

Cookbooks as historical literature: **A comparative study of 19th century cookbooks**

Ellen Stangebye Barka

Master in Literacy Studies

May 15th 2008



Universitetet
i Stavanger



Universitetet
i Stavanger

FACULTY OF ARTS AND EDUCATION

MASTER'S THESIS

Programme of study: Master in Literacy Studies	Spring semester, 2008 Open
Author: Ellen Stangebye Barka (Author's signature)
Person with academic responsibility: Supervisor: Brita Stand Rangnes	
Thesis title: Cookbooks as Historical Literature: A comparative Study of 19 th Century Cookbooks	
Keywords: Cookbook Housekeeping Literature genres Women's education	No. of pages : 95 + appendices/other: 0 Stavanger, 15.05.2008

Abstract

Cookbooks have been long regarded as little more than instructional manuals. However, recent research has repositioned the cookbook genre as historical literature. This thesis is a comparison of two 19th century cookbooks: the American cookbook *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* written by Catherine Beecher and published in 1850 and the Norwegian cookbook *Lærebog i de Forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen* (Textbook in the different Subjects of the Household) written by Hanna Winsnes and published in 1845. Both books are aimed at middle class housekeepers and contain a vast amount of general advice on how to manage large households. This includes recipes on cooking with advice on how to grow, buy, keep, cut, and preserve different foods. In addition, both books include information on the administrative aspects representative of large households in the mid 1800's.

This comparative study of Winsnes' and Beecher's cookbooks addressed two main categories: 1) food preparation and, 2) administrative organization of households. The food preparation section contains a discussion of four groups of alimentation: meat, dairy products, brewing and drinking, and baking. The administrative section examines four areas relevant to the historical context: eating habits, technological advances, household organization and attitudes towards servants. The aim of the comparison was to discern similarities and differences in housekeeping in Norway and the United States in the mid 1800's.

The following research questions were addressed: How can historical cookbooks be analyzed as historical literature? Further, can historical cookbooks be seen as women's literature, and if so, what kinds of literature is this? And finally, can a comparison of an American cookbook and a Norwegian cookbook published in the mid 1800's contribute to a better insight in housekeeping in the 19th century?

This thesis argues that 19th century cookbooks can be analyzed as historical literature due to their content of much more information than recipes and cooking instructions. My claim is that the definitions of the word cookbook in today's dictionaries, such as Webster's definition: "a book containing recipes and instructions for cooking", are

insufficient. Nineteenth century cookbooks functioned as much more than reference books on food preparation, as they encompassed many genres, such as autobiography and information on management training, moral behavior, baking, cleaning, repairing, nursing, as well as technical instructions on butchering. These cookbooks, termed “historical cookbooks,” may be seen as cross-genre, not necessarily consistent with the accepted definitions of traditional cookbooks. 19th century cookbooks were written by and for women, and they served an educational purpose, as they functioned as textbooks aimed at women

Table of contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Context	3
1.2 Research Questions and Outline of the Thesis	8
2. History of Cookbooks	10
2.1 19 th Century Cookbook Readers	10
2.2 Cookbooks as Historical Literature	11
2.3 European Cookbook History	15
2.4 19 th Century Cookbooks	16
3. Norwegian Background	20
3.1 Norwegian History	21
3.2 Traditional Norwegian Food and Early Cookbooks	24
3.3 Hanna Winsnes	27
4. American Background	31
4.1 American History	31
4.2 History of American Food and Early Cookbooks	34
4.3 Catherine Beecher	38

5.	Beecher versus Winsnes: A Comparative Study of Cookbooks	41
5.1	The Authors' Reasons for Writing Cookbooks	41
5.1.1	Hanna Winsnes	41
5.1.2	Catherine Beecher	47
5.2	Comparison of Food Preparation	50
5.2.1	Meat	50
5.2.2	Dairy Products	54
5.2.3	Baking	57
5.2.4	Brewing and Drinking	59
5.3	Comparison of the Households' Administrations	62
5.3.1	Eating Habits in the 19 th Century	62
5.3.2	Technological Advances	65
5.3.3	Household Organization	68
5.3.4	Attitudes towards Servants	76
6.	Conclusion	84
	Bibliography	89

1. Introduction

Modern society is flooded with written texts of all kinds, categorized into uncountable genres. One of the genres is cookbooks, of which sales in the United States alone totaled nearly \$45 million in 1994, or over 4% of total book sales¹. When asked why cookbooks should be regarded as important, and to whom they are of interest, one has to ask the essential questions of what issues or things are important to people? Besides family, friends, work or studies, hobbies, and whatever activities people fill their days with, food and housekeeping chores are essential to most people's lives. Most of us like to eat; some like to cook, and some even like to read cookbooks as bedtime reading. Several authors and have argued that cookbooks and recipes should be regarded as literature, and historical cookbooks from the United States and Norway will be analyzed as historical literature and discussed in this thesis.

According to Professors Arlene Voski Avakian and Barbara Harber (2005:18), Professor Susan Leonardi at the University of Maryland was, in 1989, the first to argue for the inclusion of recipes and cookbooks as a form of women's literature. Some of the recent works on women and food also argue that recipes and cookbooks should be read as literature: An American feminist poet, Margaret Randall, published *Hunger's Table: Women, Food & Politics*; a book of poems about women and food in 1997, including recipes and instructions on food preparation. She asserts that these works may be read as literature. Linguist Colleen Cotter analyzed in 1997 piecrust recipes to establish that recipes may be narratives. Likewise, Professor Anne L. Bower, argues (1997) that food writing has literary merit, because cookbooks have all the necessary components of literature: setting, characters and plot.

Due to the amount of different kinds of information of housekeeping aspects in 19th century cookbooks, this thesis claims that the definitions of the word *cookbook* in today's dictionaries, such as Webster's definition: "a book containing recipes and instructions for cooking", are found to be insufficient, as cookbooks contain much more than recipes and cooking instructions. 19th century cookbooks functioned as more than reference books on food preparation, and this thesis therefore claims that historical cookbooks included many genres. This thesis argues that Beecher's and Winsnes' cookbooks contain, in addition to cookery instructions, autobiographical material and information on management training, moral behavior, baking, cleaning, repairing, nursing, as well as technical instructions on butchering. These cookbooks may be seen as cross-genre, not necessarily complying with the accepted definitions of cookbooks, and this will be discussed in this thesis.

¹ <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9E01E7DA113BF931A15752C0A961958260>

The famous American TV personality and cook Julia Child states in “Gourmet Magazine”, when reviewing Barbara Haber’s *From Hardtack to Home Fries: An Uncommon History of American Cooks and Meals* (2002): “History becomes more meaningful when we can relate it to life. And food is indeed life.” In Professor Jessamyn Neuhaus’ introduction of “The Purpose of a Cookery Book” (2003), she claims that cookbooks reveal much about the societies that produce them, as they supply:

information about the publishing practices, available ingredients, food fashions, or household technology of the past. [...] Cookbooks contain more than directions for food preparation. Authors often infuse their pages with instructions on the best way to live one’s life – how to shop, lose weight, feed children, combat depression, protect the environment, expand one’s horizons, and make a house a home. [...] They show how foods, food preparation, kitchen labor, gender, class, and race have intersected in the United States.

(Neuhaus 2003:1)

Neuhaus points out (2003: 3) that historical cookbooks can portray what people ate, or at least wished they could eat. In addition to eating, historical cookbooks also provide valid documentation on housekeeping, women’s labor and their everyday life in the past, and that cookbooks should be explored in great detail in order to tell the story of the women who cooked, and the people who ate.

Food serves several purposes. The most basic function is to supply the body with its necessary nutrition; a basic requirement of being alive. But if keeping the body alive was the sole purpose of food, the French chemist Marcellin Berthelot, cited by René Riesel² (1999), would have had a point as he in 1894 claimed that food is a chemical problem, and predicted that by the year 2000 anyone would bring their nutrition in a small protein tablet, a nod of fat, a small package of starch or sugar, and an ampoule of herbs, everything economically produced and in unlimited quantities. However, Berthelot overlooked a crucial point, namely that human food is much more than solely nutrition. Food is also culture, food is traditions, food is comfort, and food is essential for many social settings.

² Original quote: ” Dans ce temps-là, il n’y aura plus dans le monde ni agriculture, ni pâtres, ni laboureurs: le problème de l’existence de la culture du sol aura été supprimé par la chimie. [...] chacun emportera pour se nourrir sa petite tablette azotée, sa petite motte de matière grasse [...] tout cela fabriqué économiquement et en quantités inépuisables par nos usines [...] Internet source : <http://infos.samizdat.net/article42.html>. Accessed 23.04.08.

For my dissertation I will compare the American cookbook *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* written by Catherine Beecher and published in 1850 and the Norwegian cookbook *Lærebog i de Forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen* (Textbook in the different Subjects of the Household) written by Hanna Winsnes and published in 1845. The aim of the comparison will be to analyze the cookbooks as historical literature, and my claim is that a comparison of cookbooks from two different countries in the same time period can contribute to a better understanding of the similarities and differences of housekeeping in the countries. Both books are voluminous³ and they contain a vast amount of general advice on how to run large households, including many aspects of daily chores. This includes recipes on cooking with notes on how to grow, buy, keep, cut, and preserve meat, fish, dairy products, fruits and vegetables. The cookbooks thereby provide technical information well beyond the actual cooking process. In addition, both books include relevant information on the administrative aspects representative of large households in the mid 1800's, and this information resembles modern instructional manuals. Nineteenth century cookbooks also served an educational purpose and can be regarded as early female literature. They were written by and for women and served as textbooks on housekeeping. The content of both cookbooks will be compared in regard to all the above mentioned aspects, and further discussed in this thesis.

1.2 Context

For the work of this thesis, an essential part of the research has been to explore previous studies in the field of cookbooks. This background material was explored both for the American part and for the Norwegian part, and several books have proven central for the historical background or as research on the history of household, food, cooking and cookbooks. As expected, there proved to be more literature available on the American section, although a vast number of books and articles were also available for the Norwegian section. The background and literature review will be presented in separate chapters for each country, respectively chapter 3 (Norwegian section) and chapter 4 (American section).

The main research material for this dissertation has been two cookbooks published in the mid 19th century, separated by five years. One cookbook is Norwegian, written by Hanna Winsnes and published in 1845:

³ Winsnes: 422 pages / Beecher: 306 pages

Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen,

and the other is Catherine Beecher's cookbook published in the United States in 1850:

Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book.

These two cookbooks have formed the basis of the primary research material, and are both large manuals in homemaking, containing practical advice on many aspects of domesticity.

The Norwegian author, Hanna Winsnes, was an experienced housekeeper by the publication of the cookbook. Additionally, she had published several works prior to her cookbook, so she was also an experienced writer. As the daughter of the mayor of the Drammen and the wife of a priest, later promoted to vicar, Winsnes had personal experience from middle class homes. Her family held a high position in the Norwegian society, and Winsnes' household is classified as middle class in the cultural context of the Norwegian society.

The author of the American cookbook, Catherine Beecher, was the daughter of Lyman Beecher, one of the country's most known Presbyterian ministers and considered an important figure of his time. However, the Beecher family was not overwhelmingly rich or prosperous but their position was well above working class and defined as middle class. Of the thirteen Beecher siblings, Catherine is well-known for her contribution on women's education, but it is her famous sister Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, who has gained most recognition. Catherine Beecher was also an experienced writer by the time of the publication of her cookbook. One of her earlier publications was *A Treatise of Domestic Economy* (1845)⁴, of which *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* was a supplement. *A Treatise of Domestic Economy* will therefore also be rather central for the study. However, these main works will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 5.

Due to the age of the cookbooks, the works are not copyrighted, so both books are available online. The Michigan State University Library holds a section of around 7000 books of culinary arts, and has created an online collection of 75 influential and important American

4

cookbooks from the late 18th to early 20th century. This is part of “The Historic American Cookbook Project” (<http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/index.html>) , and the digital and full-text transcriptions of the cookbooks are available. *Miss Beecher’s Domestic Receipt Book* was downloaded from the online collection from the Michigan State University. The book can be categorized as an instructional book for cooking and general housekeeping, containing both recipes, information on nutritional cooking, as well as a varying degree of general household advice meant as a help for the housewife to run her home in the best and most efficient way.

The Norwegian cookbook published in 1845, *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen* is published online by the University of Oslo at <http://www.dokpro.uio.no/litteratur> by a collaborative project between the humanities faculties of Norwegian universities called “Dokumentasjonsprosjektet.” The purpose of the project, which finished in 1997, was to gather important material from the archives of Norwegian universities and make the material electronically accessible.

The aim of my research has been to analyze the cookbooks for a comparison of American and Norwegian middle class households in the 19th century. Winsnes’ and Beecher’s cookbooks are voluminous, and they both contain advice on handling foods and cooking recipes as well as different kinds of household advice. The research has therefore been divided into two sections: Section 1: Food preparation, and section 2: Household administration.

For the food preparation section there will be four major sections of comparison:

- meat
- dairy products
- baking
- brewing and drinking

For the household administration section there will be four major areas of comparison:

- eating habits
- technological advances

- household organization
- attitudes towards servants

Similarities and differences in both sections have been examined in an attempt to find similarities or differences in the performance and expectations of female housekeepers in Norway and the United States in the mid 1800's. The practicalities of the material will be in focus, such as women's domestic chores in the kitchen and other responsibilities in the household; what was expected of the housekeeper; what were her duties, and how were the different tasks carried out? This comparative work will be presented in chapter 5.

Geographically, the households to be compared are those in the United States and Norway. However, the focus will be on the Northeast region of the United States. This does not, however, indicate that other parts of the United States are less important. The geographical limitation is simply a consequence of the Northeast being the center of publishing houses from the early 1800's to the 1860's. According to Neuhaus (2003:14), New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and Cincinnati were the urban centers that produced most cookbooks in the mid 1800s and Beecher's cookbook was also published in New York in 1850. By limiting the geographical area to the Northeastern part, previous research on food, cookbooks and gastronomic development is also limited to this area, which excludes works done on food and cookbooks from other parts of the United States.

The Norwegian cookbook was published in Christiania, the former name of the Norwegian capital, Oslo. However, even the capital remained a small city compared to the size of big American cities. In terms of size, Norway was a small country, and the population remained homogenous. Norwegian cities were few and small in the mid 1800's. For instance, Sandefjord, a Norwegian coastal town, received status as a city in 1845 with a population of only 800 inhabitants (Diesen 2000:221). As Norway's population remained relatively homogenous and the geographical differences were small, my analysis will not focus on one particular geographical area. Norway will be regarded as a whole for this study, due to small cultural differences.

Socially, the focus will be on Middle class households. The Norwegian Dictionary Aschehoug og Gyldendal defines the word "middelklasse" (middle class) as "class of society between

upper class and working class”⁵. Longman Dictionary defines middle class as “the social class to which people belong who are neither noble, very wealthy, etc., nor workers with their hands, usually consisting of business or professional people, some farmers, and skilled workers.” Oxford’s Advanced Dictionary defines middle class as “class of society between the lower and upper classes (eg shopkeepers, businessmen professional workers).” In American society, according to Wright Mills (2002:4), neither peasants nor aristocracy have ever existed in the European sense, and it should be clearly understood that the classification of middle class is seen in the cultural context of the society in each country at the time.

The focus on white middle class women does of course not mean that women from other social classes or races are considered less important of the American women’s domestic historic position. Slave women, Native American women, and immigrant women, except Middle class women of European descent, are not addressed in this thesis because they were not the audience of 19th century cookbooks. Most of these women did not have the means to purchase one, and were additionally unable to read. This does of course not make these groups of women less important in the history of American food or cooking heritage; however this thesis is limited to focus on middle class women’s households.

Likewise, the Norwegian women focused upon were women from the Middle class. Norway during the mid 1900’s was less socially divided than America, although there were social differences. According to Olaug Engesæter (2006), Norwegian middle class consisted mostly of: “farmers, craftsmen, state officials and small scale merchants.”⁶ In the beginning of the 1800’s, Norway was still a rural country with a scattered population, having had little or no cultural progress for the last 150 years (Engesæter, 2006) and consequently, the Norwegian diet was based on traditional, available ingredients like cured fish, dairy products and dried meat. According to Ardis Kapersen (1996), farmers, fishermen and people from lower classes had little variation in the preparation of the food, and the traditional way of preserving and handling food was passed down from one generation to the next. Due to lack of technological devices, food was preserved by salting and drying in order to last long without deteriorating. Norway was not a country of highly developed gastronomy; the Norwegians ate to survive. No cookbook was necessary to teach recipes used by the average Norwegian; they were

⁵ Original text: ”samfunnslag mellom overklasse og arbeiderklasse”

⁶ Original text: “Middelklassen var for det meste bønder, håndverkere, offentlige tjenestemenn og mindre kjøpmenn”

common knowledge. When the first Norwegian cookbooks started to appear on the market from 1830's, they were therefore written for Norwegian women of a higher social status than the average Norwegian housewife. These women not only had the means to buy the necessary ingredients, but also the cookbook itself which would have been considered a luxury item.

Both Winsnes and Beecher were middle class women. This does not mean that Norwegian middle class would be categorized the same way in the United States, and vice versa. But both women would be categorized as middle class in their own societies around 1850 and be considered to be of a higher social class than working class in their own country. Middle class women would have the means of a varied household, including access to paid help in the household and also access to a variation of ingredients. This thereby excludes housekeepers of poor households from the research, such as those for working class people and those of small scale farms.

For the Norwegian part of the comparison, quotes from Winsnes' book will be translated into English⁷. Additionally, all Norwegian quotes, as well as one Danish and one French quote, are translated by the author and original texts are provided in footnotes.

1.2 Research Questions and Outline of the Thesis

The research questions in this thesis will be:

- How can historical cookbooks be analyzed as historical literature?
- Further, can historical cookbooks be seen as women's literature, and if so, what kinds of literature is this?
- And finally, can a comparison of an American cookbook and a Norwegian cookbook published in the mid 1800's contribute to a better insight in housekeeping in the 19th century?

In chapter 1, *Introduction*, the upcoming and statement of this thesis is stated, and a brief introduction to the different sections is provided. The main research material will be introduced; Hanna Winsnes' *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen* (1845) and

⁷ Old-fashioned Norwegian proved challenging to translate accurately to modern day English, although best attempts were made to be true to the original text.

Catherine Beecher's *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* (1850). Geographical and social limitations will be explained, and information on Norwegian translated quotes will be given.

Chapter 2, *History of Food and Cookbooks*, will in section 2.1 define cooking and 19th century cookbook readers. In section 2.2 cookbooks will be discussed and divided in sections on cookbooks as historical literature, European cookbook history, and 19th century cookbooks

Chapter 3, *Norwegian Background Material*, will give an overview of Norway's social history and gastronomic development. Section 3.1 will give a historic overview, and section 3.2 will present Norwegian traditional food. Section 3.3 will introduce Norwegian cookbook history, while section 3.4 presents Winsnes, and section 3.5 presents Winsnes' cookbook.

Chapter 4, *American Background Material*, will give an overview of American history, social development and food traditions. Section 4.1 will provide an introduction to American history giving a brief overview of the social development. Further, the American Cookbook history will be presented in section 4.3 followed by a presentation of the first American cookbook in section 4.4.

Chapter 5, *Beecher versus Winsnes: a comparative study of cookbooks*, will compare Winsnes' cookbook to Beecher's cookbook, starting with section 5.1 on the author's reasons for writing cookbooks; Winsnes presented in section 5.1.1 and Beecher presented in section 5.1.2. In 5.2, food preparation in the two cookbooks will be compared, divided into four sections: meat, dairy products, brewing and alcoholic beverages, and baking. section 5.3, household administrative organization in the two cookbooks will be compared, also divided into four sections: technological advances, eating habits in the 19th century, household organization, and attitudes towards servants.

Chapter 7, *Conclusion*, will sum up the comparison and state results of the research.

2. History of Cookbooks

Philosopher Edmund Burke, cited in Boswell and Crocker (1831:269), considered cooking to be the defining feature between humans and animals, and he described humans as ‘a cooking animal’: “The beasts have me memory, judgement, and all the faculties and passions of our mind, in a certain degree; but no beast is a cook. [...] Man alone can dress a good dish; and every man whatever, is more or less a cook, in seasoning what he himself eats.”

Sharing a meal and eating together has always been a sign of familiarity, friendship and fellowship. An invitation to a meal can be a signal of being included in a community. A shared meal is an important social setting in all cultures, and a hot meal is still the setting where most families gather around the table to share food, thoughts, and tell about their day’s events. It is during conversation around the table that family life takes place.

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, it is only in recent years that cookbooks have gained status in academic circles. Bower (1997:6) states that: “cookbooks have usually been produced by ordinary women and food, associated with women, has been seen as unworthy of serious study.” Consequently, cookbooks have not been regarded an academic field of research, but merely been looked upon as instruction manuals and material only interesting in regard to anthropological studies. Much of previously published material, such as cultural food studies, eating habits, and cookbook studies have not been accepted as academic literature. For this reason, the material reviewed and used for this thesis includes several works which do not have academic status, but which nonetheless proved useful in the comparison that made up this research.

2.1 19th Century Cookbook Readers

Traditionally, women have been those cooking in the home, and thereby the most likely users of cookbooks. The target group of potential cookbook readers in the in the 19th century was literate women, meaning that they were able to read and write and educated to a certain degree (Longman’s dictionary, 1992). They were also middle class, defined in section 2.1 to be in charge of their own home and having the economic means to vary the cooking to a certain degree. Additionally, middle class was placed above the less advantaged lower class,

and below the wealthy upper class. There was, however, a difference between the American middle class and the Norwegian middle class, and this is here to be further explained.

The majority of American middle class women were white, European descendents, socially rooted in the upper middle class. They were housekeepers in their own homes, often rather large households, and they were literate in the sense that they had some education in reading and writing. These women thereby had the means and the ability to buy, read, use and benefit from reading cookbooks.

In a historic perspective, women had not been regarded cookbook readers. Early European cookbooks were written for and by professional chefs, who were male. Women, cooking for their family, did not use cookbooks, according to Nancy Jenkins (2005:109) cookbooks were addressed to women from about 1650, and she claims that: “historically cookbooks were restricted in their audience to an elite segment of society that was literate and that found in the printed word an accessible and legitimate source of information.” Historically, there has been a shift in the cookbook audience; from male, professional cooks prior to 1650, to non professional female cooks as both authors and readers of cookbooks in the 19th century. A requirement for benefiting from cookbooks was of course to be literate, and an important factor was therefore that as more women learnt to read, the potential cookbook reading audience increased accordingly.

2.2 Cookbooks as Historical Literature

The study of food was once a subject limited to anthropologists studying “native” food habits, and to nutritionists studying the nutritional value and healthy combinations of food. Traditionally, domestic knowledge was passed on orally from mother to daughter, and written documentation on these insights are therefore rarely found. Everyday trivial occupancies, also called family life, are seldom documented other than in private letters and diaries, which have a tendency to perish over time. The study of cookbooks as being documentation of women’s history has only been generally accepted in recent times. As recently as the 1970’s, this view was still not widely accepted. Nonetheless, Haber (2005:vii) developed at this point a large cookbook collection at the Schlesinger Library at Harvard University’s Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies. At this time, many feminists and women’s studies scholars did not support her interest in these works. According to Haber (Avakian & Haber, 2005:2) it was argued

that, “cookbooks were a mark of women’s oppressions and should not be collected in a major American library committed to the history of American women.” By the middle of the twentieth century, however, this view changed as European historians recognized that food was important to understand the development of civilization.

Definitions of the word *cookbook* found in today’s dictionaries are found to be insufficient. As mentioned in the introduction, Webster’s dictionary’s definition of a cookbook is: “a book containing recipes and instructions for cooking.” Further, Longman’s dictionary defines *cookbook* as “a book on how to prepare and cook food, while Oxford defines it as “a book of cooking recipes.” In Norway, Aschehoug and Gyldendal defines *kokebok* (cookbook) as “book on food recipes”⁸. I would argue that these definitions are insufficient, as cookbooks contain much more than recipes and cooking instructions. The varying content of historical cookbooks leads to interesting analyzes of such books with regards to genre, namely that what is traditionally referred to as a genre may contain several different genres.

