he would go to Los Angeles to help her there. Again, he liked the idea so he moved to Los Angeles, taking up residence in the study house started by Aveline at 7511 Franklin Ave. He was soon at work starting another macrobiotic and natural foods retail store, called Erewhon—Los Angeles, at 8001 Beverly Blvd. He started the store because Aveline felt the need for a good place to buy macrobiotic food in Los Angeles—and because he was bored. Two students of macrobiotics, Don Honoroff and John Fountain, found the store location; they were two of the first students to live at Aveline's study house. Bill did the carpentry and soon opened the store in about September 1969. In October Bruce Macdonald arrived from Boston and helped Bill finished construction, building a walk-in and build more shelves. Bruce took over as manager of the store almost immediately. Bill focused on building up a wholesale distribution company, driving food up and down the Pacific Coast. Since the store was not capitalized at all, Bill needed to sell food fast to pay the bills. Distribution began in about November 1969, as soon as they got their first drop shipment of natural foods from Japan. Paul Hawken, who was in Japan, arranged to have part of a container dropped in Los Angeles, then the rest shipped on to Boston. That was probably the first shipment that Paul supervised from Japan. The first food was wholesaled on a delivery basis. Bill got a pick-up truck and, as driver, began delivering to about 10 small natural food stores, often run by hippies, in Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo. He sold the food out of the back of the truck—cash and carry. "Come out to the truck and look what we've got here." Without

knowing it, Bill had started America's second natural foods distributing company—After Erewhon—Boston. Erewhon—Los Angeles also bought foods from Arrowhead Mills and a few sources in California. Bill also taught macrobiotic classes in the big living room of Aveline's study house. Other speakers included Jacques Delangre, Herman Aihara, and Teizo Okada (of Muso Shokuhin). Bill also taught some classes up the Pacific Coast, as in Santa Barbara (surfers had a little natural foods store) and San Francisco (at a house where Peter Milbury lived on the Panhandle). Bill taught things he had learned from Michio Kushi's lectures and George Ohsawa's books.

After about 9 months in Los Angeles, Bill returned to Boston and started to work at the Erewhon warehouse that was just about to open at 33 Farnsworth Street. He helped renovate the building. Other people who Bill worked with were Roger Hillyard, Wally Gorell, Jim Docker, and a guy named Richard (from New York) who eventually started Erewhon Farms. Erewhon Farms was composed of a group of people who went back to the land near Keene, New Hampshire, started a sort of commune with a little natural foods retail store, and were growing produce (such as kabocha and daikon) organically for Erewhon. They struggled there for several years and then dispersed.

After Paul Hawken returned from Japan, he (and maybe Roger Hillyard) began to push for a stock option program in Erewhon for the people who had worked for the company for a long time, basically free of charge. Nik Amartseff was included in these talks, since he had brought in a lot of expertise. That is when the trouble started. Michio said, "We'll work this out, but right now the company is willing to give all of you a kind of bonus. You can either decide to travel for a while at Erewhon's expense, or you can take a cash payout." Bill decided to travel, so Erewhon agreed to send him around the world, and to pay both his transportation and living expenses. That is when he made his first trip to Europe (including London), across the Middle East, and into India. He was supposed to collect information for the company on business opportunities in various countries, what products were available, etc. Address: Nova Healing Arts, 370 South 43rd St., Boulder, Colorado 80303. Phone: 303-499-7234.

262. Evans, Barry. 1995. The American Miso story. In: Great Eastern Sun. 1995. Pricelist. Effective June 5, 1995. 37 p. See p. 2-3.

• *Summary*: "This spring, as we complete our sixteenth year of operations at the American Miso Company, we are moved to reflect back on the path we have traveled to reach this point. In the spring of 1979, a group of people approached Michio and Aveline Kushi with the idea of forming a new company to produce miso in the United States using traditional methods and only the finest organic ingredients. With the Kushi's enthusiastic support, the Erewhon Miso Company was created to supply Erewhon with miso to distribute throughout the United States. From

this distant perspective, it is difficult to remember how powerful a force Erewhon was in the natural foods industry at that time. Dominating the market in the Northeast, Erewhon was the largest distributor of natural food in the United States with strong connections to distributors for its name brands in other regions.

"With Erewhon as our partner, master distributor, and a major investor, we moved ahead confidently with our plans to build a miso factory in the Piedmont Region of North Carolina. The Kushis entreated Akiyoshi Kazama, founder of Mitoku Trading Company, a major supplier then as now of high-quality Japanese natural food to the U.S. market, to put aside any narrow concerns of self interest and find us someone to train our would-be miso makers in the rapidly fading art of traditional miso manufacture. In a selfless spirit of international cooperation, Mr. Kazama searched for someone who still made miso the old-fashioned way, yet was open-minded enough to invite strangers into his home (literally).

"After many false starts amid a lengthy search, Mr. Kazama finally located, in the mountains of Yaita Prefecture north of Tokyo, Takamichi Onozaki, a country miso maker of the old school. Mr. Onozaki, generously opening his home and his heart to *gaijin* [foreign] seekers after knowledge from half a world away, agreed to house and train an American couple, John and Jan Belleme, for an entire miso-making season. From November, 1979, until June, 1980, Mr. Onozaki taught his students all the miso lore he had accumulated from a lifetime of miso making in his small, rural miso factory staffed entirely by local farmwives. This was intermediate technology with a vengeance!

"Upon the Bellemes' return to America, we rapidly constructed our factory building near Rutherfordton, North Carolina, and Mitoku arranged to ship us our new equipment from Japan. By late 1980 we had begun to make our first experimental batches of rice miso. As the miso slowly aged in its huge cypress vats, great events developed hidden from our eyes which were to have a profound effect on the young Erewhon Miso Company. In July, 1981, Michio and Aveline Kushi journeyed to Rutherfordton for the official christening of the miso plant. The beautiful and joyous ceremony left not a dry eye in the gathering; later we discussed Erewhon's ambitious plans to package and market the rapidly ripening miso.

"A glorious road into the future seemed to lay open before us, but Erewhon's financial condition was rapidly deteriorating as too rapid expansion took its toll on a company stretched to the limit by its success. One month later we received the stunning news that Erewhon had filed for bankruptcy. In one of the saddest stories we have ever had the misfortune to be a part of, the Kushis lost control of the company they had nurtured from its birth, and we lost our only customer, a major investor, and our major source of inspiration and guidance.

"At first we were devastated by the blow fate had dealt us, but we had nowhere to go but forward as we had already made a huge financial and emotional investment in our project. Severing our ties to the past, we renamed our enterprise the American Miso Company and began a desperate search for marketers for our product. When we were unable to find anyone to help us, we resolved to set up our own marketing company and do the job ourselves. Thus, out of the direct necessity, Great Eastern Sun was born in December, 1981. Mitoku, itself almost destroyed in the storm of the Erewhon disaster and eager to rebuild, agreed to export Japanese natural food to Great Eastern Sun. GES processed its first order in April, 1982, and sold the first American Miso in September of that same year.

"In the fall of 1981, Mr. Onozaki came to Rutherfordton on an inspection trip to see exactly how well his students had learned their lessons. He stayed and worked in the factory alongside our own crew, patiently reviewing our practices and refining our procedures until he pronounced himself fully satisfied. He had never left Japan before in his life. In the fall of 1982 [sic, spring], Mr. Onozaki dispatched his daughter and son-in-law to America to work for several months in the miso factory just to make absolutely certain that everything remained kosher. In late 1985, John and Jan Belleme turned over the operation of the factory they had built to their successor, Don DeBona, who remains as miso factory manager to this day. Three books and many projects later, the circle comes round again as the Bellemes are now Mitoku's U.S. representatives.

"Although our miso was sold only in bulk for its first two seasons, our familiar tubs with the Miso Master logo soon arrived on the scene and sales slowly but steadily grew. Starting with eight barrels, we added six in 1986, seven in 1989, five in 1991, and fifteen more in 1993 for a total of 41 of these leviathans, each holding over four tons of two-year miso. In order to house our expanding activities, we built a second factory building as big as the first in 1992, and we are already experiencing a shortage of space once again as demand continues to grow. Two years ago we began to export our miso to Europe where it is distributed by Lima throughout the continent. The American Miso Company story continues on into the future." Address: Owner, Great Eastern Sun, Asheville, North Carolina 28806. Phone: 704-252-3090.

263. Smith, Patricia. 1995. Tyler Smith and Erewhon, Los Angeles (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. July 8. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Tyler Smith negotiated the sale of Erewhon, Los Angeles, to John Deming and John Fountain. Tyler recently told Patricia that when John Deming and John Fountain took over Erewhon, Los Angeles, it was their intent to use it to test the ideas of Andrew Galambos in practice. John Fountain tried to apply the ideas of Galambos among employees in the daily operations of the company. Patricia could feel the changes immediately—even though

she didn't find out until much later that John Deming owned the company. "We were all committed to Erewhon as a macrobiotic food company." New words and language started to be used. Patricia eventually took Galambos' basic course.

Tyler first met Michio Kushi through a series of lectures at Stanford University in May 1968; the lectures were organized by William Shurtleff as part of an Esalen at Stanford program, of which he was head. Tyler was a first-year student at Stanford Law School at the time. Address: Radical Food, P.O. Box 952, Mill Valley, California 94942-0952.

264. Evans, Barry. 1995. Chronology and history of Oak Feed Miso, Inc. and American Miso Co. of North Carolina. Part I. 1947 to 1979 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 25. With follow-up talks on 4 Dec. 1999, and 29 June and 2-7 July 2000. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Barry was born on 25 Feb. 1947 in Reading, Pennsylvania. His father was in the army reserves. He has been an avid reader since he was about age 9. He did very well on his SAT exams, and entered Princeton University in the fall of 1965 on an ROTC scholarship; there he majored in history, a subject in which he is deeply interested to this day. After 3 years he left Princeton (in a squabble over a project) and attended Temple University in Philadelphia for one year. Returning to Princeton for a fifth year in college, he graduated in 1970. He has been a "natural foods enthusiast" since he was in college. He entered the U.S. Army in Feb. 1971, living off post at Fort Knox (Kentucky), formally applied as a conscientious objector, and was honorably discharged in Aug. 1972 with full veteran's benefits. He returned to Temple Univ., enrolled in a PhD program in history, but left after 3½ semesters. In June 1974 he became a vegetarian—though he regularly eats fish. In 1977, while living in Coconut Grove, Florida, he first heard about macrobiotics and heard Michio Kushi speak in Coconut Grove. He became a devoted follower of macrobiotics, which he still is. Barry heard about the miso venture through Kathy Kashdan, his housekeeper, who was the sister of John Belleme's ex-wife. Sandy Pukel (pronounced pyu-KEL), who owned the Oak Feed Store, was the pasha (local chieftain) of the large macrobiotic community (satrapy) in Coconut Grove. Sandy was also extremely close to Michio, and they were often in touch. Sandy was probably Michio's closest friend among American followers of macrobiotics. The day after Michio's lecture, Barry went to Sandy's Oak Feed Restaurant (where he had previously spent much time) and asked to see John Belleme, the manager of Oak Feed Store, who was seated at a table in the Oak Feed Restaurant with Sandy Pukel, talking with Edmund Benson about the miso company idea. Barry walked over to the table and introduced himself, and said he might like to be involved with the miso company;

neither he nor John knew one another, but their paths were soon to become deeply intertwined.

1978 fall—Sandy Pukel, John Belleme, and Michio Kushi start to discuss the idea of a miso manufacturing company in America. John Belleme became interested in this idea in the fall of 1976 in Brookline, Massachusetts.

1978 fall—Various people buy shares in the new miso company. Jim Kenney \$5,000. Frank Head intended to buy shares, but never did. At either that time or later Edmund Benson invested about \$25,000 of \$50,000 that he had formerly pledged.

1978 fall—Pukel and Belleme make a deal through a real estate agent to buy the property in Rutherfordton, North Carolina, on which the American Miso Co. now stands. As Barry recalls, this was the very first concrete move toward starting a miso company other than John taking Japanese Berlitz lessons, which he started at about the same time. They bought something like an option on the property. They put something like \$1,000 to \$5,000 down as good-faith money and had about 6-12 months to come up with the rest of the down payment of \$15,000 to \$20,000. John Belleme rode up to North Carolina on his motorcycle to help make the down payment and sign the original land deeds *before* Barry invested any money. Maybe John also rode up again later.

1979 Feb. 28—Oak Feed Miso, Inc. is incorporated. The initial directors and officers are Sanford J. Pukel (President, 3030 Grand Ave., Coconut Grove, Florida 33133) and John Belleme (Secretary-Treasurer, 5490 W. 1 Ct., Hialeah, Florida 33012). It is not clear who owns how much stock at this time. Oak Feed Miso was discussing a joint venture with Erewhon to establish the actual factory, which would then be called the Erewhon Miso Co.

1979 April—Five of the six months have passed. Barry (now age 32) becomes involved as an investor in the miso company, contributing initially \$50,000, which more than covers the urgently needed down payment. He thinks Sandy could have found a way to make the next land payment without his money, but perhaps not easily. Barry had not been previously involved in the miso project in any way. Barry believes that by this time Sendai Miso-Shoyu and Mitoku (Mr. Kazama) had very little interest in serious participation in the Erewhon Miso Co. Michio may have wanted them to be involved, but they did almost nothing to demonstrate their interest. At best they may have said "keep us posted." But nothing ever happened.

1979 Oct.—John and Jan Belleme leave for Japan to study miso making. After "camping out" in Mr. Kazama's office for a while, he ends up studying with Mr. Onozaki. Barry's investment helps, but the checks sent to the Bellemes in Japan are written by Sandy Pukel on the Oak Feed Miso account.

1979 Nov. 18—Barry is in a horrific bicycle accident in Pennsylvania. He flies over the handlebars, into a field, breaking 5 vertebrae and 9 ribs. After a 14-hour operation, he spends 6 months flat on his back in the hospital and 1

year in a full-body cast. He was paralyzed from the waist down for quite some time. He did not eat one bite of hospital food; he had all natural-food meals brought in. Continued. Address: Owner, American Miso Co., Inc. and Great Eastern Sun, Asheville, North Carolina 28806. Phone: 704-252-3090.

265. Evans, Barry. 1995. Chronology and history of Oak Feed Miso, Inc. and American Miso Co. of North Carolina. Part II. 1980 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 25. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: 1980 June—John and Jan Belleme return to the USA from Japan. A letter shows that by late summer John had started to order miso-making equipment. Barry is sure that the wooden vats come from Arrow Tank Co. (Buffalo, New York) the only traditional barrel maker left in the United States—a very interesting place. The vats are all traditionally made, from old recycled wine barrels and other old wood. Over the years, the miso company has bought all its vats from Arrow Tank Co. The first 35 vats were cypress, but when those ran out, the next five were fir (they took a long time to season), and last 5-6 were redwood (they worked better).

Concerning Joseph and Patricia Carpenter: Barry never met them and he understands that their being asked to leave when the Bellemes returned was a traumatic, landmark event in their lives. Barry was once in prison for 32 months, and was on probation for three years after that, and was awaiting prison for 2 years before he actually went. But when it was over, he let it go and went on with his life. After John returned from Japan, Barry heard about the Carpenters situation from John and Sandy, who said (generally) that they had not done much while they were there, and they did not seem very motivated. But, in all fairness, maybe they didn't have any clear instructions as to what they were supposed to do. For him, their whole role in the miso company was always very hazy. But until Barry took a hand in things, the whole company was very "loosey-goosey." Nobody had any clear instructions as to what was to be done. Only John and Jan Belleme know the details of what actually happened. Sandy is a "conflict avoider" so he would have been ambiguous. John was not a conflict avoider. John, who was never a hippie and was very yang after his stay in Japan, came back to find these two hippie types on the land. "This culture clash may have had a lot to do with it." Also, there was only one house, so the two families would have had to live together.

1980 summer—Each time the company needed more money, they would come to Barry—since he was the only one they knew who had any and was willing to invest it. This summer, when the building had to be constructed, the equipment ordered and paid for, and land payments made, Barry started to invest a lot more money, and to own more and more shares. When he invested his second \$50,000 he began to pay more attention to who else owned shares. "As I began to sniff the wind a little more, I sensed that I was

surrounded by phantom shareholders, and was the only one actually investing any money." Sandy and Michio didn't want Barry to be on the board of directors, and they wanted his stock to be Class B, which did not enable him to vote—even though he was now the leading investor. Barry confronted Michio on this while on an airplane en route from Boston to Florida; Sandy was also on the plane. Barry made it plain that he would not invest any more money (he was being asked for about \$90,000 more) unless he could be on the board of directors, and all the stock (not just his) would be voting stock. Michio and Sandy reluctantly agreed. All this came to a head at an important meeting in Miami in the summer of 1980, shortly after John and Jan returned from Japan.

When the Belleme's returned from Japan, people began to realize that this miso company might really happen. Negotiations had been taking place throughout 1979 and 1980. Three or four versions of an ownership contract / agreement had been presented but never signed; there would be 14-15 more over the next year, and none of those was ever signed either. The negotiations ended with Erewhon's bankruptcy. The discussions were really between the Erewhon group (comprised of Michio, Aveline, Morris Kirsner—their attorney—and Evan Root) and the Oak Feed Miso group (comprised now of Barry, John and Jan Belleme, and David Young—their attorney). Sendai Miso-Shoyu and Mitoku were not even mentioned; they were out of the picture. Mr. Kazama, owner of Mitoku, probably feared and doubted the potential new American miso company. "The issue was: Who would control the company, Erewhon or us? And how many shares would each person or company own?" Each group wanted to own a majority of the shares. This meeting went on for several days at various places, including restaurants, the Oak Feed Store, and the office of David Young—the Oak Feed Miso group's attorney. Note: See also meeting of 27 Sept. 1981.

Barry, who was on crutches, flew in from Reading, Pennsylvania, accompanied by his close friend and confidant, Saul Goodman, a macrobiotic healer and shiatsu practitioner. Barry could not travel by himself, and this was the first trip he had taken after his bike accident. David Young was concerned that the Oak Feed group was being asked to put up almost all of the money yet would not have control; yet he was ambivalent. Sandy Pukel was a member of the Oak Feed Miso group, but he was also ambivalent; he was really on Michio's side. He felt that Erewhon's participation was absolutely vital, and whatever had to be given up to get that participation was appropriate. Everyone should trust in Michio, and Michio would provide.

Sandy was and is one of Michio's closest friends and confidants in the whole world. Sandy and Mona Schwartz were the co-heads of the Florida Macrobiotic Association. An excellent macrobiotic teacher and cook, Mona ran a study house in the Miami area, where Barry ate many of his meals for the first several years that he was practicing macrobiotics. So did Dr. Keith Block. Mona first told Barry

how close Michio and Sandy were, and how much each influenced the other's thinking.

Barry recalls that Michio and his attorney, Morris Kirsner, were so demanding and unreasonable in what they wanted that even Sandy hesitated. He wanted to give them more than Barry and John, but he didn't want to give them everything they wanted. Negotiations dragged on and on because they were taking this unrealistic negotiating stance. So it was easy for Barry and John, who saw increasing signs of weakness in Erewhon, to begin to fight a war of attrition and prevent anything from happening.

The Board at that time had five members—including John Belleme, Sandy Pukel, Edmund Benson, Barry, and one other person—which was probably not Michio. Only four other people besides Barry invested money in the miso company: Edmund Benson \$20,000, Frank Head (who started Mountain Ark) \$5,000, the Japanese cook at the Oak Feed Restaurant (Yozo Masuda) \$10,000, and Jim Kenney \$5,000. Barry bought out the first two, and Jim died before the company began operations. Sandy Pukel, as one of the company's founders, got a number of "founders shares" for free, which Barry eventually bought back from him.

1980 fall—A document shows that at this time "John and Jan go on Erewhon payroll and start construction of Erewhon Miso in Rutherfordton, North Carolina." They begin by leveling the land. They went on the payroll of the Erewhon Trading Co., not the Erewhon Miso Co., since the latter company did not have a payroll and never really existed. Of course, Michio and Aveline owned Erewhon and all or most of its stock. Barry recalls that Erewhon was supposed to put up a certain amount of money for their share of the joint venture, and then provide the additional services of buying all miso made by the new miso company, packaging, and distributing it.

Barry recalls that much of the automatic miso-making equipment came from Japan—some or all of it from the Fujiwara Brewing Co. in Hiroshima. John visited them in 1983 when the miso company was considering adding a soy sauce plant near the miso plant. Continued. Address: Owner, American Miso Co., Inc. and Great Eastern Sun, Asheville, North Carolina 28806. Phone: 704-252-3090.

