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The Cultural Transmission of Cookery Knowledge.

From Seventeenth Century Britain to Twentieth Century New Zealand.

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Abstract

Underpinning most anthropological definitions of culture is the concept of the cultural transmission and diffusion of learned behaviour. Anthropological works generally emphasise the outcomes of this transmission rather than the processes, in part because the mechanisms are either ongoing or practically invisible. Recipes have proved a unique tool for tracking cultural transmission because of their inherent precision and characteristically datable contexts. This study uses recipes to explore the many paths of transmission and diffusion of culinary knowledge. The period under review is from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries and the focus is on British culinary traditions up-to and after, their transfer to New Zealand. It was found that culinary knowledge was disseminated around New Zealand through both formal and informal mechanisms. Formal transmission involved teachers, their school cookery classes and published teaching manuals, all of which played a major role in training school children to cook the dishes served at family meals. In contrast, informal publications such as cookery columns in magazines and newspapers were transmitting recipes for more fashionable dishes, especially baking, and these incorporated mechanisms that promoted innovation more than retention of traditional recipes. The significant role of material culture in cookery provided another pathway of transmission through appliance recipe books which translated established recipes into a form that could be made with the new technology, thereby preventing their disappearance from the culinary repertoires of cooks. It was established that community cookbooks, a common means of fund-raising, were a significant means of diffusing culinary information. The cookbooks produced by such efforts demonstrated change over time in their recipe content, especially if published as a series and such publications were tangible repositories of the cookery knowledge within the community. This study examined not only the pathways of culinary transmission but also the contexts in which it occurred. These circumstances were found to be influential in determining eventual acceptance or rejection of cookery knowledge and recipes, and provide valuable insights into processes of culture change.
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Chapter One — Introduction and Theoretical Perspectives

1.1 Preamble

It will be my son’s birthday in two weeks time and I have decided to make him a cake this year. After many years of home-made theme cakes, he has had to reconcile himself to bought ones in recent times. His favourite cake type is chocolate, so I started searching through my usual source for a recipe, my mother’s manuscript book. Leafing through the stained pages I discovered a recipe for chocolate cake between Fruit Cake (Custard) and Oat Biscuits — the first recipe I ever made on my own and the day I learnt, never, ever pull the electric beater out of the mixture when it is still going. For me, chocolate cake brings to mind Saturday afternoons of family gatherings, date scones and chocolate cake, presided over by my grandmother. Was this the right recipe though? I decided to consult my grandmother’s manuscript book, which I had not looked at for some time.

My grandmother’s manuscript recipe book has no cover and could belong to anyone were it not for the many attributions accompanying the recipes. My grandmother’s best friends are there, and always referred to by their title, Mrs Frame, Mrs MacDonald and Mrs Leggett, although family members are on a first name basis. The ink-penned pages of Nana’s book are predominantly filled with recipes for tangoes, yo yoes, kornie biscuits, ginger crunch, fruit cake, ginger gems, belgian biscuits, hokey pokey biscuits, steam puddings, and ice cream pudding, to list just a few. Any recipes for meat or savoury dishes only appear in the form of pasted-in cuttings from magazine pages. I was fascinated to note that my upright, church-going grandmother, who wouldn’t even say ‘damn’, had been clipping recipes from the New Zealand Truth, a rather risqué publication that reported many of the more sordid details of peoples’ lives.

Comparing the two books, I observed they had many recipes in common, for my mother had copied the ones she liked into her own book. My grandmother’s book had two chocolate cake recipes but I will make my son’s birthday cake from one that is identical in both books — I hope he enjoys it enough to ask for the recipe so that it
can become a family custom. There were many delicious-sounding recipes in my grandmother’s book and I wondered why my mother had chosen the specific recipes that she had copied and not others.

My mother’s cookbook contained recipes from a variety of sources: some in her familiar handwriting; printed offerings cut out from magazines; recipes written in unknown hands, passed on as a gift; and brightly coloured commercial promotions. I reflected that my mother’s recipe collection represented many of the ways cookery knowledge was spread throughout New Zealand. That such dissemination could be a reciprocal process was emphasised when I recognised my own handwriting in my mother’s book, new recipes I had recorded, hopeful of encouraging her to add to her culinary repertoire, although she often remained stubbornly resistant. Looking at three generations of manuscript cookery books, including my own, I realised that they documented a period of culinary history from ink-penned memory aids to recipes printed from the internet. These recipes have meaning and value to me beyond their content. I still use them for family meals or special occasions, selecting some, ignoring others and I have come to understand that in many ways they map who we are as a family, who we were and how we have changed.

1.2 Introduction

Few academic studies have explored how culinary knowledge and meanings are disseminated between people, although many scholars have assumed the existence of effective mechanisms of transmission — their historical overviews would have no coherence without such inter- and intra-generational transfers. In fact most food historians focus on the content of culinary knowledge and its changes through time.

Ethnographic and contemporary anthropological studies emphasise not only that knowledge is culturally produced, and that it occurs within a socio-cultural setting, but also that it can be shared by numerous means. In other words, knowledge can flow along many different paths. Such sharing is not necessarily deliberate or formalised, as in structured teaching and learning sessions. It may equally involve simple observation and later copying. Knowledge may be acquired almost unconsciously. But not all knowledge has the same impact or influence. It is the contention of this
thesis that the mechanisms of transmission of culinary knowledge can affect the assimilation and subsequent distribution of that knowledge. Thus it is important not just to look at the content of a body of knowledge at different points in time, but also at the paths of transmission and diffusion along which that content flows.

This thesis explores the production of cookery knowledge associated with nineteenth century British culture and investigates how this was subsequently transmitted, both synchronically and diachronically, throughout nineteenth and twentieth century New Zealand. In the course of this work I will examine several processes of culinary diffusion throughout the wider ‘community’ of New Zealand, the diversity of these processes, and what role they played in the development of New Zealand’s culinary traditions. This is a very recent field of academic enquiry in New Zealand and the study will break new ground in comparison to previous works on New Zealand’s culinary history, many of which are mainly historical in approach.

In New Zealand the distribution of information about cooking and food occurred through a variety of means which can be considered as either formal or informal. Formal transmission of cookery knowledge, for the purposes of the thesis, is considered to result from the deliberate actions that are undertaken, in a classroom or similar venue, to fulfil a specific objective, such as educational or technical instruction. Conversely, informal diffusion is the intermittent movement of culinary facts, such as recipes, throughout a community, region or country, by means of media such as a magazine cookery page, community cookbook, or person-to-person contact. Although it can be argued that the publication or transfer of such information was intentional, the degree of contact with an audience, or their understanding and acceptance of the cookery material, is essentially unknown.

In this work the terms ‘transmission’ and ‘diffusion’ are often used interchangeably because knowledge stored in texts, such as cookbooks, can be dispersed across space within a brief interval yet still remain accessible for examination over significant periods of time. This capacity of culinary information to exist in a long-term format facilitates comparative studies. In this thesis I will use recipes and cookery books as primary texts to investigate how knowledge about cookery was conceived in late nineteenth British society and how the settlers who emigrated to New Zealand
modified their culinary repertoires soon after they arrived, and during the following one hundred and twenty year period. As Chrisomalis remarks,

Synchronic studies are best suited for examining how societies function (or fail to function) and establishing patterned correlations of cultural traits, whereas diachronic studies better establish how societies change over time (Chrisomalis 2006: 397).

Thus studying the transmission of cookery knowledge in New Zealand provides insight into both aspects.

1.3 Cultural Transmission and Diffusion

It is also well to remember that while diffusion in space, like transmission in time, is an exceedingly common process, it is not something that operates automatically. There are selective factors making for and against diffusion, of which we are beginning to have some comprehension. There are also a number of mechanisms involved in the process; and these it is obviously desirable to distinguish, as far as possible. Idea diffusion is only one of these mechanisms, and probably a rather special one. After all, diffusion happens so frequently and so continuously that we know more about its results than about its operation. We can often be sure that diffusion has been effective, as evidenced by internal part-for-part similarities, when we can only guess its routes or carriers or reasons (A. L. Kroeber 1940: 19–20).

Sixty seven years after anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1940: 19–20) pointed out that we can only guess how the processes of diachronic transmission and synchronic diffusion function, anthropologists are still not in accord about how these occur, what are the units transmitted, or how to evaluate them. While most anthropologists will agree that it is cultural information, in some form, which is spread throughout communities and populations, as Kennedy (2007: 32) explains, there is still no current consensus about what culture itself is, apart from the fact that it is learned. Although the outcomes of cultural dissemination are often exceedingly visible in many societies today (in fashion or music for example), quite how and why some ideas or items of material culture become successful, remain popular, or evolve into new concepts or artefacts, are often not discerned or understood.
The basic objective of this thesis is to advance theoretical understanding in archaeology and material culture studies by identifying and examining several forms of cultural transmission that operated in New Zealand during the nineteenth and centuries. This thesis will develop and test a new methodology to determine its viability to analyse modes of cultural transmission, the manner of their dissemination and any subsequent impacts. This work combines the new method, micro-analysis of recipes, with recent research in Cultural Transmission (CT) (2005, 2007) together with new explorations into the archaeology of pedagogy (2008) (both explained below) and applies them to a number of the methods by which cookery knowledge was transmitted to, and within New Zealand.

In all societies, people share and transmit knowledge — a multitude of ideas, behaviours, habits and practices. Some succeed and are handed down from generation to generation. Others fail to catch on or exist only for a short time before they disappear. Human populations carry a pool of culturally-acquired knowledge (Richerson and Boyd 2005: 59). Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 244) refer to this concept as a ‘worldview’: complex webs of rules and algorithms that individuals use for acquiring and sorting information. Worldviews, they argue, are cognitive filters that not only sort and make sense of incoming information but also affect subsequent cultural transmission. In order to explain why cultures are as they are, why some cultural variants spread and persist while others disappear we need to keep track of the processes of transmission. As Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 253, 261) maintain, among archaeologists the notion of cultural transmission of information has always been implicit, because although we know they have occurred we cannot directly see transmission events in the archaeological record.

When cultural knowledge is transmitted it is subject to selection and change, in other words knowledge can evolve. Cultural evolution is one of the models used to explain human behaviour and culture change. This model is much debated and contentious, and it is not the intention of this thesis to enter this contested arena to argue the merits of one approach over another (a thesis-long endeavour in itself). It is however important to explain how CT is positioned in this work. Cultural transmission is simply the idea that similarity in artefacts and behaviour may be caused by the exchange of information using a non-genetic means. CT acts to separate information
transfer from biological reproduction and is based on the actions and decisions of individuals where information is passed from one to another through social learning (Eerkens and Lipo 2007: 242). Shennan (2008: 3175) also emphasises that in the case of culture, the inheritance mechanism is social learning: people learn ways to think and act from others. Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 240) explain that a common misunderstanding about evolutionary studies in archaeology is that 'common descent' is somehow equivalent to biological reproduction and/or that 'selection' is held to mean that the individuals making those artefacts did not survive. They emphasise that while that may have true is some previous evolutionary approaches, in their view, these ideas are outdated and of little relevance to cultural transmission theory in archaeology Eerkens and Lipo 2007: 240–241).

I will briefly background some of recent international discussions that occur within the large body of social scientists interested in cultural evolution to first highlight the complexity of the debates, then second to indicate why the cultural transmission approach as used in this thesis is significant to this issue.

In their paper's Mesoudi et al. (2006) and Gintis (2007) both advocate for an integrated multidisciplinary approach to cultural evolution, although they consider a Darwinian perspective as the only possible model. Anthropologist Tim Ingold (2007: 13) believes a combined approach to cultural evolution would be less than useful and he takes issue with Mesoudi, Whiten and Laland's (2006) article, as much for its negative assessment of the current state of sociocultural anthropology, as for its mission to unify the study of culture along Darwinian lines. Some anthropologists, for example Bentley (2007: 19) and Smith (2007: 41), consider that the endeavour is itself admirable but essentially unobtainable because of the epistemological diversities within the behavioural sciences themselves.

Although Sperber and Claidière (2006: 20) recognise the attraction of using a Darwinian theory of evolution by natural selection to study variation, competition and inheritance in cultural evolution, they points to several inherent problems in this idea. The most important and central basis of biological heritability is replication of DNA because it allows the faithful conservation of genetic information, and therefore the propagation of successful genotypes. However, as Sperber and Claidière (2006: 20)
state, cultural evolution is achieved through many and different mechanisms, none of which is central and none of which is a robust replication mechanism. As Sperber and Claidière (2006: 21) emphasise, unlike genes, cultural material does not self-reproduce. In recent years social scientists have extended their interpretations of cultural transmission beyond previous conceptions and Ingold (2007: 14) believes that for many, these traits of culture have now become entities in themselves, adapting to their environments as organisms do. Susan Blackmore (2006: 349–350) claims that culture took off on its own evolutionary trajectory and that there are already many memes created that have never had contact with a human being. This idea of culture as completely separate and autonomous from humans does not however have wide acceptance among anthropologists.

Some studies of cultural transmission emphasise that models where cultures “inherit” the cultural traits of parent populations are the primary force, while others maintain that both vertical and horizontal transmission are significant processes, although it is quite possible that a specific trait may show vertical transmission in one context and horizontal transmission in another (Mulder et al. 2006: 59). However, Bridgeman (2006: 351) considers that because cultural units are not like Mendelian units, independent of one another, and can influence each other, they should be considered as part of an overall cultural system. In contrast, Lyman (2007: 239, 241) refers to these vertical and horizontal processes as ‘diachronic evolutionary processes’ and ‘synchronic operational processes’. Lyman (2007: 239, 241–242) views the synchronic operational processes as repetitive and cyclical, unable to affect change over time, while the diachronic evolutionary processes are constantly producing something new and different. Lyman’s (2007) relegation of synchronic transmission to an operational process fails to acknowledge the rapid variations in many forms of material culture now experienced in society, for example, in culinary equipment, food and recipes, and possibly owes more to an archaeological perspective than an anthropological one.

Many of the complications in the deliberations about cultural evolution and transmission arise from the lack of agreement or cohesion in establishing any basic parameters with which to define, study or analyse facets of this subject. As Bridgeman (2006: 351) explains, for a start there are difficulties in defining culture or cultural
units. Eerkens and Lipo (2005) concur, emphasising that “there are no agreed-upon units of cultural transmission” (Eerkens and Lipo 2005: 318). Despite the use of terms such as “memes” (Dawkins 1976; Blackmore 2000), culturgens (Lumsden and Wilson 1981), and cultural traits (Lyman and O’Brien 2003; Mulder et al. 2006) by a number of social scientists (including anthropologists and archaeologists) as ways of defining units of culture, there appears to be little consensus, either within or between disciplines. Eerkens and Lipo (2005: 318) however provide an explanation for these on-going difficulties with a collaborative definition of cultural unit when they suggest that it is the variety of sizes and scales in the physical forms of the cultural information, together with their dynamic nature, that make any all-inclusive definition difficult.

One metaphor used to capture the characteristics of the cultural trait is that of a ‘recipe’ (Krause 1985: 30–31; Schiffer and Skibo 1987: 597; Neff 1992: 160; Lyman and O’Brien 2003: 242–245; Lyman 2006: 358). Lyman (2006: 358) suggests that the how, when, where, and why required to produce a behaviour or an artefact (a behavioural by-product) is contained in a recipe. As Lyman (2006: 358) explains, “[a] cultural trait (recipe) includes a set of ingredients, rules for acquiring ingredients, rules for preparing and measuring ingredients, rules for mixing and cooking (metaphorically) ingredients and what to do with the finished product” (Lyman and O’Brien 2003: 243; Lyman 2006: 358). Lyman (2006: 358) conceives of his analogous recipe (cultural trait) as a plastic entity, able to be transmitted individually or as a more or less complete set that can be mixed or altered to produce (metaphorically) a chocolate cake or a yellow cake, or a cookie or a pot roast.

I have argued previously, (Inglis, 2002), that recipes can be conceived of as a form of proto-material culture because they carry the instructions to reproduce (if followed exactly) items of material culture (ephemeral dishes of food). Such recipes or group of recipes (cookbook), not only stand as a representative form of cooked items but are also illustrative of a process — cooking (in its broadest sense of preparing food for consumption). Recipes therefore, contain information which is transmitted, and can be used to discern the transmission processes. This thesis draws on Eerkens and Lipo’s (2005) approach with their emphasis on separating the process of transmission from the information being transmitted (2005: 318). Eerkens and Lipo (2005: 319) then go
on to specify the three different conceptual locations where variation may occur during transmission: first, in the transmission of the instruction set itself; secondly, during the execution of that instruction set; and thirdly, as a result of heterogeneity of the raw material out of which a variant is generated. Relating these concepts to a recipe, correlating examples would be — variation in the final product when the original recipe has been incorrectly copied; leaving out a step or ingredient when making the product; and lastly, variation in an ingredient that affects the made dish. The original recipe of course remains the same.

The cultural environment in which transmission of a recipe (or cookery book) takes place, the origin of the information, its content, the context and way in which it is dispersed and received all have a considerable affect on determining acceptance or rejection, and any subsequent adaptations. As Kroeber (1963: 96–97) maintained, cultural environment has a significant influence on shaping the members of a culture, whether they eat with a fork and not with chopsticks, or eat bread and butter in place of rice, and although Kroeber (1963: 98) claims that people have choices within cultures, he also insists that their understandings of these are culturally-dependent.

This cultural awareness is passed from one generation to the next through formal and informal processes. Kroeber (1963: 96) terms the formal component of this transmission — education, where the customs and rules of society are conveyed either through schools and religious institutions, or are acquired in the home, while the less formal processes of absorbing social and cultural attitudes, behaviours, gestures and speech patterns operate through casual interaction with and imitation of elders and peers. Kroeber (1963: 155) adds that this assimilation and participation by the younger generation in their society and culture occurs through two main mechanisms: voluntary adaptation — imitation (learning from example and wanting to conform) and from education (learning by being taught or trained). While the former process may be carried out either consciously or unconsciously, he states (1963: 155) that education in the main is a conscious process, even though its implications may often be overlooked.

Neither education nor imitation itself, Kroeber (1963: 219) explains, involves any element of innovation or change, both being primarily concerned with perpetuation of
the culture; they are simply learning processes that reinforce each other. However, Kroeber (1963: 220) argues that when diffusion takes place, although there will be some resistance to acceptance of the new cultural material, innovation and learning still occur, but the role of education in conveying such information diminishes. Kroeber’s (1963) idea of education, and presumably teachers, as mainstays of cultural values is still relevant to some extent when Eerkens and Lipo’s (2005: 318) concept of separating information content from the process of transmission is taken into account. Formal educational institutions in New Zealand society, for a number of years maintained traditional methods to disseminate cookery information, and it was the less formal means, like magazines that were more successful in conveying new ideas and recipes. To determine the full extent of knowledge dispersal and acquisition requires a comprehensive and extensive approach.

In their recent publication on cultural transmission theory Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 245, 261) explain that although archaeologists can assume that cultural transmission has taken place, the lack of actual physical evidence for CT has hampered research and little has been done so far to systematically address how the transmission events occurred. As Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 245) explain, unlike DNA, which is physically passed from person to person in genetic transmission, in CT there is no such empirical entity, or physical “chunk” of material that is passed from individual to individual. In the CT model, evolution, or change over time, is produced by the selection, invention or modification, and differential transmission of behaviours or artefacts (Eerkens and Lipo 2007: 246).

Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 239, 247) argue that both the cultural information and transmission processes are affected by the content, context, and modes of presentation and acquisition. Content, includes the complexity of the information, its physical form, the repetitiveness with which it is presented, and how it is structured. According to Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 247), any variation and diversity in material culture can be related to such content. The complexity of the information can significantly impact on its preservation or disappearance, and on the fidelity of transmission. Information can be in a written, verbal or visual format, with written facts (like recipes in a cookbook) less likely to experience variation or error than visual or verbally-presented ones,
while verbal-only information has the highest error rate in transmission (Eerkens and Lipo 2007: 248).

Context refers to the physical and social setting in which the cultural information is transmitted. Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 249) hypothesise that the physical and social context in which the information is transmitted can impede or change the content of what is being transmitted. For example, a noisy situation could hinder its dissemination while a quiet classroom could assist it. Social context may also affect the outcome of transmission events. When information is conveyed by a prestigious individual it is frequently regarded with greater esteem, and hence potentially retransmitted with greater accuracy because of this association with authoritative credibility (Eerkens and Lipo 2007: 249).

The way in which individuals transmit and acquire information, the mode, can vary depending on the number of people involved, the direction of the transmission, and how it is packaged. Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 250) list the direction of their information transfers as: one-to-one, many-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many. In this work these ideas can be applied to dispersal of cookery knowledge, where in one-to-one transfers, recipes could be exchanged between friends. Many-to-one could relate to an individual reading recipes from a community-contributed cookbook. The information flow from one-to-many could apply to the situation of a cookery teacher to a class, a cookbook author to multiple readers, or the culinary advice from a radio, or television cookery expert. A many-to-many example could occur where a number of people attended a conference, or home science refresher course, and exchanged information among themselves, or from a panel to a class. It could also be argued that cookery knowledge (recipes) contributed to a magazine that has a wide distribution, this is in some ways a many-to-many transfer because although each magazine is read by an individual, it has the potential to spread new recipes, concepts and technological information amongst many readers and thereby affect their culinary repertoires.

A recent study by Rogers and Ehrlich (2008) makes a significant contribution to this field by demonstrating how different cultural evolutionary processes can be identified and distinguished from one another. Rogers and Ehrlich (2008: 3418) analysed the symbolic and functional design features of Polynesian canoes to show that the
functional traits changed at a significantly slower rate than the symbolic traits. Rogers and Ehrlich (2008: 3418) suggest that these results mean that despite the different ways in which cultural traits are transmitted, predictable evolutionary mechanisms may contribute to resulting patterns of change. They also found that there was no correlation at all in the similarities between island groups in terms of functional canoe variation and the similarities based on symbolic variation (Rogers and Ehrlich 2008: 3418; Shennan 2008: 3176).

In their new paper, ‘Towards an Archaeology of Pedagogy’, Tehrani and Riede (2008) introduce the concept of teaching and how this can impact on both the inter-generational transmission of information and the generation of material culture traditions. ‘While archaeologists, they argue, have often implicitly included notions of teaching and learning in their formations of culture, they have seldom sought explicitly to distinguish between specific modes of cultural transmission or to analyse the impact these might have on in generating larger-scale patterns of synchronic and diachronic variation in material culture (Tehrani and Riede 2008: 324). Archaeologists are now beginning to focus their attention on such matters with recent research like Eerkens and Lipo (2007) (discussed above) (Tehrani and Riede 2008: 318).

Teaching, Tehrani and Riede (2008: 320) point out, can take a variety of different forms and should not necessarily be equated with highly directive instruction, like the kind used in a school classroom. The specific ways in which crafts, for example, are taught and learned have, Tehrani and Riede (2008: 318) argue, the potential to influence the diversity and stability of artefact assemblages. Imitation and emulation are two examples of learning strategies used by Tehrani and Riede (2008: 318) to demonstrate difference in how information is learned, retained and retransmitted. Imitation, where an observer copies the specific set of actions enacted by a role model, allows learners to reproduce complex and intricate patterns accurately. While Tehrani and Riede (2008: 318) claim that as such it is thought to be important to the emergence and long-term stability of cognitively opaque craft and tool making traditions they doubt that this method is able to sustain material culture traditions over a long time-scale. Written instructions, when used in tandem with demonstration and
imitation (as in recipes and cookery classes), could prove more durable in a number of circumstances.

Emulation, in which an observer focuses only on the outcomes of the copied actions (that is, goals that motivated them or products having desirable qualities), allows learners to borrow and manipulate behaviours observed in others. This is an import importance source of volatility and innovation in styles and technologies, according to Tehrani and Riede (2008: 318).

Tehrani and Riede (2008: 320, 322) use ethnographic case studies to show examples of teaching and cultural transmission: In Iran and Central Asia, the transmission of textile knowledge from mothers to daughters; stone-knapping in New Guinea; and weaving in Chiapas, to hypothesise that that teaching has most probably been an important mechanism of material culture transmission since at least the Lower Palaeolithic and was almost certainly present in later prehistoric and historic periods. For Tehrani and Riede (2008: 322), the difficulties in trying to distinguish specific modes of transmission that cannot be directly observed make finding empirical proof of their theories a significant challenge.

These ideas of how information transmission can be affected by its content, context, and mode and considerations of teaching by imitation and emulation are integrated into this research. This thesis uses the concept of recipes as cultural units of information and examines how their information content is affected by the various mechanisms by which they are dispersed. Throughout New Zealand culinary knowledge was disseminated in both formal and informal settings by cookery experts who ranged from well-known celebrities to people virtually unknown outside of their immediate social circles. Recipes, and cookery books, therefore offer ideal examples of culturally-produced discrete units of information that can be examined to discover how content, context, and the modes of teaching, presentation and acquisition relate to variation and fidelity in recipe content, the effectiveness of several transmission processes, and why certain recipes are adopted into, and retained in, culinary repertoires.
Cultural Transmission and Diffusion in Food Studies

Culinary historians writing on the history of food, and its development and changes over time, frequently discuss the impact of new plants and animals on local foodways, implying vectors of diffusion and transmission without directly referring to them or examining their processes. For example Adamson (2004: xiii) described how Marco Polo brought back oriental foodstuffs and ideas to Venice from his travels along the Silk Road to China. The emergence of new food processing technology, particularly in relation to the introduction of unfamiliar food items or ingredients, can also be studied to discern pathways of diffusion and transmission. For example, Leach (1999) used a comparison between Irish acceptance of the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) in late sixteenth century Ireland, and the introduction of the first wheat crop to the Maori in New Zealand, to examine the role of food processing technology in the introduction of new foods which subsequently became staples. Leach (1999: 136–137) established that cultural factors functioned as critical determinants to the acceptability of new crops and to the speed at which they moved between cultures. Culturally-dependent taste preferences, technological costs, and economic potential were all aspects that operated relatively independently.

Although Leach (1999) examined many of the mechanisms by which culinary knowledge is dispersed in this work, she does not however, explicitly identify them as diffusion and transmission. Many other detailed socio-historical accounts also refer indirectly to methods of cultural transmission. When new foodstuffs subsequently appear as the ingredients of recipes and cookery manuscripts, or printed cookbooks, then historical accounts of culinary diffusion can be substantiated.

Recording, or writing down ingredients and cookery methods was a critical occurrence in history, not only for the transmission and diffusion of culinary knowledge at the time, but also for the later analysis of the textual material that remains. Once recipes were written down, available for scrutiny and duplication, they could bear witness to the subsequent movement of the dishes they described across countries and continents. Early English cookery books, like the fourteenth century English manuscript, *The Forme of Cury*, (c.1390), and several fifteenth century cookbooks, all contain variations of most of the recipes listed in the French texts, *Le
Menagier de Paris (c.1393), or Viandier (c.1380) by Taillevent, who reportedly also collected his recipes from earlier sources (Mennell 1985: 49–50). Laurioux (1999: 297) reports that the Viandier manuscripts evolved over time and that the printed version of 1486 bore little resemblance to the earlier editions.

Printed books facilitate the process of social emulation — whether it is of cookery or fashion, for one class was able to see the habits, styles and interests of the other (Mennell 1985: 64), and social aspiration is, of course, a frequent catalyst for change. According to Adamson (2004: xiv), the world’s first printed cookery book was an Italian publication, De honesta voluptate et valetudine (1475), although Mennell (1985: 65) claims the honour for a German book, Kuchenmeisterey (1485). Both these early printed cookbooks were translated into other European languages, suggesting a means of culinary diffusion. Once printed cookery books were in circulation, they lent themselves to copying. Wheaton (1983: xxi) maintains that outright plagiarism was a permanent feature of cookbooks, with the result that many recipes persisted across the publishing histories of more than one writer’s books. Just how quickly such recipes were assimilated into culinary cultures appears to vary. Mennell (1985: 65) details Elizabeth David’s belief that during the later period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was typically a lag of up to four decades between the appearance of a cookery book and changes in cookery practice from that book. Mennell (1985: 65) however reports that in eighteenth century France some of the books seem to represent the latest culinary fashions.

The disciplines of anthropology and sociology have long and respectable histories in food studies but often do not directly address the mechanisms of transmission and diffusion although their work implies their existence. One such example is Sydney Mintz’s classic study Sweetness and Power (1985) in which Mintz explores how sucrose evolved from a virtually unknown substance in Europe in 1000 C.E., into an essential part of the English diet by 1900 C.E. Initially classed as a spice, sugar was gradually accepted into the medicines and food of the aristocracy, then its use filtered down into the lower classes over the next several hundred years, as it became cheaper and more widely available. Mintz (1985) assesses the reasons underlying this development and examines processes through which it occurred, for example, in cookery books.
As an ingredient, sugar appeared in cookbooks from the fourteenth century onwards and by the sixteenth the habit of using sugar as a decoration, or centrepiece, on the tables of the nobility was spreading through Europe from North Africa and particularly Egypt (Mintz 1985: 84, 87). Decorations of spun sugar and marchpane (marzipan) were sculptured into various forms such as buildings, or animals. By the late sixteenth century the appearance of subtleties (sugar creations for display) occurred in families neither noble nor wealthy, although still within the upper stratum of society (Mintz 1985: 91). Partridge’s *The Treasure of Commodious Conceits* (1584) contains recipes with sugar as a condiment (to bake a chicken, fry vegetable marrow, or bake an ox tongue) and as a component of marchpane to create fruits, dishes, glasses and cups which could be eaten by guests at the end of the banquet (Partridge 1584; cited by Mintz 1985: 92). Partridge’s (1584) recipe for marchpane appeared in many other cookbooks after that (Mintz 1985: 91). In succeeding decades other authors such as Sir Hugh Platt and Robert May enlarged on Partridge’s techniques, and by 1660 Robert May had made his sugar confections available to wealthy commoners (Mintz 1985: 92–93). The techniques used to form these creations were on what Mintz (1985: 93) terms a downward percolation, in other words a transmission of ideas and methods down through the classes. Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery* (1747) contained two modified recipes of this sort — the first recipe is for Jumballs [sic], quoted by Mintz (1985: 93) as Sir Hugh Platt’s Jumball [sic] and the second is for Hedgehog, a marzipan confection with slivers of almonds sticking out. By this stage sugar’s function as a marker of rank had descended to the middle classes and by the time the poor were able to afford sugar it had lost most of its ‘special’ meaning (Mintz 1985: 94–95). Hannah Glasse’s confectionery cookbook of 1760 was, Mintz (1985: 117) believes, probably the first of its kind, widely read and plagiarised (why Mintz (1985) disregards Mary Eales contribution, *The Compleat Confectioner* (c.1717, 1733) is unclear). Glasse’s (1760) work contained not only the sugar-sculpture frames, previously the sphere of the wealthy, but also recipes for sweetened custards, pastries and creams, all of which required immense quantities of sugar. For Mintz (1985: 118), Hannah Glasse’s recipes provide evidence of the filtering down of sugar to the middle and lower classes of society.
In his classic work, *All Manners of Food* (1985), comparing English and French eating habits from the Middle Ages to the present, much of Mennell’s attention is focused on broad social processes and factors of change relating to cookery and food. Within his work Mennell (1985) uses examples that demonstrate transmission and diffusion, such as the ways in which cookery practices or social attitudes towards food and eating change over time in cookery books, or move downwards in the social scale. Although he does not always refer to these processes explicitly or attempt to document their effectiveness, he does examine some of the factors that stimulated culinary diffusion. Mennell (1985: 67) queries whether the writing down of recipes and their successive dissemination through printing had implications for the theory and practice of cookery, in the way that literacy has for other aspects of thought, custom and culture. Mennell (1985: 67) claims that the existence of manuscript recipe collections and printed cookery books had several consequences within the circle of professional cooks. First, culinary transmission was no longer absolutely dependent on the apprenticeship system and direct personal relationship. Secondly, written recipes were more authoritative in tone than verbal communication, while printed cookbooks preserved the recipe’s name and contents more consistently. In his third example Mennell (1985: 67) argues that cookbooks helped promote innovation and change because successful culinary practices could be accumulated and disseminated more rapidly and widely. Mennell (1985: 65) claims that while there may, in some instances, be cooks who continued to rely on the tried and proven, the actual production of written texts encouraged their replication, testing and improvement. Such occurrences also encouraged technical cohesion and a common repertoire of methods and recipes amongst the cooks of the social elite, and although these developments were not solely reliant on the appearance of printed cookery books, there is little doubt that they encouraged them (Mennell 1985: 67–68).

In Lehmann’s (2003) extensive study of eighteenth century British cookbooks, evidence of culinary diffusion and transmission is present as the concept of recipe ‘borrowing’. In her work Lehmann (2003) provides a socio-historical account of cookery books, their recipes, and changes in British cookery practices during the century. As she explores the changing role of women cookbook authors, emerging from the domestic sphere into the professional, Lehmann (2003: 105) highlights the obvious borrowing of recipes that occurred between cookbooks. Such an example is
the anonymous author of *The Lady’s Companion* (1740) who took his/her receipts [an early term for recipe] from a variety of sources — E. Smith, Richard Bradley, Charles Carter and La Chapelle. Lehmann (2003: 379) explains how shifting patterns of taste, that is, the system of cultural and aesthetic values relating to food in this instance, were evident during the course of the century in the pages of the cookbooks, and she argues that contemporary French recipes were more likely to have been circulated by these subsequent ‘borrowings’, or diffusion, than through the expensive original editions (Lehmann 2003: 105).

Hannah Glasse was one of the most successful cookery authors of the eighteenth century, an acclaim that may have rested in her ability to borrow recipes from other cookbook sources. Lehmann (2003: 110) explains that Glasse’s book, *The Art of Cookery, Made Plain and Easy* (1747) consisted of 342 out of 972 borrowed receipts, most notably from the 1743 edition of *The Lady’s Companion*. It can also be argued however that this type of recipe appropriation was a form of diffusion and transmission and actually ensured the survival of the most popular examples. Hannah Glasse (1747) evidently tested and adapted the savoury dishes before including them in her book, although she tended to take the receipts for sweet dishes verbatim. Lehmann (2003:110–111) views this behaviour as an indication of Glasse’s modernity that reflected the drop in prestige of the sweet dish in favour of a French-influenced savoury one. However this seems unlikely in light of her later publication of a confectionery cookery book in 1760. Lehmann (2003: 110) also explains that Glasse (1747) composed her cookbook very rapidly and because of this she may not have had time to test the recipes for sweets as they are more time consuming.

Another example of the implicit processes of transmission or diffusion can be seen in Fisher’s (2006) account of the development of the American cookbook. The first chapter — the beginning of the great American recipe exchange, briefly describes observations of the cookery practices and foods of the Native Americans and the increasing cultural diversity of the colonial kitchens “as neighbours shared food ideas and cooking techniques, and exchanged recipes” (Fisher 2006: 4). Cookbooks by authors such as E. Smith, Hannah Glasse and Elizabeth Raffald were popular both in England and in the colonies, with the first American edition of *The Compleat Housewife or, Accomplish’d Gentlewoman’s Companion* (1727) published in 1742
(Fisher 2006: 9). Although this cookbook was originally published under the authorship of only the initials E. S., by the fifth edition E. Smith is acknowledged as the author (Lehmann 2003: 451). Yost (1938: 421, 426) explains that the American print run was taken from the fifth (1732) edition and that Parks (the printer) only selected those recipes which were useful and practical in America and left out the recipes which had ingredients and materials unobtainable there.

Amelia Simmons’ American Cookery (1796) was the first American-written cookbook adapted for local conditions (Fisher 2006: 12–13). Copying recipes from other cookbooks without acknowledging their source was common practice at that time and according to culinary historian Karen Hess (1996), many of Simmons’ recipes were taken from Susannah Carter’s The Frugal Housewife (c.1793) (Hess 1996; as cited in Fisher 2006: 14). Simmons’ entire collection of recipes was then later plagiarised in the 1808 edition of American Cookery with Lucy Emerson credited as the author (Hess 1996; as cited in Fisher 2006: 14). As Fisher (2006: 14) explains, Simmons’ 1796 book was the first American-published work to capture in print the recipes that colonial cooks had been modifying and using and passing from generation to generation. In chapter three Fisher (2006) also provides examples of selected nineteenth century cookery books and the development of regional cookery, while chapter four examines the role of cooking school teachers in the spread of culinary information. Unfortunately Fisher’s (2006: 34–55) chapter on cooking school teachers only offers tantalisingly brief details about a few culinary experts, their cooking schools and cookbooks and falls short of addressing how much of their information was new, and the extent to which it was diffused, accepted into the wider community and passed down to future generations. In her description of the development of the community (charity) cookbook, Fisher (2006: 59) cites Cook’s (1971) opinion that community cookbooks more accurately reflect the cooking fashions in various parts of the United States than do the authored cookery books and they chronicle changes in technology, such as the transition from wood-burning stoves to gas and electrical appliances (Cook 1971: 7; as cited in Fisher 2006: 59). Fisher’s (2006) work describes the communities behind the books and details some examples of their contents, but there is little attention paid to concepts of transmission or diffusion of culinary knowledge, regional differences, or to comparing recipes within or between the books, communities, regions etc.
Other recent approaches, like Nussel’s (2006) study of the connections between immigrant women and their use of the community cookbook to preserve cultural foodways, assume that diffusion and transmission occur without addressing the processes. Nussel (2006: 959) argues that community cookbooks not only maintained a group’s ethnic recipes but could also be the mode for disseminating values as well as an essential tool for assimilation. Nussel’s (2006) work is more concerned with authenticating community cookbooks as valid sources of analytical material rather than focusing on how transmission or diffusion may have taken place or statistically examining the subsequent success or failure of their recipes.

In contrast, contributors to the Eighth Symposium of the International Commission for Research into European Food History (ICREFH) on “The diffusion of food culture: cookery and food education in Europe from the eighteenth century to the present day” in Prague 2003, combined contemporary approaches to examining how and why food culture changes with investigations about how it diffuses through societies. The subsequent book of symposium proceedings, edited by Oddy and Petráňová (2005), contains papers that the presenters considered illustrated the variation in transmission and diffusion of food-related knowledge. Although all the chapters explore the diffusion of food culture to greater or lesser extents, Oddy and Petráňová (2005: 19) admit that the overall mechanism of how it actually occurred is not considered directly in any chapter. Oddy and Petráňová (2005: 19–20) explain that a formal mechanism, believed to have transmitted information on food culture, is described in the chapter on home economics colleges training cookery teachers for schools and providing demonstrators for housewives organisations. However, Oddy and Petráňová (2005: 20) maintain, there is little evidence of the effectiveness of either the teachers or the demonstrators in passing on culinary knowledge. It is much more likely, they claim, that most girls learned from their mothers and, if they could read, turned to magazines.
1.5 Recipes and Cookbooks as Sources for Academic Analysis

As I have discussed in the previous section, few approaches to studies of food and foodways consider the mechanisms by which cultural messages about food and cookery are spread amongst people, communities, regions and countries. Recipes and cookbooks are, it is now acknowledged, significant social documents that contain quantitative data. Their pages are filled with the inherited knowledge of a culture or community, and each cookbook displays the skill and technical understanding of its author, or compiler/s. Cookery books are frequently ideal markers of the introduction of new ingredients, culinary fashions and technological innovations, because, like their writers, they reflect the food habits and culture in which they circulate. Contemporary society exists in a constantly changing milieu, and cookbooks can profile a slice of culinary culture at the time of their printing.

In recent decades significant research has been undertaken establishing cookbooks as social documents, which form legitimate sites of scholarly enquiry to study food habits. Works by Ireland (1981), Appadurai (1988), Bower (1997), Neuhaus (1999), Inness (2001) Longone (2001), Meyers (2001), Theophano (2002), Floyd and Forster (2003), and Fisher (2006) have all contributed to a body of knowledge where studying cookbooks helped to relate food habits and cookery practices to the people that produced them. Acknowledging and examining the gender, cultural, social, ethnic, religious and historical circumstances in which communities and societies existed provides the context and the intention behind their food habits and practices. These studies, with their assumptions about the dispersal of information or speculations concerning acceptance and resistance of messages, do not typically address the mechanisms of transmission and diffusion explicitly or how to monitor and analyse them.

1.6 Food Studies in New Zealand

Cookery knowledge is embedded within concepts of culture, that is, it is inherent within culturally specific and socially agreed upon customs, beliefs, understandings and patterns of behaviour. Studies may observe food habits at individual, community,
ethnic and national levels, and may include types and combinations of foods, cooking methods, and transmission of culinary practices. In more recent times the study of New Zealand food habits has been advanced by both historical and anthropological approaches. These works are undertaken in several different ways. There is the New Zealand wide form of enquiry, examining how the food system emerged and changed over a period of time. There is also the investigation of individual recipes or ingredients, how they arrived in New Zealand and what influence they had on culinary repertoires.

Historical works such as David Burton's *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Food and Cookery* (1982) offer a historical summary of New Zealand eating habits over time accompanied by a number of recipes. Burton (1982: xii) starts from the premise that it was the nineteenth century immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales who most influenced New Zealand's eating patterns. He then proceeds to suggest determinants for changes in food habits like the environmental factors of climate and geography, and cultural tradition although he does not address the process of change. Tony Simpson (1985, 1999) also addresses the topic of colonial eating and the development of New Zealanders' food habits. He considers that elements such as the introduction of new food technology, culinary traditions, climate, geography, social emulation, nutrition and home science, were all aspects, to some degree, in what he believes is the decline of the national diet. Simpson (1985, 1999) also illustrates his text with recipes.

Anthropologist Helen Leach has been undertaking research about horticulture, cooking, kitchen gardens, recipes, cookbooks, food habits, cultural transmission and dietary changes for almost three decades. Although her subject matter ranges from kitchen gardens in the ancient Near East (1982) to food habits (2007) there are several key themes associated with Leach's work on food, food habits and cooking that are relevant to this work. First, food is produced (e.g. prepared and cooked), eaten, shared and understood within a cultural context, secondly new foods will be accepted more readily if they fit within an already familiar tradition of culinary production and thirdly, cookbooks are social documents, worthy of academic research and interpretation.
This combination of Leach’s ideas culminated in the 2004 award of funding from the Royal Society of New Zealand’s Marsden Fund for a three year project to document the development of New Zealand’s culinary traditions in nineteenth and twentieth century New Zealand. New Zealand is an ideal location in which to undertake this type of study as it is small enough for the available data to be sufficient for analysis yet not excessive for the three year period. It is an island setting with various filtering mechanisms affecting the introduction and dispersal of culinary information. The country has rich sources of archival material in its library collections and university databases. Periodicals and newspapers had good distribution networks ensuring the flow of information throughout the country, while there were also numerous groups of local women employing the medium of the community cookbook for fund-raising purposes. The project is a team undertaking with Professor Leach as the principal investigator and six other members. As part of the Marsden investigation, this thesis has some clearly defined parameters. For example, it does not investigate Maori cookery, as that is the purview of another team member who is Tangata Whenua. This model of research is an example of what Smith (1999: 178) refers to as a bicultural approach where indigenous researchers take responsibility for interviewing indigenous participants and the interviewing of non-indigenous participants is done by non-indigenous researchers.

Prior to the commencement of the Marsden project much of the research into New Zealand’s culinary history was less focused around a central theme. For example, Bailey and Earle (1993, 1999) provided an account of qualitative and quantitative changes in the kinds of foods eaten and prepared in New Zealand from 1880–1990, and Helen Robinson (2005) examined meat eating in New Zealand, 1945–2005. Steel (2005) explored the historical and cultural significance of butter in the New Zealand diet, arguing that a variety of factors including the culinary traditions of the immigrants, imperialism, baking and its association to hospitality and display, fat content and nutritional aspects, and butter’s value to the New Zealand economy, all played a part in determining New Zealanders’ dietary and culinary preferences.

Investigations originating from the University of Otago began to centre on themes of cultural change, food habits and food acceptance. Janet Mitchell (1995) combined a structural and sociological approach to examine the mechanisms of cultural change in
her MA thesis, Changing Food Habits of New Zealanders of European Descent 1870–1970. Using evidence of new technology, influences from the University of Otago’s School of Home Science, cookbooks and magazines, Mitchell (1995) was able to document change and continuity in New Zealand food habits.

In 2002 Inglis argued that recipes could be studied as a form of proto- or surrogate material culture, which subsequently stood-in for the original food item. Because a dish of food is essentially ephemeral, the permanent record of its combination of ingredients and manufacturing instructions (the recipe), could therefore be examined in its place. Analysing collections of recipes (as in cookbooks) thus provided insights into the food or cookery practices of their authors, or contributors. Inglis (2002) then evaluated the recipes in twenty-three New Zealand community-contributed cookery books from a three-decade period, using a micro-analysis technique of recording and comparing the recipe names, ingredients, manufacturing and cooking processes and recipe concepts. Inglis (2002) concluded that the analytical model developed to undertake this study was both viable and sensitive enough to discern changing social conditions that were direct responses to external events. Recipes and cookery books constitute a distinctive genre of writing; there is information incorporated into their texts and stylistic arrangements that reflects social and cultural patterns of behaviour, particularly those that constitute cookery practices.

Leach and Inglis (2003) used the micro-analysis technique to examine a named recipe type, the Christmas Cake, to determine if a recipe that embodies a significant social occasion in New Zealand culture would reflect changing socio-economic circumstances over an eight-decade period, from 1901–1980. Surprisingly a recipe that was thought to be relatively traditional and unchanging (because of its place in the customary offering of a piece of Christmas cake to family and visitors at this time), in practice was found to illustrate a wide range of cultural factors in a dynamic way. In order to participate in the cake-sharing custom, cooks modified and adapted their recipes to suit their changing situations. Leach and Inglis (2003: 163) were able to conclude that recipes for Christmas cakes in New Zealand reflected economic conditions, social factors, ideological values and changes in popular taste.
The New Zealand Culinary History conference held in Wellington, November 2005, produced a conference publication (Hunter and Symons, 2006) containing a number of multidisciplinary approaches to New Zealand’s culinary history. Only the ones most relevant to this thesis are mentioned here. In her keynote speech entitled The Archaeology of the Cookbook, Helen Leach (2006a) advocated a range of foci from the proto-material culture of recipes to the non-archaeological assemblages we know as recipe books. Leach (2006a) recommended a combination of the fine-grained micro-analysis technique along with an examination of the structure of cookbooks and their individual sections for maximum comprehension and interpretation. Leach (2006a) used evidence from Leach and Inglis (2003) (discussed above) to demonstrate the dynamic aspects of the Christmas cake recipe and to compare points of divergence and similarity in soup recipes between two geographically distant communities that adhered to similar cultural traditions.

In her examination of New Zealand cookbooks from 1930–1939, Janet Mitchell (2006a) focused on distinguishing the sources and effects of nutritional information that were making an impression on New Zealanders’ domestic culinary traditions at this time. Dave Veart (2006a) examined New Zealand cookbooks of the 1930s to discern how responsive they were to changing social circumstances and external influences. As well as investigating whether they reflected the poverty and social disruption experienced during the Great Depression, Veart (2006) also looked at a number of other social influences occurring during this period, like the newly popular American movies and the advice of health-food writers, both of which had the potential to impact on New Zealand customary food practices.

In her paper Jane Teal (2006a) demonstrated the variety of social, cultural and technological influences that can be ascertained from a family manuscript book. Because this study was about her own family, Teal (2006) was aware of all the personal and relevant details behind the inclusion of many recipes. Aspects of chronology and transmission, particularly relating to recipe sources or technological constraints were known to the family and added to the richness of Teal’s (2006a) account. Inglis (2006a) discussed multiple methods of culinary transmission in several different media by Maud (Daisy) Basham and likened her to a modern-day webmaster who controlled and managed a flow of culinary information throughout New Zealand.
Michael Symons (2006a) searched for internal clues and measures of 'autobiographical' reliability or historical 'authenticity' in the pages of community cookbooks. Using what he termed 'touchstone' recipes, recipes with distinctive names and concepts, Symons (2006a) traced the frequency with which these recipes appear in a selection of community cookbooks published in New Zealand during the 1930s and 1940s to determine the responsiveness of community cookbooks. He found that most sensitively reflected community repertoires unlike some commercial publications.

The Culinary History conference (2005) heightened awareness of cookbooks as social documents worthy of academic analysis, and this focus was continued in July 3-4, 2006, at the Cookery Books as History conference held in Adelaide. Among the contributions were several from New Zealand: for her presentation 'What do cookery books reveal about the evolution of the New Zealand Pavlova?', Leach analysed a database of 653 Pavlova or closely related recipes from New Zealand cookbooks, together with a database of meringue recipes dating back to 1782 (Leach 2006c). Leach discussed what a quantitative approach revealed about the complex nature of the evolution of Pavlova recipes over the period 1926 to 2000.

In ‘Magazine recipes: Marginal or mainstream?’ (Inglis 2006b) Raelene Inglis focused on cookery columns in women's magazines and newspapers, highlighting the complexities and potential that such periodicals offer to questions about cultural transmission, contributor behaviour and food fashion trends. Janet Mitchell's 'What's in a recipe? Pavlovas from selected New Zealand cookery books 1939–1987', looked at the major forms of the pavlova recipe that appeared in New Zealand cookery books from 1939 to 1987 (Mitchell 2006b). Six basic types were prepared and cooked, their exterior and interior characteristics documented and an explanation of these attributes tendered in terms of the ingredients, proportion of ingredients, method of mixing and shaping, cooking times and temperatures. Michael Symons, in his 'The cleverness of the whole number': The golden age of Antipodean baking, 1890–1940', traced the pathways of several iconic recipes (e.g. Lamingtons and Anzac Biscuits) through Australian and New Zealand cookery books to chart the culinary awakening of baked items, and to draw inferences about regionally based community networks and political associations (2006b).
With ‘How hot is hot?’, Jane Teal investigated whether the advent of the temperature gauge and the thermostat had any noticeable impact on the recipes for cakes and biscuits contained in community cook books (2006b). In his presentation ‘The Cookbook Goes to War: New Zealand Cookbooks 1939–45’, Dave Veart examined the varied responses of New Zealand’s recipe writers to diverse constraints such as the restrictions placed on cooks by food rationing, the departure of large sections of the workforce to serve overseas, the use of the cookbook as propaganda tool and the impact at the end of the war of the new foods to which people had been exposed as a result of overseas service or from the refugees (2006b).

This focus on cookbooks as social documents and repositories of cultural knowledge about food, highlighted in these two conferences (and the subject of a symposium in Dunedin, November 2007), is one of the many approaches now adopted in studies concerning New Zealand food production, consumption and habits. A research cluster, lead by Hugh Campbell and Tom Brooking at the University of Otago, uses a multidisciplinary approach with researchers from the Centre for the Study of Agriculture, Food and Environment (CSAFE), and the Departments of Anthropology, History, and Zoology to research the history of land and resource management in New Zealand. Among the topics are investigations into sustainable agriculture, consumer perceptions of food, and food scares. This continues earlier work like Campbell and Fitzgerald’s (2000) and Fitzgerald et al. (2004) examination of the ‘greening’ of New Zealand food exports in the twenty-first century and the political economy of margarine.

A seminar presentation by Dr Carolyn Morris, from the University of Canterbury, on ‘the absence of Maori restaurants: the politics of food and indigeneity in Aotearoa’ highlights several questions providing potential future areas for discussion. First, are ideas from meals, dishes, or food items eaten in public spaces like cafés, restaurants, food malls etc. adopted into private cookery repertoires and food practices? Certainly numerous books written by popular restaurant owners and chefs are often purchased from book stores but studies citing empirical evidence analysing the uptake of actual recipes are somewhat lacking. Secondly, as Morris (2006) explained there are very few establishments offering authentic Maori food. What is Maori food? Why do food
outlets not appear to consider it a viable option? And why are businesses selling food from other ethnicities, for example Asian restaurants, so popular? These questions are of course associated with cultural notions of food as novelty, prestige, cooking practices, ability and status and acceptance and acculturation. Although this thesis does not address these issues directly some of them are commented upon in the final chapter.

The focus of this thesis is to instead examine the mechanisms, or paths, of culinary transmission and diffusion recognising that cookery knowledge can be acquired in many different ways. Who produces this information and how it is dispersed can make a significant difference to its assimilation and subsequent distribution. This is not a homogeneous process, particularly because cooking practices are prone to external influences and change over time. Once cookery knowledge and recipes are shared they become subject to selection processes, copying and variation. How these processes occur, and why, is the topic of this work, as discussed in more detail below. The initial two chapters introduce the thesis, its principal premise, and the methods used to analyse the data. The culinary background underlying the later production of cookery knowledge is established, and then each chapter describes a specific vector of culinary dissemination that operated throughout New Zealand.

1.7 Chapter Structure

Chapter 1 has presented the main argument of the thesis and established its underlying objectives. The theoretical perspectives concerning international debates on cultural transmission, and new research in cultural transmission in archaeology have been discussed to relate this body of work to the wider field concerning transmission of cultural knowledge and to anthropological approaches towards studying food. As this thesis is predominantly concerned with the cultural transmission of New Zealand culinary information, previous investigation into food-related research in New Zealand has been examined to determine the extent to which transmission has been addressed. The review demonstrates that this is innovative research; this type of study has not been previously undertaken in New Zealand.
Chapter 2 describes the analytical method used in this thesis — how it was developed, its capabilities and reliability. The method is based on the micro-analysis of recipe ingredient proportions and methods, together with the study of recipe names and concepts. Analysing and comparing large amounts of data offers more to academic enquiry than just the history of a recipe category. Recipes exist within culinary repertoires, communities and cultures and should be investigated as an integral part of a food system. A crucial aspect of this method is its approach to a systematic and coherent sampling strategy. There can be a tendency among some researchers to select recipes, ingredients etc. to provide evidence for a particular theory or argument; however long-term patterns of food acceptance, change and assimilation cannot be determined in this way. Instead they require the objectivity of a comprehensive procedure that can recognise and attempt to explain why cultures have food items, recipes, or ingredients that emerge or disappear, become part of traditions or rituals, or evolve into aspects of foodways that help define or maintain their essential character. This is a method that has undergone a series of developmental stages: from Leach’s preliminary investigations (1997) into the origins of the pavlova, to Inglis’ (2002) BA (Hons) research concerned with recipes as a form of material culture, equivalent to the original food item, then followed by papers that extended and substantiated the method as accurate, repeatable and able to produce results that help explain culinary change and transmission. This method is then applied to the textual material (cookbooks and magazines) in subsequent chapters to provide the quantitative data for tracing the development, diffusion and transmission of cookery knowledge in New Zealand.

Chapter 3 establishes the contextual background to the type of culinary knowledge of the nineteenth century immigrants who arrived in New Zealand from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. British cookery knowledge is the consequence of several centuries of external influences together with internal regional developments that continue to the present. This chapter firstly provides a brief summary of key culinary advances, and then outlines some of the significant forces that affected the dispersal of culinary information. Fundamental to the widespread distribution of cooking knowledge was the invention of the printing press and later phenomenon of the printed recipe book. Manuscript recipe books handed down to family members were essentially private texts, repositories of culinary repertoires and expertise, which
tended to remain within a close family circle. The inception of a printed version available to the general public (who could afford it), played a pivotal role in the diffusion of cookery knowledge. Hannah Wolley was the first female author of a cookbook printed in the English language with her first work *The Ladies Directory* (1661) (Arndt 2006: 385–386). By the seventeenth century, writing cookery books or teaching accomplishments like cookery or confectionery to classes of young ladies had become an acceptable occupation for the numerous women, who were perhaps widowed like Hannah Wolley, and needed to support themselves. This chapter explores the diffusion and transmission of cookery knowledge through the increasing involvement of women as cookbook authors and cookery teachers. The early cookery schools from Mary Tillinghast to Susanna MacIver (also spelt MacIver or McIver) were the forerunners of the late nineteenth century development — the cookery school that trained cooking teachers.

**Chapter 4** traces the inception and ascent of what became essentially a new social movement. The National Training School of Cookery, South Kensington, London, was the first institution of its kind in Great Britain — a cookery school that provided qualifications for middle-class women in need of suitable employment opportunities. Employment as a school cookery teacher or itinerant cookery demonstrator may not have been the most lucrative, but they were both an appropriate vocation for the growing numbers of single women in Great Britain. Similar schools soon followed in Scotland, other regions of England and in Ireland. The women who trained at these schools not only gained employment as cookery teachers in state-run schools but also made their living offering fee-paying classes and cooking exhibitions demonstrating their skills to the general public. Thus the cookery information they acquired during their personal training was subsequently transferred into the public arena. A number of graduates from these British cooking schools travelled to the colonies, including New Zealand, providing cooking classes to all interested parties and disseminating their cookery knowledge at the same time.

The second half of the thesis from chapter five to ten details various aspects of culinary diffusion and transmission. Each one is an example of why and how cookery knowledge was spread throughout New Zealand during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Each of these chapters discusses the mechanisms of diffusion and
transmission and suggests reasons for their subsequent success or failure. This is discussed more fully in the subsequent section.

**Chapter 5** demonstrates how culinary knowledge from Great Britain, a category of cookery repertoire familiar to the early British settlers, arrived in New Zealand and was diffused into the community through the auspices of graduates from the British cookery schools depicted in chapter four. This cookery knowledge was easily accepted because it was produced, diffused and applied within a well-known cultural tradition. As well as case studies of two British cookery teachers, the career of one local influential cooking teacher is also closely examined to discern whether the pathways of culinary diffusion and transmission originating from her teaching practices can be distinguished and how successful they were in influencing the cooking traditions of the settlers. Three different methods of cookery dispersal are discussed: the informal cooking demonstration in a local hall; the cookery class provided by the technical classes association; and the locally-produced cookery book. Context, method and cultural mindset are all shown to play a part in the understanding and adoption of culinary information.

**Chapter 6** details some of the debates surrounding the change from voluntary participation in cooking classes described in the previous chapter to the introduction of the school cooking class for girls by the New Zealand government and its later compulsory imposition. Conversely this obligatory cookery class provided many New Zealand young women with a viable career option. A School of Home Science was established at the University of Otago in Dunedin which trained cookery teachers to educate school pupils. In this chapter the type and origin of the culinary information dispensed in school cookery classes is discussed. Teaching practices and mechanisms of culinary dispersal are also examined as are any subsequent successes or impacts on New Zealand cookery traditions.

**Chapter 7** considers the synchronicity of technology and cultural transmission. New technology, in the form of kitchen or cooking-related equipment, usually needs to be explained or interpreted to the consumer, often because it is completely different to previous forms (as with the microwave) or has perhaps become more technically complex. Appliances that have more than one type of energy source, such as the stove
with possible heating fuels of wood, coal, gas, or electricity, are frequently in competition with each other to attract customers and manufacturers undertake promotional campaigns to obtain a larger market share. These two requirements of explanation and promotion offered women opportunities as appliance demonstrators. Women cooking demonstrators showed potential customers how to use these appliances. They often used recipes from traditional culinary repertoires and adapted them to suit the new equipment. By demonstrating, providing a performance that could be remembered, imitated and practised, this cooking knowledge spread throughout the community. Many demonstrators authored and provided cookbooks to customers as a memory aid for the recipes and for appliance maintenance. Technology additionally supplied the means to disseminate cookery knowledge to a widespread audience. This chapter also examines the effect of radio and television on culinary transmission.

Chapter 8 expands on the theme of radio with a closer examination of one woman who became extremely influential in the diffusion of culinary knowledge throughout New Zealand because of her association with a radio cooking programme. Daisy Basham, known to most New Zealanders as ‘Aunt Daisy’ is in this chapter equated to a webmaster because she controlled, or managed multiple routes of culinary diffusion within New Zealand. For over three decades the woman New Zealanders knew as Aunt Daisy dispensed recipes and advice to women throughout the country by publishing numerous cookery books, broadcasting her culinary and advertising directives five days a week, and editing cooking columns in three different magazines. Extremely popular all over New Zealand, she made a number of personal appearances judging cooking competitions and visiting agricultural shows, and she travelled overseas garnering new recipes and culinary knowledge. This chapter discusses what influence her many modes of cookery transmission had on traditional New Zealand culinary repertoires. Aunt Daisy came from a traditional British cultural and culinary background and this chapter considers how this may have facilitated, or hindered, acceptance of new recipes or ingredients.

Chapter 9 suggests that the publishing format of a magazine, with its fast production and distribution mechanisms and close association with fashion style, was one means whereby recipes were diffused rapidly. This dispersal was however controlled by a
gatekeeper, an often anonymous person who edited the culinary columns in magazines. Some, like Aunt Daisy, were conservative, maintaining the status quo in New Zealand's culinary tradition, others, such as the editor of the *New Zealand Truth* were practically invisible, noticeable only by what they included, or left out of their columns. However, some, like home science graduate Tui Flower, provided a distinct stimulus to the culinary repertoires of New Zealand cooks with new food and cookery trends, and advice about novel technology included in their pages.

Chapter 10 demonstrates how recipes are diffused and transmitted throughout New Zealand by means of community cookbooks. This genre of cookbook reflects the cultural and culinary backgrounds of the people who contribute and compile them. Frequently produced as a fund-raiser in a one-off enterprise they also demonstrate the ability of communities to publish and sustain a series of community cookbooks. The debate concerning the relationship between what is contributed to a community cookbook and what is eaten in the household is discussed and it is suggested that there is a close association between published recipes and family consumption. Because these cookbooks are prolific throughout New Zealand they lend themselves to comparative studies of introduction, acceptance, retention, or rejection of recipes and meal items. Popular and fashionable recipes that appear in magazines can be later contributed to a community cookbook, frequently modified again and further dispersed. These can be traced as examples of culinary transmission. Community cookbooks have the ability to reflect the influences of school cooking classes, new technology, magazines and personality-inspired recipes, which can subsequently be spread throughout New Zealand.