As cookbooks with instructions on households began to be published, the business of homemaking slowly started to evolve from being something women did “automatically” towards something that was seen important enough to write about. This led to a somewhat different focus on women’s role and workday. Homemaking, including cooking and taking care of the family, became something in need of improvement. Women started consulting their instruction manuals in their daily work, in order to improve their skills by reading about better trained women’s experiences in the field. Their daily occupation had written material to be consulted, as a contradiction to previously hands on experience or orally transmitted knowledge. Steven M. Tobias (1998:7) claims that:

cookbooks began to supplant the traditional oral transmission of recipes from mother to daughter. This process paralleled the broader transformation of eighteenth-century American culture from one which foregrounded orality and the oral transmission of information, to one which was predominantly print-based.

(Tobias, 1998:7)

The shift towards a modernized culture based on written information is clearly seen in the use of cookbooks. Not only was knowledge and new information easily spread amongst women, but as cookbooks started appearing in the American market, it led to increased attention

⁸ Original text: ”bok med matoppskrifter”

towards homemaking, and gave this work a higher status than it had up to that time. Neuhaus (2003:15) states that towards the mid 19th century “domestic ideology increasingly endowed the home, its mistress, and its meals with new emotional importance, and cookery instructions [...] became part of the new barrage of prescriptive instruction about home life.”

Nineteenth century cookbooks reveal information on the way middle class women organized, or aspired to organize their housework, during the 1800’s. According to Neuhaus (2003:15), around 160 cookbooks were published in the United States between 1800 and 1850. Historic cookbooks provide information on which equipments and tools were used, which foods were available and how the ingredients were preserved and prepared. Additionally, by comparing historic cookbooks it is possible to state how economic change and technological improvement influenced the daily work in the homes, and thereby verify woman’s changing position in the home.

Nineteenth century cookbooks were for the most part written for and by middle class western women as a tool used for performing, or for instructing hired help in performing domestic chores. Cookbooks for Middle class households were written either for the housekeeper herself, or for her hired help, assuming these were literate. In case they were illiterate, it meant that the mistress either read out loud to her domestics, or that she participated in the kitchen duties herself and therefore could explain by doing. Cookbooks were written for women simply because men were not occupied with household and domestic chores, and studies of these books reveal detailed information on middle class women’s domestic position, her role in the family, in her local community, and in the general society. Being regarded as instruction manuals, cookbooks did not achieve the same respect as a literary genre compared to for instance the popular novel. They were merely regarded as a tool used for domestic chores, work which has never had a high status in any society.

Due to the information on many different aspects of housekeeping in 19th century cookbooks, they functioned as more than a reference book on cooking, and my claim is therefore that historical cookbooks included many genres into one book. I wish to argue that Beecher’s and Winsnes’ cookbooks contain, in addition to cookery instructions, information on management training, moral behavior, technological instructions on butchering, baking, cleaning, repairing, nursing, as well as autobiographical material. I wish to show how these cookbooks may be seen as cross-genre, not necessarily complying with the accepted definitions of cookbooks.

One reason for mixing different kinds of information into a cookbook in the 19th century was that cooking in the 1800's included many aspects of housekeeping no longer considered by modern society. Cooking in the 19th century was time consuming and called for knowledge beyond the actual mixing, stirring and cooking. Modern times' conveniences like refrigerators, deep freezers, dishwashers, and electric stoves were absent. Grocery stores with pre cut single servings did not exist. The process of putting a meal on the table was long, and required careful planning and knowledge of several aspects of housekeeping. Beecher and Winsnes both aimed to provide the necessary knowledge into one book, which, in 19th century, was genre categorized as a cookbook.

Today the perspective of cookbooks being valid historical documentation is widely recognized. According to the American professor of philosophy, Lisa Heldke (2003: xxiv), food studies have just recently experienced tremendous growth in other fields of study, such as literature, religion, cultural, and even philosophical studies. Gastronomy has even come to be a separate department in some academic institutions, and the academic status of cookbooks has risen from low status educational instruction manuals to a genre worthy of further academic attention. The American food historian Barbara Haber (2005: vii) states that scholars' and publishers' recognitions of the importance of food studies lead to a better understanding of both historical and contemporary society. According to Avakian and Harber (2005:1) it is common among journals devoted to food and culture, such as *Food and Foodways* and *Gastronomica*, to claim that:

Studying the most banal of human activities can yield crucial information and insights about both daily life and world view, from what is in the pot to the significance of the fire that heats it. Particularly within the context of the postmodern questioning of reality[ies], looking closely at the material culture of the food of ordinary people has the appeal of the concrete within a world of uncertainty.”

(Avakian and Harber, 2005:1)

Cookbooks have gained higher status in academic circles, hence the many scholarships on food studies with various approaches to culinary history. In their article *Feminist Food Studies: A Brief History*, Avakian and Haber state that: “The study of food, cooking, and eating [...] has expanded to include sociology, history, philosophy, economics, and the interdisciplinary fields of Women's Studies, American Studies and Cultural Studies.”

Some countries, like Germany and Sweden have even established cookbook museums devoted to cookbooks and the science around them, and there is a new cookbook museum planned for completion in Stavanger, Norway in 2010.

2.3 European Cookbook History

Europeans had been writing cookbooks for more than a century before the first cookbook was printed in America. According to the Norwegian author Henry Notaker (1993: 19), the first European printed cookbook was written in Latin and published in Venice in 1475, a good three hundred years before the first American cookbook appeared. However, handwritten recipe collections were quite common among kings and people who could afford hiring or employing professional cooks well before this. Most of these handwritten documents were relatively small in volume, and not durable, so the majority has disintegrated over time. However, a few European manuscripts from the 14th century still exist. There are, for instance, four transcriptions of a German book, of which the original, believed to have been a bigger book, no longer exists. The existing transcribed documents contain short descriptions of medieval cooking, meant for people familiar with the trade of cooking, as the instructions were more like short notes, which was the norm for medieval books (Görlach, 2004).

Several ancient European cookbooks have survived, like the German *Küchenmeisterei* from 1485 and *Opera*, written by the Italian popery cook Bartolomeo Scappi and published in Venice in 1570. The Scandinavian aristocracy, or more accurately the Swedish and Danish aristocracy, was well established during the 17th century. Hence, there was contact between Scandinavia and southern European countries, which led to a higher developed gastronomy in aristocratic circles in the Scandinavian countries. The first printed Scandinavian cookbook was published in Copenhagen in 1616 and called *Koge Bog: Indeholdendis et hundrede fornødene stikker som ere om Brygning, Bagning, Kogen, Brændevijn oc Miød at berede, saare nytteligt vid Husz holdning & c.* (Cook book: Containing a hundred pieces on Brewing, Baking, Cooking, Liquor and Beer to make, uttermost handy in housekeeping & C). A famous French cookbook, *Le Cuisiner Francois*, was published in 1651 and translated to Swedish in 1664. Both Sweden and Denmark printed their first cookbooks during the 17th century.

There are records of a few European cookbooks being brought or imported by settlers to America⁹. It was common well into the 19th century to import European cookbooks into America where they were reprinted in revised American editions. Neuhaus claims (2003:9) that cookery texts which originated in England and France circulated in the American Colonies during most of the 18th century, and that European cookbooks were reprinted in the colonies, starting with *The Complete Housewife*, originally written by Eliza Smith in London and reprinted on American soil in 1742.

2.4 19th Century Cookbooks

As previously stated, 19th century cookbooks contained several modern literature genres due to their content of highly varying information. A possible reason why 19th century cookbooks contained texts of different genres was that women in the 19th century were not regarded “worthy” as authors of other texts than those of cooking and housekeeping, which thereby may have been why different kinds of texts were published in one book; the cookbook. The fact that women were not regarded worthy as authors did of course not mean that women did not write, or that they kept to writing cookbooks. Many women authors both wrote and published texts, although they took male pseudonyms, which will be further discussed in section 3.3. However, using a male pseudonym for cookbooks would be meaningless, as men did not have the competence in the field of housekeeping, and therefore had no authority to write about it. Additionally, readers of these cookbooks were likely to be other women, as the subject was of no interest for men, and they could therefore be authorities in their female sphere. But as women only had authority to write cookbooks, this resulted in cookbooks including different kinds of issues, and 19th century cookbooks were therefore often voluminous instructional manuals providing information on many aspects of housekeeping.

Food sections could include instructions on purchasing, harvesting, storing, instructions on preserving food for later use, information on nutrition value and general health, and recipes of food for the sick. In addition to information on food aspects, cookbooks often also included sections of domestic economy, and 19th century cookbooks could therefore include examples of table settings for evening parties, advice on how to furnish a kitchen in order to make it an efficient working area, and instructions for how to mend clothes. Some provide lists and

⁹ Longone, Jan. *Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbooks Project*, Clements Library, University of Michigan. <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/index.html>

illustrations of practical tools and equipment needed in a household. Some cookbooks also include sections with efficient routines for each weekday, advice on how to best behave towards servants, advice on ethical behavior such as how to be a good Christian, and advice on how to deal with charity and the sufferings of homeless people. Female authors on these subjects appeared in the United States from the turn of the 19th century, but Norway waited three or four decades until female authors signed their works. It is, however, interesting to notice that cookbooks both in the United States and Norway contain the same type of advice, and that books from both countries cover the same type of genres that today are separated into different genres.

19th century recipes were not similar to our days' accurate cookbook recipes providing ingredient lists with precise amounts for each item, followed by a step by step guide of how to do it, and finally giving exact temperature and accurate cooking time. Nineteenth century recipes were more imprecise, the measurements are vague, the timing is often "until finished", and there were no illustrations provided. Cooking during the 19th century required a certain prior knowledge by the cook, even if one had the cookbook for consultation. As an illustration, Beecher (1850: 55) provides a recipe for poached eggs: "Beat the eggs to a froth, pour them into a buttered tin, set it on coals, add salt and butter, stir till cooked, and then put it on to buttered toast." No number of eggs was given, no quantity of butter or salt used, and no precise cooking time, other than cook it "till cooked." Almost identical instructions on scrambled eggs are provided by Winsnes (1845: 267): "[...] butter the bottom of a small tin, pour in [the mixture of beaten] eggs, [...] when it starts to get hot, scrape it from the bottom [...] and when firm enough, scoop it up [...]."¹⁰ Winsnes expects the cook to know, just as Beecher, when the eggs are "firm enough."

Defining cookbooks as one genre also proved contradictory. I claim that historical cookbooks should be granted to contain several genres. This view is also stated by Notaker who claims (2002:9) that: "it is wrong to define the gastronomic literature as a genre. The only common element of the works is [...] the food or the meal. The books dealing with this cover a long range of established genres: handbooks, manuals, lexica, essays, history, even novels and

¹⁰ Original text: "[...] Smør kommes I Bunden af en lille Gryde, og Æggene holdes i; [...] og fra det begynder å blive varmt, maa man bestandig skrabe det, der legger sig ved Bunden [...] Naar man finder den passende fast, øses den op [...]"

poetry”¹¹. 19th century cookbooks were written as instructive manuals for the educational purpose of women in how to best run a home, including recipes and cooking instructions, and also Beecher and Winsnes include more information in their cookbooks than recipes and cooking instructions. This was common for 19th century cookbooks, and relevant also in the next century. Sarah Tyson Rorer, a famous American cooking teacher, published in 1902 a cookbook called *Mrs. Rorer's New Cookbook*, in which the introduction clearly states that this cookbook was not solely a cookbook (1902:3): “I have not compiled a recipe book, but have made a complete new book telling the things one needs to know about cooking, living, health, and the easiest and best way of housekeeping. It is a book of general household knowledge.” Rorer’s statement is relevant to many cookbooks published both in the United States and in Norway during the 19th century, and analyzing Rorer’s statement in accordance with modern literature genres, it would be clear that her cookbook contained the following genres: cookbooks, lifestyle books, health-books and “how to”-books. Rorer’s statement fits both Beecher’s and Winsnes’ cookbooks better than Webster’s definition. Their texts can, too, be divided into several of our day’s literature genres. Examples of these genres will be pointed to and exemplified in the following chapters.

Beecher’s preface in *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* is longer than Winsnes’ introduction in *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen*; however, both sections may be categorized as self-biographical or narratives. Both authors address the reader by presenting themselves as unworthy of writing these books, and they present themselves in humble ways. This was, however, a literary device commonly used also by male authors of the time. Both authors present their personal reasons for writing cookbooks, and they present their own thought of women’s hardship due to lack of education and printed texts in the trade of housekeeping. These sections of both cookbooks are written in a style resembling modern day’s genre of autobiography or short story.

Further, there are sections in Winsnes’ and Beecher’s cookbooks that clearly resemble plain “how-to” books which today would be categorized as manuals for specific trades as will be shown in chapter 5. Winsnes’ description of the butchering process would today be a text used for butchers by trade. Likewise, Beecher’s tables of cutting carcasses into right pieces

¹¹ Original text: ”jeg mener også at det er galt å definere den gastronomiske litteraturen som en sjanger. Det eneste som binder de forskjellige verkene sammen er [...] maten eller måltidet. Bøkene som omhandler dette dekker en lang rekke etablerte sjangre: håndbok, lærebok, leksokon, essay, historie, og til og med roman og dikt.”

and describing the different uses of meats would also be in handbooks for those working in a butcher's shop.

When analyzing the sections in both Winsnes' and Beecher's cookbooks regarding their attitudes towards servants, both give detailed advice on good behaviour towards hired help, including general manners and pedagogic advice. These sections resemble books in modern management. There was not a genre of management books in the 19th century, and it is doubtful that women's work of organizing servants was regarded as management, but seen in hindsight, it is clear that middle class housekeepers were administrators of a staff that needed to be structured and well trained, and this will be discussed in section 5.3.4.

3. Norwegian Background

In order to comprehend the social impact of Winsnes' cookbook, it is necessary to have an overview of the Norway's social structure and gastronomic development. The housekeeping instructions in Winsnes' book reveal detailed information on how Norwegian households were run in the 19th century, both on the cooking aspect and for general housekeeping. Norwegian food in the 1800's was based on old traditional customs, and a brief overview of the gastronomic history is therefore essential for the understanding of Winsnes' cookbook. The Norwegian social structure in the 19th century is another factor reflected in the cookbook, and this chapter provides a brief history of the Norwegian social development and food traditions in order to understand Norwegian housekeeping at Winsnes' time.

Henry Notaker is an important pioneer in the field of Norwegian historic gastronomic literature. He has produced several books about Norwegian food and culture, where he provides an interesting perspective on the development of Norwegian gastronomy and food history. He has written several populist books on Norway's historic gastronomy, and particularly his *Ganens Makt* (Power of the Palate) (1993), provides a comprehensive historic overview of Norwegian gastronomic heritage which includes a presentation how food has been preserved and eaten over the past thousand years. In *Ganens Makt* (1993), he has compiled three hundred pages of detailed information and facts about Norwegian cultural history of cooking and food. Norway, a country with a fairly homogenous population with little culinary progression for centuries, has long and unchanged traditions of preserving and cooking. *Ganens Makt* describes the important role food has played in people's lives, both as nutrition and enjoyment, and depicts the development of eating habits of Norwegian inhabitants through generations. Notaker has included recipes several hundred years old, and descriptions of Norwegian food habits described by foreign visitors to the country. The information in Notaker's book provides background knowledge and understanding of how available ingredients were preserved, cooked and eaten from the early days of the Vikings up until the 19th century when Winsnes' cookbook was written.

Professor Eldbjørg Fossgard's publication *Tradisjon, opplysning og verkelegheit i norsk Matkultur* (Tradition, Knowledge and Reality in Norwegian Food Culture) is a collection of articles presented in a seminar in Voss, Norway in 2001, bearing the same title as the book.

Several of the articles, particularly those written by Evy Karin Myrmel Gjengedal, Gudrun Ulltveit, and again Henry Notaker, provide historical facts about Norwegian society, food and cookbooks which have formed the basis for the following background sections.

3.1 Norwegian History

Up until around 1800, Norway had been an agricultural country with little urbanization or social progress (Gjengedal, 2002). Compared to the vastness of the United States, Norway was a tiny country. Norwegian inhabitants were native Norwegians; the same people had lived on the same spots for generations, often as small scale farmers or fishermen, living mostly on their own produced food.

By the turn of the 19th century, 90% of the Norwegian population lived in rural districts, according to Notaker (2006: 12). By 1850, over 80% or 1,5 million Norwegians, were still rural people, according to Gjerdåker (2002:93). People were born into their social class with no, or very little chance of improving their social position. This large part of the population depended solely on agricultural labor. Still, there were clear social divisions in Norway in the 19th century. The Norwegian upper class, only about 2% of the population, consisted of a few senior government officials and some large scale merchants. The Norwegian middle class was mostly farmers, merchants, craftsmen, or civil servants, while the lower class consisted of smallholders, servants, or vagrants (Kaspersen, 1996). From the early 1800's there did, however, grow to be a distinct separation between the social classes, with working class people and peasants on the one hand, and the high officials including priests, merchants and a few great landowners on the other. The Norwegian farms varied greatly in size, from tiny farms in the almost uncultivable rocky hillsides to larger areas in the more fertile areas of the Eastern and Middle parts of Norway. For the most part, the Norwegian landscape did not allow large farms due to its rocky, infertile topography, although there were farmers owning more than one farm; these being referred to as landowners¹². However, farmers who owned their own small farm might also be considered middle class, even though the standard of living could be meagre. Owning a farm was far better than the situation for smallholders, servants, day workers or vagrants, who were considered lower class (Kaspersen, 1996).

¹² Norwegian word: *godseier*

Prior to 1850, Norway was a pre-industrial society where the inhabitants lived mostly as fishermen or farmers, often a combination of both. People were more or less self contained, but society started to slowly change at the beginning of the 19th century when new industry developed and the introduction of the railway and improved roads facilitated communication between countryside and cities. This change led to urbanization, and people moved into the cities to work in the industries, to work as domestic servants, to become craftsmen or seamen. It must, however, be clear to the reader that Norway consisted of only around 1,5 million inhabitants around 1850, of which around 20% lived in urban areas. Of the remaining 1,2 million people in rural areas, most survived as farmers or fishermen on small, or relatively small farms.

Industrialization slowly entered Norway in the beginning of the 1800's, and peaked around 1860¹³. From 1850, large groups of the population moved into cities. The Norwegian capital, called Christiania at the time, only had 45.000 inhabitants in 1850¹⁴, but underwent a dramatic increase in population towards the end of 19th century. In 1875 there were 77.000 people living in this city, while in only 25 years the number had increased to 243.000¹⁵. Most of the new inhabitants were poor people moving from rural areas. Men often took work in the industry, or became craftsmen or seamen, while many of the girls were hired as domestic servants. As the impact of urbanization met Norwegian society, differences between social classes become more evident. People moved more than previously, and they were no longer bound to live their whole life in the same little village. As they were no longer born into a set future, they were more able to choose professions and thereby improve their social status.

Urbanization created a market for farmers' products, and many started selling their produce to the cities. A new phenomenon in Norwegian society was that people moved from one area to another. Prior to the urbanization Norwegian inhabitants were more or less born into a set future, and most of them lived their entire lives in the place they were born. Historically Norwegians were born into their social position (Engesæter, 2006), but urbanization and industrialization made possible, to a certain degree, the improvement of social status. This led to a new prosperous middle class appearing in Norway around 1830 – 1840, and according to Notaker (1993:159) these people “wanted instruction in bourgeois manners.” The change in

¹³ <http://tekniskmuseum.no/utstilingene/akerselve/menneskene.htm>, accessed 24.04.08

¹⁴ <http://old.polyteknisk.no/teknologihistorie.html>

¹⁵ www.kroa.net/kroa/konsepts/befolkning.htm

Norwegian society towards a more sophisticated household among the middle class created a need and a market for Norwegian cookbooks. There had, prior to this period, been little or no written instructions on Norwegian housekeeping, and comprehensible instructions written by experts, although not professionals, were therefore welcome in middle class households.

During the 19th century, there was also a focus on improvement on Norwegian schooling. In 1827 a new law required schools to be permanent, in comparison to the previous model where the teacher moved between different areas. The new law required all children to attend school from the age of seven until confirmation age, about 14 years. The law was further expanded in 1848 and once again in 1860, this time requiring a minimum of 12 weeks schooling with reading and writing as two of the major subjects (Kjelstadli, 2006). The mandatory schooling led to a high degree of literacy among Norwegians, which formed a basis for readers of the printed press. The national independence in the mid 1800's also led to a growing awareness of social and political issues, and the differences in Norwegian society led to increasing interest in the printed press. Paper was made available from newly established factories, and the mail, facilitated by the railway, improved access to printed journals. Increased awareness of discoveries, inventions and future visions triggered also Norwegians to look further than they had before.

Another important factor causing more people to read was simply the paraffin lamp, which improved reading conditions in a country with little daylight half of the year. Reading became a common activity for most Norwegians, and these factors combined paved ground for the publication of the first Norwegian cookbook in 1831. *Huusholdings-Bog* (Book of Housekeeping) was published anonymously by "a group of housewives", revealed to be Maren Elisabet Bang. Between 1831 and 1846 there were 31 publications of cookbooks in Norway. The most published and widely used, was that of Hanna Winsnes.

A change towards a more sophisticated household included both a development in cooking as well as table manners and settings. The fork was for instance first introduced to the upper classes, and for the common people and peasants the fork was not generally in use as late as 1858, according to the Danish historian Troels Frederik Troels-Lund, cited in Valebrokk (2007:121):

“Workers and servants do not use forks; nor do those peasants sharing table with their servants. The use of forks is only common in places where the master of the household and his family let there be set a table for them in a separate room, and then preferably with separately cooked food, with a tablecloth on the table, and tableware made of earthenware.”¹⁶

(Troels-Lund, *Dagligt liv i Norden i det sekstende århundrede*, bind 3, 1969)

Troel-Lund’s observations are further supported by the Norwegian author and journalist Aasmund Olavsson Vinje, cited in Valebrokk (2007:121), who during his travels in Telemark during the 1850’s observed that neither forks nor personal plates were used on the farms: “Neither has one started eating with fork and of individual plates, except in the finest farms and even there only for formal settings and more distinguished guests.”¹⁷

Table manners were likely to differ according to the sophistication of the household. In this regard it is interesting to note that even the children of Winsnes, obviously middle class, shared a common bowl of milk and bread for their morning meal and did not have personal plates, at least not for breakfast, according to Hopp (1843:56): “A big serving plate was placed in the middle of the table with milk and bread croutons; then the children each got a spoon, and that was the serving.”¹⁸ In all probability, the children had a simpler serving than adults, and festive table settings with expensive articles, such as porcelain and silverware, were reserved for special occasions. This shows that manners of middle class Norwegians’ in the mid 19th hundreds still was reflected by life of peasants and primitive manners.

3.2 Traditional Norwegian Food and Early Cookbooks

Norwegian diet was historically characterized by local ingredients such as fish, dairy products, corn, and meat. Due to Norway’s topography, transportation was limited until the development of steam ships and railway system was established around 1850. The lack of transport forced Norwegians to be more or less self-contained, which resulted in a limited range of foods.

¹⁶Original text: Arbeidsfolk og tjenere burger ikke gafler; heller ikke de bønder, som sidder til bords sammen med sine tjenere. Brugen af gaffel bliver først almindelig dér, hvor husbondfolket lader dække for sig i et særskilt værelse, og da gerne med særskilt tillavet mad, med dug på bordet, og med fade og tallerkner af stentøj

¹⁷ Original text: “Man har heller ikke begyndt at spise med Gaffel og af hver sin Talerken, untagen i de bedste Gaarde og der endogsaa blot ved høitidelige Leiligheder og for finere Gjæster.”

¹⁸ Original text: “Det sto et stort fat midt på bordet med melk og brødterninger, og så fikk ungene en skje hver, det var hele serveringen.”