266. Evans, Barry. 1995. Chronology and history of Oak Feed Miso, Inc. and American Miso Co. of North Carolina. Part III. 1981 to 1982 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 25. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. • *Summary*: Continued: 1981 Jan. 31—Oak Feed Miso, Inc. IRS tax returns (for the fiscal year ending Jan. 31) show losses of \$89,000 for the last year with no sales. Note: The land was purchased on a mortgage, with about \$20,000 down payment.

1981 March—The miso building is essentially complete, but some equipment still had to be ordered—from Japan and the USA.

1981 early—Michio and Aveline Kushi can see that Erewhon is heading for bankruptcy. They try urgently to

raise money. Sandy Pukel loans the Kushis \$100,000—and thereby wins their eternal gratitude and friendship. Sandy never gets the money back. Barry is upset, because he believes that this was money he gave to Sandy as his investment in the miso company. Essentially, Barry then had to give Sandy more money which he finally did invest in the miso company—as follows: Sometime later in 1981, to make things more complicated, Sandy (who is now short of cash) asks Barry if he would be willing to invest in Oak Feed Store and Restaurant with the understanding that Sandy will use the money to buy the shares he had pledged to buy in Oak Feed Miso, Inc. Barry accepts the deal, and Sandy invests the \$80,000 to \$90,000 in Oak Feed Miso—which makes Barry happy.

1981 July—The opening ceremony for Erewhon Miso Co. is held at Rutherfordton, North Carolina. This was "the crowning moment of the early phase of the miso company. We were all still together at that point, including Michio. We had a big, beautiful sign out on the road in front of the factory, put up for the opening ceremony, that read 'Erewhon Miso Co.'—even though that was never the name of the company. The delegation from Erewhon was Michio, Aveline, and Evan Root. Evan was overwhelmed by the emotion of it all—just crying like a baby. John and Jan Belleme were there, as was a woman from Asheville who did the photography. Sandy Pukel must have also been there, though Barry has no clear recollection of this. Yet tension between Barry and Sandy had been growing. "Without Sandy and Michio, the project never would have happened." By now many people could see that Erewhon was headed for bankruptcy, but "Even at the time of the opening, everyone thought Michio would pull another rabbit out of his hat in the end," to save Erewhon. In late summer and early fall Barry attended several meetings called to discuss Erewhon's perilous financial condition. These meetings were all held in the area of Boston, Massachusetts, sometimes in the office of Morris Kirsner, the Kushi's attorney. Barry was invited largely because they hoped he would help bail out Erewhon.

1981 Aug.—John and Jan Belleme start making miso in North Carolina; the soybeans and grains are contributed by Erewhon Trading Co. But by August or September the Kushis can see that Erewhon's bankruptcy is imminent, so they stop sending John his paycheck and additional raw materials. This creates a crisis; everything must be rethought with Erewhon out of the picture. John may have sent out feelers to Westbrae and Eden to see if they wanted to take over Erewhon's role as distributor of the miso—they didn't.

1981 Sept. 27—At an annual meeting of Oak Feed Miso, Inc. all shares are converted to Class A voting shares. Major shareholders are: Barry Evans 1400 shares. Sandy Pukel 1400 shares. John Belleme 900 shares.

1981 Nov. 18—Erewhon Trading Co. files for bankruptcy protection under Chapter 11 of the federal Bankruptcy Act. For the next several months, "various

wolves were circling around, trying to grab hold of the half-dead body. Finally U.S. Mills and Nature Food Centres Inc. grabbed it and dragged it off to its lair." As part of the deal, Michio had to agree that he would only do endorsements through the new owners. So Michio, who had lost control of his own destiny for quite some time, could not be involved with the miso company any more. Barry thinks Sandy realized that and his heart went out of the miso company project at that point. Consequently, all deals between the miso company and Erewhon come to an end. Barry thinks that Erewhon Trading Co. invested a total of about \$15,000 in the miso company in the form of payments and miso ingredients. After Erewhon was purchased out of bankruptcy, the new owners, Chuck Verde and Cynthia Davis, never got this investment back. When they called, Barry took the position that the costs and difficulties the miso company had endured because of Erewhon's collapse were much greater than \$15,000. Barry added that if they took the matter to court, he would sue them for breach of contract. In fact, the miso company barely survived that collapse.

Over the past four months Barry, who admires Michio as a spiritual leader, has come to realize that he cannot be counted on to help establish the new miso company. He has grown tired of all the difficulties with Erewhon and Michio; as a practical businessman, he was "a nightmare."

1981 late—Marty Roth now enters the picture. When John Belleme left his job as manager of Oak Feed Store to study miso in Japan, Jim Kenney took over from him. Jim was an epileptic; while traveling on vacation in East Asia about a year later, he died tragically at about age 27—Barry heard he choked on the seed of an umeboshi salt plum that he was using to try to control an epileptic fit. So in about July or August 1981 Sandy brought in Marty Roth, who had been running the Natural Cafe in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Marty was soon working as manager (or assistant manager) of Oak Feed Store. Marty (a very inventive and creative guy) and Barry (a co-owner of the store) quickly find they get along well and work together effectively. Marty didn't want to stay in Miami, and his job with Sandy wasn't working out. When Marty told this to Barry, Barry said that he was planning to establish his own import company in North Carolina, and that company was also going to take over distribution for the miso factory. It is not crystal clear to what extent Barry lured Marty away from Oak Feed Co. and to what extent Marty would have left anyway.

1981 Dec.—Great Eastern Sun (GES) is organized. The first employee and manager is Barbara Arrow, who arrived in Dec. 1981.

1982—Jan. GES orders its first container of natural foods from Mitoku (Mr. Kazama) in Japan.

1982 Jan. early—Marty Roth moves from Florida to North Carolina to run Great Eastern Sun (GES)

1982 Jan.—Barry makes another investment in the miso company and thereby replaces Sandy Pukel as the largest shareholder. Barry buys out remaining shareholders—except

Jim Kenney who is no longer living. Sandy proposes to Barry a deal whereby he would trade Barry all of his stock in the miso company for all of Barry's stock in Oak Feed Store. Barry accepts, but with the added condition that Barry could import goods from Mitoku in Japan.

1982 Jan. 4—Barry Evans sends out a letter on American Miso Co. letterhead to potential customers that begins: "Dear Friends—We at The American Miso Company are proud to announce the opening of our miso shop in Western North Carolina." It ends: "The Lindenself Foundation, doing their business as Linden's Elf Works, located in Piedmont, North Carolina, has been appointed as the sole agent in marketing and distribution of The American Miso Company brand products... Your phone contact is John Troy at... 919/364-2723. Enclosed is the Linden's Elf Works distributor price sheet which includes all the pertinent information for your upcoming Spring catalogue. With kindest regards, Barry Evans, President." When Marty Roth sees this announcement, he argues that GES should distribute AMC's miso; Barry agrees. So John Troy and Elf Works never did distribute any AMC miso.

1982 Jan. 31—Oak Feed Miso has losses of \$67,000 for the previous year with no sales. Total loss: \$157,000.

1982 Feb. 26—Sandy Pukel and Barry Evans sign an agreement whereby Sandy gets out of Oak Feed Miso and Barry gets out of Oak Feed Store and Oak Feed Restaurant by an exchange / trade of stock. Barry recalls that Sandy left the miso company reluctantly for two reasons. First, because he saw the miso company as "his baby" and he liked to be in control—not so much because he saw it as a company with a bright and profitable future. And second, because Michio wasn't involved any longer, and couldn't be because of what had happened to Erewhon. Barry never asked Sandy (or any of the other shareholders) if he could buy their shares. They all approached him with the idea. First, for example, Edmund Benson wanted to get his money back, so Sandy bought his stock. Yozo Masuda's stock was included in the deal with Sandy.

1982 March 22—Great Eastern Sun is incorporated.

1982 April 19—At the annual meeting of the shareholders of Oak Feed Miso, the name is officially changed to American Miso Co. This change is filed with the state of Florida on 5 May 1982, and signed by Barry Evans and Janet Belleme. The final stamp of filing is 19 May 1982. Barry notes: "In numerology, this date (May 19) is a 44 number, since $5 + 19 + 1 + 9 + 8 + 2 = 44$. Forty-four is the number of ultimate business success." Barry did not plan to incorporate the company on this date. "It was just the order of the universe."

1982 May 18—Great Eastern Sun sells its first food products to a natural food store; they were imported from Japan.

1982 mid- to late- The principals of the American Miso Co. are now Barry Evans, John and Jan Belleme, and Mrs. Kenney. Barry started with 1,400 shares, got 1,400 from Sandy, 100 from Yozo, 250 from Edmund, and 200 from

Gary Dukeman (a friend of his)—for a total of 3,350. John and Jan had about 850 shares. John had been given about \$20,000 worth of shares as a founder of the company, and because he went to Japan to learn how to make miso, and because he had worked for a modest salary (less than \$20,000/year) as a miso maker in North Carolina. Mrs. Kenney had 50 shares. On a percentage basis, Barry owned 78.9% of the miso company, John and Jan Belleme owned 20%, and Mrs. Kenney owned the rest. Continued. Address: Owner, American Miso Co., Inc. and Great Eastern Sun, Asheville, North Carolina 28806. Phone: 704-252-3090.

267. Kushi, Aveline. 1996. The party for Michio and Aveline at Anaheim and the upcoming Smithsonian exhibition (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 23. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Patricia Smith organized a party for Michio and Aveline to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of Erewhon in Massachusetts. About 20 people came. Unfortunately Paul Hawken and Bill Tara were unable to be there.

Michio just received a letter (fax) from the Smithsonian Institution that they wish to consider doing an archival collection of his personal papers. Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6869.

268. Macdonald, Bruce. 1996. Big problems at Kushi Macrobiotics (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 12. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Michio and Aveline have big problems on their hands at their new company Kushi Macrobiotics. "Basically, you've got a bunch of high rollers from the commercial food industry thinking that, with slick packaging and cheap ingredients, they can create a product line that is double the price of Fantastic Foods' and not nearly as good in quality... They just don't have a clue of the sophistication of the natural foods shopper. They've got five guys each making \$125,000 a year, and they haven't sold a thing yet. Norio Kushi is making \$80,000 a year, and he is barely at the level of knowing how to brush his teeth in terms of business experience."

It's just amazing. They raise \$1 million privately to start off with. They blew through that with surveys, etc. As Jimmy Silver said aptly, 'Basically what they found out with their million dollars was that people weren't interested in what they were selling.' What they are doing is basically the antithesis of what macrobiotics stands for. Then they proceeded to use no organic ingredients and made it a corporate policy to not use anything from Japan—except brown rice vinegar, of which they are buying a low quality product from Eden Foods. They then raised 6 million with a public offering, and now have less than \$4 million left. They are going through money like crazy. They have a 40,000 square foot warehouse in New Jersey, with 10,000 square feet of offices and 3 people in there. None of the

distributors that Bruce knows have picked up the Kushi line.

One little disaster got the president fired. They did a line of 4-5 bean dishes. Some jerk didn't realize that you don't add salt to beans when you cook them. So they advertised a 25-minute cooking time on the package; well you could cook this for 25 years and it would never be right. So this guy ordered a production run worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, without checking it with Michio, who is in charge of quality control. It is all garbage.

So 3 weeks ago Aveline called up Bruce in a panic. She thought she was creating another Erewhon. There is a peculiar lack of judgment throughout this whole process. Since Michio is in charge of quality, they do production runs of the whole line and then they send the finished products to Michio. Aveline tried tasting this bean dish and a few others and she was horrified, just beside herself. She says to Bruce, "We want to buy your company." Bruce says, "Okay, \$5 million and you can have it." Bruce went to the Kushi's home in Brookline and spent 3 days with them. Aveline looks better and healthier than she has in years. They are now planning to go an acquisition binge; the first company they have their sights on is some cracker company. "I laid out a plan for them, including a major change in the 7-member board of directors. Michio can remain as chairman. You can keep three of the 'financial wizards' on the board, but the other three have got to be Yuko Okada (of Muso Shokuhin), Christopher Dawson, and me. We'll take all the losses at the beginning, then turn the company into a worldwide macrobiotic company."

Bruce's Macrobiotic Company of America is doing very well financially. When he acquired it, sales were less than \$900,000 a year. This year he will probably do \$3 million. Everyone from Lenny Jacobs on down told Bruce that macrobiotics was dead. True, it has changed, but it alive in new ways. For example, a guy name Horse Schultz is the chairman of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel Chain; he is having his chefs trained at the Kushi institute, and has sent out a memo to all of his hotels worldwide that by a certain date they will be offering macrobiotic quality meals at all hotels in addition to the traditional fare. They are converting one hotel at a time. Bruce is now flying miso down to Cancun. Horse Schultz's cancer is now in remission. Address: President, Macrobiotic Company of America, Asheville, North Carolina 28806. Phone: 704-252-1221.

269. Ott, Katherine. 1996. Re: Interest in the possibility of adding Michio Kushi's papers and materials to the archival collections of the National Museum of American History, at the Smithsonian Institution. Letter to B.G. Mancini at the Kushi Institute, P.O. Box 7, Becket, MA 01223, March 4. 1 p.

• *Summary*: "It was a pleasure to speak with you recently about the work of Michio Kushi. We at the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, are interested in the possibility of adding Mr. Kushi's papers

and materials to our collections. The kinds of things we are most interested in include: manuscripts; notebooks; correspondence; photographs; objects used in diagnosis, treatment, food preparation, or otherwise unique to Mr. Kushi's system; video and audio tapes of his work; and records and reports chronicling both the philosophical and business growth of macrobiotics. It would be helpful to know the potential size of Mr. Kushi's collection and to have more specific information about the nature of the materials. His donation would be made available to researchers, students, and the general public free of charge, as part of the national collections here at the Museum.

"We are well aware of the importance macrobiotics has had upon American nutrition and lifestyle over the years, as well as the importance of Mr. Kushi to it."

Talk with Katherine Ott. 1996. July 22. Her Division has not yet decided whether or not to add the Kushi papers to their collection. Money must be found to finance the accession and cataloging.

Talk again with Katherine Ott. 1997. Feb. 24. She is personally *very* interested in having the Smithsonian acquire the Kushi papers for its archives center. The acquisition has not yet been approved, but she is 99% sure it will be. It is taking a little longer than usual because of the size and importance of the collection, and the "controversy around macrobiotics," and also because Katherine is only at the Smithsonian one day a week. The Kushis have been willing to help organize the collection and finance its cataloging, which has helped a lot. The Smithsonian budget is so small it is depressing, and they have a huge backlog of uncataloged materials. Her field is "History of Medicine—Objects." Traditionally in the area of medical science, the Smithsonian has collected "Big Science and Technology," and they are very conservative. She has been working to educate her co-workers on the importance of alternative health care and practice. This is an area that appears to have a bright future in America, yet the Smithsonian has very little material about it; it is a field in which macrobiotics was clearly a pioneer. Erewhon was also an interesting and important business which played a leading role in the "transformation of the American diet" and the interest in whole foods, and the archives center also collects important businesses records. The Smithsonian already has a fellowship program and she would like to raise money for a research fellowship to study the material on macrobiotics, alternative health care, and natural foods—with the goal of writing a history of the subject. Address: PhD, Div. of Science, Medicine and Society, National Museum of American History, MRC 627, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560. Phone: 202-357-2413.

270. Kotzsch, Ronald E. 1996. Erewhon at thirty: A pioneer and standard-setter in the natural foods industry celebrates an anniversary. Needham, Massachusetts: U.S. Mills. 7 p. May. Illust. 28 cm. [1 ref]

• *Summary*: A good, concise history of Erewhon.

"In April 1966 the Kushis opened a retail shop in a tiny basement storefront on Newbury Street in Boston. The store, run by transplanted New York actor Evan Root, was named after the novel *Erewhon* by British writer Samuel Butler. In *Erewhon* (an anagram for the word 'nowhere'), Butler describes an imaginary island in which lawbreakers are put in a hospital and where people who get sick are put in jail. Since the story reflected the Macrobiotic principle that each person was responsible for his or her health, the name seemed appropriate. In the rustic, cramped store, plank shelves resting on cinder blocks were filled with hand-lettered brown paper bags of rice, grains, flour, and beans. During the summer of 1967 when I tended the store, daily receipts averaged about twenty-five dollars."

In the fall of 1967 Paul Hawken and "several other veterans of the San Francisco 'Summer of Love' arrived in Boston to study and work with the Kushis. They took over the running of *Erewhon*, moved the store to larger, brighter quarters across the street, expanded the product line, and began a mail-order business. Idealistic, smart, energetic, and hard-working, these and other young men and women dedicated themselves to *Erewhon* as a means to improve the quality of the nation's food and thus to improve the national health and well-being. Over the next decade, *Erewhon* grew into a large and important retailer, manufacturer, and distributor of natural foods. In 1971, it had sales of about \$500,000, and in 1977 it had gross sales of about \$10 million. During this period the average age of *Erewhon*'s employees was about twenty-two!"

One interesting illustration shows the front of the *Erewhon* Trading Co. store on Newbury Street in Boston, Massachusetts. This illustration appeared in the October 1980 issue of *Erewhon Monthly*, the newsletter of the *Erewhon* distribution company.

There follows a good discussion of *Erewhon*'s contributions to the natural foods industry. Address: Massachusetts.

271. U.S. Mills. 1996. *Erewhon* 30th anniversary mug (Memorabilia). U.S. Mills Inc., 395 Eliot St., Newton, Upper Falls, MA 02164-1131.

• *Summary*: This beige mug, with a sturdy handle, is 3.75 inches high and 3.125 inches in diameter. On one side, in red and purple letters, is written "1966–1996 *Erewhon*. The quality standard for 30 years." Above that are three ears of wheat in purple, green, and blue. On the other side, in red letters, is written "Bill Shurtleff." Address: Newton, Upper Falls, Massachusetts. Phone: 617-969-5400.

272. U.S. Mills. 1996. *Erewhon*'s 30th anniversary (T-shirt). U.S. Mills Inc., 395 Eliot St., Newton, Upper Falls, MA 02164-1131.

• *Summary*: On the front of this large black T-shirt, in gold, red and purple letters, is written "1966–1996 *Erewhon*. The quality standard for 30 years." Above that are three ears of wheat in purple, green, and blue. Nothing is written on the

back of the T-shirt. Address: Newton, Upper Falls, Massachusetts. Phone: 617-969-5400.

273. *SoyaScan Notes*. 1996. Black soybeans in America: A brief early history (Overview). Nov. 3. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Since the late 1970s, almost all of the soybeans in American have had yellow seed coats. Most Americans, including soybean farmers, have never heard of soybeans that were black, green, brown, white, red, or bicolored. But have yellow soybeans always predominated in America?

"Previous to the numerous introductions by the United States Department of Agriculture beginning in 1898, there were not more than eight varieties of soy beans grown in the United States, namely, Ito San, Mammoth, and Butterball, with yellow seeds; Buckshot and Kingston, with black seeds; Guelph or Medium Green, with green seeds; and Eda and Ogemaw, with brown seeds." Thus of these eight pre-1898 varieties, 3 varieties (37.5%) had yellow seeds, 2 varieties (25%) had black seeds, 2 varieties (25%) had brown seeds, and 1 variety (12.5%) had green seeds (Source: Piper & Morse 1910, "The soy bean: History, varieties, and field studies," p. 27).

In this same important 84-page report, the authors describe in great detail the 285 soybean varieties that have been introduced into the United States as of 1909. Of these 285 varieties, 152 varieties (53.3%) have yellow (straw-yellow or olive-yellow) seeds, 55 varieties (19.3%) have black seeds, 44 varieties (15.4%) have brown seeds, 24 varieties (8.4%) have green seeds, and 10 varieties (3.5%) are bicolored (p. 37-39).

Thus, as late as 1910, only about half of all soybean varieties in the United States had yellow seeds. But yellow soybeans were already coming to be preferred. Why? "Yellow or green seeds are preferable to darker colors, as the shattered seeds are more easily found by hogs pasturing the field or stubble" (p. 36).

The first black-seeded soybean was probably introduced to the USA from Japan in 1889 by Prof. W.P. Brooks of the Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, who traveled to Japan to collect seeds. He had named this variety "Medium Black" by 1895 and in 1893 it was grown at the Rhode Island Agricultural Experiment Station, from which the U.S. Department of Agriculture received it in 1903 under the name "Japanese No. 15." By 1910 it had been officially named "Kingston" (p. 31).

