

SAVORING PLACE: PROTECTING CHICAGO'S SENSE OF PLACE
BY PRESERVING ITS LEGACY RESTAURANTS.

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: SAVORING PLACE: PROTECTING
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 PRESERVING ITS LEGACY RESTAURANTS

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Humanist geographer Edward G. Relph in *Place and Placelessness* conceptualized a vision of place using a phenomenological approach based upon how humans experience place. Relph’s three main place components include Setting, Activity and Meaning, and considering resources in this manner can reframe preservation thought. Viewing place through Relph’s lens makes for a more holistic vision, that can shape what and how we preserve. A Relphian framework also provides a useful practice theory for preservationists to expand our notion of who performs preservation and how we evaluate sense of place.

Small businesses are neighborhood anchors, and historic restaurants play a particularly social and experiential role. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage must be evaluated holistically when focusing preservation actions upon businesses such as

historic restaurants. Legacy restaurants are place makers and visible markers of the layers of history within a place. They convey social history and foodways and act as expressions of the intangible cultural heritage that lends character to place.

Change is a part of place; cuisine, the history of a place, and historic businesses do not remain static. Just as legacy business owners have had to be agile and adaptable to remain relevant and successful, historic preservation may work most effectively when it too is agile and adaptable in response to change. Using a Relphian view of place prompts a refocusing on the big picture an expansion of preservation, and a certain allowance for change. This view suggests that the human experience of place should be more at the forefront of preservation thought. By expanding how and what we preserve we will in turn preserve more sense of place.

Subject Headings: legacy businesses, Chicago restaurants, ethnic history, Edward Relph, sense of place.

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This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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For my parents, and for Terry, my partner in life.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION	1
Historic Preservation and the Concept of Place	3
Chicago's Culinary and Preservation Advocacy	13
Current Challenges	22
Foodways as Intangible Culture	23
Historic Restaurants and Place	26
Summary	31
CHAPTER II:	34
CHICAGO'S SENSE OF PLACE	34
Introduction	34
Architectural Setting	36
Chicago History and Foodways	39
Restaurant Closures	54
Summary	55
CHAPTER III:	57
CHICAGO'S AMERICA'S CLASSICS	57
Introduction	57
Cultural Hybridity	59
Tufano's Vernon Park Tap: Family Style	61
Relphian Analysis	66
Potential Change	
The Berghoff: A Functioning Memory Factory	73
Relphian Analysis	81
Calumet Fisheries: A Disappearing Art	88
Relphian Analysis	95
Potential Changes: Calumet Fisheries	
Glunz Tavern	100
Relphian Analysis	106
Potential Changes: Glunz Tavern	
Devon Avenue Neighborhood	114

Relphian Analysis	128
Potential Changes: Devon Avenue	128
Summary	129
CHAPTER IV	134
EVALUATION AND PRESERVATION ACTIONS	134
Introduction	134
Evaluation	135
Preservation Actions	140
Opportunities for Collaboration in Chicago	142
Learning From Domestic Preservation Programs.	148
Learning From International Preservation Programs	153
Creative Documentation	161
Summary	164
CHAPTER V	166
CONCLUSION	166
For Further Study	172
Conclusion	174
BIBLIOGRAPHY	178
APPENDIX 50 over 50: Chicago's Legacy Restaurant Inventory	182

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Tufano's Charater Defining Features.	72
Table 2: The Berghoff's Character Defining Features.	88
Table 3: Calumet Fisheries Character Defining Features.	99
Table 4: Glunz Tavern's Character Defining Features.	109
Table 5: Devon Avenue's Character Defining Features	130

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Lou Mitchell's interior circa 1950s.	2
Figure 2 Present Day Lou Mitchell's Exterior.	3
Figure 3: Children identify their ethnic origin in school.	49
Figure 4: Tufano's Exterior with addition on right.	62
Figure 5 Kitchen “window” where grandmother transferred food cooked next door.	63
Figure 6: The Berghoff Bar Interior.	73
Figure 7: The Berghoff exterior, sign.	83
Figure 8: Calumet Fisheries Smokehouse exterior.	89
Figure 9: House of Glunz Wine & Tavern.	101
Figure 10: Devon Avenue, Chicago.	120
Figure 11: Nathan’s Delicatessen 1950’s. Now Khan’s BBQ.	122

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Lou Mitchell's is a downtown family-run Chicago diner, listed in 2006 in the National Register of Historic Places. It sits at the very start of Route 66, near Union Station. Founded in 1923, it is the only Chicago restaurant to be listed in the Register. Like many before, I would lug my suitcase into the front window, already piled up with luggage from other travelers, and catch the *Wolverine* or the *Twilight Limited* Amtrak train to Ann Arbor, Michigan to visit my father. I'd order an omelet and Greek toast as sustenance for my journey before lugging my suitcase out again toward nearby Union Station for the five-hour trip.

Customers waited in the usual Saturday morning line that stretched down the block. The elderly gentleman who was always there, monitored the line and handed out warm beignets to everyone and tiny boxes of Milk Duds, which were only for the women. (Milk Duds were manufactured in Chicago originally, and it was said that the old man had an eye for the ladies.)¹ Many other meals enjoyed at the diner involved seeing a server bring out a piece of pie with a lit candle, and the entire restaurant would burst into a rendition of "Happy Birthday" for the recipient. A small bar with diner stools sits on the right as you enter, and the interior still retains an ambiance from decades past, (see Fig 1).

¹ "Lou Mitchell's About Us," accessed March 1, 2017, http://www.loumitchellsrestaurant.com/about_us.html.



Figure 1: Lou Mitchell's interior circa 1950s [National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program].

Everyone gets served a tiny ceramic dish of house-made stewed prunes with whatever they are eating, even if they do not want them. Beneficiaries of the diner's Greek hospitality include many a sports star, as well as Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama.² Approaching the restaurant from the sidewalk, the building appears as a plain, olive-green-painted one story building graced with a large orange neon sign from 1949 saying "Lou Mitchell's: Serving the World's Finest COFFEE" (Fig 2). The fact that it has stood so long is a testament to the quality of its food, and the quality of the hospitality. It is clear that this place is important, and that people know it. Each time I return to Chicago, I participate in what has become a traditional ritual of breakfast at this diner, which will always in my mind be associated with Chicago. Like Lou Mitchell's, the restaurants profiled in this study have a positive effect on residents and visitors, and through longevity, roots in the community, and cuisine, are representative of the city, and

² Ibid.

markers of the city's immigrant past. They foster a warm, social interchange for the communities they serve and nourish, and express to some degree the past and present identities of the neighborhoods. Historic restaurants have not often been recipients of preservation focus. Historic restaurants are a part of what drives sense of place and we should be champions for their continued survival.



Figure 2: Present day Lou Mitchell's Exterior, [Wikimedia Commons, Sheila Scarborough].

Historic Preservation and the Concept of Place

Historic Preservation in the United States has evolved and expanded over many decades to become a more complex, multi-faceted, inclusive field. It encompasses concepts such as Cultural Landscapes, areas with both natural and cultural features,

defined by the National Park Service (NPS) as being “associated with a historic event, activity or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.”³ The NPS also helps to oversee Traditional Cultural Properties, (TCPs) which it defines as “a property that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) based on its associations with the cultural practices, traditions, beliefs, lifeways, arts, crafts, or social institutions of a living community.”⁴ Intangible culture such as stories, songs, dances and cultural practices are also recognized.⁵ Culinary heritage, and therefore historic restaurants, can be included within these parameters. While the buildings themselves play a vital role in sense of a place, the intangible values associated with them play a crucial role as well. Sense of place is certainly impacted by buildings but also by more than buildings.

Humanist geographer Edward Relph explored a phenomenological approach to geography in his groundbreaking book, *Place and Placelessness*, first published in 1976. Relph defined place as consisting of setting, activity, and meaning. These elements are always interrelated. The setting may be a city, a landscape, a neighborhood, and a building (exterior and interior), or often a combination of all of these facets. The activity component encompasses all that humans do within a setting, as well as activities that are

³ National Park Service, “Understand Cultural Landscapes,” accessed November 18, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/culturallandscapes/understand-cl.htm>.

⁴ National Park Service, “Traditional Cultural Properties,” accessed November 18, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/history/tribes/Documents/TCP.pdf>.

⁵ National Park Service, “Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” accessed March 1, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm>.

done for the setting, or to a setting. Meaning is attached to, and a part of both setting and activity. Much as a building provides shelter, place provides an experience.

Relph's ideas on place have impacted other disciplines beyond that of geography, including urban design, landscape architecture, and city planning, among others.⁶ His ideas do not appear to have influenced historic preservation to the degree that they might. Yet, strong parallels between Relph's place concepts and preservation concepts within the United States do exist, particularly with issues of significance and intangible heritage, which are core preservation concepts that convey the idea that place is suffused with meaning. Relph's three components of setting, activity and meaning as well as his key idea that it is the human experience of place that is paramount, can reframe aspects of preservation thought.

Randall Mason, in his article "Fixing Historic Preservation," writes "The core benefit [of historic preservation] is the cultivation of society's collective memory. Fabric is essential to sustaining memory."⁷ The importance of the built environment in terms of sense of place is undeniable. I argue that Relphian thinking about our built environment helps us to view it more holistically, because that is often how we experience place. This holistic thinking also prompts us to view multiple, often intertwined aspects of a resource, including its use, and the intangibles associated. Small businesses are neighborhood anchors, and historic restaurants play a particularly social, experiential role. These places are often a part of the collective memory of a group or community.

⁶ Robert Freestone and Edward Liu, eds., *Introduction to Place and Placelessness Revisited*. (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 9.

⁷ Randall Mason, "Fixing Historic Preservation; A Constructive Critique of Significance". *Places* 16, no.1, (2004): 65.

The discussion of what is deemed significant in the preservation field should be ongoing. The discussion of what to consider worthy of preservation and how to quantify the more nebulous facets of a resource involving Relphian meaning should also be ongoing.

One of Relph's reasons for writing *Place and Placelessness* was to fill in what he saw as a gap in the study of Geography, that most geographical research neglected to focus enough upon people and their relationship to place. He discusses "personal geographies" (a phrase from author David Lowenthal) as a concept involving how we experience place. Relph asserts "It is these personal geographies that give meaning to formal academic geography."⁸ I argue that it is often our personal geographies that also give meaning to historic preservation. What we feel about a place, as a result of our experiences with them, accumulated or new, helps us to recognize them as important. Just as Relph's experiences growing up lent him an awareness of place, and to the writing of his book, my own experiences growing up and dining out frequently in Chicago prompted a particular awareness of the city's landscapes in general as well as the city's culinary landscape. My own personal geographies within the city has led me to study historic preservation and to this thesis. Experiences in a city rich with sense of place helped to foster a care and concern for its businesses as well as its architecture. This recognition of place-importance is key to the field of historic preservation, for it is indifference toward place that threatens our historic places, and therefore, sense of place.

Relph notes that "Place is fundamentally a phenomenon of everyday experience...the intimate and specific basis for how each of us connects with the world."⁹

⁸ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: SAGE Publications LTD, 2008), 4.

Relph's *Place and Placelessness* was also a response to increasing modernization and urban renewal, just as the preservation movement in the United States was responding to these forces. He writes in the preface to the 2008 edition: "The rather neat binary interpretation of place and placelessness that followed from this confrontational attitude seemed appropriate at a time when clean-sweep urban renewal and other-directed commercialism were actively revising the way landscapes looked."¹⁰ He acknowledges too, that place and placelessness are most often intertwined, just as the components of place are blended.

Intangible culture embodied within a resource is a part of the meaning in Relph's concept of place. Community value for a place is also a part of this intangible culture and meaning. Widely accepted preservation practice has focused often upon the relationship between significance and the built environment. Yet it is often the intangible culture that provides us with meaningful experiences within our environment. Preservation professionals can consider intangible aspects of place (and sense of place), and treat place with holistic respect. Relph writes in *Place and Placelessness*: "the fact that we do not attend continually to our landscape and place does not make it insignificant, for in much the same way we usually take our own appearance, or that of our friends, very much for granted, even though it is a fundamental part of personal identity."¹¹

Relphian theory is aligned with several international organizations in terms of preservation advocacy. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

Organization (UNESCO), is an organization that is, according to its mission statement: “responsible for coordinating international cooperation in education, science, culture and communication.”¹² UNESCO focuses on education and heritage as a way to engender social justice and human dignity.¹³ The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is an advocate for preservation that is linked with UNESCO. ICOMOS works to preserve and protect places, promoting and actively engaging in heritage work internationally in order to foster connection, spread awareness of heritage issues and cultural diversity.¹⁴ Both ICOMOS and UNESCO are important proponents of Relphian sense of place. The focus on spreading awareness is a potent combatant to indifference, and is a Relphian activity that enables humans to care about place.

In the United States, one type of resource called a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP), is defined by the National Park Service:

a property that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) based on its associations with the cultural practices, traditions, beliefs, lifeways, arts, crafts, or social institutions of a living community.¹⁵

A TCP is Relphian in terms of its associative value and in that intangibles are considered as much as, if not more so, than fabric. The TCP concept is linked to Relph’s place

¹² “About Us,” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, accessed January 17, 2017, <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco>.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ “About Icomos,” International Council on Monuments and Sites, accessed April 4, 2018, <https://www.icomos.org/en/about-icomos/mission-and-vision/icomos-mission?showall=&start=1>.

¹⁵ “Traditional Cultural Properties,” National Park Service, accessed November 4, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/history/tribes/Documents/TCP.pdf>.

components, the associations above encompassing meaning, and activity as well as setting. TCP's are not relics but dynamic, still in use, with continuing importance to the community around them.

Relph's concepts converge with Historic Preservation concepts such as TCPs as well as a larger preservation concept. He writes of the concept of caring for place:

But to care for a place involves more than having a concern for it that is based on certain past experiences and future expectations— there is also a real responsibility and respect for that place both for itself and for what it is to yourself and others.¹⁶

This notion of care, responsibility and respect for place is a core value of Historic Preservation. Combined with the rise of a threat to a valued place, it is the local point of feeling that prompts much preservation action. Sense of place may be ambiguous and challenging to quantify, but we generally know when we experience its loss. Sense of place is partly evoked by diversity and accruing change and effective preservation entails embracing these added complexities. Illuminating some of the stories associated with these businesses and their quietly remarkable buildings adds a layer of added significance to the resource and to an evaluating preservationist. These are both exceptional places, and everyday places.

Relph also addresses the concept of placelessness in his book, and this can be considered a way to think about what preservation continually attempts to combat. Relph defines it as “the casual eradication of distinctive places and the deliberate making of standardized landscapes and the weakening of the identity of places to the point where

¹⁶ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 38.

they both look alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience.”¹⁷

Placelessness is the very opposite of what is evoked by places where historic restaurants exist.

Paul Greenberg writes in his *Chicago Tribune* article entitled “Sense of Place”:
“The very phrase sense of place is freighted with literary and social connotations that run counter to new additions to the natural or historic landscape—or subtractions from it. Because sense of place almost always requires the passage of time.”¹⁸ This too, is an argument for preserving historic restaurants, as they are most often housed in historic buildings. Greenberg links sense of place to age, suggesting that most new development cannot evoke a sense of place or character in the same way older neighborhoods, older businesses and older buildings, can. Another way to view placelessness is through Gertrude Stein’s phrasing: “There’s no there there.”¹⁹ Placeless places have no sense of location, and little of what we call character.

Relph’s placelessness is rife with Panera Breads, Starbucks, McDonald’s and the ubiquitous fast food restaurants seen near just about every highway off-ramp, not to mention other places within our towns and cities. “Placeless” places fail to add the kind of social value that historic businesses give to the community.

However, some chain restaurants can begin to evoke a regional sense of place over time. Edward Relph discussed his own experiences with restaurants and sense of place within the suburbs of Toronto where he resides.

¹⁷ Ibid 33.

¹⁸ Paul Greenberg, “Sense of Place,” *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 14, 2014, accessed September 13, 2017, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/columnists/sns-201410141330--tms--pgreenbgtp--u-a20141014-20141014-column.html>.

¹⁹ Gertrude Stein, *Everybody’s Autobiography*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1937), 24.

Three restaurants that are distinctive in Toronto (and much of Canada) are chains about 50 years old - Tim Horton's (coffee and donuts and sandwiches), Harvey's (hamburgers), and Swiss Chalet (bbq chicken). Not conventional heritage, but important to sense of place. Ask any Torontonians.²⁰

Relph notes the chain restaurants that evoke the most regional sense of place are those that have been around for multiple decades, suggesting the importance of longevity in imparting character to place. Still, we lose a large portion of the character of a city if we do not also maintain the long-standing family-run businesses such as the restaurants profiled in this thesis.

This study explores the significance of historic restaurants within the community and considers preservation actions to spur the celebration and future longevity of these businesses. These preservation actions involve collaboration between city agencies and preservation organizations, and focus on ways to enable greater recognition for these places. I consider selected restaurants through a Relphian lens: their setting, (building, street, neighborhood) the activities, (production and consumption of cuisine, and more), and how the meanings inherent in both of these components impart cultural value to the city. Historic restaurants can be recognized and acknowledged as community resources in themselves, for the history and heritage they represent, even if the buildings housing them are not architecturally important in light of conventional preservation thought. Significant architecture and the associations between place and significant historic individuals were often the focus for early American preservationists, such as the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, which planted the first seeds of preservation in the United States. Though it is notable that this group too, worked toward a recognition of the

²⁰ Email correspondence with Edward Relph, November 1, 2017.

significance of place with both associative value for a significant person and a sense of collective memory. As author and urban historian Dolores Hayden wrote in 1997 in *The*

Power of Place:

Most consideration of the built past in the United States has dealt with European architectural fashions and their application to American monumental buildings. Today, the vernacular is subject to more thoughtful scholarly and professional analysis, but often this is still based on physical form rather than social or political meaning.²¹

Awareness of the stories associated with a resource enables empathy among those experiencing the place, can deepen understanding of the past, and enhance care for place. Emotion, when associated with place, can be harnessed for potent preservation activity.

²¹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1997), 11.

Chicago's Culinary and Preservation Advocacy

Many preservation advocacy groups and culinary organizations are found in Chicago, and these increase the suitability of the city for this study. An overview will aid in understanding of the preservation actions discussed in Chapter IV. The Chicago Architectural Foundation, (CAF), founded in 1966, promotes awareness and appreciation for architecture, which in turn, promotes the idea of historic preservation. The CAF hosts numerous, popular walking tours, boat tours along the Chicago River, as well as the annual Chicago Open House featuring free entrance to many structures that are generally closed to the public. The most recent Open House garnered 100,000 attendees, "...making it the largest event of its kind in the world."²² The Open House is free of charge, which increases accessibility and helps to foster the idea that architecture is for everyone.

The CAF has also recently begun tours that suggest an interest or recognition of the role of Chicago as a food producer and innovator, as well as linking food to Chicago's history and architecture. Along with a "Preservation and Pubs" walking tour, another tour entitled "Food and Architecture of 1893" is described as follows on the CAF website:

You will also get to taste food that first made its appearance at the world's fair and is still popular today. Did you know that all beef hot dogs started in Chicago in

²² "Open House Chicago," Chicago Architecture Foundation, accessed September 20, 2017, <http://openhousechicago.org/>.

1893? Or that sweet treats like Cracker Jack, brownies and Wrigley Spearmint and Juicy Fruit gum began here? Join us on this fun "see and taste" walking tour. This tour includes a full-sized hot dog, caramel corn and brownie that can be eaten along the way or taken home with you.²³

These tours that link architecture and place to Chicago's culinary history are an example of a preservation-oriented acceptance of local foodways, and an acknowledgement of the role that food and architecture played in shaping the city, and in shaping the city's sense of place. The tours are also an immersive, experiential tour for attendees, who are taken to the downtown places an ordinary visitor to the fair would have gone, and enjoy what an 1893 visitor might have eaten.

Preservation Chicago is a nonprofit preservation advocacy organization. Their slogan reads: "Strengthening the vibrancy of Chicago by protecting our historic architecture."²⁴ Formed in 2000, the organization provides a list on its website of endangered buildings and a discussion that provides up to date nomination information, legislation news, information on creating Landmark Districts and other preservation advocacy.

The Chicago History Museum (formerly known as the Chicago Historical Society) is another force for educating locals about the city's heritage and history. This organization contributes greatly to the dispersal of local history and lore for both

²³ "Food and Architecture of 1893," Chicago Architecture Foundation, accessed September 19, 2017, <https://www.architecture.org/experience-caf/tours/detail/food-and-architecture-of-1893/>.

²⁴ "About Us" Preservation Chicago, accessed February 21, 2017, www.preservationchicago.org.

children and adults, but there have been no specific exhibits or focus on local foodways or historic restaurants.

The Chicago Cultural Alliance (CCA), is another group dedicated to a celebration and preservation of the city's heritage to some degree. Though not focused solely on the preservation of architecture, its mission, as stated on its website, is "...to connect, promote and support centers of cultural heritage for a more inclusive Chicago."²⁵ A non-profit organization, the CCA is made up of multiple historical societies, ethnic museums and cultural centers. The CCA holds tours of ethnic Chicago neighborhoods and the tour leaders are local residents of the neighborhood who help to convey the stories and histories of the area.

The Historic Preservation Office of the City of Chicago is located within the Department of Planning and Development. The Chicago Historic Resources Survey (CHRS), completed by the Preservation Office in 1995, lists 17,371 structures that are said to have historic or architectural significance. These structures are ranked (and color coded) by age, significance and physical integrity. Like many surveys of this kind, the focus is largely upon integrity and architecture, which is emphasized more than historical associations or intangible heritage.

Landmarks Illinois is another preservation advocacy group that focuses on statewide action, but is headquartered in Chicago and participates in the city's preservation activity. Smaller, neighborhood preservation organizations are also in play

²⁵ "Mission," Chicago Cultural Alliance, accessed April 16, 2017, <https://www.chicagoculturalalliance.org/about/mission-history/>.

within the city, however these preservation agencies do not specifically have any tie to culinary heritage or local foodways.

Despite heavy losses to its built environment, Chicago has a strong preservation culture, and architecture is a recognized and vibrant aspect of quality of life for its citizens. The city also understands the economic benefit in keeping tourists interested in architecture. Preservation activity in Chicago can be further extended to protect more of its food heritage and to record the city lore associated with this heritage.

Multiple culinary-focused groups exist in Chicago. The LTH Forum, named for the Little Three Happiness Chinese restaurant where the forum founders met, is a local website and an offshoot of the food-centric website Chowhounds, and seeks to promote small neighborhood restaurants. The Forum has compiled a list of Chicago restaurants called “Great Neighborhood Restaurants & Resources” that are some of the best places to eat real “Chicago” cuisines.²⁶ This means everything from the Romanian Kosher Sausage Company, to Ghareeb Nawaz Indo-Pakistani take out, to Argo Georgian Bakery to the Noon Hour Grill, a tiny Korean *bibimpap* establishment. The list showcases the vast array and variety of not only the restaurants but also the varying neighborhood residents that make these businesses thrive.

Foodseum is a new non-profit museum focusing on the food of Chicago. It has a strong online presence, and pop-ups in various locations throughout the city, though it has no official permanent space at this time. One of the first pop-up exhibits covered the hot dog, an appropriately Chicago theme as Foodseum’s website states: “As true

²⁶ “Chicago Restaurant Guide,” LTH Forum, accessed February 27, 2017, <http://www.lthforum.com/chicago-restaurant-guide/>.

Chicagoans, our first exhibit was created as a tribute to the glorious Hot Dog.”²⁷ The website stresses a somewhat Relphian experiential quality for visitors, stating: “At Foodseum, you don’t just learn about food, you experience it. Interactive exhibits take you on an adventure through smell, touch, and taste.”²⁸

Restaurant menus change over time by necessity, but columnist Monica Kass Rogers is working to preserve recipes on her blog, *Lost Recipes Found*. She has learned from restaurateurs that “In every instance, history, family and culture contributed to the dishes these professionals love most, giving each a lovely narrative– the story to the taste.”²⁹ Many chefs have been re-creating or bringing back long lost recipes in an interesting resurgence of culinary heritage, taking the locavore movement (itself a form of cultural, geographical heritage) a notch further and focusing on a certain time as well as place and ethnicity. The Greater Midwest Foodways Alliance— an organization striving to preserve, celebrate and explore Midwestern foodways— has a Family Heirloom Recipes program involving visits to Midwestern State Fairs and records the dishes and recipes found there.³⁰

According to their website, the Culinary Historians of Northern Illinois (CHNI) seek “...to understand social and cultural history through the study and celebration of

²⁷ Foodseum, accessed March 18, 2018, <http://www.foodseum.org/#home>.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Monica Kass Rogers, accessed January 12, 2017, www.lostrecipesfound.com.

³⁰ “About Us,” Greater Midwest Foodways Alliance, accessed November 18, 2017, <http://greatermidwestfoodways.com/aboutus/>.

food and drink.”³¹ Currently working on a Cookery Manuscript Project to digitize and preserve regional culinary history by preserving family recipes, CHNI is collecting handwritten recipes that are at least 50 years old for a repository for use by anyone working with social or political history. This culinary recognition is an act of preservation and these blogs, recipes and regional organizations speak to a continuing interest in food as a cultural heritage experience as well as gustatory.

Celebration and recognition are a form of preservation action. Sometimes the best way to protect a building is to protect its use. The best way to protect its use, is by enabling and fostering success. One sign of the city's interest in promoting (and thus preserving) local foodways and restaurants is its commitment to hosting the James Beard Awards (including the American Classics), wresting the honor away from New York City, which had held them since 1991. Three of the award winners in Chicago form a starting point to begin discussion of culinary heritage and sense of place, and these recipients express differing facets of Chicago foodways. I utilize the Foundation's America's Classic Award as a parameter for the profiled restaurants in this study because it is a form of preservation activity that promotes the meaning of food heritage. The award recognized restaurants that express a potent sense of place. This award has been given out annually since 1998, to honor longstanding restaurants throughout the country that are highly expressive of local culinary heritage and are a part of local history. This is a form of preservation because it recognizes, celebrates, and thereby spreads awareness of restaurants as drivers of culture.

³¹ “About Us” Culinary Historians of Northern Illinois, accessed April 2, 2018
<https://www.culinaryhistoriansofnorthernillinois.com/about-us>.

The Foundation's America's Classic Award has been awarded to The Berghoff, a Chicago institution, serving German fare in Chicago's loop since 1898, and run by the same family up to the present day. Tufano's Vernon Park Tap, a second recipient, has been a Little Italy fixture since 1930, when the DiBuono family first began serving up southern Italian food to local residents. Calumet Fisheries, along with their wooden smokehouse, has been in operation at the edge of the Calumet River since 1928. The Kotlick and Toll families have been running the take-out fish shack and smoking fish and shrimp since 1948.

The James Beard Foundation is a national non-profit organization headquartered in New York City, well known for the annual James Beard Awards or, the "Oscars of the food world" that honor outstanding and excellent chefs, restaurateurs, journalists, and more, now held in Chicago. The Foundation's mission statement is "...to celebrate, nurture, and honor America's diverse culinary heritage through programs that educate and inspire."³² It is worth noting that 2018 is the first year in which every America's Classic Award is solely going to restaurants started by immigrants who arrived in the country after 1965.³³ While focusing on the culinary, the Foundation's concept of celebrating, nurturing, educating, and honoring cultural heritage fits within Relphian thought by focusing on those restaurants that reflect and have helped to create a local

³² "America's Classics Award" James Beard Foundation, accessed September 13, 2016, www.jamesbeard.org.

³³ Rachel Wolfe, "The Awards for 2018's Quintessentially American Restaurants all went to Immigrants," accessed February 1, 2018, *Vox* <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/1/26/16928008/james-beard-awards-2018-immigrants-restaurants-americans>.

sense of place. The Foundation's mission also parallels, to some degree, the mission statements of ICOMOS and UNESCO through a culinary lens.

Committee members submit the America's Classics Award nominations and Foundation awards judges from across the country. While there is a requirement that the establishment must be at least 10 years old, most have been far older. As the Foundation describes the criteria, the recipients must have "...timeless appeal, beloved in its region for quality food that reflects the character of the community."³⁴ No monetary award is given to recipients, although the Foundation does pay for a trip to Chicago for each winner, countrywide, to attend the award ceremony. Longevity is no easy feat for a restaurant, and this is a point of pride displayed by many restaurateurs who proudly proclaim their founding date via window signage or on social media. Equally important to the Foundation is the restaurant's significance to the community and its foodways.³⁵

The award honors regional culinary standard-bearers, whether it's BBQ, burgers, clam shacks, teashops, ice cream parlors or supper clubs.³⁶ The four Chicago restaurants that have been awarded thus far are all ethnic in origin, representing just some of the many immigrant groups that have shaped the city. While all things are finite, using the criteria of food quality, longevity, and community significance illuminates many potential historic Chicago restaurants that can and should be celebrated as legacy businesses, and important to preserve. Award recognition is an activity that illuminates

³⁴ "Awards," James Beard Foundation, accessed November 19, 2017, <https://www.jamesbeard.org/awards/policies>.

³⁵ Email correspondence with Providence Cicero December 28, 2016.

³⁶ Ibid.

how these businesses serve the local community and are a critical piece of cultural expression. Food is linked to identity, thus long-standing places such as the award recipients partly express the identity of the restaurant's owners and family. Further, many of the diners may share this linked identity and by extension, many historic restaurants therefore express the identity of the neighborhood they serve. The awarded restaurants are locally owned and represent the foodways, skills, and the traditions, largely originating from the settlers and immigrants that have sustained the city. Celebrating long-standing cultural institutions helps to promote, sustain and preserve them by creating awareness.