Chapter 11 concludes by drawing together the key arguments of the thesis, elaborating on how differing modes of diffusion and transmission have significant effects on culinary acceptance and rejection. The final chapter also reflects on the efficacy of the method, and what its application provides for culinary research. The chapter also discusses future directions.
Chapter Two — Methods for Studying Cultural Transmission in Recipes and Cookery Books

2.1 Introduction

Analysing and comparing large amounts of data offers more to academic enquiry than just the history of a recipe category. Recipes exist as integral parts of a food system, textual artefacts of cookery knowledge that, when deciphered, represent aspects of past and present culinary practices. As previously stated, this thesis examines the vectors, or pathways, of culinary knowledge as it is transmitted, diffused and exchanged throughout New Zealand, and this chapter details the method used to distinguish the mechanisms of culinary transfer as well as determine changes in the information itself. A reliable and robust method is required to analyse transmission events — how they take place, their content, mode and context. While the first chapter of the thesis identified the rationale for the endeavour, this chapter explains the method employed to accomplish this. Recipe microanalysis is a new method and the chapter provides a summary of its development and subsequent applications.

2.2 Cookbook and Recipe Analysis

In recent decades cookbooks and recipes have been acknowledged as sources of social information. Cookbooks contain the elements of culinary practices; as textual representations that exist within social and cultural mores they need to be explored as components of composite food systems. However on initial perusal, the pages of a cookery book may not reveal many of its associated intrinsic features, such as information concerning authors, compilers, or contributors, intended audience, date of publication, period of use, geographical coverage, culinary traditions or cookery skills. To understand a cookbook’s social and cultural content as well the context in which it was written, evidence needs to be extracted from its pages, details that can be analysed and interpreted. Currently there are a number of approaches to derive information from recipes and cookery books.
To illustrate how the recipe functions as a narrative form, Cotter (1997) used an examination of pie crust recipes. Cotter (1997: 56) considered imperative verb forms to be the recipe’s most distinguishing syntactic feature when she compared instructions for pie crust recipes in several commercial and community cookery books. The recipes with fewest instructions were those from two small community cookbooks, a circumstance Cotter (1997: 68–70) attributed to publishing a cookbook for an audience known by the compilers or editors. In contrast, a community cookbook aimed at a fairly large, or generic, audience featured more detailed instructions because the culinary skills of the prospective readers were unknown. Cotter’s (1997) approach with its emphasis on language and recipe instructions limits her analysis as she fails to explain how to compare recipes such as ‘A Good Seed Cake’ and ‘Pound Cake’ in St Andrew’s Cookery Book (1905a: 119–120) which contain only the ingredient quantities with no instructions. Cotter (1997) also neglects to mention if the rest of the recipes in the cookbooks she examined had a similar degree of instructions to those for pie crust recipes.

Content analysis is another method of analysing food-related information (for example, Warde 1994; Warde, 1997; Kondracki et al., 2002). In his comparison of changing tastes in the food columns of women’s magazines, Warde (1997) employed both content analysis and survey forms. Warde (1997: 44–45) chose his study material from the most widely circulated magazines for women in the UK, selecting samples from five weekly and five monthly women’s magazines during each of two twelve month periods, in 1967–1968 and 1991–1992. The magazines were sampled at the mid-point of the months of November, February, May and August each year, in order to control for seasonal variation in the composition of the foods. From these magazines Warde (1997: 45) drew a systematic sample of recipes which he subjected to content analysis involving 55 coded categories. Warde (1997: 45–46) reports that he recorded what he termed factual information — such as how many people a dish was expected to serve, and evidence of the vocabulary used to recommend a dish. Information from questionnaires was also employed to investigate domestic provisioning of food (Warde 1997: 52). To assess the food content and recipes in these magazines, Warde (1997: 55) developed four antinomies, or structural oppositions — novelty and tradition, health and indulgence, economy and extravagance, and care and convenience. Warde (1997: 55–56) believes his
antinomies reflect the structural anxieties of our age and the ambivalence of modern experience and are thus widely applicable for this type of examination. Content analysis can provide large quantities of information and requires a framework for sampling as such work can be time-consuming. Warde (1997) does not appear to disclose the sources of the food-related information in the magazines, for example, whether these recipes were from contributors, food columnists, well-known cookery personalities etc. Although the economic status of the readership is addressed, receptiveness to this food information, or subsequent transmission and uptake into the diet is not.

A variety of cookery-related material can be utilised to investigate food topics. Enquiries can be framed around specific recipe types or meal components. For example, White (1994: 1–32) drew on culinary information in cookery books, cookbook sections and menus in recipe books to determine the composition of the “Great British Breakfast”. Culinary historian Ivan Day (2004) studied the illustrations in British cookery books published from 1621–1820 as an additional method to determine food-related activities and customs. Examples of the diagrams Day (2004) examined were the layout of dishes on banquet tables (2004: 108); number of dishes and position in a course (2004: 120); carving (2004: 122); pie and pastry designs (2004: 129); butchery figures (2004: 141–142); and confectionery designs (2004: 144). An alternative approach to studying cookery traditions is through meanings of food and memory as depicted in cookery books, often in works such as family manuscripts. For example, Meyers’ (2001) study of mothers’ and daughters’ connections through food employs techniques such as life history recollections and respondent survey forms to gather accounts of food and memory (Meyers 2001: 7).

To discern the culturally representative messages residing in the texts of cookery books Hayden (2006) adapted Barthes’ (1962; as cited in Hayden 2006: 63) semiotic analysis of food. Hayden (2006: 67) viewed the Italian recipes in Mrs Beeton’s Book of Household Management (1909) as purged of their ‘Italianess’ and interpreted this as a form of usurpation with underlying messages of power. The concept of recipe adaptation and change over time does not appear to be considered as an alternative explanation for the lack of Italian characteristics in the recipes (Hayden 2006: 67). The remaindering of Alison Holst’s unsold books for Lamb for all Seasons (1976)
was attributed by Hayden (2006: 68) to lamb achieving such an iconic status in the
diet of New Zealanders that they preferred it served only as a simple roast and did not
therefore need recipes. Such reasoning demonstrates the hazard of basing an
evaluation on one book without considering similar material. For example, Tui Flower
was the cookery editor of The New Zealand Woman’s Weekly Cookbook (1971) (and
of the similarly named magazine) which contained a number of lamb recipes. These
recipes were not for the ‘simple roast’ but instead exhibited the willingness of New
Zealanders to adapt their iconic meat to up-to-date, internationally-inspired dishes.
Recipes using lamb as the main ingredient include — Italian Roast Lamb (54), Lamb
Kebabs (56), Shashlik (56), Lamb Chow Mein (132), Lamb Pilaf (134) together with
Roast Lamb with Wine Sauce (54), and Royal Lamb (74). Alison Holst also published

This thesis does not dispute the suitability of the above approaches to interpret the
information contained in cookbooks and recipes. What it argues however is that the
method used in this work — a micro-analytical approach towards examining
cookbooks and recipes in an inclusive manner, provides additional and valuable
information for the archaeologist, anthropologist and culinary scholar. The method is
based on analysing in fine detail a number of factors connected with recipes and
cookbooks. Although other scholars and food historians have analysed recipes and
cookbooks, for example Laurioux (1985) and Davidson and Saberi (2001), this
technique is quite different in the depth and comprehensiveness of its approach.

One of earlier attempts to systematically analyse recipes was Laurioux’s (1985) study
of the use and diversity of spices in the medieval diet. In this work Laurioux (1985:
45) calculated the percentage of recipes that included specific spices as part of their
ingredients. For example, one of the most frequently used spices in fourteenth century
English recipes was saffron (35–41%) (Laurioux 1985: 45). In his work, Laurioux
(1985: 61) explained that the changes in the variety and consumption of spices used in
cooking over time were the result of slowly evolving food practices that go back to
antiquity. Because quantities for spice use are not given in most medieval recipes, this
makes discerning change in the amount of spice in the diet over time difficult and
hinders comparative studies between recipes and cookbooks.
2.3 The Development of Recipe Microanalysis

The microanalysis in this thesis is a method that has undergone a series of developmental stages and from its early inception it has been improved and applied to a number of case studies with proven dependability. Although the premise of the method is quite straightforward — recording details about recipes and cookbooks, subsequent analysis and interpretation of the information requires systematic application and understanding. Recipes and cookbooks are textual representations of food dishes, cookery styles and culinary repertoires, and as such occur within parameters that encompass cultural and social understandings around food. Recipes and cookery books should be examined as integral parts of an overall food system. There can be a tendency among researchers to select specific recipes or cookbooks to provide evidence for a particular theory.

This method has improved since Leach’s (1997) early foray into the development of the Pavlova cake. In her paper concerning the evolution of New Zealand’s national dish, Leach (1997) examined several New Zealand cookery books and recorded details about ingredient quantities, the proportions of egg white to sugar, the introduction of vinegar and cornflour, decoration of the cake and cooking containers and instructions. From this investigation Leach (1997: 221) was able to demonstrate that the modification of Pavlova recipes was an evolutionary process which also illustrated the pivotal role of influential cooking demonstrator, Miss Isabella Finlay, in the proceedings.

In 2002, Inglis’ BA (Hons) research argued that recipes were a form of proto-material culture, a textual representation of the more ephemeral food item. This approach was used to investigate a number of cookbooks published in New Zealand during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Inglis (2002) wanted to establish the potential of recipes and cookery books as tools for social research and to examine if questions could be answered from the resulting data. Twenty three community-contributed recipe books were chosen for Inglis’ (2002) study with the criteria they were urban-based, could be reliably dated, and were whole (undamaged) books that were available locally for examination. This eliminated any variables of rural living along with any bias.
involved in single author, appliance or product-endorsement recipe books. Of the selected books, 52% (12/23) were published in the South Island, New Zealand, while 35% (8/23) could be termed New Zealand-wide publications in regard to audience. The remaining 13% (3/23) were books published in the North Island, New Zealand. Three sections of the cookery books were identified as possible indicators of contributor behaviour in response to internal or external social and economic factors. Details from the meat, cakes and biscuits, and jams and jellies sections were then recorded — recipe name; list of ingredients and quantities; mixing directions; equipment and cooking instructions.

Recording this data produced a total of 2258 recipes with closer examination providing 658 meat recipes and 578 jam recipes suitable for analysis (Inglis 2002: 33). The volume of information generated from the cake and biscuit recipes however required some refocusing of the method, so key markers were identified, (butter, sugar, flour, eggs, fruit, nuts, lard, dripping, cocoa, golden syrup), and recipes without any of these ingredients were omitted. From the total of 1315 cake and biscuit recipes that were recorded, including 194 recipes for fruit cakes, recipes for Christmas cakes (44) were chosen for an in-depth study. This gave a total sample size of 1280 recipes, a number considered to be sufficient for an exploratory feasibility study. Recipes for fruit cakes labelled as ‘Christmas’ were selected for the study because traditional behaviour patterns and codified meanings attached to the social functions of Christmas mostly ensured that, despite wartime shortages in most of the ingredients, especially butter, eggs, and sugar, these cakes continued to be made by most families despite any constraints that occurred over the three decade study period (Inglis 2002: 36).

In each of the selected sections (jam, meat and Christmas cakes) the aim was to identify the appearance of new ingredients and recipes, record diminution or absence of familiar recipes and ingredients, and identify recipe changes in size, and/or proportion or name. For each cookbook, its title, date and place of publication, and publisher were entered. If the printing dates for each book were unable to be established from the book itself then relatively close approximate dates were ascertained by correlating specific occurrences to known events (for example, the well-documented start of meat rationing), or by examining advertising material. For a
more detailed explanation of this technique see Leach and Inglis (2006). By ascertaining a dependable date for the cookery book, recipe modifications could be related to social changes. The following section discusses the results from this earlier method of microanalysis in more detail.

**Meat Recipes**

The most popular meat types appearing in the recipe books during the study period were those for either beef or mutton. These were subsequently sorted, based on price and availability, into upper or lower categories, as well as into offal, to detect any direct responses to the economic constraints of the Depression, or the shortages and rationing of the Second World War. Recipes using cold meat, or leftovers, were also examined as possible indicators of change in meal routines, for example, from hot to cold lunches, or as clues to fuel shortages (Inglis 2002: 48–49).

**Jam Recipes**

After all the ingredients in the recipes for jams and jellies were recorded, they were then categorised by price differential of their fruit components into expensive ingredients, less expensive and significantly less expensive ingredients, because their sugar proportions of necessity remained relatively standard (Inglis 2002: 35). The expensive ingredients category included those such as citrus fruits for marmalade, berry fruits, and dried fruit. The less expensive ingredients were ones often grown in backyards or those affordably priced, such as black and red currants or gooseberries. The very inexpensive ingredients included fruits that typically became plentiful during the season, that were often available to buy as cheap surplus fruit, or gather from the wild, as in the case of blackberries. Up until 1928 most recipes for jam included typical ingredients such as strawberries, raspberries, blackcurrants etc., with a few incorporating some of the cheaper ingredients like melon (probably pie-melon), vegetable marrow, tomato and rhubarb (Inglis 2002: 39). However, by the early 1930s recipes started to indicate a noticeable response to the economic hardships of the Depression. Rather than forgo the practice of jam manufacture, contributors either economised or substituted unusual ingredients while retaining the inherent concept, for example, bulking the jam with carrots, or making passionfruit jam from passionfruit skins only. Alternatively they made ‘mock’ jam; for example Mock
Strawberry Jam contained green gooseberries, figs and strawberry essence in the *Jubilee Cookery Book Church of St. Mary Mornington, Dunedin, 1933b* (Inglis 2002: 40). Column graphs were compiled to compare the differences in usage between expensive, inexpensive, and significantly inexpensive ingredients in jam making over time. So long as appearance and taste were maintained, substitutions could be used without becoming noticeable to the general public (Inglis 2002: 36).

**Recipes for Cakes and Biscuits**

As discussed above, the sampling strategy applied to recipes for cakes and biscuits was modified because their numbers exceeded the time available to record all details and analyse their contents (Inglis 2002: 36). Analysis of the forty four Christmas cake recipes concentrated on ingredients like butter, eggs, sugar, flour and expensive fruit as these were considered key markers indicative of shortage, change, or rationing. The amounts of each ingredient were tabulated and graphs were used to display the results (Inglis 2002: 33). One of the key problems that Inglis (2002: 29–30) noted was in standardising the ingredient quantities and cake sizes. Although some recipes appeared to be different, a comparison of proportions between the ingredients demonstrated that the recipe’s ingredients had simply been doubled or halved. There was also considerable subjectivity in the quantities provided for the ingredients. For example, the amount of flour in a recipe may be referred to as pounds or ounces (imperial measurement), as a form of cup measurement (cup, ‘breakfast cup’, ‘tea cup’), along with qualifiers of level, heaped, scant, very large, small or very small attached to each one. For the analysis, weights were converted to metric measurement using scales and imperial measuring equipment (Inglis 2002: 30).

Inglis (2002: 51–52) explained that because this work was carried out as a pilot study, the analysis was restricted to simple time trend plotting of raw data and that the number of cookery books and constituent recipes did not allow for data smoothing or statistical comparison. However Inglis (2002: 51) noted that even though the content of the recipe books displayed some background level of variation, possibly linked to regional and socio-economic differences, the preliminary analyses of meat, jam and cake sections in community-contributed recipe books demonstrated a significant correlation between changes in social or economic circumstances and the price-related
aspects of the ingredients in the assessed recipes. This combined approach of data, ranking systems based on price, an examination of recipe names along with their perceived import or meaning, demonstrated that there were modifications, adaptations and substitutions visible in the recipes, that could be related to changes in food availability and purchasing power. These observable results were then able to be contextualized and directly correlated with locally experienced global crises (Inglis 2002: 61).

The success of the micro-analytical model in Inglis’ (2002) work led to Leach and Inglis’ (2003) extended study of the Christmas cake. This much larger, and more in-depth investigation, examined 383 recipes named Christmas Cake published in 158 New Zealand community cookbooks from 1901-1980. All the details of each cookbook (name, publication date etc.) were recorded along with recipe data. Measurements were converted to metrics and standardised (discussed above) and this information was entered into a database (MS Access) (Leach and Inglis 2003: 150). Some ingredients were hierarchically categorised (for example, nuts, almonds, ground almonds) for flexibility of analysis. Numerical analysis of the data was confined to basic descriptive statistics.

Recipe names and their attached epithets were noted, along with any additional meanings conveyed by the appellations. For example some recipes referred to heritage influences — ‘Family Favourite’, while others referred to a place name — ‘Mangatainoka’, a radio call sign — ‘1ZR Special’, or economy measure — ‘Inexpensive’ (Leach and Inglis 2003: 151). These supplementary connotations accompanying the basic recipe name can often be correlated to social changes. All the recipes’ ingredients, mixing methods and equipment used, baking containers, cooking times and decoration were documented for comparison and analysis.

The microanalysis of the Christmas cake demonstrated that the recipes (and thus the finished products) were far from the static and rather traditional forms that Leach and Inglis (2003: 163) had initially conjectured. Despite a number of constraints such as cost and ingredient availability, factors which had the potential to significantly impact on New Zealanders’ ability to produce this item for the festive season, cooks went to
considerable lengths to modify their recipes in order to maintain the concept of the Christmas cake.

In her comparison of two early twentieth century community cookbooks, published at opposite sides of the world, Leach (2006b) observed that the two books had a surprising number of features in common. Both emerged from Presbyterian communities (one in Dunedin, New Zealand and the other in Dunoon, Scotland), they were both published in the same year (1905) and the books sold for identical prices. In each one the recipes were arranged in the standard sections of early twentieth century cookbooks — soup, fish, meat, savouries, and breakfast dishes, sauces, puddings, sweets (desserts), cakes and biscuits, invalid cookery, beverages, preserves, and confectionery (Leach 2006b: 36). In fact, as Leach (2006b: 37) noted, the books reflected the shared culinary heritage of these communities. Leach (2006b: 37–38) applied microanalysis to the soup recipes to enquire whether the women of Dunedin and Dunoon in 1905 made the same soups, and how many of these soup recipes related back to the Scotland of 1848, the year Dunedin was founded by an organised settlement of Free Church supporters from Scotland. Leach (2006b: 37) wanted to determine if the physical separation of the settlers from their homeland was reflected in their cookery practices or recipes, that is, had they adapted their cooking to their new country, or did they maintain their culinary traditions?

An initial examination based on just the soup names proved rather misleading because recipes with the same name could be quite different in ingredients, proportions or methods, as in White Soup (Leach 2006b: 38). Leach (2006b: 38) judged that “To achieve a more meaningful comparison between the two recipe collections, soup names need to be treated simply as one variable with no greater significance than composition, method of preparation, accompaniments, or role within the meal structure. Together, the full set of variables constitutes the dish” (Leach 2006b: 38). Soup recipes were sorted into clear, thick and purées, based on specific criteria like the underlying base of the soup, or stock (Leach 2006b: 39–40, 44–46). After all the soup recipes’ ingredients, preparation and cooking methods had been compared, Leach (2006b: 49) identified a number of points of similarity and difference. Leach (2006b: 49) described the extent of this correspondence in name, ingredients etc., as ‘degrees of similarity’.
There was little divergence between the recipes of the two community cookbooks Leach (2006b: 55) concluded, and she found significant differences only in the greater degree to which Dunedin cooks used herbs and spices, and the Dunoon cooks used dairy products. Both communities retained their traditional soup concepts while equally receiving and adapting new ideas and variants from the same centres of innovation, such as London and the United States (Leach 2006b: 55–56). Although these communities had been physically distant for the past 50 years, the combination of shared cultural heritage, their recent common culinary traditions, their equal exposure to cooking teachers transmitting Scottish-taught cookery practices, and their similar accessibility to new information and innovations, ensured that, in the consumption of soup at least, British cookery traditions continued.

Continuing investigation into recipes for the Pavlova has culminated in Leach’s (2008) publication detailing the evolution of this recipe. Leach’s (2008) comprehensive recording scheme (details of cookbooks, compilers, contributors, all ingredients, recipe names, mixing instructions, recipe preparation and cooking utensils and equipment, cookery times, and serving directions), has enabled her to undertake an in-depth scrutiny of the complex nature of this iconic New Zealand and Australian dish. From her examination of recipes published from 1926 to 2000 in New Zealand, Leach (2008) was able to demonstrate that the Pavlova cake does not represent a single concept, inventor, time or place, but was instead a cake, dynamic in concept, that evolved over time and responded to impacts of technology and socioeconomic circumstances. Leach (2008) discovered that the idea of a single Pavlova was far too simplistic as there were actually four main sub-types as well as several standardized variants.

In his recent social history of New Zealand’s culinary past, anthropologist Dave Veart (2008) uses cookbooks and recipes to examine what makes New Zealand cooking distinctive and how it has changed over time. Veart (2008) explains how culinary traditions brought by early settlers as well as later influences, for example those from America, can all be identified and tracked through recipe books (Veart 2008: pers. com.).
2.4 Recipe Microanalysis

This chapter has discussed the development of the recipe microanalysis method and provided examples of how it has been applied in recent studies pertaining to New Zealand's culinary history. In this thesis chapters five to ten draw on this method to distinguish and interpret the mechanisms and pathways of cookery transmission found in recipes and cookery books. The type of cooking knowledge, the stimulus for diffusion, and the vehicle (for example a cookery teacher) are all able to be determined using recipe microanalysis. As indicated by the above discussion, microanalysis consists of comprehensively recording the fine details of recipes and cookery books. However this information must be contextualised and interpreted as part of a culinary system that occurs within cultural and social parameters. Foodways, or food systems, are also part of larger entities, be they local, national or global, occurring within space and time considerations. When, where and how, these food practices and customs occurred, as represented by the recipes and cookbooks, are all connections and relationships that need to be explored alongside recipe microanalysis as part of the overall interpretation.

Recipe microanalysis consists of recording all information in three crucial areas:

1. Publishing details of the cookery book — for example, title, author/compiler/editor, date of publication, place, region, any organisation involved, number of pages, edition, and presence of named contributors etc.

2. Internal arrangement of the cookery book — cookbook section headings in order, index, and information from preface or foreword.

3. Individual recipe details — name, ingredients and quantities, method (for example, in preparation, mixing, cooking), utensils and equipment, instructions, time, directions for decoration or serving.

The specification requiring that individual recipe details are recorded does not necessarily suggest that every recipe in a cookery book should be documented. That would be extremely time-consuming. This approach depends upon applying a systematic and coherent sampling strategy to any investigation. The question must be asked — what number of samples, and from where, will be necessary to provide
sufficient data for analysis, taking into account factors of time involved versus sampling bias. Any answers and interpretations need to be contextualised and related to the cultural and socioeconomic circumstances in which they were produced. This discussion does not suggest that the three constituents of the recipe microanalysis recording scheme (above) are the complete range of possible elements that can be addressed. Every cookery book is an individual assemblage of recipes, and although each book remains fixed after printing, the premise behind a cookbook does not. Cookery books change over time; the information included within their pages is equally dynamic as new ideas or technology appear. Furthermore recipe microanalysis must be flexible to adapt to the effects of changing circumstances.

One of the most challenging aspects of this method is deciding how much detail to record. This requires evaluation not only of the details needed to answer any existing questions, but also anticipating any subsequent research inquiries at a later date. Besides documenting the information, data retrieval and analysis must also be considered. For instance, in the recording scheme for Christmas cake recipes (Leach and Inglis 2006), extra fields were included that provided added information as well as aiding analysis of the information.

All the details for microanalysis were entered into a relational database (MS Access), although they are described here as text or provided in table format. Without exception all individual recipes and cookery books were allocated unique identification numbers. All cookbooks were documented for their title, author, publisher, place and date of publication, edition, and organisation responsible (as in a church group with a fund-raising cookery book); several other details were noted. Each book was established as arising from either a local community endeavour or from a nationwide initiative (such as an organisation with branches throughout the country). Every book was also characterised as either urban or rural, based on its place of publication, organisation, or perhaps on its title. One method of extracting information from a database is through a query, a form of formulaic question. Because of the recurrent problem in establishing exact dates for some cookbooks, the closest approximate dates were recorded for them but all books were additionally entered into a category of ‘not dated’ as either true or false. This then allowed books with accurate
dates to be more easily separated from those less with less precise dates, and to be sorted or retrieved.

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 demonstrate the type and extent of detail documented on every separate input form for each recipe. Information from Tables 2.1 and 2.2 represents the detail compiled for one input form in the original recording scheme but was separated here for simplicity.

TABLE 2.1 Cookbook Identifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book ID</th>
<th>Cookbook Name</th>
<th>Recipe ID</th>
<th>Recipe Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Red Cross Cookery Book</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>Xmas or Good Birthday Cake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2.2 Recipe Identifiers*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ingredient ID</th>
<th>Ingredient Name</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>Dairy</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>Dry Ingredient</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>Dry Ingredient</td>
<td>793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>Dairy</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Sultanas</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Raisins</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Currants</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Peel</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Almonds</td>
<td>Nuts</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Baking Powder</td>
<td>Dry Ingredient</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Muscatels</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                |                  |               |              |
|                | Total Cake Weight| 4683          |
|                | Baking time      | 3 hours       |

* Imperial measures were converted to metric weights and volume.

2.5 Examining Sections in Cookery Books

As well as examining recipes to recognise culinary or technological changes, there are equally significant modifications in the sections of a cookbook that can illustrate changing cultural, social and economic circumstances. Most cookbooks separate their recipes into logical sections of similar recipes (for example, soup recipes in the soup
section, and recipes for fish in the section entitled ‘Fish’ or ‘Seafood’). The composition of these subdivisions in cookery books is not static however, either in content or in position within the overall cookbook. The position of sections in the cookbook can alter, demonstrating perceptions of significance in the minds of the compilers. New Zealand cookery books at the start of the twentieth century typically started their sections for soup recipes at the beginning of a cookbook, for example St. Andrew’s Cookery Book (1905a). During the century sections for soup recipes tended to move into the middle of the book (as in Recipe Book, 1971) or disappear altogether (as in Cook Book, c.2000). Sections were also combined with others, for example, ‘Soups and Starters’ in the The Cranmer Cookbook (1984).

The combining of sections, particularly in baking, suggests the diminishing significance of and need for recipes for a wide range of home-made baked goods in the latter part of the twentieth century. Possibly this occurrence relates to the availability of commercial products as well as time constraints for such activities. The number of individual sections for types of baking products started to compress from examples of sections titled ‘Scones, Loaves etc.’, ‘Biscuits’, ‘Squares and Slices’, Small Cakes’, ‘Large Cakes’, as in What’s Cooking (1964c) into the more generically-termed, ‘Baking’ (The Parish Pantry, Marshall, 2005). Sections containing recipes for meat dishes also varied widely throughout the century. By examining the changing positions and titles of meat sections over time, changing perceptions of meat use can be seen. For example, sections labelled as ‘Meat’, ‘Sausage’, ‘Casserole’ (Anon, 1927c); ‘Game and Poultry’, ‘Meat’ (Anon, 1950); ‘Sausage’, ‘Meats’, ‘Mince’ (Anon, 1970); or ‘Fish and Meat’ (Anon, Cook Book Upokongaro School 1870–1995, 1995a) suggest consequences from economic constraints (with the use of cheaper meat such as mince and sausages), the diminishing role of game in culinary practices, and ask why poultry is not considered as meat?

Sections in cookbooks provide clear evidence for change over time: for the introduction of new meal ideas, for example — Appetisers (c.1943, Whitcombe’s Everyday Cookery), changes in technology (for example, the microwave), and the loss of traditional culinary skills, like preserving and jam-making. By the twenty first century many community cookbooks lacked any recipes for jam or preserving at all, although some included a token recipe in the sundries section (for example, All
Saints' Recipe Book, 2005). Interestingly, rural-inspired cookbooks, such as Favourite Recipes from Rural Otago (Browne, 2004) show a much stronger retention of such skills.

In this thesis, the recipe microanalysis method is used to study the different vectors of culinary transmission and diffusion in New Zealand. For example, the diffusion of recipes from a cooking teacher’s cookbook into a community cookbook is studied in chapter five using this technique, while in chapter six, recipe microanalysis is used to examine a number of school cookery books. The microanalysis technique established that these cookbooks reflected the influence of British culinary traditions and that they continued to do so for more than half a century. All the school cookbooks were conventional in their contents with most of the traditional recipes retained over several editions up until the 1960s. In many of these early school cookbooks the dissemination of cookery knowledge was evident because of the marked similarity in recipes between them, despite local Education Boards each publishing distinct volumes.

Specific examples of fine detail recipe analysis in chapter six are — a comparison of the title and ingredients in soup recipes of seven school cookbooks published between 1903 to 1984, which established those soups which were most frequently included (Split Pea, Tomato and Lentil Soup) and when new recipes appeared, for example, chowder recipes (Seafood, Fish and Vegetable) and Cream of Pumpkin Soup in Recipe Book and Home Science Note Book (1964a 13–14). As well, the culinary diffusion of an American dish, Oakhill Potatoes, was traced from Fannie Merritt Farmer’s Boston Cooking-School Cook Book (1896: 286), through to the Laboratory Manual used by students for their Foods 1 classes at the University of Otago's School of Home Science in 1944 (Naylor 1944a: 20). This recipe then appeared in community cookbooks (Farqharson and Jarvis 1961: 11) and in the cookbook of a well-known food writer and former University of Otago home science graduate (Holst 1983: 31). Although this recipe underwent some modifications, it persisted in New Zealand culinary repertoires and very likely achieved its transmission popularity because of its introduction and association with graduates from the School of Home Science.
Recipe microanalysis was not the only method employed to examine culinary transmission and diffusion in this thesis. A range of other textual material was closely examined, such as manuscript cookery books, regional directories and official records. Photographic archival material was studied, along with a variety of kitchen-related material culture. A series of life history interviews were conducted and transcribed to include life history accounts from cookery teachers into this work. The dispersion of cookery knowledge occurs through such a diversity of mechanisms that varied sources of information were required to offer a balanced and comprehensive perspective of cultural transmission in New Zealand.

2.6 Conclusion

The objective of this thesis is to develop and test a method to detect and trace the movement of culinary knowledge, particularly recipes, in New Zealand. The method will be used to determine if the content, context, or mode of transmission influences the acceptance, retention or disappearance of recipes and food related knowledge in New Zealand’s culinary record. Evidence of culinary transmission and diffusion, along with changing cookery practices, can be distinguished, analysed and interpreted from examining the multiple levels of recipes and cookery books. That is, information about culinary knowledge can be acquired from different parts of a cookbook. Titles and section headings of cookbooks offer insights into the minds and perceptions of a book’s compilers or culinary community. Ingredients or instructions associated with individual recipes can divulge clues for studying cookery, as can a collection of recipes (that is, a cookbook). Because recipes and cookbooks are part of dynamic, interactive culinary systems, their pathways are frequently complex. Recipes circulate and move between people by a variety of means (such as word of mouth, recipe exchange, magazine recipe submission, adoption from cookery books etc.), and such movement is extremely difficult to track. Recipe microanalysis facilitates this type of investigation, although there are limits, such as when a generically-named recipe moves between multiple sources very rapidly. However, unless all the fine details are recorded and examined then comparative study over time would be meaningless. The researcher needs the level of detail of micro-analysis to substantiate connections.
between cooks, for without the demonstration of these connections, the pathways of transmission of culinary knowledge cannot be revealed.
Chapter Three — Precursors to the Nineteenth Century Cookery Schools in England and Scotland

3.1 Introduction

Cultural transmission of culinary information occurs through a diversity of methods and both the dispersal and interpretation of such knowledge are culturally dependant. The British settlers who emigrated to New Zealand in the nineteenth century arrived with established understandings of British cookery practices that had developed over centuries through external influences and regional developments. By the mid-nineteenth century, cookery skills in Britain were variable despite increasing numbers of printed cookery texts. To comprehend how cultural transmission of cookery knowledge occurred in New Zealand during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the preceding culinary foundations from Britain need to be explored.

Chapter three will examine some major vectors of culinary dispersal, such as manuscript cookery books and printed cookbooks, outline some of the significant developments in the establishment of cookery schools, and examine how new opportunities emerged for women during the eighteenth century in relation to such publications. Increasingly women were able to participate in authorship under their own names, particularly in the endeavour of publishing a cookery book. Such works, available to anyone who could afford them, played a pivotal role in the diffusion of a cooking knowledge that was more closely associated with the culinary understandings of the middle classes than were their predecessors which were cookery books by chefs addressed to the nobility. A number of cookbooks were also written and published by cookery teachers as a means of providing their pupils with a record of the classes' recipes. Cooking classes, and their associated cookery books, were further avenues for dispersing culinary knowledge, although these would not have the impact of their successors. The cooking class cookery book depicts well-bred young ladies acquiring skills in one of the requisite accomplishments for their class. The existence of such cookery books indicates that lessons were available from at least the seventeenth century, remained popular throughout the eighteenth and can be considered the
forerunners of the late nineteenth century development — the cookery school that trained cooking teachers.

### 3.2 Precursory Developments in British Cookery

British shores have been subject to a number of cultural influences, such as incursions by the Saxons, Danes and Romans (Hartley 1979: 21–25). Returning crusaders of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries also brought back accounts of new experiences and food items like spices, dates, figs, sherbets etc. (Boyd 1976: 10). By 1450 C.E. foreign traders like the Venetians, Florentines, Genoese and Catalans had well-established trade routes bringing their luxury produce from the Mediterranean and the Levant to London and Southampton (Boyd 1976: 41). Many of these new flavourings and meal components were adopted into the British diet, although price frequently limited their availability and often the most expensive items were seen only at the tables of the nobility or very wealthy, the class of people with court chefs who recorded their meals in manuscript cookery books.

### 3.3 Medieval Cookery Texts

Medieval culinary manuscripts and cookery books are frequently described as elitist texts, lacking in information about what the lower classes ate or how food was actually prepared (Adamson 2004: xvii), or as representing cookery models that were centuries old (Laurioux 1999: 297). Because of this problem in dating manuscript cookery books, Adamson (2002: 32) argues that the style of the recipe, and to some extent its content, are better guides to its date. Authors of manuscript recipe books often borrowed recipes from other publications, for example, Adamson (2002: 34) believes a similarity in the recipes point to *Tractatus de modo preparandi et condiendi omnia cibaria* as a source for early French compilations such as *Viandier*. Several references to apples and cider in early Anglo-Norman manuscripts prompted Laurioux (as cited in Adamson 2002: 34) to propose a Norman origin for them, a circumstance which Adamson (2002: 34) believes, indicates the transmission of culinary recipes from Normans in other parts of the continent to Anglo-Norman England.
The advent of the printed cookbook was a significant factor in stimulating culinary diffusion. The world’s first printed cookbook (at least by movable type), Bartolomeo Platina’s *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine (On Right Pleasure and Good Health)* (1475), was printed in Venice, Italy, only twenty five years after Gutenberg and the invention of movable type. Platina’s cookbook was then translated from Latin into Italian, French and German (Adamson 2004: xiv). According to sources at the Rare Books and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Platina himself had translated many of the recipes for meats, broths, stews, pastries, and pies from the *Libro de Arte Coquinaria* (c.1450–1460) manuscript of Maestro Martino (Library of Congress, Accessed October 4, 2007). The first printed German cookbook *Kuchenmeysterey (Kitchen Mastery)* (1485) was also translated into other European languages and reprinted numerous times over the next two centuries (Adamson 2004: xiv). The earliest printed cookbook in English was the *Boke of Cokery* (1500) by Pynson (Lehmann 2003: 20).

Manuscript recipe books were characteristically private texts, repositories of culinary repertoires and expertise handed down to family members. A number of manuscript cookery books however made the transition into print as well, for example Guillaume Tirel (alias Taillevent) with *Viander* (Book of Foods). As Scully (2006: 354) explains, the earliest version of the recipes that form the basis of the *Viander* antedates Taillevent’s life, while the latest versions of the work postdate his life. Evidently Taillevent found the anonymous recipe collection from which he then modified a number of the recipes and added a few new ones (Scully 2006: 354). The style of writing in Taillevent’s manuscript is terse as the recipes lack both quantities and cooking times, an aspect Scully (2006: 354) attributes to it being a book written by a practising chef, as either a memory aid (Scully 2006: 354) or for other chefs (Trubek 2000: 4). Printers altered the later printed versions of *Viander* to appeal to a broader readership by including more pastries, more complex dishes, wondrous centrepieces and cures for “sick wines” (Scully 2006: 354).

The advent of printed cookery books offered new opportunities for enterprising women who were cooks or housekeepers. By the seventeenth century, writing cookery books or teaching accomplishments of cookery or confectionery to classes of young ladies had became an acceptable occupation for numerous women, many of whom
were perhaps widows like Hannah Wolley (also called Hannah Woolley), and thus needed to financially support themselves. Hannah Wolley was the first female author of a cookbook printed in the English language with her first work *The Ladies Directory* (1661) (although Anna Weckerin wrote a cookery book in German more than half a century earlier) (Arndt 2006: 385–386). The turmoil of the seventeenth century with wars, plague, and fire, which likely caused Hannah Wolley’s straitened circumstances, also contributed to an era when women could enjoy a more public role in society (Arndt 2006: 385). Although manuscript books of recipes and printed cookbooks were written by men who were typically chefs for the nobility, Wolley’s book (*The Cook’s Guide*, 1664) states on the title page that it is published particularly for ladies and gentlewomen. Wolley’s (1664) cookbook shows a willingness to adopt and disperse new culinary ideas, practices and foodstuffs, for example ‘To dry Beef as they do in Holland’ (1664: 23), ‘To make Dutch Sausages’ (1664: 25), ‘To make a Fricase of Chickens, or any meat else’ (1664: 76), ‘an Amlet’ [omelette] (1664: 32), ‘French Bisket’ [sic] (1664: 95), ‘Potato Pye’ [sic] (1664: 86) and ‘Pumpion [Pumpkin] Pye’ (1664: 9), although most recipes were for standard seventeenth century fare like ‘Chicken Pye’ (1664: 6) and ‘Hasty Pudding’ (1664: 80).

### 3.4 Cookery Teachers

One of the earliest known female teachers of cookery in England, Mary Tillinghast, produced a small book of pastry-work ‘for the Use of her Scholars’ in 1678 (Lehmann 2003: 48). The 1690 version of Tillinghast’s *Rare and Excellent Receipts* was also for her scholars and as ‘only’ appears after ‘Scholars’, perhaps she was emphasising that this publication was restricted to those who studied with her. This small volume of thirty pages contains forty-five receipts on how to make pastry, pies, pasties, clarified butter, caudles, custards, cheesecakes and chewits. These recipes show early culinary practices like the custom of combining meat with sweet ingredients. Lombard Pie for example, mixes lamb or veal with sugar, dried currants, cinnamon, nutmeg, and preserved cherries, to name just a few of the ingredients in this dish (Tillinghast 1690: 15–16).
Cookery schools that specialised in teaching a specific type of cooking practice, like Mary Tillinghast’s, produced several small cookery books in London between 1678 and 1750 (Lehmann 2003: 48). There was at least one small school that taught the art of confectionery, as an anonymous author produced a book ‘for my Scholars’ in 1681 (Lehmann 2003: 48). That there were also schools that gave instruction in a wider selection of cookery skills is shown by published books such as M.H.’s The Young Cooks Monitor (1683) which is a larger and more comprehensive work (Lehmann 2003: 48). The gender of the author (M.H.) is unknown, but the second edition (1690) stipulates that the book is to “All Ladies and gentlewomen, especially those that are my Scholars” (M. H. 1690: Epistle Dedicatory). The Young Cooks Monitor (1690) illustrates the alacrity of the author to offer readers the latest culinary fashions with recipes ‘To make a French Pudding, call’d [sic] a Pom-roy Pudding’ (1690: 117–118), ‘How to Dress a Pigg after the New Mode’ (1690: 168–169) and ‘To Pickle Walnuts to eat like Mangoes’ (1690: 63–64).

One of the few men involved in teaching cooking at this time, Edward Kidder, was a pastry cook who operated two schools of cookery in London – one in St. Martin’s Le Grand and another in Holborn ‘next to Furnival’s Inn.’ Classes in Queen Street were on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday afternoons, while Thursday, Friday and Saturday afternoon classes were held in Holborn (Kidder c.1720: title page; Sillitoe 1933: 23; Lehmann 2003: 155). Kidder also taught pupils in their own homes, a circumstance Lehmann (2003: 155) claims, indicates that these pupils did not belong to the servant class. Kidder produced a small cookery book with a printed title page and a manuscript collection of recipes, in about 1720.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, many of the women who ran their own cookery schools and published school cookbooks had become semi-professionals, earning their living in this enterprise (Lehmann 2003: 137, 155–156). One of the first of these, Elizabeth Cleland, explains in her second edition of A New and Easy Method of Cookery (1759), that it was “Chiefly intended for the Benefit of the Young Ladies who attend her School” (Cleland 1759: title page). Cookery authors and teachers such as Elizabeth Cleland played an important role in the dispersal of cookery knowledge, and provided both readers and pupils with the latest ideas in cookery as well as traditional methods. In A New and Easy Method of Cookery (1759) Cleland’s recipes

56
appear to represent many of the current trends in cookery with named dishes attributed to the continent, for example, ‘Soup de Santé the French way’ (1759: 6), ‘Dutch Beef’ (1759: 51), ‘Tripes the Polish Way’ (1759: 74), as well as using new cooking techniques like ‘Ragoo [sic] of Mushrooms’ (1759: 70), and ‘Fricasey [sic] of Rabbets’ [sic] (1759: 86).

During the eighteenth century, there was a noticeable increase in recipes influenced by the culinary customs of India and surrounding regions, almost certainly as the result of trade and the East India Company’s commercial ventures in that region. A significant number of cookery books exhibit some of these trends, for example, in their pickle recipes. Recipes for pickles proliferated in English cookbooks aimed at the domestic market during the eighteenth century (Leach September 10, 2007: pers. comm.). Recipes in late seventeenth century English cookery books show the diversity of plant matter considered eligible for pickling at this time, like artichokes, ashen-keys (seed pods from the ash tree), alexanders buds, bogberries, broom buds, burdock roots, barberries, cucumbers, clove-gillyflowers, cowslips, cabbage stalks, currants, chamel, elder tops, grapes and gooseberries, green figs, mushrooms, radish tops, and asparagus, among others (Anon 1694: 202-217). New culinary information and foodstuffs diffusing from India into England and Europe began to be seen in pickle recipes from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

A recipe for ‘An admirable Pickle, in imitation of India Bamboo, exactly as that is done’ (Kettilyby 1719: 146) appears in the second edition of Mary Kettilyby’s A Collection of Above Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery, Physick [sic] and Surgery (1719). This recipe was not in the 1714 first edition of this cookbook although another indicator of possible Indian influence was — ‘To Pickle Oblinns, like Mango (Kettilyby 1714: 46). Even though the imitation bamboo pickle did not seem to become particularly popular, other authors did reproduce it, for example Smith (1773: 240) has a similar recipe to Kettilyby’s (1719). As well as the elder shoots (in place of bamboo), Smith’s recipe also includes the ginger, salt, vinegar, Jamaica pepper, long pepper (red), and mace of Kettilyby (1719) but adds some beer and ale alegar (ale vinegar). Leach (October 10, 2007: pers. comm.) advises that from the second half of the seventeenth century stuffed pickled mangoes were arriving in England from the Orient and that English cooks were keen to copy them. Recipes for a variety of other
fruits and vegetables that could be ‘Mangoed’ appeared in cookbooks, for example cucumbers, peaches, melons (Smith 1732: 68, 71; Moxon 1800: 154). Kettilby (1719: 35) believed that cucumbers, peaches or melons were not comparable to codlins however for imitating the “right mangoe”. These examples demonstrate clearly how cooks adapted local materials to replicate an exotic concept.

When a new recipe that has a particularly distinctive name emerges into a culinary system then any examination of its subsequent adoption and diffusion is made easier. One such example visible in eighteenth century cookery books was a recipe for Indian pickle. Glasse (1755: 334) includes her recipe for Indian pickle (1755: 334) on the very last page of the additions to her fifth edition of The Art of Cookery, Made Plain and Easy (1755), and this recipe was not in the fourth edition. The next edition (sixth) has both the Indian pickle recipe (1758: 334) and an extended version, “To make paco-lilla, or Indian pickle, the same the Mango’s come over in” (Glasse 1758: 377). Other very similar recipes appeared in cookery books soon after, for example, ‘To make pickled LILA [sic], an East India Pickle’ (Kellet et al. 1780: 146), ‘Indian Pickle, or Peccadillo’ (Cole 1788: 386), ‘To make Pickle-Lillo, or Indian Pickle’ (MacIver 1784: 232) and ‘To make Piccalillo, or Indian Pickle’, (Frazer 1791: 224). A version of this recipe, ‘To Pickle Lila, an Indian Pickle’, is also present in the manuscript recipe book of Anne Blencowe (1694: 34). This 1694 date for Blencowe’s manuscript however was provided by Saintsbury in 1925 and while the first recipes may have been recorded in Blencowe’s book at that time, there is little evidence to substantiate when the following recipes were added. Manuscript recipe books, and their recipes, are difficult to date accurately and ascertaining when they originate can be problematic for recipe analysis.

Other recipes that were also attributed with an Indian origin were examples such as ‘Curry’ and ‘Pilau’. These became popular among cooks and were rapidly diffused among the cooking community. While Charles Carter offered ‘A Pillo [sic] of Veal’ and ‘A Pillo’ [sic] in his 1732 cookbook (Carter 1732: 37–38), the anonymous ‘Gentlewoman’ who revised and improved the third edition after his death, included ‘To make a Currey [sic] the India way’ (Carter 1749: 157) and ‘To make a Pellow [sic] the India way’ (Carter 1749: 167). The ‘Pilau’ attributed to Indian cookery was itself a dish resulting from a synthesis of the recipes and foods of central Asia, northern
Hindustan and Persia, a combination that Collingham (2006: 24) explains resulted in the Mughlai cuisine.

Publishing a cookbook and including recipes copied from other cookery works without acknowledging their origin was a common occurrence during the eighteenth century, although it was also another method of circulating culinary information and transmitting the British cookery tradition. Not all authors appropriated recipes from other writers without attribution though. Cole (1788) credits a significant number of her recipes to other sources. Cole (1788: Preface) claims that she has attentively perused every publication on the culinary art and has only selected the recipes which meet her approval from other authors. Cole’s (1788) recipe sources are both English (Glasse, Mason, Raffald, Farley) and French (Dupont, Commo, Valois) (Cole 1788: Title page, Preface). However, Lehmann (2003: 140–141) casts some doubt on Mrs Cole’s honesty as not all of her borrowings are acknowledged and some of the French authors she quotes from may not have existed at all. In fact, Lehmann (2003: 141) suggests that Mrs Cole herself may have been an invention, a name used by a hack writer. Cole (1788: 387) credits Mason (page 351) with the recipe for ‘Indian Pickle, or Peccadillo’ while ‘A Currey [sic] the Indian way (1788: 191) is presumably her own recipe as it lacks any attribution. Interestingly Cole misspells Mason’s recipe of “Indian pickle, or peccalillo” (1773: 318), which itself is a copy of the Indian pickle in Glasse’s (1758) sixth edition. While some recipes have only the original author’s name and page number of the recipe acknowledged, like “Cheesecakes the French way, called Ramequins. [sic] Clermont, 434” (Cole 1788: 405), others are editorialised. For example, ‘A Tansy Pudding, Another way’ comes with the comment “The above receipt, with very inconsiderable alterations, appears in Mason, 370; Raffald, 176; and Farley, 194” (Cole 1788: 354).

3.5 Eighteenth Century Schools of Cookery

The growth of small private cookery schools run by semi-professional women escalated during the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly in the north of England and Scotland, with a number of related cookery texts published from the schools. Lehmann (2003: 156) explains that the older model of female education,
where girls were expected to be able to prepare certain types of dishes themselves, lingered much longer in the north of England and in Scotland than in London, and this possibly accounts for the number of cookery schools and cookbooks. Many cookery school cookbooks indicate their publication is in response to the request of scholars, such as two books published in Newcastle: Elizabeth Marshall’s *The Young Ladies’ Guide in the Art of Cookery: Being a Collection of useful Receipts, Published for the Convenience of the Ladies committed to her Care* (1777) (Lehmann 2003: 156, 436), and *A Complete Collection of Cookery Receipts, (Consisting of near Four Hundred,) Which have been Taught upwards of Fifty Years, with Great Reputation* (Kellet et al., 1780) with a dedication to ‘the Ladies who honoured our School with their Attendance’ and a list of 207 subscribers (Lehmann 2003: 156, 430).

Scotland also built a strong tradition of private cookery schools with women such as Susanna MacIver and Mrs Frazer, her associate and later successor. The first edition of MacIver’s book *Cookery and Pastry, as taught and practised by Mrs MacIver, Teacher of those Arts in Edinburgh* was published in 1773. In her 1788 book an advertisement that was presumably published in the 1782 edition articulates some account of her cookery school activities. She advises her readers that publication of her recipes was at the solicitations of her ‘scholars,’ how it was her situation in life that led her to be ‘much conversant in Cooking,’ thus she had found success had ‘accompanied her labours’ and that she utilises both the recipes of other cooks as well as modifying her own (MacIver 1788: A2). Lehmann (2003: 155) suggests that MacIver may have died in 1787 as the school was advertised under her name in 1768 and 1786 in the *Caledonian Mercury*, and in Frazer’s name in 1788 and 1789.

Susanna MacIver’s colleague and subsequent successor, Mrs Frazer, establishes her credentials as ‘Sole Teacher of these Arts in Edinburgh’ on the title page of her cookery book, *The Practice of Cookery, Pastry, Pickling, Preserves etc.* (Frazer 1791: title page). A brief comparison between MacIver’s (1788) and Mrs Frazer’s (1791) chapter contents and recipes shows that while some modifications and additions occur, particularly in chapter structure, the majority of the recipe content remains consistent, if not identical to, the earlier editions of Mrs MacIver’s work. Frazer’s cookery book of 1791 demonstrates an appreciation of the need to reformat and modernise MacIver’s original publication while retaining virtually all of the
successful recipes. While many of MacIver's (1788) recipes are reproduced word for word in Mrs Frazer's work, she also subtly rewords others, often adding or subtracting one or two minor ingredients without changing the concept of the recipe, and she appears to offer new or different recipes. When she does include new recipes a considerable number of these are in fact additional options of an already published dish. There are however some fresh recipes appearing in the book. For example Mrs Frazer includes some macaroni dishes and several recipes for ice cream. The chapter restructuring by Mrs Frazer could conceivably be an attempt to disguise her appropriation of MacIver's recipes, but equally may be evidence of her modifying the composition of this book to appeal to a younger, more modern audience.

A number of semi-professional cookery teachers ran cooking schools which seem to be the predecessors of the larger nineteenth century cookery institutions. Why then did none of these earlier establishments continue to expand into a cookery school similar to the National Training School of Cookery? It would seem that additional circumstances were required to propel the cookery school to its ultimate achievements.

3.6 Cookery in Britain — Nineteenth Century Developments Prior to the Emergence of Schools Training Cookery Teachers

During the second half of the nineteenth century living conditions began to improve for the urban working classes of Britain. City infrastructures began to address problems with clean water supplies, new fuel types for cooking became available and better quality food was more affordable. Rapid urban growth due to industrialisation had increased the health problems of the poorer sections of society with overcrowding, poor ventilation, unsafe disposal of human waste and chronic shortages of clean water. By 1870 major public works began to improve sanitation and water quality along with the corresponding spread of piped water, although as Begg (1994: 18) explains, progress to bring the water directly into houses was slow and invariably the prosperous areas were the initial recipients of the new system. The installation of piped water supplies into houses caused the most far reaching change to housework in
Britain (Begg 1994: 18–19). Cooking and cleaning were simplified when the need to queue and carry great weights of water over long distances was removed.

The advent of new fuel types like gas and to a lesser extent oil, made less impact to household living conditions than did the arrival of clean water, as coal fires and ranges were still the typical heat and cooking sources. According to Clendinning (2000: 504), the use of gas as a source of lighting and cooking fuel was still considered an expensive luxury up until the late 1880s. However new portable cookers using these fuels were invaluable for teaching and demonstration purposes (Begg 1994: 19). With the advent of popular lectures on cookery, the portability of these new devices was a major benefit to the teachers as they were able to visit a wide variety of locations, often local halls and school rooms, in both urban and rural areas of England and Scotland. By mid-1888 a new avenue of employment for middle class women appeared with the advent of gas companies contracting women as demonstrators on their exhibition platforms (Clendinning 2000: 503).

The trials confronting the poor in their congested urban areas would, as Begg (1994: 4) acknowledges, challenge the most well nourished of humanity at any time, but the unsuitable diets — both in quality and quantity, widespread food adulteration and primitive storage and preservation methods that were prevalent in some urban areas of Britain at that time, effectively guaranteed that the working classes were excessively prone to physical debilitation, illness, injury and premature death. As Begg (1994:19–20) explains, the population increase experienced in the UK prior to the 1860s frequently resulted in a precarious balance between supply and demand of reasonable quantities of acceptable food. After the end of the American Civil War in 1865 the subsequent development of the American rail network and larger and more efficient steamships enabled the importation of cheaper American produce, particularly wheat. By 1878 half of the meat consumed in Britain came from foreign sources while by the 1890s Britain imported approximately eighty per cent of her wheat requirement (Begg 1994: 19–20). Unfortunately the increased availability of cheaper food supplies and clean water did not necessarily eventuate in the working classes cooking healthier and more nutritious food because other existing factors that impacted on their ability to accomplish this.
The industrial revolution in Britain brought considerable social and geographical changes with it and by 1850 industry had become increasingly centralised and about half the population were now living in urban centres (Oakley 1976: 33). Women’s experiences of industrialisation varied depending on class. From a working class perspective, in an increasingly cash-based society there was a pressing need to seek employment. Oakley (1976: 40) describes the main occupations for women given in the 1841 Census Returns for England and Wales as domestic service, cotton manufacture, dressmaking and millinery, agriculture, laundry work, teaching and factory work. Overcrowding in substandard housing, lack of cooking equipment and long working hours outside of the home, often resulted in many families subsisting on basic foodstuffs like tea, sugar and white bread. Although problems experienced by the poor such as improvidence, drunkenness and bad housewifery were perceived as resulting from ignorance (Sillitoe 1933: 40), for many people the reality was that under such conditions it was almost impossible to preserve traditional cookery knowledge. Once people moved away from the traditional villages, within a short period there was a breakdown in the transmission process of culinary knowledge because for many people, there was neither the time, nor inclination, nor perhaps the ability to pass on cooking skills. Although it can be argued that equipment such as stoves were also not available in the village environment, in the rural community however there existed a knowledge pool that had been shared for generations and could be called upon for cookery advice or neighbourly help.

The middle classes’ experience of industrialisation also brought about change in the domestic sphere. As homes ceased to be units of production, they were replaced by factory and commercial interests as the base of economic activity (Begg 1994: 5–6). Wives and daughters of middle class men became increasingly separated into a domestic sphere of enforced idleness and a man’s success could often be measured by the number of ‘dependent’ women he could support (Bryant 1979: 29; Begg 1994: 6). As wives progressively occupied this more genteel realm away from customary duties in the kitchen, servants managed the domestic duties (Oakley 1976: 43). The traditional transmission pathway for culinary knowledge from mother to daughter therefore began to disappear. As education for middle class girls tended to stress ornamental knowledge that was intended to impress a suitor (Purvis 1991: 64), that avenue for acquiring cookery skills was also lacking. This situation was to prove
somewhat paradoxical because as the necessity to obtain employment for middle class women became more prevalent, one of the avenues of employment that was considered suitable for them — that of cookery teacher — was one for which they had no prior training.

3.7 The Necessity to Obtain Employment

The status of middle class women had become increasingly diversified since the onset of industrialisation. While some women became more isolated within the private sphere of the home, others were forced, through necessity, into the workplace. Bryant (1979: 35) maintains that by the middle of the nineteenth century major demographic changes had affected the balance of the population due to both a decline in the infant mortality rate of girl babies and also an increase in delayed marriages as aspirations mounted. The number of single women of fifteen and over rose from 2,765,000 to 3,228,700 between 1851 and 1871 (Bryant 1979: 35). An analysis of the 1861 census by Josephine Butler (1868; as cited in Begg 1994: 7), demonstrates that out of the 5.75 million adult women in England in 1861, 59 per cent (3.4 million) were required to work for their own subsistence. A breakdown of these working women reveals that approximately 24% were wives, 15% were widows and 62% were single women (including those under 20). The number of spinsters (single women over twenty), and widows having to support themselves economically had increased by half a million over the period from 1851 to 1861 (Butler 1868; as cited in Begg 1994: 7). As Butler (1868; as cited in Begg 1994: 8) explains, more women than ever needed work, but it was rapidly becoming apparent that many of them were inadequately educated for anything other than the most menial of jobs, a culpability that “lies mainly with the middle-class parents who...educate their daughters to get their husbands and nothing else” (Butler 1868; as cited in Begg 1994: 8).

3.8 Schooling in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Introduction of Cooking Classes

In Britain, an Act of Parliament passed in 1802 secured the principle of a child’s right to be educated, but only to a limited extent, and efforts to encourage State
responsibility for education were rejected in 1807 and 1820 (Sillitoe 1933: 13). In fact prior to 1833, the only schools which received State attention were those in which workhouse children, employed in factories, were receiving a part-time education paid for by their employers (Sillitoe 1933: 13). However a tactical change attempted by educational reform enthusiasts through a ‘Vote on Supply’ achieved success in 1833 when the House of Commons voted a sum not to exceed £20,000 ‘in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of School Houses for the education of the children of the poorer classes in Great Britain’ (Sillitoe 1933: 14). Although the State may have taken some time to assume any sort of interest, let alone responsibility, for education of working-class children, this does not indicate a general lack of educational opportunities.

During the period 1800–1914, a working-class child might have attended any of a range of educational institutions, including dame schools, Sunday schools, charity schools, factory schools, ragged schools (free schools provided by philanthropists for children considered too dirty and poor to be acceptable elsewhere) and weekday schools (Purvis 1991: 11). Attendance at any type of school was not compulsory and would certainly depend on the families’ social circumstances. Many families relied on the income of both parents and all but the youngest children.

**Dame Schools**

The term ‘dame school’ usually refers to those small, private schools opened by working-class women in their own homes. Purvis (1991: 12–13) suggests that the motivations underlying the establishment of these schools were varied, ranging from a purely monetary gain to a genuine attempt to provide a working-class educational alternative to that of middle-class experts. Dame schools, often operating close to their pupils’ residences, provided a warmer and more familial atmosphere and lacked the strictures of the day schools regarding attendance and dress. Dame schools were both coeducational and single sex and Purvis (1991: 13) explains that it is difficult to determine whether there was curriculum differentiation between boys and girls. Pupils however, were usually only taught very basic knowledge such as reading and perhaps also spelling, sewing and knitting.
**Sunday Schools**

Robert Raikes is generally regarded as the founder of the Sunday school movement, having started Sunday schools for poor children in Gloucester in the 1780s (Purvis 1991: 15). Despite the debate over the motives for founding Sunday schools, Purvis (1991: 16) insists that it is important not to forget the implications for girls in their establishment. In the first half of the nineteenth century only a minority of working-class girls attended day schools. The 1851 Census records for females in the population of England and Wales reveals that only 10.8% of working-class girls attended some type of formal schooling; Sunday schools therefore became an important form of part-time education (Purvis 1991: 11, 15). The Sunday school had two significant advantages for poor parents: it was both free, and held on a day which might not interfere with paid work, thus ensuring a daughter at least a limited education (Purvis 1991: 20). It is difficult to determine to what extent boys and girls experienced a common curriculum but as much of the material used for teaching was based on the Bible where women are portrayed as wives and mothers subordinate to men, it would seem likely that it reinforced Victorian ideology about the different and appropriate spheres for women and men (Purvis 1991: 17).

**Weekday Schools**

The two main providers of weekday schools in nineteenth century England were the British and Foreign School Society, founded in 1808, (supported largely by religious dissenters), and the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (the Church of England), founded in 1811 (Purvis 1991: 20; Attar 1987: 22; Hunt 1987: xiv). Purvis (1991: 20) explains that basic knowledge and religious instruction were not the only aims of these two religious societies; they also wished to instil in the ‘lower’ orders such manners and habits considered appropriate for their proper stations. Sexual divisions in the classes were much more formalised than in the Dame and Sunday schools as girls were prepared for lives as industrious servants who would one day be obedient wives and mothers (Purvis 1991: 21). Schools were differentiated with separate areas and curriculum for girls and boys. While girls and boys were both taught basic subjects in the mornings, the girls additionally took needlework and knitting in the afternoons, thus spending less time on core subjects than the boys. Purvis (1991: 22) advises that there was little difference in the curriculum between the two schools and the range of
subjects was determined more by the government ‘Code’ for awarding grants to approved schools which taught agreed subjects.

In 1862, because of increased expenditure in schools, the government introduced a grant control system, which came to be known as the ‘payment by results’ system (Attar 1987: 22; Hunt 1987: xv). This system gave school managers a unified grant based principally on the school attendance figures and on the examination results from the ‘3Rs’ and certain other ‘class’ or ‘specific’ subjects. This system kept the government in control of the curriculum. With the introduction of such measures, Hunt (1987: xv) argues, education, particularly the education of the working class, became subjected to disputes over power and control. Voluntary societies competed with each other, and after 1870, with the school boards for the funds. From 1862, as the range of domestic subjects available to earn grants increased, the choice of academic subjects for girls in the school curriculum decreased (Attar 1987: 22).

The grant system provided the government with the ideal mechanism to pressure schools into offering specific curricula. A way to ensure that girls studied domestic areas was to make them compulsory and the recipients of grants. After the Education Act of 1870 the introduction of domestic subjects into schools became more systematic with needlework in 1875, cookery 1882, laundry work 1890, and domestic economy 1894. However soon after the introduction of the 1870 Education Act the Education Department no longer allowed girls the option of voluntarily choosing these subjects as by 1878 domestic economy had become a mandatory subject (Attar 1987: 22–23; Attar 1990: 39).