In 1910 the following named, black-seeded (or partly black) soybeans (listed alphabetically) were being grown in the USA: Arlington, Auburn, Black Beauty, Brindle (brown and black), Buckshot, Chernie, Cloud, Early Black, Ebony, Extra Early Black, Fairchild, Flat King, Hankow (brown banded with black), Hongkong, Jet, Kingston, Large Black, Medium Black, Medium Early Black, Meyer (black and brown), Nigra, Nuttall, Peking, Pingsu, Riceland, Shanghai, Taha (black with olive saddle), Wilson, Wisconsin Black (p. 39-74).

In 1899 Walter Blasdale, Instructor in Chemistry at the University of California, studied the vegetables sold at Chinese markets in San Francisco. He reported that year in USDA OES Bulletin No. 68 that two varieties of soy beans were found, a yellow and a black. "The black is known as 'hak tau,' and is designated by the characters 'black' + 'bean.' Both varieties obtained from the Chinese market in San Francisco grew readily in Berkeley, attaining a height of about 3 feet, and in spite of a very dry season produced an abundant crop of seeds." In this bulletin, Blasdale included a good, full-page photo of "The upper portion of a plant of the black soy bean." He then analyzed the nutritional composition of both the original Chinese soy beans and their progeny grown in Berkeley, and presented his results in tabular form. On a dry-weight basis, the original black soy beans contained, on average, 0.35% more protein (39.62% vs. 39.27%) and 0.72% less fat (18.77% vs. 19.49%) than the yellow soy beans.

On 28 August 1906 the USDA, as part of its major seed and plant introduction, received the first black soybean [SPI #19184] noted for its food use. It came from Newchwang, Manchuria, from Plant Explorer Frank N. Meyer, who wrote: "A large variety of the black soy bean. This is a very rare variety and is used for food: also for making a superior oil."

The first American recipe for using black soybeans was published in May 1917, during World War I, in the *Wisconsin Agricultural College, Extension Circular* No. 79, titled "How to Cook Soy Beans," by the University of Wisconsin Home Economics Department. The one recipe titled "Black soy bean soup" called for "1 pint black soy beans." This same recipe appeared the next month, in the June issue of the *Journal of Home Economics* in an article titled "Soy Bean Cookery," by Nell Beaubien, of the University of Wisconsin Home Economics Department.

In 1960 the first recipe for black soybeans [called "black beans" after the Japanese term *kuro mamé* which means "black soybeans"] appeared in America in a cookbook, *Zen Macrobiotics*, by George Ohsawa. It was recipe No. 118 for Boiled soy beans. But the "black beans" were used only as an alternative ingredient. Most of the recipes for black soybeans in American cookbooks after 1960 were in macrobiotic cookbooks, where they were consistently called "black beans" rather than black soybeans—and one can only wonder if the authors realized that their recipes were really calling for black soybeans. The first macrobiotic recipe calling for "Black soy beans" was published in 1973 by Chico-San in a product catalog which contained many recipes. The first real macrobiotic cookbook to use the term "black soybeans" in a recipe title was *Aveline Kushi's Complete Guide to Macrobiotic Cooking*, published in 1985 by Warner Books (see p. 257-58).

The first packaged black soybeans sold in America for food use appeared in 1959 in New York City. They were imported from Japan by the Oriental Food Shop, and

received a write-up in the May 1959 issue of *House Beautiful* magazine. In 1962 Chico-San Inc., in Chico, California, one of America's first macrobiotic- and natural foods companies, began selling "Black Soybeans," imported from Japan. By January 1970, Erewhon Trading Co. in Boston had followed with a similar product named "Kuromame, a black soy bean import." In August 1996 Eden Foods introduced America's first canned black soybeans—which were also organically grown in Michigan.

274. Smith, Patricia J. 1997. Update on macrobiotic friends (Interview). Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center, March 14.

• *Summary:* Cecile Levin (a woman, who was Patricia's first macrobiotic teacher) bought Muramoto-sensei's Herb-T Company. She paid too much for it (the records and inventory were very disorderly) and is struggling to keep it alive. Mr. Muramoto may have been using money he got from his salt company to cover losses on his tea company.

Merle Hayward is getting married next week in Hilo, Hawaii, and Patricia is going to the wedding; Merle was Tom DeSilva's girlfriend at Erewhon. "She is a wonderful person; high integrity, hard working. She was the one who did a lot of the detail work when Tom, Jeff [Flasher], and Tyler Smith bought the Erewhon Los Angeles retail store, after it failed." Address: Radical Food, P.O. Box 952, Mill Valley, California 94942-0952.

275. Macdonald, Bruce. 1997. The complex relationships between Eden Foods, Muso Shokuhin, Macrobiotic Company of America, Gold Mine Natural Food Co., Sierra Natural Foods, and Ohsawa Japan (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 4. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* In Oct. 1974, Michael Potter visited Yuko Okada at the Muso Company in Osaka, Japan, then decided to import Japanese food products exclusively from Muso. Then in Jan. 1984 (following major losses from the bankruptcy of Erewhon (in Nov. 1981) and other American natural foods distributors—including Shadowfax, Laurelbrook, and Good Food Company), the Muso Company of Japan appointed Eden Foods its General Agent for North America. But in subsequent years, as the value of the dollar continued to fall against the yen, making Japanese imports more expensive, Eden began to buy less expensive grades of some products (especially seaweeds and umeboshi) from Muso. In this way, Eden avoided price increases. But strains grew in the relationship. Muso did not like being dependent on one wholesaler in America and Eden wanted the freedom to shop around. So in the mid-1990s there was an above-board agreement that Muso no longer had to sell its products in the USA exclusively to Eden. But even before that, Yuko had been selling to other companies such as Republic of Tea, Smith & Hawken (Japanese tools), and Gold Mine Natural Food Co.

Jean Richardson of Gold Mine trademarked the name "Ohsawa," much to the chagrin of Ohsawa Japan. When Bruce working at MCOA, he thought of challenging this trademark, and he feels he could have done so successfully, but at a cost of at least \$30,000 in legal fees. This is even more ironic because MCOA is the exclusive importer of products from Ohsawa Japan. So the trademark borders on misrepresentation. The Ohsawa Japan story goes back to Bob Kennedy, who had been dealing with Ohsawa Japan since the beginning. When Michio Kushi began importing, he did so from Muso—not from Ohsawa Japan. Several years later he also began to import from Mitoku; today Michio recommends only Mitoku products. When Bob Kennedy stopped importing foods from Japan, he sold his business (after Heinz returned the rights to him) to what had been the warehouse of Rainbow Foods. Rainbow started as a store in San Francisco, California, then they grew a wholesale business. A religious group ended up buying that wholesale business from them, and they renamed it Sierra Natural Foods. Sierra bought the rights to import from Ohsawa Japan from Bob Kennedy, then started importing containers. They had also gotten the Soken distributorship, and they started expanding so fast that they couldn't finance the rapid growth; this (and perhaps some mismanagement) soon led to their bankruptcy. At the time they owed Ohsawa Japan about \$200,000. Ohsawa Japan decided to stop selling foods to America. So they asked Mitoku to be their sub-distributor for America. So even today Bruce buys his Ohsawa Japan products through Mitoku. But Gold Mine can't buy from Mitoku because Mitoku won't give out any more distributorships. Mitoku's main distributors now are U.S. Mills (Erewhon brand), Great Eastern Sun, Granum, and MCOA. Address: President, Macrobiotic Company of America, Asheville, North Carolina 28806. Phone: 704-252-1221.

276. Denby, Leo. 1998. History of Sheffield Seitan in Vermont (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Feb. 3. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

- *Summary*: Sheffield Seitan is a very small company that makes natural seitan directly from wheat—without using vital wheat gluten. The company was started in 1979 by Don & Karen Smith in Wheelock, a tiny remote town in Vermont. They started in a log cabin which had been built by Frank and Phyllis Head, and which was available when the Heads went on a long trip to Mexico in about 1977. (The year is firm because one of the Head's daughters was born in Mexico on 2 May 1977.) The cabin had no electrical power and was accessible only by a road through the adjacent town of Sheffield. They had a post office box in Sheffield, so they often gave their address as Sheffield. Don worked as a chef, both were interested in macrobiotics, and they learned how to make seitan when they worked for Erewhon in Boston, Massachusetts. Their seitan was all hand-made and fresh—because they had no refrigeration. Their first product (introduced in 1979) was the Wheat

Puff, which was a version of the Tan Pop that was sold at the Erewhon retail store in Boston; each Wheat Puff was quite large (about 5 oz), made of seitan on a stick and deep fried in a tempura batter. Their second product was named Wheat Meat Burger, a seitan patty introduced in about 1980. They sold most of these Burgers to a restaurant in Concord, New Hampshire, where they were used in sandwiches. The rest were sold to delis and natural food stores. Leo still has the labels from this Burger. Then the Smiths moved to the town of Newark, Vermont, but they kept their original business name, Sheffield Seitan. Now they made the seitan in a food preparation place that was closed at night, which was when they used it. They built their own home. In 1981 they moved themselves and their business back to Wheelock, to South Wheelock, where they were sharing space and their equipment with a baker named Leigh Pierce. She used to make a bread called Gentle Wind, and had a pretty good business going. Don's brother, Ron Smith, would deliver her bread, and he would also deliver the Wheat Puffs to the same stores, which were health food stores and food co-ops across the state of Vermont.

Leo and his wife Christina bought the company in 1981, when it was located in South Wheelock. At that time the Smiths were heading to Arkansas, with plans to live in a macrobiotic community [Mountain Ark]. Leo thinks they had 1 or 2 children; not long after leaving Vermont, he thinks Don and Karen separated. Karen lived for a while in Fayetteville, Arkansas, but has remarried (last name Harple) and now lives in Pennsylvania (Phone: 717-466-6050); Don Smith is presently in Thailand. Sheffield Seitan wasn't making any money at the time. At that time there was a homeopathic/alternative directory named Earth Star, located in Temple, New Hampshire. The owners of the directory allowed Sheffield Seitan free advertisement space in exchange for delivery (once a month) of their directories to the health food stores and food co-ops along the way.

Leo decided to try to use the directory to expand into the frozen food market, by making full cooked, frozen seitan. The idea worked well, so in 1983 they started to make a patty called the Seitan Wheat Meat Pounder, whose weight is given as 1 pound plus. Each one weighs slightly more than a pound. It is 1 inch thick and 6 inches in diameter—much bigger than a typical burger. Nobody else makes such a patty. It can be sliced very thin into strips or cut into chunks for kabobs. Eventually they turned the delivery over to UPS and now they are going through a distributor named Associated Buyers based in New Hampshire.

In about 1985 they introduced Wheat Meat Balls, which were about 1 inch in diameter and weighed about ½ ounce each. But it was too labor intensive to try to roll all the little balls then cook them in broth—so they dropped the idea. In about 1986 they launched Seitan Wheat Meat Pieces, which are the 3-ounce patties that have been cut into finger strips.

In about Leigh Pierce decided to get out of the baking business—which she had been doing for about 10 years. So

the Denbys had to find a new location, because they were sharing the shop that was built onto her house. The Denbys owned the mixer (an old 80-quart Hobart) and they were getting a very good rate on the rent because she used their mixer.

So in 1990 they moved Sheffield Seitan to Lyndon. Leo built their house, then designed a shop adjoining their house—which several contractor friends constructed. They had to have electrical power brought in. The company now makes: (1) The Wheat Puffs (about 600 every week), but the size is now smaller and they have no label. (2) Seitan Wheat Meat Burger (3 oz.) sold in three different packaging sizes: 2 patties, 4 patties, and 6 patties. They are also sold in two different packages: A simple poly bag with a twist and a label, or a deli tub. (3) Seitan Wheat Meat Pounder. and (4) Seitan Wheat Meat Pieces. Today they make about 300 lb/week of seitan, which is used to make all four products. They also make some custom products. About half is sold via mail order to buyers groups, meditation retreats, colleges, and the other half is delivered to retail stores. Address: Owner, Sheffield Seitan, Box 1, Lyndon, Vermont 05849. Phone: 802-748-3327.

277. Bolduc, Bill. 1998. Establishing Eden Organic Foods, Inc. in Nov. 1969 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Oct. 1. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.
• *Summary*: Bill's full name is William Theodore Bolduc, Jr. The people whose names are on the Articles of Incorporation all sat down together and prepared that document. The move to establish Eden as a non-profit organization was precipitated by the decision of Ronnie and Iona Teegarden to move to California. When they were gone, the group of people who met to buy food together would have no place for their food to be delivered. You could call this group an informal food-buying co-op but the co-op had no name, no bank account, no property, and no organization. Everybody who wanted to participate had a copy of the Erewhon catalog. Once a week or so they would go down to Ronnie and Iona's store and give their order and money. Ronnie and Iona compiled the orders and sent one order off to Erewhon. Roughly ten days later the goods arrived at their store—that a truck would deliver to.

Once the Teegardens decided to move out, the big question was—Is anybody going to keep the co-op going? "If I hadn't stepped in with that \$170, it would have died. Nobody else wanted to take the responsibility. That \$170 was my wife, Judy's money. It was one week's pay. She had a good job as a secretary at the University of Michigan music school in Ann Arbor. Once the Teegarden store was gone, there was not place for the truck to deliver our food to.

"I had just returned to Ann Arbor from the summer in Berkeley. I couldn't find a job, and couldn't get my old job back. Thank God Judy got a job. There were a bunch of people really interested in seeing food co-op continue, and they were all, like 'God Bolduc. Why don't you do

something. You're not doing anything.' Jimmy Silver, Mark Retzloff, Linda Succop, Gloria Dunn. They were all pointing the finger at me, wanting me to take it over. I had to think about it for a while. Then I said, 'What the hell! Sure, I'll do it.' Once I was convinced that this was the thing to do, then it was like there was a fire under me. The Succop girls, Linda and Judy (Bill's wife) had a little money. Their mom and dad kicked in some of it, and Judy had a good job. We used that money, \$120, to pay the first month's rent on the store at 514 East William Street, upstairs above the bike store. The people who supported this effort were all idealistic and altruistic—as I was—at that time. It was the spirit of the '60s."

One day, about a year after Eden opened, Bill was sitting up in 514 East William St. when I walked Cynthia Chevelle, a very prominent and successful entrepreneur. She owned Middle Earth, which was "the No. 1 head shop in town. She leased the entire main floor (street level) at 211 South State Street. She came to ask if Bill wanted to sublet about one-quarter of the space at 211 South State Street. They walked over together to look at the space. Bill decided to go for it; it was a much better location.

"We changed the name to Eden Foods Inc. and made it a for-profit corporation at about the time when Tim and his dad came into the business, which was just as we were moving into 211 South State Street—about Nov. 1970." It shouldn't be difficult to order a document from the State of Michigan showing exactly when Eden became a for-profit corporation. Address: P.O. Box 2708, Crestline, California 92352-2708.

278. Kushi, Aveline. 1999. Writing a history of Erewhon in Japanese, and Lily Kushi's diary. Why did Erewhon go bankrupt? (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Feb. 1. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Aveline calls to say that she is writing the story of Erewhon in Japanese and asks if William Shurtleff will send her (free of charge) all his information on the subject, including the many interviews he has conducted. Shurtleff suggests that she call Katherine Ott at the The National Museum of American History (NMAH), at the Smithsonian, and ask her to please order the material. Aveline says that her daughter, Lily, kept a very detailed dairy, starting in about 1965, of all the events related to macrobiotics and Erewhon—including the exact dates that key events happened, including students arriving in Boston.

Shurtleff asks Aveline why Erewhon, once the leading natural foods distributor in America, went bankrupt. First she says they hired a professional accountant, who wasn't very skilled, and that turned into a big problem. Second there were rumors of people stealing food from the last big warehouse. And third food was sold to Tony Harnett at Bread and Circus at too small a markup, so that Erewhon ended up losing money.

Shurtleff says that he thinks there were more fundamental reasons. Finally Aveline agrees with two of

these: (1) Michio was interested in teaching, and not much in running businesses or money, so all of the business responsibilities were given to Aveline. But her main interest was in teaching cooking. (2) Aveline had responsibility for quite a few businesses that were growing very rapidly. She did not have the experience or skills to manage them successfully. In retrospect she believes that after Paul Hawken returned from Japan, she should have given Paul and several other of the talented Erewhon managers (such as Bruce Macdonald) a significant minority ownership of Erewhon. Address: 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline, Massachusetts 02146. Phone: 617-232-6869.

279. Smith, Patricia J. 1999. The Natural Products Expo at Anaheim and a macrobiotic award (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. April 19. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* The Expo at Anaheim this year was the biggest ever, attracting some 30,000 people. It was so crowded, one could barely walk down the aisles. "The soyfoods category has just exploded. Everyone was excited; you could feel the buzz." Patricia collected lots of printed information for Soyfoods Center.

Patricia also organized the first "In the Spirit of Macrobiotics" award, which was presented to Tom DeSilva of Los Angeles, who was a pioneer with Erewhon, Los Angeles, and has continued to run a very successful natural foods retail store. Forty people came to honor him at drinks, and 16 stayed for dinner—including Chuck Verde of Erewhon, Lenny Jacobs, and Michael Potter. The award focuses on the business side of macrobiotics.

Update: 1999. Nov. 19. Patricia just received an e-mail from Norio Kushi saying that Lima Ohsawa died this month in Japan.

Update: 2000 May 2. There was a continuing explosion of soy products at the Natural Products Expo at Anaheim. She saw former macrobiotic friends, Rus Postel and Francis Pintel (who ran the Erewhon warehouse in Los Angeles). Jacques DeLangre has died, and his charming wife Yvette remarried to a childhood sweetheart and now lives in Louisiana, where she still runs the Grain and Salt Society. Patricia wishes that Trader Joe's would take a stand on genetically engineered foods. Address: Radical Food, P.O. Box 952, Mill Valley, California 94942-0952.

280. Belleme, John. 1999. The story of how the Oak Feed Miso, Inc. was established, and its relationship to the Erewhon Miso Co. Part I. 1943 to 1978 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 22. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. With updates in Nov. 1999.

• *Summary:* Without John Belleme's perseverance and determination, the American Miso Co. would almost certainly never have come to be.

John was born on 3 Jan. 1943 in Union City, New Jersey—right across the Hudson River from the Empire State Building. His father died when he was young, so he and his

brothers and sisters were raised by their mother. Years later John found that he was dyslexic—but in school this undiagnosed dyslexia caused him many problems and great frustration. He failed first, second, and third grades, so he was much older than his classmates. The frustration sent him to reform school at age 13½ and at age 14 he was "kicked out of New Jersey." His mother moved the family to Miami, Florida. He was old enough to drive a full-sized motor cycle to the sixth grade. He managed to graduate from high school (just short of age 21) in Miami, went to junior college in Miami for two years, then won a scholarship to the University of Miami. He had liked biology, science, and research since age nine, so once he settled down he became a good student—though because of dyslexia he could barely read or write when he started college. In the mid-1970s he graduated from the University of Miami after two years with high grades in science, and got a job at the Veteran's Administration (VA) hospital in downtown Miami. He was put on one of the first teams in the United States that used and did research using a Phillips electron microscope. Soon they were doing pioneering research. Soon John was quickly promoted to the position of research biologist, a title usually reserved for those with a PhD degree. Soon the team's research was being published in scientific journals. "It was very exciting." This job, which paid very good money, was mostly a photography job and the hospital had a huge, state-of-the-art darkroom. John worked with an amazing older man from Germany, who required him to carry a camera everywhere he went and to shoot and print his photos as a way of developing his photographic skills. Before long John was a very skilled photographer—and electron microscopist.

But after a while he was transferred to a chemotherapy, a job which he disliked. So he started graduate school to be a school psychologist—and first realized that he had dyslexia.

Sandy Pukel (pronounced pyu-KEL) was the center of a small but growing community of people interested in macrobiotics and natural foods in Coconut Grove, a suburb of Miami. Sandy had a tiny food store. John was with a girl who asked him to buy her some foods at this store. Before long, he was a regular shopper. Then he started to get interested in macrobiotics, and before long he found himself doing volunteer work at the little store on weekends. Sandy suggested that, to study macrobiotics in depth, he should go to Boston and study with Michio Kushi. After attending a few of Sandy's macrobiotic classes in Coconut Grove, John quit his VA job and left for Boston.

1976 July 4—John arrives in Boston and starts to live at the macrobiotic study house of Ken and Anne Burns. John wrote in 1987 that he "stayed for what was to be one of the most exciting years of my life." Ken is an exceptional teacher, and the house has a *dojo* atmosphere—like that of a martial arts practice place or Zen monastery. The temperature is kept at 40°F during the winter, and life is

spare but rich and deep. Through Ken, John and Jan got very interested in wild foods, and planned to publish a book on the subject. By the fall of 1976 John is interested in miso. He had read *The Book of Miso* by Shurtleff and Aoyagi and on Nov. 17 he attends an afternoon miso class and workshop they conduct at the Burnses' house. John is intrigued by the romance of going to Japan to learn how to do something. After the workshop he decides that he wants to travel to Japan, learn all he can about making miso in the traditional way, then come back to America and help to start a miso factory. John recalls: "I wanted to go to Japan and bring something back. I was going to do this or die."

