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Recipes for Resistance: Feminist Political Discourse About Cooking, 1870-1985

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Stacy Jeanne Williams

Committee in charge:

Professor Mary Blair-Loy, Chair
Professor Amy Binder
Professor Jeffrey Haydu
Professor Isaac Martin
Professor Rebecca Plant

2017

The Dissertation of Stacy Jeanne Williams is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

University of California, San Diego

2017

DEDICATION

For Kevin Bradley Williams, 1988-2010

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VITA

2007 Bachelor of Arts, Northwestern University

2012 Master of Arts, University of California, San Diego

2017 Doctor of Philosophy, University of California, San Diego

PUBLICATIONS

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Sociology

Studies in social movements
Professors Jeffrey Haydu and Isaac Martin

Studies in gender
Professor Mary Blair-Loy

Studies in culture
Professor Amy Binder

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Recipes for Resistance: Feminist Political Discourse About Cooking, 1870-1985

by

Stacy Jeanne Williams

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, San Diego, 2017

Professor Mary Blair-Loy, Chair

To better understand campaigns for gender equality, we must examine how women challenge the family and the home. Recently, social movements scholars have shown that movements target many institutions and occur within a wide array of settings. Theories such as the "multi-institutional politics approach" and "strategic action fields" lay the conceptual groundwork necessary to examine how the family and home become arenas for social movement activity. The gender literature tells us that the family and home are particularly important to women's social experiences; therefore, these settings are likely to be central to women's social movements. However, few studies have examined the processes by which these spheres become politicized.

I examine how feminists have politicized the home and family through their discourse about cooking. I analyze culinary discourse from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, woman suffragists, liberal second-wave feminists, and radical second-wave feminists. I research community cookbooks published by these feminists, their newspaper articles about cooking, and food-related archival materials from feminist organizations or restaurants.

I have identified three processes that help us understand how these feminists developed culinary discourse that supported their political goals. First, they used culinary claims to build moral collective identities. I argue that each movement's moral identity appealed to the constituencies that would help them achieve their political goals. Second, I demonstrate that the gendered character of cultural genres helps with frame resonance. Suffragists and liberal feminists used the feminized nature of cookbooks to extend more transgressive political arguments to their readers. I call this process "hiding spinach in the brownies," for cookbooks provide an appetizing medium for frames that are harder to swallow. Third, I expand the study of prefigurative politics beyond organizational forms by developing new concepts, "personal prefigurative politics" and "integrated prefigurative politics," to describe how feminists suggested culinary methods that would enable activists to prefigure their envisioned social change within their personal homes. These three processes help us understand the role of the home and family in social movements, and they demonstrate how women use domestic actions to work toward women's empowerment.

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

> "No matter how liberated we get, we still have to eat. If you want to eat well, cook for yourself." — S. Joslyn Fosberg, 1975

In 1888, a farmer's wife wrote to a women's newspaper to ask for advice. Concerned about the amount of alcohol that the men in her family were consuming, she sought a recipe for a drink that would sustain the men's strength in the field but did not contain alcohol. She inquired, "Is there not something that you can publish in your columns which farmers can use in hay and harvest time that will take the place of spirits as they are used with eggs?" In a style similar to the "Dear Abby" or "Ask Amy" columns in twenty-first century newspapers, a friendly authority figure responded, "As a child on a farm, it was my work to carry to the men in the harvest field a drink our mother prepared, water, seasoned with molasses, vinegar and ginger. In later years oatmeal and water is a favorite drink for men laboring in the heat, refreshing and strengthening" (Anonymous 1888).

In another late nineteenth-century women's newspaper, a woman writing under the name "Dot" boasted about her culinary skills. "Some might call me a cook!" she explained, "that is all well enough, but I call myself an artist, and my kitchen is my studio; sometimes I call myself a chemist, and then my kitchen is my laboratory. In my kitchen I prepare my roasts, whose surfaces are of savory crispness, and whose interiors are delicate structures of tender fibers and swollen tides of imprisoned juices." This

immodest cook—or shall we say artist—claims that she receives payment for her craft in the form of compliments from her husband. “Who would take the trouble to learn kitchen art without a husband to praise it? Not I” (Dot 1875).

