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Janet Mitchell

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

1995
Abstract

Between 1870 and 1970 both the culture and food habits of New Zealand European society underwent change. In the past food habits have been examined using either an historical approach or consumption and nutritional data. These approaches however have not explained how change has occurred. Anthropologists working in other countries have approached this problem in several different ways. A structural approach to meals and the meal system gives answers to why food habits are slow to change. But this approach does not address change. A sociological approach which takes account of changes in the society explains how the interplay of societal factors can cause change but it does not account for the stability of food habits over long periods. This study combines these approaches to give an answer to the phenomenon of stability and change which characterised European New Zealanders' food habits from 1870-1970.

Evidence of change in food habits and in the culture was linked to changing social conditions, ideas about food and changes in technology. Material on the topic was collected from written sources — in particular recipe books were found to be a valuable tool.

In this study the evidence established that while all of the factors mentioned above played a role in the transformation of food habits in European New Zealand society, substantive change at any one time was linked to the social conditions that influenced women's role in the household.
Acknowledgements

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<td>New Zealand Woman's Weekly</td>
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<td>Otago Daily Times</td>
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<td>WCTU</td>
<td>Women's Christian Temperance Union</td>
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1 Introduction

Frame of Reference

Food habits are a cultural expression which reflect the broader changes in the structure of a society over time. The term food habits according to Murcott (1988: 3) used in a general rather than a precise sense can be taken "to cover the widest possible range of food choice, preferences, meal patterns and cuisine". 'Meals', for this reason, and the dimensions associated with them namely, foodstuffs, meal formats, kitchen arrangements and technology, household composition and meal service, ideas about diet, social relationships, status, identity etc. can be taken as a reference points to illustrate the effect of social and cultural changes on New Zealanders' food habits over the period under review.

The century 1870-1970 which this study addresses saw many changes in food habits, some rapid, others progressive over a decade or more. Before dealing with the inter-relationships and causes of these changes it is useful to provide a summary description of food habits and associated factors for the three main period into which the century can be divided. This summary and the accompanying illustrations are designed to 'set the scene' so that the analysis that follows can be adequately contextualised. The details in the summary are dealt with in later sections and referenced there.

1870-1914

By the 1890s a worker-settler population was well established in New Zealand. The population was predominantly urban and most family units lived in either a 3-4 roomed cottage or a slightly larger villa either in a small town or a main centre. The kitchen in these houses was to be found at the back of the house often under a lean to roof, "with a 'back kitchen' or 'scullery' where the washing up was done, and a pantry beside or behind the cooking kitchen" (Salmond 1986: 155), (Figure 5). The coal range was widespread. It was often set back to back with either the bedroom or the parlour fireplace and was used both for cooking and to heat water (Figure 2, 8). Some households towards the end of the period were installing a gas cooker (Figure 7). Most households had a parlour but meals were often cooked and served in the kitchen which also served as a family living area (Figure 10). The kitchen was in most households the heart of the house. The wealthier section of the population however were likely to have had a separate dining room (Figure 6). Perishable food was stored in a safe on the cold side of the house, and food requiring dry storage was stored in a pantry. Apart from the
coal range, other equipment and appliances used for food preparation would have included iron pots and pans, pie dishes and cake tins, eggbeaters and graters. An enamel finish was commonly used for holloware such as bowls and jugs (Figure 10).

Households at this time were large. In the 1880s live births numbered 5-6 per women, and households were liable to have at least one servant, and sometimes a male lodger (Figure 3, 4). Unmarried women also lived at home. This meant that meals were being prepared in households for at least 7-10 persons half of whom might be adults. Consequently, prodigious amounts of food by modern standards were cooked daily.

The main meal of the day was probably served at midday as most people lived close to their work. On a normal workday it might consist of a meat dish stewed or roasted, potatoes and vegetables boiled or baked, and a baked or steamed pudding. Wealthier households may also have served soup, an entée and a savoury and or a cheese course.

In smaller houses that did not have a separate dining room, serving dishes and cutlery were kept in a built in cupboard or on shelves near the stove or on a kitchen dresser (Figure 10). Meals were probably dished directly on to the plates from the cooking pots or into meat and vegetable dishes for service at the table. Most households used the central kitchen table for eating as well as food preparation. In 'better' households dining was in a separate room which may have been joined to the kitchen by a butler's pantry where dishes for serving were stored. Serving dishes and a servant were essential with this arrangement if the meal was to keep hot.

Sets of plates and silver suitable for each course were stored in the butler's pantry. For a formal dinner of five courses, for example soup, fish, roast, sweet, a cheese dish and dessert, plates of five different sizes and shapes would be required as well as special utensils to eat each course with. Three or four wine glasses of different sizes and shapes would also be required.

The more complex the course structure of a meal the more sets of dishes cutlery and personnel were required for its service. This meant that a large house was necessary to accommodate both the material culture and the personnel involved in such a lifestyle.

1914-1939

Early in the 20th century a salaried middle class established itself and become the predominant group in the population. The population became more indigenous and at the same time more homogeneous. The idea of a
classless society flourished and this was reflected in both the meals served and in the housing designs.

By the end of this period, housing had changed, the bungalow which had arrived in the country from California about 1910 had established itself and with it came a more informal living style. According to Salmond

the very names of the rooms suggested a different life style — "living room" for parlour, "breakfast room" for dining room, "kitchenette" for kitchen (now combined with the scullery). (Salmond 1986: 200)

Rooms were smaller and the kitchenette probably included built in food storage cupboards as well as a safe, a sink and a small built in eating area (Figure 15, 16). A breakfast room often adjoined the kitchenette. An electric or gas stove was the norm in most urban areas (Figure 9, 12, 13, 14). A servery area between kitchenette and breakfast room built into a bank of china cupboards was also a common arrangement.

Aluminium saucepans which required less care were used for cooking and many other kitchen gadgets were available to aid food preparation. Toasters and electric jugs were common (Figure 11).

The size of the household had also declined during the period. Two to three children over most of the period was the norm, and few families had a live-in servant. Although some foodstuffs during the Depression years may have been restricted (meat was the item most likely to be restricted because of the cost) most households continued to follow the meal patterns of the previous period. Meats, both roast and stewed were served accompanied by potatoes and vegetables. The most notable change was the sweet, which tended to be lighter and was more inclined to consist of a milk pudding and fruit than a heavy steamed pudding or pie. The quantities of food served were also likely to be less.

Meals were no longer cooked and served in the kitchen as had been the norm for many families neither were they prepared in a kitchen isolated from a dining room which was the custom in better off households. More families came to serve the meal in an area separate from but adjoining the kitchen, which was more comfortable for eating compared with a hot kitchen and more convenient for service compared with an isolated dining room. The dining table was smaller as it was no longer required to serve so many people or so many courses. Accordingly the necessity for a variety of dishes and cutlery for eating the meal declined. Storage requirement for these also declined and kitchen dressers tended to be replaced by kitchen cupboards.
The main meal of the day in urban areas was probably served in the evening as housing in the main centres continued to extend into the suburbs and workers had further to travel to their workplace.

1939-1970

The 1950s and early 1960s were a period of stability in New Zealand society. Women re-established themselves as homemakers after the disruption of the war, the population increased as new immigrants arrived in the country, and housing continued to expand into new suburbs. According to Rosenfeld (1960: 6) continuing informality of living patterns influenced house planning in such a way that the remnants of social prestige were seen to give way to personal comfort. The living room was no longer kept just for guests and the dining room was used for multiple purposes. Kitchens tended to become the centre of family living rather than an isolated room and areas and multipurpose spaces that could flow or overflow into each other became popular e.g. kitchen living dining areas, living dining play areas, and kitchen dining areas.

The kitchen area according to Rosenfeld (ibid.: 14) was planned to be "not too big or not too small". Storage and counter heights were important and by the 1960s space was being planned in the work area for a refrigerator which was considered to be particularly important at the time not just for storage but to prevent "summer sickness". A dining alcove, not just a breakfast nook, situated near the serving area became popular as it saved space and eliminated the labour of walking and serving meals. It was made practical because fans were available to remove odours from the areas open to the kitchen. House plans at this time indicate that formal dining and entertaining were not an activity associated with ordinary households as few designs included a large separate dining area (Figure 19).

The National Food Survey of 1962 published in 1964 (Jnl. N.Z. Dietetic Assoc. 18: 17) found that the main meal still followed a familiar set pattern; a meat dish either of beef or mutton, potatoes and vegetables, carrots, cabbage, pumpkin, cauliflower and 'frozen' peas being most frequently served. Milk puddings including icecream and fruit were the most favoured dessert. Instant puddings and jellies (packet desserts) were also popular.

Because the kitchen opened to a dining alcove (although in state houses dining was often still in the kitchen), or a snack bar was used for casual meals, the labour of serving the meal was reduced and because in the suburban houses built after the war the dining alcove was often very small, the table size was further reduced in size as were the settings. The 'Danish Modern' style became popular both for furnishings and table settings. Dinner plates were smaller and cutlery was
reduced in size to complement them. Stainless steel was a popular material for cutlery sets and for serving dishes, and wine glasses used for formal dining also echoed the new style.

Post-1970

The 1970s however saw major changes in kitchens, equipment and meals. Kitchens continued to update their technology and new appliances such as stoves with automatic ovens were installed to aid the working wife. Deep freezers became more widespread and were popular for freezing garden produce, large quantities of meat and for home entertaining. The dining area expanded in size as entertaining especially by the middle classes rose in popularity. The kitchen became more separate but at the same time it also became a show place in terms of its design, decoration and latest equipment (Figure 21, 22). The kitchen which had once been a private room at the back of the house was now public space and a status symbol for the household. A popular arrangement in houseplans post-1970 was for the kitchen to be open on one side to a family room and on the other to the dining room; alternatively a family dining area was popular. Living areas once again were used for more formal entertaining and tended to become more separate although flow patterns were often preserved.

Major changes also began to occur in everyday meals. The combination of women working together with the increased availability of convenience food and the influence of 'international social movements' in society influenced meal and food behaviour. The 'counterculture' movement of the 1960s associated with vegetarianism that began in the United States, and later spread to New Zealand, the growing awareness of ethnic foods, and a growing consumer movement that began to question the safety of mass produced foods, meant that new forces were involved in shaping the nation's diet. In 1982 a nation wide survey of food habits found that:

1. The majority of households now served their main meals in the evening.
2. Small households of one or two people increased, while those of six or more declined although overall most households were about three, four, or five.
3. The main course was still meat accompanied by potatoes and some vegetables, but red meat consumption had began to decline. More poultry, fish and non- meat meals were being served. Potatoes were popular, but bread, rice and pasta were now being served with the dinner meal more often, although the increase in consumption was slight. Vegetable consumption did not change much but a wider variety was served. In 1962,
50% of households served puddings as part of the dinner meal but by 1982 only 32% served puddings. The decline occurred in all sorts of desserts except icecream (Health 1983: 4: 10-11).

Meal service had become even more informal. The introduction of the television meant that the meal was often eaten to the accompaniment of 'the news' and where the television was not in the same room as the dining table, meals were often eaten off the lap or off specially designed television tables. 'Frozen' television dinners which simply needed reheating were popular for a time. At the same time as family meal service became more informal, formal entertaining became more popular. As a result in new house designs, the dining area became more important and living rooms became more separate. Two levels of eating and food service became the norm in some households. Post-1970, diversity for the first time began to characterise New Zealanders' food habits.

Summary

New Zealand culture in the 1970s was not the same as the 1870s. Culture involves change and food habits are part of the process. According to Fieldhouse:

Food habits are part of a dynamic process; whilst they are basically stable and predictable, they are paradoxically, at the same time undergoing constant and continuous change. Culture is not static: it preserves traditions but also builds in mechanisms for change. Though the elements of food behaviour remain the same, the manner in which they are carried out is modified from generation to generation. (Fieldhouse 1986: 2-3)

Changes associated with meals for the period under review (1870-1970) involved:
1. The food items and their preparation, but not the overall structure of the main meal although some courses were dropped.
2. The situation in which meals were prepared, served, and eaten. As the period progressed kitchens and dining areas changed in shape and size and in relation to each other.
3. The technology associated with food preparation and cooking and service. Although everyday meals and the tableware associated with them became less complex, equipment available for preparation and cooking became more complex.
4. The household composition. Food habits are normally established in a family environment and this influences the meals that are cooked and served. But as the size of families declined their structure changed, and as women entered the paid workforce the style of meals and the meal service also altered.

The Problem

The notion that food habits are a product of culture is believed to be important in understanding both continuity and change in a nation's diet. In the past an understanding of food habits in New Zealand society has been sought using either an historical approach or consumption and nutritional data. These approaches however do not explain how food habits in a society are transformed.

The study that follows does not aim to solve any particular food related problems but rather to understand the transformation of food habits using an anthropological/sociological approach. Although it is acknowledged that these disciplines are not the same, they are according to Murcott (1988: 2) "close in the insistence that any aspect of human activity has to be studied in relation to the social context in which it occurs". This view is repeated in her paper Anthropology (Sociology?) and food: diversity in scope, approach and evidence (1992).

It is hypothesised in the study that follows that the mechanisms associated with culture change and the transformation of food habits in New Zealand society from 1870-1970 are social conditions, ideas, and technology. For the purpose of analysis the main meal is the baseline used to represent food habits. This represents within the food system both social and physical dimensions of food habits.

The study aims at explaining the development of food habits over a considerable time period of a nation. It is not a focussed study of a sub-group of people for a short period of time. This means that intimate detail associated with the social dimension of food is limited.

The following terms: diet, eating, food system, meal patterns, food event, meals, food items, dishes, recipes, menus, cuisine are used repeatedly throughout the thesis. For this reason a definition for each one follows:

Diet: an individual's normal food.
Eating: an event or act where nutrients are consumed.
Food system: a system of cultural rules governing the pattern of food intake. The food system consists of a repertory of particular meal formats and rules for when each is appropriate in terms of occasion and social audience. The food system also has a sensory, metaphysical and social dimension (Goode et al. 1984: 170).
Meal pattern: is associated with the sequence of meals and relates to the season of the year, work pattern, division of labour. Meal pattern has a social dimension. Food event: occasion at which food is served. The food may be accorded the status of a snack, meal or feast depending on the food items served, where the food is served, the method of service and how it is consumed, who participates, and the significance of the event (Goode et al 1984: 147).

Meals: A meal is composed of certain food items, prepared and combined in a certain way. It may have several courses. It has social relations. It relates to the occasion both in terms of time and space. It is associated with social relationships, settings, preparation procedures, service, ideas about diet, and identity (Goode 1984: 170).

Meal format: structure of a meal in relation to courses and dishes served.

Food items: individual foodstuffs

Menus: list of dishes to be served (Concise Oxford Dictionary).

Dish: particular type of food item prepared in a particular way. Rules for structuring dishes are usually encoded in recipes.

Recipe: ingredients and procedure for preparation of a dish.

Cuisine: country's or establishment's type of cooking. It implies certain ingredients preparation and cooking methods, flavourings and method of service.
Figure 1 Colonial range with sway, kettle and griddle.
H. E. SHACKLOCK'S
CELEBRATED
ORION Ranges.

They will burn
Lignite, true Coal, or Wood
up to 24 in. in length.

The
Flues are Self-contained
and
Need no Setting.

They can be worked
in a
Chimney or with Stove-pipe.

The Oven heats well
and is
A good Bread-baker.

30,000 of these Ranges now in use in the Colony.
Sold by all Ironmongers.

TOMB-RAILINGS, IRON FRETWORK, AND GENERAL CASTINGS
at Lowest Rates.

Catalogues on application to the Maker and Patentee—

H. E. SHACKLOCK, LTD.,
South End Foundry, Princes Street, DUNEDIN.

Figure 2 Shacklock's 'Orion' range advertised in 1886-1887.
Figure 3 Kitchen with coal range, servant and dresser.

Figure 4 Kitchen interior showing plate storage adjacent to the range.
Figure 5 House design 1914 with kitchen, scullery and pantry.

Figure 6 Dining table for four c.1911.
NOW IS THE TIME
To have a "WATERHEAT," or "PERFECTION"
GAS COOKER

EXPERT INSTRUCTION
Given, without charge, how to use Cooker.

...A FEW...
GOOD POINTS
CHEAP IN USE, A RELIABLE WORKER,
KITCHEN KEPT COOL, CONVENIENT,
NO DUST OR DIRT, SIMPLE,
ALWAYS READY AT YOUR BIDDING.

Christchurch Gas Co. Ltd.,
Exhibition Stand : No. A4 (opposite Strange & Co.,
and just south of Main Entrance)
SHOWROOMS : 158-160 WORCESTER STREET.

Figure 7 Gas cooker advertised 1906-1907.
Provides the Warmth and Comfort of an Open Fire

One of the many attractions of the Champion Range is that it can be turned into an open fire when cooking is finished. Remove the top plate, pull the catch, and a large open fire is obtained, making the kitchen snug and warm. The open fire is highly convenient for airing clothes, and a boon when bathing the little ones.

CHAMPION RANGES

are also magnificent cooking ranges, and are most handsome in appearance. When preferred, you can now have the "Champion" with oven right side or left, and with set back flue—a feature which increases the space on the top of the range.

But get particulars. You're sure to instal the Champion when once you are acquainted with its many exclusive improvements.

BRINSLEY & CO. Ltd., Manufacturers, Cumberland Street, Dunedin
Figure 9 Kitchen interior 1923 showing a gas cooker and the sink area.
Figure 10 Country kitchen Purakanui, Otago.
Cooking Utensils

in great variety and from the best makers in the world, can always be obtained from the D.I.C. Here we make brief mention from our big stocks.

Braby's English Aluminium Ware
American “Wear Ever” Aluminium Ware

The above comprise Skillets, Milk Boilers, Stewpans, Saucepans, Windsor Kettles, Double Boilers, Preserving Pans, Bowls, Kettles, Pie Dishes, Cake Moulds, &c.

Kenrick's Cast-iron Hollow Ware

Oval Boilers, Saucepans, Kettles, and Pots.

Steven's “Judge” Brand Saucepans and Kettles

Swedish White Enamelware

Omelette and Frying Pans, Pie Dishes, Bowls, Plates, Wash-hand Basins, Funneis, Mugs, Billies, &c.

Also

Wood, Metal, and Perforated Sundries

Mixing Spoons, Kitchen Forks, Fish Slices, Egg Whips, Strainers, Potato Mashers, Wire Grids, Cake Coolers, Rolling Pins, Cake Tins, Biscuit Forcers, &c.

Ask our Prices!

Figure 11 Cooking utensils advertised 1923.
First Aid to Economy, Cleanliness, and General Efficiency.

"ORION" RANGES

PROVED BY EXPERIENCE.

The "ORION" Coal-fire Ranges, made in numerous styles and sizes to meet New Zealand needs, is backed by the enthusiasm of thousands of satisfied users in the homes, boardinghouses, and hotels throughout the Dominion.

THE "ORION" ELECTRIC
SAFE, SILENT, and DEPENDABLE.

Turn a knob and the heat is on. There is no drudgery or firing, no stoking or ash cleaning, and no noise or excess heating of the kitchen. The oven roasts with less shrinkage, and bakes with perfection. The three-heat rotary switches ensure effective control, and the thermometer indicates the temperature obtained.

Exhibited at the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition.

CATALOGUES SUPPLIED WITH PLEASURE.

ON SALE BY LEADING IRONMONGERS.

H. E. SHACKLOCK, Ltd.

MAKERS
DUNEDIN CHRISTCHURCH WELLINGTON AUCKLAND

Figure 12 Shacklock's 'Orion' ranges advertised in 1926.
The Kelvin-et
COLDER THAN ICE
Keeps food Pure and Fresh for Weeks. It is Efficient, Hygienic and entirely Automatic, and provides a dry, cold, even temperature, which will keep milk sweet for 2 weeks, Butter for months, Eggs for 2 years.

Kelvinators are made in all sizes from 6 cubic feet to 150 cubic. We can install a Kelvinator to suit your present Ice Chest.

Inspect these wonderful machines at our Showrooms

James Tombs & Co., Ltd.
Albert Street, Auckland and at Hamilton.

SEND FOR A KELVINATOR BOOKLET

Figure 13 Electric refrigerator advertised 1926.
THE WOMEN’S IDEAL
Cooks Dinner for 12 plus cake and scones for tea. Gas Cost 2½d (in Dunedin)

The Osborne No. 4A Cooker will cook a dinner for 12 people (see official menu) at the small cost of 2½d for gas. The oven of this size will cook 30 lbs. of meat at once — in 3 joints. With ease it cooks perfectly a large 8 lb. Christmas cake.

(See official menu — Dinner cooked in an Osborne Cooker, Nov. 1932)

It is a fact that gas provides easily the cheapest, safest and most reliable method of cooking that science has yet discovered.

The New Osborne Regulator Controlled Gas Cooker with mottled Enamel finish and “easy to clean” solid hot plate makes a big appeal to the housewife. An occasional rub over with a damp cloth keeps the mottled enamel clean and bright.

The Osborne is the only Gas Cooker made with the “easy to clean” solid hot plate.

See also the NEW
OSBORNE Combination Gas Cooker

For further particulars apply to your local Gas Company.

OFFICIAL MENU
Dinner cooked, Osborne Cooker
Nov. 1932.
Sirloin Beef (4 lb. when boned and rolled)
Baked Potatoes Baked Carrots
Rhubarb Pie (Flaky Pastry)
Baked Custard Scones
Chocolate Cake (1 hour to cook)
Boiled Chocolate Icing for cake
Time for Cooking 2 hours
Cost of Gas 2½d

Dinner sufficient for 12 people with tea dishes as well.

Figure 14 Gas cooker advertised c.1932.
The modern kitchen must be scientifically planned

The history of culture might well be written as a history of the culinary arts, for, as man has advanced from savagery to the present highly complicated level of existence, much of his development has been along the lines of perfecting his diet and tickling his palate. It seems a far cry from the savage who ate uncooked fish and meat and such fruits as he could find in the forest to a modern meal in a London or Paris hostelry, but it is amazing to find how much of this development has taken place in the comparatively recent past.

Methods of preparing foods have in general developed faster than the easy convenience of doing the work. There is no need now, however, for the modern housewife to struggle along with antiquated lack of equipment and convenience. The kitchen is rapidly becoming a scientific laboratory for the convenient and easy preparation of foods, and the proper arrangement and plan of a kitchen is a basic part of the training of the modern architect.

The ideal kitchen is neither very large nor very small, though it is generally better to keep it as small as possible, while providing for its necessary communications and equipment. The saving of steps between stove and sink, workbench and pantry, and stove and dining-table is very important, because these journeys have to be made hundreds of times in a day, and unnecessary distances mean great waste of energy and time to those who have to make them.

The stove and the sink should be placed as close as possible to each other, while still permitting both to be used at the same time without interference with each other. Pot cupboards should be handy to workbench, stove and sink so that when the utensils are wanted for the preparation of food they may be within reach, may be placed on the stove, when finished with washed up and put away without a lot of crossing and recrossing of the room; the progress of the utensil should be a continuous circle.

Food cupboards should be located so that the materials may also be simply routed from their receipt from the grocer to the storage shelves, thence to work-bench, stove and table, and perhaps back to cool storage again without interference or cross traffic. This is possible if the room is so located with respect to the other rooms of the house as to minimise the necessary number of doors and make possible the effective placing of windows. The placing of stoves in alcoves or deep fireplaces is usually a mistake, as they should be well lit in such a manner as to enable the light to shine down into the cooking vessels. At the same time a ventilating hood should be placed over every stove.

The kitchen should preferably be placed on the south-east corner of the house, so as to get only the morning sun, and to have effective cross ventilation.

Where possible separate ventilated food safes, away from the sun, should be provided for fresh vegetables and fruits, and for the storage of cooked foods.

Another feature of the modern kitchen is its unusual ability to use indirect illumination. Light comes from unnoticed sources to do, unobtrusively, an efficient job of kitchen lighting. The inside of refrigerators and cupboards can be automatically lighted when the doors are opened—the main idea being to have all working surfaces well lighted.

Figure 15 Plan of old style and modernised kitchen 1933.

Figure 16 The modern kitchen 1936.
Just Married. "Economy is easy with a Frigidaire Refrigerator. I have no food-waste. I buy foods in larger quantities and thus save money. The Meter-Miser costs practically nothing to run. I'm glad I bought on PROOF."

Family of Four. "Providing meals at all hours is no trouble now. My new Frigidaire Refrigerator has room for everything. Wonderful too, the way it saves cost. Take my advice, buy on PROOF."

Society Hostess. "Entertaining is my hobby. I delight in serving new and tempting treats; but what gives me most pleasure is showing people my secret of success—my new Frigidaire. Its beauty makes my kitchen the smartest room of my home."

Only One Refrigerator could meet ALL their Demands . . . they all chose—

Frigidaire

PROOF has won them! Women everywhere welcome this new way to buy—a safe, sure way that ends confusion. Buy on PROOF and you will buy a Frigidaire Refrigerator, for its beauty, for its extra convenience and spaciousness, its guarantee of food-safety and its host of exclusive conveniences.

Only Frigidaire has the METER-MISER, the miracle cold-making unit that cuts current cost, freezes more ice in shorter time, and keeps food safer even in hottest weather.

See PROOF of Frigidaire Superiority!

Lower Operating Costs; Safer Food Protection; Faster Freezing — More Ice; More Usability; Greater Beauty.

Call now and let us give a full PROOF Demonstration. Easiest of Terms arranged.

WARNING
Accept only the genuine Frigidaire Refrigerator. Look for this Frigidaire Nameplate.

Sole Distributors for New Zealand:

JOHN CHAMBERS & SON LTD.
Auckland - Wellington - Christchurch - Dunedin - Palmerston North - Timaru and Invercargill. Agents in ALL Main Provincial Centres.

Figure 17 Electric refrigerator advertised in 1936.
ENJOY MORE LEISURE THROUGH AN

Electric Stove

Modern women make electricity their servant. An electric stove works for you while you play. It is convenient, cool and fast, will cook whole meals while you are absent—with the current safely turned off. And every day an electric stove shows you new ways to save.

THE AUCKLAND ELECTRIC-POWER BOARD
POWER BOARD BUILDING, QUEEN STREET, AUCKLAND

Installation and servicing by Power Board on all approved new Stoves purchased at retail price.

Figure 18 Electric stove advertised 1937.
Figure 19 Kitchen with snack bar and island cooking unit 1971.
Wherever there's food to keep or cook, choose Frigidaire.

Call on your Frigidaire dealer and step into the fabulous world of Frigidaire today. He'll show you the whole big family of Frigidaire appliances. Refrigerators from a handy 6.2 cu. ft. compact to a giant 15 cu. ft. model with separate Food Freezer. Ranges with every feature you need for easier cooking — lift up tops — pull 'n clean ovens — everything you've set your heart on for your kitchen.
In the last few years, a quiet revolution has been occurring in New Zealand kitchen design. Once a cramped and neglected room, the kitchen has grown steadily in importance and size.

In more and more New Zealand homes, the kitchen is now the central feature, its importance reflected in the way its design connects with almost every living space.

An ever-widening choice of materials and finishes underscores the kitchen’s new role. Since the kitchen is now the key living space in the house, its appearance can be more varied than ever before.

These developments are perfectly illustrated in this large new open-plan kitchen in the Auckland home of wine and food writer and broadcaster Vic Williams and his wife, Shirley. The first stage of an extensive renovation, the kitchen now occupies more than one half of the original area of the 1960 house.

Figure 21 New Zealand kitchen 1995.
Figure 22 New Zealand kitchen with up-to-date-appliances 1995.
Approaches to the Study of Food Habits

Several approaches to the study of food habits have been made in the past. According to Goody (1982: 7) 'isms', such as functionalism, structuralism, single words used to describe approaches to the social sciences by social anthropologists are not designated theories in the more usual sense but are more in the class of "orientations". "Approaches" says Goody, "might be a more accurate designation, since we are not dealing with any testable assertions . . . but rather with a variety of modes of attack which each have their gains and their costs but which rarely constitute analytic alternatives" (ibid.: 7).

Historical approaches

The historical approach has been used by some researchers to study food habits. The facts are selected and processed by the researcher and beyond this point allowed to speak for themselves.

What do historical facts reveal? According to Carr (1990: 124), this is dependent on who writes the history, what "bees they have in their bonnet", and what sort of contact they might have with the minds of those that are being written about. Facts, he says, do not come pure; history is a process of reconstitution which involves the selection, interpretation and ordering of the facts. "The duty of the historian in relation to the facts is to bring into the picture all facts relevant to the theme and to the interpretation proposed" (ibid.: 28). For example the Victorian age in England was the age of faith, optimism and confidence in the superiority of the English. The ideas of the society at this time were the ideas of the ruling class. History was seen as progress and this attitude determined the history that was written (ibid.: 5).

In Great Britain much of the historical research on food habits has been associated with researchers who have examined food habits using historical data associated with the food supply, food consumption, and nutritional status of the population. At present, according to Oddy and Burnett (1992: 22), John Burnett's Plenty and Want (1989) represents the "state of the art" knowledge in this area. Burnett recognises that there are many factors associated with consumption—quality, taste, domestic arrangements and social constraints—which he takes into account in his study. Nevertheless this approach fails to link these factors in a
systematic way to consumption patterns or to relevant cultural factors. This is also a limitation of historical food habit studies which focus on nutritional status. Researchers in this area have been concerned mainly with interpreting and transposing qualitative to quantitative diet data, but they do not provide a satisfactory explanation for the diet.

Cooking technology, its effect on food habits (Davidson 1982) and changes in taste and fashions in food (Mennell 1985) are also subjects that have been examined historically. Davidson's book *A Woman's Work is Never Done* (1982) takes an historical and evolutionary approach to the subject of housework which includes cooking. The effect of the evolution of cooking technology on food habits is rationalised to be that of added sophistication in terms of ordinary meals. Initially this occurred only for the elite, but over an extended period of time it was claimed that an improved standard of living for the whole nation resulted. The 'history as progress' motif and the 'trickle down' theory could be invoked to account for the change in food habits that Davidson documents.

Mennell's broad sociological/historical approach to food and eating, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* uses history to illuminate changing tastes in food habits. Mennell believes that it is necessary to look beyond a simple chronological cataloguing of "ill assorted factors and episodes" which may from time to time have influenced some aspects of what people eat, it is necessary to see if there is, in "the jumbled historical record . . . a sequential order constituting structured processes at large" (Mennell 1985: 15). Based on Elias's 'figurational' approach, his idea is that people are bound together in patterns of social interdependence and changing balances of power, and these changes are reflected in the cultural domain of food. He describes his approach in the following manner:

Like the structuralists we shall be concerned particularly with the aesthetic, pattern making aspects of food, cooking and culinary tastes, which is relatively autonomous from strictly nutritional considerations. But unlike them, we shall approach the subject from an historical and developmental viewpoint. (Mennell 1986: 16)

Mennell believes that tastes in food like tastes in music are socially shaped, and the major forces that have shaped them are "religions, classes and nations". In European history he maintains religion has had little influence, class is very strong and nations have had a strong influence especially in relation to taste in food (ibid.: 17). Mennell sees the "increasing interdependence and more equal balance of power between social classes . . . reflected in the more equal distribution of food stuffs, which has in turn been associated with somewhat greater similarity of cuisine" (ibid.: 39). The spread of technology and knowledge, emulation of the upper class and the decreasing
effect of geography on the food supply also emerge in his book as aspects associated with changes in culture and food habits. Mennell appears to take a functionalist, structuralist and developmental approach to food habits, using the historical record both as his framework and his data base.

In a history of eating in Australia, One Continuous Picnic (1982) Michael Symons documents episodes and social aspects of Australian history that have brought about changes in eating, but he does not identify any patterns in his data that might be associated with the process of change. Harvey Levenstein's Revolution at the Table (1988) is similar in its approach to the transformation of the American diet. It too, is primarily an historical interpretation of eating in America.

Mintz in Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History (1985) uses historical data associated with the production and consumption of sugar to explore cultural change, the shaping of society and changes in food habits. His approach described by Vincent (1986: 111-115) as "processual analysis" shifts away from the closed systems approach which had been used in the past to address similar issues.

So what can a primarily historical approach reveal about eating and food habits? Historians, according to Carr (1990: 55) like other social scientists are seeking to explain, understand and gain mastery of their environment. What they record will be dependent on where they are, what they see and their end view. Historians seek to tell how it happened by ordering the events that relate to their theme. A good historian will, according to Carr (ibid.: 105) establish a hierarchy of facts and assign priority perhaps to just a few variables that are responsible for realigning other variables. In this manner they present their viewpoint and their end view of an historical phenomenon.

I have suggested that Mintz (1985) and Mennell's (1985) approach to the study of food habits is primarily historical as the ordering of historical evidence is central to their work. Both of these researchers however go beyond a primarily historical approach. They endeavour to provide a more comprehensive approach to the development of food habits by linking together and elaborating upon aspects of history that have brought about change. Murcott (1992: 14) labels their approach 'developmentalism'.