After a year in Boston, John worked at Harvard Medical School for a while. Then he and Frank and Phyllis Head drove to Mexico in Frank's van with the idea of teaching the Mexican people about macrobiotics—with whole grain tortillas, etc. Living in a little village in rural Mexico in a house with no electricity and no running water, they managed to tough it out for one summer. Then multiple scorpion bites and general hardship drove them back to America. From Frank's father's estate in Texas, John phoned Sandy, who offered him a job.

1978—John had heard Michio Kushi talk about starting a shoyu factory in America. Michio hoped to involve Sendai Miso Shoyu Co., Erewhon, and some Oak Feed people such as Sandy Pukel and some of Sandy's investor friends. One day John—who was still a pretty small man on the totem pole—he said to Sandy, "Let's start a miso factory in America—rather than a shoyu factory." He then explained his idea about studying miso in Japan. Sandy's response was "Good! Michio and I have been wanting to do that for a long time too." John then started to take Japanese language lessons from Berlitz. Sandy established an Oak Feed Miso account on which John could write checks to pay for these lessons, for his travels related to miso in the USA, and for legal fees to form a corporation, etc. Sandy's main concern was running the Oak Feed Restaurant next to the store.

1978 Aug. 6—William Shurtleff is in Miami, Florida, visiting Robert Brooks and Mary Pung of Swan Foods, a soyfoods manufacturer. He presents a slide show (2-3 blocks from Oak Feed Store) on miso at which John Belleme, Sandy Pukel and one other person are present.

1978—Various groups come together in an attempt to start a miso company in America. The "Oak Feed group" initially consists of Sandy Pukel of Oak Feed Co., John and Jan Belleme, and a few other investors. The "Erewhon group" was composed of Michio and Aveline Kushi, Mitoku, Sendai Miso-Shoyu Co., and a few people from Erewhon. Michio communicated with the Japanese members of the "Erewhon group" (Mitoku, Sendai) by phone; they never attended meetings.

1978 Dec.—The Oak Feed and Erewhon groups meet shortly before Christmas at Michio and Aveline's home on 62 Buckminster Rd., Brookline (Boston), Massachusetts. Those present were Michio Kushi, Sandy Pukel, and John Belleme. They begin discussions about starting the

"Erewhon Miso Co." Everybody agreed on that company name. John recalls: "It couldn't have been called anything else."

What was the need for a miso company in America? First, they wanted to have unpasteurized miso. All the miso being imported by Erewhon from Japan was pasteurized in sealed plastic bags. Cold Mountain miso, made near Los Angeles, California, was sold unpasteurized in 14 oz plastic tubs. So the people interested in the new company began to criticize this product as being made with machines, non-organic, etc. Where would the factory be located? What might it be called? How big might it be? Who might be involved from Japan?

Sandy, Michio, and John all deserve some credit for the original idea of starting a miso factory in America. During 1978 and 1979 every time that Sandy or John went to Boston, they would talk with Michio about the miso company idea. Continued. Address: Honto Press, P.O. Box 457, Saluda, North Carolina 28773. Phone: 704-749-9537.

281. Belleme, John. 1999. The story of how the Oak Feed Miso, Inc. was established, and its relationship to the Erewhon Miso Co. Part II. 1979 to 1980. (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 22. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: 1979 Jan.—John Belleme in Coconut Grove, Florida, writes Bill Shurtleff in California on Oak Feed letterhead that he and Sandy are starting to look for land for the miso company. "Bill, If you were going to make miso in the U.S., based on climate, what state would you choose?" 1979 Feb.—Oak Feed Miso, Inc. is incorporated. Sandy Pukel and John Belleme are the principals.

1979 April—Barry Evans of Coconut Grove, Florida invests money and becomes an important shareholder in the new corporation and a member of the "Oak Feed group."

1979 spring—Members of the Oak Feed and Erewhon groups meet in North Carolina in the first attempt to locate a site for the miso plant. In attendance are Michio and Aveline Kushi, Sandy Pukel, John Belleme, Frank Head, and Junsei Yamazaki and his wife (both from California). Michio thought the Yamazakis should be there, so the group paid for their transportation. Junsei was tasting the soil, tasting the water—it was bizarre. Then Aveline insisted that they all rent a car and drive to Atlanta, Georgia, since she thought the miso factory should be near some big city like Atlanta. Every now and then Junsei would sniff the air or get out of the car and taste the soil. John recalls that this trip was disorganized, unsuccessful, and very frustrating.

Why were they looking for land in North Carolina? They knew some people who lived in North Carolina, and they knew a real estate man in North Carolina. But after the trip with Junsei Yamazaki, John began to think that it didn't really matter where they located the company. Sandy, who is from Coconut Grove (a suburb just south of Miami), Florida, does not like cold weather—not even as cold as

North Carolina. John is also from Miami. Moreover, the miso factory was supposed to be a small part of the whole project, which was to be called the Oak Feed Land Project. That was Sandy's idea, and it was supposed to be an educational center, summer camp, Kushi Institute—similar to what ended up being at Becket. The Kushi's Ashburnham project had failed by this time. There is actually still a 4-by-8-foot sign on the property that says "Oak Feed Land Project." Sandy and John wanted a "land project" in a warmer climate that was closer to Miami. They learned that there is an isothermal belt in North Carolina, an unexplained warm stretch of land that runs through the Piedmont below the mountains in western North Carolina; this happens to be an excellent place to make miso because the warm climate brings the miso to maturity faster.

In mid-1979 Sandy Pukel, armed with this new information about the isothermal belt, went up to western North Carolina and bought one of the first pieces of land he was shown—129 acres. The land cost about \$120,000 and the down payment was probably about \$10,000 to \$15,000. Rutherfordton, North Carolina, turned out to be the perfect location. "What would be a 2-year miso in Massachusetts using Mr. Onozaki's basic formula, was a 1-year miso in North Carolina." Moreover, Great Eastern Sun and the Macrobiotic Wholesale Company, and a large community of macrobiotic people in Asheville are in North Carolina because of this sequence of 'accidental' events born largely of ignorance.

After the land had been purchased, John and Jan rode to North Carolina from Miami on John's motorcycle and saw the land for the first time. They took \$20,000 cash, which belonged to the new Oak Feed Miso, Inc., and deposited it in a safe-deposit box at the BB&T Bank near Rutherfordton; John kept the key. Sandy flew up to North Carolina while John was there. John and Jan, and Sandy and Jackie (his wife) all went together to the First Citizen's Bank in Tryon, North Carolina; after signing something, they returned to Miami. John purchased two round trip tickets to Japan, and set aside \$5,000 for living expenses which he would take to Japan—using corporation funds from the safe-deposit box.

1979 Oct.—John and Jan Belleme (who have just been married) leave Florida to travel to Japan. On the way they visit Thom Leonard at his new Ohio Miso Co.; he has already made several thousand pounds of miso. Arriving in Japan in late October, they spend several weeks in Tokyo with Mr. Kazama "hanging around his office." The plan had been for the Bellemes to study miso making at Sendai Miso Shoyu, but basically John refused because he knew they had a big factory and he wanted to learn the more traditional way that he planned to use when he returned to America. After John handcuffs himself to Mr. Kazama's desk, he arranges for the Bellemes to study miso-making with the Onozaki family 10 miles north of Yaita city, in Tochigi prefecture, northern Japan—even though Mr. Kazama had not previously known the Onozaki family.

Finally Mr. Kazama drives the Bellemes northward to visit Sendai Miso Shoyu Co. On the way back he drops them off in a country village outside Yaita at the home of the Onozaki family, who run a traditional koji and miso factory. Imagine their surprise when, out of the blue, two Americans appear intent on learning the traditional Japanese art of making miso!

In November John and Jan begin to study miso making at the *Onozaki Kôji-ten*, while living with the Onozaki family. They paid the family a certain monthly fee for room and board, and an additional fee for the teaching and training. He and Jan also received a small monthly wage. At one point John requested an additional \$5,000 from the corporation. The Onozaki family made and sold both miso and koji. About half the koji was sold, mostly 1-2 pound bags to individuals who used it at home, mostly to make amazake. When John was there, the Onozaki family made much more miso than koji. The Bellemes' study and training continue until the next summer. While in Japan, John wrote many letters back to macrobiotic friends in America as part of campaign to (1) try to prevent Sandy from giving away the miso company to the "Japanese group," (2) show that he was learning how to make the real traditional Japanese miso, and (3) argue that much of the so-called "traditional" miso being imported from Japan was actually made in modern factories.

1980 April—A letter from John Belleme, titled "Making miso in Japan" is published in *GOMF News* (Oroville, California). It is the first published account of his experiences with the Onozaki family. 1980 May—According to Mitoku's records, the first shipment of Onozaki rice miso from Onozaki Koji-ten in Tochigi prefecture is sent by Mitoku to Oak Feed Store in Miami, Florida; 84 cartons and 4 kegs. John Belleme contacted Mr. Kazama and arranged this shipment. At the time, Oak Feed Store was importing Japanese products from Mitoku and distributing to stores across the USA. Michio Kushi set up the connection and it was all done with his blessing.

1980 May—After their apprenticeship with Mr. Onozaki, John and Jan spend 3-4 weeks at Sendai Miso Shoyu—at Michio's request. Mr. Kazama drove them to Sendai. John studied the process and took lots of photographs.

1980 June—John and Jan Belleme return from Japan. The Oak Feed and Erewhon groups meet at Oak Feed Co. in Florida to determine ownership of Erewhon Miso Co. There were various contracts. In one, for example, said that Sendai Miso Shoyu and Mitoku would each own 15% of the company—even though it was not clear what they would contribute to the venture. It is finally decided that each of the two groups would own 50%.

1980 summer—John starts to locate and order the miso equipment he needs, which falls into three categories: (1) Purchased from USA: He orders wooden vats from the Arrow Tank Co. in Buffalo, New York. The pressure cookers (for soybeans) and boiler also came from the USA—mostly New Jersey. (2) Purchased from Japan: Two

steamers for rice and barley, a rice milling machine, an automatic koji inoculating machine ["rice rocket"] (which they never used until many years later; John did all inoculating by hand), soybean washing machine, soybean crusher (to grind and crush the cooked soybeans), miso mixer (to mix the crushed soybeans with the koji and salt), the foot-activated piston filling machine, which originally filled bulk tubs, and later filled coffee bags and small plastic tubs. (3) Designed by John and fabricated locally: The tilting cooling table to cool hot soybeans then dump them into the soybean crusher, the conveyor that transports raw miso from the miso mixer up into the tall wooden vats, the clam that would come down from the ceiling and lift 400-500 lb of finished miso out of the vats; John also used it to mix miso from one vat to another in mid-season. Everywhere (except in the koji-making process) that Japanese miso makers used intense labor, John tried to use machines.

1980 fall—John and Jan Belleme go on the Erewhon payroll at \$400/week, break ground, and start construction of the miso plant in Rutherfordton, North Carolina. On Sept. 29 the land for the new factory is being leveled. John pays initial expenses using funds in the BB&T safe deposit box.

1980 late—John starts to make small, experimental batches of miso in his house, in the sauna room. In his spare time, John starts to grow shiitake mushrooms, behind the main house, up on the hill. He and Jan had brought shiitake plugs from Japan. They used a chain saw to cut oak trees into logs for growing. He sold small amounts to Great Eastern Sun, but he was too busy with other things for shiitake to become a business, as he had once hoped. Continued. Address: Honto Press, P.O. Box 457, Saluda, North Carolina 28773. Phone: 704-749-9537.

282. Belleme, John. 1999. The story of how the Oak Feed Miso, Inc. was established, and its relationship to the Erewhon Miso Co. Part III. 1981. (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 22. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: 1981 Jan.—When it comes time to buy equipment and build buildings, the new company finds it has little or no money. It needs about \$40,000. The person constructing the building, Doug Ashley, threatens to put a padlock on the building because John is unable to pay him. He also threatens to sue John. The project comes to a complete standstill for months as Barry and Sandy are trying to settle their conflict in Miami. During this time, when John has nothing else to do, he starts to write articles about his miso apprenticeship in Japan. And Jan corrects her dyslexic husband's multitude of misspelled words and prepares the stories for publication. Eventually he and Jan wrote over 100 published articles about Japan, Japanese foods, and miso. They contain some 400 of John's photographs.

During the conflict between Sandy and Barry, John finds himself in a very difficult position—in the middle and torn. At one point Sandy, who had been John's longtime close friend and macrobiotic mentor, decides that he no longer wants to be involved with Barry Evans and the miso company. Michio Kushi and Mr. Kazama of Mitoku go along with Sandy, dropping their crucial support for the project. John barely knows Barry, but now he finds himself trying to convince Barry not to abandon the miso project. Barry asked John: "If I'm going to trade my ownership in Oak Feed Store for the miso factory, what value does that factory have? It's a piece of land and part of a building, but can you make miso? How are we going to sell it? Is it a business with potential?" John has to answer all questions with a convincing "yes!" even though he has not yet made miso by himself and has no idea what the market was. But by building up the value of the miso and downplaying the value of Oak Feed Store, John strains his relationship with Sandy. If Barry had abandoned the miso project, all of John's work in Japan might have been in vain. Moreover it would have left the land and the new building unpaid for—a total mess.

Soon John finds that his role had changed from potential miso maker to miso promoter and educator. His articles must put the wind in the sails of a ship that has stalled in the doldrums. "Every one of those stories had all kinds of intricate purposes to it." And each is written for various audiences with different goals. John has to convince: (1) All his readers that he is an expert on miso and that his miso would be unique—the best available. (2) Potential macrobiotic customers that the lighter, sweeter misos are good tasting and good for health. He could never build a company solely on long-term salty miso. (3) Michio Kushi, and macrobiotic counselors and teachers, not to say bad things about his miso. "I kept putting pressure on them until some were afraid of me—the miso mafia." (4) Barry Evans that the company would succeed and be a good investment. John sent Barry a copy of everything he wrote. John was not sure that Barry was completely committed until about 1984.

1981 Jan.—John Belleme's first article about his miso studies in Japan, titled "The Master of Hoops," is published in *East West Journal*.

1981 April—John Belleme's second article, titled "The Miso Master's Apprentice," is published in *East West Journal*.

1981 July—John Belleme's third article, titled "The Miso Master with a Big Heart: Making Miso in a Japanese Village," is published in *Soyfoods* magazine.

1981 early spring—Increasingly, the much-needed money starts to arrive from Barry. At about this time, and perhaps again earlier, "Barry Evans' money saved the company—there is no doubt about it."

1981 May—All of the miso-making equipment has arrived in North Carolina.

1981 July—The two groups meet at the newly constructed Erewhon Miso Co. plant to have an opening ceremony and celebration. About 25 people are present. The Shinto ceremony is conducted by Michio, with salt, daikon, azuki beans, etc. He goes from door to door, putting Japanese symbols on each door. Evan Root, who was there, was deeply moved by this ceremony. The Kushi's stay on the land for 3-4 days. John remembers that there was a lot of stress during this time. Barry and Sandy were in the middle of resolving their problem.

1981 Aug.—John and Jan start full-time, large-scale production of Erewhon Miso. They have not made any miso on a large scale for more than a year. Erewhon Trading Co. contributed the soybeans, grains, and Lima seasalt; they probably arrived a month or two earlier. Money is still in short supply.

1981 Nov. 10—Michio Kushi files a petition for Erewhon for protection under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act at the federal in court Boston. This is a disaster for the new miso company. The Bellemes' paychecks and the miso ingredients stop arriving from Erewhon. The miso company's name is soon changed to Oak Feed Miso Inc., but the company now has no means of packaging or marketing its products. None of the Belleme's miso is ever sold under the Erewhon labels or the Oak Feed label. Address: Honto Press, P.O. Box 457, Saluda, North Carolina 28773. Phone: 704-749-9537.

283. Belleme, John. 1999. The story of how the Oak Feed Miso, Inc. was established, and its relationship to the Erewhon Miso Co. Part IV. 1982 to present (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Aug. 22. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: 1982 Jan. 4—Barry changes the name of the company to American Miso Co. and announces that it is open for business.

1982 Jan. 31—Sandy Pukel and Barry Evans agree to an exchange of stock whereby Sandy gets out of Oak Feed Miso and Barry gets out of Oak Feed Store and Oak Feed Restaurant. They finalize the deal on Feb. 26, but it is retroactive to Jan. 31.

Barry starts The American Trading Co. (soon renamed Great Eastern Sun) to distribute their miso which would soon be ready for sale. For a while, Barry Evans and Sandy Pukel had been in a partnership in that import and distributing company. When Barry and Sandy split up, and Barry started Great Eastern Sun, Mr. Onozaki's miso started going to both companies. Marty Roth soon begins running GES.

1982 Jan.—At about the same time, during the first season, after John has made quite a bit of miso Mr. Onozaki visits the American Miso Co. in North Carolina for about 2-3 weeks at the Bellemes' invitation. They are interested in his comments on their miso plant and process, and they pay him way as a consultant and friend. He works with them making miso and gives them some very valuable

suggestions (both big and subtle) for improvements—mainly in making the koji. Formal dinner is held in his honor.

1982 April—Mr. Onozaki's eldest daughter, Kaoru, and her husband, Haruo (Mr. Onozaki's adopted son), visit the miso factory and work for 3 months, living under the same roof as the Bellemes. Jan is pregnant when they arrive and the Belleme's son, Justin, is born on 24 May 1982 in North Carolina.

1982 April 24—Richard Leviton, editor and publisher of *Soyfoods* magazine, visits the American Miso Co. in Rutherfordton, North Carolina, and writes an in-depth cover story about the miso-making process, equipment, and company, published in the summer (July) 1982 edition of his magazine. The best, most detailed coverage to date. The color cover photo (taken by Leviton) shows John, Kaoru, and Haruo making miso.

1982 fall—The Bellemes' first miso is ready for sale. It is a red miso made, Onozaki style, with approximately equal parts soybeans and rice. It is sold only in bulk. The logo is two crossed sheaves of grain in a circle—drawn by an artist friend of John Troy's. This miso is shipped to Great Eastern Sun and sold in bulk under the American Miso label.

Prior to about 1983-1984 all of the company's miso was sold in bulk through Great Eastern Sun to stores. Over the years, John had been working on selling miso refrigerated in one-pound plastic bags, each having a pressure-release valve. The unique bag was designed for coffee and made in Italy. Finally, at a food show in Atlanta, Georgia, two big refrigerated distributors—Cornucopia and Tree of Life—decided to carry the new products. Soon refrigerated distribution trucks began stopping by the miso factory in North Carolina to pick up 7 varieties of miso in 1-pound bags. It was a breakthrough. Demand increased dramatically.

1983 Oct. 1—At John and Janet's request, Barry Evans buys all their shares (900 shares, 35-45% of the ownership) in the American Miso Company. John agrees to work as a consultant for 6 months and to train a person to take his place. John Fogg has been handling the marketing account for Great Eastern Sun. John Belleme asks him to design a retail marketing program, logo, and label for American Miso. He comes up with the idea of "Miso Master." John cringes, because it implies that he is a miso master, whereas he still considers himself a beginner, and he is developing many new types of sweet miso that he has definitely not yet "mastered." Peter Harris draws the Miso Master logo, an illustration showing the head and shoulders of a Japanese miso master, with a knotted headband, in front of a large wooden vat of miso.

1984 Feb.—At the time he sells his stock to Barry, John establishes a new marketing company named Just In Foods, Inc. (John's son is named Justin) for his miso and miso products. It is owned by John and Jan and Barry Evans. John is training Don DeBona to take his place at American Miso Co. His new responsibility will be to work as a

marketing person between the miso factory and Great Eastern Sun (a distributor).

1985—John creates another entity named Institute of Fermented Foods (it was never registered or official) as part of his ongoing struggle with Barry Evans. The name appears on the label of many creative miso products Chick Peaso (Chick Pea Miso) and Mellow Ebony Miso (with Black Soybeans).

1985 Dec.—John and Jan leave the American Miso Co. due to ongoing conflicts with Barry Evans. Over the years, John had negotiated with Barry to give him more and more ownership in the company—because he was doing all the work. He eventually owned about 30% of the shares, which Barry bought back from him a year or two before he left—at John's request.