A hundred years later, a women’s newspaper in Oklahoma publicized a public baking contest. The contestants baked apple pies in front of a small crowd and three judges. After donning blindfolds and tasting the pies, the judges crowned Wanda Jo Peltier the champion for her “mouth-watering apple pie.” Peltier, who worked for a company that wrote grants for private and governmental organizations, explained that she enjoyed cooking so much that she spent most of her free time in the kitchen (Anonymous 1978a, 1978b).

In the 1970s, another women’s publication taught readers to make their own sourdough bread, from the sourdough starter through to the crusty loaf. The author, Claudia Scott, explained the joy of creating homemade loaves with individual personalities, “You can develop in it characteristics that give your bread unique textures and flavors. You can become a fanatic… If you become a fanatic you’ll develop [personal touches] yourself and swear by them as devoutly as any other devotee. But in the meantime you can just enjoy… Baking sourdough bread is a continuing creative experiment.” Scott then goes on to teach readers about the several-day process of making a sourdough starter, how to store the starter, and how to use the starter to make loaves of home-baked bread. The author leaves the reader’s taste buds watering for warm, fresh, crusty bread, but warns us to wait at least 20 minutes after removing it from the oven “to let it cure. It won’t cut cleanly until it’s thoroughly cool—but that’s what you save the second loaf for” (Scott 1975).

You would be forgiven for thinking these discussions about women and cooking occurred in the pages of *Ladies' Home Journal* or *Good Housekeeping.* The mainstream women's media has historically focused on women's traditional roles in the home. When *Ladies' Home Journal* was started in 1883, the founders exclaimed, "we propose to make it a household necessity" (Scanlon 1995:3). The advertisements in these publications especially promoted the image of the domestic housewife (Fox 1990). While women's newspapers and magazines have also featured other issues, such as working women (Scanlon 1995), these topics usually do not take center stage. However, the above articles about cooking did not appear in the mass media that is aimed at women.

These articles were written by feminists, and they were printed in newspapers and magazines associated with feminist movements. The advice column that offered a drink recipe to a farmer's wife came from the *Union Signal,* the voice of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (see Chapter 2 for why I consider the WCTU a feminist movement). The braggadocious Dot waxed poetical about her cooking in the *Woman's Journal,* the woman's suffrage newspaper with the highest circulation. The Oklahoma pie-baking contest was publicized in *Sister Advocate,* a liberal second-wave feminist newspaper from the local area. Finally, Claudia Scott's lengthy instructions on baking sourdough bread appeared in *Country Women,* a magazine that was produced by and for radical second-wave feminists.

Some might find this counter-intuitive. Feminist movements have developed many ways of seeking women's empowerment, and some of these methods have distanced women from their traditional domestic tasks. Feminists are more well-known for securing the vote, fighting for women's legal rights, pushing for women's increased

representation in the workplace, and marching for abortion rights than they are known for cooking, raising children, and cleaning. As we will see, gender and social movements scholarship has also done much to focus our attention on particular elements of feminist politics. These scholars have amplified feminists' domestic critiques and their public-sphere actions while disregarding feminists' suggestions for action in the home.

However, critique and avoidance is not the entire story of feminism and domestic tasks. As S. Joslyn Fosberg, a radical feminist in the 1970s, pointed out, "No matter how liberated we get, we still have to eat. If you want to eat well, cook for yourself" (Fosberg 1975). Like other domestic tasks, cooking is necessary for survival unless the household has enough money to pay others to cook for them. Thus, feminists could critique cooking, but not every feminist could avoid it.

In this project, I analyze culinary discourse from the WCTU, the woman's suffrage movement, liberal second-wave feminism, and radical second-wave feminism. I investigate the cookbooks that these feminists published, the articles they wrote about cooking, and archival materials from feminist organizations or restaurants that documented their approach to food. As I read through these sources, I asked: How has cooking become intertwined with feminist politics? How did feminists suggest that women (and men) cook? How did these culinary suggestions help feminists achieve their political goals?