I use the Foundation's fairly broad criteria for the America's Classic Award in choosing restaurants for an initial inventory of fifty potential legacy businesses in Appendix I, though I select restaurants that have been in business for at least fifty years. The importance of the fifty year mark may not only appeal more to those familiar with the National Register Criterion, but also as a marker of age and potentially, an increased sense of place and character. The America's Classic Award is a perfect parameter for selection of the restaurants in this study, because those awarded are businesses that drive a Relphian sense of place. The Chicago Award recipients also act as a limit on the number of restaurants we can explore. This specific award, (as separate from the general Beard Awards) fosters an experiential awareness of place, as the food at the awarded restaurants evokes the location, and food is certainly experiential. The recipients are all restaurants of a certain age, and the award acts as recognition of meaningful activity in a Relphian manner: Not only is this meaningful activity for the food world, but also for the customers who continue to support these places and are gratified that what they support

has recognized merit.

Current Challenges

Some preservation tools have to work against cultural norms and against development that may be seen as progress. Landmarking does not prevent demolition in every city, depending upon local policy. Fortunately, a recent change in Chicago's policy has strengthened local landmarking. An emphasis toward individual property rights may surpass some preservation aims, and fewer preservation resources may be devoted to buildings that are unremarkable in appearance. Focusing on preserving a historic business also helps to preserve the historic building it resides within, and therefore a stronger focus on preserving intangible culture, which also helps to preserve sense of place.

Randall Mason, in his 2004 article "Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of Significance" writes that "Judgments about significance are narrowly drawn, pegged closely to the architectural history canons and historical associations validated by academics."³⁷ Businesses that relate to food or foodways, particularly if they are not in architecturally significant buildings, using the NRHP standards, may be overlooked when considering preservation. The concept of significance may not go far enough to encompass what a community truly values. While preservation has begun to expand its parameters, it can go further to reflect upon what it is that people value, such as meaning, in their experience of place. Randall Mason writes "preservation as practiced is not a zero-sum game; it is full of compromises (like most planning and design work)." Mason goes further to ask "why adopt a theory of significance that purposely excludes

³⁷ Randall Mason, "Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of Significance," *Places* 16, No. 1, (2004) 64.

influential factors shaping how society values the historic built environment? Why resist change in appraisals of value?”³⁸ Existing preservation criteria does not always fully encompass the complexities and intangibles that are a part of resources such as heritage food businesses, and these places may have been undervalued.

Foodways as Intangible Culture

We experience place through all of our senses, including sight, smell and taste; food consumption is a part of our experience of a place. We can explore and provide preservation actions that will foster that Relphian recognition that sense of place is created in part by interaction with the places where people find meaning. Further, that these places provide figurative—and in the case of historic restaurants—literal sustenance. The National Park Service defines cultural heritage as “...a fairly broad term that can apply to both the tangible—physical places and objects we can touch—and the intangible—stories, songs and celebrations we experience in the moment.”³⁹ Placing historic preservation and historic businesses in the context of our urban landscapes and the intangible heritage within them, will help to show how sense of place is enhanced and maintained by historic restaurants.

Cuisine is increasingly being recognized as a valuable cultural element. UNESCO first acknowledged food as intangible cultural heritage in 2010 by listing the Mediterranean Diet, Mexican/Michoacán Cuisine, the French Gastronomic Meal, and

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ “Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” National Park Service, accessed March 1, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm>.

Croatian Gingerbread.⁴⁰ UNESCO's Creative Cities program includes "Cities of Gastronomy" in order to further appreciation and foster collaboration between cities that have a strong focus upon food as a strong creative cultural factor.⁴¹ In *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, editors Brulotte and Di Graham state:

It is important to understand the development of the Intangible Heritage List because it has had profound effects on the ways in which cuisine has entered into a global political regime that demarcates knowledge and practices worthy of recognition and preservation.⁴²

We experience food as a part of sense of place. This is an opportunity to go further in considering local foodways as important to sense of place when considering a resource.

Food can connect us to past relatives and is a part of their ancestral gift to us.

We partake of these gifts by cooking our grandparent's recipes, or dining at restaurants that continue to evoke an ethnicity that we feel connected to. We can partake of the ancestral gifts of others by dining at those restaurants or cooking the cuisine of other ethnicities.

Food is not only just about sustenance in this case, but is also about relationships. Restaurants foster connectivity, they are public places where the social aspect of food sharing and consuming is often a meaningful part of our lives. This is inextricably tied to the social and economic activity of cooking and serving, and sharing (by selling), one's ancestral foods, or family's dishes. Food can trigger emotion and memory, in both cook and consumer. For some diners, these places create a taste or a feeling of home, which may prompt

⁴⁰ Ronda L. Giovine Brulotte and Brian Michael A. Di Graham, *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, (London: Taylor and Francis 2014), 10.

⁴¹ "Creative Cities," UNESCO, accessed March 2, 2017.
<http://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/home>.

⁴² Brulotte and Di Graham, *Edible Identities*, 13.

a Relpian experience of insideness.

We may take UNESCO's main purpose of promoting peace in our time further, to say that that sharing and recognizing cultural heritage is a way to celebrate our shared humanity within our different cultures through education and awareness. UNESCO's Creative Cities Program states that their goal is to "promote creative industries, strengthen participation in cultural life, and integrate culture into sustainable urban development policies."⁴³ These are also current preservation values. Shared cultural values may supersede other cultural differences, but those differences make our cities interesting and enrich our quality of life. Some of the more noticeable and importantly, the most easily experienced differences, involve cuisine. As chef and cookbook author James Beard said, "Food is our common ground, a universal experience."⁴⁴ Food is culturally important to the experience of sense of place: New Orleans without its Creole and Cajun institutions, New York without its delis, pizza, and fine dining, or Boston without its seafood are unimaginable prospects because we associate those specific foods to those specific places.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines foodways simply as "the traditional customs or habits of a group of people concerning food or eating."⁴⁵ Foodways are a form of intangible cultural heritage. Enrique Salmón in *Eating the Landscape: American*

⁴³ "Mission Statement," UNESCO, https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/sites/creative-cities/files/Mission_Statement_UNESCO_Creative_Cities_Network.pdf, accessed February 1, 2018.

⁴⁴ James Beard, *Beard on Food*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), x.

⁴⁵ "Foodway," accessed December 7, 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/foodway>.

Indian Stories of Food, Identity and Resilience, states that “Eating is not only a political act but also a cultural act that reaffirms one’s identity and worldview.”⁴⁶ Food can be considered to comprise both the meaning and the activity portions of Relph’s components of place. We can consider the meanings inherent in the food itself and what it represents to us culturally as well as the experience or activity of dining, or the activity of producing and cooking the food. Setting is of course, where we experience these activities and meanings.

Historic Restaurants and Place

Restaurants are shapers of culture as well as reflections of existing culture. Restaurants help to maintain urban vibrancy, helping neighborhoods to thrive and giving residents a gathering place. Markers of urban vibrancy include diversity of age of the buildings, walkability, and businesses such as restaurants and bars for social gatherings.⁴⁷ These businesses are experiential reminders of the city’s past, embody local history, and show us how not only German, Chinese, Italian or other immigrants—and their children and grandchildren— represent themselves to the world but how they as Chicagoans, represent themselves to other Chicagoans and to the rest of the country.

Like Lou Mitchell’s diner, more of Chicago’s restaurants could be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. A Chicago Alderman has already set in

⁴⁶ Enrique Salmón, *Eating the Landscape: American Indian Stories of Food, Identity, and Resilience*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 8.

⁴⁷ “Data Mining Reveals the Four Urban Conditions That Create Vibrant City Life,” MIT Technology Review, accessed December 20, 2017, <https://www.technologyreview.com/s/601107/data-mining-reveals-the-four-urban-conditions-that-create-vibrant-city-life/>.

motion plans for a Legacy Business Ordinance with the aim of conserving long-standing businesses that are meaningful to the community. A Legacy Business Inventory for the restaurants within the city of Chicago (see Appendix I) may be used as an initial list for use by local preservation groups. The businesses on this inventory deserve recognition for their longevity, contribution to the community and sense of place, and not least, because most are housed in buildings that have stood for many decades. Some of Chicago's historic restaurants can be considered architecturally significant in terms of the National Register's criteria, while others may be significant for their cultural and culinary contributions. Architectural significance in this sense can be conveyed through age, through visual character, or because the building is a representative of a certain time and place.⁴⁸ The language of UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage definition is broad enough to include historic restaurants.

The National Park Service describes cultural heritage preservation as keeping "cultural practices and identities alive in our memory as a part of what has shaped us as a people and nation. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage are often deeply intertwined and they cannot be fully separated."⁴⁹ This concept is in line with Relph's place components. Illuminating the meanings, both personal and public, that are a part of our built environment enables recognition of the importance of sense of place.

Historic restaurants can evoke another time and place, but they are also likely to actively promote and participate in a contemporary sense of place. They do so partly by

⁴⁸ Lee H. Nelson, Preservation Brief 17, National Park Service, accessed November 18, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/17-architectural-character.htm>.

⁴⁹ National Park Service, accessed January 29, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm>.

serving food that is associated with the city or the community or that is (or has become), local or regional. Historic restaurants add value to neighborhoods on an economic level, and properties within walking distance to restaurants are attractive to prospective residents. The San Francisco Office of Economic and Workforce Development notes:

Successful restaurants help to activate neighborhoods commercial corridors by reducing storefront vacancies, boosting foot traffic, adding to the variety of neighborhood-serving small businesses, creating good jobs for residents, and providing important spaces for neighbors to meet and socialize.⁵⁰

Not least, restaurants also provide what activist Jane Jacobs called “eyes on the street” and liveliness, particularly if they are in a neighborhood that is amenable to foot traffic.⁵¹ Pedestrians on the streets visiting restaurants and retailers may help to make a city safer. According to Jacobs, “Stores, bars and restaurants as the chief examples, work in several different and complex ways to abet sidewalk safety.”⁵² Most large cities in the United States have issues with crime that affect the safety of residents and visitors, and Chicago is no exception.

Food can be an identifying marker, and it is telling that some cities become known for good Thai or Mexican food, and that we even refer to the food frequently by the originating ethnic group rather than instead of good *panang* curry or good *tortas*.

⁵⁰ “The Office of Economic & Workforce Development Announces Passage of State Legislation to Support Neighborhood Restaurants,” accessed January 4, 2018, <http://oewd.org/node/1613>.

⁵¹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York: Vintage, 1992), 35.

⁵² *Ibid*, 36.

Howard Wright Marshall in his essay, “Meat Preservation on the Farm in Little Dixie,” writes “Like dialect and architecture, food traditions are a main component in the intricate and impulsive system that joins culture and geography into regional character.”⁵³ If geography is part of our Relphian setting, and culture is a combination of meaning and activity, then Marshall’s regional character is our sense of place.

As culinary writer MFK Fisher once wrote, “There is communion of more than our bodies when bread is broken and wine drunk.”⁵⁴ A social exchange is at work when we dine out or with others. Regulars in particular return to a familiar place with familiar faces and food they enjoy multiple times. Relph writes that “...almost any form of repetitive tradition reestablishes place and expresses its stability and continuity—even in times of violent change.”⁵⁵ Regular diners are also making that place a part of their personal geographies, and reasserting a repetitive tradition. The repetitive traditions of cooking the same recipes and running the business are also in play within historic restaurants.

It may be that visiting a historic restaurant gratifies a sense of nostalgia. It may be that meaningful meals were had in this place, and those memories are pleasurable to hold and renew by subsequent visits. Diners may enjoy being inside authentic historic settings

⁵³ Howard Wright Marshall, “Meat Preservation on the Farm in Little Dixie,” in *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 5-6.

⁵⁴ MFK Fisher, *The Art of Eating* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1937), 353.

⁵⁵ Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 32.

rather than the interiors of some chain restaurants. The National Trust's Julia Rocchi describes the allure of older buildings:

Old buildings attract people. Is it the warmth of the materials, the heart pine, marble, or old brick—or the resonance of other people, other activities? Maybe older buildings are just more interesting. The different levels, the vestiges of other uses, the awkward corners, the mixtures of styles, they're at least something to talk about. America's downtown revivals suggest that people like old buildings. Whether the feeling is patriotic, homey, warm, or reassuring, older architecture tends to fit the bill. Regardless of how they actually spend their lives, Americans prefer to picture themselves living around old buildings.⁵⁶

Not only might the “warmth” of a space be a part of the draw, but also a deeper sense that you are experiencing what others have before you, therefore creating a connection with the past and that may be an unconscious comfort, or the “resonance” Rocchi suggests. There might be a sense of kinship or commonality, in a way another form of social exchange with those from the past who have also stopped here, sat here, tasted this, looked out this window.

Historic restaurants that convey America's local foodways are a living intersection of food and history. Both the product (the cuisine) and the process (cooking and dining) are interwoven and combine to make an experience that is worthy of preservation. This action, meaning and setting echoes Relph's assertions regarding the components of place.

⁵⁶ Julia Rocchi, “Six Reasons to Save Old Buildings,” November 10, 2015, accessed March 10, 2017, <https://savingplaces.org/stories/six-reasons-save-old-buildings#.WM3AKRIrLdo>.

Summary

Place, consisting of Relph's interrelated and overlapping notions of setting, meaning and activity provides us with an interesting model for considering the preservation of our built environment and historic restaurants. Relph's ideas on place, and the consideration of place as experiential, can have a positive impact on preservation in the United States.

Cultural heritage such as foodways are a part of place. Museums about food are no longer unusual, as the public begins to embrace and express more interest in food and cuisine. The preservation community can acknowledge and reflect this interest by looking to heritage food businesses as worthy of preservation action and drivers of place.

Chicago's multiple organizations involved in food, architecture and the culture of the city, and potential collaboration between these groups may be instrumental in preserving historic restaurants. Focusing efforts on increasing awareness, as many of the preservation actions presented in Chapter IV strive to do, can foster recognition of a certain poetry in the everyday places. Stories associated with these historic restaurants can become a part of the city's lore and can enrich sense of place and the experience of dining. The Berghoff restaurant's founder made gingerbread houses during the Christmas season in the nineteenth century and this tradition is repeated at the restaurant each Christmas holiday. Infamous gangster Al Capone's personal chef was the founder of

Tufano's Vernon Park Tap.⁵⁷ We participate and create new stories as we dine at these places. An everyday walk to the transit station, a weekly stop at the café, a dinner out, all of these actions involve places with their own stories and an accumulation of everyday history that is continually accruing. In *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities*, authors Schneekloth and Shibley quote poet Wendell Berry: "Berry writes that 'we speak of paying attention because of a correct perception that attention is owed—that without our attention and our attending, our subjects, including ourselves are endangered. Without our attention our places are endangered.'"⁵⁸

Relph's assertion of place also fits within the organizational framework of this thesis, in terms of setting, meaning, and activity. Chicago's history, architecture and culture provide the setting, discussed in Chapter II. Chapter III interweaves setting, activity and meaning for an overview of a selection of profiled restaurants, illuminating some of the stories that each place holds through research and interviews with the current owners. These businesses will be considered through a Relphian lens, utilizing his concept of place and performing a Relphian analysis for each as well as an overview of the layered histories of the Devon Avenue neighborhood, or West Ridge.

How do we preserve intangible and tangible culture when both are associated with an historic business and building? The preservation actions discussed in Chapter IV considers the architecture of some of these places, but also the varied intangible heritage

⁵⁷ Jonathan Eig, "A Guide to Al Capone's Chicago," February 23, 2011, accessed February 9, 2017, <http://chicago.cbslocal.com/top-lists/a-guide-to-al-capones-chicago/>.

⁵⁸ Lynda H. Schneekloth and Robert G. Shibley, *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities* (Hoboken: Wiley & Sons 1995), 17.

inherent within them to promote and preserve places such as these as important to our communities. I also discuss the lessons we may learn from other cities, domestically and abroad. This study concludes with a consideration of avenues for further research and study.

During the course of writing and researching this thesis several historic Chicago restaurants have closed, including the Cape Cod Room and the oldest restaurant in Chicago, Schaller's Pump, which had been in business since 1881. Others that would have made it to the legacy business list include Sam's Red Hots, which closed after 70 years in business, along with Greektown's famous Parthenon restaurant, founded in 1968, where the theatrical dish of flaming cheese, *Saganaki* was invented.⁵⁹ When we lose historic restaurants, we lose not only the experience of dining there, but also the specific skills, traditions and stories attached. These closures add a sense of urgency to the goals of this study and it is clear that when we lose Chicago's legacy businesses we lose a part of the city's history and sense of place.

⁵⁹ Ashok Selvam, "The Parthenon, Chicago's Greektown Landmark & Flaming Cheese Creator, Has Closed," September 7, 2016, accessed September 3, 2017. <https://chicago.eater.com/2016/9/7/12835928/parthenon-chicago-greek-closed-flaming-cheese-opa>.

CHAPTER II: CHICAGO'S SENSE OF PLACE

Introduction

Edward Relph wrote in *Place and Placelessness*, that the elements that make up sense of place are "...like the fundamental components of a painting— the canvas, the paint, the symbols, each irreducible to the other but inseparable."⁶⁰ Chicago is our place, our setting, and our canvas in a Relphian sense, and this chapter provides overall background for this study. Chicago's major factors of place include its geography, but also its renowned architecture, culinary heritage and innovation, and population diversity. These combine to shape a city with its own sense of place with an important role in the western development of the nation. This background context shows how important each of these factors are to our experience of sense of place. Architecture, diversity and culinary heritage intersect in the selected restaurants profiled in Chapter III.

Chicago's geography of prairie, river, and Great Lake helped to make the city what it is. Chicago was known to the native peoples as the place where wild-garlic grows or "Chigagou."⁶¹ The city grew from a small trading post in the late 1700s, and became Fort Dearborn in 1795 on the marshy area where the Chicago River meets Lake Michigan. French and British-Canadian fur traders arrived in the 18th century where the

⁶⁰ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*. (London, Sage Publications Ltd. 2008), 46.

⁶¹ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis, Chicago and the Great West*, (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), 23.

native Illinois, Potawatami, Sauk, Fox, and Ojibwe peoples had long been living on the shores of the Great Lakes and prairies. Initially, the area was a confluence of native peoples from various tribes, who were then joined by fur trappers, and supplanted by first settlers, prospectors, and waves of varied immigrant groups. The merging of different peoples and cultures began before the city was founded and continues to shape the identity—particularly the culinary identity of the city we know today.

Chicago's park system is known the world over, and 26 miles of public lakeshore speak to particularly thoughtful urban planning.⁶² Chicago is a draw for tourists, and 2017 saw 55.2 million visitors, breaking the record number of visitors held the year before.⁶³ The city was also voted the number two city to visit in the country from *Condé Nast Traveler*, second to New York. Many tourists come for the architectural tours, but they also visit due to Chicago's reputation as a food town, where a good meal is as much of a draw as the other tourist sites.⁶⁴ Architecture, food and diversity remain key identifying features for Chicago.

⁶² "Mayor Announces Building on Burnham, a Comprehensive Strategy to Invest in Chicago's Waterfronts, Parks, and Neighborhoods," City of Chicago, March 22, 2016, accessed February 26, 2018, https://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/mayor/press_room/press_releases/2016/march/mayor_emanuel_announces_building_on_burnham.html.

⁶³ Josh Noel, "Chicago Tourism Numbers Hit Record High," *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 28, 2018.

⁶⁴ Lisa Bertagnoli, "Chicago's Culinary Stars Draw Gastro Tourist Crowds – and Their Cash." March 26, 2011, accessed September 12, 2017, <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20110326/ISSUE02/303269997/gastro-tourists-on-chicagos-menu>.

Architectural Setting

Sense of place is partly created and expressed through a setting's built environment. Describing Chicago without reference to its architecture, and the preservation efforts to preserve it presents an incomplete picture of the city. This overview of the architectural setting and the related preservation activity, shows that Chicagoans (like many), find meaning in the places around them.

Architects such as Louis Sullivan, Daniel Burnham, and Frank Lloyd Wright and his Prairie Style have helped to put Chicago on the architectural map, making Chicago world-renowned for its architectural appeal and innovation. Large-scale public art sculptures by Calder, Miro, Dubuffet and Picasso, and the building style known as the Chicago School are well-documented aspects of the visual feel of Chicago's built environment and play a potent role in the city's sense of place in a Relphian vein. Sullivan's "form follows function" concept changed architecture. "Architects of this school no longer perceived the function of a building and the style applied to it as separate decisions, but acted on the assumption that the form of a building should be a direct expression of its function."⁶⁵ Sullivan's more holistic viewing of buildings, is somewhat similar to Relph's holistic and phenomenological view of place.

Chicago's neighborhood vernacular architecture is also crucial to its sense of place. Greystone flats, bungalows, brick courtyard apartment buildings, workers cottages and Italianate two and three-flats are as much a part of Chicago's "place" as the skyscrapers that make up the city skyline. Chicago's religious architecture is also

⁶⁵ Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to its History, Principles, and Practice*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 89.

reflective of its multicultural immigrant past. Massive Polish cathedrals stand not far from onion-domed Russian churches, and Greek Orthodox, sprawling Ukrainian, Italian and steepled Lutheran churches punctuate the neighborhoods.

After the 1871 Great Chicago Fire ‘cleansed’ the main business district, the post-fire architecture made the rest of the country and the European continent take notice. Chicago was the birthplace of the balloon frame for housing and the steel frame for buildings, and eventually, skyscrapers. The World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 prompted a great celebration of the city and Daniel Burnham’s Classical Revival architecture.

After World War II, urban renewal fervor hit the city just as it hit many other cities throughout the country.⁶⁶ The desire to raze Chicago’s poorer neighborhoods meant destroying both the famous and lesser-known Adler and Sullivan buildings among them.⁶⁷ Racism and segregation were a part of Chicago’s experiences with urban renewal. This renewal, combined with the University of Illinois at Chicago’s expansion, and Illinois Institute of Technology’s expansion prompted the displacement of a large number of Italian Americans and African Americans from their neighborhood. Urban renewal destroyed not only neighborhoods and homes but also a large number of businesses, no doubt many neighborhood restaurants among them.

⁶⁶ Arnold R. Hirsch, “Urban Renewal,” accessed December 16, 2016, www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org.

⁶⁷ David Uberti, “The Death of Richard Nickel,” *The Guardian*, accessed September 17, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/may/18/story-cities-death-richard-nickel-guardian-chicago-heritage-architecture>.

The Fulton-Randolph Market District was designated Chicago's 56th Historic District as of 2015. The area was historically a food related industrial zone with produce wholesalers and meatpackers, and part of it includes 86 structures that cannot be altered in a historically inappropriate way or demolished. District designation was decided largely due to the areas standing as an example of city heritage. It also qualifies these buildings for historic rehabilitation incentives. It also protects significant historical and architectural features of these buildings by ensuring any work done does not negatively impact these features. The district also contains a majority of the trendiest and finest restaurants in Chicago.

Margaret O'Neal, Manager of Sustainable Preservation for The Preservation Green Lab discusses this link between historic buildings and restaurants in "Building on Chicago's Strengths: The Partnership for Building Reuse:" "Chicago's best restaurants and bars are in older buildings. More than 60 percent of Chicago's best restaurants and bars (as listed in *Chicago Reader* and *Chicago Magazine*) are located in areas where at least half of the buildings were constructed before 1920..."⁶⁸ While none of the restaurants within the Fulton Market District are historic at this point, the co-existence of a vibrant restaurant scene within a historic district suggests that streets rich with a sense of place are good fits for restaurants and vice versa. It also suggests that new restaurateurs seek out character-rich, historic buildings to house their restaurants, and that people like to dine in a historic environment.

O'Neal goes on to state:

⁶⁸ Margaret O'Neal "Building on Chicago's Strengths" The National Trust, June 24, 2016, accessed September 7, 2017, <http://forum.savingplaces.org/blogs/margaret-oneal/2016/06/24/building-on-chicagos-strengths-the-partnership-for-building-reuse>.

Preservation Green Lab research has linked older, smaller buildings mixed in with newer, human-scale development to positive outcomes like increased walkability and more non-chain businesses. Those areas of town where you want to bring family and friends who are visiting? They're usually the ones with older, smaller buildings creating the lively, 24-hour districts that create a sense of place.⁶⁹

The non-chain businesses O'Neal mentions, such as historic restaurants, can, like the buildings they are housed in, help to keep Edward Relph's idea of "placelessness" at bay. Each restaurant discussed in this study is in an historic building in terms of its age.

Most of the historic restaurants profiled in this study are set within vernacular architecture. To a large degree, these places are democratic, non-exclusive, and meant for everyone to enjoy. Some, like The Berghoff, are in buildings that are older, more ornate and more extraordinary for their scarcity. While the architectural style of the Victorian three-flat housing Tufano's bar is somewhat common in parts of the city, much of these types of neighborhood buildings were razed in that area for University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) campus construction, making it stand out as an example of what the visual setting used to be. Other historic Chicago restaurants such as Calumet Fisheries' shack and smokehouse are simple, utilitarian buildings. Architecturally significant buildings should absolutely be the focus of preservation activity, but this is not to say we should neglect to preserve those buildings that are more subdued (and less architecturally significant), when they house legacy businesses.

Chicago History and Foodways

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Just as the architecture is reflective of the city's history and culture, there are parallel culinary and cultural evolutions reflective of this history and culture.

Immigrants have shaped our cities, bringing ideas and values that have become our ideas and values, and culinary heritage that has become the food we currently consume.

In the *Chicago Food Encyclopedia*, the Chicago History Museum's Chief Historian Russell Lewis writes:

These immigrants and migrants brought ethnic and regional traditions with them to a nation and a city that was rapidly changing. They adapted these traditions to American habits and practices, as well as to new opportunities they discovered in Chicago, creating a swirling, ever-changing urban cultural stew that reshaped work, leisure and foodways.⁷⁰

Today, Chicago's "urban cultural stew" is still ever changing, as new immigrants continue to add their distinctive flavors to the pot.

Immigrants came to Chicago for a variety of reasons: religious persecution, wars, political strife, poverty, lack of economic opportunity, disease, crop failure and resulting famine. These dwindling opportunities prompted large numbers of Europeans to come to the United States, where it appeared that copious amounts of land and opportunity existed. Rural poverty, and too many people working too little land prompted a surge of Southern Italians to emigrate.⁷¹ Famine prompted a large influx of Irish.⁷² Many

⁷⁰ Russell Lewis, in *The Chicago Food Encyclopedia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), viii.

⁷¹ Alexandra Molnar, "History of Italian Immigration", December 15, 2010, accessed September 24, 2017, <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/~molna22a/classweb/politics/Italianhistory.html>.

⁷² Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America, Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press. 2001), 2.

immigrants came to America hungry not only for a new life, but hungry in a very literal sense. Immigrant food soon became American food. This is not only partly a factor of cultural hybridity, but also due to the passage of time, and the idea that Chinese food, for example becomes a part of a city's food culture, and thus part of "American" food.

Mexican, Italian and Chinese are the three main, most popular ethnic cuisines currently within the United States.⁷³ Various events in Europe and the America prompted multiple groups of immigrants to travel to America. The Gold Rush brought Chinese laborers, revolution in Germany brought masses of Germans into the country, and the termination of the Mexican American War brought new territory with its own culinary heritage into the country.⁷⁴ Andrew Smith, author of *Eating History*, writes:

These groups—and the millions of immigrants who followed—enticed Americans away from their stolid British culinary root, introducing a wealth of ingredients, flavors, and dishes from many different cultural, religious and ethnic traditions that continue to influence the American culinary world today.⁷⁵

These groups and their impact on cities like Chicago, help to lend the streets and neighborhoods a strong sense of place.

It has been said many times that Chicago is a city of neighborhoods.⁷⁶ In fact, it has been said so often that it is difficult to find an original source for this statement.

⁷³ Andrew F. Smith, *Eating History: 30 Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 54-55.

⁷⁴ Ibid 46.

⁷⁵ Ibid 46.

These neighborhoods have been created, settled and maintained largely by those ethnic groups that came to Chicago in multiple waves over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. Some of the earliest arrivals were German and Irish, followed by Italians, Swedes, and African Americans migrating north. Greeks, Poles, and Jewish populations began to arrive between 1900 and the 1930s (see Fig.4). Chicago's percentage of Polish population is second only to New York City within the United States.⁷⁷ The *Chicago Encyclopedia* says that one in five Chicagoans is of Mexican descent, having arrived in waves beginning in 1900s, as a result of the strife associated with the Mexican War.⁷⁸ Mexicans have recently surpassed African Americans as the largest ethnic group in Chicago.⁷⁹ Many of Chicago's neighborhoods hold layers of its immigrant past and multiple languages aside from English can be heard while walking on the street in one neighborhood.

Culinary history in the region begins with corn, or more specifically, maize, along with the freshwater fish provided by Lake Michigan. Deer and other game, including prairie chickens, were an important addition to the local diet along with

⁷⁶ Elizabeth Taylor, "Chicago is a City of Neighborhoods". *Chicago Tribune*, June 16, 2002 http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2002-06-16/features/0206160213_1_devon-avenue-pakistan-and-india-neighborhood.

⁷⁷ Jesse Dukes, "Can Chicago Brag About the Size of its Polish Population?" October 26, 2015, accessed November 9, 2017, <https://www.wbez.org/shows/curious-city/can-chicago-brag-about-the-size-of-its-polish-population/ef8c74cd-8835-4eb7-8e81-11203e78fc2d>.