1985—John (who has nothing to do), with Sandy and Blake Rankin form a company named Granum East, based on Sandy's wholesale company in Florida. They plan to sell macrobiotic foods to distributors. It was nothing more than a telephone in John's home office. John would call up Great Eastern Sun (GES) customers and offer them a 10% larger discount than they could get from GES. Within 18 months the company had \$700,000 worth of GES' business. Barry was forced to buy the company from them.

John reflects on Sandy's financial role in the company: Sandy has an incredible money karma; he lets it go out and come in without holding onto it, without any attachment. John was later in a seitan business with Sandy; it failed and lost about \$300,000. When Sandy found out about these losses, he hardly batted an eyelash—and he's not a rich person. He helped people out all over Miami, and not only with money. He'd give them food, or whatever they needed. It was just amazing to see. Then all of a sudden a large amount of money or good fortune would just drop in his lap. Address: Honto Press, P.O. Box 457, Saluda, North Carolina 28773. Phone: 704-749-9537.

284. Oihankesni, Anpetu. 1999. Life story and work with the South River Miso Co. (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 29. Followed by a 4-page handwritten letter of Nov. 29. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center. [1 ref]

• *Summary:* Anpetu (whose name was originally Jeffrey Zellich) was born into a Russian Jewish family and grew up in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, but later in life, while living with the Lakota Sioux, he was given the name he now uses. He has been involved with macrobiotics since 1973. Before that, in 1971-72, he lived alone in a cabin in the woods in New Brunswick, Canada, gardening and using wild plants. He also lived in a tepee in northern Maine.

In 1973 he went to Boston to study macrobiotics. He lived for a while with Jack Garvey and Jack's first wife. He left to go to Mexico, where he lived for a while with indigenous people (Indians), then in 1974 returned to Boston, where he lived in Jamaica Plain. About 40% of the macrobiotic students in the Boston area at the time were

Jewish. He met Hannah Bond through a mutual interest (shared also with Ken Burns) in wild plants. Hannah was older, and came from a Quaker background. She made pickles for Erewhon and was considered to be the best pickle-maker in Boston. He found her to be "the most intellectual woman I had ever met—wonderful." She had formerly been married to a professor of Greek. They went to his cabin in New Brunswick, Canada, she proposed to him, and they were married in 1982—the ceremony took place at the Elwell's land in Conway, Massachusetts. Christian and Gaella had both previously worked at East West Journal, she as an editor and he as an artist, who also illustrated several of Michio Kushi's earlier books. They had also both worked with Alan Chadwick, the legendary teacher of French intensive, biodynamic gardening at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Anpetu was at the South River Miso Co. in about Oct. 1982 when Thom Leonard came for a month (on contract) to teach the Elwell's how to make miso and use the equipment. Christian and Gaella were married, had a daughter, and owned 64 acres of beautiful land on both sides of the South River. Christian was able to fund the company's start-up with his inheritance; he came from an affluent family and his father had died. He and his brother, Will, initially planned to start the miso company together, but later Will left. At one point the Elwell's approached Michio Kushi to see if he wanted to buy the company. Anpetu and Hannah lived in nearby Conway for 2 years, then on the Elwell's land in a trailer across the river. Another couple, Don and Martha Wheeler, lived upstairs in the miso shop after it was completed. Don and Martha loaned \$10,000 to Christian for the miso company. Anpetu also loaned \$10,000 to the miso company (though no papers were signed), and worked there making miso for 6-9 months; Hannah was not involved with making miso. During that time they published a flyer on miso (dated spring 1983) which Anpetu still has; he designed the logo showing 3 waves in a circle. The waves symbolized South River and the three stood for the three families who were joining together to create the miso company. He also took quite a few color photos, which he still has. Don and Martha decided to leave first. Then Anpetu's enthusiasm waned and he and Hannah decided to leave.

Anpetu recalls that many big problems took place after this decision. Christian wanted Anpetu and Hannah to leave promptly, and when they would not set a deadline for leaving, Christian took them to court to try to get them evicted. The case went before a local judge in Greenfield; he suggested they work the matter out among themselves, but said that Christian had the basic rights as a landowner. Anpetu and Hannah left one month later, in the fall of 1983. Christian paid him back the \$10,000 without interest over the next ten years. Anpetu and Hannah separated after being married for 7 years.

Today Anpetu lives a very simple life in Hotchkiss/Cedaredge, Colorado, where he runs an heirloom

seed company named Sourcepoint Organic Seeds and practices Vipassana meditation. His teacher is Goenka, of Burma.

Note: Anpetu contacted Soyfoods Center today to request a review copy of *The Book of Miso* as announced in the latest edition of *River Currents: News from South River Miso Company* (Conway, Massachusetts). Address: Founder and owner, Sourcepoint Organic Seeds, 1349 2900 Road, Hotchkiss, Colorado 81419. Phone: 970-872-4971.

285. Pukel, Sandy. 1999. History of interest in macrobiotics and miso. Part I. 1945-1974 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 20. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Sandy was born on 10 Sept. 1945 in Queens, New York City. In 1967 he graduated from the University of Wisconsin, majoring in political science, then went to law school at the University of Tulsa in Oklahoma. After two years he realized he did not want to be a lawyer, and dropped out—at a time when many other young Americans were also dropping out of college or "straight" jobs. For the next two years he passed his leisure time like many other young Americans. In August 1969 he was at Woodstock and appears in the movie—naked. Knowing he wanted to be an entrepreneur, he worked on Wall Street for a while.

In April 1970 a childhood friend from Queens, Willy Rosenfeld, introduced Sandy to macrobiotics. Willy had gone to Harper College (SUNY) at Binghamton, New York, where he met Michel Abehsera. Sandy went to a lecture in New York City by Rebecca Dubawsky. "From that night on I became macrobiotic; I went 'cold turkey.'" He stopped using psychedelics and quickly got interested in the philosophy of macrobiotics; he wanted to "turn the world on" and saw this as one way to do it. That summer he went to a macrobiotic summer camp / retreat at Awosting in upstate New York with 30-50 other people. There he first met Michio Kushi, who was in short pants and knee-sox. This deepened his interest.

In August 1970 Sandy and five of his closest friends decided move to the island of Jamaica, where they would live a simple life and practice macrobiotics—in paradise. They stopped by Greenberg's Natural Foods at 125 1st Ave. in New York City. Located on the lower east side of Manhattan, it probably had the largest selection of macrobiotic foods in America. There they bought provisions for the trip: a 100-lb sack of brown rice, a keg of Hatcho miso, aduki beans, and soba noodles. They got non-tourist visas, and settled down in a lovely rural spot. The dentists in the group had hoped to open a clinic. But it didn't work out; the local people saw them as white hippies so they kept trying (unsuccessfully) to sell them drugs. The local people just wouldn't let them alone, so after about 6 months, one by one, they returned to the United States. Sandy was the last to leave. He went to Coconut Grove, to stay with one of his roommates in law school, Roger Schindler, happened to live there. But there was no place to

eat or to buy macrobiotic foods. So in Nov. 1970 Sandy and two of his close friends started Oak Feed Store. One partner was Leon Matsil, a dentist and Sandy's boyhood friend from Queens; the other was Joel Magazine, an attorney and public defender in Miami, who also went to law school with Sandy in Oklahoma and who Sandy turned on to macrobiotics. They just wanted to have food available. They did not go into it thinking it would be a business—Sandy's father lent them \$4,000 to start the store. It was named Oak Feed Store because the law library was on Oak Avenue. The word "Feed" was used because the purpose of the store was "to feed the people the good food." They name came spontaneously; no one person thought of it. This was the first of many enterprises that Sandy would help to finance. It was located on the second floor walk-up of the law library of the lawyer of one of his friends. The room was about 10 by 15 feet. This was the first macrobiotic food store or organization in the greater Miami area. They ordered their foods via common carrier (truck) from Akin, a distributor in Jacksonville, Florida. Akin distributed many Erewhon products. They also ordered quite a bit of food via mail order direct. They relatively few foods: Bulk brown rice, almonds, miso, noodles, noodles, apple juice, plus one cosmetic (Oregene shampoo). "It was really a strict, strict macro kind of place." There was a commune in Coconut Grove named the Maya House, and its members were regular workers at Oak Feed Store. Sandy also worked there regularly.

Also in about 1970 Sandy and his two friends started another communal affiliation that they called LJZ Enterprises—Leon, Joel, and Zuni; Sandy's nickname was Zuni. Everything went into one pool and they shared everything 100%—totally. All money from Joel's law salary, all money from Leon's dental practice and investments, all money Sandy earned from the store went into this pool, and each person took whatever they needed. This included purchases of houses, cars, clothing—everything. This lasted for the next 7 years and worked very well. To this day, they are all still close friends.

Oak Feed Co. became increasingly popular. After about one year they moved to a street-level retail store in the same building. Then in late 1971 or early 1972 they moved around the corner to a bigger store at 3030 Grand Avenue—where they stayed for the next 20 years. By this time they were running a real business—in spite of themselves.

Sandy recalls: "Once I got into macrobiotics I was a zealot about it—preaching, teaching, everything." In 1972 he began to give the first macrobiotic cooking classes in the area out of a rented home in Coral Gables, where he and Leon lived. A macrobiotic community began to evolve, with Sandy at its center. Sandy got to know Neal Loeb, who had studied macrobiotics in Boston, Massachusetts, and was Michio Kushi's driver. He was planning to bring Michio to Florida for a seminar, but he "flaked out" and couldn't get it together, so in about 1973-74 Sandy organized the weekend seminar. Michio's students in

Boston sent Sandy detailed information about how Michio was to be treated, where he was to stay (hotel or motel only), what he was to eat, his detailed schedule, etc. "They were incredibly protective." The seminar was very successful, with a good turnout at a local church or private school auditorium. Michio stayed at Sandy's house and did individual consultations. Sandy and Michio got along very well, and Sandy gave Michio all the money they collected—in part because he didn't care about the money. Soon he and Michio became lifelong very close friends, and Michio started to give seminars in the Miami area on a regular basis.

In about 1973 LJZ bought a very nice house, communally, in Pinecrest a very nice neighborhood of Miami; there the three friends continued living together for a year. Macrobiotic visitors and friends stayed in the guest house on the property. In 1974 Sandy bought his own house (with a lake in his back yard) on 63rd Avenue in Miami, about 4 miles from Oak Feed Store.

In about 1974 Sandy started the Macrobiotic Foundation of Florida. Its purpose was to spread macrobiotics. Edmund Benson was on the board of directors. The cooking classes continued at Sandy's house in Coral Gables. Anyone passing through Florida who knew macrobiotic cooking was invited to be a guest teacher at the cooking class. Tim Redmond taught the first class on macrobiotic desserts—featuring apple pie. Sandy's repertoire didn't include desserts, except perhaps those made from agar or kuzu. Jay Pinsky, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, asked if Sandy had any apple butter, peanut butter, or sesame butter; he didn't. "We still ate basically rice, vegetables, miso soup, and aduki beans. We were as close to a Number 7 diet as you can imagine." Continued. Address: Owner, Oak Feed Store and Restaurant, 4500 S.W. 63 Ave., Miami, Florida 33133. Phone: 305-446-9036.

286. Pukel, Sandy. 1999. History of interest in macrobiotics, miso, and the Oak Feed Miso Co. Part II. 1975 to Aug. 1979 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 20. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

- *Summary*: Continued: Over the years Michio Kushi had talked about having a factory that made shoyu (natural Japanese-style soy sauce) in the United States. In about 1975, Sandy decided to do something about Michio's dream. He was increasingly an entrepreneur, but only in the sense that he liked to help make things happen. He still did not see himself as a businessman, in that he had little interest in money except insofar as it was important for making things happen. Oak Feed Co. was now a thriving enterprise. But why? "Because we didn't do it to make money, and because nobody took any money out of the company. So all the earnings were put back into the business. My job was to keep the philosophy going." Sandy's living expenses came from other investments. In the early 1970s, most young people Sandy knew who were interested in macrobiotics were dropouts with no money.

He lived in a very nice house in Pinecrest (near Miami) and had the money he needed. In 1976 he began looking at the idea of a shoyu factory more seriously, but he soon realized that the complex equipment and buildings would make it too expensive.

Then John Belleme started coming to the macrobiotic cooking classes and other events at Sandy's house on 63rd Avenue. Though he came on his motorcycle, John had a "straight" job in electron microscopy at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Miami. Soon he was deeply interested in macrobiotics and wanted to learn more and more. So Sandy suggested that John go to Boston to study macrobiotics with Michio. John did that, moving into a Ken Burns' study house. He stayed for about a year, then went to Mexico with Frank Head, and finally returned to Miami.

He asked Sandy for a job at the Oak Feed Store, and Sandy said "Fine." He was a responsible and knowledgeable person. John soon became the store manager, while also taking macrobiotic cooking classes at Sandy's house, but he did not see his future in a retail food store, thus he wasn't very happy with the job—though he was a very good worker. John was more a creator than a manager, and he and Jan had become sweethearts—great people and good workers. Jan used to make delicious seitan there. One day in about late 1977 John went to Sandy and suggested they do some kind of a project together. One of the ideas that came out of their brainstorming session was starting a miso factory in America.

A new idea was born, and Sandy responded by making John a deal. If John would work in the Oak Feed Store, in retail, for a total of three years (1976-79), Sandy would take care of the money necessary for making a miso factory happen and he would pay John's expenses related to starting the factory, pay for John's trip to Japan to study traditional miso making, and pay for John's share of ownership in the new miso company—\$25,000 in shares. John would be responsible for doing the research, learning how to make miso in Japan, etc. John accepted and began to manage the store.

In the fall of 1978 Sandy and John visited Michio in Boston to discuss the idea; Michio was very supportive, but he wanted the miso company to be in Massachusetts—perhaps on land at Becket or Ashburnham. Sandy didn't like the idea of Massachusetts—too much macrobiotic politics and the weather was too cold. Sandy put money from the Oak Feed Store into a separate account that John used to pay his miso-related expenses. Soon he began taking Japanese language lessons.

In 1977 Sandy started the Oak Feed Restaurant, and at about the same time Leon got married. These two events led to the three partners dividing up the properties of the communal LJZ Enterprises. Sandy ended up as the sole owner of the Oak Feed Store and his friends ended up with other businesses. Sandy took in partners in the restaurant; Michael Henry (a friend), and Wayne Neal and his wife. They invested and owned shares in the restaurant. Sandy

got Yozo Masuda to be the chef at the restaurant. For many years Yozo had been the right-hand man of Hiroshi Hayashi at Sanae, an early macrobiotic restaurant in Boston. Sandy brought him and his whole family from Japan, and got him a green card so he could cook at the Oak Feed Restaurant.

1979 (early)—At some point, Sandy began looking for land for the miso company—using specifications related to the climate and temperature that John Belleme had given him. But he was also looking for land for another reason—the Oak Feed Land Project. This was Sandy's dream of a macrobiotic educational center where various people would build homes and apprentice with John at the miso plant, and where various macrobiotic retreats and workshops and a summer camp with classes could be held on the land. Sandy spent about two months looking at catalogs, talking to realtors, etc.

1979 Feb.—Oak Feed Miso, Inc. is incorporated. By this time two groups have formed and begun to discuss their potential ownership of shares in the miso company: The Oak Feed group and the Erewhon group. It was agreed that the company would be named the Erewhon Miso Company. In the Erewhon group were Michio and Aveline Kushi, Sendai Miso-Shoyu, and maybe Mr. Kazama of Mitoku. In the Oak feed group were Sandy and John Belleme. It was expected that the Japanese would play a very important role in this company; they would assist the Americans in making miso in the United States. Sandy recalls meeting only once with some representative of Sendai Miso-Shoyu, probably at some natural foods trade show. Michio had most of the contact with them. At about this time the first of many of drafts concerning ownership of shares was placed on the table. None of the drafts was ever signed.

1979 April—Barry Evans becomes a major investor in the miso company.

1979 summer—After extensive research, Sandy flies up to North Carolina (Asheville) alone, looks at several pieces of property that a real estate agent has suggested, finds exactly the piece of land and house he had been looking for, makes a deposit or down payment of \$10,000 to \$15,000, agrees to assume the mortgage of the previous owners at the Tryon National Bank, North Carolina, and flies home alone the same evening. The roughly 90-95 acres of land in Rutherfordton cost about \$100,000 to \$120,000. The mortgage payments were \$500/month for 30 years. It was a lovely but very rural piece of property with rolling green hills. The Sears-style prefab 5-bedroom house on the property was basically thrown in free of charge. The land had become available because someone had died recently. With the new land and house, Sandy's Macrobiotic Foundation could do things that were impossible in metropolitan Florida.

1979 Aug. 7—Sandy closes / finalizes the purchase of the land for Oak Feed Miso in Rutherfordton, North Carolina. He and John Belleme both sign the closing documents. Now the new miso company would have to find the money to make the monthly mortgage payments, plus additional

monthly payments to two officers of the bank totalling \$23,000. Barry Evans' money was important in making these payments but it was not essential. The miso company definitely would have been able to pay for the land in Rutherfordton and send John and Jan to Japan without the money Barry invested at this time. The investments Barry made after construction of the factory began in mid-1980 and after Erewhon filed for bankruptcy were more important to the company's survival. Sandy put in the first money; Barry's came later. Sandy told John that if John took care of all the technical matters, Sandy would take care of all the financial matters to make the new company happen. Continued. Address: Owner, Oak Feed Store and Restaurant, 4500 S.W. 63 Ave., Miami, Florida 33133. Phone: 305-446-9036.

287. Pukel, Sandy. 1999. History of interest in macrobiotics, miso, and the Oak Feed Miso Co. Part III. Aug. 1979 to 1982 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Nov. 20. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary:* Continued: 1979 Aug. 16—A "subscribers consent" agreement is signed at a meeting in Miami. The following people, all or most of whom were present, subscribe to buy shares in Oak Feed Miso, Inc. Sandy Pukel, John Belleme (he invested sweat equity, not money; Sandy put up John's share of the money), Barry Evans, Yozo Masuda (chef in the Oak Feed Restaurant), Edmund Benson (a friend of Sandy's involved in macrobiotics), and Jim Kenney (manager of the Oak Feed Store). All these people knew each other, and all but Barry lived near Coconut Grove. John signed as the secretary. Sandy also has the original by-laws of Oak Feed Miso—more than 10 pages of typewritten boilerplate-type language. They are not dated or signed, but they were almost certainly drafted in 1979. No names or shares are given. Frank Head was never a shareholder as long as Sandy was involved.

1979 Aug. (late)—After the land deal was closed, Joseph and Patricia Carpenter (married, with children, macrobiotic friends of Sandy's from his neighborhood) moved into the main house on the miso company land at Rutherfordton, North Carolina, and lived there, rent free and getting money, throughout the time the Belleme's were in Japan. Joseph was a carpenter and fix-it guy, and he was expected to make improvements to the house and land before the Belleme's returned. Joseph was also hired to be John's assistant and head worker in running the miso company. Joseph "seemed like a hard-working guy" and Patricia was "a sweetheart lady." Joseph now lives in California and Patricia (who now uses her maiden name, Roberts) lives in Boca Raton, Florida, where she owns an antique store. Her parents live in Lighthouse Point, Florida, and her brother, Brendon Roberts, lives in Boulder, Colorado. Things did not end up on nice terms between them and John. Because they didn't do the work that John had expected of them, he either fired them or kicked them off the land. Sandy doesn't

know what they were supposed to do; John would know. The Carpenters then bought land nearby.

1979 Oct.—John Belleme (and his new wife, Jan) leave for Japan. All their expenses are paid from the Oak Feed account Sandy had established—not from the new corporation.

Michio was supposed to arrange for John's welcome in Japan and find a place for him to learn how to be a miso maker. But the people at Sendai Miso-Shoyu didn't want to share their secrets with John, so John ended up studying with the Onozaki family—kind of by accident. It turned out to be a blessing, because Sendai was too automated for John to learn traditional miso-making there. Moreover, Sendai Miso-Shoyu wanted to send one of their people to the USA to run the new Erewhon miso factory; John would have been his assistant.

1980 June—John and Jan Belleme return from Japan. Not long afterwards, there was an important meeting at Sandy's house in Miami. Now that it was becoming clear that a miso company was actually going to happen, people began to get serious about issues of ownership and money. At the meeting were Michio and Aveline Kushi, Sandy, John Belleme, and Joseph and Patricia Carpenter. Joe Carpenter had no money; he was a handyman who was going to be a worker. Sandy recalls it as a "pretty testy" meeting. Michio looked upon the miso company as "his baby." His contributions would be "in kind" rather than in money. He would supply the company name: Erewhon Miso Company. Moreover, since he owned Erewhon Trading Co., he stated that the Trading Company would buy all the miso, package it, and distribute it under the Erewhon brand. Barry Evans was not there. In short, Erewhon planned to play an essential role in the new miso company.