We will learn that a feminist cook is not an oxymoron. In fact, some feminists have shown great pride in their cooking and have celebrated their fellow activists' culinary skill. What's more, feminists have developed discourse about cooking that supported their political goals. These activists discussed engaging with cooking, and their

discourse—and the culinary actions they proposed—helped them work toward their visions for a more gender-equal world. Thus, feminists did not only find political benefits from critiquing cooking. In this dissertation, I demonstrate the political benefits that came from feminists' discussions about how and why they continued to cook.

Theoretical Background

This dissertation brings together the subfields of social movements, gender, and culture to study how cooking becomes a mechanism for pursuing social change. Recently, social movements scholars have shown that movements target many institutions and occur within a wide array of settings. These theories lay the conceptual groundwork necessary to examine how the family and home become arenas for social movement activity, but few scholars have examined the political potential of the domestic sphere. Yet, the gender literature teaches us that the home is central to women's experiences. Thus, women's movements are likely to politicize the home and family. Without understanding how women fight for change within these settings, we cannot fully grasp how activists challenge the status quo. By focusing on how women have fought for increased power in the family, we can better understand the forces behind one of the largest transformations to social life in the United States over the past 200 years.

Expanding Social Movement Activity

A focus on state-oriented politics has been the *modus operandi* of social movement scholarship for the past thirty years. This emphasis on actions that target the state is a result of the dominance of the contentious politics approach and the political

process model within the field of social movements. The political process model explains the emergence of social movements by looking to broad socioeconomic processes, state-centered political opportunities, the strength of organizations indigenous to the community, and whether people believe that they can change a situation that they see as unjust (McAdam 1982). Contentious politics dovetails with the political process model. Contentious politics is defined as "episodic, public, [and] collective" action (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001:10-11; Tarrow 2013:266) in which the state is a major player.

Taken together, the political process model and the contentious politics approach developed a paradigm of social movement scholarship that revolved around the state and public protest. The political process model and contentious politics approach assume that one source of power—usually the state—is generally the target of social movements' campaigns for change. It defines social movements as consisting of people who are excluded from the polity; thus, these people mobilize because they do not have access to government representation or resources (McAdam 1982; Tilly 1978). Under this paradigm, movement goals include gaining government representation or changes in laws or policy. Cultural change is considered a secondary goal, one that results from changes in policy (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008:77; McAdam 1994). Because social movement members, by definition, do not have access to traditional political representation and courses of action, they must work through non-institutionalized channels to achieve these policy changes. The actions that receive the most attention are public protest events, and the counting of reports of protests in newspapers has become a common way of measuring social movement activity (Earl et al. 2004).

Recent developments in the study of social movements have broadened the

understanding of social movements and activism beyond these definitions laid out in the contentious politics approach and the political process model. Many scholars have critiqued the dominant paradigm for its state-centeredness, arguing that movements also target culture, corporations, and other institutions (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Crossley 2002; Staggenborg and Taylor 2005; Van Dyke, Soule, and Taylor 2004). Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) synthesize many of these constructive critiques into what they call a "multi-institutional politics approach" to social movements. This body of work views society as composed of multiple institutions that all have established power (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Friedland and Alford 1991). Because power emanates from multiple institutions, social movements target powerful non-governmental institutions as well as the state. Thus, challenges are directed at a number of systems of authority, including culture and other institutions (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). These scholars also view culture and material resources as working together to construct social structures (Sewell 1992). Thus, these scholars do not view movements' cultural challenges as secondary and "expressive," but view them as serious attempts to challenge a potent source of power (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008).

Further, scholars recognize that collective action takes place in a number of different arenas. Fligstein and McAdam (2011:2) conceptualize the social world as made up of "strategic action fields," or meso-level settings in which individuals and collective actors "vie for strategic advantage." Fligstein and McAdam theorize that the constant competition between field members produces change and stability in a range of social

settings.[1] Thus, current theories have recently expanded what we understand as targets and arenas of social movement activity.