One the earliest textbooks used in schools for domestic economy classes was Tegetmeier’s A Manual of Domestic Economy (1858), already in a revised and enlarged fourth edition by this time. Tegetmeier was a lecturer at the Colonial and Home Schools Society and this publication was prepared under their direction. Tegetmeier was also commissioned by the London School Board to publish a book for use in elementary schools. His book, The Scholar’s Handbook of Household Management and Cookery (1876) included an appendix of recipes used by the teachers of the National Training School of Cookery in London. In elementary schools the syllabus for girls was divided into three stages — Stage 1 girls studied food — its composition and nutritive value and clothing and washing. In Stage 2
pupils looked at the functions of food and aspects of warming, cleaning and ventilating the home. In Stage 3, classes learnt about the preparation and culinary treatment of food and rules for health and the management of the sick room (Attar 1990: 44).

The education of working class girls was a contested area. On one hand the State believed that education in domestic economy for girls would improve living conditions in working class homes (Attar 1990: 37). Many parents were suspicious however, suspecting that the middle class wished to ensure a supply of servants (Attar 1990: 37). While feminist discourses provide alternative explanations such as Davin’s (1979) argument that this compulsory elementary education imposed “the bourgeois view of family functions... because of a fundamental fear of an unruly working class” (Davin 1979; as cited in Attar 1990: 38), it cannot be disputed that there was resistance to the introduction of domestic economy into elementary schools from all sides of the debate. According to Yoxall (1913; as cited in Attar 1990: 41), the London School Board postponed fifteen times its consideration of the motion to introduce cookery education for girls. Many schools additionally lacked suitable facilities necessary for cookery teaching. The motion was finally accepted in 1874.

In contrast to their working class counterparts, most middle and upper class girls were taught at home, although some went to private day and boarding schools (Pederson 1979; as cited in Hunt 1987: xvi). Funding, which was deemed indispensable for working class schools, was assumed to be unnecessary for children with middle and upper class parents. However as Hunt (1987: xvi) discloses, there were many for whom middle class status depended on gentility, rather than income. They found it difficult to afford their sons’ education, let alone their daughters’. In 1864, the Schools Inquiry Commission (the Taunton Commission), prompted by such concerns, resulted in the 1869 Endowed Schools Act, with funding made available for middle class schools from local charities and endowments (Hunt 1987: xvi). Although originally set up to investigate boys’ education, the commission was pressured to include girls’ schooling as well. The Commission’s final report condemned the appalling neglect of girls’ schooling when it appeared in 1867-1868 (Purvis 1991: 73–74). The atrocious state of girls’ education would seem to provide an impetus for the inception of the women’s education reform movement, yet as Purvis (1991: 74–
75) explains, there were four explanations as to why the reform movement occurred. First, improved educational opportunities for women were seen as part of a wider extension of improved rights for individuals. Second, industrialisation, with its increased job opportunities for women, created a need for more education. Thirdly, the movement arose because of increasing numbers of poorly educated women who were forced to earn their own living. And a fourth explanation places women's education as part of women's movement. The curriculum for middle class girls was however woefully inadequate and while this may have been partially related to funding shortages, it was also indicative of the attitude of middle class Victorian parents.

Middle class girls were not expected, as Purvis (1991: 65) explains, to engage in paid work of any kind; it was assumed that they would become wives and mothers, economically dependent on a male member of the household. Their education reflected this expectation with an emphasis on ornamental knowledge designed to attract and impress a suitor. Purvis's (1991: 67) description of some of the subjects available to girls at boarding and day schools — deportment, drawing, callisthenics, English [given a low priority], mythology, French, arithmetic, needlework and pianoforte, confirms that curricula contained a number of subjects perceived as accomplishments for the well brought up young lady. For the growing numbers of young women who were required to obtain employment however, accomplishments did not necessarily provide them with the skills with which to do so.

As the State assumed a growing control of girls' education, it first made domestic subjects grant-earning, and then later, compulsory. This subsequent growth of domestic subjects in elementary schools led to a burgeoning demand for domestic economy teachers. While elementary school teaching was deemed the height of achievement for the working class girl, it was not quite suitable for her middle class sister. Cookery teaching was, however, perceived as perfectly suitable, because as Turnbull (1994: 83) advises, it encompassed the ideals of the middle class woman's social conscience and philanthropic zeal. Middle class girls desiring to embark on this socially acceptable form of employment now had to acquire the requisite culinary skills to do so.
Popular Education Becomes Instrumental in the Transmission of Cookery Knowledge

The Victorian era, with its emphasis on self-improvement was a period of rising demand for popular education. The forms of education that held the widest appeal for the general populace included exhibitions, printed media, demonstrations and popular lectures. Increasingly available and affordable, these media were to have a significant effect on the way knowledge, including cookery knowledge, was able to be accessed. One form of popular education considered extremely entertaining during the Victorian era was that of the exhibition. England’s first international exhibition, the Great Exhibition of 1851 is of some consequence to cookery transmission not only because of the success of the exhibition as a medium for public enlightenment but also because of the subsequent influence of one of its key figures, Henry Cole, and his role in the instigation of the National Training School for Cookery. Henry Cole and the ‘National’ will be discussed more fully below. The exhibition’s success can be measured through visitor numbers and by the number of other international exhibitions, albeit smaller ones, that were held in the following decades. The Great Exhibition opened May 1st 1851 attracting no less than six million visitors to view its exhibits over the next five and a half months. On the first day 25,000 people entered at 11.00 am (for the payment of two guineas), to await the royal arrival of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and the oldest royal children at mid-day. The exhibition was priced to be available for everyone with season tickets varying from £3 to 5 shillings and by the 26th of May entry was dropped to a shilling (Stone 1976: 2). While the exhibition may have piqued public attention about food, it required the later proliferation of the inexpensive cookery book to intensify this interest in food and cooking among the working classes.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the majority of published cookery books were comprehensive works aimed at the middle classes, judging by their cost and size. Such books targeted a lady of the house who was more likely to be involved with matters of household organisation and staff instruction than hands-on cooking. By the middle of the century, while there were still numerous publications of compendious guides, such as Webster’s Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy (1844), and Isabella
Beeton's *Book of Household Management* (1861), which originally appeared in monthly instalments, there was an increasing tendency towards specialisation. Growing numbers of small cookery books such as Mary Hooper's *Little Dinners* (1874), and books relating to food products or fuel sources, e.g. gas, were beginning to appear (Hunter 1994: 52). Searching for an explanation behind this literary proliferation, Hunter (1994: 51, 53) suggests that it was new technological inventions, such as the rotary steam-press, and the removal of taxes associated with newspaper production, that made these increases possible from the 1860s. With these innovations, a cheaper and more reliable product could be produced. New systems of distribution, particularly those connected with the new rail networks, ensured that the product reached a growing market more swiftly. The market for published literature was also shifting. While the books from the early part of the century tended to be larger and more expensive, from the 1870s there was a rapid expansion in the magazine industry and in the publication of small hardcover books, both of which were more affordable to the working classes. Less expensive publications also encouraged casual purchasers and there was a subsequent accompanying growth in bookstalls and bookshops to cater for them (Hunter 1994: 55). The interest in cooking was both encouraged by and reflected in the rapid growth of related literature in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

While not denying the role of books and magazines in generating public enthusiasm for popular education, Begg (1994:12) however argues that the public lecture was also a significant method of communal instruction. The enthusiasm with which lectures were greeted by various women's organisations, for example, the Liverpool Ladies' Educational Society in 1866 and the Edinburgh Ladies Education Association in 1868, demonstrates that they were filling a very real need, particularly for those adult women who desired access to tertiary education. Such lectures were typically given by sympathetic academics and dealt with challenging topics such as mathematics, moral philosophy, chemistry, physiology, botany and biblical criticism, attended by 355 women in Edinburgh in 1873 (Begg 1994:12). Many of the women who attended these lectures were part of the movement advocating for equal access to university courses for both men and women.
3.10 Conclusion

Manuscript cookery books are repositories of cookery customs, with family culinary repertoires committed to their pages and entrusted to future generations. These early examples of culinary transmission were usually conveyed within narrow spheres, albeit over considerable time periods. With the advent of the printing press and movable type however, culinary knowledge was able to be dispersed more rapidly and over wide areas. First the printed version of the manuscript cookbook and then the printed cookery book transformed the way information about cookery and food practices moved among the population. New trends in cookery techniques, imported foodstuffs and advice about the most fashionable methods of serving food were able to be communicated swiftly to a public avid for such books. Whereas fifteenth and sixteenth century works were typically written by the chefs of the nobility, by the mid-seventeenth century Britain experienced the advent of female cookbook authors who focused on the families of the middle classes. A number of these women additionally opened small cooking schools teaching the accomplishments of cookery and confectionery to well-bred young ladies. Authorship of cookery books and the small private cookery schools, visible in the historical record from the latter decades of the seventeenth century, provided some employment opportunities for women, and the occasional man, at this time. The mid-eighteenth century saw the establishment of the semi-professional cookery schools, with larger class sizes and successive cookery books modified and updated over time. Despite the numerous printings and editions of their cookbooks, none of these instructional facilities appear to have been training cooking teachers. It required additional causes to impel the instigation of the large cookery training institutions in Britain from the 1870s onwards.

While some determinants of such cookery schools were reactions to changing social and economic conditions resulting from an ongoing process of industrialisation and urbanisation, others can be related to State appropriation of girls’ school curricula and to an escalating obligation for many middle class women to support themselves. Women recognised the need to create additional employment options and deliberately created professional opportunities for themselves within a realm in which they already possessed some expertise. This domain, a female space, perceived through Victorian
attitudes as an inherently ‘natural’ area for women to occupy, was the one sphere in which they could be acknowledged as having greater expertise than men.

The large institutions for training cookery teachers emerged in an era where new forms of media, such as the public demonstration, exhibition and small, cheap cookery books, provided the means through which messages about food and cooking could be easily transmitted to, as well as retained by, the public. The government and middle classes perceived a need to improve the health of the working classes, and the method by which to accomplish it. Teaching cooking skills to school children was seen as a means of providing the working man’s family with nutritious food. It also offered middle class women respectable employment options, as did training establishments such as the National Training School of Cookery. More importantly, with the emergence of cookery schools that trained teachers who subsequently taught cooking in schools, culinary knowledge was able to be transmitted more extensively and expeditiously than ever before.
Chapter Four — The Emergence of Training Schools for Cookery Teachers

4.1 Introduction

The emergence of large training schools for cookery teachers played a leading role in the transmission of culinary knowledge throughout Britain and subsequently into many of the Commonwealth countries. The mode and context in which this dissemination occurred accelerated the spread and acceptance of information about cookery. As discussed in the previous chapter, by the second half of the nineteenth century there was considerable public concern for the health and well-being of the working classes. The existing British government believed that teaching good nutrition and cookery practices to school girls would help to alleviate the situation. By offering monetary grants to schools that introduced domestic science subjects for girls, the government guaranteed that a significant number of schools implemented these topics. However, because not all schools chose to adopt this offer of a financial incentive, domestic economy was then made mandatory in all schools. Once classes such as cookery became compulsory, teachers were needed to provide instruction for them.

This chapter begins by briefly outlining the role of Henry Cole in the emergence of the first cookery training school for cookery teachers, the National Training School for Cookery in London. The early development of this first school to train cooking teachers is then examined and the influence of the first two superintendents is considered with regard to their identity, their sources of culinary information were and the manner in which they disseminated this knowledge to their pupils. The National Training School for Cookery went on to become extremely successful in training numerous teachers who obtained positions teaching cooking in the classrooms of the nation. The success of this school, and the perceived need for cooking teachers, gave rise to a rapid expansion of similar cookery schools that soon appeared in Scotland and the north of England. The chapter then discusses the establishment of two leading Scottish cookery teacher training schools and looks at how their associated culinary
knowledge was produced and then transmitted into the wider community. Examples from Scottish cookery training schools are particularly relevant because several teachers from at least one of these institutions went on to disseminate their culinary knowledge to women throughout New Zealand.

4.2 The National Training School of Cookery

The National Training School for Cookery was the first major institution of its kind in Great Britain. By its sheer size and through its extensive vision, the ‘National’ was to prove extremely influential in the development of cookery knowledge throughout both Britain and its Empire. The school’s establishment was inextricably entwined with the man described by Bonython and Burton (2003: 5) as the ‘dynamo’ of the Great Exhibition, Henry Cole.

Born into a lower middle class family in 1808, Cole first attended a Dame school at Lewisham and then the prestigious Christ’s Hospital school where his family had a right to a free place (Bonython and Burton 2003: 16). For approximately twenty years Cole worked in the Public Records Office and became, as Stone (1976:6) explains, one of the leading members of the Royal Commission for the 1851 Exhibition. Bonython and Burton (2003: 4) agree, insisting that that Cole’s input into the Exhibition was a significant factor in bringing the project to fruition.

The concept of display through an exhibition, museum or trade fair was said to be Henry Cole’s preferred method of making education available to the general public and he fervently supported further international exhibitions in England (1862 and 1871–4) and in Paris (1855 and 1867) (Bonython and Burton 2003:131). Part of Cole’s passion was in displaying food and domestic items for public interest. For example, some of the exhibits in the 1851 exhibition included Preserved Meat, Portable Soup, Consolidated Milk, the Nepang or Sea Slug, and Nest of the Java Swallow (Bonython and Burton 2003: 131). The 1855 Paris exhibition also had a ‘Domestic Economy’ collection shown by Thomas Twining which consisted of items designed to appeal to and provide comfort for those of the ‘humbler classes’ in the community (Bonython and Burton 2003: 174).
In 1853 Cole was appointed Secretary to the newly created Department of Science and Art with responsibility for the South Kensington Museum in London, an establishment which eventually separated into the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Science Museum (Bonython and Burton 2003: 4; Stone 1976: 6). Although Cole successfully supervised new ventures such as the Bethnal Green Museum (1872), his often acrimonious relationships with colleagues, together with complaints about his excessive expenditure, led to his retirement in 1873 (Bonython and Burton 2003: 235, 237, 245, 263–264).

Cole’s retirement left him with time to pursue his growing interest in cookery. In 1872, while Cole was still with the Department, ‘Cookery and its science’ was adopted as a section of the international exhibition planned for 1873 and an area to which Cole had been asked to give his personal supervision (Bonython and Burton 2003: 269; Stone 1976: 5). A special cooking committee was formed with the Hon. (Edward) Frederick Levenson-Gower elected as chairman. The exhibition included two categories relating to food: Class 12 (Food) and Class 13 (Cooking and its Science). Cooking and its science incorporated a variety of apparatuses and utensils and a demonstration kitchen was also included. The committee resolved to have one hundred recipes, suitable for all classes with incomes not exceeding £500 a year, ready to be demonstrated before the public at the exhibition (Bonython and Burton 2003: 269).

The ‘School of Popular Cookery’ as it came to be known was a huge success. Opening on 14th April 1873, the school received the royal seal of approval on May 9th with a visit from Queen Victoria and Princess Louise. There they viewed a demonstration on how to make an ‘omelette aux fine herbes’ by a French chef and four women assistants. The four assistants worked simultaneously at a large demonstration-table so that their actions would be visible to all members of the audience (Sillitoe 1933: 25). The demonstration was accompanied by an explanatory lecture from J.C. Buckmaster, a lecturer with the Science and Art Department. Buckmaster was an eloquent speaker but his cooking skills had been lacking prior to the 1873 exhibition; however, as Sillitoe (1933: 24) notes, he studied arduously and by the event made the task look easy, his lectures giving an extra dimension to the
occasion. Of the 363 lectures Buckmaster gave in 1873, fourteen of them were published in 1874 as *Buckmaster's Cookery* (Sillitoe 1933: 24; Stone 1976: 6; Bonython and Burton 2003: 269). Although not as popular as the Great Exhibition of 1851, this exhibition still attracted half a million visitors, many of whom visited the cookery school. Stone (1976: 6) advises that the final cookery takings amounted to £1,765, largely made up from the sale of recipe books and the 6d fee to sit in the front row and taste the food after the demonstration. The income generated by the school was evidence of its success, and possibly reflected the situation in London, where, as Sillitoe (1933: 25) reports, learning to cook was now becoming fashionable. Cookery instruction, it seemed, appealed to the prevailing taste.

Henry Cole realised that the success of the cookery lectures could be exploited to the benefit of the nation. Bonython and Burton (2003: 269) report that it was a concern for the nation’s health, and consequently its diet, that stimulated Cole’s aspiration to found a permanent cookery school to train teachers and introduce cookery lessons into elementary schools. Cole was not alone in his enthusiasm for the project: the Queen and Royal Family took an interest and at a public meeting of concerned parties on July 17th 1873, it was formally agreed to establish a national training school for cookery.

The emphasis was on establishing a national training school that would work with School Boards and Training Schools throughout the country to promote the diffusion of cookery knowledge to all classes (Stone 1976: 8–9). The executive cookery committee that had organised the exhibition stayed on with the Hon E. F. Levenson-Gower continuing as its chairman, while Cole borrowed the sheds that had previously been used for cookery in the exhibition from the commissioners and looked around for staff (Sillitoe 1933: 26; Stone 1976: 7; Bonython and Burton 2003: 269).

**First Days of the National Training School of Cookery**

The first Superintendent of the National Training School of Cookery was Lady Mary Anne Barker (she continued to call herself Lady Barker although married to Frederick Broome), a friend of Frederick Levenson-Gower (Bonython and Burton 2003: 270).
FIGURE 4.1 Mr J.C. Buckmaster lecturing at the International Exhibition, 1873 (Stone 1976: 7).

FIGURE 4.2 Edith Nicolls, aged 30 (Mrs Charles Clarke) (Stone 1976: 23).
In her book *Colonial Memories* (1904: 241), Lady Barker claimed that she was genuinely amazed to be asked to be Superintendent “for I have never cared in the least what I ate, provided it was neat and clean.” At the time of her appointment, Lady Barker had recently returned to London after three years on a New Zealand sheep station with her husband, Frederick Napier Broome. A professional writer, her memories and letters about her New Zealand sojourn were published in two books: *Station Life in New Zealand* (1870), and *Station Amusements in New Zealand* (1873). Soon after her appointment to the ‘National’ (as it was commonly called) she wrote *First Lessons in the Principles of Cookery* (1874), which was published just before the School opened.

Prior to the commencement of classes, Lady Barker had engaged a staff of cook-instructors who were trained in how to accompany their lessons with a few explanatory words (Barker 1904: 242). The National School of Cookery began in March 1874 with a first intake of fourteen students. For a course lasting a fortnight, fees were three guineas and ladies were encouraged to bring their cooks with them. While many ladies may have been eager to learn cookery from the new institution, in 1874 the sessions were more suited to their servants, with lessons on cleaning methods, cooking technology management and basic cookery processes. Their less than enthusiastic response to cleaning is perhaps revealed in the Cooking School’s regulations which note, “Persons wishing to avoid this Instruction in Cleaning may do so on paying an extra fee of one guinea, but such persons are not considered eligible to obtain a certificate” (Stone 1976: 12).

By participating in this course students were eligible to sit an examination in the theory and practice of cookery, with the marks from the theory exam added to their practical results. With a minimum pass mark of forty per cent in both Theory and Practice, there were, as Stone (1976: 14) comments, few failures. Before taking the examination students were required to have studied the catalogue of the Food Museum in Bethnal Green (c.1873), *First Lessons in the Principles of Cookery* (Barker, 1874), *Buckmaster’s Cookery* (Buckmaster, 1874), *A Shilling Cookery for the People* (Soyer, 1860), *Warne’s Shilling Cookery* (sic), [this was possibly *Warne’s Model Cookery and Housekeeping Book* by Mary Jewry, (1868)] (Stone 1976: 14).
In the first twelve months 176 students passed. Lady Barker remembers that the types of food cooked in the early days were simple: “soups and broths, plain joints, simple entrees, pastry, puddings, jellies, salads, and such like” (Barker 1904: 244). The teaching model used by the National Training School of Cookery would be later repeated in cookery classes in New Zealand, and possibly in many other parts of the Empire as well. The teaching approach combined expert demonstration, practical work, and theoretical assessment with the presentation of a certificate on graduation. Admittedly such a method may have been used in the smaller private cookery schools previously but there is little evidence to illustrate this.

A course of lessons lasted for two weeks with morning classes from 10 – 12 am and afternoon instruction from 2 – 4 pm. During the morning pupils engaged in cleaning and scrubbing tables, hearths and kitchen utensils, they learnt about management of ovens and flues, and studied aspects of basic cookery processes such as choosing provisions, and how to tell good food from bad. In the afternoons the students watched cookery demonstrations where the instructor prepared the dish from the beginning while they took notes. Then later the pupils prepared and cooked the dish themselves under the teacher’s guidance (Barker 1904: 243–244; Stone 1976: 12).

By the autumn of 1875 two further classes had been added. These were based on the weekly family income, with one class for those who could spend from between seven to twenty shillings per week on food (Cookery for Artisans), while the other class was for students or Cooks, where twenty to one hundred shillings was available for the purchase of food (Stone 1976: 14). Students who were successful in the latter class then qualified for entry to the teacher’s course. Admission requirements for intending teachers stipulated that each trainee had to be twenty-one, or over and sufficiently educated to perform the duties of a teacher after the special training. Trainees had to be able to speak aloud, write from dictation and keep accounts (Stone 1976: 15–16). Practice in teaching was gained by lecturing in the Learner’s Kitchen for at least four weeks.

It is clear from the accounts of both Barker (1904: 245), and Bonython and Burton (2003: 270), that the rush of pupils who thronged in the door on the first day were not the class of people Cole sought to attract. Lady Barker described the students as “fine
ladies of every rank, rich women, gay Americans in beautiful clothes, all thronged our kitchens and the waiting carriages looked as if a smart party were going on within our dingy sheds” (Barker 1904: 245). Despite Lady Barker’s (1904: 241–246) stated desire to educate women of all classes, there were considerable differences in the teaching aims and methods between Barker and Cole, and Cole’s frustration over Barker’s initial reluctance to institute a class of artisan cookery eventually led to an acrimonious working relationship between them. Evidently it was with great relief that Cole heard that Lady Barker was to follow her husband in his new posting to Natal as colonial secretary (Bonython and Burton 2003: 271).

The exit of Lady Barker meant that Henry Cole was able to guide the school without interference. Cole’s enthusiasm for the cookery school was such that members of his family were often ‘enlisted’ to help: his wife Marian, three of his daughters, Tishy (Laetitia), Henny (Henrietta), and Rose were all committed to the school’s activities, as was cousin Florence Cole. Rose was especially active and wrote the official handbook, The Official Handbook for the National Training School for Cookery (1877), while Tishy wrote a textbook (Bonython and Burton 2003: 279). The next superintendent at the school was someone in whom Henry Cole was close, and whom he felt shared his vision for the school.

The new superintendent of the National School of Cookery, Edith Nicolls, remained in her position for forty-four years. As Lady Barker’s assistant Nicolls was already familiar with school’s procedures and ideology, and she had known Henry Cole since she was a child (Stone 1976: 21–22). Nicolls, (later Mrs Charles Clarke), had achieved a Diploma from the National Training School of Cookery in July 1874 and approximately one year later she was in charge (Stone 1976: 24). It is perhaps interesting to note that Edith’s salary was £200 per year, exactly half that of Mary Anne Barker’s, and it would be another twenty four years before she received parity with Lady Barker’s salary (Stone 1976: 24). On August 22, 1876 Edith Nicolls married Charles Clarke and unusually for that time continued to work at the school. The couple had three daughters, the eldest of whom, Edith Gladys, followed in her mother’s footsteps to also become principal of the school (Stone 1976: 33). Edith Nicolls was obviously a woman of energy and forcefulness as the school progressed to a great extent during her tenure.
Under Nicolls’ guidance the National School of Cookery dispersed its cooking teacher graduates throughout England and Scotland. The school moved into new premises, Nicolls upgraded the syllabus and started cookery classes with the army (Stone 1976: 26). In April 1876 Nicolls reported that “There have been schools opened for instruction in Cookery, taught by teachers trained at South Kensington in Liverpool, Leeds, Oxford, Leamington, Shrewsbury, Birmingham, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and from all these satisfactory reports have been received; whilst other towns, such as Hereford, Bristol, Sheffield, Rugby, Dundee and Wickham will shortly have teachers sent to them to open schools in those towns also” (Stone 1976: 26). Edith realised that the focus needed to be on the next generation and that their work must be strongly directed towards the elementary schools. She herself became actively involved in a scheme to reach the working classes in the poorer districts of London, organising lessons in the midst of the people at schoolrooms in the evenings. Money from door sales and tickets sold to school mistresses and pupil teachers of neighbouring schools covered the expenses for materials, advertising, teachers and kitchen maids (Stone 1976: 26, 28).

In addition to training cookery teachers the National continued to convey its cookery knowledge to the general population through exhibitions. For example, at the Fisheries Exhibition of 1883 cookery teachers from the National demonstrated methods of cooking fish dishes three times a day, provided cheap fish dinners for the public from 1 to 3 pm and 7 to 9 pm, and Edith Clarke prepared a cookery book, *Cheap Recipes for Fish Cookery* (1883). In addition to their profits from the restaurant and cookbook, the National received a £500 fee (Stone 1976:38, 40). In the Health Exhibition (1884), the School was asked to illustrate the best methods of preparing the ordinary foods used in daily life, with a feature of canned and frozen goods from the Colonies (Australia, Canada and New Zealand). Stone (1976: 40, 42) explains that this was to encourage ‘the public’ to overcome their prejudice against food of this type and increase trade. Cookery from the National also played an important role at the Inventions Exhibition of 1885 and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 (Stone 1976:40, 42).
By 1889 the school’s finances had improved to such an extent that the school was able to purchase new premises in Buckingham Palace Road (Stone 1976: 48). Edith Clarke now took the time to modernise the school syllabus and reassess the qualities of the teacher trainees. The School now sought slightly older candidates than previously, those in their late twenties or early thirties, of good background, who had some experience of home and social duties (Stone 1976:49). It was possible for students to merely qualify for a diploma in Household and Artisan Cookery which entitled them to teach in elementary and continuation schools, although most students preferred to take the full diploma and few abandoned the course. As Stone (1976: 49–50) explains, the School’s policy of training hand-picked students to a high level of expertise was rewarded through the calibre of these pioneer teachers, especially as they were constantly involved in travelling up and down the country demonstrating and teaching with “long days of almost non-stop toil” on wages “rarely exceeding £80 per year.” That so many women adopted a career with such arduous working conditions suggests that either they possessed considerable dedication to the profession of cookery teacher, or options for other suitable employment were scarce.

Edith Clarke and the women who graduated from the National Training School of Cookery transmitted their culinary knowledge to a far wider audience than pupils in state schools and women in local halls. Clarke published a considerable number of cookery books with recipes that ranged from high class cookery to plain cookery and she was also considered an authority on educational matters concerning food, diet and hygiene. Stone (1976: 57–59) relates that Clarke helped raise the standard of instruction at the Army School of Cookery at Aldershot, then convinced the Aldershot School to give demonstrations at an Exhibition of the Food and Cookery Association. The Admiralty also followed the example of the Army and lessons were given to cooks of the Officers’ Mess on H.M. Flagships stationed in home waters, while instruction in sickroom diets and cookery was provided at the naval hospitals at Haslar and Plymouth (Stone 1976: 62). The Armed Forces were not the only institutions that provided food and Mrs Clarke was also consulted by the Prisons Commission, members of the nursing profession (including Florence Nightingale), and by the Local Government Board about the cost and quality of the food supplied to inmates of workhouses throughout the country (Stone 1976: 29–30, 62). Although such culinary advice from Clarke, and the National was of considerable benefit to
these institutions, the National Training School of Cookery’s primary influence was through its training of cookery teachers and their transmission of cookery knowledge into the public domain. The National might have been the first of its kind but several similar institutions soon followed.

4.3 The F. L. Calder College of Domestic Science

Soon after the establishment and success of the National Training School of Cookery in London, other similar institutions emerged in both England and Scotland. Like the National, these ‘sister’ schools of cookery emerged because of a desire to improve the health and well-being of the poorer classes through education in cookery and food together with an objective to create respectable employment for women. All of these early institutions appear to have one other factor in common, a strong personality who was a prime mover in the school’s development. Such people naturally did not operate alone but seemed to be so passionate about their vision, and so capable and dynamic, that others were equally inspired to support their mission. The National had Henry Cole; the Liverpool School of Cookery had Miss Fanny L. Calder.

The Liverpool School of Cookery was established in 1875 although records from its first year of operation are absent (Scott 1967: 16). The woman recognised as the founder of the school, Fanny L. Calder, was later honoured when the school was reorganised in the early 1920s to bear the name of F. L. Calder College of Domestic Science. As a seaport, Liverpool attracted large numbers of the lower classes, such as seafarers searching for work, poverty-stricken Irish fleeing the potato famine, and rural poor attracted to the city by the promise of employment in the larger industrial area (Scott 1967: 12). Many of the city’s inhabitants were crowded together in slum areas with inadequate housing, health and food, and Scott (1967: 11, 14) argues that the founding of the cookery school can be attributed to Calder’s philanthropic work among the poor in such situations. Her charity work had convinced Calder that gifts of food and clothing were insufficient to combat the effects of drink and ignorance among the poor and she conceived the idea that the surest approach lay in teaching the next generation the best methods of preparing food (Scott 1967: 18).
The Liverpool School of Cookery opened its doors in 1875 with considerable support for the new venture (Scott 1967: 16). There were two patronesses, the Countess of Derby and the Countess of Sefton, fifty eight general committee members and the ‘indomitable eight’ who formed the executive committee. The first Superintendent was a Miss Farnall (1875–1881), although very little seems to be known about her. The key figure though in this establishment was the Honourable Secretary pro temp, Miss Fanny L. Calder (Scott 1967: 98).

The Liverpool School of Cookery used a similar teaching approach to that of the National: cooking demonstrations and practice classes. Children of the working classes were taught Plain Household Cookery while teacher trainees were instructed in High Class Cookery (Scott 1967: 19). Initially the course was of about five or six month’s duration with the teachers then travelling extensively to give their lessons in school classrooms. Training from the Liverpool School must have secured a good reputation as requests for teachers were received from as far away as America and South Africa (Scott 1967: 21). Indeed, Sillitoe (1933: 27) reports that demand for cookery teachers from all the training schools quickly exceeded the supply, particularly in the early years.

During the first few years, the three monthly training period used by many of the cookery training schools was quickly found to be inadequate, even for those students who already possessed some knowledge of cookery from their own homes (Sillitoe 1933: 27–28). Despite the fact that the examination at the end consisted of a three hour paper on the theory of cookery, along with a demonstration lesson in household cookery, there was no test of a student’s ability to manage a practice class (Sillitoe 1933: 28). As each school conducted its own examination there was little co-ordination or standardisation between the schools (Sillitoe 1933: 28; Scott 1967: 51–52). For example, early minute books recount how examinations in Liverpool were conducted by voluntary ladies of the committee (Scott 1967: 52). The impetus to rectify the general dissatisfaction concerning the lack of collective standards came from the northern part of the country.
4.4 The Northern Union of Training Schools of Cookery

Fanny Calder and Catherine Buckton of the Leeds Cookery School became concerned about the lack of standardisation in examination criteria, so in June 1876 representatives from Liverpool and Leeds wrote to the committee of the National to enquire if the school would co-ordinate local examinations in different towns, thus entitling the successful candidates to diplomas issued by the National (Sillitoe 1933: 28; Stone 1976: 30). The committee at the National declined for the reason that its own organisation was not sufficiently advanced to take on the extra responsibility. Subsequently, at the suggestion of Fanny Calder, a number of schools formed themselves into the Northern Union of Training Schools of Cookery with one examination and one examiner for all (Sillitoe 1933: 28; Scott 1967: 52; Miller 1975: 6; Stone 1976: 30; Begg 1994: 41).

The first schools to join the Northern Union were Liverpool, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Yorkshire in 1876. The number of schools joining the union increased rapidly and by the second conference in 1877, eight more schools had joined the original five (Bolton, Cambridge, Leamington, Manchester, Norwich, Halifax, Wakefield, York) (Sillitoe 1933: 100). The chief aim in creating the Northern Union was to establish and maintain high teaching standards. With consistent standards they would be able to provide some guarantee to the authorities that the teachers they needed to employ were efficiently trained. Members at the first meeting decided on the characteristics of the diplomas and certificates, the appropriate training required, and the text books to be studied (Scott 1967: 100). The length of training was extended under this new scheme and the scope of the examination was expanded. The set of text books prescribed for all students included *Elementary Physiology* (Lankester, 1868), *Domestic Economy: A Class Book for Girls* (Nelson’s Royal School Service, 1856), *Health in the Household* (Buckton, 1876), *A Scholar’s Handbook of Household Management and Cookery* (Tegetmeier, 1876), *Food* (Church, 1876) (Scott 1967: 100).

The Liverpool School of Cookery adopted a range of techniques to disseminate their information on food and cookery practices. In addition to the teacher training courses
and children’s classes, the school provided hospital nurses with instruction in invalid cookery and good nutritional practices, lessons in cookery and laundry-work for seamen, and educated emigrants in cooking of foods appropriate to their destination (Scott 1967: 24, 28). Calder published mainly books on laundry-work but *Practical Cooking in Elementary Schools* (Calder, 1884) was no doubt a text book for the school’s cooking classes.

### 4.5 Cookery Schools in Scotland

#### The Glasgow School of Cookery

The Glasgow School of Cookery was the first of two large cookery teacher training institutions that operated in Glasgow during the second half of the nineteenth century. Established in 1875, it opened its doors to the public on February 21st 1876 (Miller 1975: 5–6). In November 1875, J.C. Buckmaster, well-known for his cookery knowledge and association with the National in London as previously discussed, addressed a group of citizens interested in founding a school of cookery in Glasgow. Miller (1975: 5–6) explains that the initial aim of the school was to improve family life in lower income groups by improving the culinary skills of working class women. Many of the convenors were notable city personages and believed, like the Rev. F.L. Roberts, that a nutritious well-cooked meal for the working man kept him away from drink.

Grace Chalmers Paterson, daughter of a well-to-do merchant, was the first Superintendent and Office Secretary of the school. In addition to her pioneering work with the cookery school, Grace Paterson also fought for educational and women’s issues in her time (Glasgow Caledonian University Archives: GB 1847 GSC). Her role at the cookery school was on an organisational level as opposed to being actively involved in the teaching duties of the school and she was also the Honorary Secretary for the school’s Ladies Committee (Miller 1975: 6–8). Election to school boards was one of the earliest means available to women at this time to hold public office and in March 1885, Grace Paterson became one of the first two women to be elected to the Glasgow School Board (Miller 1975: 13). Her pivotal role in the cookery school’s foundation was recognised in her obituary which stated, “It was on her initiative that
the first public school of cookery was opened in Glasgow in 1875, an event which marked the beginning of a movement organised by educated women to raise domestic work from the standards of drudgery" (Glasgow Herald November 30th, 1925: 6).

An advertisement placed in the Glasgow Herald (2nd December, 1875) for a “Lady willing to be trained in Kensington School as an instructress to teach and lecture in Glasgow School” (Miller 1975: 11), demonstrates that at least one instructor at the Glasgow School of Cookery trained at the National. When the school opened its doors it offered both daytime and evening classes by an instructress with a first class diploma from the National. Although Miller (1975: 8) suggests that the identity of this mystery teacher was concealed because she was none other than Margaret MacKirdy Black, the forthcoming Principal of the West End School of Cookery, this seems unlikely when her period as principal was two years in the future. Perhaps her missing name was a technical oversight. Within two years it was recognised that the school was failing to reach the very people it was founded to assist. Despite such strategies as lowering the cost of classes and eventually offering them free, there was no demand for working class cookery. The School then decided that to reach those most in need of their expertise, they must train teachers (Miller 1975: 8–9). In 1878, teacher training took five to six months and cost ten guineas. The ideal trainees were deemed to be “women who could bring their more mature judgement to bear on the social conditions before them” (Miller 1975: 9). The Glasgow School of Cookery published several cookery books including Plain Cookery Recipes (1888a), Superior Cookery Recipes (1888b), and Glasgow School of Cookery in connection with the Northern Union of Schools of Cookery: [recipes no. 1–223][c.1890]. These cookbooks show that the cookery curricula were similar to those of the National and Liverpool training schools with classes in High Class Cookery and Plain Cookery.

The West End School of Cookery
The second largest cookery school operating in Glasgow at this time, the West End School of Cookery, was founded in 1878 by Margaret MacKirdy Black (Glasgow Caledonian University Archives, Accessed 21/11/2007). Black had trained at the National Training School of Cookery and received a first class diploma in 1876. Margaret Black went on to author many books on cookery and domestic economy,
including: *Superior Cookery* (1887), *Household Cookery and Laundry Work* (1882), *Choice Cookery: La Bonne Cuisine* (1890a), *Hints to Young Housekeepers* (1884), and *Cookery and Domestic Economy: Adapted for Use in Advanced School Classes* (1890b). Margaret Black’s cookery books were in use for many years (Miller 1975: 14), as indeed was the case with books published by teachers associated with the other cookery schools.

Publishing cookbooks was not the only means of supplementing incomes and raising profiles available to the two cookery schools in Glasgow. Miller (1975: 15, 17) reports that when Glasgow held an International Exhibition in 1888, Miss Paterson’s school put in a tender for running a small tearoom adjoining the Women’s Industries Section at the Exhibition. The Glasgow School’s tearooms proved popular with the public despite adverse reports in the press concerning cost and lack of originality in the food. The profits from this enterprise, Miller (1975: 15, 17) explains, became the means by which the school remained in existence for the next twenty years. In addition to providing much needed funds for the school, ventures like tearooms and exhibitions also functioned as a form of advertising for the culinary expertise of both the individuals and schools involved. Although Margaret Black is not reported as being involved in the 1888 International Exhibition, she demonstrated in the Darwin’s Gas Cookery Lecture Room at the smaller East End Industrial Exhibition in 1890 and later allowed her name to be used for advertising Japp’s culinary essences (Miller 1975: 17).

As the last quarter of the nineteenth century came to a close both the Glasgow schools of cookery continued to train teachers, provide practical domestic training in State-aided day and evening schools and pursue the seemingly endless quest for funding. In 1903 Margaret Black’s chief assistant teacher – her niece Mary MacKirdy – succeeded her aunt as Principal after Margaret Black’s sudden death from pneumonia (Miller 1975: 20). It would seem likely Mary MacKirdy trained at the West End School of Cookery and Miller (1975: 20) also relates that she attended the Leeds School of Cookery for a month in 1899 to study their methods. However, Miller (1975: 21) suggests that the training standards of the West End school were inadequate because by 1906 the West End Cookery School was having discussions with the Scottish Education Department as to the adequacy of its syllabus. Despite
rearrangements made in staffing to implement the department’s suggestions, by 1907 the Department considered it advisable that the two schools should merge to form one College of Domestic Science (Miller 1975: 21–22). While both schools agreed in principle to the merger, the implementation was another matter.

Despite considerable discussions as to which school had pre-eminence the new merged school was founded in 1908, the first in Britain to be named a College of Domestic Science (Miller 1975: 31). Miss Ella Glaister, a protégée of the Glasgow Cookery School, was the first Superintendent of The Glasgow and West of Scotland College of Domestic Science, although Miller (1975: 32) indicates that family reminiscences also suggest a connection with the Logan and Johnstone School of Domestic Economy on the south side of the city. Ella Glaister remained Principal of the College for just two years, publishing *The Glasgow Cookery Book* in 1910 (a classic which became the prescribed textbook for the College and a reference book for city housewives) (Glaister, GASHE) before taking up the position of chief inspectress in Domestic Science for Scotland (Miller 1975: 33).

**The Edinburgh School of Cookery**

The 1870s represented a critical period in female education. At a time when new legislation started to provide increased funding for girls in state education, increasing numbers of middle class women began to experience a need for employment. As women became more convinced of their ability to undertake education at a tertiary level, they also realised that their appeals to be able to participate equally with men in some educational institutions were being largely ignored. For a number of women, the cookery school presented an ideal solution to such needs. The establishment of the Edinburgh School of Cookery occurred in a similar manner to other cookery schools at that time — it had an able and enthusiastic committee, a very competent Honorary Treasurer in Louisa Stevenson, and a leader and successful driving force in Christian Guthrie Wright (Begg 1994: 37).

Christian Guthrie Wright received a middle class upbringing and education (Begg 1994: 23). She joined the Edinburgh Essay Society, later to be known as ‘The Ladies
FIGURE 4.3 Fanny L Calder (Scott 1967: 2).

FIGURE 4.4 Christian Guthrie Wright (Begg 1994: 84).
Debating Society,’ and was one of a group of women who attended extra-mural classes at the University (Begg 1994: 23). How, or why, Christian Guthrie Wright then became interested in the National Training School of Cookery in London is, as Begg (1994: 24–25) explains, a mystery. Perhaps, as the Principal of the Edinburgh College of Domestic Science, Miss Ethel de la Cour, explained in the *Edinburgh School Cookery Magazine* of 1925, Christian “had herself felt the want of a definite training in Cookery and the other household arts, and she believed that the same desire for instruction was shared by other women” (*ESCM* 1925: 10; as cited in Begg 1994: 25). Conceivably, Christian Guthrie Wright, because she was interested in higher education for women herself, and possessed a social conscience, perceived that cookery teaching was a medium by which women could achieve both higher status and effect social reform.

The model of establishing a cookery school in Edinburgh followed a similar pattern to those previously discussed in this chapter, with a public meeting on April 21 1875 to awaken public interest, endorsed through the attendance of prominent public figures. With input from an inspirational figure (Miss Guthrie Wright), the meeting resolved to establish a cookery school in Edinburgh similar to the National in London that would teach cooking to adult women, particularly those of the working classes and introduce the teaching of cookery into schools. A provisional committee was established with Christian appointed Honorary Secretary and by early summer such progress had been made that an Executive Committee was formed, taking over from the provisional one (Begg 1994: 26). A suitable teacher was appointed from some forty applicants and the new appointee, Miss Isobel D. Middleton, daughter of an Edinburgh doctor, was sent to South Kensington to undertake training at the National Training School of Cookery with an allowance of £40 for expenses. Miss Middleton was accompanied by Christian Guthrie Wright (at her own expense), who also completed the same course of instruction while additionally investigating the operation of the college (Begg 1994: 27–28). Although Christian scored very high marks in her subjects she never taught or gave demonstrations herself. Begg (1994: 28) argues that in order to protect her social position as a lady she was careful not to appear as a paid member of staff so that her Honorary Secretarial position would be perceived as “a lady giving voluntary leadership” (Begg 1994: 28).
The new school was advertised widely in several newspapers, including *The Scotsman*, the *Courant*, and the *Review*, prior to its opening on Tuesday 9th November 1875. Various dignitaries, including Professor Sir Robert Christison (the Queen’s physician), Edith Nicholls from the National and Fanny Calder from Liverpool, were secured for the platform at the opening demonstration and their appearances were announced in the press (Begg 1994: 28–30). On opening day it was estimated that an audience of about one thousand, mainly ladies, crammed into the lecture theatre of the museum. Various speakers commended the importance of what was being attempted. Miss Middleton demonstrated the preparation of an omelette and a soufflé and Sir Robert Christison declared the School open (Begg 1994: 30–31).

The first session of classes started the following day but a week later the School presented a second large public lecture. Begg (1994: 31–32) describes how J C Buckmaster had written to Christian to express his disappointment at not being invited to the initial opening but his letter did not reach her in time to change arrangements. Instead it was decided to hold a second lecture a week later.

The second public lecture held by the Edinburgh School was again skilfully advertised with another large turnout of an audience of 800. Buckmaster’s lecture stressed both the importance of cooking and its scientific aspect. He argued that because the true object of cooking was to make food not only more palatable, but also more digestible, it was vital to provide instruction for poorer women as well as to those from the middle classes. He claimed that most of the ‘misery of bad food was not produced from poverty, but from ignorance’ (Begg 1994: 32). Buckmaster commended the new School and urged the school boards of Scotland to ensure that instruction was made available to the children of the working classes. While Buckmaster spoke, Miss Middleton demonstrated the preparation of vegetable soup, sole au gratin, and an omelette and showed how to boil potatoes properly (Begg 1994: 32). Following this high profile launch, the School settled into its programme of classes.

The Edinburgh School of Cookery’s first winter programme was held in the temporary rooms at the Museum of Science and Art (Begg 1994: 33). The new school offered instruction in Superior Cookery, Plain Cookery, and Artisan Cookery (Begg 1994: 28). As soon as the winter series of lectures was completed a start was made to
provide instruction in other centres throughout Scotland, although as Begg (1994: 34) explains, as Miss Middleton was still the only lecturer there was a limit as to the area she could cover. Her demonstrations in other centres were in the form of two courses of twelve lessons; her work was very well received with attendances increasing each night. By June 1876 the Committee decided to make two further appointments to the teaching staff. The two new appointees, Miss Dodds and Mrs Macpherson were hired on condition that they successfully completed courses of instruction at the National School in South Kensington (Begg 1994: 34–35). Despite the success of the first session of classes there were problems in obtaining the co-operation of the Edinburgh School Board to introduce the teaching of cookery into schools.

Wright’s earliest attempts to interest the Edinburgh School Board in school cooking classes were unsuccessful. In June of 1876 she once again tried to obtain the Board’s support and wrote to its Chairman, Professor Calderwood, intimating that the staff of the School was being extended to three and that it would therefore be willing to provide instruction in Board schools (Begg 1994: 37). Again the School Board proved reluctant to act. As Begg (1994: 38–39) explains, a letter written by Flora Stevenson to The Scotsman on 28th September, 1876, detailed the problems involved in the introduction of cookery into schools. There was the purely physical problem that adequate space, ventilation and light was often lacking in schools. Additionally the amount of time available to girls for these lessons was limited. While girls and boys both attended mainstream classes which attracted grant funding the girls also spent an additional five hours a week on sewing classes. Boys and girls both sat examinations on their ordinary classes at the same age, yet the girls received five hours less teaching in these subjects per week. Although new 1876 regulations meant money could now be spent by school boards on cookery classes, some boards, such as Edinburgh, were slow to introduce them (Begg 1994: 39).

Miss Wright’s reply to Flora Stevenson’s letter was to point out that girls had a right to learn to cook and that the present ignorance in the domestic kitchen was damaging to the health of the community; where else but in the schools would they learn such skills? (Begg 1994: 39–40). Christian went on to describe how school boards in London were already providing cooking classes in their schools, while in Scotland, Glasgow and Dunfermline had just started classes (Begg 1994: 40). Begg (1994: 40)
emphasises that this exchange clearly illustrates the dilemma which confronted the female reformer at that time; on one hand the right to equal education, on the other a distinct lack of culinary skills which affected the wider community.

Although the School Board in Edinburgh may have been slow to introduce cookery classes, other boards however were more enthusiastic. The programme for classes in other centres was rapidly gaining momentum, becoming what Begg (1994: 42) terms an “authentic popular movement.” Aware of the propensity of other schools to start losing money during their early stages, the Edinburgh School shrewdly made sure that the fees charged more than covered their costs as they were determined to accumulate early working capital (Begg 1994: 42–43). One reason that the School was able to charge realistic fees for its demonstrations was that the demand for them was increasing. Their popularity was due to the novelty of such events and to the high standards maintained by the teachers delivering them.

One such example was the presentations given by Mrs Macpherson to the School Board of the new school at Portobello. Begg (1994: 43) describes how at the afternoon class Mrs Macpherson prepared baked haddock, veal cutlets à la Talleyrand, vanilla soufflé, roly poly, and cauliflower au gratin. At the evening class for artisans’ wives she demonstrated the preparation of such dishes as Irish stew, fried fish, rice and cheese, onion soup etc. (The Edinburgh Daily Review, September 18, 1876; as cited in Begg 1994: 43). Two months later an editorial in the Dunfermline Press, commended Mrs Macpherson’s classes in Dunfermline and reviewed the progress of events over the past year. Titled ‘A Popular Movement,’ it concluded that “it will thus be seen that no social movement of modern times, either in Scotland or England, bids fair to become more popular than that of instruction in the art of cookery” (Dunfermline Press, November 11, 1876, as cited in Begg 1994: 44). Teachers trained by the National were obviously successful in diffusing culinary information through their approach using cookery demonstrations.

The expertise of the teachers was only one of the reasons for the popularity of the School’s new cookery presentations. Meticulous attention to detail in setting up the classes was another. Begg (1994: 48) advises that after the Edinburgh School received a request for classes in a particular area, Christian Guthrie Wright would reply that a
Ladies Committee should be organised to make local arrangements according to a set of her directions. The classes were well publicised prior to the event with leaflets, posters and admission tickets provided by the School. The School also supplied the equipment; the travelling teachers carried such equipment as utensils and a portable gas stove with them in a crate. The transportable stoves operated by demonstrators typically used gas as the fuel source, but in areas that lacked a gas supply, an oil-fuelled 'American' stove was used. Christian also urged local groups to ensure the involvement of doctors and clergymen and to obtain a community leader to provide platform support. The venue for the event would be cleaned and decorated before use (Begg 1994: 38, 48). Such painstaking attention to the smaller details of the process helped to ensure the smooth running of the demonstrations and assisted in the establishment of the cookery concern as a viable business.

By the end of 1877 the School had moved to permanent premises in the Albert Buildings, Shandwich Place (Begg 1994: 50). Christian Guthrie Wright and the Edinburgh School were determined that cookery should be an essential part of the school education of every girl and to further this aim Christian compiled and edited a School Cookery Book (1879), which was suitable for use in elementary and other schools. The 158 page volume described the human requirement for food, the chemical nature of different foods, the uses of foods, and the principles of cooking. In addition to the recipes and cooking techniques, an appendix offered guidance on how cooking classes and facilities might best be organised in an elementary school (Begg 1994: 51). School cookery books like this provided memory aids for pupils, a means to transmit culinary knowledge into the wider community and furthermore were able to generate extra income for the school.

As the School settled into its new location its aspiration to train its own teachers still had not been realised. Teachers at the Edinburgh School were still mainly trained at the National in London. By 1878 the Edinburgh School had withdrawn from the Northern Union because of a lack of confidence in the qualifications being issued by some of the member schools. Begg (1994: 51) argues that the Edinburgh School wanted to wait until there was a proven demand for trained teachers, that is, cookery fully integrated into Board schools, before it would commence its own training programme. During the 1880s the Edinburgh School consolidated its early gains and
from 1881 training was provided for intending teachers of cookery. Although the Edinburgh School Board was still not prepared to make cookery available in all its schools, classes were now in schools at Stockbridge, Leith Walk, Bristo Street and Dean (Begg 1994: 50–51). At first the numbers accepted for training were small and the focus limited to the teaching of Artisan Cookery. Begg (1994: 54–55) claims this cautious development of training cookery teachers was a deliberate strategy on the School’s part so that the status of their instructors was maintained and not able to be reproduced by non-specialised teacher training schools such as Moray House. This approach ensured that a career as a cookery teacher was a desirable and valued option.

A comprehensive training schedule was set in place to uphold the School’s high standards. Begg (1994: 55) explains that in 1887 for example, student trainees had to be over seventeen years of age and could expect to be in training for five to six months depending on their level of competence in both cooking and demonstration. The course comprised Artisan, Plain, and High Class Cookery teaching as well as classes in Elementary Chemistry of Food and on the Physiology of Digestion. Students completing these courses were also able to sit the South Kensington Science and Art Examinations. At the end of five or six months a student who received a first class diploma would be able to undertake any kind of cookery appointment. For those who wished to concentrate on Artisan Cookery only, the course would last three to four months. Such a course would qualify her to give instruction in an elementary school (Begg 1994: 55). The thorough training given by the School ensured that its excellent reputation was preserved.

In 1891 the School again moved to new premises at No. 3 Atholl Crescent. The School was reorganised into a more business-like footing with the establishment of the new company, The Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Science Ltd. The day-to-day running of the company was undertaken by the Board of Directors and Christian Guthrie Wright remained as Honorary Secretary (Begg 1994: 63, 65). The school now offered a comprehensive range of courses. Besides training cookery teachers there was a new Housewife’s Diploma, aimed, Begg (1994: 65) argues, specifically at the daughters of the upper and middle classes as a deliberate revenue-gathering strategy on the part of the school. There was also a Lady Housekeeper’s Diploma (Begg 1994: 66), and a range of other training options, for example, training

In February 1907 the Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Science lost its inspirational leader with the unexpected death after a short illness, of Christian Guthrie Wright (Begg 1994: 83). With the passing of the 1908 Education (Scotland) Act, a fundamental change in the way the school was organised took place. The State now took direct responsibility for the domestic education of school girls and the Cookery Schools in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow were brought under Government control through the Scotch Education Department. The existing school company was wound up in June 1909 and a new era began (Begg 1994: 86–87). Miss Ethel de la Cour became Principal of the new Edinburgh College of Domestic Science (Begg 1994: 88). The various methods of disseminating culinary information used by the Edinburgh School of Cookery ensured that its teachers would have considerable influence in both educational situations and throughout the wider population.

The dissemination of culinary knowledge from school cooking teachers to pupils in a school classroom is an example of what Eerkens and Lipo (2007: 250) termed a one-to-many transmission. The transmission takes place in the context of the school classroom as an event in which such information is imparted from a knowledgeable person, (the teacher), to those with less knowledge (the students). This takes place in structured conditions in a systematic way. The mode and context in which these classes occurred (expert to novice, authoritarian manner, formal surroundings, and repetitive occasions) ensured a greater acceptance and retention of the cookery knowledge (the content) that was imparted. In other words, school cooking classes taught the children basic cooking skills that in earlier times were typically passed on through diachronic, or intergenerational, transmission.

**Independent Cooking Teachers**

While many cooking teachers operated within the auspices of institutions, such as educational facilities, hospitals, appliance manufacturers etc., some of them were enterprising enough to set forth as independent cooking demonstrators. After training at a reputable cookery establishment, all that the teacher required was the necessary
utensils and apparatus. This was not for the faint-hearted however; the demonstrator not only had to possess suitable qualifications, but she also needed to exhibit a competence that made her demonstration lesson both informative and enjoyable. For example she would have to skilfully construct a variety of dishes with an unwavering hand under numerous critical gazes while all the time talking amiably and describing her actions. She had a two hour period in which to cook five or six dishes to perfection, finishing at just the right time. Such expertise would most likely have been well rewarded. Begg (1994: 45) explains that instructresses often received gifts of money at the end of a series of classes. Trained demonstrators from the cookery schools may well have been under pressure to give private classes or classes to other agencies, as did Miss Middleton from the Edinburgh School of Cookery (Begg 1994: 45). Cookery training from a reputable institution created a variety of career options for many middle class women. One option for the independent cookery teacher was travelling to the colonies, for example to Australia and New Zealand to teach cookery.

4.5 Conclusion

The National Training School of Cookery, South Kensington, London, was the first institution of its kind in Great Britain — a cookery school that provided qualifications for middle-class women in need of suitable employment opportunities. However women did more than simply respond to the need for more teachers, they actively took control and promoted an entire movement which created numerous job opportunities in many food-related fields, demonstrated their business acumen and achieved public office in the only method available to them at that point in time. Employment as a school cookery teacher or itinerant cookery demonstrator may not have been the most lucrative, but they were both an appropriate vocation for the growing numbers of single women in Great Britain.

New cookery training schools similar to the National soon followed, particularly in the north of England and in Scotland. Teachers from the National taught at many of the later cooking schools and it is highly likely that they were passing on their culinary knowledge through the teaching methods acquired at the National. The women who trained at these schools not only gained employment as cookery teachers
in state-run schools but also made their living offering fee-paying classes and cooking exhibitions demonstrating their skills to the general public. Numerous cooking school graduates proceeded to publish cookery books, often specifically aimed at schools, thus ensuring that the cookery information they acquired during their personal training was subsequently transferred into the public arena as well as providing permanent sources of recipes and cookery knowledge.

The emergence of these early training schools for cooking teacher followed similar developmental patterns. Apart from Henry Cole, all the succeeding influential figures in its first few decades of these institutions were women. The Principal of each training school, or primary organising figure, collaborated with an executive committee. Such committees often helped to determine curriculum content, examination material, cooking practices and methods. The schools all struggled with the continual need for funding, using a variety of methods, such as tearooms at exhibitions to provide funds and publicity for their teaching establishments. All the schools considered their fundamental objectives to be the training of cookery teachers and the teaching of cooking to children, particularly in elementary schools. Because children were perceived as more receptive to messages of good cooking practices, the Schools invested considerable time and energy into persuading school boards to introduce cookery classes into schools. These classes would of course also provide ongoing requirements for cookery teachers.

The dissemination culinary knowledge in a classroom situation creates a specific type of transmission event. The knowledge flows one-way, from the teacher, or expert, to the student, or novice. The value of the information is reinforced by the authority of teacher and the circumstances in which it occurs. The learning in classroom situations is more likely to be remembered because of the pedagogical manner in which it occurred — repetitive and scaffolded (building up piece by piece). Although not all the actual information, such as individual recipes, may be retained, the skill base acquired is generally preserved and added to. Teaching cooking in a school classroom allows knowledge from one person to be imparted to many others. This increases the spread of information. When the teachers travel themselves it again extends such transmission.
A considerable number of graduates from the British cooking schools subsequently travelled to all parts of the colonies, including New Zealand. On account of their previous cookery training these women cookery teachers were able to provide cooking classes to interested parties throughout New Zealand. As they toured the country demonstrating their skills in local halls and school classrooms, communities realized the importance of this type of education. The following chapter discusses some nineteenth century examples of cookery teachers who came to New Zealand, how they disseminated their culinary knowledge and their subsequent impact on cookery knowledge in this country. The chapter then continues by examining how these teachers influenced local cookery teachers and their subsequent culinary output.
Chapter Five — Education and the Cookery Curriculum in Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century New Zealand

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the establishment of institutions such as the National Training School of Cookery offered many women an opportunity for a career as a cookery teacher. Culinary knowledge from Great Britain was then transmitted to New Zealand through the auspices of graduates from the British cookery schools when they provided cooking lessons to women throughout the country. This chapter discusses the diffusion of cookery information and culinary techniques from Britain into New Zealand by examining two case studies of nineteenth century women cookery teachers, both of whom trained in British cookery schools, and then subsequently taught cooking in Dunedin, New Zealand. The association between Edinburgh, Scotland and Dunedin, New Zealand, is explored in terms of how cookery classes were promoted to the public and the approach maintained by the teachers for their lessons. The mode, content and context of such culinary transmission is examined then any subsequent culinary influence from these women into the community is considered, particularly in relation to a woman who would later be referred to as a pioneer of domestic science in New Zealand, Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller. Mrs Miller was an influential figure in the early development of cookery teaching in Dunedin and she later toured throughout New Zealand providing cooking classes in local halls and school classrooms.

There were however, also a number of other cooking teachers who provided cookery instruction at similar centres throughout the country, for example, Mrs Harman and Mrs Gard’ner in Christchurch. This chapter will consider some of the debates relating to the education of girls and the succeeding legislative prescriptions concerning manual education are reviewed briefly before discussing the early years of the Dunedin Technical Classes Association in relation to cooking classes and the career of Mrs Elizabeth B. Miller. The cooking lessons provided by the Technical Classes Association involved various sections of the local community, and the connection
between these classes and the pupils of Otago Girls’ High School are also highlighted. This work concentrates on examples of early cookery teaching, how they occurred and the means by which this knowledge subsequently passed into the local community.

By the 1870s New Zealand could still be considered a young colony. City infrastructures were developing but many children had an all too brief exposure to education. A combination of concern about youths with unoccupied time on their hands and a desire to provide some form of continuation courses, particularly regarding technical education, led to a number of new associations emerging around the country. These organisations arose from local community initiatives rather than from any Government directives. At the same time there was also considerable controversy regarding primary schooling in New Zealand. The curriculum was intensive, and largely academic, schools were often overcrowded, and both teachers and schools were judged on the performances of their pupils in examinations. In addition there was significant worldwide debate that proposed too much academic education for girls impacted on their physical and mental health, especially in view of their future role as mothers.

5.2 Primary Schooling in New Zealand

From the 1870s there were numerous public debates about education, particularly in regard to the education of girls. The Education Act of 1877 provided access to primary education for all New Zealand school children although there were few provisions for any kind of practical classes for students. General agreement as to how and where these might be delivered was slow to take place (Nicol 1940: 6–7; Fry 1985: 8). The primary school syllabus was extensive with detailed prescriptions for each subject and schools and their teachers were judged by inspectors on the number of pupils who passed examinations. Once children were at the standard level, in order to pass through the system they were examined individually by an inspector each year.
Robert Stout, the Minister of Education (1885–1887) maintained that the education system had three main defects: a lack of correlation between primary and secondary schools; more attention paid to literary education than to scientific learning; and neglect of technical education (Nicol 1940: 22, 30). Part of the reason for Stout's concern about the lack of technical education in schools was, Nicol (1940: 8) argues, related to New Zealand's chief sources of income at the time — wool-growing and gold-mining. Methods in the gold-production process were wasteful and there was a growing need to study technical science. Also few children from working class families could afford to continue with their education after primary level.

The excessive pressures on school children to pass their written examinations effectively led to what was known as cramming — isolated facts temporarily memorised for examination purposes (Pattullo 1983: 1, 26). The effect of cramming on young women was the source of numerous debates. One of New Zealand’s most outspoken exponents on the ‘evils of cram’ was Frederic Truby King, one of the instigators of the Society for the Promotion of Health for Women and Children, later known as the Plunket Society. King aligned himself with the view of American psychologist, G. Stanley Hall who believed women capable of competing with men but advocated retarding the education of girls to minimise any health risks (Fry 1985: 82; O’Neill 1992: 87). Lingering adherence to Victorian ideals still positioned women in society as the mother, or guardian, of the race, morals and the nation’s general well-being.