Despite urbanization and industrial revolution, Norway remained reliant on self produce well into the 20th century, which of course reflected the way people ate and cooked. According to Notaker (2006: 18), much of the Norwegian diet consisted of food from a supply, meaning it was preserved for later use. The harvesting and production of food was seasonal, which required conservation techniques for all foods, mainly salting and drying. This form of food preservation was important in order to have access to food also when they were naturally out of season. Most animals were slaughtered in the fall, with the exception of pigs, which often were kept alive until right before Christmas. The meat was then salted and dried to be kept through the winter. Little meat was eaten fresh, except the blood and intestines which conserved poorly, and were therefore eaten right away. The handling of different meats will be further discussed in chapter 5.

Fish also had to be preserved. Some types of fish, like the very important herring, were only available in short seasons, and then caught in vast quantities. The herring, which came in large schools to the Norwegian coast, was salted down in barrels for later use, called cured herring, or *saltsild* or *spekesild*, according to Odd Vollan (1971). This fish proved especially important to poor people, such as the smallholders (Kaspersen, 1996). It was, however, not eaten only by the poor; according to Valebrokk (2007:124), the Norwegian priest from Seljord, Hans Jacob Wille, once claimed that the food bell calling dinner time sounded as “sild og velling, sild og velling”, which means *herring and porridge, herring and porridge*, indicating little variation from the two basic foods.

Even though salty and full of bones, herring was particularly nutritious due to its high content of fish fat and proteins, and undoubtedly a lifesaving food in Norwegian history. It is therefore interesting to note that herring is mentioned only in three paragraphs in Winsnes' cookbook (1845:265-268). Two of the recipes require fresh herring to be fried in butter. Cured herring is, interestingly, only mentioned in one recipe (1845:268), although it was a commonly eaten food in 19th century Norway. Normally, cured herring was taken directly from the barrel and eaten cold either with flatbread, potatoes, or porridge. Winsnes' recipe on cured herring required cleaning the fish, and wrapping each herring in buttered white writing paper and slowly fried – then served,, with the brown paper on, mostly for breakfast or evening meal. Needless to say, this was an extravagant way of eating cured herring, and does not represent the millions of meals consisting of cold, cured herring eaten in Norwegian homes. One explanation of the few recipes on herring can be the commonness of herring as a

basic food, and that taking the fish out of the barrel and eating it does not require a written recipe.

Stockfish was another preserved product, which was mostly produced in the Northern part of the country. Huge schools of large cod came in winter season to the Norwegian coastline, and the fish was caught, cleaned and dried on wooden poles in the salty wind from the sea. This product was for the most part exported at a high price to southern Europe, and therefore not commonly eaten by Norwegians before the 20th century, according to Notaker (2006: 113). Two recipes on stockfish are, however, found in Winsnes' cookbook. The first is a basic recipe (1845:275); requiring soaking the fish in water for 3-4 days, then boiling it and serving it with butter and hardboiled eggs. The second recipe is for a cooked stockfish-loaf, which is also eaten with butter. It seems logical that Winsnes' cookbook included recipes on foods that were available but rarely eaten.

Bread was another kind of food that was made in large quantities and kept for later use. The process of bulk baking economized the use of firing wood, and it also saved time. The most common type of Norwegian bread was dry, flat bread made without rising, called *flatbrød*. This was very thin, and could keep well without deteriorating. This thin bread was baked on a flat pan, and did not require a big baking oven. There is no mentioning of baking *flatbrød* in Winsnes' cookbook, and the reason might be that it was too common, or that the procedure was hard to described without practical demonstration. It took hands on practice and experience to make *flatbrød*; to know when the dough had the right consistence, how to roll the dough, how to bake the bread at a perfect temperature, and how to turn them at the right moment. This process would be hard to describe in writing only. However, baking with yeast in an oven called for instructions, which is thoroughly described by Winsnes.

The making of cheese and butter were ways of preserving milk, which was available in larger quantities during summer when the animals had access to outdoor grazing. During wintertime the access to milk, and thereby freshly made butter and cheese, would decrease or disappear completely, depending on whether there was sufficient forage to last through the winter season. Winsnes' chapter on dairy products shows the importance of conservation of milk products, and there are different recipes on types of cheese in Winsnes' cookbook.

Traditional Norwegian food was mostly based on milk, cheese and fish, but the new middle class wanted variety in their diet. This created a market for cookbooks offering recipes on untraditional food, influenced by European dishes, but simplified to the Norwegian palate. The first printed Norwegian cookbook, however, was not published until 1831, half a century after the first American cookbook publication. This was late compared to Sweden and Denmark, which, according to Notaker (1993: foreword in Bang) had published cookbooks since the 17th century. But like the United States, Norway was a “new nation” in regard to being independent. Norway had been ruled by Denmark from the late Middle Ages until 1814. But then Sweden took over until the separation in 1905 when Norway’s independence was declared, and a Norwegian constitution written. Despite the Swedish union for nearly one hundred years, the nineteenth century was a golden age for Norwegian national culture, both in music (the composer Edvard Grieg) and literature (the author Henrik Ibsen) and also for an increased awareness of women’s work in the homes (Hanna Winsnes). Up until the Norwegian cookbook publications in the mid 19th century, there had only been Danish and other foreign cookbooks available in Norway, and foreign eating habits differed from the traditional Norwegian eating practices. The publication of Norwegian cookbooks such as Winsnes’, brought along new options for improving the cooking.

3.3 Hanna Winsnes and Her Cookbook

As Winsnes was one of the most influential cookbook authors in Norwegian history, there has been a lot of research conducted on her and her work. One Norwegian author Hilde Diesen, who is also Hanna Winsnes’ great great granddaughter, published in 2000 a biography about her famous ancestor, *Hanna Winsnes Dagsverk og Nattetanker*, (Hanna Winsnes Day work and Night Thoughts). Diesen had also, in 1986, published a book about Hanna Winsnes, *Præstegården på landet*, (Rectory in the countryside) which included some of Winsnes’ short stories. The biography published in 2000 does not include any of Winsnes’ stories in full text, it merely includes facts about her upbringing, adult life and her work as a writer and a household administrator.

Diesen describes Hanna Winsnes as a woman who started with almost nothing and ended up as Norway’s first Grand Lady of Household. Hanna Olava Strøm, later married Winsnes, was a fascinating story about a woman of great will of making the most out of everything, having a good creative sense.

Diesen (2000) writes about Hanna's life story, from her birth in 1789 and her childhood in Drammen. Her beloved father, aged 60 at the birth of Hanna, was a highly regarded officer and the mayor of Drammen, while her mother was much younger than her husband, and of weak health which worsened after each child birth. Hanna was her mother's fourth and last child. Although the daughter of a high officer, Hanna, as the only girl, did not receive an education like her brothers.

Diesen further describes Hanna Winsnes' years in Copenhagen taking care of her sick and dying mother, and her return to her elder sister's house in Drammen. At the age of 28 she married Paul Winsnes, whom she followed to different parishes in the south-eastern part of Norway. During the first nine years of their marriage she gave birth to eight children, of which one died after nine days. She complained about her lack of education all her life, but nevertheless, Hanna Winsnes became a learned woman in many different fields. Besides her books on cooking and household she wrote a manual on weaving with different patterns, a book of riddles, a book of poetry, and a children's book called *Aftenerne paa Egelund* (Evenings at Egelund). She did what she could to educate those who knew less than she did., by publishing a manual for domestic servants, and other manuals in order to help poor women better manage their meager means.

Besides being the mother of seven, she was also the head administrator of the rectory, which often meant entertaining. According to another Winsnes biographer, Zinken Hopp, (1943: 96-97) 15 people for dinner meant a quiet day's work for Hanna: "no more than 15 people for dinner [...] she would have a peaceful day." Her husband, Paul Winsnes, was elected member of the Norwegian Parliament for three periods from 1838 – 1848, and was therefore away for long periods at the time. Hanna was thus responsible for all organization of the rectory, but while her husband was gone she had her most productive years of writing.

Although Winsnes wrote and published several works, writing was not regarded appropriate female behavior, and it was therefore not uncommon for European female writers¹⁹ to take male pseudonyms. Winsnes published her works under the pseudonym Hugo Schwarz from 1841. She wrote among other short stories "Grevens datter" (The Count's Daughter) which

¹⁹ Several European female authors, such as Brontë sisters and George Eliot, took male pseudonyms.

depicted the environment in Drammen, where Hanna grew up. Through her experiences, Hanna Winsnes acquired a reserve of practical knowledge and useful philosophy about life. According to Diesen (2000:cover) Hanna Winsnes' receipt of success read: "the prescription was love [to her family] and the medicine was in the power of the words and the escape of the thought."

Diesen's bibliography of Hanna Winsnes gives a solid background for the author's life and work. The book clarifies the timeline and progress in Winsnes' life, and provides insight in her thoughts and personal life. However, Diesen's bibliography paints a picture of a struggling woman who barely made ends meet during the most difficult periods. The reader is given the impression that Hanna was underprivileged rather than a middle class wife of a politician and vicar. Repeated moving from parish to parish was frustrating for Winsnes:

A priest's wife could not choose her home; she never owned her house. If it suited the priest, he would apply for another and better calling, and his wife gathered together children and servants, moved with them to another dwelling to establish a new home. When Paul Winsnes for the second time returned to his forefathers' Vang, it was the seventh time the family was to set roots in a strange place.²⁰

(Diesen: 2000: 251)

What is not mentioned in Diesen's book, is that priests and their families were better off than most people in Norway during the mid 19th century. Hanna Winsnes' life might seem as endless days of hard work from the perspective of 21st century comforts of gender equality and domestic democracy. However, Diesen's perspective, in hindsight, does not reflect the reality of the time. As described in section 3.1, Norwegian society was divided into several classes where high officers working for the government, such as priests and vicars were regarded as among the middle or upper-middle class. The fact that Paul Winsnes was elected member of the Norwegian Parliament in addition to his position as a vicar, proves that the Winsnes' was socially superior to most in class and status. Winsnes' cookbook also reveals that Hanna had good knowledge of cooking, preparation and ingredients unknown to many of the less fortunate people of the same time.

²⁰ Original text: "En prestefrue kunne ikke velge sin bolig, hun eide aldri sin stue. Dersom det passet presten, søkte han et nytt og bedre kall, hans kone samlet sammen barn og tjenestefolk, flyttet med og inntok den neste boligen for å etablere et nytt hjem. Da Paul Winsnes for annen gang søkte til sine forfedres Vang, ble det syvende gang familien skulle slå rot på et nytt sted."

It can be argued that Diesen has not compared Winsnes' way of life to the rest of Norwegian inhabitants at the time, but she seems to have compared her great great great grandmother's lifestyle to her own. With his point in mind it seems "unfair" to move from parish to parish, or to be responsible for the organization of such a big household. However, many Norwegian smallholders or people living on unproductive hill farms undoubtedly suffered far more hardship. Diesen's depiction of Hanna Winsnes as a struggling woman should therefore be put into historical perspective and not compared to modern Norwegian lifestyle. Nevertheless, the biography proved helpful in order to gain a better understanding of Hanna Winsnes' life.

Hanna Winsnes' cookbook, *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen* (Text-book in the different subjects of Household), published in 1845, became one of Norway's most influential historic cookbooks, published in 14 editions. The book contained information on all aspects of running a large household. Besides recipes there are also instructions on brewing, wine making, slaughtering, laundry, care of domestic animals, keeping a garden, preservation of food, and kitchenware repair. Winsnes' cookbook will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 5. First, it is necessary to briefly discuss Winsnes' life, as it is contextually relevant to the discussion of her cookbook.

While living at the estate "Vang prestegård" from 1840 to 1875, Winsnes wrote poetry, several short stories, children's books and novels. In addition to her most famous cookbook, Hanna Winsnes also wrote *For fattige Husmødre* (For poor Housekeepers) (1852) and *Husholdningsbok for tarvelige Familier i By og Bygd* (Book of Household for Poor Families in Cities and Countryside) (1862). Both these books were republished in several additions, but neither became as famous as *Lærebog i de forskjellige grene af Huusholdningen* which was reprinted in 14 editions. This cookbook can be categorized as a Norwegian equivalent to Catherine Beecher's cookbook *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* (1850). Both cookbooks are written in the mid 1800's. Both books are meant for women of the same class, namely educated women in charge of a relatively large household, often including hired help in the kitchen. As a remark it has to be pointed out that living conditions in Norway and United States were not totally comparable around 1850. The Norwegian book is clearly addressed to a more rural audience than the American cookbook, however the differences between these two cookbooks will be further discussed in chapter 5.

4. American Background

As previously stated, the American part of the comparison is restricted to the Northeastern part of the United States, where Beecher's cookbook was published in 1845. The housekeeping instructions in Beecher's book reveal detailed information on how middle class households were run in Northeastern part of the United States in the 19th century. It is therefore important to have a clear overview of the social development of the United States up until the 19th century. Likewise, it is important to have a general idea of the gastronomic history of the country in order to relate to the information of Beecher's cookbook. An introduction to the American historical background, social development and food traditions of the Northeast will therefore be given in order to form a basis for the comparison of Beecher's cookbook to the Norwegian cookbook.

4.1 American History

The northeastern area had been the first part of America to be settled by European immigrants during the 16th century. As the new country became inhabited, a clear division between the North and the South developed, and by the 19th century there were great social, industrial and economical differences between the two parts. The North-eastern region moved away from being agricultural towards an industrial economy by the turn of the 19th century (Ball and Walton, 1976). Cheap labor was available due to the great masses of immigrants pouring into the region. Large cities developed in the North, like Philadelphia, Boston and New York. These cities were intellectual centers that emphasized education, containing universities, discussion clubs and many published newspapers.²¹ It was also in this sophisticated area that the first American cookbooks were published.

The focus on education in the Northeast was naturally reflected in the literature. Many of the great writers either lived in, or moved to the Northeast. However, higher education was only for men, further limited to white men only. Some women, from the upper and middle classes, received some kind of education in their homes, but the education was often limited to basic reading and writing, in addition to music, dance, drawing, and classical literature

²¹ <http://www.searchboston.com/history.html>

The American society at the time was heavily urbanized, with large gaps between the social classes. There were great cultural differences between the geographical areas. In the Northeast large cities grew rapidly due to industrialization and heavy immigration from Europe and Asia. This created large gaps between the American social classes. The import of African slaves resulted in obvious segregation, and 19th century America was controlled by white males. Women's social position was highly submissive to men. Ellen McDevitt (2000) claims that:

Until the 19th century, literacy efforts were focused mostly on males of the upper classes. Women had no status except as the wife, mother, or sister of a man. But the role of parent finally opened the literacy door. In the United States, women's inclusion in literacy campaigns was prompted by a recognition of their importance as educators of their own children.

(McDevitt, "A Brief History of Adult and Literacy Education", 2000)

Women had no right to own property, no right to sign papers, and no right to vote. Married women's position was generally preset as housekeepers and mothers and not to involve business that was regarded work suited for men. However, 19th century was a period of transition in defining roles between genders. Tobias (1998:8) states that:

cookbooks reflected the clear socio-economic divide that was opening between the sexes [...]. The public sphere was becoming the sole dominion of men, while the maintenance and promulgation of the private sphere was becoming associated exclusively with women.

(Tobias, 1998:8)

Also the author Barbara Salice (1988:14) points to the fact that changes in society during the 1800's created a need for practical information for women: "[T]he shifting of a woman's sphere from home to outside work placed new demands on her. [...] The economic and social changes of the 19th century demanded a more functional literacy." David Barton (1994:193) claims that: "functional literacy takes a useful first step forward in going beyond a fixed set of skills [namely reading and writing]." Barton focuses on the ability to retrieve information from a text, and when Salice uses the term *functional literacy* in regard to cooking and household it shows that 19th century cookbooks were read with the purpose of improving women's skills and work in the home. Cookbooks were therefore texts read for a purpose in comparison to other literature genres, such as poetry, that were not read for educational purposes. Contrary to relying solely on orally transmitted knowledge and hands on experiences, printed cookbooks combined with functional literacy opened up a new way of

spreading information on new recipes, new equipment and technological improvements that poured into the United States during the end of the 19th century. Neuhaus also points to the redefinitions of the roles of the sexes:

the postrevolutionary trend of ‘Republican Motherhood’ blossomed into a full-blown domestic ideology. American society, in the throes of the dramatic social changes wrought by increasing industrialization and urbanization, sought to redefine the male and female spheres of life and work.

(Neuhaus 2003: 12)

Some women realized that they needed an education just as much as men, and little by little there was a change in women’s position in the U.S. society. The Beecher sisters claim in their introduction to their cookbook from 1869, *The American Woman’s Home*, the need for educating women in the work field of family labor, as the consequence of not educating them will cause the family labor to be “poorly done, poorly paid, and regarded as menial and disgraceful.” This quote indicates that the idea that women had a need for being educated in housekeeping was rising, at least in some parts of society.

As already mentioned, it is of course impossible to categorize all American women into one group of females. The 19th century United States was a segregated society, with large gaps between social classes, race and gender. Illiteracy was common among the lower classes and uneducated groups, including minorities, poor immigrants and slaves. Barbara Salice (1988:?) states in *Women and Illiteracy in the United States: A Feminist View*: “Because of the discrimination based on traditional ideas of inferiority and subjection, female adult literacy rates did not even approximate male rates until well into the 19th century.” Cookbooks were therefore not aimed at all women, and *Miss Beecher’s Domestic Receipt Book* is clearly aimed at women of a certain economic standard. This shows in the recipes, but also in the household advice given, where the author takes for granted that there were servants available, and that there was no lack of kitchen utensils and other equipment.

The period between 1830 up until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 was a period of optimism in the Northeast. The Democratic Party was established, and President Andrew Jackson introduced a new era with increased respect and power for the common man²². However, women, Native Americans and people of color were still excluded from the right to

²² <http://www.anserw.com/topic/jacksonian-democracy>. Accessed 24.04.08

vote. As large groups of the population were not considered worthy of giving their vote, the labor performed by the same people was looked upon as trivial and of low status. All groups of the American population that were not white, anglo-saxon, and protestant had an inferior position in society. As women were regarded as second-rate citizens, so was their work and position in the household looked down upon, or rather not looked upon at all. Educating women in the virtues of the household, which was women's occupancy, was not an issue addressed by men.

4.2 History of American Food and Early Cookbooks

Towards the end of the 18th century, when the thirteen colonies had gained their independence from the British Empire and the Revolutionary war ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783, the inhabitants of the United States became increasingly nationalistic. Incorporating native ingredients with traditional cooking was one way of creating food traditions of their own. By including ingredients native to their country in their cookbooks, the inhabitants contributed to creating foods that were to become "American dishes" meaning food different from that traditionally eaten in Europe and elsewhere.

However, as time passed, new immigrants brought along new cultures and traditions. North America was inhabited by former colonists; England, Spain, France, and Russia. There were also Germans, Irishmen, Scots, Italians in addition to Native Americans and African slaves. It is impossible to imagine the many varieties of foods – and the different ways to prepare them. Each regional style of cooking grew from the influence of the nationality of the colonists that settled in each area. The different types of local ingredients also contributed to the development of the different styles of foods, and the American cooking pot became a blend of cuisines from many countries, with regional styles of cooking evident. Many of today's specialties in one region can be traced back to its origin found in early immigrants' traditions. Nevertheless, a certain form of American cooking developed. The American food writer Nancy Jenkins (2005) states that:

...in a brand new country, with a brand new and highly developed sense of commonwealth, of national identity, of civic and patriotic pride that at times bordered on outrageous jingoism, it was natural that a national cuisine, a style of cooking unique to this seaboard collection of former colonies, should, like American music and American speech, be an integral, identifying part of the evolving national culture.

Jessamyn Neuhaus' book *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: cookbooks and gender in modern America* (2003) has been an excellent source on background information and a valuable source on the history of the earliest American cookbooks. Neuhaus begins with a review of what she claims should be the first thing to read for a study of food in America (2003:311): Harvey Levenstein's *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*, 1988, and *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America*, 1993. Neuhaus then examines several other important sources, among these Richard J. Hooker's *Food and Drink in America: A History*, 1993, which proved to be a good source for specific details in the historic cooking development in the United States. Hooker's book provides valuable information on how to interpret cookbooks and place them into historical context, and presents background material on historic details of food and cooking. Hooker has written a compendium full of facts of the United States' changing dietary habits, and the book serves as a reference to American social development. Hooker also provides historical information on household appliances and cooking utensils during the 19th century. Amid these, he discusses the benefits and disadvantages on the introduction of the gas range that appeared around 1850. While this looked like a technological improvement, it was considered both extravagant and dangerous, and was one of the reasons why wood and coal remained the principal fuels until around 1920.

Historically, cookery writings and cookbooks were, according to David Kamp (2006:21), written by two groups of people; domestic women and professional chefs. Chefs, being male, wrote professional cookbooks for other chefs, often with traditional French kitchen terminology. As previously stated, female cookbook authors were not professional cooks; however they had personal experience in cooking and managing households. These women wrote cookbooks which often also included information on chores in a woman's life other than the actual cooking. The cookbook authors shared their knowledge on homemaking, giving advice on everything from vegetable growing, to mending and repairing clothes, to caring for sick people.

Written information on these subjects proved especially valid for women who had immigrated into the United States and thereby left their valuable sources of information behind. The flow of advice on how to fulfill their domestic duties was no longer available. The female network

of domesticity dissolved during the crossing, and the emigrated women no longer had access to the pool of female knowledge accumulated through generations. However, the first European settlements in the New World did not write or publish cookbooks. Most settlers worked long days in order to survive and build a life. Collecting recipes and having them put into books were obviously not a priority.

In the years to come, several European cookbooks were brought to the United States and reprinted there. According to the American author Glenna Matthews (1987: 5-8), the role of cooking changed in the United States by the end of the 18th century. During the Colonial period, cooking had been one of women's many routine domestic duties. As society became more prosperous, there was a shift from British traditions to American-style cooking, largely due to native ingredients, and the cuisine became more elaborate. This change led to the first cookbook written by an American and published in the United States which was published in 1796. It would take more than a century before cookbooks were produced in bulk for the masses, and according to Jessamyn Neuhaus (1999), cookbooks were not mass-produced in the United States until after World War I.

The first cookbook published in the United States was apparently Amelia Simmons' *American Cookery*; a 47-page booklet published in Hartford, Connecticut in 1796. The small cookbook bore the lengthy title *American Cookery, or The Art of Dressing Viands, Fish, Poultry and Vegetables, and the Best Modes of Making Pastes, Puffs, Pies, Tarts, Pudding, Custards and Preserves, and All Kinds of Cakes, From the Imperial Plumb to Plain Cake, Adapted to this Country and All Grades of Life*. Historians know very little about Simmons, except that she described herself as "An American Orphan." In addition, it is believed that she lived in New England, indicated due to the ingredients and recipes of the book, and from the location of the book's publisher; a Northeastern town called Hartford in New York.

Simmons' book was the first American attempt to define the content of a new American branch of the domestic arts. What made *American Cookery* different from previously published cookbooks in the colonies and in the young republic was that Simmons' book was not another reprint or adaptation of European cookbooks, but an original cookbook written for the American public living on the American continent. According to Neuhaus (2003: 10), *American Cookery* was the first book to offer a collection of recipes focusing on American ingredients. The foods eaten by Native Americans, later called "native food," meaning plants

and animals that were found on the continent before they became cultivated by Europeans, have to a certain extent been incorporated into what is today thought of as “American” food. Corn was cultivated by the native population, and it is referred to in manuscripts from the first settlers. As European settlers experienced severe problems in growing wheat, they soon started growing corn, which proved to be a great success. Corn was called *Indian corn* or simply *Indian*, and according to the American author Keith Stavelly (2004:7)²³ it quickly became an important crop to immigrants. Other native ingredients included beans, cocoa, tomatoes, pumpkins and other squashes, which are all examples of foods that have remained important ingredients of American cooking.

Women did, however, need to learn how to use and incorporate the new foods into their cooking. Simmons’ cookbook was therefore a welcome contribution to the flush of new American patriotism, and *American Cookery* was a great success. Clearly patriotic, Simmons’ book emphasized American-grown ingredients, as well as political references used in the food’s names, such as “Imperial Plumb”, “Washington Pie”, and “Election Cake”²⁴. Simmons’ cookbook contained recipes on food products unique to the New World, such as corn, pumpkins, squash, potatoes, and especially cranberries. These were unmistakably American produce, and still little known in much of Europe. The recipes include ingredients such as salmon, eels, perch, turkey, pigeons, hares, beets, parsnips, asparagus, artichokes, grapes, currants and seven kinds of green peas. According to Kamp (2006: 13), Simmons’ book was “expressively aimed at born-and-bred Americans who used ingredients not available in Europe.” The section “receipts” offers advice on how to use these ingredients. In addition to recipes, the cookbook also includes instructions for making good butter, advice on the storing of potatoes and explanation on how to judge the freshness of eggs, which were traditional food also in Europe.