Under the contentious politics approach, cooking in personal homes would not be thought to have much political significance. However, recent social movements scholars have broadened the definition of political activism beyond public actions that target the state. For instance, Staggenborg and Taylor (2005) argue that the definition of activism should include actions such as cultural challenges, building institutions, and pushing for changes within institutions. They explain that the women's movement has long engaged in these actions, but they had not been considered activism under the contentious politics paradigm. This led many observers to proclaim the disappearance of the women's movement, when, in reality, the women's movement survives (Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). Armstrong and Bernstein (2008:84) make a similar attempt to broaden the definition of activism. They argue that political activism includes "all collective challenges to constituted authority."

Studies like Staggenborg and Taylor's (2005), Armstrong and Bernstein's (2008), and Fligstein and McAdam's (2011) lay the theoretical foundation that is necessary before we can consider the political potential of cooking and other feminized, domestic actions. These theories make it possible to consider the home and family as sites of

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1 Strategic action fields might not be the best theory with which to describe the power dynamics within families. Nuclear families are generally much smaller than other strategic action fields. Further, the family is held together with affective bonds and laden with moral understandings. Actors in strategic action fields are constantly vying for advantage or attempting to secure cooperation from other inhabitants of the field, and in the family, this process is made more complex by the affective bonds and moral understandings. Fligstein himself agrees that the theory of strategic action fields may not accurately describe families. When discussing families, he admits, "I think this is one of the places where field theory might make less sense" (Fligstein and Vandebroeck 2014:12). However, I do not wish to engage in a discussion of whether families can (or should) be considered strategic action fields. Instead, I assert that this theory of change and stability demonstrates how social movement processes occur within a wide array of settings. This understanding helps us consider the family as an arena for social movement activity.

contention, and they allow us to view domestic actions like cooking as legitimate challenges to authority. Yet, despite the theoretical opening and the call for studying collective action in a variety of arenas, few scholars have examined social movement action within the domestic sphere. Even for scholars who focus on the particular ways in which women's movements operate and survive, the family and home have not been the primary foci (Staggenborg 2001; Staggenborg and Taylor 2005; Taylor and Rupp 1993; Taylor and Whittier 1992). However, the domestic sphere is crucially important for women's experiences; thus, feminists must contend with ideas and actions in the home. Thus, my dissertation highlights how the family, one of the key institutions in modern social life, is implicated in campaigns for broader social change.

The Family and Home in Women's Social Experiences

The domestic sphere is a likely setting for women to politicize because of the centrality of the home and family to women's lives. Even if women do not have a partner or children, they face cultural understandings about femininity that are largely tied to women's traditional domestic roles. Dominant gender ideologies have the power to frame gender differences as intrinsically natural (Lorber 1994). Thus, widespread ideas about femininity emphasize that women are naturally more nurturing and communicative. Sociologist Mary Blair-Loy argues that women face the "family devotion schema," which is "a cultural model that defines marriage and motherhood as a woman's primary vocation" (Blair-Loy 2003:2). These cultural meanings about femininity take the form of expectations for women to behave in certain ways, but women can also internalize these expectations (Bem 1993; Benard and Correll 2010; Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007;

Ridgeway 2011). Due to the importance of caring to the cultural construction of femininity, cooking—a prominent form of care-work—is central to expectations of women and feminine identities (Cairns and Johnston 2015). Cultural beliefs dictate that women's nurturing nature makes them better at cooking for their families (Charles and Kerr 1988; DeVault 1991).

These dominant beliefs about femininity help uphold the gender structure, in which cultural ideas about gender create different patterns of resource accumulation or relations between men and women (Epstein 1988, 2007; Lorber 1994; Risman 2004). As a social structure, gender consists of both cultural and material elements (Hays 1994; Sewell 1992). Within the cultural elements, "hegemonic femininity" and "hegemonic masculinity" form normative ways of being women and men (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Schippers 2007). Ideas about women's natural caretaking abilities are part of hegemonic femininity. These cultural beliefs then direct patterns of action, relations, and the accumulation of material resources. Thus, hegemonic beliefs about gender influence the organization of institutions such as the family, education, work, and politics along gendered lines (Epstein 1988, 2007).