Anthropological approaches

Goody suggests (1989: 211) that in the study of food habits "prohibitions on, and preferences for food are clearly so widespread and central a form of human behaviour that it would be clearly remarkable if one type of explanation were able to cover them all". The contribution of one explanatory component he maintains does not annihilate the relevance of others (1989: 211). For example, in
reference to the idea that history and structure are opposed (an idea attributed to functionalists and structuralists) he asks,

> can structure be without a history? Since structures of whatever kind persist over time, they are in a real sense the past in the present; that is to say they represent the past and thus reproduce it. (ibid.: 212)

The functionalists' approach to the study of food habits according to Fischler (1989: 199) is that "any given cultural trait can be shown to serve a specific function, and that function can be explained only by relating the trait to another, extra-cultural, order of determinism". The argument of Yudkin and McKenzie illustrates this approach. According to Mennell (1985: 5) they claim that on the whole there is a direct relationship between the inherent palatability of a food and its nutritional value. But in the industrial world of processed food this is not a determinant of food choice neither could it be applied cross culturally where ideas of palatability may be different.

A brand of functionalism known as cultural materialism which is associated with Marvin Harris has also been used to explain food habits. His view is that "[p]referred foods (good to eat) are foods that have a more favourable balance of practical benefits over costs than foods that are avoided (bad to eat)" (Fischler 1989: 200).

The structuralist approach is perhaps best summarised in the words of Mary Douglas: "rules of edibility can only be understood structurally, not by following the cause effect implications of particular rules" (Fischler 1989: 200). This directly refutes the functionalist and the cultural materialistic approach. The functionalist view is that natural determinisms are needed to explain culture whereas structuralism believes that culture explains culture. Both approaches have limitations. The cultural materialists cannot deal with complexity, particularly of culinary rules—they look for direct ecological explanations. Structuralists on the other hand look to decipher and interpret hidden meanings in patterns but do not explain how they occurred in the first place (Fischler 1989: 201).

Food habits however in societies are structured. Structuring involves the timing of meals, what is a meal, combinations of foods, and the quantity and quality of food served in relation to the food event. This was the finding of Douglas and Nicod (1974) based on their research into food patterns of four English families (Douglas 1984: 15). The structuring of food habits is a learnt response, it is socially acquired, it is learned early in life and once acquired is likely to be long-lasting and resistant to change. Change however does occur albeit slowly and is associated with cultural change. Economic or social forces or both may be cited as causes. Functionalist theory might be used to explain
changes in food consumption figures but the structuralists' viewpoint might be necessary to explain how new foods are accepted into food patterns. Why? The structure of a meal (the meal format) is a cultural ideal (ibid.: 28). A change in food habits usually involves finding a role for new foods within the format of the named meal. It is for this reason that food habits in a society are often slow to change. Leach (1993: 1) illustrates this point in a study that examines the role of the 'meal format' in delaying for many decades the acceptance of 'pasta and sauce' and 'curry with rice' as main dishes in New Zealand cuisine.

The ideas on culinary culture of Lévi Strauss are also structural in their conception. Lévi Strauss believes that a society’s cookery is a language into which it translates its structure. His theory as illustrated in his culinary triangle is influenced by structural linguistics and the idea of binary opposites. Using this approach, according to Mennell, Lévi-Strauss

is of course trying to discover structures underlying thinking about food as one symptom of human thinking in general. But when he attempts to explain preferences for particular kinds of food . . . his culinary triangle [which he created to illustrate his theory] does not help him very much, and he resorts to far more commonsensical arguments. (Mennell 1985: 9)

While some anthropologists appear to take Lévi Strauss's culinary triangle and theories about culinary matters seriously the general reader, Mennell suggests, probably sees it as "a farrago of nonsense" (ibid.: 9). The deep lying culinary structure that Lévi Strauss sees in his model as mirroring the structure of a society appears to be only in his head. It is understood by others only because he decodes its message. This limits its universal use and because his model does not respond to outside influences it has no way of demonstrating how change occurs.

A structural approach to food systems is also suggested by Barthes. In Elements of Semiology (1967), he suggests that concepts of structural linguistics can be applied to non-linguistic sign systems such as garments, food and furniture. Semiology or the science of signs aims to "take in", any system of signs, objects, images, and patterns of behaviour whatever their substance and limits. It claims that, although non-linguistic substances are involved language is also necessary.

To perceive what a substance signifies is inevitably to fall back on the individuation of a language: There is no meaning which is not designated, and the world of signifieds is none other than language. (Barthes 1967: 10).

The elements of semiology presented by Barthes
have as their sole aim the extraction from linguistics of analytical concepts which we think *a priori* to be sufficiently general to start semiological research on its way. (ibid.: 12)

This model he hopes will open the way to ordering a "heterogeneous mass of significant facts" (ibid.: 12). The elements he identifies have been grouped under four main headings the first of which is language and speech. This he postulates is a general category that embraces all the systems of signs (ibid.: 25). He applies this element to aspects of food in the following manner:

any menu is concocted with reference to a structure (which is both national — or regional — and social) [the language]; but this structure is filled differently according to the days and the users [the speech]. (ibid.: 28)

His second element is "signified and signifier". In reference to food he suggests that this element has merely a sign-function (that is, it is not compounded of signifier and signified in the way the colour of a light is an order to move on in the highway code). Semiological signs of this nature whose origin is utilitarian and functional are not signifiers in essence. They are objects used by society in a derivative way to signify something. The function (use) itself is pervaded with the meaning. Food for example signifies nourishment.

The third element "syntagm and system" are elements that can for example be applied to a restaurant menu to read its meaning. The syntagm is the real sequence of dishes chosen during a meal: this is the menu. [The food system is the] set of foods which have affinities or differences, within which one chooses a dish in view of a certain meaning: the types of entrée, roast or sweet. A restaurant menu actualises both planes: the horizontal reading of the entrées for instance corresponds to the system, the vertical reading of the menu corresponds to the syntagm. (ibid.: 63)

The fourth element, denotation/connotation is not a useful concept to apply to the analysis of food systems.

Overall this approach, based on linguistics has limitations. To undertake this type of research it is necessary to accept from the beginning the principle of relevance. That is, the method limits its analyses to a finite collection of writings determined in advance by the researcher. The objects that are examined are examined only in relation to the meaning that is theirs. Other determining factors e.g. psychological, physical, and sociological are ignored. Once the corpus is defined it is kept to. Nothing is added to it. The aim is then
to exhaust it by analysis. Every fact included in the corpus has to be found in the system. This method is only successful, if in the first instance, the corpus is fairly homogeneous. (It should for example comprise only one and the same type of document, for instance restaurant menus). It is also necessary to eliminate diachronic elements in order to make sense (Barthes 1967: 95-98). Such are its limitations. However it may be useful in comparing food systems cross culturally, or in understanding continuity of meal structures.

Economic approaches

The traditional economic model views the consumer as purchasing a bundle of goods and services that yield the highest level of utility or satisfaction given his or her own particular tastes and preferences. (Senauer et al. 1992: 134)

The assumption is that consumers are rational, have income restraints, and that prices are outside the consumers control. "Demand relationships which reflect the optimum amount of each good to purchase, depend on the consumers income, the set of prices, and consumer preferences". Income and prices are two key factors that influence demand (ibid.: 34).

But Douglas and Isherwood (1978) found in their study of consumption that price and income variance does not in the long term determine demand for goods but that social variables, time trends and discontinuities tend to act to swamp price and income effects. Changes for example in the technological base due to industrialisation have outmoded the use of some commodities such as dried fruit and legumes, which were once luxuries and flour and cocoa which were once necessities. Douglas and Isherwood also note a relationship between social status and the frequency of use of some items, "when society is stratified the luxuries of the common man become the daily necessities of the upper classes" (ibid.: 116). Linkage is also important in the use of goods. Social relationships are often maintained by shared consumption. Therefore in general economic theories alone cannot explain consumption or food habits because both involve social factors.

Nutritional approaches

The nutritional approach to food habits has been directed towards gathered data about food habits and food consumption in order to determine nutrient intake and the nutritional status of a population. Nutritionists have used this data as a basis for education and intervention in terms of the nutritional health of a population.
Nutritional approaches to food habits however because they focus mainly on nutrient intake provide little information about the development of food habits.

Psychological approaches

Psychologists study food related behaviour in order to understand why individuals eat what they eat. Food related behaviour may include choice, purchase, consumption and nutrient intake. This behaviour they believe is affected by beliefs, attitude towards food as well as socio-demographic variables such as income, household size, education, gender, and age, wife’s employment status, ethnicity and race (Axelson and Brinberg 1989: 2, 87). Models used in their research examine relationships among these variables. This type of research is aimed at explaining food choice of individuals who are part of a group, but it does not explain why a population may eat the way it does. For this reason models of this nature are of limited use for understanding the development of food habits.

Other psychologists attempt to explain the acquisition of food habits through food selection. Rozin (1982: 77) for example suggests that food selection for humans relates to biology, culture and individual experience. Biology determines what is suitable for the human omnivore to eat, culture further narrows the choice and within the constraints of both biology and culture "each individual amasses a set of experiences that are unique". Rozin uses historical reconstruction to explain how the food came to be used by the individual in the first place and how it became incorporated into the culture. He suggests that exposure, together with affective responses—liking or disliking—determine its adoption. He links his theory to 'taste' and applies it to foods such as chilli pepper, coffee etc. but it cannot be applied to all foods. Its limitation is that when taste becomes tied up with other aspects of culture such as religion, social status and interaction, the explanation gets complex (ibid.: 227).

Fashion theory and its relevance to the study of food habits

Researchers into food habits may have something to learn from research being carried out in the field of clothing and fashion. The idea of a meaning or code being attached to a material object is common to both. Clothing embodies meaning, claims Davis (1985: 16) "and by meaning, I mean . . . the images, thoughts, sentiments, and sensibilities, communicated by a new or old fashion and the symbolic means by which this is done". The clothing theorists see their fashion code as being a communicating tool that is heavily context dependent.
and through which not only individuals, but also groups communicate something about their person or lifestyle. Meanings associated with fashion however can be ambiguous. Within a culture the elements of fashion can have different meanings for different groups at different times.

Simnel's (1904) 'trickle down' theory which is based on social stratification in a society was used by early fashion theorists to explain changes in fashion in a socially stratified society. Change occurs according to this theory as the result of the super-ordinate group in the society giving up their present fashion status symbols as that fashion spreads, and acquiring new fashion symbols. Fashion behaviour according to this theory is the result of differentiation and emulation. The limitation of this theory however according to McCracken (1985: 41) is that it operates only in a socially stratified context. Nevertheless it has a predictive advantage. A revision of this theory according to McCracken would allow it to apply in a broader social context. In his 'trickle down theory rehabilitated' clothing is recognised as having its own symbolism within the culture which may be different for different groups. This means that differentiation and imitation take place within a cultural context within which gender, age and ethnicity are just as important for fashion spread as was social status in the original theory.

The 'trickle down' theory may possibly be adapted to explain food habits at certain periods of history, especially where class is a dominant feature of the society while the 'rehabilitated' theory may have some explanatory or predictive capability in relation to contemporary food habits where imitation and differentiation are not the result of hierarchical social status but arise from status difference established by gender, age and ethnicity. For example from the 1970s 'foreign dishes' and foods were appropriated by some New Zealand groups and became part of their food repertoire, not because of social emulation but because these groups within the culture saw themselves as sophisticated or fashionable etc. and believed that these foods represented their status in the society.

Sproles' (1985) theory is also somewhat representative of this view.

Fashion is a way of behaving that is temporarily adopted by a discernible proportion of members of a social group because that chosen behaviour is perceived to be socially appropriate for the time and the situation. (Sproles 1985: 55)

Sproles believes that no comprehensive general fashion theory exists but suggests that theory building associated with fashion is evolving rapidly. A few decades ago fashion was seen as a simple 'trickle down' or 'trickle across' process or perhaps as conspicuous consumption. New perspectives emerged
in the 1960s and today newer models associated with psychology, aesthetics, history, and geography are also considered to be applicable. He suggests that the diverse theories offered by the behavioural sciences be integrated to form a framework for a general fashion theory that offers explanatory models for different stages of the fashion process. Such an integrated theory he believes will give the most satisfactory explanations of fashion change (ibid.: 65-67). This type of model could also be adapted to explain the transformation of food habits over time in a changing society. None of the food habit models or approaches reviewed so far are suitable to explain food habits at all times, in all environments and in all situations. For this reason a general framework based on historical periods associated with different models or 'modes of attack' may explain how food habits in a culture are transformed over time.

**Explanatory Studies Dealing with Change in Food Habits.**

Chang combines both history and anthropology in his study of food habits in Chinese culture. From it he concluded that, "people who share the same culture share the same food habits, that is, they share the same assemblage of food variables" (Chang 1977: 3).

Within the same culture, the food habits are not all necessarily homogeneous. . . . Within the same general food style there are different manifestations of food variables of a smaller range for different social situations. People of different social classes or occupations eat differently. People on festive occasions, in mourning, or on a daily routine eat again differently. . . . Some of these differences are ones of preference, but others may be downright prescribed. Identifying these differences, explaining them, and relating them to other facets of social life are among the tasks of a serious scholar of food. . . . Systematically articulated food variables can be laid out in a time perspective, as in historical periods of varying lengths. [This way] we see how food habits change. (ibid.: 4)

Chang suggests that from observations made in this manner it is possible to get some notion "for the beginning of a theoretical and methodological framework for the study of food as a cultural, rather than a chemical process" (idem).

In his study the questions he asked are directed towards food choices. He asked why the choices, and what determined them. The variables Chang found that tended to persist over a period of time and were determining in terms of the character of Chinese food habits were:

1. The dependence on natural resources.
2. The principles related to the preparation of a balanced menu which involves appropriate amounts of fan and t'sai.

3. The flexibility and adaptability of the menu in terms of the mixture of ingredients in the t'sai dish and the combination of dishes. This allows a Chinese cook to prepare Chinese dishes for the poor as well as the rich, in times of scarcity as well as abundance and even in a foreign country without many familiar ingredients.

4. The ideas about the relationship between food and medicine.

5. The importance of food in the Chinese culture (ibid.: 6-11).

Chinese food has been documented for 3000 years but documentation over this period reveals that the fundamental character of the food has not changed. Within this tradition, regional and class differences do exist, and social interaction also accounts for variations in the use of food, but overall from a historical perspective continuity outweighs change. Chang sees Chinese food style being a product of its agriculture and of a highly stratified society which became realigned by the 18th century B.C. This realignment resulted in a new distribution of food resources, which allowed for the creation of a gourmet subsection of consumers with the leisure and incentive to build up an elaborate cuisine and food etiquette, a situation which created the traditional Chinese food culture as we know it. He postulates that a new situation will soon develop because of the creation of the People's Republic of China which has caused “the food based social polarisation to give way to a truly national distribution of the food resources” (ibid.: 21).

Chang's study of food habit change although limited by the continuity of food habits in the Chinese culture does however reveal that by studying the variables associated with change, and isolating those that cause the majority of variables to realign, it is possible to get some indication of the process involved. Overall it appears that economic and ecological determinants coupled with the social structure that they create may be used to explain changing food habits in China.

Appadurai (1988: 3, 6, 21, 22) claims that the emergence of a national cuisine in India over the last few decades is partly the result of the proliferation of English language cookbooks and magazines which middle class women are reading, and partly the result of the public social world the formerly highly differentiated middle class now share. This process takes place mainly in the cities far from the native regions of this middle class group and is the result of more and more public and business organisations circulating their professional personnel across India. It has meant the cutting across of older ethnic regional and caste boundaries and allowing in
contemporary India the development of a more homogeneous cooking style. He describes this situation as fitting a 'processual' model.

The critical features of this model are the twin processes of regional and ethnic specialisation, on the one hand, and the development of overarching, crosscutting national cuisines on the other. These processes are likely to be reflected and reproduced in cookbooks designed by and for the urban middle classes and particularly their female members, as part of the larger process of the construction of complex public cultures involving media, travel and entertainment. (Appadurai 1988: 22)

This model demonstrates that a new form of culinary expression results from certain aspects of culture change, in particular a change in the social structure, but new technology also plays a role.

Charsley (1992) in his book *Wedding Cakes and Cultural History* expounds his concept of cultural change in relation to the wedding cake. He rejects the structural approach of Mary Douglas as an explanation for the cake which would explain it as a special form of biscuit. His study examines cultural creativity not systems and rules. He dismisses the exclusivist claims of functionalists and structuralists and asserts as does Sahlins that "there cannot be a choice between culture and practical reason, or any primacy attached to a temporal abstractions like culture or structure" (ibid.: 1992: 2-3, 5).

Every enterprise is culturally informed meaning that it is formulated in relation to values and understandings as they are drawn from their past experience by those involved. It has then to be carried out in a world of practical possibilities and constraints for future action in tiny or occasionally substantial ways. (Charsley 1992: 5)

Charsley applies this concept of cultural change to the wedding cake. He sees the cake as representing not only past cultural creativity but also as material for future creation: "it is the product of a complex, contingent and continuing history" (ibid.: 5). Cultural change for Charsley is about people coming to act differently and to regard the new ways as normal or even proper. "Change occurs as people bring their sense of what should be done, grounded in past experience, to the test of action in the present" (Charsley 1992: 128). Cultural change in Charsley's opinion is generated by people and their experience. This claim invokes shades of 'practice theory' elaborated by Ortner (1984: 153-160), and theories associated with social history which relate change to action and agency (Lloyd 1986). Charsley's concept is less than a theory because it cannot predict deductively what will happen, but it can give a grounded sense of the way things typically work out. His evidence of change
has been drawn from the historical record and from recipe books. He believes that innovation can be a motor for more permanent change as can emulation. Innovations that occur may or may not be adopted depending on the degree of publicity. Emulation of practices identified as high status may also cause change. Continuity of a practice or object he attributes to tradition or 'marooning'. The latter, he asserts occurs when a particular practice or object becomes special, either because the practice is prolonged into an age of changing practices and ideas, or the practice or object becomes geographically isolated. For example the availability of commercially made bread has given the home baked bread a special significance and haggis has become a local specialty in Scotland.

Charsley's study is concerned with charting the nature and process of change. While he does not come up with a theory that can predict change his concept of individuals playing a prime role in cultural generation and continuity is of interest.

Other theories related to change

Practice theory is an explanatory approach that may be adapted to explain changes in food habits. This approach is an answer to what Ortner (1984) in her paper titled *Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties* sees as an apparent disintegration of the field of anthropology into many inward looking subdivisions. Practice theory tries to explain how societies are produced and reproduced by human action. It allows for a shift from static synchronic analyses to diachronic processual ones. It is seen as a move from structures and systems to persons and practices. Practice theory together with a move to historical investigation might be able to answer the question where the thing came from and how can it change. The practice approach combines with history to allow humans to make change.

Sharman et al. (1991: 5) also favours this type of approach because she believes it to be particularly appropriate for understanding dietary practices at the domestic level. In the past she suggests 'culture' has been seen as prescriptive in determining food habits but "more recently . . . culture has been analysed more as providing parameters within which people act." At a microlevel people do play a part in conducting their own lives and this should be acknowledged. This has important implications for food policy as the idea of cultural homogeneity in relation to food behaviour may not be helpful in formulating food and nutrition policies. The idea that people themselves are part of the dynamic of change in a society is important to understand. In terms of culture change what needs to be acknowledged is, that it is not only outside forces associated with a society that bring about change in the culture but it is
the interrelatedness of these forces with the structure of the society and the behaviour of people in it that cause changes to happen (ibid.: 5-13).

**Review of the Literature in Relation to New Zealand**

David Burton's *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Food and Cookery* (1982) is mainly a recipe book with an attached history. Burton relates changes in the diet to events and the arrival in the country of new immigrant groups. "New Zealand cookery is the cookery of immigrants. ... It is undoubtedly the nineteenth century immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales who have most influenced our eating patterns" (ibid.: 1982: xii). Beyond this statement he posits no other theoretical framework for his account. His account of food habits however would lend itself to both a functionalist and a structuralist interpretation. For example, he cites the environmental factors climate and geography, as a reason for some of the food habits that were adopted by immigrants. Wild pigeons for example became part of the diet of new settlers from necessity, and substitution into the meal structure of a similar food, for example, damper when bread could not be baked, was common when familiar foods were not available. This can be construed as a functional structuralist approach. Tradition was also an important factor in ensuring the continuity of a food habit especially when the meal occasion was less frequent. Burton records the attempt of the settlers to keep festive and special occasion meals such as Christmas much the same as they had been in their home countries. This suggests that culture played a part in ensuring continuity. The social structure had influenced the meals people ate especially in Great Britain. In New Zealand however the greater abundance of food meant that the relative food habits of different social groups in the society changed rapidly. Food habits became almost homogeneous, as most people could afford to eat meat everyday, and most households had access to a supply of fresh vegetables. This was not the situation for all classes in Great Britain. The 'motor for change' in this new situation could be said to be the environment. Burton however does not deal with the process of change in this book but it is obvious that changes in the social structure as well as the environment were relevant factors.

Tony Simpson in *An Innocent Delight: The Art of Dining in New Zealand* (1985) also explores the development of New Zealanders’ food habits. In particular he questions why we have maintained a "derivative and colonial culture". The answer according to Simpson lies in the realms of social history. In order "to find out what our forebears were about one must go back to the
introduction of the new food technology in the 1860s and to the sorts of people that were coming to this country in large numbers in the two succeeding decades" (ibid.: 3). He also suggests some other determinants: the characteristics of the people that emigrated, their notions about food, the technology, the climate and the geography and the desire of those lower down the social scale to emulate the habits of those above them. Tradition he held responsible for the 'marooning' or continuity of many of the food habits that are still associated with the English today, for example, afternoon tea. Deterioration in dining he suggests occurred when the country moved towards urbanisation and industrialisation in the 1950s. Abundance and quality which he believed were the hallmarks of New Zealand food before this time were eroded by an increase in food technology which produced more manufactured products and resulted in a move away from the home production of food. He also claims that nutrition and 'Home Science' were responsible for introducing to 'the land' the ghastly cult of wholesome food.

Changes in Food Consumption in New Zealand between 1880 and 1990 (Bailey and Earle 1993) provides an account of the major changes in food consumption that have occurred in New Zealand between these dates. Its main emphasis is on consumption which is used as an indicator of trends in food habits. Unfortunately, this approach reveals only limited information about food habits. Beyond citing a cause effect relationship associated with technology and nutritional knowledge it does not explain how food habits relate to cultural change. Nevertheless it provides a valuable data source for researchers.

Leach in her paper titled An Anthropological Perspective on New Zealand Eating Habits (n.d.) tests the findings of overseas anthropologists Goody (1982) and Douglas (1974) on New Zealanders' eating habits from Edwardian times until the present day. Goody found that class differentiation was important in the development of food habits while Douglas showed that rules were important in structuring meals in British working class families. Leach found that in New Zealand changes in food habits during the period were associated with social changes but also confirmed the importance of social status in maintaining the meal structure. In her study an historical framework gave depth to an anthropological interpretation of data provided by recipe books and newspapers.

In a more recent study Changing diets — a cultural perspective (1993) Leach examines in detail meal structures and their relationship to classificatory and knowledge systems with the aim of demonstrating the importance of this knowledge in introducing new dishes into a structured meal system. This
study reveals the important role culture plays in maintaining the structure of meal patterns and the value of an anthropological (structuralist) approach to an understanding of this area. In this study history provides a time frame as well as data in the form of recipe books.

According to Leach (personal communication 1994) her interest in structure, unlike that of Lévi Strauss’ which is essentially cross cultural, is at the level of interpretation of meaning in the sense of the language or grammar of food habits and the rules behind the structure.

The two studies by Leach of food habits in the New Zealand context reveal that it is necessary to look beyond a catalogue of historical facts and a record of food consumption in order to understand food habits and their development.

*Ladies a Plate* (ed. J.Park 1991) is a gender based social anthropological study of the lives of New Zealand women. Food is important in their lives and this association has in the past shaped both their personal and collective identities. History and cultural identity provide a backdrop for their stories which also emphasise the role food plays in social relationships. The study shows not only the importance of food in shaping women’s lives but also the control that women have over food habits. Although this is not the subject of the study, acknowledgment of this aspect is important in understanding how food habits might be transformed in a society.

**Literature Review Summary**

The review of literature has revealed that non-anthropological approaches to the study of food habits in the past have not provided satisfactory explanations of change. Historical approaches detail acts and events that are associated with change, while economic and nutritional approaches detail facts associated with consumption and or nutritional status. Neither approaches however provide a broad understanding of how food habits develop. Psychological studies give some explanation of why individuals or collections of individuals in a population may eat the food that they eat but fail to provide explanations for whole populations. The ‘trickle down theory’ is applicable only to asymmetric societies and its revision while it has a broader application has limited application to food habits over a long period of time.

Anthropological approaches appear the most suited to the topic because of their comprehensiveness, although they also have limitations. The structural approach of Douglas (1984) for example while it gives some
understanding of the meal format and the patterns of eating is limited because it does not provide for change. It has no historical dimension.

Other anthropological/sociological approaches that take account of change, for example Mennell's (1985) study have used a comparative approach within a historical framework (1985: 15). This is also an approach favoured by Goody (1982: 34). The use of methods that take account of long term change and that do not concentrate on meaning alone are advocated by both of these researchers.

A recent anthropological study of the wedding cake by Charsley (1992) approaches the problem from the viewpoint of both structuralist theory associated with Douglas (1984), (mainly to test it although he believes it to be exclusivist), and more general theories of cultural change (Charsley 1992: 5). The ideas of cultural change Charsley invokes are associated with Sahlins (1976) but also appear to be associated with practice theory as expounded by Ortner (1984: 153-160).

The review has revealed that many approaches to the study of food habits do not account for both continuity and change in food habits. Anthropological approaches give better answers to continuity whereas sociological approaches give better answers to change. For this reason the following combined approach is suggested.

**Model for the Study of Food Habits in New Zealand**

1. **A structural anthropological approach** based on Douglas's (1984) idea that meals are structured events and that the components of a meal, its foodstuffs, combinations and sequence of courses are culturally constructed. A structuralist approach however is limited in some aspects because it is unable to explain the origins of, or changes within food preferences that influence food habits (Elias in Mennell 1985: 13). For this reason other approaches are necessary.

2. **A sociological /historical approach** based on Mennell's (1985) idea that development in a society occurs as the result of interdependencies and changes in the balance of power. Mennell's approach however requires the acknowledgment that a society is asymmetric in its makeup.

3. **A practice approach** based on Ortner's (1984) ideas about change in a society. Ortner has suggested that the actions of people impact on the culture and can be associated with change.
Although this combined approach to the study of food habits might be condemned by Marvin Harris because of its eclecticism (Harris believes exploration of a subject using more than one study yields only smaller truths [Harris 1980: x]) it appears from the review to be the best strategy to employ to examine the topic. It draws support from Goody (1991: 22) who says, "there is no anthropological truth, enlightenment, or insight that is not related to the work of scholars in other fields". This is not only the opinion of Harris but is also the opinion of Mennell (1985), and Sharman et al. (1991) who suggest an eclectic approach to the study of food habits.

Methodology

An historical framework will be used to collect and organise the data. Eighteen seventy has been chosen as a date for the beginning of this study because it marks the mid-point of a period of major immigration to New Zealand and a formative period in New Zealand society. By 1871 the total population of New Zealand excluding Maori was 256,393, compared with 99,021 in 1861 and 489,993 in 1881 (Graham 1992 : 117). Cultural homogeneity was a hallmark of the society by this stage and the outlook was overwhelmingly that of a worker-settler population (ibid.: 116).

Because changes in food habits are known to be both slow and accumulative a period of 100 years was thought necessary in order to observe change. The period was divided into three parts: 1870 - 1914, 1914-1939, 1939-1970. These periods were defined by the world wars, events that bought major social and economic changes to the society.

The three mechanisms associated with change in the society were established in a preliminary study as social conditions, ideas about food, and technology. These subjects are used as sub-section headings for data collection for each of the three periods.

Meals and the facets associated with them, food items, recipes, dishes, courses are used in the study as indicators of changes in food habits.

Appendices are compiled to give detail of foods available, recipe books in print, menus and meals and equipment in use. These have been compiled from library catalogues and special recipe collections (recipe books), newspaper and magazines advertisements, (foods available and equipment) recipe books and specially printed menus, (menus and meals).

The recipe books featured in the appendix have been categorised as follows: 

Food producers: Recipe books produced by manufacturers of food products or primary producers; 

Appliance manufacturers: Recipe books produced by appliance manufacturers for use with their appliances;
Contributed recipes: Recipe books, based on contributed recipes, produced by voluntary organisations usually to raise money. Other: Includes recipe books produced by publishing firms or cookbooks on specialised topics.

Sources of material

Social conditions: general history texts, women’s history texts, and year books. Food and ideas: food history texts, recipe books, magazines, newspaper articles, and advertisements, curriculum, pamphlets, and printed menus. Technology: general and specific histories including histories of housework, equipment catalogues, and advertisements.

Analysis and interpretation

The data will be analysed and interpreted according to an anthropological and sociological model. Analysis will involve operationalising the variables for each period; social conditions, technology and ideas in relation to the dependent variable, the main meal and its components i.e. food items, recipes, dishes, courses.

Summary/conclusions

Emerging patterns will be noted for the whole period, primary factors associated with change (the organising principles) for each period noted, and recommendations for further studies made.
3 Cultural Change and New Zealand Food Habits 1870-1914

Social Conditions

The population

In 1871 the non-Maori population of New Zealand was 256,593 (Graham 1992: 117) most of whom were ‘foreign born’. Towards the end of the period (1911) the population was one million, 300,000 of whom were foreign born. The percentage of foreign born in the population stayed high until 1879 because of mass immigration for Vogel’s public works schemes. Thereafter a decline occurred, (McCracken 1969: 10) and by 1886 the census revealed the foreign born population as 48% (ibid.: 112). Their minority status in the population dates from this period.

The culture of the British immigrants however tended to dominate the population. Sinclair (1988: 335) notes that until the 1920’s the immigrants formed the majority of adults “over say 50” in the population. “They were colonials; they were British.” Sutch (1941: 15) notes that this attitude tended to shape the society at this time. “English customs and ways of doing things and attitudes of mind . . . were brought to New Zealand from the home country.” The numerical ranking for immigrants of British origin in the population gives substance to this claim. Between 1870-1911 English/Welsh, Scottish, Irish and Australian in this numerical order formed the bulk of the population. Other national groups to establish themselves in the population in relatively large numbers during this period were Germans, Scandinavians, Austrians and Chinese. Their migrations were related to the goldrushes of the 1870s and gum digging in the 1890s. But these migrants who were mainly single males had little influence on the dominant British culture of the period. In 1878 they made up only 8.2% of the population and by 1911, they had declined to 6.8% (McCracken 1969: 52, 151). But despite the decline in the foreign born population during the period, continuing migration of Britons kept British attitudes and values alive. Gibbons (1992: 308) however does suggest that the British immigrant who arrived throughout the first quarter of the 20th century added nothing new to the ideas already in place by the 1890s. Consequently attitudes to food were slow to change, although the availability of some foods in the early period forced some adaptations to occur, notably the use of some native species as food.
Social class

The New Zealand population in the 19th century was still dominated by British values and attitude. As a result, the food habits of the population reflected the different levels of British society.

In 1840 and for sixty years afterwards, according to Sinclair (1988: 102), the British immigrant to New Zealand was fleeing from industrialisation. Pioneers of New Zealand were poor, they were from the upper working class or lower middle classes. They aimed at creating a class that was classless because everyone was middle class. Their ambition was to equalise up.

Throughout the nineteenth century men and women compared their new condition with their condition (or that of their parents) in Britain. By this standard, migration to New Zealand meant betterment. Working men . . . could eat meat seven or even fourteen times a week (instead of once or twice a week); and their wages made luxuries such as sugar relatively cheap. (Olssen 1977: 40)

But despite this move towards equality in the population, which Sinclair (1988: 331) claims was the hallmark of new world civilisations, the colony-wide recession of the 1880s revealed that the 'much vaunted levelling process' for which the colony was famed was something of a myth. Social divisions did exist and they were based on wealth (Graham 1992: 114).

By the 1890s, stratification in New Zealand society was already well established. The uppermost stratum comprised the bankers, the wealthy merchants, and manufacturers and run holders, and larger farmers. . . . Overlapping this stratum was another composed of less wealthy businessmen and merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, and doctors . . . Then came small businessmen such as grocers and self-employed tradesmen. . . . These three strata formed an entrepreneurial class linked by shared aspirations, values, and interests. . . . In some sense they constituted a middle class. (Olssen 1992: 272)

But between 1901-1921 changes in occupational structure notably the proliferation of white collar occupations and semi-proessions within the middle class transformed this class from an entrepreneurial to a salaried middle class. This expanded middle class stressed the importance of family and respectability in the society. They eagerly adopted the growing scientific cults of domesticity and motherhood (Olssen 1992: 272-273) which eventually allowed for the introduction of new ideas about domestic food.
Occupations and incomes

Among the occupations of the early settlers set down on passenger lists, general, or farm labouring predominate (Sutch 1941: 15). Further waves of immigration especially during the 1860s goldrush and during the 1870s expansionist period consolidated this worker-settler character of the society. Initial occupation however did not necessarily restrict social mobility. The opportunity to advance in the period before 1890 was possible for most immigrants. Prospects of land ownership had attracted many to the colony in the first instance and money was the criterion against which success could be measured. As long as these two assets remained, open entry to colonial society and upward mobility were relatively unrestricted (Graham 1992: 138). But by the 1880s the chance of acquiring either money or land were steadily diminishing and the economic distress which resulted from the Depression at this time saw stratification in the society complete by the 1890s. A person’s job increasingly determined income, status, life chances and lifestyle (Olssen 1992: 272). Occupation from this time as in Britain was indicative of status and income. Graham’s (1992: 136) figures for male occupation show that country areas were still providing the greatest opportunities for employment, and that lower class occupations dominated. Men engaged in agriculture, pastoralism and mining numbered 88,000, industrial jobs 59,000, commercial enterprises 4000, professional occupations 10,000 and domestic service 5,500.