⁷⁸ Gabriela F. Arredondo and Derek Vaillant, "Mexicans" in the *Chicago Encyclopedia*, accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/824.html>.

⁷⁹ Mitchell Armentrout, "Census: Hispanics Surpass Blacks as Chicago's 2nd-Largest Racial Group". In *Chicago Sun-Times*. <http://chicago.suntimes.com/chicago-politics/census-hispanics-surpass-blacks-as-chicagos-2nd-largest-racial-group/>.

wheat, corn beans, and those wild onions for which Chicago was named. A relatively easy portage between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River also helped to place Chicago in the running to become an urban center and a transportation and shipping center linking the city with the east and the surrounding rural areas. The City's motto in Latin, is *Urbs in Horto* or, "City in a Garden, perhaps referring to Chicago's extensive park system."⁸⁰ The motto could also easily refer to the city's development while surrounded by the "garden" of rich midwestern agricultural land.

William Cronon, author of *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, notes, "Understanding Chicago's foodways, like most cities, is dependant on understanding the city as a place of mixing and exchange, both of products, culture and ideas."⁸¹ Soon after Chicago's 1837 incorporation date, hotels serving upscale cuisine began to appear, catering to wealthy Chicagoans, prospectors and visitors from the east. For the rest, there were taverns. Early Chicago's tavern fare, according to culinary historian and author Bruce Kraig, was largely local: "deer and prairie chickens were cooked up with readily available corn and beer and corn liquor were the quaffs of choice."⁸²

⁸⁰ Chicago Park District, accessed March 1, 2017, <http://www.chicagoparkdistrict.com/about-us/history/>.

⁸¹ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company 2009), 7.

⁸² Tom Sietsema, "The Search for America's Best Food Cities: Chicago." <http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/style/2015/06/09/the-search-for-americas-best-food-cities-chicago/>.

Chicago grew rapidly during construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and far more so after completion in 1848. The Canal connected the Mississippi with the Great Lakes and Russell Lewis in the *Chicago Food Encyclopedia* notes the canal

was modeled on the Erie Canal (finished in 1825) that cut across New York State to carry the abundant foods of the Midwest (through Chicago) to New York City. In return, easterners sent prized items such as the Atlantic oysters that could be had in Chicago's newly built hotels as early as 1837.⁸³

The new railroads hauled livestock and grain around the same time and helped to make Chicago a hub, increasing access to Chicago, and eventually the west. The Union Stock Yards opened in 1865, cementing another food related industry—meatpacking and processing, that Chicago would dominate. Beef and pork helped to make Chicago a meat-centric town, and a center of exporting and processing. German immigrants brought their sausage-making skills, creating well-known companies such as Oscar Mayer in 1883, and the Vienna Sausage Company, created by Austrian-Hungarian immigrants Emil Reichel and Sam Ladany. The 1906 publication of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, prompted food safety laws such as the Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act that have since benefitted the nation, as well as Chicago.⁸⁴ New refrigerated railroad cars meant Chicago could ship its meat to the rest of the states, gaining the city a positive reputation for high quality beef. Steakhouses are still considered a Chicago tradition. Morton's Steakhouse had their start in Chicago, and the

⁸³ Russell Lewis, *The Chicago Food Encyclopedia*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2017) 3.

⁸⁴ Bruce Kraig, "Grazing Through Chicago's Food History." July 19, 1997. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1997-07-16/entertainment/9707220045_1_chicago-river-food-city-oysters.

important local steakhouses include Gene & Georgetti's, Chicago Chop House, and the Erie Café.

Grain milling soon became a vital and lucrative addition to the food industry in Chicago, and by 1860, Chicago was the number one producer of wheat and corn flour in the country.⁸⁵ A flurry of technological advances with the grain milling process enabled larger batches of grain to be exported, and more mechanization eased the process. The steam-powered grain elevator was invented in Buffalo in 1842, and grain elevators soon popped up along Chicago's local rivers by the 1850's including the Calumet, where some still stand.⁸⁶ William Cronon states "The multiplication of such facilities during the 1850s gave Chicago the ability to handle more grain more quickly than any other city in the world."⁸⁷ This enabled Chicago to be known as a city that helped to feed the country. Agricultural lands surrounding Chicago provided the city with the means for candy making and this access to sugar beets and corn syrup helped to make the city a confectionary center. For many decades Chicago was the largest producer of candy in the world for over a century.⁸⁸

With grain milling and meatpacking, Chicago became the main center for food processing and shipping for the rest of the existing states. The importance of the

⁸⁵ "From Farm to Fork: Innovations in the Chicago Food Industry" Chicago Booth, Polski Center for Entrepreneurship, 2.

⁸⁶ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 111.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 112.

⁸⁸ Bruce Kraig, Food Processing: Local Market, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/468.html> Accessed March 3, 2017.

railroads cannot be overemphasized. The flat land, the surrounding agriculturally rich areas, southern foods coming north into Chicago as well as east coast treats such as oysters, and the export of Chicago's food products to the rest of the country—all were possible due to the railway system. Chicago as a transportation hub, brought hungry passengers on layovers looking for sustenance around Union Station in Chicago's Loop. Daniel Block and Harold B. Rosing in their book *Chicago: A Food Biography*, remark upon the frequent sight, over several decades, of luggage piled in the front window of the Loop's Lou Mitchell's Diner as travelers dined on coffee, Greek Toast and omelets served in metal skillets.⁸⁹

Daniel Block and Howard Rosing describe one aspect of Chicago's diversity: "Perhaps most characteristic of the city are hundreds of storefront restaurants that showcase the food of one or more particular ethnicity, sometimes designed to serve people of that ethnic group and other times designed for a larger audience."⁹⁰ Examples still abound. Andersonville still retains vestiges of its Swedish roots, though Pakistani restaurants now coexist with old Swedish pancake restaurants. The area known as Ukrainian Village retains its name, and you can still get excellent borscht at the Old Lviv restaurant on Chicago Avenue. Chicago's West Argyle Street Historic District, designated in contains many Asian-owned businesses, the many of which are restaurants. Many Vietnamese, Japanese, Laotian and Cambodian immigrants settled on

⁸⁹ Block, Daniel and Rosing, Howard B. *Chicago: A Food Biography*. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 5.

⁹⁰ Ibid 3.

West Argyle Street in the 1970s, creating a sort of cultural landscape there, largely expressed through the cuisine.

Despite a history of segregation, exclusion, and ethnic clustering, many of Chicago's neighborhoods have been multiethnic.⁹¹ Russell Lewis writes of Chicago "Spaces became defined ethnic neighborhoods, cultural ecologies with their own languages, including dialects of English."⁹² Adjusting to a different life could prove difficult if the newcomer was not always welcomed by existing Chicagoans. Some sought to recreate to some degree, the rural village life, left behind. According to Tracey N. Poe in her dissertation *Food, Culture, and Entrepreneurship Among African Americans, Italians, and Swedes in Chicago*, many immigrants:

attempted to recreate food-related aspects of their rural lives by turning their front yards into gardens and letting goats and chickens roam the alleyways. These rural foodways, set down in the middle of the industrial city, were an important means of building ethnic solidarity as migrants attempted to find something in the environment around them that looked familiar and comforting.⁹³

These practices still endure in some parts of the city. The neighborhood of Pilsen, on Chicago's lower west side, once settled by Bohemian and Czech brewers and their families, is now a Mexican stronghold, home to the National Museum of Mexican Art and a large number of long-standing restaurants specializing in Mexican cuisine. Small

⁹¹ Dominic Pacyga, "Ethnic Neighborhoods" in *Ethnic Chicago* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1995), 257.

⁹² Russell Lewis, *The Chicago Food Encyclopedia* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press), 2017.

⁹³ Tracey N. Poe, *Food, Culture, and Entrepreneurship Among African Americans, Italians, and Swedes in Chicago*, (Harvard: Harvard University, 1999), 5.

plots of land in front of several apartment buildings in Pilsen are used to grow corn to this day.

Many major food companies, snack foods, and culinary innovations had their start in Chicago and many continue to this day. The Italian Beef Sandwich, the brownie, Chicken Vesuvio, Saganaki (flaming Greek cheese), Shrimp De Jonghe, the hot dog, and deep-dish pizza are all considered Chicago inventions, with immigrant influences.⁹⁴ The Chicago World's Fair of 1893, known as the World's Columbian Exposition, debuted several snack foods and instant foods for Americans to consume such as Cracker Jack, Shredded Wheat and Cream of Wheat. Sara Lee, Bay's English Muffins, Nabisco, and Quaker Oats are just a few of many other major food companies coming out of Chicago's past. Chicago created products such as Milk Duds, and candy companies such as Brach's, Wrigley's, Tootsie Roll Industries, Beatrice Foods, and Dean foods, among others. The factory for Blommer's Chocolate Company is the largest cocoa processor in the nation and still blankets a portion of the city daily with the rich smell of chocolate.⁹⁵ These inventions and regional food products changed the face of American food.

Intangibles such as culinary heritage are experienced and reinforced with the multiple holiday festivals or street fairs. Steins and lederhosen are sometimes seen during Oktoberfest festivities in Lincoln Square, the Chinese Lunar New Year is celebrated in street festivals or banquets in Chinatown and the West Argyle Street

⁹⁴ Block, Daniel and Rosing, Howard B. *Chicago: A Food Biography*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 205.

⁹⁵ Blommer Chocolate Company, <http://www.blommer.com/>, accessed March 27, 2017.

Historic District, and Andersonville celebrates a traditional Swedish *Midsommarfest* and Greek heritage and cuisine is celebrated at the Lincoln Park Greek Festival.



Figure 3: Children identify their ethnic origin in school. [Field Museum, Calumet Heritage]

The Good, but Cheap Chicago Restaurant Book published in 1977 lists over 300 “Exciting and inexpensive places to eat.”⁹⁶ Authors Jill Nathanson Rohde and Ron Rohde showcase the remarkable scope of ethnic variety within Chicago at the time: “Argentinian, Armenian, Bohemian/Czech, British, Chinese, Cuban, French, German, Greek, Guatemalan, Hungarian, Indian, Israeli, Italian, Japanese, Jewish, Lithuanian, Mexican, Middle Eastern, Philippine, Polish, Peruvian, Rumanian, Soul, South American, Swedish, Thai, United States, Vietnamese, Yugoslav” are listed on the back

⁹⁶ Jill Nathanson Rohde and Ron Rohde, *The Good but Cheap Chicago Restaurant Book*. (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1977), back cover.

cover.⁹⁷ This shows the rich mixture of cuisines within Chicago's ethnic enclaves, and some of this mixture remains, incorporating the cuisines of newer immigrants.

Immigrants still arrive in Chicago, though the city's growth has slowed in past decades, and the source countries have changed. Each neighborhood still has its flavors as multiple groups, both immigrants and first, second, or third generations move in and out. It is the long-standing housing, buildings and businesses within them that help to tell an experiential story of the community, of past and current residents, and gives the city a strong sense of place.

This study focuses on restaurants within the urban landscape, and this landscape makes up our Relphian setting as dynamic and subject to change. Just as a cultural landscape has layers of history and changes over time, the multitudes of culinary landscapes of the city of Chicago have layers of history and have changed over time. Cuisine does not remain static, but evolves over time, influenced by the environment and the people cooking and consuming. The Cultural Landscape Foundation's motto conveys a goal: "Connecting People to Places."⁹⁸ One way people feel connected to a place can be through consumption of that place's cuisine, even when, paradoxically, that cuisine originates from elsewhere. While many restaurants serve dishes originating from the cuisine of other countries, the very longevity of these places makes those dishes, and that restaurant, become representational of the city. Food connects people with people, and people to place.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ The Cultural Landscape Foundation, accessed January 3, 2017, <http://tclf.org/>.

Culinary Historian Bruce Kraig describes some of the (slightly) newer immigrants to have migrated to Chicago:

Ethnicity remains a key to local food production. The Chinese population required more “authentic” Chinese products. The Hong Kong Noodle Company established in 1914 in the “new” Chinatown on Wentworth Avenue was one such supplier. By the 1970s, with immigration from mainland China, new companies such as the Wah King Noodle Manufacturing Company and bakeries producing almond cookies, fortune cookies, moon cakes, and other specialties appeared, servicing both retail and restaurant markets. In similar fashion, the newer Korean (Lawrence Avenue), Arabic (North Kedzie Avenue), Indian (Devon Avenue), and Southeast Asian (Argyle Street) communities have brought forth bakeries and spice and sauce packers geared to local consumption.⁹⁹

Created by immigrant entrepreneurs and maintained by their families, some of these businesses are still thriving and are a major part of Chicago’s character and economy. The majority of these were Chicago’s historic restaurants showcase the stories of the city, particularly those holdouts that represent specific points in time, during the neighborhoods’ immigrant past. Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted*, imagines one possible aspect of the mentality of some immigrants settling in a city like Chicago:

The old people, growing older, could see the day when there would be none of their kind left, when the country would be occupied entirely by natives, and when their own children or children’s children, would lose the very memory of immigrant antecedents.¹⁰⁰

Recipes, cooking together and family celebratory meals may be one way to remember these immigrant antecedents. The ethnic Chicago restaurants that have

⁹⁹ Bruce Kraig, “Food Processing: Local Market,” *Chicago Food Encyclopedia*, accessed July 9, 2017.

¹⁰⁰ Oscar Handlin. *The Uprooted*. 267 *The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*. (Boston: Little, Brown & Company), 1979.

survived for many decades are another way to remember this continuum. Foodways in Chicago are also spread and maintained through ethnicity, religion, church suppers, cookbooks, the recipes handed down in families, and in restaurant from owner to chef, street food festivals, and other local cookbooks. Judith Hines, the former City of Chicago Director of Culinary Arts and Events during the Richard M. Daley administration puts it this way:

I immediately think of all the immigrants who came here bearing actual food items or just their food and taste memories and often recipes – they paved the way for this culturally diverse city. And the ones who became farmers, especially, added to the way we think of food, what we eat, and how food gets to the table here, now, in 2017.”¹⁰¹

Edward Relph’s ideas regarding our human experience of place include the concepts of Insideness and Outsideness. These concepts can be considered to be a part of the place experience for the immigrant, who then creates a place, such as a restaurant, where they can be insiders, as in an ethnic enclave, instead of outsiders: an American as well as a Jewish person from Eastern Europe or Russia, as well as an Italian, or a German. Once outsiders, they often become insiders the longer they remain a part of the neighborhood or city.

Chicago’s cuisine is not limited to hot dogs with vegetables on a poppy seed bun, Italian beef sandwiches, and deep-dish pizza. Within the past few decades the rise of the late chef Charlie Trotter, and more recently, Grant Achatz, and his focus on molecular gastronomy speaks to more upscale, innovative and experimental tendencies. Famous chef Rick Bayless brought Mexican flavors into mainstream and upscale

¹⁰¹ Email correspondence with Judith Hines.

Chicago cuisine, paying homage to Mexico itself, and to the many Mexican immigrants who have come to Chicago.

The city has evolved from those small taverns serving prairie chicken, to the oyster-serving hotel restaurants, to world-renowned deep-dish pizza and steakhouses, to Michelin starred restaurants. Major magazines such as *Condé Nast Traveler* and *Bon Appétit* have proclaimed Chicago to be the Restaurant City of the Year for 2017.

Chicago is inarguably well known for its cuisine: high-end, low-end and everything in between.

Food-related social media websites such as Thrillist, Eater Chicago, and local online news magazines such as Curbed Chicago appear to be presenting the confluence of food and history to the general public. Thrillist has articles such as “The Best Old-School Diners in Chicago”, and Eater Chicago has articles such as “25 Classic Restaurants Every Chicagoan Must Try.” Choose Chicago- a marketing organization that focuses on cultural tourism, has published a web article entitled “Five Favorite Historic Restaurants in Chicago.” These act as positive marketing and publicity for local restaurants, spreading the word and reminding locals and visitors of these places as dining options, and drawing a link between historic spaces and restaurants.

The buildings that house Chicago’s long-standing restaurants— and the restaurants themselves of course, help to tell the story of the city. Chicago Alderman Brian Hopkins has recently pushed for passage of an ordinance that will go some distance toward protecting legacy businesses, with a specific lean toward restaurants.¹⁰²

Alderman Hopkins office has been meeting with mayor Rahm Emanuel and there's reason to be highly optimistic, according to The Alderman's Chief of Staff, Jose Rivera Jr.

Restaurant Closures

A Polish diner called The Busy Bee in the Wicker Park neighborhood of Chicago, nearly beneath the Damen El stop, closed in 1998 when the owner, Sophie Madej, decided to sell. The restaurant stood since 1913 when it was called The Oak Room and the neighborhood was known as the "Polish Downtown".¹⁰³ At the Busy Bee, long-time neighborhood Polish residents consumed potato pancakes and blood sausage and *Pierogi* in orange vinyl booths under a picture of Pope John Paul II. One morning at the Busy Bee's U-shaped counter, Hillary Rodham Clinton made her famous comment "What am I going to do, stay home and bake cookies?"¹⁰⁴ It had long stood as a city institution, popular with local politicians and especially with the neighborhood Polish residents as well. Owner Sophie Madej's reason for closing was simply that she wanted to retire to enjoy her grandchildren, and thus sold her restaurant to a developer. The building still stands, and has been inhabited by several subsequent restaurants of varying types, none

¹⁰² Ted Cox, "As Iconic Chicago Businesses Shutter, Plan to Save 'Legacy' Spots Emerges," accessed February 27, 2017, <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20160209/downtown/ald-seeks-fund-help-citys-legacy-businesses-survive-tax-rent-hikes/>.

¹⁰³ "Chicago Polish Triangle," accessed November 29, 2016, <http://www.chicagopolishtriangle.com/>.

¹⁰⁴ Lauter, David, "No Controversy Brews, Just Tea, as Mrs. Clinton Pours," March 17, 1993, accessed November 29, 2016, articles.latimes.com/1993-03-17/news/mn-11962_1_bill-clinton.

of them Polish. Madej was quoted in Paul Camps article in the *Chicago Tribune*, “A Queen Bee and Her Hive.” Madej discussed the longtime Polish regulars from the community: “The old timers expect you to open on the holidays. They have no other place to go. This is home for them. They come here six, seven times a week, maybe more. You don’t make money on holidays, but you’re obligated to open for them.”¹⁰⁵ This sense of responsibility and care for the community is a part of the relationships established and maintained by historic restaurants throughout Chicago.

When restaurateurs decide to sell to a developer, as difficult as the choice may be, as it was for Madej, the building may be razed by a developer in favor of a more profitable option, such as high-density housing. Conversely a new owner may decide to retain the building and instead change the type of restaurant or change the use of the building. Long-standing restaurants may also close due to a decrease in quality of food, and changing consumer tastes in cuisine and resulting lack of business. Lack of foot traffic may also increase the chances that a restaurant will lose business and have to close, as well as changes in the neighborhood demographics or economy.

Summary

Relphian place gives us setting as a location where activity and meaning coexist and interact. Sense of place can also be viewed via ethnic mapping, historic migration patterns and neighborhoods of settlement for the various immigrant groups as a sort of

¹⁰⁵ Paul A. Camp, “A Queen Bee and Her Hive” *Chicago Tribune*, published January 25, 1987, *Chicago Tribune*, accessed November 22, 2017, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1987-01-25/entertainment/8701060904_1_polish-hard-work-restaurant.

stratification, with new layers accruing over time. Andersonville was once largely Swedish, Bronzeville largely African American, Wicker Park, Polish, Pilsen was Czech, and now largely Mexican, and so on. These historic layers, give the city a certain character and leave some of their traces visible in the architecture, such as Chicago's Schlitz brewing buildings, some schools, and churches. These layers are apparent also in the place names of parks, streets and neighborhoods, and also leave their imprint in the older businesses like the restaurants that survive within Chicago.

Chicago's neighborhoods, streets, and buildings that house restaurants and their interiors are also our setting, where the activity of dining and consuming, of cooking and serving, and social interchange have their own meanings continually accruing. The following chapter provides descriptions of selected historic restaurants in Chicago, and illuminates some of their meaningful stories through interviews with current owners. We will also explore the Devon Avenue neighborhood, where historic immigrant layers of cultural and culinary history have given way to newer immigrants. This neighborhood in particular, showcases the concept that restaurants lend sense of place, to place.

The history behind the foods we consume is part of our history and place in the world. Our senses, including sight, smell and taste, are a part of our experience of a place in Relph's view. While cuisine adapts and evolves, it is nonetheless true that the food heritage at these historic restaurants has been passed down over generations and is ongoing. The cultural identity of Chicago, almost from the start, involved architecture, food, and diverse peoples.

CHAPTER III: CHICAGO'S AMERICA'S CLASSICS

Introduction

Place in Relphian terms, is upheld by the chosen restaurants in this chapter partly through the expression of the cultural heritage of their founders, and thus, of Chicago. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell write in their book, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways*, “In defining regional or ethnic groups... these are most usefully defined internally, using the group’s own markers of self-identification as key factors.”¹⁰⁶ I describe the businesses in this study in terms of how the owners define themselves and their restaurants.

This chapter provides a Relphian analysis of the chosen historic restaurants using his three place components of setting, activity, and meaning. A description of each illuminates the histories, stories and cuisines of the profiled restaurants that the restaurateurs have revealed in interviews. The tangible and intangible aspects of these businesses are two sides of the same coin. Andrew Zimmern, describing the James Beard Foundation’s ability to recognize the intangible as well as the tangible aspects of cuisine, says “food with a story tastes better” and all of the restaurants to be evaluated in this thesis have stories.¹⁰⁷ These businesses are signposts that guide us to thinking about the

¹⁰⁶ Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 5.

¹⁰⁷ Zimmern, Andrew. *All-American Eats: Recipes and Stories From Our Best Loved Local Restaurants*, 8.

neighborhoods around us, and the layers of past cultures that have shaped our urban environment and give us the experience of place.

For the second, third and fourth generations that make up the bulk of the citizens of Chicago, much of the food they consume has come down through those generations, providing a connection with their origins and ancestors. In the book *Hungering for America*, Hasia Diner writes: “The food which came out of ancestral ovens represents to them [Americans today] powerful legacies of continuity, linking them to faraway places, most of which they have never visited.”¹⁰⁸ We consume history when we dine at historic restaurants. The elements that intersect within these places are worthy of preservation, and if we are to succeed, we must endeavor to consider all of these elements. This means considering the tangible culture of architecture, and the intangible cultural heritage of immigrant history, and foodways, which are major elements of sense of place in Chicago and of Relph’s components of place. The city, the neighborhood, the restaurant’s exterior and interior provide the setting. The activities within the setting help to shape that setting. Both the setting and activity are rich with the third of Relph’s place components—meaning. All three components of place should come into play when evaluating a property.

The business owners profiled below are the descendants of immigrants who had to be both agile and steadfast to survive and thrive in Chicago’s formative years, as well as nimble in adapting to new tastes and steadfast in adhering to their own culinary heritage.

¹⁰⁸ Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press. 2001), p. xvi.

Particular flavors and culinary knowledge were brought to America and modified in America. The foods often associated with Chicago largely stem from immigrant groups such as pizza, pasta, hot dogs, beer and sausage.

Change and Cultural Hybridity

Ethnicity may be considered a cultural construct, and cuisine and other cultural elements, may be influenced by other groups and new surroundings. This is a normal, organic process, as groups from elsewhere assimilate and live alongside other immigrants and longtime city residents. New residents bring their own culture, but are also influenced by fellow immigrants and their new country of residence. Ethnic food sold to patrons in restaurants changes over time, reflecting the tastes of the clientele, what sells and what does not, the availability of ingredients, and an evolution of “tailoring” the flavors to better suit the times, the clientele, and the ability to make a profit. Cultural hybridity itself creates sense of place and the variety and differences become vital and interesting. Tracy Poe writes of the Italian community in Chicago, that: “Women acknowledged frequently that they borrowed freely from one another’s oral ‘recipes’ and that quality was judged not by adherence to an established standard but by innovation within certain recognizable forms.”¹⁰⁹ Still, she continues,

What most people imagine to be authentic Italian food must give the appearance of having been handed down unaltered through countless generations. It is the perceived continuity between the descent of the food and the consent (that is, the agreement on adherence to the established form) of the ethnic community that gives the food cultural validity.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Tracy Poe, Dissertation 22

¹¹⁰ Ibid

Cultural hybridity does not necessarily negate authenticity. Exchange and adaptation occurs organically as the settlement patterns are developed in urban centers. This hybridity is a part of adaptation to a new environment, and also a part of the changing nature and the changing meanings inherent in a Relphian concept of place. Tracey Poe continues: “consumption became a strategy for forging a social identity that was at once ethnic and American.”¹¹¹ The necessary changes that occur over time as ethnic groups assimilate, yet continue to participate in their own culinary heritage are a part of the dynamism and changing nature that Relph has shown is a part of place. The founders of many historic restaurants performed a balancing act, between acceptance from the outside (as well as internally) of being an American, and a desire to preserve, promote, and perhaps reinforce one’s specific ethnicity.

Authenticity is also subject to fluidity and change. Ethnicity, authenticity and cultural hybridity are never static even while we are experiencing the tangible aspects of a legacy restaurant. Despite varying degrees of authenticity, the choice to still serve certain dishes can maintain and may even reinforce the ethnicity of the owners.¹¹² This reinforcement of identity persists with the restaurants in this study, despite cultural blending. The founders and current owners of these restaurants, as well as their customers, are, as Tracey Poe writes, “...examples of individuals renewing their community ties through food traditions that had origins in the old country, and through

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Carol M Devine, Jeffery Sobal, Carole A. Bisogni, Margaret Connors, “Food Choices in Three Ethnic Groups: Interactions of Ideals, Identities, and Roles” in *Journal of Nutrition Education* Vol. 31, Issue 2 1999.

patronage to businesses where they felt old world cultural values survived.”¹¹³ The restaurants in this study can be evaluated as places where these old world cultural values have survived. They may have survived in spite of, and because of, cultural hybridity.

Immigrant foodways have become American foodways. Just as cuisine is altered over time, so place, activity and meaning changes over time. Place is in constant flux. Place is a continual process, it is what geographer Allan Pred says “takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilization of a physical setting.”¹¹⁴ Legacy businesses retain important characteristics, activities, and meanings that are also continually adapting and evolving to changing circumstances and cannot remain static, or they risk becoming relics, or business failure.

Tufano’s Vernon Park Tap: Family Style

1073 W. Vernon Park Place, Little Italy

Founded 1930

Awarded James Beard America’s Classics in 2008

Tufano’s Vernon Park Tap opened in 1930. Owner Joey DiBuono’s grandparents, came to Chicago from Italy, emigrating at the turn of the century from a small town near Naples. They settled in one of the largest of Chicago’s Little Italy neighborhoods near Taylor and Halsted Streets. There were over 15,000 Italians in this

¹¹³ Tracey Poe, Dissertation, 22.

¹¹⁴ Allan Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol 74, No. 2, 1984, 279.

neighborhood by 1920.¹¹⁵ Joe DiBuono and Theresa Tufano DiBuono contributed their versions of Neapolitan cooking to the neighborhood by opening the initially tiny restaurant in an area already enriched with Italian flavors with the settlement of other immigrants from southern Italy. Family meals were important events and emphasized the vital role that food and family dining has played in Italian, and Italian-American culture.



Figure 4: Tufano's Exterior with addition on right. [Leigh Haddix, November 10, 2016.]

The DiBuonos opened a bakery on one side of the street and their restaurant on the other on Vernon Park Place, four blocks from Taylor Street, the main hub of this old Italian neighborhood. The restaurant only had 13 tables, and DiBuono's grandmother cooked the

¹¹⁵ Poe, 89.

food in the house next door, and passed it through a small window into the restaurant, whose kitchen was too tiny to handle the amount of food required (Fig 5).



Figure 5: Kitchen “window” where grandmother would hand over food cooked next door. [Leigh Haddix, January 5, 2017]

Some traditional Neapolitan dishes such as *Baccala* (salted cod) are rarely ordered these days, though the traditional dish of tripe is still on the menu as a daily special, and regularly ordered by patrons. Large, wall-mounted chalkboard menus (there is no hard-copy menu) showcase Eggplant Parmigiana, their special Lemon Chicken, and Sausage and Peppers, which are some of the biggest sellers according to DiBuono. Tufano’s Pork Chop with peppers is a traditional Neapolitan dish (*Costolette di Miale con Papacelle*) that likely crossed the ocean along with the immigrants from the regions around Naples, along with the eggplant Parmesan and the traditional southern Italian sausage and peppers.

Lemon groves flourish in Southern Italy, along with pine nuts, and tomatoes—which arrived in Europe around the 16th century, and eggplant, fish, crustaceans and mollusks- all are traditional ingredients from the region of Italy from which DiBuono’s grandparents emigrated.¹¹⁶ Dishes made by DiBuono’s grandparents, while shaped by their culinary past, were also shaped by life in America, the ingredients available to them, and over time, the tastes of the clientele. This may speak to the desire— described by Tracey Poe in her dissertation *Food, Culture and Entrepreneurship Among African Americans, Italians and Swedes in Chicago*— to create, experience and consume the best of what America had to offer, and not only the “peasant” food from the old country. This mixing of old-world cuisine with the perception of what wealthier people ate both in America and Italy: meat more prevalent and in more copious quantities, more white bread and sweets, meant food that aspired to be the best of both worlds.¹¹⁷ Chicago as a meat processing center along with more access to meatpacking and proximity to rural farms and livestock land. This, along with access to economic opportunity, meant more meat has been encompassed into Italian food cooked in America.