Ideas about women's natural caretaking abilities in part shape material elements of the gender structure by contributing to the tendency for women to complete the vast majority of the domestic work. In heterosexual couples, women continue to be tasked with most of the domestic labor, even when both spouses have paid jobs (Bianchi et al. 2000; Blair-Loy et al. 2015; Hochschild 1989). This pattern is salient across class, ethnic, and racial divisions (Hochschild 1989). While men's share of domestic work has increased since the mid-twentieth century, a quantitative study using large-scale data

from the American Time Use Survey found that in 2012, women still spent 69% more time on housework than men did (Sayer 2016). This pattern extends to foodwork; in 2012, women still spent more than twice the time in the kitchen than men did (Sayer 2016). Writer Emily Matchar reports that women cook 78 percent of dinners in the home and complete 93 percent of the family's food purchases (Matchar 2015:99). The above studies document the unequal division of domestic labor in the United States, but this trend also extends to other developed nations (Beagan et al. 2008; Oates and McDonald 2006; Sayer et al. 2009; Sullivan 2000). Thus, women complete a "second shift" of cleaning, cooking, and childcare after their paid jobs, while men are more likely to enjoy more leisure time (Hochschild 1989; Sayer 2005). In same-sex couples, the division of household labor is more equal (Goldberg, Smith, and Perry-Jenkins 2012; Kurdek 1993, 2007), but studies point to the idea that even these families continue to navigate the gendered meanings of housework (Downing and Goldberg 2011; Goldberg 2013).

The underlying cultural ideas about gender make these patterns of domestic action especially resilient to change. These tasks become intertwined with women's feminine identities as they internalize expectations for women to be more caring than men. The domestic tasks also become part of a successful performance of femininity. In their classic article, "Doing Gender," sociologists Candace West and Don Zimmerman explain that gender is an accomplishment, something achieved through actions and interactions (West and Zimmerman 1987). "Doing gender" involves a plethora of behaviors, including how one walks, dresses, talks, sits, and interacts with others. How one approaches food, eating, and foodwork is also part of how we perform gender (Cairns, Johnston, and Baumann 2010). As sociologists Kate Cairns and Josée Johnston (2015)

argue, women "do femininity" by caring for family members through food. Because cooking is engrained within expectations of women, feminine identities, and performances of femininity, it is incredibly difficult to disrupt the gendered pattern of culinary labor.

The division of domestic labor and cultural ideas about femininity that emerge from the domestic sphere have far-reaching consequences for women outside of the home. If women continue to be assigned the "second shift" of domestic duties and care work, they will continue to be disadvantaged in paid workplaces that expect employees to be unencumbered by outside responsibilities (Acker 1990; Blair-Loy 2003; Blair-Loy et al. 2015; Davies and Frink 2014). Further, even if individual women have very helpful partners or do not actually experience the second shift for other reasons, cultural expectations for women—and especially mothers—to be primarily committed to family lead employers to discriminate against women in hiring, promotion, and salary decisions (Correll et al. 2007; Turco 2010). Thus, for women to gain power both within and outside the home, they must challenge domestic actions and cultural understandings that originate in the family. This makes the family and home ripe for politicizing in women's movements.

Indeed, feminists have long critiqued women's traditional domestic roles. However, these critiques have generally been interpreted as feminist rejections of the housewife role and the actions that accompany it (Brunsdon 2006; Giles 2004; Hollows 2007). Women's studies scholar Judy Giles (2004) has argued that feminists have developed a narrative about fleeing the home and the housewife role to find liberation. Throughout this book, we will see that feminists called for revisions rather than rejections

of domestic life, but the tendency for feminists to critique the home and family has resulted in an enduring cultural conflict between the identities of feminist and housewife (Brunsdon 2006; Crossley 2010; Hollows 2007).