Education it seemed (or too much of the wrong sort), weakened the constitutions of girls and made them unfit to be wives and mothers (their natural role in life). There was considerable worldwide debate amongst prominent educational authorities and eugenicists, endorsed by medical support, equating too much intellectual activity in women with physical illness and mental overstrain (Pattullo 1983: 10, 57; Fry 1985: 79, 82–84; Chambers 1986: 158; O’Neill 1992: 85–87). Although leading female doctors, such as Dr Emily Siedeberg in Dunedin and Dr Agnes Bennett in Wellington, challenged these assumptions, as O’Neill (1992: 90) explains, these women were ‘ feminists’ of their time who believed in domestic training for women as well as access to educational and professional opportunities.
George Hogben, an advocate for manual training and later Inspector General of Schools, wanted to counter these rigorous study regimes that often took place in overcrowded classrooms. Other countries had incorporated handwork, or manual and technical education, into their curricula and Hogben felt New Zealand should be in line with overseas trends. Hogben believed less emphasis on regurgitation of rote facts and more concentration on rational teaching, together with fresh air and exercise would be beneficial to all school pupils. By 1900 new regulations shifted responsibility for all primary schools’ examinations (apart from the all-important Proficiency exam entitling a pupil to a secondary school education) from the school inspectors to the jurisdiction of the individual schools (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives (A.J.H.R.) II, 1899: E. 1, p. xviii; Pattullo 1983: 21, 40; Fry 1985: 18, 24). Because manual training for girls involved cookery however, many parents were concerned that schools were simply educating girls for their natural function as wives and mothers rather than providing them with an academic education (Fry 1985: 18). Similarly, raising the prestige of cookery and household work was also perceived as a method to counter the chronic shortage of servants in the country (Fry 1985: 105–106; Chambers 1986: 177; O’Neill 1992: 85). New Zealand was not alone in this situation; Bessant (1976) argues that in Australia at a similar period in time domestic science was introduced to raise the status of household work.

5.3 Early Cookery Classes in Dunedin

During the 1870s and 1880s graduates from several of the United Kingdom cookery schools began touring the colonies offering cookery lessons. Teaching cooking represented a respectable occupation that provided an opportunity for single women to achieve financial independence both in Britain and abroad. No doubt a few of the former students of cookery training institutes deliberately availed themselves of this mode of teaching to provide an opportunity for travel (and adventure), and perhaps to find a spouse. Almost certainly many were basically motivated by the need to educate the public with good culinary skills and dietary knowledge. Some, like Margaret Fidler, were quick to take advantage of their cookery training if the situation presented itself. Classes given by itinerant cooking teachers were most likely the earliest form of cookery teaching in Dunedin aside from intergenerational mother to
daughter family transmission. Many early immigrants arrived lacking basic cooking
skills, young girls left their families to come to New Zealand as servants, while others
lived in poverty stricken areas without the requisite equipment and means for cooking
all but the simplest of fare.

Margaret Fidler
By offering cooking classes to local ladies in 1877, evidence suggests that Miss
Margaret Fidler may have been the first teacher of cookery in Dunedin. Margaret
travelled from Liverpool to New Zealand via Melbourne to join her family, arriving in
Bluff, New Zealand’s southernmost harbour (Ell 1993: 112). A letter Margaret Fidler
wrote to “My dearest George” at ‘home’ depicts a woman somewhat astonished at her
temerity in starting a cooking school in Dunedin (Ell 1993: 112). Although
encouraged in this endeavour by Margaret Burn, the superintendent of Otago Girls’
High School, she decided not offer classes in connection with the school, but to take
full responsibility herself in case of failure. But Miss Fidler had trained at the well-
known Edinburgh School of Cookery and her education obviously endowed her with
the expertise and knowledge to conduct classes as her sessions were well-attended and
popular. Margaret Fidler must have trained quite recently as the Edinburgh school had
only opened in November 1875.

A series of newspaper advertisements alerted the public to the impending event and an
introductory lecture commenced 2 o’clock July 7, 1877 in the South Australian Hall,
Princes Street, Dunedin. The Otago Witness (July 14, 1877: 19) reports “the number
of ladies was very large” to hear the introductory lecture from Dr. Millen Coughtrey,
first Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the University of Otago. Dr. Coughtrey
contended there were a great number of persons in every grade of society, especially
females, whose education had been neglected in the most useful art of cookery. This
sentiment was reiterated by the chairman, Mr Bathgate R.M., who considered the
establishment of schools for cookery as an important social reform and believed that
numerous marriages had terminated for lack of a better cook. During these addresses
Miss Fidler proved her competency at cooking and manufactured croquettes and a
fricassee in a “most artistic manner.” There is no mention in the report whether Miss
Fidler spoke during the demonstration.
During July and August, Miss Fidler gave a course of classes teaching Dunedin women to cook. Lessons during weekday afternoons were patronised by the city’s elite with attendances of 50 pupils. Margaret referred to these women as her special class (*Otago Witness* August 4, 1877: 19; Ell 1993: 113). These lessons were deemed to be of considerable benefit to those with servants, particularly in light of the difficulty in finding any with some knowledge whatsoever of cooking. Evening classes were for women who were employed during the day and Saturday morning classes were held for young ladies. Although Miss Fidler’s repertoire is not mentioned in any accounts, it is highly likely that she cooked the familiar fare learned during her training days. She usually covered about five or six topics a night and some evenings were dedicated entirely to the cooking of what she termed “Scotch” dishes (*Otago Witness* August 4, 1877: 19). Miss Fidler conducted her classes in a professional way, delivering her instructions in a clear, concise manner on a small platform in the South Australian Hall. While Miss Fidler was demonstrating her dishes on a gas range, an assistant passed utensils and ingredients to her then later did the washing up.

Her experience must have been a rewarding one as during 1878 she repeated her course of classes in a number of cities throughout New Zealand, including Invercargill, Oamaru, Christchurch, and Auckland (1878 or 1879) (*Otago Witness* May 18, 1878: 17; *North Otago Times* June 1, 1878: 2; *Otago Witness* October 5, 1878: 18; Stubbs 1951: 51). In Oamaru the lessons included the “cooking of soups, poultry, entrees, fish, stews, cakes, pastry, puddings, pies, jellies etc” (*North Otago Times* June 1, 1878: 2). The *Otago Witness* (May 18, 1878: 17) described the diversity of pupils attending one of Miss Fidler’s Invercargill classes: “the lady in silken attire, the girls from the Government schools, and from a Sunday school, the domestic servant, a few celestials and some sedate and sombre looking gentlemen”. Once in Christchurch Miss Fidler evidently extended her services and arranged with the Charitable Aid Board to give a course of lectures on cookery to the girls of Lyttelton Orphanage (*North Otago Times* September 3, 1878: 2).

It is highly likely that the Margaret Annie Fidler, daughter of William Fidler, Orokanui House, who married Duncan Matheson on June 15, 1882, at Moray Place, Dunedin (*Otago Witness* July 15, 1882: 17), is Miss Fidler the cooking teacher. By December 1884, Mrs Matheson (late Miss Fidler) is the proprietress of Orokanui
House, Blueskin, a summer boarding establishment for families (Otago Witness December 13, 1884: 4). By 1895 a report indicates that Mrs Matheson, better known as Miss Fidler of cooking renown, is delivering a series of lectures and practical lessons entitled ‘Domestic Economy’, in Palmerston North (Otago Witness May 9, 1895: 46).

Mrs Macpherson’s Cooking Classes in Dunedin and at Girls’ High School

The next teacher to offer cookery lessons in Dunedin also had an association with the Edinburgh School of Cookery. Mrs Macpherson arrived in Dunedin in 1881 after completing a successful tour of cookery instruction through Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania (Otago Daily Times (O.D.T.) January 24, 1881: 1). Her cookery credentials listed in the newspaper’s promotional advertisement credits her with a first-class diploma from South Kensington, London (National Training School) and as a teacher with the Edinburgh School of Cookery. Could the Mrs Macpherson who came to Dunedin be the same person described in Begg’s (1994) account of the Edinburgh School of Cookery? A Mrs Macpherson was offered a position as a cookery teacher with the Edinburgh school in June 1876, provided she successfully completed a course of instruction with the National in South Kensington (Begg 1994: 35, 43). After achieving her objective Mrs Macpherson was reported in The Edinburgh Daily Review (18 September, 1876; as cited in Begg 1994: 43) as teaching classes in the new school at Portobello. Using a portable cast iron stove she prepared baked haddock, veal cutlets à la Talleyrand, vanilla soufflé, roly polly and cauliflower au gratin for her afternoon class. Because Macpherson is such a common name in Scotland it is impossible to establish whether these two women are the same person.

Mrs Rachel V. Macpherson started her course of twelve lessons in Dunedin on January 31, 1881 at the new Odd-Fellows Hall, Rattray Street with classes at 3 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. With shrewd business acumen Mrs Macpherson offered the Dunedin School Committee a free lesson for girls attending public schools, stipulating that “the girls attending the lesson should be 13 years of age and upwards, and should be provided with note-books and pencils” (Otago Daily Times February 2 1881: 2).
As well as teaching in Dunedin, Mrs Macpherson conducted cookery classes throughout New Zealand, and made Oamaru her home in 1881 (North Otago Times April 7, 1887: 2). After living in the North Otago township for six years, she resumed cookery teaching in 1887 (North Otago Times April 7, 1887: 2). Rachel Macpherson was evidently a talented individual; in addition to being lauded for her painting and fancy work (North Otago Times April 7, 1887: 2), she wrote This Mystery of the Forecastle or a Restless Heart (1889), a fictional novel, supposedly filled with incidents taken from her own experiences (North Otago Times July 18, 1889: 3).

When Mrs Macpherson arrived in Dunedin offering cookery classes for the local women in 1887, she sent a letter to ‘Civis’, columnist with the Otago Witness, admonishing him for failing to notice her cookery classes, perhaps as a form of advertisement. ‘Civis’ replied that the main point about Dunedin cookery classes is that there is so little of them. While academic subjects are readily available for school girls, cookery classes only appear once in seven years, or there abouts (Otago Witness May 20, 1887: 21). Whether this was an oblique reference to Mrs Macpherson’s previous visit or not is difficult to determine. Her decision to resume her cookery teaching in 1887, suggests that she had been involved in another activity in the interim. An article in the Journal of the Association of Home Science Alumnae (Aitken 1949: 29) claimed that Mrs Macpherson was a touring cookery teacher who had lived in India.

An account in the Otago Witness (May 20 1887: 32) describes one of Mrs Macpherson’s classes at the Odd-Fellow’s Hall, Rattray Street. Over a period of two hours Mrs Macpherson demonstrated her culinary skills to an audience on a raised platform with a stove and counter-like table holding the pasteboard, basins, ingredients etc. The report relates that

Mrs Macpherson stood behind the table, her dress sleeves reaching only to her elbow, leaving her arms free, and a spotless white-bibbed apron giving her a dainty appearance. She spoke in clear, distinct tones, and that, coupled with a pleasant manner, won the attention of her pupils. Each lady carried her note-book and jotted down the various recipes given (Otago Witness May 20, 1887: 32).
Mrs Macpherson first cooked a Steak and Kidney Pudding and “the lectureess began by chopping the suet, and went right through the lesson practically, to the point of tying it up and putting it into the pot; and before we left we saw it lifted out”. While preparing the Pease Soup Mrs Macpherson commented that much meat was used in the colonies. The reporter relates that Mrs Macpherson’s rice “was a very different substance from that which is generally placed on the table” and that her curry “would have tempted the appetite of an invalid”.

From May to July, over two courses of classes Mrs Macpherson covered topics characteristic of her cooking school training. She discussed essential issues such as cleanliness and provided her students with basic skills such as how to grill a steak or chop and make a ‘nice plain dinner’. How to use the remains of the Sunday roast was a recurrent problem in pre-refrigeration days and one instruction day was devoted almost entirely to the making up of dishes from cold meat. The final lecture was dedicated to sick room cookery. Mrs Macpherson believed that there was a great art in cooking for the sick room and the object was to produce as much possible nourishment in a very small dish. At the close of the lesson Mrs Macpherson reiterated that she had laid down certain principles at the start of her classes and had adhered to them all the way through. She concluded her session by stipulating that “unless a woman cooked intelligently she would never cook well” (*Otago Witness* June 17, 1887: 33).

Some of the recipes demonstrated over the course of classes were later published in ‘The Ladies’ column of the *Otago Witness*. These dishes were characteristic of those used by cooking schools, with small quantities, simple methods and constrained time for preparation. They are typical of late nineteenth century British culinary repertoires and the range provided by Mrs Macpherson was representative of general meal structures. Students from her classes would have acquired the skills and recipe choices to prepare plain meals for the family. Mrs Macpherson published the recipes prepared in the classes in the local newspaper. These were for straightforward, simply prepared food suggesting that they were intended for young girls and women who had minimal culinary skills.
Alexander Wilson, Principal of Otago Girls’ High School, (originally known as Girls’ High School of Otago), arranged a course of twelve cooking lessons for the girls with Mrs Macpherson during the second quarter (the school year was divided into four terms). Wilson hoped to create an interest in cooking and expand on instruction the girls received at home. Edith Pearce won the special prize for Cookery donated by Mr Livingston (Girls’ High School of Otago Report of Session 1887: 4, 17). Although Wallis (1995: 45) contends that the lessons were purely theoretical because of the lack of facilities, at the conclusion of lessons some practical work undertaken, presumably in the hostel kitchen, when members of the Board of Governors and others were invited to see the girls at work. Reporting on the occasion the Otago Witness (July 8, 1887: 12) comments that during the afternoon twenty of the girls prepared a banquet of the dishes they had learned to make over the quarter. Each girl was in charge of one of the dishes — soups, fish and entrees, a variety of vegetables, puddings and sweets. At 5 o’clock the gentlemen sat down at a table tastefully laid out by pupils while several of the girls, wearing ‘quaint and becoming caps,’ served the meal (G.H.S.O. Report of Session 1892: 4). This innovation was not repeated the following year but in 1892 the school invited local cookery teacher, Mrs E.B. Miller, to give a course of lessons to the girls (discussed below).

Mrs Macpherson’s cookery techniques and culinary knowledge, as can be ascertained from sporadic newspaper accounts, are indicative of the systematic methods favoured by the training schools. By providing classes and publishing the recipes in the local newspaper she imparted her knowledge to the local populace. To what extent she was able to influence any culinary improvements is difficult to determine. It would appear that Mrs Macpherson shared some of her culinary knowledge with Dunedin’s pioneer cookery teacher, Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller, as both women were associated with teaching cooking to girls at Leavitt House (Otago Witness September 23, 1887: 33). According to the account in the Otago Witness (September 23, 1887: 33) Leavitt House was started by the Young Women’s Temperance Association. It seems likely this is in fact a reference to the New Zealand Women’s Christian Temperance Union (1886), and has perhaps been confused with the Young Women’s Christian Association which was established 1878, in Dunedin (Ministry of Women’s Affairs). At Leavitt House, Mrs Macpherson gave the opening lessons while Mrs Miller was
one of a group of ladies who had kindly offered to also provide cooking classes for the girls.

The dishes made by Mrs Macpherson at the opening were described as excellently cooked, though made from economical items. For example, a delicate soup made from bones and milk, calf’s head and a tender and richly flavoured stew from cold mutton, were served daintily with rice, and some small tea cakes with dripping and without eggs were as light as could be desired (Otago Witness September 23, 1887: 33). It was estimated there were at least seventy girls at the opening, of a very respectable class (Otago Witness September 23, 1887: 33).

This report of the Leavitt House cookery classes is one the earliest accounts, so far, of what would be Elizabeth Brown Miller’s dedication to helping girls learn to cook. Elizabeth Brown Miller went on to deserve tributes from luminaries like Anna Stout, who referred to her as “the first teacher of domestic science in Otago” (Evening Star December 8, 1928: 21) and from former Home Science graduate, A.M. Aitken, “an important part of the beginning of technical education in the Dominion” (Evening Star April 14, 1951: 14).

**Elizabeth Brown Miller, Pioneer Dunedin Cookery Teacher**

Born in Scotland in 1844, Elizabeth Brown Archer first arrived in New Zealand in 1846 although her stay was brief. Subsequently she spent her formative years on a farm in Australia near Lake Colac, Victoria. Later, the entire family moved back to New Zealand, settling at Greymouth, on the West Coast of the South Island (Aitken 1949: 28). In 1868 Elizabeth married James Miller, a 39 year old miner, at Ross, a nearby settlement. The couple went on to have four children, two boys and two girls and by 1881 the family is listed as living in Dunedin, with husband James now in partnership as a produce merchant.

When Mary Clement Leavitt, travelling envoy for the American Women's Christian Temperance Union visited New Zealand in 1885, one of her earliest members was Elizabeth Brown Miller. The W.C.T.U. was closely associated with the women's franchise movement, as it was quickly realised that any reforms would be more
effectively carried out if women had the right to vote. A large two-storey building in Albany Street, Dunedin, where the present art school now stands, was renamed Leavitt House in honour of Mary Leavitt and her evangelical mission. Slightly incongruously, in its former incarnation this building was the Star and Garter Hotel. Maintained by the W.C.T.U. as a temperance boarding house for young ladies, the building also included classrooms, a workshop and a large hall used almost every evening of the week for educational classes for adolescents.

Very little is known concerning Mrs Miller’s personal cookery education, although it most likely combined intergenerational transmission from her mother and practical experience. However it can be surmised that by 1887 she had become quite proficient because Mrs Miller was among the volunteers who provided cooking classes for the girls at Leavitt House during the winter months of 1887 and 1888 (as discussed above). Subsequently lessons from those classes were published in cookbook format, entitled ‘Economic Cooking Lessons, tested and given by different Ladies’ (1889), by the Dunedin branch of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union. That a third edition had been produced by 1889 indicates that this book was extremely popular amongst W.C.T.U. members, pupils and the wider female populace of Dunedin.

Mrs Miller continued to utilise her culinary skills, possibly to supplement family finances, as she is reported as demonstrating at a fair in a large hall in Dowling St in 1887 or 1888. Evidently she was assisted by a small girl of seven, dressed like the adults in white apron and cap and cuffs. Judging by the age this is most likely to be her youngest daughter Jessie, born in 1881. Mrs Miller also demonstrated her cookery capabilities at the 1889–90 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition on the coal ranges of H. E. Shacklock, a local manufacturer who exhibited a selection of his products there to attract customers (Miller 1890: preface; Aitken 1949: 28). These public displays of cooking expertise may well have contributed to her appointment as cooking teacher for the Technical Classes Association in 1890.

5.4 The Technical Classes Association

The establishment of the Technical Classes Association was the latest attempt in Dunedin to develop an educational system of continuation classes. The involvement
of a number of prominent Dunedin figure in this enterprise underlines both the perceived necessity for the undertaking and indicates the reason for its success. Although several efforts to operate a Mechanics' Institute (an informal arrangement to provide evening classes, often of a technical nature, to adult students), had started in Dunedin as early as 1857, these had been short-term. Despite an amalgamation with Dunedin Athenaeum (1859), temporary help from the Dunedin School Committee (1865–1869), then the thirteen-year assistance from the Caledonian Society of Otago (1872–1885) to run the classes, a long-term truly successful venture did not originate until the inception of the Technical Classes Association in 1889 (Nicol 1940: 10–12).

The prominent citizens of Dunedin who gathered together in October 1888 to consider the establishment of evening classes were equally concerned with the lack of scientific and technical learning available to the city's youth. It was estimated that 25% of those who left primary school did so with only a standard four qualification, and that 50% of all leavers did not complete standard six. The meeting was held at the instigation of George M. Thomson, science teacher at Otago Boys' High School, to consider a paper he had prepared to offer the idle youths he saw in the city's streets at night a chance for self-improvement. Acceptance of Thomson's proposal was, Nicol (1940: 34–35) argues, facilitated by Dunedin's inherently moralistic Scottish and Presbyterian attitudes. A committee, comprising a balance of university educators — Professors Dunlop and Gibbons — and industrial employers — Messrs Hallenstein, Burt and McQueen in particular — was established and the Technical Classes Association was constituted in March 6, 1889. The Association opened for classes May 1, 1889 in the education board's Normal School building in Moray Place and in W.H. Scott's carpentry workshop in Lower Stuart Street (Nicol 1940: 35; Scott 1991: 20; Dougherty 2006: 9). The Association's first classes were held in shorthand, English literature, chemistry, Latin and woodwork — with shorthand proving the most popular.

Over the next few years the curriculum gradually expanded (cookery started in 1890) and pupil numbers increased. Financial support for the institution was an ongoing problem however. Prior to the passing of the Manual and Technical Elementary Institution Act (1895) funding was provided by the Government as pound for pound subsidies and special grants. The 1895 Act gave a legal form for vocational training in
New Zealand and although there were funding provisions, these were grossly inadequate. The Act allowed considerable leeway as to who could run the classes and in relation to their subject matter, with the consequence that significant monies were frittered away into less formal classes, in small and remote areas with few pupils. The Act also failed to provide capital for buildings, or to introduce any form of accountability in class quality or efficiency (Nicol 1940: 45-47; Scott 1991: 20).

In 1893 the Technical Classes Association secured a three-year lease of Kincaid and McQueen’s former Vulcan foundry in King Street and the classes acquired the name ‘The Dunedin Technical School’ (Scott 1991: 20; Dougherty 2006: 11). A cookery room (measuring 44 by 24 feet) adjoined the refurbished building, equipped with a large Shacklock coal range and a gas cooking stove, presumably funded with the £70 proceeds from Jumble Sale and Hobby Show held for that purpose (Aitken 1949: 29). The lease on the Technical School building expired in 1896 and cookery classes had to be held in the classroom attached to Mrs Miller’s private residence, Bonnie Bank, Lower London Street, Dunedin. The room was specially built and fitted out for teaching her private classes and contained all the necessary equipment (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1897: 42; Aitken 1949: 30). For several years the Association’s finances fluctuated despite help from local businessmen. Significant progress occurred in 1898 when funds became available through the Public Trustee, acting on behalf of the Kaitangata Relief Funds Trust Board, and the Association was able to purchase Anderson and Morison’s former brass foundry in Moray Place, a larger and more centrally situated building. The Otago Education Board also contributed an amount to almost cover the rent of the new building (Scott 1991: 21; Dougherty 2006: 11).

**Cooking at the Technical Classes Association**

Cookery classes began during the Association’s second year (1890). A contemporary report describing Mrs Miller’s classes provides some indication of her teaching style and methods. Mrs Miller presumably believed that practical work was required as well as observation and recording of ingredients and techniques. She taught a range of ages and was evidently efficient and well in control of her class. Considering that the *King Edward Technical School Jubilee Booklet* (1939: 5) recounts that the room
where the cooking classes were held in the Athenaeum contained neither water-tap nor sink, this must have been a substantial undertaking.

The cookery classes conducted by Mrs Miller, under the auspices of the Technical Classes Association, in the Athenaeum Hall, have up to the present time proved a great success. On Wednesdays quite a number of young ladies attend the classes to learn the art of cooking, and on Saturdays several relays of girls, many of whom come from the suburbs, take their turns, some doing the practical part of the work and others, notebook in hand, jotting down recipes and instructions. We understand that altogether Mrs Miller is imparting this useful branch of instruction to something over 100 pupils. It is a gratifying spectacle to see these children, many of them girls of quite tender years, manipulating pastry and preserves with all the confidence of knowing how it should be done (Otago Witness August 7, 1890: 11).

In her second annual report, (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1891: 16), Mrs Miller details the success of the work carried out in the domestic economy classes, despite the ongoing problems with operating in unsuitable premises. Class attendance averaged between 40 and 50, with students of a similar background to the previous year, for example teachers, young married women, domestic servants, milliners, and others engaged in home duties. Mrs Miller mentions that a number of pupils also obtained further instruction in her private practice classes although there is no indication where these were held. She may have held them in her own home, at that time in Leith Street, Dunedin. Mrs Miller points out the need to grant certificates to pupils and emphasises that if these can be organised before next term this will aid her intention to extend the curriculum. However as Superintendent George Thomson explains, certificates were unable to be granted because a lack of any definite relevant standard to go on (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1891: 17).

By the following year however, the granting of certificates for proficiency had been organised. A small committee of ladies (wives of prominent citizens, including Mrs George Thomson) drew up a syllabus for an examination in plain cookery and domestic science and examined the candidates. Mrs Miller reported, "Twelve pupils
were assessed for these “C” certificates, with ten passing very credibly and two fairly well” (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1892: 8, 16). The examination was a combined practical and oral test on the work covered in the syllabus. Students were required to learn about lighting and managing a fire, fuel, ranges, flues and fireplaces; cleaning of household utensils and equipment; and general principles of the various branches of cookery. The types of food groups and recipes covered were bread and scone-making, boiling and frying of meat and fish, making and clarifying soups, roasting and baking meats, cooking vegetables, cold meat dishes, boiling and stewing meats, making puddings (baked, steamed, boiled), pastry-making of various kinds, making jellies and creams, invalid cookery and cake and biscuit making. A demonstration class was held every Wednesday night from 7.30 to 9.30 p.m. for 5s. per quarter and practising classes from 3 to 5 p.m. also on Wednesdays (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1893: 34, 1897: 42).

In addition to the regular classes at the Technical Classes Association Mrs Miller provided lessons at Otago Girls’ High School every Friday from 2 to 4 p.m., beginning April 29th, 1892. A manuscript notebook, lodged in the ephemera collection of the University of Otago’s Hocken Library collection, provides the only information about this class, its syllabus and schedule of twelve lessons (see Table 5.1). Unfortunately the first few years of the Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association describe little about the syllabus content of the Cookery and Domestic classes. Because of this lack of comparative material it is difficult to ascertain any differences between the lessons given to the high school girls and those at the Technical Classes, who potentially occupied two different social levels. In those days secondary school education was still the privilege of the financially comfortable.

While Table 5.1 outlines the printed schedule glued on the inside cover of the anonymous pupil’s exercise book, her faithful recording of each recipe inside the notebook provides extra details. In addition to the above programme the class made hot cross buns and oatmeal cakes. They learned to fry fish by both the Jewish and Scottish method. They cooked King Stanislaus soup, cocoanut [sic] cakes, macaroni cheese, beef steak and kidney pie, cabinet pudding and orange pudding. A number of these recipes, such as scones, bread, sausage rolls, boiled potatoes etc., are in Mrs
Miller’s early cookery books (Economic Cooking Lessons, 1889; Cookery Book, 1890). However, some recipes like King Stanislaus soup, Kentish cake, and Kingdom of Fife pie were not in the earlier books although many do appear later in the Improved Economic Cookery Book (1901). Provision of several recipes of French origin as well argues that Mrs Miller was responding to the change in status of her pupils at the High School by offering recipes more familiar to those of their social group.

TABLE 5.1 Otago Girls’ High School Syllabus of Twelve Lessons, 1892

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson</th>
<th>General Principles</th>
<th>Dishes Prepared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bread &amp; Scones</td>
<td>Plain &amp; fancy breads, girdle scones, gems, oatmeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Broiling &amp; frying</td>
<td>Filleted flounder, French marinade etc. Boiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meat &amp; fish</td>
<td>potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Making &amp; clarifying</td>
<td>Purée making, Scotch kail, French soups, Sheep’s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soup</td>
<td>head pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Washing &amp; ironing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Roasting &amp; baking</td>
<td>Boned roast, Yorkshire pudding, Jellies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cooking vegetables</td>
<td>French &amp; English vegetarian dishes. Sauces: use of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>condiments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cold meat dishes</td>
<td>French rissoles, croquettes, mock pigeon, Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of Fife pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Washing &amp; ironing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>On making pastry</td>
<td>Puff &amp; Chinese pastry, oyster patties, pork pies,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sausage rolls &amp; tartlets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>On boiling &amp; stewing</td>
<td>Lancashire hot-pot, boiled fowl with rice, stewed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meats</td>
<td>chop for invalid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>On making puddings</td>
<td>Biscuit pudding, vermicelli, Old English plum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imitation poached eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cake &amp; biscuit making</td>
<td>Sponge cakes, icing, Kentish cake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 1896 those pupils who had attained a “C” certificate and wished to continue their cookery education could work towards a “B” credential (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1897: 14). This was a teacher’s certificate and attainment of it proved that graduates were able to give lessons and practical demonstrations. The “B” course comprised a more complex syllabus and for their examinations students were required “to give an oral explanation and a brief written account of a selected portion of their work” (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1897: 43). The syllabus was devised with the co-operation and assistance of Mrs Boyd, Mrs G.L. Denniston and Mrs Gordon Macdonald, who all acted as examiners as well. Both Mrs Denniston and Mrs Macdonald had previously been examiners for the “C” certificate.
To pass the examination students had to demonstrate requisite skills and knowledge in the making and serving of fancy jellies and creams, aspic jelly, fancy sweets, savouries or hors d’oeuvres, entrées, sauces and cheese dishes. They also had to show proficiency at glazing, dressing and boning poultry and meats (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1897: 42). Both Mrs Miller’s daughters — Isabella C. Miller and Jessie Archer Miller, as well as four other candidates passed their “B” certificates that year (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1897: 42). Interestingly, Jessie Archer Miller passed her “C” certificate at this time as well. Presumably the stipulation that candidates must have passed their “C” certificate prior to competing for the “B” did not apply in her case.

These examinations were not merely a formality. Superintendent George Thomson comments in his annual report (1898: 14) that candidates for these exams were occupied from about 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. in preparing and cooking a number of dishes selected by a most critical committee from the syllabus. In addition every student was subjected individually to an oral examination. Thomson emphasises the tangible value of these certificates and asserts that if heads of households fully understood this point they would insist on prospective servants possessing one (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1898: 14). The most prestigious assessments administered by the Technical Classes Association though were those from the City and Guilds of London Institute. The Association had offered these for some subjects since 1895 but cookery was not an option until it appeared in the 1898 Prospectus (Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1898: 30).

After achieving their “B” certificates both Isabella and Jessie Miller give the impression of wanting to follow a similar career path to their mother by teaching cookery. By 1899 they had both achieved First Class passes in the City and Guilds of London Institute cookery examinations. The oldest daughter, Isabella, was the first to assist her mother as a cooking teacher at the Technical Classes Association, but after her tragic death in 1899, Jessie became an assistant in her place (Annual Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1900: 14, 18–19). Former Home Science graduate and Domestic Science teacher at Otago Girls’ High School, Miss A.M. Aitken, remarks in a 1951 article, (Evening Star April 14, 1951: 14), that Mrs
Miller herself went to Invercargill to sit the City and Guilds of London Institute cookery examinations at the same time as her first group of pupils.

The City and Guilds of London Institute cookery course was largely theoretical. Because of this, as Superintendent Thomson (Annual Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association 1901: 14) explains, such classes were not recognised in the recent regulations issued by the Education Department. These rules prescribed that at least half of class time must be given to practical work and in fact recommended one and half hours per session. With a class time of only two hours, this left very little time for the study of principles. Special classes were arranged though for those who wished to compete in this exam. Mrs Miller's Economic Technical Cookery Book (1914: 343–358) provides examples of written and practical examination questions from the Revised Syllabus of the City and Guilds of London Institute along with specimen papers from 1907 and 1908.

The City and Guilds examination consisted of written answers to questions and practical work done in the presence of a local examiner. The written test had to be passed before a candidate could undertake the practical test. The written part of the exam included questions on topics such as cooking temperatures, cleanliness, relative proportions of ingredients, suitable foods for infants, children and invalids and weekly menus. For example — question 2 of the 1907 Specimen Examination Paper in Plain Cookery asks, “What is a thermometer? Make a rough sketch of one, marking upon it the temperatures required for various cookery processes. By what simple method may these temperatures be approximately judged by a cook without the aid of a thermometer?” (Miller 1914: 346). A maximum of forty points was obtainable for a correct answer in this question. The practical test involved a candidate preparing and cooking three to four dishes illustrative of the general methods and principles of simple cookery in the presence of a local examiner. These dishes would be selected from thirteen possible categories, for example — soup making, pastry, batters, custards, suet puddings, bread and cakes, invalid dishes and vegetables (Miller 1914: 344–345). This was a three hour examination that was marked at the time by the local examiner. Although not indicated, presumably the dishes to be prepared and cooked were chosen by the local examiner. As the thirteen different categories provided 97 different recipe choices for selection, candidates evidently were required to have a
comprehensive range of culinary skills. Whether written recipes were provided for them or not is unclear.

The Cookery Curriculum of the Dunedin Technical School
Mrs Miller’s cookery curriculum remained almost unchanged for a number of years— even after her retirement from the Dunedin Technical Classes at the end of 1905. Prior to 1899, content of the cookery syllabus only provided generalised subject headings, such as boiling and frying of meat and fish, soup, cooking vegetables etc. Then in 1899 the syllabus became more detailed: there were lesson plans—each one detailed the dishes studied in that class. These lessons were similar both for format and in content to the course of lessons given to the Otago Girls’ High School students in 1892. From 1900 to 1902 Mrs Miller had the assistance of her daughter Jessie for the cookery classes. After that year Jessie Miller taught cookery for the Otago Education Board (Annual Report and Prospectus of the T.C.A. 1904: 5) and Mrs Miller employed former pupils as her assistants. Mrs Miller and Jessie co-wrote the New Zealand School Cookery Book (1902), which set out recipes in lesson plans that would have been very familiar to students who attended the Technical School’s cooking classes.

Elizabeth Brown Miller authored six cookery books, including two for school children, most of which were published in several editions. From the first known example of Economic Cooking Lessons (1889, 3rd edition), to the sixteenth edition of Economic Technical Cookery Book (1923), Mrs Miller’s cookery books provided New Zealand cooks with recipes for a wide variety of dishes. As well as classes for students at the Technical School, Otago Girls’ High School, and her private pupils at home, during the summer months Mrs Miller toured New Zealand visiting most of the large towns of any size and giving courses of lessons lasting several weeks (Aitken 1949: 29; Evening Star April 14, 1951: 14). Mrs Miller visited many of smaller towns as well to conduct her cookery classes, for example, Milton in South Otago (Otago Witness May 30, 1895: 23). In addition to her early demonstration work, Mrs Miller demonstrated on what was no doubt the latest technology in gas stoves in 1895, at the Gas Corporation showrooms, Princes Street, Dunedin (North Otago Times January 1, 1895: 3). Mrs Miller’s cooking courses and cookery books made her recipes and
culinary principles available throughout New Zealand. Evidence suggests that these recipes were popular with housewives as a Dunedin example demonstrates. Recipe diffusion from Mrs Miller into the community is illustrated in Table 5.2 with some examples of recipes published in Economic Cooking Lessons (1889) that were later contributed to the first edition of St. Andrew’s Cookery Book (1905a).

**TABLE 5.2 Examples of Recipe Diffusion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Cooking Lessons (1889)</th>
<th>St. Andrew’s Cookery Book (1905a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scalloped [sic] Oysters (p.20)</td>
<td>Scalloped Oysters (p.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s Biscuits (p.16)</td>
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Due to ill-health Mrs Miller had retired as a teacher by 1906 although she is still described as an examiner that year in the prospectus. Jessie Miller returned to the Technical Classes and taught in Dunedin until 1909. She married shortly afterwards and moved to Auckland. Mrs Miller relocated to be with her daughter but Jessie’s health declined, culminating in her death in 1914 aged 33 (Aitken 1949: 30). By 1917 Mrs Miller had returned to Dunedin with very little means of supporting herself. The Otago Daily Times (July 2, 1917) reports that a meeting of friends interested in assisting her in her declining years had taken place in the Mayor’s room. A fund was collected by public subscription and Mr G.L. Denniston (former Mayor, and presumably the husband of Mrs Miller’s past cookery examiner), agreed to act as honorary treasurer. Ten years later she was brought to Ross Home where she lived until passing away on December 2, 1928.

In a tribute published in the local evening newspaper, Lady Anna Stout, wife of the former premier Robert Stout, and leading women’s rights campaigner, described Mrs Miller as the “First teacher of domestic science in Otago” (Evening Star December 8, 1928: 21). Anna Stout remembered a kind woman who for so long devoted her energy
to the temperance movement and helping young girls through her cookery teaching and cookbooks. Elizabeth Brown Miller outlived her husband and three of her four children. Perhaps some of her pupils were also like her children — she taught them skills for life in their formative years and a few became assistants in her cooking classes. But it is through her cookery teaching that Mrs Miller influenced a generation of young girls.

Soon after Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller first started teaching cookery she published a cookery book to provide her pupils with recipes, or memory aids, so that they could continue to prepare the dishes she had taught them. From the late 1880s through to the early 1920s she published more cookery books. Intended for cooks with a range of culinary skills, she provided her readers everything they would require to produce family meals, entertain guests, succour the sick and fill a pantry with provender. Mrs Miller herself emphasised in her prefaces that she did not publish recipes for high-class dishes as there were already numerous other cookbooks on that subject. Her aim, she points out, was to provide reliable tested recipes that use local materials, for young housekeepers, servants and young people who are growing up. The reliability of recipes, she emphasises, lies in the fact that they are not copied from books, but come from lessons given to, and practised by, the pupils (Miller 1914: preface).

The long-lasting results of Elizabeth Miller’s record in transmitting her culinary knowledge to her students can be attributed to her teaching prowess. The lessons that she gave her pupils taught them sufficient cookery skills to gain employment or manage a household. The cookbooks that she published with these recipes provided them with a legacy — a culinary repertoire that could be retained and passed on from one generation to the next. Through her classes she influenced how girls thought about cooking. Organised into principles and practical work, her systematic teaching practices were the forerunners of what would become home science in New Zealand. She was, as Anna Stout stated, the first teacher of domestic science in Otago.

The Technical School
Cooking classes at the Dunedin Technical School continued after Mrs Miller’s retirement at the end of 1905. Faced with the expiry of the lease on its building and the continual funding difficulties, the Technical Classes Association transferred its
property and authority to the Otago Education Board in 1903 (*K.E.T.C. Jubilee Booklet* 1939: 8). In 1903 Richard Seddon began awarding technical scholarships. This approach, Dougherty (2006: 11–12) explains, was in the hope that more secondary schools would provide technical classes for their pupils. However many state secondary schools were still disinclined to offer many, if any, technical classes. Institutions such as the Dunedin Technical School offered to establish full time day classes for these pupils as well as continue with their part time classes. When the Government agreed to fund these, day classes opened in 1909 at the Technical School and enrolments soared (*K.E.T.C. Jubilee Booklet* 1939: 8; Dougherty 2006: 11–12). Larger roles exacerbated the overcrowding problems at the Dunedin Technical School and by 1910 the Board of Managers decided to build a new college. After considerable fund raising and Government input, the King Edward Technical College in Stuart Street, Dunedin, was officially opened in September 1914 (*K.E.T.C. Jubilee Booklet* 1939: 9–10).

### 5.5 Mrs Miller’s Legacy

When Jessie Miller became a teacher of cookery for the Otago Education Board, Mrs Miller employed former pupils as assistants. In 1903 Nellie Ferry (B & C certificates, 1898, London City & Guilds, 1899) worked with Mrs Miller (*Report and Prospectus T.C.A. 1904: 5*). A successful student from that year, Miss Lily Wilson, was then appointed cookery assistant in 1904 (*Report and Prospectus T.C.A. 1905: 11*). Lily Wilson had left by 1905 for a position further afield and Rhoda Wilson was made assistant in her place. It would appear that not only was Rhoda acting a helper but she also passed her C certificate that year as well (*Report and Prospectus T.C.A. 1906: 5*). Jessie Miller returned to the Technical School in 1906 as a cooking teacher. Working with Rhoda Wilson, the pair continued to use the same lesson plans and cookery curriculum devised by Mrs Miller. By the following year another former pupil, Dora M. Little (C certificate, 1905) was hired to work with Jessie and Rhoda. Dora Little worked with Jessie Miller until Jessie left for Auckland, then Dora remained with the Technical School until at least 1917. By 1922 Dora Little is listed as an Associate Member at Studholme House in the University of Otago [Home Science] *Alumnae Bulletin* (1922: 22).
Mrs Miller’s culinary legacy continued after her retirement. One former pupil, Annie Elizabeth Stevenson (C certificate, 1898) started at the University of Otago’s Home Science School in 1912 although she is not listed as going on to teach anywhere (Report and Prospectus T.C.A. 1898: 24; University of Otago Calendar 1912: 237). More particularly however it is through the teachers Mrs Miller trained, such as Dora Little, that her contributions to cookery teaching were perpetuated. Whether her principles were directly transmitted through the generations is unknown but there is little doubt that this knowledge was diffused into schools. For example, Isabella Watt passed her “C” certificate in 1909 at the Dunedin Technical Classes, when Dora Little was teaching. After enrolling in 1912 at the University of Otago’s two year Diploma course in Home Science, Isabella qualified in 1913. The 1922 [Home Science] Alumnae Bulletin (the first edition) provides a list of previous graduates and their occupations. Miss Isabella Watt is the Household Arts Instructress at the Technical School, Timaru (A.B. 1922: 23). Another of Dora Little’s pupils, Mary Irene Lousley, passed both her “C” certificate and the City and Guilds of London exam in 1911. In 1913 Mary Irene Lousley enrolled in the two year Diploma course which she completed at the end of 1914. Her first teaching position was at the Wanganui Technical School where she remained for two years. Mary Lousley then went to the Invercargill Manual Training Centre, teaching continuously until her retirement in 1949. During World War II Mary Lousley and Mrs Flora Crawford compiled the Southland Patriotic Cook Book (1940), earning £500 for the Patriotic Council. During her retirement Miss Lousley took an advanced cookery course at the Cordon Bleu in Paris and on her return continued to do relieving work for the Southland Education Board, teaching classes at Riverton, Winton and Wyndham before finally retiring in 1954 (Anon 1961: 93).

The cookery classes provided at the Dunedin Technical School (later King Edward Technical College) formed connections between several of Dunedin’s educational institutions. The Technical School undertook cookery training for girls at Otago Girls’ High School and in the early days for students at the University of Otago’s School of Home Science (Campbell 1955: 86). A number of the students who attended evening cookery classes at the Technical School later graduated with Home Science degrees and diplomas, and went on to teach cookery in educational establishments. Many of these pupils participated in cooking lessons prior to legislative requirements. Girls
from Otago Girls' High School were originally offered cookery as an elective subject and while the majority of girls may not have taken advantage of this opportunity, a significant number did. Although the teachers at the Girls' High School were committed in their desire to offer cookery lessons to the pupils, the classes were optional. There was an interest in both teaching and learning cooking right from the days of Margaret Fidler.

After Mrs Macpherson's classes at the school in 1887, Otago Girls' High School employed Miss T. Mackenzie to teach cooking to the Fourth and Fifth forms in 1889 and prizes were awarded that year. Miss Mackenzie had trained at the National Cooking School in South Kensington, London. Mrs Miller taught the Girls' High pupils cooking lessons from 1892. In 1896 there was again such enthusiasm that several prizes were donated and awarded for cooking. The Annual Report that year relates that a sale of cakes made by the pupils at the end of the course raised enough money to buy a gas stove and some appliances for the class (Otago Girls' High School Report of Session 1889: 4, 20; Otago Girls' High School Report of Session 1896: 3, 4, 10). In 1898 the sale at the end of the series of cooking lessons again helped to defray expenses. Prizes were given for the best scones, sweets, pound cake, orange cake and sponge cake. Lily Wilson (perhaps the assistant teacher) won prizes for her pound cake, sponge cake and neatest recipe book (Otago Girls' High School Report of Session 1898: 12). There was no cooking class in 1902 but in 1903 Mrs Miller was appointed teacher of Cookery at the High School in the second term.

Cooking was established as a school subject in 1903 — this provided an option for pupils who enrolled in school through the new free places offered by the Secondary Schools Act (1903). This act gave two years of free secondary schooling to those who had passed the Proficiency Examination (Fry 1985: 32). Previously students attending high school were required to pay fees and classes were mainly academic. Not all of the new entrants however wished to pursue academic or professional careers and the principal, Miss Marchant, wanted to offer alternative topics such as cooking, shorthand and book-keeping (Wallis 1995: 66). By 1903 numbers in the cooking classes had increased and Mrs Miller had an assistant, a Miss Little (not Dora Little though). After Mrs Miller's retirement Miss Little continued to teach the cookery classes at the school until 1909 when the rotting kitchen floor fell to the ground.
Classes were not held at the school again until 1922 with the opening of a new 
building although the girls attended classes at the Technical School in some years 
(Wallis 1995: 75, 82). By then domestic science was compulsory in school 
classrooms.

5.6 Conclusion

A number of trained teachers from British cookery schools visited New Zealand 
during the latter part of the nineteenth century and travelled to many parts of the 
country offering cooking classes in local halls and school classrooms. The cooking 
teachers adopted the model used so successfully by the British institutions to promote 
their endeavours, with an introductory cookery demonstration endorsed by prominent 
public figure followed by a series of cookery classes. This combination of novelty 
(cooking in the public arena), expert culinary knowledge and approval from well- 
known people was extremely popular throughout New Zealand with women and girls 
from all walks of life attending the classes.

The methods of teaching cooking and training cookery teachers used by the British 
establishments were competently replicated by their graduates here in New Zealand. 
The cookery knowledge provided by these British-trained cookery teachers was easily 
accepted into local New Zealand culinary repertoires because it was produced, 
diffused and applied within a well-known cultural tradition already familiar to most of 
the settlers. Cookery teachers from Scottish training schools were providing classes to 
women in Dunedin from at least 1877. Judging by newspaper reports, their classes 
were popular and well attended with women and girls apparently enthusiastic to 
acquire culinary skills.

By the 1880s concerned citizens began to organise and provide continuation classes 
for young people who wished to further their education. At the same period there was 
growing debate about the primary school curriculum and its effect on the health and 
well-being of young girls. The introduction of cookery into the school curriculum was 
seen as a panacea to several problems. Although cookery classes potentially improved 
manual dexterity, offered physical activity, and lessened the academic workload, there
was some resistance because a number of parents were concerned that the school curriculum was being used to provide servants for higher echelons of society. Cookery subsequently changed from a voluntary activity to a state imposed school subject.

The examples of Miss Fidler and Mrs Macpherson confirm that the diffusion of culinary knowledge from Scotland to New Zealand took place. Teachers trained at the Edinburgh School of Cookery taught cooking classes in Dunedin, and in the case of Mrs Macpherson, published recipes in the local Otago newspaper. There was a clear association between Mrs Macpherson and Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller. Although the long-term culinary influence of Miss Fidler and Mrs Macpherson is unclear, that of Mrs Miller is evident in her teaching career and numerous cookery books.

Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller taught numerous girls the art of cookery and household skills in Dunedin over a period of several decades. Due to the context in which these classes occurred, Mrs Miller’s expertise with lesson plans and syllabus content and the culinary traditions of her pupils, Mrs Miller’s legacy permeated into the general community and no doubt outlasted her physical presence. Elizabeth Miller not only spread her cooking knowledge through the medium of cookbooks but personally communicated her ideas and principles throughout the countryside. Mrs Miller started teaching cooking before legislation deemed it necessary for girls to learn these skills. She was one of a category of women who employed their culinary capabilities to establish a career path for themselves as cooking teachers. Despite ongoing debates over the aptness of cooking as a school subject, women like Mrs Miller were willing to teach girls and women a skill they regarded as essential to general wellbeing — how to prepare and cook healthy and nutritious food for the family.

Mrs Miller disseminated culinary knowledge throughout New Zealand in a number of ways. Her mode of transmission was the many-to-one pathway through her cookery classes, cookery demonstrations and cookbooks. Mrs Miller perceived cookery expertise ensured that her classes were popular and her services in demand as a cooking demonstrator, whether for cookery teaching or appliance demonstration. Mrs Miller’s cookery transmission was both synchronic (within a generation) and diachronic (between generations). Mrs Miller travelled widely throughout New
New Zealand, particularly the South Island, and imparted her expert advice to many young girls and women. This knowledge was retained in her cookery books and could be consulted for the life of the book. Mrs Miller’s pupils became cooking teachers themselves, for example, Dora Little, and her knowledge continued to be passed on through these and their pupils.

Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller was one of a number of women engaged in teaching cookery throughout New Zealand during the latter decades on the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. These women can in fact be considered as forerunners of the Domestic Science movement. Many of their students would continue to apply their early training from such teachers by continuing their careers and enrol in the University of Otago’s School of Home Science, an institution whose graduates would later prove to be a formidable force in the transmission of culinary knowledge. The next chapter examines the establishment of the School of Home Science at the University of Otago, the outstanding women who were paramount in its development, and the graduates who disseminated their cookery information throughout New Zealand.
Chapter Six — Teaching and Learning Cookery at the School of Home Science

6.1 Introduction

From the early decades of the twentieth century, a substantial amount of culinary transmission in New Zealand occurred through the formal process of teaching cooking in school classrooms. As discussed in the previous chapter, during the second half of the nineteenth century a number of women who trained in Britain at the large cookery teacher training institutions, and subsequently these women disseminated their cookery training techniques and culinary repertoires by teaching cooking classes throughout New Zealand. These women were the early pioneers of the domestic science movement in New Zealand and in fact trained many of the girls who would later become students at the University of Otago’s School of Home Science. The pupils at these early cooking classes however were willing participants. This chapter outlines some of the debates surrounding the transition of cooking classes from voluntary attendance, as described in the previous chapter, to its obligatory status in the school curriculum as legislated by the New Zealand government.

The chapter then reviews some of the pertinent historical developments in the transformation of housework as a mundane task into the scientifically-defined academic discipline of home science. Home science became a widespread social movement throughout many Western nations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although just how and why this occurred varied, particularly in the United States and Britain. This new branch of learning for women was a highly contentious area and in many countries it struggled to gain acceptance as a topic worthy of university status. While it provided women with new academic and professional opportunities, it was construed as a gendered subject that educated other women in work concerning the home.

The chapter then examines the emergence of the School of Home Science at the University of Otago to train school cooking teachers. This institution had a significant influence in providing many New Zealand young women with a viable career option
at the same time as establishing important vectors of culinary transmission. The formalised structure of cookery teaching, with a learning objective and outcome in a classroom situation, typically involves the transfer of culinary knowledge from teacher to student in a one-to-many mode of transmission. As discussed in chapter one, the context of who provides the information and the circumstances in which it occurs, can affect the acceptance and implementation of such teaching. In this chapter, the type and origin of the culinary information dispensed by the teachers in school cookery classes, is discussed to determine the role of home science graduates in this process. Although the compulsory nature of school home science instruction, and ensuing need for home science teachers, occurred due to New Zealand governmental directives, because the School of Home Science trained the cooking teachers, scholarly research has sometimes viewed the School of Home Science as complicit in this process (McDonald, 1984; Hamer, 1993).

This chapter however seeks to explore beyond the much debated topics of the detrimental effects of compulsory home science in girls’ school curricula. Other scholars have more than adequately debated issues such as equal educational opportunities for girls, gender bias, and women’s ‘natural’ role in life. For example, international literature includes contributions by Dyehouse (1977), Purvis (1985), Deem (1986), Hunt (1987), Attar (1990), and Turnbull (1994), to name just a few. Extensive research has also been undertaken in Australia and New Zealand over the last few decades and much of the literature focuses on the introduction of domestic science education for girls at primary and secondary schools, its compulsory and gendered nature, and the various ideological interests around it, for example Bessant (1976), Tennant (1977), Duncan (1982), Mathews (1983), Patullo (1983), Fry (1985), Kyle (1986), Tennant (1986), Coney (1993), MacManus (1996), and Nolan (2001). Again these works represent only a small sample of the related literature in this field. In one of the more recent articles, Nolan (2001) argues that the New Zealand experience of implementing domestic education for girls achieved only partial success and this thesis concurs with her analysis and within this chapter intends to highlight some of the problems and processes hampering the execution of a domestic science curriculum in the New Zealand classroom. Nolan (2001: 32) explains that not only was the state hindered through a lack of resources to put into practice many of its domestic education plans but it also recognised that it did not have the power to
compel women and girls into this type of education with the aim of training them to be domestic servants and housewives. Rather, young women were making economic decisions regarding future employment in more lucrative occupations, a situation that the state fully complied with because of its need for women as school teachers, nurses and public servants. Nolan (2001:33) emphasises that despite its problems the New Zealand state had a decisive role in providing a liberal education to all New Zealand schoolchildren, albeit gendered.

6.2 From Housework to Home Economics in America

As discussed in chapter four, the emergence of domestic science (or cookery teachers) in Great Britain occurred largely through a convergence of urban poor lacking time, space, money, and cooking skills with a growing number of middle class women who needed a means of suitable employment. In the United States however, the growth of home science was through the more rurally and technologically oriented land-grant colleges of the mid-West. The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 granted land to state universities that agreed to train students in practical fields (Weigley 1974: 80; Leavitt 2002: 44).

On both sides of the Atlantic, instructions for housewives had been common from about 1830 onwards through a variety of sources such as manuals, magazines, newspaper columns and advertisements. In America however it is generally Catherine Esther Beecher’s Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home (1841) that is regarded as the first manual that depicts a systematic attempt to organise housework (Weigley 1974: 79; Vincenti 1997: 321; Rutherford 2003: xviii). Although Catherine Beecher became a recognised authority on housework after publication of her Treatise, in many ways the contradictions of her own life foreshadowed some of the ambiguity that would later trouble the home science movement. As Rutherford (2003: xix) points out, while Beecher became known as an expert on domestic economy, she herself became a travelling professional woman who did not maintain a home of her own, staying instead in the homes of various family members and friends, while she supported herself with lectures and books. The discipline of home science struggled to move its identity from perceptions of
housework as home-centred drudgery to an endeavour worthy of academic pursuit and professional training.

The paradoxical nature of home economics was that while this emerging new discipline provided employment opportunities for women, it was in a gendered sphere. It was difficult to gain legitimacy in an academic subject that continually reinforced the idea that a woman's place was in the home, and although instituted on a scientific basis it found itself frequently defined as 'cooking and sewing.' One of the founders of the American home economics movement, Ellen Swallow Richards, had been the first woman to gain a Bachelor of Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Richards and other women trained in science in the late nineteenth century realised that science had practical applications in the home as well providing potential for employment in academic institutions and industry (Stage 1997: 5; Leavitt 2002: 42). The movement of home economics into universities was not nationwide however and alternative methods of teaching cookery were also emerging. At the same time as domestic science was being introduced in the land-grant colleges (Iowa State 1871; Kansas State 1873; Illinois Industrial University 1874), urban cooking schools began to start up in the East (New York Cooking School 1876; Boston Cooking School 1879; Philadelphia 1879) (Weigley 1974: 80; Vincenti 1997: 321–322).

Ellen Richards had been unsuccessful in her attempts to persuade the elite Eastern women's colleges to introduce domestic science into their liberal arts curricula. They considered it was a sex-stereotyped topic, lacking in intellectual depth (Stage 1997: 7; Shapiro 2001: 169–170). Richards' response to their refusal was to organise the first of what became known as the Lake Placid conferences at Lake Placid, New York in 1899. Eleven people gathered to debate the aims and philosophy of home economics, standardise its subject matter and make it more acceptable as an academic discipline. The problem of deciding a name for this new speciality was one that reoccurred over several conferences. Ellen Richards originally favoured 'domestic science.' Wilbur O. Atwater of the U.S. Department of Agriculture pressed for 'home science.' Richards then tried to substitute 'oekology' and later 'euthenics.' Eventually a tripartite terminology was used — 'household arts' for primary schools, 'domestic science' in
high schools and ‘home economics’ applied to college and graduate work (Weigley 1974: 85; Stage 1997: 6; Shapiro 2001: 167).

Although the Lake Placid conferences achieved the goals of formalising the organisation, the subject of home economics never gained much acceptance as an academic subject in the Eastern women’s colleges. As Stage (1997: 9-10) argues, the very fluidity of what home economics could be — scientific or domestic, vocational or academic — kept it from developing a central core of identity. Despite Ellen Richards early efforts to focus on the scientific aspects of the home, many women never saw past the drudgery portion of housework. Home economists who attained work in industry as appliance demonstrators were often presented as ‘Mrs Homemaker’ to encourage product sales, therefore emphasising the home component while undermining their scientific training. During periods of economic and resource stress, like war or depression, home economists were frequently consulted for nutritional advice (Shapiro 2001: 206, 212). It was in the field of nutrition that home economists, both in America and New Zealand, would make significant international contributions. During the 1950s and 1960s the field of home economics was still seen as a ‘feminised’ profession; so to counter such perceptions women deans in the American colleges began to hire males with doctorates, many of whom were specialising in areas such as child development and family relationships. Rossiter (1997: 96, 103, 106, 115) argues that throughout the 1960s it was the increasingly available academic funding occurring at a time when a number of long-serving women deans neared retirement that encouraged a number of colleges to reinvent their home economic units as more masculine (and perhaps less embarrassing) departments. Although American women achieved considerable success during the twentieth century in finding employment as home economics teachers, dieticians, nutritionists and scientists, by the latter part of the century home economics had changed significantly from the vision of Ellen Richards and her Lake Placid pioneers.

6.3 Home Science in New Zealand

In New Zealand only one academic establishment ever developed a faculty of home science, although it could be argued the country’s population and the university’s
funding mechanisms may have dictated that situation. From the time that graduates of the University of Otago's School of Home Science first began to appear, they were in demand, initially as teachers of home science and science in schools, then later as dieticians, nutritionists, appliance demonstrators, industry researchers and scientists. After some initial reluctance to accept the subject into Otago University, the Faculty of Home Science thrived despite being allocated a substandard building and lacking crucial teaching equipment when they began (Strong 1937: 9). Ongoing funding issues frequently beset the department yet the first five deans and their associates were women of courage and conviction. Through their efforts numerous graduates found employment, generations of girls learnt to cook and sew and the nation's housewives had a source of helpful domestic advice.

**The University of Otago's School of Home Science**

The School of Home Science at the University of Otago in Dunedin owes its establishment to the vision and generosity of one man, Colonel John Studholme, a Canterbury landowner. But its eminence came from the women who ran it, staffed it and pursued their studies within its walls. This is not to diminish the part that John Studholme played in the process at all but rather to emphasise some of the personalities, teaching practices and community outreach events associated with the first seventy five years of the School's existence. Studholme, having travelled in the United States and observed some of the work by home economics departments there, felt it was a branch of education that merited a university degree or diploma in New Zealand. After initial efforts to establish a chair in Domestic Science at Canterbury College, Christchurch failed, he offered his financial aid to Otago University. Supported in his efforts by local advocates of a woman's education conforming to her natural role in life, Drs. Batchelor and King, Studholme found the University a willing recipient of his money (Thompson 1919: 239–243; Strong 1937: 3–6; *School of Home Science History* 1962: 7). Although King and Batchelor may have been motivated by slightly eugenicist ideals in encouraging this topic at university level, the New Zealand Government viewed this as an academic undertaking with a definite scientific basis. Joseph Ward, in a letter on behalf of the Minister of Education, emphasised that the course should focus on the academic attributes of domestic science such as laboratory work dealing with foods, and the scientific principles underlying the
practice of cookery as opposed to simply duplicating instruction in cooking and sewing (classes in which could be found at any technical school) (Thompson 1919: 242). This was an intention thoroughly endorsed by the School’s first Dean, Miss Winifred Boys-Smith.

Winifred Boys-Smith — Dean 1911–1920
As previously noted, during the first seventy five years of its existence the School of Home Science at the University of Otago was administered by five women deans. The first two, Winifred Boys-Smith and Helen Rawson, were British and their academic training was in science, although they were both aware of this new discipline of home economics in America. Miss Boys-Smith not only had long experience as a science lecturer in the Training Department of the Cheltemham Ladies’ College (1896–1910), but during the winter of 1906–1907 she travelled to America to study methods of teaching science and domestic science (Thompson 1919: 244).

The School of Home Science at the University of Otago opened its doors in 1911. When Professor Boys-Smith arrived in January there were five students waiting for her — two for the three-year degree course and three for the two-year diploma course. After suitable publicity twenty one additional women embarked on one or more of the courses such as Applied Chemistry or Practical Cookery (Thompson 1919: 245; Strong 1937: 9). The School was situated in the discarded old Mining School building, known as the ‘Tin Shed’; this provided a chemical laboratory and lecture room. Cookery was taught at the North Dunedin Technical School and later at the King Edward Technical College. Professor Boys-Smith trained students in Practical Laundry-work at her own residence for the first few years. In 1978 Annie Stevenson reflected on her experiences of washing the Professor’s undergarments, “She was very critical and, of course, it was only an old-fashioned wash house with a wash-board, wringer and a copper. We had to boil everything in those days” (Stevenson 1978: 14). The inadequacies of these accommodations were quickly apparent and a combination of further financial assistance from Colonel Studholme, aid from the Government and local fund-raising efforts enabled the School to purchase a convenient property to serve the dual purpose of boarding establishment and laboratory for teaching Household Management, Dietetics, Practical Cookery and Laundry-Work in 1915
(Thompson 1919: 245; Strong 1937: 10). In 1920 a new permanent building was opened, although only partially equipped (Stevenson 1961: 49; School of Home Science History 1962: 17). Professor Boys-Smith retired soon after the new building was completed leaving the Department with improved facilities, increased student numbers (five in 1911, sixty in 1919) and a growing number of graduates finding positions throughout the country.

Strong (1937: 11) argues that the most important gain of Professor Boys-Smith’s time at the School was the waning of prejudice and scepticism for the course throughout the University. Winifred Boys-Smith believed that the study of home science at university level was a positive influence for the higher education of women. An address she delivered at Otago University clearly expresses her views. She began “It is my part to prove to a concourse of those interested in this University and its welfare that Home Science is a subject worthy of a place in a university curriculum” (Boys-Smith 1911: 5). She then proceeded to defend the introduction of this discipline and address some of the concerns commonly expressed regarding women and education. Professor Boys-Smith also answered the objectors to the introduction of scientific methods in the home saying, “if science had not been applied to medicine and surgery we should still be treated by quacks and charms” (Boys-Smith 1911: 8–9).