Italian food was one of the ethnic cuisines in Chicago and (many other cities such as Boston, New York and San Francisco), to reach widespread appeal first to what author Donna Gabaccia calls “Bohemians,” those writers and intellectuals railing against steadfast Victorian mores and customs. In the Progressive Era, from about 1890 to 1920, these

¹¹⁶ “Tomatoes” The Food Timeline, accessed <http://www.foodtimeline.org/foodsauces.html#europentomatoes>.

¹¹⁷ Tracey Poe, *Food, Culture, and Entrepreneurship Among African Americans, Italians, and Swedes in Chicago*. 1999, 26-27.

Bohemians embraced the cuisine served in Italian restaurants, as Gabbacia writes:

“associating it with cultural rebellion and adventure.”¹¹⁸

DiBuono, as a restaurateur, says that the menu must evolve and change, to some degree.¹¹⁹ Yet the starting points are those ancestral recipes that continue to be cooked to this day. He does not think he would be successful today if it were not for those recipes, which are a continuation of the foodways of his grandparents. He stresses high quality ingredients as another way that Tufano’s continues culinary traditions, as well as continuing to share the recipes and methods with whoever comes in to cook at the restaurant over the years. DiBuono says “the gravy [red sauce] is the same as my grandmother made... and I think people really appreciate that, that it’s still what my grandma and grandpa started.”¹²⁰ The fact that tripe is still being ordered, as well as other traditional recipes, speaks to a continuing desire for these dishes and an ongoing appreciation for Italian cuisine.

The DiBuonos also own the building, giving them more flexibility, in terms of altering the building as DiBuono has already done, and of escaping the threat of rising rents. This ownership has been a prominent factor in enabling the family to maintain the business over the decades. The restaurant and family have been well known in the local community. So much so, that at DiBuono’s Aunt Toni’s death, the *Chicago Tribune* published a long obituary, describing her as: “one of seven children born to Italian

¹¹⁸ Donna Gabbacia, *We Are What We Eat*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998) 99-100.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Joey DiBuono, January 5, 2017.

¹²⁰ Ibid

immigrants, she grew up helping in the bakery, baking breads and pastries using Old World family recipes passed down through the generations.”¹²¹ His grandmother worked at the restaurant until she was 92, and one can imagine DiBuono working with his daughters as long as he is able. This too, is a Tufano’s tradition. “Without my family, it would be...hard to get through this business because you need family and you need help” DiBuono says.¹²²

The American Classic Award was very meaningful to DiBuono, who used the word “honored” repeatedly. There was a surge in popularity, as many of the local regulars came to congratulate DiBuono. More widespread acclaim came through a profile of Tufano’s on national television. Television personality and chef Guy Fieri has also profiled Tufano’s on his show, *Diners Drive-Ins and Dives*, which brought even more increased attention and business.

Relphian Analysis

Setting:

In the 1960s, urban renewal and the related highway construction of the Dan Ryan and Eisenhower expressways prompted city officials to gut most of the neighborhood, followed by construction of the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) campus. City officials razed the family bakery and ended their bakery business.¹²³ As DiBuono

¹²¹ Joan Giangrass Kates, “Antoinette Tufano, 1914-2014”. *Chicago Tribune*, accessed January 2, 2017, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2014-04-02/news/ct-antoinette-tufano-obituary-met-20140402_1_bakery-restaurant-italian.

¹²² Interview with Joey DiBuono, January 5, 2017.

¹²³ Alex Gourse, *Urban Experience in Chicago: Hull House and Its Neighbors 1889-1963*, accessed January 5, 2017. http://hullhouse.uic.edu/hull/urbanexp/main.cgi?file=new/subsub_index.ptt&chap=115.

describes it, “they bulldozed everything, it was really the demise of the neighborhood”.

While Chicago’s Little Italy was practically annihilated, Tufano’s was one of the holdouts. Despite the loss of much of the community surrounding it, the original three-story redbrick building still stands. “Urban Renewal...wove a web of vacant lots around the periphery of Little Italy... on the Near West Side today, what little is left of Little Italy still makes itself felt like a ‘tiny red pepper’ in the bland spaghetti of expressways.”¹²⁴ Tufano’s is another tiny red pepper.

Small pockets in the neighborhood still retain some buildings from the peak of the area’s Little Italy days, interspersed with large parking lots and concrete-heavy campus of UIC, creating the mix of place and placelessness that Relph discusses. The restaurant’s façade faces a parking lot, but the new addition on the side faces a small square with trees and a center fountain.

The dark red brick, three-story building that contains the original bar and initially, the tiny 13-seat restaurant was built in 1889 (Fig 4). The original building containing the bar is spartan, with little ornamentation, and is not rated in the Chicago Historic Resources Survey, although it is remarkable for its longevity in a neighborhood decimated by urban renewal. The bar area within the original building is the oldest portion of the establishment and expresses its age. The window to the house next door still remains in place, in the kitchen area, where DiBuono’s grandmother used to pass the “gravy” and other dishes through to the restaurant. Joey DiBuono created a one-story addition to the structure adjoining the east side of the original building and visible from the street. There is outdoor

¹²⁴ “A Long Way from the Mezzogiorno” *Chicago Tribune*
<http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1977/04/17/page/190/article/a-long-long-way-from-the-mezzogiorno> -p.23, accessed January 4, 2017.

seating in the summer in a small tree lined square with a fountain along one side of the building addition. A long oak wood bar, from the restaurant's inception, graces the original narrow front room. A few small, high tables line one wall, with a large neon sign and illuminated clock over the bar that lends a pink glow to the wood paneled space. The one-story addition, accessed through a doorway from the bar area, more than doubled the size of the original restaurant and family photos (DiBuono's parents, grandparents, aunts and siblings) line the walls. Signed photographs of Rocky Marciano, Frank Sinatra and others also appear in the large dining room.

There is no exterior sign for Tufano's. Entering the building, it appears as though much remains unchanged since the 1930s. Although there is a small ATM machine near the door and a jukebox near the window to the street, it remains much as it was in the early years of the business. Several reviews of Tufano's express this "stepping back in time" sentiment, such as Caitlin Doermer's review in *The Infatuation*:

We once saw an Italian nonna eating pasta in her long nightgown and sidearm holster, and barely gave it a sideways glance...she was unarmed, and probably thought it was still 1929. But if that isn't a testament to the Tufano's time warp, then we don't know what is.¹²⁵

Tufano's has impacted Chicago's larger restaurant scene. Donnie Madia is a well-known Chicago restaurateur and a fellow James Beard Award recipient, winning in 2015 for Outstanding Restaurateur. Madia went to high school with DiBuono, and worked at Tufano's for years. Madia shared his thoughts about the impact that Tufano's has had on his business mentality, particularly on the aspect of hospitality and welcome towards his

¹²⁵ Caitlin Doermer, "Tufano's Vernon Park Tap," *The Infatuation*, <https://www.theinfatuation.com/chicago/reviews/tufanos-vernon-park-tap> author, accessed January 2, 2017.

customers, saying it was this concept that informed the way he and his partners wanted to run their restaurants. Madia writes of his time working at Tufano's:

Tufano's is an amazing neighborhood gathering-place, and Joey's such an incredible host. He knows everybody's name—whether it's a politician or a regular who always eats there before a Bulls game, he not only knows their name, he also knows their kids' names and at which table they'd want to sit at...we welcome our guests like we'd welcome them in our homes, just like Joey does.¹²⁶

DiBuono reiterates this sentiment, saying he has a large number of regulars, often four generations will be dining at Tufano's.¹²⁷ This sociability, this emphasis on hospitality toward the community and to customers is key for Tufano's. The customers are family and friends as DiBuono's sister Theresa says on the Tufano's website:

Beyond food we are a tradition. We see babies grow up and come back on dinner dates. We see a couple getting engaged, surprising the bride to be with a ring in a cannoli and then having their rehearsal dinner in the back party room. Then a couple years later a baptism. It's generational. And that's who we are. I am so proud of my brother Joey, for continuing the legacy my grandparents and parents started over 80 years ago. Now the legacy continues with my nieces Darci and Disa. There are many places to dine, but at Tufano's you do more than dine. You become FAMILY.¹²⁸

Activity:

The activities of cooking, serving and sharing family recipes are performed with those who participate in the activity of dining, often by multiple generations of customers.

Frequent familial dining and a loyal returning customer base continues at Tufano's. The

¹²⁶ "Tufano's" James Beard Foundation, accessed December 12, 2016, <https://www.jamesbeard.org/blog/americas-classics-donnie-madia-tufanos-vernon-park-tap>.

¹²⁷ Interview with Joey DiBuono January 5, 2017.

¹²⁸ Tufano's Restaurant, accessed January 2, 2017, <https://sites.google.com/site/tufanosrestaurant/testimonials>.

restaurant remains cash only as it has always been. There are also long-time staff members working as servers. There is also the activity that DiBuono and the staff perform which is treating the customers like family, and this continual social exchange with the community has no doubt been one factor in Tufano's success.

Meaning:

Interviewing DiBuono, it was clear how meaningful it is to him that he has been able to carry on the restaurant that his grandparents started, how "blessed" he feels that he has been successful, and that his daughter and sister plan to continue maintaining the restaurant. His is the third generation to run Tufano's. The importance of the concept of community and family is a bright thread running through everything about Tufano's, and is clear from the interview with DiBuono and in several television food shows that have profiled the restaurant. Family and community are arguably just as much a part of the culinary tradition of Italians and Italian-Americans as the ingredients used in the dishes currently at Tufano's and in his grandparents' cooking. Hasia Diner writes of this link between relationships and food: "Italian-American memoirs, community histories, and fiction all emphasize the family meal as a common social experience."¹²⁹ Rural village life in Italy meant family and community were particularly vital, life was unimaginable without them. The community too, continues to play a large role in the form of consistent patronage by local regulars, and in fact the Tufano's "family", expands to include this community.

Meaning exists also in the location of Tufano's, within the neighborhood that was almost decimated by the UIC campus. The staff's continued exchange with the community

¹²⁹ Diner, *Hungering for America*, 5.

keeps the knowledge alive of the immigrant settlement that was Little Italy, and still is, Little Italy, to some degree, thanks to businesses like Tufano's. Tufano's Vernon Park Tap evokes Italian tradition, longevity and hospitality, and represents a Chicago tradition as well. Tufano's Vernon Park Tap remains one of the few hold-outs that represent a vital layer of the neighborhood's and the city's history and culture.

Table 1 presents certain general factors as well as those particular to Tufano's. Two types of analysis aid in consideration of Tufano's character defining features, and Relphian place components.

Character Defining Features	Conventional Historic Preservation		Relphian Sense of Place	
	Matters for Designation as Landmark	Regulation as Landmark	Component Affected	Action
Architecture: Building Exterior for original three-flat holding bar	Yes	Façade, roofline remain unchanged	Setting	Exterior alterations: minor/ change may be accommodated
Interior: Historic Wood bar	Yes	Historic features	Setting	Removal: loss, but change may be accommodated
Ground floor Addition (1980s)	Possibly, though recent.	Representing certain era of restaurant's evolution	Setting and meaning: enabled growth	Removal: Major loss Alterations: minor, change accommodated.
Demolition Proposed		90 day delay: may be approved	Setting, activity and meaning	Demolition: Major loss
Intangible				
Building's Use as Restaurant	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Continuation of Culinary Heritage	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Continuous family management	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Ritual family dining	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Minor loss
Rare survivorship of building in old Little Italy	Secondary social history	Secondary consideration if demo proposed	Setting and meaning	Major loss
Stories (Immigrant founding story, stories over years)	No	Not considered	Meaning from past activity	Minor loss

Table 1: Tufano's Character Defining Features, Activities, Meanings.

The Berghoff: A Functioning Memory Factory

17 W. Adams, Downtown Chicago, the Loop
Founded 1898
Awarded James Beard America's Classic in 1998



Figure 6: The Berghoff Bar Interior. [Leigh Haddix, November 14, 2016.]

The Berghoff is a multigenerational, family-owned historic restaurant, bar and café. Peter Berghoff's great-grandfather, brewer Herman Joseph Berghoff, emigrated from Dortmund, Germany and came to Chicago by way of Fort Wayne, Indiana in order to attend the World's Fair and find a new market for his beers. His is a common immigrant story in the sense that he left his home in order to make a better life for himself seeking

better opportunities. Herman Joseph Berghoff's great-granddaughter Carlyn Berghoff says "He came here as a 17-year-old...and in Germany, if you weren't the eldest child you didn't inherit the business, so he left Germany to come to the United States to create his own vision."¹³⁰ Herman was quite an adventurer according to Peter Berghoff, and after arriving in the states, took odd jobs including one as a baker on a transatlantic steamship, although he knew nothing about baking.¹³¹ Peter said Herman had also traveled with the Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show for a time.¹³²

German immigrants brought their brewing and beer-drinking culture to the city. Beer has long been a prominent beverage of choice for eastern and western Europe, is particularly German and its consumption an important social tradition. Brewers were plentiful in Germany and an opportunity for a new market existed in America. The Berghoff started as a men-only tavern, selling steins of beer for a dime with a Reuben sandwich, and is not only one of Chicago's oldest restaurants, but one of the nation's oldest restaurants. Herman began his tavern originally in 1898 and was soon successful enough to expand to The Berghoff's "Annex" on the lower level, and later to fill three storefronts in the current location on Adams. He also brought over his four brothers from Germany.

During Prohibition Herman Berghoff adapted to the new law, transforming the tavern into a full-service restaurant that served traditional German cuisine and Berghoff-

¹³⁰ "The Berghoff," Windy City live ABC TV, YouTube, accessed December 24, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzIIoj3llfw>.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Interview with Peter Berghoff, January 8, 2017.

brewed sodas with flavors such as root beer, black cherry and orange.¹³³ Berghoff made it through Prohibition with his business intact, and was awarded Liquor License Number One, after being first in line to apply as Prohibition ended.¹³⁴

Herman Joseph Berghoff died in 1934, and two of his sons, (Lewis and Clement) took over the business until 1960, bringing in siblings to continue the operations. The bar remained a men-only venue until 1969, when women's rights activist Gloria Steinem and several women from the National Organization for Women, (NOW), entered the bar and demanded service. The employees acquiesced, and the bar became open to women.

George R., a member of the restaurant website LTH Forum, reminisces:

I distinctly recall that about 1970 I met one of the women who was among the group that broke the men-only rule the year before. She said that it turned out to be a disappointing event. The women had expected confrontation and fireworks. Instead when they went in, the response was simply to ask for their order. So they just quietly had their beer and sandwiches.¹³⁵

It is worthy of note that there is still only a men's restroom in the bar, although women account for much of the business.

Jory Graham's 1967's *Chicago: An Extraordinary Guide* profiled The Berghoff and shows what the menu was like in that year, to give a sense of how traditionally German the restaurant was at that time. A very German-focused menu is evident, particularly during traditionally German festivals:

The restaurant celebrates four annual festivals: Bock Beer in early spring; May Wine Time, when the fresh young wines that have been steeped in woodruff arrive

¹³³ Ibid..

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ George R., "The Berghoff" LTH Forum, May 24, 2004, accessed December 24, 2016.

(they're served in traditional roemers with fresh strawberries); the Lager Bierfest (October), when the restaurant is decorated in sheaves of barley and bierfest specialties such as Bratwurst, *Huhn im Topf* and *Wiener Rostbraten* are added to the menu; and the great season leading to Christmas. This last starts about Thanksgiving, and the restaurant turns into a Graustarkian hunter's lodge. Up go the greens, the tree, the old-fashioned wreaths. Out come the waiters bearing roast goose, *hasenpfeffer*, *rehpfeffer* (venison stew), *rehbraten* (venison roast), pheasant, clams, oysters. It's not to be missed.¹³⁶

Festivals are still big business for The Berghoff. Business increases in autumn for Oktoberfest and remains high from Thanksgiving through the New Year. For the past 32 years The Berghoff has held an Oktoberfest festival to celebrate Bavarian culture and cuisine, with live music, sometimes held outside in front of the restaurant. The Berghoff even had a 45-foot-long bratwurst at one recent Oktoberfest. The increased business around these times may partially be due to colder weather, which lends itself to thoughts of heartier fare, but also to The Berghoff's reputation for festive occasion dining, complete with the traditional trappings of evergreen garlands and glowing Christmas lights.

Decorative Gingerbread houses are also part of the Christmas season at The Berghoff. Gingerbread houses originated in Germany in the 16th century, and many link them to the Grimm's Fairy Tale *Hansel and Gretel*.¹³⁷ The Berghoff family had long participated in this Christmas tradition, and made it a part of their holidays at the restaurant. Peter Berghoff's sister Carlyn Berghoff discussed the Gingerbread houses on air at a local Chicago television station, saying: "Part of the tradition at the restaurant is that the culinary team creates all these different gingerbread houses and we scatter them around the

¹³⁶ Jory Graham, *Chicago: An Extraordinary Guide*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), 20.

¹³⁷ "History of Gingerbread" PBS, accessed January 9, 2017, www.PBS.org/food/thehistorykitchen/history-gingerbread.

restaurant. And this was something we did as a child too... it's part of our history.”¹³⁸ This festival atmosphere is still a draw for customers. Carlyn Berghoff notes “We feed thousands of people during the winter season. These are all people fulfilling their family traditions.”¹³⁹

It is telling that the current Berghoff menu is divided into two sections: “Old World Entrees” and “New World Entrees.” Peter Berghoff says that restaurants help to preserve food traditions by being what they are. “We want to be what we are, but we also want to be for current generations because everybody’s dining habits change.”¹⁴⁰ He calls The Berghoff a “functioning memory-factory” that continues to serve traditional dishes, yet the menu needs to be consistently balanced with the knowledge of current tastes.¹⁴¹ The menu has evolved over time, suggesting change was necessary to maintaining good business, as culinary tastes changed. Yet, Berghoff says that people come here because they “remember things from their youth and they can still find it...” at The Berghoff.¹⁴²

The kitchen staff still bakes all breads in-house, including traditional Bavarian pretzels. Just about everything is made in-house. Berghoff has even called the restaurant the “Scratch House” because most items are made from scratch, saying:

¹³⁸ “The Berghoff”, Windy City Live, YouTube, accessed January 9, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzIIoj3llfw>.

¹³⁹ Anya Hoffman, *James Beards All American Eats; Recipes and Stories from Our Best Loved Local Restaurants*, 117.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Peter Berghoff, January 8, 2017.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Nothing comes from a bag or a box and goes directly to the table. You have to be very fast-moving in the restaurant business today to keep up with culinary trends. We maintain a core of the traditional German items... if you want *Wiener Schnitzel*, we've got it, if you want *Jagerschnitzel*, it's here if you want the sausage trio, it's here, if you want the comfort food from Germany, we've got it.¹⁴³

While dishes such as *Hassenfeffer*, (rabbit stew) as well as venison stew and pheasant as described by Joy Graham above, are no longer on the menu, there are many long-term holdouts such as *schnitzel*, sausages, creamed spinach and apple strudel. The Berghoff sodas (now on the menu) are a reestablishment of The Berghoff tradition, bringing back these Prohibition-era beverage choices to their menu. These are some of the dishes that have remained virtually the same over the years, and shows that foodways derived from Europe, specifically from the Berghoff family, still remain on the menu and are ordered by customers today.

The Berghoff today is a *mélange* of traditional German cuisine and current trends in the Chicago (and national) food scene, such as poke, ramen, and micro brewing. This point is acknowledged by the New York Times review of The Berghoff Family Cookbook, which describes the Berghoff “Where *schnitzel* meets ahi tuna for a beer.” While many of Chicago’s old German restaurants have closed, the Berghoff still survives, perhaps because of this adaptability.

In 2005, the family members running the restaurant wished to retire and announced the closure of The Berghoff, set for February of 2006. Hundreds of letters and emails poured in from customers expressing sadness and anger at news of the upcoming closure. Fortunately, Carlyn Berghoff stepped in and re-opened The Berghoff café and the bar, and

¹⁴³ Ibid.

about a year later, re-opened the full service Berghoff restaurant. During the brief closure the family put out *The Berghoff Family Cookbook*, which Carlyn describes as “a piece of Chicago history.”¹⁴⁴ The cookbook’s forward was written by Herman Berghoff, son of the founder, who noted that much of the staff at The Berghoff had become like a second family, staying for multiple decades.

Peter Berghoff feels it is important to provide new variety along with the old, and see what draws in the most customers. Peter is excited about putting in a microbrewery into the dining room, with 14 beers on tap. This will be a \$2.2 million conversion of space inside the building (which is 143 years old), to begin a microbrewery. Ashok Selvam describes this new venture in an article in the web magazine *Eater Chicago*, quoting Peter Berghoff:

The Berghoffs want to pour their new beers by September when Oktoberfest starts. The restaurant is in transition and the Berghoff’s seem ready to evolve to survive the volatile Chicago restaurant and bar market. As Pete Berghoff told the *Tribune*: ‘If we don’t, we’re going to become a relic. I don’t want to be a dinosaur.’¹⁴⁵

This willingness to adapt has no doubt been a part of the success of the business.

Maintenance for The Berghoff buildings is necessary and constant, and Peter Berghoff says there is always some issue needing attention aside from general maintenance: “like the Golden Gate Bridge, we start on one end repainting and varnishing

¹⁴⁴ Carlyn Berghoff, *The Berghoff Family Cookbook*, 2007, 1.

¹⁴⁵ Ashok Selvam, “The Berghoff Hopes 2.2 Million Expansion will Attract Millennials,” *Eater Chicago*, February 28, 2018, accessed March 1, 2018.

and once we get to the other side we start over again.”¹⁴⁶ Occasionally the main dining room is curtained off. Peter and Carlyn Berghoff have looked into preservation benefits that could be obtained through the city and have found nothing that could help offset the cost of maintaining the building and preserving it.¹⁴⁷ It is now the second oldest restaurant in Chicago.

While Peter Berghoff was not heavily involved at the Berghoff in 1999 when the restaurant received the America’s Classic award, and thus did not see an impact at that time, he does feel the award has had a positive benefit:

I think it’s awesome because it showcases what’s out there. It kind of brings back the magic and lets people know that there’s great stuff out there, there’s hidden gems...I’m in favor of James Beard - it’s a means of letting people know you are there and what you are.¹⁴⁸

Ashley Mazur, The Berghoff’s Marketing Manager was a part of The Berghoff in 1999 when it won the America’s Classics award. She remembers a noticeable increase in business, and she and the staff felt the public acknowledged the significance of the award.¹⁴⁹ There is an annual increase in business since 2015; the week of the JBF Award Ceremony the restaurant receives more customers than usual, drawn from the national “foodie” crowd flocking to Chicago for the event and their awareness of The Berghoff as an award recipient.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Peter Berghoff, January 8, 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Peter Berghoff, January 8, 2017.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Email correspondence with Ashley Mazur.

An attempt to recreate place at O’Hare Airport where a Berghoff Café opened approximately 20 years ago. The City decided to create a sense of place by adding local, loved restaurants to the dining options at O’Hare. The family opened the café, imparting a look complete with wood trim and stained glass, described on The Berghoff website “with the idea of mimicking the classic Berghoff Restaurant atmosphere.” By attempting to recreate place in this manner, complete with trappings similar to the restaurant, the goal may be to immerse travelers with a feeling of Chicago, and Chicago residents with the feeling of home. The original Berghoff is well-known as a Chicago place, and the City, by choosing the Berghoff for Terminal 1, knew it was conveying a specifically Chicago place, in an airport space, often known for placelessness, or chain restaurants. The bread, corned beef and sauerkraut are still made at the original location. Many customers know this is a modified, modern version of an original place, though the trappings may impart some of the feeling of the original location, without historic authenticity. Still, if a customer has been to the original restaurant, the O’Hare version would have an inauthentic feel. There may be those that relish a particular dish from the original that can still be found at The Berghoff O’Hare, and this may be enough to lure and satisfy some.

Relphian Analysis

Setting:

The Berghoff sits in Chicago’s dense downtown core of the loop. The surrounding skyscrapers dwarf the three Italianate buildings; two of which have three floors, one is four-stories. One of only two cast-iron storefront facades remaining in the loop, these are architecturally highly significant buildings. Built in the Italianate style, and faced in

Cleveland sandstone, the buildings that house The Berghoff restaurant, bar and downstairs cafe, were erected in 1872, just one year after Chicago's Great Fire. The façade holds large arched windows. These are three of the older buildings in Chicago and the ground floor interiors are well preserved. The large bright orange neon sign is an iconic downtown sight, visible from a distance, and from the nearby elevated CTA train (the "El") platform at Adams and Wabash (Fig 7).

The murals behind the original bar and in the main dining room show a part of Chicago's history in depictions of the Columbian Exposition. The large dining room is grandiose, and the smaller dining room is full of burnished wood, creating a feeling of warmth. The traditionally German Oktoberfest showcases The Berghoff festooned with autumnal décor and the servers wear traditional costumes. Christmas brings about evergreen garlands, Christmas lights and decorated Gingerbread Houses. A festival atmosphere within The Berghoff persists from early autumn through the New Year.

Art Nouveau stained glass shines above the window to the bar, and diamond patterned stained glass makes up the windows to the restaurant. Murals painted by artist Mark Melnick, dating from the late 19th century, glow with gold paint behind the bar and in the west dining room, depicting the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Renovations have been made over many years, though key character-defining features are preserved, including the murals, light fixtures, chandeliers, and mahogany bar lined with Germanic beer steins, polished wood moulding and much of the exterior of the buildings.



Figure 7: The Berghoff exterior, sign. [Leigh Haddix, January 6, 2017.]

Of all the restaurants profiled in this study, The Berghoff's buildings are the most architecturally significant. These types of buildings would ordinarily be landmarked by the City, particularly as much of Chicago's Loop contains skyscrapers that dwarf buildings like the ones that house the restaurant, bar and café. While these are some of the very few buildings dating to 1872 still standing in the Loop, they are not landmarked at this time. In 1991 it was put to vote and the City Council decided against designation as the owner,

Herman Joseph Berghoff, felt that it would reduce his property value by preventing him from making changes to the building.¹⁵⁰ This is a common belief on the part of the public and property owners and has been problematic for the cause of Preservation in the United States. The City's color-coded ranking system lists The Berghoff buildings as red, the highest level of architecturally notable buildings that may be potential landmarks. This ranking prompts an automatic 90-day hold put in place on the structure should it be threatened with demolition. There is a large amount of interior space, (45,000 square feet), and this much space can sometimes be challenging to fill. Occasionally the main dining room is curtained off.

Activity:

Baking and cooking, from scratch, the traditional German foods despite the changes to the menu is a long-standing activity that the kitchen staff and chef at The Berghoff still perform. City residents, visitors and a large number of families perform the activity of recurring ritual dining and seasonal feasting at The Berghoff. Annual holiday preparations such as Christmas decorating and creation of gingerbread houses and decorating (and donning of traditional German costume) for celebrations of Oktoberfest are a traditional activity performed by the staff. The performance and experience of these activities by customers and staff are a strong force in terms of the Berghoff's sense of place and a reinforcement of Germanic ethnicity and civic identity.

Meaning:

¹⁵⁰ Blair Kamin, "Preservationists Wary over Future of Berghoff Buildings," Chicago Tribune, March 1, 2006, accessed January 3, 2016, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2006-03-01/features/0602280331_1_berghoff-restaurant-buildings-loop.

Peter Berghoff says the reason he returned to The Berghoff after several years away was historic preservation.¹⁵¹ He refers not only to the buildings that house the bar and restaurant, but also to a continuation of his family's legacy of owning and maintaining the bar and restaurant that has been with his family for over 120 years.

The importance of festivals and the prominence of food within these celebrations are very much a part of The Berghoff's history and longevity. By celebrating and marking the changing of seasons through festivals and feasts, The Berghoff evokes and reinforces German (and American) cultural identity. There is a continuation of cooking and serving traditional German cuisine and a continuation of the tradition of holiday preparations and celebrations are also experienced by the owners and staff at The Berghoff, but this also holds meaning for diners as well, who often return with their families for the tradition. Multiple generations at the table are a common sight, performing a dining ritual or tradition repeated through the years. Ritual dining reinforces identity and familial bonds, as does returning to a place repeatedly in order to mark an occasion. Here too, as at Tufano's, there is the sense of a continuum. In a sense, deciding to brew beer again is a form of returning to the roots of the restaurant, rekindling the heritage and tradition of brewing that Peter Berghoff's great grandfather began in 1890s Chicago.

Intangible cultural heritage is still being experienced by Chicago residents and visitors, though Peter Berghoff's penchant for experimenting beyond the German, may have aided in this survival. Peter Berghoff says "I work here because I think it's important

¹⁵¹ Interview with Peter Berghoff, January 8, 2017.

to preserve it, otherwise I'd do other things."¹⁵² Because of this choice, that historic mahogany bar still supports the elbows of the after-work crowd as it has for generations and gingerbread houses are still made at Christmas.

Table 2 considers The Berghoff restaurant's character-defining features and provides a Relphian analysis of setting, activity, and meaning:

¹⁵² Interview with Peter Berghoff, January 8, 2017.