Just as scholars have perceived feminists as rejecting the domestic sphere in general, culinary figures have portrayed feminists as rejecting the specific act of cooking. Mireille Guilliano, the author of *French Women Don't Get Fat,* later said in an interview, "feminism taught us that cooking was pooh-pooh" (Cole 2010). Some of these culinary figures, lamenting the shift away from cooking food from scratch, blame feminism for the rise of processed, frozen, and fast foods. Writer Rose Prince has argued that feminism has "killed the art of home cooking." Prince explains, "Yes, it's feminism we have to thank for the spread of fast-food chains and an epidemic of childhood obesity" (Prince 2010). Food journalist Michael Pollan, who has become a household name in the United States, has written that the culinary arts were "a bit of wisdom that some feminists thoughtlessly trampled in their rush to get women out of the kitchen" (Pollan 2009). Emily Matchar (2013:112) sums up the popular attitude toward feminism and cooking: "the idea of the feminist abandoning her children to TV dinners while she rushes off to a consciousness-raising group is unshakable."

However, a complete rejection of cooking is not what I have found in feminist culinary discourse. It is also historically inaccurate to blame feminism for the success of processed foods, as these foods became thoroughly incorporated into the American diet in the years between the two largest waves of feminist agitation (Matchar 2013). I reveal that some feminists found political uses for claiming that they continued to cook, and they proposed culinary techniques that were consistent with their political goals. In their

suggestions to engage with cooking, feminists aimed to increase women's power and bring about a more gender-equal world. Feminists identified the aspects of cooking that they believed most contributed to women's oppression, and they proposed alternative ways of cooking that dismantled these exploitative aspects.

In this subversive culinary discourse, feminists did not propose that women simply "do femininity" through foodwork. Instead, feminists challenged various elements of the relationship between femininity and cooking. Scholars have debated whether it is possible to "undo gender" by engaging in interactions that reduce gender difference (Deutsch 2007; Risman 2009; West and Zimmerman 2009). While not all feminists suggested "undoing gender" by removing the gendered meanings of cooking, they did suggest revising the culinary practices that were most commonly associated with dominant forms of femininity. I argue that feminists proposed "doing revised femininity" by using cooking as a medium for revising the dominant expectations and actions that are associated with women.

I identify three major political processes that help us understand how feminists used discourse about cooking to challenge gender inequality. I introduce the theory behind these processes below. These three political processes feature prominently throughout the remainder of this dissertation, as they provide the structure for the empirical chapters. Across these three processes, some movements' culinary discourse can seem diverse and even contradictory. However, I argue that each of these discursive strands helps feminists work toward their political goals.

First, feminists used culinary claims to build moral collective identities. I argue that each movement's moral identity appealed to the constituencies that would help them

achieve their political goals. Second, I demonstrate that the gendered character of cultural genres helps with frame resonance. Suffragists and liberal feminists used the feminized nature of cookbooks to extend more transgressive political arguments to their readers. I call this process “hiding spinach in the brownies,” for cookbooks provide an appetizing medium for frames that are harder to swallow. Third, I expand the study of prefigurative politics beyond organizational forms by developing new concepts, “personal prefigurative politics” and “integrated prefigurative politics,” to describe how feminists suggested culinary methods that would enable activists to prefigure their envisioned social change within their personal homes. Through these three processes, feminists transformed the home and family into political arenas and aligned cooking with their efforts to empower women.

Identity, Morality, and Food in Social Movements

When the political process and contentious politics models dominated social movement scholarship, one of the strongest competing approaches to social movements was that of “new social movements.” In studies of new social movements, culture took center stage. These scholars argued that in the second half of the twentieth century, political participation turned toward more identity-based rather than class-based politics (Melucci 1989). In this model of social movements, collective actors don’t exist simply by sharing a common structural location. Instead, they are created by social movement activity (Taylor and Whittier 1992). New social movements developed a collective identity as an end in itself rather than as a means to other ends (Melucci 1989). Other scholars embrace the idea that collective identity is both a means and an end, and they

contend that constructing a collective identity is a central movement process for "old" and "new" movements (Gamson 1992; Taylor and Whittier 1992).