The period that followed saw increased opportunity in cities and small towns for work and education. This resulted in an increase in the urban population, of both skilled and unskilled workers. The sons of the unskilled born between 1860 and 1900 were able to enter a labour market in which the demand for unskilled workers was shrinking while that for skills, manual, educational and white collar, was growing. The free access to education for all of the population from 1902, coupled with the vacuum left by the declining fertility of the middle classes, meant that the sons of the unskilled had the opportunity for social mobility. New Zealand was seen to prosper between 1896 and 1920. Even the working classes, despite some wage differentiation between skilled and unskilled were able to enjoy self respect and a modest comfort. This was partly because of declining family size, partly because of access to supplementary income, and partly because of a cheap food supply through sufficient land for household gardens (Olssen 1992: 275). These factors at this time gave New Zealand the profile of an egalitarian society. An evening out in terms of income had occurred and most people were able to live in comfort. Meal patterns and food consumption at this time support this claim.
Demographics associated with households

Relevant to cultural change during the period were the changing demographics associated with the household. The pattern of population growth between 1870 and 1914 included rapid growth in the 1870s, (a result of government assisted immigration), followed by a steady growth, the result of a natural increase in population and further immigration. As a consequence the population at the turn of the century was 900,000 and the male: female ratio which in 1861 was 10: 6 was 10: 9. In the main towns which had 20% of the population by this time, women especially between the ages of 15 and 35, exceeded men. Secondary towns as they grew after 1906 also exhibited this characteristic (Olssen 1980: 160). This influenced the number of women looking for work and the value of women in the household.

Family size was also reducing over the period. Women who married in 1880 averaged, when their families were complete 6.5 live births, whereas the marriage cohort of 1923 averaged only 2.4. Olssen (1992: 263) suggests that this trend which began in urban areas, was the result of the expanding middle class’s expectations of higher living standards. An extra child was thought to decrease the family’s status and comfort.

Overall, this period saw a decrease in household size. Not only did the number of children per household decrease but servants and lodgers also tended to disappear (idem). Servants it appears declined because there was other preferable work available to women, and lodgers declined because fewer single men were part of the population. This overall change in household size was another factor that could be associated with change in food habits but there is no suggestion of this in menus or recipe books of the period. The structure of meals remained the same, although household food consumption probably declined.

Women

Traditionally food provisioning in Victorian society was a woman’s occupation. This makes an examination of women in Victorian society relevant to the study of food habits.

In Victorian society . . . women’s lives were governed by the doctrine that there existed a so-called women’s sphere. They were to bear and rear children and attend to household affairs. (Grimshaw 1972: xi)

The industrial revolution however bought a sharp change to the lives of many working class women. . . . It created a situation that made
nonsense of the long cherished notion that women's place was in the home. (Grimshaw 1972: xii)

In Britain the economic situation which developed as a result of the industrial revolution forced working class women into the workforce. But for the middle class the economic situation was more likely to result in an increase in shared wealth and an increase in leisure time. For this class wealth was an indicator of status, and this could be shown by the service of elaborate meals, and the number of servants. Servants were therefore a very important indicator of status and a supporter of lifestyle. But for Victorian colonists to New Zealand this situation altered with migration. The migration process was the beginning of a new way of life and a degree of independence not available to women in 'sheltered' British households. In New Zealand the middle class wife often had to run her household without servants, despite the fact that many single women had migrated to New Zealand in order to obtain employment as domestic servants. The male : female ratio had put a premium on women as wives and most women married. In 1874 only 4% of women over 30 were unmarried (Dalziel 1986: 58).

Servantless or almost servantless households in the colony meant most women were responsible for their own food provisioning. This role gained them some independence but despite this change, the doctrine of 'proper spheres' tended to prevail and women's work remained rooted in the family. In 1874 only 20% of women over the age of 15 worked outside the home (ibid: 62).

By 1890 however the position of women in the work force was beginning to change. Before 1890 it was considered both unusual and undesirable for women to take paid employment outside the home (McLeod 1978: 8). Most employees were in the lower classes, and most were absorbed into domestic service. But from 1891 a gradual decline in servants in New Zealand occurred. This was related to the opportunities for other work, and to a growing surplus of women especially in the cities. By 1891, 45,000 women in a total population of approximately 600,000 were in paid work but most (19,400) were still absorbed in domestic service. Numbers however in other jobs were increasing. The clothing, textiles and food industry employed 10,900, teaching and nursing 6000 and shops and offices 3000 (Graham 1992: 117, 126). Some women had taken employment because of necessity created by the Depression of the 1880s, others because of growing industrialisation and others, because they wanted liberation from the household and family. But for most women the ultimate aim was still marriage. Society still expected women to play the role of wife, mother, homemaker and housekeeper.

The vote in 1893 was another dimension that altered women's position in society. Before 1870 New Zealand was predominantly a male dominated society.
Women were isolated and gender solidarity was difficult. But between 1860 and 1880 the population grew and the dominant male ratio declined. Men's excess consumption of alcohol however still caused problems for women and children and it was the desire to protect the family that led to the formation of a national union of women, the WCTU in 1885. The movement nursed the earliest feminist ideas and supported reforms unconnected with the liquor question. The education of more women, and their entry into the work force was part of the WCTU programme for reform as was progress towards equality for women in the society. This was partly realised by the 1884 the Married Women's Property Act, the raising in 1896 of the age of consent, and in 1898 the Divorce Act which gave both men and women the same grounds for divorce. The idea of women's emancipation, which resulted in women's enfranchisement in 1893 was also fostered in the organisation. Equality for women in the society advanced during this period but it made little difference to women's role in the household. The doctrine of 'proper spheres' was kept alive and appeared after 1893 to be used even more vehemently to keep women in their place. Motherhood and domesticity were believed to give women their moral superiority. The latter was believed to be essential for the progress of the race and despite enfranchisement women continued to be wife, mother, homemaker and guardian of society morals.

The appearance of the 'cult of domesticity' after women were granted the vote appeared on the surface to negate the increasing independence and freedom the vote signified for women. Enfranchisement did not place women in the forefront of public life. Women failed to compete effectively with men for positions of power. As a result they remained in the domestic domain, here finding their true role or perhaps their most effective influence? Olssen and Levesque (1978: 7) have suggested that this new cult offered women a sense of dignity and importance that had been lost when the pioneering period ended. It provided them with a separate sphere in which they could excel.

In 1891 there were still 100 bachelors for every 90 spinsters in the New Zealand population (Dalziel 1986: 59). This meant that the position of women would ultimately be that of wife/housekeeper. Work for women either in or outside the home was considered to be an interlude between school and marriage and education beyond primary school was thought unnecessary. Such entrenched attitudes towards women's role in the society meant that although educational opportunities had by World War I advanced for women, the majority of women were still destined to spend most of their adult lives in a domestic role.
Summary

The food habits of a society are part of the culture. Although the new immigrants bought their culture with them when they immigrated to New Zealand the conditions that prevailed were different from 'home'. The natural environment, as well as the people in the new society were different. While acculturation was not a feature of settlement for the immigrants to New Zealand—they were not exposed to a dominant culture—a degree of culture change did occur for the following reasons. From 1870 the immigrants who arrived in New Zealand were anxious for change. They were fleeing industrialisation, the class system and the structure of their own societies that had kept them in their place. In leaving the old world societies they were in this action showing a willingness to accept change. Entering a new society it was inevitable that the new interdependencies and balance of power that developed would bring about change.

According to Elias (in Mennell 1984) forces that develop in a society are the result of interdependence of people on each other. They shape not only their own behaviour but the way they think about themselves, their attitudes and their activities. In New Zealand in the 19th century the new conditions and the isolation bound the people together despite the nationality and class differences that may have existed. Opportunities developed for new linkages in the society. The opportunity to acquire land gave people an opportunity to develop a new status and the lack of servants together with limited access to familiar foods meant that in general the food habits that established themselves in the society were more homogenous. Both the worker-settler population and the middle classes were forced to live under the same conditions. As a result the food habits that developed at this time were neither the result of 'a trickle down process' — the class structure was not sufficiently asymmetric for this to happen — nor was 'emulation' a factor as both the ingredients and the opportunities for the elaborate service of meals were limited.

Attitudes to women in the new country also changed. In the earlier pioneer period their role in the household was often that of a partner. This situation gave them more control over household affairs and the lack of servants forced them to become more involved with household meals. At the end of the century when they gained the vote and early in the 20th century when educational opportunities for women improved, the opportunities that became evident as a result of these events changed women's attitudes to themselves and to an extent their behaviour. Although some researchers have suggested that women continued to accept their domestic status despite their enfranchisement it cannot be denied that, compared with their counterparts in Britain at this time their lives did change. They were part of a society in which they had more freedom to
advancement. This was probably reflected in the lessened formality (which included meals) that came to characterise activities and behaviour in the colony. The changes that occurred in women's lives and their role in society that began with their immigration to New Zealand were an important factor in the change that finally occurred in food habits in New Zealand society.

Food and Ideas

Sources of ideas about food, and mechanisms associated with their transmission, have been identified in this period as: social and cultural background, print media, women's organisations, and education.

Attitudes and values attached to food are part of a culture. British migrants were dominant in the New Zealand population in the early period and because they continued to reinforce the population until the 1950s it is reasonable to assume that the attitudes of these migrants were influential in terms of food behaviour. Fifteen thousand settlers came to New Zealand as Wakefield colonists but it was only in the first decades after their arrival, that their attitudes tended to have an influence in the colony (Sinclair 1988: 98). Most settlers who arrived in the colony sought to re-establish the values they were familiar with. Wakefield had a vision of a colonial society which would include "besides the simple respectable, persons of cultivation" (Miller 1958: 161), and except in Otago where most of the founding fathers were indigent tradesmen or labourers the Wakefield colonists did consist of a high proportion of the more comfortable middle class. On Company ships 12-14% were colonists as opposed to assisted immigrants and in Canterbury, colonists formed 25% of the settlers who arrived on the first four ships. But many of the 'colonial gentry' who emigrated returned to England and the majority of those that remained did not conform to the model of English society that Wakefield had intended for his settlements. Nevertheless many of the early colonists that did arrive and settle did consider themselves 'more than respectable', and this attitude and its related behaviour was reflected in their food behaviour. While adaptation occurred in terms of lifestyle for most settlers, the capacity to adapt class-based attitudes and values was slow, and the higher up the social scale the less likelihood there was of significant change. The attitude to domestic service for example is one indicator of class-based attitudes. Many middle class women colonists at first had to manage without servants but these were reinstated as soon as servants became available. As well, those that had been domestic servants and had improved their position by marriage in the colony were themselves prone to display their new status by employing servants. But servility and its implied inferior status was not a value most colonists were
keen to preserve (Graham 1992: 120-121). The majority of settlers were anxious to be rid of British class relations and the ‘trappings’ associated with them. Exposure to the opportunities in the new land coupled with the random migration pattern of settlers that followed the 15,000 Wakefield settlers, caused differences in class, more evident in the earlier waves of settlers, to fade. The goldseekers of the 1860s and government assisted immigrants in the 1870s, were mainly lower middle, and working class, agricultural and general labourers, domestic servants and navvies. The ‘lesser gentry’ and the professional classes were not part of later migrations and as a result class divisions of the old kind transported from Britain in the Wakefield period did not prevail, but Victorian middle class values, and especially those associated with conspicuous consumption and respectability, continued. As a result domestic behaviour and the food habits associated with it continued to be a social marker.

The food habits of the Wakefield settlers before they left Britain were determined by their class values, income, and geographic location. The rural dweller and worker was not necessarily better fed than his urban counterpart. Income was a factor for both. Food quality and quantity were variable depending on circumstances. But in general for both the rural and urban dweller the diet was fairly monotonous. For the rural worker, bread, potatoes, root vegetables and weak tea were the staples. Poached rabbit, meat, salt pork or bacon usually were consumed once per week. Flour for bread was usually rye or barley, and fresh vegetables while plentiful were unwillingly consumed. Cheese and butter were extras. The town worker was more dependent on commercial outlets for his food. His living conditions were often not suitable for practice of the ‘culinary arts’. Bought bread and baked or roasted potatoes, bacon cooked in a pan and tea which was hot and brought comfort, were the mainstay of his diet. Meat if available, was kept for the working man of the household. Soups, stews and puddings were eaten on Sundays, the only time available to cook food taking a long preparation time. And although 1848 marked the end of the hungry years, ‘dietary inadequacy’ according to Burnett was a feature of British working class throughout the 19th century (Burnett 1989: 52 -73).

The rich like the poor workers were not a homogeneous class in 19th century Britain. They were represented by the aristocracy and the county families, as well as the upper and the middle classes. The latter were themselves part of a growing tiered class whose values and income varied. The landed magnate and the shopkeeper had little in common except the fact that they enjoyed some margin of income over expenditure, which allowed a measure of food choice. In the 19th century this provided opportunities for competitive expenditure and display. Food, its manner of selection and preparation, its order of service and times of eating all became matters of high social importance and
class demarcation. Social imitation was the pattern of the day (ibid.: 67-79). Victoria for example, when she came to the throne dined at 7:30 pm and this practice was imitated in urban areas where it became the norm to eat the main meal of the day in the evening. Breakfast became lighter and tea drinking at 4 pm became fashionable.

By the 1880s food habits in Britain had seen a transition. A growing prosperity and an increase in food imports which had caused food prices to fall, made a variety of food available to all classes of the population. Imported meat and wheat had made the meat and bread component of the diet cheaper, making more money available for dairy products, fruit and eggs and other food previously only eaten in small amounts. Tea and sugar prices had also fallen, and tinned foods, fruit, fish, meat and jam were readily available, further increasing the variety in the diet; by 1914 the world food market was so organised as to be able to place the cheapest wheat and meat, best tea, fish and coffee on British tables (ibid.: 214).

The British migrants to New Zealand had bought their food habits with them as part of their 'cultural baggage', but in the early period it was not always practical or possible to put these into practice because of the new situation. But, despite the need to adapt to the foods available in the colony and despite the dilution of the early 'upper circle of colonists' by an influx of a predominantly worker-settler immigrants after the 1870s, the characteristic of food as a social marker was kept alive. The Victorian middle classes were now hegemonic in the urban population. Respectability and imitation were important to this class and they encoded the food they served with these values.

An account of a fashionable ball on the frontier by Sarah Amelia Courage, the detail of meals served in a middle class family in Wellington, and the diary of a working class woman of Otago illustrate the idea of food and 'food occasions' as a social marker.

In 1873 a garden party was held at a homestead in North Canterbury to which other homesteaders in the area were invited as well as some fashionable people from Christchurch. Croquet was played on the lawn before “high tea” which was served in the dining room at a table decorated with flowers. Dishes of plums and late peaches and whipped cream and trifle were served. This meal was followed by a dance (Courage 1976: 214).

The Wellington family consisted of Captain Robert Edwin a retired commander in the royal navy, and his three teenage daughters, together with one servant. His wife Millicent went for a trip to England in 1893 and left the family to manage by themselves. The detail about meals at this time comes from a "log" kept by Rene, one of the girls. The girls in this family saw marriage as their
destiny after school. Time in between was spent acquiring suitable ladylike accomplishments and training in the household arts.

In this household the main meal of the day was served at midday. It was usually roast or boiled meat or stew, with vegetables such as peas, asparagus or potatoes and always a pudding (e.g. bread and butter pudding, gooseberry fool, custard or a shape/blancmange). Bananas at 1/- a bunch were the main fruit and appeared interminably at each meal. Tea was light consisting of eggs in various guises or leftovers (stewed remains). A cooked breakfast was mentioned as essential. Other food recorded included oranges taken on a picnic and oxtail soup served to an ailing family member (Coney 1993: 82).

In contrast to this Wellington middle class family is the family of Mary Lee. In 1877 aged six as an only child she immigrated with her working class parents to New Zealand. She left school at fifteen and worked mainly as a dressmaker before she married in 1889. Her husband was a contract worker in small towns and eventually left her with three children to care for. A fourth was born later. It was a marriage that was unsuccessful mainly because the money earned by her husband on which Mary was totally dependent was spent by him on drink and gambling. This meant that little money was available for food. Many times it is mentioned that there was no food in the house. She was for example while living in a country area expected to keep house on 7/6 per week: “many a week we had no meat & there was no place to get fish from, .....[i]t was Eggs & potatoes, Eggs & potatoes...”(Cooper quoting Lee 1992: 77). Sometimes the farmer’s wife would give her milk. Tea without milk and bread and dripping was often the only food available for the light evening meal. Treacle was sometimes available for the bread and when fowls were kept eggs were possible for the tea meal. A Christmas pudding was made at Christmas time and she mentioned the school meals that her grandson received at St Joseph’s school in the early 1900s. He got a hot dinner at school, potatoes, vegetables and gravy and rice pudding. She also comments on a “salad” that they all liked made on Saturday for Sunday (ibid.: 77, 98, 118, 121, 123). This was probably a fruit salad which was still a popular Sunday dessert in many New Zealand households in the 1960s.

Money was obviously a determinant of meals for this family as it was for the middle class Wellington family, the difference being in the extras that could make the diet more interesting.

The media both influenced and transmitted ideas about food over the period. Articles directly related to food appeared in periodicals and in daily papers as did advertisements that reflected some of the ideas associated with food at the time. In the period under examination, many of the periodicals that were read in New Zealand (the literacy rate was high, 76% of pakeha women
could read and write in 1890 [Coney 1986: 13] were imported but towards the end of the century periodicals that included food ideas were being published locally although many of these still reprinted articles from overseas magazines.

Waldron (1990: 9) as a result of a study of women's magazines and pages in the 1890's reports that many of the articles on food and health in local publications could be described as 'prescriptive'. This observation is illustrated in notes by 'Scotsman' in the New Zealand Farmer January 1903 which suggest that the things necessary to ensure health and happiness are simple, plain, wholesome food, fresh air and sunshine.

A more practical article about food and diet appeared in the Southern Queen in February 1896. It emphasises to the housekeeper the importance of variety in the diet, both in the preparation of recipes and in choosing articles of diet. "When marketing she [the housekeeper] should endeavour to provide a succession of different kinds of food both animal and vegetable" (p.28). And in another article it suggests that,

most people that can afford it eat and drink too much. . . A man or woman cannot eat as much as they like even of the plainest and most wholesome food with impunity. (Southern Queen February 1896, p.26)

Some of the advertisements for food also give clues to the ideas people held about diet at this time. Dyspepsia is obviously a common problem associated with food and drink intake and this is reflected in some of the articles and advertisements cited below. Tea is noted in the White Ribbon as causing problems. An article titled, 'Tea Poisoning', was published in February 1904, p.11 and the following remarks about tea appeared in WCTU's Economic Cooking Lessons (1899, p.78) "tea taken with meat retards digestion and should not be allowed to draw for more than 3 minutes". This belief probably accounts for advertisements such as Nathan's for teas (which gave instructions for making tea) in the Auckland Weekly News during 1899 which suggests that when tea is allowed to brew for more that 8-10 minutes it causes indigestion.

Cocoa advertisements in newspapers and periodicals of the period obviously take advantage of tea's indigestible image e.g. Epp's cocoa is advertised in the New Zealand Farmer of 1891 as "homeopathic" and Rowntree's cocoa is advertised in the New Zealand Herald of 1920 as a "nourishing drink which throws no strain on the digestion".

Numerous patent medicines for indigestion were also advertised. Dyspepsia however while linked by the media to the idea that people eat and drink too much does not appear to have influenced the substantial menus of the day which continued to be served (Beeton 1888; Miller 1904; Colonial Everyday Cookbook 1911). The cure is obviously left to indigestion remedies.
Surprisingly, despite the large meals of the period there is no hint in the media of 'fat' being a problem until around 1911 when a fat cure is advertised in the *Auckland Weekly News* (24 August, p.39). The illustration promoting the fat cure shows a fat and a thin woman wearing the same dress with the dressmaker saying, "the thinner one is more stylish." And in the *New Zealand Farmer* of 1912 an advertisement directed at fat men suggesting that they send for particulars on how to reduce themselves indicates that fat was also a problem for men. Concern however about overweight and media information about dieting was not a feature of this period. The idea of overweight probably had little influence on food habits at this time.

Women's organisations have also been a source of ideas about food in New Zealand. Of particular importance in the late 19th century was the WCTU. The New Zealand union was formed in 1885 following a visit from Mary Leavitt (Coney 1993: 19) a travelling envoy for the United States union. The ideas of the New Zealand union which probably originated from a similar union in the United States were published in its magazine the *White Ribbon*. According to Grimshaw (1972: 28) the program undertaken by the union in the first years shows the strong influence of the American parent society.

In a generation which was gradually understanding such subjects as nutrition the WCTU undertook educative work. Quick to learn the newest theories on food values and the best means of cooking or diets for children and invalids, many branches conducted classes to teach girls this information. (ibid.: 35)

The WCTU were keen to promote cooking skills among young women because they believed that an inviting home with nourishing meals was one way to fight drink. They taught women how to cook and make homes bright and cheerful so that men would have an inducement to stay at home. Men would then be less likely to frequent public houses:

Many a man would be saved from becoming a drunkard if properly cooked and digested food were prepared for him. A bad dinner has caused many to resort to the public house for a stimulant and so begins the first downward step, which with a little care and thought might have been averted. (*WCTU Economic Cooking Lessons* 1889, p.78)

Publications in the *White Ribbon* between 1896-1914 show a concern with the relationship between food and health. The ideas expressed about vegetarianism are probably those associated with Kellogg, an American who operated a sanitarium at Battle Creek. The sanitarium was begun as a Seventh Day Adventist institution serving vegetarian food. Many influential people in the
United States were treated there according to Kellogg's health ideas, principal among which were his ideas about meat protein which he denounced. He also believed that "the decline of a nation commences when gourmandizing begins" (Levenstein 1988: 93). Kellogg called for Americans to eat less, as did Fletcher another well known faddist of the day, best known for a dietary regimen that advocated thorough mastication. This necessarily entailed reduction in food intake especially meat. He proposed this dietary regime as a cure for dyspepsia and internal disorders (Levenstein 1988: 87).

The vegetarian ideas adopted by the WCTU were associated with a campaign against gluttony which tended, in the eyes of the organisation to be associated with drink. This is one reason why vegetarianism was promoted by the WCTU. Ideas do not necessarily become practice, but the establishment of the Sanitarium Company in New Zealand in 1901 to manufacture granose and caramel cereal and in 1917 to manufacture peanut butter meant that some of the ideas promoted by the WCTU for a change in the diet could be put into practice. In 1901 for example the Christmas issue of the *Auckland Weekly News* advertised a health food café in Auckland that claimed to serve,

Cereal teas, delicate flavour, cannot cause indigestion.
Granola, the ideal breakfast food, highly nutritious, needs no cooking.
Granose, the queen of health food. Cures constipation. (ibid: p.40)

Hygiene was a concern of the WCTU, one of the areas in which they provided education. Hygienic dinners featuring 'scientific cooking' were also advertised in the same paper as was a hygienic bakery which sold wholemeal health bread.

It might be concluded that these minor but noticeable changes in food choice at this time indicate that a change in ideas about food and diet were occurring. The question is, can the changes be attributed to vehicles such as the media, and to women's organisations such as the WCTU? This is a possibility because the WCTU believed that drinking was stimulated by heavy meals. They believed that a diet lighter in meat which included more fruits and vegetables would be an antidote to drinking. Their literature at this time expounded these ideas, and the establishment of health food cafés and the availability of vegetarian food products points to some of their ideas being put into practice.

The following are some of the articles published in the *White Ribbon* after 1895:

Why wholemeal bread is indigestible.
Hygienic and food reform.
The importance of diet to health.
Eat fruit. Fruit is a necessity for a balanced diet.
A conscientious stomach or a faithful sentinel.
The curative powers of common water. Water as a healing agent.
Tea poisoning. Tea is a poison and produces tea drunkenness.
A useful book. A doctor writes that health is maintained by eating
natural foods.
Fruit better than drugs. The use of fruit in the treatment of illness.
The stomach's holiday. Continual eating is not good for the stomach.
Importance of mastication. Diseases caused by the lack of proper
chewing.
Eat apples. On the healthful properties of eating apples.
A recommendation that WCTU women study nutrition domestic
science and moral virtues for mental and physical health.
A plea for a vegetarian diet. On the benefits of vegetarianism.
Vegetarianism is a powerful antidote to the drink craze.
Man's natural diet. On the advantages of vegetarianism over eating
meat.
A vegetarian diet and recipes are given. Is meat a necessity for the
laborer?
Nuts as food. Recipes for nut dishes to replace meat.
In favour of vegetarianism, with recipes for meatless dishes.
Flesh eaters v. flesh abstainers. A comparison of the ability to perform
various exercises of meat eaters, and vegetarians.
Is meat eating necessary? On the cruelty of killing animals for food.
On the benefits of vegetarianism to the health.
Re flesh eating. Biblical warrant for the eating of meat.
Homely hints for a fleshless diet.
Why and how to change to a vegetarian diet. (Brooks and Simpkin
1975)

Cooking classes begun at this time also had the potential to influence ideas
about food. These classes were instituted for a number of reasons:

1. To train domestic servants, especially 'colonial' girls who had not had the
   benefit of training in a large 'upper class' household as was the British
   custom.

2. To make women, especially working class women, more competent cooks
   so they provided more inviting homes which prevented men resorting to
   drinking and public houses.

3. To ensure that women were trained for their true destiny in this life, that of
   wife and mother. This idea especially gained prominence in the early 20th
   century with the so called 'cult of domesticity'.

Women who immigrated to the colony belonged to several social groups:
the 'lesser gentry' who were used to servants and who continued to employ
them, the middle class who were likely to have at least a general servant, the
wives of the working class who might hire themselves out for domestic work as
part of a married couple (especially if there were no children) and single women
many of whom were employed as servants for a few years before marriage. But
as the population of the colony grew, fewer women were trained as servants or
wanted to be employed as servants. This situation developed partly because of
marriage, partly because the population of the colony was not really large
enough to provide a servant class and partly because of a growing independence
of women who preferred other occupations (Fry 1985: 106). Although from time
to time single women did immigrate as ‘domestics’, the supply never met the
demand. More often than not ‘raw’ girls born in the colony became household
servants and the domestic skills acquired in the kitchen of a large English
household were not learned. It was necessary for the colonial mistress herself to
train domestic servants. Few were able to do this adequately. Such a situation is
noted by Amelia Courage who in the 1860s immigrated to New Zealand and
found herself mistress of the household on a farm in North Canterbury. Finding
herself at one stage without a cook she was forced to prepare meals herself. She
notes: "Now I had never made bread in my life. . . . and I knew very little of
cooking either so stood forth a confessed ignoramus" (Courage 1976: 56). But she
was not deterred by her lack of skill, and many references are made to her using
a “cookery book” (p.62). She notes for example when preparing a curry from a
leg of mutton which had been roasted that "preparing that curry was a work of
time and referring so often to the cookery book delayed me a great deal" (ibid.: 74). She also got lessons in baking from a carpenter employed on the property
who had been trained as a pastry cook in Glasgow: "He offered to teach me how
to make scones and teacakes [and bread]. . . . I had a thoroughly practical lesson
in bread and cake making that I never forgot" (ibid.: 72). The employed men, she
notes usually cooked for themselves “each evening enough meat to last over the
next day, bread they usually fetched every two to three days from the house”
(ibid.: 78) and dampers they made for themselves.

Another group who had missed out on acquiring domestic skills were the
wives of the working class. In the normal course of their lives they would have
acquired these skills either as servants or from near kin, but living in a foreign
land many were without near kin, and many did not enter service in a large
household. This may explain why cooking schools which catered for a cross
section of the population, servants, their mistresses and working girls sprung up
in the 1880s in the main towns.

In Auckland in 1887 the YWCA held courses in "scientific cookery" (Coney
1986: 40) and in Dunedin the WCTU in 1885 had instituted cooking classes at
Leavitt house, a boarding house run by the WCTU for young adolescent girls. In
accordance with the social reform policies of the WCTU, cooking classes were
held on a Tuesday evening during the winter. These were taught by Mrs E. B.
Miller, (and volunteers) who was later appointed as a cookery teacher for the Technical Classes Association and the Girls' High School. Those that attended were mostly young women engaged in business during the day, teachers who gained certificates for fancy cooking and ability to give lessons and demonstrations, the better class of servants, young married women and girls engaged in domestic duties (Home Science Alumnae Bulletin 1949, pp.28-31).

In 1903 free places become available for more girls at secondary schools causing a demand for the less academic subjects. Domestic science was introduced as a subject in most girls' schools at this time, although cooking and needlework had been available as special subjects for a fee at some girls' schools before this. In 1908 Technical Schools that offered daytime courses as well as evening courses in domestic subjects (including cooking) were established and by 1917 legislation which remained in place until 1943, made two hours of domestic education compulsory in schools for all girls even if they were in the matriculating classes. But until 1928 (Fry 1985: 109) only 50% of girls leaving primary school went on to secondary school so most of the formal education in cooking for girls was obtained at the primary school level.

Formal cooking instruction was introduced at primary school level by an act of 1900. Education boards set up especially equipped centres with qualified instructors in cookery and woodwork to which boys and girls came from surrounding schools during school time, two hours per week, thirty weeks per year; fifty of these centres were in place by 1908 (Ewing 1970: 99-101).

Until 1914 the promotion of cooking classes in the colony was partly the result of the social reform policies instituted by the WCTU, partly due to the lack of servants skilled in cookery and partly because of the doctrine of 'proper spheres', a doctrine that appeared to develop in the society as it left behind the pioneering period. The idea of a 'proper sphere' for women may be gleaned from an item in the Otago Daily Times 21 May 1887, p.4. It refers to the lack of cooking knowledge of high school girls who seem to study only “how to make the cold mutton a bone of contention ... which promotes only bad language and doctors bills”. It also noted that in a recent advertisement for a governess who had matriculated with Latin the payment was only 15 pounds per year whilst for someone who had matriculated in the kitchen it was 75 pounds. The comment that followed was “women are very valuable as helpers”.

Another report in the Otago Guardian 3 July 1887, p.3, gave details of a meeting held in order to promote the establishment of a cookery school by a Miss Fidler. Dr Coughtery delivered an address in which he said he considered “good food better than good medicine” and the chairman Mr. Bathgate said,

he looked upon the new institution as the inauguration of a social reform of great importance. . . . The establishment of a school of
cookery meant one of those practical reforms that would tend to ameliorate the conditions of society and improve habits and conditions of the community. It was common if you wished to make your mark of appreciation on public men or to gain their assistance or esteem to invite them to a good dinner and in domestic affairs between man and wife it was well known that good cookery strengthened the stability of conjugal relationships. (Otago Guardian 3 July 1887, p.3)

He went on to say that

it was a great mistake for young ladies to assume that simply because they belonged to the fairer sex they had an intuitive knowledge of cookery. He assured them that it would add to their existing charms and largely improve their matrimonial chances if they studied in addition to other things the art of cookery. (idem)

He also made mention of the number of girls employed in sewing factories that did nothing to make them useful housewives in the homes of “our artisans”.

A similar situation existed in regard to instruction in cooking and cooking schools in Christchurch. The two most well known cooking teachers of this time were Mrs Harman and Mrs Gard’ner, both of whom were involved in teaching private classes, at the Technical School, the Girls High School, and in training teachers. They also were joint authors of a cookery book New Zealand Domestic Cookery Book. In Auckland there was Miss Millington, the first of a group of English trained instructors, and in South Canterbury and Wellington Miss Rennie made her mark (Fry 1985: 109).

After the establishment of the School of Home Science at the University of Otago in 1911 teachers trained in cookery and domestic science were likely to have received their training at this institution. The first professor was a Cambridge graduate who had studied for the National Science Tripos. Prior to her New Zealand appointment she had taught science and home science at Cheltenham Ladies College. Her assistant also a Cambridge science graduate, held as well, a Post Graduate Diploma in Household and Social Science from Kings College London. The scientific aspects of the household and economics were emphasised in the courses they taught, the practical cookery component of which was taught by Miss Dora Little at the Technical College. In the University of Otago New Zealand Calendar of 1914, p.212 the Faculty of Home Science lists practical cookery as: "A course of plain and general cookery, construction and management of stoves and cooking utensils: choice preparation and cooking of meat, vegetables, cereals etc."

Miss Little had taught at the Technical College with Mrs Miller and the courses she taught were based on the curriculum established by Mrs Miller. (Report and Prospectus of the Tech. Assoc. Dunedin 1889-1890) so it reasonable to
claim that all teachers of cookery at this time who were trained in Dunedin, whether at the Technical College, the Training College (here Miss Rawson from the Home Science School was initially involved in establishing teacher training) or the Home Science School, were, until the appointment of the Professor Strong in 1921, influenced in the practice of cookery by Mrs Miller. Her cookbook and the course outlines of cooking classes at the Technical College is probably a fair indication of food practices at this time.