Character Defining Features	Conventional Historic Preservation		Relphian Sense of Place	
	Matters for Designation as Landmark	Regulation as Landmark	Components Affected	Action
Architecture: Buildings and exterior	Yes (Red Rated CHRS)	If Landmarked: façade, roofline remain unchanged	Setting	Exterior alterations: minor loss, change may be accommodated
Interior historic features: Murals, Wood Decor, flooring	Yes	Historic features: if removed loss of place	Setting	Removal: major loss Alterations: change may be accommodated
Large Neon Sign	Yes	Historic feature: if removed loss of place	Setting	Removal: major loss of iconic historic feature
Stained glass	Yes	Historic feature	Setting	Removal: minor loss, change may be accommodated
Demolition Proposed		90 day delay; may be approved	Setting, Activity, Meaning	Demolition: Major loss
Intangible				
Festival Preparations: Christmas, (Gingerbread Houses) Oktoberfest, Thanksgiving	No	Not considered	Setting, activity and meaning	Major loss
Buildings' Use as Restaurant	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Continuation of Culinary Heritage	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Minor loss
Continuous family management	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Major loss

Ritual family dining	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Minor loss
Rare survivorship of building in Loop	Secondary Social History	Consideration if demolition proposed	Setting and Meaning	Major loss
Stories (Immigrant founding story, stories of events, diners over years)	No	Not considered	Meaning from Activity	Minor loss

Table 2: The Berghoff’s Character Defining Features, Activities, Meanings.

Calumet Fisheries: A Disappearing Art

3259 East 95th Street, South Chicago/South Deering.
 Founded 1928; purchased by Kotlick Toll Family in 1948.
 Awarded James Beard America’s Classic in 2010.

Calumet Fisheries is one of very few fish-smokers smoking fish in a traditional manner, in a stand-alone smoke house, long blackened with smoke, outside of the fish shack with fish strung above a consistently attended fire, (Fig 8).¹⁵³

¹⁵³ “Home,” Calumet Fisheries, <http://www.calumetfisheries.com/>, accessed January 20, 2017.



Figure 8: Calumet Fisheries Smokehouse exterior.
[Leigh Haddix, November 15, 2016.]

In 1948, two brothers-in-law, Sid Kotlick and Len Toll, purchased the restaurant, (which had existed since 1928) and it has been in the two families ever since. *The Blues Brothers*, in the film of the same name, drove triumphantly over the 95th Street Bridge and past Calumet Fisheries and this has been a small claim to fame for the business.¹⁵⁴ Framed

¹⁵⁴ “Kudos, Blues Brothers” Calumet Fisheries, <http://www.calumetfisheries.com/kudos-blues-brothers.html>, accessed February 7, 2017.

photographs of the filming and actors hang on the interior walls alongside photographs of author and chef Anthony Bourdain.

Their website acknowledges that fish smoking in this way is a disappearing art. The restaurant does not take credit cards and there are no seats available. It is strictly a take-out business. In one *No Reservations* television episode, celebrity chef and author Anthony Bourdain touches upon the history of Calumet Fisheries:

Since 1928 this squat, rectangular building is churning out some of the finest and freshest smoked fish you'll find anywhere. Back in the day sailors and longshoremen would pull up their boats, today it's mostly cars.¹⁵⁵



Figure 8: Calumet Fisheries Exterior. [Leigh Haddix, November 15, 2016.]

¹⁵⁵ Anthony Bourdain, *No Reservations*: Chicago Travel Channel, February 2009.

Kotlick has also said smoking fish is "... an art that's passed on by the smoker that knows."¹⁵⁶ He notes the Fisheries has had to change over time to accommodate the changes in the neighborhood around them. The neighborhood of South Deering, also known as South Chicago, began as a largely Scandinavian enclave, and smoked fish was a key component of the Scandinavian diet here as in the old country. The Great Lakes region used to contain many fish smokehouses. The smokehouse tradition is now a tiny sliver of what it once was, but Kotlick and his master smoker, Mundo "Ray" Campos, is keeping the tradition alive. Campos began working at Calumet Fisheries for \$5 per week during the 1960's picking up bottles and bottle-caps from customers when he was eleven years-old. He says the owners treated him like family, asked if he wanted to learn the art of smoking fish, and he has been with the fish shack since then.¹⁵⁷

A decade ago business began to decline due to the departure of the local steel industry, closing factories and the corresponding exodus of those leaving for work elsewhere. There are few other businesses, buildings or residences in easy walking distance to Calumet Fisheries, and thus not a lot of foot traffic, but for those customers bringing the fish to the bridge railing about to eat.

¹⁵⁶ "Kudos," Calumet Fisheries, accessed January 13, 2017, <http://www.calumetfisheries.com/kudos-james-beard.html>.

¹⁵⁷ Brian Lauvray, Chicago's Fish Shacks Are Going Up in Smoke, accessed January 30, 2018, https://munchies.vice.com/en_us/article/3djgnw/chicagos-fish-shacks-are-going-up-in-smoke.

Author, chef and television celebrity Anthony Bourdain featured Calumet Fisheries in the Travel Channel's *No Reservations* episode profiling Chicago restaurants in 2009.¹⁵⁸ This created a large amount of publicity and resulted in a continuing increase in business. Owner Mark Kotlick said of the show: "For a few days after the episode aired, not much happened. When we arrived that Saturday, there was a line out the door and down the street. We sold out of a week's worth of product in 2 hours."¹⁵⁹ This business increase has continued with a large amount of positive press via articles, online profiles such as "Dining on a Dime," and the James Beard America's Classics Award in 2010. The shack and the smokehouse have been in use for almost 90 years.

Calumet Fisheries Manager Carlos Rosas says "If it's been working for you this long, why change it?" and this may be one of the reasons for the success of Calumet Fisheries.¹⁶⁰ The deli smokes fish the traditional way, using Chicago brick and oak and cherry wood. Each type of fish (salmon, whitefish, sturgeon, trout, sable, chub) is strung up onto sticks of wood and hung inside the smokehouse over the fire for about six to seven hours, depending on the type of fish. The smoked chubs are well-loved, and the smoked shrimp are called "the poor man's lobster", according to Chicago food journalist Luisa Chu, who joined Anthony Bourdain on his show.¹⁶¹ Calumet Fisheries also smokes the fish heads to make gumbo soup, and for those who enjoy the smoked fish heads as a delicacy.

¹⁵⁸ Anthony Bourdain, *No Reservations*, episode air date February 2, 2009.

¹⁵⁹ Anthony Todd, "Smoked Fish and tradition at Calumet Fisheries," accessed January 30, 2017, http://chicagoist.com/2010/11/04/smoked_fish_and_tradition_at_calumet.

¹⁶⁰ Anthony Bourdain's *No Reservations*. Episode air date February 2, 2009.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Mark Kotlick, the current co-owner and grandson of Sid Kotlick, says the Kotlick and Toll families were of the Jewish faith. Beyond this, the families' ethnic background is opaque. Kotlick says:

My dad Sid Kotlick was an orphan and was brought to Chicago from New York by his older sister. He never talked about his father or his short life in NY. My mother who was a Toll believed our ancestry possibly came from Russian roots but we really don't know.¹⁶²

Unlike Tufano's Vernon Park Tap or The Berghoff, the link between ethnicity and the cuisine served at Calumet Fisheries is difficult to trace with confidence. Smoking fish cannot definitively be connected to a particular ethnic or immigrant group. Eastern European food expert Barbara Rolek says "Smoked fish is as old as fire itself."¹⁶³ Yet it can be said that Calumet Fisheries produces a delicacy that is associated often with eastern European, northern European, Russian and Jewish foodways. Smoked fish has long been a prevalent part of the diet of the people in these regions. Rolek says smoking fish was largely introduced into much of Western Europe and to the United States by Jewish immigrants from Poland and Russia.¹⁶⁴ Germans and Scandinavians continued the fish-smoking tradition.

One online restaurant review website user describes Calumet Fisheries:

Oh yum! I grew up in the Jewish community of South Shore and remembered the place from my childhood...the Promised Land of sable, smoked chubs, etc. Forget

¹⁶² Email Correspondence with Mark Kotlick.

¹⁶³ Email correspondence with Barbara Rolek, January 12, 2017.

¹⁶⁴ Sheilah Kaufman, "New Kid on the Old=School Block," Jewish Food Experience, accessed October 8, 2017, <https://jewishfoodexperience.com/new-kid-old-school-block/>.

the *trayf* and concentrate on what your folks used to serve for Sunday brunch. My Russian-born grandmother would suck the eyes out of the smoked chubs.¹⁶⁵

Fried options include smelt, fried shrimp, catfish, oysters and fish and chips. These are a more recent addition to Calumet Fisheries offerings. Mark Kotlick says he decided to start frying as well as smoking, to increase the variety of offerings to continue to bring in more customers. In his *Saveur* article about Chicago, entitled “Heartland of the World,” writer David McCaninch quotes fish smoker Ray Campos: “‘Back in the '60s," he said, "we'd get a lot of Swedes, Germans, and Poles from the steel mills; they loved smoked fish.’”¹⁶⁶ However, declining demand for smoked fish prompted Kotlick to consider ending the fish-smoking tradition in favor of solely frying the fish. This was prior to the Anthony Bourdain show, other positive local press, as well as the America’s Classic award.

Calumet Fisheries was awarded the America’s Classics award in 2010, and the award sits behind the counter, prominently displayed. Positive exposure can save a business, and in this case both the James Beard award and the television show gave the Calumet Fisheries excellent exposure. As a result, the restaurant was able to continue the tradition of smoking fish as demand increased.

Calumet Fisheries’ smokehouse could be considered a Traditional Cultural Property, (TCP), of sorts. It is one of very few that remain in the region. It may be eligible for inclusion in the NRHP in the sense that it is used for a traditional craft (fish-smoking)

¹⁶⁵ “Calumet Fisheries,” Yelp, accessed January 10, 2017 <https://www.yelp.com/menu/calumet-fisheries-chicago-4/item/chubs>, November 11, 2009.

¹⁶⁶ David McAninch, “Heartland of the World” *Saveur* August 20, 2007, accessed January 5, 2018, <https://www.saveur.com/article/Travels/Heartland-of-the-World>.

done the traditional way, for a living community (South Chicago or, the Great Lakes region). Criterion A of the NRHP may be the most appropriate for the smokehouse as it is potentially: “associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.”¹⁶⁷ However, this connection may be tenuous and considered out of bounds unless NRHP criteria parameters widen to include and recognize foodways and culinary heritage within Criterion A. It also has no specific, measurable tie to Native American culture, which has been the main recipient of TCP designation excepting three examples, New Mexico’s Mount Taylor, Wyoming’s Green River Drift and Florida’s Tarpon Springs Greektown Historic District.

Relphian Analysis

Setting:

The immediate surroundings are fairly sparse and industrial, dominated by the busy road and the 95th Street Bridge and the Calumet River. Calumet Fisheries have survived the exodus of the shipping and fishing industry from the immediate area, and the dwindling of river traffic, which used to be much more frequent in the 1940s and 1950s, right at the 95th Street Bridge over the Calumet. The southern portion of Chicago where the Fisheries is located has contained a diverse and changing population: Swedish, Irish, Germans, Scottish, Welsh, Polish, Italian, Mexican, Serbian and Croatian, and a large German and Eastern European Jewish population had also settled in the area.¹⁶⁸ Smoked fish has been a

¹⁶⁷ “National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” accessed November 18, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_2.htm.

large part of the diet of many of these ethnic groups, as well as for the native tribes in the Great Lakes Region.¹⁶⁹ South Chicago is now predominantly African American.

The fish shack and smokehouse on the banks of the river is surrounded by empty fields and industry, next to the 95th Street bascule bridge, over the Calumet River. The setting is striking, because of the river, which still sees some shipping, next to a busy stretch of road with fast-moving cars. The building is a plain, one-story whitewashed rectangular wooden shack with a red roof. Occasionally, as Jay Koziarz writes in his article, *Transportation that Built Chicago: The River System*: "...a crowd of boat enthusiasts that gather at the S. Ewing Avenue bridge and Calumet Fisheries to watch their favorite Great Lakes freighters arrive or depart."¹⁷⁰ The scent of the smokehouse immediately greets those exiting their cars and waiting in line for their lunch.

The whitewashed wooden building has a red shingle flat roof that slightly overhangs the front. The interior is fluorescently lit, with cases of fish and a fryer on one end, and a small amount of room to stand in to place your order. The small smokehouse is painted with a mural depicting the James Beard Award, *The Blues Brothers* characters, and founding family members. The interior contains a long metal counter with a fryer at one end, and cases displaying stacks of smoked fish. There is no seating of any kind. It is a

¹⁶⁸ David Bensman, "South Chicago," *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, accessed January 9, 2017, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1170.html>.

¹⁶⁹ Ojibwe, "Fishing in the Western Great Lakes Region." May 15, 2012, accessed February 22, 2018, <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1341>.

¹⁷⁰ Jay Koziarz, "Transportation That Built Chicago: The River System," *Chicago Curbed*, accessed November 19, 2017, <https://chicago.curbed.com/2017/9/19/16332590/transportation-chicago-river-history-future>.

plain, vernacular building, with vertical wood planks, unadorned by any ornament, aside from signage on one side of the structure that states in block letters the types of fried and smoked fish available.

Activity:

Fish-smoking using traditional methods and carrying on this local tradition is a vital activity of the staff, producing the main product that makes the fish shack a success. Customers line up, especially around lunchtime, to purchase smoked or fried fish. They then eat in their cars, parked nearby, lean on the bridge railing over the Calumet River several feet away from Calumet Fisheries, or take the food away. Customers are generally driving to the shack. The activity of dining is performed by customers eating on the go, during their lunch hour, or taking the fish home for brunch or dinner. Customers eating in their cars reminds us that it is experientially different dining; it is transitory and reminiscent of a more “retro” form of dining, such as Drive-In restaurants. While many of the people working at Calumet Fisheries have been there for years, there is no sit-down social exchange in the vein of Tufano’s. Repeat customers purchasing smoked fish for Jewish holidays and weekend brunches appear to be another activity.

Apprenticeship is also a key activity; Master Smoker Campos has his own apprentice set to take his place, when Campos retires. The traditional methods of smoking fish are still being performed and sold and consumed. There is an air of secrecy about the specifics of the methods used in this art, a proprietary sense, and the staff do not describe the methods used in too much detail. The act of smoking fish in this way is a continuation, an act of preservation of technique, and intangible cultural heritage.

Meaning:

While Calumet Fisheries is set apart from the other restaurants in this study because it has no dine-in service, it is still carrying on a longstanding regional (Great Lakes) tradition of fish-smoking where few smokehouses remain. This rare survivorship is meaningful in terms of intangible cultural heritage, in light of a dying tradition in the region, and the craft passed on by the master smoker down to the next fish-smoker. The publicity the business experienced through the James Beard award and Anthony Bourdain's *No Reservations* television show was meaningful recognition, and instrumental in its continued success. There is also the meaning inherent (as with all of the restaurants in this study), in the fact that the same family has owned and run the business since 1948, making it a true legacy business. Apprenticeship in fish smoking, the art of passing along a complex traditional craft is in itself a form of historic preservation. The repeat customer base, along with new customers, many of these as a result of positive and public acclaim are continuing a tradition that has been in place since the shack's construction.

Table 3 shows the Fisheries' character-defining features using Relph's place components as well as more conventional preservation lens:

Character Defining Features	Conventional Historic Preservation		Relphian Sense of Place	
	Matters for Designation as Landmark	Regulation as Landmark/TCP	Components Affected	Action
Architecture, Building Exterior	Yes	Façade roofline remain unchanged	Setting	Alterations: change may be accommodated
Smokehouse	Yes	Possible TCP as rare surviving regional cultural practice	Setting, Activity and Meaning	Removal: Major loss
Exterior signage on side	Yes	Possibly		Removal: minor loss
Demolition proposed		90 day delay; may be approved: TCP:	Setting, activity and meaning	Demolition: Major loss
Intangible				
Buildings' Use as Restaurant/deli	No	Yes	Activity and meaning	Minor loss
Apprenticeship	No	Yes	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Continuous family management	No	Possibly	Activity and meaning	Minor loss
Rare survivorship of smoking tradition	Possibly	Yes	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Stories (Immigrant founding story, story of Master Smoker)	No	Yes	Meaning from past activity	Minor loss

Table 3: Calumet Fisheries Character Defining Features, Activities, Meanings.

Glunz Tavern

1202 North Wells Street, Old Town.
Tavern Founded in 1888.
Tavern re-established 2012.

While the House of Glunz Wine Store has been open continuously since 1888, the Glunz Tavern was, as their website states, “Established 1888. Reestablished 2012.” The Tavern reopened in 2012 after over 90 years, having closed just before Prohibition. This reestablishment has been a long time coming, as the Glunz family had been considering the idea periodically for over the past 20 years.¹⁷¹ The neighborhood is just outside of the far southern edge of Chicago’s Old Town neighborhood. The re-opening of the tavern is a revival of the family’s initial business (along with their wine store) in Chicago, but also the revival, to some degree, of their family’s culinary heritage.

¹⁷¹ Interview with Barbara Glunz January 11, 2017.



Figure 9: House of Glunz Wine & Tavern. [Leigh Haddix January 11, 2017.]

The Glunz Tavern is an outlier in this study as the only selected restaurant that is not a recipient of the JBF's America's Classics Award, as the tavern is too new and has not met the ten year requirement. Barbara Glunz-Donovan runs the wine store and the new tavern along with her son Christopher Donovan, and the House of Glunz Wine Store recently celebrated 129 years in business, in the same building, on Wells Street. This is the only wine store in the city and in the country continuously owned by the same family.

Barbara Glunz-Donovan's great-grandfather Louis Glunz Jr. emigrated from Westphalia, Germany, largely to escape the brutal Prussian war. He arrived in Chicago via New York City, and subsequently fell prey to an unethical person who took advantage of

the young immigrant and took what money he had.¹⁷² He soon made his way to Chicago, and began working for Wacker Brewing.¹⁷³ Glunz also ran the Schlitz concession stand at the Worlds Fair. It was local businessman Charles Wacker who lent Glunz the money to purchase two adjoining buildings, one with an existing tavern within and other for the store.¹⁷⁴ The Glunz family lived behind the store, in the back of the building when Barbara Glunz-Donovan's father was born. Her father soon traveled to Germany temporarily, for training as a chemist and brewer. He was able to pass as German there, partly because his Chicago neighborhood (now Old Town) was so intensely German; German was spoken everywhere, as well as in the schools at the time.¹⁷⁵ "Everything was ethnic in Chicago at the time," Glunz-Donovan says, '...we were all immigrants.'¹⁷⁶

During Prohibition, unable to serve beer or wine, the family survived by selling supplies such as hops and other beer and winemaking supplies. Barbara's father would travel to homes and show residents how to make their own wine and beer. The family sold medicinal alcohol, bottles, corks, labels, sacramental wine, yeast, grape juice, and equipment.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² "Timeline" Glunz Beers, accessed January 9, 2017, <http://www.glunzbeers.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/timeline/index.htm>.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Barbara Glunz-Donovan, January 11, 2017.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

Glunz-Donovan says this turn-of-the-century Chicago partly influences the kind of food served, which is largely the type of cuisine that speaks to the immigrant cultures of Chicago and of the neighborhood and the tavern at the time. According to the Glunz Tavern website, the menu, showcases “influences that span the team’s collective French-German-Alsatian-Austrian heritage” This is partly due to the good cooking that Barbara Glunz-Donovan herself grew up with and mastered as an accomplished chef in her own home.¹⁷⁸ Quality, and comfort food are emphasized, as well as a comfortable and historic atmosphere. Everything is made in-house. *Coc au Riesling*, (chicken cooked with white wine, mushrooms and cream), is on the menu, as well as *weinerschnitzel*, and *bratwurst* and traditional large German pretzels. Noodles are made in-house and the Tavern also serves a burger, which seems a nod to modern tastes. Glunz-Donovan’s mother was, as she puts it, a “wonderful German cook” and much of the more German elements on the menu stem from this family German cuisine. According to Barbara, the main challenge to presenting (and preserving) this type of cuisine is really in finding the right person to do the cooking, and then careful training to ensure the flavors are faithful to the cuisine.¹⁷⁹

The Glunz Tavern is an unusual example of a multi-generational family business that is revitalizing itself. The House of Glunz Wine Store and Tavern have been chosen for this study not because it has met the James Beard America’s Classic Award criteria, despite the fact that in a sense it is an American classic, but because the act of re-establishing this business speaks to that family’s immigrant heritage. While the buildings

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

have been owned consistently, only the wine store has been continuously in operation. The Glunz's have reestablished their family tavern, a business that had been interrupted, in a sense, for 80 years. They have reinstated a dormant tradition, and brought back the cuisine of their family. The tavern serves a cuisine whose origin is not only from one place or one ethnic group, but also a cuisine of a certain time. This reactivation of old recipes and reactivation of the tavern presents a conundrum. It is currently too new to meet JBF America's Classic Award or to meet the Legacy Business parameters, (though the wine store would) and it may not meet JBF Award Criteria, yet there is a form of cultural heritage at work.

The tavern and wine store attract neighborhood residents, but the family is trying to widen that appeal. Glunz-Donovan stresses that the tavern and wine store are historic sites, and they want to convey this more effectively with hotel concierges to capitalize on the historic appeal to Chicago's visitors.¹⁸⁰ Tourists interested in history may be interested in visiting the Glunz Tavern, particularly if they want to experience a small taste of what Chicago was like near the turn of the century. The International Council on Monuments and Sites, (ICOMOS) suggests an interrupted business may still be considered as a site of cultural heritage. ICOMOS defines Cultural Heritage as:

Cultural heritage is an expression of the ways of living, developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values. Cultural heritage is often expressed as either intangible or tangible cultural heritage.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ "A Cultural Heritage Manifesto," ICOMOS UK, 2002, accessed April 4, 2018, <http://www.icomos-uk.org/uploads/sidebar/PDF/A%20Cultural%20Heritage%20Manifesto.pdf>.

The cuisine here, according to Barbara Glunz Donovan has been passed down through generations. It is possible that this is still a novel concept within preservation thought, but it may be one worth considering: if a tradition or a heritage business has been interrupted and then renewed, is it worthy of preservation efforts? The practice of family cooking and culinary traditions now taking place in the same family-owned historic building with the same historic use renewed as well, is a form of cultural heritage. Many customers dining at the tavern have remarked upon the historical ambiance, suggesting that the family has been successful in recreating an authentic-feeling sense of place, with those authentic family items. One online reviewer stated: “I felt like I was transported to 19th century Germany.”¹⁸² Several online reviewers have remarked that many servers were knowledgeable about the tavern and wine store’s past and conveyed this information to diners.¹⁸³ It also shows how buildings, and their interiors, can inspire the public and make the local residents aware of the inherent history expressed by those places that still exist and possibly, the history expressed by the recreation of the tavern business.

¹⁸² “The Glunz Tavern,” Yelp, accessed April 13, 2018, <https://www.yelp.com/biz/the-glunz-tavern-chicago>.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

Relphian Analysis

Setting:

The family owns two adjoined three-story Italianate red-brick structures, built in 1874 with the wine store on the right, the tavern on the left, each with its own entrance. Both buildings are in excellent condition and well-maintained appearance with freshly painted trim upon a visit in early 2017. Gold-painted lettered sign stretches across the fascia of the two adjoined buildings, reading House of Glunz EST. 1888 Fine Spirits and Wine. The Tavern interior showcases well-preserved elements: a silver-painted pressed-tin ceiling preserved from the tavern's earliest days, and dark wood wainscoting preserved as well on two of the walls. The neighborhood has undergone great changes over many decades, including gentrification. It now bears traces of the earliest buildings from the Victorian Era, which stand next to newer development, such as a new mixed-use apartment building with a supermarket on the ground floor, directly across from the Glunz Tavern. The Old Town Triangle District is a nearby historic district, which ends a few blocks short of the Tavern and Wine store. The Italianate building is somewhat typical of several other historic buildings on the blocks to the north on Wells Street. The interior setting of the Glunz Tavern is full of historic items that evoke the late 19th

century, and make for a very historic setting, when Old Town was predominantly a German neighborhood.

The pressed tin ceiling, the light fixtures, the original wainscoting were present and other items were found by the current owners to be well-preserved in the attic of the building, and are now used for the décor. A Bavarian wooden angel with antlers hangs above the bar. Signage from the taverns early days (the exact date is unclear) adorn the walls, including an old sandwich price list, offering an egg and lettuce sandwich for five cents, corned beef for 10 cents and even a caviar sandwich for 25 cents. Old beer signs are here as well, advertising things such as Waukesha Dark for 85 cents, and Swedish Porter for a pricier \$2.50. Barbara Glunz-Donovan and her son Christopher Donovan wanted to recreate the way the tavern appeared in the 1900s.¹⁸⁴ Historic Glunz family portraits also share space on the walls with the beer signs, including a picture of Glunz-Donovan as a young child. The Chicago Historic Resources Survey lists the Glunz tavern building and the building that houses the wine store as orange-rated, or possessing “...some architectural feature or historical association that made them potentially significant in the context of the surrounding community.”¹⁸⁵

Activity:

The action of re-opening a historic tavern, in a building owned by the same family for generations after more than a century, is a remarkable feat. Just as at The Berghoff and Tufano’s, the actions of cooking and dining are in play. Revitalizing the tavern

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ “Chicago Historic Resources Survey,” accessed September 2017, <https://webapps1.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/historicsurvey.htm>.

interior, using the family photos in the décor, and historic items from the original tavern is a part of the activity. The family has also reinstated the original activities of the tavern include tending bar and serving cocktails as well as beer. Continuing the tradition of the vending and consumption of alcohol, and the social relationships therein, is precisely rekindling the building's original use as a tavern.

Meaning:

The owners' desire to reinstate and renew a business and open the building adjacent to the store to cook and serve their ancestral Germanic and Austrian flavors is an act that is rich with meaning. It is a renewal of something dormant, and may be considered a form of preservation. It speaks to an important sense of identity in the family's heritage and their wish to continue and share this legacy. This renewal also evokes a collective memory of familial and ethnic cuisine that was once common to the neighborhood. Historic items from the original tavern and the use of family photographs showcase the owner's sense of pride and the importance of the family's continuum. These elements show a sense of pride and the care the family has taken to maintain the tavern building and how these items still hold meaning for the family. The fact that Barbara Glunz-Donovan's father was born in the rooms in behind the tavern also gives the building a true sense of the memories of generations. Sharing the family history with customers is an activity but also suggests how the meaning of their family heritage pervades the running of the business.

Character Defining Features	Conventional Historic Preservation		Relphian Sense of Place	
Tangible	Matters for Designation as Landmark	Regulation as Landmark	Components Affected	Action
Architecture and building Exterior for Tavern building	Yes (Orange Rated in CHRS)	Façade, roofline remain unchanged	Setting	Alterations: minor, change accommodated
House of Glunz Sign	Yes	Not Historic, but fitting and compatible with building	Setting	Alteration: minor, change accommodated
Interior: Historic Interior: Original wainscoting	Yes	Historic features	Setting	Removal: minor loss, change accommodated
Demolition proposed		90 day delay	Setting, activity and meaning	Demolition: Major loss
Intangible				
Reinstatement of Buildings' Use as a Tavern	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	If use changed: Major loss
Discontinuous Culinary Heritage	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Discontinuous family management (for tavern only)	No	Not considered	Activity and meaning	Major loss
Stories (Immigrant founding family story)	No	Not considered	Meaning from past activity	Minor loss

Table 4: Glunz Tavern's Character Defining Features, Activities, Meanings.

Potential Changes to the Selected Restaurants

It is difficult to measure or chart nebulous and subjective aspects of place and our human experience of it. The tables shown for each restaurant profiled are attempts to measure and separate intertwined subjects like meaning, activity and setting. In particular, it is difficult to separate setting and the meaning that we, the business owners, staff and customers attach to it. The tables above show that Relph is more all-encompassing when viewing a resource, and that more conventional preservation guidelines are more focused more acutely upon the tangible. The most irrevocable and radical of acts—demolition, destroys all three of Relph’s components, with only the meanings remaining through collective and individual memory.

Restaurant signs present an added complexity to the preservation of a building, particularly if the use, ownership, or business should change. Much like historic businesses and buildings, Michael J. Auer in NPS Preservation Brief 25 states: “signs are like archeological layers that reveal different periods of human occupancy and use.”¹⁸⁶ Of the restaurants in this study, The Berghoff’s sign is the largest and most iconic, posing the question of whether a new owner would be inclined toward retaining this sign. It would be difficult to envision a new owner of a new business wanting to retain a sign that does not advertise or communicate the existence of the new business. Equally difficult to envision is the removal of The Berghoff sign, which would likely create local outcry. The Glunz Tavern’s sign is character defining, but much smaller and more unobtrusive. The

¹⁸⁶ Michael J. Auer, “The Preservation of Historic Signs,” accessed May 10, 2018, Preservation Brief 25, National Park Service, October 1991.

black lettering on the side of Calumet Fisheries fits the functional style of the building and is largely communicative.

Auer suggests a sign like the Berghoff's may be retained as a local landmark, and that signs "recognized as popular focal points in the community," are more likely to be preserved. Auer says that signs that are significant as evidence of the history of the business, and an indication of the building's historic use."¹⁸⁷ Other possibilities for iconic signs entail moving the sign to the interior of the building, or at least, donating to a local museum.

Preservation recommendations convey the importance of retaining important historic features. Still, accommodation of minor change is accepted in conventional preservation parameters, so many alterations are possible while still retaining overall feeling. Should a Relphian setting remain for each of the restaurants it can be considered a victory. Yet this victory may be fairly hollow should the people, their activity, and meanings be removed or greatly altered. Continuity of setting, meaning and activity in the long term is unlikely.

Should the cuisine type change, the connections between the cuisine, building, and the link to the history of Chicago would be severed. Should extensive renovation or demolition occur, historic features, such as the bar and murals in the Berghoff, and elements and fixtures from the Glunz Tavern should be salvaged and placed within a museum or library, or reused due to quality and design. Buildings built prior to WWII

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

generally have higher quality materials such as old-growth wood, therefore these elements should not be wasted.¹⁸⁸

Potential changes to the legacy restaurants in this study are summarized in Table 5. In general, similar effects would be experienced for each resource discussed.