Activists use culture and everyday actions to help build this collective identity. Sociologists Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier studied radical feminists to develop the concept of "negotiation," which describes how activists use symbols and everyday actions to resist systems of domination and develop a collective identity (Taylor and Whittier 1992). Radical feminists saw every dimension of life as dominated by men, so they encouraged participants to "challenge prevailing representations of women in every sphere of life as a means of transforming the institutions that produced and disseminated them" (Taylor and Whittier 1992:119). Short haircuts, refusing to wear dresses, and acting with purpose instead of passivity were all part of radical feminists' process of negotiation. Taylor and Whittier (1992:118) argue that negotiation is a "valorization of a group's 'essential differences' through the politicization of everyday life." In other words, these everyday actions help develop a collective identity that defines the group from outsiders.

Other scholars show how activists use culture and everyday actions to build a collective identity that, in part, highlights their similarity to the mainstream. Ghaziani (2014) studies the "post-gay era," in which the LGBT community generally downplays their differences from straight people, instead using lifestyle to point out their similarities. Ghaziani (2014) focuses on how this force affects gay neighborhoods. However, he does not link these tendencies of the post-gay era to political struggles the LGBT community faced at the time. The push for marriage rights for gay men and women could help explain why the LGBT community used lifestyle to highlight their similarities to the

mainstream, for this identity could help their cause gain broader sympathy and support. In other words, an identity that highlights a group's similarities to the mainstream can be politically strategic.

Bernstein (1997) agrees that the use of collective identity can be politically strategic. She argues that how a group uses lifestyle to build a collective identity is largely based on a social movement organization's (SMO's) access to the polity and organizational structure. SMOs with access to the polity or that have preexisting or a strong organizational structure tend to develop an identity that highlights the group's similarity to the mainstream. Alternatively, SMOs that lack political access and have a diffuse organizational structure are more likely to develop an identity that critiques the dominant culture. These SMOs focus on building community and celebrating difference from the mainstream (Bernstein 1997).

In my study, I also examine how activists use lifestyle (in the form of discourse about cooking) to build collective identities that either separate or align themselves with the mainstream. Bernstein (1997) studies this process at the level of individual, local SMOs, but I broaden the scope to analyze how movements as a whole use lifestyle to develop a collective identity. By comparing different feminist movements, I am able to examine the effect of political goals and tactics.

I find that feminist movements used discourse about cooking to build a collective identity that supports their broader political agendas. Movements that primarily worked through the existing political system to extend rights to women (*i.e.,* suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists) were more likely to claim that they continued to cook and thus were good wives and mothers. This is politically strategic; these movements' goals

relied on the backing of voters, legislators, and judges, who might be more likely to support the cause if they believed that feminists were not going to destroy the fabric of American domestic life.

Alternatively, movements that aimed to transform daily life from the ground up (*i.e.,* temperance and radical second-wave feminism) were more likely to make culinary claims that highlighted their difference from the mainstream. These activists argued that their culinary methods made them superior to the mainstream, which could work toward convincing others to adopt these practices as well. For movements that aimed to bring about change through the spread of alternative daily practices, convincing others to partake in the lifestyle is key to the movement's success. Thus, my study complements and adds detail to Bernstein's (1997) finding that activists' collective identity depends on their access to the polity. Together, these studies demonstrate the importance of political tactics to a collective identity.

My dissertation also incorporates lessons from cultural sociology to help us understand the collective identities that feminists build with culinary discourse. I find that these collective identities also invoke understandings of morality to define who activists are and why they are moral actors. In these identities, feminists are drawing moral boundaries—an important concept to cultural sociologists. Moral boundaries are a type of symbolic boundaries, which, more broadly, are "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality" (Lamont and Molnár 2002:168). In the particular case of moral boundaries, people draw symbolic boundaries "on the basis of moral character" (Lamont 1992:4). In their culinary

discourse, feminists build collective identities that also draw moral boundaries, defining their morality in comparison to mainstream women. By bringing this cultural sociological lesson to my study of social movements, I demonstrate that moral identities are much more than a categorization tool—they can also help activists achieve their political goals.