**Helen Rawson — Dean 1920–1923**

The second dean, Helen Rawson, originally employed as Professor Boys-Smith’s assistant, had participated in the setting up of the School’s programmes and lectured in Chemistry, Applied Chemistry and Household and Social Economics. Like Professor Boys-Smith, Helen Rawson was scientifically trained but had visited American institutions teaching home science. During her brief time as Dean (the University insisted that she retire after she married Dr Noel Benson, Professor of Geology), the length of the degree course was extended from three to four years and the diploma to three years (Strong 1937: 11–12). Helen Rawson was later depicted as a complete contrast to the tall, almost ethereal Professor Boys-Smith; small, dainty, about five feet tall, she was nonetheless well respected and described as a very able lecturer (Smale 1977: 13–14).
Ann Monroe Gilchrist Strong — Dean 1924–1940

With the appointment of Ann Gilchrist Strong to the School of Home Science, a significant American influence entered into the School’s curriculum. One of the pioneers of home economics in America, Ann Strong was educated at Bucknell University, and Columbia Teachers College. When she was Professor of Home Economics at the University of Tennessee, she started rural extension teaching. In 1910 Professor Strong was responsible for setting up the School of Home Economics at the University of Cincinnati where she introduced experimental cookery coordinated with applied chemistry. On a year’s leave of absence from the University in 1917 she visited Baroda, India (now also known as Vadadara), and was persuaded to remain in India to organise a graduate course in Home Science at the University of Baroda. In addition she organised courses in the Teachers’ Training College and in the High Schools (Anon 1957: 6; School of Home Science History 1962: 36; Thomson and Thomson 1963: 67–69, Mitchell 2003: 158). Nearing the end of her contract in 1920 she was convinced by Colonel Studholme to leave her work in India and come to New Zealand as Professor of Household Arts in 1921. After Helen Rawson’s marriage at the end of 1923, Ann Strong became the third Dean of the Faculty of Home Science.

The American influences that Professor Strong introduced when she became Dean occurred through several different means. Her personal training and outlook inclined towards more practical fields and less towards the strongly scientific position so prevalent during the tenure of the British deans. A number of substantial changes were made to the degree course after Professor Strong’s arrival at the University of Otago (see Table 6.1.), and a Master’s degree was introduced into the graduate programme in 1926. Professor Strong also travelled twice to America during her tenure to locate additional staff for the department, eventually securing Dr Lilian Storms to lecture in chemistry and nutrition and Miss Gladys McGill to teach textiles and clothing (Strong 1937: 13). In addition, her connections with the United States provided opportunities for students to undertake postgraduate study in America, many of whom returned to Otago filled with new knowledge. Books published in America, such as The Boston Cooking School Cook Book (1918), were also used as teaching
materials in class (Smale 1977: 14). Professor Strong helped establish dietetics as a profession in New Zealand and was also a firm believer in making Home Science a living force in the community. She was the first president of the Home Economics Association in 1923, an office she held until 1932. Through her vision and influence the Carnegie Corporation made a five-year grant enabling the establishment of the Home Science Extension Service in 1929 (Anon 1957: 7). Professor Strong’s influence on home science education was recognised in several ways: she became Emeritus Professor on her retirement. She was awarded a Visitor’s Grant (1933) and a Bronze Medal (1936) from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. In 1936 the Insignia of Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire was conferred on her, and in 1937 the Coronation Medal (School of Home Science History 1962: 37).

TABLE 6.1 Comparison of Home Science Degree Subjects in 1920 and 1922

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree Subjects in Home Science (1920)</th>
<th>Degree Subjects in Home Science (1922)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>Physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inorganic &amp; Organic Chemistry</td>
<td>Inorganic &amp; Organic Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Business Affairs</td>
<td>House Administration &amp; Business Affairs*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Chemistry (Food)</td>
<td>Applied Chemistry (Food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Chemistry (Laundry-work)</td>
<td>Applied Chemistry (Laundry-work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacteriology</td>
<td>Sanitary Science &amp; Bacteriology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>Physiology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Hygiene</td>
<td>Hygiene, Home Nursing, &amp; Mothercraft*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Economics</td>
<td>Household &amp; Social Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>Biology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Laundry-work &amp; Housewifery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Cookery (1 &amp; II)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods 1 (Technology of Cookery)**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods 2 (Experimental Cookery)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods 3 (Nutrition &amp; Dietetics)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods— Advanced Cookery**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing 1a (Textiles)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing 1b (Elementary Sewing &amp; Garment Construction)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing 2 (Household Laundering)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing 3 (Dress)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing 4 (Millinery)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter, House-planning, Construction &amp; Furnishing*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housecraft*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Management: Practical**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Arts Education*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Class taught by Professor Strong
**Class taught by Miss Dora Little**

**Elizabeth Gregory — Dean 1941–1961**

Elizabeth Gregory was a graduate of the University of Otago Home Science faculty, gaining her Master’s degree in nutrition in 1929. After attaining her PhD in biochemistry at University College, London in 1932, Dr Gregory returned to the Otago Home Science School as a lecturer in chemistry and nutrition. In 1940 a Carnegie Visitor’s Grant enabled her to visit universities in the United States and compare ideas and developments. After the retirement of Professor Strong, Elizabeth Gregory was appointed Professor of Home Science and Dean of the Faculty. As well as making contributions in her field of human nutrition, Elizabeth Gregory developed and extended the School’s teaching curriculum (*School of Home Science History* 1962: 37–38). The new subjects introduced by Professor Gregory are detailed in Table 6.2. As well as awarding Elizabeth Gregory the Visitor’s Grant in 1940, the Carnegie Corporation also presented her with a Coronation Medal in 1953. In 1961 she too received an Insignia of Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. Elizabeth Gregory retired in 1961 (*School of Home Science History* 1962: 38).

**TABLE 6.2 New Topics introduced into the Home Science Curriculum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zoology</td>
<td>Botany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Management</td>
<td>Design 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foods 3 (Advanced &amp; Large Quantity Cookery)</td>
<td>Quantity Meal Preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Methods of Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diet in Disease (opt.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Patricia Coleman — Dean 1961–1986**

Patricia Coleman was the last woman dean of the Faculty of Home Science. Graduating from the University of Otago’s Home Science School in 1943 with a Diploma in Home Science, she taught in secondary schools in the Auckland province as a clothing teacher for six years before returning to Otago University as a tutor in the Department of University Extension. After periods of study in Paris (1953–1954) on a French Cultural Scholarship and at the School of Home Economics at Texas Technological College (1957–1958), where she obtained her Master of Science
degree, Patricia Coleman became Dean of Home Science at Otago in 1962 following the retirement of Elizabeth Gregory, guiding the Faculty through to its 75th Jubilee in 1986. Professor Coleman retired after the Jubilee and the form of the Home Science faculty altered significantly. The new Dean, David Buisson, was the first male to hold that position at Otago’s School of Home Science. There was shift in emphasis in course structure and core subjects as the School dissolved into two departments: Consumer and Applied Sciences and the Department of Nutrition (Coleman 1986: 62–63; Laing and Putterill 1987: 49–50). For her services to Home Science Patricia Coleman was awarded the Commander of the British Empire in 1986.

The first five Deans of the University of Otago’s School of Home Science were strong, dedicated women. During the early years they challenged the academic community to recognise their discipline as worthy of a place within the University’s environs. Frequently confronted with inadequate premises and insufficient resources they overcame their adversities through fund-raising and community activities. From the days of the ‘Tin Shed’ in 1911, the persistent lack of boarding accommodation and practical training areas for the ever increasing student numbers demanded solutions for the problem of lack of space. The new building in 1920 provided a solution for a while but soon classes were moving into the attic. In 1947 a second Foods Laboratory was built in an American Army Hut. The ongoing space problems however failed to hinder the School’s teaching programmes or quality of its research and graduates. In 1961 a new two-storied teaching block (now four stories), known as the Gregory Building, was appropriately opened by Miss Annie E. Stevenson, one of the very first graduates to emerge from the School (Stevenson 1961: 48–49; School of Home Science History 1962: 17, 19).

Community Service
The University of Otago’s School of Home Science was dynamic in its efforts to engage with community and provide information about home science for the general public. At the first conference of the Home Science Alumnae held in 1922 in Dunedin, Professor Strong related how some local women had formed the St. Kilda Mothers’ Mutual Help Club in 1921 and outlined the assistance that the School proposed to give them. Previously, Dr Marion Whyte, one of the Home Science
lecturers, had provided lectures to city business girls and the mothers group had contacted the Home Science department for a similar service. The first lecture in September was held in the Home Science buildings and attended by 100 women; at the second lecture over 200 turned up (Anon 1923a: 10; Anon 1928a: 17–18). After each lecture Professor Strong and her dietetics students gave a demonstration of cooking and food preparation to illustrate the practical applications of theory from the lecture. These events proved so popular that it was decided to form a branch of the Otago Home Economics Association (Anon 1928a: 17–18).

Professor Strong wanted to provide support for women in rural communities. She was familiar with the benefits of this type of work through her earlier teaching in the United States. However any implementation was delayed until 1929 when a five-year grant was made available from the Carnegie Trust Fund to form an Extension Service within the Home Science Department (Anon 1932b: 9; Anon 1957: 7). In 1934 a further five-year grant enabled work to be undertaken in both Canterbury and Otago and made provision to include a rural Travelling Library Service. The joint service was named the Association for Country Education (A.C.E.) (Anon 1957: 7). By January 1930 the organisation had a Director (Professor Strong), an Information Bureau, and a car (‘Elizabeth’). The work was carried out in conjunction with various women’s organisations — for example, the Women’s Division of the Farmers’ Union, the Women’s Institute and the Home Economics Association. Twelve country areas were chosen as ‘lecturing centres’ and ‘Elizabeth’ was packed with the demonstration kit for talks on topics such as Food Preservation, Basic Nutrition, House Planning, School Lunches etc. (Anon 1932b: 9–10; Coleman 1975: 26). Home science knowledge was also relayed to the public by weekly fifteen minute radio broadcasts, newspaper articles and through the formation of boys’ and girls’ clubs (Anon 1932b: 10).

Emily Carpenter (1977: 17–18) describes the four phases of development that the Home Science Extension Service went through. Phases one and two consisted of the initial development with Professor Strong, and then the joint venture with the Drama and Library services at Canterbury College when it was renamed (A.C.E.). There was only a very limited service during the war. The third phase began after the war when Departments of Adult Education were set up at all four New Zealand universities to
provide a general adult education service. At Otago University home science extension work was now part of this new adult education initiative. During this time Carpenter (1977: 17) relates, the service expanded markedly because it was responsible for urban adult education as well. Staff numbers increased to six, a list of publications was developed and a monthly press release for over 100 newspapers and magazines throughout New Zealand was introduced.

In May 1956 the extension service opened a new demonstration kitchen at 835 George Street, Dunedin. Previously the staff had lacked any facilities, apart from their own kitchens, to test new products or answer queries like “What went wrong with my bottling this season?” (Carpenter 1956: 39). This new resource contained a lecture room and future plans included demonstrations on cookery, lectures in foods, nutrition, the use of kitchen equipment and applied topics. The popularity of the service was such that Professor Coleman remembered, in a retrospective review of Home Science, how during the early 1950s in Otago the staff of six had classes booked for the next three years (Coleman 1975: 26). By 1961 there were 102 leaflets and bulletins available to the public on subjects such as food, catering, home making, appliances etc. The fourth phase began with the dissolution of the University of New Zealand in 1963. Each university then became fully responsible for its own education activities and the name was changed to Department of University Extension (Carpenter 1977: 17–18). As well as operating its information and advisory service for the general public, the Extension staff also worked with Governmental and statutory bodies, for example the Consumers Institute and the Metric Advisory Board (Carpenter 1977: 17–18). During the early 1990s the Department of University Extension was reduced to a single staff member answering consumer’s queries and closed in 1994.

6.4 Training to be a Cooking Teacher

Although the subject of Home Science incorporates several topic areas, such as clothing, cookery, laundry-work, this chapter concentrates particularly on the transmission of culinary knowledge at school level. It examines how, where and what cooking teachers were taught; what aspects of cookery they themselves taught in the
classroom and how this differed from the official school curricula. For the New
Zealand State to implement a system of domestic education in schools it required
trained teachers to educate pupils in these new techniques and knowledge. These
teachers needed a curriculum to follow and a place in which to carry out these
activities. Teaching cooking classes requires specialised surroundings — a room with
cookery equipment, water, ranges etc. Providing sufficient numbers of such facilities
presented the State with numerous logistical problems, even with the centrally-
situated establishments being used by surrounding schools on a rotational basis.
Supplying adequate amenities was not the only problem challenging the State in its
implementation of domestic education in schools. Training cooking teachers to an
acceptable and consistent criterion and establishing a standardised curriculum from
which to instruct were problems that would present the Education Department with
persistent difficulties for many years.

Teachers who taught cookery in New Zealand schools at the turn of the twentieth
century were extremely varied in terms of their experience and qualifications. For
example, they may not have had an official qualification, that is, they may have been
self-taught, or learned their skills from a family member at home. They may have had
a certificate in Cookery from the City and Guilds of London through studying at one
of the technical schools in New Zealand. Some cooking teachers had diplomas from
one of the United Kingdom’s cookery schools (or from elsewhere, for example,
Australia), and from 1913 onwards they may have been granted a degree or diploma
from the University of Otago’s School of Home Science. Teacher trainees learned
cookery at local technical schools, or later at the School of Home Science in Dunedin
Evidence suggests that little changed over the next eighty years, judging by a
description of the career patterns of home economics teachers in the Home Science
Alumnae Journal “About a third had homecraft teachers’ certificates from Auckland
or Christchurch (gained before the three-year diploma was instituted in the teacher’s
colleges), a quarter had degrees or diplomas from the University of Otago’s Home
Science School, a sixth had Teachers College Diplomas in Home Economics from
Auckland or Christchurch, and a fifth had some other qualification, usually a Dunedin
homecraft qualification but sometimes an overseas qualification or a qualification in a
paramedical or related field, or no qualification at all (4%)” (Calvert 1981: 6).
Cookery teachers were typically women. In fact from the nineteenth century onwards the majority of New Zealand school teachers were women. An examination of numbers of students entering into the Dunedin Teachers’ College over a 120 year period, demonstrates that the percentage of female entrants averaged 72%, with a range from 55% to 93% (Keen 2001: 29). Although it is often argued that the high number of female teachers generally reflected contemporary views that women were ‘naturally’ suited for teaching, especially at primary level (such as in O’Neill 1992: 79), Keen (2001: 30–31) counters this idea contending that the feminisation of the student role at the Dunedin College’s early days related more to a Scottish attitude towards girls becoming literate in order to read the bible, and to an economic rationale by education boards because they could hire female teachers for a lower remuneration than men.

The introduction of domestic education in school classrooms occurred through the dual processes of teaching girls basic cooking skills together with instruction in the theoretical principles of cookery and nutrition. Similar situations occurred with sewing and laundry-work (i.e. practical work and theory). It was through the introduction of new subject areas in domestic science like nutrition, and through the training of cooking teachers, that the School of Home Science at the University of Otago would prove to have the most significant influence on New Zealand school girls. Evidence in school cookery books suggests that the cookery curriculum taught in New Zealand schools was neither standardised to any extent nor greatly influenced by culinary traditions other than the familiar British one, although some American influences may have been disseminated as part of the theoretical concepts of cookery and nutrition that were being taught. A comparative study of pupils’ school exercise books may reveal such patterns.

**Training Cooking Teachers in Dunedin**

As discussed in an earlier chapter the first cookery teacher in Dunedin to train future cookery teachers was Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller. Mrs Miller’s students themselves went on to train other cooking teachers. One such example is that of Miss Dora Little. Dora learned her cookery skills at the Dunedin Technical School under Mrs Miller,
receiving a 'C' certificate in 1905. Two years later in 1907 Dora was a cookery assistant to Jessie Miller, and by 1909 Dora Little had an assistant of her own, teaching classes in Plain and General Cookery. After Jessie Miller's marriage and subsequent departure from Dunedin in 1910, Dora Little became responsible for training students in High Class Cookery, Invalid and Convalescent Cookery, and teaching candidates for the City and Guilds of London examination. Dora Little continued to teach cookery at the King Edward Technical College in Dunedin until 1918. Dora Little and the other teachers at the Technical College potentially had an influence in the training of a wide range of pupils as in 1917, for example, the College provided instruction in cookery to pupils from Columba College, St. Andrew's College, St. Hilda's College, the Convent and Catholic Schools, as well as to the domestic science students from the University of Otago (A.J.H.R. 1917: E-5. 39).

Recollections about taking cookery classes with Miss Little, by degree student, Alice Borrie, (Borrie 1978: 15-16), illustrate the difficulties that faced the Home Science students. The King Edward Technical College was some distance from the University of Otago, and situated on a steep Dunedin hill. Bringing home the finished products was an awkward task, Alice remembers, "To carry large pies, cakes and assorted half-set shapes sliding about on trays or in inadequate baskets down Stuart Street, and then into and out of crowded trams was a real headache" (Borrie 1978: 15). Liquids such as soup and milk proved the most challenging. Alice (1978: 15-16) relates "it was usually carried by the two of us in a large tin fish-kettle called by us the coffin. We would put it on the front of the tram beside the motorman....To solve these difficulties we seriously contemplated buying a second-hand perambulator, but found we could not afford this."

In 1919 Dora Little took up a position as subwarden at Lower Studholme, the boarding hostel and training establishment for the School of Home Science, remaining there until 1924 (Mitchell 2003: 158). By 1921 Miss D. Little is listed in the University of Otago Calendar (1921: 259) as the teacher for the Practical Cookery class. Part I included "Plain and general cookery; construction and management of stoves and cooking utensils; choice, preparation and cooking of meat, vegetables, cereals etc.", while Part II consisted of High Class and Invalid Cookery. This class outline is reminiscent of the contents in Elizabeth Miller's cookery books and would appear to endorse Janet Mitchell's (2003: 158–159) conclusion that Dora Little's
personal cookery training was reflected in her teaching methods and recipes at the Home Science Hostel. By the following year’s Calendar (1922: 209), Dora Little’s class has been renamed to ‘Foods 1: Technology of Cookery’. Now the class synopsis stated that the “purpose of this course is to develop skill in the technique of cookery, with special stress upon accuracy in measurements, weight and temperature. The students are expected to cook and serve simple meals and dishes for invalids.” This emphasis on accuracy and measurement is suggestive of Professor Strong’s American influence as Fannie Merrit Farmer, author of the 1896 The Boston Cooking-School Cookbook, is sometimes referred to as “the mother of level measurements.” Interestingly the textbook listed for the home science students in the 1922 Calendar (1922: 209) was the King Edward Cookery Book by Florence A. George, a school cookery teacher in Birmingham, England. This textbook may have been a recommendation from Professor Boys-Smith and in use for some time but not previously listed in the Calendar. By the next year however (1923: 220) Dora Little was using The Boston Cooking School Cook Book (1918) as a text for the Foods 1 class.

Although this well-known American cookbook may have become a training text for students at the School of Home Science any flow-on effect into school cookery texts appears limited. Janet Mitchell (2003: 159) also established similar findings in her study of recipe cards used in the University of Otago’s School of Home Science hostel kitchens. Many of the recipes in the first set of Home Science Hostel Recipe Cards (1943) were similar to both Mrs Miller’s recipes and to recipes commonly found in New Zealand cookbooks at that time. Mitchell (2003: 164) concludes that although an American influence is present in the recipe sets, their content indicates support for the fairly traditional British style of eating patterns. Although these results are substantiated by an examination of school cookery recipe books (discussed below), there are however occasional examples of recipe concepts that are transmitted from the School of Home Science into community cookbooks (discussed below).

As well as learning cookery at technical schools or the School of Home Science, future cooking teachers also learnt to cook as part of their two-year teacher training at the various training colleges. In Dunedin, teacher trainees learned their cookery skills at the Dunedin Technical School, and later at King Edward Technical College. In
1911 cookery was one of the new subjects added to the courses for new teacher trainees (Johnston and Morton 1976: 50). In 1912 Helen Rawson started to organise Home Science in Training College and in 1914 one of the new graduates, Helen Cameron, assisted her. In 1920 another graduate, Miss Catherine Landreth was appointed full-time lecturer for the Home Science work, a position she held until 1924 (A.J.H.R. 1913: E.—5. 90; Strong 1937: 10).

The Manual and Technical Inspectors relate in their 1913 Report (A.J.H.R. 1913: E.—5. 10–11) that at most of the cookery centres throughout the country the course in cookery is now extended to include lessons in elementary domestic science, elementary hygiene, and physiology. Experimental work is able to be carried out in class because many of the instructors have now had some training in scientific method. It is highly likely this ‘training’ is from the University of Otago’s School of Home Science. The Report also states that several of the Education Boards have compiled cookery books and distributed them to pupils — no doubt referring to books such as the New Zealand School Cookery Book (1902) by Mrs E.B. Miller and Miss Jessie Miller and Recipes for Use in School Cookery Classes (c.1912) by Mrs E. Gard’ner published by the North Canterbury Board of Education.

In 1914 Home Science was introduced as a subject for the Public Service and Intermediate Examinations at schools. This was the first step in what Fry (1985: 51) insists, was an official action to make home science compulsory for all girls during their first two years at secondary school. In 1917, home science was made compulsory for the first two years for every girl attending a secondary or district high school. By July of that year, the Free Place Regulations, Clause 6, had been amended to ensure that all girls who held a free place also had to take home science unless it could be shown that there were no facilities to do so (Fry 1985: 51; O’Neill 1992: 85). Even girls who wished to sit the Matriculation examination and attend University were required to take this subject (Fry 1985: 111). In spite of the compulsory nature of the Act a benchmark cookery curriculum never eventuated leaving individual teachers free to select the content of their class materials.

The lack of a nationwide cooking curriculum, and/or textbook, was a concern to the staff at the School of Home Science. The first conference of Home Science alumnai
in 1922 included discussions on the syllabuses taught in various schools (Anon 1923a: 12). By 1928 the *Syllabus for Instruction for Public Schools* (1928: 54) for Forms 1 to 3 had gone so far as to specify that Cookery should include a study of the processes of cooking, planning of meals, dietetic value of foodstuffs, economy of time, labour and materials. Before the 1934 Alumnae conference a series of discussion groups on the school syllabus were organised to canvas opinions from as many home science teachers as possible, whether Otago graduates or not. Convenors for each section of country then forwarded any remits, suggestions and criticisms to the School of Home Science in Otago. The discussion groups focused on the teaching of home science in primary schools (at manual training centres), secondary (high) schools, and technical schools. One of the key points for the convenor in the technical schools group was: 

“How are we going to standardise methods of cooking?” (Anon 1933d: 14–15). Amongst the remits from the discussion groups at the conference, the Manual Training Discussion Group agreed “That the outline of the syllabus for Manual Training work be uniform for New Zealand”, and “That the maximum number in manual training classes be twenty pupils to one teacher” (Anon 1935: 31–32). At the conference Dr Elizabeth Gregory also voiced her concerns about mentoring for new home science teachers, “Where possible newly graduated teachers should be sent to a school where they could receive help from the Head of a department, instead of being left to sink or swim according to their ability” (Smale 1977: 13).

By the early 1940s, plans were in progress to change the structure of how teachers college home science teachers were trained. A new two-year training course for homecraft teachers was introduced in the Dunedin Teachers College at the beginning of 1943, but the Homecraft course at the Auckland Training College didn’t start until 1951. The College shared the services of a lecturer with the Home Science School and used the Foods Laboratory at the School for practical training (Johnston and Morton 1976: 108, 130, 135). In 1944 the Minister of Education appointed a committee to consider and report upon the implications for the post-primary school curriculum of the proposed introduction of accrediting for University Entrance and the choice of core subjects for the School Certificate examination. Elizabeth Gregory reported on her experiences as the Home Science representative on this consultative committee to the alumnae in the *Home Science Alumnae Bulletin* (1944: 8–15). The Chairman of this committee was Mr W. Thomas and the final report came to be
known as the Thomas Report. The committee made clear that for the core School Certificate subject of Home Crafts for girls, "We do not wish to lay down definite syllabi for core Home Crafts; we suggest rather that teachers should select from the prescriptions for Homecraft and Clothing those topics that best suit the needs of the pupils concerned" (Gregory 1944: 13).

The Thomas Report was published in 1945 with the new syllabus of instruction and school certificate prescriptions. Homecraft comprised three sections — the house, cookery and laundry. The cookery section included: production and manufacture of common foods; wise buying of foods; suitable methods, including the underlying principles for the preparation and cooking of fruit and vegetables, cereals, meat, fish and eggs, dairy products, gelatine dishes, baked products, and beverages. The cooking of seasonal foods, family meals and budgeting, and food preservation and spoilage were also studied. The school certificate examination was based on a three-hour paper for theory, worth fifty per cent of the final mark, and the results from a course of practical work, for the remaining fifty per cent (New Zealand Education Department 1945: 33–34).

The State may have been regulating, to some extent, the content of cooking in secondary schools but cookery classes for Forms 1 and 2 were still reliant on the training and interpretation of the individual teacher. Helen Kane (1947: 14–15) reported in the 1947 Home Science Alumnae Bulletin (1947: 14–15) that she devised her own two-year syllabus for her joint Form 1 and Form 2 class. In the first year she taught fruit preservation, methods of boiling, steaming etc. During the second year the class looked at jam making, the meal plan, breakfasts and table settings etc. This would appear the type of example Patricia Coleman (1975: 26) had in mind when she reflected that over the previous four generations of home science classes in schools the quality of the learning experience had been largely determined by the teacher.

In 1949 a report from a revision committee listed thirty lessons for Forms 1 and 2, each comprising some cookery theory, cooking practice, and housewifery. Ewing (1970: 253) explains that although these lessons never became part of an official syllabus, they served as a guide until an official homecraft syllabus was issued in 1960. Despite the appearance of an official syllabus however, homecraft teachers
continued to teach what they wanted in their classes (Interview 16/1/2007).

Cookbooks published by local education boards, such as *Homecraft for Home and School* (Anon, 1962), continued to be used as resources in cooking classes. Although books like Mary Terry's *Homecraft* (1961) and Beryl Ruth's *Home Economics* (1967) contained information on homecraft subjects — budgeting, health and hygiene, the family wash, being a good hostess, flower arranging etc. — they did not contain recipes. In 1972 the Department of Education published a textbook to replace the variety of texts published by education boards over the years. The Director of Primary Education, B.M. Pinder, stated in the foreword of *Home Economics for Forms 1 and 2* (NZ Dept. of Education 1972: 4) that the text did not contain a full range of recipes; instead its stated aim was to set out the general principles of home economics and include a restricted range of recipes.

During the 1970s and 1980s the Department of Education undertook a seven year review of the home economics syllabus. In 1976 the Department of Education set up an exploratory committee to examine current syllabuses and prescriptions in home economics. Draft statements about the nature, aims and content of home economics education were then circulated to teachers for comment between 1977 and 1980. In April 1980 the Minister of Education approved the establishment of a National Home Economics Syllabus Committee to develop syllabuses, prescriptions and guidelines for forms 1 to 7. Local groups were set up throughout the country providing the opportunity for teachers to be involved with process. A draft syllabus statement for forms 1 to 4 was then prepared and a two-year formal trial began in 1981. In 1982 the draft guide was used and amended by trial school teachers. The national committee made final amendments to the guide after the Minister of Education approved the syllabus in 1984. This process culminated in the publication of *A Guide to the Syllabus: Home Economics Forms 1 to 4* (1985a) and *Syllabus for Schools Forms 1 to 4* (1985b). The syllabuses’ three themes, ‘Home and Family Living’, ‘Textiles and Clothing’, and ‘Food and Nutrition’, all contain content about the human needs of food, clothing, and shelter, as well as security, affection and interaction with others (McKay 1984: 25; Department of Education 1985a: 2; Department of Education 1985b: 5).
The progressively more comprehensive reviews of the home economics syllabus, moving it away from recipe-centred teaching to topics such as nutrition education, life skills, and flatting and home ownership did not finish in 1985. Street (2006: 8) explains that when the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (1993) was released the topic of home economics was included in two separate subject areas — health and physical education, and technology; areas, according to Street (2006: 10), with fundamental philosophical differences between them. Then because the technology curriculum was released two years in advance of the health and physical education curriculum, there was some uncertainty as where to place traditional home economics knowledge, although an attempt was made in 1996 to clarify these directions (Street 2006: 8). Street (2006: 10) explains that in home economics students study food and nutrition and develop an understanding about the factors that influence the well-being of individuals and families within the home and community, while the technology of food has three strands — technological practice, technological knowledge, and the nature of technology, although their content is not elaborated. The current document — *The New Zealand Curriculum: Draft for Consultation* 2006 is the latest effort by the Ministry of Education to update the school curriculum and adapt it to contemporary circumstances.

There also appears to be some differential implementation of home economics in classrooms as Street (2006: 14) reports that in some schools alternative courses are offered such as food and nutrition, life skills and/or food technology, although exactly how these differ from home economics, food and nutrition is unclear. Compounding the problem is a growing shortage of home economics teachers, a situation Street (2006: 16) attributes to the loss of specific teacher training courses for specialist home economics teachers. This situation of variable home science/economics school curricula and difficulties in putting them into place is not new. Oral evidence strongly suggests that the situation occurred for much of the twentieth century, as demonstrated in the interviews with five former graduates of the University of Otago School of Home Science undertaken during December 2006 and January 2007, to which we now turn.
The Cooking Teachers — Their Story

Five teachers of cookery/home science were interviewed during December 2006 and January 2007. The interviewees were asked a set of pre-determined questions, approved by the University of Otago Ethics Committee, but all the participants largely reminisced about their experiences teaching cooking/home science and with the School of Home Science at the University of Otago, over a period ranging from late 1940s until the present time, 2007. Four out of the five graduates taught cooking/home economics in New Zealand schools and the fifth lectured at the University of Otago’s School of Home Science. All four of those who taught (or are still teaching) in schools, were unanimous that while there may have broad guidelines from the Education Department for what was taught in home science classes, they personally determined actual class content and implementation. One of the participants who taught during the 1960s and early 1970s remembers that even the prescription for School Certificate was not particularly detailed during that time (Interview 8/12/2006). This lack of specificity in the curriculum was actually seen as a positive aspect because the diversity of socioeconomic status and ethnicities occurring across New Zealand schools posed substantial difficulties in creating a generic curriculum to suit everybody’s circumstances. In providing ideas, recipes and techniques for their home science classrooms the school teachers drew on their personal cookery training (at home), their Home Science School training, the Foods Manual produced by the School of Home Science, and material from local publications such as the New Zealand Woman’s Weekly, New Zealand Herald and the Auckland Star. The key factors that all the teachers emphasised were that the logistical limitations — cost of ingredients and time for preparation and cooking largely determined what was cooked during the home science period. According to one of the interviewees, currently teaching technology in an Auckland school, there is still variation in the curriculum used by cookery teachers (Interview 9/12/2006). There is a Technology Pathway, a Home Economics Pathway (part of the health and physical well-being curriculum), and Unit Standards, an assessment students may either ‘pass’ or ‘fail’. There are additional assessments provided by industry organisations like the Hospitality Standards Institute, or by a local polytech, like Manukau Institute of Technology (Interview 9/12/2006).
6.5 School Cooking Classes

School Recipe Books
An examination of school cookbooks published by local Education Boards in Southland (The Dominion Cookery Book, Wilson et al. 1915 and Every Girl’s Cookery Book, Anon c.1953), Otago (New Zealand School Cookery Book, Miller and Miller 1902) and Homecraft for Home and School, Anon 1962), Canterbury (Recipes for Use in School Cookery Classes, Gard’ner 1912 and Home Science Recipes, Blackmore 1953), and Wellington (Recipe Book and Home Science Note Book, Anon 1964a) establishes certain commonalities. They are for example, reflective of the strong British culinary traditions from which they originated; they also demonstrate noticeable retention of many recipes; with the early books in particular showing marked similarity to each other in their recipe content. This is evidence that although local Education Boards preferred to publish their own cookbooks, there was transmission and sharing of culinary knowledge throughout the cookery teaching community, possibly through the auspices of home science-trained teachers. In 1972 Home Economics for Forms 1 and 2 (NZ Dept. Education 1972) retained many of the recipes so common for most of the twentieth century, for example ‘Smoked Fish’ (54), ‘Beef Olives’ (50) and ‘Spanish Cream’ (69), but recipes like ‘Hot French Bread’ (79), ‘Rocket Salad’ (61) and ‘Banana Split’ (67) showed an effort to produce a more up-to-date book. One obvious difference in this 1972 book was that it was attractively illustrated and was more descriptive and explanatory than earlier school cookery books. Incidentally the recipes in this book use metric measurement, anticipating the introduction of metrification in 1974.

To demonstrate an example of continuity and change in these manuals, an examination was made of the soup recipes in the seven school cookbooks (above), the 1972 Home Economics for Forms 1 and 2 and Easy as Pie (Palmer, 1984) (see Table 6.3). It shows that from 1903 to 1984 the most popular soups for inclusion in school cookery books, apart from how to make stock, were recipes for Split Pea, Tomato, and Lentil Soup. Once the Invalid section began to disappear from cookbooks, Beef Tea started to appear in Beverages or in the Soup section. The first major change occurred in the 1964 publication by the Wellington Education Board with the
introduction of three new chowder recipes (Seafood, Fish and Vegetable) plus Cream of Pumpkin Soup (1964a: 13–14). These additions seem to indicate that the new awareness of international dishes starting to appear in cookery publications at this time was transmitted into school cookbooks and perhaps show the more cosmopolitan nature of the Wellington culinary community as these recipes are not in the 1962 Otago school cookbook. Noticeable additions of new soup recipes in Easy as Pie (1984) are ones for Minestrone, Cream of Carrot, Mushroom, and Chicken and Rice (1984: 53–58).

While Home Economics for Forms One and Two (NZ Dept. Ed.1972) displays some effort to update its culinary repertoire, it still retains much of its earlier heritage. However Margaret Palmer’s Easy as Pie (1984) shows more awareness of the modern lifestyle with recipes on how to use packet cake mixes, and includes new technology with a section for microwave cooking. Recipes for Marinated (Raw) Mussels and Fish (34) and Taro Fritters (152) are responding to a need to include multicultural New Zealand dishes. The book is comprehensive in its coverage of dishes for all occasions. With its selection of recipes for roasts, risottos, patés, and use of wine in recipes, the book is unlike earlier school cookbooks with their typical recipes using small amounts of inexpensive ingredients that can be cooked within the period of class time. This book gives the impression of a family reference book, designed to be used in the home. There are a significant number of long term favourites still there, such as Cornish Pasties (230), but they are now alongside dishes like Chow Mein (108), Italian Stuffed Green Peppers (151) and Quiche (328).

TABLE 6.3 Most Popular Soup Recipes in School Cookbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipe</th>
<th>No. of Books with this Recipe</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Split Pea Soup</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1903–1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1903–1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomato Soup</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1903–1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef Tea</td>
<td>8*</td>
<td>1903–1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lentil Soup</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1903–1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potato Soup</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1903–1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable Soup</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1912–1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch Broth</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1903–1962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* Beef Tea recipes from 1903–1953 appear in the invalid section of the cookbooks. In 1964 in beverages, and from 1950s to 1972 in soups.

School recipe books reflect all the accomplishments that their authors once considered a girl required. The recipes and sections demonstrate the range of skills that pupils needed to care for a family, from baking cakes, alleviating illness with home remedies, to preserving and jam making. Teachers used their own training and personal expertise to help their pupils become proficient in a variety of cooking techniques. Some specific recipes, such as that for Dried Apricot Jam included in the fourth edition of *The New Zealand Domestic Cookery Book* (1904) by Christchurch cooking teachers, Mrs R. D. Harman and Mrs S. Gard’ner, failed to be reproduced in community cookbooks (a marker of success) (Leach September 6, 2007: pers. comm.). Although this particular recipe may not have become widely accepted, its recipe concept was still ideal for a school cooking class and related recipes appeared in many community cookbooks. Miss M. A. Blackmore’s 1929–1930 revision of Mrs Gard’ner’s *Recipes for Use in School Cookery Classes*, still included a recipe for dried apricot jam although she replaced the original recipe with one that made a larger quantity of jam (Leach September 6, 2007: pers. comm.). This larger recipe still failed to find approval with former schoolgirls because despite being included in a number of booklets published by the Wellington Education Board, it was found only in *Self Help Recipes and Household Hints* (Johnston, 1932) and reissued in 1939 (Leach September 6, 2007: pers. comm.). Dried apricots are one the most expensive of all dried fruits and quantities of two or three pounds in a batch of jam made it a costly option for jam making. In a school cooking class the finished jam would have been divided among the pupils making it more cost effective while still providing students with an opportunity to learn the process and the concept. Using dried fruit additionally allowed the teacher the choice of when to hold the jam-making class. Unlike the general public who could take advantage of cheaper fresh fruit in season (usually January and February), the school cooking class adhered to a timetable, so using dried fruit offered the teacher greater flexibility.
Cooking at Macandrew Intermediate School

A unique insight into a school cooking class can be discerned from the diaries of local school pupil, Helen Keedwell, who in 1956 and 1957 attended Macandrew Intermediate School in Dunedin. In her Form 1 class Helen made a range of dishes that would represent a selection of family meal items at that time, although there appeared to be fewer entries for vegetable or meat dishes and more for puddings, biscuits and cakes. The dishes that Helen was taught to prepare and cook included: Mince, Crumbed Sausages and Chips, Stuffed Tomatoes, Lemon Buns, Apple Dumplings, Queen Pudding, Kiwi Crisps, Scones, and Hokey Pokey Biscuits. The following year Helen and her classmates learnt to cook slightly more complex food, for example, Ice Cream Pudding, Dutch Loaf, Brown Stew, Apple Shortcake, Pocket Steak, Ginger Crunch, Savoury Chops, and Lemon Meringue Pie. Helen added many of these recipes to her own cookery repertoire and continued to cook them for many years (Leach June 29, 2007: pers. comm.). Pupils in Helen’s cookery class also had a number of duties to keep the school cooking room clean and tidy. On a rotational basis they took turns to clean the demonstration table, sweep and wash the floor, clean the scrap bucket, scrub cupboards, scrub the pots and pans, clean the coal range, refill the supply wagon, clean sinks and dust, among other tasks. From these glimpses into a 1950s school cooking class it can be ascertained that the teacher demonstrated the procedures required to make a recipe, then the class replicated her actions. The examples in Helen Keedwell’s diaries suggest that the class cooked what could be considered typical New Zealand fare at that time, with dishes reflecting a British culinary tradition, such as Apple Charlotte, while also incorporating some newer dishes such as Lemon Meringue Pie, possibly at the teacher’s discretion.

6.6 Community Cookbooks and Recipe Transmission from the School of Home Science

Most recipes seldom appear to have had an exact moment of invention that was well documented for posterity. It is thus often a complex, if not impossible, task to discover the origin of a particular recipe, and then follow its transmission, or movement, through a community, region or country over a given period of time. Recipes are also subject to modification, albeit an often very minor alteration, as each
cook adapts them to suit their particular circumstances. However, a recipe concept, that is, the basic ingredients and method of preparation, can often provide some insight into recipe introduction and dissemination, particularly if it has a distinguishing feature, such as a distinct name or ingredient, to identify it. Evidence suggests that the recipe concept of Oakhill Potatoes was, in all probability, one example of a dish introduced to New Zealand that through the auspices of the School of Home Science attained some popularity because it continued to be transmitted into community cookbooks for some years.

**Oakhill Potatoes**

One of the earliest examples of the Oakhill Potatoes recipe is in Fannie Merritt Farmer’s *Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* (1896: 286). The original two word recipe title of Oak Hill most likely refers to a specific location. This dish consists of sliced cooked potatoes layered with sliced hard-boiled eggs, then covered with a white sauce and a topping of buttered cracker crumbs, which was baked in the oven. In the 1916 recipe book compiled by students of the School of Household Arts at the University of Cincinnati (1916: 12), only the topping is different in their Oak Hill Potatoes recipe, with the crackers replaced with breadcrumbs. However, *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* (1930: 377) retains its original cracker-crumb topping. By the early 1940s Oakhill Potatoes (Naylor 1944a: 20) are present in the Laboratory Manual that students at the University of Otago’s School of Home Science used for their Foods 1 classes. The name and concept of this recipe are still the same but now bacon is layered with the other ingredients and grated cheese is sprinkled over the top of the breadcrumbs. There is also the additional option of using a cheese sauce instead of the white sauce. Evidently this recipe concept was taught to at least one school cookery class because it appears in the *Home Science Scholar’s Note Book* (1953), appropriately reduced in size for school cookery and without the breadcrumbs. Further instances of this recipe continue to appear in community cookbooks, for example it was considered a popular luncheon dish by Mrs Jan Rutherford who contributed it to a community cookbook (Farqharson and Jarvis 1961: 11). The popularity of this concept is evidenced by the modified “Oakle Potato” (Anon 1981: 25), which omitted the eggs and breadcrumbs. Former home science graduate and well-known television cook and author, Alison Holst, also included a recipe for
Oakhill Potatoes in *Let's Cook with Alison Holst* (Holst 1983: 31). This recipe very likely achieved its transmission popularity because of its introduction and association with graduates from the School of Home Science.

### 6.7 Conclusion

The extent to which girls learned to cook at home from a family member in recent decades is difficult to establish because there has been relatively little research undertaken so far. No doubt some boys also learned cookery at home but again there is insufficient data available to suggest possible numbers and cooking is still considered a gender-specific activity by many people. However it is highly likely that for much of the twentieth century it was school cooking classes, and their reference texts — the school cookbook, that played a significant role in familiarising children with the processes of cooking. Of course, not all pupils were able to attend school cooking classes as there were sometimes difficulties in accessing teaching facilities. Even so substantial numbers of girls, and later boys, first accessed the methods, principles, techniques and expectations in relation to food and cooking through the structure of the school cookery class.

The teaching of cooking/home science is thus one more example of the cultural transmission of culinary knowledge. It has been argued here that the University of Otago’s School of Home Science had a widespread influence on the teaching of cooking in New Zealand schools for a large part of the twentieth century, particularly as the New Zealand Department of Education appeared unable to impose a standardised home science curriculum throughout the country. The mode of culinary transmission by the teachers was primarily the one-to-many type of transmission, from expert to learner. The cookery class, a structured event in a formal situation, helped instil the methods and techniques of cookery into pupils. Movement of knowledge in this circumstance enhances the accuracy with which skills are transmitted. In the context of the school classroom, numerous girls were taught cooking skills that they would retain and most likely improve. The influence of the teachers’ of home science came from their transmission, in a specific context, of skill building rather than the introduction of significant types of new recipes or culinary
traditions (content). Evidence suggests that the graduates from the Home Science School did not introduce significant numbers of recipes characterised as ‘American’ into school cookbooks despite close interactions with American institutions. It was through their training in systematic and scientific methods, and their education in the theoretical aspects of cookery and housework, that teachers trained at the Home Science School were able devise their own curricula based on their own experience.

The School of Home Science carried at last two different methods of professional development for their graduates. The publication of an Alumnae Journal circulated new culinary, science and product information among the former students in a type of many-to-many transmission. Many of the graduates contributed articles about their research or experiences as teachers or as post-graduates overseas. The School of Home Science also held frequent refresher courses for graduates, and the enthusiasm and dynamic attitudes of the Deans and staff ensured that Home Science teachers never stopped asking ‘How can we do it better?’

Teaching cookery however was not the only mode of culinary transmission taking place through the auspices of the School of Home Science. Community activities were also an important means of spreading Home Science ideas, recipes and improved techniques. Open days and various other fund-raising pursuits provided ideal opportunities to educate, and attract public interest. As an up-to-date scientific institution with connections to international research, particularly in the United States, the School of Home Science was a major source of information about the latest technological developments. The School of Home Science Extension Service used new technology in the form of radio broadcasts in the 1930s to get in touch with the nation. The latest cooking equipment often needs to be explained to the consumer, a situation which provided graduates with professional employment opportunities. The scientific aspects of graduates’ training ensured that they were in demand as demonstrators and then later as product developers. Customers of new cookery appliances needed both instruction and reassurance in their use by someone they could trust, and in many instances this was a Home Science graduate. The following chapter continues to document the transmission of culinary knowledge this time through the introduction of new technology related to the kitchen and cookery and the demonstrators who advised customers about them.

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Chapter Seven — Technology and the Transmission of Cookery Knowledge

The speed at which technology has developed has greatly affected home life with many of the accepted household skills changed or discontinued. Keeping up with, being aware of and understanding these developments can be difficult even for us who have professional training. So, for the average home-maker, the same problems are frequently almost insurmountable, leaving her trapped in a consumer jungle. This, then, is the area for the Home Economist in commerce and media to do her work. Her audience is enormous and the potential for teaching and helping this audience is limitless (Tui Flower 1975: 51).

7.1 Introduction

The introduction of new kitchen technology had a substantial influence on the cultural transmission of culinary knowledge in New Zealand. Promotional campaigns to enlighten the public about the usefulness of such equipment ensured that within a brief period of time, cookery information was disseminated to New Zealand women through cooking demonstrations and appliance-related cookery books. When new or unfamiliar cooking equipment such as cooking stoves, arrive on to the marketplace, it generally needs to be explained or interpreted to the consumer, perhaps because it is completely different to previous forms (as with the microwave), or has conceivably become more technically complex. The manufacturers of appliances, such as stoves, where buyers have a choice of more than one type of energy source, (wood, coal, gas, or electricity), are frequently in competition with each other to attract customers. This need to inform women about kitchen products, along with commercial competitiveness, offered a number of women new employment opportunities as manufacturers quickly realised the advantages of promoting their products through cookery demonstrations by expert women cooks.

As discussed in the previous chapter, several graduates of the University of Otago’s School of Home Science found appointments as appliance demonstrators. The scientific education and practical training that graduates received during their time at the University of Otago’s School of Home Science provided them with an
indispensable knowledge of cooking principles, methods and technology. The former students were also familiar with modern culinary ideas and trends, particularly through their exposure to American literature and women’s magazines. These acquired skills and values ensured that their employment alternatives included not only a career in teaching, dietetics or nutrition research, but also work as appliance demonstrators.

Public cookery presentations were an entertaining method of transmitting advice about a product while reassuring the customer that operating the new apparatus was within their capabilities. During the demonstration, a cookery authority would show the audience how to operate the new technology, perhaps using new techniques of food preparation or processing. Cooking demonstrations were often supplemented with leaflets or cookbooks that included operating instructions for the equipment along with a selection of recipes, some of which may have been cooked at the event.

This chapter briefly outlines some of the historical international developments of cooking stoves fuelled by gas and electricity and then discusses their subsequent introduction into New Zealand. The ensuing competitiveness between the producers’ of these new stoves is examined, particularly in connection with one of New Zealand’s local products, the Shacklock coal range. The chapter then explores how the promotional strategies employed by manufacturers to attract potential customers, especially cooking demonstrations and associated appliance cookery books, played a significant role in disseminating culinary information throughout the country. The importance of the home science graduate in this process is evaluated with regard to the type of culinary knowledge they dispersed and their effect on the culinary repertoires of New Zealand women. A case study of a Dunedin cooking demonstrator is considered as an illustration of public responsiveness to new cooking technology. Although this chapter concentrates on cookery demonstrations and cookbooks as vectors of culinary diffusion, alternative methods utilised by the University of Otago’s School of Home Science are also described. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the mode, context and content of technology-inspired culinary transmission and examines the effectiveness of cooking demonstrators in spreading their cookery knowledge into the wider community of New Zealand.
7.2 Cooking over a Hot Stove — Technology and Cookery

Demonstrations

The Kitchen Stove
Gas ranges were manufactured in the United States by the 1860s and had been used for cooking from as early as 1825, although Busch (1983: 224) reports that it was the gas range exhibits at the 1876 Centennial Exposition that encouraged their popular acceptance. According to Busch (1983: 224), from about 1880 the production of gas appliances increased noticeably in the United States and such was the perceived superiority of gas that even during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the manufacturers of gas stoves had no serious competitors.

In Britain, primitive gas cookers were also manufactured as early as 1824, although as Clendinning (2004: 39) explains, even by 1880 cooking with gas in Britain was still relatively uncommon despite various measures to heighten public acceptance of this new technology. Even support from high profile people like Chef Alexis Soyer, who had gas ranges installed in the Reform Club kitchens, favourable opinion towards gas for cooking was still slow to develop (Clendinning 2004: 40). The public were concerned about their safety regarding the toxic and explosive properties of gas, and there was often a strong smell if stoves were not properly ventilated. Of equal consideration for the majority of consumers was the expense of buying a gas stove — purchase and installation of which was far higher than that of a combination coal Kitchener (a cooker with removable panels exposing the fire) (Clendinning 2004: 40–41). Direct heat from a fire appears to be of some importance as both Davidson (1982: 60) and Clendinning (2004: 41) attribute a lack of enthusiasm for cooking with gas to the national preoccupation with roast beef cooked in traditional fashion (basted in front of a fire).

During the 1880s, new markets in Britain opened up for gas companies with the lower middle and working classes following the introduction of a new system that allowed customers to rent cookers, and with the setting up of the penny-in-the-slot meter (or pay as you go system) (Clendinning 2004: 59, 71, 72). Earlier negative impressions of gas usage in houses were moreover countered by public education through
advertising, demonstrations and cookbooks (Davidson 1982: 36). For example, in *The Art of Cooking by Gas* (1890), the author, Marie Jenny Sugg, commended her manufacturer husband's Westminster Kitchener and explained the practical uses of his product (Clendinning 2004: 59, 71, 72). The growing approval of gas cooking is confirmed by Hardymant's (1988: 128) comparison between the 1883 and 1893 editions of *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*. The 1883 edition recognized the benefits of using gas in terms of cleanliness, labour-saving and reliability, but acknowledged a widespread lack of familiarity with the equipment - "so few cooks know how to handle the ingenious machinery necessary" (Beeton 1883; cited in Hardymant 1988: 128). According to Hardymant (1988: 128), the 1893 edition was much more enthusiastic about gas cookery and more stoves were in use by this time, in Britain at least.

Busch (1983: 224) argues that the motivating force behind the major technical innovations in the stoves of the 1920s was competition between the manufacturers of gas stoves and electric stoves. During the first two decades of the twentieth century kitchen stoves fuelled by gas had no major competitors and although the market grew steadily as consumers continued to adopt this new technology, there was little actual product improvement. Although Busch's (1983: 224) analysis of this situation concerns the United States, this technological lack of improvement is equally relevant to other countries as well. Clendinning (2004: 224) also reports that models of gas stoves promoted in 1920 were virtually identical, in terms of external appearance and features, to those of 1895. As the electric range improved however, and subsequently found wider acceptance amongst consumers, manufacturers of gas appliances began to realise the need for new technical innovations and promotion.

Cooking with electricity was already a reality by the late nineteenth century but was hindered by a lack of supply networks, technological limitations and high costs (Busch 1983: 224; Hardymant 1988: 130). One of the key design aspects that made gas stoves more successful than their electrical rivals was the creation of the oven thermostat. Improvements to electric stoves such as better cooking elements, automatic load-balancing switches, the implementation of the oven-regulating thermostat and a reduction in their price, all made the electric appliance a viable and competitive alternative to gas (Davidson 1982: 68–69). Advertising material
particularly emphasised the time saving aspects of the new stoves, for example, in 1931 Ethel Peyser was informing readers in *House Beautiful* that kitchen ranges had devices which could be set to automatically turn the oven on and off (May 1931: 518, 541). Similar improvements occurred on the other side of the Atlantic as well; as Hardyment (1988: 134) explains, in Britain a Creda cooker used a thermostat by 1931. Once electric ranges had the technological capacity to compete with gas in the 1920s, a period of rapid improvement and change began as range manufacturers sought to emulate the advantages of their competitors and to correct the shortcomings highlighted by their competitors in advertising campaigns (Busch 1983: 225).

One of the most significant improvements to the gas range was oven temperature control. Radiation Limited announced in *The Times* (1923b March 15: 21) the appearance of their "New World" Gas Cooker [H16 model], with its new, more efficient type of burner and "Automatic Regulating Device." Superior control of the oven temperature was now accessible with the new 'Regulo' permitting better management of baking with less attention to the cooking process. Although the oven thermostat had been invented in 1915 by an engineer with the American Stove Company and added to the company's gas ranges, the innovation was not widely adopted until 1930 (Busch 1983: 224; Silva 2000: 616). During the 1920s, other labour-saving enhancements, such as enamelled surfaces and stove legs, were important for the growing numbers of women forced to do their own housework through a shortage of servants (Clendinning 2004: 224).

All this technological innovation was useless, Busch (1983: 135) argues, without promotion to bring it to public attention, and numerous activities were soon set in motion to encourage the purchase of both stoves and their heating fuels. Newspaper and magazine advertising, cookery demonstrations, trade fairs, cookbooks, pamphlets and product endorsements by well known cookery experts were all among the strategies used to attract consumers. The gas and electricity industries capitalised on the popularity of the movie industry to publicise their products and in the United States theatres showed full length feature films promoting gas and electric ranges (Busch 1983: 238). The appliance industry evidently recognised the huge potential of this format as companies sponsored movies such as *The Bride Wakes Up*, a 1937 movie about a cooking school in which the bride/pupil learns all the finer points of
cooking, baking and frying, the convenience of one-dish meals, preservation and refrigeration, simple thrift meals, party dishes, frozen desserts, and ice-box salads (Fulton Patriot, 1937; Yoder 2006: accessed 30/06/2007). According to Clendinning (2004: 240) the British gas industry also made use of the commercial possibilities of film for advertising purposes. These films though were less Hollywood-oriented and were closer to social documentaries, while still offering a combination of entertainment, education and publicity. With titles like The Smoke Menace and Housing Problems they drew attention to a theme of British racial decline as a result of urban pollution, substandard housing, inadequate nutrition and poor education while suggesting that the British gas industry offered a solution (Clendinning 2004: 245).

7.3 Cooking Technology in New Zealand

Evidence suggests that New Zealand lagged slightly behind Britain, the United States and Australia in the introduction and utilisation of gas appliances. Bannerman (1996: 123–124), indicates that there were examples of gas cookers in Sydney as early as 1842, although Symons (1982: 63) credits a Mr A.R. Walker with the introduction of the gas cooker to Australia in 1873. By 1875, five Australian manufacturers had their gas ranges on display in the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition. Contemporary literature (such as newspapers, imported ladies magazines, and cookbooks like Beeton’s Book of Household Management, 1861) kept local women well informed about current developments. As discussed in an earlier chapter, Miss Fidler was demonstrating cookery on a gas range in Dunedin by 1877, although such instances may have been infrequent.

In New Zealand the majority of homes during the nineteenth century utilised the readily available coal and wood supplies for heating and cooking. By 1873, Dunedin manufacturer Henry Ely Shacklock, was producing a coal range designed specifically to operate on New Zealand’s lignite coal because the imported British kit-set stoves and free standing American models were intended to burn bituminous coal and performed poorly in New Zealand conditions (Angus 1973: 21–22). Shacklock’s coal range, later named the Orion, proved hugely successful — it satisfied a current need.
and occurred at a time of economic development when fuel was cheap and new houses were being built or old homes improved (Angus 1973: 23). Shacklock’s success in capturing the largest share of the coal range market meant there was little need for promotional material and as Angus (1973: 23) reports, the Orion remained substantially unchanged for about fifty years.

The Orion’s design may have remained stable but Shacklock evidently considered some product promotion was necessary because, according to Aitken’s (Aitken 1949: 29) account, Dunedin cookery teacher, Elizabeth Brown Miller, demonstrated cookery techniques on a Shacklock stove at the New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin, 1888–1889. Mrs Miller also included instructions on the care and maintenance of the coal range in her many cookery books (1889–1923). Mrs Miller was also able to adapt her cookery techniques to gas because her *Cookery Book* (1898) supplies two paragraphs on the care of gas stoves (Miller 1898: 6), most likely derived from her experiences demonstrating on gas stoves at the Dunedin Gas Corporation showrooms in 1895 (*North Otago Times* January 1, 1895: 3). Although Mrs Miller advised about cooking techniques for using the coal range in her many cookbooks, much of the hands-on knowledge concerning its operation was often disseminated as intergenerational transmission from mother to daughter.

**Electricity in the Kitchen**

By the mid-1920s the dominance of the coal range in the New Zealand kitchen had begun to be challenged by stoves fuelled with gas, oil and electricity. Because gas or electricity appliances depend on networks to supply the energy from the producer to the individual households, consumer support for such stoves was slow until efficient delivery systems could be implemented. Once such structures were put into place manufacturers and product retailers began to employ women to encourage sales, endorse products and demonstrate how they were used. An examination of the new types of cooking stoves in Dunedin during the 1920s suggests that manufacturers and promoters believed it necessary to hire women cookery specialists to explain the technology to local cooks. Some of these culinary educators and demonstrators were graduates of the University of Otago’s School of Home Science.
It is difficult to determine the earliest use of an electric range in New Zealand, but it would have been one from overseas. Imported electric stoves were available from at least the second decade of the twentieth century, evidenced by an advertisement for an American Hotpoint electric range (Model F), on the inside back cover of *The Red Cross Cookery Book of Tried Recipes* (1918) by Sybil Nathan. The advertisement for the Canadian Moffat electric range, in Dunedin's *Otago Daily Times* (November 15, 1923: 12) (see Figure 7.1), highlights the application of electricity for heating, lighting and cooking — it was quick, clean and cheap. The Moffat brand continued to be sold in New Zealand until at least the 1960s with an advertisement for a Moffat Calypso appearing in the community cookbook *Tastefully Yours* (Anon 1968: 15). Moffat ranges were demonstrated daily during the 1925–26 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition (*O.D.T.* March 9, 1926: 6), achieving first place for electric cookers ahead of the second placed Hotpoint. By 1928 local supply agents, Dunedin City Corporation and Turnbull and Jones, announced there were twelve models of British-made Moffat's to choose from, with prices to suit all purses and easy terms available (*O.D.T.* May 5, 1928: 4).

Moffat’s principal competitors in the electric range market at that time were the American Hotpoint stove and the Canadian McClary range. Electric ranges were portrayed as efficient and easy to use, unlike the labour-intensive coal range. In 1925 Hotpoint’s Dunedin distributor, The National Electrical & Engineering Company Limited, advertised a series of cooking demonstrations by local home science graduate, Miss E. N. Todhunter, on the Hotpoint electric range (*O.D.T.* November 3, 1925: 1, see Figure 7.2). Miss Elizabeth Neige Todhunter would have given her cookery demonstrations on the R67 model (*O.D.T.* March 27, 1925: 12, see Figure 7.3), while she was still a student at the School of Home Science; she graduated with her Bachelor’s degree in Home Science in 1926 and achieved her Master of Home Science in 1928 (Robinson 1998: 516). The R67 Automatic Electric Range was promoted as a new model which controlled its own oven temperature (and was soon updated, see Figure 7.4). Again these advertisements stress the cleanliness of electricity in cooking, with its implicit message of superiority.
Cook by Electricity

Electricity is New Zealand's watchdog. We use it for lighting and power. And now the new day brings

Moffats
Electric Ranges

The most useful and practical labour-saving household improvement. Moffat Electric Ranges give quick, clean, and cheap heat. Cooking on a Moffat Range is a saving at what other methods cost.

Write us for interesting information on Electric Cookers.

Turnbull & Jones, Ltd.
Stewart's Island Road, Newnham, South, Dunedin.
Telford, Walter, agent. "Apollo"

FIGURE 7.1 Moffat Electric Range advertisement
Otago Daily Times (November 15, 1923: 12)

A COOKING DEMONSTRATION.

Featuring
THE "HOTPOINT" ELECTRIC RANGE,

Will be given in
KROON'S HALL, MORAY PLACE,
By
Miss E. M. TODHUNTER,
At 3 p.m.

On
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3,

And on other dates to be announced.

BURNS HALL, MONDAY, 9th NOVEMBER, 1925, At 8 p.m.

FIGURE 7.2 Cooking Demonstration Advertisement
Otago Daily Times (November 3, 1925: 1)
No drippings in ROASTING
No scorching in BAKING
No splatter in BROILING

The new wonder gas range never
burns or scorchs. It means no
moaning of the pots or pans. It
means no vapor or odors in your
kitchen. It is a gas range which
keeps your kitchen clean.

The Hotpoint Automatic R67 Range is ideal for
you to prepare your meals quickly and
without worry. It makes your cooking
efficient and enjoyable. It is a
Range which makes your
kitchen a home.

The Hotpoint Automatic R67 Range is
now on the market. It is ideal for
you to prepare your meals quickly and
without worry. It makes your cooking
efficient and enjoyable. It is a
Range which makes your
kitchen a home.

The Hotpoint Automatic R67 Range is
now on the market. It is ideal for
you to prepare your meals quickly and
without worry. It makes your cooking
efficient and enjoyable. It is a
Range which makes your
kitchen a home.

FIG. 7.3 Hotpoint Range Advertisement
Otago Daily Times (March 27, 1925: 12)

The latest 1926 Hotpoint Model

ROAST
The new wonder gas range never
burns or scorchs. It means no
moaning of the pots or pans. It
means no vapor or odors in your
kitchen. It is a gas range which
keeps your kitchen clean.

BAKE
The new wonder gas range never
burns or scorchs. It means no
moaning of the pots or pans. It
means no vapor or odors in your
kitchen. It is a gas range which
keeps your kitchen clean.