Simmons has several recipes on pumpkin, or as she writes *pompkin*. She has listed her pumpkin recipes under the chapter of “pudding” (1796:28), obviously influenced by the British term for desserts. Simmons gives a recipe of mixing of pureed pumpkin with cream, eggs, molasses, allspice and ginger, all baked in a crust, has a strong resemblance to the very familiar American Thanksgiving pumpkin pie. Some of Simmons’ recipes for puddings are

²³ Bradford, William *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*. Edited by Samuel Eliot Morison, New York: Random House, 1952 in Stavelly Keith & Keteen Fitzgerald *America’s Founding Food, the Story of New England Cooking*, 2004

²⁴ In the 2nd edition only

modern pies; such as her orange-, lemon- or apple puddings, which all are to be baked in a paste or crust. Simmons gives a total of 17 recipes of different pies (1796:28-32), including “puddings in a crust” and “tarts.” In addition she lists nine different recipes on pastries; six recipes on “Puff Pastes for Tarts” (1796:29-30), two recipes on “Paste for Sweet Meats” and also one recipe on “Royal Paste” (1796:30) indicating that pies have been widely common and used as of the most popular “American” dishes since the end of 18th century. Pies have remained a typical American dish well into modern day.

Vegetables and fruits mentioned by Simmons are standard vegetables familiar to modern cooks both American and European: several kinds of peas and beans, asparagus, cauliflower, parsnips and carrots, potatoes, onion, cucumbers, beets, cabbages and lettuces, radishes, artichokes, horseradish, watermelons, grapes, pears, apples and currants. Garlic is also mentioned, but Simmons does not approve of its taste, stating that: “Garlicks, though used by the French, are better adapted to the uses of medicine than cookery.” Simmons also mentions herbs (1796:16) such as thyme, sweet majoram, summer savory, sage, penny royal and sweet thyme. Parsley is mentioned in the same paragraph, but is additionally describes (1796:12-13) as a “pleasurably tasted herb, and much used in garnishing viands” accompanied by a thorough description of how to grow it in the garden during summer and keep roots and branches in “mold” in the cellar during the winter; “where [...] I clip with my scissors the fresh parsley [...] a method I have experienced is much better [than drying it for winter use].”

American Cookery did not contain extensive household advice or medical hints, as was common in several of the preceding American cookbooks. However, the cookbook attracted enough buyers to print two editions in 1796, and another revised edition in 1800. Successive editions were published in the following years. According to Neuhaus (2003), six original copies of any edition of these cookbooks are still in existence. Evidently, Simmons’ cookbook was the predecessor of, among others, forerunner to for instance Beecher’s, Hale’s and Rorer’s thorough American cookbooks on cooking and homemaking.

4.3 Catherine Beecher

Catherine Ester Beecher was born in New York in 1800, into a time when area of domesticity was the accepted faith for women in the United States. Beecher was the oldest of thirteen siblings, and Catherine was educated at home by her father until the age of ten. At this point

she was sent to a private school where she was taught the limited curriculum available to young women. Through self-study she learned other subjects not offered in schools for girls, and by the age of 21 she became a school teacher. She was engaged to a Yale Professor, but he died in a shipwreck when Beecher was 23 years old, and she remained unmarried her whole life.

Catherine Beecher saw there was a need for changing the manner in which young girls were brought up in the United States, as the current compartment did not sufficiently prepare them for adult life as a wife, mother and housekeeper. By the age of 24 she started her lifelong mission to educate girls and young women. She was, as Winsnes, concerned by the inequality of the male dominated society as it offered men possibilities of education in all of their subjects, while there was barely sufficient reading material in women's field.

She found it essential for women to be well educated, and she spent her life writing about and promoting female education. Beecher's intention was not to educate women in order to make women join the American male workforce, but she saw a need for schools for girls that would challenge their intellectual abilities and prepare them for adult female life in the home. As previously stated, Beecher worked to educate women in their roles of domestic science and as teachers for other women.

Beecher dedicated her life to the education of as many women as possible, and in addition to publish books on housekeeping, she also established schools for young women. The first school she co-founded was Hartford Female Seminary, a school in Hartford, Connecticut, that trained women to be mothers and teachers. This school remained an important institution for the education of women for more than sixty years. In 1829, Beecher published "Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education", an essay on the importance of women as teachers, which she claimed to be more important to society than many of men's positions as lawyers or doctors.²⁵

In 1831 she moved to the Midwest together with her father, Lyman Beecher, and in 1832 she organized the Western Female Institute in Cincinnati. Beecher continued to improve education for women, and during the 1840's she travelled to the East to recruit teachers to

²⁵ Cite: <http://www.pbs.org/onlyateacher/beecher.html> [accessed 01.04.08]

teach in western frontier towns (Huehls, 2008), and she also founded the Central Committee for Promoting National Education²⁶. In 1852 she founded the American Woman's Educational Association, and by this time she had already published several books, all with the aim to raise women's knowledge in all domestic virtues. In the preface of *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, third edition (1845), Beecher raises several critical questions about the lack of female education:

But are not the most responsible of all duties committed to the charge of woman? Is it not her profession to take care of mind, body, and soul? And that, too, at the most critical of all periods of existence? And is it not as much a matter of public concern, that she should be properly qualified for her duties, as that ministers, lawyers, and physicians, should be prepared for theirs? And is it not as important, to endow institutions which shall make a superior education accessible to all classes, - for females, as for the other sex? And is it not equally important, that institutions for females be under the supervision of intelligent and responsible trustees, whose duty it shall be to secure a uniform and appropriate education for one sex as much as for the other? It would seem as if every mind must accord an affirmative reply, as soon as the matter is fairly considered.

(Beecher 1845: preface)

Five years later she published as a supplement to *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book (1850)*, which is the American cookbook analyzed in this thesis. This cookbook contains information on many virtues of housekeeping, in addition to recipes and instructions for cooking. The book clearly aims at middle class women in charge of a relatively large household with several servants. The American book is clearly addressed to a more urbanized audience than Winsnes' cookbook, however the differences between these two cookbooks will be further discussed in chapter 5.

²⁶ Renamed by her successor as the National Board of Popular Education.

5. Beecher versus Winsnes: A comparative study of cookbooks

5.1 The authors' reasons for writing cookbooks

Why did Winsnes and Beecher write cookbooks? What were their reasons to write voluminous manuals on how to most efficiently run a household? Were they better suited and more experienced in the field of domestic economy than other women of their time? Handwritten pamphlets or homemade books containing favorite recipes are common in many women's kitchen today, and were in all probability also used by housekeepers in the 1800's. But why did these two women choose to publish their writings and make them available for the masses? Were Winsnes' and Beecher's books published in need of earning a living? Or did they want to contribute to a change for the 19th century women in their countries? The answers to these questions can be found in the books' prefaces or introductions, where the authors explain their reasons for both writing and publishing their works.

5.1.1 Hanna Winsnes

The Norwegian author Hanna Winsnes claims in her preface that she does absolutely not regard herself as a person with a higher insight in the science of running a household than any other excellent housekeepers; it is rather the contrary:

By handing over this little book to the female public, I must assure that I in no regard possess the vain belief of having a greater insight into the domestic virtues than so many other clever housekeepers. No! it is on the contrary the ignorance in which I lived during my first youth as a beloved mother's caretaker, that has been the first opportunity; as it taught me the inconveniences of such a situation, and gave me an eager longing to gather knowledge."²⁷

(Winsnes 1845: 1)

²⁷ Original text: "I det jeg overgiver nærværende lille Bog til det kvindelige Publikum, maa jeg forudskikke den Forsikring, at jeg ingenlunde nærer den forfængelige Tro at besidde en større Indsigt i Huusvæsenet, end saa mange andre duelige Huusmødre. Nei! det er tvertimod den Uvidenhed, hvori jeg henlevede min første Ungdom som en elsket Moders Sygevokterske, der har været den første Anledning hertil; thi den lærte mig en saadan Tilstands Ubehageligheder, og indgav mig en ivrig Attraa efter at samle kundskab."

Winsnes portrays an example of Norwegian modesty and the feminine cultural value in authorship. As previously stated, she assures that her “little” book is written for the female public, but that she, the author, does not have a vain view of herself being superior, and she does not regard herself as having greater insight in the science of housekeeping than other housekeepers – rather, she claims that she, during her youth while working as a caregiver for her beloved but sick mother, experienced a severe lack of knowledge in the field. By not having sufficient or necessary acquaintance she was compelled to accumulate more knowledge.

Winsnes further claims that she had searched for written material on women’s work, but all she found was limited to a few incomplete and incomprehensible cookbooks. Winsnes was astonished that there seemed to be no good written educational material for women’s only work, namely housekeeping, while there were plenty of available written books and manuals on every subject occupied by men, and she claims:

In my youth, when all written manuals in this field were limited to a couple of incomplete and incomprehensible cookbooks, I have often missed a simple and precise educational manual for housekeeping, and wondered why there existed none in the only female work field, while men were so well supplied in all theirs.²⁸

(Winsnes 1845:1 / preface)

It is interesting to note Winsnes’ comment that men had plenty of written material for all their professional directions, while women did not have any specific textbooks on their only “profession”. Winsnes observed the unfairness and recognized a need to be filled, and she raised the question of educating women. She pointed to the fact that women actually had one – only one - profession, namely as housekeepers, while men have several of fields to choose from. As there was a lack of available literature for women’s trade, there were uneducated housekeepers running households by the method of trial and error. Winsnes must have recognized her own uncomfortable situation from the time when she, as an untrained young teenager, tried to function as a good caretaker for her dying mother, and later tried to run her sister’s large household, sadly lacking sources of written instruction on the subjects.

²⁸ Original text: “I min Ungdom, da alle skriftelige Hjæpekilder i denne Retning vare indskrænkede til et Par ufuldstændige og uforstaaelige Kogebøger, har jeg ofte føljt Savnet af en simple og tydelig Undervisningsbog i Huusholdningen, og undret mig over, at der ingen fandtes i Qvindernes eneste Lærefag, medens Herrene vare saa vel forsynede i alle sine.”

According to the Norwegian author and Winsnes' great grand-daughter Zinken Hopp, the situation which triggered Winsnes to write her famous cookbook was her daughter Barbra Ring's wedding preparations:

One slaughtered and baked and prepared for the wedding in the Tanum rectory, [...]. That was the time when the thought of the cookbook first appeared [...] It was, while Mother strived to copy all her recipes for me, that the maid entered and said that 'Mother' had copied these so often that it was indeed best to make a book out of it all – so that was how Hanna Winsnes' cookbook came about.²⁹

(Hopp, 1943:123)

This quote indicates that Winsnes had been compiling cookbook texts long before realizing that she was preparing for a cookbook. It also shows that written recipes had been used for quite some time before the printing them in a cookbook.

Winsnes pointed to a gap in the literature, and by writing her thorough and practical manual on cooking and housekeeping, she paved the way for other writers in the same field (Winsnes, 1850:1): "I have yet to find any [household manuals] that are to meet my expectations, and I dear to attempt, although it surely is insufficient, however it might open up for others, more adequate."³⁰

She is regarded a pioneer in the Norway both as a cookbook author and also as a women's educator. Even if Winsnes presents herself in a humble way in her introduction, questioning her competence of being a cookbook author, she must have realized her pioneering role. Not only was she more experienced than most women in the virtues of housekeeping, she was definitely was more experienced than most women in the art of writing. She ran her households in a Christian way, but she still performed a rather avant-garde undertaking for a woman of her time. According to Hopp (1943:101), the expression "literate lady", referring to women who read books for pleasure, was used as an insult about young ladies with 'unhealthy interests'. Such a reputation would make it difficult to catch a good husband, and if already married, such a behavior would certainly ridicule any husband. If reading was considered

²⁹: Original text: "Så ble det slaktet og bakt og braset til bryllup i Tanum prestegård, [...]. Det var den gang tanken om kokeboken første gang dukket opp [...] Det var, medens Mor strævede med at afskrive alle sine Opskrifter til mig, at Husjomfruen kom ind og sagde, at nu havde "Mor" skrevet disse saa ofte, at det sandelig bar bedst at lave en Bog af dem. – Slik ble Hanna Winsnes' kokebok til."

³⁰ Original text: "Endnu har jeg ikke seet nogen [husholdningsmanualer], der har fyldestgjort min Forventning, og jeg vover derfor et Forsøg, som, ihvorvel det vist er mangelfuldt, dog maaskee turde aabne Veien for andre mere fuldkonme."

inappropriate female behavior, writing must have been considered even worse. But Hanna Winsnes did indeed write. Already in 1831 she had published, anonymously, her first work; a catechism in rhyming verses. Ten years later, she took up writing again, and during the 1840's she had her most productive period. In the 1840's it was a taboo that sufficient women had an interest in, even knowledge about the human mind and needs, such as feelings, longings and desires; all elements in Winsnes' short stories. Most adults naturally had naturally gained experience in these areas of life, but according to Hopp (1943:99) it was a different matter *admitting* being knowledgeable in these areas, and certainly another matter to write about it. According to Hopp (1943:99), Winsnes wrote to bring in extra money into the household: "[she] wished to earn a few shillings from some kind of work of her own. It was certainly needed for the children, for clothes, for soles for the shoes, and for items in the house"³¹.

Even though it was daring, especially for a highly respected women such as Winsnes, she started to write fictional short stories and had them published under the male pseudonym Hugo Schwarz³² in the Norwegian monthly magazine "Nat og Dag" from 1841 to 1844. According to Diesen (2000: 219), women in Norway in the 1840's "wrote mostly poems or edifying works. No one suspected the productive author by the name Hugo Schwarz to be a woman."³³ As it was neither common nor accepted for women to engage in writing fiction solely for entertaining purposes, it must have been natural for Winsnes to choose masculine name for her pseudonym. In her first short story "De to Anonymer" one of the female characters was writing, and presented in a quite unflattering way:

If a woman writes, then she is probably either ugly or old; a young girl would not deal with such matters. [...] Besides, I do believe that women seldom engage in writing until in a set age. A long experience can by itself replace the lack of scientific education."³⁴

(Hugo Schwarz, 1841, "De to Anonymer" in Diesen 2000:219)

³¹ Original quote: "Og fru Winsnes grundet på om det ikke var mulig å tjene en skilling eller to på noe hun kunne gjøre selv. Det trengtes så godt til barna, til klær, til skosåler, til litt av hvert i huset."

³² Hugo Schwarz was a main character in a short story, "De to Anonymer", written by Hanna Winsnes in 1841 and published anonymously. It can also be noted that the initials HS are Hanna Winsnes' initials as maiden name: Hanna Strøm.

³³ Original text: "I Norge på 1840-tallet skrev kvinner helst dikt eller oppbyggelige skrifter. Ingen ante at den produktive forfatteren ved navn Hugo Schwarz var en kvinne."

³⁴ Original text: Dersom et Fruentimmer skrive, da er hun sikkerlig enten hæsliig eller gammel, en ung smuk Pike befatte sig ikke med Sligt. [...] Desuden troer jeg at Fruentimmere sjelden befatte sig med at skrive, førend i en ældre Alder. En lang Erfaring kan alene erstatte deres mangel paa videnskabelig Dannelse.

It must also have been utterly important for Winsnes, especially with her social position as a Christian well regarded wife of a vicar, to keep her identity as the person behind Hugo Schwartz a secret. However, Hanna's close family members were well aware of her writing, and the pseudonym she took. According to Diesen (2000:233) she consulted her husband when she needed expertise in certain details, and her children were used as judges to tell if the story was good. Nevertheless, the person behind Hugo Schwarz was kept a secret, and according to the Norwegian author and Winsnes' great great great grand-daughter, Hilde Diesen, Winsnes emphasized the maleness of Hugo Schwartz in the short story "Presten i Särna" where he states:

An author might be as insignificant as he wishes; he is still a man of power, as he controls, even only for a short while, time and place and his reader's thoughts. Thus, I will too, although as one of the most insignificant of my brothers, have the freedom[...] to bring the thoughts of my readers...)³⁵

(Hugo Schwartz, "Presten i Särna", 1843, cited in Diesen, 2000: 383)

Winsnes, alias Hugo Schwartz, portrays "himself" humbly as insignificant among "his brothers", but still a *man* of great power, emphasising the fact that authors, at the time of this publication, were male.

Lærebog i de Forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen was, as earlier mentioned, Winsnes' first book on household, and also the first publication where she used her own name. It must have been more acceptable for a woman to be the author of a practical manual, particularly on household, than her previous entertaining publications. In 1845, Winsnes admits herself for the first time to being the author of a publication, but her depiction of herself in the preface is humble; she does not regard herself better suited for writing a cookbook "than any other excellent housekeeper." However, she must be wrong in her statement, as her previous experience in writing obviously made her better suited than most women of her time.

It must be made clear that Hanna Winsnes, as previously stated, most certainly had greater insight in the virtues of housekeeping than most women at her time. Winsnes was 56 years old when *Lærebog i de Forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen* was published. By this time she would have accumulated a tremendous amount of experience and knowledge as a

³⁵ Original text: En Forfatter maa være saa ubetydelig, som han være vil, saa er han dog i en Henseende en mægtig Mand, han hersker nemlig, om kun for en Stund, over Tid og Rum, og over sine Læseres Tanker. Saaledes vil ogsaa jeg, skjønt en af de ubetydeligste af mine brødre, tage mig den frihed [...] aa føre mine Læseres Tanker med mig...

housekeeper. When she was 10 years old, her father, Jens Henrik Strøm, who was the mayor of Drammen and Christiania, died, and her mother brought Hanna to Copenhagen. Here, young Hanna was acquainted with difficulties in caretaking for her sick mother until she died young. After her mother's death, Hanna returned to Drammen where she moved into her older sister's household and was put charge of the household for several years. She lived in her sister's house until she married theologian Paul Winsnes, who worked as a priest and later a vicar. Hanna Winsnes moved with her husband to several different places in Norway; Vang, Trysil, Hurdal, Valdres, and Brunlanes.

Contrary to typical Norwegian women who traditionally spent their entire lives in the same household, Winsnes had gained experience from a number of different households having to follow her husband to these different parishes. This afforded her the opportunity to collect information from several households spread around in different parts of the country. Being a priest's wife moving from parish to parish, she encountered women in all these different places; women who gave her information and advice discovered from their own households. Winsnes claims (1850:1): "By living in so many different places in the country I have had the opportunity to listen to all kinds of advice, for which I sincerely thank each and all who has given it to me."³⁶ She acknowledges all of those who shared their knowledge and thereby assures the reader that the information of her cookbook is a collection of well proved advice from women around the country. Winsnes also assures that this information or pieces of advice have been tested and found either useful or discarded: "What I have heard I have tried on a small scale, until I have kept or rejected it. The trials have often led to own discoveries, and I hereby willingly offer to share what I have gathered."³⁷ Winsnes states that her experimenting and trying out the advice given to her by others has been followed by error or success, some which have even resulted in new discoveries which she has gathered and willingly offered in her cookbook.

Even though numerous women might have contributed to the information gathered in *Lærebog i de Forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen*, it was Hanna Winsnes who had the insight, knowledge and courage to put together her accumulated knowledge and facts into this voluminous manual, and publish it in order to make it accessible for other women. She states

³⁶ Original text: "...ved at boe paa saa mange forskjellige Steder i Landet har jeg havt Anledning til at høre mangt et Raad, hvorfor jeg herved oprigtig takker Enhver, der har givet det."

³⁷ Original text: "Hvad jeg har hørt har jeg prøvet I det Smaa, inden jeg blindt hen har fulgt eller forkastet det. Prøverne have ofte ledet til egne Opdagelser, og jeg tilbyder nu velvillig, hva jeg har samlet."

at the end of the preface that she would be pleased if the text could be a small tool in women's attempt of good household achievement: "it would be a pleasure if I, with this script, could offer a small supportive walking stick on the winding road, and that they, with happiness and honor would reach their goals, is hereby the wish from the author."³⁸ Towards the end of this quote Winsnes signs "sincerely, the Author." Her name did, however, clearly appear as the person responsible, leaving no doubt who was the writer. The reason for finally daring to put her own name on a piece of work might have been that housekeeping was accepted as a field of female knowledge.

As earlier mentioned, Winsnes continued to write books after the publication of *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen*. She wrote three more cookery books which all were republished in several new editions; *For Tjenestepiger* (1851) (for Servant Girls), *For Fattige Husmødre* (1857) (for Poor Housekeepers) and *Husholdningsbog for tarvelige Familier i By og Bygd* (1862) (Housekeeping Book for Pitiable Families in City and Countryside). Winsnes undoubtedly had a gift for writing, and she had the expertise of different skills matched by few women of her time.

5.1.2 Catherine Beecher

As previously stated, Beecher had a lifelong commitment to improve education for girls. After being a school-teacher she supported herself as an author, and her many treatises and books include *The Moral Instructor for Schools and Families: Containing Lessons on the Duties of Life* (1838) and *A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (1841). In 1845 she wrote her most acknowledged book *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, which in a later edition was published as a text-book for use in school.

Miss Beecher's reason for writing books was undoubtedly, except the aspect of providing a financial income, the lack of books for education of girls and young women. She wrote in the preface to *Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* that she found it most inappropriate that a girl did not have training in the profession she was expected to carry out:

³⁸ Original text: "det skulde glæde mig, om jeg ved nærverende Skrift kunde give dem en liden Støttstav i Haanden paa den besværlige Vei, og at de med Glæde og Hæder maae naae deres ædle Maal, ønskes oprigtigt af Forfatterinden"

But are not the most responsible of all duties committed to the charge of woman? Is it not her profession to take care of mind, body, and soul? And that, too, at the most critical of all periods of existence? And is it not as much a matter of public concern, that she should be properly qualified for her duties, as that ministers, lawyers, and physicians, should be prepared for their? And is it not as important, to endow institutions which shall make a superior education accessible to all classes, - for females, as the for other sex? And is it not equally important, that institutions for females be under the supervision of intelligent and responsible trustees, whose duty it shall be to secure a uniform and appropriate education for one sex as much as for the other? It would seem as if every mind must accord an affirmative reply, as soon as the matter is fairly considered.

(Beecher 1845: preface)

Catherine Beecher was a woman of clear speech and visions for the society in which she helped improve. She was truly a woman whose mission was to find happiness in living to do good by helping others. As previously stated, she traveled extensively in the United States and during these voyages she discovered many young women who were discouraged and distressed in their roles as a wife and mother. In *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, third edition, Beecher claims (1845: Preface) that: “The writer of this work was led to attempt [writing the book], by discovering [...] in her extensive travels, the deplorable sufferings of multitudes of young wives and mothers.” Additionally, Beecher claims that these women were often not well, either physically or mentally. Beecher found these women unprepared for family life, and she claims in the preface of *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* that the combinations of sufferings among women were probably caused by: “the combined influence of poor health, poor domestics, and a defective domestic education.” Beecher further claims that:

The writer became early convinced that this evil results mainly from the fact, that young girls, especially in the more wealthy classes, *are not trained for their profession*. In early life, they go through a course of school training which results in great debility of constitution, while, at the same time, their physical and domestic education is almost wholly neglected. Thus they enter on their most arduous and sacred duties so inexperienced and uninformed, and with so little muscular and nervous strength, that probably there is not *one chance in ten*, that young women of the present day, will pass through the first years of married life without such prostration of health and spirits as makes life a burden to themselves, and, it is to be feared, such as seriously interrupts the confidence and happiness of married life.³⁹

(Beecher 1845: preface)

³⁹ Italics in the original

Beecher was convinced that educated women would be able to give their children necessary moral development and education. According to Steven M. Tobias (1998:9): “the success or failure of middle-class women was contingent upon their own assets and abilities and since a woman ‘behaved’ in a domestic setting, a good woman was necessarily a good housekeeper and a good cook.” Tobias’ statement shows that middle-class women were judged by their housekeeping abilities, and under such conditions a good cookbook with household advice, such as *Miss Beecher’s Domestic Receipt Book* had to be indispensable.