Recipe books

It is often assumed that *Beeton's Book of Household Management* first published in Britain in 1861 was a 'benchmark' cookbook for colonial food preparation. This may have been the case for the 'better' classes but this group were not the bulk of the New Zealand population. Nevertheless its popularity in Britain amongst the middle classes (640,000 copies had been printed by 1898) indicates that it probably did have some influence on the cookery practices of the middle class colonists who emigrated from England. Copies dating from the 19th century are catalogued in New Zealand libraries, and evidence of its use is found for example in the *New Zealand Farmer* (April 1891, p.150). A Timaru housewife writes to the magazine to ask for a good recipe for making tomato sauce saying that she has made it from a recipe in Mrs Beeton’s cookery book but the sauce fermented.

Although Mrs Beeton had a reputation for extravagance one of her objects in writing her book was to meet the demand for an economical cookbook. To this end she obtained recipes from many friends and correspondents in France and England as well as Ireland and Scotland. She also studied the works of the best writers on modern cookery. The charge of extravagance tended to be levelled mainly at her cake making section, for example the instruction, “take one dozen eggs”, but it must be remembered that households at this time often consisted of 8-10 children and such quantities were necessary rather than extravagant (Hyde 1951: 89-105). In 1888 the first revision appeared. The reason given for the revision related to the scientific advances made in cookery. “The improved knowledge of chemistry [the availability of new contrivances] and the economy of cookery enables us at the present day to prepare food upon sounder rules and principles” (Beeton 1888: v). These made the work of the cook less laborious enabling new dishes to be invented daily.

This new edition included more continental recipes as well as American and colonial dishes (Australian but not New Zealand). Tinned meat and how to prepare it also featured and a section on vegetarian dishes is included “in view of the strong movement in favour of vegetarian diets.” These dishes are also
Mrs Beeton's book has been regularly revised since this time although it is claimed that during the Edwardian period the book was revised by a German Swiss, Herr Hermann Senn who unfortunately lost the author's characteristic touch which made it an English classic (Hyde 1951:103).

Nevertheless from 1862 and for the next half century the book was a most welcome wedding gift for thousands of young housewives who were able to build up and maintain happy and comfortable homes on its foundation. . . . Read now as she wrote it the book is a valuable social document and it must always rank as a leading authority on Victorian ideals and Victorian family life. (ibid.: 111)

Mrs Beeton's book has been available in print for over 130 years. In the foreword to the latest revised edition 1992 it states that:

The recipes have been constantly updated and tested to take account of modern requirements, new equipment and contemporary aspects of household management, so that it remains as valuable to successive generations as it was to the new wives of Mrs Beeton's day. (ibid: foreword)

But as colonial New Zealanders came to establish their own identity, the result of increasing social distance as well as physical distance from Great Britain, it was natural that middle class British food and food customs should lose some of their hegemonic importance. Hence when Mrs Miller started publishing her cookery books in 1889 based on recipes tested and used locally English cookbooks were less favoured. British customs however did not disappear completely at this stage.

Mrs Miller was Scottish born but had arrived in New Zealand at the age of one. Most of her childhood however was spent on a farm in Victoria, Australia and this is where she had her first lessons in cookery. Later she returned to New Zealand where she married. In 1885 she is recorded as teaching classes in cookery at Leavitt House in Dunedin for the WCTU. During the course of her career as a cookery teacher she held private classes, demonstrated at the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in 1889-1890, toured New Zealand visiting every town of any size giving courses of lessons, taught cookery classes at Otago Girls High School and at the Technical School and wrote several cook books (Home Science Alumnae Bulletin 1949, pp. 28-31).

Her first New Zealand cookbook published in 1889 was a collection of cookery lessons given at Leavitt house under the auspices of the WCTU. During the winter months of 1887-88 volunteer ladies gave their services and the benefit
of their experience to teach young women engaged in business during the day. The lessons which were later printed as a cookbook, WCTU's *Economic Cooking Lessons* (1889) included simple and inexpensive dishes suitable for people of limited means. Six thousand copies of the work were sold in 1889 and since New Zealand's population at this time was 600,000 living in approximately 120,000 households these figures indicate its wide distribution. Evidence of the wide spread use of Mrs. Miller's recipes is also found in private recipe collections. For example the collection of Mrs. J. Baker (1858-1928) included clippings from newspapers, recipes from friends and loose pages from the *Improved Economic Cookery Book*.

In the preface to the first edition (1889) of the cookbook the recipes are claimed to be reliable, not copied and not high class because "the object is to help young housekeepers and servants with plain everyday recipes for which ingredients can be found in colonial towns". In 1901 the new edition had the title *Economic Technical Cookery Book* and while recipes from the original lessons were still included, they were now set out in sections. Also included in this new edition was a section on the chemical composition of food. In 1904 the cookbook was renamed *Improved Technical Cookery Book*. Mrs Miller was now teaching classes at the Technical College and the recipes are listed in an index in alphabetical order. It also included a section on how to manage a cooking range by H.E. Shacklock (p.4 -5) and instruction for the use and care of gas stoves. In 1914, in the preface to the 12th edition it is stated "that in consequence of having to answer enquires re London City and Guild exams for plain cooking ... I have pleasure in including a list of dishes from which the practical work is selected." In general however the recipe collection remained unchanged in terms of its style and composition. Changes that were made related mainly to the inclusion of new recipes of a similar kind, that is plain and economical.

The *New Zealand Domestic Cookery Book* (1905) by Mrs. R.D. Harman and Mrs S. Gard'ner has a similar history to the cookbooks of Mrs Miller. Mrs. Gard'ner was of English and Scottish ancestry but had learned her housekeeping and cooking skills in her wealthy father's house in Sweden. Her marriage took her to Tasmania where she practised her housekeeping skills which she later put to good use in New Zealand. In Christchurch she set up a School of Domestic Instruction with Mrs Harman who had taught cookery at Christchurch Girls' High School. Later the school became part of the Technical College (*Home Science Alumnae Bulletin* 1948, pp. 59-61). Mrs Harman had a formal English training in cookery. She held a Diploma of the North Midland School of Cookery in England and in the 1912 edition of their cookbook the *New Zealand Domestic Cookery Book* the Leicester Cookery School is acknowledged as a recipe source.
In the 4th edition 1905 of the book (classes began at the school in 1897) the recipe collection is similar to that of Mrs Miller but tends more towards formal English dishes. This is possibly the influence of the English Cookery Schools from which some of the recipes were taken. The book has an extensive cake section and the cake names are similar to those that appear in Mrs Miller’s *Economic Technical Cookery Book* (1904) and the *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* (1911). The *Economic Technical Cookery Book* has approximately 150 different bread and cake recipes, the *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* has 124 as does Harman and Gard’ner’s cookbook. Personalized cake names were common in Mrs Miller’s book which suggests that cake making was becoming a specialty in colonial cookery. Mrs Miller however in contrast to the other cookbooks cited, also had a more eclectic collection of recipes in her cookbook. German recipes abounded and other recipes had American, Polish and Italian titles. Mrs Miller because she travelled widely holding classes in many small and large centres was obviously in a position to collect ‘tried and true’ recipes from a diverse sample of the population.

The *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* (1911) is not as personalised as Mrs Miller’s but contains a larger variety of recipes. It claims (preface) to provide recipes that meet the everyday requirement of the ordinary household, to provide variety at minimum cost and labour, but at the same time, although it does not attempt to deal with high class cookery, “is not wanting as to the various methods of serving and decorating dishes in an appetising way as possible.” A section is included on ices and there are other recipes such as banana cream pie and American strawberry shortcake and angel cake, recipes which were quite common in American cookbooks and magazines at the time. The American *Ladies Home Journal* had for example published a recipe for angel cake in the 1880s (Holmes 1976). The *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* also includes menus for dinner parties with explanations as to the composition of the courses as well as family dinner menus. The menus (refer Appendix C) however when contrasted with Mrs Miller’s menus were probably for an ‘upper section’ of the population who were probably the main section of the population that bought and used the book.

The *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* also featured an extensive section on cakes and biscuits, which probably reflected the increase in reliable cooking equipment in homes especially baking ovens and possibly the increase in the leisure time of women, bought about by smaller families. As well by 1911 population was less rural and opportunities for social visiting involving refreshments were probably easier. Together these factors may account for the increase in the cake sections in cookbooks in the early part of the 20th century.

New Zealand cookbooks of the period catered for most sections of the population. What they have in common, compared with Mrs. Beeton’s English
cookbook, is less pretension although the *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* (1911: 40) claims to cater for pretensions if this is a requirement. "For a dinner of any pretensions potatoes and vegetables should be provided in both plain and dressed forms."

Recipe sections in magazines and newspapers

Women's pages of magazines and newspapers also included recipes. Waldron’s (1990) thesis reviews women's magazines in the 1890s. In it she suggests that the home hints and recipes included in the magazines were probably used in conjunction with domestic household manuals and were primarily a source of new ideas and a way of keeping up with the latest standards and fads and fancies (ibid.: 46).

*The New Zealand Farmer* subtitled *Bee and Poultry Guide* which began in 1880 included recipes in its Home and Household section. The recipes appear to have been copied from overseas magazines, possibly the American *Ladies Home Journal* which began publication in 1883 or the American *Good Housekeeping* or English magazines such as *Queen* begun by Mr Beeton in 1861. It is difficult however to gauge the impact of magazine recipes, on cooking style. Probably they are a guide to the ideals in terms of cookery for the magazine's readers. In New Zealand at this time it was probably middle class and 'farming' women who bought and read magazines.

In 1885 a selection of the recipes published in *The New Zealand Farmer* include hominy, (an American dish), a salad of strawberries, ginger wine, macaroni pudding, kedgeree and curried oysters, plum cake, potato salad, pease soup, and rocky shore (like trifle with mounds of cream on top scattered with ginger), and honey cake which was included in the *Bee* section. In May 1892 reader’s recipes include recipes for chutneys and pickles, as well as Albert cake, a recipe which later featured in the Edmond’s cookbook. In July 1903 there is an article on cooking for farmhands obviously copied from an American publication as breakfast is doughnuts and ginger snaps and dinner, pickles or salad with "salt" fish and cream dressing. Also included in 1903 is steamed brown bread, angel food and chicken pie with baking powder biscuit topping. The latter are typical American dishes. In 1906 contributed recipes include plum pudding, chocolate buns cooked on writing paper and boiled puddings, and Greymouth sponge. Up until 1906 it appears that more meat dishes and puddings are included than cakes but after this date cakes increase, a trend also noticeable in cookbooks. Overall the household section printed a wide variety of recipes which are comparable (except for a few 'overt' American recipes) to those appearing in cookbooks of the day.
The *New Zealand Weekly News* later *Auckland Weekly News* which was founded in 1863 also included recipes in a "section for the ladies". Like the *New Zealand Farmer* it appeared to publish a variety of recipes from overseas sources as well as recipes contributed by readers.

Magazines that were targeted solely at women during the period included the *White Ribbon*, *Daybreak*, and the *Southern Queen*. The *White Ribbon* did not include recipes but it did exhort women to practise WCTU’s ideas of good nutrition. Brown bread, less meat and plenty of fruit and vegetables was its prescription. *Daybreak* which began in 1895 and folded within one year had, in the beginning hoped to concern itself solely with economic and social issues of interest to women but was forced for economic reasons to include a household section with a few recipes. Its "few useful recipes” on 28 December, 1895 included curried crayfish, instructions on how to boil rice for curry, lemon honey and fruit salad. The *Southern Queen* also had very few recipes. For example in April 1886, p.27 for example it included boiled tongue, how to salt two hams, paradise pudding (brandy used as flavouring) and baked damsons for winter use. Instruction for the latter involved preservation by cooking them in a stone jar in the oven with sugar then sealing them with mutton fat and thick brown paper. These exclusively women’s magazines of this period tended to provide instructions for cooking, as opposed to recipes, possibly because they did not, like the other more broadly based magazines have an audience actively involved in cooking. The magazines tended to target the 'upper strata' of society (The *Southern Queen* for example had the Countess of Glasgow as its patron) who probably had servants, or the intellectual classes, who did not consider household tasks their sole sphere of activity. Waldron (1990: 16) for example noted that Cynthia White found that “the lower the class of readership the more home centered [domestic] a magazine tends to be". This claim is illustrated by the women's section of the *New Zealand Farmer* which in 1880 included a small column for the ladies but which by 1930 had expanded to occupy a quarter of the paper. By the 1930s land was being farmed not only by the wealthy who could afford kitchen help but also by the ordinary person who had often been helped on to a farm by a government loan.

Summary

By 1914 it is possible to assume that food habits as indicated by cookery courses and cookery books (recipes and menus) were to a degree dictated by the technology available, the skills and knowledge and interest that women had in relation to food and its preparation and the income and occupation of the male householder which tended to influence the service, quality and quantity of food.
eating. Everyday food however was probably little different for most New Zealanders. Rural/urban differences in terms of food supply probably occurred and 'class' differences that related to the number of courses served and the time of meals, might have resulted in minor variations but overall the structure of meals and their composition was probably similar for most members of the population.

The immigrants to New Zealand had bought with them their ideas about food, both written and oral, and their food practices. The food itself as well as its service encoded their values and attitudes, but in a new country lack of servants, the lack of some familiar foods and the adoption of new foods meant that the meanings associated with food were subtly changed. As with the 'fashion code' foods took on a new meaning in a new situation. For example meat which was often scarce in the country of origin was abundant and no longer had the prestige and value attributed to it in many British working class families. Similarly game, and fish were no longer restricted to any particular class so could no longer be associated with privilege or prestige. Classes in the society still existed but examples of social imitation within the colony between the classes are hard to identify. Imitation tended to be associated with the upper classes who still in a fashion sense looked to Britain for new directions in food and service, but because this class in New Zealand diminished during the period social imitation was not an important factor in determining the food habits of the majority of the population. Economics were more likely to be a limiting factor when it came to the difference in diet between the rich and the poor. Trends associated with individual attitudes towards food such as vegetarianism and dieting were evident in the population but conversion to this mode of eating was not rapid.

Probably the balance of power between men and women was the single most important factor influencing the diet of the population at this time. Despite the enfranchisement of women during the period and the prevailing idea of separate spheres of influence for men and women in the society, men still interfered in women sphere. They were concerned that women if they became educated or went 'out' to work would not be trained in the domestic area and it was partly due to their concern and influence that cookery classes were rapidly established in the colony. The control of food in the domestic area however remained in the sphere of women. The ideas associated with food were generated by women who were involved in the writing of recipe books and teaching of cookery. Although men made certain that women could cook women took control of what they cooked. Consequently the role and activities of women in the household is an important correlate of changing food habits.
Technology

"Before gas and electricity, cooking was hot and heavy and even hazardous" commented Strasser (1982: 32). In the United States the transition from fireplaces to stoves was in progress by mid-century but not yet complete. In Britain Ravetz (1968: 435) writing about range technology in the same period states, "the coal burning iron range was pre-eminent in the Victorian kitchen". In middle class British households cooking techniques were adapted to the coal range but this, for economic reasons and because of the system of home ownership was not the situation in poorer households. Coal ranges were not adopted by the poorer classes. Often their only resources were the open grate, a frying pan and rental of space in the baker's oven. But, eventually by the end of the century working-class emulation of middle class fashion and an improvement in economic conditions meant that most households had acquired a coal range. As a result a major change in cooking style in terms of the 'joint' occurred—baking in the oven replaced roasting over the open fire—but further changes in the style of cooking did not occur until the gas cooker with an oven regulo became available in 1923 (ibid.: 458-459).

"Towards the end of the century . . . the range was perfected about as far as it would be" (ibid.: 451) but according to Strasser (1982: 32) it still took an hour a day to care for a range. The necessity to reduce the work associated with caring for a coal range had not been a priority of manufacturers and inventors. Even the servant shortage in Britain in the early 20th century did not result in developments to the range to reduce the work of the housewife. Because of the social climate and the economy at the time the housewife with help from manuals on 'domestic economy' took over in the kitchen. The situation was slightly different in the United States where earlier recognition of the servant shortage, the higher status of women and their greater independence meant that the impetus to improve technology in the kitchen proceeded faster. But despite the patenting of many gadgets to help with kitchen work, meal preparation in domestic households remained a "central ritual" at least until the 1960s (ibid: 1982: 48).

Today, as was the case in the 1980s, in the United States and other developed countries industrialisation has reduced the necessity for three times daily cooking. Hardly any modern families get together for all their meals and restaurants and supermarkets provide options for buying food that someone else has cooked (idem). This situation, together with the perpetually rising expectations of consumers has had a significant effect on what people eat. While industrialisation has probably resulted in more variety for all classes and
'healthier' food habits if economies slump however market forces and income tend to dictate what many people can or cannot eat.

Cooking technology in New Zealand kitchens

To understand the development of the New Zealand cooking style it is helpful to review the development of cooking in Britain and its associated technology. Davidson (1982: 44-68) suggests the following stages occurred in the development of cooking in Britain:

**Stage 1 open fire:** Cooking operations associated with this stage were boiling, baking and spit roasting. It was universal in the 17th century, dominant in the 18th century, common in the 19th century and not unknown in the 20th century.

**Stage 2 open range:** Iron grates held the fire in. Trivets etc, extended over the fire and were used for cooking. This stage was promoted by the extension of coal mining and the development of cast iron. By 1860 open ranges usually included side boilers for heating water and ovens for baking.

**Stage 3 combination and closed ranges:** During the 19th century the open fire was covered by a hot plate, ending the need for a suspended pot. Ovens and hot water boilers were also part of the design. Temperature control by dampers, and registers allowed many cooking operations to take place together but made the kitchen very hot. The front of the range also had moveable panels which could be shifted to expose the flames allowing for roasting of the meat and a fire to sit by.

In general, this last stage, was confined in the early period to the wealthier homes. Others still cooked over the open fire in their homes and took their food to be baked to a communal oven.

**Stage 4 gas:** First available for cooking on a wide scale in the 1880s it was used for cooking only. It did not like the coal range heat rooms and water as well. The cooking temperature was easily controlled. The standard form had burners on top, grill in the middle, and an oven below. Single gas rings used in conjunction with coal ranges were popular and the introduction of a penny in the slot system extended the possibility of gas cooking to many domestic homes which could not afford quarterly bills.

The changing design of New Zealand houses over the period gives some indication of the type of cooking appliances that were in use. In 1871 in New Zealand according to the *New Zealand Official Handbook* (1891: 54-55) the number of houses was 57,182, the number of inhabitants per 100 houses was 448 and the majority of the people lived in houses with less than 4 rooms. Salmond (1986: 73)
154-155) noted that by the 1870s "villas" a term used to refer to later Victorian houses of more than 4-5 rooms, were being built in the suburbs. "Cottages" which were a simpler house were also in existence. In the four roomed cottages of the 1860s and seventies the two front rooms were the living room (parlour) and the best bedroom with the kitchen and another bedroom at the rear. The slightly larger or better class of four roomed cottages had the added refinement of a passage between the front rooms joining the front door to the kitchen at the rear usually under a lean to roof with a back kitchen or scullery where the washing up was done, and a pantry beside or behind the cooking kitchen. In larger houses with servants the kitchen was sometimes in a separate building joined to the house at the rear via a butler's pantry and the dining room. These plans suggest that at this time most houses being built were being fitted with a closed-style cooking range and the era of cooking over an open fire and with a colonial oven had passed although specifications for Mr Bamford's Mornington house by Mason and Wales Architect 6 April, 1869 do not suggest this situation:

Bricklayer: set copper with small flue running up full height of kitchen chimney. Provide all furnace bars, cast iron door and frames for the same. Provide iron bar 21/2 inches by 5/8 inch for kitchen fireplace, set grates or form colonial hobs to chimney openings as may be required. Carpenter: the kitchen to have a lean to roof pitching from eaves to the main roof and having a wall at the back, ... the pantry to be lined ... scullery [etc]. (idem)

Some of the early colonists bought cooking stoves with them. Porter (1989: 61) writing about the life of Jane Maria Atkinson who emigrated with many of her kin to New Zealand in 1853 notes that one of the items that the family bought with them was a cooking stove which was fixed in brick and housed in a lean to added to the existing kitchen. In her diary (ibid.: 62) Jane Maria notes that she had in her larder on Saturday, ready for a bush party on Sunday, boiled beef, 15 large loaves, a roast leg of pork, and a rhubarb pie. This suggests that both boiling, baking, and roasting were important cooking methods.

Cooking stoves were advertised in the Otago Witness in the 1860s and 1870s by ironmongers, Park and Curle. In 1874 they advertised "upward of 30 different patterns to choose from". The advertised models included the American Smith and Wellstood, the Leamington (a British "close" fire range model), and a Scottish model. Both the British and American stoves had disadvantages. The American ranges stood out from the wall and had a tendency to deposit soot on the floor and the British model needed a skilled bricklayer to install it. Both were designed to burn bituminous coals and performed poorly on the lignite coals found throughout New Zealand, but eventually a stove was designed to suit colonial conditions. In 1873, in Dunedin H.E. Shacklock produced the first New
Zealand made coal range but his first model proved to be unsuitable for New Zealand coal. Discovering this fault he quickly redesigned the range with a larger grate more suited to New Zealand lignite. This stove became a prototype for thousands built the same way from 1870-1930. It heated water, warmed the kitchen, dried clothes, cooked porridge and baked scones (Angus 1973: Chpt.1 and 2).

On 4 October, 1876 the first advertisement for a Shacklock stove appeared in the ODT in the public notices; later it appeared in the business notices. Its promotion in the first advertisements was based on its fuel advantage. The imported models had required bituminous coal which needed to be brought in from Newcastle, Australia. The early promotion message read:

Economy is fuel.
Newcastle coal superseded. Buy our local product.
Send no more money out of the country.

During the 80s business expanded. The Orion which was the best seller was patented and other models were bought out. In 1881 stoves were being exhibited at exhibitions and Agricultural and Pastoral shows around the country and by 1898 it was claimed that 16,000 had been sold.

An advertisement in the ODT 17 February, 1898 read:

Household economy
Cooking is made easier and cheaper by using one of Shacklock’s Orion ranges
It will burn lignite, coal, wood or peat, and requires no setting.
Maker of 25 years experience.

And in 1903 the following claim is made for the ranges in another advertisement:

The ovens are noted for their regularity of heat. The bottoms heat well, pastry can be browned, or any liquid substance such as pie or rice pudding will boil from the bottom; large sized loaves of bread can be baked in them. The cost of cooking for 10 persons in an Orion no.1 range is about 6d per day. (Angus 1973: 34)

And in the New Zealand Farmer January 1909 the claim is made that,

Orion range, [is] a solution to the domestic servant problem. The drudgery of cooking and baking will be reduced to vanishing point. An immense amount of labour will be saved, worry will be replaced with ease and certainty. More leisure will be secured and the whole house will be delighted.
Other New Zealand made ranges were also being produced during this period. An advertisement in the New Zealand Farmer (May 1892, p.208) for the Atlas stove billed it as efficient, fuel saving and elegant in appearance. And Daybreak (16 November 1895, p.7) has an advertisement for ranges made by Luke & Co.: "they burn less fuel and cook more rapidly than any cooking range known." Other examples of models available appear in the catalogue of The Dunedin Iron and Woodware Company (c.1910).

Between 1900-1939 most houses had a coal range, except for the very poor and the very rich (Angus, 1973: 43) who installed gas and electrical ranges shortly after they became available. Gas was available from the 1860s (Burton 1982: 82) but was not commonly used for cooking. The ODT (4 May 1887, p.5) notes the use of gas to prepare a 'fricassee' by Miss Fidler at a cookery demonstration at the South Australian hotel in Dunedin, and on another occasion at the same venue she is reported to have prepared 'with the aid of a gas stove rare delicacies of the tea table' (Otago Guardian 9 July 1887, p.3). In 1889 Mrs Miller is recorded as holding cookery classes for the Technical Classes Association in a cookery room in Dunedin that had a large Shacklock range and a gas cooking stove (Home Science Alumnae Bulletin 1949, p.29).

The Dunedin Gaslight and Coke Company opened its works in 1863. Christchurch had gas in 1864, Auckland by 1865 and Wellington by 1871 (Rennie 1989: 29). But although in 1869 a large house, of eight rooms in Dunedin is advertised to let with gas and water laid on, gas was first used in the home only for lighting but gradually it came into the kitchen to replace the coal range:

Swedish “primus” gas cookers were available by 1890 with three burners on two of which sat a removable oven. A proper gas cooker with a fixed oven was patented in 1884, and thereafter in many town houses, the old range was rooted out of its brick shell and replaced by the new enamelled wonder. For those that preferred to keep their old coal range there were small bench-top burners with a rubber hose connection ideal for boiling the kettle without having to stoke up the fire. (Salmond 1986: 148)

In his history of the Christchurch gas works Pollard (1987: 48) records the promotion of gas stoves in the city. Referring to Mr Bishop head of the gas company in Christchurch from 1884 he states:

He presided over all gas distribution matters, the pipes the meters, the hours of street lighting, the appliance sales . . . nor did he neglect the promotion of gas cooking. [This he did by suggesting that], it could be seen . . . that the struggle to keep the servants servile was being abandoned and if this was the case his advice was for colonial employers was to side step their tyranny with the aid of gas.
[They themselves should learn to use the new appliances]. Most colonials – men and women – can cook. If they can’t they should probably hasten to the gas company’s cooking demonstrations and learn how . . . if people who say they cannot get adequate servants were to go there and learn how easy everything is with a properly convenient kitchen and gas cookers . . . they would become philosophically indifferent to the vagaries of domestic industrialism. (idem)

By 1914 some New Zealanders had the choice of the coal range or gas for producing their meals. Those promoting the coal range claimed that it had contributed to the gradual rise in living standards of New Zealanders in the 19th century and early 20th century (Angus 1973: 34).

The bread previously cooked in a colonial oven now came from a regulated oven. The items cooked over the open fire in a blackened pot now bubbled merrily on top of a gleaming no.1 Orion stove. In this humble way . . . H.E. Shacklock’s coal range made an enormous contribution to . . . the gradual rise in living standards enjoyed by 19th century New Zealanders. (idem)

Those promoting the use of gas in the kitchen suggested it would eliminate the servant problem by reducing the drudgery associated with the care of a coal range. This claim was a response to the social conditions of the time, and the growing difficulty with the employment of servants.

Widespread use of gas in the kitchen however did not begin in this period so it had little impact on meals and food preparation. It is possible however that the ‘closed’ coal range did have an impact. Some conclusions as to its effect may be drawn by examining typical menus at the beginning and end of the period. (refer Appendix C)

Menus were included in many of the cookbooks of the period. The menu section (pp.239-244) in the Colonial Everyday Cookbook (1911) for example included a variety of cooking methods and dishes. These menus are elaborate in contrast to those recorded personally in letters and diaries etc. which suggests that they were the ideal rather than the norm for the New Zealand settler. They would probably have required a servant to help prepare and serve them. The menus however do give some clue to the cooking practices and dishes of the day. Included are menus for dinner parties of 4-5 courses (reminiscent of Mrs. Beeton’s course categories) as well as family dinners, luncheons and suppers. These menus are all elaborate in terms of the number of dishes and courses. Examples of family dinner menus however are less elaborate and involve fewer courses.
In contrast to these menus are the menus found in Mrs. Miller's *Improved Technical Cookery Book* (1904: 326). For these menus preparation methods are less elaborate, and there is less choice of meat dishes and puddings at dinnertime. Lunches however like the *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* menus are composed mainly of leftovers although the latter also suggests using small meat cuts. Menus in both of these cookbooks provide variety and tend to use the oven for joints at dinnertime, baked products at lunch time and baked puddings at dinner time. French terms for dishes are absent in Mrs Miller's menus which suggests a less pretentious, lower class of followers. But whilst the menus in the *Colonial Everyday Cookbook* are more extensive the recipes are similar to those of Mrs Miller. In contrast to the limited menus of the early pioneering period, these cookbooks indicate that overall the adoption of the coal range by the end of the period by most households in contrast to the use of the colonial oven and cooking directly over the open fire, gave most people a more varied and interesting diet.

Associated with cooking in the coal range and the introduction of thermostats on ovens is paper bag cookery. Instruction for this form of cookery appears in Mrs Beeton (1888: 718) where it states, “paper bag cookery owes much of its prominence to which it has attained in consequence of its having boomed in the press”. Its advantages according to the *St Andrews Cookbook* (1911: 194) are that,“it adds greatly to the flavour of the food, preserves all essential nutrients, does away with unpleasant fumes, is pre-eminently clean reduces shrinkage and dispenses with the need for utensils and is therefore labour saving.” It is also promoted as saving time and reducing coal and gas bills. Times are given for fish, joints, sausages, bacon, stew and vegetables. For sweets and milk puddings it suggests allowing 10 minutes less. The *Ladies Home Journal* November 1911 also promotes paperbag cookery “Germproof paperbags give food a new deliciousness . . . saves vast amounts of time and expense.” And in the *New Zealand Farmer* of February 1912 paperbag cookery is frequently mentioned in advertisements for Orion ranges. It is probable that this style of cookery was simply a ‘fad’ especially as the promotion occurred in the United States, England and New Zealand about the same time. Its appeal was probably associated with its less mess labour saving aspect and its claim to produce a better flavoured and more nutritious product. The same principles and advantages are associated with the appeal of ‘oven bag cookery’ today.

Other technologies associated with food preparation

According to Strasser (1982: 48) in the United States before gas and electricity only two technological innovations were bought in, in sufficient numbers to make a substantial impact on American cooking. One was the cheap geared metal
dove egg beater and the other the cast iron stove which conserved fuel and reduced the hazards of cooking with wood and coal fires. Domestic refrigeration, despite its availability by the 1850s was not common. Ice was available in many areas and was used in ice boxes and houses for keeping food cool, but in New Zealand this situation was not common. Brett’s Colonists Guide of 1883 (ed. Lys 1980: 396) gives instructions for building an ice house, probably copied from American sources, but lack of an ice source in New Zealand makes this method for keeping milk and butter in hot weather impractical. Recipe books of the day however provide practical instructions for keeping food in hot weather. The Colonial Everyday Cookbook (1911: 355-356) for example suggests that soup should be made without vegetables and boiled up daily. It also provided instructions on how to keep butter firm and fresh and meat sweet in hot weather.

Lack of refrigeration, especially for meat, meant that cold cooked meat dishes were a prominent feature of recipe books. The Colonial Everyday Cookbook (1911) has sections titled, Cold Meat Cookery, Entrées, Meat Puddings, Pies, Moulds etc. These sections together contain fifty two cold meat dishes whereas the fresh meat dishes in the Joints, Made Up Dishes, Entrées section number only fifty seven and several of these are instructions for curing meat. Mrs Beeton in her first edition also has a large section on how to use cold meats and the 1898 edition included a section on tinned meats and how to use them. This suggests not only the importance placed on meat in the diet at this time but the difficulty experienced in keeping it. Meat it may be noted from menus published in the Colonial Everyday Cookbook (1911: 335-337) may sometimes appear three times a day. While the domestic availability of refrigeration probably did not alter the importance of meat on the menu it probably did alter the form in which it appeared. It was no longer necessary to purchase a large joint and cook it immediately so that forms of cold meat appeared on the menu for the next few days. With refrigeration meat could be bought and kept for several days before it was necessary to use it and this situation potentially allowed for the introduction of more variety in the diet.

Eggs were also preserved. They were popular for the tea meal and for breakfasts and baking. Four methods for their preservation are included in the Colonial Everyday Cookbook (1911: 330-331).

Fresh fruit and vegetables were readily available in home gardens and in shops in urban areas. There were eight fruit shops out of a total of forty in The Arcade in Dunedin in 1869 (Hardwicke and Blackman 1988: 14). Reader’s recipes and requests for recipes for jams and pickles in magazines and newspapers also suggest that use of fruit and vegetables in these forms was quite common. For example reader’s recipes published in the New Zealand Farmer in May 1892 included apple jelly, chutney, tomato sauce, pickled onions, pickled cucumbers,
chow chow and pickled tomatoes. And in February, 1900 in the same magazine instructions are included for preserving fruit in bottles using corks, and tin patty pans sealed to the jars with resin and tallow; flannel pieces coated with resin, bees wax, and tallow tied on to the bottles are also suggested. Preservation of fruits and vegetables was also of importance to the early pioneers as is indicated by the "receipt" collection in the Tiffin Papers 1858-1928. The Tiffins farmed in the Hawkes Bay area and while recipes for beers and wines predominate in the 'collection' pickles, chutneys and jams are also prominent.

Bottles with screw on lids and rubber rings were suggested for the preservation of fruit in the Colonial Everyday Cookbook (1911: 296). Alternately it suggests that a seal could be obtained with a thick layer of beef or mutton fat covered with a bladder or paper stuck on with flour and water paste. By 1914 cookbooks assumed that patent jars and lids were readily available and alternative instructions for sealing are no longer given. By 1924 bottles for preserving were being widely advertised. Zetland airtight preserving jars for example made by an Australian glass manufacturing company in New Zealand were featured in Bretts Christmas Number 1924.

Instructions for preservation and keeping of foods in early New Zealand cookbooks indicate that certain foods were seasonally plentiful and that attempts were made to extend the supply by preserving practices allowing for variety and interest in the diet throughout the year. Menus indicate that puddings using fruit were prominent at all seasons of the year and that pickles were popular accompaniment to the numerous cold meat meals.