BROIL
The new wonder gas range never
burns or scorchs. It means no
moaning of the pots or pans. It
means no vapor or odors in your
kitchen. It is a gas range which
keeps your kitchen clean.

We can offer a Hotpoint range for you
at the price of £10. More about it! All our
dealers will tell you about them.

FIG. 7.4 Hotpoint Range Advertisement
Otago Daily Times (March 9, 1926: 15)
Culinary information about these new electric stoves was not only transmitted through small cookery displays, but could be acquired on a larger scale by the many visitors to the 1925–1926 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin.

Another popular range brand throughout Otago and Southland, evidenced by twenty-first century museum displays, was produced by the McClary Manufacturing Co. from Ontario, Canada. These could be seen in the Canadian Court at the exhibition (*Official Catalogue* 1925: 60). Agents, like local company Turnbull & Jones Limited, offered daily cooking demonstrations on their Moffat stove at the exhibition (*O.D.T.* March 9, 1926: 6).

Elizabeth N. Todhunter also prepared the “Champion” *Cook Book* (c.1933) for “Champion” oven-regulated gas cookers produced by Radiation New Zealand Limited in Dunedin. The title page of the “Champion” *Cook Book* lists her credentials as MHSc.; cookery medallist City and Guilds Institute, London; formerly cookery teacher at the Christchurch Technical College, and demonstrator to South Island gas companies (Todhunter c.1933: i). Elizabeth Neige Todhunter attended the Christchurch Technical School with its cookery legacy from well-known Christchurch cooking teacher, Elizabeth Milne Gard’ner, and after achieving her Master’s degree at the School of Home Science taught for three years (Robinson 1998: 516). As Miss Todhunter no doubt attended Dora Little’s cookery classes while studying at the School of Home Science, her cookery training would have presumably been influenced by both these women.

Appliance manufacturers usually provided cookery books to accompany their product and those of international origin were frequently published in the manufacturer’s home country, and then later modified to include some elements of the ‘local’ culinary tradition to make the recipes more appealing. As many countries, such as Canada, still retained some aspects of a British cookery tradition, it can often be difficult to determine the extent of other culinary influences. Recipes that use unusual ingredients or include slight differences in their terminology are frequently helpful indicators of culinary origins. The *Moffat’s Cook Book* (Anon, 1937) highlights several such examples. Popular New Zealand biscuit and small cake recipes, such as Anzac Nutties, Chinese Chews and Cornflake Meringues (Anon 1937: 86–87) appear
in the Cookies, Drop Cakes and Macaroons section. In case any New Zealanders may be slightly confused by the term ‘cookie’, the bracketed text explains “(In some countries cookies are known as biscuits.)” (1937: 86). Some recipe names and ingredients were less familiar to New Zealand cooks, such as Ice Box Cookies (p.89) and Pecan Chocolate Wafers (p.91). Home canning (preserving) of corn (p.104) was not at all common in New Zealand at that time, nor were recipes for Blueberry or Cranberry Jelly [jam] (p.105).

Cooking with Gas

The impact made by the advertisements and promoters of the new electric ranges may have contributed to the Dunedin City Council’s decision to employ a gas cooking demonstrator in 1924 to give a series of cooking demonstrations. According to the Dunedin City Gas Engineer, Alexander Couper, a large number of women attended these demonstrations and more were planned for the future (Couper 1925: 97). Although the demonstrator is not identified, the success of these functions encouraged the department to employ Miss Isabella Finlay as their permanent demonstrator and it is highly likely that she was the previously anonymous individual (Couper 1926: 162). Miss Isabella (Belle) Finlay continued as the demonstrator for the gas department for a number of years until her death on October 6, 1942 (Otago Daily Times October 8, 1942: 1).

Isabella Finlay attended evening classes at the Dunedin Technical School, later known as the King Edward Technical College, from 1911 until 1918, studying both cookery and dressmaking (Dunedin Technical Classes Association Roll Books 2001–2003: 121). At this time the cooking teachers were Miss Dora Little and Miss Jessie Melville, former pupils of Elizabeth Brown Miller and her daughter, Jessie. By 1918–1919 the King Edward Technical College (Anon 1918: 3) prospectus lists Isabella Finlay as the Assistant Cookery and Housewifery teacher. Isabella Finlay continued teaching cookery at the Technical College until 1925 (Prospectus of the Dunedin Technical High School 1924: 5). The Home Science Alumnae Bulletin (Anon 1928b: 40; Anon 1933a: 20) describes Isabella as an associate member of the Alumnae which usually indicates attendance at a diploma course, although a possible alternative is studying at one of the short courses run by the University of Otago’s School of Home
Science. It is likely Isabella Finlay attended classes at the School of Home Science after teaching at the Technical College.

Isabella Finlay had a successful career as a gas cookery demonstrator. The Gas Engineer remarked in 1927 that the new demonstration room and showroom at the Department's Anderson's Bay gas works had proven a great attraction for the population of South Dunedin (Couper 1927: 137). A year later, gas cooking demonstrations were also given in the main city area, at Kroon's Hall, as well as in South Dunedin. During these lessons, the report states that Miss Finlay "...gives practical exhibitions of all classes of cookery, answers questions and enquiries, and gives instructions as to the proper and most economical use of the modern gas cooker (Couper 1929: 151–152). As shown in Figure 7.5, the demonstration room had three gas stoves available, there were information displays about food and nutrition, and with two working areas Miss Finlay must have been quite impressive. As this photograph is undated, it cannot be determined if this is actually Isabella Finlay although it is likely. Large-scale group education on gas cookery was only part of Isabella Finlay's duties. She also visited customers personally, gave individual instruction if required and forwarded any consumer complaints to the Gas Department. Her services were in such demand that consumers were advised to make a scheduled time to avoid disappointment (Couper 1929: 151–152, 263).

Undoubtedly Isabella Finlay's sterling efforts on behalf of the Gas Department did much to educate and encourage Dunedin cooks about the advantages of cooking with gas. The 1928–29 Departmental Report notes that customers could now buy stoves on a hire purchase system (Couper 1929: 151). By the early 1930s, as the effects of the Depression spread, the gas department reduced the initial deposits required for hire purchase to encourage trade and by the mid-1930s sales were on the rise again. Interestingly, throughout this period attendance at Miss Finlay's demonstrations continued to be enthusiastic (Couper 1934: 128; Couper 1935: 158–159). As well as the daytime demonstrations, Miss Finlay ran classes at night intended for those who worked during the day and for women contemplating marriage (Couper 1935: 273). Sales of gas appliances declined during the war as there was limited stock available for sale and parts were hard to get. The other factor having serious ramifications for
FIG. 7.5 Preparing for a Demonstration in the Dunedin City Council Gas Department Showroom
(Photograph in the Dunedin City Council Archives, photographer unknown).
reduced sales was the Government’s policy of not installing gas appliances in the new state houses (Horrocks 1945: 248).

Isabella Finlay’s influence and ideas about gas cooking persisted after her death through her cookery books. In 1943 the Departmental Report (Anon 1943a: 81) explained that the department had purchased the copyright of Miss Finlay’s gas cookery book for £30. Previously the books had been obtained from Miss Finlay and one was supplied to each purchaser of a gas cooker. The report stated that the book will be revised when necessary and kept up to date. Isabella Finlay’s cookery books were published until the 1950s through at least fourteen editions. The recipes reflected her culinary training in plain and high class cookery from Dora Little at the King Edward Technical College and many recipes were similar to other publications at this time. Miss Finlay also periodically updated her books to include new recipes.

**Made in Dunedin: the Shacklock Electric Range**

By 1926, local coal-range manufacturer, H.E. Shacklock Limited had put the first New Zealand-made electric stove on the market (Angus 1973: 54–55). For women who may have been inexperienced in cooking with electricity, Shacklock’s employed Miss E. Warburton to demonstrate their new electric Orion stove throughout the country (Angus 1973: 55). Cookery demonstrations were also given locally in Shacklock’s upstairs Dunedin showroom on Wednesday and Friday, May 2 and 4, 1928 at 2 p.m. (*Otago Daily Times* May 1, 1928: 1). Shacklock’s marketing strategy promised rewards of pleasure, comfort, cleanliness and economy with the purchase of an electric Orion while simultaneously offering dire warnings of undermining the country’s economy if you bought an electric range without first seeing the famous ‘Orion’ (*Otago Daily Times* May 1, 1928: 2).

In 1929 Miss E. I. Warburton produced a cookery book to be used with Shacklock’s Orion ranges, although priced at one shilling and sixpence this does not appear to be a complimentary item for purchasers. In the preface of the book Miss Warburton emphasises the ‘N.Z. Made’ feature of the Orion and encouraged customers to buy a Shacklock range for patriotic motives. Miss Warburton also drew attention to the benefits of cooking with electricity rather than by old-fashioned methods (Warburton
1929:7). Although Miss Warburton used her status as a cookery expert to persuade consumers that they would be embracing modernity by using electricity in the home, many of the recipes she presented in the cookbook are for typical traditional British fare, although some recipes more relevant to New Zealand fare are evident, such as Whitebait Fritters (1929:51). As most of the recipes that appear in this book are similar to those in many other recipe books in New Zealand at this time, it is difficult to discern Miss Warburton’s recipe sources or her cookery training.

These examples of cooking demonstrations are not unique to Dunedin. Similar arrangements were made all around New Zealand as women discovered that promoters of new kitchen technology were enthusiastic to employ cookery experts to give cooking demonstrations and endorse their product. For example, Una Carter worked as a demonstrator for the Wellington Gas Company and had opened her own cookery school in 1913; later she also found time to author several cookery books (O’Donnell 1996: 88–89). Some of the experts who found employment as cookery demonstrators in New Zealand had received their training overseas. For example, the compiler of the *Up-to-Date Cook’s Book* (c.1924: 1), Mildred Trent, states on the title page that she has a First Class Diploma from the Edinburgh School of Cookery and was a Medallist at the Food and Cookery Exhibition, London. Miss Trent took cooking classes in Christchurch and she emphasised that she demonstrated exclusively on Moffat Electric ranges (Trent 1924: 12). Although Mildred Trent insists that she tried to specialise in recipes suitable for colonial conditions while still providing something different, her recipes appear similar to many others of this genre.

While a number of women pursued full-time careers as appliance demonstrators, for others it was a temporary position, perhaps undertaken while studying. Many home science graduates were extremely competent women and quite capable of successfully engaging in several different occupations. In fact, former students of the School of Home Science travelled and worked all over the world. One example of a graduate who spread her knowledge far afield was Bee Powell (later Nilson). After graduating from the School of Home Science in 1931, Bee Nilson took up a position as a demonstrator with the Municipal Electricity Department in Christchurch for three years. By 1935 Bee had saved enough for a ticket to England where she again obtained employment as a demonstrator, this time with the General Electric Company.
In this job she toured all over England, Scotland and Wales and Bee’s account of her time with General Electric suggests that their marketing strategy was more flamboyant than in New Zealand, because she travelled the countryside with a jazz band and two professional actors who put on a comic show about old and new methods of cooking (Nilson 1969: 41, 43). During the Second World War Bee Nilson worked for the Ministry of Food where she helped prepare recipes using rationed food to the best advantage. Pre-war dishes were adapted to make them acceptable while using the minimum amount of rationed food. Bee (Nilson 1948: 42) considered that one of the reasons why some people in England were under-nourished at that time was that they were unable to adapt to different ways of eating because of the way they used up their rations to make pre-war dishes and then went without for the rest of the time (Nilson 1948: 42). The recipes that Nilson helped to develop were written so that even the most inexperienced cooks were able to use them, with forty eight free recipe leaflets which were continually revised and distributed through demonstrations, clinics, women’s meetings, and schools. Bee later took a position teaching at the Northern Polytechnic and published a number of cookbooks (Nilson 1969: 46).

7.4 Technology, Transmission, and the School of Home Science

The Alumnae Bulletins
Graduates from the University of Otago’s School of Home Science kept themselves up-to-date about new technology through their alumnae bulletins (later known as journals). The Alumnae Association published articles on a variety of topics including new appliances and kitchen-related technology. As this organisation kept abreast of contemporary developments these articles offer approximate dates for the introduction of different types of kitchen equipment onto the market. For example, Catherine MacGibbon (1948: 45–49) provided a report on how to use a pressure cooker and detailed its advantages and effects on nutritive value of foods in the Home Science Alumnae Bulletin. At that time cooking with a pressure cooker was still a very new and different practice in New Zealand and cooks needed to be fully informed about its operation. The Bulletin (Anon 1949a: 35–38) provided further information on pressure cookers in reply to a question about selecting a cooker and a query for directions for bottling fish, rabbit, meat and beans in the pressure cooker. The Rural
Sociologist with the Department of Agriculture, D.A. Viggers (Viggers 1949: 25), explained that all the pressure cookers were sold out in a day or two in one small town after a popular lecture on pressure cookers by women Field Officers in Rural Sociology.

By the second half of the twentieth century kitchen ranges were becoming increasingly complex as manufacturers improved models and added extra features. Graduates of the School of Home Science would have been familiar with several models of range types from their time at the School of Home Science — the New Foods Laboratory (the Army Hut) in 1947 was equipped with ten makes of stoves, five of them gas and five electric (Anon 1947: 41). As new models appeared on the market, instructive summaries were included in the Alumnae Journals and graduates were kept informed on new developments such as fan assisted ovens, continuous cleaning oven linings, and high temperature oven cleaning (Anon 1977: 18–22); microwave ovens (Anon 1977: 22; Anon 1983b: 6); and multifunction ranges (Anon 1985: 46–47).

The bulletins published by the Alumnae incorporated a variety of topical updates. As well as detailing kitchen range improvements, these publications provided information concerning other kitchen equipment, such as home deep freezers and about food product development. One of the home science interview participants, (Interview A 7/12/2006), who had an extensive career in food product development and cookery writing, recounted some of the changes in technology that she observed as a part of her profession. The introduction of partially, or ready-to-cook, processed meals had, she considered, made a significant impact on how people prepare their meals. Changes in packaging and transport were other developments to made significant impacts on meal production, extending the availability of seasonally-produced food. The Bulletin (Anon 1949b: 34), informed its readers about the new quick frozen foods, available in New Zealand from about 1947. Consumers in New Zealand's North Island were able to purchase these products at least a year before customers could obtain them in the South Island. Some of the products available as frozen food in 1949 were peas, beans, spinach, corn on the cob, strawberries, boysenberries, asparagus and whitebait.
A different method of conveying technological information in the bulletins was through a question and answer format replying to consumer’s problems. For example, a number of people were concerned about their home preserving. Evidently a new type of preserving-jar lid (‘Perfit Seal’) required considerable discourse and problem solving. Ellen Naylor (1944b: 24–25) answered questions such as “What is the procedure for using the new self-sealing or ‘Perfit Seal’ lids?” A year later, Catherine MacGibbon (1945: 33) detailed the problems that consumers were having with the new self-sealing lids and attempted to offer possible solutions. The amount of information regarding these lids, and about home preserving in general, highlights the importance that this form of culinary transmission had for the culinary food habits of New Zealanders at this time.

**University of Otago Extension Booklets**

The University of Otago’s Department of University Extension also provided the public with a substantial number of informative leaflets and booklets about a variety of topics, including some related to technology in the kitchen. Available on request, or sold by the Extension Department tutors, these small, inexpensive publications advised women about home freezing, kitchen equipment, cake and food mixers, selecting a refrigerator, and stoves — the newer ones (Anon 1959: 63), just to name a few.

The transmission of technical knowledge in relation to cooking occurs through a variety of formats. Although the majority of home science graduates found employment as teachers, dieticians, nutritionists, scientists and researchers, there were some who obtained jobs as appliance demonstrators. From at least the 1920s onwards, as new cooking equipment appeared on the market, there were graduates to provide consumers with information and instructions about these products. Manufacturers and promoters advertised these positions in the Alumnae Journals. For example, in 1955 demonstrators were wanted for Hoover and Kenwood products (Anon 1955: 16). A Dunedin home science graduate was employed to promote the electric frypan when it was first marketed. She recalls that she travelled to several locations throughout Otago setting up practical exhibitions of cooking and advising women on how to get the best results from this appliance (Interview D 19/1/2007). In response to queries concerning
the potential advantages of obtaining a degree in home science, the 1967 Journal (Anon 1967: 67) provided a list of employment for current graduates. Those working in industry included demonstrators with Zip Appliances and Radiation N.Z. Ltd and as a home economist with the Sunbeam Corporation. Although many of the people associated with appliances, either as demonstrators or through product development, went on to subsequently publish a product recipe book, there is little evidence to suggest that these recipes were later transmitted into community cookbooks. One rare example is in 1964 where a pavlova modified for cooking in a Sunbeam electric frypan (Anon, 1964b), reappeared in 1987 in a Dunedin book by a local radio host, entitled Cooking with Kevin.

7.5 Cookery Transmission and Technology

The transmission of cookery knowledge associated with new technology was accelerated as competition between appliance manufactures became increasingly consumer-driven. Women cooking experts, who, more often than not, were graduates from the School of Home Science, or had attended cooking classes such as Mrs Miller’s, were hired by manufacturers or gas and electricity suppliers, to demonstrate their products in the public forum of the cooking demonstration. Such shows were, according to contemporary reports (discussed above), extremely popular, increasing appliance sales to the extent that female demonstrators were hired by companies for a number of years. In addition, a considerable number of these women authored cookery books to accompany their demonstrations. Although their success in these presentations was evident in the numbers of attendees, any subsequent culinary diffusion from their cookbooks into community cookbooks is extremely difficult to determine.

There is little evidence to suggest that New Zealand women retransmitted any of the appliance cookbook recipes from the 1920s to the early 1960s into magazine cookery pages or community cookbooks. There are several possible explanations for this: first, it is highly likely that cooks simply used the publication provided by the manufacturers, such as Atlas Cooking (McCrostie, 1950) from Scott Brothers of Christchurch. Second, because so many recipes are very similar, unless the recipe title
specifically attributes its origin as pertaining to a cookery book associated with an appliance, then it will possibly pass unnoticed. Also, any slight modifications to the recipe by a contributor again may mean that connections to appliance booklets are not detected.

When a new, or quite different, type of technology emerges, then any consequent culinary diffusion may be more noticeable. One such case was the appearance of commercial cookbooks published to accompany the electric frypan, a cooking technology that became available in New Zealand during the 1960s, for example *Recipe and Instruction Book Sunbeam Gourmet Frypan* (Anon, 1964b). Soon after, recipes specifically designated for use in a frypan started to appear in community cookbooks although these were never abundant, such as in *Family Catering* (Anon, c.1967). There are occasional examples of frypan recipes in community cookbook that were contributed by a demonstrator, like those supplied by Mrs Thompson, demonstrator for the Hawkes Bay Electric Power Board in *What Shall I Make. Recipes for All Occasions* (Anon, 1976).

Despite the fact that electric frypans were initially advertised as innovative and convenient, the actual cooking process in the pan itself was not vastly different from that of a normal frying pan. However, when microwave ovens first became available in New Zealand, the difference in this technology required some explanation. Cooking classes demonstrating the uses of the microwave were held throughout New Zealand during the early 1980s (I attended a course myself in Dunedin (1983/1984) and specialist cookbooks for the microwave proliferated. Many of these were written by well-known New Zealand cookery experts, including former University of Otago School of Home Science graduate, Alison Holst (*Alison Holst’s Microwave Book*, 1982). The compilers of community cookbooks soon started including microwave sections in their books, for example *Cook’s Corner. The Halfway Bush Playcentre Recipe Book* (Anon, 1983a).

The technology-inspired cookery demonstration was, by all accounts, an extremely popular form of culinary transmission; an entertainment in its own right that lasts right into the present day. The mode of transmission is the one-to-many format of the cookery expert demonstrating to the uninitiated how easy it is to use a new appliance.
The demonstrators are typically hired by appliance or fuel companies to endorse these products because of their recognised cookery expertise. The context of these events, a showroom or hall, where the cooking authority demonstrated her skill typically accompanied with a running commentary of her actions, would have most likely been highly entertaining. Many demonstrators provided samples of the cooked dishes or handouts with recipes. Such demonstrations were often held several times a week to large crowds, entailing that the demonstrators had the opportunity to disseminate their knowledge to large numbers of people. Some demonstrators were engaged to give cookery demonstrations and classes because of their well-known cooking proficiency, for example, Mrs Miller (Grey River Argus 8/1/1894: 2). By travelling to different areas of New Zealand and giving demonstrations the cookery demonstrators increased the extent of their culinary transmission.

The effectiveness of the cooking demonstrators was related to their ability to provide clear directions for cooking with particular appliances in such a manner that encouraged customers to purchase one. Historical accounts of these events describe them as popular, and presumably successful, as many demonstrators continued to hold such positions for a number of years. There are no known studies detailing the comparative success of gas stove cooking demonstrators as opposed to those using electricity, especially when bearing in mind — how do you assess successful cookery demonstrations, particularly when fuel availability, appliance costs and the price of power, also have an impact on purchase figures. Nevertheless, the fact that for over one hundred years, from Miss Fidler (1877) to the introduction of the microwave (1980s), the demonstration method, where a cookery expert produces cooked food in front of an audience, has not only remained but flourished, suggests that product manufacturers consider it be a profitable endeavour. Those cookery demonstrators who furthermore authored cookbooks were most likely extremely influential in diffusing their culinary expertise into the community, although as discussed above, it is difficult to substantiate this. Perhaps the appliance cookery books from long-running series attest to this.
7.6 Conclusion

As competition amongst manufacturers of kitchen equipment increased they were motivated to improve their products, and the variety of subsequent technological enhancements that followed necessitated a method of keeping the public informed about these new developments. Women were hired as cookery demonstrators because as trained cookery experts they were respected for their knowledge and ability to convey information to large numbers of New Zealand women about how to use their new appliances and kitchen equipment. The context of the demonstration with the expert making baked goods and cooked dishes while consumers looked on, made it highly popular form of entertainment. This ensured that such culinary was transmitted to large numbers of people. New appliances often required new techniques to operate them and while the demonstrator proved that the technology was easy to use, a cookbook with recipes adapted to the new item of equipment, was frequently available as well. These cookery books provided an additional means of transmitting the culinary knowledge related to the appliance around large numbers of people.

Although a number of the women demonstrators were trained in locations outside of New Zealand, it is likely that the most influential sources of culinary information throughout most of the twentieth century originated in some way from the School of Home Science at the University of Otago in Dunedin. Cookery knowledge was transmitted into the wider community of New Zealand by graduates who became appliance demonstrators, through the University of Otago’s Extension Department booklets and through the alumnae journals. These journals were sent to teachers, nurses, dieticians, housewives and mothers, many of whom participated in women’s groups. The need to promote new technology may have been the driving force behind the transmission of culinary knowledge in many cases, but without the cookery experts (frequently women) to explain the significance of these new appliances and how to use them, it would all have been so much less effective.

Cooking demonstrators who toured the country, such as Miss Warburton, were an important means of circulating cookery knowledge throughout New Zealand. Yet the extent of these demonstrations was basically confined to local halls and showrooms,
albeit across the country. Cookery experts began using a new type of technology to disperse cooking knowledge on a scale much greater than ever seen previously, and from the 1930s women like 'Aunt Daisy' and Nan Kent-Johnston in Christchurch began to broadcast their culinary advice in cooking programmes on the radio. The following chapter discusses the effect of radio broadcasts on culinary transmission and examines how Aunt Daisy in effect simultaneously managed multiple vectors of culinary diffusion.
Chapter Eight — Aunt Daisy and her ‘Daisy Chain’ of Culinary Transmission

8.1 Introduction

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the diffusion of culinary knowledge in New Zealand occurred through a diversity of methods under varying circumstances. The previous three chapters drew attention to the dissemination of cookery knowledge by means of the cooking class format with its one-to-many method of transmission, whether from cookery teachers in local halls, school cooking classes or from stove demonstrators. The women who provided such instruction had a significant influence on the development of culinary skills in New Zealand, yet despite their countless classes and public performances throughout the many towns and cities, very few cooking teachers ever achieved the prominence of the woman who would become a household name throughout New Zealand because of her morning radio programme. It could be argued that some of the Deans at the University of Otago’s School of Home Science also achieved widespread recognition for their efforts on behalf of home science, especially those who were awarded Queen’s honours, such as A. G. Strong, O.B.E. However, while their legacies live on in the culinary skills of the home science graduates and their pupils, memories of many of these cookery teachers are not widely shared. In contrast, even among many of the younger members of New Zealand society today, the name ‘Aunt Daisy’ evokes some recollection.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was the medium of the radio, or wireless broadcast that would disperse culinary knowledge across New Zealand in a manner unlike ever before and bring to prominence the presenters of these radio programmes. When broadcasters such as ‘Aunt Daisy’ and Nan Kent-Johnston transmitted their culinary advice around the country, the women of New Zealand listened. These broadcasts of cookery knowledge over the radio are examples of one-to many culinary transmissions on a large-scale. This chapter discusses how the diffusion of culinary knowledge throughout New Zealand was accelerated because of two synchronistic
factors; there was technology available to disperse it across a wide area and a charismatic personality to disseminate it. Such was the esteem in which Aunt Daisy was held that she successfully facilitated several forms of culinary transmission during 1934. The chapter backgrounds the early developments of radio broadcasting in New Zealand then introduces the woman who would become known as ‘Aunt Daisy’, Maud Ruby Taylor. Aunt Daisy’s early culinary background is considered before exploring her relationship with radio broadcasting. Although Aunt Daisy became primarily associated with culinary advice and her characteristic greeting of ‘Good morning, good morning’ on the radio every weekday, she also facilitated the movement of culinary information through diverse media such as magazine pages, recipe books, personal appearances, letters and telephone. In addition she edited magazine cookery pages, published cookbooks, and made numerous public appearances. The chapter examines a number of recipes that were either contributed to Aunt Daisy’s magazine cookery columns in 1934, together with two of her cookery books to explore her selection policies for the magazines and her cookbook compilations. These recipes are also examined to determine any possible patterns of contributor behaviour, particularly in relation to changing social circumstances or external international events. Aunt Daisy’s renown made her sought after for her culinary advice, a situation she was able to exploit for financial benefit through product promotion. This chapter also looks at the role of advertising in the transmission of culinary knowledge and discusses the impact and long term effects of Aunt Daisy’s multiple vectors of culinary diffusion.

8.2 Wireless Transmission in New Zealand

During the first two decades of the twentieth century experimental research in New Zealand led to several broadcasts of the new ‘wireless telephony’. By 1922 the first regular broadcasting station was operating in Wellington and by the end of 1923 there were eleven licensed radio stations New Zealand (Hall 1980: 4–9; Borgfeltd et al. 2001: 158).

Initially broadcasts occurred only in the evenings, and even when daytime programmes began there were still silent days — periods when broadcasts were
absent from the airwaves. However it was the arrival of radio programmes in the afternoon that Day (1994: 238–239) argues would come to have considerable influence in the lives of radio’s female audience. Hall (1980: 24) explains it was a Dunedin broadcasting station that pioneered the way for programmes of interest to women with talks during the afternoons on subjects like cooking, interior decoration, new books or domestic spending. Women announcers were engaged and the role that women played in household management was acknowledged through programming practices targeted specially towards women’s interests.

8.3 Aunt Daisy and Radio Broadcasting

The woman who would become known to countless New Zealand women as ‘Aunt Daisy’ was born in London 1879, Maud Ruby Taylor, although she acquired the name ‘Daisy’ at an early age (Fry 1957: 25, 30). The Taylor family enjoyed a comfortable middle class existence despite the death of Daisy’s father, Robert Taylor, when she was very young (Fry 1957: 30, 33, 35). The family emigrated to New Zealand in 1891, arriving in Wellington aboard the SS Rimutaka a few days before Daisy’s twelfth birthday (Fry 1957: 29, 35–37). In her biography (Fry, 1957), Daisy acknowledged her initial lack of any culinary training, either in England or during her early years in New Zealand (Fry 1957: 65).

The family settled in New Plymouth and Daisy’s formal education in New Zealand began at the New Plymouth Central School, continuing with a scholarship to New Plymouth High School (Fry 1957: 37, 39). Daisy entered the teaching profession at sixteen, becoming a pupil-teacher with a salary of £20 per year. Once training was finished Daisy was given charge of a country school at Warea, near Opunake (Fry 157: 44, 47–48). Daisy Taylor married Fred Basham, an assistant engineer to New Plymouth’s Borough Council, in 1904 and went on to have three children, Frederick, Geoffrey and Barbara (Fry 1957: 54–55; Basham 1991: 55). Daisy’s early years however had not prepared her for either housekeeping or raising small babies. The advice available in Mrs Beeton’s Book of Household Management was of little use as it was inclined to assume a level of knowledge that Daisy lacked. As Fry (1957: 56, 65, 71) describes, when Daisy first married she had never even cooked rice and had to
learn from a succession of maids. Slowly through trial and error she improved her cooking skills. The day when she advised others was still far off, [in fact she remembered when] “I used to make jam. I generally burnt it!” (Fry 1957: 56, 65, 71).

Daisy Basham’s first experience of radio was during a concert engagement in Wellington around 1922 where she was invited to help with a broadcasting experiment. She recalled in her biography that she put her head almost inside a big horn, and sang ‘Il Bacio’ (Fry 1957: 73; Downes 1998: 36). By the late 1920s, as the effects of the Depression began to be more widely felt, Fred Basham, like many others, was put on half pay. To supplement the reduced family income, Daisy found intermittent employment running radio programmes on the lives of the composers, broadcasting interesting details about their lives as well as singing excerpts of their works with others at 1YA in Auckland. Some relieving work was also available and it was during a session of relieving Ruby Palmer, alias ‘Cinderella’ in 1930, that Daisy acquired the honorary title of ‘Aunt’ (Fry 1957: 75; Hall 1980: 93; Basham 1991: 56). Although broadcasting policy at that time stipulated that broadcasters had to maintain a façade of anonymity, those with the children’s programmes became known as ‘Aunts’ and ‘Uncles’ in order to establish a degree of empathy with their audiences (Borgfeldt et al. 2001: 160).

Fred Basham lost his job completely as the economy continued to decline because of the Depression. Daisy worked for a while in Wellington at the 2YA radio station, but after becoming a casualty of a government directive that the station should only employ men at this time, she took a position at a Wellington commercial radio station before returning to Auckland to join 1ZR, a privately owned interdenominational radio church led by Colin Scrimgeour (Uncle Scrim) and Tom Garland (Uncle Tom) (Fry 1957: 76, 81; Basham 1991: 56; Downes 1998: 36). In September 1933 the Government bought 1ZR so ‘Uncle Scrim’ bought a lapsed station 1ZB in the name of the Fellowship of the Friendly Road and Daisy and the team moved to 1ZB (Fry 1957: 81; Hall 1980: 56; Basham 1991: 56).

It was Daisy’s job to put the station on the air each morning, beginning with what became her well-known greeting —‘Good morning everybody’. Day (1994: 188) argues that Aunt Daisy’s cheery greeting was in deliberate contrast to the anonymity
of the YA stations but it could equally have been the manifestation of her naturally ebullient personality. Daisy’s morning session was a half-hour programme for women at nine o’clock comprising a brief weather report (from outside her window), advice, recipes, information, hints, letters and stories. Lacking funds to pay for programmes Daisy visited various venues she felt would be of interest to her listeners. These included locations such as the rubbish “destructor” at Freeman’s Bay, jam and sweet (confectionery) factories, and the Auckland Winter Show (Fry 1957: 82; The Weekly News June 13, 1934: 27; The Weekly News December 12, 1934: 28). Daisy became extremely popular building up an enormous following of listeners. Fry (1957: 83) relates an early example when Daisy invited her listeners “to come up and see her on Fridays.” Such was the resounding response that the liftman resigned in protest.

Through her radio programme Aunt Daisy achieved a considerable reputation as a culinary expert and her listeners were extremely responsive to any suggestions from her regarding specific products. Up until 1936 presenters had not been allowed to officially endorse manufactured goods over the airwaves. However, when new Labour government passed legislative measures in 1936 that abolished the New Zealand Broadcasting Board and placed control of the National Broadcasting Service in the hands of a Minister of the Crown, a sub-section of the Broadcasting Act (1936) allowed commercial stations to broadcast advertisements (Fry 1957: 89; Hall 1980: 89; Downes 1998: 36). Aunt Daisy was now allowed to promote her favourite products without penalty.

Daisy Basham travelled to the United States in 1935, 1944 and 1946 as well as attending the Glasgow Exhibition in 1938 (Fry 1957: 87, 107; Downes 1998: 36). Many of the places she visited were related to the products she advertised, such as canned guavas in Honolulu, sardines in Norway and tea in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) (Fry 1957: 94–95). After the war Daisy continued to be as popular as ever with her morning session, she was made a MBE in 1956 and in fact continued broadcasting until a few days before her death in Wellington July 14, 1963.
8.4 Culinary Transmission and the “Daisy Chain”

Daisy Basham became extremely influential in the diffusion of culinary knowledge throughout New Zealand because her association with a radio cooking programme enabled her to disperse cookery information throughout New Zealand using the technological mode of radio. In 1934, her perceived expertise in culinary matters evidently made her an ideal choice to be the cookery editor, first of the New Zealand Woman’s Weekly, a women’s magazine, then, later in the same year of The Weekly News. The cookery pages in both of these publications contained contributed recipes and advice from readers together with editorial comments, anecdotes and helpful hints by Aunt Daisy. In addition she compiled two cookery books — Aunt Daisy’s Cookery Book of Approved Recipes (1934a) and N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book (1934b), made personal appearances and communicated with her listeners by telephone and letters. Aunt Daisy referred to this large circle of her faithful listeners and readers as the “Daisy Chain”, a name chosen by her readers and listeners (Basham 1934b: Foreword). Figure 8.1 depicts Aunt Daisy’s interaction sphere of culinary diffusion in diagrammatic form to emphasise the comprehensiveness of her connections. Aunt Daisy is centred at the hub, and controls the passage of culinary information in and out of each of the sources. During the year of 1934, recipes and cooking advice are diffused out from Aunt Daisy and reach New Zealand women by means of cookbooks, magazines (this term includes The Weekly News), and personal exchanges by way of radio broadcasts, letters, telephone calls and appearances at different locations. In the same way, recipes and helpful culinary advice flowed back to Aunt Daisy from members of her ‘Daisy Chain’, through contributions to the magazines, letters, phone calls and visits to the radio station. Recipe contributions from listeners and readers are subsequently published in Aunt Daisy’s two 1934 compiled cookbooks (Aunt Daisy’s Cookery Book of Approved Recipes and the N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book), or are broadcast on her radio programme. Evidence suggests that these recipes then appear in manuscript cookery books and community cookbooks.

The pathways of cookery transmission illustrated in this interaction sphere were established by using the recipe microanalysis approach to examine a number of
recipes from the *N.Z. Woman’s Weekly* and *The Weekly News* and Aunt Daisy’s second cookbook the *N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book* (1934b). The recipes from these three sources were analysed and compared because Aunt Daisy selected recipes from the contributions to her cookery columns for later publication in her cookbooks. This method was also used to study a manuscript cookery book which, the author believes, provides evidence to support culinary diffusion from Aunt Daisy’s radio cooking programme into the manuscript cookbooks and kitchens of New Zealand women.

![Diagram of Aunt Daisy's Interaction Sphere of Culinary Diffusion](image)

**FIGURE 8.1 Aunt Daisy's Interaction Sphere of Culinary Diffusion**

**New Zealand Woman’s Weekly**

One of New Zealand’s most well-known and enduring magazines, the *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly* was first published in December 1932 and it continues with an unbroken history of publication until the present day (Blackwell 1992: 6). It is a weekly publication, apart from a period from January 22, 1942 through to February 1, 1945 when it appeared fortnightly, presumably due to wartime paper shortage. All the recipes in the cookery pages of the *N.Z.W.W.* published between January 4, 1934 and
April 26, 1934 were examined because Aunt Daisy conducted the cookery pages during this period and they were available for examination in the Dunedin public library in microfilm format. Daisy Basham finished writing her cookery pages for the N.Z.W.W. on May 10, 1934 and started ‘conducting’ (as she termed it) her column in The Weekly News on June 13, 1934.

The Weekly News
The Weekly News was founded in 1863 by Auckland publishers, Wilson and Horton Ltd. It included a variety of news items, sports section, country events, social news, and pages for women. The publication enjoyed a wide distribution and was popular with both the rural and urban sectors, eventually reaching even more distant territory, for as Barnett (1987: 10) explains, tens of thousands of copies were send ‘Home’ to relatives in Britain. The publication’s circulation can be confirmed through an examination of letters sent to the cookery page from contributors from as afar afield as Whangarei, Napier, Wellington, Pelorus Sound, Blenheim, Murchison, Dunedin and Tuatapere, Southland.

N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book Volume 2
The N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book Volume 2 (1934b) was the second cookbook that Daisy Basham had compiled and published that year. Although the book is undated it is advertised in The Weekly News (November 21, 1934: 28) and was most likely published some time in October or early November as the book contains contributed recipes from both magazines up until at least August 29, 1934. The N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book was primarily published for the New Zealand audience although the foreword indicates that it was distributed to Australia and ‘Home’ (Britain) as well (Basham 1934b: Foreword).

8.4 Recipe Examination and Analysis
Recipe and contributor data were recorded from both the cookery columns in the magazines and the cookbook (see Table 8.1). This information included recipe title, ingredients and quantities, methods of mixing and cooking, and contributor information such as names, addresses (where given), and place of origin. Many of the
recipes lacked any designation at all while others included a pseudonym or the initials of the contributor. These recipes were assigned categories based on those used by Aunt Daisy in her *N.Z. "Daisy Chain" Cookery Book* (1934b) for comparative purposes. Simple descriptive statistics and graphs were used to make statements about transmission of culinary information and Aunt Daisy’s role in this process.

### TABLE 8.1 Sample Numbers of Analysed Recipes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number of Issues</th>
<th>Number of Recipes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NZWW</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWN</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Daisy Chain&quot; Cookery Book</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>1180</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Recipe Contributors**

The recipe contributions that Aunt Daisy selected for inclusion in her cookery columns came from locations all over New Zealand, with contributors in both rural and urban areas. A significant number of these recipes had some form of attribution attached to them that identified the contributor in some meaningful way. For example, recipes were published with the contributor’s real name which occasionally included their address as well. The initials of the contributor, pseudonym, or place of origin (either for the contributor or the recipe) were also common forms of acknowledgment included with the recipes. A number of contributors used their attributions to indicate their loyalty to either Aunt Daisy’s radio cooking programme (for example, ‘Constant Listener’), or identified themselves as a Daisy Chain participant. Indicators of age, or domestic status such as ‘Old Cook’ were less common. Some recipes, or contributors, identified themselves as having originated from outside of New Zealand, like ‘Sydney recipe’, while others associated themselves with a culinary item such as ‘Mustard Pot’.

Although the motivations of people who contribute recipes to magazines are often not clear, it is however possible to distinguish several predominant themes among the recipe attributions. A number of recipes were sent to the magazines as a direct response to requests for cookery advice; such requests were typically from new housewives or women with cookery problems and failures. Recipe competitions that offer a monetary prize characteristically generate large numbers of entries (see
discussion in chapter nine), and although these did appear during Aunt Daisy’s editorial era at the N.Z.W.W., they were infrequent. Similarly, competitions in The Weekly News at this time were also rare. Both the publishers of magazines, as well as their readers, would have had a considerable interest in recipe competitions for prizes of money during that economically disadvantaged period. In actual fact, the N.Z. Truth did this very successfully from 1931 (see discussion in chapter nine). It is difficult to establish why neither of the two magazines edited by Aunt Daisy during 1934 followed the Truth’s example, but perhaps her popularity was such that it was not believed necessary to generate recipes and letters. Evidently people wanted to communicate with Aunt Daisy.

One consistent theme suggested by contributors’ attributions is that of belonging to group, where they indicated they were part of the “Daisy Chain,” a constant listener, constant reader or recipe friend. In her examination of radio homemakers, Rice (1997: 183) supports this idea, explaining how recipe contribution was a tangible method to become part of the radio homemakers’ family. Romines (as cited in Rice 1997: 187) likens contributor motivation to leaving a named legacy to a group, where women can achieve a form of immortality by attaching their name to a domestic artefact or process that will survive them, such as a recipe. Romines (1997) theory does not however explain the significant numbers of people who attach attributions that do not actually identify them.

Aunt Daisy’s Radio Family
A number of the recipe attributions indicated that their contributors wished to be identified as belonging to a family, or group of people, who were linked by their loyalty to Aunt Daisy, either through her radio programme or magazine cookery columns. Through her personalisation of the “Daisy Chain”, Aunt Daisy created the perception of a ‘radio’ family, forming a sense of kinship among her contributors with herself as matriarch. Aunt Daisy reinforced this sense of ‘belonging’ to a family unit, by relating stories about some of the contributors, thus reducing their anonymity and in a sense, making them known to each other. For example, a recipe contribution included an editorial comment from Aunt Daisy with a message to the “mother of one of the little paralyzed children to whom we say a daily greeting from the members of
the ‘Daisy Chain’” (N.Z.W.W. March 1, 1934: 25). Aunt Daisy published a number of letters from her contributors that emphasised her authority as a culinary expert, such as one from ‘Mickey’s Mother’, “Dear Aunt Daisy, please excuse me for troubling you, but you seem so wonderful. The patient way you answer everybody and the help you are always ready to give us, the inexperienced!” (The Weekly News December 26, 1934: 26). Or, “The other morning, on being called to the telephone, my sympathy was aroused by an eager agitated voice which said: “Please, ‘Aunt Daisy,’ could you tell me how to make pastry?” (N.Z.W.W. April 5, 1934: 23). The informality of her prose, together with such snippets of personal information, strengthened the empathy between members of the “Daisy Chain”.

**Aunt Daisy – Recipe Compiler**

With her status as a culinary authority, and cookery page editor, it is highly unlikely that anyone other than Daisy Basham selected the recipes that appeared on the cookery pages of The Weekly News and N.Z.W.W. There is little to suggest that Aunt Daisy wrote any of these recipes herself apart from three examples — ‘Chocolate Icing’ by “Daisy Bell” (as she was also known) (Aunt Daisy’s Cookery Book 1934a: 74), ‘Mysterious Potatoes’ contributed by ‘Maud Ruby’ (N.Z.W.W. March 29, 1934: 24), and ‘Supper Celery’ by ‘Daisy Bell’ (N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book 1934b: 105).

**Recipe Analysis**

As described above, all complete details for each recipe were recorded. To demonstrate the types of recipes that appeared on the cookery pages of the two magazines edited by Aunt Daisy in 1934, they were organised into categories (see Figure 8.2). These categories are based on those in the N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book for comparative purposes, although there were fewer categories in the cookery book. Over time, Aunt Daisy’s organisation of her recipe books changed and the number of sections increased. It is difficult to determine how much control Aunt Daisy applied in her selection policies in relation to the types of recipes that readers considered desirable for contribution. Undoubtedly, as the cookery editor, Aunt Daisy had the final decision as to which recipes appeared in her pages.
The recipes most frequently contributed or requested (see Figure 8.2), were those for jam (including preserves), sauces and pickles (including chutneys), savoury dishes (see below), and cakes. The high figures for contributions of recipes for jam and preserves (17.8% of the total number of recipes in the magazines), along with recipes for pickles and sauces (12.3%), relate to the home processing of abundant cheap seasonal produce, which can be preserved for later consumption. Combining the two dessert sections (cold desserts and hot puddings) (11.8%) into a single meal entity, suggests that a dessert (or pudding) is considered a substantial part of a meal. The combined total of baked goods, such as cakes, biscuits, and scones, (28.7%) (including icings and fillings), also indicates that such items were extremely important in the food habits of New Zealanders at that time. ‘Baking’ as it was often known, could be consumed at morning or afternoon teas, with lunches, after an evening dinner meal, or at a supper function. The frequency of such contributions in the magazines suggests that these recipes were considered to be of significant interest to women readers. Additionally, baked goods, such as cakes, also played an important part in events involving conspicuous display such as community and church functions (including fund-raising events), afternoon teas, family occasions like Christmas and birthdays. Some of the contributed recipes were present in the magazines because of their association with festivals, for example Easter (Simnel Cake). The desire for recognition, or status with a prize-winning recipe also features as part of contributor or selector behaviour. Even uncomplicated recipes (e.g. pikelets) can accrue status for their producer by winning. Herda (1991: 169) explains that venues such as the Agricultural and Pastoral Shows, as well as Easter and Winter Shows, provided women, especially those in rural areas, with an annual opportunity for recognition.

There were several recipe categories with few inclusions: fish, soup, and poultry and game, in particular. The category entitled ‘savoury’ was a mixed one with a variety of recipes including small savoury finger foods, meat, savoury vegetable dishes able to be served either as a side dish or as a main dish itself (e.g. Cabbage Custard or Cucumber Puffs), and dishes with eggs, cheese, lentils, pasta, and rice. The paucity of recipes for meal items such as soup, fish, and possibly meat as well, may well relate to their appearance in school cookery manuals, such as Recipes for Use in School Cookery Classes (Gard’ner [Blackmore], 1920s). These types of recipes were also available in community cookbooks, although their sections of soup and fish recipes
were typically small in comparison to baking recipes, for example. Evidence suggests that either contributors were less interested in reading about these types of recipes in the magazines, or that Aunt Daisy did not consider them for selection.

N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book

Daisy Basham’s second compiled cookbook, N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book (1934b) included recipes that she had selected from those published in her magazine cookery pages, and very likely were discussed in her radio cookery programme. In selecting these recipes, Aunt Daisy usually reproduced the recipe names, ingredients and methods of the original contributors, but she was much less consistent in her replication of the contributors’ attributions. As Table 8.2 demonstrates contributor affiliations dropped considerably from over forty percent in the magazines to less than half that percentage when they reappeared in the cookery books. Many of these recipes were identical to those in the magazines and it was only the contributor acknowledgment that was missing. As the reduction in contributor affiliations can be directly related to Aunt Daisy and her selection policies, the question remains as to
why she chose to leave out a number of the contributors’ attributions. Was the lack of attached affiliations a deliberate tactic on Aunt Daisy’s part to reassign ownership of the recipes or simply an oversight? After all, the proceeds of her cookery books paid for her first trip to America.

TABLE 8.2 Comparison of Recipes with Attached Affiliations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Recipes with Affiliations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.Z.W.W</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.W.N.</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Aunt Daisy’s” Cookery Book</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Daisy Chain” Cookery Book</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the recipes though, underwent slight name changes or ‘lost’ the icing or filling part of the original one. When taken into account that twenty five percent of the recipes undergo some changes to ingredients, methods and remarks, then it can be argued that Aunt Daisy played an active role in the selection process. Some recipes were never selected, some once, then disappeared, while others continued long after considerable modifications and variants had appeared. The recipe for ‘Pavlova’ is such an example as it continued to be published in its ‘1934’ form, still appearing in the *Listener* (October 26, 1962) less than a year before her death.

**Recipe Categories. The Magazines versus the Cookery Book**

A comparison of the recipe categories between those contributed to magazines and the recipes selected by Aunt Daisy for inclusion in her cookery book, demonstrate some differences in recipe numbers. The most noticeable difference was in the recipe contribution for jams and preserves, with fewer of these recipes in the cookery book; almost certainly because the magazines reflect contributions responding to seasonal excesses. In contrast, soup and fish recipe selections for the cookbook are more numerous, which suggests a perceived need for such recipes in a cookbook on the part of the compiler. The cookery book had slightly higher numbers of recipes for the categories of hot puddings, cakes, and small cakes, all of approximately four and half percent. Again these increases may indicate a perception of responding to public demand in the selection process, or, of imposing the gatekeeper’s own culinary viewpoint on the publication.
Culinary Diffusion and Manuscript Recipe Books

Manuscript recipe books are characteristically used by cooks as memory aids or as repositories of recipe ‘gifts’, usually donated by friends or family members. Such books can compiled over a lifetime (or several), or be used for a short period only. Although these are often fascinating social documents they can also be notoriously difficult to date. An example of cookery diffusion in this genre of cookbook is that of the manuscript recipe book of Mrs Annie Brown whose name and address occupy the inside front cover. Residing in Devonport, Auckland, Annie may not have been entirely happy in New Zealand as after the final line she adds the slightly forlorn description – “end of the world.” Annie thrifty used a 1928 diary to record her recipes, most likely some time in 1934.

Beginning in ‘January’ Annie writes “Wireless recipes” then notes down, over the next seven or eight months (of the diary pages) any dishes that appealed to her. An examination of the recipes in Annie’s book suggests that some were from radio cookery programmes, most likely Aunt Daisy’s. The text in these recipes appears to have been written in a hurry from its direction and spacing (although admittedly this probably needs an expert opinion for conclusive evidence). However, several of the recipes written in Annie’s book were published in the magazines edited by Aunt Daisy or were published in either Aunt Daisy’s Cookery Book (1934a) or in the N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book (1934b) (see Table 8.3). Because Annie’s recipes were identical to those in the periodicals and books, it therefore quite possible that they were part of Aunt Daisy’s morning broadcasts. It is doubtful that Annie would have gone to the trouble of writing down recipes if she already had a copy of the cookbook or one of the magazines which could be clipped and pasted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipe Name</th>
<th>Annie’s Book</th>
<th>Magazines</th>
<th>Cookery Book</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cold Oven Christmas Cake</td>
<td>March 13</td>
<td><em>N.Z.W.W</em>. December 14, 1933</td>
<td><em>A.D.’s Cookery Book</em> (1934a: 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavlova Cake</td>
<td>June 9</td>
<td><em>N.Z.W.W</em>. March 8, 1934</td>
<td><em>N.Z. “Daisy Chain” Cookery Book</em> (1934b (49) as Pavlovas No. 2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Culinary Transmission and Aunt Daisy

Aunt Daisy facilitated the movement of cookery knowledge when she selected recipe contributions from her cookery columns in magazines and republished them in her cookbooks. Recipes were frequently diffused quite rapidly, for example, a recipe for Bachelor’s Buttons in *N.Z.W.W.* (November 30, 1933: 26) appeared a few months later in “Aunt Daisy” *Cookery Book* (1934a: 1). Aunt Daisy often retained recipes in her publications for a number of years, like the two versions of a recipe for Hazelnut Cake (*N.Z.W.W.* November 23, 1933: 24–25) that were selected for inclusion in Aunt Daisy’s recipe books for another thirty three years, from “Aunt Daisy” *Cookery Book* (1934a: 27) to *Aunt Daisy’s Ultimate Cookery Book* (1959: 187). Although their appearance was at times sporadic, she remained extremely faithful to these recipes.

Aunt Daisy also assisted recipe transmission through her personal relations with the general public, particularly by talking to people in person. As she visited different venues in the community they offered her their recipes because of who she was. For example, when Aunt Daisy visited the Winter Show in Auckland she was given a sponge sandwich recipe (*The Weekly News* August 29, 1934: 33). The telephone also assisted in increasing her accessibility and she frequently received calls asking for help or advice, often in response to requesting advice about a recipe or problem over the air. Occasionally she received letters directly or sent replies to correspondents. It was not unknown for members of the “Daisy Chain” to leave samples of their cooking prowess at the radio station.

8.5 Aunt Daisy and Advertising

Aunt Daisy circulated cookery knowledge very rapidly around New Zealand, yet her recipe selection policies, when examined now, appear rather conservative, although admittedly she may have been considered a trendsetter of culinary innovation at the time. The reason for her success (as a transmitter of culinary knowledge) lay more with her natural personality and advertising acumen. Day (1994: 239) maintains that it was radio advertising that provided the “vehicle for national stardom for Daisy Basham.” Barbara Basham (1991: 56) describes her mother’s sales talk as
‘irresistible,’ relating how a word from her would “clear a grocer’s shelf in a couple of hours” and that one listener remembered that “Aunt Daisy used to make Marmite sound like caviar.” Successful advertising involves a bond of trust between consumer and advertiser and listeners believed in and relied on Aunt Daisy’s personal integrity when she recommended products. Although she developed a not unfounded reputation for only advertising products she personally approved of, Day (1994: 241) argues that this clouded the fact that Aunt Daisy believed in and advertised those products for which she had an individual contract. Such was her success that she left the Broadcasting Service, while continuing her broadcasts for them, and went to work for the advertising sector. Initially she worked for the firm of Carlton-Carruthers, later establishing her own agency, Aunt Daisy Radio Advertising (Fry 1957: 92; Day 1994: 240).

Radio advertisements had a considerable advantage over printed media with their speed of information transmission. They were dynamic (not simply static text or pictures), entertaining and often humorous. Aunt Daisy’s style of broadcasting was unique; her informative and entertaining programmes ‘captured’ the attention of her listeners ensuring maximum impact of her radio broadcast, and her listeners’ responded by purchasing products. In 1937 Aunt Daisy moved to Wellington to broadcast from the 2ZB station “where the Aunt Daisy Half-Hour became a national feature and she became the only commercial personality in New Zealand to have a daily hook-up” (Evening Post: July 15 1963). Because of this increased advertising coverage producers were able to expand their markets nationwide and through her promotional strategies she also encouraged the rapid uptake of new technology and new products into households.

8.6 Recipe Selection and Transmission

The rationale behind Aunt Daisy’s selection policies is unknown but most likely includes a mixture of personal culinary tradition, contemporary national social and economic circumstances, and her own financial situation. From biographical accounts Aunt Daisy had a middle class English cultural background. By her own admission she didn’t like ‘foreign’ or even ‘rich’ dishes apart from curry (Fry 1957: 128), thus
reflecting a conservative outlook which seems to have been replicated in her choice of recipes. Aunt Daisy is however, very receptive to the economic constraints affecting housewives because of the Depression and her cookery pages continually exhibit her responsiveness to issues of economic hardship while still retaining many recipes that are indicative of either less restrained social circumstances or are in demand for specific occasions, for example, Christmas and Easter cakes. Many of the recipes that are contributed to her magazine pages are from experienced cooks – those with pseudonyms such as ‘Old Cook,’ and by continuing to publish these recipes she ensures that they are very successful, particularly in a sense that they perhaps outlive their contributor or exceed their original circulation.

8.7 Conclusion

Aunt Daisy managed multiple pathways of culinary transmission throughout New Zealand. Her web of culinary interaction provides examples of the different methods in which she disseminated cookery knowledge. There were the one-to-many transmissions of her radio programmes and cookery books; the one-to-one meetings with women around New Zealand who gave her their favourite recipes; and the many-to-one movement of cooking knowledge with recipes sent from around the country to her at the radio station. The name of Aunt Daisy and her endorsement of commercial products ensured their success; her advertisements boosted sales, while the recipes she compiled in cookery books and re-presented for a number of years remained in the culinary repertoires of New Zealand women. When she selected recipes for inclusion in her magazine cooking columns, recipe books, or radio cookery programme, her choices could be considered somewhat conservative. Evidence suggests that Aunt Daisy preferred dishes based on British culinary traditions, and although she was certainly amenable to adopting new recipes, overall her selection policies indicate she preferred a culinary ‘status quo’. Aunt Daisy’s prominence arose because her personality, common sense, and ability to relate to all New Zealanders created a cookery doyen. Her reputation as a cooking expert was not because of her personal cooking prowess as she apparently did not create recipes herself. Instead, it was her ability to promote and manage the movement of cookery information on a large scale that made her such a force in the culinary world and significantly increased the rate at
which this knowledge was transmitted. Aunt Daisy may not have appreciably changed the food habits of New Zealanders, but she definitely introduced them to new technology, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, is characteristically associated with new methods of cooking. Aunt Daisy was empathetic and sympathetic to the needs of her listeners and readers and they responded to this by communicating with her. Aunt Daisy was therefore able to take advantage of the magazine format to create an interactive recipe exchange network between her “Daisy Chain” members, which additionally helped her to promote products, and herself. The following chapter further develops the concept of culinary transmission through the magazine format by examining a case study of a magazine cooking page, and explores the role of such periodicals in introducing innovation into the cookery repertoires of New Zealand women.
Chapter Nine — The Role of Magazines in Culinary Transmission

9.1 Introduction

A publication such as a magazine, or newspaper, has the capacity to produce and circulate information very rapidly. With a production schedule of daily, weekly, or even monthly issues and prompt distribution mechanisms, this type of periodical was one means whereby recipes were diffused rapidly throughout New Zealand. The dissemination of such knowledge is however, characteristically controlled by a gatekeeper, or editor, who decides on the nature, and amount, of any information to appear in the culinary column of a magazine. As discussed in the previous chapter, some editors, or compilers, were like Aunt Daisy, rather conservative in their selection and transmission policies, preferring for the most part to maintain the status quo of New Zealand’s customary food habits. In contrast, other editors, such as the anonymous person in charge of the cookery column in the New Zealand Truth, were practically invisible, noticeable only by what they included in their columns. A number of magazines had editors like home science graduate Tui Flower, who provided up-to-the-minute culinary information with new food and cookery trends, and advice about new technology included in their pages.

In this chapter, an examination of published recipes, editorial comments and advertisements from N.Z. Truth 1925–1965, is used to determine any long-term patterns in recipe contributions, contributor behaviour, and magazine recipe selection policies. The recipes were analysed using the recipe micro-analysis approach to identify recipes types and to establish their perceived origin, if possible. The emergence of any new recipes or cookery developments can then be recognised and any subsequent diffusion into the community established. A detailed approach is required to study the recipes, and their ingredients, that appear in the cookery columns of magazines to determine any differences in culinary transmission between these publications and school cookery manuals, and community cookbooks. School cookery books of course, as discussed in chapter six, included culinary instruction from school cooking teachers which focused on family meals with basic recipes that changed little
over long periods of time. Although school cookbooks started to demonstrate some innovation in their recipes from the 1960s, any changes were few compared to those that were evident in the pages of some magazines. Even though community cookery books were, as will be discussed in the following chapter, much more receptive to new cookery trends than school cookbooks, they did not have the interactive format of a magazine with its editor and reader contact, and they lacked the ability to respond quickly to new culinary information. This chapter also considers the benefits of using both empirical evidence and textual examination to appreciate all the nuances of contributor and societal behaviour through a brief investigation into the social institution of afternoon tea in New Zealand. This data is then considered within the framework of how magazines contribute towards the transmission of culinary knowledge in New Zealand.

9.2 Magazine Cookery Pages

Cookery pages found in magazines and newspapers represent a distinct form of recipe transmission. Although it could be argued that a magazine is similar to a book, in that, once published, its text corresponds to attitudes and information current at time of publication, however, unlike most publications, magazines are more dynamic, especially in their cookery columns because they frequently incorporate exchanges of information, either between contributors and editors, or between the contributors themselves through the magazine’s pages. Magazines, particularly those with national distribution, potentially achieve a wider circulation than any single authored cookbook or local community cookbook. While contributed cookbooks with country-wide distributions, such as the cookery books published by the New Zealand Women’s Institute, also develop considerable readerships, these only appear once a year at best. Magazines though are published regularly, with weekly, fortnightly, and monthly the most common frequencies but bi-monthly or even tri-monthly issues also take place.

Successful magazines are those that remain in publication, usually supported by large circulations. Mennell (1985: 233, 235) suggests longevity in a magazine, providing it does not abruptly change its formula, editor, or target audience, means it is possible to
interpret trends in cookery columns as real changes in fashion, rather than as the effect of the magazine trying to move up or down market. It is argued here that magazines not only demonstrate such fashion changes but also frequently provide enough contextual information to offer explanations for these transformations.

The presentation of cookery information or recipes in New Zealand magazines varies markedly between publications, with columns that contain edited material, either supplied by an anonymous editor (for example, “The Mirror Chef”), or by a well known individual such as Melanie Primmer, a cookbook author. A number of cooking pages combined editorial comments with contributions from readers. Well known personalities, Aunt Daisy for example, were sometimes used as editors to appeal to women readers although that was not the case for the number of editors who remained unidentified, like “Jane” (in Home and Country). Some magazines such as New Zealand Truth, consist almost entirely of contributed material and give the impression of minimal editorial input (although such material is of course carefully selected for publication). Selection procedures for magazine cooking pages monitor public access to their material and as such potentially affect the type of material that appears in the column. As Sheridan points out (2000: 323), “the major influence on a magazine’s representations of food and cooking, apart from its advertisers, is its Cookery Editor, whose role is to introduce new food ideas, while at the same time keeping up the supply of recipes for familiar/family food.”

As an instrument of recipe transmission, a magazine is unique because of four exclusive aspects, all of which may or may not occur simultaneously in each magazine. These are: frequent publication schedules, a format which encourages readers’ queries thus producing an interactive and often highly responsive dialogue and recipe exchange, prize money to attract consumer participation, and a close association with advertisers, such as through their recipes, or free booklets for example. Magazines with edited cookery pages of contributed recipes frequently include a section for readers’ queries. Replies from the editor to correspondents — whether about a new recipe, ingredient or method — are often prompt, eliciting unsolicited testimonies from readers, such as “I do appreciate your Cookery Page,” “lots of useful information,” (N.Z. Truth September 19, 1934: 21). At times enquiries
are answered by other readers. A weekly magazine therefore has a greater likelihood of engendering a rapid response.

The degree to which a magazine may solicit and publish material from contributors often fluctuates within the lifetime of a specific periodical. The New Zealand Woman's Weekly for example provided only edited material in 1933, then a combination of edited and contributed material in 1934. As the latter followed the initial arrangement it could be supposed that including contributor involvement was perceived to be the more successful format, although this still tended to fluctuate over time. The motivation of the contributors was presumably quite varied, but a tangible monetary prize for winning a recipe competition was probably the most obvious of the rewards offered by magazine publishers and product manufacturers. As well, a number of magazines provided payment for material published on the cooking page and this was most likely a considerable incentive as well. It is often unclear if a fee is offered for contributions or not, and some, like the New Zealand Dairy Exporter (August 1, 1939: 89), explain that they will pay the ‘usual rates’ but neglect to stipulate what they are. Presumably they were so well known they were only mentioned occasionally. Another inducement to contributor involvement, although more insubstantial, is that of status or the prestige acquired from producing a recipe outstanding enough to warrant selection for the cookery page. Although it can be argued that this equally occurs with contributed cookbooks, the repetitive nature of magazine publication offers additional opportunities for selection and it is likely that frequent contributors may accrue added status. A less evident reason is perhaps that of inclusion — membership in a national community of cooks.