Catherine Beecher was, similarly to Winsnes, an experienced writer by the time she wrote *Miss Beecher’s Domestic Receipt Book*. She was 50 years old at the time of the publication of the cookbook in 1850. Until this point in her life she had explored the female domestic role in several parts of the United States, and she had found women in deep need of assistance and help in order to manage their role as adequate housekeepers. But contrary to Winsnes, Beecher only wrote books related to the field of housekeeping and she always published her works under full name.

Miss Beecher’s Domestic Receipt Book was, according to the front page: “designed as a supplement to [...] *Treatise on Domestic Economy*.” In the latter book, published in 1854 with the full title *A Treatise on Domestic Economy, for the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School*⁴⁰ and in the preface of the third edition, Beecher claims that she had written the book “as a *text-book* for female schools. It has been examined by the Massachusetts Board of Education, and been deemed worthy by them to be admitted as a part of the Massachusetts School Library.” The author’s emphasis on the word “text-book” makes it clear that this must have been an unusual way of presenting such a book. This could verify that cookbooks were normally written for personal use in private homes only. Beecher wanted to make housekeeping into a subject worth studying for young girls. She saw the need for text books in the field, and she is regarded a pioneer in the field of education for girls and young women; both in the field of regular subjects as in the field of housekeeping.

Catherine Beecher continued to write books on housekeeping and cooking until she was well into her old age. At the age of 69 she published *The American Woman’s Home*, a book she wrote together with her famous sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was 11 years younger. By

⁴⁰ first published in Boston in 1841, but was taken over by Harper & Brothers in New York in 1845

this time, Catherine had behind her a lifetime of work in order to establish institutions for women's education and she had produced thousands of pages of instructions on all kinds of subjects in the area of what could be considered woman's field of duties towards the end of 1800's. Just as Winsnes, Catherine Beecher was an experienced woman at the time of publishing the cookbook, and she was a veteran in the fields of writing about housekeeping virtues and women's education.

5.2 Comparison of Food Preparation

5.2.1 Meat

Both cookbooks contain general housekeeping instructions in areas that are professional trades in modern society, such as butchering. However, knowledge that today is regarded within the butcher's trade was to a certain extent included in many 19th century households. Although relevant in historic households, such tasks are irrelevant in modern housekeeping due to the professionalized trades. Consequently, much of the general household advice from the 19th century is no longer included in cookbooks, but published as technical manuals of the specific professions.

Winsnes' approach to the section on meat starts one week ahead of the slaughtering season in Norway which was in late fall. On the large farms, where many animals had to be slaughtered at the same time, there were a lot of preparations to be made in advance in order to have the vessels, enough salt and the crew ready for the many required processes. Winsnes opens the chapter on slaughtering by reminding on the importance of preparation:

“When the time for slaughtering is decided, one should, one week ahead make sure if all wooden vessels needed are in order, and then make them well tight and bathed in juniper; Spices, salt and saltpetre should be pounded, and sticks for the sausages obtained. [...] One day before the slaughtering one should make the brine for the brawn, as it is always harder to find time and pots in the busy time.”⁴¹

(Winsnes 1850:39)

⁴¹ Original text: “Naar man har bestemt sig til at slagte, bør man en Uge iforveien see efter, om alle de Trækar, man behøver, ere istand, og derpaa faae dem vel tættede og briskebadede; Kryderier, Salt og Salpeter bør stødes og Pølsepinde forskaffes. [...] En Dag før Slagtningen bør man ogsaa koge Lage til Sylten, da der altid er vanskeligere for Tid og for Gryder i den travle Tid.”

Unlike Winsnes, Beecher does not have a chapter on slaughtering. However, Beecher has called her first chapter on meat “Marketing – care and uses of meats” and it starts with charts on how beef, veal, mutton and pork are cut up. This may indicate that Beecher’s households, like those of Winsnes, were used to handling whole, or half, carcasses. It seems likely that meat was sold in larger pieces, and that the housekeeper, or the servants, was to divide the carcass into the right cuttings, thus this might be the simple reason why Beecher included the charts in her cookbook. This theory is further supported by Beecher’s explicit explanation of which part of the different cuttings is used for what dishes or modes of cooking. As an example from this list under Beef Beecher informs (1850:28) that: “the Head is used for mince pies, and the Tongue for smoking. The Legs are used for soup.”

In addition to the charts and the lists of usage of different cuttings, Beecher also gives explicit directions on cutting up a pig (Beecher 1850:31): “Split the hog through the spine, take off each half of the head behind the ear, then take off a piece front of the shoulder and next the heard, say four or five pounds, for sausages [...]” The instructions continue like this for the rest of the carcass, and the last instruction shows that, just like in Norwegian household, no parts of the animal was wasted, including the intestines and fat:

Clean all the intestines of the fat for lard. That which does not readily separate from the larger intestines use for soap grease. Of the insides, the liver, heart, sweet-breads, and kidneys, are sometimes used for broiling or frying. The smaller intestines are used for sausage cases. In salting down, leave out the bloody and lean portions, and use them for sausages.”

(Beecher 1850:32)

Beecher also includes information on how to clean the “cases” for sausage, and three different types of sausage meat. However Beecher’s instructions are not as detailed as those found in Winsnes’ cookbook, which can be read as an instruction manual, detailed enough even for those new to the process. Additionally, Winsnes provides a wider variety of recipes for sausages, and she also includes several recipes on the use of blood, both for sausages and other. There is no mentioning of the use of blood in Beecher’s cookbook, naturally due to the exclusion of the slaughtering process.

Beecher also provides instructions on preserving meat for later use. This may again be an indicator on meat being commonly purchased in large quantities. To keep large quantities of beef for later use, Beecher provides the recipe; “To salt down beef to keep the year round”

(1845:35), where she states that: “To one hundred pounds of beef, take four quarts of rock salt pounded very fine, four ounces of saltpetre made very fine, four pounds of brown sugar, all well mixed.” As indicated by the large recipe, the quantities were large, and this substantiates the assumption that meat was purchased in bulk. Beecher also gives “directions for salting down porc”, where a barrel is used as a vessel, which also common in Norway:

Cover the bottom of the barrel with salt an inch deep. Put down one layer of Pork, and cover that with salt, half an inch thick. Continue thus till the barrel is full. Then pour in as much strong pickle as the barrel will receive. Always see that the Pork does not rise above the brine.

(Beecher 1850:32)

These instructions remarkably resembles those in Winsnes book, except that the Norwegian style uses pickle only for meat called *suursteg*, whereas for regular salting there is nothing else used than salt:

In the vessel where you want to salt the meat [...] the bottom must be covered with salt [...] You rub the hams and the shoulders as well as the pork’s spring and all big part of the ox with saltpetre, and then salt, put it tightly and firmly down, putting salt between each layer, so it is well covered.⁴²

(Winsnes 1850:45)

In Winsnes’ cookbook there are recipes calling for smoking, such as smoked sausages⁴³ where the recipe and instruction on how to make the sausage are given in great detail. However, the process of smoking seems to have been obvious enough that no further explanation was necessary (1850: 55): “Then they should be smoked in cold juniper smoke for a whole day, and hung in a dry, cool place.”⁴⁴

Beecher, too, barely mentions the possibility of smoking meat. In reference to mutton (1845:29) she simply claims that: “Many cure and smoke the leg, and call it smoked venison” with no further explanation.

As previously stated, a major difference between Beecher’s and Winsnes’ handling of meat is that Winsnes’ approach to the meat starts a week ahead of the slaughtering, and Beecher’s

⁴² Original text: ”De Kar, hvori man vil salte Kjødet [...] strøes hele Bunden med salt. [...] Man indgnider Skinker og Bover as Svinene samt Bryster of alle store Stykker af Oxekjødet med Salpeter, og derpaa med Salt, lægger det tæt og fast ned, og strøer Salt imellom hvert Lag, saa det er ganske bedækket.”

⁴³ Original: ”Røgepølser”

⁴⁴ Original: “Derpaa røges de en heel Dag med kold Briskerøg og ophænges på et tort og koldt Sted.”

approach is to buy the carcase. As a consequence, Winsnes provides more information on preserving methods such as salting, smoking and curing. Her descriptions on preserving are more thorough and provide more recipes both on the actual preserving and also on the use of the preserved food. Beecher also mentions preserving methods, but contradictory to Winsnes, she provides a large section on the use of fresh produce.

One prevalent issue in both cookbooks, however, is the avoidance of waste. Everything usable should be somehow come to use. Winsnes admits to not liking certain things too much, but even for these food items she provides suggestions for usage (1850: 219): “As the blood from sheep and lambs taste more stale than blood from oxen and calves, one does not normally use this oneself, but for dumplings or blood pancakes for the People.”⁴⁵ Winsnes also provides another recipe on “Cured Saugage for the People” (meaning servants) (1850:58)⁴⁶. The sausage was made from the poorest parts of the animals, evidently not good enough for the middle class, but sufficient for the servants: “All the meat cut from the necks, the unboiled hearts, the lungs, kidneys and diaphragm and some liver should be roughly chopped - not finely [and filled in the sausage case].”⁴⁷

Another, less discriminating, way to make use of everything, is the urgent request of broth making noted in Winsnes (1850:122): “One should not waste anything which can provide base for broth [...] one ought to gather all peelings and bones [...] also plucked skeletons of birds and poultry, and everything that may provide broth [for use in soups and sauces].”⁴⁸

Likewise, Beecher also encourages the making of broth (1845:28): “[veal’s] knuckles are used for broth.” Beecher also has the less advantaged in mind, as she finds it better to feed the poor than to waste anything (1845:57): “The water in which poultry or fresh meat is boiled should be saved for gravies, or soup, the next day. If you do not need it, give it to the poor.”

One major difference between the two cookbooks is that Beecher provides a wide variety of recipes for the use of all kinds of fresh meat; both roasted, boiled and baked. Especially her

⁴⁵ Original text: “Da Blodet af Faar og Lam har enmere stram smag and Oxe- og Klaveblod, saa pleier man ikke at bruge det selv, men til Klub eller Blodpandekage til Folkene.”

⁴⁶ Original text: ”Folkenes Spegepølse”

⁴⁷ Original text: “Alt det Kjød, der bliver skaaret af Halsene, de Hjerter, der ikke ere kogte, samt Lunger, Nyrer, Mellemgulv og noget Lever hakkes raat og ikke fiint”

⁴⁸ Original text: “Man maa Intet spilde, der kan give Kraft [...] Man bør samle all Skrællinger og Been [...] ligeledes afpillede Skrov af Fugle og andet Fjærkræe, Stegebeen al Alt, der kan give Kraft [for bruk i Supper og Sauser]

chapters on “Roasted and Baked Meats” (1845: 43 – 49) and the preceding chapter on “Fried and Broiled Meats” (1845: 50 – 56) show a variation in cooking far from the rather few variations provided by Winsnes. This indicates that fresh ingredients were available to a greater extent in the Northeastern part of the United States than in Norway, which obviously led to a different way of cooking and eating. In Norway, the work was largely seasonal, causing preservation of food to be essential for the Norwegian households. A striking difference between the American and the Norwegian recipe section is that Beecher offers a wide selection of recipes using fresh meat, whereas Winsnes only offers a few. Beecher’s cookbook contains three chapters on different uses of fresh meat: Boiled Meats (chapter III), Roasted and Baked Meats (chapter IV) and Fried and Broiled Meats (chapter V), whereas Winsnes only offers a handful of recipes on roasts and fresh stews of fresh meat. Her additional instructions on preparing meat are preserving recipes. This reflects the differences in the supply of fresh meat in the two countries; one with meat markets in an urbanized society, the other one based on a more self contained and rural society.

5.2.2 Dairy Products

Both books have chapters on handling dairy products. Again, Winsnes’ book is clearly written for a rural audience where the access to livestock is common. Winsnes’ approach to dairy products starts with how to feed the animal during wintertime in order to get the best, and most milk:

It is natural, that one has to feed the cattle well in order for them to give lots and good milk; but their treatment is to circumstantial for this book, and I will limit myself to giving the advice to rather keep fewer animals that are properly fed than several which are barely fed for survival through the winter.⁴⁹

(Winsnes, 1845: 83)

It should also be noted that Norway had, well into the 20th century, a rich culture of dairy farming in mountain pastures during the summer, where animals were brought to benefit from the rich and nutritious grassland. A dairymaid stayed in a small summer hut throughout the summer, and she was in charge of the livestock, often goats, but also sheep and cows. During the summer months, the dairymaid was responsible for milking and the making of butter and

⁴⁹ Original text: ”Det er naturligt, at man for at faae meget og god Melk maa føde Kraaturene vel; men deres Behandlingsmaade er for vidtløftig for denne Bog, og jeg vil indskrænke mig til blot at give det Raad, heller at holde færre Kreature, der fødes vel, end flere, hvilke man blot giver det nødtørftige Livs Ophold Vinteren over.”

cheese. A farm's dairy production resulted in goods for sale and trade, and the farm's economy often depended on a good dairymaid.

The work on such pastures has often been depicted as romantic and peaceful. Although it must have been a welcome change from the daily chores at the farm, the dairymaid's work was hard labor and long hours. Up until the invention of the separator⁵⁰ in 1880, cream was separated from milk simply by the use of gravity. As cream is lighter than milk, the cream would rise to the top and then be skimmed off. This was the method referred to both by Winsnes (1845:84/85) and by Beecher (1850:206). The task of churning cream to butter by hand required time, patience, and arm strength. A dasher⁵¹ was steadily pushed up and down inside the wooden churn, or better, according to Beecher, a churn of wheel-thrown earthenware (1850:206). After the making of the butter, it was often formed and decorated by the use of butter molds. This was done in both Norway and America. The butter was first pressed into the shape of the wooden mold, and then forced out with a decorative plunger. The carved plunger, like a carved stamp, impressed the finished butter with its design. Stamps were carved in a variety of designs which in addition to being ornamental also identified the maker.

The supply of fresh milk continued, although in smaller quantities, after the summer months. Butter and cheese were therefore goods produced year around, and butter was, at least in Norway, regarded almost as cash. Fresh butter from farms was transported to towns and cities and sold. According to Notaker (1993:227), making butter was one of the few ways for women to have an income. Even middle class women, such as wives of high officials, sold butter in order to earn cash. It was not uncommon for high officials of the middle class to have livestock, thus the possibility for earning extra income.

Winsnes, whose book is more directed towards a rural self-contained audience than that of Beecher, has devoted thirteen pages on giving advice to handling milk, making butter and different cheeses. Naturally, Winsnes' section on cheese production proceeds directly after the section on slaughtering. Cheese was, and still is, made from fresh milk. However, a certain produce, called rennet, is required to make the milk form into curd. This rennet is

⁵⁰ A mechanical device separating the cream from the skimmed milk

⁵¹ long wooden pole with crosspieces at the end. This kind of churn was later replaced by a churn with a handle that could be turned around and around above the lid.

found in a calf's stomach, and is therefore only accessed when calves are slaughtered. The rennet, once cleaned and properly cared for, could be used for making cheese for several years to come. To Winsnes, it was therefore natural to put the section on cheese production directly after the section on slaughtering. She explains the making of rennet in this way:

When a calf [...] is about to be slaughtered, it must be given fresh milk two or three hours in advance; in the stomach one will then find white curd which is to be taken out and cleaned. The stomach should be cleaned, the cheese put back into the stomach, well mixed with salt, sewn together, hung in a warm place to dry. Such small bags are called "løbe" (rennet) and are best when one or two years of age. When making cheese from sweet milk, you will need rennet to make it develop into curd.⁵²

(Winsnes 1850: 77)

Winsnes gives practical and detailed instructions on how to get the rennet out of the calf in the best way, and also how to keep the rennet for future use. It is evident that housekeepers reading Winsnes' book would do the practical work with both the calf's stomach and the cheese production.

This is contrasted by Beecher's approach to the same topic. Firstly, Beecher's section on "making butter and cheese" is put between the sections "Recipes for food and drinks for the sick" and "Articles and conveniences for the sick", indicating no natural progression from slaughtering of calves to the preparation of rennet and cheese making. This is an indication of that housekeepers of Beecher's standard did not personally get involved in the physical process of the basic cheese making. The very organization of the material in these cookbooks reflects the conditions of the countries at the time. Secondly, Beecher opens the chapter by stating that the following information does not come from her own experience (1850:204): "The directions in this article were given by a practical amateur cheese-maker of Goshe, Conn., a place distinguished all over the nation for the finest butter and cheese." By this opening line, Beecher makes it clear to the reader that not only has she no personal experience in the cheese making process, but also that a certain geographic area in the United States, namely Goshe in Connecticut, had specialized in butter- and cheese making. This further points to the American society relying more on specialisation and mass production of certain products and retail, which differs from the Norwegian rural society of the same period.

⁵² Original text: Naar en Kalv [...] skal slagtes, maa den gives sød Melk, 2 a 3 Timer iforveien; man vil da i dens Mave finde hvid sammenløbet Ost; denne tages ud og renses for Straa og Ureenlighed, Maven vaskes, og Osten lægges i den igjen, blandet vel med Salt, hvorpaa Maven syes sammen og hænges paa et varmt Sted for at tørres. Saadanne smaa poser kaldes Løbe; de ere bedst, naar de ere 1 a 2 Aar gamle. Naar man vil lave Ost af sød Melk, maa man have Løbe, for at den kan skille sig til Ost.

The first professional Norwegian dairy was established in Hedmark in 1856. However, the big break-through for success did not come until the separator entered the market in the 1880's-1890's, according to Notaker (1993:228). Still, the widespread Norwegian settlements and poor means of transport made transportation of the milk to the centralized dairies more difficult in Norway than it was in the northeastern part of the United States. Prior to 1860, most of the butter- and cheese making took place on the family farm in the northeastern part of the United States. However, the means of transportation was much more developed and easier accessible after the middle of the 19th century, and the dairy production was moved from farms to local "crossroads factories", according to Durand (1967).

5.2.3 Baking

Baking in the 1800's was a time consuming process both in Norway and in the United States. Several factors, hard to relate to in the modern conveniences of the 21st century, were to be considered. Firstly, a large arched baking oven was necessary. Such an oven required plenty of wood, cut to the right size, and it took several hours to heat the oven to the required temperature.

Beecher opens her chapter X on *Ovens, Yeast, Bread, and Bisquit* with a description on how to build the oven, while Winsnes states in her chapter 2 *Baking* (1845:5) that: "the heat required for coarse bread is used as measurement for everything baked in the oven, so I will start with this, although it is difficult to explain in writing, as it depends on the design of the oven [...]"⁵³. She further states that "as a kind of guidance I have calculated that an average baking oven [...] in wintertime requires 40 sticks of dry pine wood [giving the measurements for the sticks], and in summer 5 or 6 pieces less."⁵⁴ Likewise, Beecher also makes a point of finding the right number of wooden sticks and using no more or less than this number (1850:83): "Find, by trial, how many [wooden sticks] are required to heat the oven, and then require that just that number be used, and no more." This kind of information was necessary in 19th century cookbooks, as such information was not found anywhere else. It was evidently

⁵³ Original text: "Da Hede til grovt Brød siden bliver taget til Maalestok af Alt, hva der steges i Bagerovnen, saa maa jeg begynde hermed; men den er vanskelig aa forklare skriftlig da det saameget beroer paa Ovnens Indretning [...]"

⁵⁴ Original text: "For dog at have en Slagt Rettesnor of Ovnens Ophedning har jeg udregnet, at i en almindelig Bagerovn, [...] maa om vinteren ilægges 40 stykker tør Granveed [...] og om Sommeren 5 a 6 Stykker mindre."

crucial to have the right heat in the oven, but written manuals on such technological matters did not exist. But women needed to learn these things, as they were not “general female knowledge.”

The reason for focusing on the right number of wood sticks was, besides prudence, the need for knowing the right temperature without the use of thermometers. Although unable to state the exact temperature in the oven, women had different ways of telling if the oven had the right temperature for baking. Winsnes states (1845:7): “one throws in [to the baking oven] a handful of dry flour to see if it immediately becomes red and sparkling or if it slowly gets brown and then black; in first case the oven is too hot for putting the breads in, and one waits until the flour does not burn so quickly.”⁵⁵ Beecher states (1850:83) that: “an experienced cook will know without rules”, but she refers to the same method as used by Winsnes: “If you sprinkle flour on the bottom, and it burns quickly, it is too hot.” Additionally, Beecher states another way of telling the right temperature (1845:84): “If you cannot hold your hand in longer than to count twenty moderately, it is hot enough. If you can count thirty moderately, it is not hot enough for bread.” Beecher admits to this latter test not being very accurate, since “the power to bear heat is so diverse in different persons.” (She does not mention counting speed.)

When discussing flour, Winsnes emphasizes the importance of purchasing flour of good quality. According to Gjerdåker (2002: 94), Norway increased its production of grain in the first half of the 19th century, but was far from self contained, causing import of flour from Sweden, Denmark and Russia. This shows in Winsnes’ cookbook, where the author, self-contained of most items, refers to purchasing of flour (1845:11): “If someone believes to save by purchasing flour to a better price, when this [flour] is of poorer quality, is surely to be wrong; [good flour] rises more easily, and one is thereby given more pieces of the same weight [than of poorer quality].”⁵⁶ Again, the housekeeper’s knowledge proved to be decisive, and Winsnes includes all kinds of household information in her cookbook in order to educate the housekeeper in the best possible way.

⁵⁵ Original text: ”Man kaster en Haandfuld tørt Meel ind, for at see, om det strax bliver rødt og gnistrende eller om det bliver langsomt bruunt og derpaa sort; i første Tilfælde er Ovnens for heed til Innsætning, og man bier til Melet ikke saa hastig brændes.”

⁵⁶ Original text: ”hvis Nogen troer at spare ved at kjøbe Meel til en billigere Pris, naar dette tilliger er slettere, da taer han visselig feil; [godt mel] har større Lethed til at hæves, og man saaledes faaer flere Stykker af samme Vægt [enn av dårligere mel].”

5.2.4 Brewing and Drinking

Just as Winsnes' section on cheese production proceeds directly after the section on slaughtering, her section on brewing logically precedes the section on baking, as the yeast used for baking is also used for brewing. Winsnes opens the chapter on Brewing (1845:22), by stating the importance of using separate containers for brewing and washing: "The vessels used for brewing must never be used for washing, as the lye is absorbed by the wood and it [...] will not only ruin the tastes of the beer, but also prevents it from fizzing, so it always seems dull no matter how strong it might be."⁵⁷

Winsnes continues to give practical advice, and she provides handy instructions on the art of brewing. She continues by giving the quantities of hops and malt in order to brew weak or strong beer. She claims (1845:22) that: "In large households one ought to make some strong beer and some weak beer in order to obtain the best utilization of the malt. It must be crushed, not grounded, or the beer will not be transparent."⁵⁸: In Winsnes' eight-page description of the brewing process, where she also provides instruction on the making of different kinds of beer. Brewing beer is clearly regarded as a common domestic task performed by women in the mid 1800's, and this is confirmed also by Hroar Dege (1999).

One of these reasons for brewing being common is the strong brewing tradition dating back to the 12th century, according to Notaker (1993:39), when the Vikings brewed beer and a stronger brew known as *mjød*. Another reason would be that the Norwegian difficult topography with mountains, fjords, few or poor roads, and scattered settlements forced each farm or each small community to be more or less self-sufficient of most foods and drinks. Groceries brought from the cities or from abroad were rare. Hopp (1943:44) states that when Winsnes moved to Trysil in 1820 together with her husband and two young girls, "careful planning was a necessity; supplies from the city came only once a year, and there were unforeseeable long miles to the general store."⁵⁹ It was simply essential for each farm to be

⁵⁷ Original text: "Der Kar, der bruges til Brygning, maa aldrig benyttes til vask; thi Luden trækker sig ind I Træet, og den [...] fordærver ikke alene Øllets Smag, men den hindrer det i at bruse, saa at det bestandig synes mat, hvor stærkt det end er."