Food availability

Early settlers to New Zealand were dependent for food supplies on imports from overseas and their own production. Flour mills had been established in New Zealand by the 1860s and by the 1870s a wide variety of fresh food was being produced locally. The New Zealand manufacture of tinned meats and fish, pickles and sauces began in the 1860s—Irvine and Stevenson began in Dunedin in 1866—and by 1878 the following industries and manufacturers are listed in the 1879 Handbook of New Zealand: bacon curing, fish curing, meat preserving, aerated waters, cordial manufacturers, coffee and spice works, malt houses, sauce pickle manufacturers, cordials wines, biscuit factories. Jam manufacture was also commenced about this time and by the turn of the century Kirkpatricks (K brand) was producing tinned fruits. By 1891, 15 factories large and small were recorded as being involved in the preserving industry (Bailey and Earle 1993: 2). Manufactured food was advertised for sale in local papers and magazines. Appendix B highlights the increasing availability of manufactured products as the
century advanced. Many of the products on the list by the 1900s were being manufactured in New Zealand.

Consequently during this period the variety of food available especially manufactured food increased allowing for variety and interest in the diet of most people although people living in remote rural areas may still have had less choice of food.

The market report below of fresh food available in Dunedin in 1866 indicates the variety that was available in this southern town around the beginning of this period:

1866 Jan 5, Otago Witness, Dunedin market report:
* dairy produce: bacon, butter, salt, cheese, (Colonial and English), eggs
  ham, milk.
* meat: beef, roasting and steaks, boiling mutton, pork and veal.
* vegetables: cabbage, carrots cauliflower, celery, leeks, lettuces, onions, green onions, pumpkins, radishes, peas, turnips, potatoes, old and new, cucumbers.
* fruit: apples, bananas, oranges, pears, pineapples, grapes, peaches, gooseberries, cherries, strawberries.
* fish: barracoutas, flounder, groper, rockcod, ling, garfish, silverfish, eels, crays, oysters.
* poultry: fowls, duck, geese, turkeys, rabbits, pigeons.
* other: baking powder, Lea and Perrins sauce, Crosse and Blackwells pickles sauces and jams.

Appendix B and the market report indicate that by the 1870s the food habits of New Zealanders were not greatly restricted by the availability of food. Although frontier meals might have been restricted to “some form of bread with tea, pork and potatoes,” (Drummond 1960: 41) such restrictions are not evident in the following menus which represent the beginning and end of the period.

Hotel menu of a Timaru hotel in 1864 (Burton 1982: 24)
Four varieties of soup for lunch
Roast beef
Steak and onions
Beef steak and oyster sauce
Corned beef and carrots
Irish stew
Roast mutton and mint sauce
Boiled mutton and capers
Haricot mutton, mutton cutlets, chops, hashed mutton,
Roast pork
Stewed kidneys,
Pastry of all sorts
The five course dinner menu in the *Colonial Everyday Cookbook*

- Clear soup with a mutton garnish
- Fillets of flounders *(1911)*
- Mutton cutlets
- Cauliflowers with white sauce
- Italian potatoes
- Roast chicken
- Celery salad
- Chocolate pudding
- Sardines on toast
- Dessert

Summary

Changes in technology during the period led to some changes in cooking style, but the overall structure of meals exhibited few changes. The widespread use of the coal range meant that baking replaced roasting as a method for cooking joints; that "baked" puddings and pies became more popular, and steamed puddings became less popular. Creative baking which could be displayed at social gatherings such as afternoon teas became a popular leisure time activity for some women.

Technology also improved transport throughout the country. This improved both the availability and the variety of foods available which relieved the monotonous composition of everyday meals.

Technology at this time however did not reduce women's commitment to meal preparation. Ultimately a reduction in this commitment together with an altered social situation were the conditions that bought about most change in New Zealanders' food habits.
4 Cultural Change and New Zealand
Food Habits 1914-1939

Social Conditions

The population

The stock of people and ideas in New Zealand by the 1890s was fairly complete. Those arriving after this time were proportionally less in relation to those already there. According to Gibbons they added little that was new.

European New Zealanders both immigrants and locally born, were equipped with a stock of nineteenth century British ideas. . . . But colonial culture was free from certain constraints that operated in the older society. British ideas were often developed by the colonists in new and peculiar ways so that by 1940 many essentially nineteenth-century British ideas had come to be expressed in a distinctively New Zealand manner. (Gibbons 1992: 308)

Although New Zealand had a stock of non-British people in the population throughout the period their numbers were not sufficient to influence the primarily British values. For example in the 1911 census the total non-British foreign population whose birthplace was outside New Zealand was only 1.94%. In 1939 non-British foreigners were still not significant in the population (N.Z. Official Yearbook 1939: 61). This means that they were unlikely to have influenced the food habits of the majority of the population.

Public values in the early period of settlement were those set by the gentry. Many of the lower middle class admired them and imitated them although they also ridiculed their pretensions and their social rituals. The ‘classic’ middle class was found mainly in the four main towns. Compared with the gentry whose values were pre-industrial, they had the values of modern capitalism, individualism, competition etc., but in a small country such as New Zealand there were only a few such people. The majority of the population consisted of the lower middle class whose values were closer to those of the gentry. They knew their place and expected other people to know theirs. They believed in the social order, the hierarchical organisation of the society and respectability. These notions were of particular influence in small towns where they tended to establish 'the climate of opinion' (ibid.: 311-312). "At the end of the 1920s [this] hegemonic structure was intact, entrenched in the civil and political order" (ibid.:326).
Modernisation

From the 1890s to the 1940s New Zealand had been undergoing a process of modernisation. According to Olssen "the receding frontier, which possessed a distinctive demographic pattern, facilitated the major social changes of the period".

The concept of modernisation highlights social changes congruent with industrialisation (a sustained period of economic growth in which real incomes per head rise, continuing technological innovation occurs, the factory mode of production becomes more important, and population shifts from rural to urban areas). . . . In both public and private sectors, bureaucracy expands; the number of people employed in both clerical, secretarial and managerial roles increases, while the unskilled shrink; . . . Values become universalised and the educational system assumes an increased importance. (Olssen 1992: 255)

The shift from a frontier demographic structure to a more balanced age-sex structure, the fall in rates of mortality and fertility, the increased popularity of marriage, and the greater stability of the family contributed to the social changes of the period. (ibid.: 258)

Continuing urbanisation was important at this time. By 1926 over a third of the population lived in the four main centres and until the late 1930s nearly half lived in towns of larger than 8000 (ibid.: 263).

The structure of the modern family had emerged by the 1930s. The decline in fertility, and family size had caused "the isolated conjugal family organised and run by the wife-mother and centred on the proper care and training of the children, [to] become the norm for much of society" (Olssen: 264).

Rapid social change also influenced occupations. The white collar class, with its notions of the family and respectability expanded in urban areas in the 1920s and occupation itself became a critical clue to social status, income and lifestyle. But "the Depression which started in the small towns as early as 1926 altered some patterns for a few years" (ibid.: 281). The drift to the cities stopped, education and skill did not guarantee a job, and by 1933 12% of the workforce were unemployed. The Labour Government elected in 1935 believed that "all New Zealanders were entitled to a job or an unemployment benefit" (ibid.: 283) and social policies which guaranteed economic security for those most at risk were put in place. The government however did not alter the distribution of economic power and the demographic and occupational structures which had emerged between the 1880s and 1920s underwent little change (ibid.: 284).
Class and social background

Embourgeoisement is a favoured thesis used to explain the social development of the New Zealand society after the 1890s. It stresses the idea of upward mobility towards an all embracing middle class. Defining the meaning of class however is 'fraught with difficulties' (Pitt 1977: 23-24). Nevertheless most New Zealand historians accept the idea that New Zealand in the early 20th century was in most areas on its way to becoming a 'classless society' and that it was middle class values that predominated. The Johnsonville study supports to a large extent this theory of embourgeoisement.

The Johnsonville experience over the past hundred years illustrates that at least within one localised setting many New Zealanders have encountered a process of social osmosis (and embourgeoisement). (Pearson 1980: 181)

The concept of a classless homogenous society is reflected in the attitudes of New Zealanders towards food at this time. Recipe books and menus representing the period reflect this idea (refer Appendices C and D). For most of the period access to a basic food supply was the same for all classes. Home gardens helped out for those of lesser means and this food source became increasingly important during the Depression. According to Hedley (1991: 69), who interviewed women from South Dunedin about their memories of the Depression, most families found that because they had gardens they were alright for fresh vegetables but the problem in terms of the food supply was meat for which they required money (Hedley 1991: 69).

The Depression emphasised the differential access in the society to wealth and power. In the New Zealand community as a whole there was a 20% drop in the real standard of living (Sinclair 1988: 255). Malnutrition in schools, children stealing lunches and the queues at the soup kitchens became testimony to the differences (including those of class) that existed in the society (ibid.: 258).

Women

During this period the fertility rate dropped sharply and the rate of infant and maternal mortality declined. Women began to enter new occupations but at the same time the role of wife and mother became more sharply defined (Olssen 1980: 159).

Change in the sex ratio is one of the reasons given by Olssen for the increase in women's employment. The sex ratio lost its male bias first in the four main cities, and as secondary towns grew rapidly between 1906 and 1926 they too
exhibited this characteristic. This changing demographic structure coincided with the rapid expansion of the tertiary sector which created more work opportunities for women. Women were no longer forced to enter domestic service because this was the only opening for them. They could now become waitresses, cooks, nurses, teachers, clerks, typists etc. Nevertheless domestic service in 1936 still accounted for the largest number of women in the paid work force (ibid.: 160, 164).

Attitudes towards education for women however during this period did not advance their opportunities in the workplace. Concern for a lack of servants coupled with a continuing emphasis on the place of women in the society, that of wife and mother, resulted in domestic science in 1917 becoming a compulsory part of the secondary school curriculum for girls. In fact it was necessary for girls to complete a domestic science course before they were able to matriculate. This was an indication that society still believed that their role in the future was to be predominantly in the domestic sphere (Tennant 1986; 94-100; Fry 1985: 43). The education in

'womanly qualities' so earnestly sought in the early years of the century meant not only an education for home life and maternity but, . . . a lasting constraint on girl's choice of future lifestyles. (Tennant 1986: 99-100)

For most women, the world of work was simply an interlude between leaving school and marriage (Olssen 1980: 165). But for some women, entering the work force before marriage did serve to bring to their marriage new attitudes and expectations. Many of them postponed their first child and tried to limit the size of their family (ibid.: 167). It is noticeable that in 1920s the average number of live births per married woman with a complete family was 2.4 (Olssen 1992: 263). One interpretation of this trend is that women were preparing the way for their emancipation but another interpretation is that given the new standards of motherhood being developed, too many children would make the task of mother impossible (this is the most likely interpretation of this trend) as the ideology associated with the 'cult of domesticity' as it was called by Olssen and Levesque (1978: 8, 10) continued to dominate society's attitude to women. The 'cult of domesticity' was based on the idea of separate spheres for women and men. The home was women's sphere. This notion partly resulted from the long held premise that women held moral supremacy in the society—a necessity if the race was to continue—but it was now combined in the first two decades, with the idea of scientific housekeeping and motherhood which gave legitimacy to the idea of a women's sphere which was of equal importance to that of men. This idea continued to confine women to the domestic sphere.
They [women] legitimized their demand for equality by reference to their innate and specialised moral intuition, linked it to motherhood and domesticity, then found that their own ideology could be used to circumscribe more rigorously their social and economic freedom. (Olssen 1980: 180)

While the war served to broaden women's outlook on life, and disruptive as it was in terms of the established order of society, it did not however eliminate the long cherished beliefs about women's traditional place (McLeod 1978: 99). Beneath the rhetoric of 'liberation and emancipation' women were still relegated to their traditional spheres. The post war slump made fewer jobs available for women who, after the war were told that they could do their bit for the Empire by voluntarily returning to the home. Society as a whole as well as the government urged women to stay at home to ensure the “survival of the race”. This Eugenics ideology, enunciated by some of New Zealand's leaders in the 1920s was a response to the changes occurring in the society at this time and the perceived menace the changes represented to the physical and mental deterioration of the race (Fyfe 1984: 59).

World War One also influenced the social lives of women in New Zealand. Employment (in 1921 53% of eligible women were in the workforce of whom 83% were single) meant that women were no longer chaperoned, they had more money and more freedom (Coney 1986: 109). Families were smaller, single girls had less responsibility in the home, and they had more opportunity for outside work and leisure activities. Nevertheless despite single women appearing to achieve a degree of emancipation before marriage, tradition ruled and the expectations of society for women after marriage did not change. "Female inequality was rooted in the sexual division of labour which defined women's natural function as a wife and mother and housewife and dictated that men made all the decisions" (Fyfe 1984: 131).

There is scant documentation of women's position in the society during the Depression beyond anecdotal accounts. Coney however records that:

The Depression bought into sharp focus persistent prejudices about women workers. Men were the only 'real' workers and it was assumed that every woman had a man somewhere—father, husband or brother—who could support her, and failing that there was always domestic service. (Coney 1993: 230)

The Depression meant that women's traditional role in the domestic sphere continued to define and dictate their lives. The economic situation served to emphasize the importance of their domestic skills and this situation did not help their bid for emancipation.
Food and Ideas

Between 1914-1939 nutrition knowledge advanced rapidly but evidence that it fostered dietary change is difficult to establish.

Until the mid-19th century nutrition ideas were associated with the idea of the body as an engine and food as fuel, and although people had always believed that eating certain foods bought specific health benefits or dangers there was no scientific base for these ideas. About the middle of the century the discoveries of some German chemists allowed the separation of foods into proteins, carbohydrates, fats, minerals and water. It was concluded that each of these elements performed a physiological function in the body. Carbohydrates and fats provided two different types of fuel, and protein repaired worn out tissue. Minerals were not known to have any specific function but it was thought that food should contain the minerals the body contained. This knowledge resulted in the idea that people should choose food according to what was good for them, rather than what was liked (Levenstein 1988: 46). This 'new nutrition' as it was called by Levenstein, was promoted in the United States by the early 19th century food reformers and educators.

The discovery of 'vitamines' from 1911 onwards however revolutionised the earlier scientific concepts of food and redirected ideas about nutrition from the idea of food as a fuel and as maintenance, towards the idea of food for health. Vitamins and minerals in food were labelled as protective foods. This new knowledge referred to by Levenstein as the 'newer nutrition' was eagerly embraced by the middle classes who, although they did not suffer from the deficiency diseases associated with the lack of vitamins, because vitamins were shown to be associated with growth, applied it to their new obsession, child rearing. In the United States food manufacturers who were having problems promoting their products to a well fed nation also embraced some of the new ideas and used them to promote their products. Sun Maid raisins for example were promoted because they contained iron (Levenstein 1988: 152). Food reformers and educators of this era also adopted the new ideas. They turned from the challenge of feeding the poor scientifically and economically, to promoting the health benefits of milk, fruits, vegetables and other protective foods. Women's magazines that proliferated in the United States after the war also promoted the 'newer' nutrition' ideas (ibid.: 147-158).

Nutrition knowledge and education in New Zealand paralleled the United States partly because of the appointment in 1924 of Dr Storms, an American, to the staff of the Home Science School. Dr Storms had specialised in the Chemistry of Nutrition under Dr Sherman at Columbia University. In 1924 she took over
and developed a course at the 'school' on Nutrition and Dietetics (Strong 1936: 15). She also carried out research into the nation's diet. This study was carried out along two lines. It included an investigation into what New Zealand families ate, and a more focussed study on the kinds and amounts of food consumed in terms of nutrients. In the first part of the study it was found that on an average the 710 families in the study ate meat twice a day, but fruit, brown bread and green vegetables were scarce in the diet (Storms and Todhunter 1928). As a result attempts were made to improve the diet of New Zealanders in line with the 'newer' nutrition knowledge. The school itself promoted the new ideas as a report in the *Home Science Alumnae Bulletin* indicates.

A nutrition programme for mothers and their malnourished children was conducted at the school in an attempt to improve their health.

Several days were spent on vegetables and their preparation, others on wholemeal bread and cookies, eggs, milk and salads. The emphasis was laid on the foregoing, while with regard to meat and puddings the aim was the production of a dish with a small amount of meat for flavour, and with a pudding with fresh or stewed fruit as a necessary accompaniment. (ibid.: May 1922, p.8)

The 'newer nutrition' was taught in the schools by graduates of the school and public education was undertaken by home science tutors, attached to the Home Science Extension Bureau (*School of Home Science History* 1911-1961, 1962: 14). In 1936, 139 graduates of the school were in teaching positions in New Zealand and before that date 588 students had passed through the school (Strong 1936: 34). As teachers the graduates of the school had the opportunity in the classroom to pass on to their pupils the 'newer nutrition' and in this way they may have influenced household meals. Fry (1985: 122) in a study of girls' education notes "some of the new ideas about nutrition may have permeated from the classroom to the home". Evidence of a change in diet however is always difficult to establish. Food consumption trends in terms of foodstuffs may reveal some aspects of change but there is a problem with such figures as consumption does not necessarily mean ingestion.

Nutrition advice to the New Zealand population from 1935 was based on the League of Nations Technical Commissions Standards [in 1937 estimated requirements for vitamins and minerals were added] and the Recommended Allowances of the Food and Nutrition Board of the U.S.A. National Research Council; and a New Zealand Dietary pattern has been used with the recommended allowances put into the terms of New Zealand food preferences and availability. (Bell 1962: 27)
The League of Nations recommendations were based on usual patterns of consumption. Prior to this date (according to the paper by Storms and Todhunter (1928) New Zealand dietary standards/recommendations were based on the Food Committee of the British Royal Society, who towards the end of World War 1 prepared a report on the food requirements of humans based on the available scientific knowledge of nutritional needs in terms of health maintenance and improvement of the population as a whole.

The committee concluded that the diet should provide not less than 70-80 grams of protein per day and not less than 25% of the energy as fat. It proposed that diets of infants and children contain a considerable proportion of milk, and that all diets contain a certain proportion of fresh fruits and green vegetables and not too large a proportion of processed foods. Although these proposals were not quantitative they represented recognition of the importance for health of including sources of protective foods (foods rich in various essential nutrients) in diets and were a step toward development of dietary recommendations specifically for the maintenance of health. (Harper 1987: 510)

A pamphlet titled *Hints on Diet* produced by The New Zealand Department of Health in 1935 illustrates aspects of New Zealand's official thinking on diet at this time. It states that it is important to get value for money beyond quantity, then proceeds to list the importance of the elements contained in food in qualitative terms. The pamphlet also included "Dietaries for Restricted Incomes". This included weekly menus with a shopping list for families and for single men and women. The menus were contributed by Mrs Thompson a diplomate of an English college (her menus reflect her English background), Miss Rennie, Wellington Technical College and Miss Shaw of the Manual Training Centre in Christchurch and the Home Science Department, Otago University. The pamphlet which was published in 1935—at the end of the Depression—is obviously aimed at assisting those on low incomes make wise food choices. Feeding the poor scientifically and economically (which was an aim of the 19th century United States food reformers) was at this time a policy adopted by New Zealand health officials.

Food and diet ideas associated with health foods and vegetarianism continued to flourish during this period. Health foods had been manufactured and marketed in New Zealand by the Sanitarium Health Food Company since 1901 (granola and caramel cereal) and in 1917 the company began the manufacture of peanut butter. In the 1930s weetbix and marmite were also manufactured locally (pers. comm: Sanitarium Health Food Coy. 1993).

The N.Z. New Health Society also promoted ideas about diet during this period. Their ideas were published in their journal *N.Z. Health First Journal*.
Their primary objectives was "to spread the knowledge of the 'newer' discoveries of science which concern the preservation of health." (N.Z. Health First Journal, April 20 1928, p.10). Their belief about a balanced diet was:

All cereal foods, meat and fish are acid-producing. Fruit, vegetables and dairy products, on the other hand, are alkali forming, and contain vitamins and other essential food elements, they have aptly been called protective foods. ... The diet should always contain the maximum possible amounts of protective foods and the minimum possible amounts of destructive foods. The average economical diet is necessarily based upon cereal foods, which in practice means that a balanced diet can only be secured by eating larger quantities of fruit, vegetables and dairy products than at present it usually obtains [sic].

The society in New Zealand was associated with a similar organisation in Great Britain of which Ettie Rout, a New Zealander living in Britain, was a founding member. It was

the first organised body dealing with social medicine, dedicated to the proposition that 'prevention is better than cure'. ... It aimed to educate the public on the need for good food, fresh air, sunshine and exercise. (Tolerton 1992: 237)

A war on white bread and an enthusiasm for wholemeal bread was one of the marks of the society both in Great Britain and in New Zealand. Society members aimed to put into practice the new scientific knowledge about diet but like all groups who focus on a particular aspect of a society—in this case food—with a view to improving it, they were extreme in their views and had little influence on the majority of the population who continued to eat white bread, and few vegetables as later dietary studies showed (Gregory, et al. 1934; Gregory, et al. 1943; McLaughlin 1943).

G. B. Chapman a dentist who was the first president of the Food Reform League in New Zealand and author of Modern Food Habits (1937) also aimed to improve the New Zealand diet. The main fault he found with it was the amount of starchy food and cane sugar it contained. He advocated the use of wholemeal bread, (white bread in his view should be declared illegal), and removal from the table of all the well known puddings: steamed puddings, fritters, pastry, and milk puddings made with cereals. A balanced diet in his opinion should consist of meat and vegetables, fresh salads, milk and fresh fruits (ibid.: 116). He has also been credited with responsibility for the conception of the New Zealand Women's Food Value League in 1937 whose aim it was “to employ a laboratory to investigate the nutritional value of New Zealand foodstuffs of all kinds” (The Bulletin 1937: preface). The organisation dispensed information about foods and

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their health value until it was discontinued in 1948. It included amongst its members many prominent middle class women as well as many of the staff of the School of Home Science. At its peak in 1942 the League had 2430 members. A brief review of its work published in its journal *The Bulletin* (1948: 9,12,13) lists the following topics it had investigated:

- Education in Good Nutrition
- Investigation into the Auckland Metropolitan Milk Supply
- The Campaign Against the Use of Preservatives in Meat
- The Campaign for Good Bread and Good Wholemeal Flour
- Report on Open Markets
- Diets (of soldiers)
- Orange and Egg Rationing
- Poisonous Sprays on Fruits and Vegetables
- Delivery of food stuffs.
- Milk (both nutritional and hygiene aspects)
- Importance of Iodine
- The Apple Cure for Summer Sickness
- Alkaline Diets
- Fight the Cold
- Eggs
- The Soya Bean
- Cabbage Salad

After the war the need for the League declined. Women were no longer as free to take on outside work, the 'principles of good nutrition' were well established, and the Health Department had taken on nutritional education (Coney 1993: 100).

The 'newer' nutrition knowledge was also used by food manufacturers in New Zealand to promote their products. Goitre in New Zealand in the 1920s had been found in 30% of children entering school. As a consequence sardines were advertised in nationally distributed magazines by the canning companies as a preventative measure (*New Zealand Home Pictorial* 1932, *NZWW* from 1935). Similarly iodized salt was advertised from 1935 in the *NZWW*.

Wholemeal bread appeared from writings on the 'newer' nutrition to be the cornerstone of ideas about diet during the period. But its promotion was not new. Its health giving qualities had been praised in the 19th century by various groups but its renewed promotion in the 1920s was probably due to the discovery of vitamins. In Britain in the 1880s a 'brown bread lobby', initially composed of mainly middle class vegetarians, socialists and ascetics had formed to promote brown bread. Almost all bread at this time was made from white flour and because bread was a staple for most of the working class population attention
was focussed on its quality. A small influential group believed that its whiteness was the cause of the nation's poor health. Credence was given to this claim in Britain in 1911 by G.G. Hopkins:

although vitamins had not been discovered he argued that the superior value of bran flour was due to 'unrecognised food substances', perhaps in very minute quantities, whose presence allow our systems to make full use of tissue building elements in grain. (Burnett 1989: 236)

At the same time in the United States McCollum and others were carrying out experiments that would lead to the discovery of vitamins (Levenstein 1988:148-152). As a result of this research, white flour because of the nutrients it lost in processing was initially condemned by the researchers who later supported the flour manufacturers because they provided opportunities for employment and research. A white bread lobby (who opposed wholemeal bread) was formed to promote its easily digestible qualities, fresh keeping quality and protein and carbohydrate content. An advertisement in the NZWW 18 October, 1934 for example hails milk bread as "good white bread" one of the best forms of diet and so easily digested. The battle between the 'Food Reformers' and the white bread lobby continued throughout the period. In New Zealand so called health diets advocating the use of brown bread appeared in many of the recipe books: Whitcombe's Home Cookery and Electrical Guide c.1930, Cookery Book of Tried Recipes 1928 in articles in magazines, The Young New Zealander & N.Z. Woman and Home 25 November, 1925 and in journals N.Z. Health First Journal 1928 and The Bulletin from 1938 onwards.

In general however New Zealand recipe books of the period appeared to be unaffected by the 'newer' nutrition although there were some exceptions, notably Turner and Growers Ltd, Lemons and Health : Useful hints and recipes (1928). In the introduction it states:

In olden days nuts and fruits formed the major part of the days rations but present customs lead to an over consumption of meats, with correspondingly lessened amounts of fruits—this has been a common cause of digestive and other ailments common today. Vitamins as well as minerals are essential to body fitness. These substances are contained in essential forms in lemons.(ibid.: intro.)

The circulation of women's magazines after the first world war increased in New Zealand. In 1929 the Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute listed in their October Bulletin fifteen women's magazines most of which were imports from Australia, America and Great Britain.
The American *Ladies Home Journal* began publication in 1883 and by 1919 reached a circulation of two million. Copies of this journal from 1911 are found in New Zealand libraries. The English *Good Housekeeping* begun in 1922 was also an import. *The Ladies Mirror* (later *The Mirror*) and the *New Zealand Home Pictorial* which began publication in the 1920s were New Zealand magazines. These magazines contained pages for women that included recipes, some advice on diet and articles on entertaining. Afternoon teas for example were often a feature. The more general magazines the *Auckland Weekly News* and the *New Zealand Farmer* that had always included women’s pages continued to publish recipes as did the major dailies. In 1932 the *New Zealand Women’s Weekly* began publication and the *New Zealand Home Journal* was published monthly from 1934. Both of these women’s magazines included recipes.

The American *Ladies Home Journal* which was imported into New Zealand from an early date illustrates the ideas on diet and meals that were being published in America at this time. In November 1917, pp. 41-61 the magazine included on its food pages an article on diet, "How I Learned Food Values", on meal planning, "The Right and Wrong Dinners and Suppers How to Avoid One-sided Meals", menu and recipe suggestions for "The Thanksgiving Dinner this Year," and recipes that featured the use of particular foods "Vegetable Salads and Desserts", "New Ways to serve Potatoes". Advertisements in the magazine for manufactured food products such as Royal baking powder (p.57), Libby’s products (p.43) also included recipes that used the products. In the years that followed the format of the journals was similar with food topics varying according to the season and the current ideas on food. The food related pages continued to feature menu planning, entertaining and special meals, the use of special foods and new appliances. In the 1920s articles on remedies for cooking disasters and scientific cooking appeared. The recipes and special meals however were often not suited to New Zealand products, occasions or ingredients, so it is possible that the articles in New Zealand had simply an interested readership.

The New Zealand women’s magazines that began publication in the 1920s were not dissimilar in their recipe content to their American counterparts. Many of the recipes they printed looked similar to those found in the American *Ladies Home Journal* and English *Good Housekeeping*. The *New Zealand Women’s Weekly* which was to become the most popular and best selling of these magazines began publication in 1933. According to Brewster it followed trends rather than set them, the status quo was its frame of reference and the image of women it presented was a conventional one thus the content was closely geared to the social role considered proper for women. . . . To appeal to a cross-section of the people its general content had to be consistent with the dominant values of the day. (Brewster 1980: preface)
It cost 3d when it was launched which allowed it to compete favourably with its nearest rival *The Mirror*, at 1/- . By 1940 its circulation had risen to 40,000, but its readership was probably higher than this because of secondary circulation. Initially its appeal was to young working class women both married and single but later its advertisements for household products suggest that its appeal had widened to include older middle class women and by 1937 its covers suggest that its audience now included a more sophisticated readership (ibid.: 1). During the Depression the number of pages decreased, probably because advertising declined. At this time it also included more practical help for women in terms of money saving ideas both for food and other household necessities.

On examining the selection of topics related to food published in the magazine from its beginnings in 1933 the following observations can be made:

In 1933 it would appear that the pages may have contained more New Zealand content than it did a few years later. An article by "Daisy Bell" which included a recipe for "Papakura Lilies" was featured as were readers' recipes and an article for beginning cooks and the business girl. (This was the group Brewster suggested the magazine set out to target). In 1935 the material on the recipe pages is acknowledged as being copyrighted to Harriet Heath but who Harriet Heath was is not revealed. The material however at this stage was not overtly American as it was in later years.

In 1936 there is a cooking editress and it is from this year that the American content of the food pages becomes more obvious. Sliced tomatoes sprinkled with sugar were suggested for breakfast and the nutrition advice given appears to reflect American ideas (February 26) but recipes for boiled turbot and halibut neither of which are caught in New Zealand waters are probably copied from English magazines. The recipes printed in the following years appear to have been sourced from American magazines although no acknowledgment is given. Less often English recipes, identifiable because of the measurements they use, were published. Menus which were printed regularly from 1937 onwards were obviously American in origin.

The mish mash of recipes printed in the *NZWW* in the 1930s tended to be fancy and pretentious despite the fact that the country was experiencing a Depression and many of the readers would have had trouble simply providing food for the table. In an interview about conditions during the Depression the daughters of the local doctor in South Dunedin recollected that food at this time was "served with no frills, 3d worth of cream to go with the Sunday pudding was the Sunday treat" (Hedley 1991: 74). And a working class woman interviewed said of baking, "you baked if you could afford the ingredients" (ibid.: 74). This
suggests that the recipe pages during this period probably did not reflect what was commonly being prepared in ordinary New Zealand households.

This observation does not agree with Mennell's (1985) general observations on the influence of women's magazines in Britain on food preparation. (He is not however referring to difficult periods in history which included war or Depressions). He claims that a high degree of correlation occurs between the food found in cookery columns and what actually happened in the domestic kitchen. He suggests that while women's magazines attempt to set high standards for their readers they do not run so far ahead of them in terms of what was possible for domestic cooks as to endanger the circulation of the magazine (Mennell 1985: 233). Recipe books he believes are less likely to reflect what was happening in the domestic kitchen although he admits that they probably reflect what was regarded as successful culinary practice. Nevertheless they are not likely to be innovative and probably lag behind current ideas in the society regarding food (ibid.: 67). But given the social climate and cultural background of the majority of New Zealand housewives during the period under discussion, it is more probable that New Zealand recipe books reflected better than women's magazines what was happening in New Zealand kitchens. Evidence that this was the more probable situation and that successful culinary practice rather than experimentation was the primary aim of the majority of housewives is indicated by the repeat editions of popular recipe books for example Mrs Miller's *Economic Technical Cookery Book* which by 1917 was in its 17th edition, Edmonds' *Sure to Rise Cookery Book* and various collections of 'contributed' recipes (refer Appendix D). New recipe books titles that did appear during this period were related to new cooking appliances, new processed foods or new diet ideas. This suggests that in New Zealand at this time recipe books and not the recipe pages of magazines which tended to be too fanciful for the time, best reflected the food being served in the majority of New Zealand households.

Of interest in this period is the culinary use of the word 'dainty'. "Dainty" in the United States according to Levenstein (1988: 167) was applied to the preparation of healthy food (mainly salad vegetables because they had vitamins), that had eye appeal. The eye appeal was created by using the vegetables in multicolour layers, surrounding them by coloured objects and topping them off with eye catching swirls of mayonnaise. It was hoped that in presenting the foods in this manner that they would appeal to men and children and convince them to eat what was good for them. The New Zealand usage of the word however appeared to have no connection with its American meaning. Its application appeared to be to baked products rather than salads. It was used for example as a cookbook title — *Dainty Recipes* was produced by the North East Valley
Presbyterian Church in 1930 — and *Sure to Rise Edmonds' Cookery Book* applied the word "dainty" in its 1910 edition to light baking.

The application of dainty to New Zealand food is interesting. It appears that the American salad ideas as yet had no appeal to New Zealanders. On the other hand it appears that New Zealand cooks were keen to adopt overseas trends so applied the word to their creative endeavours which tended to be in the area of baking.

Overall the 'newer' nutritional ideas about food developed during this period do not appear to have been translated into recipes or into what people generally ate, although attempts by 'authorities' to educate the public in this area were obviously made. The recipes published in magazines tend to be fairly fanciful and during this period because of the worsening economic situation it is unlikely that either the time or the money was available for experimenting with new recipes.

**Technology**

The idea that food habits are the product of social and cultural forces rather than material forces has been suggested by anthropologists such as Margaret Mead in the 1940s and Mary Douglas in the 1970s. But other anthropologists, for example Harris (1978) have asserted that material factors have primacy in the shaping of food habits. Levenstein suggests that the transformation of the American middle class diet could provide evidence to support both approaches.