9.3 Pilot Study – New Zealand Truth

The N.Z. Truth is a weekly New Zealand periodical with a national distribution. Published from 1906 until the present day, the Truth was selected for study because of several factors. While local availability for study purposes was a crucial aspect, the Truth's format as a multipurpose paper, ranked equally highly. Magazines specifically intended for consumption by women contain a wide variety of material designed to attract an extensive, yet distinctive, readership, usually for commercial gain. The
cookery pages within these magazines are frequently edited and often convey a sense of dictatorial expertise surrounding their advice. *N.Z. Truth* was selected as a pilot study because it provided examples of both edited content and material provided by contributors (recipes) over a forty year period. Any selection policies regarding contributed recipes are undisclosed and generally editors are not identified. References in the *Truth's* cookery column concerning the numbers of recipe contributions received give the impression that the paper published as much as possible rather than entertaining a narrow idea of what was considered suitable by a constraining expert. The abundance of recipes generated by the competition appeared to require very little apparent editorial input apart from the obvious selection process for prize money. This also reinforces the conclusion that any editor had a minimal input. The consumer-driven nature of these recipes extend the possibility that their content may have been equally, if not more, reflective of culinary practices of that time than those written by 'experts'.

During the time period of the case study (1925–1965) the *N.Z. Truth*’s content included a diverse range of topics of interest as well as its well-known salacious material of criminal and moral wrongdoings. Articles concerning politics, global events, the Depression and the Royal Family were all subjects of importance to its readers who also consumed items of general interest about motoring, sport (for example, rugby, cricket and racing), health, society, cooking, financial matters and legal advice. An extensive number of recipes were examined for name concept and contents – see Table 9.1 – then assigned categories for simple statistical analysis. Graphical information was generated from this analysis to assist some interpretation of the movement of culinary information. All recipes were examined and allocated into categories. Categories were created for two different purposes and all the recipe contributions were assigned into sub-groups within each of these.

**Early Developments – The First Years in the Pilot Study**

From 1925 to 1930 there was a gradual, but significant increase in numbers of recipes that appeared on the pages of the *N.Z. Truth*. Early in 1925, only one or two recipes appeared intermittently in the pages of *N.Z. Truth*, and although seemingly unrelated to any of the surrounding material, their placement was generally within the subject
matter for women. During 1926, the extent of information concerning food related subjects in the *Truth*'s pages showed a gradual but steady increase, suggesting a growing interest by New Zealand women in new technology, different ingredients, and in recipes from culinary repertoires other than their own. Evident in *Truth*'s pages are some slightly autocratic statements concerning attitudes towards how women should behave in the kitchen. For example, a cookery column titled 'Delicious Dishes. The Magic Frying-pan. Emergency Cookery' (April 8, 1926: 19) commented on the use of the frying pan:

The frying-pan brigade has always been the subject of jokes – clever and otherwise – and certainly the woman who makes a point of rushing home about five minutes ahead of meal-time with a pound of chops or sausages under her arm deserves to be ridiculed. But for emergency cooking once in a while the frying-pan is a friend in need.

The editor then listed four tasty and unusual dishes acceptable for cooking in a frying pan under such circumstances – Savory Triangles, Drop Tartlets, Feather Balls and Fried Cheese.

**TABLE 9.1 Number of Examined Recipes in N.Z. Truth**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Recipes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>12,161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The transmission of cooking-related information in the *N.Z. Truth*’s pages was often accompanied by editorial encouragement for new ingredients and recipes. For example, the *Truth* (May 27, 1926: 15) reported that “Bananas are a much neglected fruit” explaining that “few people know that they are as good cooked as they are raw and the daily menu may be greatly aided by the use of this cheap, delicious and nourishing fruit.” While acknowledging the obvious marketing tactic behind this appeal to make use of bananas, it does however seem to underline a lack of familiarity with the culinary uses of this fruit on the part on New Zealand housewives. This idea is to some extent confirmed by the lack of cake and biscuit recipes, entitled ‘banana’ in an extensive database of recipe names compiled by Duncan Galletly (2005). Only four recipes for banana cakes or biscuits appear prior to 1927 at all, there are three evident in 1927 and one in 1929. Admittedly there are fewer books available for examination during this period but an increase to thirty recipes for the 1930s and forty two in the 1940s, argues for an increasing acceptance of this fruit into home baking repertoires.

During 1927, the cookery column enlarged its range of kitchen topics offering items of interest to women from the use of seasonal surpluses, such as pickle or jelly [jelly jam] making (February 17, 1927: 16; April 7, 1927: 3). *Truth* considered jelly making a lost art due to the number of commercial preparations now on the market (April 7, 1927: 3). New Zealand cooks had only recently become aware of the casserole cooking technique when *Truth* published the ‘Art of Casserole Cookery,’ an efficient method to produce tasty and efficient dishes (September 1, 1927: 15). The casserole method also appeared in community cookbooks, such as *Terrace Tested Recipes* (1927) the same year. In an interesting reversal of opinion, the previously despised frying-pan had now become a useful kitchen implement, “the secret of frying is an art worth studying” (November 10, 1927: 3).

During 1928, the cookery column continued with the sporadic appearance of recipes, and its content was similar to previous years with an emphasis on seasonality, variety and health, often advocating traditional skills such as ‘Preserves and Pickles’. Another occasional theme was that of afternoon tea (discussed in more detail below). However at the end of the year, *Truth* (December 13, 1928: 20) began publishing a column titled ‘Cookery Nook’ with recipes supplied by Miss Marion Christian, demonstrator
of the Wellington Gas Company. Miss Christian’s name continued to be associated with some of the Truth’s recipe columns until the middle of the following year (June 27, 1929: 18).

During 1930, Truth maintained a similar approach to the late 1920s with articles on contemporary issues such as information about vitamins (February 13, 1930: 13), and as well as the usual recipes, recipes endorsed by current American film stars were also included, presumably to attract readers (May 22, 1930: 23; June 19, 1930: 23). The over-use of canned food was apparently frowned upon, because Truth (August 21, 1930: 15) reports, “to be a noted tin-can opener immediately sets a stigma upon a woman” (but was acceptable in emergencies).

Because magazine publications are dated, they are useful sources to indicate the appearance of new technology and any subsequent influence on cooking practices and perceptions among its practitioners. For example, in 1926, an advertisement for a ‘John Wright-New World’ Cooker (gas), indicates that the ‘Regulo,’ or automatic gas oven heat controller, was available in New Zealand by at least August 26 (1926: 4). An article in 1929 (Truth October 17, 1929: 21) alludes to uncertainty among some women regarding use of electrical appliances when it asks “Why do many [women] have such an objection to the word ‘electric’?” and then speculates that “perhaps the idea of ‘shocks’ is uppermost in a woman’s mind.” During the late 1920s and 1930s the numbers of advertisements for stoves using the three main heating fuels (coal, gas and electricity), increased on the pages of Truth as manufacturers competed for the consumer pound. The advertisements for gas and electric stoves emphasised that the technology virtually eliminated need for human intervention, “A delightful dinner, perfectly cooked when you come home after being out all afternoon” (November 6, 1930: 20); “Turn a button, the McClary Electric Range does the rest” (February 26, 1931: 13); “End kitchen drudgery....cooks like magic” (November 3, 1937: 26). These appeals to making life easier for the housewife may be because cooking was regarded by a significant numbers of women as a time consuming chore.

The Recipe Competition
Through the early months of 1931 the column continued its edited format until April when an announcement offered readers a chance to win money for their recipes –
“Here’s Your Chance!...Do you consider you are a first-class cook? Then try out the recipes you put your faith on and maybe earn £2, £1 or 10/- weekly...The points that will weigh in the judging are that recipes are seasonable, economical and unusual, but must not be cribbed from books” (April 23, 1931: 17). In the four months before this announcement the Truth had published 138 recipes on its pages that year, with an average of approximately eleven per issue. For some considerable time after the onset of the competition the cookery page averaged over thirty recipes each week, limited only by the space available for publication. The first two weeks saw an initial response with twenty four, and twenty seven recipe contributions submitted for the competition, but these quickly rose to over forty for several weeks before settling at around thirty per issue.

The Truth’s (May 14, 1931: 11) announcement that “Recipes are rolling in” was quickly substantiated by the substantial number of recipe contributions published in the cooking page, and the readers’ immediate response to this competition makes it clear that this was a tremendously popular format. There was considerable variety in the recipes, for example, in May, Mrs P. Sowden of Christchurch gained first prize with her “Chinese Dish of Pork and Vegetables with Steamed Rice.” Mrs Sowden assured readers that “this is a popular dish with the Chinese” although the dish lacked any seasoning apart from salt and pepper. Second place also went to a Canterbury contributor with a recipe for Sheep’s Head Pie while Mangaweka’s Baked Vegetable Goose was awarded third (Truth May 14, 1931: 11). On May 21 (Truth May 21, 1931: 17), the editor encouraged readers to “express your culinary art and your originality.”

This issue also organised some of the recipes into a selection entitled “New Zealand Special Dishes”, considered to be of particular interest not only to New Zealanders but also to visitors from overseas (Truth May 21, 1931: 18). These dishes included recipes for mutton bird, toheroa, quail, swan, pheasant, salmon and oysters.

The collection of recipes published each week catered to a wide range of budgets. Many were reflective of the Truth’s policy for seasonality, originality and economy, and echoed the difficulties experienced by numerous people at this time. This is illustrated by some of the examples in Table 9.2 where name or ingredients demonstrate adaptation to current economic circumstances. Other recipes however could be classified as elaborate or expensive and were often designated as for special
occasions. Not all recipes were published immediately as contributions often exceeded requirements (Truth September 10, 1931: 13). Readers also provided feedback to the Truth’s editor regarding the results obtained from the published recipes (Truth September 17, 1931: 16). Many of the recipes not published immediately after acceptance were saved for later use as the opportunity arose. While the majority of contributors were from within New Zealand, occasionally a recipe appeared from further afield. Such an example is the Potato Chocolate Torte received from a reader in New York. She advises that “I receive copies of the Truth regularly in every mail and pass them on to other NZ friends” (Truth September 24, 1931: 17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and Page Number</th>
<th>Recipe Name</th>
<th>Prize</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30/4/1931 (13)</td>
<td>Hard Times Pudding</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/6/1931 (15)</td>
<td>Potato Fondant</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/6/1931 (15)</td>
<td>Galantine of Rabbit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23/7/1931 (16)</td>
<td>Dressed Sheep’s Head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8/1931 (14)</td>
<td>Charity Pie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20/8/1931 (22)</td>
<td>Ham Bone Scraps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27/8/1931 (17)</td>
<td>Stale Bread Trifle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/10/1931 (14)</td>
<td>Ox Cheek with Golden Sauce</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/10/1931 (14)</td>
<td>Rabbit Roly Poly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/11/1931 (17)</td>
<td>Tomato Soup Cake</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In conjunction with the recipe column, the Truth also printed a help column of replies to readers’ questions each week. Readers were encouraged to send in their queries as help would be forthcoming from either other readers or the editor. Not all of these queries were culinary – some referred to patterns, sewing or knitting. Often problems were able to be answered through use of the accumulated recipe material. Throughout the remainder of 1931 the Truth continued to publish significant numbers of recipes. In fact, as Figure 9.1 demonstrates the 1930s was the most prolific decade for recipe contributions.
Many of the recipes selected by *Truth* as prize-winners, notably during the 1930s, display considerable innovation and originality, particularly in comparison with other magazines (such as *Home and Country* and *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*). Recipe content between magazines is extremely variable, occupying a spectrum from tried and true traditional fare to a highly creative menu or the latest food fashion. Many of the contributions to the *Truth* occupy the upper end of this range and while it can be argued that some often use very economical or commonplace ingredients, the extent of creative endeavour, and care, taken to construct these dishes frequently places them in the upper echelon. In addition, the status accrued to producing a superb example of a well-known item, such as shortbread for example, should not be underestimated. A comparison of prize-winning recipes from 1937 submitted to *Truth* and *Home and Country* highlights several differences (Table 9.3). Contributors to *Truth* habitually provided more than one recipe per entry, periodically even offering complete menus. Internationally-attributed recipes were more likely to appear on the pages of *Truth*, and recipes making use of economical ingredients, such as liver, are presented as appetisingly as possible. Because the microfilm holdings for *N.Z. Truth* (1937), at the University of Otago’s Hocken Collections, omit December, there are no examples for this month in Table 9.3.
TABLE 9.3 Comparison of Prize-Winning Recipes between *Truth* and *Home and Country* in 1937 [One issue per month selected for *Truth*, and all issues of *Home and Country*]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>First Prize</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 13/1/1937</td>
<td>Fowl with Egg Sauce, Original Ham &amp; Orange Pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/1/1937</td>
<td>Apple Crisps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 3/2/1937</td>
<td>Milanese Cutlets, Mutton En Casserole, Suet Crust, Brown Sauce, Mutton &amp; Tomato Pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/2/1937</td>
<td>Spaghetti with Onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 31/3/1937</td>
<td>Liver &amp; Rice Loaf, Baked Liver, Liver Patties, Baked Tomatoes stuffed with Liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/3/1937</td>
<td>Mint Chutney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 21/4/1937</td>
<td>Tomato Puree Preserve, Tomato Sauce, Chutney, Tomato &amp; Sausage Pie, Tomato Luncheon Sausage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/4/1937</td>
<td>Caramel Apple Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 26/5/1937</td>
<td>Nut &amp; Cheese Fingers, Chocolate Bran Wafers, Spiced Honey Cakes, Fruit Slices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/5/1937</td>
<td>Hermit Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 16/6/1937</td>
<td>German Rabbit Tart, Yorkshire Rabbit Sponge, Mock Chicken &amp; Tomatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/6/1937</td>
<td>Savoury Roly Poly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 14/7/1937</td>
<td>Kaldomar (Savory Stuffed Cabbage), Patinamar (Norwegian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/7/1937</td>
<td>Malt Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 11/8/1937</td>
<td>Economical Luncheon Dish, Bread Steaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/8/1937</td>
<td>Apricot Pudding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/9/1938</td>
<td>Marshmallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 6/10/1937</td>
<td>Tomato Flower Salad, Fig Salad, Welsh Salad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/10/1937</td>
<td>Paradise Tart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Truth</em> 24/11/1937</td>
<td>Danish Steak with Tomatoes, Spanish Steak Straws, Italian Steak &amp; Macaroni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/11/1937</td>
<td>Delicious Meat Substitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Home &amp; Country</em> 1/12/1938</td>
<td>Good Family Christmas Cake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The considerable variety of recipes found in *Truth* is demonstrated by the rest of the prize-winners for 1937 (Table 9.4). From the economical to the unusual these recipes display considerable diversity. Rewards may be achieved one week by submitting alternatives for pickles, while on another choice desserts or vegetarian options are preferred. Recipes that today appear commonplace (Vienna Bread, French Rolls) were clearly more prestigious in those times.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Second Prize</th>
<th>Third Prize</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truth 13/1/1937</td>
<td>Lamb Chops with Pineapple, Pineapple Sponge</td>
<td>Singapore Fruit Curry, An Unusual Dessert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 3/2/1937</td>
<td>Pickled Prunes, Pickled Dates</td>
<td>Triangular Rolled Scones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 31/3/1937</td>
<td>Economical Baking for Gas Cookery</td>
<td>Simple Fruit Layer Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 21/4/1937</td>
<td>Clifford Tea Biscuits, Maltie Squares</td>
<td>Simple Vegetarian Roast, Vegetarian Sweetbreads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 26/5/1937</td>
<td>Chocolate Roughs, Coffee Cream, Honey Mints</td>
<td>Unusual Veal Hot Pot, Fried Apple Batter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 16/6/1937</td>
<td>Nut Meat &amp; Bean Pie, Savory</td>
<td>Custard Delight, Banana Fancy, Honey All-Bran Pudding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 14/7/1937</td>
<td>Diana Apple Nut Cake, Cheese Meringues</td>
<td>Cornflake Cream Dessert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 11/8/1937</td>
<td>Vienna Bread, French Rolls</td>
<td>Apple Cheese Pasties, Bananas &amp; Cheese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 6/10/1937</td>
<td>Potato &amp; Trout Roll, Baked Trout</td>
<td>Pork &amp; Yorkshire Puffs, Yorkshire Puffs, Candied Kumera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth 24/11/1937</td>
<td>Cherry or Gooseberry Meringue,</td>
<td>Whitebait Mould, Whitebait Stew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cherry Trifle, Cherry or Raspberry Souffle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phenomenal numbers of recipes contributed to the *Truth*’s cookery pages attested to the high regard readers had for this page, and food manufacturers were quick to take advantage of this extensive readership. The *Truth*’s readers benefited from this interest as manufacturers quickly sought to prompt sales by offering prize money for recipes using their specific products. Although material from 1932 and 1933 was unavailable for assessment, an examination of issues from 1934 confirms that companies took advantage of this opportunity by advertising special competitions with supplemented prize money for creating recipes that used a sponsor’s product. The first special competition of that year was the Edmond’s baking powder competition. The winner, Mrs M. Baker, 50 Victoria Street, Dunedin, won £2 for her innovative menu where each dish (creamed soup, parsley toast, masked sardines, stuffed steak, cauliflower cobs, and fruit charlotte) included baking powder (*Truth* February 28, 1934: 15).

Typical British foodstuffs and meals were the subject of the Empire competition, creatively won by Miss A. Cleveland of Wellington (*Truth* May 23, 1934: 29) with her listing of sources for all the ingredients of a Christmas Plum Pudding recipe.
Dried fruit came from Australia, South Africa and Cyprus, while many of the spices originated in places with names that reflected an era when much of the global map was still part of the Commonwealth (India, Ceylon, Zanzibar, British West Indies, Straits Settlement and Penang). This competition was quickly followed by ones for Cathedral Essences (Truth June 13, 1934: 19) and Weeties (Truth June 27, 1934: 17). An essence identified as Van Ton (or Vanton) proved to have some popularity among the Cathedral recipes although there appeared to be some limits as to the creative ability of contributors as virtually all the recipes were for sweet dishes. In contrast, Weeties, manufactured by General Foods (N.Z.) Ltd. lent themselves to a much wider diversity of entries. L. Paul’s winning recipes were for appetising entrées – ‘Weetie’ and Oyster Fritters, ‘Weetie’ Savoury and ‘Weetie’ and Cheese Squares (Truth June 27, 1934: 17).

The next two competitions, for ‘Oxhead Beef Suet’ (Truth August 29, 1934) and ‘Saladress’ dressing (Truth November 7, 1934) did not appear to inspire such creativity as the results were more prosaic. A Christmas recipe competition was announced on November 21 (Truth November 21, 1934: 19) for double the usual prize money and judging by the winning menus New Zealanders were unwilling to allow the constraints of the Depression to affect their Christmas dinners. This concurs with Leach and Inglis’ (2003) findings regarding retention of the concept of the Christmas cake during this period. Out of the forty one published recipes only the Economical Spicy Christmas Cake and the Wholemeal Christmas Pudding could be construed as concessions to the current economic situation. Meat recipes for the Christmas table offered choices of Roast Suckling Pig with Apple Sauce, Lemon and Beetroot; Roast Turkey with Chestnut and Sausage Meat Stuffing; Roast Saddle of Lamb and Boiled Ham and Ox Tongue.

There was less opportunity for the creative talents of cooks in 1935 as the abundance of special competitions, so prevalent in 1934, was not repeated. Perhaps this deficiency explains why readers contributed over 800 recipes to the Edmond's Jelly Crystals competition in November (Truth November 13, 1935: 31), adding to the judges’ difficulty in selecting winners. First prize was awarded for Jellied Diced Rabbit with Spicy Beef Salad. The Christmas Dinner Menu competition again offered readers an opportunity to earn a ‘welcome windfall’ with an unprecedented level of
prize money (£5, £2, £1). The contest was to be judged by the Chef of the St. George Hotel, Wellington (Truth November 20, 1935: 27).

The recipe competitions during 1934 generated significant quantities of culinary material and these continual contributions ensured that the cookery page was well endowed with contemporary and innovative material. The Truth printed unsolicited (it said) testimonials received from readers, such as “I do appreciate the Cookery Page in your valuable paper, and also the way queries are answered promptly” and, “each week I find lots of useful information in your recipe, hints and reply columns” (Truth September 19, 1934: 21). The logistics of handling, editing and selecting such large amounts of recipe material must have been considerable, a cost which the Truth presumably recouped from increased circulation and advertising. Perhaps this assisted their decision in 1934 to capitalise on their wealth of recipe material, because the Truth announced in October (Truth October 31, 1934: 17) that at the request of their readers, a comprehensive and up-to-date cookery book would soon be available. Despite unforeseen delays, orders increased rapidly and the Truth reported on (Truth December 5, 1934: 28) that the new cookery book was now available for the housewife “oppressed by the inexorable demand of meals occurring thrice daily” offering the accumulated experience of cooks from one end of the Dominion to the other. The book contained over 600 recipes for festive, holiday and picnic occasions and contained recipes for economical, diabetic, invalid cookery as well as a special New Zealand section.

Recipe Analysis and Interpretation
Recipes from 1925–1965 were sorted into two categories for analysis. The first category (Category 1) corresponded to meal components and the sections used in cookery books. The second category (Category 2), related to the possible origin of each recipe based on its attribution, name and concept. Section headings in cookery books vary markedly — the fourth edition of Trinity Jubilee Fancy Fair Cookery Book organised its 1923c book into twenty three separate sections (soups, omelettes, pastry, preserved fruit, for example), while Mrs Richard Hudson used eleven (such as soup, fish, meat, cakes and biscuits) in The Sports Cookery Book (c.1932). Twelve categories were chosen for this pilot study — enough to indicate the potential
informative value of such a study while still remaining manageable in scope. These were: soup; fish; meat; savoury items (non-meat dishes containing ingredients such as eggs, cheese, pasta); vegetables (including vegetable dishes); cold desserts, hot puddings; sandwiches; baked goods; jams (includes pickles, sauces, preserving); drinks and confectionery. As some categories, such as sandwiches and drinks, received very minor number of contributions, they were not used in graph formulation of meal components as they were statistically insignificant. Their inclusion in the cookery page suggests that they were however recipes considered worthy of contribution. Sandwiches were invariably linked to variety for school lunches while the appearance of drinks, particularly homemade wines, was common to other periodicals (for example, the New Zealand Women’s Weekly and the New Zealand Dairy Exporter Annual) and obviously represents a familiar activity among those with excess fruit. Meal components were calculated at five yearly intervals, similar to Sheridan’s (2000) study of food and cultural difference in the Australian Women’s Weekly, and graphs were used to identify changes in recipe contribution that may highlight differences in meal patterns over the study period.

Changing Patterns of Recipe Contribution in the N.Z. Truth
An examination of the recipe contributions published on the cooking page of N.Z. Truth confirms that it is possible to observe changes in the types of recipes that are contributed over a period of time. The graphical representation of recipe contributions demonstrates that there was both retention and change over the study period – see Figure 9.2. Particularly noticeable is the demise of soup and the decline in numbers of recipes for jams, pickles and sauces. Additional research may be able to explain these trends, particularly the loss of more traditional skills like jam and pickle making. Reduction in such recipes was perhaps a reflection of other changes in society: for example, greater access to commercially-made products; more women entering the workforce; or reduced availability of the cheap home-grown produce often utilised in such endeavours. A growing acceptance of rice and pasta based meals over this time, for example, may also account for some divergence from the more familiar format of the ‘meat and three veg’ that typified many earlier menus. Equally, soup may still be enjoyed at the dinner table but is no longer considered worthy of insertion into the cookery page. Changing technology can also affect contributor behaviour — the
replacement of the coal range, with its nearly perpetual pot of soup stock simmering at the back, for the more modern equivalent of gas and electricity needs to be taken into consideration as well.

Retention of some major meal components, indicated by Figure 9.2, is demonstrated by the fish recipes that were consistently contributed to the Truth's cookery pages. Although these occurred on a regular basis (as both fresh and tinned) throughout the year, there was always an observable increase around the Lent and Easter periods. The best method to interpret recipe change and contributor behaviour was a combination of yearly recipe contribution statistics plus an examination of editorial comments and articles to provide contextualisation. Although an in-depth examination of all the available material is not attempted at this time, some possibilities inherent within this method are highlighted. In contrast to fish, recipes containing meat rose significantly over the forty year period, rising sharply after the war — see Figure 9.2. Although these figures indicate an increasing use of meat, this thesis does not examine any of the changing patterns in recipes for meat dishes. General examples of such contributor behaviour changes are the declining use of offal and rabbit as main meal choices and the increasing acceptance of pork and chicken. Frequent contributions of certain small goods, like sausages, declined while others, such as saveloys, exhibited brief flurries of popularity and innovation. The idea of a sweet end to a meal remained a standard fixture in the New Zealand diet. If statistics from both cold desserts and hot puddings are combined, it is evident that this aspect of the meal was still considered of some importance. Their continual contribution highlights how New Zealanders perceived the need to possess an extensive and varied repertoire of dessert options. Although it cannot be determined whether puddings always accompanied meat and vegetables, from this type of analysis, it does indicate the status the pudding held within the New Zealand culinary consciousness.

While the sections depicted in graphical format (Figure 9.2) are designed to convey some indication of the observable changes in customary meal practices, it must be acknowledged that there is considerable flexibility around some groupings. During the first half of the twentieth century for example, meat was an item that could be consumed at breakfast, lunch or dinner and was often eaten at least three times a day (excluding morning tea or supper). Recipes were therefore often adaptable for any
meal. Lunch dishes could often substitute as entrées or were suitable for breakfast. The contribution of cake recipes indicates that cakes remained as a high priority in the minds of New Zealand housewives, judging by the consistency of their appearance. Cakes are also another category with multiple uses; popular for afternoon and morning teas, whether they were also used in place of desserts at the conclusion of a meal is not known. While the pilot study indicates retention, acceptance or decline of large-scale meal components, it is not, at this pilot stage, fine-grained enough to demonstrate changes within these categories without further analysis. For example, the gradual decrease of boiled and steamed puddings was noted by including an examination of the recipe text. The decreasing use of coal ranges and changing fashions are a possible explanation for the decline in these desserts in culinary repertoires and recipe transmission.

![Meal Component Contribution](image)

**FIGURE 9.2 Recipe Contributions of Main Meal Components organised into Meal Sections**

Changing social circumstances comprise an important aspect to the examination of recipe contribution trends and the impact of two globally significant events (the Great Depression and World War Two) appears to be correlated with contributions of confectionery recipes to the *Truth*. While commercialism, availability and economic circumstances must contribute to change over time, the increase of recipes during these two periods, demonstrated by Figure 9.3, suggests a validation of the analytical methods. Actual numbers of recipes have been used because of the generally small
number of contributions. There is however a clear relationship between contributions and these social events. Confectionery recipe contribution was typically associated with Christmas or gift-giving and occasionally school holidays. From 1930 to 1935 economy was a consideration for many households and items such as home-made sweets provided ideal presents for children. During the war perhaps home-produced confectionery was the only method to obtain such treats because of sugar rationing (in New Zealand from April 27, 1942–August 27, 1948). Once restrictions were lifted, the increasing availability of commercial products, the allure of advertising and years of deprivation no doubt led to a lack of interest in these recipes.

![Number of Confectionery Contributions](image)

**FIGURE 9.3 Contributions of Confectionery Recipes**

**Recipe Attributions Concerning Recipe Origin**

Communities rarely exist in isolation, so in order to assess the appearance and subsequent diffusion of dishes throughout the national culinary community, recipes with an identifiable origin were examined and assigned into categories based on their name and concept. It was hypothesised that such an investigation would indicate the retention and/or decline of traditional culinary repertoires (of British heritage) and reveal the sources of international recipe trends. Only recipes that had a clear attribution were used for this study. These were usually quite explicit and part of the actual name of the recipe, such as Mukden Chop Suey (*Truth* January 10, 1934: 13), although sometimes the origin was revealed in an accompanying comment or
anecdote. All recipes with names that included attributions were sorted into the following arbitrary categories: Traditional, United States, Western Europe, Australian, Asia, New Zealand, Middle East, Africa, and finally, India and the Pacific.

Recipes allocated into the ‘Traditional’ category were all those that indicated an affiliation with the British Isles, whether at regional or national level. For the purpose of this pilot study these were deemed to be traditional recipes – that is, those belonging to the customary culinary practices brought to New Zealand by the predominantly British nineteenth century immigrants. While it is true that there was more than one influx of immigrants into New Zealand, from either the United Kingdom or subsequent colonies such as Australia, the technical difficulties in detecting differences in recipes arriving with each group is beyond the scope of this chapter, if even possible. Recipes of Indian origin posed a similar difficulty in that it is complicated to ascertain the distinction between recipes coming directly from the Indian continent and those that have been part of the British culinary repertoire since the early days of the Raj, for instance curry dishes have become integrated and normalised into British cuisine, as discussed in chapter three. As Procida (2003: 143) explains “curry and mulligatawny soup, which had both their roots in Indian cuisine, are now also seen as British dishes.” Similarly, Procida (2003: 143) relates that Lea and Perrins developed Worcestershire sauce to satisfy an Anglo-Indian official who missed its spicy taste after his return to England. Eliza Acton’s (1845: 298 – 301) Modern Cookery for Private Families contains a number of recipes for currie [sic], including Bengal and common Indian.

The dilemma surrounding recipes classified as from ‘Western Europe’ is similar to those involving ‘Traditional’ recipes. Many well-known food items originating from areas on the Continent (Western Europe excluding Great Britain), were already within the British culinary repertoire at time of settlement. It was possible to make German Pudding (1845: 412), Venetian Cake (1845: 547) and Italian Creams (1845: 475) without direct input from Continental sources by using Eliza Acton’s Modern Cookery for Private Families (1845) as this book pre-dated most immigration to New Zealand. In a similar manner, many recipes classified as originating from the United States had German or Dutch roots (Smith 2004: 164). Another problem with assessing recipes is that some of the dishes whose name indicated that they originated outside of
New Zealand may not necessarily have done so, although they were coded as such lacking evidence to contrary. There was an observed tendency to attach the description ‘Hawaiian’ to recipes containing pineapple, particularly from the 1950s, and dishes that included bananas were often labelled as ‘West Indian’ or ‘Jamaican.’ Without an extensive knowledge of global cookery practices and changes over time, unless there was clear evidence (as in the name), they were not attributed as such. All available recipes were categorised and counted. Graphical information was used to determine changes and patterns in contributor behaviour.

FIGURE 9.4 International Origins of Recipe Contributions

Statistically some of the recipe contribution categories, such as those from Africa, were insignificant, and Figure 9.4 depicts only the more significant trends. One exception was for recipe contributions originating from Asia and the Pacific (which were combined), as these were identified as forming a noteworthy new trend among the recipe contributors, although they were still statistically quite small in number. A significant trend of recipe contribution clearly evident in Figure 9.4 was a steady decline of recipes endorsed as ‘Traditional’ (British) from the 1930s. This could be because contributors to the Truth’s cookery column were less interested in sending in these recipes, or perhaps the Truth’s editor considered recipes from elsewhere to be more likely to stimulate culinary interest. International recipes from the United States and Western Europe generally remained the largest groups of attributed recipes. The category titled ‘Asia/Pacific’ in Figure 9.4 includes food from a variety of Asian
sources, and the Pacific, indicating an increasing desire for, and acceptance of, Asian food. Initially this was for mainly Chinese dishes but near the end of the study period, dishes from South East Asia start appearing. Although this pilot study refers only to a single publication, recipes with attributed international origins are clearly evident in other publications, for example *Home and Country* (1937), and *The Weekly News* (1937). Magazines were a popular format for initial inception of these types of recipes, and as such they added to a growing awareness of cuisine that originated from other than British-based cultures.

The increasing interest of New Zealand cooks in Asian food, particularly Chinese dishes, so evident in *Truth*’s pages of the early 1950s is likewise reflected in other publications of this time. Magazines and journals such as *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture* (July, 1951); *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly* (June, 1950); *The Mirror* (October, 1950); and *The Weekly News* (March, 1950; September, 1951; September, 1952), were all publishing international recipes, including a number for Chinese dishes. Although contributions of such dishes were evident two decades earlier in the 1930s, during the 1950s there appears to be a heightening of interest in this type of cooking, perhaps indicative of a widespread curiosity about international dishes after the war. The interest in overseas dishes shown by *Truth*’s contributors during the 1950s is not maintained into the next decade however. A possible explanation for this behaviour is that falling recipe contributions to *Truth*’s cookery page (Table 9.1) and a likely change in selection policy may have been influencing factors as this trend is not reflected elsewhere in New Zealand’s cookery literature. Also the improved availability of similar material through the popular new medium of television with Chef Graham Kerr may have also played a part.

**Attributions as a Method of Determining Societal Attitudes about Recipes**

Recipes were also classified on whether the editor or contributor identified a recipe as economical (cheap), or healthy. If there were discernable numbers of any particular concepts, these could then be postulated as attitudes about certain recipes that were held in common by some members of the culinary community. Although never plentiful and almost totally reliant on the subjectivity of the editor, it is nonetheless interesting to note changes in these attributions over time. As Figure 9.5 demonstrates,
there is a noticeable increase of recipes claiming to be economical or offering suggestions for mock dishes, during the Depression and World War Two. After 1951 there appears to be little need for such recipes. Intriguingly though, it appears that recipes described as 'mock' were more acceptable during the war years than in the Depression. This gives the impression that particularly during the war years it was deemed patriotic to devise new ways of making do. Some recipes alluded to both events in a more definitive manner, bearing names such as Hard Times Stew and War Cake, but most were simply labelled as either economical or cheap. Although recipes acknowledged as either cheap or economical, were combined for analysis, there were substantially more recipes noted as economical as opposed to cheap ones. Perhaps there is a slight degree of difference in perception or acceptability: economical (and thrifty) versus cheap (and nasty).

![Economical & Mock Recipes](image)

FIGURE 9.5 Economic and Mock Recipes

Recipes associated with health messages were largely only significant during 1937 (1938 and 1939 were not analysed) and during the war years. There was more official Government intervention in health issues because of wartime rationing and constraints. Attention devoted to nutrition and health at this time may well have been part of an overall strategy to help the general populace cope with deficiency and scarcity in the diet. A general policy encouraging national cohesiveness and patriotic duty is evident in the number of recipes relating to these concerns at this time.
Additionally, a number of recipes could be identified as a response to restrictions and rationing. The editorial dialogue present in magazines often provides additional information that supports the statistical evidence, for example with contribution of eggless recipes and substitutions for meat. Several references in Truth mention war-related shortages and price increases for eggs in May 1940 (Truth May 9, 1940: 23), and cuts in meat and butter allowances (Truth June 13, 1945: 23), a circumstance reflected in some recipes. In 1952, egg price increases were again accompanied by appropriate recipes, either without eggs or using substitutes. In a similar manner escalating meat costs are also reflected in the cookery pages of Truth; however these are often combined with replacement strategies such as meatless meals or rabbit dishes (Truth July 4, 1945: 23).

The different methods of categorising and examining the recipes published in the cooking pages of N.Z. Truth clearly demonstrate the potential of magazines to indicate initial appearance, retention and disappearance of recipes over varying periods of time. The recipes that appeared in Truth displayed the skill level of the population who were its contributors. Although some recipes could be classified as basic, many were not, and they contained unwritten assumptions that both contributors and readers had attained and practised their culinary repertoires for some time, particularly for cake recipes, such as A Russian Cake (Truth September 5, 1934) which was quite elaborate. While the number of contributions that appeared in the cooking pages of Truth each week was limited in comparison to a cookery book, their content was extremely varied and often both innovative and/or reflective of contemporary social circumstances, such as Depression Marmalade (Truth May 16, 1934). The types of recipe contributions that were selected as competition winners and for appearance on these cooking pages proved extremely diverse and not to any apparent preordained principles or personal agendas. Current ideas of food practices were transmitted quickly through the Truth’s cookery pages.
9.4 Recipe Transmission in Magazines Compared with that of Cookery Books

Magazines and School Cookery Instruction Manuals
Recipes that appear in magazines, more specifically in *Truth*, differ from the types of recipes that are published in school instructional manuals. School manuals typically provide their readers with food and kitchen-related information, such as basic hygiene, nutrition and meal planning and recipes with basic instructions on learning to cook a range of well-known, easily made dishes suitable for beginners. Such books are very directive, often with numbered steps designed to educate the absolute beginner in basic kitchen procedures. For example, a section on fish recipes could begin with guidelines for basic procedures, such as “To Fry Fish”, which might be followed with, “Fish Stewed in Milk” (Blackmore 1953: 9–10). In comparison, a magazine fish recipe could offer “Schnapper Roughs with Buttered Potatoes” (*Truth* March 20, 1935: 15). Of course magazines also published simple dishes but they are often alternative ways of producing a familiar favourite. Recipes that appear in magazines are constructed as family-size, while those in school manuals are intended as practice examples and ingredient amounts are usually in small quantities.

A comparison between a selection of five New Zealand school instruction manuals (*Recipes for use in School Cookery Classes* (Gard’ner, 1930s); *Home Science Recipes* (Blackmore, 1953); *Every Girls’ Cookery Book* (Anon, c.1953); *Homecraft for Home and School* (Anon, 1962); *Recipe Book and Home Science Note Book* (Anon, 1964a), with recipes from *Truth* for soup and baked goods underlines some differences in the ideology behind such publications. There were slightly more soup recipes published in school cookbooks (an average of 4% as opposed to 1.2%), but more significantly a section for soup continued to appear in instructional manuals into the 1960s, while only two soup recipes were present in the *Truth* issues of 1960 and none at all by 1965. Both the school cookbook and the *Truth* demonstrate a marked similarity for the significance of baked goods in culinary repertoires with recipe proportions of 22% and 23% respectively. However, while the school books continued to publish a few straightforward examples of the same basic types (scones, loaves, and cakes, for example), the cookery pages of the magazines were more responsive to consumer
demand for variety with considerable numbers of what were often quite complex recipes.

An additional examination of six school recipe books from a long-running series confirms that these books generally remained almost unaltered through numerous editions with only an occasional revision. Originally written by Elizabeth Gard’ner, a Canterbury cooking teacher, Recipes for use in School Cookery Classes (c.1912) was later revised many times by M.A. Blackmore, another Canterbury cooking teacher. Although only a small number of books were available for assessment some trends are evident. Unfortunately these books lack most of the dateable features discussed in Leach and Inglis (2006), such as advertisements, references to public figures, or an ingredient name change (like Chinese Gooseberry to Kiwifruit). After Gard’ner’s 1912 book there was little change apparent in either the soup or cake section of Blackmore’s revised 5th edition (early 1930s?). Changes were evident to these sections by the 8th edition however with new ingredients such as lentils and artichoke now included in the soup options. Cakes in particular demonstrated a section reorganisation, where seventeen additional recipes show some with new ingredients and a slight terminology change with the use of shortening in place of butter or dripping in a few examples. It seems likely that the new ingredients, which include bran, soybean and vi-max, and the term shortening, reflect the influence of the University of Otago’s School of Home Science. Similar nutritional ideas and concepts are to be found in their laboratory manuals, although not the exact recipes which would no doubt have been modified for school books.

These examples of school cookbooks books rarely contained recipes of international origins unless they were already a part of the traditional New Zealand culinary repertoire, although it must be acknowledged that the 1943b New Zealand ‘Truth’s’ Cookery Book itself failed to reproduce most of their contributed international recipes as well. This is most likely a deliberate publishing decision based solely on the fact that it appeared in the middle of the Second World War when economy, nutrition and patriotism were the foremost considerations concerning the nation’s diet. School cookery books continued to support recipes which were part of long-held culinary customs rather than introduce the more innovative developments often found in magazine pages.
Magazines and Community Cookbooks

Community cookery books display such extensive variety in their formats that any similarity with each other is difficult to assess, let alone comparison between the content of books and magazines. Some books are fairly prosaic examples of familiar fare while others display instances of considerable adaptation and novelty. Magazines are more able however to display the numerous micro-changes that recipes undergo during processes of innovation and adaptation because of their rapid circulation and repetitive appearance. Their frequent publication is much more likely to accelerate the diffusion of particular recipes, and reflect new food fashions than the occasional emergence of a community cookbook (although a close succession of fund-raising books from a single community can be likened to a sequence of magazine issues in their capacity to pick up innovations). The interactive format of a magazine with readers’ letters and replies from an editor, also assist them to respond faster to external circumstances.

The Role of Advertising on Culinary Transmission and Innovation

The magazine format intensified the interdependent relationship between manufacturers of food related products and the magazine’s publishers through the medium of advertising. The desire for advertising revenue and the need for public exposure of consumer goods ensured that such publications included considerable promotional material. The repetitive publishing configuration of a periodical offered an opportunity for manufacturers to present products up to fifty two times a year and to develop a sense of brand loyalty in customers. A community cookbook though, offers such an opportunity only once and is restricted to those products current at time of publication. Although both community books and magazines use the proceeds from advertising to defray publishing costs, the very nature of a magazine allows advertisers to employ a variety of methods to ensure maximum consumer appeal and to deter boredom in potential purchasers. Novelty, complimentary samples of product and access to the latest information were the key marketing strategies used in Truth during the 1930s. Examples in Table 9.5 are from Truth but identical methods can be detected in a number of other publications.
The assortment of incentives that manufacturers offered to consumers had a significant effect on the subsequent development of culinary variety although possibly the prospect of a monetary payment was the most desirable reward. It is also argued here that by encouraging contributors to supply a recipe exceptional enough to secure a prize, manufacturers and *N.Z. Truth* were in effect promoting culinary experimentation. The attraction of a monetary prize (and prestige in winning) actually accelerated the need to experiment in order to develop, or perfect, a winning recipe. This focus on sanctioned experimentation, often with the aim of introducing the manufacturers’ products into existing dishes, intensifed the entire process. The number of product competitions and the resulting recipes that were published in *Truth* during the 1930s indicate that this was a significant decade in terms of culinary innovation. At this time *Truth* provided both an incentive and a means for rapid culinary transmission.

**TABLE 9.5 Advertising Strategies used in *N.Z. Truth***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advertisements extolling a product’s virtues and uses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer’s recipes in an advertisement – Apricot Eggs (March 13, 1930: 17), using Highlander Condensed Milk; Edmonds Layer Cake (Edmonds baking powder) (May 14, 1931: 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free samples of product – Ovaltine (February 12, 1931: 17), Digest Tea (September 11, 1935: 23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipe competitions using the sponsor’s product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redeemable coupons – Van Houten’s Cocoa (June 5, 1930: 21) offered free gifts in exchange for points printed on product labels (1 lb. tin 40 points, ½ lb. tin 20 points etc.). Consumers could trade their points for a choice of free gifts, depending on number accumulated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A competition for slogan writing – Highlander Full-Cream Milk: “Can you express in three or four words the reason why you prefer Highlander Full-Cream Milk for cooking purposes (October 29, 1931: 15). Entries had to be written on the back of a Highlander Milk label.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free giveaways such as the Edmonds Custard Fairy painting book for children (May 28, 1931: 14).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is highly probable that in the case of some products such competitions were used to encourage acceptance of relatively new products (or new to the New Zealand market). For example, the appearance of cereals as part of the title of a cake or biscuit recipe appears to start in New Zealand published cookery books during the late 1920s and early 1930s (Galletly 2005). This may explain the ‘Weeties’ competition in 1934 in *Truth* and the offer of a free Weeties recipe book (June 6, 1934: 21). While some contributors endeavoured to win a prize with variations of traditional recipes such as Weeties Shortbread, Weeties Pikelets, Weeties Gems, Special Weeties Cake (3rd), and
Savory Weetie Water Biscuits (2nd), others displayed considerable originality in inserting this cereal into recipes for tripe, aspic, oyster fritters and ice cream. Cornflakes were so popular in Australia when they were first marketed in 1925 that they were soon produced locally in Botany, New South Wales, from 1928. New Zealand became the first country to receive products exported from this factory in 1929 (Kellogg’s Web Site). These facts correspond with evidence that the number of small cake recipes in cookery books that included cornflake in their title changed from five during the late 1920s to thirty three during the 1930s (Galletly 2005). Recipes for meringues with cereal inclusions soon appeared in the recipe competition (Truth June 4, 1931) and over the next five months six more similar recipes were published. Although a small number of recipes using cornflakes were present in community cookbooks prior to 1931 (for example, Manawatu Red Cookery Book 1929; as cited in Galletly 2005), the number of recipes for cornflake and/or nutty meringues increased soon after. It is highly likely that their popularity was aided through transmission from Truth and similar publications as increasing numbers of recipes started appearing in community cookbooks soon after. For example, the Souvenir Cookery Book of Tried & Tested Recipes (Anon 1932c: 49) and The Daisy Cookery Book (Anon 1933c: 65) both have examples of meringue recipes that included nuts and cornflakes (Corn Flake Biscuits and Nutty Meringues respectively). This recipe continued to be published in cookery books for at least the length of the study period. The ‘American Cookies’ first noted in Truth (June 25, 1931) appeared over thirty years later with the same name and identical ingredients (but slightly different weights of sugar and cornflakes) in the Atlas Cookery Album (McCrostie, 1966), thus establishing both inter- and intra-generational recipe transmission.

To thoroughly investigate possible vectors, or sources, of culinary transmission, the most comprehensive approach is to supplement recipe microanalysis with an additional examination of the associated text. By examining various aspects of edited text additional information may help highlight any attitudes or interpretations about contemporary social conventions and even diverse snippets of text can add to the context. The detailed articles that often accompany the introduction of new technology also aid in interpreting consumer behaviour and contemporary cooking practices. Text-based information such as editorial commentaries, articles, news items, and social columns are not usually found in community cookbooks. An
investigation into the social institution of afternoon tea is used to highlight the advantage of such an approach.

### 9.5 Afternoon Tea in New Zealand

By the 1920s and 1930s the concept of afternoon tea was a well established social ritual in New Zealand, familiar to both long-standing residents and more recent immigrants. For the early European pioneers, whalers and missionaries, the physical experience of drinking tea was also imbued with social significance. As Goldsmith (2006: 17, 19–20) explains, tea was much more than a drink, “it provided a social focus and represented links with the world they had come from.” Consumption of tea continued to remain an integral part of the New Zealand diet. According to Goldsmith (2006: 113), during the 1870s an average of 3.1 kg of tea a year was imported for every adult and child. In comparison, the British consumed less than their Antipodean relatives with their 1870 intake of 1.2 kg only rising to 1.7 kg by 1880. The predilection for drinking tea in New Zealand continued into the twentieth century. In June 1930 the October 16 issue of the Truth (1930: 22) remarks “New Zealand probably leads the world in this tea-drinking custom,” exclaiming “visitors from abroad are astonished at our partiality for tea.”

Afternoon tea, the partaking of tea and refreshments, can be a social occasion with layers of meaning. Although at its simplest it is a snack between the midday and evening meal, this event can equally function as a communal gathering imbued with social obligations and expectations. In 1930 the editor of the Truth’s cookery column decided to educate New Zealand women about the conventions of afternoon tea and considerable guidance was offered on the etiquette of organising such functions. Essential requirements for the hostess were “a fresh frock, a powdered nose, and mental tranquillity” (January 23, 1931: 21). This ritual was a flexible concept in that it could be either an informal or formal occasion. In its formal setting it was served with “due state and ceremony” and for such circumstances, colour scheme, china, silver and linen had to all harmonise to look attractive (October 16, 1931: 22–23). The Truth allowed for a range of economic circumstances explaining that “very beautiful and inexpensive china can be obtained nowadays” while also referring to the “fragile,
exquisite pieces" for the best of occasions (October 16, 1931: 23). Choices of linen quality were able to be selected but the silverware had to be bright and shining and the likelihood of accomplishing a successful afternoon tea was enhanced by the use of novelties. For example, the Truth suggested “instead of a knife for cutting sponges, the latest innovation is a ‘sponge trowel,’ with an ivory or silver handle, and for cream cakes, many people now serve with a dessertspoon and fork” (October 16, 1930: 23). Such advice implies both a level of income to afford such novelties and certain element of competitiveness in relation to afternoon tea.

The combination of presentation, food provision and novelty all required for a successful occasion indicates that perhaps there were some underlying social nuances intrinsic to the function of afternoon tea. Perhaps social relationships of power were negotiated between hostess and guests through the medium of food among the delicate cups and saucers. After all, as Truth (October 16 1930: 22) explains, “afternoon tea is the basis of the social life of the women of the Dominion.” An afternoon tea occasion could be either an informal tête-à-tête for tea and gossip or a more formal affair where the hostess entertains, “when one sits up dressed in one’s best, and correctly exchanges small talk between a nibble of cake and a cup of tea” (Truth, October 16, 1930: 22). While certain forms of cookery may have been regarded as drudgery, providing dainty morsels for afternoon tea was, according to Truth equated to science along with words such as “painstaking care”, “formulate”, and “skill” (October 16, 1930: 23). The success of these functions was portrayed as the sole responsibility of the hostess; “the clever hostess can always manage to provide something new in the way of variety for her friends” encouraged the Truth (October 16, 1930: 23). Perhaps this onus to provide new and different items for one’s guests explains the number of recipes contributed to the Truth and the extent to which a single recipe could be modified to appear different.

The numerous recipes for afternoon teas that appeared in Truth throughout the 1930s attest to the significance of this occasion in the lives of New Zealand women during this period. Examples of afternoon tea recipes that the Truth considered suitable for the occasion are shown in Table 9.6. All the contributions for afternoon tea that appeared in each year are shown in Table 9.6 although there were no doubt numerous
others that were not acknowledged as such but simply part of an extensive culinary repertoire.

TABLE 9.6 Afternoon Tea Recipe Contributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Afternoon Tea Recipe Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Drop Cookies, Fruit Dainties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Oatmeal Biscuits, Maizena Biscuits, Eights, Almond Biscuits, Brandy Snaps, Lemon Biscuits, Ginger Biscuits, Coconut Cones, Almond Fingers, Lemon Ice Diamonds, SOUR CREAM Cookies, Oaten Crisps, Exhibition Cakes, Nut Cheese Cakes, Peanut Crispies, Oatmeal Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Tea Cake, Kiss Cakes, Fruit Scones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Lemon Buns, Fruit Angel, Russian Biscuits, Gingerbread, Raspberry Buns, Nutty Junks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Afternoon Tea Roll, Date Rolls (x2), Tarts (x2), Nut Fingers, Almond Rings, Crispies, Raspberry Shortcakes, Coconut Haystacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Monkey Nuts, Walnut Cream Drops, Nutty Biffs, Caraway Biscuits, Marshmallow Cake, Walnut Cream Sandwich, Walnut Sponge Cake, Walnut Fingers, Afternoon Tea Cakes, Chocolate Mahogany Cake, Almond Gateau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Date Rolls, Tarts, Nut Fingers, Biscuits, Afternoon Tea Macaroons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Cherry Nut Slice, Pineapple Cheese Rolls, Bread Cheese Cakes, Date Meringues, Nut &amp; Cheese Fingers, Chocolate Bran Wafers, Spiced Honey Cakes, Fruit Slices, Banana Rolls, Diana Apple Nut Cake, Cheese Meringues, Pineapple Marshmallow Shortcake, Farmhouse Crumpets, Small Bran Cakes, Wholemeal Bran Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941*</td>
<td>Fruit Gingerbread, Wheaten Cakes, Swiss Rolled Cream Scones, Brown Honey Scones, Cremeaorta Shortbread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942*</td>
<td>Sugarless Cake, Afternoon Tea Buns, Pumpkin Teacakes, Rich Butter Madeira Cake, Eggless Wholemeal Banana Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Buttermilk Biscuits, Orange Slab Cake, Fudge Cake, Orange Delights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Ginger Plaits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Lemon Marshmallow Slice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Small sample

During the last two decades of the study period (1945–1965), recipes designated for afternoon tea consumption declined. There could be several explanations for this: as mentioned, many cooks already had an established repertoire of suitable items, perhaps aided by the numerous community cookbooks available. By the second half
of the century the performance of such an event may not have caused the same degree of social anxiety as it had done previously when so entwined with social aspirations. Availability of commercial products and less status on homemade items may have lessened the obligation to provide freshly baked goods, or possibly there were fewer afternoon teas.

TABLE 9.7 Scone Varieties contributed to the Truth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Variety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Girdle, Marmalade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Plain, Sweet, Dropped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Girdle, Cheese, Ginger, Apple, Banana, Pumpkin, Pineapple, Gem Scones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Pumpkin, Cheese &amp; Walnut, Butterscotch, French, Savoury, Sago, Golden Syrup, Banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Banana, Plain, Fried Fruit, Savoury, Coconut, Potato, Yorkshire, Oatmeal, Irish, Weetie, English, Apple or Pineapple, Cream, Block, Derwent Treacle, Sultana Bran, Orange, Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Banana, Ham &amp; Kumera, Savoury, Pineapple, Canadian Drop, Cinnamon, Apple Wheatmeal, Pumpkin, Potato, Winter, Treacle, Mushroom, Caraway Seed, Girdle, Pumpkin Drop, Almond And Walnut, Pumpkin Girdle, Chelsea, Canary, Cream, Syrup, Brown, French, Bran And Wholemeal, Barley, French Rolled, Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Cinnamon &amp; Coffee Indian, Yorkshire, Celery Salt &amp; Cheese, Scone Loaf, American Pumpkin, Irish Potato, Cinnamon, Bloater, Apple Ginger, Ham &amp; Sweet Potato, Vegetable Marrow, Brown, Malt, Rice Girdle, Fried Treacle, Cream, Cheese Bubble, Walnut, Malt, Lard, Apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Triangular Rolled, Apple Ginger, Apples, American, Cornflour, Vanilla, Bloater, Chocolate Fruit, Drop, Novel Savoury, Cornflake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Brown, Wholemeal, Chicken, Banana, Honey Wholemeal, Eggless Wholemeal Passionfruit, Cream, Butterscotch, Pineapple, Prune, Stale Bread Girdle, Hot Oyster, Bloater, Cheese, Bran, Celery &amp; Potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Strawberry or Blackberry, Porridge, Wholemeal Fruit, Savoury, Malt, Oatmeal Fruit Salad, Special</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Ham &amp; Kumera, American, Hot Honey, Savoury Meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Savoury, Apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Honey, Banana Cream, Piquant, Glorified, Surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Different, Walnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Orange, Orange Glazed Apricot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Magazine Recipe Transmission

This pilot study demonstrates that culinary information and recipes were successfully transmitted throughout the population of New Zealand by *N.Z. Truth*. Recipes were supplied as competition entries from general members of New Zealand communities and then selected for subsequent publication on its cooking pages. The *Truth* presented an assortment of contributions each week to their women readers and while it is unknown exactly how many recipes from these pages were actually cooked in
homes, the comments published in *Truth* regarding those that were successful provide some evidence that many were. A recipe’s long-term survival requires its essential characteristics to be selected and transmitted, so it can produce ‘clones’ or ‘variants’.

Magazines are particularly effective for detecting waves or frequencies of popular recipes because of their datable formats. As Barthes (1990: 10-11) found in his study of the fashion system (of clothing), magazines constitute the corpus, or body, exhibiting fluctuations in fashion. While community cookbooks also publish several recipes of a particular type, (recipes for sponge cakes are a classic case during the 1930s), with often six or more appearing with little variation between them, this occurs much less frequently than with magazines. Extensive examination of recipes in *Truth* suggests that such waves are principally associated with cakes, and to a lesser extent, with biscuits and desserts, although this is as yet unsubstantiated by statistical analysis. These rapid pulses of recipe transmission by contributors were most likely stimulated by more than a single cause.

It is suggested that the magazine industry, with its desire to continually produce novelty in its pages, thus maintaining or increasing circulation figures, offered its consumers considerable incentives to enter into transactions of exchange. Magazines presented their readers with a continual source of contemporary (and novel) culinary information and offered rewards – money, status (through visibility), or a free supply of the manufacturer’s products. In return the readers paid the purchase price and contributed recipes. As participants vied with each other for selection or prize money, they offered recipes they thought were possible winners. At times they focused their creative efforts around a concept perceived as novel and popular, modified it slightly and submitted it for acceptance. These foci often produced concentrations of a very similar recipe within a brief period of time.

Afternoon tea was another area intertwined with the production of novelty through recipes. Success in hosting such an event was partially dependent on providing novel and varied fare. A choice for selection was required, particularly one that allowed participants to move from savoury (or less sweet) to more sweet over the course of the occasion. The obligation of the hostess to provide variety to her guests was evident even in wartime. For example, as *Truth* (August 30, 1944: 19) declares, “Keynote of
the prize-winning recipes this week is variety"....in third place, come apple blossoms—something to gladden the heart of an afternoon tea hostess.” The number of items designated as suitable for afternoon tea did not noticeably diminish over the war period, instead contributors either modified their recipes to suit the conditions or they presented the more elaborate ones as appropriate for special occasions. Many examples were included among the prize-winners at this time:

Minced peanuts afternoon tea cake. First place in the recipe competition this week is occupied by a peanut cake which is both nutritious and delicious. No butter is required in the mixing, just mince the peanuts, then add them with the baking powder to the beaten eggs and sugar, and simply and speedily you have a tempting afternoon tea cake (Truth October 4, 1944: 19)

In second place is something special in the form of a Viennese cake. Keep this one as a surprise packet for the next afternoon tea party (Truth November 22, 1944: 19)

French Chocolate Layer Cake……..an attractive and temptingly iced French chocolate layer cake collects big money. With the egg quota doubled last week, most housewives will be able to afford the two eggs required in this recipe (Truth July 26, 1944: 19)

Possibly the combination of ingredient shortages and the need to supply an attractive selection for the afternoon tea table equally impacted on sales of commercial cakes as well. In his account of the history of local commercial cake manufacturers, Earnest Adams Ltd, Hugh Adams relates how, during the war (WWII), his job was to deliver cake to shops in the city (Christchurch, N.Z.) and “there was always a queue of people waiting hopefully…[they] would often wave money in my face, begging me to sell them on the spot. Some people waited around for hours in the hope of getting some cake to take home” (Adams 2005: 51).
9.6 Conclusion

A pilot study of New Zealand Truth (1925–1965) demonstrated that the magazine played a significant role in the informal transmission of culinary knowledge throughout New Zealand. The repetitive and rapid publishing format of a magazine lends itself to distributing small amounts of information very quickly over quite wide areas. Truth was able to disseminate cookery knowledge through its cooking column, especially after the introduction of a competition with a monetary prize for the best recipe entry which inspired large numbers of New Zealand women to creative endeavours with their cookery repertoires.

The recipe contributions that appeared in Truth's cooking columns were analysed, and changing patterns of contributor behaviour were able to be distinguished. For example, during the study period recipe contributions for what might be considered traditional British fare began to decline as contributors became more inclined to broaden their culinary horizons with food from further afield, including a rising interest in food from China and South East Asia. There was also an obvious reduction in recipes for products such as jam, pickles, chutneys and sauces; the type of home-manufactured items that made use of cheap seasonal produce and could be stored for later consumption.

The fine-grained recipe analysis was combined with an examination of associated textual material offering an approach that provided insights into the social institution of afternoon tea. Such observations are not usually feasible with community cookbooks because they characteristically lack much in the way of accompanying editorial text or associated informative material. Magazines, by virtue of their need to generate quick sales, constantly update their culinary information and usually attract consumers because of this. The social function of afternoon tea appeared to be of some importance in the lives of New Zealand women as a number of recipes were contributed to Truth especially for such as occasion and Truth additionally provided guidance on how to manage this event. During the 1930s the variety in recipes considered suitable for afternoon tea suggests that considerable culinary experimentation was taking place at this time.
Magazines are also closely associated with advertisers and through a number of recipe competitions using a sponsors' product, the Truth's contributors demonstrated how such publications encourage and reward recipe experimentation and ongoing innovation. This chapter focused on N.Z. Truth because it was considered to have minimal editorial input and therefore would be more likely to represent the culinary repertoires of New Zealand women, than a magazine with an editor or gatekeeper, like Aunt Daisy. The cooking information in Truth was different to that found in school cookbooks; rather than basic meals for family cooking in a prescriptive format, recipes in the Truth were often elaborate and quite creative. Unlike a community cookbook, a magazine such as Truth is not closely associated with a community group, although its recipes are received from throughout the wider national community of New Zealand. Community cookery books are usually occasional publications that offer a comprehensive collection of recipes, typically organised into meal groupings. Magazines, in contrast, provide small bursts of culinary information, which disseminate culinary knowledge rapidly around New Zealand. The following chapter considers the format of the community cookbook and its significance in the transmission of culinary knowledge throughout New Zealand.
Chapter Ten — Culinary Transmission and the New Zealand Community Cookbook

10.1 Introduction

Community contributed cookbooks are typically small publications generated by a group for fund-raising purposes. As individual cookbooks, they are interesting social documents, a commentary on their compilers and the cultural and culinary traditions from which they originated. When considered as a genre however, the community cookbook is an extremely important means of culinary transmission in New Zealand. These publications are the culinary voices of small communities throughout New Zealand, and although some are produced by nation-wide organisations such as the New Zealand Women’s Institute, the majority are from local communities. Unlike the school cookery book, as discussed in chapter six, with its emphasis on learning basic culinary skills for family cooking, community cookbooks represent the culinary repertoires of a number of contributors and characteristically provide recipes for a range of culinary occasions. In contrast to the small amounts of culinary information on the cookery page of a magazine, as discussed in chapter nine, community cookbooks produced by local groups, are collections of recipes, memory aids that offer a wide variety of dishes from the accumulated cookery knowledge of a community.