After John and Jan returned from Japan, they went right to work building the factory and purchasing equipment. John is a very talented photographer. He took many superb photographs of miso making in Japan then documented the rise of the new miso company on the land in North Carolina.

1981 Sept. 27—Sandy has the "Minutes of an Annual Stockholders Meeting of Oak Feed Miso" (3 pages). It is signed by directors John Belleme, Sanford Pukel, and Barry Evans, all of whom, of course, were in attendance. It refers to the Subscribers Consent Agreement of 16 Aug. 1979 and tells exactly who owns how many shares in the company. With the help of an attorney, Barry got his stock converted to Class A, which enabled him to vote for the first time; he also got on the board of directors. Barry and John together now own the majority of shares. Sandy was, alas, no longer in control. The company needed Barry's money, and his demands were reasonable. The changes seemed inevitable—but it hurt.

In 1981, when it became clear to Michio and Aveline that Erewhon Trading Company was in a financial crisis and needed cash quickly, they appealed to many of their

close friends for help. Sandy responded by sending them \$100,000. Nevertheless, on 19 Nov. 1981 Erewhon filed for bankruptcy protection under Chapter 11 of the Federal Bankruptcy Act. That left Sandy in need of money. Barry Evans invested a considerable sum in Oak Feed Store as part of a complex agreement. For Sandy, the Erewhon bankruptcy couldn't have come at a worse time.

1982 Feb. 26—Sandy Pukel and Barry Evans sign an agreement whereby Sandy gets out of Oak Feed Miso and Barry gets out of Oak Feed Store and Oak Feed Restaurant by an exchange of stock. Barry's financial strength won over, but this left Sandy upset and bitter at Barry. Sandy believes that there was no connection between this event and his lending \$100,000 to Michio. John was torn—caught in the middle. On the one hand, he felt great loyalty and affection for Sandy, and hated to see him out of the new company. On the other hand, he had invested years in the miso company and wanted to see it through to the end. So John continued to work with Barry, and Barry made him an offer he couldn't resist. This conflict strained Sandy and John's relationship for years afterward. About 8-10 years later, Sandy received a beautiful present in the mail of a wooden keg of special miso. It was from John (who had made the miso), accompanied by a nice note as a peace offering, with the hope that the two could renew their friendship.

The idea of the Oak Feed Land Project disappeared when Barry Evans bought out Sandy's interest in the miso company. Sandy basically held a proxy for most of the other investors; when he left, they also left, selling their shares to Barry Evans.

One sidelight: In about 1993-94 Sandy formed a non-profit organization, an offshoot of the Macrobiotic Foundation of Florida, named The Ignoramus Club. Most of the members are people who have been involved with macrobiotics for many years. It had several hundred members who paid \$100 each, including Michio, Herman Aihara, etc. No one had any authority over anyone else. At the meetings, some of which drew 50-100 people to Miami, everyone talked freely about macrobiotics. Resentment and criticisms, as well as gratitude came out. "A lot of people owe a lot to macrobiotics." The Club is no longer active. Address: Owner, Oak Feed Store and Restaurant, 4500 S.W. 63 Ave., Miami, Florida 33133. Phone: 305-446-9036.

288. Elwell, Christian. 1999. Chronology of South River Miso Co. Part II. 1980-1982 (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. Dec. 16. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Continued: 1980 Jan.—The Elwells receive a letter from Thom Leonard informing them that the Ohio Miso Co. is for sale.

1980 spring—The Elwells get a \$3,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Energy, Appropriate Technology small grants program—to build a rammed earth house on their

property. Fred Hubbard, originally from Cape Cod, hears about this building project through his sister, who was a relative of Christian's, and offers to participate. Unmarried, he arrives in the early summer of 1980 and lives in a tent on the Elwell's land.

1980 May—The Elwells purchase the Ohio Miso Co. for \$10,000 cash from Richard Kluding.

1980 summer and fall—Christian tries to "back out of the miso business." He feels overwhelmed by all the work that would be required. His brother, Will, who had just met his wife to be, is not sure he wants to be involved in the "miso making adventure." He decided that he would move off the land in the summer of 1981. Christian approaches Michio Kushi, who owned Erewhon, and talks about Erewhon buying the Ohio Miso company. Michio shows a sincere interest in buying the company and in going to Ohio to look at the equipment and miso—but that never happened. A year later, in Nov. 1981, Erewhon filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy.

1980 Nov.—With the walls of the rammed earth building finished, Christian and Fred Hubbard drive to Monroeville, Ohio, where they "stuffed the entire Ohio Miso company, all the equipment and 13 tons of miso, into the back of a huge semi truck trailer which a trucking company had delivered." Each vat contains about 2,400 lb of miso. They empty all of the miso into 5-gallon buckets, then put the intact wooden vats into the truck, then put the 5-gallon buckets (still filled with miso) into the vats. It took 10-14 days to fill the truck. Christian and Fred drive back to South River Farm and a week later the trucking company delivers the trailer one day before a light snow storm. Christian and Fred, with help from neighbor Don Herzig and his tractor, unload the entire contents and store it in their barn—which was across the river.

1980 Dec.—Christian sends a form letter to Ohio Miso Company's former customers that begins: "Dear Friends, old and new: The Ohio Miso Company has changed ownership. As of November, 1980, the Elwell family has purchased and moved the equipment and present stock of miso to South River Farm in Conway, Massachusetts... Eventually we want to follow a full cycle by growing the grains and beans on our own farmland... We plan to have our new shop ready for the fall season of 1981..."

1981 winter (Feb/March)—Christian sells Ohio Miso out of the barn, loading it onto a horse-drawn sled, pulling it over a logging road through the woods (the river was impassable) to the road and then on to a UPS terminal in Springfield. One of their best customers is Western Mass. Co-ops—which later became Northeast Cooperatives.

1981 June—The Elwells and partners lay the foundation of their new miso shop—1,220 square feet—and begin building a timber frame (post-and-beam) miso shop on their land. The frame is made of big, heavy timbers which are joined together with wooden pegs—no nails. This is an old English and New England method of construction. Christian had planned to construct a less expensive cinder-

block building until he met master timber framer Jerry Sawma, who lives in Conway. Christian and Fred work with Jerry all that summer and fall, helping him frame the building and put the shingles on the roof. Fred and Christian take over from there, putting on the walls, etc. They had not finish by winter, so they covered it with plastic sheeting to keep out the snow.

1981 Nov. 29—Christian writes an "Historical sketch" of the South River Miso Co. on its handsome new letterhead: "There, a new shop of traditional timber-frame construction, featuring a wood-fired masonry cooking stove was completed in 1981. Production capacity is 40,000 to 120,000 pounds of miso per year. Barley miso is the standard variety offered. Others include Brown Rice, Corn, and Black Soybean miso."

1982 Jan. 1—South River Miso Co. is incorporated.

1982 Feb. to spring—Christian was now thinking of running the miso company with two other families on a community basis; they would contribute money, labor, and community/social spirit. Christian's brother, Will, had left in the summer of 1981. Christian invites the other families to come and live on the land and work in the miso company. One couple, from the macrobiotic community in Boston, was Anpetu Oihankeshni and Hannah Bond; they were not married when they arrived but they had a wedding ceremony on the land. The other couple was Don and Marcia Wheeler, who were from families that had lived nearby in the Pioneer Valley for generations. These two couples invest \$30,000 to finish the miso shop and get the company running.

1982 spring—Christian and Fred finish building the miso shop, assisted by Don Wheeler and Anpetu. The total cost of the building was about \$80,000, including Jerry's labor expenses but not including Christian's and Fred's time. Jim Sadler later drew a nice illustration of the 5-part building from a photograph. The main center part, which has two stories, is where the miso is made; a living space is in the loft upstairs. The koji room protrudes out toward the front. To the right of the main part is the entryway to the shop where the shipping is now done. To the right of the entryway is a 36-foot-long storage building, where the miso vats are stored. Each vat, made of recycled virgin cypress, holds about 7,500 lb of miso. To the left of the main building, under a roof that slopes downward, is more of the miso shop plus storage for smaller miso barrels. To the far left is a firewood storage shed.

1982 Oct. 25—With the miso shop just finished Christian, Gaella, Don Wheeler, and Thom Leonard hold a dedication ceremony then begin to make the first miso (actually barley koji for a 2-year barley miso) at South River Miso Co.—according to the "Production Log" which still exists. Thom arrived (from Baldwin Hill Bakery, which is a 45-minute drive away in Phillipston, Mass.) about a week before this day and stayed for about 3 weeks afterward. Part of the agreement in the purchase of Ohio Miso was that Thom would come to Conway to help them

get started and teach them as much as he could about miso-making. It was a friendly and informal arrangement. Christian had to keep telling Thom to wait because it took longer than expected to finish building the miso shop; he was very patient and understanding. The organic barley and soybeans used in the first batches of miso were from Living Farms in Tracy, Minnesota. From 1980-82 Thom had taught miso-making classes in Boston. Earlier in 1982 Christian attended one of Thom's classes at Baldwin Hill Bakery. As of December 1999 Thom has a very nice bakery in Salinas, Kansas, and he is very happy—part of a nice community. The first miso at South River is put into recycled oak whiskey barrels, purchased from Ohio Miso Co. Muramoto also used such barrels and Thom may have gotten the idea from him. The barrels had been burned on the inside so the charcoal would improve the flavor of the whiskey as it aged; the charcoal had to be scraped off before the barrels could be used for miso. Small batches went into the smaller whiskey barrels; larger batches went into cypress wood vats. Christian recalled in 1999: "Thom told me during the first week, as we were washing and soaking soybeans, 'Miso making is about creating order. That is the main thing to keep in mind here in the shop: to create and maintain order.' This was his way, in the spirit of Zen food craft, of breaking through the glamour and mystique of miso making."

Gradually the men used the two horses and cart to move the miso barrels and vats from the barn, across the river, and into the new storage building that was part of the miso shop. By that time Christian had sold most of the miso made in Ohio.

1982 winter—Anpetu and Hannah live above the shop that winter; the Elwells live across the river—before there was a bridge over it. Christian would walk through the ice cold water early each morning (until the river froze) to get the fires started each morning. Continued. Address: Founder and Owner, South River Miso Co., South River Farm, Conway, Massachusetts 01341. Phone: (413) 369-4057.

289. Roberts, Patricia. 2000. History of interest in macrobiotics. Living on the Oak Feed Miso Co. land in Rutherfordton, North Carolina from 1979 to 1980. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. May 20. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: 1972—Patricia meets Joseph Carpenter (a native of California) in Oregon on a farm where she went to do yoga; she was very involved with yoga and meditation. Joseph is a very friendly and personable fellow, and he has an "incredible memory. Most people are in awe of his brain." They went together to Tucson, Arizona, to pick oranges. She was living on oranges and bananas, had lost much of her memory, and was very spaced out and emotional. They went into a place named The Granary, where they met Jack Garvey, who brought them into the

macrobiotic community. She first met Michio Kushi in Tucson, when he came there to lecture.

1973 Sept. 15—Patricia and Joseph Carpenter are married in Arkansas. They were invited to Arkansas to do a little farming by some friends who had some property there. Their friends were deeply involved with Stephen Gaskin and The Farm in Summertown, Tennessee. They arrived with all of their macrobiotic "judgments" and that led to conflicts. They built a little house on the land in Arkansas, and Thom Leonard came to visit them there in 1973. He took care of their house for the winter when the Carpenters went to visit Patricia's parents in Florida.

1973 Nov. 11—Their first child, Yana, a girl, is born in Arkansas. They leave to go to "Snowflake," the first macrobiotic conference in Arizona. It was held on property near a Hopi reservation that a group of people in the macrobiotic community, including Michio, purchased.

1974—Patricia goes to a macrobiotic conference in Miami and meets Sandy Pukel for the first time. She becomes friends with Sandy and his wife, and saw Michio for the second time.

1975 fall—Patricia arrives (with her daughter, Yana) in Brookline, Massachusetts, and lives in the macrobiotic study house run by Ken and Ann Burns. After about 3 months she moves to another study house. Joseph arrives later, in about 1976, and lives in the study house run by Jack and Barbara Garvey, on the same street as the Burns' house. Joseph Carpenter was very close to Jack Garvey. They both have a close relationship with Michio and Aveline Kushi. For Patricia, who had a Catholic upbringing, Michio was a spiritual teacher. John Belleme arrived in Brookline about mid-1976 and lived in the Burns' study house; it was at about this time that Patricia first met John—though they never lived in the same study house. Joseph designed and built an addition to the Kushi's home at 62 Buckminster Road; it was for Aveline—the bathroom of her dreams on the second floor. One day Aveline came to see Patricia in her apartment. She liked a chopping block table that Joseph had built for Patricia. Joseph is an excellent carpenter. He did much of the finish carpentry on the original Erewhon retail store on Newbury St. in Brookline, including the wooden bins for grains and beans.

1977 Christmas—Patricia and Joseph go to Florida for Christmas, one of many trips they took there. Patricia's parents and many of her friends live in Florida; she loves to visit. In early 1978 Joseph worked as a carpenter for several months in Sandy Pukel's Oak Feed Restaurant in Coconut Grove, Florida. He had gotten to know Sandy because Patricia and Sandy were close friends. During this time Sandy came to realize that Joseph was a skilled carpenter.

1979 Feb. 12—Patricia's second child, Benjamin, is born in Brookline. At about this time Patricia's sister, Christine, moved up to Boston to be near Patricia. In the spring of 1979 Patricia went to Florida to visit her parents and show them her new baby. Sandy flew Joseph down to talk business. Sandy had now decided that he wanted the

Carpenters to become part owners of the company—so he offered them a deal, which, as near as Patricia can remember, was as follows. He asked them to live on the land the miso company planned to purchase while the Bellemes were in Japan learning how to make miso. If they would live and work the land, become a presence in the community, and then become owners of and workers for the company, Sandy offered to pay their expenses and give them \$25,000 worth of company shares for each year they stayed and worked on the land—including the first year, of course. But this agreement was verbal; nothing was put in writing. Back in those days, Patricia, recalls, people were less businesslike than they are today.

Looking back, Patricia believes that she and Joseph failed in their negotiation of this deal. Joseph is an artist, and he is much better at self expression than at negotiating agreements. Sandy is very good at negotiating.

1979 May—On Memorial Day weekend, at the end of May, after four years in Brookline (near Boston), the Carpenters leave and move to Florida for the summer, to be near Sandy, to work out the details of beginning the miso company. In leaving Boston, they were giving up a lot, including many friends ("We were very plugged in. My sister, Christine, was quite upset that we were leaving") and Joseph's good carpentry job. But they believed that Sandy's deal made the move worthwhile.

Patricia flew to Florida with her two young children. At Sandy's request, Joseph drove their van so that he could go to Hendersonville to meet with several real estate agents. The miso company property had not yet been decided on or purchased. The realtors took Joseph to visit several areas on the isothermal belt, but they didn't find the property at that time. The isothermal belt means "never too hot, never too cold." But it freezes and snows a little during the winter.

Patricia recalls that they bought the property from Bob Deakin. Joseph knew Bob Deakin. Bob was driving with his wife and daughter at about that time, on a holiday, to chimney rock. A truck was coming toward Bob's car and suddenly a bee flew into the cab of the truck. When the truck driver started to swat the bee, his truck swerved across the road and killed Bob Deakin's daughter. Bob kindly refrained from suing the truck driver or truck company, and somehow, because of the accident (or perhaps because of big hospital bills) he lost his property—which the miso company later purchased.

In Florida, Patricia and Joseph rented a place for the summer on Highland Beach near Boca Raton. They had visits with Sandy and learned more about his plans for the miso company. That summer, Michio came down and did a seminar, which they attended. Michio wanted the land to be used as a summer camp and a place to garden; he also wanted to build a dam and lake. John and Jan Belleme were preparing to go to Japan. Continued. Address: Grass Valley, California.

290. Carpenter, Joseph. 2000. Living in Boston and on the Oak Feed Miso Co. land in Rutherfordton, North Carolina from 1979 to 1980. Part I (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. June 2. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Joseph was born on 5 Aug. 1948 in Oakland, California, at Providence Hospital. He lived with his family in Berkeley until he was age 10; his father, who was a carpenter by trade, died in 1954, when he was still a boy. He and his mother then moved to nearby El Sobrante (by the back gate of De Anza High School—where he graduated from high school). He attended Contra Costa Junior College for two years, moved up to Sonoma State for a year, then dropped out. At age 19-20 (1967-68), he took off to see the world. As a young man, he became a skilled carpenter, learning by doing. Several of the men he worked with were good teachers.

A hippie during the 1960s, he met Patricia Roberts who was born in March 1947 in Queens, New York, and grew up in Rockaway Beach in Queens. Her father was a New York City police officer and detective for 20-25 years. Her parents retired to Florida in the late 1960s or early 1970s. When the kids were at home, they lived in a nice big home at Whitehouse Point; after the kids were gone, they moved to Deerfield Beach. Soon after meeting Patricia, Joseph stopped using psychedelics drugs and alcohol. They picked apples together in Hood River, Oregon, and lived in an old picker's camp. Having been overweight, he lost about 80 pounds in less than 6 months—and felt great. He and Patricia and a girl friend of hers migrated to Tucson, Arizona, where they were planning to pick oranges for the winter. While looking for a place to stay, they came across a macrobiotic bakery, The Granary, run by Jack Garvey. That was their first introduction to macrobiotics. Because of their largely raw food diet, they were somewhat resistant at first, but soon became friends and students of Jack's. In 1973 Joseph and Patricia were married in Arkansas.

1977 Feb.—Joseph arrives in Boston from Northern California; he is very sure of this date. He met Charlie Kendall (a maker of traditional natto, amazake, and mochi), who had just bought a house in Brookline by the railroad tracks; Joseph helped him extensively remodel that building. Charlie's wife, Yoko, was Aveline's sister. Joseph soon became friends with Bill Painter, who was a house painter by trade and also had a small shop in the basement of the Kushi's house. Before long Joseph was working as a carpenter with Bill Eggloff, building a handsome grain bin for Erewhon's retail store on Newbury Street. Using red oak and Plexiglas, they worked on it in the basement, which had a garage door that opened onto the alley behind the store. Bill, who lived on Cape Cod, stopped working for Erewhon when the bin was finished. But the store needed more fixtures, so Joseph made a bid, signed a contract, then installed new check-out stands, new shelves, and units to hold the crocks of bulk tamari, barley malt, etc. Joseph had a family to support, and carpentry was his livelihood, so he

was paid for all work he did in the Boston area. Later, over 4-day weekend, he worked to tear out old bathrooms and office spaces to open up the cramped front of the Erewhon store. He also did some work on a new Erewhon store in Brookline. After Erewhon moved out of their old 4-story brick warehouse, he worked on the huge modern warehouse that Erewhon moved into. The Kushi's house on 62 Buckminster Road had been the headmaster's house for a private school. Upstairs there was an institutional bathroom. Aveline asked Joseph to remodel it to make a private bathroom—with lots of tile. After about a year of working for the macrobiotic community (always for pay), Joseph got "burned out" and went to work for a regular contractor unconnected to macrobiotics.

1977 Christmas—Joseph and Patricia go to Florida for Christmas, one of many trips they took there. In early 1978 Joseph worked as a carpenter for several months in Sandy Pukel's Oak Feed Restaurant in Coconut Grove, Florida. He had gotten to know Sandy because his wife, Patricia, and Sandy were close friends; they had first met when they both went to a seminar Michio Kushi gave in Coconut Grove. After the restaurant opened, in about May 1978, Joseph and Patricia took a vacation to Jamaica. During the summer and fall of 1978 Sandy came to Boston several times. Each time he and Patricia and Joseph went out to dinner together. Sandy mentioned that he was thinking of starting a miso company and asked if they might be interested in getting involved. They expressed interest, but no definite plans or offers were made.

1979 Feb.—Joseph's second child, Benjamin, is born in Boston to his wife Patricia. The Carpenters took many trips to Florida, especially during the winter, to visit Patricia's parents. In about March 1979, over a long weekend, when Patricia and their two children were vacationing in Florida (visiting her parents), Sandy Pukel paid for Joseph to fly from Boston to South Florida for a meeting to discuss the part that the Carpenters might have in the development of the new miso company. Sandy knew Joseph's skills as a carpenter. Joseph recalls that the meeting was at Edmund Benson's house. Sandy said that he wanted Patricia and Joseph to become part of the miso company. In exchange for their labor, they would be given a share of the business ownership worth \$25,000. Joseph does not recall whether they would receive the \$25,000 once or each year that they worked—but he definitely recalls the \$25,000 offer. Joseph recalls that the talk at this first meeting was very general in terms of what kind of carpentry or construction work he would do for the company.