On the one hand, the emergence of the new food habits would have been inconceivable without the post-1870 changes in "material" areas such as the production, transportation, processing, financing and marketing of food. Yet non-material... considerations such as conspicuous consumption, class emulation, a love affair with science and technology, health fads, patriotism and fashion were also of great importance. (Levenstein 1988: 173-174)

Major changes occurred in 'cooking' technology in New Zealand during this period principally the replacement of the coal range with an electric or gas model. Domestic servants declined in the early part of this period and it has been suggested that this was one reason for the change. Official census figures suggest that servants declined between 1926 and 1931 but rose again between this date and 1936. Coney (1993: 230) however suggests that the majority of women unemployed during the Depression were former domestics. But it could be that the figures are misleading because servants were now being employed as daily help or for a few hours per week. In the 1920s, (when the figures suggest that the
employment of servants had begun to decline) a significant number of households began to use electrical appliances and from then until the start of the Depression the use of domestic electricity expanded enormously. The growth slowed again in the early 1930s but when the economic clouds lifted it "zoomed away again until it ran into the brick wall of World War Two" (Rennie 1989: 84).

By 1926, 4600 of 192,000 potential customers had electric stoves (AJHR 1939 in Coney 1993:214) and this number continued to grow. By 1956, 50% of homes had an electric stove (idem). In 1926 other electrical appliances were also available for the kitchen. These included toasters, kettles and refrigerators. Electrical appliances however required a link to the mains supply and wiring to the power points was expensive. This meant that many new homes built at this time continued to install gas although electrical appliances were far more versatile. This versatility and the falling cost of electricity meant that after 1932 electricity tended to move ahead of gas (Watson 1984: 244).

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s electricity battled with gas for the hearts and minds of the urban housewife. . . . The main field of conflict was the range. . . . Gas ranges were generally cheaper than their electric competitors and throughout the 1920s and early 1930s outsold electric ranges in those cities and towns with gas. But the tide began turning at the end of the 1920s when electrical appliances were decreasing in price. . . . Added to this the domestic price of electricity halved between 1923 and 1935. (Rennie 1989: 85)

Because the profits from consumer sales of electric ranges were put back into promotion, gas after the Depression, according to Rennie was looking 'groggy' (idem).

Electrical technology also reduced the work of the housewife in indirect ways. Further development of the aluminium smelting industries led to the increase in utensils made from it and the cost of aluminium saucepans fell accordingly (Watson 1984: 247). These allowed cooking on both gas and electrical appliances to proceed more quickly and reduced the amount of scouring required for pots.

A definite correlation between the decline in servants and increase in the use of electrical appliances including cookers in America is suggested by Cowan (1983: 99). Whereas there was one servant per 15 households in 1900 by 1950 the number was 1:42. This was the main period of industrialisation in the American home. But conversely in Britain the period when servants disappeared rapidly (1890-1930) was not characterised by a significant increase in household appliances so it is difficult to establish in Britain a causal link between servants and their replacement with appliances (Davidson 1983: 175). The decline in servants in New Zealand which the census figures suggest occurred both before

98
and after the Depression does however appear to be linked to the increase in electrical appliances.

Evidence for the increasing use of an alternative fuel supply is found in the number of cookbooks in the 1920s. Instructions for the use of gas and electric ranges, as well as whole cookbooks devoted to gas appeared (refer Appendix D). These were mainly published by supply authorities e.g. Dunedin Gas Company (c.1930), Dunedin City Council Electrical Authority (c.1930), or makers of the product, e.g. H. E. Shacklock, the manufacturer of the Orion electric range. Articles on cooking with electricity also appeared. For example an article in The Young New Zealander & New Zealand Women and Home. (May 1926, p.3) states when cooking with electricity

everything for the production of perfect cooking is found. . . . The heat control is so accurate that it bakes, or cooks with the minimum of trouble or bother. Cakes and pastries are evenly baked and are never burned on the top whilst the bottom is uncooked or vice versa. There is very little shrinkage of meats prepared in the oven and the food contains all its natural juices and flavours. . . . Another important aspect, and one vital to the welfare of the nation is the fact that everything cooked electrically is prepared in a healthy atmosphere. Therefore it is not necessary to use up vitality in counteracting the ill effects of poisonous fumes. Much malnutrition that was caused by faulty cooking is now avoided and the maximum benefits are derived from the foods consumed. (idem)

It also suggests that with electrification of the home, more leisure hours are possible for mental and social recreation. Menus at this time (refer Appendix C) however, do not suggest that great changes were made in the type of dishes cooked. A saving of time and possibly less wastage were probably the only changes that resulted from a change to electrical cooking.

In the United States Cowan (1983: 99) noted that the impact of the new fuels, especially electricity, meant that it was possible to have more variety in the diet but at the same time cooking became more complex. In Britain according to Davidson (1982: 175-176), changes made in meals and in meal service during the period were due to the decline in servants rather than to changes in kitchen technology. Servants had declined in number in Britain from the late 19th century and this decline was accelerated in the first three decades of the 20th century. British households had compensated by cutting the number of courses served at each meal and reorganising the kitchen to include areas for washing up, food storage and eating. Food trolleys became popular and if the dining room was adjacent to the kitchen, a service hatch was cut in the wall. By 1936 electricity was present in 6% of homes in Britain (ibid.: 71) while 75% of families had a gas cooker (ibid.: 68).
The structure of New Zealand kitchens changed during this period to incorporate the new appliances and a less formal living style. In the 19th century during the building boom of the 1870s the villa was the most common form of house construction. Its kitchen was at the back at the end of the hall, and under a lean to roof was the back kitchen or scullery where the washing up was done. A separate pantry was attached to the kitchen (Salmond (1986: 155). By 1910 the Victorian villa had given way to the more casual Californian bungalow in which the kitchen became combined with the scullery and the kitchen itself often opened into a breakfast room, or it included a dining alcove (ibid.: 202). By the end of World War One, electricity was being accepted as safe and installed into new houses. As well, gas stoves remained a popular alternative, and were also being used to replace coal ranges in villas (ibid.: 207). With the bungalow came the ice chest, a wooden box lined with metal and built into a recess near the back door. This replaced the villa safe and in the 1920s electricity made available home refrigeration sets for those that could afford them. By 1928 true refrigerators became available in New Zealand (ibid.: 207) as did many other forms of electric appliances. From this time New Zealanders had the possibility of cooking in a modern style kitchen.

New forms of kitchen technology caused changes to occur in the structure of the kitchen and shortened the cooking time for some dishes but the format associated with meals tended to continue, although some changes did occur within it. For example a few new products were launched onto the market at this time due to new methods of production e.g. dried soups, tinned baked beans and spaghetti. These saved preparation time and added variety to meals but did not significantly alter the format of the main meal which normally consisted of two or three courses — soup, meat, vegetables and potatoes followed by a dessert such as a fruit pie or fruit and a cereal pudding or a steamed pudding and custard (refer Appendix C). Technological advances in transport which improved the distribution of foodstuffs also increased the choice of foods available for meals. But it would appear that in order for technology to have a major influence on the meal format it needs to operate in conjunction with other mechanisms bringing about change.
Social Conditions

The population

During this period marked changes occurred in the material and social life of New Zealanders. The war from 1939-1945 ensured full employment but also bought austerity. Prosperity and tranquillity followed in the years from 1945-1965 until a new recession in the late 1960s. Overall there was an increase in diversity during the period but there was still in 1970 an element of continuity that had been evident in the 1940s (Dunstall 1992: 451). Brooking (1988: 183) suggests that the period from 1951-1967 was the most conservative in New Zealand’s history in every sphere of life. The war had few long term demographic or material effects, and the uniformity and drabness of life that had followed the Depression of the 1930s continued after the war. The society however did become more indigenous and more complex as the population continued to increase and urbanisation advanced (Dunstall 1992: 45).

Government sponsored immigration schemes after the war for both British and other nationalities meant that British food traditions continued to be reinforced. But the other nationalities, for example the Dutch, 20,000 of whom arrived between 1950 and 1970, now had the potential to influence food habits. After 1940 relatives of the Chinese already in the country were once more permitted to enter, and ethnic groups already in the country continued to increase in number. But there is no evidence that their food traditions influenced those of most New Zealanders (Bailey and Earle 1993: 11). In 1945 the foreign born were only 1.04% of the population (Lochore 1951: 96) and in 1971 their proportion in the New Zealand population of almost 3 million was still small. The birthplaces of foreign immigrants in 1971 according to the census figures were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>2037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>2235 (majority Danish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>3779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>4252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>6133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>20,471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1945 and 1975 the population of New Zealand increased from 1.7 million to 3 million, the result of natural increase as well as migration. During
this time a decrease in the rural population occurred and the urban population expanded. By 1970, 66% of the population was living in 14 main cities (Dunstall 1992: 453-457).

Income, occupation and lifestyle were, during this period still indicators of social status. But during the 50s and 60s because of the relative affluence in the population class consciousness was minimal and it was difficult to see visible differences in living style (ibid: 476). The period of affluence that followed the war allowed most New Zealanders to own their own home and by 1961, 70% did so. The house in the new suburbs which sprung up at this time was

the focus of the consumer society with an ever-rising standard of living measured in terms... of a broadening range of household gadgetry. (ibid.: 459)

A wealthy elite were set aside by conspicuous consumption. Some of the less wealthy tried to emulate those in the classes above but generally it was difficult to delineate lifestyles in terms of class (ibid.: 476).

Women

In September 1939 the female workforce was estimated at 180,000. Normal increase would mean that it would reach 185,000 by 1943 but by December that year it was 228,000 and 800 women were also in the armed forces. Employment increased at this time not only in traditional occupations for women but also in the public service, insurance companies and banks. Traditionally however New Zealand women had left their jobs when they married and this situation resumed at the end of the war. Technology in the home and convenience foods were still limited despite advances before the war, and women's wages were still less than those of men. There was little advantage for most women in hanging on to a job after they married in view of their household duties, so they returned to their domestic role (Taylor 1986: 1074).

The war may have opened up new spheres of employment to some women and tested women's capabilities as paid workers but it did little to challenge a social construction of womanhood which insisted that the home was a more important sphere of activity for women than the paid workforce. (Montgomerie 1986: 314)

Post-war reconstruction also emphasised that the domestic role for married women would ensure the rehabilitation of returning service men, a growing population of stable psychological well adjusted children and a booming economy. (Bishop 1991: 3)
In 1943, the year of the greatest participation of women in the workforce both the marriage rate and birth rate were at their lowest, but by 1946 marriages had risen again as had births (N.Z. Official Yearbook 1944: 21). This was another factor that ensured that women return to the home, to the "prescriptive role of wife and mother" (Bishop 1991: 3). But the booming economy of the 1950s posed contradictions for women at home. The availability of, and more money for consumer goods gave women more labour saving devices. This created more leisure time. The question then arose as to what to do with it. Helen Cook (1984: 90) suggests that at this time, while women on the surface appeared to be conforming to the ideology of separate spheres that deemed the role of wife and mother as normal for women they were at the same time imbuing their daughters with the contradictory ideals of careers and self sufficiency and they themselves were quietly taking on paid employment. Evidence that this may have been a partial reality is documented in the Mazengarb Inquiry 1954. It was alleged that sexual precocity of teenagers in the Hutt Valley was partly the fault of working mothers who were 24% of the population in this area (Barber 1989: 173). Statistics also confirm that married women were increasingly entering the workforce in the post-war years. In 1936 3.7% of married women were in paid jobs; by 1966 this proportion was 20% and by 1976, 32% (Coney 1993: 211). The 1960s were probably a bridge to the radical changes of the 1970s when the feminist movement reached its peak of activity in New Zealand. The housewives of the late 1960s and 1970s began their married lives with time saving household appliances and convenience foods. Many were in paid work. They did not need to carry on the tradition of manage and make do that had characterised housewives of the 1950s and early 1960s who had experienced the scarcity of a Depression and a war (May 1992: 343). Primacy by the 1970s was no longer being given to domestic matters. The ideology of separate spheres for men and women was being challenged. A diversity of family lifestyles appeared and this situation inevitably led to many changes in the food habits of New Zealanders.

During the period access for women to education had continued to grow. An affluent society meant that more girls stayed at school longer.

In the 1950s the proportion of girls leaving school with university entrance sharply increased, . . . [but] young women did not go to university in the same proportion as men—a disparity that continued through the 1960s and there was considerable difference in the subjects taken especially in the sixth form and at university. . . . Despite educational attainment women continued to be found in short-term semi-skilled jobs and in professions of low status. (Dunstall 1992: 469)
Education made available to women better employment opportunities and it is significant that married women in the labour force increased as educational opportunities for women also increased. Participation of married women in the workforce was important in terms of household income but this was limited by child rearing, which caused withdrawal and re-entry to the work force depending on a woman’s stage of life. This affected the family income and both spending and food patterns. In 1971 less than 20% of women with pre school children worked but 50% with school age children did so (Dunstall 1992: 472).

Compared with earlier periods it is notable that women were not being educated solely for domesticity but were expected to take their place in the work force during their single life. Many continued to work after marriage and increasingly re-entered the work force after a spell at home rearing children. Added responsibilities outside the home meant that meals were likely to change.

**Food and Ideas**

Diet during this period was influenced not only by nutritional knowledge but also by events, notably the war which was responsible both for shortages of, and rationing of food. Prevailing ideas about diet can be found in official publications on nutrition. *Good Nutrition*, first issued by the Department of Health in 1940, and revised in 1952 was used in schools. Pamphlets on nutrition and diet were also issued and distributed by the Health Department: e.g. *Daily Dietary Pattern, School Lunches, Food for the Elderly, Slimming* etc.

*Good Nutrition* (1st ed. 1940, 2nd ed 1942, wartime 3rd ed 1944, 4th ed 1952) because of its popularity when first published was reprinted after a lapse of only six months. The foreword to the wartime edition notes that this edition was especially planned to meet the dietary needs of wartime and in the foreword of the fourth edition Mr. Hanan the Minister of Health particularly commends the book to “the housewife and the mother of children”. The aim of the book was to promote healthy eating.

In the introduction to its second edition (1942) it condemns the food habits of New Zealanders, promotes the League of Nations recommendations of 1937 for optimum nutrition, and points out some of the deficiencies in the New Zealand diet:

> our progress in the knowledge of food has had a bad partnership with our social customs with which our food habits are inextricably bound; food is served at all social functions, and in New Zealand, on all occasions when guests arrive, with the result that our pride in artistic presentation of food on these occasions has led to elaborate
presentation of certain foods with little if any relation to our needs or to their food values. (Gregory and Wilson 1942: 5)

The same edition sets out the following "points of practical importance" in relation to diet:

To vary the diet.
To use less white flour and more of the lightly milled cereals.
To use more potatoes to replace some of the cereals.
To avoid excessive amounts of sugar.
To use more milk including skim milk which is a good food.
To include fresh uncooked fruit or vegetables each day. (ibid: 60)

It also points out some errors and deficiencies in the average New Zealand diet:

Far too much meat.
Far too much sugar, cake and confectionery.
Too little fish.
Too little raw fruit.
Too little raw vegetable.
Too little milk.
Too little cheese.
Too few eggs.
Too little unrefined food.
Too little codliver oil.
Too little iodized salt. (idem)

As a result of the League of Nation's recommendations, milk in the New Zealand diet was vigorously promoted, especially for children. Free milk had been introduced in schools in 1937 and the intake for New Zealanders had consequently risen from 0.5 pints in 1935 to 0.9 pints in 1949. The recommendation of 1.5 pints had however not been reached by 1952.

Other recommendations were put into practice because of the war. The intake of meat was reduced due to rationing but rose again after the war to pre-war levels which suggests that it was an important item in the diet for New Zealanders.

Sugar also decreased because of rationing but returned afterwards to pre-war levels.

An indication of the extent of rationing in New Zealand during wartime is gained from the following statement from Good Nutrition (1944: foreword).

At the time of going to press, New Zealand has a rationing scale of 12 oz. of sugar and 8 oz. of butter per week for all persons over the age of 6 months. . . Meat is rationed on a basis of 1/9d per week for adults and children over 5 years. . . Eggs have been in shorter supply in some areas than in others . . . they are on a priority ration basis. . . . Milk is unrationed. (Gregory and Wilson 1944: 6)
Taylor (1986: 786-1093) in her official history of the Second World War documents the effects of rationing and the changes in food in more detail. She notes that filled and chocolate coated biscuits were in short supply—they were a priority for the service orders in Britain — imported oranges were scarce, and fish supplies were depleted because of the lack of fishing trawlers. From 1941 eggs especially in the cities were less available and this was also the case with vegetables which commanded a high price. To remedy this situation women and children were encouraged to garden. Electricity cuts in some areas reduced time for cooking and households with electrical cooking appliances were recommended to cook as much as possible at one time. Tea rationing affected tea drinkers until 1948 and sugar rich foods such as condensed milk, jellies, lollies etc were also restricted. Butter rationing affected sandwich lunches and also influenced cake making. Cake shops produced more sponges, scones and rock cakes. Meat rationing meant that the household cook had to be more imaginative with the cheaper cuts and small goods. Rabbit which was readily available and cheese which was limited only by availability became more widely used in dishes. Meat rationing according to Taylor (ibid.: 835) probably helped liberate New Zealanders "from the dominance of the roast". Nevertheless when rationing was lifted New Zealanders as has been noted returned to their old eating habits. Wartime adaptations of recipes were discontinued. Meat, sugar, and butter consumption returned to pre-war levels. In fact it has been suggested that interest in meat was possibly heightened by rationing (ibid.: 835).

In Britain Mennell (1985: 249) suggests, war and rationing had little lasting effect on the British diet other than destroying a lingering resistance to tinned and processed foods. It did however have a democratising effect on food because rationing equalised the access to basic food stuffs for all classes. It also encouraged ingenuity in recipes because of the limitation of raw ingredients.

The New Zealand Women's Food Value League which had been formed in 1937 to promote good nutrition continued its work during the war years.

Rationing meant that special care had to be taken in planning family diets. The League advised people how to lay in emergency rations, and gave out information on planting home gardens, co-operating in the 'Dig for Victory' campaign. (Coney 1993: 100)

During the war years The Bulletin the official journal of the League published articles and recipes pertinent to the wartime situation:

1939
Haybox cooking. (this was a method being recommended for saving fuel at this time)

1940
Onion prospects. (onions were in short supply at this time)
Drying apples.
The stuff to give the troops.

1941
Wartime recipes: Rhubarb without Sugar, Stuffed Turnips, Baked
Stuffed Marrow
The importance of food in wartime.
Liver recipes.
Cockles and muscles alive alive o.

1942
Eels are valuable food fish.
Small fruits or bush fruits.
Notes on wartime planting.

1943
Eggs and oranges.

1944
Rationing here and elsewhere.

The League contributed to raising public awareness of what was considered to be a healthy diet. However it is difficult to determine from food consumption figures whether or not the foods they advocated during the war years influenced New Zealanders' diets. Vegetables for example which were largely home grown were not included in consumption figures.

Gregory and Wilson (1952: 59-60) writing in Good Nutrition about dietary trends since World War Two pointed out our high intake of butter fat and cereals and related it to "the sin of so many in between cakes and biscuits" the result of our "lopsided hospitality." In terms of current ideas about diet it is interesting to note that at this time the dietetic error of taking too much butter and meat is not considered to be harmful in itself but was condemned because it displaces other foods of a "protective" nature from the diet. Likewise, "the large amount of sugar and fat taken in the form of confectionery, cakes and biscuits" was disapproved of by the authors because it "displaces foods like eggs, milk, cheese, vegetables and fruit which have protective qualities".

Menus suggested by the authors to meet dietary recommendations in all editions of Good Nutrition were the same. This suggests that they believed that it was not actually necessary to change what people eat to meet recommendations, it was simply necessary to change the amounts. Dishes that were featured aim to use up the milk ration and reduce the meat intake. The authors apologised for including dishes that depart little from customary ideas but suggested that this is because New Zealand cookery has not had

the fertilising effect of a community of several races who each contribute new ideas on cookery and if the housewife ventures into culinary territory that is unknown to her mate, there may be domestic disharmony. (Gregory and Wilson 1952: 83)
The League of Nation's Recommendations of 1937 had expressed food needs in terms of protective and supplementary energy giving foods but in 1948 the Recommended Dietary Allowances (suggested in 1941 in the U.S.A. by the Food and Nutrition Board and revised in 1948) was adopted by New Zealand and converted to a Daily Dietary Pattern for New Zealanders. In terms of foodstuffs recommended it was little different from the League's recommendations but the League did not specify requirements for children after the age of 14 which the RDA did. In 1968 the RDAs were further revised and New Zealand diet authorities drew up a Food for Health schedule to supply the recommended nutrients in terms of our own supply of foodstuffs (Bell 1969: 14-15). Existing errors in our diet at this stage were listed by Bell (p.16) and this gives some indication at the close of this period of the foodstuffs that were eaten and the influence that dietary recommendations had had on the New Zealand diet since the League's recommendations were first adopted in 1935.

Too much sugar, cake, and confectionery.
Too much butter, fat, and cream.
Some people eat more meat than is necessary.
Some people still do not use enough iodized salt.
The average New Zealander consumes too little milk, cheese, eggs raw fruit, and vegetables. (ibid.: 14)

Compared with the faults in the New Zealand diet in the 1940s it is apparent that little has changed. Bell (ibid.: 17) found that New Zealanders still tend to be conservative in their food habits and "insularity limits [their] appreciation of food consumed elsewhere". Fat however in the diet had become more of a problem. Previously it was stated that New Zealanders have, "perhaps too much butter" (Gregory and Wilson 1943: 49) but fat was now believed to be causing not only overweight but contributing to other diseases. Sugar and its effect particularly on dental caries was no longer the 'bogey man' in the diet. This was partly because of better dental care and the anticipated effect of long term fluoridation of the water supply (Bell 1969: 81).

The media and food ideas

The NZWW continued publication of recipes during and after the war years as did the monthly New Zealand Home Journal. The Listener, (formerly the New Zealand Radio Record) which began publication in 1939 also included a recipe section titled "Ask Aunt Daisy". The section was written by Daisy Basham, a popular writer and broadcaster who had worked in radio since the 1930s. She had also written a recipe page for the Weekly News and had helped with the
recipe page of the *NZWW* when it was launched in 1933. Her broadcasts which included both recipes and the promotion of commercial products and her recipe books were very popular with country women and ordinary New Zealanders, probably because they were both economical and practical (Fry 1957).

Her wartime recipes and suggestions because they featured both economy and rationing were also popular as well as beneficial to the country. Examples included Sugar Saving Recipes (22 May 1942), Recipes for Sponges which use no Butter (7 January 1943), articles on preserving without sugar, recipes for using old scraps of bread, and recipes which did not "trespass on the meat ration". Aunt Daisy continued to be a popular broadcaster up until the 1960s. Nutrition and health advice however did not feature on her programme. This was the domain of the Health Department broadcasters, Dr. Muriel Bell and Dr. Turbott who also had a feature page in the *Listener*.

The popular women's magazines later in the war years also focussed on shortages and rationing. The *NZWW* in 1940 however was still printing recipes that were culled from American and English magazines which continued to be fancy and pretentious and unsuited to New Zealand ingredients and meal occasions. By 1941 however shortages had begun to effect New Zealand households. On 19 June 1941 an article titled "Brighter Breakasts" recognised the egg shortage and from September 1942 "Readers Wartime Economy Recipes" became a regular feature which lasted until 1946.

In general, the economy recipes which featured during this period included the use of offal and rabbit which were not rationed, the economical use of meats which were rationed, butterless and eggless cakes, the use of more readily available and storable vegetables such as carrots, marrow etc. and many "mock" dishes e.g. mock oyster patties that used tripe, mock raspberry jam that used tomatoes and apples and mock strawberry jam that used rhubarb. The use of "mock" recipes suggests that people were attached to the foods that they knew and were reluctant to change the names of them even if the ingredients were different. Use of mock recipes might also have denoted a public display of patriotism, a visible declaration of support for the war effort.

Post-war the *NZWW* appeared to continue with the its wartime trend towards contributed recipes. The recipe page was named "Calling All Cooks". Recipes published were those sent in by readers and in 1949 a prize of 15/- was offered for the recipe of the week (*NZWW* 22 December, 1949). The 1950s saw the appointment of a new editor which resulted in further changes in the recipe section. Seasonal recipes were still a feature e.g. "Seasonal Recipes to Help Stretch the Budget" (27 December, 1951) and the recipe page now included illustrations. By the 1960s the covers which had in the 1950s featured the ideal post-war wife and mother, were being replaced by coloured New Zealand landscapes and
illustrations of readers recipes featured as the 'Editors Choice'. Unlike the earlier period (excluding the war years) these recipes were styled for New Zealand food customs and ingredients. International recipes also began to be published. "Food is fun in Fiji" and "French ways with Vegetables" were two of the features in 1965.

In the same year the test kitchen with Tui Flower (a Home Science Graduate), and Rosemary O'Connor as home economists was established. The test kitchen according to an editorial on 28 June, 1965 was based on the findings of a survey of Good Housekeeping, Woman's Day and the Ladies Home Journal test kitchens. The idea behind it was to provide tested recipes for New Zealanders. Previously, the reader's own recipe could be tested and used and many of the more unusual New Zealand ingredients could be featured in recipes. In the years that followed the magazine's food section included a wide variety of features. In 1965 for example:

Macaroni dishes are money saving.
Here's how. Ways to ice cakes on a serving plate and keep it clean.
Cutting a lemon for decoration.
Delicious welcome winter breakfasts.
Here's how. Parsley sprinkling.
Crisp and nutty (biscuits).
Recipes for weight watchers.
A fish to bake (Serbian baked fish).
Hors d'oeuvre. Out of the doldrums with new beginnings.

Tui Flower when interviewed for the Women's Weekly about her ideas for the test kitchen said "New Zealand is... more cosmopolitan than it realises". Her aim was to develop recipes based on those bought to this country by those that have settled here — English, Indonesian, Dutch, Chinese, Italian and Yugoslav and many others. All these cooking cultures have something to add to a New Zealand way of cooking. (NZWW 28 June 1965, p.120)

In 1971 a cookbook based on the recipes that had been developed and tested by the test kitchen was published. Tui Flower (1971: 7) in the introduction to the book stated that "the weekly reader participation in the magazine had developed a strong understanding between the Test Kitchen and the needs of the New Zealand housewife". Hence the book bought together basic recipes, New Zealand specialties and glamour and special occasion material which provided all cooks with something of special interest.

At the same time as a New Zealand 'flavour' was becoming evident in published recipes, television cooks Alison Holst, (a Home Science graduate) and
Graham Kerr were reaching a wide audience with both their cooking programmes and their cookbooks. While aimed at different audiences (Holst aimed at making everyday recipes more interesting while Kerr had entertaining in mind) the recipes were innovative and had a noticeable New Zealand 'flavour'. The recipes were not for example the recipes of a Mrs Beeton restricted to a certain class of people because of the equipment, kitchen help or service required. Neither did they fall back on the dullness of a British tradition for their inception. By 1970 New Zealand recipe books showed that New Zealander's attitudes to food and to new ingredients had changed.

A study carried out in Britain in 1963 (McKenzie 1963: 16,17) examined the effectiveness of recipes published in magazines in bringing about changes in food habits. It concluded that in order to be successful in a wide field recipes should be a variation of a well known theme and should not be too expensive or fussy. It is not known however if this conclusion would be valid for New Zealand. Nevertheless by the 1970s it was evident that New Zealanders' attitudes to food had changed and whether or not the NZWW Test Kitchen approach had an influence remains to be investigated. The only conclusion that can be reached about the influence of the media on New Zealand food habits at this time is that it did, in the 1960s set out to expand New Zealanders' culinary horizons.

Mennell (1985: 64) has suggested that one effect of the printed word—recipes are no exception—was to facilitate the process of social emulation of the habits styles and interests of one class or stratum by another. But in New Zealand in the 60s where the class system was not strong and where most of the society was relatively prosperous social emulation was not a factor in the adoption of new recipes. Fashion theory however may be relevant to the situation. Sproles (1955) suggests that in contemporary societies new fashions (new recipes) are adopted

by a discernible proportion of members of a social group because that chosen behaviour is perceived to be socially appropriate for the time and situation. (Sproles 1985: 55)

This type of behaviour may explain the adoption of new dishes into the repertoire of a broad group of New Zealand cooks in the 1960s.

Cookbooks printed in New Zealand during this period provide some evidence that relates to a change in culinary ideas (refer Appendix D). From 1940 to 1950 however compared with the period 1930-1939 fewer recipe books were published. Possibly because of the shortage of paper that occurred, rationing which limited the availability of some ingredients and the preoccupation of the
population with wartime activities. Food preparation as a consequence became a secondary activity in many households.

The period 1950 to 1960 surprisingly saw little increase in the publication of new recipe books. Notable however is the change in character of voluntary organisations that produced cookbooks. Church groups were not so prominent but there was an increase in secular organisation producing books. Kindergartens, playcentres and schools became involved in producing cookbooks to raise money. This suggests that women's activities were expanding outside the home and church.

In the 1960s an increase in cookbooks associated with entertaining and foreign foods occurred. Food producer boards and wine growers also produced cookbooks that used their products.

The cookbooks like the food sections in magazines suggest that New Zealand food habits were undergoing a change, or at least new ideas about food were of interest to the population. Foreign dishes were more acceptable and more emphasis was being placed on entertaining which compared with the pre-war period was less bounded by older social conventions that put emphasis on the number of courses and the service of traditional foods.

Simpson (1985: 9-11) a food historian also suggests that post-war New Zealand food habits began to change. Traditional New Zealand food habits he believes were those of the English farmhouse tradition and were related to the abundance and variety of food available. By the 1950s however as the result of industrialisation, urbanisation and transportation, changes became noticeable. Vegetable gardens and 'chooks' disappeared, home preserving was replaced by tinned fruit and new nutritional knowledge which was being spread by the Home Science profession was restricting what people ate.

Bailey and Earle also have an opinion on the food habits of New Zealanders at this time.

Undoubtedly the dominant food traditions up to the 1950s were British ones but this has changed so there is now a more distinctive style of New Zealand food traditions and wide acceptance of various minority ethnic cultures. (Bailey and Earle 1993: 272)

They suggest that the change related only partly to the turmoil of the Second World War. The greatest influence on change, he believes, was the fact that after the war 85% of New Zealanders were New Zealand born, more formal ties with Great Britain had been severed and New Zealanders were increasingly travelling by air to non-British countries (ibid.: 273).
Summary

Between 1939 and 1970, food habits appear to have undergone the most noticeable change in terms of the period under review, with change occurring most rapidly in the 1960s. Rationing during wartime was responsible for some changes in diet, but in general these were not sustained. Likewise nutrition information although widely distributed during wartime and afterwards also appears to have little lasting influence. This suggests that the 'new' media forms and presentations associated with the transmission of information must be given the most credit for change. Beginning in the 1960s an improvement in the layout and content of the recipe pages of popular magazines and the appearance of television cooks helped to change New Zealanders attitudes to food. The new style of recipes was adapted to New Zealand social conditions and the ingredients and the appliances they suggested were readily available. The idea that New Zealand had a culture that was different from that of Britain was fostered by the social conditions that prevailed and this notion was translated into culinary practices.

Technology

Technology is an abstract concept incorporating materials, tools, machines and associated social relations (Murcott 1982: 34). In New Zealand from 1940-1970 technology itself changed few aspects of diet but it did prepare the society for a significant change in social relations, notably an increase in women entering the workforce which forced a change in meals and meal patterns in the 1970s.

Susan Strasser (in de Vault 1991: 36) claims that by 1970 in America most people could stop cooking. Technological advance however in New Zealand by the 1970s had not reached this stage. Kitchen technology was well advanced but neither the fast food industry, the food manufacturing industry nor the concept of 'eating out' were sufficiently developed to give New Zealanders the choice of not cooking. New Zealand women were just beginning to enter the workforce in greater numbers but dependency on technological advances in food production was not yet part of the culture. By 1976 in New Zealand participation of married women in the labour force had only risen to 32% but in America by 1977 it was already 48% (Strasser 1982: 301).

Kitchen technology in New Zealand homes increased during the period although expansion was slowed during the war years despite an increase in the supply of electricity and the availability of electric ranges manufactured in New
Zealand. Post-war however this meant that new homes were likely to install an electric range. At this time house plans showed no provision for a refrigerator, but by 1958 such a situation was unthinkable (Rennie 1989: 158).

By the 1960s increasing prosperity, and the absence of power restrictions meant that electrical appliances became quite common. Furthermore the real price of appliances dropped encouraging more people to buy them. On the kitchen front "deep freezers, automatic ovens, food mixers and processors and the increasing availability of convenience foods made preparing a meal both easier and faster" (ibid.: 158). According to Rennie such labour saving appliances combined to provide the technological underpinning for the big changes in New Zealand society and work patterns that gathered momentum throughout the 60s and 70s. (ibid.: 158)

Post-war the range of kitchen technology available for New Zealand homes did not expand greatly but improvements in the existing technology, increasing availability, and prosperity meant that households increasingly adopted contemporary technology which gradually brought about a change in meals for the whole society. In 1945, 30% of dwellings had electric ranges, 24% gas and 38% coal or wood ranges. Up until 1956 the census also recorded that some dwellings had two cooking appliances. For example in 1956, 1% of dwellings had electric and gas, 4.5% had electric and coal and 1.5% had gas and coal. Between 1945 and 1956 the percentage having gas and coal declined but the percentage having electric and coal increased which suggests that electric cooking was becoming more widespread. By 1975, 92% had electric ranges, 7.5% gas and 0.5% coal or wood. Faster cooking and more control over the cooking temperature were the gains made when households adopted gas or electricity for cooking. This meant that dishes requiring long slow cooking such as roasts and boiled or steamed puddings probably appeared less on menus (Bailey and Earle 1993: 51-53).