This chapter briefly outlines the development of the community cookbook in the United States and then discusses the value of researching community cookery books. The relationship of a community to its wider environment is considered and any ensuing impact on the cookery content of a cookbook is discussed. The debate concerning the relationship between what is contributed to a community cookbook and what is eaten in the household is considered and it is suggested that there is a close association between published recipes and family consumption. Because these cookbooks are frequently prolific throughout New Zealand they lend themselves to comparative studies of introduction, acceptance, retention, or rejection of recipes and meal items. Popular recipes that appear in magazines can be later contributed to a community cookbook, frequently modified again and further dispersed. These can be
traced as examples of culinary transmission. The source material for much of the micro-analytical research in this chapter is described as it originated from a private collection of cookery books. The chapter then details the recipe analysis and what this type of approach adds to an understanding of recipe contributor behaviour. This method of research was then applied to the organisation of cookbook sections and how the changing positions of cookbook sections for some meal components have a connection with their popularity in New Zealand culinary repertoires. The chapter explores the insights that examining individual recipes can offer into any investigation of culinary transmission. The introduction of new recipe concepts is discussed, particularly in relation to international recipes and localised occurrences of a specific recipe concept. The publication of community cookbooks is a joint venture that requires the participation of contributors and compilers, although these are often anonymous. The chapter examines a Dunedin cookbook series to investigate contributor and compiler behaviour along with any potential external influences that may have been visible in the recipes.

10.2 The Development of the Community Cookbook

The type of cookbook discussed in this chapter is variously identified in scholarly literature as a community cookbook, a fund-raising cookbook and also as a charity cookbook. Although all the terms are used interchangeably in this thesis, the designation of community cookbook is more commonly employed in New Zealand. This specialised genre of cookbook originated in America when women’s charitable organisations compiled and sold cookbooks to aid victims of the American Civil War (1861–1864). When the war was over groups of women continued to compile and sell such books. In the following years the scope of these efforts expanded as churches, hospitals and schools made use of sales of charity cookbooks to fund their endeavours. While it is generally agreed among culinary historians that the first known charitable cookbook was A Poetical Cookbook (1864) by Maria J. Moss, there is some debate that the earlier temperance cookbooks of the 1840s may also qualify for this status (Cook 1981: ii; Barile 1994: 66–67; Longone 1997: 21; Smith 2004: 291).
Collections of recipes published by community groups can be considered as a partial reflection of the food practices and traditions of their contributors. In one of the earliest attempts to question the dependability of community cookbooks to identify local food habits, Ireland (1981: 109) examined a sample of thirty-five middle-American Great Plains cookbooks of the 1960s and 1970s. Examining how frequently recipes were included or left out of books allowed her to determine which ones were commonly consumed or currently popular. Virtually identical repetitions of a recipe were perceived as ‘fashionable’ while recipes with economical ingredients and simple preparation techniques were understood to be everyday food. Ireland (1981: 111–112) identified that the crucial question was the relationship between the recipes published in a community cookbook and the food eaten in the home – whether the compilers are saying “Here is what we eat” or “Here is what we would have you believe that we eat”. By examining the title of the cookbook, the nature of the recipe collection, group dynamics and talking to the contributors, she was able to conclude that for the most part such texts are a fairly accurate guide to the food habits of their contributors.

While Ireland’s (1981) supposition about the correlation between a community’s food habits and its representation in a community cookbook is unquestionably correct, it must be emphasised that “Here is what we eat” is not the same as “Here is everything that we eat”. Recipes that appear in cookbooks are memory aids, or formulas, for duplication of a dish. While some cookbooks specialise in offering recipes for beginner cooks, for example school cookery books, those produced by most community groups generally reflect their current skill levels at time of publication. Experienced cooks no longer require recipes for basic dishes because they are already part of a well-established cookery repertoire, that is, they remember the simple ingredients and instructions. The recipes that communities of cooks provide for contribution are therefore those that assert “Here is what we eat that requires a recipe for successful reproduction”.

Susan Leonardi (1989: 340) suggests that recipes are “embedded discourse” requiring both a giver and receiver. The form, or mode, of exchange also requires a context or reason in which to take place. Cookbooks published by community groups generally characterize the concept of a social network of swapping recipes. A group of contributors, unified through a shared ideal, offer a selection of recipes to other
members of their own, and other, communities. Each cookbook represents the knowledge and memories of those who contributed recipes and the time devoted to the project by compilers. For a contributor, purchase of the publication reinforces the group identity and confers a degree of status or expertise when their name is attached to the recipe. It is argued in this thesis that because communities often comprised close-knit friends and acquaintances, individuals were less likely to contribute elite or ‘fancy’ recipes to a community cookbook simply to gain status. People contributed recipes that they offered guests in their own homes or provided for group functions. Discrepancies between an attributed recipe and normal food practice and skill level would soon be perceived as empty posturing and thus open the contributor to ridicule rather than prominence. This is not to suggest that the high-class recipes present in early New Zealand community cookbooks are not reflections of genuine expertise. Many prominent citizens had their own well trained cooks in their households and likewise many New Zealand cooks had taken the opportunity of learning such techniques from cooking teachers like Elizabeth Brown Miller, as discussed previously in chapter five. Every community had cooks who demonstrated varying degrees of culinary knowledge.

In *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories* (1997) Anne Bower’s edited collection emphasises the connection between the fund-raising cookbook and the communities that produce them. Such books tell stories, whether autobiographical, historical or even idealised, and for Bower and her fellow scholars, such texts reveal the lives and beliefs of the women who created them. Bower puts the community into community cookbook by discussing the content, form and theoretical potential of these books, the different approaches to particular texts and the varying ways in which a group of people perceive, or identify themselves, as a community. Floyd and Forster (2003: 2) also consider the recipe to be a narrative that puts the reader in contact with the writer, forming a personal connection with the community.

Collective identity reflected by community cookbooks is a focus of Janet Theophano’s *Eat my Words: Reading Women’s Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (2002). The recipes, community histories and memories preserved in such texts form bonds with earlier generations. While some recipes remain unchanged over time others are either accidentally or deliberately modified to accommodate changing
circumstances, for instance people changing locations, periods of resource crisis and scarcity or differences in ideas regarding what is currently fashionable (Theophano 2002: 50). Theophano’s astute assessments would benefit from the application of long-term empirical research to complement her opinions. Micro-analysis of recipe ingredients and community cookbooks such as that carried out by Leach and Inglis (2003) and Leach (2006b) demonstrates the necessity of combining empirical analysis with social history to get a comprehensive account of how community cookbooks can reflect recipe change, responsiveness to external conditions and to understand the group of people that produced them.

10.3 Community Cookbooks in New Zealand

The transmission of culinary knowledge by means of community-contributed cookbooks has a well-established history in New Zealand with the two first known cookbooks originating in Christchurch (1903) and Dunedin (1905a). Such works were typically a collective enterprise that culminated in a cookbook published by a small group. By the beginning of the twentieth century New Zealand women were already able to access several different sources of recipes and culinary information. Although women are generally referred to in this chapter as the usual recipients of culinary information, it is acknowledged that in a small number of circumstances men also took part in cooking endeavours although remarkably few male names ever appear as contributors to community cookbooks. As discussed in chapter five, cooking classes were available courtesy of cooking teachers, such as Dunedin’s Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller, and Mrs Elizabeth Gard’ner from Christchurch. Imported cookbooks were also readily obtainable in local book stores, as were imported magazines that contained recipes and meal ideas from America, Great Britain and Australia. There were not a lot of locally published cookery books modified for New Zealand conditions however, although authored cookbooks such as Isabella Broad’s The New Zealand Exhibition Cookery Book (1889) and Mrs E.B. Miller’s Economic Cooking Lessons (1889) were among the earliest local offerings. While Mrs Miller’s many cook books were widely distributed throughout the country during the early years of the twentieth century, it is not known how many copies Isabella Broad published of her book. Whitcombe and Tombs’ Colonial Everyday Cookery (c.1901) appears to have had a significant
distribution nationwide and was part of a long running series. The significance of the community cookery book was that it was a means through which women could raise funds for a good cause and obtain a cookbook relevant to local conditions.

When studying New Zealand community cookbooks it is important to take into account that such works do not exist in isolation. They are but one component in what might be considered as a nexus of culinary practices carried out by New Zealand’s cooks. Compilers and contributors typically have acknowledged cooking skills, each with their own techniques and customs developed through a variety of activities, whether from formal classes or through the intergenerational teaching of family members. When such cookbooks are published they reflect and preserve these existing repertoires which can be later examined by researchers. For the members of the communities who produce them, these books provide an aide-memoir, a resource or cumulative total of cookery knowledge from the entire contributing body that then becomes available to all its members.

Communities themselves do not usually dwell in seclusion. Compilers of a particular community cookbook are generally associated with a shared activity and are typically centred in a specific geographical location. Amongst culinary scholars community cookbooks are frequently mooted as a means through which women understand and express their individual and collective identities as a part of their community. But the idea of a ‘community’ is to some extent an abstract and rather fluid concept. In terms of a community cookbook its members may belong to several ‘communities’ (church, school, sports, ethnic, leisure etc.). Such groups rarely remain static or impervious to external influences. If each of these ‘communities’ publish their own fund-raising cookbook, the recipes and meal sections for each book are likely to differ because contributors bring their personal perspectives to recipe selection and ideas concerning what is most important for inclusion in their book. Recipes in community cookbooks should therefore be studied within the context of the overall book and the cookbook itself examined as a product of its time and place.

Examining specific examples of pudding or cake recipes for example can provide additional facts about the transmission or popularity of a particular item. However, recipes in community cookbooks are contributed by individuals who used and often
modified them as part of their own cooking practices before submitting them for inclusion into books. When individual recipes are studied they should be also related to the meal sections that appear in the book. The cookbook itself should be considered as an assemblage, or cluster, of recipes that together make a statement about what this particular community considered important.

10.4 Studying New Zealand Community Cookery Books

The community books studied in this chapter are part of a private collection (H. Leach) of over 1300 cookbooks published in New Zealand. The collection was built up over several decades, and continues to accumulate more works [a more extensive description of this collection can be found in Leach and Inglis (2006)]. Community cookbooks in this collection account for just over half of the number of works (52%), and there is an acknowledged slight regional bias in volumes due to the collection originating in Dunedin (South Island, New Zealand). In recent years more North Island-published community cookbooks have been acquired though to offset any possible local distortions. This collection was considered for research purposes for two reasons. Its high community cookbook component is an area often neglected by public libraries (although some have recently started to rectify this situation) making it a valuable resource. Also, in 2005 a three-year project commenced on the development of New Zealand’s culinary traditions funded by the Royal Society of New Zealand’s Marsden fund. As part of this project the collector's existing database of publication details for the collection’s books was expanded with additional fields to increase its capacity and range of data. This database provides information about community cookbooks not available elsewhere in New Zealand and was used as a resource for this thesis to investigate culinary transmission at a community, or local level.

A total of 676 New Zealand community contributed cookbooks published from 1903–2006 were examined for this chapter. Section headings from all books were recorded as well as several horizon marker recipes. A horizon marker is a term borrowed from archaeology where it is applied to rapidly diffused decorative items, often in pottery (Leach and Inglis 2006: 73). In this context horizon makers are recipes that because of
their specific contents, name or concept are easily identifiable. They can be used for comparative purposes in relation to recipe introduction, acceptance and transmission within and between generations. Community cookbooks characteristically reflect culinary influences from various sources. Women's magazines, newspapers, authored cookery books, cooking teachers and classes, appliance demonstrators, the home science movement and education in schools, radio cooking programmes, and competitions (usually for baked items or specific product like apples) are all possible sources for new recipe material, although as they are rapidly adapted and modified over time their origin often becomes unclear. Usually the original inspiration remains unacknowledged but occasionally recipes appear with titles like Fruit Cake (Aunt Daisy) such as the one contributed to the Dunedin District Young Farmers Clubs Country Cuisine (c.1990).

**Community Cookbooks, Compilers and Contributors**

The majority of the community cookbooks in this study fail to acknowledge their compilers (79%) although on occasion an unnamed organising committee is congratulated for their efforts. The remaining named compilers or editors are all women, as are the vast majority of named contributors. These cookbooks are the end products of numerous endeavours of women throughout New Zealand. Women's organisations and groups identified a need and a method through which to raise funds for a good cause. By the second half of the century publishing a community cookbook for charitable purposes had become an immensely popular activity (see Figure 10.1).

Although this graph suggests that few community cookbooks were published during the first half of the twentieth century in comparison with the numbers that appeared during the 1970s and 1980s, this does not necessarily indicate that New Zealand women were hesitant to recognize the advantages of this fund-raising mode.

Cookbooks published by community groups are often small, less than robust volumes. They suffer a high attrition rate, losing covers, pages and are frequently consigned to the rubbish heap. The ones that survive, particularly those in good condition, become highly desired objects in the eyes of collectors. In auction houses, second hand bookstores and on internet trading sites, these innocuous little works are now the source of considerable competitive activity.
Paper shortages and restrictions, women replacing the men in less essential jobs, and the public's concern with national causes most likely account for the smaller numbers of community cookbooks published during the Second World War. After the deprivations of the war years New Zealanders appeared to become more interested in new and different food dishes. Recipes that exhibit an awareness of the potential in international food and globalisation start to appear in community cookbooks. A gradual influx of ethnic cuisine into these books demonstrates acceptance of new ingredients, dishes and cookery techniques. New technology brought its own challenges and manufacturers were there to guide purchasers with product-related cookbooks. Recipes from such books frequently moved into community publications as cooks assimilated ideas and methods.

![Percentage of N.Z. Community Cookbooks Published by Decade](image)

FIGURE 10.1 Percentages of New Zealand Community Cookbooks Published by Decade (in Leach Collection)

The motivations and good causes that prompted organisations to compile these publications varied profoundly. Some of the more significant categories are shown in Figure 10.2 which illustrates the changing nature of community cookbooks published over time. Good works, long the focus of middle class women, abounded through the early church-inspired cookbooks which were prominent until the 1970s and still continue to this day. Health-related cookbooks were often inspired to aid wounded soldiers during both world wars. Rural communities were strongly represented throughout the middle of the century but declined in later decades. For those perhaps
on the periphery of funding in the education sector, this method became an ideal way to garner money. Kindergarten and play centre groups comprised 38% of the education total while parent-teacher groups (21%) and old girls' associations (14%) all demonstrate just how useful these books were to supplement finances. The 'Other' category includes books from organisations like political parties, travel clubs and ethnic groups.

![Community Fundraising Cookbooks](image)

**FIGURE 10.2** Changes in the Types of Organisations Publishing Community Cookbooks (in Leach Collection)

**The Organisation of Sections in Community Cookbooks**

Over the course of the twentieth century the nature of these community cookbooks changed. Early New Zealand books exhibited similar formats in their composition of book sections and recipes. Books were divided into sections based on meal components. For example, in the *St. Andrew's Cookery Book* (1905a) there were sections for soups, fish, meats, sauces, savouries, breakfast, puddings, eggless cakes & puddings, sweets, confectionery, cakes, biscuits, preserves, salads, supper, drinks, invalid, and camping. These sections are typical of most New Zealand community cookbooks of this period although recipes for camping are more unusual and several other books offer selections for luncheons as well. Because these divisions typically equate to meal components investigating any differences in these sections over time may indicate differing attitudes to specific meal elements.
An examination of soup sections in community cookbooks provides an example of the changing role of soup in the daily menu. Simple statistics generated from a study of 676 community cookbooks revealed that for the first five decades of the twentieth century 90% of community cookbooks contained a section offering recipes for soup. During the second half of the century fewer and fewer community books provided soup sections in their books although more than half of the books in each decade still considered recipes for soup a relevant component of at least some meals. Compilers of early community cookbooks generally arranged the sections of their books to replicate meal patterns (e.g. soup, fish, savouries, meat, vegetables, puddings), along with cakes and biscuits, preservation techniques (e.g. jam, preserving, etc.), confectionery and home help (invalid, first aid). During the study period evidence suggests that soup lost some of its appeal as the preferred option to begin a meal (see Table 10.1). Sections dedicated solely to soups gradually declined in numbers as compilers stopped using meal pattern configurations for the format of their books. More noticeably from the 1980s onwards soup sections began to be amalgamated with other sections, often appearing as Soups and Starters, or Soups and Savouries for example. Also at this time there was an increasing tendency for soup recipes to be placed within another section entirely, such as Luncheons and Tea Dishes, Vegetables, or Miscellaneous, indicating that some compilers experienced a dwindling obligation for these recipes to appear in a named section at all. After the initial increase of cookbooks with no soup sections at all during the 1950s, it would appear that compilers felt the need to retain some recipe contributions of for soup, although there is an obvious decline in their importance.

Early twentieth century New Zealanders’ inclination to soup as a meal component was part of their traditional British food habits. Continuing transmission and retention of these recipes in community cookbooks during the course of the century demonstrate that this customary food item maintains some significance, albeit declining, in the minds of compilers. Although sections for soup continue to be present in these publications, they undergo positional adjustments in the format of many cookbooks. That is, from initially appearing as the first or second section in a book, soup progressed to the middle, then finally to somewhere near the back. This movement suggests that they had become less important as an item for contribution, selection and publication over time because books typically end with a miscellaneous
section. The decline in numbers of soup contributions and its decreasing importance as section corresponds with fewer soup recipes contributed to "Truth" discussed in chapter nine. Likely interpretations of these modifications of earlier compiler behaviour include – increased variety of commercial soup products, the demise of the coal range with its ready source of slow heat for simmering soup, lifestyle changes as more women enter the workforce, the influx of ethnic cuisines, alterations in meal patterns such as fewer courses or more emphasis on desserts to conclude the meal.

TABLE 10.1 Changes in Soup Section in Community Cookbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dedicated Soups</td>
<td>86.9%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>59.9%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Sections</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obscured or Miscell.</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Soups</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Individual Recipes**

Investigation of individual recipes can provide valuable insight into questions regarding the introduction, acceptance and transmission of individual ingredients, new dishes, new technology, products, or packaging. However, two possible difficulties can arise if the recipe name is the only component of analysis. A recipe is a set of instructions for making a dish. The concept behind the recipe includes a particular set of ingredients, the order and method of mixing them, together with a name. Some variation is possible in ingredients, method and name without threatening the core concept. Identical, or very similar, concepts can have different names, thus rendering them invisible to examination for some purposes. Occasionally recipes may have the incorrect name for their concept. For example, the recipe for "Eccles Cakes", contributed by Miss H. M. Shaw in Dunedin’s *St. Andrew's Cookery Book* (1905a [2003]: 123), was misnamed and would not have produced the expected result. Instead, the final product would be for the then popular "Peep Bo's" (or sometimes Bo Peep's) – little cakes with a distinctive crack that shows the jam poking through. Therefore both the recipe name and its concept need to be considered in order to
interpret theories about compilers' perceptions concerning the origins and usage of the
dishes they offered to their communities.

When the recipe name, the overall concept and the recipe's position in the cookbook
are studied along with the book's context within the socio-historical setting, then the
potential for interpretation of a community's culinary practices is enhanced.

Monitoring the possible sources for identifiable recipes can be worthwhile for the
culinary historian or scholar. However unless the recipe is developed to celebrate a
specific event or person perhaps, and is well documented at the time, it can equally
become a tedious and time-consuming procedure, often without a satisfactory

Transmission of recipes amongst individuals and their communities demonstrates
several classic patterns. Recipe duplication can occur when individuals copy an
existing recipe and resubmit it for publication in another book. However it is quite
feasible that an individual may supply a favourite recipe to more than one community
cookbook. Furthermore recipes from cookery classes are also candidates for faithful
replication as former pupils continue to use and convey them to others. Informal
social networks are a favourite source of recipes – it is not inconceivable that visitors
request and receive instructions for an enjoyed dish then later reproduce the recipe in
a different location.

The *St. Andrew's Cookery Book* (1905a) offers a number of instances that
demonstrate recipe transference from a cookery teacher to a community publication.
Cooking classes were provided by the Women's Christian Temperance Union for a
number of girls during 1888 and 1889 by local members of the organisation, including
Dunedin cooking teacher Mrs E.B. Miller. The recipes from these classes were
subsequently published by Mrs Miller as *Economic Cooking Lessons* (1889). A
considerable number of these recipes later appeared in the first edition of *St. Andrew's
Cookery Book* (1905a). Mrs Miller's cookbooks were very popular (the preface to the
1889 book refers to it as a third edition). Whether the recipes in the *St. Andrew's
Cookery Book* (1905a) were from former pupils who had attended some of her many
cooking classes is impossible to determine as recipe attributions are lacking or
contributor names have altered due to a change in marital status. Table 10.2 shows a selection of recipes that appeared in both publications.

TABLE 10.2 Identical Recipes from Economic Cooking Lessons (1889) and St. Andrew’s Cookery Book (1905)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipe Name</th>
<th>Economic Cooking Lessons (1889)</th>
<th>St. Andrew’s Cookery Book (1905a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Soup</td>
<td>p.8</td>
<td>p.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scolloped [sic] Oysters</td>
<td>p.20</td>
<td>p.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig Pudding</td>
<td>p.47</td>
<td>p.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marmalade Pudding</td>
<td>p.21</td>
<td>p.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens Biscuits</td>
<td>p.16</td>
<td>p.157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhubarb Jam with Figs</td>
<td>p.83</td>
<td>p.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear Barley Water</td>
<td>p.63</td>
<td>p.179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Community cookbooks frequently display several recipes with identical names yet the recipes are usually not exactly the same as each cook makes her (or his) minute adjustments to ingredients or cooking times. Compilers can receive several cooks’ versions of currently popular items. In fact sometimes the first clue that a recipe is ‘new’, or has suddenly become fashionable, is the rapid proliferation of similar recipes in a number of community cookbooks published at approximately the same time. Recipes can be imbued with fashionable status through associations or perceptions contained in its title (e.g. Anzac Biscuits, Pavlova), distinctive ingredients (e.g. Cornflake Meringues, Lolly Cake), appearance (e.g. Yo-Yos, Bumble Bees), their origin from a respected or innovative source such as the School of Home Science at the University of Otago, or through endorsements from public figures such as film stars. Variants of a single recipe may proliferate eliminating the original, they might co-exist, or the variants could fade leaving only the initial recipe.

Examination of community cookbooks reveals trends and patterns of contributor behaviour within and between generations. Compilers of early New Zealand community cookbooks provided similar collections of baking recipes. These books demonstrate that the traditions, skills, ideals and culinary practices of these women were markedly similar. For example, the recipes for Oriental Cake published in four of the earliest New Zealand community cookbooks (St. Paul’s Souvenir Cookery
show only minor variations. There were some unifying features that demonstrated that specific expectations were in place regarding the concept. The inclusion of figs and preserved ginger in the cake was the common characteristic while varying combinations of other fruits and nuts (dates, currants, prunes, lemon peel, and almonds) also occurred.

A biscuit recipe now commonly known as Belgian (or Belgium) Biscuits also provides evidence of several types of transmission processes in community cookbooks. After its early introduction by a cookery teacher the recipe then underwent an identity change, emerged as part of an advertising promotion that was subsequently contributed to a community cookbook. This biscuit consisted of a distinctive concept of two spice-flavoured biscuits joined with raspberry jam, iced and with pink sugar sprinkled on top. Perhaps this uniqueness of spice flavouring, icing and pink sugar ensured the biscuit’s popularity because compilers continued to select this biscuit for inclusion in community cookbooks for more than a century.

Mrs Elizabeth Brown Miller, as discussed in chapter five, had introduced New Zealand women to the German Biscuit by 1889 through Economic Cooking Lessons. Although three separate recipes for this biscuit were published in the 1905a St. Andrew’s Cookery Book none of them were identical with Mrs Miller’s. However, an almost identical recipe to Mrs Miller’s appears in the fourth edition of Trinity Jubilee Fancy Fare (1923c: 96), contributed by Mrs Geo. Andrews, St. Clair, Dunedin – perhaps a former pupil of Mrs Miller. The only slight difference is where half an ounce of spice becomes half a teaspoon. The biscuits in Mrs Miller’s recipe require a distinctive method where the yolk and white of one egg are first separated, then the white is mixed with fine (icing) sugar to ice the biscuits. German Biscuits then underwent an identity change to become Belgian Biscuits. While anti-Germanic sentiments, prevalent during the First World War, may have required this alteration, recipes for German Biscuits had already disappeared from the 6th edition of the St. Andrew’s Cookery Book by 1913, before the outbreak of war. A recipe named Belgian Biscuits, but identical to the 1905 German Biscuit recipe for ingredients and method, (apart from an addition of a pinch of salt), then appears as part of a promotional page
for Waitaki Butter in the 7th edition of *St. Andrew’s Cookery Book* (1915: 139). This Belgian Biscuit recipe from the Waitaki Butter advertisement was next contributed to *St. Andrew’s Cookery Book* 8th edition (1919: 172) by a Mrs Davidson. The example of the Belgian Biscuit demonstrates three types of transmission processes – that from cooking teacher to community cookbook; the use of such material by a commercial company; and the selection of a recipe that appeared as an advertisement for contribution and publication in a community cookbook. Belgian Biscuit recipes continue to be contributed to community cookbooks into the twenty-first century although by at least 1952 (*New Dainty Recipes*: 45) they had acquired cocoa as a standard part of their ingredients and by the 1960s the term Belgium was used interchangeably with Belgian.

There are a number of similarities between the baking recipes in the earliest New Zealand community cookbooks. Cakes flavoured with cocoanut [sic], ginger or walnuts, recipes for scones, pikelets and macaroons and cakes labelled ‘Madeira’, ‘Marble’ or ‘Sponge’ can all be found within their pages. These communities were spread across New Zealand with two books from each of the largest islands (North and South). Two were compiled by a church community; one to generate funds for the Home for the Incurables Bazaar and one was from a sports club. So what did they have in common to account for the similarities in their recipes? Although a more extensive examination has only been undertaken into the Dunedin and Christchurch communities (Leach 2003; Teal 2007 pers. comm.) it is possible to suggest some possible areas of connection between them. They were most likely all predominately middle class communities whose culinary heritage was firmly linked to Great Britain, America or Australia. They shared the same traditions and food practices. They had access to identical, or very similar, cookery resources such as published cookery books, women’s magazines, newspapers and cooking lessons. Many experienced a lifestyle where travel throughout New Zealand was not uncommon and visiting each of these centres was viable. Cooking information may have been transmitted via their informal social networks that extended across the nation. Cookbooks can be part of an exchange process with an often rapid diffusion of recipes possible.

Community cookbooks are an ideal medium in which to investigate localised occurrences of recipes. An identifiable concept sometimes develops a centre or
nucleus of popularity prior to dissemination throughout the nation. Such an example of regionalism is that of the cheese roll - a small savoury item consisting of a cheese mixture rolled in a slice of bread, toasted and served with melted butter on top. Generally typified by the ingredients of grated cheese, a packet of Maggi onion soup mix and a tin of Nestlé reduced cream mixed together, recipes for cheese rolls appear during the 1960s and 1970s in community cookbooks published in the Canterbury, Otago and Southland regions only. Evidently this recipe attained considerable popularity in mid to lower South Island areas before eventually emerging in a North Taranaki book in 1982. Numerous personal accounts exist of visitors to Dunedin first encountering cheese rolls in the South, particularly as they were available commercially from food outlets such as milk bars and coffee shops. The recipes were usually located in the savoury, cheese or miscellaneous sections of cookbooks. The cooked items were popular for morning and afternoon teas or lunches.

The position of recipes within a cookbook section can also highlight compiler and contributor perceptions of appropriate meal conventions, particularly when centred on unfamiliar or introduced food items. Two interesting examples in New Zealand community cookbooks are those of the pizza and quiche. As discussed earlier there was a significant transfer of culinary information from the United States to New Zealand by various sources. Therefore it is more likely that pizza reached New Zealand from an American source than from Italy where the concept originated, particularly as Pizzerias (commercial pizza outlets) had been operating in America since 1905 (Anderson 1997: 35). The earliest examples of pizza can be found in New Zealand community cookbooks by the early 1950s, a time when there was more interest in American cuisine than ever before — possibly stimulated by the servicemen who visited New Zealand's shores during the Second World War. A recipe for pizza was evident in a Wellington cookbook by at least the early 1950s. There was then a delay until the 1960s when there was a sudden popularity for pizza with a number of recipes contributed to community books — many of which were titled 'pizza pie'. The pie appellation was probably an attempt to situate this new concept within an established and familiar meal component. Pizza dishes were soon adapted by New Zealand cooks to accommodate accustomed foodstuffs. While most recipes advocated more traditional toppings (tomatoes, cheese, olives etc)
occasionally the more adventurous suggested meat items like sausages, mince and saveloys as being suitable.

The source of recipes for Quiche Lorraine in New Zealand is unclear. There were few American publications containing this dish during the early twentieth century and it didn’t become popular there until the 1970s and 1980s (Anderson 1997: 206). Quiche Lorraine originated in the French region of Alsace-Lorraine and given the many connections between Great Britain and France regarding food and chefs, this is a possible avenue. Certainly Escoffier had published a recipe for this quiche (in French) in his *Le Guide Culinaire* (1903[1979]: 148). During the 1950s community recipe books in New Zealand presented this dish as an entrée. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s though New Zealander compilers struggled with both the concept and its position as a food item and it appeared variously in sections entitled international dishes, luncheons, picnic, appetisers, eggs, quick, savouries, tea and vegetables and salads. It could be argued that this was a dish appropriate for a variety of refreshment occasions but its variable section locations, particularly in regard to the international sections, suggests that compilers recognised a new food item with some accompanying uncertainty about its place in the meal structure.

Globalisation and dissemination of new ideas into community cookbooks are at their most apparent with the spread of new technology. They can be examined to discern innovations like the automatic oven thermostat, pressure cooker, electric beater, food processor, electric frypan and microwave to give just a few examples. When new products appear on the market they are usually accompanied by commercial cookbooks designed to help consumers use their purchase. These recipes soon become part of community cookbook networks as compilers include new sections to educate their readers. Pressure cooker recipes were evident by 1950 soon after their introduction into New Zealand. Recipes for microwave dishes were rapidly assimilated into community books. The publishers of product cookbooks endeavoured to include New Zealanders’ favourite recipes so that prospective purchasers knew they could cook familiar fare. These recipes are spread into community cookbooks; one such example is the Frypan Pavlova (1995b).
Scrutiny of individual one-off publications of community cookbooks offers considerable insight into the social contexts of compilers and contributors at the time of publication. Because each ‘community’ has its own opinion in relation to selection policy and procedure, any observation of multiple one-time publications within a specific area may encounter a degree of individual community bias in a comparative study. It was hypothesised that investigating a community cookbook series may provide an opportunity to observe changing compiler or contributor behaviour over time without any possible influence from this partiality. Examination of a cookbook series produced by the same community (with its socioeconomic status, values and ideals) may also help discern if there is any observable impact from external influences. Baking recipes such as cakes and biscuits were analysed over a series of community cookbooks to determine whether compilers modified their selections, and if so, which ones they considered important to add or remove.

10.5 Cookery Book Series — St. Andrew’s Cookery Book

Dunedin’s first true community cookbook, St. Andrew’s Cookery Book (1905a), was such a success that it continued for thirteen editions. The first edition of the series was published at a time when Dunedin (and New Zealand) was well into a recovery stage from the depressions of the later nineteenth century. The city continued to expand its manufacturing sector and was particularly proud of its educational achievements. Wealth derived from the agricultural regions of Otago also benefited Dunedin’s economy. Dunedin at this period was not a small isolated city unaffected or unlikely to reflect contemporary trends and fashions. A number of recipes in the first edition were contributed by ‘leading ladies’ of the colony many of whom were local residents. Such women were often widely-travelled, well educated and knowledgeable about food (although it was probably prepared by servants).

Compiled by Mrs Helen Beadle together with the Sisterhood of St. Andrew the first edition was intended to promote the work of the church mission (Presbyterian). This series sold a total of 66,000 copies from all editions and provides a window into the compilation and contribution activities of this community. The first edition (1905a) contained 642 recipes – almost a third of these have attributions attached which
supply 184 names of contributors together with their streets of residence. Another 22 contributors used pseudonyms such as ‘A Friend’ or ‘Wellwisher’. The book offered the ultimate accolade of respectability with recipes from Victoria Plunket, wife of the Governor General, as well as many from wives of current or former members of parliament and leading business figures. Many of the contributors were from affluent or middle class suburbs of Dunedin although the wives of tradesmen and those on lower incomes also took part (Leach 2003: iii–viii; Leach 2006b: 35–36). This church ‘community’ encompassed people from a variety of income levels but were predominantly those with middle class values, lifestyles and expectations.

The St. Andrew’s series was selected for in-depth perusal because it is New Zealand’s earliest example of a community cookbook series. Publication of this series occurred over a period of two and half decades from 1905–1932, a time during which New Zealand underwent considerable social changes, experiencing a world war and depression. Baking recipes were examined for retention or removal over the publication period to achieve some insight into contributor and compiler behaviour.

The category of baked goods (which incidentally includes uncooked cakes [ingredients boiled then mixed and set], and those cooked on a stovetop such as pikelets), was selected for analysis for several reasons. Many items in this category can be served on varying occasions, for example morning and afternoon teas, lunches and suppers. Communal social gatherings are usually enhanced by offerings of food, often with decorated cakes or baking that is in some way deemed ‘special’ or ‘fashionable’ thus accruing status to its producer. Recipes (or their products) that give the impression of conferring a benefit (esteem, prize money, selection for publication etc.) to their manufacturer are more likely to become part of a distribution network as women request and exchange recipes.

Examination of all community cookbooks in the collection reveals that baking sections (characterised as cakes, biscuits, slices etc.) are generally the largest sections in books and the ones most likely to be present. Generations of New Zealand women understood the tradition of offering hospitality to guests – cups of tea, cakes and scones (or something very similar). Such an accomplishment was enhanced with home-made items which were a tangible reflection of the hostess’s culinary capabilities. This category of food provided a means through which women could
demonstrate expertise, identity and ethnicity. Many women lived on through their recipes. New Zealand community cookbooks abound with recipes titled Aunt .... Cakes, Mrs....Biscuits, Grandma’s Fruit Cake etc. Furthermore to achieve a successful and consistent result regardless of the occasion, baked items require relatively exact ingredient proportions, thus the need for a memory aid, or recipe.

The baking recipes in the first edition of the *St. Andrew’s Cookery Book* (1905a) are similar to other recipes of this type published in New Zealand at this time. Recipes are generally written in what is termed a paragraph format. Instructions, particularly regarding oven temperatures and cooking times are less precise than they would become later in the century. There was an assumption of culinary knowledge contained within these pages – readers would understand how to achieve, assess and maintain coal range oven temperatures described as ‘cool’, ‘moderate’, ‘quick’ etc. Often the length of time required to cook an item was omitted completely, although there was sometimes advice to cook until a certain colour change was noticed, for example ‘golden’. A survey of over half the baking recipes (n=111) in the 1905a edition demonstrates the characteristic variance of cooking directives (see Table 10.3.). The cooking temperatures shown in Table 10.3 are not the exact numerical measurements found in later books where the ovens have thermostatic controls, instead they consist of terms describing oven heat. These terms include – gentle, rather slow, slow, steady, good, moderate, moderately hot, hot, rather hot, quick, brisk, well-heated and very hot.

In the first edition evidence suggests that the compiler (Helen Beadle) and her organising committee were either eager to include selections from all their contributors, or to offer purchasers as much variety as possible because twenty four different recipe types have multiple entries. Recipes for Cream Cakes, Macaroons and Coconut [sic] Cakes were the most popular, with four recipes contributed for each type. The book demonstrated little evidence of systematic organisation within the two sections titled ‘Cakes’ and ‘Biscuits’, or any effort to alphabetise recipes. ‘Cakes’ included small cakes, bread, buns, scones, icings and lemon honey. Later books would separate these into sections for cakes, small cakes, eggless cakes, biscuits, and scones and bread.
TABLE 10.3. Cooking Instructions for Baked Items in *St. Andrew’s Cookery Book* (1905)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructions</th>
<th>Time &amp; D.O.H.*</th>
<th>Time but no D.O.H.*</th>
<th>D.O.H.* but no time</th>
<th>Container only</th>
<th>No Instructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*D.O.H. = Descriptive Oven Heat*

However Helen Beadle and her committee appeared to have been well satisfied with the selection of recipes offered to readers in the early editions as very few of the recipes for baked goods were discarded. By the fourth edition (1909) only two of the original recipes had been removed – one of the two Passion Fruit Cake recipes and a second recipe for Walnut Cake, while they supplied two new additional ones (Feather Cake and Sponge Cake). Sponge cakes were a popular component of New Zealand women’s baking repertoires from at least 1889. Isobel Broad (1889) includes Almond Sponge Cakes with her offerings, while Elizabeth Brown Miller’s (1889) readers could choose from Victoria Sandwich (a layered sponge cake joined with jam or cream), Sponge Roll, or Sponge Cake (with butter). Reflecting a growing partiality for this type of cake (referred to as New Zealand’s national cake by Aunt Daisy in 1934, *NZWW* April 12: 23), the organisers of subsequent editions frequently provided new versions while eradicating those presumably deemed less desirable. The eighth edition (1919) provided recipes for Billy Sponge, Coffee Sponge, Sponge Cake (good) and Sponge, Quick while the twelfth (1927b) supplied five more entitled Butter Sponge, Gingerbread Sponge, Sponge Cake, New and two for Sponge Sandwich.

The compilers of the sixth edition (1913) embarked on a number of modifications however (see Table 10.4) by adding twenty six new recipes and taking out fifty five others. It is unknown however if this was due to a different compiler and committee with new inclusion policies, or simply that the compiler/s either recognised a need to appeal to current users with an up-to-date selection or that it was part of a strategy to attract new readers. Recipes with an asterisk (Table 10.4) indicate that these fifteen recipes too were later discarded. It is difficult almost one hundred years later to determine why specific recipes were added, particularly those that were later removed.
Recipes that demonstrate a sudden popularity may include those with unusual ingredients or rate a mention in a women's magazine or an endorsement by a local identity. The fifth edition of *St. Andrew's Cookery Book* provided two recipes for Seed Cake. One of these was then discarded and two new ones selected for publication. There is little to indicate any preference for one cake over the other – possibly some recipe preferences have as much to do with the personalities of those involved in the selection procedures as with the recipe itself. Recipes with an association with American cuisine (such as Doughnuts) may have been perceived as fashionable and thus worthy of inclusion.

There were most likely several reasons for the large numbers of recipes (55) that were discarded by the compiler in the 1913 sixth edition (Table 10.5). Some of the cast-offs were named recipes – Margaret, Addie's, Mrs Henry, and quite possibly the significance of these associations may have no longer been relevant. Many of the cakes were of the more regular offerings (Cocoanut, Orange, and Queen) that were prone to frequent alterations in occurrence. Some may have been considered old-fashioned and no longer compatible with the ideals regarding their publication. If there were indeed new compilers their selection procedures and ideas unquestionably included their own cookery training, food habits and traditions all of which could have impacted on this publication.

**TABLE 10.4 Recipe Additions to St. Andrew’s Cookery Book (1913)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Recipes</th>
<th>New Recipes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apple Show Cake *</td>
<td>Maizena Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apple Scones *</td>
<td>Mrs Fortune *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apple Scones *</td>
<td>No-egg Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter Biscuits</td>
<td>Plain Cake (excellent) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bona Vista, Plain Cake</td>
<td>Plain Cake (excellent) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baking Powder Biscuits (American) *</td>
<td>Porridge Cakes - excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doughnuts</td>
<td>Scones, Brown *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger Cake *</td>
<td>Scotch Shortbread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger Cake *</td>
<td>Seed Cake *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Fruit Cake</td>
<td>Seed Cake *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jelly Cake *</td>
<td>Selby Cake *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Cakes *</td>
<td>Tea Cake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.5 Recipes Discontinued in *St. Andrew's Cookery Book* (1913)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discontinued Recipes</th>
<th>Discontinued Recipes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addie's Cake</td>
<td>Nut Rings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon Tea Cakes</td>
<td>Oatmeal Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almond Cakes</td>
<td>Orange Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almond Fingers</td>
<td>Passion Sponge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almond Fingers</td>
<td>Pound Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almond Sponge</td>
<td>Queen Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auntie's Tea Cake</td>
<td>Queen Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown Walnut Cake</td>
<td>Queen Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buns, Plain</td>
<td>Queen's Sponge Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese Cakes</td>
<td>Ratafia Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chocolate Cake</td>
<td>Rice Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoanut [sic] Cakes</td>
<td>Rice Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee Cake</td>
<td>Rich Christmas Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cream Cakes</td>
<td>Rosie's Tea Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cream Cakes</td>
<td>Sand Cake (Old German Cake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florentine Biscuits</td>
<td>Sandwich Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Biscuits</td>
<td>Scripture Text Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Biscuits</td>
<td>Seed Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger Biscuits (No. 2)</td>
<td>Siesta Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground Rice Rocks</td>
<td>Sponge Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iced Chocolate Cake</td>
<td>Sponge Nuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisses</td>
<td>Sponge Roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemon Sandwiches</td>
<td>Strawberry Shortcake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaroons</td>
<td>Swiss Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaroons</td>
<td>Trilby Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Cake</td>
<td>Walnut Cake (No1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Henry's Cake</td>
<td>Walnut Fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice Tea Cake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recipes for baking continued to be selected and discarded for subsequent editions of the *St. Andrew's Cookery Book*. Occasionally some had a recognisable source such as the Belgian Biscuit recipe contributed by Mrs Davidson (1919). This first appeared courtesy of a commercial recipe page advertising Waitaki Butter in the 1915 seventh edition. It is difficult again to attribute motives or behavioural attributes to the compilers because of their lack of identity or knowledge about their permanence. By 1927 the twelfth edition contained several new additions including American recipes like Devil’s Food Cake. Although the contributor is not given with this recipe it may well have come from a person connected to the University of Otago’s School of Home Science. By this time Professor A. G. Strong was Dean of the Faculty of Home Science and brought an American influence to the university curriculum. She provided information and recipes to the salads section of the twelfth edition (1927b). Although these are not actually attributed to her in the St. Andrew’s cookbook,
identical recipes and information published in *Dainty Recipes* (1927a) – another Dunedin community cookbook, appear with her name. This example demonstrates one possible supplier of new ideology and food practices entering the community.

TABLE 10.6 New Baking Recipes in *St. Andrew's Cookery Book* (1927b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Recipes</th>
<th>New Recipes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bran Cakes</td>
<td>Johnny All Sorts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandy Snap</td>
<td>Kathie's Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuits</td>
<td>Khaki Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuits for Forcer</td>
<td>Marshmallow Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor Cake</td>
<td>Nut Loaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter Sponge</td>
<td>Oatie Joys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheap Cake</td>
<td>Oatina Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese Biscuits</td>
<td>Oatmeal Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese Rolls</td>
<td>Passion Fruit Sandwich Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Cake, French</td>
<td>Plain Little Cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinnamon Biscuits</td>
<td>Sultana Cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee Cake</td>
<td>Spanish Bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Cake</td>
<td>Shrewsbury Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currant Loaf or Buns</td>
<td>Shortbread Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Cake</td>
<td>Sponge Cake, New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Squares</td>
<td>Sponge Sandwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devil's Food Cake</td>
<td>Sponge Sandwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gingerbread Sponge</td>
<td>Tangoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurry-up Cakes</td>
<td>Vienna Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iced Biscuits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compiler/s of the first edition of the *St. Andrew's Cookery Book* (1905a) readily included recipes from the majority (if not all) of their congregation members who supplied them. The range of socioeconomic levels among these members suggests that the social standing of the contributor was not the most essential criteria for a recipe to be included in the project; after all the focus was on fund-raising. Following an initial period that produced several successful editions of the cookbook, the compiler/s decided to revise the recipes and offer readers a selection of new ones. There were considerable differences in the extent of revisions between editions which suggests that there may have been some changes with compilers or in their compilation procedures. Access to new culinary information may also be a factor as these women would no doubt have been aware of contemporary food interests.
The retention of many of the original recipes from the first edition could be regarded as conservatism or loyalty towards their contributors, since no doubt many of the women of this church community knew each other. Such recipes may equally have been considered to be the recipe core without which no household could provide suitable items for guests and family members. These recipes represent a tradition of baked goods that originated in Great Britain and America and were generally part of the repertoire of the majority of women in New Zealand at that time. There was also considerable contact between New Zealand and Australia and because of their shared cooking heritage determining the source of material can be difficult.

The cookbook’s compiler and her committee were committed to raising money for a good cause, and no doubt went to considerable lengths to provide the best product to attract potential purchasers. Yet these books demonstrate a level-headed level approach towards recipe compilation; they do not contain recipes that were impracticable because of ingredient availability or technical difficulty. Rather they offered a well thought-out choice of recipes suitable for all social occasions and range of budgets. While it is evident that the contributors demonstrated a range of culinary skills through the language of their recipes, this scale was still generally beyond beginner status. By publishing these recipes, many lacking detailed cooking instructions, the compilers displayed their expectations that a certain standard of cookery knowledge was widespread among potential readers. By examining a community cookbook series, certain insights can be ascertained into the minds of contributors and compilers. The compilers of St. Andrew’s Cookery Book in Dunedin managed to combine a blend of practicality with small amounts of innovation, thus producing a community cookbook that reflected the cookery knowledge of the women of their community. By publishing a community cookbook series they ensured that the recipes from their culinary repertoires were dispersed amongst the cooks of Dunedin, and without doubt, much further afield.

10.6 Conclusion

Community cookbooks are publications that draw their recipes from local communities. They do not have the prescriptive tone of the school cookery book, nor
are they focused on explaining a new piece of kitchen technology. The cooking information in community cookery books is not delivered in small amounts, like the cooking column of a magazine. What they have in common with all these other types of cookery publication though, is people. After all, many women learnt, or supplemented their personal cookery skills in the school cooking classroom from a cookery teacher. Presumably all the contributors and purchasers of community cookbooks produced their own food on kitchen equipment that was familiar to them, though they probably modernised it every now and again and discussed new innovations with friends. It is highly likely that a number of these women read magazines, especially the cooking pages, and they may well have listened to radio programmes with culinary information. In other words, community cookbooks are produced by local groups that include women who have been exposed to a variety of methods of culinary transmission; community cookbooks are the culmination, or repositories of such knowledge. An in-depth examination of community cookbooks in this chapter demonstrated that they were a form of fund-raising activity that became popular in New Zealand communities. Through these documents, the food habits of the community that produced them can be studied, contributor and compiler behaviour observed and introductions of new food dishes can be determined. Community organisations created these cookbooks, inspired and encouraged by the individuals within them. They are a significant part of New Zealand’s culinary history. When considered as a group they are probably the most important in terms of conveying culinary knowledge, beliefs and practices throughout the nation. Although they are often unable to provide many details concerning the people who created and used them, without subsequent study of their pages such women may never be discovered at all.
Chapter Eleven — Conclusion

11.1 Conclusion

Sixty-seven years ago, anthropologist Alfred Kroeber observed that we can only speculate how the processes of diachronic transmission and synchronic diffusion operate. Even today, the mechanisms whereby some ideas or elements of material culture are dispersed, become successful or evolve into new concepts, are often not identified or understood. This thesis however, has shown that a form of proxy material culture, the recipe, can be tracked during the course of transmission and diffusion with a degree of precision seldom possible with other forms of material culture. Our understanding of the processes of cultural transmission has been enhanced by this study of the movement of culinary knowledge in nineteenth and twentieth century New Zealand. Information about cooking is a specific type of cultural knowledge that is shared and disseminated in various ways. The cultural environment in which this transmission takes place, the origin of the information, its content, the context and way in which it is dispersed and received, all have a substantial effect on determining acceptance or rejection of this cookery knowledge, and on any subsequent modification. This thesis used recipe analysis to determine how these factors operated within several different types of transmission mechanisms operating in New Zealand.

The thesis initially reviewed early methods of culinary transmission in Britain, such as the printed version of the manuscript cookery book and the printed cookbook, and discussed how these transformed the way in which information about cooking and food practices was disseminated. In the seventeenth century the advent of the female cookery book author changed the type of culinary information that appeared in cookbooks. Rather than the elaborate dishes cooked by the chefs of the nobility, cookery books containing recipes suitable for family meals were now available to the general public among whom literacy was spreading rapidly. Substantial numbers of recipes appearing in these books were ‘borrowed’ or plagiarised from other authors which ensured that many of the most popular recipes continued in circulation for a number of years.
The emergence of the small, privately-run cookery school in the late seventeenth century provided additional means of disseminating cookery knowledge — in the cookery class, and in cookery books specially provided by cooking teachers for their scholars. Both the format of the cooking class and its associated cookbook provided means to disperse culinary knowledge on a much greater scale than any previous mechanisms like inter-generational transmission from mother to daughter, and the collection of recipes in a manuscript cookery book. The mid-eighteenth century development of the semi-professional cookery schools expanded the capacity of culinary transmission, but these lacked the impact of the large cookery institutions that emerged in Britain from the 1870s onwards because they did not train cooking teachers.

The advent of cookery establishments such as the National Training School of Cookery in London produced substantial numbers of trained cooking teachers who obtained employment in state-run schools, offered fee-paying classes, gave cooking demonstrations, and published cookbooks, a number of which were specifically intended as school cookery instruction manuals. These women not only dispersed the cookery information they acquired in their training throughout the United Kingdom, but a significant number travelled to countries such as India, Australia and New Zealand to pass on their cooking knowledge.

A study of two cookery teachers trained at the Edinburgh School of Cookery who subsequently came to Dunedin and taught cooking classes, was used to determine a vector of culinary transmission from Scotland to New Zealand. The recipes from a number of these cookery lessons were also published in issues of a Dunedin newspaper. This work then established that there was an association between one of the Edinburgh-trained cooking teachers (Mrs Macpherson), and a local cookery instructor (Mrs Miller), with the highly likely outcome that there was an exchange of culinary information between them. Cooking teachers like Dunedin’s Elizabeth Brown Miller went on to have distinguished careers in teaching, and through their classes (given all over the country) and cookbooks, they transmitted their culinary knowledge to the next generation of cooks, and no doubt had some influence on successive cookery repertoires.
As discussed at the beginning of this chapter (and throughout this thesis), the agent who is actually assembling and transmitting the culinary information is extremely important, as is the way in which it is transmitted. One characteristic that early cookery teachers such as Mrs Miller, the cooking demonstrators, the home science school-trained school cooking teachers and Aunt Daisy all had in common, was that the general public considered them to be cookery experts. This perception of expertise invested their information, or teaching practice, with an authority that facilitated its dissemination into the public arena. However, as this study has shown, there was not universal acceptance of their cookery knowledge, even when such information was delivered by graduates trained at the University of Otago’s School of Home Science.

School cooking teachers passed on their culinary skills and taught their pupils to cook basic family meals, but the recipes they used in their classrooms were not generally retransmitted into community cookbooks unless they had been modified almost beyond recognition. Although some transmission of recipes from American cookery sources was evident in community cookbooks (as with Oakhill Potatoes), overall these made little impact on the British-inspired culinary tradition so prevalent in New Zealand until the latter part of the twentieth century. Recipes in school cookbooks, with their simple instructions and small quantities, were the blueprints for training new cooks. Schools’ cooking teachers taught cookery skills and in their classrooms each week (or fortnight) pupils practised their techniques until they were able to prepare meals for themselves and eventually a family. In time they were able to do this without formal, written recipes.

The introduction of new kitchen technology also played an essential role in the transmission of cookery knowledge. The need to promote new products and to explain unfamiliar equipment, whether by advertisements, cooking demonstrations or cookbooks, accelerated the diffusion of technology-related culinary information. Despite this rapid circulation of cooking advice, few of the recipes from any of the associated cookery books were retransmitted into New Zealand community cookbooks until the appearance of the microwave oven in the 1980s. Although earlier introductions of the gas or electric cooking stoves had required cookery demonstrations and cookbooks, the actual cooking methods were not that different to those used for wood and coal-fired stoves. The way a microwave worked however
needed completely different cooking techniques and therefore its introduction prompted a much larger diffusion of cookery information and recipes. Thus, the extent to which new technology (or food items or ideas) relates to pre-existing technology and culinary traditions, directly affects how quickly this information is dispersed, the amount required, and its possible acceptance into cookery practice and repertoires.

The influence of a charismatic figure like Aunt Daisy, with her various methods of horizontal culinary diffusion, was considerably more extensive than localised cooking classes or cooking demonstrations. However, because of her rather conservative recipe selection policies, Aunt Daisy was less of an instigator of new food trends and more of a guardian of existing culinary traditions, although she was extremely effective in circulating culinary knowledge, particularly through her ‘Daisy Chain’.

Magazines and newspapers are publications in which cooking information can be rapidly and frequently diffused over large areas. Magazines regularly contain cooking columns that dispense cooking advice, information and recipes. A number of these publications maintain a configuration which encourages readers’ queries, consequently producing an interactive and often highly responsive format for contemporary culinary trends. Quite a few magazines offer incentives for readers to participate in recipe contribution and/or readers’ questions. Magazines also have a close association with advertisers, a number of whom provided prize money for recipe competitions, particularly using a sponsor’s product as an ingredient. This type of publication, with its frequent publication schedule, provides a method to quickly diffuse culinary information as well as a reason to participate in the process. Because cookery competitions often stimulate recipe innovations in the hope of obtaining a winning entry, then such publications are often sources of new cooking trends and new recipe variants which circulate rapidly over large areas. Cooking columns in magazines typically have editors who select the cookery information and recipes for inclusion in its pages. Some are conservative, like Aunt Daisy, while others such as Tui Flower (in the New Zealand Woman’s Weekly) introduce their readers to new culinary methods, recipes and technology.
This thesis has offered a valuable insight into the community-contributed cookbook and its role in the transmission of culinary knowledge in New Zealand. Community cookbooks are produced by collective endeavours, groups of people who, for fund-raising purposes, publish a collection of recipes. These publications not only circulate cookery knowledge but they also demonstrate the culinary repertoires and the accumulated skill-base of the people who participate in such a project. The cooks who contributed their recipes had all acquired some competence in cookery and it is highly likely that they attended school cooking classes. These cooks were presumably familiar with cooking technology and many may well have looked at a cookery column in a magazine. In other words, cooks in any community were exposed to a variety of coexisting culinary influences. Recipes that appeared in community cookbooks were (and in fact still are) constantly transmitted in and out community cookery books, magazines or newspapers, television or radio cooking programmes, although they may undergo a number of modifications and retransmissions during the process. Community cookery books therefore are the repositories of the cooking knowledge circulating in communities throughout New Zealand.

By using recipe micro-analysis and studying the movement of recipes and cookery knowledge, this thesis has identified some of the mechanisms of cultural transmission that operated in New Zealand. The study has shown that there are distinct types of culinary transmission that flow along various pathways with varying outcomes of success and failure in terms of recipe acceptance or rejection. The circumstances in which the dissemination of culinary knowledge took place (formal or informal), the context (school classroom, cooking demonstration, magazine recipe column), and the driving force, or person producing and imparting the information, considerably affected how it was received by the general public.

The thesis established that transmission pathways could be determined and tracked by analysing the flow of recipes and culinary information. Cooking teachers who trained at the large institutions in Britain, such as the National, were among the early cookery teachers in New Zealand who disseminated their culinary skills into the community through cookery classes and cookbooks. Their recipes were retained in these communities and transmitted (and retransmitted) into community cookbooks.
School cooking teachers trained at the University of Otago's School of Home Science were exposed to a variety of culinary influences through their training yet they were most influential in the long-term development of the culinary skills of New Zealand's girls through their success at teaching generations of girls to cook in the formal situation of the school classroom. What they taught were the methods and recipe concepts, rather than transmitting any of the American-based ideas from their training, or by providing recipes for elaborate or high class cooking.

Recipes in the cookery columns of magazines and newspapers were shown to be much more innovative than those found in school cookery books, or even those in community cookbooks in a number of examples. This examination of recipes in New Zealand magazines provided an opportunity to study the most rapid form of diffusion of culinary knowledge. Such research has not been undertaken in New Zealand previously and provided an insight into how quickly new recipe ideas can be diffused throughout the country. Letters from readers that ask for specific recipes in magazine cookery columns give a clear indication that these publications represent the food items actually eaten in households. Studying this type of periodical illustrates what it is that people eat and for which they require recipes, what it is that they want to know how to cook, and how quickly new food fashions are adopted into culinary repertoires.

When cultural transmission has been studied by anthropologists it has often been considered holistically as the method of dispersing information, that is, not regarded as part of a system in which a number of transmission processes occur simultaneously. This thesis successfully demonstrates that culinary (cultural) transmission does not occur in isolation and that it can be part of a network of transmission mechanisms utilising different conduits. Who controls the network has a considerable impact on the type of information that is disseminated, in addition to how quickly it moves and the degree of eventual acceptance, as was demonstrated in the chapter on Aunt Daisy.

This thesis has also revealed the significance of the community cookbook in culinary transmission. A series of community cookery books, such as the thirteen editions of St. Andrew's Cookery Book, can reflect the introduction of new recipe trends and
recipe ingredients as well as indicating which of those dishes have perhaps fallen from favour as they disappear from the pages of such books. When combined with other books from the same region, they can indicate rapid culinary diffusion within that area. When compared with other regions’ cookbook series they can indicate a popular local innovation that is eventually dispersed further afield. Even the study of the one-off community-inspired cookery book provides a window into the cookery skills of the group that produced it. These books characteristically offer selections of recipes in circulation at time of publication and studying such works allows an insight into what is considered important to the group in culinary terms.

Although significant new information has been provided about the transmission of culinary knowledge in New Zealand, this type of research has a limited timeframe. During the course of this work several areas were identified that would benefit from further research. These include the processes involved in learning to cook at home from a family member and the extent of home-based instruction compared to school cookery classes during the course of the twentieth century. There has been relatively little research undertaken so far on children learning to cook at home and how it has changed, particularly in recent decades with the apparent decline in cooking skills. This work has used the all-encompassing concept of ‘British culinary traditions’ against which to assess any long-term change in New Zealand cookery traditions. However, the extent to which the British culinary tradition as represented in mainstream cookbooks like Beeton and Acton, differed from those transmitted in the manuals of British-trained cookery teachers has yet to be investigated. A comparison between the recipes of cookery teachers who gave classes in New Zealand who were trained at the National (or other English cookery schools) with those from the Scottish cookery schools would also be useful to demonstrate any significant similarities or differences in their culinary repertoires.

This work has concentrated mainly on the recipes found in magazines and cookery books as primary sources. However there are additional sources of cookery information that are also vehicles of culinary transmission. Four key areas for future analysis are the recipes in advertising ephemera, pamphlets, brochures, and booklets; the influence of authored cookery books (like Alison Holst’s); the importance of television in transmitting food and cookery information in New Zealand (such as
Hudson and Hall); and the success of restaurant (and café) dining in effecting change in home cooking. Recipes that appear in advertisements constitute an area of research that has a considerable variety and quantity of source material, although these types of publications are typically undated and the author is usually unknown. These small works appear frequently and transmission of their information is generally widespread. There is evidence that some products promoted by this means became established in culinary repertoires, for example Instant Pudding Biscuits, and a variety of dishes using Maggi soups.

Authored cookbooks have been used in this research, although generally in the context of studying the diffusion of cookery knowledge from a cooking teacher like Mrs Miller. Although single-authored cookbooks have been produced in New Zealand for well over one hundred years, the late twentieth century proliferation of such cookery books has resulted in a considerable body of cooking literature that demonstrates the introduction of a number of new culinary trends. Whether such authors were leading, or responding to, such developments is worthy of further investigation, as is the degree of influence they exerted on the culinary repertoires of New Zealand’s cooks.

New Zealand’s first television chef, Graham Kerr, was viewed more for his entertainment value than his recipes judging from their failure to penetrate community cookbooks. Since that time a number of television cooking programmes, and associated cookbooks, have been appeared in New Zealand. Probably the most influential were those featuring Alison Holst whose recipes were widely reproduced. The differing outcomes of transmitting cookery knowledge in this manner have not been researched in New Zealand and considering the number available on television today, this is an area worth investigating. The audience interest in this type of broadcast is significant although whether it is purely for entertainment, or whether many (or any) of the recipes are actually cooked, is not clear.

Restaurants and cafés can often be the venue for first-time culinary experiences of different cookery traditions. Do such establishments merely awaken interest in food of other cultures or do they actively entice consumers to try such dishes in their own homes? A pre-requisite for such experimentation is a cookbook interpreting the
methods and ingredients for local use. Once again this demonstrates the importance of recipes to successful cultural and cross-cultural transmissions.

In providing an insight into how the mechanisms of culinary transmission operate, this thesis alerts us to the fact that cultural diffusion and transmission, core concepts in anthropological definitions of culture, encompass much more than simple parent-child or teacher-pupil relationships. The complex pathways of transmission, identified and explored in this work, also reveal the contexts in which cultural information is differentially transmitted and received, leading to greater understanding of the circumstances under which culture change can occur.

The selection and transmission of recipes and culinary knowledge occurs in a manner similar to Darwin's ideas about the evolution of species. The combined effect of selection pressures at various levels enhances the survival of certain recipes relative to others, although the criteria for choosing them are largely culturally-determined. Admittedly there are also environmental factors, such as economic and political constraints, and some recipes that have a high survival rate in one context become more likely to disappear when conditions change, as with a war and rationing. This study has demonstrated a number of examples where selection has improved the cultural transmission and longevity of recipes and cooking knowledge, even if it results in the maintenance of the status quo by eliminating the less well-adapted variants. Such an analysis has the capacity to considerably advance our understanding of cultural transmission and asks the question, 'why have anthropologists ignored the potential of recipes and recipes assemblages for so long?' Recipes analysed in time and space reveal the inner workings of cultural transmission and the conditions under which cultural change can occur. They constitute highly responsive data for the study of anthropological processes.
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