1979 May (late)—Joseph leaves Boston in his van, headed for North Carolina—after handing over their house to the next renters. On the way, following Sandy's instructions, he stops in Hendersonville, North Carolina, for about a week to check out some real estate. With real estate agents that Sandy Pukel and/or Edmund Benson had found, Joseph looks at property the agents thought might be appropriate for the miso company in the Asheville area and

in Rutherford County. As far as he knows, Joseph was the first person to actively look for land for the miso company. They found several properties that Joseph considered borderline, so Sandy (and probably John Belleme and Edmund) flew up from Florida and they all visited these sites together. Finding nothing that was suitable, they left. Joseph continued on to Florida in his van to be with Patricia and their children. Sandy continued to work with local realtors until he found a suitable piece of property. Joseph is quite sure that just before they finally purchased the land in Rutherfordton, Sandy, Michio and he (and perhaps a few other people) all went to see the property at the same time. They walked over the roughly 100 acres of land and through the beautiful house.

During the summer of 1979 Joseph and Patricia met with Sandy and Edmund several times to discuss their living on the miso company land while John and Jan Belleme were away studying miso-making in Japan. Though nothing was put into writing, Joseph and Patricia both recall clearly that their daily expenses would be taken care of, they would work on the land, and, at the end, they would own a part of this new business. They were not given any specific list of tasks or duties they were expected to accomplish. Continued. Address: 10655 Lakeshore Dr., Clear Lake, California 95422. Phone: 707-994-3218.

291. *SoyaScan Notes*.2000. One disaster after another leads to success: Brief history of American Miso Company (Overview). June 20. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: This story, with its many strange twists and turns, might be called "One disaster or failure after another leads to success" or "The perfection of imperfection."

1977 Aug. 2—It was a disaster for Bob and Karen Deakin of Rutherfordton, North Carolina, when a bee flew into the cabin of a big truck near their home. As the driver tried to swat it, his truck swerved across the road and smashed into a car driven by Bob Deakin, killing Bob's daughter (age 12½) and severely injuring Bob and his young son.

1979 Jan. 26—It was a second disaster for Bob and Karen Deakin when they were forced to give up the home they had built and the 92 acres of land they dearly loved in Rutherfordton because they could not make the mortgage payments. With Bob still injured from the car crash, the family had no steady income. The land was sold to Oak Feed Miso Co. on 7 Aug. 1979.

1979 Oct.—It was a disaster for John Belleme when he arrived in Japan to study miso and nobody knew who he was or why he was there. The arrangements that were supposed to have been made were never made.

1979 Oct.—It was a small disaster for Mr. Kazama of Mitoku when John Belleme handcuffed himself to Mr. Kazama's desk and said he would not leave until Mr. Kazama had located a miso master with whom John could learn the traditional art of making Japanese miso.

1979 Oct.—It was a disaster for miso master Takamichi Onozaki, of Yaita, Japan, when two foreigners arrived, without invitation, saying they wanted him to teach them how to make miso. He told them he was sorry, but they could not stay. They stayed in his house, under the same roof, for 6-8 months as they worked hard and learned how to make miso.

1979 Nov. 18—Barry Evans is in a disastrous bicycle accident, breaking 5 vertebrae and 9 ribs. After a 14-hour operation, he spends 6 months on his back in the hospital and 1 year in a full-body cast.

1980 June—It was a disaster for Joseph and Patricia Carpenter, who had lived on the miso company land for the past ten months and expected to be owners of the miso company, when they were told to leave and, in their opinion, not told why.

1981 Nov. 10—It was a disaster for Michio and Aveline Kushi when their company, Erewhon, is forced to file for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection because of debts totaling \$4.3 million. The Kushis also had to give up their dream of starting a miso company (named Erewhon Miso Co.) in America. It was also a disaster for the miso company which could no longer count on Erewhon to distribute its products.

1982 Jan. 31—It was a disaster for Sandy Pukel when he has to give up his stake in Oak Feed Miso, Inc. It was his "baby" and he, more than anyone else, was responsible for bringing it to this stage. Equally sad was the fact that his good relationship with John Belleme was strained for the rest of the 1980s; they didn't talk for years after this event.

1982 Jan.—It was a small disaster for Mr. Onozaki when John Belleme begged him to come to America from Japan to check John's koji-making. He didn't want to go. He spoke no English, had never been outside of Japan, and had a business to run at home. Yet he went to help a friend in need.

1983 Oct. 1—It was a disaster when John and Jan Belleme feel they must sell all of their ownership in the American Miso Co. (900 shares) to Barry Evans. They had devoted most of the last 4-5 years working to create and build this company.

1992 Jan.—It was a disaster for Barry Evans when he is forced to take a "federal vacation" in Santa Barbara, California, for 2½ years.

2000 July 4—American Miso Co. is the largest and most successful Caucasian-run miso manufacturer in the Western world. Who is and was responsible for this success? Most of the people named above.

Note: Some of the most interesting (juiciest) stories about this company remain untold, for reasons that cannot be disclosed at this time.

292. Troy, John. 2000. Update on Wizard's Cauldron and work with miso (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. June 26. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.
• *Summary*: John's original organization was the Lindenself Foundation, a nonprofit organization involved with Eastern

spirituality. The linden tree symbolized the heart. Out of this grew Linden's Elfworks, then Elf Works, Ltd., whose first product was a candy bar named Wizard Baldour's Power Pac introduced in 1976, and containing ginseng. Elf Works, Ltd. was created outside of the nonprofit corporation, and it existed only briefly (1981-1984).

In about 1980, John was first introduced to miso by Joel Dee of Edward & Sons who was introducing his Miso Cup, a dehydrated miso soup. Troy's next product was Wizard Baldour's Hot Stuff (in regular or blazing intensities); it was the company's first big success. It contained miso from the day it was launched. Troy first bought this miso from Erewhon (a fairly dark salty rice/red miso), but when Erewhon filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in Nov. 1981, Troy started buying his miso from Barry Evans of American Miso Co. It was John Belleme and Barry Evans who really got Troy interested in and involved with miso—before American Miso Co. had any miso for sale, but after their miso plant had been constructed. Troy can't remember how, where, or when he met Barry Evans. Belleme told him about going to Japan and apprenticing with Mr. Onozaki. Later Barry Evans introduced Troy to John Fogg in Charlotte. Troy later worked closely with Fogg; "at first I thought he was arrogant and fussy, but he ended up being a tremendous influence in my life, and taught me so much about marketing... To this day I still draw on the wisdom of John Fogg."

Troy now makes almost 100 different products for the natural food trade. Most of these contain miso and/or soy sauce. All of his business is private labeling, so he develops and manufactures products, which other companies market. Across the street from his office is a modern, high speed blending, bottling, labeling plant, with plenty of cold storage. He manufactures and bottles every product he develops. His company, The Wizard's Cauldron, Ltd., run small by a small team of leaders, now does about \$2 million a year in annual sales. His products are now almost totally organic—200 ingredients. John has just a handful of customers. The biggest is Whole Foods Markets; he makes all the salad dressings and sauces sold under the Whole Foods label. Second biggest is Joel Dee of Edward & Sons. Troy makes four brands for Joel Dee: Premier Japan, The Wizard's, Troy's, and Rain Forest Organic. Joel's company owns the "Wizard" brand, which Troy gave him in 1987 as part of his "recovery plan" after American Natural Foods went down the tubes. Joel said, "You make it, I'll sell it." At about the same time, they also both developed the Premier Japan brand and line, which is still doing extremely well. In about 1995 John developed "The Wizard's Worcestershire Sauce," a vegetarian sauce, for Joel Dee. It is now selling better than Hot Stuff. Ponzu is the Japanese equivalent of Worcestershire sauce; they use bonito instead of anchovies. But ponzu originated first, so "Worcestershire sauce is a Western 'knock-off' of ponzu." The Ginger Tamari is still a wonderful product that is doing very well.

Troy's third largest customer is Albert's Organics, America's largest organic produce distributor, for whom he makes a line of fresh, refrigerated organic dressings. Albert's Organics recently merged with UNFI (United Natural Foods, Inc., the collection of distributors that was Stow Mills, Cornucopia, Rainbow, Mountain People's Warehouse, etc.). UNFI is now a big publicly-owned company. Troy's favorite product developed for Albert's is Mellie's Miso Mustard Dressing, launched in 1998 with a mild miso from American Miso Co. Albert's daughter is named Mellie.

John is now developing a line of dressings under the Moosewood Restaurant brand for the people who own that restaurant. John's favorite is the Miso Ginger Salad Dressing. A few days ago he closed a deal with Robert Tepper (formerly of The Farm, in Summertown, Tennessee) to market his Simply Delicious brand of dressings. Robert now has his own company named Sunrise Management, which is a brand management company; Simply Delicious will be the first brand he owns. Robert worked for Natural Nectar, then Blue Sky, then Annie's (which he left in early 2000 to start his own company).

John's main work is still developing new products and naming his creations—the work he enjoys most of all things. "It's really fun." Blessed are those who find a way to do what they love most in life. Address: The Wizard's Cauldron, 8411 Hwy. NC 86 N, Cedar Grove, North Carolina 27231. Phone: 919-732-5294.

293. *SoyaScan Notes*. 2000. Chronology of Erewhon Miso Co., Oak Feed Miso, Inc. and American Miso Company (Overview). July 6. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: These three companies are actually the same company whose name changed. This chronology is based largely on dated documents. Undocumented dates are usually followed by question mark. Notice the many unusual twists and turns in the story.

1977 Aug. 2—A bee flies into the cabin of a big truck near Rutherfordton, North Carolina. As the driver tries to swat it, his truck swerves across the road, smashing into a car driven by Bob Deakin, killing Bob's daughter (age 12½) and severely injuring Bob and his young son.

1978 Dec.—Sandy Pukel, Michio Kushi, and John Belleme get together in Boston to discuss the miso factory. They agree on quite a few points. All three are deeply interested in macrobiotics.

1979 Jan. 26—The bank (Tryon Federal Savings and Loan) forecloses on Bob and Karen Deakin's mortgage. Still injured from the car accident, he is unable to make his land payments. The land goes on the market.

1979 Feb. 28—Oak Feed Miso, Inc. is incorporated in Florida. The initial directors and officers are Sandy Pukel and John Belleme. 1979 Feb?—A contract is drafted by David Young (though never signed) showing what percentage of the proposed Erewhon Miso Co. will be

owned by the Erewhon group (comprised of Sendai Miso-Shoyu Co., Michio and Aveline Kushi, and maybe Mitoku / Mr. Kazama) and by the Oak Feed Group (comprised of Sandy Pukel and John Belleme). The Erewhon group was to have the majority ownership, and Japanese companies and individuals were expected to play a major role in the new company.

1979 March—Joseph Carpenter looks for land in Rutherford County, North Carolina. Talks with several insurance agents.

1979 spring—Members of the Oak Feed and Erewhon groups meet in North Carolina in the first attempt to locate a site for the miso plant. In attendance are Michio and Aveline Kushi, Sandy Pukel, John Belleme, Frank Head, and Junsei Yamazaki and his wife (both from California).

1979 April—Barry Evans makes his first investment in the miso company, \$50,000.

1979 June?—Sandy Pukel travels to North Carolina and makes the down-payment on a piece of land in Rutherfordton. The roughly 92 acres cost about \$110,000 to \$120,000.

1979 Aug. 7—Oak Feed Miso, Inc. finalizes the purchase on the 92 acres of land by assuming the second mortgage and paying an additional \$11,500 each to Lawrence L. Bridges and E. Milton Singletary. Sandy Pukel (president) and John Belleme (secretary) sign the land deed and deed of trust.

1979 Aug. 16—Subscribers Consent Agreement executed.

1979 Aug. (late)—Joseph and Patricia Carpenter arrive in Rutherfordton from Florida to live and work on the miso company land.

1979 Oct.—John and Jan Belleme leave for Japan to begin an apprenticeship with a miso master. They stop by the land in North Carolina to visit briefly with the Carpenters, then also visit Thom Leonard at Ohio Miso Co. Arriving in Japan in late October, they visit Mr. Kazama in Tokyo then travel north with him to Yaita, where they study miso-making with the Onozaki family—which makes only dark rice miso. A good, long letter from Jan describing their experiences is published in 1980 in the book *Macrobiotic Cooking for Everyone*, by Edward and Wendy Esko.

1979 Nov. 18—Barry Evans is in a very serious bicycle accident.

1980 April—A detailed letter by John, about his miso apprenticeship with the Onozaki family in Yaita, Japan, is published in *GOMF News*, a small macrobiotic magazine from Oroville, California.

1980 June—John and Jan Belleme return to the USA from Japan. That summer John located the remaining miso equipment in New Jersey and ordered wooden vats from the Arrow Tank Co. in Buffalo, New York.

1980 fall—John and Jan go on the Erewhon payroll.

1980 Sept. 29—Work has just begun at Rutherfordton in leveling the site for miso factory, which is going to be a metal Butler building. By late 1980 John and Jan begin to

make their first experimental batches of one-year rice miso, at their home, in the sauna.

1981 early—The project stalls for lack of funds. John starts writing articles about his trip to Japan. One goal is to convince Barry not to abandon the project.

1981 Jan.—"The Master of Hoops," John's first article, is published in *East West Journal*.

1981 March 9—John Belleme is deeded 7.5 acres of land by American Miso Co. in the northwest corner of the AMC property; later he starts to build a house there.

1981 April—"The Miso Master's Apprentice," John's second article, is published in *East West Journal*.

1981 July—"The Miso Master With a Big Heart: Making Miso in a Japanese Village," John's third article, published in *Soyfoods* magazine. Contains many good photos of miso making in Japan.

1981 July—The beautiful and joyous opening ceremony for the Erewhon Miso Co. is held at Rutherfordton, North Carolina. Those present include Michio and Aveline Kushi, John and Jan Belleme, Sandy Pukel, Barry Evans. It is a moving experience for all. But behind the scenes, Erewhon's financial is rapidly deteriorating—due largely to too rapid expansion.

1981 Aug.—John and Jan Belleme begin full-time large-scale production of one-year Onozaki-style red (rice) miso at their plant in Rutherfordton.

1981 Sept. 27—The annual meeting of the Oak Feed Miso Co. is held at Rutherfordton, North Carolina. Barry Evans is appointed acting chairman. Shares in company are owned as follows: Barry Evans 1,400, Sandy Pukel 1,400, John Belleme 900, Yozo Masuda 100, Edmund Benson 100, and James Kenney 50. All stock is converted to one kind, Class A, which is voting stock. Thus, for the first time, Barry gets the right to vote and becomes a member of the board of directors.

1981 Aug.—John and Jan Belleme begin fulltime, large-scale production of miso and koji at their new plant in Rutherfordton, North Carolina. Fourteen months have passed since they returned from Japan. Twelve more months must pass before this miso is ready to sell.

1981 Nov. 10—Erewhon files for bankruptcy protection under Chapter 11 of the Federal Bankruptcy Act because of debts totaling \$4.3 million. At his time, Aveline Kushi is the sole owner of Erewhon. Thus, the miso company can no longer count on Erewhon to distribute its products. Apparent disaster!

1981 Dec.—Barry Evans establishes Great Eastern Sun (GES) in Asheville, North Carolina, in part to package and market the miso made by AMC. Mitoku, almost destroyed by Erewhon's collapse, and eager to rebuild, agrees to export Japanese natural foods to GES.

1982 Jan. 4—Barry Evans sends out a letter announcing the opening of The American Miso Company in North Carolina. The company now has a new name (it was officially changed on 5 May 1982). Barry also announces that Linden's Elf Works (Rougemont, North Carolina), run

by John Troy, has been appointed as AMC's sole marketing and distribution agent. Note: This arrangement was very short-lived; Elf Works never distributed any of AMC's miso. Great Eastern Sun did all the distribution.

1982 Jan.—Mr. Takamichi Onozaki comes to America from Japan to see how well his students had learned his lessons. He stays and helps make koji and miso for 2-3 weeks, until he is fully satisfied that all is well.

1982 Jan. 31—Barry Evans and Sandy Pukel agree to a swap of stock, such that Barry gets all of Sandy's stock in the miso company and Sandy gets all of Barry's stock in Oak Feed Store and Restaurant. After this, Sandy is no longer involved with the miso company. Barry and John Belleme now own all the company's shares, and Barry owns a large majority.

1982 April—Great Eastern Sun make's its first sale, of products imported from Mitoku in Japan to a natural foods store in the USA.

1982 April—Mr. Onozaki's his adopted son, Haruo, and eldest daughter, Kaoru (Haruo's wife), arrive in Rutherfordton and spend 3 months sharing the Belleme's home, helping Jan who is pregnant, and helping to make miso. The Bellemes' son, Justin, is born on May 24.

1982 July—The first detailed article about American Miso Co. and its method of making miso (with many fine photos) is published in *Soyfoods* magazine: "American Miso makes a Big Move Down South," by Richard Leviton, who visited the company in April. The company "has struck a careful balance between the traditional approach (as in making koji, which requires skill and personal attention) and labor-saving mechanization (as with bean washing, soaking, cooking, mixing, and moving)."

1982 Sept.—The first miso made by AMC is sold by Great Eastern Sun. It is one-year, Onozaki-style red miso, sold in bulk only in 4 lb, 15 lb, and 40 lb tubs.

1983 Oct. 1—John and Jan Belleme sell all their ownership in the American Miso Co. (900 shares) to Barry Evans for \$30,000. However, John continues to work making miso for AMC. Throughout the past year he has been experimenting with making mellow white and mellow barley misos. Great Eastern Sun is now selling about 50,000 lb/year of white miso from other sources.

1984 fall—AMC miso first starts to be sold in one-pound plastic coffee bags (each with a pressure release valve), refrigerated. A full-page ad showing the bag appears in the Jan. 1985 issue of *East West Journal*. Previously, all their miso had been sold in bulk.

1985 Feb.—Don DeBona leaves his job as general manager at Great Eastern Sun and begins to work at American Miso Co., learning the process from John Belleme.

1985 April?—AMC introduces three varieties of relatively sweet, light-colored, short-term misos: Mellow White Miso, Mellow Barley Miso, and Amakuchi Mugi Miso—a shock to traditional macrobiotic followers. These light misos were sold in the plastic bags. As of July 2000,

half the company's sales come of such short-term types of light miso.

1985 Dec.—Don DeBona takes over management of the company. John Belleme leaves. It was a difficult transition.

1985 Dec. 31—AMC has its first profitable year, earning \$22,000 in calendar year 1985.

1986 early—AMC miso starts to be sold in one-pound plastic cups/tubs, refrigerated. The plastic bags are phased out.

1987 fall—AMC miso starts to be sold in 8-oz plastic cups.

1988 Feb.—New koji room designed and built by Don DeBona. Constructed at floor level with a large door and high ceiling, it enables the koji crib and racks of koji trays to be wheeled in and out. Before, all the koji had to be carried in and out by hand.

1992 Jan.—Barry Evans is required to take a "federal vacation" in Santa Barbara, California, for 2½ years. He hands the management of American Miso Co. and Great Eastern Sun over to Don DeBona.

1992—American Miso Co. builds a second factory as large as the first.

1993—American Miso Co, now has 41 huge wooden (mostly cedar) miso vats, each of which holds over 4 tons of miso. Starting with only eight vats, they added six in 1986, seven in 1989, five in 1991, and fifteen more in 1993. Also in 1993 AMC begins to export its miso to Europe, where it is distributed by Lima throughout the continent.

1995 April—Greg Gonzales starts work at American Miso Co. learning the process from Don DeBona.

1995—AMC uses up the last of tax loss carryforwards; total past financial losses go to zero.

1997 March—Greg Gonzales takes over management of the company after Don DeBona leaves.

294. Wollner, Joel. 2000. Macrobiotics in America today (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. July 2. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Joel, who has been deeply involved with macrobiotics for more than 30 years, observes that in America today, "the macrobiotic movement is much smaller and less vital at its core" than it was, say, 10 years ago. "But its influence has spread enormously." Joel can see the profound influence of macrobiotics throughout the natural foods and organic foods industries, even in the words and phrases that people use, or in basic concepts about organics—such as the number of years for transitions. Many people in these two industries today are unaware of these deep influences. Erewhon was more successful at forming an industry than at forming a viable company.

Barry Evans, owner of American Miso Co. and Great Eastern Sun, two companies that for years have had macrobiotic customers as their base, adds: "If only there were a macrobiotic community still in existence. It's pretty well gone, but there are some remnants left." Address: 76

Florida Ave., Berkeley, California 94707. Phone: 510-524-4420.