Types of Change	Activities + Meanings	Extent of Effects
Altered historic setting	Same – more continuity than change	Moderate
Altered ownership and activity	Different ownership; name, some traditions retained	Moderate to Significant
Setting remains; new restaurant	Different restaurant; new meanings created	Significant
Setting remains; new type of business	No longer restaurant; no culinary activity, meanings different	Severe; memory only
Building demolished	No restaurant, no culinary activity,	Severe; memory only
Site redeveloped, restaurant has new setting	New restaurant, same part of city; same activities, similar meaning	Moderate to significant
Restaurant moves to new location	Same activities, different setting, similar meanings	Moderate to significant

Table 5: Considering Change to Legacy Restaurants with Relphian Sense of Place.

The effect upon the community or city is most severe with the two most extreme possibilities: the setting remains with an entirely new business type, and demolition. Minor alterations to changes in setting and activity, can be accommodated both by Relph and by conventional preservation practice. Relph has acknowledged that change and evolution of

¹⁸⁸ Robert A. Young. *Preservation Technology*, (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons 2008), 48.

place is its normal state. The importance of long-term businesses inhabiting long-standing buildings is of great importance to sense of place, and this importance supersedes any normal, minor alterations to setting or activity. Preservationists can focus upon the types of action that enable the success and longevity of the business along with the building. Cultural hybridity can result in modifications to foodways, to a business, and to the experience of place, yet preservation policy that accepts change can allow a business to succeed and a building to stand.

Devon Avenue Neighborhood

West Ridge / Rogers Park

The neighborhood surrounding Devon Avenue began as the village of West Ridge, annexed to the city of Chicago in 1893. Devon Avenue spans both Rogers Park and West Ridge community areas. Roger's Park was named for early Irish settler Philip Rogers who purchased large quantities of land in the area in the late 1830s.¹⁸⁹ The area was covered with Birch forest, which stretched to the shores of Lake Michigan. Potawatomi tribes inhabited the land until forced off through various unjust treaties, and the area was soon settled by farmers from Germany and Luxembourg.¹⁹⁰ Germans and Scandinavians were attracted to the area by brickyards, making use of the local clay and sand after the 1900s and the neighborhood became a fruitful source of employment.¹⁹¹ Two-flats and bungalows were built around this time, followed by the rise of commercial buildings along the main corridor of Devon Avenue after the 1920s until after World War II, when a significant number of Polish and Russian Jews settled in the area, partly replacing the earlier German and Scandinavian residents.¹⁹² Indians and Pakistanis now make up a significant portion of the area's residents. The present day diversity of people in neighborhoods like West Ridge and Rogers Park, and specifically on Devon Avenue,

¹⁸⁹ Patricia Mooney-Melvin, "Rogers Park," accessed April 28, 2018, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1086.html>.

¹⁹⁰ "West Ridge," *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, accessed February 4, 2018, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1341.html>.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

are part of the consistent cultural plurality and state of flux that is the norm in Relphian sense of place.

After World War II, the area became an increasingly Jewish neighborhood with multiple congregations, and many Jewish restaurants lined Devon Avenue, as well as delis, bakeries, fish markets, Hebrew bookstores and synagogues. In 1999, an article by Harold Rosen in *JUF News* notes that “Nowhere in the city is there greater access to all things Jewish than in West Rogers Park,” and on Devon Avenue, one can find several synagogues and a variety of kosher restaurants, meat and fish retailers and Jewish bookstores.”¹⁹³ Less of these remain today, almost 20 years after this article was published.

The Devon Avenue neighborhood contains an *eruv*, an Orthodox Jewish custom of symbolically defining and extending private space by stringing boundary lines using existing features of the city. The Oxford English Dictionary defines *eruv* as: “An urban area enclosed by a wire boundary which symbolically extends the private domain of Jewish households into public areas, permitting activities within it that are normally forbidden in public on the Sabbath.”¹⁹⁴ West Rogers Park’s *eruv* encircles the neighborhood for a multiple block radius around Devon Avenue. *Eruvin* (plural) are generally unobtrusive, utilizing features such as streetlights, fences, and walls. The presence of an *eruv* around Devon Avenue shows that there is still a strong Jewish

¹⁹³ Harold Rosen, “Neighborhood News: West Rogers Park” *JUF News*, accessed January 29, 2018, <http://www.juf.org/news/neighborhood.aspx?id=9610>.

¹⁹⁴ “Eruv” *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed January 29, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/eruv>.

community in the area, despite the decline of many Jewish businesses along the main commercial street.

Few Jewish food-related businesses remain on Devon Avenue today. Tel Aviv Kosher Pizza and the kosher Great Chicago Food and Beverage Company are still standing. Only two Jewish bakeries remain in the neighborhood; Levinson's, on Devon for over 80 years, and Tel-Aviv Kosher Bakery, standing for over 65 years. Dawn Lerman, author of *My Fat Dad: A Memoir of Food, Love and Family, with Recipes*, writes about her childhood on Devon Avenue:

Gittel at Levinson's Bakery would give us cinnamon and chocolate *babkas* to taste—flaky and buttery, filled with chocolate almost as gooey as raw brownie dough. Robert, at Roberts Kosher Fish Market would give us lox tails to suck on—smoky, greasy, and a little too salty for my taste. And Golda, the woman at the fruit stand would always give me a couple of slices of dried apricot...¹⁹⁵

The kosher Robert's Fish Market that Lerman writes of, has remained in operation since its founding in 1966. In a Chicago Tribune article, Colleen Mastoney says of the owner, "For him, the little shop is a second home. Every customer is part of a familiar parade of faces he has watched for half a century."¹⁹⁶ It is now run by longtime employee Arturo Venegas, who appeared at age 13, an immigrant from Mexico, looking for work in the store. The original owner, Robert Schuffler, (himself having emigrated from Latvia at age 6), took him on as an apprentice, and taught him the trade over the decades.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Dawn Lerman, *My Fat Dad: A Memoir of Food, Love and Family, with Recipes*. (New York: Berkley Books, 2015), 11.

¹⁹⁶ "About" Robert's Fish Market, accessed February 13, 2018, <http://robertsfishmarket.com/About.aspx>.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Schuffler died at the age of 97 in 2015 after transferring the business to Venegas. Countless other Jewish businesses have been replaced by newer immigrants opening their own businesses.

A recent study entitled “*Intertwined Cultures: Urban Cultural Landscape of Immigrants, Devon Avenue, Chicago*” from the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee considers the commingled cultures of Devon Avenue. The authors identify it as a Cultural Landscape. Their study helps to illuminate the cultural pluralism within the neighborhood, highlighting the *Eruv*, and the ongoing cultural hybridity and religious spaces that coexist with multiple restaurants and businesses. The authors interviewed several business owners on Devon Avenue including the son of the owner of Gawrab Naweez restaurant, Mohammad Borzai. The restaurant has a prayer room in the back of the restaurant, sectioned off from the retail and dining space. Borzai says that many diners come in during their workday, and do not have much time to spare, therefore a Muslim prayer space within the restaurant is a more convenient way to eat and pray without going to second location. He suggests a sense of fairness and trust are a part of the business, which is cash-only. “If customers are a dollar short, that dollar is not going to make or break you, so you give them the food. People come in and say I don’t have cash, I say wait here’s the receipt, you can mail me a check or pay me next time “I think that’s what makes you successful...”¹⁹⁸

The *Intertwined Cultures* authors are clear in evaluating Devon Avenue as a neighborhood in flux and seeing it through a Cultural Landscape lens. Their evaluation

¹⁹⁸ “Intertwined Cultures,” accessed February 10, 2018, <http://intertwinedcultures.weebly.com/ghareeb-nawaz.html>.

aligns with Relph's sense of place; place is constantly changing, contains symbolic activity, and the stories of the people and the meanings tied to those stories are a part of sense of place. The authors experienced the place as they studied it, and their focus upon the "physical, cultural, and social aspects of our built environment" reminds us of Relph's place components.¹⁹⁹

Vinay Lal, in the *Chicago Encyclopedia*, discusses the shift toward a more Indian and Pakistani population on Devon:

The growing strength of Indians is indicated by the fact that in 1991 the "Little India" stretch of Devon was also designated Gandhi Marg (Way), which in turn prompted Pakistanis to press for the redesignation of an adjoining stretch to Mohammed Ali Jinnah Way in memory of the founder of Pakistan.²⁰⁰

This renaming is a reinforcement of identity and of place, and the nomenclature of "Little India" is a place name that may well linger past the time of another demographic shift.

As of the 2015 Census for the West Ridge Neighborhood, including Devon Avenue, there were 23.4 percent of the entire neighborhood population listed as Asian, compared to 17.5 percent Hispanic and 11.2 percent black, and 44 percent white.²⁰¹ The first Indian clothing store, specializing in saris, opened in 1973 on Devon Avenue by Ratan Sharma.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ "Intertwined Cultures: Devon Avenue, Chicago" accessed May 3, 2018, <http://intertwinedcultures.weebly.com/who-we-are.html>.

²⁰⁰ Vinay Lal, "Indians," in the *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, accessed February 11, 2018, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/635.html>.

²⁰¹ "West Ridge," Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, accessed February 2, 2018, <http://www.cmap.illinois.gov/documents/10180/126764/West+Ridge.pdf>.

²⁰² "One Devon Avenue, Where it all Began," *Crains Chicago Business*, accessed February 9, 2018, <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20071124/ISSUE02/100028911/on-devon-avenue-where-it-all-began>.

Most Indians arrived in Chicago after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, and by the end of the century, Chicago held the third highest number of Indians in the country.²⁰³ When Sharma opened his store, Devon Avenue was still predominantly Jewish. Indians began to settle in earnest in Chicago during the early 1970s. Standard India had been the oldest Indian restaurant on Devon Avenue, founded in 1980, it moved to a different neighborhood, then closed in 2014 upon the death of the owner.²⁰⁴ One of the earliest Pakistani restaurants on Devon was Bundoo Khan, which opened during the mid 1980s. Pak Sweets is a tenant selling Indo-Pakistani candies in a Chicago Historic Resources Survey orange-rated building, (possessing significant architectural or historical features) a Tudor Revival.

Relphian Analysis

Setting:

1920s architecture such as two-flats and larger brick and terra cotta apartments, line this somewhat typical commercial corridor. A large number of storefront commercial buildings, as well as Art Deco buildings from the 1930s are prominent along Devon Avenue, (see Fig 11).

²⁰³ Vinay Lal, "Indians," accessed February 11, 2018, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/635.html>.

²⁰⁴ "About Us," Standard India Chicago, accessed February 2, 2018, <http://www.standardindiachicago.com/aboutus.html>.



Figure 10: Devon Avenue, Chicago. [Wikimedia Commons, Westridge1.jpg. Uploaded 2007]

Brick vernacular commercial buildings are the main building type, with largely residential occupancy in the upper stories and businesses at street level and one or more entrances. The two-and three-story buildings have cornices, parapets, and brick detail and many one-story buildings have glass storefronts. The Preservation Chicago website describes the Devon Avenue neighborhood: “while the vibrant cultural melting pot of Devon Avenue flourishes, its architectural heritage is threatened by neglect, indifference and the city’s lack of enforcement of zoning and building codes.”²⁰⁵ The organization has since updated this 2008 statement, explaining on its website that it has seen some success

²⁰⁵ “Devon Avenue District,” Preservation Chicago, accessed February 4, 2018, <https://preservationchicago.org/chicago07/devon-avenue-district/>.

due to Alderman who appears more amenable to preservation, and who has overseen the implementation of a new neighborhood streetscape.

As J. Ward Jandl states in National Park Service Preservation Brief 11, “The storefront is the most important architectural feature of many historic commercial buildings.”²⁰⁶ While this is still somewhat of an official view, many preservationists have understood that storefront alterations are an important pattern of adaptation to the midcentury times. A desire to modernize, to attract consumers, combined with new materials were part of architectural developments after World War II. Many buildings along Devon Avenue have had alterations to their facades, largely to ground level storefronts. These alterations are understood to be a representation of a certain era for the building, and not necessarily a negative impact upon integrity. Much as menu alterations were necessary adaptations made by the owners of historic restaurants, these were adaptations made by the building or business owner in order to maintain and promote the business. Carol J. Dyson of the Illinois State Historic Preservation Office in “Midcentury Commercial Design Evaluation and Preservation: An Opportunity for Commissions,” suggests that now is the time to recognize, evaluate and preserve these storefronts. She suggests that these midcentury alterations are significant in their own right, and will “always have more integrity than a recreation of something that is long-gone.”²⁰⁷ Devon

²⁰⁶ J. Ward Jandl, NPS Preservation Brief 11, “Rehabilitating Historic Storefronts,” September, 1982.

²⁰⁷ Carol J. Dyson, “Midcentury Commercial Design Evaluation and Preservation,” *The Alliance Review*, accessed May 7, 2018, <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Preserve/mid-century/Documents/midcentury-commercial-design-evaluation-and-preservation.pdf>.

Avenue's buildings have had their storefronts altered at certain points during the 1950s. Dyson writes: "Is this an older building with a midcentury shopfront at the ground level? This is a relatively common feature in downtowns. It reflects the dynamic nature of downtown design history."²⁰⁸ Post-war materials such as aluminum and advances like larger glass panels enabled business owners to provide more literal transparency for consumers to view products.

The Art Deco building housing Nathan's Delicatessen, (see Fig. 11), a Jewish restaurant on the corner of Devon Avenue and Western during the 1950s is now occupied by Khan's BBQ restaurant.



Figure 11: Nathan's Delicatessen 1950's. Now Khan's BBQ. [Photo: Chicago History Museum]

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

Similar background stories of these commercial buildings are duplicated all along the street, expressing the organic change that is inextricable from our urban landscapes. Rosenblum's World of Judaica had been in business for over 70 years in Chicago and almost 40 of these years on Devon Avenue.²⁰⁹ In 2010 the store moved to Skokie, Illinois, a northern suburb on the CTA transit line, where many of Chicago's Jews had begun to migrate.²¹⁰ Rosenblum's also sold various Jewish goods such as *Mezuzahs* on the stretch of Devon that still retains the honorary title of Golda Meir Blvd. The one-story building is empty at this time.

A new \$15 million streetscape begun this year on Devon Avenue highlights the culture of its residents and helps to reinforce sense of place. Gateway screens have been put in place that evoke Islamic architecture. A 12-block-stretch of Devon Avenue has been reworked with wider sidewalks, new benches for seating and interaction, and beautification concepts such as "community identifiers," according to an article in the *Chicago Reader* by John Greenfield.²¹¹ It is an attempt to provide a better environment for the community, to ease pedestrian movement, and a form of place-making.

Activity:

²⁰⁹ Mimi Rosenbush, "Pulling up Anchor on Jewish Devon," *Chicago Reader*, October 21, 2010, accessed March 10, 2018, <https://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/rosenblums-world-of-judaica-devon-skokie/Content?oid=2592654>.

²¹⁰

²¹¹ John Greenfield, "A New Streetscape Makes Devon Avenue Safer and More Beautiful," *Chicago Reader*, May 10, 2017, accessed January 17, 2018, <https://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/devon-avenue-streetscape-redevelopment/Content?oid=26461528>.

By emphasizing community character through a focus on the ethnic make-up of residents, the streetscape was a Relpian activity that reinforces the meaning of neighborhood identity and experiential sense of place. Intertwined with meaning, this activity was a city effort but also a community effort, a way to perform, improve and reinforce place. In a sense, it was an authentic effort in support of the neighborhood, incorporating elements that are specifically local, and driven by locals. The community is what makes it authentic, despite its newness. New seating from the streetscape enables the meaningful activity of socializing and community cohesion. Its effect over time is not yet known.

Religious activity such as attending synagogue, inspecting the *Eruv*, following and praying in the prayer room behind a restaurant all represent acts rich for meaning for many residents of the neighborhood. Hindu festivals such as Diwali, (or festival of lights) are ones in which residents participate in a meaningful cultural performance or activity. The consumption, cooking and selling of traditional foods and the alteration of these foods into more Americanized versions are also activities undertaken in many of the businesses along Devon Avenue. The transactive activity of selling and buying religious and ethnic merchandise, such as books, saris and *mezuzeh* and more is another.

Meaning:

The Devon Avenue neighborhood helps to illustrate the impact that businesses have upon the urban landscape and how this affects sense of place. The Jewish community's restaurants, delis and kosher food shops have gradually turned into Pakistani and Indian restaurants, food shops, sari stores and supermarkets such as Patel

Brothers. This illustrates the changing nature of immigrants and their countries of origin in Chicago, but also that immigration is still ongoing. This is a part of Chicago's sense of place but also of its dynamism and continued evolution.

A cultural landscape as defined in National Park Service Preservation Brief 36, is a “geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.”²¹² Because the culinary is cultural, a culinary landscape can be considered by extension, a form of cultural landscape that is linked to sense of place. A cultural landscape is something rich with a Relphian sense of place and the two concepts are connected. These landscapes are known to be continually evolving and changing, because they are continually being shaped by human forces, as well as the forces of nature.²¹³ Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick in *Cultural Landscapes* write that “though all landscapes are multilayered accretions that reflect processes of change over time, nowhere is landscape change more consistently evident than in the city.”²¹⁴ Food too, changes over time. Amidst this constant change, the buildings and heritage food businesses that remain are all the more remarkable.

²¹² Charles A. Birnbaum, “Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment, and Management of Historic Landscapes”. September 1994, National Park Service, accessed May 1, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/36-cultural-landscapes.htm>.

²¹³ Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 10.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

Devon Avenue, with its strong, pluralistic identities is the virtual opposite of Relph's concept of placelessness. It is also an expression of local Chicago identity, which paradoxically involves multiple identities from outside of the United States. The businesses here, more than the buildings, communicate the character of this particular place. Author and immigrant Padma Rangaswamy writes of strolling down Devon Avenue in 1990 in her book *Namaste America: Indian Immigrants in an American Metropolis*.

For a few moments I forgot that I was in Chicago. The sight of richly embroidered saris in the windows, the sound of Hindi film music blaring from the video shops, and the smell of spices frying in ghee in the restaurants magically transported me back home; I felt I was in New Delhi's busiest bazaars...²¹⁵

Rangaswamy highlights the Relphian experiential quality of Devon Avenue's sense of place, as we would experience it as well, using our senses of sight, sound, and smell. Her experience of place is coupled with her own nostalgic memory of India, and possibly shared by many residents in the neighborhood. Devon Avenue is also known as a destination for visitors from India as well as from surrounding suburbs and states.²¹⁶

The presence of a prayer room within Borzai's restaurant deepens the experience of ordering and consuming food. The relationship building and trust that Borzai expresses by allowing customers to eat and pay later if they don't have cash, also deepens the experience. The experiential qualities of the smells, food, trusting relationships, and

²¹⁵ Padma Rangaswamy, *Namaste America: Indian Immigrants in an American Metropolis*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2000), preface.

²¹⁶ Emily Stone, "Devon Avenue, Where it all Began," November 24, 2007, accessed February 14, 2018, <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20071124/ISSUE02/100028911/on-devon-avenue-where-it-all-began>.

religion in one space is still Relphian due to these activities and meanings within a utilitarian setting.

The streetscape, instead of eroding place, has subtly emphasized the local cultures and made the neighborhood easier to navigate on foot, making the experiential aspects of this place even richer. The streetscape indicates a form of support from the city for the community, for place, and sense of place. Community involvement and local artists were a part of streetscape design elements, helping it to bloom organically from within the community, not imposed from the outside.

The presence of the *Eruv*, and those kosher businesses that do remain on Devon speak to a strong, if dwindling Jewish population still in existence: The authors of *Intertwined Cultures* write:

In West Rogers Park, the eruv was conceived of and is maintained by a committee with expertise in law, real estate, engineering, halacha, and local politics. As a result the eruv's physical characteristics express a strength and permanence unseen in many other eruvim. Braided steel cable, capable of withstanding Chicago ice storms is used in place of fishing line.

The *eruv* is a part of the neighborhood now, expressing ideas of public space and private space, and religious geographies. The traces of Jewish culture exist alongside newer restaurants such as Gawrab Naweez, with its Muslim prayer room. The presence of sacred spaces within the setting of restaurants and as a part of the street, and subsequent religious activity lends meaning to the residents and their respective religions of Judaism, Islam and Hinduism among others.

Potential Changes: Devon Avenue

Potential changes in Relphian activity would prompt the transformations in the setting and the meaning of place. If broad changes in demographics were to occur along Devon Avenue, the signage would certainly be a most visible change as new businesses moved in. The experience of smells, flavors, sounds, and types of businesses would no doubt be greatly changed. Traces of previous residents may remain, particularly in terms of interiors of buildings. Some of the buildings with “good bones” would remain, but still be at risk for displacement, particularly if storefronts are empty for a time and a building is not in use. The emphasized Islamic art from this streetscape may be eventually replaced by a new emphasis for new residents. It is possible the streetscape would add signage or public art that commemorates the past residents of the neighborhood in some way. Place names, and honorary street names may remain long after the new group or groups move in. The colloquial “Little India” title given to the neighborhood (and visible on a Google map right under “West Ridge”) may be retained for quite some time after a demographic shift.

The low-density one-and-two-story buildings among those on Devon may be replaced by higher density mixed use development, particularly as Preservation Chicago has noted that zoning laws had not been enforced. This would greatly change the setting if higher density housing or large, modern office buildings were to replace Devon’s small buildings. It is likely more chain restaurants would appear on Devon, as much new development and new construction tends to embrace this type of commerce over smaller local or legacy businesses. Chain restaurants are linked to Relph’s concept of

placelessness, and would eradicate much of the character in the setting that is largely filled by independent small businesses. Very few, if any chain businesses or franchises occupy this stretch of Devon Avenue.

These are likely changes based on the pattern of evolution of urban landscapes and are dependent upon unknowable demographic shifts, changes that may occur in terms of the economy, or in urban growth in Chicago, and therefore can't be precisely gauged. The meaning of sense of place in this landscape may not be evident to new residents or visitors after a change in demographics or activity, yet may be expressed through those businesses that have been in place the longest. This also fits with the normal evolutions and changes that occur in Relph's concept of place, and intangible heritage may over time be established once again, suffusing the landscape with a new sense of place.

Character Defining Features	Conventional Historic Preservation		Relphian Sense of Place	
Tangible	Considered for Historic District	Considered for Historic Overlay District	Components Affected	Action
Architecture, buildings along Devon Avenue	Yes	Potential Historic overlay district; Cultural Landscape	Setting	If removed: Major loss
Signage	Some		Setting	Minor loss
<i>Eruv</i>	No	No; for cultural landscape: yes.	Setting and meaning	Minor loss; Major loss for subgroup

Recent streetscape	Not at this time	Not at this time; for cultural landscape: yes	Setting and meaning	Minor loss
Intangible				
Culinary heritage (and hybridity)	No	No; for cultural landscape: possibly	Activity and Meaning	Major loss
Type of businesses (Indian and Pakistani)	No	No; for cultural landscape: yes.	Activity and Meaning	Major Loss
Religious plurality (Hindu, Muslim, Jewish)	No	No, for cultural landscape, yes.	Activity and Meaning	Major Loss
Stories (Immigrant founding family stories)	No	No; for cultural landscapes: yes as narratives of culture	Meaning from Activity	Minor loss

Table 5: Devon Avenue's Character Defining Features

A potential for designation as a historic overlay district or as a Cultural Landscape would allow for the necessary changes to occur in a neighborhood as diverse and in flux as Devon Avenue.

Summary

The tables in this chapter show that viewing a resource with a Relphian lens incorporates more facets of that resource into an experiential perspective. More aspects are considered important, or worthy of preservation focus. Relph's concept of place allows for a natural evolution and change, as an inherent part of place. Residents move in and out, bringing their own cultural memory. The buildings are a part of the setting that remain, if we are lucky. Relph was clear in *Place and Placelessness*, that place is not

static. A state of flux is the norm, just as in many an urban landscape. Relph says “Sense of place is not fixed. It evolves. Heritage preservation I understand as a way to maintain continuity with the past and to slow down the rate of change, but it cannot fix sense of place in perpetuity.”²¹⁷ Just as a business must evolve, place evolves.

Historic restaurants become “story” places as Ned Kaufman describes in *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*. He writes: “The social value of these and other story sites does encompass the experience of many individuals, but it also goes beyond ...to include the connections between people.”²¹⁸

Historic restaurants are story places where people connect and remind visitors and residents alike of the story of how the community, neighborhood, or city began. While Relph recognized that we experience place on a sensory level, Kaufman acknowledges that “...it is clear that people’s understanding of place is more than a sensory thing, that is has a narrative dimension encompassing legend, memory, gossip, tradition, and habit.”²¹⁹ We experience this as Relph’s meaning component, or rather as a setting, with meaning. It adds depth to place.

Cuisine is often renegotiated, yet still a reminder, a symbol and a pleasure that stems from a geographical identity and can reinforce ethnicity. This geographical identity becomes a part of the new place (and sense of place) where immigrants settle. All four of the restaurants profiled in this thesis have a mix of elements that work well in terms of

²¹⁷ Email correspondence with Edward Relph.

²¹⁸ Ned Kaufman, *Place Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*. (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2009), 43.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

historic preservation. They also have new elements that are not yet historic, and it is this mixture that is to be largely expected, and should not negate a recognition of these places as historic and meaningful as a whole. This mixture also mirrors Relph's realization that place (historic) and placelessness (non-historic) are intertwined, and this interplay is part of many, if not most, places. The cuisine from the selected restaurants can be considered German, or Italian, or Chinese, or Jewish, but it is also American, and "Chicago" cuisine, and continually evolving. American food encompasses ethnic cuisine. If the patterns of use remain the same, or similar and the buildings are in use for the same, or similar purposes, than that in itself is meaningful, and it is more likely the setting will be preserved, as well as the type of acts that take place within it.

Just as we cannot—and likely should not—freeze a neighborhood in time, we also cannot—and should not—expect something as complex as a business to remain unchanged. The adaptations all of the restaurants have made are modifications springing from either the changing tastes of diners, to the desire of the owners to add their own creative input to the menu. These adaptations are practical and often calculated in order continue to remain successful.

Relph tells us that place is a "phenomenon of everyday experience"²²⁰ and restaurants too, can be a phenomenon of everyday experience for many. Restaurants are part of the owners' and staff's personal geographies, and those of regular diners. To some degree, these places also affect passers-by, who smell the scents, and walk by the business daily or weekly. They help to make up the backdrop to people's lives, and in this sense,

²²⁰ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 2008 preface.

bring another layer to quality of life. This epitomizes Relph's experiential place, as much as consuming cuisine, (be it historic or a variation on historic), in historic surroundings is also experiential.

Loss of sense of place would certainly be experienced upon relocation of the businesses involving neighborhood setting, building (external and interior), relationships and social interaction. It is difficult to envision The Berghoff, for example, without its original building setting. Still, much of the inherent heritage of the business would still be considered strong, and able to be experienced in a Relphian sense through the people and the cuisine. Even after relocation the staff, owner, and chef all act as carriers of this business and its traditions. Their skills, recipes, memories and relationships can remain authentic or valid on their own, even within a different building. Some intangible heritage remains.

The DiBuono's, the Berghoff's, the Glunz's, and the Kotlick and Toll families, began their lives in Chicago after uprooting themselves from their lives in other countries. Many of them came hungry, and in turn established a place that fed others. Preserving these places is one way to honor and enjoy this continuum of which we are a part.

CHAPTER IV EVALUATION AND PRESERVATION ACTIONS

Introduction

By expanding our notion of significance we expand what we can preserve. A knowledge of or awareness of the meanings, history and culture within a building deepens our sense of care for that building. Preservation thinking can expand to preserve businesses as well as buildings, and the intangible heritage associated with both. This growth has already begun in terms of the Legacy Business Program in San Francisco. Preservation actions can begin with recognition of our cities' meaningful places, just as the America's Classic Award is an act of recognition.

Preservation actions suggested in this study align with a Relphian sense of place, in that they allow for change, while promoting, celebrating and recognizing these businesses, and the Devon Avenue neighborhood as meaningful and vibrant, and subject to continual evolution. We revere these places by sharing their stories, and promoting their specific qualities, which aid in the success of the business, and thus the preservation, of a place. Recognition, recordation, and preservation are three facets of Relphian activity we can perform for these resources. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage must be evaluated holistically when focusing preservation actions upon historic businesses such as restaurants.

Sense of place has multiple layers, giving variety to the landscape. It is important to preserve those places—be they buildings or businesses—that help to cultivate a community’s collective memory, and thus, add to community cohesion. This in turn fosters a care and responsibility for the historic built environment, which is the core of Historic Preservation.

Evaluation

The discussion of potential changes to each resource shows us just how important the tangible heritage expressed through the buildings are to sense of place. Much would be lost without the material fabric that houses the intangible cultural heritage, in a way that goes beyond mere physical setting. It shows how much is connected with the building, and how much we connect with them. Still, it is people that attach meaning to place, and if the business owners were to carry on their activity of cooking and serving their family cuisine in a different building, intangible heritage would still be carried forward. Relphian thinking helps us understand how much we lend to our environment and in turn, how much it lends to us: the buildings embody far more than their tangible “ingredients” though those are deeply valuable in their own right.