⁵⁸ Original text: "I en stor Huusholdning gjør man bedst i at brygge noget stærkt og noget tyndere Øl; thi da benyttes Maltet bedst. Det maa blot knuses, ikke fiinmales; thi da bliver Øllet ikke klart."

⁵⁹ Original text: "Omtenksohmhet skulle det til, varer fra byen fikk hun bare en eneste gang i året, og det var uoverskuelige mil til landhandleren."

more or less self-sufficient. Thus, it was necessary to produce one's own beer if there should be any beer available.

Compared to the United States, Norway faced logistical problems due to scattered settlements and difficult topography. Other countries with a different pattern of settlement and topography could specialize in the production of certain produce. However, Norwegians did not specialize in certain trades such as a brewer, a baker, or a blacksmith. Specialization and mass production of goods would have been meaningless due to lack of transportation of goods. Norwegian farms or rural communities were better off knowing a little of every necessary trade. Even though the transportation was improved by the railway, which was started being built in 1840, it would take over 60 years before this long narrow country had a well established railway system.

As a contradiction to the descriptive information on Norwegian brewing, there is no mention of brewing or wine making in Beecher's cookbook. Beecher (1850:2) states that "it is found by general experience, that [...] alcoholic drinks are very unhealthful." Further, she states (1845:5) that alcoholic drinks "impart no nourishment at all to the body, but act solely to stimulate all the organs to preternatural action." Beecher devoted the first chapter (1850:1) in her book to "selecting food and drinks with reference to health." She quotes to a medical book called *A Treatise on Food and Diet* by Dr. Jonathan Pereira, citing (1845:14): "water is probably the natural drink of all adults. [...] Rain water is the purest of all water, purer than the best spring water." Beecher further claims (1845:22): "In this detail of the various drinks that may be used by man, we find that *pure water* is always satisfying, safe, and sufficient."

In Beecher's chapter on healthful food and drinks, she has classified the different types of drinks into groups of their content. In addition to pure water, she sums up the different beverages as follows:

Black tea, also, when taken weak and not above blood heat, is a perfectly safe and agreeable warm drink. Chocolate and cocoa are nourishing and safe to persons who can bear the oil they contain; and shells are perfectly healthful and safe to all. In the vast variety of drinks provided for man, we find very few that are not safe and healthful. Green tea and coffee, as ordinarily used, are very injurious to very many constitutions. They contain but very little nourishment, except what is added by the milk and sugar [...] Training children to drink tea and coffee is as unreasonable and unchristian, as training them to drink foxglove and opium would be -- the only

difference is, that in one case it is customary, and the other it is not; and custom makes a practice appear less foolish and sinful. There is no need, at this period of the world, to point out the wickedness and folly of training children to love alcoholic drinks.

(Beecher 1850:23)

Beecher clearly takes a religious stand against alcoholic beverages, meaning they are both sinful and harmful. Again, she refers (1845:21) to another medical text, *Elements of Materia Medica* by Dr. J. Pereira in 1840, stating that: “To persons in health, [...] the dietical employment of wine is either useless or pernicious.” However, Beecher admits to the use of wine used for medical reasons (1845:22): “Wine is often useful as a medicine, under the direction of a physician, but its stimulating, alcoholic principle, makes it an improper agent to be drank in health. The same is true of cider and strong beer.”

Beecher’s rigid attitude towards the use of alcohol differs dramatically from the attitude of Winsnes. Beecher’s attitude probably reflects the Christian moral inherited from the Puritans, but her presentation of the text is extremely moralistic, while Winsnes’ information is strictly practical.

Beecher does admit that a few consumers of alcohol seem to tolerate it, and she compares these to survivors of malaria infected areas:

Some wine, beer, and cider drinkers do, by the force of a good constitution, live to a good old age, and so do some persons, also, who live in districts infected by a malaria, which destroys the health and life of thousands. But these *exceptions* do not prove that either wine, or malaria are favorable to health, or long life. They are only exceptions to a general rule.

(Beecher 1845:22)

Beecher’s conclusion on the consumption on alcohol is that should be avoided entirely:

The general rule is established by an incredible amount of experience and testimony, that alcoholic drinks, *in no cases*, are needed by those in health, and that the indulgence in drinking them awakens a gnawing thirst and longing for them, that leads the vast majority of those who use them, to disease, debility, poverty, folly, crime, and death.

(Beecher 1845:22)

Beecher’s view on alcoholic beverages explains why there is no information on brewing in her cookbooks. Instead, she has written a chapter on “Temperance Drinks”, all non-alcoholic, giving recipes on several fruit juices, sherbets, syrups, sodas, teas, coffee and hot chocolate. It

is clear that Catherine Beecher was a total abstainer, and she is spreading her view on alcoholic beverages in her cookbook. Indicated by the chapter's title, it is likely that Beecher was part of the temperance movement⁶⁰ which had a strong position in the United States during the 19th century, however, this is not an indication on total abstention for the American middle class. Nevertheless, it may indicate that home brewing was not a common activity in the American Christian middle class households and certainly not in the scale as common for the Norwegian households.

5.3 Comparison of the Households' Administrations

5.3.1 Eating and drinking habits in the 19th century

During the mid 19th century, elaborate dinner- or evening parties were not uncommon in the United States, at least not among the social class of Beecher. She gives detailed instructions on appropriate seating; the host and hostess seated at each end of the table, a suitable menu⁶¹ which seems fairly elaborate, and she also provides information on the proper way to set a table. According to Beecher, an evening party should consist of twelve people including the host and hostess. Beecher provides detailed descriptions of plates, forks, knives and spoons required for arranging such a dinner party:

As the party, including host and hostess, will be twelve, there must be one dozen soup plates, and one dozen silver spoons. Then there must be two dozen large knives, and three dozen large plates, besides those on the table. This is to allow one plate for fish, and two for two changes of meat for each guest. Some would provide more. Then, there must be three dozen dessert plates, and two dozen dessert knives and forks. One dozen saucers, and one dozen dessert spoons.

(Beecher 1850:237)

The amount of plates and cutlery in addition to the reference to silver spoons is a clear indicator of this being a sophisticated evening party for the wealthy. Such elaborate entertaining was evidently not the trend among regular working people. These refined parties also required an extensive use of servants and kitchen staff, indicated by Beecher (1850: 238):

⁶⁰ An organized effort in the 19th and early 20th centuries to encourage moderation of alcoholic beverages or press for complete abstinence, as alcohol was blamed for many of society's demerits, among them severe health problems, destitution and crime. The temperance movement had 6,000 local temperance groups in many states were up and running by the 1830s. Source: <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1054.html>

⁶¹ Soup, followed by fish, then turkey and/or ducks, with gravies, butter, vegetables and potatoes. Then a dish of meat (carved by the host), and dessert: pudding (set before the hostess) and cheese (set before the host) and pastry. Finally fruit and coffee.

“Such a dinner as this cannot usually be prepared and served easily, without two to cook and serve in the kitchen, and two waiters in the dining-room.”

Winsnes has no mentioning of Norwegian social rules of entertaining or of different manners of setting tables. Cutlery, plates, pots and pans are only mentioned twice; the first in chapter 611 (1845:405–407): “how to scour and polish kitchenware”⁶², and the second in chapter 612 (1845:406–407): “broken earthenware”⁶³. In the first of these chapters, Winsnes gives instructions on how to clean kitchenware: “items made of iron should be scoured in ashes and water and be well dried in front of the fire”⁶⁴. The essential message seems not to be the actual cleaning process, but merely what substances to be used in order to make the kitchenware bright and sparkling without ruining them with scratches or rust: “Copperware can also be scoured with very fine sand once or twice a year, but more often would cause too much damage.”⁶⁵ Winsnes’ instructions are purely practical in all areas of household. She mentions pitfalls of conducting the wrong kind of maintenance, such as warning about domestics often turning to quick and unlasting solutions in cleaning copper pots (1845:406): “Pots used on the table, and therefore needs frequent shining, and the domestics often use vinegar or sour juice [...] as it quickly makes the Copper bright; but this is so wrong, as it becomes unattractive again the next day and [...] finally loses its red color.”⁶⁶ Winsnes also briefly mentions care of silverware; although she does not give any information on the required number of spoons for a dinner party, as Beecher does. Winsnes strictly keeps to instructional facts on how to keep silver items bright and shining.

The same approach is found in Winsnes’ proceeding chapter of repair of broken earthenware, where she provides thorough instructions on how to repair broken earthenware (1845:406): The broken parts should be glued together with egg whites, tied together, and then covered by fresh milk and boiled in on low heat for several hours, then carefully wiped and set to dry for 6 – 8 days. Towards the end of the chapter she briefly mentions the more expensive item porcelain, but only in a short sentence claiming that she would not be too sure about of boiling porcelain (1845:407): “neither is it safe to boil porcelain this way, even though I

⁶² Original text: ”Om at skure og pudse Kjøkkenredskaber” p. 405

⁶³ Original text: “Sønderslaget Steentøi” p. 406

⁶⁴ Original text: “Jerntøi skures i Aske og Vann dog tørres vel for Ilden” p. 406

⁶⁵ Original text: “Kobber kan ogsaa skures med meget fin Sand 1 à 2 Gange om Aaret; men oftere vilde det slide for meget” p. 405

⁶⁶ Original text: “[...] Kjelder, som bruges paa Bordet, og Saadant trænges ofte til at pudses, og Pigerne bruge ofte at tage Eddike eller suur Saft [...] thi da bliver Kobberet hurtigt blankt; men dette er reent galt, thi det bliver anløbet Dagen efter og [...] taber det tilsidst sin røde Farve.” p. 405–406

sometimes have succeeded in doing it”⁶⁷. This proves that Winsnes herself owned porcelain, but the rather brief mention of both silver and porcelain may indicate that such expensive items silver was not commonly owned or used in Norwegian middle class households. Running a vicar’s home, it is certain that her household held a higher standard than the average Norwegian household, and therefore contained more expensive utensils and kitchenware than common at the time. However, it must be assumed that there existed other households in Norway that had a higher sophistication and a more extensive use of both silverware and porcelain although this is not mentioned in Winsnes’ book. According to Edbjørg Fossgard (2002:131), Norwegian upper and middle class used dishes and fine table settings during dinner parties as a marking of their social position by the end of 19th century.

There seems to be a clear difference in the American and the Norwegian approach to, and attitude towards, fine and expensive items such as silver, porcelain, and number of vessels and flatware. While Winsnes barely mentions the most costly items, Beecher devotes long chapters including detailed instructions on what is regarded acceptable. Beecher claims in chapter XXVI, “Directions for Dinner and Evening Parties” (1850:234):

The following directions for a dinner-party are designed for a young and inexperienced housekeeper, in moderate circumstances, who receives visitors at her table from the most wealthy circles. They are not intended for what would be called a stylish dinner-party, but what in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, in the most respectable society, would be called a plain, substantial dinner, and as complete and extensive as any *young* housekeeper, with the ordinary supply of domestics, ought to attempt *anywhere*. Anything much more elaborate than this, usually demands the services of a professed cook. [...] The exact dishes to be provided will be supposed to be these: Soup. Fish. A boiled ham A boiled turkey, with oyster sauce. Three roasted ducks, and a dish of scalloped oysters. Potatoes, Parsnips, Turnips, and Celery. For dessert, Pudding, Pastry, Fruit, and Coffee. This will make a dinner for about ten or twelve persons.

(Beecher, 1845: 234)

The difference between the moderation shown by Winsnes and the excessiveness by Beecher when it comes to entertaining, is evident. Beecher obviously finds abundance natural for women of a certain social class, and she emphasizes that these instructions should be attempted to be followed by young housekeepers *anywhere*. Again, it is evident that Beecher intended to provide educational advice about housekeeping, including cooking, good manners and entertaining, to women in the whole of United States.

⁶⁷ Original text: ”[...] heller ikke er det sikkert at koge Porselain saaledes, endskjønt jeg nogle Gange har forsøgt det med Held”

Why Winsnes barely mentions the more expensive items is only for us to guess. Perhaps she might have seen it immoral or arrogant to flash her own access to wealth and expensive items; qualities improper for a Norwegian vicar's wife. The pious life of Winsnes portrays a humble woman, not one who regards herself better in any way than other. This modesty is clearly stated in Winsnes introduction (1845: 1): "I will have to assure that I in no regard possess the vain belief of having a greater insight to the domestic virtues than so many other clever housekeepers."⁶⁸

Beecher seems to have different attitude, as she writes that housekeepers "in moderate circumstances", when receiving visitors from the wealthiest circles, should treat these guests in a certain way, with a certain standard of the food. Beecher's attitude of such a standard being a matter of course stands in great contrast to the cautious mentioning of expensive items by Winsnes. Compared to the Norwegian way of living, Beecher's young American housekeepers "in moderate circumstances" would in all certainty have been regarded as among the wealthiest in the Norwegian society. Although employed domestic help was also common in Norwegian middle class, the American middle class set a standard for an "ordinary supply of domestics." Unfortunately, Beecher does not elaborate on the "ordinary" standard for domestic employed personnel.

5.3.2 Technological advances

The early 1900's produced new inventions for the industry and agriculture in both countries, and there also came about improvements for the home. Technological advances in the kitchen affected the way of cooking, eating and preparing food. One influential change was the introduction of the cooking stove, according to Neuhaus (2003: 11). Cooking underwent significant changes after the turn of the 18th century.

During the mid 19th century there was a transition away from open hearth cooking toward cooking on the cook stove. Prior to the large-scale manufacture of the cast-iron stove, women,

⁶⁸ Original text: "jeg [maa] forudskikke den Forsikring, at jeg ingenlunde nærer den forfængelige Tro at besidde en større Indsigt i Huusvæsenet, end saa mange andre duelige Huusmødre."

for centuries, had cooked over the open fire, and according to Hooker this included dangers and sufferings:

bending before the fire, of maneuvering heavy pots and kettles away from or over it, of controlling fire, coals, ashes, soot, and smoke, of regulating the heat, and of adding to or subtracting from the ingredients that went into the cooking vessels. Wrenched backs, blistered hands, smoked eyes, singed hair, and scorched clothes were normal accompaniments of fireplace-cooking.

(Hooker 1981:96)

The open hearth and the bake oven had been used for centuries in northwestern Europe, but during the 19th century these ways of cooking were gradually replaced by the cast iron stove which was patented in Philadelphia in 1808. The first cooking stoves appeared in the cities from the 1810s (Blackford, 2002), and were also manufactured in Norway from the beginning of the 19th century (Fjeldheim, 2007). The introduction of the cast iron stove gave women the opportunity to perform several cooking functions simultaneously. In addition, women could now cook in an upright position, and cooking manoeuvres like mixing, stirring, tasting, and watching became less burdensome compared to fireplace cooking. Cook stoves burned wood or coal more efficiently than open fireplaces and allowed more control of the fire. In comparison to the open fire at floor level, the wood-burning stove was a major quality of life improvement for the housewife.

However, cooking stoves remained rare in the United States until 1830 when they, according to Hooker (1981:96): “began to replace fireplaces in the homes of the well-to-do.” However, cast iron cooking ranges and grates did not become popular until the 1850s when towns and cities expanded to accommodate the growing urban workforce. The kitchen ranges were produced in all shapes and sizes, from the large ones for country houses, to small ranges for cottages and terraced houses. There was a relatively long period where the well heeled homes cooked on stoves while the poorer homes still used open fireplaces for cooking. Up until the Civil War, many cookbooks offered directions both for cooking on stove and on open-fire cooking. Both Beecher’s and Winsnes’ cookbooks were written for cooking on stoves and in baking ovens.

The introduction of cooking on a stove called for a new style of cooking. With the cast-iron model, wood was placed in the firebox through the small door on the left side, which again heated the cook top and the large oven with its door on the front. Fire-roasted meats were no

longer as common as during times of the open hearth, and cooked foods became more common. According to Neuhaus (2003:12) “the relative ease of cooking made the one-dish meal obsolete and seemed to demand a wider variety of cooked foods at each meal.” Hooker (1989:96) states that there were also losses with the introduction of the cooking stove: “Some thought that the iron stoves did not bake bread and pastries as well as the old brick ovens, and roasted and broiled meats almost disappeared. Today’s ‘roasting’ is, of course, really baking.”

Although some technological improvements appeared in the kitchen during the 19th century, there were still many obstacles to consider that are unfamiliar in modern times. When yeast was used in baking, the right quantity of yeast could not be given in recipes, as the yeast was homemade rather than factory made and standardized. Beecher writes sections about the different types of yeast, and she claims potato yeast to be the best. Other types of yeast mentioned are (1850:85-86): hop yeast, home made yeast, home-brewed yeast, hard yeast, flour hard yeast, milk yeast and Brewer’s yeast. Winsnes’ does not provide special sections on yeast, but she also mentions several types of yeast, although she claims (1845:6) that: “yeast [...] is often hard to get” indicating yeast might not have been widely used as it was hard to get hold of. To support this, Winsnes’ recipes often uses “sour dough” which also has rising quality, however it gives bread a sour taste. Winsnes therefore suggests mixing a little yeast with the sour dough to raise the bread nicely but to avoid too sour taste. Beecher mentions (1950:85) a “sharp, disagreeable yeast taste” caused, to a varying degree, by the different types of yeast. The focus on different types of yeast shows that non standardization caused difficulties for the housekeepers. The varying rising quality of the yeast set the housekeepers’ knowledge to test, and the cook or baker needed experience to get it right.

Another variable was the correct temperature for the cooking. As cooking took place over open fires, in wood fired baking ovens, and in or on cast iron manufactured stoves, only approximate temperatures could be indicated. In *American Cookery* the oven temperature is vaguely defined. Simmons refers to “a quick oven“, meaning a very hot oven, a “slow oven”, meaning a smaller fire and cooler cooking temperature. Most recipes required basic knowledge of cooking, and Beecher (1850: 83) states that “an experienced cook will know without rules [when an oven is at the right heat].”

The introduction of the cooking stove changed the daily routine of cleaning. Even if there were less ashes, soot and smoke than from open hearth cooking, the new stove demanded maintenance in a new manner. It had to be kept rust-free, which required daily cleaning and blackening. Besides cooking, the stove was also used for heating water, boiling laundry, and heating the sadiron⁶⁹. Although its warmth was welcomed in the winter, it added to the insufferable heat of summer.

It should also be noted that neither measuring tools nor baking tins were standardized by the middle of 1800's in the United States or in Norway. According to the Norwegian cookbook author Olaug Løken (1901), there was a radical increase of accuracy in exact measurements and weight in recipes around the turn of the 20th century:

Among other things, the requirements for providing accurate measurements in quantity and weight in recipes are now far more strict than four or five years ago. Cooking has become a subject in school - that is the reason."⁷⁰

(Løken, 1901:3)

Løken explained that the increase in demand for accurate measurements was caused by the introduction of household economy as a school subject, but the fact that this subject was for girls only was not mentioned by Løken, probably because of its obviousness at the time. Due to the lack of standardization, measurements of ingredients were vaguely defined. Recipes often referred to a "spoon", a size which could vary greatly from household to household. Standard measuring tools became common in the United States towards late nineteenth century (Neuhaus (2003:11).

All these factors of hardship in an 1850's kitchen can easily be forgotten in our technologically advanced society, and it is therefore necessary to emphasize that cooking and household in the 19th century was far from modern reality. This is of course reflected in Winsnes' and Beecher's cookbooks both in the recipes and in the explanations of how household chores were carried out.

⁶⁹ a heavy iron for ironing clothes

⁷⁰ Original text: "Blandt annet stilles der nu langt strængere Krav til Opskrifternes Nøiaktighed i Maal og Vægt end for 4 – 5 aar siden. Madlavning er blevet Skolefag, det er Grunden"

5.3.3 Household organization

The two cookbooks compared are written for households of a certain standard, which evidently are both economically and socially above the average both in the United States and in Norway around 1850. Both authors are rooted in social classes above the working class, and they are both categorized as middle class. However, it is essential that both women are classified as middle class in context of their own culture. As already mentioned, the American and the Norwegian cultures are quite different both their in heritage and traditions. There should therefore be a clear understanding that Beecher's American middle class differs radically from Winsnes' Norwegian Middle class. The American and Norwegian social structures were quite dissimilar around 1850, and this will be clarified in the following chapter in order to set the background for a possible comparison of the households in the two countries in the time period.

Despite the differences in cultural and social context, the households are comparable. Both cookbooks are written for households with a certain level of sophistication; however, they also include information and recipes for households of less affluence. According to the authors both books are written as attempts to improve the situation for housekeepers and to provide written material in the field of domestic science.

Neuhaus (2003: 3) states that "cooking must be understood as domestic labor as well as a pleasurable activity" and she asks: "Do cookbooks reflect these facts?" Kitchen labor in the 21st century is hardly comparable to that of Beecher's and Winsnes' time. Today, cooking a meal can function as a social activity either for the family, or for friends. Preparing a meal completely from scratch is today regarded as time consuming, and may therefore be considered a special activity for the week-end. In this setting, cooking is understood as pleasurable. However, when analyzing Beecher's and Winsnes' books it is evident that cooking and housekeeping was hard labor in the 19th century. When it comes to being pleasurable, there is nothing written about this specifically, but it may be presumed that women found pleasure in doing the household chores by being thorough and prudent, highly valued principles in both books. Rorer claims in *Mrs. Rorer's new Cookbook* (1902:3) that: "there is no better stimulant to the enthusiastic worker than slow progression – the constant but regular improvement." Without stating the obvious, it is written between the lines that

improvement is pleasurable – and by doing the best you can you will improve and thereby be pleased with yourself.

Norwegian Middle class, here represented by the vicar's wife Hanna Winsnes, still depended largely on self produce, living traditionally rural lives. 19th century Norwegian cookbooks, including *Lærebog i de Forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen*, are greatly characterized by the rural society and methods of preserving the different kinds of foods for later consumption. Unlike Norway, The United States started its industrialization at an earlier stage and at a more rapid pace. In most ways the Northeastern part of the United States differed tremendously from Norway. The United States was a newly inhabited country, its first large European settlements dated back to the 17th century.

Contradictory to the homogenous inhabitants of Norway, the American society consisted of immigrants from different countries. The society was dominated by immigrants from northern and southern Europe, and the political power was especially influenced by immigrants of British descendents. Additionally there were poor immigrants from Asia, who were industrial laborers with low social status. Another large group of poor immigrants came from Ireland, fleeing from the Irish potato famine (1845–1852) which swept the country and forced people to emigrate. Also Scandinavian immigrants came in seek of a better life, and most of these settled in the west. Furthermore, slaves were brought in from Africa and the Pacific islands, and this divergence created a melting pot of cultures, religions, food traditions and different social settings. This mix of different people led to segregation in the 19th century, with white people separated from Native Americans, people from Africa, the Pasific islands, and Asia. The social differences were more related to race and nationality in the United States, unlike the situation in Norway where social divisions were related to owning property.

The American society also differed from the Norwegian society by being more industrialized, particularly in the big cities, although there were large rural settlements in great areas, especially in the Midwest. In the Northeastern part of the United States, cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia grew quickly due to the growing industry. This rapid urbanization and the large masses of poor immigrants pouring into the country led to wide gaps between social classes.

The great variety in American lifestyle was caused by more than varying economic standard. People's lifestyles, the way people ate, and the ingredients they used were different due to the traditions in their originating countries. People from different countries brought different habits, different foods and different cooking traditions. However, the Middle class focused upon here originated mostly from Northern Europe, mostly England, and therefore the foods, the eating habits and the traditions were heavily influenced by British customs.

Yet, the social differences in the two countries are not a focal point of this dissertation; nevertheless it should be noted, as the social background in each country set a base for the comparison of the households in the two countries. Both authors wrote for an audience in charge of relatively wealthy households, meaning that there are means of variation in the daily cooking, that there are kitchen tools and other appliances available. However, both cookbooks contain information for less affluent living and recipes on plain every day dishes as well information and recipes for elaborate menus for evening or dinner parties. This indicates an expectation of a certain social standard of cookbook readers. In other words, both Beecher's and Winsnes' cookbooks are not intended for poor households, even though they could be useful for people of lesser economic standard than the authors themselves.