295. Michio and Aveline Kushi macrobiotics collection (Archival collection and finding aid). 2000. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Archives Center. 48 boxes. • *Summary*: This is collection AC 619 consisting of 48 boxes (28 cubic feet). The finding aid to the collection is 12 pages. Kathy Keen did the processing. Most of the materials document the 1970s and 1980s. There are five series in the collection: (1) Publications of the East West Foundation and Kushi Institute (the largest series): In boxes 1-7 are issues of *East West Journal* (EWJ) from April/May 1977 through Dec. 1989. In box 9 are volumes 1(1971) and 2(1972) of EWJ. In boxes 10-12 are volumes 2(1972) through 6(1976) of EWJ. In boxes 13-26 are various volumes and issues of macrobiotic periodicals including *Order of the Universe* (from Vol. 1, 1967), Michio Kushi Seminar Reports (from Nov. 1974), *Macrobiotic Monthly* (from July 1965), *Yin Yang* (from Sept. 1962), *Macrobiotic News* (from May 1960), *One Peaceful World* (from No. 27), *The Macrobiotic* (from Vol. 9) *Macrobiotics Today* (from 1984), *Musubi* newsletter (1971), *Macromuse* (from 1982). In box 29 are Erewhon product catalogs (13 catalogs from 8 Dec. 1972 to summer 1977; other catalogs include 19 Feb. 1973, 6 April 1973, 29 May 1973, 20 Aug. 1973, Nov. 1973, June 1974, spring 1975, summer 1975, Feb. 1976, and spring 1977).

(2) Audio tapes (box 40). (3) Video cassettes of lectures by Michio Kushi on macrobiotic subjects from 1981 to 1991 (boxes 34-40). (4) Books on macrobiotic subjects (99 in English and 8 in foreign languages) (boxes 30-33). (5) Photographs (box 41).

Contents of the 12-page finding aid: History of macrobiotics and Michio and Aveline Kushi. Provenance (the collection was donated in Aug. 1997, with additional materials in May 1999). Scope and content. Related materials. Container list.

There is also a 2-page cataloging record for the collection. Address: Washington, DC. Phone: 202-357-3270.

296. Smith, Patricia. 2001. The Natural Products Expo at Anaheim and the natural foods industry (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 23. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: The Expo at Anaheim this year was the biggest ever, attracting more than 30,000 people. She walked past every booth and almost every one was offering some kind of soy product. The interest in soyfoods just keeps growing.

At the show there was talk about illegal genetically-engineered StarLink corn in Kellogg's Morningstar Farms products such as Corn Dogs, Mini Dogs, and maybe other products. Some company are pulling these products from their shelves.

Before the first Natural Foods Merchandiser (NFM) trade show was held in 1981, at Anaheim, California, the pioneering natural foods companies such as Erewhon, Eden, Westbrae, Sunburst, and Chico-San all (reluctantly) attended the annual NNFA show in Las Vegas, Nevada. There would always be a big party one evening in someone's hotel suite—with lots of fun. But from 1981 on, these and other natural foods companies found their real home at the NFM trade shows.

Patricia saw Yuko Okada at this year's show. His Macrobiotic Company of America now sells only Muso Shokuhin products. Norio Kushi is running the company. Yuko kicked out Bruce Macdonald over alleged financial improprieties. A lawsuit that Bruce filed has apparently been settled.

Michael Potter bought the Herb-T Company from Cecile Levin in southern California. Mr. Muramoto started the company many years ago.

Patricia has now worked for Trader Joe's for 16 years. Address: Radical Food, P.O. Box 952, Mill Valley, California 94942-0952.

297. Kucinich, Dennis J. 2001. In honor of Aveline Kushi. *Congressional Record* 147(93):July 10. Tuesday.
• *Summary*: A nice eulogy to honor the memory of Aveline Kushi, spoken on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives. Address: Representative from Ohio, House of Representatives.

298. Kushi, Lawrence H. 2001. Aveline Tomoko Kushi—February 27, 1923–July 3, 2001: A celebration of her life, at First Parish in Brookline (Leaflet). Brookline, Massachusetts. 2 p. Front and back.
• *Summary*: There are four panels: (1) The cover shows a portrait photo of Aveline. (2) Inside left: Program of the church service. (3) Inside right. The words to the Heart Sutra (*Hannya Shingyo*), and the Song of Ephemerality, both romanized. (4) Back: Biographical sketch of Aveline's life.

Accompanying this is 1-page sheet titled "Aveline Kushi Memorial Events" including dates, times, and addresses of visitation, memorial service, reception, and donations to Aveline Kushi Memorial Fund. Address: Brookline, Massachusetts.

299. Martin, Douglas. 2001. Aveline Kushi, advocate of macrobiotic diet for health, dies at 78. *New York Times*. July 23. [5 ref]
• *Summary*: Aveline Kushi died on July 3 in Brookline, Massachusetts, of cancer. She taught and promoted macrobiotic cooking and helped to found one of the nation's first natural food stores, Erewhon. A macrobiotic diet, based on whole grains and fresh vegetables, provides physical balance that leads to greater spiritual and psychological balance. Aveline and her husband, Michio, taught that entire societies become aggressive and

disharmonious from eating meat, dairy products, and processed foods; this undermines world peace.

Aveline was born Tomoko Yokoyama on 27 Feb. 1923 in the small mountain town of Yokota in the Izumo area of Japan. She taught elementary school during World War II, then after meeting Georges Ohsawa, came to the United States in 1951 to attend a meeting of students who supported world government. She stayed to study at the University of Illinois and Columbia University. She and Mr. Kushi were married in 1954.

She is survived by her husband, four sons, four sisters, three brothers, and 13 grandchildren.

300. Wollner, Joel. 2001. Remembering Aveline Kushi's funeral (Interview). *SoyaScan Interviews on File*. July 29. Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Aveline Kushi died on July 3 in Brookline, Massachusetts. Joel, a close friend of Aveline's for more than 30 years, flew back to attend her funeral. He describes here the wake/visitation at a local funeral parlor on July 8, the very beautiful and moving funeral service at the packed First Parish Unitarian Church on July 9, and the reception that followed at Michio and Aveline's home (62 Buckminster Road) after the funeral—attended by 400-600 people. Address: 76 Florida Ave., Berkeley, California 94707. Phone: 510-524-4420.

301. Lewandowski, Joseph P.; Uhland, Vicky. 2004. Maverick merchants: Entrepreneurs, idealists and visionaries have built the natural products industry. To mark our 25th anniversary, *Natural Foods Merchandiser* will pay homage throughout the year to some of the people and innovations in our industry. This month we profile 25 retailers. *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. Feb. p. 30, 32, 34-37.

• *Summary*: The visionaries (with a color portrait photo of most), listed alphabetically by last name, are: Linda Amidon, Rob Auerbach, Michael Cianciarulo, Bruce Cohen, Terry Dalton (founded Unicorn Village natural foods market in Miami, Florida, in 1979 and sold it for \$4.5 million to Whole Foods in 1995), Dan Foley (Wedge Community Co-op in Minneapolis, Minnesota), Mike Gilliland (CEO of Wilds Oats Market, 1984-2001), Sandy Gooch (Started Mrs. Gooch's Natural Food Markets in 1977 in southern California and expanded to 7 stores. Acquired by Whole Foods in 1993), Eric Hinkefent, Cheryl Hughes, Kemper Isely, Bea James, Michael Kanter, Matt Martincich, Debbi Montgomery, Philip Nabors, Mark Ordan, Barry Perzow, Mark Retzliff (see below), Scott Roseman, Debra Stark, Marke Stowe, Cynthia Tice, Robert Tucker.

In 1969 Mark Retzliff and two roommates founded Eden Foods, when he was a student at the University of Michigan. In 1971, he became manager of the Erewhon natural foods store in Seattle, Washington. In 1974 he moved to Denver, Colorado to manage Rainbow Grocery, a

division of the Divine Light Mission [Guru Maraji], and bought it in 1976. In 1979 he and Hass Hassan founded Pearl Street Market in Boulder, Colorado; it was later sold to Wild Oats Markets. In 1983 he and Hassan founded Alfalfa's Market in Boulder; it expanded to 12 stores and was sold to Wild Oats. In 1989 Retzliff left Alfalfa's and worked as chairman of the Organic Alliance in Washington, DC, lobbying for the Organic Food Production Act. In 1991 he returned to the Boulder area and, with Paul Repetto, founded Horizon Organic Dairy, leaving in 2001 (after 10 years) to become CEO of Rudi's Organic Bakery. He left Rudi's in late 2003 and launched Aurora Organic Dairy in Longmont, Colorado. Address: 1. Free-lance writer, Fort Collins, Colorado; 2. Free-lance writer, Denver, Colorado.

302. Ginsburg, Lynn; Oliver, Hillary; Uhland, Vicky. 2004. 25 people who influenced the organics industry. *Natural Foods Merchandiser*. Oct. p. 74, 76-78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90.

• *Summary*: To mark its 25th anniversary, *Natural Foods Merchandiser* pays homage to the following visionaries (with a color portrait photo of most), listed alphabetically by last name. They built the organics industry into the \$10.8 billion business that it is today. Roger Blobaum, Bena Burda, Amigo Cantisano and Kalita Todd, Lynn Coody and Yvonne Frost, Michael Crooke, Katherine DiMatteo (director of OTA since 1990), Sam Farr, Jonathan and Katarina Frey, Drew and Myra Goodman, Lewis Grant, Gary Hirshberg, Barclay Hope, Eckhart Kiesel, Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), The Lundberg brothers (Lundberg Family Farms, 35 years in the industry), Marty Mesh, Nell Newman, Steve Pavich, Anthony Rodale, Craig Sams (37 years in the industry), Bob Scaman, Bob Scowcroft, George Slemon, Michael Sligh, Zea Sonnabend.

Note: Unfortunately omitted: Paul Hawken and Michio Kushi (Erewhon), Jerome I. Rodale and Robert Rodale (Rodale Press), Michael Potter (Eden Foods).

303. Silver, Jimmy. 2006. Old-line health-food distributors that made the transition to being natural-food distributors in the 1970s (Interview). *SoyaScan Notes*. March 27.

Conducted by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: The five main companies were: Kahan & Lessin Co. (Compton, California, near Los Angeles). Landstrom Co. (San Francisco, California). Balanced Foods (North Bergen, New Jersey; Mid-Atlantic states). Health Foods, Inc. (Des Plaines, Illinois, near Chicago). Sherman Foods, Bronx, New York.

Only Balanced Foods (founded in Nov. 1939 by Dr. Maurice "Doc" Shefferman, and Sam and William Reiser) made the transition smoothly and still exists—although not as an independent company.

Kahan & Lessin (K&L) was purchased in the fall of 1983 by Jameson Pharmaceutical Corp. (San Mateo, California, owned by Jim Jones). Jones was already aware of Walmart and saw K&L as a vehicle for distributing

supplements to Walmart. However Jones did not know the business; he survived for only 3-4 years, declaring bankruptcy in about 1980-81.

Landstrom was a family-owned business, but by the time the natural foods industry was becoming significant, Bob and June Merriam, and their younger brother Rick, were running the company. They were hard to deal with and went out of business in the early to mid-1980s.

Balanced Foods, long run by brothers Sam and William Reiser, continued to be a powerful distributor on the East Coast during the 1970s and 1980s and a major competitor of Erewhon. In late 1986 Tree of Life, Inc. (St. Augustine, Florida) purchased Balanced Foods to become the largest natural foods wholesaler in the USA. Tree had been purchased in Dec. 1985 by Netherlands-based Royal Wessanen NV Co. for \$15 million.

Note: One other old-line health food distributor doing business in Aug. 1980 was The Pavo Co., Inc.

(Minneapolis, Minnesota), a family business since 1931. Address: President, Pure Sales, California.

304. Shurtleff, William. 2006. The contribution of Erewhon to the natural foods industry in America (Overview).

SoyaScan Notes.

• *Summary*: Erewhon Trading Company was the key pioneering company in the U.S. natural foods industry. It played a major role in creating this new industry and for many years was the leader in new ideas, product development, and distribution. Even though Michio Kushi started Erewhon, Paul Hawken was the company's heart and soul, and the main visionary; If Michio had built Erewhon according to his vision, it would have ended up much more Japanese. Paul was the pioneer in conceiving the early structure of the natural foods industry. Most of the natural food stores were based on the country store motif of 342 Newbury St., and many of the early natural foods distributors were built on the same model as Erewhon with much the same product line.

Paul focused on developing organically grown foods, finding and training farmers to grow such foods, and making each a commercial reality for Erewhon. Address: Director, Soyfoods Center, Lafayette, California 94549. Phone: 510-283-2991.

305. *SoyaScan Notes*. 2006. Chronology of America's early natural food distributors, 1969-1973. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: Erewhon: 1966 April—Starts a natural foods retail store at 303-B Newbury St. in Boston, Massachusetts, founded by Aveline and Michio Kushi, owned by Aveline Kushi, and managed by Evan Root. 1968 Aug.—Erewhon starts to import macrobiotic-quality natural foods from Japan. 1969 spring—Starts selling products wholesale out of the back of its store at Newbury St. 1969 fall—Starts distributing products at wholesale prices to natural foods stores in New England.

Erewhon—Los Angeles: 1969 Sept.—Bill Tara (with support from Aveline Kushi) opens a natural food store named Erewhon—Los Angeles at 8001 Beverly Boulevard in Los Angeles. 1969 Sept.—The company starts importing natural foods from Japan, with shipments arranged by Paul Hawken. That same month, with Bill Tara driving a pickup truck up and down the Pacific Coast, the company starts distributing natural foods to about 10 retail stores.

Westbrae: 1970 May—Ten partners (including Bob Gerner, none of whom had any money) open the Natural Food Works on Olive Drive in Sacramento, California. In July 1970 Bob Gerner starts distributing natural foods to various natural food retail stores in Berkeley, California. Originally his distribution company had no name. In Aug. 1970 Gerner, with his sister, Margaret, and his brother-in-law, Bob Ortiz, found a new natural foods company named Westbrae Natural Foods at 1336 Gilman St. in Berkeley. The store on 2 Feb. 1971 and the distribution company continues its operation out of the store.

Essene: 1969 March—Starts a retail store named Essene Macrobiotic Supply at 2031 Samson St. in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, founded by Denny Waxman and two partners and based on the Erewhon model. 1971 Feb.—Essene Traditional Foods starts distributing natural foods at wholesale prices out of its retail store at 320 South St.

Eden Organic Foods: 1969 Nov. 4—Starts a natural foods store in Ann Arbor, Michigan, managed by Bill Bolduc. 1971 June—Starts to wholesale natural foods out of the back of its retail store at 211 South State Street. 1971 Aug.—Eden Foods starts to distribute its wholesale bulk products, especially in the Detroit area. The company starts to bring in small trailer loads of staples from Arrowhead Mills in Texas. Bill Bolduc and Tim Redmond now run the company.

Laurelbrook: 1971 Aug. 23—Laurelbrook Foods begins as a macrobiotic natural foods wholesale distributor in Forest Hill, Maryland (about 25 miles northeast of Baltimore). The company never moved from its original location, but they kept a post office box (P.O. Box 47) in nearby Bel Air. The company was founded by Rod and Margy Coates,

Janus: 1972 Jan.—Janus Foods Inc. is established as a macrobiotic and natural foods wholesale and distribution company at 712 Seventh Ave. South in Seattle, Washington, by George Gearhart, Blake Rankin, and Tim Hartman. Distribution starts that month.

Tree of Life: 1971 May—Irwin Carasso opened Tree of Life in St. Augustine, Florida—strongly influenced by the Erewhon model. In May 1972 Feb.—Tree began distributing natural foods.

Llama, Toucan & Crow: 1973 Jan. Bob Swanson, a clerk at the Good Life (a natural food store in Brattleboro, Vermont) starts to truck natural foods from New York to his store. Soon he starts to distribute natural foods to other natural food stores. In May 1976 Barclay McFadden bought

the company and renamed it Llama Trading Co. In 1979 he merged it with Stow Mills.

306. *SoyaScan Notes*. 2006. Chronology of miso and soybean chiang. Compiled by William Shurtleff of Soyfoods Center.

• *Summary*: 1st century B.C.—Soybean chiang is first mentioned in China in the *Shih chi [Historical records]* by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and in the *Chi chiu p'ien [Primer on addressing matters]*, by Shih Yu.

535 A.D.—The *Ch'i min yao shu* in China gives the first detailed descriptions of making soybean chiang—and other soyfoods.

701—Soybean hishio, miso, and soy nuggets start to be made in Japan by the *Hishio Tsukasa*, a government bureau. References to these seasonings are found in documents published between 730 and 748.

901-08—The modern word for *miso* first appears in Japan in the *Sandai Jitsuroku*.

927—The *Engi Shiki* gives the first details about the production of soybean hishio-miso in Japan.

1597—Miso is first mentioned by a Westerner, the Florentine Francesco Carletti; he calls it *misol*.

1712—Englebert Kaempfer, a German who lived in Japan, is the first European to give detailed descriptions of how miso and shoyu are made in Japan. Also mentions koji.

1727—Miso is first mentioned in an English-language publications, *The History of Japan*, by E. Kaempfer. He spells it "*Midsu*, a mealy Pap, which they dress their Victuals withal, as we do butter."

1779—The word "*miso*" ("that is used as butter") first appears in an English-language publication, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1847—The word "*miso*" first appears in print in the United States, in a letter from T.W.H. of Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the *Farmers' Cabinet and Herd Book*.

1908—Miso is first made commercially in the continental United States by the Fujimoto Co. of San Francisco, California. Brand name: Kanemasa Miso.

1921—The term "bean paste" is first used to refer to miso by J.L. North of England in the *Illustrated London News*.

1929—Amano Brothers, Canada's first commercial miso maker, starts in Vancouver, British Columbia. Founder: Mr. Teiichi Amano. 1960—Dr. C.W. Hesseltine and K. Shibasaki, of the Northern Regional Research Laboratory in Peoria, Illinois, publish the first of many important scientific articles on miso.

1963—Michio and Aveline Kushi, teachers of macrobiotics in Boston, start to teach Americans about miso.

1966 April—Aveline Kushi (with Evan Root) starts Erewhon, a pioneering retailer in Boston, that soon starts selling miso.

1968—Erewhon expands to become an importer and distributor of natural and macrobiotic food. Their first two

misos, Mugi Miso and Hacho Miso, are imported from Japan.

1976 June—Miyako Oriental Foods, a division of Yamajirushi Miso Co. in Japan, starts making miso in Los Angeles. Owned by Noritoshi Kanai. Brands: Yamajirushi, Kanemasa, Yamaizumi.

1976 Sept.—*The Book of Miso*, by Shurtleff and Aoyagi, is published by Autumn Press of Hayama, Japan. This is the first book about miso in the Western world.

1978 Oct.—The Ohio Miso Co., the first Caucasian-run miso company in the Western world, is founded by Thom Leonard and Richard Kluding. They begin miso production on 13 March 1979.

1978 Nov.—Joel Dee of Edward & Sons (New Jersey) launches Natural Instant Miso Cup, an instant miso soup made with freeze-dried miso from Japan.

1978 Dec.—Miyako Oriental Foods of Los Angeles introduces Cold Mountain Firm Granular Rice Koji, the first koji sold commercially in the USA. In 1979 they start selling Cold Mountain Miso, the first miso with an American-style brand.

1979 Oct.—John and Jan Belleme arrive in Japan to study traditional miso—and koji-making with the Onozaki family in Yaita, Japan. They are the first Caucasians to do this, and then to return to the West to start making miso commercially. From 1981 on they write many superb articles about miso, published in America.

1979 April—Shin-Mei-Do Miso is founded by Lulu and Yasuo Yoshihara in British Columbia, Canada.

1981 April—John Troy of Elf Works, Ltd. in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, launches Hot Stuff, an early and very successful American miso product. He first learned about miso from Joel Dee.

1981 Aug.—John and Jan Belleme begin full-time, large-scale production of miso and koji at Erewhon Miso Co. in Rutherfordton, North Carolina. By early 1982 their company is renamed American Miso Co. with Barry Evans as the new owner.

1982 Oct. 25—Christian and Gaella Elwell start making miso and koji at South River Miso Co. in Conway, Massachusetts. Earlier that year they purchased The Ohio Miso Co. Address: Lafayette, California. Phone: 925-283-2991.

An asterisk (*) at the end of the record means that SOYFOODS CENTER does not own that document.

A plus after eng (eng+) means that SOYFOODS CENTER has done a partial or complete translation into English of that document.

An asterisk in a listing of number of references [23* ref] means that most of these references are not about soybeans or soyfoods.

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