Other gains made in this period were in refrigeration. Household refrigerators had been available before the war but only came into common use in the 1950s. Bailey and Earle (1993: 55) notes that a dramatic rise in the production and use of refrigerators occurred after 1950 with 91% of households owning a refrigerator by 1966. Deep freezers however were a rarity in the 1950s and they did not become common until the 1970s. Refrigeration improved both storage and availability of food and made meal planning more flexible for the cook. Potentially it also made possible a more varied diet.

The new technology allowed more leisure time for women but it has been suggested that the domestic ideology of the 1950s meant that women used that time to become more domestic and more creative. While this suggestion might apply to baked goods it did not apply to everyday meals. In a North Otago town
with a population of 10,000 (and its surrounding rural area), a survey in 1958 found that while the homes were above average in terms of modern appliances, variety in the diet was supplied by baking "the enjoyment and activity recorded for baking was not . . . recorded for the cooking and preparation of meals " (King 1959: 48).

Neither did the leisure time created for women by the expansion of technology in the home mean that women necessarily returned to work. In the survey of 1958 only 4 of the 59 women when asked what they would do with increasing leisure said that they would return to employment. Most women in this survey considered that their place was in the home. This situation is best explained in the words of Ann Murcott.

For itself technology has to be seen as altering nothing. It is the circumstances in which it is developed and adopted and the use to which it is put, and the meaning attributed to it that contains the potential for change. (Murcott 1983: 37)

For the women of the North Otago town at this time the opportunity for paid employment was minimal and a return to work after marriage was not part of the culture. For this reason, at this stage, the adoption of new technology in this Otago town caused few changes.

Ravetz (1968: 257) also suggests that overall, kitchen gadgets made very little difference to women's domestic position. The aid of a gadget she suggests is usually offset by the spread of middle class standards and social factors, she claims, still make housework a victim of technological lag.

Appadurai (1988) like Ravetz tends to agree that overall the changes in technology do not relieve the pressures associated with it they simply create new ones. Changes in Indian cuisine in middle class Indian households he admits have been aided by changes in technology—they have allowed an increase in variety to occur—but he also suggests that the modern machinery and techniques alleged to be labour saving are in fact "agents in the service of an ideology of variety, experimentation, and elaboration in cuisine that puts middle class households under greater pressure than in the past" (ibid.: 10).

Contemporary kitchen technology because of social attitudes is perceived by these researchers as changing little, although it is credited with being labour saving. In New Zealand homes new cooking appliances however did allow for faster meal preparation—essential if women were to work outside the home—and further advances in food technology which increased the range of convenience foods available, also fostered change.

Before 1940 convenience food consisted of a limited range of biscuits, custard powders, tinned jams, a variety of dried soups, and condensed milks.
These were foods that stored easily but did not alter the established diet of the day. The 1940s saw an increase in tinned foods; peas were available and tinned tongues became popular because of war time meat restrictions. In the period from 1950 to 1959 quick tinned meals such as baked beans and spaghetti were increasingly used as were desserts which were quickly prepared. Jelly and jelly whips were popular as were other cold desserts made possible by an increase in household refrigerators. Population expansion into the suburbs meant more cut lunches were necessary. New possibilities for fillings were widely advertised e.g. chesdale cheese slices, meat pastes, etc. and manufactured fruit drinks made with sugar also became popular. A survey carried out in 1962 found that this was the most popular drink in school children's packed lunches (New Zealand National Food Survey 1962). A wider variety of breakfast cereals (cooked breakfasts were disappearing) were available and commercially frozen foods such as fish cakes, pies and chickens were available as was packeted icecream. Many varieties of cold cooked meats could also be bought at newly established delicatessens. Freeze dried and frozen peas came to compete with canned peas and an increasing variety of fancy biscuits including chocolate were being marketed. Cake mixes were readily available and traditional desserts such as tapioca which took a long time to cook were made instant. e.g. "Kings Tapioca Dessert ready to serve in 3 minutes" was widely advertised. Tea was still the preferred beverage but the availability of instant coffee meant that a new quick form of beverage was available.

But probably the main meal was the least changed as a result of this increase in convenience foods as Burton notes:

As for the everyday fare of the 1960s, the tradition of meat and three vegetables continued as it had for most of the century, except that as more women entered the work force, and had less time to cook, a host of convenience foods came on to the market: frozen peas, dried surprise peas, instant mashed potato, instant cake mixes, instant coffee. (Burton 1982: 27)

The menus included in Appendix C confirm this observation. The structure of the meal and the elements of the main meal underwent little change. The convenience form of the food was simply substituted into the menu. The menu sample in Appendix C however is limited and probably biased as several of the menus have been taken from a nutrition text. They probably reflect the ideal-what meals the nutrition experts of the day thought people should be eating. The information on dinners extracted from the national food survey of 1962 and dinner menus published in Whitcombe’s New Everyday Cookery (1966) do not however negate the meal ideas suggested by the nutrition text. It would appear
as Burton observed that the traditional main meal of meat and vegetables was still the norm in the 1960s.
6 Summary and Conclusions

Food habits in New Zealand over the period reviewed were transformed by changing social conditions, ideas and technology—mechanisms that were associated with cultural change in the society. The process however was gradual and accumulative. Overall little change appeared to occur. For this reason the model used to explain the development process had a two pronged approach. It approached the problem from a structuralist's viewpoint that explains continuation of some aspects of food habits, notably the meal format but it also takes a developmental viewpoint that embraces the idea of change in a culture associated with its social aspects—the interdependencies in a society that develop between people, the social conditions that are created as well as the actions and experiences of people which are part of the process.

The idea that meals are structured events, that the components of a meal (its foodstuffs, combinations, dishes and courses) are culturally constructed is illustrated by the New Zealand meal format recorded over the period 1870-1970. However while the meal format showed little change the components of the meal—the foodstuffs, the preparation procedures and the number of courses served did change. Meat cuts for example which in 1870 were often prepared by either baking (roasting) or boiling were less likely to be prepared in this manner in 1970. Successive cost of living indexes (1891-1965) however show the meat cuts themselves underwent little change. The vegetables served during the period continued to vary with the season. In 1965 however frozen peas became the most popular vegetable served, an indication of the effect of both technology and division of labour (use of time) on the main meal. Desserts continued to be served but milk puddings including icecream replaced baked puddings and pies that were favoured last century. This change also reflected technological advances and changes in the occupation and activities of people in the society. The number of courses served as part of the meal also changed. Three courses were still common early in the century but most households in the 1960s served only two. The evidence presented suggests that the rate of change was different for different components of the meal. The foodstuffs for example, except for a few substitutions when familiar food were not available, changed very little between 1870-1970—there was little reason for them to do so. Between 1914 and 1945 the rate of change was slow, because of food restrictions imposed by the war and economic restrictions imposed by the Depression. Social conditions after the war—the result of the war—also tended to produce few innovations in the basic
diet. From 1960-1970 however the society became less conservative and new foods were adopted into the diet more rapidly.

Preparation, cooking methods and dishes are influenced by technological change. Some changes occurred after the introduction of the coal range in the 1870s, but major changes did not occur until most of the population had acquired a gas or electric stove and a refrigerator in the 1960s. Thereafter new dishes appeared rapidly partly because of innovative recipes using the new equipment.

Overall the structure of the main meal in terms of the categories of foodstuffs i.e. meat, starchy product, vegetables and dessert—changed very little—the changes that occurred as noted were within this structure.

The stability of the meal structure from 1870-1970 was probably the result of the cultural background of the population. Despite some changes in ideas about cultural identity, the notion of an inherent rule system associated with meals based on British norms and values remained strong in the population until the 1960s and this continued to be translated into the meals served. For most of the period under review the inherent ideas about food and meals were stronger than the forces associated with cultural change in the society — technology, ideas and social conditions. Theses forces acting together however did bring about substantial changes in food habits in the 1970s.

Some of the social dimensions e.g. division of labour, gender differentiation associated with the preparation and service of the meal also changed during the period but generally the changes until 1970 were insignificant. The service of the meal in 1970 probably differed little from the service of the meal in 1870 except in 1870 in the better class of households a servant may have been involved. Class differences also because of the fairly homogeneous economic circumstances of the population until 1970, were less likely to be displayed in type of food served.

Women however during the period had become more conspicuous in the public world of the workforce. Initially their entry into the paid workforce did not change the division of labour in the home or their role as chief food providers but it was reflected in some of the food items and dishes that were served. Convenience foods for example became a more common component of the meal.

Change and Continuity in New Zealand Food Habits
Analysis and Explanations

1870-1914

During this period the population of the colony became more homogeneous. New living conditions changed people's expectations of each other and the
society they lived in. The interdependencies in the society which according to Mennell (1985) are created in an asymmetric society by conflict and competition and are responsible for the social conditions that develop, were different from those of British society. The British class structure had not translated itself into the new society as Wakefield had hoped and most of the people that had emigrated were keen to be rid of it. Technology was not as well developed in the new colony and expanded only slowly. New Zealand and locally born European New Zealanders did not experience an industrial revolution in their country as had the British earlier in the century, and urbanisation although it occurred during the period did so without major disruption to the society. The ideas of the population although still fostered by British contact and the 'print' media were also changing as British norms and values became less relevant to the colonists' life style. New Zealand was self governing in terms of internal affairs from 1890 (McIntyre 1992:338) and had by 1907 attained dominion status. By the end of the first world war, it was a nation (ibid.: 334). The 'foreign born' had less influence, New Zealanders had begun to assert their own identity and the values and norms they established were their own.

The experiences of New Zealand women were also important in terms of developments in the society and this included food habits. They were different from their British counterparts, either, because of their immigrant experiences or because they were born into a colonial situation. Enfranchisement in 1893 also altered their situation.

New Zealand social conditions were not at this time the product of an industrial revolution (although the population was fleeing from one) but were the product of pioneer settlers. The action and experiences of the people in the colony were probably more formative in terms New Zealanders cultural development at this stage than any other factors.

Food habits often change when an immigrant group enters another society but the food habits that the colonists bought to New Zealand with them changed very little during this period.

Immigrants arriving in a new cultural milieu feel pressured to adopt the outward signs of a new culture—language and clothing being obvious ones. Eating habits however do not change so quickly, for they are a more private affair not immediately obvious to others. However, they do change—most rapidly among the young—and where there is little cultural support for the old ways. (Fieldhouse 1986: 8)

But this was not the case with immigrants to New Zealand. The indigenous Maori population was widespread but small in number and their culture had
little influence on the mainly British immigrants. British culture quickly became
dominant. The 'growing' environment which was like Britain yielded a similar
food supply, consequently the food habits of the mainly British immigrant were
not forced to change because of the environment or because of a dominant
indigenous culture. Therefore only minor changes in the composition and the
structure of the immigrants' meals occurred. Conversely in the period 1770-1870
Maori food habits were substantially altered.

Structuralists such as Mary Douglas (1984: 15) have suggested that a meal is
an ordered system.

Structure appears as a result of strict rules governing the presentation
of food, the varieties permitted at different occasions and rules of
precedence and combination. (idem)

Mäkelä (1992: 92) also believes that culturally constructed rules are
important in defining the structure of a meal. "The rules and classifications
connected with eating are related to other social cultural entities and are
manifestations of them." The idea of an inherent structure associated with the
meal system of a culture, helps to explain why New Zealanders' food habits did
not show significant changes during this period.

Nevertheless as the century advanced, social conditions in the society
changed, new social patterns arose and these ultimately were a prerequisite for a
cultural transformation of food habits in the colony.

1914-1939

Despite the occurrence of a world war and the Depression during this period the
format of meals remained almost the same. This might suggest that few changes
occurred in the culture at this time. But if the mechanisms associated with culture
change are examined this is clearly not the case.

Social conditions by the end of the period had been changed by the 'war'
which allowed women to take up new occupations, by the Depression which
narrowed the gap between the upper-working and the middle-class who were
forced to share the same conditions in the society and by the Labour government
which was elected in 1935.

The victory of 1935 and its popular confirmation of 1938 allowed the
leaders of the Labour Party to shift the emphasis of the economy and
amend its control, alter the balance of society and state, transform the
prospects of the average family, and enlarge the education and hopes
of young people. (Chapman 1992: 351)
The actions and the experiences of the people in this instance were strongly associated with change. The Labour government elected by the people, through the medium of the reformed welfare system removed many of the inequalities in the society that developed during the Depression including those relating to food.

At the same time advances in technology and an increase in income (except for the Depression years) meant that modernisation had reached the home. The introduction of gas or electricity for cooking meant that time was saved in food preparation and less wastage occurred. But despite the changes in technology which were concomitant with new scientific ideas about food and health, food habits exhibited little change. The authority of science as applied to food and health was slow to take effect.

Social conditions were changing, domestic technology was improving, new ideas about food and health were being promoted by the authorities, so, why was there so little change in the nation's diet? The key to change appears to be women's role during this period. They were the food provisioners and were most intimately concerned with the food supply at the domestic level. Meals were under their control, but at the same time the control of the household was still a male responsibility and the idea of a women's sphere still existed despite some of the freedoms that women had gained during the war years. The recessions that came and went in the 1920s, and the Depression of the 1930's meant that the workplace was not quite as open to women as it had been previously. Although opportunities for education increased and domestic technology created more leisure time the economic situation tended to hold women in their place.

The middle-classes who formed the majority of New Zealand society were also partly responsible for the lack of change in women's position. Respectability was important to them as was family, and the ideas that abounded about the importance of food and health and motherhood were partly responsible for the domestic ideology that bound women to the home throughout the period. Because of this situation meals did not change as there was no reason for them to do so.

Policies that foster major changes in the division of labour between the sexes have an impact on the household, on cooking, on timetables and on food. On the one hand, the policy which seeks to free women to play a fuller part in a wider community is bound to change the hours women spend in the kitchen. On the other hand the movement to promote better nutrition criticises the quality of mass produced foods. But the advance of women's status will hardly be effected without mass production. (Douglas 1984: 13)
Mennell's (1986, 1992) idea that social and cultural development, classes, balance of power and religion (which in New Zealand during this period could also be held partly responsible for defining women's role) have a role in shaping the food habits of a nation, is played out in this period and perhaps explains the situation that prevailed.

1939-1970

By 1970 changes in food habits in New Zealand were becoming more noticeable. New foods were being adopted into meals at a faster rate as were 'foreign dishes'. This situation was concomitant with a change in the content of cookbooks and the change in women's domestic role. 'Publisher's' cookbooks (Appendix D) included more imaginative recipes, foreign dishes, new combinations of ingredients preparation and cooking methods etc. These innovations were all culinary possibilities as the ingredients suggested and the equipment items required were readily available. Cookbooks of 'contributed recipes' (Appendix D) also began to include foreign and new style dishes, which suggests that new culinary trends were being accepted into the repertoire of home cooks. The social conditions by the end of the 1960s were different from those of the 1940s and this influenced the food that was served.

It has been suggested that changing social conditions, ideas associated with food and advances in technology were the underlying mechanisms associated with culture change and the transformation of food habits in New Zealand society but until the 1970's although these mechanisms were in operation they had only a weak effect on food habits. A cultural lag obviously occurred. It must also be recognised that change is accumulative and may only be seen from a distance. In retrospect it can be seen that the accumulative result of 'the mechanisms' over the 100 year period prepared the way for the more observable changes that manifested themselves in the culture and in food habits post-1970.

In the early part of the period war once again had created new employment opportunities for women. With men away more women were able to move into less traditional occupations. This together with improved educational opportunities enhanced their future employment prospects. And a booming economy after the war years together with the availability of better housing and affordable efficient appliances meant that less time was required for a women to care for a household. The question must then be asked why women under such favourable conditions returned to domesticity after the war.

During the war years the balance of power in the domestic household was changed. Women were essential to the war effort both on the home front and in the workplace, but when the war was over their position changed. Men were
again in control of the household and the notion of a separate sphere for women was re-introduced. Women initially appeared to accept this situation but at the same time the experiences that women had during the war influenced their expectations. This situation concurs with the ideas of Ortner (1984) who has suggested that the actions and experiences of people can bring about change in a society. As a consequence despite the conservative attitude of the society towards women that was apparent immediately after the war, women did eventually return to the workplace. More women during the 1950s had remained in the workforce after marriage and as the 1960s progressed it was noticeable that more married women with children also returned to work. Smaller families allowed this to happen as did the work experience that women gained before they had families. As well, an improved economic situation together with the availability of new domestic appliances and the desire of households to possess what their neighbour had, contributed to the changes that were occurring. A well equipped home was becoming an indication of social status just as the possession of a house and a car had been earlier in the period. This no doubt served as an incentive for women to work and for men to sanction it. Social emulation was probably a very potent force associated with the development of the society in the 1960s.

Wartime meant that few new food ideas were introduced into the society. Food restrictions during and for some time after the war deprived the population of many of their familiar foods. The deprivations of familiar foods and dishes meant that these were eagerly reinstated after restrictions were lifted which ensured that stability and conservatism, uniformity and drabness characterised the food habits of the population until the late 1960s. By the late 1960s however boredom with domesticity had set in. An increase in leisure time for housewives, more money for household expenditure, the opportunity to travel, the exposure to new recipe ideas in magazines and on television meant that the more innovative households began to serve more imaginative meals. The competitive aspects of the dinner party circuit also encouraged adventures in cooking.

Popular social movements of the day were also associated with the introduction of new food ideas. Vegetarianism in particular was often associated with these movements and was embraced by many sub-groups in the society. New scientific ideas about nutrients, (fat and fibre for example) and their effect on health also had some influence on food habits at this time.

The social climate was right not only to accept new food ideas but also to accept the idea of women working. The women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s helped prepare the society for this change which was according to Sinclair (1988: 15) a social change of great significance in the society. At the same time convenience foods, improved kitchen appliances, the income to afford them, and
better transportation coupled with the growing isolation and boredom of women at home, created a situation where there was less need for women to involve themselves in home production. The better education of women, the transmission of new ideas about food through diverse media sources, the flood of new ideas about food generated by popular social movements and science meant that change in the 1970s was rapid compared with the 100 years that had gone before.

This situation fits Charsley’s (1992: 130) suggestion that change only occurs gradually and accumulatively although publicity may speed up the rate of change.

Overall the reallocation of women’s time aided by technology, together with the direction of women’s education towards work in the public sphere meant that during this period the household became a consumption unit rather than a productive unit. Meals as a result in the 1970s were different from meals in the 1870s. It is also apparent that until 1970 the predominantly British background of the early settlers appear to have had a major influence on New Zealand food habits.

Implications

Structuralist theory because it is able to identify continuity in the structure of meals, was in this study able to explain the meal format as a continuum in New Zealand society over most of the period. But it was evident throughout the period that change was occurring within the meal structure and that the changes were associated with changes in the society and the culture.

An explanatory model for food habits at a societal level that takes into account the social conditions that develop in a society together with the forces associated with them such as technology and ideas is therefore necessary to account for change.

The model used to explain the development of New Zealand food habits would be interesting to test on other colonial societies over a similar time span, to see whether or not the model has a more universal application.

A separate study of the influence of American culture on New Zealand food habits would also be enlightening in terms of the influence of a non-British culture on New Zealanders’ food habits. It might also explain further why food habits in New Zealand developed the way they did.

New Zealand for example had early contact with the West Coast of the United States—there was a regular steamship service between New Zealand and San Francisco as early as 1880 (Sinclair 1959:155)—and although an American
immigrant population did not settle in New Zealand, American ideas and technology were imported into the country from an early period. Sinclair, for example has suggested that New Zealand was a branch of New World society the centres of which were Sydney and San Francisco (ibid.: 1988: 16). Other American influences that emerged from the study included:

1. American food products. The establishment of the American Sanitarium food company at the beginning of the century influenced eating habits, notably breakfasts.
2. Kitchen equipment. Cooking equipment imported from North America was common from the beginning of the period. American refrigerators and kitchen gadgets were also imported into the country at a later stage.
3. American recipes. Many were published in New Zealand women's magazines, under copyright from American magazines.
4. The influence of educational institutions. The School of Home Science established in 1911, from the 1920s had close links with American institutions, academics and curriculum. Its graduates influenced ideas about food in the society because of their employment as teachers, dietitians, food writers, and television cooks.

Continuity was the main feature of New Zealand eating patterns up until the 1970s but for the past 25 years change has been the dominant principle both in terms of food habits and in terms of the society. Food habits have in this period been revealed as being inextricably linked to 'movements' in the society. In the 1990s immigration, the increasing overseas experience of groups in the society, global marketing and the ever changing advertising strategies of food manufacturers are just some of the factors that are bringing about rapid changes in New Zealanders' meals. At the same time changes in the social structure of the society and of households also impact on meals. For this reason any future study of New Zealand food habits must take account of both external forces on the society which are easily identified and the complex internal social structures and relationships that both exist and are ever changing in the society.

It is acknowledged that a study of this nature because of its time depth is not as detailed in terms of the social dimensions associated with food habits as would be possible if a sub-group of the population was being studied. This information would add depth to a further study. Nevertheless this study has established that food habits did change during the period and that the rate of transformation was affected by changes in the social structure, technology and ideology. All played a role, in the case of technology and ideology sometimes limiting and at other times encouraging. But it was also apparent that above all
substantive change required suitable social conditions, particularly those surrounding women's place in the household.
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Appendices

Appendix A: Advertised food products
Appendix B: Equipment
Appendix C: Meals
Appendix D: Recipe books
APPENDIX A: ADVERTISED FOOD PRODUCTS

The following is a list of food products advertised in magazines, newspapers and recipe books from 1866 – 1970. The dates advertised do not necessarily indicate that these were the dates that they first became available but do indicate that they were available at this time.

1866
Otago Witness

Baking powder, Borthwicks
Jam, Crosse & Blackwells
Pickles, Crosse & Blackwells
Sauces, Crosse & Blackwells
Worcestershire sauce, Lea & Perrins

1870s

1880s

1890s

NZ Herald
NZ Weekly News

NZ Herald
NZ Farmer
ODT

Baking powder, Edmonds
Baking powder, Kiwi
Baking powder, Moa
Custard powder, Birds
Milk, condensed, Nestlé
Milk food, Nestlé
Tea, Sunrise
Tomato sauce, Kofads
Wine

Aerated waters, Thomson & Co.
Ale
Baking powder, Hornes NZ
Baking soda
Butter
Cheese, choice loaf
Cordials
Cornflour, maize
Cream of tartar
Dates
Flour, self-raising
Gin, Geneva
Golden syrup
Ham, real Glasgow beef
Herrings, Picton
Honey, new clover
Hops, Nelson
Lard, best
Lobster, 1lb tin
Marmalade
Milk, Nestlé, Swiss
Oatmeal, Otago
Oil, Norwegian cod liver
Pickles, Flag
Porter
Rice
Sago
Salmon, 1lb tin
Sauces, Flag
Sherry
Tapioca
Tea, Empire blended

Arrowroot
Baking powder, Hudsons NZ
Baking powder, Sharland’s Superior
Caraway
Chicory
Chocolate
Cloves
Cocoa
Coffee
Curry powder
Currants, new
Lemon essence
Lime juice cordial
Mixed spice
Mustard
Nutmeg
Pepper
Pimento
Raisins
Sugar, brown crushed loaf No. 1
Sugar, white
Sultanas
Tea
Vinegar
Peaches, dessert, K (tinned)
APPENDIX A: ADVERTISED FOOD PRODUCTS

1900 – 1914
NZ Farmer

1914 – 1933
NZ Herald, 1915
The Press, 1920
The Ladies Mirror, 1922
The Young New Zealander &
NZ Woman and Home
NZ Home Pictorial & Motion Picture
Show, 1932

Baking powder, Hudsons Balloon
Baking powder, K
Baking powder, Tuckers
Beef tea
Beef tea, Amco
Biscuits, arrowroot
Biscuits, Bycrofts, plain & sweet
Biscuits, Huntley & Palmers
Coronation
Biscuits, packeted (not loose)
Bovril
Chocolate, Van Houtens, eating
Coffee essence, Symingtons
Coffee essence, Whittomes
Cocoa, Aulsebrooks
Cocoa, Van Houtens
Cordial, cherry
Custard powder, Edmonds
Custard powder, Tuckers
Egg powder, Tuckers
Flour, self-raising, aerated
Flour, self-raising, Raynes
Flour, Champion
Flour, Bycrofts, Tulip and Snowdrift
Fruit, dessert, in vacuum glass jars
Fruit, preserved, K
Gelatine
Jams, K

1914 – 1933 (continued)

Baking powder, Beaver
Biscuits, Aulsebrooks
Bread, Kents, made with milk
Bread, Goldcust (Auckland)
Chewing gum, Wrigleys, spearmint
Cocoa & milk powder, sweetened,
Cadbury
Cocoa, Aulsebrooks
Cocoa, Bournville
Cocoa, Caillers
Cocoa, Fry’s, breakfast
Cocoa, Liptons
Cocoa, Rowntrees
Coffee & Chicory Essence
Brown & Barretts
Camps
Greggs
Coffee powder, Strangs, soluble
Cornflour, Brown & Polsons
Cornflour, maize
Creamoata
Herrings, Machonchies
Jam, St Georges
Malta, Horlicks
Marmite
Milk oats
Milkpowder, Anchor skim
Milk, pure, Auckland Milk Coy

1934 – 1939
NZ WW

Baked beans, Oak
Biscuits, Aulsebrooks, butter crackers
Biscuits, Aulsebrooks, wine
Bread, Milkmaid, white
Jam, Oak
Jam, St George & Sovereign
Pickles, Whittomes
Soft Drink, Honolulu, orange
Soft drink, lemon barley water
Spaghetti, Oak, made to real Italian
recipe
Suet, Shreddo
Tea, Bushells
Tea, Matawatte
Tea, Roma
APPENDIX A: ADVERTISED FOOD PRODUCTS

1940 – 1949
NZWW
Apples (buy them by the case)
Apples, NZ Apple & Pear Marketing Board (eat apples all year around)
Coffee, Bushells, vacuum packed
Essences, Greggs vanilla
Essences, Hansells, cloudy
Fruit drink concentrate, Greggs, lemon, orange, lime, gingerbrandy
Gelatine, Davis (recipes for dainty dishes)
Gravy mix, Gravis
Meat, CMC, sheep tongues
Meat, St George lamb tongues
Sauce, Oak, tomato
Soft drink, lemon & barley water
Tinned fruit, St George, canned plums
Tinned vegetables, Oak, green peas
Tinned vegetables, Sovereign, canned peas
Tomato sauce, Whitomes, Kia Ora
Yeast, DYC, health drink

1950 – 1959
NZWW
Baked beans, Crest
Baked beans, Oak
Bananas, Fruit Distributors (rich range of vitamins & minerals, energy building)
Beef extract, Bovo (sandwiches)
Beer (drink with discrimination)
Biscuits, Griffins chocolate wheaten
Blackcurrant drink, Ribena (the natural way to keep fit, fight infection)
Bouillon cubes, Honig, chicken
Breakfast cereals, Weetbix (ready to serve)
Cake baking powder Edmonds, Acto recipes without eggs
Cheese, Chesdale (sandwiches)
Chocolate biscuits, Cadburys
Chocolate chippies, Hudsons, (like mother used to make)
Custard powder, Winsons
Coffee & chicory essence, Bushells, sweetened and unsweetened
Coffee, Greggs
Coffee & Milk, Nestlé
Coffee, Old Mill
Cornflakes, Kelloggs (with milk and sugar gives energy etc)
Cornflour, Brown & Polsons, flavoured
Cornflour, Fielders (free recipe book)
Cornflour, Winsons
Cream reduced, pure thick (give them cream as often as they like – keep a couple in the house)
APPENDIX A: ADVERTISED FOOD PRODUCTS

1950 – 1959 (Continued)
Sweet corn, Watties, cream style
Tea, Ceylon (the home of good tea)
Tea, Tyans Tips
Tomato sauce, Oak
Vegemite (yes your family need Vit.B1 every day)
Vegetable soups (Nestlé (all the flavour of garden fresh vege)
Vinegar, DYC malt (for pickles, assist in clearing the blood stream)
Weetbix (with butter, honey, jam – between meal snacks, light lunches)
Wine, Corbans (enhances the flavour)
Yeast extract, maxavite (sandwich spread)

1960 – 1970
All Bran, Kelloggs (break the laxative habit)
Apple juice and orange, Freshup (100% real fruit)
Apples (plan apples every meal)
Apricot halves, tinned Roxdale
Biscuits, Brycrofts dip sticks (biscuits to go with dips)
Biscuits, Shrewsbury, Hudsons (just like mother used to make)
Branflakes, Flemings (baking quality, add variety to your diet)
Cheese, Eltham, blue vein, smoke, fetta, havarti, gruyere (recipe competition)
Chicken, Tegel
Chiffon whip, Sunshine (fluffy fruit flavoured summer dessert)
ChocRoll, Edmonds
Chow Chow & Piccallilli, Haywards
Cider, Rochdale
Choc sultana pasties, Hudsons
Crispbread, Bycrofts, cheese & bacon
Dates, Dromedar
Fish cakes, Birdseye (heat and eat)
Fish, Fishing Industry Board, (Alison Holst, enjoy the family dish)
Frozen pies, Irvines (the ideal Sunday tea for three – family mince, chicken crumble, apple, apricot)
Fruit drinks, instant, Gregg
Gingermints, Griffins
Gravy Quik
Icecream party log, TipTop
Instant coffee, Bushells
Instant coffee, Gregg

1960 – 1970 (continued)
Instant coffee, Nescafe
Jellies, Strangs
Lemon pie filling (delight your family tonight)
Macaroni, vermicelli, spaghetti, Diamond for tastier meals the whole family enjoy
Marmalade, easy made, frozen
Marmalade pump, Goldfrute
Mayonnaise, Eta
Meat, corned mutton sterling (even Dad makes marvellous summer meals with it)
Milk Arrowroot, Griffins (enriched with honey & glucose)
Milk, Milk Publicity Council (milk makes a meal of a snatched lunch)
Milk, Milk Publicity Council for NZ (a million dollar drink for summer)
Ox tongue, St George, tinned
Peaches, Watties golden queen (for dessert)
Peas, canned K, garden fresh
Peas, Surprise freeze dried (taste better than peas from your own garden)
Pineapple juice, Raro
Pure orange juice, Raro
Rice bubbles, Kelloggs
Rice Risotto (make a savoury one dish meal, brings variety to meals)
Rosehip syrup
Salmon, ABC fancy pink Canadian
Salt, iodised, Sifta
Sausages and mixed veges, tinned

1960 – 1970 (continued)
Self raising flour, Elfin
Soups, Maggi, oyster chowder, smoked blue cod, crayfish
Spaghetti, macaroni, vermicelli, Edmonds Prima
Sponge mix, Edmonds (makes sponges lighter and fluffier than before)
Spring chicken, Birdseye (recipe with pineapple)
Sugar cured ham, royal luncheon, ham and chicken, garlic or liver sausage, Huttons
Tapioca dessert, King (ready to serve)
Tea, Choyosa
Tea, Edgelets
Turkey, Tegel
Unsweetened condensed milk, Anchor (recipe icecream, & salad dressing)
Vegetable soup with stock to mix, dried, Diamond
Wholemeal, Sanitarium
Wines, Montana
APPENDIX B: EQUIPMENT

The following is a list of equipment advertised in magazines, newspapers and recipe books from 1914 – 1970. The dates advertised do not necessarily indicate that these were the dates that they first became available but do indicate that they were available at this time. From 1934 advertisements are from NZWW unless indicated otherwise.