Conventional Preservation:

The NRHP description of how resources are listed in terms of significance is as follows:

Is the property associated with events, activities, or developments that were important in the past? With the lives of people who were important in the past? With significant architectural history, landscape history, or engineering

achievements? Does it have the potential to yield information through archeological investigation about our past?²²¹

The profiled restaurants in this study and Devon Avenue neighborhood meet the first description of significance as “...associated with events, activities or developments that were important in the past.” This associative value can pertain to all of the restaurants as part of the history of Chicago’s pattern of development. The Berghoff and Glunz Tavern, are architecturally significant as well, with buildings standing since the 1870s.

Associative value is Relphian, in that the value of a place, or a building is through meanings attached to it, that, as stated by the National Park Service:

a property must be associated with one or more events important in the defined historic context. Criterion A recognizes properties associated with single events, such as the founding of a town, or with a pattern of events, repeated activities, or historic trends, such as the gradual rise of a port city's prominence in trade and commerce. The event or trends, however, must clearly be important within the associated context: settlement, in the case of the town, or development of a maritime economy, in the case of the port city. Moreover, the property must have an important association with the event or historic trends, and it must retain historic integrity.²²²

Heritage food businesses, largely ethnic in origin, meet Criterion A as part of a historic trend, and a pattern of events. The restaurants profiled in this study represent the settlement patterns of the city at certain points in time, as well as local and national social history. The evolution of immigrant foodways into what has become American foodways, and expressed through a city’s legacy restaurants meets this Criterion as a part of our country’s cultural history. This cultural history has taken place in largely

²²¹ “National Register Fundamentals” National Park Service, accessed November 21, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/national_register_fundamentals.htm.

²²² “How to Identify the Type of Significance of a Property” National Park Service, accessed July 5, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_6.htm.

commercial buildings that are now historic. These heritage businesses have become major shapers of American culture and thus, sense of place. Historic businesses such as legacy restaurants, housed often in historic buildings, should be evaluated under National Register Criterion A.

If we think about place from a Relphian position, we view it more holistically, and preservation can do the same by modifying the concept of significance to become more holistic as well. Retention of historic integrity may become less important if the building still stands, the business still runs, and associated intangible value is still experienced by the community. A Relphian mode of thought regarding place helps to encourage an awareness of something that may be valued unconsciously, such as the everyday places that in fact, help to create sense of place. Author Dolores Hayden, in *The Power of Place*, has written that “The importance of ordinary buildings for public memory has largely been ignored, although, like monumental architecture, common urban places like union halls, schools, and residences have the power to evoke visual, social memory.”²²³ Heritage programs can encompass more of these forms of place; these forms are not outside of preservation parameters because they are not outside of our experience. Perhaps most importantly, a holistic valuation of place matches the reality of most people’s lives.

Randall Mason states in *Fixing Historic Preservation*, “...the imperative of preservation—as in the rest of society—should be to allow more voices to be heard.” In a sense, this is what Relph says about place, that it may be a cluster of buildings, but it is not

²²³ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 47.

only a cluster of buildings. It is also fluid, pluralistic, organic and artificial. Relph explains place as more complex than solely setting, or just activity. A Relphian exploration of place also prompts us to continue our expansion not only of what to preserve, but who participates in the preserving. By encompassing more places to preserve, we will of course, preserve more sense of place. The buildings that house historic restaurants are all historic in their own right, and they are still in use because of the businesses within them.

There may be under-utilized opportunities for collaboration between groups within Chicago to amplify our ability to recognize, value and preserve historic restaurants and culinary heritage. Preservation-oriented programs and policies in other cities within the United States, as well as those internationally, may provide lessons applicable to Chicago. Because a historic restaurant is a business, a building, and also a form of cultural site, it must be valued with all of these components in mind. Longevity and community value should be a part of how we evaluate which resources to preserve.

Preservation Goals:

Spreading awareness, as the America's Classic Award spreads awareness, is a first step for recognizing the value of a place. The more these places are valued by the community and the city, the more likely they are to be preserved. If Relph's placelessness is a result of an indifference to place, then it follows that any preservation activity that brings about an awareness of place is a crucial one.

The second stage involves the implementation of preservation actions that will have the most impact. Because we cannot preserve everything, particularly in the organic and dynamic urban environment, we can set preservation priorities that will aid in

preserving the culture inherent within these places, as well as the skills, knowledge and memories. There may also be ways to record the stories and the histories of these meaningful places before they are gone.

Our cities need to remain open to economic progress and necessary change, while retaining those elements that lend character and support to a community. In an article in the *New York Press* entitled “Can Restaurants be Saved?” Megan Finnegan Bungeroth discusses this necessary balancing act. “Even asking the question about restaurant preservation, however is a fraught exercise that exposes the tensions, and potential contradictions, between free market capitalism and an instinct to keep history intact.”²²⁴ The Historic Preservation community in general, and in Chicago specifically, can enhance that instinct to keep history intact yet remain agile, flexible and progressive enough to enable smart change.

For the four restaurants profiled, the burden is on the business owner who also owns the property to make the business successful enough to pay for building upkeep and business property taxes, which are quite high in Chicago. Mayor Emanuel’s high tax increase of 2016 was the highest yet in Chicago’s history.²²⁵ Yet the profiled restaurateurs are fortunate in that they own the buildings that house their restaurants, giving them a flexibility and security many other legacy businesses do not have. One of the most common reasons for a restaurant’s closure is the cost of rising rent. Increasingly

²²⁴ Megan Finnegan Bungeroth, “Can Restaurants be Saved?” *New York Press*, August 13, 2014, accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.nypress.com/can-restaurants-be-saved/>.

²²⁵ Thomas A. Corfman, “Property Tax Hike Adds Up to ‘a lot of hot dogs.’” *Crains Chicago Business*. October 3, 2015, accessed February 16, 2017, <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20151003/ISSUE01/310039976/property-tax-hike-adds-up-to-a-lot-of-hot-dogs>.

high rent is problematic for many restaurants if the restaurateur does not own the building and this is where Legacy Business Programs can help.

Restaurant owners themselves, beyond remaining successful at cultivating their customer base, can try several options for combating rising rents. Convincing landlords to be fair and prevent untenable rent increases may be one option. If at all possible, restaurateurs should attempt to purchase the building that houses their restaurant, circumventing issues of rising rent or intractable landlords.²²⁶ They should also maintain the quality of the food, maintain the ambiance of the place wherever possible. The Berghoff, Tufano's, Calumet Fisheries and the Glunz Tavern are all fortunate in that the business owners also own their buildings, and have kept up the quality of their cuisine and ambiance.

Preservation Actions

Concrete preservation actions are difficult to apply to non-concrete subjects such as meaning, emotion, memory, or nostalgia, despite the fact that these subjects are vital to sense of place. In fact, nostalgia can be considered both a motivating and effective factor in harnessing emotion for preservation work.²²⁷ Interviews undertaken in this study show just how much these subjects matter in creating and maintaining place. Relph shows us that we view place through our experiences and therefore become aware of the meaning

²²⁶ Megan Finnegan Bungeroth, "Can Restaurants be Saved," accessed June 1, 2017, *New York Press*. August 13, 2014, <http://www.nypress.com/can-restaurants-be-saved/>.

²²⁷ Guy Campbell, Laurajane Smith, and Margaret Wetherell, "Nostalgia and Heritage: Potentials, Mobilizations, and Effects." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23, no. 7 (2017): 609.

of place in our environment. His concept of place can help us choose certain preservation actions that first and foremost spread this awareness. There are a number of opportunities to think cross-promotionally, and augment recognition of Chicago's historic restaurants. Most of the actions below are suggestions that take advantage of what is already in place in Chicago in terms of tourism agencies, preservation entities and the potential for collaboration between them. These activities often focus on celebration, education, and recognition as a more open-ended way of embracing sense of place for those resources that may not easily meet National Register or landmarking criteria. A building is more of a process than static, and even more so when inhabited by a business. Using rationalized, limited criteria to attach (or withhold attaching) significance does not encompass the full reality of human experience.

It is recommended that the City of Chicago staff re-evaluate their 1995 Historic Resources Survey to reflect more social, local history to bring the built environment to life in a more Relphian manner. Illuminating the people and stories of past owners and tenants of historic buildings can engage public interest and foster a sense of care and respect. This would bring Relphian meaning and activity to be viewed in a more prominent position in tandem with architectural significance. More work could be done to illuminate cultural meaning within historic buildings (and to link cultural meaning to the buildings) on the survey.

On the national historic preservation front, National Register Criteria can expand to include experiential qualities relevant to the community, perhaps by polling a community as to which buildings and businesses it values. These criteria can be widened to encompass not only sight, but other senses in terms of the experience of intangible

heritage, though this may be hard to quantify to achieve results. Expanded thought on what we preserve can likely preserve more of Relph's sense of place.

Opportunities for Collaboration in Chicago:

Chicago has several agencies and organizations (described in Chapter II) that could be effective in promoting local historic restaurants. These groups can consider a collaboration in helping to create an initial inventory of Chicago's historic legacy restaurants or food-related businesses such as the one in Appendix I. The City of Chicago Historic Preservation Office, Preservation Chicago, the Chicago Cultural Alliance (CCA), Choose Chicago, the Chicago Architectural Foundation (CAF), and the National Trust are the key players who have the ability to affect preservation in Chicago.

Choose Chicago, which promotes city tourism, should promote historic restaurants on their website, and act in tandem with local hotels to spread awareness of these places as dining destinations. Choose Chicago's website should have a history section to promote not only the newest and trendiest restaurants (which may be in historic buildings) but also embrace and target those tourists who are interested in the history of the city. Choose Chicago could collaborate as well with national preservation organizations like the National Trust. Choose Chicago does have a neighborhood map on their website and supplies short lists of restaurants that highlight the ethnic background of each neighborhood. Many of Chicago's neighborhoods also have commercial and vernacular architecture that would make this tenable for the CAF as well. These neighborhoods are often quite walkable, and Choose Chicago could work with the Chicago Cultural Alliance or CAF to give walking tours that focus upon

architecture and bring in long-standing neighborhood cuisine. LTH Forum could mention the history, the architecture and stories attached to the restaurants it highlights on its website.

The CAF walking tours and building tours that link architecture history and food such as the “Food and Architecture of 1893” tour are an excellent way to create awareness of local layers of place. The CAF has also run a tour of the Berghoff in the past. Lasting 1.5 hours, the tour description states:

Learn about the impact several successful immigrants had on the architecture and culture of Chicago and admire a few lesser known buildings before touring the home of one of America's oldest family owned and operated restaurants. Revel in a fascinating immigrant story while snacking on savory Berghoff fare.

However, the tour is not running at this time. Reinstating this tour would not only bring more business to The Berghoff, but enable visitor and residents to appreciate rare surviving architecture, learn local history, and consider the origins of this heritage business in light of the context of Chicago. Fostering awareness for immigrants and their stories can lead to a stronger sense of connectivity to place. More tours of this nature, with different heritage food businesses would do the same.

The City of Chicago Historic Preservation Office at this time has no specific focus upon intangible culinary heritage or historic restaurants, except when those restaurants exist within their designated historic districts. The City Preservation Office could collaborate with Alderman Bob Hopkins and the Mayor’s office in creating a database of Legacy Businesses that take into account the age and notable architecture of these businesses’ buildings. A Legacy Business program similar to that of the city of

San Francisco, has a high potential to tilt the scales toward preservation-minded activity.

The CAF can renew and create more tours that include culinary culture or incorporate visits to historic dining and drinking establishments. This would highlight local restaurants and bars that still meet the requirements of the tours in terms of historic and notable architecture. Bringing back the “Preservation and Pubs” tour would be a starting point, and more tours in this vein could be added. The CAF could also consider a promotional website article (or use as a sidebar on their website) for each of their Annual Open Houses, sharing a list historic restaurants near each architectural site in each neighborhood. In 2016, Fooditor, an online site focusing on local food and restaurants, posted a “Where to Eat While Seeing Chicago’s Greatest Architecture” article.²²⁸ (The Glunz Tavern and Calumet Fisheries are mentioned in the article). The CAF and Fooditor could coordinate their efforts and cross-reference their data by publishing the article on the CAF’s website or referencing it as a link. Innovative thinking as shown by the CAF is a hopeful sign, yet more can be done to promote or protect legacy businesses such as historic restaurants on an official level, although the CAF’s marketing strategies may provide ideas for increasing awareness of these businesses. Much of the press regarding historic restaurant awareness is conveyed through social media websites that focus on food such as Eater Chicago, Thrillist, Fooditor, and Foodseum. These sources are adept at linking history to cuisine and highlighting local historic restaurants. The CAF and these websites can consider working together to draw attention to historic restaurants,

²²⁸ Michael Gebert, “Where to Eat While Seeing Chicago’s Greatest Architecture” Fooditor blog, accessed September 25, 2017, <http://fooditor.com/where-to-eat-while-seeing-chicagos-greatest-architecture/>.

Chicago's ethnic cuisine, historic and architecturally notable buildings and related events such as CAF's annual Open House.

Preservation Chicago has worked with CAF to spread preservation awareness and education in the past. Preservation Chicago President Ward Miller has given talks regarding the "Seven Most Threatened Buildings in Chicago" at the CAF. There has been no real emphasis upon culinary heritage or focus upon historic restaurants at this time. Preservation Chicago could add a list of Chicago's seven most threatened restaurants, or a list of restaurants it has saved to its website, blog or speaking events.

The James Beard Foundation Awards are staying in Chicago through 2021, which will help to promote Chicago's food scene and contribute to the number of people dining out and interested in cuisine. As we have seen from previous years, the number of diners to the America's Classics Award recipients will increase during the event, held in May.

Chicago's Foodseum can celebrate, exhibit and discuss Chicago's culinary history and the city's historic restaurants. Foodseum could collaborate with the Chicago Cultural Alliance to continue to promote Chicago's food history, by promoting the Alliance's neighborhood walking tours. Both groups could exchange information that could enrich both the walking tours and Foodseum's exhibits. The CCA's ethnic neighborhood tours help to highlight the diversity that makes Chicago what it is. Some of these tours involve tastings of ethnic cuisines particular to the neighborhood toured. Thus, they act as a force for preservation in that they promote and celebrate intangible cultural heritage. Food groups such as the LTH Forum, and the JBF may be able to contribute data as well as promote these tours through their websites and at events such as the award ceremonies.

Creating Heritage Trails that focus upon historic restaurants is another possibility similar to the neighborhood walking tours like CCA performs. Walking tours focusing on food can maintain healthy commerce and provide business for long-standing restaurants. A Heritage Trail of Historic Restaurants by neighborhood may be created in Chicago, using the National Trust's Heritage Trails as a framework. The National Trust could create a heritage trail of historic restaurants for Chicago and work with local organizations such as Choose Chicago, the CCA, and others.

Neighborhood walking tours could promote this heritage trail. Small groups could go to one establishment for an appetizer, one for a main and another for dessert or coffee or drinks. If this proves unrealistic, a group could do small, quick food tastings that encompass more casual cuisines or historic culinary retailers such as bakeries and deli's and focus upon a neighborhood with myriad ethnic options. The City of Chicago, the CAF and the CCA could collaborate on such a heritage trail. Architectural tours like those provided by the CAF could also incorporate a stop at an historic café or restaurant with notable or historic architecture. This type of publicity for preservation, is Relphian in its experiential qualities, in the sense that those attending the tours are immersing themselves in place, and using multiple senses to experience that place.

The Trust can consider a National Historic Restaurants of America Program in the vein of Historic Hotels program. The National Trust's monthly *Preservation Magazine* contains a column entitled "Place Setting", which focuses on the link between historic buildings and restaurants, and links the concept of history to dining.²²⁹ The column

focuses upon the restaurant-friendly adaptive reuse of historic buildings, profiling a restaurant or a set of restaurants that happen to be in old train stations, rehabilitated or restored post offices or churches, among other building types. By highlighting these places, the “Place Setting” column is a positive force that promotes these restaurants, at least in terms of a target audience of National Trust members, or those who seek out historic spaces in various cities. The “Place Setting” column could also emphasize city-by-city articles focusing on historic restaurants and their food heritage as well as the buildings that house them.

The general public has what may be the largest role to play in preserving a community’s historic restaurants. By choosing to dine at these places, the public wields a potent force for preservation. Continuing to frequent these businesses is one obvious way to show support and provide business, though it isn’t a failsafe, as sometimes an owner simply wants to retire. The urge to sell can also be very attractive, even if that means the building will be razed for higher density development or another type of building. The public can also support and vote for candidates at the local level, who support preservation-friendly policy. The National Trust suggests becoming involved in a “Buy Local” campaign within the community to promote patronage and support of local businesses.²³⁰ The public can also support local government legislation that benefits small

²²⁹ Lauren Walser, “Place Setting: Restaurants in Historic Boathouses,” National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed April 20, 2017, <https://savingplaces.org/stories/place-setting-restaurants-historic-boathouses#.WK4Z5RIrLG4>.

²³⁰ Geoff Montes, “How to Save Historic Food Establishments” Saving Places, accessed February 13, 2017, <https://savingplaces.org/stories/preservation-tips-tools-save-historic-food-establishments#.WKJVY7YrLPx>.

businesses such as the Legacy Business Ordinance in San Francisco and Alderman Hopkins' proposed ordinance in Chicago, discussed below. The community can show support by voting, being vocal, and writing letters of support. According to the Senior Chief of Staff at Chicago Alderman Bob Hopkins office, Jose Rivera Jr., vocal public support can be a tipping point for local policy change as well.

Learning From American Preservation Programs.

In 2015, the city of San Francisco passed the Legacy Business Registry & Legacy Business Preservation Fund. A San Francisco Legacy Business is simply defined; a business must be 30 years or older, (or 20 years and under direct threat) it must have contributed to the neighborhood's history and the business must agree to retain their identity, name and craft.²³¹ The San Francisco Legacy Business program, the first in the nation so far, targets those places that are the "identity pieces" the places that help define the neighborhood and gives an annual grant based on the number of employees, with a cap at 500 employees.²³² The program is available to 300 businesses each year and are nominated by the Mayor or a member of the Board of Supervisors.²³³ The program treats the businesses themselves as worthy of preserving, and not solely the buildings that house them. Here tangible culture and intangible culture are recognized as working in tandem and enriching the social, historic and cultural fabric of the city.

²³¹ "How it Works" San Francisco for Preserving Legacy Businesses, accessed January 3, 2018 <http://legacybusinesssf.com/how-it-works/>.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

The Legacy Business Ordinance brought forth by Alderman Brian Hopkins of Chicago's 2nd Ward is based upon the San Francisco Legacy program. His proposed ordinance would go far to protecting some long-standing restaurants, café's and retailers that help to embody the culture and character of the neighborhood. Jose Rivera, Alderman Hopkins' chief of staff, says being on a registry is good, but nearly meaningless if the property owner can't keep the business going due to rising rents and property taxes.²³⁴ Hopkins' proposal is intensely community-focused. The community itself nominates the recipient, which may foster community cohesion. The awarded business would receive a grant (as well as the landlord) that would enable the business to continue to thrive and offset rent increases. Other businesses nearby however, would bear some of the expense, through a slight increase in licensing fees.²³⁵ Chicago journalist Ted Cox quotes Alderman Hopkins in his article entitled "As Iconic Chicago Businesses Shutter, Plan to Save Legacy Spots Emerges." Hopkins states that eligible businesses would "have to have been open 30 years, financially solvent, current on their lease, without any debts to the city."²³⁶

²³⁴ Phone interview with José Rivera Jr. January 20, 2017.

²³⁵ Greg Hinz, "Longtime Stores, Cafes Would get 'Legacy Grant' under new plan," *Crains Chicago Business*. February 10th, 2016, February 28, 2016, <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20160210/BLOGS02/160219987/longtime-stores-cafes-would-get-legacy-grants-under-new-plan>.

²³⁶ Ted Cox, "As Iconic Downtown Businesses Shutter, Plan to Save Legacy Spots Emerges," in *DNAInfo*, February 6, 2016, accessed March 20th, 2017, <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20160209/downtown/ald-seeks-fund-help-citys-legacy-businesses-survive-tax-rent-hikes/>.

The Legacy Business program actively supports the business within the building, and not just the building itself. This program gives preservation more potency, when a business is thriving and the building remains in use, it is less likely to be a candidate for destruction. This is an argument for why use may be as important as the tangible building itself, or “form follows function” in a different sense. The Legacy Program would likely benefit the Devon Avenue neighborhood, which is not likely to be designated a historic district due to numerous alterations over time. Many other neighborhoods in Chicago would benefit from this program as well, such as Pilsen, where gentrification is encroaching. Devon Avenue also holds some business owners that do not own the building their business is housed within, and therefore may be subject to the whims of landlords and the insecurity of real estate trends.

The City of Chicago could collaborate with Preservation Chicago in using the Legacy Business Inventory (Appendix I) as a starting point landmark designation, in terms of restaurants, depending on architectural, cultural and social heritage criteria and the cultural or social theme criteria. Currently, Hopkins has received very positive feedback from Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel regarding his ordinance, and it appears likely that it will move forward.²³⁷

Surveying the public to ascertain the value the community holds for a business is one key step. Questions to pose to communities (as Seattle has just recently begun to do in preparation for developing a similar legacy program) can include: “Which closed business do you miss? Where was it located? Do you know why it went out of business?”

²³⁷ Jose Rivera Jr., Phone interview, January 20, 2017.

Why was this business important to you? Is there a business you fear might go away?”²³⁸

By creating user engagement and participation, it is possible that the very act of surveying the public about their local environment goes some way to enabling more recognition of the cultural and historic resources that surround them.

Should the ordinance pass, it would be a positive force for preservation of Chicago’s historic restaurants and other long-standing businesses. One business generally benefits another, as a variety of businesses provide a variety of stops for consumers. The Legacy Business Program should be periodically evaluated for effectiveness and the value that these places bring to the community should be studied and communicated to the city.

None of the restaurants profiled in this study would likely benefit themselves from the Legacy Business Program proposed for Chicago, because each business owner also owns the building. Considering some way to recognize those legacy businesses whose owners do own the buildings, such as landmarking, should be a consideration if preservationists want to preserve more buildings, small businesses, and cultural heritage.

Robert Sietsema’s 2015 article in Eater New York features a discussion of a potential preservation plan for New York City restaurants. In “Historic Restaurant Preservation Plan: How it Might Work,” Sietsema suggests forming a committee comprised of a real estate agent, chef and city councilperson to create a list of irreplaceable dining institutions. Once a restaurant’s lease expires, this committee

²³⁸ “Keep the Doors Open for Historic Neighborhood Businesses,” 4Culture online survey, accessed March 10, 2018, <http://www.seattlelegacybusinesses.org/take-the-survey>.

mediates any lease negotiations, and helps to promote a fair rent increase that the restaurant could tolerate. Sietsema even suggests a method for seeking a replacement lessee if the restaurateurs wish to close:

If the restaurateurs who operate a place want to close it, successor lessees willing to continue in the tradition will be located, vetted, and the lease transferred. In other words, this committee will be charged with doing everything possible, including limiting rent increases to those determined fair, to keep historic places in business.²³⁹

Sietsema's plan could be attempted in Chicago, and a committee formed out of similar candidates, either by Preservation Chicago, Choose Chicago or the City Preservation Office or a collaboration thereof.

A search on "Chicago" on the National Trust's website brought up the Billy Goat Tavern, The Green Mill Lounge, the Coq D'Or bar at the Drake and several more, though the focus is more upon bars than restaurants. Bars, pubs and taverns can also be considered Chicago Legacy Businesses. The Trust has not published any article that specifically deals with more than a solitary profile of Chicago's cuisine, historic restaurants or culinary heritage.

The National Trust's preservation program entitled Historic Hotels of America, helps to promote the country's historic hotels (and heritage tourism in general). The program provides discounts of up to 30 percent off of the best available rate for National Trust members, at selected hotels that meet the Trust's requirements. The hotel must be at least 50 years old, it must be a National Historic Landmark or be listed in (or eligible for listing) the National Register of Historic Places, and the hotel must be recognized as

²³⁹ "Historic Restaurant Preservation Plan: How it Might Work," accessed August 9, 2016, <http://ny.eater.com/maps/historic-restaurant-preservation-plan-how-it-might-work>.

having historic significance.²⁴⁰ There are currently 295 hotels in the US listed as the Trust's Historic Hotels. Specific hotels are also chosen by how well they have maintained their historic ambiance and preserved the architecture and character.²⁴¹ This program specifically targets that percentage of the public interested in history and preservation for a mutually beneficial relationship between the National Trust and the selected hotels.

The National Trust could evaluate the possibility of a National Historic Restaurants of America program. The City of Chicago could partner with the Trust, or could partner with CAF to promote long-standing restaurants representative of Chicago cuisine. The Trust could focus this program nationwide or use a city-by-city approach. These actions would expand visibility, recognize and celebrate these restaurants. The National Trust could promote historic restaurants in the same way that it promotes historic hotels with a small discount for National Trust members at participating restaurants.

Learning From International Preservation Programs

Historic preservation in the United States can benefit from evaluating the preservation work of other nations, particularly in regard to concepts of significance, community value, and intangible heritage. The United Kingdom has a fairly strong approach to historic preservation. The public has a role to play as stewards of the historic environment. This poses a contrast to the United States, where it might be argued that

²⁴⁰ "Historic Hotels of America," The National Trust, accessed June 27, 2017, <https://savingplaces.org/historic-hotels-of-america#.WJ-S1bYrLG4>.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

there may be less sense of responsibility toward our historic environment. American property rights and a spirit of individualism take precedence over what could be a stronger sense of stewardship over our own historic environment. Historic England and Historic Scotland, along with the grassroots Heritage Trust Network all work to maintain a cohesive preservation force.

The United Kingdom has taken an important step toward protecting its pubs. One article from 2015 tallies the number of pub closures in the UK at an alarming 27 per week.²⁴² Alarmed by a large and increasing number of pub closures, the London borough of Wandsworth has designated 120 pubs for protection to preserve not only the building, but the building's use as well.²⁴³ This focus upon the intangible cultural heritage of the pub experience shows how important the pub is culturally to the communities it serves.

Pubs play a similar role to New York City's bodegas, and to our cities' historic restaurants, taverns and bars. London pub patron Chris Cox says "At a pub, he says, you develop a relationship with other patrons and the staff, who keep tabs on you: "If they don't see you, they will ask questions — 'I wonder where he is?' And you end up with a supporting network." Each of the 120 listed pubs are thriving, which affirms that the borough is focusing on those pubs that are highly valued by the community. The concept

²⁴² Rodionova, Zlata. "UK Pubs Closing at a Rate of 27 per Week, Camra Says," *The Independent*, Accessed June 27, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/uk-pubs-closing-at-a-rate-of-27-a-week-camra-says-a6853686.html>.

²⁴³ Frank Langfitt, "London Borough Raises Pints-and Legal Protections to UK's Fading Pubs," accessed June 27, 2017, <http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/09/13/493610710/london-borough-raises-pints-and-legal-protections-to-u-k-s-fading-pubs>.

helps to protect these spaces from being sold with no input from the community.²⁴⁴ These pubs share those familial qualities and community-centric functions that the Busy Bee performed in its day, or that Tufano's, The Berghoff, and Lou Mitchell's still perform.

The designated pubs have contributed to the community in ways that are multifaceted. Historic England's listing director, Roger Bowdler says "A lot of the interest in architecture is not just about the aesthetics, it's also the stories it tells. In terms of social history, these are really important places."²⁴⁵ Much like the Legacy Business program in San Francisco, we see an urge to protect the business and all of its cultural contributions, as well as the architecture and aesthetics. The multiple values of the pub are recognized and celebrated. The community and Borough officials value the tangible as well as the intangible with such designations. The pub has been an important part of life in the United Kingdom for generations, and has become a part of the country's heritage, meeting many of the requirements stated above for intangible heritage, as defined by UNESCO.

Intangible heritage is defined by UNESCO as:

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Harry Wallop, "Saving Our Historic Pubs" *The Telegraph* August 28, 2015, accessed September 12, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/lifestyle/11828497/Saving-our-historic-pubs.html>.

with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.²⁴⁶

America's historic restaurants could fit within this definition as well.

UNESCO also has a Creative Cities Network, which recognizes certain cities for particular themes such as film, literature, design, craft and folk art, media arts, music, and gastronomy. The designated cities create partnerships, share knowledge and ideas with the focus upon sustaining culture and creative development plans that put culture at the forefront.²⁴⁷ “The UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) was created in 2004 to promote cooperation with and among cities that have identified creativity as a strategic factor for sustainable urban development.”²⁴⁸

The United States contains six “Creative Cities” but only two in this country are recognized for Gastronomy: San Antonio, Texas and Tucson, Arizona. An article by Gary Paul Nabhan on the *Foodtank* website discusses the benefits of UNESCO's designation for Tucson. He says the designation was good for the city, and fostered working together toward a common goal:

That goal is tangibly advancing a more just, inclusive, healthful, prosperous, and sustainable food system; one that will be more resilient in the face of climate changes because it fully engages the unique cultural and natural assets of our community.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,” UNESCO, accessed September 20th, 2016, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention#art2>.

²⁴⁷ “Creative Cities” UNESCO, accessed May 4, 2017 <http://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/content/about-us>.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ “What Will a UNESCO City of Gastronomy Do for Tucson and for Other Cities?” accessed July 28, 2017, <https://foodtank.com/news/2015/12/tucson-as-north-americas-first-unesco-city-of-gastronomy/>.