However, Winsnes' book is intended for households based on barter economy to a larger extent than Beecher's book, which is natural regarding the Norwegian society's structure at the time. Winsnes has devoted 25 pages to details about the processes preceding the slaughtering, which indicates that it is taken for granted that the household held their own, or otherwise had access to, live farm animals. Winsnes obviously sees it necessary to provide detailed instructions on all steps in the meat handling process after the actual slaughtering, and she opens chapter 52 "Slaughtering" (1845:39) with: when one has decided to slaughter, one should, one week ahead, see to that all required wooden vessels are in good shape [...]"⁷¹. Winsnes continues giving detailed information about cutting the meat and different preservation methods and utilization of the different parts of the animals. This will be further discussed in section 5.2.1.

Like Winsnes, Beecher also provides instructions on cutting the meat and giving advice on the best utilization of the different parts of the animals. However, Beecher calls her first chapter

⁷¹ Original text: "Naar man har bestemt sig til at slagte, bør man en Uge iforveien see efter, om alle de Trækar, man behøver, ere istand [...]"

on meat “Marketing – care and uses of meats” which indicates that meat is purchased rather than slaughtered at home. Beecher points to the *cost* of the different meats (1850:26): “In selecting beef, the best parts are cut from the thick portion, from the shoulder to the rump, and these are the most expensive parts [...]” This reference to purchasing meat is totally absent in Winsnes’ book. Beecher is giving advice on choosing good pieces of meat in the market, but contrary to Winsnes, she does not once mention the actual slaughtering process. This may indicate that it was most common to purchase meat from farmers in the market, although it seems that it must have been common to buy meat in bulk. This conclusion is drawn from the fact that Beecher not only provides charts on cutting up beef, veal, mutton and pork, but also provides explicit directions on cutting up whole or half animals, such as in the following example (1850:31): “Split the Hog through the spine, take off each half of the head behind the ear, then take off a piece front of the shoulder and next the head, say four or five pounds, for sausages.” The handling of meat in Beecher’s book will be further discussed in section 5.2.1. The authors’ approaches of procuring meat show that Winsnes is addressing a more rural reading audience than Beecher, and this was kept in mind when analysing the organization of the households.

According to Beecher, the American housekeepers were in a much worse position than those from other countries. She claims (1845: 276) that “there is no doubt of the fact, that American housekeepers have far greater trials and difficulties to meet than those of any other nation.” The reason why Beecher claims the situation for American housekeepers to be more difficult than others is, however, not stated or clear to the reader. It is tempting to assume that Beecher, never travelling outside the United States, simply presumed this to be the case. After all, the stories of the sufferings of poor and ill housekeepers in other countries were not fodder for publicly disseminated information, and even if so were the case, it was not read by Catherine Beecher.

However, Beecher had devoted a chapter (1850: 276–280) “Words of Comfort for a Discouraged Housekeeper” to give hope to women in apparently hopeless situations. She recognized the need for comforting the young wives who found themselves in the challenging position for which they were not adequately trained:

Others [...] start off with much hope and courage, to carry out a plan of great excellence and appropriateness, and after trying a while, will become discouraged by

the thousand obstacles in their way, and give up in despair. [...] You are like a young, inexperienced lad, who is required to superintend all the complicated machinery of a manufactory, which he never was trained to understand, and on penalty of losing reputation, health, and all he values most. Neither your parents, teachers, or husband have trained you for the place you fill, nor furnished you with the knowledge or assistance needed to enable you to meet all the complicated and untried duties of your lot.

(Beecher 1845: 277 – 278)

Again, Beecher refers to the lack of education among women, and again she compares women's position for which they are untrained, to men's occupations in which they have received education and adequate training in order to fulfill their jobs. Obviously, Beecher finds it of uttermost importance to educate women in housekeeping, and although women received some kind of education, Beecher claims (1850: 278) that she is unfit for the domestic duties she will face as an adult:

A young woman who has never had the care of a child, never done housework, never learned the numberless processes that are indispensable to keep domestic affairs in regular order, never done anything but attend to books, drawing, and music, at school, and visiting and company after she left school, such an one is as unprepared to take charge of a nursery, kitchen, and family establishment, as she is to take charge of a man-of-war.

(Beecher 1850: 278)

Evidently, this must have been the marital situation for a vast number of young American women, since Beecher finds the need for devoting an entire chapter to comfort these discouraged housekeepers. She lists several pieces of advice, some practical, but others strictly moralistic.

These moralistic parts in Beecher's cookbook would be classified as religious exemplary texts/preaching in today's literature genres. One example on such a text would be (1850:279): "It is never your duty to do anything more than you can, or in any better manner than the best you can. And whenever you have done the best you can, you have done well, and it is all that man should require, and certainly all that our Heavenly Father does require." Beecher refers to religious beliefs, and she agrees with God that no one can be blamed for wrongness as long as they have done the best they can. In comparison, Winsnes, although being a priest's wife, never refers to religious beliefs or mentions God in her cookbook, even though her religious beliefs must have been prevalent in her life at the rectory.

However, Beecher, as well Winsnes, demanded high effort in all aspects of the household tasks. Throughout both cookbooks there is a prevailing consciousness of economic thriftiness. The frugality is evident in all parts of the household in both books and throughout all chapters, and it is clear in both books that it is the housekeeper's duty to ensure that thriftiness is carried out throughout all areas of the household. The housekeeper's role is to keep a close eye on every detail in the daily business, ensuring that nothing is wasted, spilled, spoiled or broken. All duties are to be performed with uttermost care and attention, and servants and hired help closely attended in order to avoid carelessness or neglect in their work.

Prudence and moderation are overarching themes in both cookbooks. Both kept waste, and thereby cost, to a minimum, indicating that cost control was fundamental in moderately affluent households. Winsnes emphasizes the importance of buying in season, when the prices are best (1845:4): "a good housekeeper must buy in season when at lowest cost"⁷², indicating that there are good and poor housekeepers and that these are categorized by their ability to plan ahead and be economical. Additionally, Winsnes here shows that some items needed to be purchased, proving that households were not totally self-reliant, although much of the basic foods were produced at home.

In addition to buying provisions while in season to keep down the cost, Winsnes emphasizes the importance of keeping records of all expenses, and she states that the housekeeper should always keep a close account for comparing the consumption of household articles from year to year (1845:4):

A good housekeeper must purchase items for her house in the time when each item is at its lowest cost, which is different for each item, and keep a close account over all expenses; likewise it is clever to note how much is used of all articles, for a comparison of one year to another, and reflection of why some usages have increased.⁷³

(Winsnes, 1850: 4)

Additionally, she suggests keeping an account of the amount used of each item each year in order to compare and detect any increase, and identify the cause of the possible augment in

⁷² Original text: "En god Huusmoder maa kjøbe ind til sit Huus paa den Tid, da enhver Ting er billigst"

⁷³ Original text: En god Huusmoder maa kjøbe ind til sit Huus paa den Tid, da enhver Ting er billigst, hvilket er forskjellig for de forskjellige Ting, og holde et nøiagtigt Regnskab over sine Udgifter; ligeledes er det godt at optegne, hvor meget man bruger af enhver Artikel, for at sammenligne det ene Aar med det andet, og tænke over Aarsagen, hvis der er brukt mer af en eller anden Ting

consumption. This can imply that the purchased items, such as ingredients for cooking, remained the same year after year in Norwegian households at the time. The purchased items, or otherwise obtained objects can not have varied greatly order to be comparable. This shows continuity and regularity in purchasing, resulting in little or no variation in Norwegian household.

The famous Norwegian author, Arne Garborg⁷⁴, who wrote critically of the social differences in the 19th century society, wrote about Hanna Winsnes' cookbook pointing out the differences in people's attitude towards food: "one wades in eggs, sugar and butter. Attics and basements are packed, one takes ... takes... takes... and is not bothered by the question whence it shall be taken. Thus the world is in order."⁷⁵ Garborg here pointed to the instructions of the recipes stating that there seems to be plentiful rich ingredients; you take from your cupboard and cellar which both are full of eggs, sugar and butter. Garborg clearly interpreted Winsnes' cookbook as a social statement as he pointed to the obvious social difference in social status and the means of access to or availability of ingredients. There were not abundances of food available to the Norwegian masses during the mid 1900's, and Garborg used Winsnes' cookbook to document the differences. Even affluent middle class households had to pinch pennies in this period, although these had the opportunity to purchase the necessary.

On the contrary, there are vivid descriptions of the plentiful city markets in the American cities from the early and mid 1800's. A description of the markets of Washington in 1850 referred to by Hooker (1981:98) reveals a great variation of available ingredients: "[the market afforded] every luxury of earth and sea, and that at a price which gives the owner of even a moderate purse a leaning towards Epicureanism." Likewise, Hooker describes other city markets showing great variation and vast amounts of food, often neatly divided into separate stalls for different meats, dairy products, fish, fruits and vegetables, among these the Philadelphia market (Hooker, 1981: 99), which

continued to astonish and delight all who saw it. One person who went there in 1818 thought that it probably displayed the greatest quantity of fruits and vegetables in the world. The market began on the banks of the Delaware River and continued for a mile. Boats on the river, wagons from nearby farms and the interior, and ships from distant points all brought goods. [...] There was nothing disagreeable to see or smell; and the salespeople were polite and extremely clean.

(Hooker, 1981: 99)

⁷⁴ Samtiden, 1890, p. 21

⁷⁵ Original text: "Der vades i Æg, Sukker og Smør. Lader og Kældere er fulde, man tager tager.... tager ... og plages ikke af Spørgsmaalet om, hvor man skal tage det fra. Thi Verden er i Orden"

The situation for American housekeepers might not have “far greater trials and difficulties to meet than those of any other nation” as claimed by Beecher.

5.3.4 Attitudes towards Servants

One interesting angle of studying historical cookbooks is to look at the parts of household administration as education in management. Both Beecher’s book and Winsnes’ book are written for large households where domestic help was not only commonly accepted but also required, and managing servants was therefore part of middle class housekeeper’s daily business.

Since the days of the earliest American colonies servant labor played a critical role in the development of the country. By the turn of the 19th century, when Amelia Simmons wrote *American Cookery*, it was common standard for middle class households to employ domestics. According to Neuhaus (2003:13) “a significant number of families all over the country expected to engage household help in various forms.” Hired domestic help has played a critical role in the development of the country in all parts of the United States. According to Tobias (1998:14) “nineteenth-century middle-class housewife’s status was directly linked with the number and quality of the servants she commanded; servants reflected the quality of her household, which in turn reflected her won worth.” With this in mind, it must have been both logical and essential to include advice on the best behavior towards servants.

Both Beecher and Winsnes point to women’s lack of education “in their only field”, namely housekeeping. The fact that women’s education to a large extent was limited to basic reading and writing, knowledge of classical literature, embroidering, music and such, gave women no training for field in which they were expected to fill as married women; the running of a household. Women were thrown into their role as a housekeeper without any kind of formal training. In large households of the 19th century the job of a housekeeper would to a large extent be that of a manager. Beecher and Winsnes both included texts on behavior towards servants in their cookbooks, and these texts are equivalent to modern management training manuals.

According to Levenstein (2003:60), the American middle class followed the upper class in terms of menu and etiquette in the late 19th century. Entertaining, especially by giving dinner parties, became an important factor in American middle class life. This increased the need for servants, but during this time, women also started to work in factories. It became problematic to find enough female help due to the increase in demand, and the lack of hired help forced many housekeepers to learn food preparation themselves, according to Dorfman (1992).

Servant labor was common in Norway, as most farms had hired help of some kind. The preface in Winsnes book is short, consisting only of two pages, but she finds it important to emphasize the importance of solid knowledge in order for the housekeeper to be superior to her hired help. This shows that it was socially acceptable for large households to keep domestic help in Norway around 1850. In Winsnes' preface she emphasizes that the written instructions are indeed described in detail in order to get as close to practical instructions as possible, and that also work for the servants, such as baking or the work following slaughtering of animals, is explained in detail. Winsnes writes that (1845:2):

Some might find it objectionable that here [...] are jobs described that belongs to a domestic and not to a housekeeper's business; but if the housekeeper cannot understand the chores she is demanding her employees to execute, she coordinates poorly, her respect decreases and she is often betrayed."⁷⁶

(Winsnes 1845: preface)

Winsnes finds it necessary to explain why she is giving advice on chores that falls under a domestic's responsibilities. She makes it clear that the housekeeper, meaning the mistress of the house, has to fully understand the work of which she will command her employees to carry out, or else she will risk being ineffective.

Being a maid or a domestic servant was the most common trade for Norwegian women towards the end of the 19th century, according to the Norwegian historian Erik Oluf Melvold. Melvold (1991) claims that there were about 7.500 female domestic servants in Christiania in 1875, which made up 46% of all female workers and 10% of the total inhabitants. However, Melvold claims that the percentage decreased towards the end of the century, as other, and more attractive workplaces opened to women due to growing industry. This led to a shortage

⁷⁶ Original text: "Somme ville maaskee misbillige, at her [...] ere Arbeider beskrevne, der høre til en Tjenestepiges og ikke til en Huusmoders Forretninge; men dersom Huusmoderen ikke selv forstår de Ting, hun skal befale sine Undergivne at utføre, saa ordinerer hun slet, taber i deres Agtelse og bliver ofte bedragen "

of domestic servants, and housekeepers were forced to treat their servants better and also to pay those more in order to keep them.

Beecher's *Domestic Receipt Book* has an even clearer indication of domestic servants being not only common standard, but a necessity in order to get all things done in a large household of a certain standard. Beecher does not refer to households having only one domestic, and some of Beecher's recipes and indeed the instructions for preparing and serving dinner parties show a higher level of sophistication than Winsnes' book, indicating that Beecher's cookbook is mostly written for those of a better economic standard than Winsnes' readers. Of course, this does not mean that all American households were of better standard than the Norwegians, but it shows that Beecher wrote for women of a more elevated social status than Winsnes did. The latter gives recipes obviously aimed to people living rural lives, while Beecher aims more at people living urban lives and purchasing their produce. Beecher states that her book is written as an attempt to:

secure in a cheap and popular form, for American housekeepers, a work similar to an English work which [I] have examined, entitled the *Encyclopædia of Domestic Economy* the *Thomas Webster and Mrs. Parkes*, [...] ; a work which will be found much more useful to English women, who have plenty of money and well-trained servants, than to American housekeepers.

(Beecher, 1845: preface, iv)

Beecher writes about the importance of having a systematic family arrangement, and she therefore provides a "methodical mode of doing work", which is a systematic plan of which chores each employee should do each weekday, and to what time. In the introduction to this list, Beecher states:

In order to aid those who are novices in these matters, the following outlines are furnished by an accomplished housekeeper. They are the details of family work, in a family of ten persons, where a cook, chambermaid, and boy, are all the domestic employed, and where the style of living is plain, but every day comfortable.

(Beecher 1845: 247)

In Beecher's world, a plain style of living would thus include three domestic servants, indicating that households of a higher standard would have a higher number of domestics.

Winsnes also mentions households with more than one domestic. Middle class households in Norway were also still relatively small and had a modest standard, but according to Winsnes,

it was not uncommon for such households to have at least one domestic. In Winsnes' chapter 1, "Huusholdningens Indretning" (The Households Organization), she states:

A household where one is helped with one maid is easy to keep in order; thus the girl will know that she is solely responsible for everything left in her care; however it is much more difficult to keep order and agreement maintained where there are several servants [...]⁷⁷

(Winsnes 1845:3)

However, she makes it clear that several servants would require close follow-up of the housekeeper(1845:3): " where there are many servants [...] and for that reason needed to divide the chores precisely between the servant girls, so no things are left to argue about, which thereby easily could be neglected."⁷⁸

Winsnes here states that it is far more difficult to keep everything in order and in agreement in a household with many servants. Winsnes recommends that in the households of more than one domestic helper, each person should be responsible for one kind of equipment and cooking vessels:

All vessels (containers) should be distributed for individually care and responsibility, so that for instance the chambermaid has the all the vessels for washing, the cook has the kitchen appliances including the vessels for baking and brewing, and the milkmaid all the dairy vessels, which all should be found clean and in the right place, and everyone should immediately report when some things need repair, which should never be postponed.⁷⁹

(Winsnes 1845: 3)

Winsnes suggests that the housekeeper should keep a close account of all items handled by the servants, as this will cause them to be attentive of their work and be careful not to break anything. Winsnes claims that she does not suggest that servants should pay for things they

⁷⁷ Original text: "En Huusholdning, hvorimant kan behjelpe sig med een Tjenestepige, er let at holde i Orden; thi Pigen ved da, at hun alene staaer til Ansvar for Alt, hva der er overladt til hendes Omsorg; men det er langt vanskeligere at holde Orden og Enighed vedlige, hvor der er mange Tjenestefolk [...]."

⁷⁸ Original text: "hvor der er mange Tjenestefolk [...] og derfor er det nødvendigt, at alle Forretninger blive nøiagtigt fordeelte mellom Pigerne, saa at der ikke er nogen tilbage, om hvilken der kan tvistes, og som af denne grunn let kunde blive forsømt."

⁷⁹ Original text: "Alle Kar (Kjørerrel) bør uddeles til Enhvers Opsyn og Ansvar, saa at f. Ex. Stuepigen har alle Vaskekar, Kokkepigen Kjøkkenredskaber, Bage- og Bryggekar, og Budeien alle Melkekar under sin Opsigt; disse bør findes rene paa sit bestemte Sted, og Enhver bør holdes til at melde, naar noget trenger til Reparation, hvilket aldrig bør udsættes."

happen to destroy, as she claims (1845:4) “it would cut far too much into their little cash”⁸⁰ but rather reward the servant showing great care and skilful work:

A housekeeper should have all the items in the household written down, and it is very useful to take a day a week, or at least once a month, to look over if earthenware and other things, which is under the servants’ surveillance, are not absent. The time spent is well used, as the servants are far more careful handling all items when they know there will come a day for accounting. It is not my advice that servants should pay what they break; that would cut far too much into their little cash, and cause a hardship getting good servants; one should be able to find a suitable encouragement for the one who is careful and prudent, for instance a day off, rather than for the one who neglects, and it always stimulates renewed excitement and energy to see your efforts rewarded.⁸¹

(Winsnes 1845: 4)

Winsnes’ advice on rewarding the good worker instead of punishing the unfortunate is after all common sense, and she claims that being too strict will cause difficulties in employing and maintaining getting hold of good servants. It is acknowledged that servants will be enthusiastic when their good work is noticed and rewarded. Although Winsnes does not directly cite the Bible, as does Beecher, her commitment to treat others as she would like to be treated is apparent. After all, Hanna Winsnes was married to a vicar.

Beecher has devoted a whole chapter to “Friendly Counsels for Domestic.” She advises servants to be mindful (1850:281): “do by them as you will wish to have others do by you, when you are the mistress of a family, and hire others to help you.” Beecher thereby sees it as a possibility that servants may one day be in the position of having their own family to attend (1850:282): “Do not spend your money for useless and expensive things, but learn to be economical and prudent, that you may be preparing to be a good housekeeper, wife, and mother, if ever you have a family of your own.” Beecher seems to have a strong faith in people’s destiny, duty and trials being given by God:

⁸⁰ Original text: “Det vilde gribe for stærkt ind i deres lille Capital.”

⁸¹Original text: “En Huusmoder bør have alt sit Huusgeraad optegnet, og det er meget nyttigt at tage sig en Dag i hver Uge, eller i det mindste i hver Maaned, til at eftersee, om Steentøi og andre Ting, dere ere under Pigernes Opsyn, er tilstede. Den Tid, man anvender hertil, er vel brugt, thi Pigerne blive langt mer forsigtige om det, de kommer under Hænderne, naar de veed, at det ofte kommer en Regnskabsdag. Det er ikke min Mening at tilraade, at Tjenestfolkene skulle betale, hva de slaae itu; det vilde gribe for stærkt ind i deres lille Capital, og bevirke, at man fik vanskelig for gode Tjenere; man kan nok alligevel udfinde en passende Opmuntring for den Forsigtige og Ordentlige, f. Ex. En overordentlig Frihedsdag fremfor den Forsømmelige, og det vækker altid fornyet Lyst og Iver at see sin Duelighed paaskjønnet.”

The duties committed to you by God are very apt to be considered of small count, but they are indeed most solemn and important. [...] Every person finds troubles and trials in their lot, and so you must find them in yours. But trials are sent by God, not for evil, but for good, so that we, by patiently bearing them, and by striving to improve under them, may grow wiser and better, and thus more happy than we could be without them.

(Beecher 1850:280)

The fact that Beecher addresses a chapter in her cookbook directly towards servants shows that she acknowledges the possibility that some domestics are literate, and thereby somewhat educated.

Nonetheless, the housekeeper should be in charge of the economy and the important decisions in the household. Winsnes is clear in her point that a domestic should not be left to make important decisions in the business of running a household, at least not until she is found absolutely trustworthy:

As a main rule I regard that a housekeeper never leave important business to a servant, until she is convinced about her reliability; sewing and other sitting work should never hinder her in the far more important business to organize her house and keep her employees under supervision.⁸²

(Winsnes 1845: 4)

Winsnes here states that keeping the economy and the employees under control and surveillance is a much more important task for the housekeeper than “sitting work” like sewing, embroidery etc. The essence of a housewife’s work is, according to Winsnes, to be in full control of the business in the house, which also includes controlling the very smallest detail of the work of the domestics.

Women of Beecher’s middle class audience were most likely literate, in contrast to the people they hired for domestic help. Beecher makes it a point that the written instructions in the book should be read to the servants, indicating illiteracy among the hired help being common. Beecher states that:

⁸² Original text: ”Som en Hovedregel anseer jeg, at en Huusmoder aldrig overlader vigtige Forretninger til en Tjenestepige, før hun tilfulde er overbeviist om hendes Paalidelighed; Søm og andre siddende Arbejder bør aldrig forhindre hende I den langt vigtigere Forretning at ordne sit Huus og have Opsyn med sine Undergivne.”

The mistress of this family arranges the work for each domestic, and writes it on a large card, which is suspended in the kitchen for guidance and reference. On hiring a new cook, or chambermaid, these details are read to her, and the agreement made, with a full understanding, on both sides, of what is expected. The following⁸³ is copied, verbatim, from these cards prepared for the cook and chambermaid.

(Beecher 1850: 247)

This clearly shows that illiteracy is expected and accepted as normal for people in the lower classes. More evidence of the same is stated by Beecher claiming that:

...written directions will be of little or no use to domestics. But the fact of having them written, and the reading of them over to all new-comers, as what is expected of them, and occasional reference to them, as what was agreed on when making the bargain, often will be of much service.

(Beecher 1850: 250)

This indicated that although the servants can not read the instructions themselves, the written text seemingly has a high status, as the written instructions are to be referred to occasionally and thereby be a good help in making the servants do what they have agreed upon.

However, Beecher (1845) states general aims in the preface of her cookbook, whereas one is: “to express every receipt in language which is short, simple, and perspicuous, and yet to give all directions so minutely as that the book can be kept in the kitchen, and be used by any domestic who can read, as a guide in every one of her employments in the kitchen.” This contradicts a previous statement of hers (1850:250): “written directions will be of little or no use to domestics.” But even if some domestics were literate after all, Beecher emphasizes the different levels of literate skills between the housekeeper and the domestics by keeping her language short in order to ensure understanding.

Both Winsnes and Beecher emphasize the importance of the housekeeper keeping the domestics well informed of their duties, and under constant surveillance in order to avoid misunderstandings and neglect. Beecher devotes a chapter (1850:269–274) to “suggestions in regard to hired service”, and she claims (1850:269) that “there is no subject on which young housekeepers need wisdom and instruction more, than in regard to the management of domestics.” She further claims that the success in managing domestic servants depend on the housekeeper’s manners towards the servants. She concludes (1850:273) by giving advice,

⁸³ Six pages detailed day to day instructions for the cook and the chambermaid.

referring to God: “[servants’] feelings and prejudices should in no way be abused, and that they be treated as we should wish to be, if thrown as strangers into a strange land, among a people of different customs and faith, and away from parents, home, and friends.” While both Beecher and Winsnes emphasize careful management of domestics, they also recognize the importance of treating them with compassion.