1914-1920 – Shacklock “Orion” range
Champion range
Nicholls patent “orb” range
“Orion” open fire range
(AWN, NZ Farmer, NZ Herald)

1920 – Aluminium saucepans (NZ Herald)

1928 – “Orion” electric range
(Cookery Book of Tried Recipes)

1930s – “Champion” all enamelled gas cookers and combinations
(Sports Cookery)

1931 – Moffat Ranges

1932 – Osborne gas cooker and combination gas cooker Cookery
(Dn Gas Coy)

1932 – British made hotpoint Hi speed range (NZ Home Pictorial 1932)

1934 – Multipurpose cooker (used on gas, coal, electric)

1935 – “Airtite” transparent jam covers unbreakable, Speedee electric jug

1936 – Speedee immersion heater (boils 1 pt in 2½ mins) Speedee electric kettle

1937 – Speedee electric toaster

1941 – Neeco electric range (made in NZ (WN)

1943 – Champion deluxe coal range porcelain enamel (WN)

1944 – Ranzware, porcelain enamelled cast iron saucepan, casserole, entree dish

1949 – Prestige pressure cooker (WN)
Champion coal range, cuts food costs by ½ (WN)
Champion gas stove
Jiffy toaster – golden toast pies made over an open fire, hot plate or gas

1950 – Champion gas ranges. “Be firm show him to cook well. You must have a champion”

1951 – Champion electric cooker
Morphy Richards, automatic popup toaster

1952 – Hyglo pure aluminium, cooks quicker, lasts longer, easier to clean

1953 – Champion thrifty, DL2H electric range
Hawkins universal TABLETOP mincer
Astral refrigerator (Britain) electric gas, or bottle gas
Kelvinator – new space saving door to door refrigerator
Kenwood electric chef – beats, creams, mixes, kneads, minces extracts juice
Champion coal range – fast heating top, longer heat holding oven etc
Hardwearing aluminium saucepans Leonard refrigerator

1954 – GEC electric kettle

1955 – Hostess refrigerators
Kelvinator 7.7 cu ft silent refrigerator

1956 – Fowler’s vacola fruit bottling outfit “To mother with love from dad and the children”
Neecco, eye level cooking – self contained oven and separate cooking elements
Prior cast aluminium cookware
Speedee definitely faster electrical appliances – jug, toaster, coffee percolator
Sunbeam mixmaster junior, beats, stirs, blends, whips, folds etc
GEC refrigerator

1956 (continued) – Presto pressure cooker (tasty meals in minutes)

1957 – Agee Frigidaire automatic preserver
Frigidaire

1958 – Xpelair fan (removes cooking smells and steamy heat)

1959 – Swedish stainless steel Leonard refrigerator

1960 – Hardwear, heavy base preserving pan
Agee improved utility preserving jars
Frigidaire
Kelvinator – 5 models (2 page advertisement)

1961 – Fowler Vacola
Zip automatic electric frypan (boon to the busy housewife)

1962 – Frigidaire electric range
Shacklock Chefmaster giant 23” oven push button control patent, tilt top for easy cleaning
Frigidaire 10 – 2 cu ft frig freezer
Neecco 2 piece ensemble – 4 plate, cooking top, wall mounted oven
APPENDIX B: EQUIPMENT

1963 – Perfit Seal automatic home preserver
Foilwear, aluminium foil dishes
Ultimate toaster, gleaming stainless steel
Corningware – freeze, cook, serve
Neeco Vanguard supermatic – 4 fast hot plates, automatic oven
English pyrex

1965 – New Moffat Calypso automatic control of 2 surface elements main oven, slow cooking, warming oven
Hyglo – heat in seconds, easy to clean

1966 – Zip, non-stick frypan

1967 – Langley, oven to tableware

1968 – Copper based stainless steel kitchenware better cooking etc
Supreme, waterless cooking set, copper based stainless steel
Westinghouse frypan, 2 elements, broil or bake

1969 – Moffat gourmet – satin finish stainless steel thermostat control, measures saucepan temperature for accurate heat control

1970 – Bonaire home freezers
Phillips 3 speed portable handmixer
APPENDIX C: MEALS

Selected Meals and Menus including selected special meals

1823 – Marianne Williams (missionary's wife) family
(Courage 1896:45)
Soup
Fish
Ham, vegetables
Pudding

1859 – Dunedin Queen Arms Tavern
(Otago Witness 18 June 1859)
A good dinner for 1/- & 6d
Plate of soup and bread and a glass of ale
Hot joints from 12 – 2 pm

1861 – Dunedin Universal Cafe Restaurant (ODT 1 November 1861)
Chop, steak, ham
Coffee, tea
Eggs always available
Hot joints and soup from 12 am-4 pm

1863 – Nth Canterbury. Amelia Courage's runholder family
(Courage 1896:45)
Tea/dinner served by the cook
Roast mutton
Rice pudding
Dinner: There is not much variety of animal food to be had in the country. It is always mutton varietied with poultry....She decided to cook dinner for her husband as there was no cook at the time. The recipe book fell open at mutton cutlets, but the man had forgotten to kill the sheep
1863 (continued)
so I decided to make curry and pudding.

1863 – In 1893 Mrs Edwin of Wellington went to England and left her three girls to manage the meals for themselves and their father with the help of one servant. Writing in her diary her daughter Rene records the following meal(s) (Coney 1993:62)
Dinner: haricot (otherwise stew) the meat was cut up very fine and the carrots and parsnips shredded into it. Spinach and potatoes and bread and butter pudding.

1904 (continued)
Potatoes baked in skins, greens
Carrots or potatoes
Fruit pie, custard
Cheese patties
Roast shoulder of mutton
Red currant jelly
Onions with white sauce
Orange pudding
Cheese fritters

1911 – Colonial Everyday Cookbook 5th ed.
Oxtail soup
Steak and kidney pudding
Roast leg of mutton
Bread pudding, fruit tart
Cheese fritters
Artichoke puree
Chicken pie
Roast rolled beef (with baked potatoes)
Plum pudding (with sauce), fruit salad
Whipped cream
Fried flounders
Lamb cutlets and green peas
Cold beef and salad
Lemon cornflour pudding, stewed prunes
Cheese fondue

1925 – The Young New Zealander & NZ Woman and Home 25 November
Suggested dinner for school child:
Brown bread
Scotch broth, lentil or pea soup (which would take the place of meat)
Meat, vegetables, potatoes
Milk puddings (semolina, rice, tapioca etc., custards)
Stewed or raw fruit

1926 – The Up-to-Date Housewife by Melanie Primmer
Pot roast, baked potatoes and carrots (Sunday)
Salad vegetables or fruit
Cheese
Cold meat, french fried potatoes
Junket and fruit or an apple
Beetroot or other salad

1928 – The Mirror (the fashionable ladies journal of New Zealand)
Soup
Tongue
Potato salad
Steamed pudding
Cheese and dessert
APPENDIX C: MEALS

1929 – Do's and Don’ts of Electric Cooking with Recipes

Times and temperatures by Florence Sinclair
Menus using stored heat
Roast sirloin of beef, horseradish sauce
Roast potatoes, boiled potatoes
Cauliflower
Baked custard, stewed rhubarb
Cold colonial goose
Lettuce salad, mashed potato
Steamed date pudding
Tea or coffee

Early 1930s – Whitcombe’s Home Cookery and Electrical Guide 2nd ed.
(Includes instructions for a healthy diet and menus)

Cheese soufflé, peas, baked potatoes
Sponge puddings with custard
Brown bread, butter, tea

Asparagus omelette
Mashed brown potatoes
Brown bread, buttercup custard

Stewed lamb
Creamed new potatoes, green peas
Snowflake puddings

1930s Cookery Book 6th ed. by Miss I Findlay
Gas ring menu
Steamed chops
Steamed potatoes, steamed parsnips
Boiled plum pudding

Tinned dinner menu, 50 minutes
Steak and onions
Baked potatoes
Baked parsnips

Vegetarian menu
Lentil rissoles
Baked onion and tomatoes
Macaroni cheese

1935 – Everyday Nutrition by EN Todhunter
Roast joint
Potatoes, carrots
Silverbeet
Milk pudding, stewed fruit
Beverage

1937 (continued)
Apple snow
Coffee
Fish Soufflé
Curried eggs and rice
Chutney rice pancakes
Fresh fruits

Alternate dinner
Cold meat
Pickled cabbage
Salad

1939 – The Bulletin July 1939
NZ Women’s Food Value League
Some Boys are Well Fed
Menus from Mt Albert Grammar School

Tripe mince
Silverbeet, mashed potatoes
Steamed canary pudding

Roast beef
Baked kumeras, cabbage, potatoes
Junket peaches and cream

1942 (continued)
Sunday
Stuffed pocket of steak
Baked potatoes, cabbage
Fruit salad, cream

Wednesday
Liver
Silverbeet
Potatoes in jackets
Haricot beans
Baked custard
Raw apples

Saturday
Roast stuffed rabbit
Cauliflower
Creamy rice

Winter menu for father, mother, 3 children aged 8 – 10, 6 – 8, 1 – 2 years

Sunday
Beef steak and kidney pudding
Potatoes, onions & sauce
Cheap apple charlotte

Wednesday
Meat Loaf
Potatoes, parsnips
Baked apple dumplings

Saturday
Shepherd’s pie
Potatoes, swede
APPENDIX C: MEALS

1952 (continued)
Currant bread pudding

1956 – Good Nutrition
Menu as for 1952

1962 – National Food Survey, Jnl NZ Diet. Assoc. 18; 17 1964 (907 urban households, 493 rural households)

Dinner
Beef was served as frequently as mutton at dinner meals. Carrots, cabbage, pumpkin, cauliflower and frozen peas were the vegetables most commonly served. Milk puddings including icecream and fruit were the most favoured puddings with only a small percentage of households serving baked puddings of which the most frequently served were fruit pies.

1966 – Whitcombe’s New Everyday Cookery

Winter soup
Meat
Potatoes, green vegetable
Root vegetable
Baked or steamed pudding
Milk (children)

Summer soup (if desired)
Meat
Potatoes, green vegetable
Root vegetable
Fruit gelatine or light cereal

1966 (continued)
Pudding
Milk (children)

Selected Special Meals

1922
The Alumnae Bulletin
9 September 1921
Annual banquet in honour of graduating students
Menu prepared and served by the second year class
Hor’s d’oeuvres
Soups
Creamed chicken
Plum pudding (with holly sprigs)
Apricot eggs
Coffee or punch

1924
The Press
How to make afternoon tea dainty
(menu for gas cookery demonstration)
Marble cake
Chocolate biscuits
Shortbread

1926 (continued)
Almond jumbles
Brown bread & butter
White bread & butter

1928
Cookery Book of Tried Recipes
Menu – Xmas dinner Hotel Grand Te Kuiti
Hors d’oeuvres
Anchois a la Burlington
Soups
Consomme andalouse
Potage chicken cumbo

1932
Home Pictorial & Motion Picture Show
Celery soup
Roast turkey, braised ham, cranberry sauce
Sprouts, potatoes
Plum pudding, hard sauce
Mince pies, fruit jelly
Dessert (a good selection of fruit & nuts)

1926
The Young New Zealander & NZ Woman and Home
How to prepare a dainty tea (Serve daintily)
Green butter sandwiches
Egg & anchovy sandwiches
One large cake
Small chocolate cakes

1928

Vegetables (continued)
Boiled cauliflower, white sauce
Sweets
Xmas pudding, sauce cognac, & hard sauce
Gooseberry pie and cream
Baked custard a l’Francaise
Bavaroise de peaches
Xmas mince pies & cream
Cherry tartlettes
Port wine jelly
Whipped cream

Savoury
Cheese croquette, mexicaine

Dessert
Almonds, raisins, fruit in season,
Cafe Noir, Cafe au Lait

Vegetables
Roast & boiled new potatoes
Green peas
1938
The Alumnae Bulletin
OUA of the Home Science Alumnae
February banquet
Hors d’oeuvres
Oyster cocktail
Consommé a la creme
Hearts of lettuce salad
Thousand island dressing
Baked ham
Kumeras on pineapple rings
Spinach
Tutti frutti icecream in meringue cases
Coffee
Salted almonds, cheese straws

1940
The Mirror Vol. 19:6
Roast goose
Economical Xmas pudding
Mincemeat
American lemon pie
Pineapple cream
Date cakes
Savoury Welsh rarebit

1949
17 November, NZWW
(note: this menu is probably of US origin)
Roast chicken or turkey
Baked ham with pineapple
Baked potato, mashed potato
Cauliflower
Green beans
Plum pudding
Hawaiian wisk

1957
NZ Dishes & Menus
Prepared by OUA of HSc Alumnae p.8
Price Milburn & Coy, Wellington
Chilled grapefruit halves & juice
Whitebait patties
Roast crown of hogget
Cream of asparagus soup
Steamed chicken, egg sauce
Red currant jelly, parsley butter
Green peas and diced carrots
Apricot meringue
Fruit salad, sweet fruit dressing
Biscuits, cheese, nuts
Boiled rice, candied kumara
Whole kernel corn, green beans
Baked fudge pudding
Chinese gooseberry fool
Cheese puffs
Nuts, raisins, glacé fruits

1961 (continued)
Article on New Zealand foods
prepared for the French magazine
“Cuisine et vins de France” prepared
by HSc Alumnae
Typical Sunday menu
Roast lamb, mint sauce, brown gravy
Roast potatoes, roast pumpkin,
Kumara, parsnip or onion, green peas
Fruit pie or fruit salad, icecream or
trifle

1961 (continued)
Jubilee Jnl of the HSc Alumnae NZ Vol
XXX (Served at the Savoy Restaurant,
Dunedin)
Fruit cocktail, chilled tomato sauce
Smoked red cod souffle
Cold roast leg of pork, & apple sauce
Roast seasoned tom turkey & cranberry
jelly
Vegetables in season
Savoy ice cream
Jellied fruit salad
Whipped cream coffee

1970 (continued)
Midweek summer dinner party given
by the working wife
Mushroom a la Greque
Mango chicken
New potato green salad
Chocolate mousse

1965
New Zealand Institute of Chemistry
Conference Dinner
Chilled fruit juice
Consomme mushroom
Oysters au naturel
Fillet of sole
Roast baron of beef
Chicken a la king
Potatoes saute, creamed potatoes
Carrots, green peas
Strawberry flambe
Fruit salad & trifle
Nuts, dates
Chocolate mint creams

1970
Australian & New Zealand Complete
Book of Cookery p. 20-21
Guests for Sunday lunch after church
Grapefruit cups
Roast leg of lamb
Roast potatoes & pumpkin
French green beans
Apricot cheesecake
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<th>Food Producers &amp; Manufacturers</th>
<th>Appliance Use</th>
<th>Contributed Recipes</th>
<th>Other, Health, Education, Etc</th>
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<td>1914-1919</td>
<td>• Highlander Economical Cookery Book</td>
<td>• NZ's Leading Recipe Book</td>
<td>• Economical &amp; Technical Cookery Book</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Red Cross Cookery Book</td>
<td>• Practical Medical &amp; Commercial Recipes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• South Auckland Queen Cookery Book</td>
<td>• The Southern Cross Domestic Science</td>
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<td>• The Bungalow Recipe Book</td>
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<td>• Trinity Jubilee Successful Recipes</td>
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<td>1920-1929</td>
<td>• Approved Recipes for making with Dominion Compressed Yeast</td>
<td>• Cookery Book Dn. City Gas (5th ed.)</td>
<td>• Colonial Everyday Cookery (6th ed.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Creamoata recipes</td>
<td>• McClay Electric Range Cookery Book</td>
<td>• Food Preservation &amp; Care</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Dainty Davis Dishes (6th ed.)</td>
<td>• “Orion” Cookery Book (electric)</td>
<td>• Home Cookery for NZ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Excellent Cooking Recipes (published by Dr Morse Pills proprietors)</td>
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<td>• Practical Home Cookery selected by “Katrine”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Highlander Economical Cookery Book (2nd, 3rd &amp; 4th eds)</td>
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<td>• The Cooking of NZ Fish etc.</td>
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<td>• St George Coy Ltd Cookery Book (3rd ed.)</td>
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<td>• The National Cookery Book</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Steven’s “Cathedral Brand” Culinary Essence Cookery Book</td>
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<td>• The Up-to-Date Housewife</td>
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<td>1930-1939</td>
<td>• Davis Gelatine (11th ed.)</td>
<td>• A Handbook for the Better Use of Electricity</td>
<td>• Camp Cooking: NZ Guides</td>
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<td>• Lemons &amp; Health</td>
<td>• “Champion” Cookbook (gas)</td>
<td>• Mary’s Radiant Health Recipes</td>
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<td>• Milkmaid Cookbook (Taieri Milk Supply Coy)</td>
<td>• Cookery Book: Dn City Gas (6th ed.)</td>
<td>• Menus, Recipes &amp; Why</td>
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<td>• NZ Apple Cookery Book</td>
<td>• The Up-to-Date Cook’s Book (includes electricity)</td>
<td>• NZ Radio Record Cookery Book</td>
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<td>• Salisbury Delicatessen Recipes</td>
<td>• Whitcombe’s Home Cookery &amp; Electrical Guide</td>
<td>• Recipes for use in Cookery Classes</td>
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<td>• Sanitarium Health Food Coy</td>
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<td>• The Colonial Mutual Life Cookery Book</td>
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<td>• Self Help Recipes etc.</td>
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<td>• The Nurses’ Cookery Book</td>
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<td>• The NZ “Daisy Chain” Cookery</td>
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*Collections • National Bibliography to 1960
• Hocken Library to 1970
• Helen Leach to 1960
• other*
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<td>Renco Recipe Book &amp; Many Miracles for the Table</td>
<td>Vacuum Oil Coy: Laurel Recipe Book</td>
<td>Victoria Cookery Book</td>
<td>Canteen Management</td>
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<td>Sammy Soy’s Cookery Book featuring Chinese recipes cooking with oil &amp; m.s.g.</td>
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<td>Home Science Recipes</td>
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<td>Self Help Co-operative Ltd Wartime Cooking Suggestions</td>
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<td>National Cookery Book</td>
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<td>NZ Truth Cookery Book</td>
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<td>NZWFVL Calling All Cooks</td>
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<td>NZWFVL Rationing Without Tears</td>
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<td>Preserving (HSc)</td>
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<td>Red Cross Cookery Book (rationing)</td>
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<td>Stretching the Meat Ration in NZ</td>
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<td>365 Savoury Suggestions (W&amp;T, 2nd ed.)</td>
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<td>War Economy Recipe Book</td>
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<td>Wartime Cooking &amp; Preserving in NZ</td>
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<td>Whitcombe’s Modern Home Cookery &amp; Electrical Guide</td>
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<td>YWCA Recipes from many Races</td>
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<td>1950-1959</td>
<td>Edmonds Cookery Book</td>
<td>GEC Cookery &amp; Instruction Book for use with electrical cookers</td>
<td>Cookery Book of Tried Recipes</td>
<td>Daisy Chain Ultimate Cookbook</td>
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<td>Fed. Farmers of NZ Women’s Div.: NZ Women’s Household Guide</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(11th &amp; 12th eds.)</td>
<td>Meatless Meat for Less (Healthful Recipes)</td>
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<td>Khandallah Pres. Church, Khandallah Cookery Book</td>
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<td>Pioneer Women’s Memorial Hall Auckland: Modern Cookery</td>
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<td>Wellington Technical College Recipe Book</td>
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<td>Victoria League Auckland: Treat Recipes</td>
<td>Whitcombe’s Everyday Cookery (new ed. with pressure cookery)</td>
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| 1950-1959 (ctd)                |              | Assoc. Churches of Christ of NZ
                             |               | Christian Women’s Auxiliary ChCh
                             |               | Tried Recipes
                             |               | Churches of England in NZ, Mother’s Union: What’s for Lunch?
                             |               | Dn Ladies Brass Band Selected Recipes
                             |               | Knox Ladies Guild Cookery Book of Tried Recipes
                             |               | League of Mothers Cookery Book & Household Hints
                             |               | Mornington Baptist Missionary Shareholders Recipe Book
                             |               | NZ Family Planning Assoc. The Family Cookbook
                             |               | Roslyn Pres. Church: Jubilee Cookery Book (2nd ed.)
                             |               | St Paul’s Pres. Church (Oamaru) St Paul’s Cookery Book
                             |               | Every Girls’s Cookery Book (schools)
                             |               | NZ Truth Cookery Book: selected recipes (rev. ed.)
                             |               | 365 Puddings (W&T)
| 1960-1970                      | Bay of Plenty Plunket Mother’s Club: Our Favourite Recipes
                             |              | Dunedin City Silver Band Ladies Comm.: Cookery Book
                             |              | Dn St Mark’s Pres. Church: Family Catering
                             |              | Helen Deen’s Centre for Preschool Children: Our Favourite Recipes
                             |              | Mosgiel Methodist Church: Home on the Range Recipe Book
                             |              | Lookout Pt Playcentre Dn: Recipe Book
                             |              | NZ Country Women’s Institute (1962)
                             |              | NZ League for Hard of Hearing Women’s Section (2nd ed.)
                             |              | NZ Society of Physiotherapists Canty. Branch
                             |              | Plunket Society Hamilton East: Happy Family Recipes
                             |              | St Hilda’s Recipe Book (school)
                             |              | The Taieri High School Gala Cookery Book
                             |              | Waikari Pres. Church Recipe Book
                             |              | A Taste of France
                             |              | Accept with Pleasure (entertain.)
                             |              | American Dishes for NZ
                             |              | Family Meals (HSc)
                             |              | Fifty Chinese Dishes for NZ (rev.)
                             |              | Fifty French Dishes for NZ (rev. ed.)
                             |              | Jams Jellies & other Preserves (HSc)
                             |              | Mary bought a little lamb etc.
                             |              | Meals with the Family (Holst)
                             |              | NZ Wine & Food Book (rev. ed.)
                             |              | NZWW Favourite Cakes
                             |              | NZWW Moneysaving Recipes with Cheaper Cuts of Meat
                             |              | 1001 Ways with Food (family cookery from NZ Herald, NZ Weekly News)
                             |              | School Cookery
                             |              | South East Asian Dishes for NZ
                             |              | The Graham Kerr Cookbook
                             |              | Tui Flower’s Cookbook
### APPENDIX D: RECIPE BOOKS

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<th>1960-1970 (ctd)</th>
<th>Food producers &amp; manufacturers</th>
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<td>• A Plain Introduction to Asian Cookery</td>
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<td>• Cooking the Indonesian Way</td>
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<td>• More Please: Cooking for NZ Children</td>
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<td>• Tastefully Yours (ideas for tea &amp; luncheon dishes)</td>
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<td>• The Menorah Cookbook (Jewish)</td>
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<td>• The Studio Cookery Book with Drawings</td>
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<td>• This Land of Food (national food fair)</td>
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APPENDIX D: RECIPE BOOKS

Chronological list of short titles of recipe books 1914-1970

The following list provides under each year, an identifiable title, author editor, compiler (or publisher) for recipe books in the New Zealand and National Bibliography, the Hocken Library Collection, University of Otago,* the Helen Leach Collection,**and a few book from miscellaneous sources***. Different editions of a particular title have been treated separately and included under the specific year of publication. In some cases a description of the book contents which appears as a subtitle is included.

1914

**Contributed Recipes**

Miller, Mrs E. B.*

Trinity Jubilee Fancy Fair Successful Recipes.

Turner, Mrs M.S.

Economical and Technical Cookery Book; being all proved recipes and given at various classes 12th ed.

1915

Gillies, Mrs H.T., et al

South Auckland Queen Cookery Book.

McCredie, Nellie

The Bungalow Recipe Book; tried recipes.

1916

N.Z. Red Cross Society

Red Cross Cookery Book.

Otago Centre

1917

Richardson, A.R.

Practical, Medical and Commercial Recipes.

Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd.*

The Southern Cross Domestic Science; containing, cookery, housewifery, etc.

1918 ca.

Harvey, Elsie, G.

New Zealand's Leading Recipe Book; every recipe has been tested and is guaranteed economical and wholesome 6th ed.

1920 ca.

Blackmore, M.A.*

The Cooking of New Zealand Fish and other Seafoods.

Beaton, Mrs J*

The Universal Cookery Book 5th ed.

Finlay, I.*

Cookery Book Dunedin City Gas Dept. 5th ed.

Futter, E.

Home Cookery for New Zealand.

Ingram, P.(ed.)*

Womens Division New Zealand Farmers Union Cookery Book 2nd ed.

Trent M.A.(compiler)*

Steven's "Cathedral Brand" Culinary Essences Cookery Book.

Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd.*

Colonial Everyday Cookery; revised and partly rewritten by a professional cook 6th ed.

1921

**Contributed recipes**

St. Andrews Cookery Book 9th ed.
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<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Carter, Una</td>
<td>The National Cookery Book; over 400 recipes given at various classes throughout New Zealand</td>
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<td>Turner, Mrs M.S.</td>
<td>The Highlander Economical Cookery Book comprising the recipes used and demonstrated at the Chalet Auckland exhibition 1913-1914 2nd ed.</td>
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<td>1923</td>
<td>Contributed Recipes*</td>
<td>Trinity Jubilee Fancy Fair Successful Recipes 4th ed.</td>
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<td>Turner, Mrs M.S.*</td>
<td>The Highlander Economical Cookery Book 3rd ed., enlarged.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Irvine &amp; Stevenson*</td>
<td>St George Co. Ltd. Cookery Book 3rd ed.</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>Beaton, Mrs J.***</td>
<td>The Universal Cookery Book 5th ed.</td>
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<td>Cauty, Enid, Melita</td>
<td>Food Preservation and Care.</td>
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<td>Todhunter, E.N.</td>
<td>Fleming &amp; Co. Creamoata Recipes.</td>
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<td>Turner, Mrs M. S.*</td>
<td>The Highlander Economical Cookery Book 4th ed.</td>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>Contributed Recipes***</td>
<td>Manawatu Red Cookery Book; tested and tried recipes new and enlarged edition.</td>
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<td>Dominion Compressed Yeast Co.</td>
<td>Approved Recipes for Baking with Compressed Yeast.</td>
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<td>Primmer, Melanie S. *</td>
<td>The Up-to-Date-Housewife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Comstock W.H. &amp; Co.*</td>
<td>Excellent Cooking. Recipes; published by the proprietors of Dr. Morses Indian root pills.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Davis Gelatine N.Z Ltd.*</td>
<td>Davis Dainty Dishes 6th ed.</td>
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<td>N.E. Valley Presbyterian Church*</td>
<td>Dainty Recipes 2nd ed.</td>
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<td>1928</td>
<td>Boles, S*</td>
<td>Cookery Book of Tried Recipes; in aid of the Te Kuiti Branch of the Plunket Society.</td>
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<td>McKay, Mrs Katrine, J.</td>
<td>Practical Home Cookery Chats and Recipes; written and selected by &quot;Katrine&quot;.</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>Molineux, Atherton</td>
<td>The Nurses' Cookery Book; as used in the public hospital Christchurch.</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Findlay, I.</td>
<td>Cookery.</td>
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<td>Gard'ner, E.*</td>
<td>Recipes for use in Cookery Classes; revised by M.A. Blackmore.</td>
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<td>Hudson, Mrs R. (compiler)*</td>
<td>The Sports Cookery Book; in aid of the unemployed.</td>
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<td>Sanitarium Health Food Coy*</td>
<td>Health; a book concerning the products of the Sanitarium Health Food Coy.</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>Trent M.A.*</td>
<td>The Up to Date Cooks Book; together with complete instructions for the economic handling of electricity in the preparation of household foods.</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>Contributed Recipes*</td>
<td>St Andrews Cookery Book 13th ed.</td>
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<td>Johnson, Kathleen Bagge*</td>
<td>Self Help Recipes and Household Hints.</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>Basham, Daisy*</td>
<td>The New Zealand &quot;Daisy Chain&quot; Cookery Book.</td>
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<td>Contributed Recipes</td>
<td>The Cookery book of Women's Institutes.</td>
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<td>Westport Golf Club</td>
<td>The WGC Cookery Book; compiled by members and friends of the WGC.</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>National Magazines Ltd.</td>
<td>&quot;N.Z. Radio Record&quot; Cookery Book as selected by &quot;Chef&quot;; selected from 10,000 tried and tested recipes.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Poverty Bay Federation of Women's Institutes.</td>
<td>Cookery Calendar; 20 recipes; special Maori Section.</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>Davis Gelatine N.Z. Ltd.*</td>
<td>Davis Dainty Dishes 11th ed.</td>
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<td>N.Z. Farmers' Union Women's Division</td>
<td>N.Z. Women's Household Guide; containing recipes and household hints 11th ed.</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>Davis Gelatine N.Z. Ltd*</td>
<td>Davis Dainty Dishes 13th ed.</td>
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<td>Girl Guides Assoc.</td>
<td>Camp Cooking, Recipes and Useful Information.</td>
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<td>Nicholls, M.R.*</td>
<td>Mary's Radiant Health Recipes.</td>
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<td>Todhunter, E.N.</td>
<td>&quot;Champion&quot; Cookbook for &quot;Champion&quot;Oven Regulated Gas Cookers</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td></td>
<td>N.Z. Internal Marketing</td>
<td>The N.Z. Apple Cookery Book; over 100 ways to use apples.</td>
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<td>1939</td>
<td>Chapman, Dr. Guy</td>
<td>Menus, Recipes, and Why.</td>
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<td>Contributed Recipes*</td>
<td>The Cookery Book of the New Zealand Women's Institutes 2nd ed.</td>
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<td>Lemons and Health.</td>
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<td>Blackmore, M. A.</td>
<td>Home Science Recipes.</td>
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<td>Carman, M.</td>
<td>Wartime Cooking and Preserving in New Zealand.</td>
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<td>Carter, Una, I.*</td>
<td>The National Cookery Book; over 750 well-tried recipes.</td>
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<td>Finlay, I.</td>
<td>Cookery 9th ed.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No Author</td>
<td>Buchanans Holly Brand Self Raising Flour for Better Baking.</td>
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<td>Renco Recipe Book; many miracles for the table.</td>
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<td>Sammy Soy's Cookery Book; featuring Chinese recipes cooking with oil and mono sodium glutamate.</td>
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<td>N.Z. Dairy Exporter**</td>
<td>Stretching the Meat Ration in New Zealand.</td>
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<td>Rationing without Tears: over 50 interesting recipes.</td>
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<td>Wartime Cooking Suggestions.</td>
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<td>Victoria League Otago</td>
<td>Young Contingent Victoria Cookery Book.</td>
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<td>Whitcombe &amp; Tombs Ltd.</td>
<td>A Simple Guide to Cooking for Men and Women</td>
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<td>War Economy Recipe Book</td>
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<td>Mac Gibbon, C.*</td>
<td>Canteen Management.</td>
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<td>YWCA</td>
<td>Recipes from Many Races.</td>
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<td>Calling all Cooks.</td>
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<td>Cushen, M.*</td>
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Khandallah Pres. Church Khandallah Cookery Book.
Brookdale Press (publisher) Meatless Meals for Less; healthful recipes.
N.Z. Truth* Cookery Book; over 600 selected prized recipes.

1950 ca.
Mothers Union. All Saints
Evening Branch Palm. Nth*
Claude Visker & Associates* Exciting new Recipes pretested with Pixie Hi-Ratio Flour.
Dunedin Ladies Brass Band* Selected Recipes.
Frigidaire Electrical Refrig.**New Home Cookery Book.
Home Science Teachers Every Girl's Cookery Book.
Southern Education. Bd.**
Johnson, Kent* Everyday Recipes.
Mornington Baptist Recipe Book.
Missionary Shareholders* N.Z. Egg Marketing Authority*Tastier Meals; how to cook perfect egg and poultry dishes. rev. ed.

N.Z. Family Planning Assoc.* The Family Cookbook.
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Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd.* 365 Puddings; one for everyday of the year.

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General Electrical Coy.* Cookery and Instruction Book for use with Electrical Cookers.
ChCh.
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Roslyn Pres. Church* Jubilee Cookery Book 2nd ed.
Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd. Whitcombes Everyday Cookery; new ed. with pressure cooking.

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Assoc. Churches of Christ Tried Recipes (353).
Christian Womens' Auxiliary* Modern Cookery; compiled for Ellen Melville and Pioneer
Mowbray, T. J.(compiler) Women's Memorial Hall Appeal.
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Knox Ladies Guild** Cookery Book of Tried Recipes; the sure way to a man's heart.
1956
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St. Pauls Pres. Church St. Pauls Cookery.
Oamaru*
1957
Paihiatua. St Pauls Pres. 475 Favourite Recipes.
Church Ladies Guild
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Price Milburn (publisher) Fifty Chineses Dishes for New Zealand.
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Pre-school Education* Woman's Day Home
Southland Times* Service Bureau*
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Corbans Wines Ltd.* D. D. Cottington Taylor.
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Hammond, M.</td>
<td>A Taste of France; French cuisine for New Zealand.</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Rust, Y.</td>
<td>The Studio Cookery Book; with drawings.</td>
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<td>Courier Publications*</td>
<td>Make Meals Meat; buy wisely, dine well; distributed by butchers.</td>
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<td>Cooking with Wine; with the compliments of Waihirere Wines Gisborne.</td>
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<td>Howe, E.</td>
<td>Jams, Jellies and other Preserves.</td>
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<td>Holst, A.</td>
<td>Meals with the Family.</td>
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<td>Bay of Plenty Mother's Club*</td>
<td>Our Favourite Recipes; simple dishes with proven appeal to the N.Z. palate.</td>
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<td>St. Marks Pres. Church</td>
<td>Family Catering; recipes, menus.</td>
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<td>Pinehill Fireside Group Dn.*</td>
<td>Tui Flower's Cookbook.</td>
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<td>Fifty Tempting New Ways to Delight 'em with Potatoes.</td>
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<td>Happy Family Recipes.</td>
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<td>Plunket Society Hamilton East.*</td>
<td>Accept with Pleasure; a book about food</td>
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<td>The Graham Kerr Cookbook.</td>
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<td>Kerr, G.</td>
<td>The Menorah Cookbook; a selection of recipes contributed by the Jewish women of N.Z.</td>
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<td>NZWW</td>
<td>Favourite Cakes; they'll be popular with your family.</td>
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<td>NZWW</td>
<td>Money Saving Recipes with Cheaper Cuts of Meat.</td>
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Nation, R. 
No author 
Robeau, A.* 
Wai, S. 

South East Asian Dishes for New Zealand. 
Mary Bought a Little Lamb; and this is how she cooked it. 
1001 ways with Food chosen for N.Z. family cookery; from weekly cookery pages of N.Z. Herald, NZ Weekly News.
Cooking the Indonesian Way.
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