Tucson was designated partly because of its history of continuous agriculture, and its current focus on heirloom seeds, but also because of its history of struggles with water scarcity, and social/food injustice and the innovations the city is taking to address and mitigate these factors.²⁵⁰

Chicago could apply for the Design Category in light of its important contributions to architecture and design, yet city officials could also apply for designation as a Creative City of Gastronomy. Should Chicago be successful in applying to UNESCO, it would reap the benefits of creative collaboration between other cities nationally and internationally to focus on issues related to culinary heritage, to current problems of nutrition, and also to draw in culinary tourism due to increased publicity. Tucson's rate of tourism rose by 13.5 percent in 2017.²⁵¹ This suggests Chicago may embrace and benefit from the Creative Cities emphasis on social justice, as a city that experiences the common urban problems of poverty and segregation.

Chicago's qualifications for applying for the City of Gastronomy are numerous. One of Chicago's qualifications involves its historic and geographically determined foodways from the wild onions, garlic, corn, and Great Lakes bounty. Chicago should be nominated as well for the city's important historic contributions to food processing, packaging, and food production and shipping/distribution to the rest of the country, as well as food products that have historically become a part of the lexicon of what is considered to be "American Food."

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Elaine Glusac, "In Some Ways, These Cities Are a Little More Special." *New York Times*, February 4, 2018.

Another qualifying characteristic of Chicago, is its multilayered immigrant history. This brought a rich mixture of ethnic cuisine to the country. Some of these cuisines have become what is considered to be “traditionally American” cuisine, despite these origins, (deep dish pizza, and stuffed pizza, Italian Beef Sandwiches, hot dogs, and beer). Chicago’s cultural pluralism has brought about foodways that have become particularly American.

Chicago’s culinary innovation is a cultural strength. The Chicago Plant, and The Delta Institute are two entities working at the forefront of the sustainability issues. The Chicago Plant is an organization that is innovating new ways of sustainable food production and energy conservation.²⁵² The Delta Institute focuses upon environmental and economic sustainability with various projects focusing on farming, food and environmental stewardship.²⁵³

A final qualifying factor for the UNESCO City of Gastronomy program is the fact that Chicago is also a “Sanctuary city” with a number of self-proclaimed sanctuary restaurants that speak to a resistance to an embracing of the country’s diversity and aligns with UNESCO’s social justice focus. During a recent “Day Without Immigrants Strike” more than 50 Chicago restaurants closed, including The Berghoff.²⁵⁴ So far, there are 386

²⁵² The Chicago Plant. <http://plantchicago.org/>, accessed February 8, 2017.

²⁵³ “Initiatives,” The Delta Institute. <http://delta-institute.org/initiatives/>, accessed February 8, 2017.

²⁵⁴ Ashok Selvam, “More than 50 Chicago Restaurants Closed for Immigration Strike” in *Eater Chicago*. <http://chicago.eater.com/2017/2/16/14635172/chicago-restaurants-closed-for-day-without-immigrant-strike-rick-bayless>, accessed February 13, 2017.

“Sanctuary Restaurants” in Chicago, and the number appears to be growing.²⁵⁵ While it could be argued that commerce, by nature of being profit-driven, is likely to be as inclusive as possible to attract the most clientele, it is also a real-world social-justice issue. This makes sense particularly for Chicago, whose immigrant population has been so strong. This is in line with UNESCO’s emphasis on social justice.

There are benefits to be had if the application to UNESCO’s Creative Cities program proves successful. The very process of applying may be fruitful in terms of pooling resources and enhancing collaborative efforts between the city’s food groups, cultural institutions, and restaurants. Positive effects of a successful designation include a promotion of Chicago’s image on a global level. This in turn will have a positive effect on tourism, particularly among those whose interests lie in culinary heritage and cultural heritage. An increase in tourism, will then bring about a positive economic impact for the city. The ability to easily network with other UNESCO Creative Cities will bring fresh ideas into play that will foster creative sustainability, which is a major facet of historic preservation. Finally, the emphasis on cuisine and culinary heritage will help to save historic Chicago restaurants by making the public more aware of them.

Other Considerations

Actively combating the idea that landmarking and districting is limiting, is something the City Historic Preservation Office could consider, as this type of outreach

²⁵⁵ “Sanctuary Restaurants,” accessed February 14, 2018, www.sanctuaryrestaurants.org.

would benefit the preservation cause. The Berghoff is not landmarked, due to the belief that certain modifications would be forbidden. Thus, it is unable to benefit from economic assistance through the city's historic preservation programs. Devon Avenue is not likely to be considered for a historic district designation as many owners have altered their building facades. Targeting the oldest businesses for legacy designation may go some distance toward preserving these specific places, such as Roberts Fish Market, Argo Georgian Bakery, and Bundoo Khan. Preservation Chicago could also consider creation of historic restaurant committee to act as mediator as Robert Sietsema of Eater NY suggests. This could be done within an existing organization such as the CCA or Preservation Chicago or by joining efforts with the City or LTH Forum.

Smart phone technology is another area that could be utilized to creatively document the places that we cannot save, and to boost awareness of the places we have lost, for a deeper understanding of local history. Several smart phone applications that help to tell the story of the neighborhood could be promoted and downloaded through CAF, through Choose Chicago, or through the CCA. These could highlight the stories associated with the restaurants, including notorious or celebrity diners, and other local history that focuses on immigrants and the neighborhoods' cuisines. Applications and websites such as *What Was There* should be utilized by the City and by city preservation agencies to inform residents (in elementary schools and high schools and beyond) regarding local neighborhood histories, buildings and businesses we have lost, as well as what we may lose. Food and travel related applications that focus on urban travel such as *Field Notes*, *Sidekix*, or *Streetography* and other urban route planners can highlight

historic restaurants along a certain route and incorporate more historic information about the neighborhood or city.

Historic Overlay Districts or Neighborhood Conservation Overlay Districts are a preservation tool worth noting as a possibility for the portion of Devon Avenue that encompasses many of the Indian and Pakistani businesses. Because of many alterations made in the past to the storefronts and facades along Devon, it may be unlikely to be eligible for Historic District designation. With more flexibility than traditional Historic District Designation, Historic Overlay Districts focuses more upon factors such as lot size, building height, tree protection and setbacks and overall feel.²⁵⁶ The City could also consider making immigrant history more visible in neighborhoods such as Devon Avenue, through visually compelling signage or public art.

Creative Documentation

Finally, because all things are finite, creative documentation should be considered for those places that have been remarkable in their longevity or in community value. Recordation and documentation of noteworthy qualities of a historic restaurant, should be done, if possible, before the threat of demise. If this is not possible, record or document what is known about the defunct restaurant and building. Should we lose the business or building, we can preserve to some degree, the stories and the culinary heritage of these institutions through cookbooks, through museum exhibitions or through websites that act as a highly accessible archive of memories. City preservationists or the Culinary Historians of Northern Illinois can consider development of a repository of historic

²⁵⁶ “Overlay Districts” Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina, accessed July 12, 2017, <https://www.presnc.org/neighborhood-conservation-overlay-districts/>.

menus, oral histories, and restaurant photographs and stories, at the Newberry Library, the Chicago History Museum, or similar institution, as a way to chart the evolution of neighborhoods, buildings, and businesses within the city. Exhibits could be made from photographs, other materials from restaurants that are now defunct. While their archives hold some historic menus from long-defunct local restaurants and hotels, there have been no major exhibits that focus upon Chicago's culinary heritage or restaurants. The activity of recordation and documentation is an important facet of preservation work.

“The Grandma’s Project”, overseen by UNESCO, is a creative method to help to preserve intangible culture and family history. “The Grandma’s Project” involves the creative documentation of a grandparent’s culinary traditions and other stories. UNESCO describes the project as a “series of short films ... a collaborative web series...that shares the stories and recipes of grandmas around the world, filmed by their grandchildren.”²⁵⁷ The ideas and methods used in this project by UNESCO could be applied to some of our historic restaurants as well, as a way to preserve culinary heritage and the associated stories. This form of creative recordation can be utilized for a variety of preservation actions, or any activity involving a conveyance of heritage to a wider audience through museum or library exhibitions. Often, the idea to document a historic business comes into play only when we recognize the end is near for the business or the place and we want to record what has made it special. It is most likely that this recording or documentation of the place will not be done when it is at its peak, but instead, when it is threatened, and this may remain a conundrum for preservation.

²⁵⁷ Grandmas Project, accessed July 4, 2017, <http://grandmasproject.org/>.

Several well-loved, historic, defunct restaurants have already been documented, although most of these videos are not widely dispersed. One low-budget, hand-held video, uploaded to Vimeo and created by Eric Bronsky, concerns Chicago's famous (now defunct) Blackhawk Restaurant.²⁵⁸ The restaurant had two locations, the older restaurant in downtown Chicago, where the building still stands, and another in Wheeling, Illinois. The short video includes a server's demonstration in the Wheeling location of the Blackhawk's famous "Spinning Salad Bowl." Both locations of the Blackhawk restaurant have closed, but this video is a way of preserving the memory of these places.

Another video entitled "The Closing of the Busy Bee Restaurant is available through YouTube, and documents the very last day of business for the beloved restaurant. Several articles in local papers such as the Chicago Tribune speak to how well loved and important this Polish restaurant was to the neighborhood, which had been a largely Polish enclave since the early 1900s.²⁵⁹ These are just some of the ways we can preserve, to some degree, the feel and the meaning of these places, these slices of history, if only for a moment of nostalgia for those who remember them. These can also be a reminder to work against the loss of a resource that has meaning to the place. This is a Relphian way to perform a preservation act that preserves the meanings of a place even if the resource itself is no longer in business, or the building destroyed.

²⁵⁸ Eric Bromsky, video; "Blackhawk Restaurant," accessed January 8, 2017, <https://vimeo.com/18446449->.

²⁵⁹ Nancy Ryan, "Busy Bee to Buzz No More", *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1998, accessed November 2, 2018, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1998-06-06/news/9806060109_1_wicker-park-polish-restaurant.

We can also improve the chances of preserving these places by simply ensuring that Historic Preservation is part of the conversation from the start. Each revision to the city's Comprehensive Plan should further hone and strengthen its historic preservation portion through preservation-friendly zoning, landmarking, and by considering how to implement and improve Legacy Business programs.

Summary

The actions we can take to expand historic preservation activity in regard to Chicago's culinary heritage and the restaurants that embody this heritage may also be applied to other cities in the United States. Historic restaurants can serve as social networks for the community residents, like Tufano's for gathering spaces, for special or seasonal occasions like The Berghoff, or for consuming the products of a diminishing traditional cultural practice, such as the fish smoking at Calumet Fisheries. Helping the building remain in use prevents empty storefronts, which put the building at risk once the business departs.

Considering the preservation of place in a Relphian manner is not necessarily a radical departure for the preservation community, but it does further the conversation. Relph reminds us that the experiential qualities of place are tantamount, and a renewed focus on all the ways we experience place would preserve more of our built environment and the associated intangible heritage. Relph's concept of place helps us to understand that urban landscapes with a strong sense of place are those with a mixture of both intangible and tangible heritage and we experience these places with all of our senses.

These places belong to all Chicagoans, and all visitors, who travel to Chicago precisely to experience a particular sense of place.

CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

Culturally rich places help to create the experience of a city. How do we preserve a dynamic process, an urban landscape that is continually evolving and redefining itself? How do we preserve intangible and tangible culture when both are associated with an historic business or building? This thesis has attempted to address these questions through a focus on Chicago's historic restaurants, which are living manifestations of local history and culture, and significant contributors to the identity of place.

A Relphian concept of place has us looking at each resource the way we experience them. We may value one for one thing, and value something else about another resource, and therefore our preservation actions should be flexible enough to tailor our actions to each. One way to help to preserve these spaces has been to focus heavily upon architecture as a reason for preservation. Another way to preserve these spaces is to reemphasize the connection between tangible and intangible culture that is embodied in these spaces. As Jillian Papa illustrates in her Masters Thesis, *Preserving Intangible and Traditional Cultural Heritage at the Local Level*, "While the preservation of architectural diversity adds to the desirability of a community, in many instances the presence of cultural diversity contributes to the character of a place as well."²⁶⁰ This notion is also Relphian, for he shows us that when we attach meaning to place, that place

²⁶⁰ Jillian J. Papa, *Preserving Intangible and Traditional Heritage at the Local Level*, (masters thesis, Goucher College, 2011) 1.

becomes a part of our “personal geographies” and we are therefore aware of it in a way that enables us to combat indifference to place, and therefore, placelessness.

Cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky has said, “America is a process.”²⁶¹ A city is also a process, and food is a part of this process. Food is both emotional and physical. Many imbue food with meaning, while it can merely be necessary fuel, it can also be pleasure, entertainment, and connection to a memory, connection to family or to an experience of a heritage that may or may not be your own. Cooking and eating can be highly cultural acts. Our ethnic background lingers in the way we eat and what we choose to consume, even if we’ve never visited the country or countries from which our ancestors emigrated.²⁶²

While some historic and ethnic restaurants can act as portals to another place, and occasionally to another time, the restaurants profiled represent Chicago’s immigrant past. Chicago’s historic restaurants exist as cultural resources that help to make Chicago, Chicago. They represent social relationships and community, commerce, history, cuisine and architecture. They nourish the community both figuratively and literally. They are cultural institutions worthy of vigorous preservation action.

Just as historic preservation is vastly intersectional, foodways are also intersectional, and connect to multiple facets of our lives and our environment. In Wilbur Zelinsky’s 1985 article entitled “The Roving Palate: North America’s Ethnic Restaurant

²⁶¹ Wilbur Zelinsky, “The Roving Palate: North America’s Ethnic Restaurant Cuisines” *Geoforum* 16, no. 1985, 52.

²⁶² “Heritage Influences How America Eats,” National Restaurant Association, September 2, 2015, accessed March 1, 2017, <http://www.restaurant.org/News-Research/News/Heritage-influences-how-America-eats-new-research>.

Cuisines” he says, “The entire field of human ecology is unavoidably entangled with the phenomena of foodways, while the assiduous exploration of the latter reveals splendid routes into every corner of human geography.”²⁶³ Food is inextricably linked to geography, as Zelinsky has stated, but it also connects to economics, tourism, agriculture, sustainability, climate change, identity, and more. Any preservation actions that apply to a restaurant can also acknowledge and consider the associated foodways.

Potential preservation actions must provide a holistic approach to such spaces, and should address not only the structure that houses the restaurant, but also the business itself and the intangible culture that these places represent. Preserving one of these aspects helps to preserve the others. Historic preservation professionals and local governments should enhance their focus on cultural actions and intangible culture within preservation planning. Within Chicago, collaboration among historic preservation groups and local tourist agencies, as well as culinary groups, can be intensified to benefit historic restaurants and other historic places. Creating and maintaining these partnerships will help broaden the ability to find solutions that benefit preservation of the “placemakers” within the community.

Chicago’s historic restaurants will benefit from application of other American cities’ preservation ordinances like the San Francisco Legacy Business ordinance. American cities such as Chicago can utilize UNESCO’s stance on intangible culture as a structural template to guide which resources to protect and inform the ways in which to

²⁶³ Wilbur Zelinsky, “The Roving Palate: North America’s Ethnic Restaurant Cuisines” *Geoforum* 16, Issue 1 1985.

protect them. If we are able to make these changes, we may provide more protection against development, demolition and loss of business that threaten these resources.

Just as any preservation action must take into account the intangible heritage and cultural history aspects of these historic restaurants, it also must take into account the love of the people for these places and must include the community as a force for saving places, and a force for historic preservation on a larger scale. The restaurants profiled in this thesis are not only sustaining their livelihoods, they are sustaining their heritage as well.

There is reason to remain positive in the face of over-development and chain restaurants, because Chicago's ethnic dining scene has been continuously vibrant. Chicago's status as a Sanctuary City shows a respect for many cultures, which may be a counterpoint to homogenization. An article in the online journal *DNAInfo* mentions no less than 45 bakeries in which to find *paczki*, a traditional Polish pastry popularly eaten on Fat Tuesday.²⁶⁴ This is more than a nod to an old tradition; it is obviously a living tradition and shows the strength of the culinary traditions of an ethnic group. These traditions spread and "catch on" on with the general population largely through the appeal of the food or positive contact with the business or proprietor. These traditions become a pleasurable experience and spread from one ethnic group to many. America's culinary heritage owes a tremendous debt to immigrants. Much of what we consider to be

²⁶⁴Tanveer Ali, "Paczki Day in Chicago: Where to Buy the Polish Treats." *DNA Info*, accessed February 27, 2017, <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20140303/chicago/paczki-day-chicago-map-of-where-buy-polish-treats>.

typically American has generally originated through the culinary heritage of those from other places, even when combined with local ingredients, tastes and customs.

Historic restaurants are key players in "placemaking". They are often cultural landmarks, if not official ones. Like the pubs in the United Kingdom, these restaurants provide social networks and support and are key facets of the cultural identity of the neighborhood. Historic restaurants in Chicago are part of the lexicon of culinary heritage even if their menus have been altered over time. This cultural blending over time is a part of the broad pattern of immigrant history and foodways in our urban centers.

The newest America's Classic award winner in Chicago as of May 2018, was Sun Wah BBQ. Founder Eric Cheng swam to Hong Kong to escape Communist China, and was lucky not to be eaten by a shark, says his daughter, Kelly Cheng, who now manages the restaurant specializing in Peking style duck. Stories such as Cheng's, when associated with a resource can be a part of the intangible heritage that engages public interest in place. Kelly Cheng was recently quoted in an Eater Chicago article by Ashok Selvam, saying the award is a "...recognition and a statement to the world that even 'foreign' food can become American Classics. Hong Kong Style Barbecue has always been considered 'lower class' food because it was eaten mostly by the working classes of Hong Kong."²⁶⁵ She says "Our food is now an American classic because it's being eaten and enjoyed by all types of people from all walks of life from all over the world. That is America.

²⁶⁵ Ashok Selvam, "James Beard Foundation Honors Chicago's Sun Wah with America's Classic Award," in Eater Chicago, January 18, 2018, accessed January 25, 2018, <https://chicago.eater.com/2018/1/18/16905662/sun-wah-chinese-bbq-chicago-james-beard-americas-classic-award>.

America is full of all types of people from all walks of life from all over the world.”²⁶⁶

Honoring Sun Wah BBQ with the award is an acknowledgement of its adherence to traditional cuisine and methods of cooking despite certain menu alterations over time.

Food can be a conduit- a link both temporally and spatially, a connection to another time and another place and, as Wilbur Zelinsky says “the higher forms of consumption, the quest for pleasure and for varied knowledge and experience”²⁶⁷ This experiential quality of dining out in a historic and often ethnic restaurant is part of the appeal. Extreme examples include the molecular gastronomy of Grant Achatz’s restaurants, though these are not yet historic in age. At Achatz’s restaurant Next, you dine in a restaurant but the experience of the cuisine is both temporal and spatial. You dine with smells and tastes and dishes of another place: “The Alps”, for one menu, or “Modern Chinese” for another.²⁶⁸ The chef creates a temporal shift with a menu entitled “Ancient Rome” building on past menus with such titles as “Paris 1906” and the more metaphysical “Childhood” is at the extreme (and extravagant) end of the spectrum, but his restaurants, and their popularity, speak to the appeal of the experiential qualities of restaurants and the experiential qualities of place that Relph has recognized. The experience of the allure of the exotic or a familiar nostalgia (as in the craving of Polish dumplings your grandmother made; your mother’s tortillas) or are often a part of the dining experience in historic ethnic restaurants.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Wilbur Zelinsky, “The Roving Palate: North American’s Restaurant Cuisines” *Geofrum* 16, Issue 1 1985, 52.

²⁶⁸ “Cuisine,” Next Restaurant, accessed March 5, 2017, <http://nextrestaurant.com/cuisine/>.

For Further Study

The scope of this thesis could not encompass more than a sliver of Chicago's myriad cuisines or foodways. This thesis does not delve deeply into the incredibly rich and historic foodways, some fading, some thriving, within the city and the country as a whole.

The impact of pre-European-contact foodways, African American, Polish, Mexican, or Chinese foodways were not able to be covered in depth within the scope of this thesis. All have strongly impacted Chicago's culinary heritage and each are worthy and fascinating subjects for ongoing study.

Many other subjects connected to the themes within this thesis merit further study. Economic inequality and how these issues may affect historic restaurants, food accessibility, and neighborhood character are things to continue to study and address. Gentrification and associated rising rent is one of the more prominent threats. A major current running through our discussion of the aspects of preservation concerns threats not only to buildings and businesses, but neighborhoods as well.²⁶⁹ Rising rents and the rising cost of land can spiral to the degree that is evident in cities such as San Francisco, which has become an unaffordable city for most.²⁷⁰ It is not only restaurateurs, but also other

²⁶⁹ Randy Shaw, "Legacy Businesses Need Legacy Neighborhoods," *Beyond Chron: The Voice of the Rest*, August 29, 2016, accessed February 14, 2017, <http://www.beyondchron.org/legacy-businesses-need-legacy-neighborhoods/>.

²⁷⁰ Jonathan Chew, "The Utter Insanity of the San Francisco Housing Market," *Fortune Magazine*, April 9, 2016, accessed March 4, 2017, <http://fortune.com/2016/04/09/billboard-summit800-san-francisco-housing/>.

business owners and residents as well who are forced to close down or relocate to be able to make a living. These implications for social inequities are important for further study.

Increasing attention and focus upon gentrification as a factor intertwined with historic preservation is ongoing. In “Legacy Businesses Need Legacy Neighborhoods”, Randy Shaw suggests that gentrification is a major factor damaging businesses and neighborhoods alike, and both need to be addressed in tandem.²⁷¹ “It’s because the loss of legacy businesses reflects frustration over the steady loss of the working and middle-class legacy neighborhoods that enabled these businesses to survive.”²⁷²

There are many other related topics that require further examination and study that could not easily be incorporated into this thesis. The concept of a contrived performance of ethnicity is linked to ethnic restaurants and foodways to some degree. This is an avenue for future research, particularly in relation to heritage tourism. The locavore movement, the expanding heirloom grain, seed and plant “movement” and other important sustainability-focused projects such as those overseen by The Delta Institute and The Plant is another aspect and partly related to sustainability in the face of climate change.

Climate change is one of the most urgent areas in need of further study. It will touch everything in some way. It’s effects on our food systems and our built environment

²⁷¹ Randy Shaw, “Legacy Businesses Need Legacy Neighborhoods,” *Beyond Chron: The Voice of the Rest*, August 29, 2016, accessed February 14, 2017, <http://www.beyondchron.org/legacy-businesses-need-legacy-neighborhoods/>.

²⁷²Ibid.

and issues of how flooding, drought and more, will affect our food sources, will change our cuisine, crops, oceans, Great Lakes, architecture, cities, and of course, our survival.

It would be instructive to investigate if and how the most historic restaurants are being preserved in Europe and other continents. More research could illuminate the ways that differ from U.S. policy and evaluate their potential application to the States.

Another arena to watch involves the effects of the current U.S. administration's stance on immigration and resulting affects on Sanctuary Cities, foodways, social justice and preservation of tangible and intangible heritage. A related subject includes cultural diversity and historic preservation: how can we ensure further cultural diversification of the field of preservation? How can we ensure that more voices are heard, as Randall Mason has suggested?

A final area for further research outside of the scope of this thesis is an in-depth analysis of why people like to eat in historic spaces. Why does it appear that are restaurants are one of the likeliest business types to go into an historic rehabbed building? Character-rich spaces and food consumption seem to be linked. This is an interesting concept worthy of further exploration and promotion as a force for historic preservation.

Conclusion

Just as a house can be seen as the repository of the memories of generations, buildings that house restaurants are also repositories of the memories of generations. These include the memories of diners as well as owners, chefs, and employees. If there are several longstanding heritage businesses in a changing neighborhood, preserving those "holdouts" whenever possible as illuminating examples of the living history of the

area, will help to represent the inhabitants who used to make up the majority of neighborhood residents. They stand alone where there used to be many and remind us of what was once there.

Preservation will be most effective as it continues to evolve and adapt in response to a continually changing world. Preservation is about how we interact with our built environment, as well as our relationship to the stories and histories contained within this environment. Recognizing the histories and meanings within this environment is crucial. Donovan Rypkema conveys the interconnection of community and place in “Community, Place, and the Economics of Historic Preservation,” saying:

the two concepts—community and place—are inseparable. “Place” is the vessel within which the “spirit” of community is stored; “community” is the catalyst that imbues a location with a “sense” of place. The two are not divisible. You cannot have community without place; and a place without community is only a location.”²⁷³

This study has considered the intersection of culinary cultural heritage, ethnic heritage, historic restaurants, and preservation of the vitality of neighborhoods and cities. These elements of city history, foodways and immigrant history are intertwined and the preservation action list attempts to grapple with these slippery subjects to promote and preserve these places as important to our lives.

By considering places like the Glunz Tavern, we may in fact be doing far more for preservation than by confining ourselves to more stringent definitions of significance or cultural heritage. An expansion of thought may also be necessary to encompass those

²⁷³ Donovan D. Rypkema, “Community, Place and the Economics of Historic Preservation” New Jersey Historic Preservation Awards Ceremony, Montclair, New Jersey, April 27, 1996, accessed March 10, 2017, <http://www.nj.gov/dep/hpo/4sustain/spkrseries1.pdf>.

places that may be architecturally insignificant for many, such as Mark Kotlick of Calumet Fisheries, whose business is keeping a tradition alive. It is this type of expansion of thought that may save more businesses, and therefore more buildings. Stronger evaluation of heritage as an area for consideration, when evaluating a resource, helps to widen historic preservation and what it may protect, to all of the qualities of a resource. We can enable our urban communities to maintain and to want to maintain this inheritance of place. We can do this as long as we, in the words of Geisking and Mangold in *The People Place and Space Reader* say “our interaction with the environment is dynamic, sensory-rich, and intimately tied to our futures together on this planet.”²⁷⁴ This is essentially a Relphian view of place.

Expanding who performs preservation activity is also important, and therefore opening up opportunities to food groups, community organizations, journalists, and others who spread awareness of culture and awareness of place. If preservationists can continue diversifying the types of resources to preserve, it will be a more realistic depiction or reflection of our environment and the ways we experience that environment and its sense of place. Relph reminds us of the long view. Preservation can still be effective when it can embrace a certain amount of change. Preservationists can learn from legacy business owners in that change can be accommodated. Despite an adapted menu or a modified window, we can consider it a preservation success story if the business still runs, and the building still stands.

The histories that these places embody remind us that historic preservation is

²⁷⁴ Jen Jack Giesecking & William Mangold, Eds., with Cindi Katz, Setha Low, & Susan Saegert. *The People Place and Space Reader*. (New York: Routledge 2015), 257.

fundamentally about people, and our ongoing interaction with the world. MIT Architect James Thomas Rojas says “People are both creators and users of a place and thus become texture in the urban landscape.”²⁷⁵ These meaningful places continue to rapidly dwindle in number, which reminds us that we can be better stewards of the ever-evolving environment that we continue to maintain and shape around us.

²⁷⁵ James Thomas Rojas, “The Enacted Environment- the Creation of ‘Place’ by Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in East Los Angeles,” MIT, 1991.
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APPENDIX I

50 over 50: Chicago's Legacy Restaurant Inventory

In developing a methodology for the Legacy Restaurant Inventory I chose solely restaurants that are at least 50 years old, and applied the James Beard America's Classic Criteria in the selection process: timeless appeal, reflecting the character of their communities. Ownership of the building as well as the business was not a factor in this compilation. This is an initial inventory, and as such I did not survey the varied communities in which these restaurants sit.

1. Tufano's Vernon Park Tap (1931)
2. The Berghoff (1898)
3. Calumet Fisheries (1928)
4. Manny's Deli (194?)
5. Margie's Candies (1921)
6. Old Lviv (194?)
7. Cafe Lutz (1948)
8. Lou Mitchell's (listed in National Register in 2006)
9. Ann Sather's (1945)
10. Bruna's Ristorante (1933)
11. Hagen's Fish Market (1946)
12. Green Door Tavern (1921)
13. Fluky's Hot Dogs (1929)
14. White Castle #16 (1930) designated City landmark
15. Moon's Sandwich Shop (1933)
16. Superdawg's (1948)
17. Twin Anchors (1932)
18. Valois (1921)
19. Home Run Inn (1923)
20. Gene and Georgetti's (since 1941)
21. Daley's Restaurant (1892)
22. Leon's Barbecue (since 1940)

23. Roeser's Bakery since (1911)
24. Alliance Bakery since (1923)
25. Billy Goat Tavern (1934)
26. Green Mill Lounge (BAR) (1907)
27. Romanian Kosher Sausage Company (1957)
28. Jimmys Red Hots (1954)
29. Orange Garden Chinese Restaurant (since 1932)
30. Won Kow (1927)
31. Lindy's Chili & Gertie's Ice Cream (1901)
32. The Walnut Room (1907)
33. Vito and Nick's Pizzeria (1932)
34. Pompeii Bakery (1909)
35. Erickson's Deli (1925)
36. Italian Village (1927)
37. Moon's Sandwich Shop
38. Al's No. 1 Italian Beef. (1938)
39. Superdawg (1948)
40. Ann Sathers (1945)
41. Podhalanka Polska (1950)
42. Miller's Pub (1932)
43. The Diner Grill (1937)
45. Bertucci's Restaurant and Lounge (1933)
46. Frances Deli (1938)
47. Palace Grill on Madison (1938)
48. The Diner Grill (1937)
49. Veteran Tamale Shop (1947)
50. Uno Pizzeria and Grill (1943)

Chicago Brauhaus (1964) **CLOSED 2018**

Schallers Pump (1897) **CLOSED 2018**

Swedish Bakery (1928) **CLOSED 2017**

The Cape Cod Room (1933) **CLOSED 2017**