7. Conclusion

This thesis has analyzed cookbooks as historical literature with a focus on middle class housekeeping in the United States and Norway in the 19th century. The main research texts have been the two cookbooks *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* (1850) written by Catherine Beecher and *Lærebog i de Forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen* (1845) written by Hanna Winsnes.

Cooking in the 19th century differed tremendously from modern cooking due to lack of conveniences such as refrigerator, freezer, electric stoves, standardized measures and modern grocery shops. The aim of the comparison was, however, not to compare 19th century housekeeping to contemporary housekeeping, but to point out similarities and differences in the middle class households between the United States and in Norway.

This study of historical cookbooks has revealed that cookbooks from the 19th century contained information on many different subjects besides recipes and cooking, and it is therefore my claim that 19th century cookbooks are to be seen as a cross-genre and not merely as cookbooks. One reason for the wide aspects of information of historical cookbooks was found to be the male domination of 19th century. Men set the rules in the 19th century, and this influenced women's domestic position and literature. Women in the mid 1800's did not receive an education in any particular profession. They were, however, trained in basic subjects such as reading and writing, and were therefore able to obtain knowledge from written material. However, women were not accepted as authors. Therefore, few texts were written on housekeeping, which was clearly a women's subject. During the 19th century, women were, however, accepted as authors of cookbooks, as these first started to be published in the United States and in Norway. Men did not possess knowledge on housekeeping, and were neither authors nor readers of 19th century cookbooks. Due to lack of education in housekeeping and very little published written information on the subject, women's only source of housekeeping facts, besides orally transmitted knowledge, was the cookbooks. It was, for this reason, logical to include all kinds of housekeeping advice into a cookbook, and the result was that historical cookbooks included advice on moral behavior, cost control, attitude towards servant in addition to cooking instructions and recipes. Nineteenth century cookbooks can therefore be seen as important textbooks in female education.

The first comparison in this thesis was the reasons Winsnes and Beecher had for writing the cookbooks. The main reason indicated by both authors was the lack of adequate literature on the field. Both authors saw the need for useful and comprehensible books as aid for inexperienced housekeepers, and they hoped their cookbooks would contribute to the education of women in their daily work, which was destined to be housekeeping. Winsnes and Beecher were experienced writers by the time their cookbooks were published. Beecher was not married, and therefore she had to support herself financially. Winsnes, on the other hand, was married to a vicar at the time of her cookbook publication, but as mentioned by Hopp (1943:99), some extra shillings could be useful. The combination of good housekeeping knowledge and writing skills formed a good basis for both women to write their cookbooks. Due to social change and technological improvements both in Norway and in the United States in the mid 1800's, many people started to see longer and think wider, and women in both countries were obviously ready for improvements in their field of work. Any literature that could ease their daily labor must have been welcomed, and Beecher and Winsnes provided just that.

The next comparison was on the food sections. Clear differences between rural Norwegian households and urbanized American households were seen in the authors' approaches to for instance the chapters on meat. While Winsnes' cookbook reflected self-contained societies with livestock, giving details on butchering, Beecher referred to purchasing meat in a market. However, both authors emphasized the importance of using everything and avoiding waste. Even though Beecher clearly relied on purchased meat, she also provided charts on cutting carcasses and detailed descriptions on for instance cutting up a hog. This indicates that even if it was not as common for the American households to keep private livestock, meat was still obtained in bulk, and much of the same instructions on cutting and preparing meat was found in the two cookbooks. One prevalent difference was however found, namely that fresh meat was used to a larger extent in the United States, while almost all parts of the animals were preserved for later use in Norway.

The comparison of dairy products proved that there was a difference in the production of cheese and butter in the two countries. Norway ran traditional mountain dairy farms during the summer months, where a milk maid produced cheese and butter which was transported to

the cities for sale. According to Beecher's cookbook, there were areas that specialized in dairy production, although she provided instructions on how to make both butter and cheese.

In the comparison of baking, three common obstacles were found for the two countries; the lack of precise temperature in baking ovens, the poor quality of flour, and the different types and qualities of yeast. The baking processes were fairly similar, and the author's advice on how to best succeed in baking was found rather alike. But 'technical information' such as the size and number of sticks required for the right baking temperature was included in both cookbooks. Such information would in modern times be provided in instruction manuals, and again, it is evident that 19th century cookbooks cover different literature genres than only those of cooking, which is the reason why historical cookbooks make interesting research objects.

The biggest difference between the cookbooks was found when comparing brewing and alcoholic beverages. Winsnes provided thorough instructions on brewing different kinds of beer, as this was part of an old Norwegian tradition where each farm brewed its own beer. In Beecher's cookbook, there was no instruction on brewing; there was, on the contrary, moralistic advice on total abstinence from alcohol, which was reflected in the Temperance movement at the time.

The third section to be compared was the households' administrations. The rural society influenced the Norwegian table setting and eating habits, which were contrasted by the more sophisticated American style although everyday table settings were not discussed in great detail in either cookbook. Beecher had devoted several pages to suggestions for table settings and preparations for elaborate evening parties, while Winsnes' most related mentioning of such was the information given on repair of broken earthenware and porcelain, and advice on how to keep silver bright and shining.

Undoubtedly, 19th century housekeepers faced hard work, and there were many obstacles to consider that are unfamiliar today. Technological advances, or lack thereof, was discussed and found to be similar in both countries. There was a change from open hearth cooking to cast iron stoves, but there was a lack of standardization in measuring devices, and there were no thermometers for stating the right temperature. Yeast and flour varied in quality, and there food needed to be preserved without the aid of refrigerators or freezers. Housekeeping was

without any doubt hard labor, and both authors provided moral advice for distressed housekeepers, and plenty of advice on good ways of organizing the household.

The difference between Winsnes' self-contained rural households and Beecher's urban households showed in the ways the households' were organized. Winsnes' cookbook clearly addressed households of a barter economy, and the organizing of Norwegian households were clearly typified by traditional farming traditions, with a focus on heavy workloads in the slaughtering period and in summer months when dairy products were produced. This was contrasted by Beecher's advice on organizing more urban households, where she for instance gave advice on what to look for in markets.

A similar point in both books was, however, the emphasis that the housekeeper should be frugal throughout all areas of the household. Both authors also stressed the importance of nothing being wasted, spilled, spoiled or broken. Both authors also gave interesting advice on best ways of handling servants, and these texts resembled modern texts of administration and management. Both Winsnes and Beecher pointed to the importance of the housekeeper being knowledgeable about all aspects of her household in order to be respected by her staff. They also gave advice on how housekeepers should treat their servants in order to make them behave well, be thorough in their work and stay loyal. Both authors suggested that rewarding good behavior and effort would be a better approach than punishing the opposite. One difference in the cookbook in regard to the servant department was that it seemed more common for the Norwegian housekeeper to have fewer servants than for the American housekeeper. Winsnes referred to having one maid, as well as having several, whereas Beecher listed chores for a whole staff. The information on attitudes towards servants proved an excellent example of the assorted content of information found in Winsnes' and Beecher's cookbooks. This thesis has showed that the varied content of historical cookbooks make them important sources of literature on women's historical domestic work. Due to the detailed insight on cooking, food habits and administrative chores, these historical cookbooks have proven valuable sources of information on people's, especially middle class women's, everyday life and culture.

The 19th century cookbooks analyzed in this thesis have proven to contain much more than "recipes and instructions for cooking", as defined by *Webster's Dictionary*. A considerable part of the content of both cookbooks proved not to be cooking instructions or recipes, but

rather information on different administrative aspects of the households. This thesis has shown that historical cookbooks analyzed cover much more information than is encompassed by Webster's restricted definition. When considering Neuhaus' statement (2003:1) that even modern cookbooks contain more than strictly directions for food preparation as authors also include advice on how to shop, lose weight, feed children, combat depression, protect the environment, and so on, it becomes clear that traditional dictionaries, such as Webster's, are found insufficient as they do not describe the full content of cookbooks, either modern or historical. It is therefore my claim that Webster's definition of a cookbook is insufficient, as it does not comply with the full content of cookbooks.

To sum up, it is my claim that historical cookbooks discussed in this thesis can be seen as a cross-genre, not necessarily consistent with the accepted definitions of traditional cookbooks. The cookbooks have proven to encompass many genres, such as management training manuals, as well as purely instructional texts on baking, cleaning, repairing, and nursing. Additionally, these cookbooks proved to contain texts resembling modern day's genre of autobiography or short story, as well as texts characterized as modern "self-help books", such as the sections on moralistic manners and religious behavior. Furthermore, the sections on heating baking ovens would qualify as technical instruction manuals, and the information on cutting meat would in modern days be defined as text for the butcher trade. It is therefore my claim that these historical cookbooks may be seen as cross-genre instead of merely cookbooks.

Due to the limitations of this thesis, other households than those of middle class have not been studied. It would, however, be interesting to compare other social classes in two different countries, such as Winsnes' *For fattige Husmødre* (1852) to an American equivalent. Another interesting subject for further research would be to do a pure genre analysis of historical cookbooks, as this subject has merely been touched upon in this thesis. Additionally, cookbooks merit further research both in the field of women's position in the home, and for general historical research. The American author Patricia Storey concluded (1986:62) that: "every cookbook, more or less consciously, is a work of social history." There is obviously more work to be done in this important field of women's history.

Bibliography

- Abel, Mary Hinman. 1890. *Practical Sanitary and Economic Cooking*. New York: American Public Health Association.
- Aschehoug og Gyldendals Store Norske Ordbok*. 2005. Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget.
- Avakian, Arlene Voski and Barbara Haber, eds. 2005. *From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Avdem, Anna Jorunn and Kari Melby. 1995. *Oppe først og sist i seng*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget AS
- Ball, D.E. and G.M. Walton. "Agricultural Productivity Change in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania" *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 36, No. 1, The Tasks of Economic History (March, 1976), pp. 102-117.
Internet source [accessed 10.04.08]: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/view/2119802?seq=8>
- Bang, Maren Elisabeth. 1831. *Huusholdnings-bog, indrettet efter den almindelige Brug i Norske Huusholdninger*. Reprint 1993 Oslo: Bjørn Ringstrøms Antikvariat.
- Barton, David. 1994. *Literacy: An introduction to the Ecology of Written Language*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Beecher, Catherine E. 1845, revised edition. *A Treatise on Domestic Economy, For the Use of Young Ladies at Home, and At School*.⁸⁴ New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Beecher, Catherine E. 1850. *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Beecher, Catherine E. and Harriet Beecher Stowe. 1869. *American Women's home: or, Principles of Domestic Science; being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful, and Christian Homes*. New York: .J.B. Ford and Company.
- Blackford, Stacey L. ed. 2002. "Cast Iron Stove." *How Products are Made*. Gale Group, Inc. eNotes.com. Internet source [accessed 15.03.08] <http://www.enotes.com/how-products-encyclopedia/cast-iron-stove>.
- Borglund, Per A. *100 år med kokebøker. Mat, historie og mennesker*. Oslo: Aftenposten Forlag.
- Boswell, James and John Wilson Crocker. 1831. *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* London, John Murray, digitalized by Google July 6. 2007,[accessed 07.04.08]
http://books.google.no/books?id=13AEAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA269&lpg=PA269&dq=%22samuel+johnson%22+%2B+burke+%2B+philosopher+%2B+%22cooking+animal%22&source=web&ots=MoBO_aXB4v&sig=Usx0uYfq9-qrEOKodagnVq02-Xk&hl=no#PPA269,M1.

⁸⁴ First published in Boston in 1841, but was taken over by Harper & Brothers in New York in 1845.

- Bower, Anne, ed. 1997. *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Cott, Nancy F and Elizabeth H. Pleck, ed. 1979 *A Heritage of Her Own*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Cotter, Colleen. "Claiming a Piece of the Pie: How the Language of Recipes Defines Community." In Bower, ed. 1997. *Recipes for Reading*.
- Cusser, Margareth and De Give, Mary L, 1952: *Twix the Cup and the Lip: Psychology and Sociological Factors Affecting Food Habits*, New York, 168 in Neuhaus, 1999.
- Dege, Hroar. 1999. *Beretninger om øl fra næring til nytelse*. Arendal: Kilden Forlag.
- Diesen, Hilde, ed. 1989. *Præstegården på landet*. Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn Forlag A.s.
- Diesen, Hilde. 2000. *Hanna Winsnes Dagsverk og nattetanker*. Oslo: H. Aschehough & Co.
- Dorfman, Cindy J. 1992. "The Garden of Eating: The Carnal Kitchen in Contemporary American Culture", *Feminist Issues*, Spring 1992, Vol. 12, Issue 1.
- Durand, Loyal, Jr. 1967. "The Historical and Economic Geography of Dairying in the North Country of New York State", *Geographical Review*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Jan., 1967), pp. 24-47.
- Dyson, Lowell K. 2000. "American Cuisine in the 20th Century", *Food Review*, Volume 23, Issue 1.
- Engesæther, Olaug. 2006. "Norsk historie på 1800-tallet" Internet source [accessed 31.03.08]: <http://dokkeveien.uib.no/digitalaskolen/fellesfiler/nohist.htm>.
- Farmer, Fannie Merritt. 1896. *Boston Cooking School Cookbook*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Fjeldheim, Ola K. 2007. "Jernovner i Norge 1530 – 1930". Bygningstradisjoner i grensetrakter. Internet source [accessed 31.03.08]: <http://www.grenstrakter.org/download.php?objectId=510>
- Floyd Janet and Laurel Forster, eds. 2003. *The Recipe Reader: Narratives –Contexts-Traditions*, London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Fossgard, Eldbjørg, ed. 2002. *Tradisjon, opplysning og verkelegheit i norsk matkultur*. Voss: Vestnorsk kulturakademi.
- Gigante, Denise, ed. 2005. *Gusto. Essential Writings in Nineteenth-century Gastronomy*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

- Gjengedal Myrmel, Evy Karin. 2002. "Folkeopplysning og kjønnsrolleideologi i perioden 1845 – 1909" in Fossgard, Eldbjørg, ed. 2002 *Tradisjon, opplysning og verkelegheit i norsk matkultur*. Voss: Vestnorsk kulturakademi.
- Gjerdåker, Brynjulv. 2002. "Norsk jordbruksproduksjon og matforsyning frå 1850- til 1930-åra" in Fossgard, Eldbjørg, ed. 2002 *Tradisjon, opplysning og verkelegheit i norsk matkultur*. Voss: Vestnorsk kulturakademi.
- Glasse Hannah. 1776 *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. (1747 British edition know as *First Catch Your Hare....*) American edition published in 1805. A facsimile reproduced from that edition, 1997.
- Grow, Lawrence. 1981. *The Old House Book of Kitchens and Dining Rooms*. New York: Main Street P.
- Görlach, Manfred. 2004. "Text Types and the history of English", New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 12.
- Haber, Barbara, 2002. *From hardtack to home fries: an uncommon history of American cooks and meals*. New York: Free Press.
- Harber, Barbara, ed. 2005. See "Avakian and Harber".
- Hale, Sarah J. 1839. *The Good Housekeeper, or the Way to Live Well and to Be Well While We Live*. Boston: Weeks, Jordan and Company.
- Heldke, Lisa. 2003. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*. New York: Routledge.
- Hooker, Richard James. 1981. *Food and Drink in America: A History*, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Inc.
- Hopp, Zinken, 1943. *Hanna Winsnes*. Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag.
- Horner, Jennifer. R. 2000. "Betty Crocker's Picture Cookbook: A Gendered Ritual Response to Social Crises of the Postwar Era". *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, Vol. 24, No. 3. Internet source [accessed 05.02.08]: <http://jci.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/24/3/332>
- Huehls, Frances. 2008. "Beecher, Catharine Ester". Learning to Give, Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University. Internet source [accessed 30.04.08] <http://www.learningtogive.org/papers/index-asp?bpid=76>
- Jenkins, Nancy. 2005. "Martha Ballard: A Woman's Place on the Eastern Frontier". In Avakian, Arlene Voski and Barbara Haber, eds. 2005. *From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Kamp, David. 2006. *The United States of Arugula: How We Became a Gourmet Nation*. New York: Broadway Books.

- Kaspersen, Ardis. 1996. *Husmenn og husmannskost fra hele landet*. Oslo, Landbruksforlaget A/S.
- Kjelstadli, Ole Peder. 2006. "Nye læreplaner for 25. gang" *Lektorbladet* nr. 1-06 pp. 11-12. Internet source [accessed 31.03.08]: http://www.norsklektorlag.no/lektorbladet/lektorbladet_no1_06.pdf
- La Varenne, De La François Pierre. 1651. *Le Cuisiner François*. Lyons, Canier, 1680. Internet source [accessed 01.04.08] <http://www.bib.ub.es/grewe/showbook.pl?gw023>
- Lea, Elizabeth Ellicott, 1845, and William Woys Weaver. New ed. 2004 *A Quaker Woman's Cookbook: The Domestic Cookbook of Elizabeth Ellicott Lea*. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books.
- Levenstein, Harvey. 1988. *Revolution at the Table*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*. 1992. Essex: Longman Group UK Limited.
- Longone, Jan. "Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project" Clements Library, University of Michigan. Internet source [accessed 03.10.07]: <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/index.html>
- Lovegren, Sylvia. 1995. *Fashionable Food, seven decades of Food Fads*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Løken, Olaug 1897. *Madstel og Husstel for almindelige husholdninger*. Kristiania: De tusen Hjemms Forlag.
- Matthews, Glenna. 1987. *Just a Housewife*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McCullan, Helen. 1982. *The American Heritage Cookbook*. New York: American Heritage Publishing Co. Inc./Bonanza Books.
- McDevitt, Ellen. 2000. "A Brief History of Adult and Literacy Education". Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania ABLE. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Internet source [accessed 03.03.08]: <http://www.able.state.pa.us/able/lib/able/ah00/historyah.pdf>
- Mennell, Stephen. 1992. *The Sociology of Food: Eating, Diet and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Melvold, Erik Oluf. 1997. *Emner fra Oslo's historie : prosjekt "Oslo-patriot"*. Oslo: Oslo kommune, Byrådsavdeling for barn og utdanning. internett source [accessed 31.04.08]: <http://www.ude.oslo.no/Oslo-patriot/ramme3.html>
- Neuhaus, Jessamyn. Spring 1999. "The way to a Man's Heart: Gender Roles, Domestic Ideology, and Cookbooks in the 1950s". *Journal of Social History*, 00224529, Vol. 32, Issue 3.
- Neuhaus, Jessamyn. 2003. *Manly meals and mom's home cooking: cookbooks and gender in modern America*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press

- Notaker, Henry. 1987, 2000. *Gastronomi: Til bords med historien*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Notaker, Henry. 1990. *Hanna Winsnes – mer en matmor*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag A/S.
- Notaker, Henry. 1993. *Ganens Makt*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Notaker, Henry. 2001. *Fra Kalvedans til bankebiff. Norske kokebøker til 1951. Historie og bibliografi*. Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket.
- Notaker, Henry. 2002: "Nasjonsbyggerne og Maten". In Fossgard, Eldbjørg, ed. 2002 *Tradisjon, opplysning og verkelegheit i norsk matkultur*. Voss: Vestnorsk kulturakademi.
- Notaker, Henry. 2002b: "Kokebøker som opplysningslitteratur". In Fossgard, Eldbjørg, ed. 2002. *Tradisjon, opplysning og verkelegheit i norsk matkultur*. Voss: Vestnorsk kulturakademi.
- Notaker, Henry. 2006. *Mat og Måltid*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.
- Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. 1974. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Plante, Ellen M. 1995. *The American Kitchen, 1700 to the Present: From Hearth to Highrise*. New York: Facts on File, p. 144.
- Randall, Margaret. 1997. *Hunger's Table: Women, Food & Politics*, Watsonville, California: Papier-Mache Press.
- Rebora, Giovanni. 1998 *La civiltà della forchetta*, Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, Roma-Bari. Translation by Albert Sonnenfeld, *The Culture of the Fork*. 2001, New York: New York University Press.
- Riesel, René. 2001. "Aveux complets des véritables mobiles du crime commis au Cirad le 5 juin 1999". Samizdat.net. Internet source [accessed 23.04.08]: <http://infos.samizdat.net/article42.html>.
- Rollins, Judith. 1985. *Between Women: Domesticity and Their Employer*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press. p. 50 In Neuhaus, Jessamyn. 2003. *Manly meals and mom's Home cooking: cookbooks and gender in modern America*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rorer, Sarah Tyson. 1902. *Mrs. Rorer's New Cook Book*. Philadelphia: Arnold and Company.

- Salice, Barbara. *Women and Illiteracy in the United States: A Feminist View. Revised.* 1988
Internet source [accessed 30.10.07]:
http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/custom/portlets/recordDetails/detailmini.jsp?nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED299434&ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=eric_accno&accno=ED299434
- Simmons Amelia, 1798. *American Cookery, or the Art of Dressing Viands, Fish, Poultry, and Vegetables, and the Best Mode of Making Pastes, Puffs, Pies, Tarts, Puddings, Custards and Preserves, and all Kinds of Cakes, from the Imperial Plumb to Plain Cake, adapted to this Country, and all Grades of Life.* Northampton: Hartford, printed for Simeon Butler.
- Sklar, Kathryn Kish. 1973. *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity.* London: Yale University Press.
- Stavely Keith & Ketleen Fitzgerald. 2004. *America's founding Food, the story of New England Cooking,* North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London.
- Stern, Michael and Stern, Jane. 1985: *Square Meals.* New York, 199-200 cited in Neuhaus, Jessamyn. 1999, Spring. "The way to a Man's Heart: Gender Roles, Domestic Ideology, and Cookbooks in the 1950s". *Journal of Social History*, 00224529, Vol. 32, Issue 3.
- Stewart, Martha. 1982. *Entertaining.* New York: Clarkson N. Potter Publishers.
- Storage, Patricia. June 1986. "Repasts Past: Delicious Memories from Antique Cookbooks", *House and Garden*, 62.
- The New International Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language.* 2003. Florida: Typhoon International.
- Thurfjell, Karsten. 2000. *Kokbokmuseet i Grythyttan. Måltidens Hus i Norden.* Grythyttan, Sverige: Måltidsakademiens Bibliotekstiftelse.
- Tobias, Steven M. 1998. "Early American Cookbooks as Cultural Artifacts" *Papers on Language & Literature*, Vol. 34. Internet source [accessed 26.10.07]:
<http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=LLRVSw22PF1b3sZWmypcTtSHVt8FGyWJsrn2N11TryJh0mKQv1b7!-1255406695?docId=5001339202>
- Troels-Lund, Troels Fredrik. 1969. Daglig liv i Norden i det sekstende århunderde, bind 3, cited in Valebrokk, Eva. 2007. *Norske Bordskikker. Dekkede bord gjennom 500 år.* Oslo: N.W. Damm & Søn.
- Valebrokk, Eva. 2007. *Norske Bordskikker. Dekkede bord gjennom 500 år.* Oslo: N.W. Damm & Søn.
- Vinje, Aasmund Olavsson. 1859. "Um Austlands og Vestlandsk opplysning", cited in Valebrokk, Eva. 2007. *Norske Bordskikker. Dekkede bord gjennom 500 år.* Oslo: N.W. Damm & Søn.

- Vollan, Odd. 1971. *Sildefisket gjennom tusen år*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
- Weaver, Louise Bennett and Helen Cowles LeCron. 1917. *A Thousand Ways to Please a Husband*. New York: A.L. Burt Co.
- Weaver, William Woyce, ed. 2004. *A Quaker Woman's Cookbook: The Domestic Cookery of Elizabeth Ellicott Lea, 1845*. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books.
- Winsnes, Hanna. 1845. *Lærebog i de forskjellige Grene af Huusholdningen*. Christiania: C.A. Wulfsberg.
- Wright Mills, C. 2002. *Whitecollar: The American Middle Classes*. New York: Oxford University Press. Internet Source [accessed 10.04.08]:
http://books.google.com/books?hl=no&lr=&id=w-asb7H8WF8C&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=definition+%2B+american+%2B+%22middle+class%22+%2B+1850&ots=ddjz6jexay&sig=345Qg-e3Vtq-E8XZ_NbAb_5FY-w#PPA4,M1
- Zanger, Mark H. 2003. *The American History Cookbook*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.