Food's ability to mark moral distinctions is not news to food studies scholars or sociologists who study food. People classify foods, food practices, and the people who eat in particular ways as "good" or "bad." In the Western context, these moral distinctions are often grounded in ideas about health, but understandings of environmentalism and social justice can also shape the moral distinctions made by food (Backett 1992; Johnston and Baumann 2010; McPhail, Chapman, and Beagan 2011). People can point to the food they eat as proof of their own morality, and they point to the food that others eat as proof of their immorality. For example, Americans tend to understand obesity as a moral failing of the individual (Saguy 2013; Saguy and Riley 2005). Moral understandings can also be strong enough to shape how people eat; one cross-national study found that teenagers' moral understandings of fast food were the best predictors of consumption—even above social class or geographical availability of fast food restaurants (McPhail et al. 2011). My study demonstrates another consequence of the moral understandings about food. I show that food's moral meanings can also help activists work toward their political goals.

We might expect that temperance women and radical second-wave feminists would be the most likely to moralize food and other elements of everyday life. Religion was central to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and radical feminist ideology emphasized "right" and "wrong" ways of living an emancipated life. Indeed, these two

movements used claims about cooking to develop a moral collective identity. They argued that their methods of cooking made them more moral than mainstream society. However, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists also built a moral identity with their discourse about cooking. Some of these women expressed pride in their food and claimed to enjoy cooking. However, alongside these public celebrations of their cooking, liberal feminists also included political and moral arguments. They pointed out that their culinary prowess proved they were moral mothers and wives who would not abandon their families in pursuit of rights and expanded opportunities. Through these moral collective identities, all four movements attempted to appeal to the constituencies that could help them achieve their political goals.

This dissertation can also show food scholars how political commitments can shape how people identify with food. Above, we learned that feminine identities are intimately connected to food and foodwork. Scholars have also shown that food is central to other identities, including social class, gender (including masculinity), race, ethnicity, nationality, and even sexuality (Appadurai 1988; Bobrow-Strain 2012; Caplan 1997; Fox n.d.; Johnston and Baumann 2007; Parasecoli 2005; Pilcher 1996; Ray 2004; Sobal 2005). The food we eat is profoundly tied to our identity and sense of belonging. Through taste, we may feel comfortable and “in our element;” while eating another dish in another setting, we may feel like a fish out of water. Culinary preferences become internalized and embodied, reflecting our social location (Bourdieu 1984). Missing from these discussions is a consideration of how political identities factor into people’s culinary preferences. As we will see in the chapters that follow, individuals’ political commitments influence how they decide what to eat and how to cook it.

In sum, by incorporating lessons from cultural sociology and food scholarship, we can better understand how social movements construct collective identities. Further, my analysis demonstrates that these moral collective identities strategically support movements' broader tactics and goals. By demonstrating how activists use food to build collective identities and give themselves moral status, I show how social movements use cooking and eating to define themselves while also supporting their broader political goals.

Framing

The collective identity that suffragists and liberal feminists built with cooking also helped their collective action frames resonate with a wider audience. In collective action frames, activists interpret their political goals for a broader audience (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Snow and Benford 1988). As Benford and Snow (2000:614) explain, collective action frames "help to render events or occurrences meaningful… Frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization." Oliver and Johnston (2000:41, 43) clarify that frames are specific ways of explaining an issue or a piece of ideology, or an "individual cognitive structure."

In this study of feminism and cooking, I advance our understanding of framing by demonstrating how the gendered nature of cultural genres can help advance more radical frames. Most previous studies of framing have examined "expository writing," in which activists or journalists use media like pamphlets, speeches, websites, newspapers, or magazines to convey facts or explain goals to a broad audience (Coley 2014; Rohlinger et

al. 2012). Other genres have unique conventions that allow activists to communicate meaning in different ways. For example, in their analysis of Industrial Workers of the World cartoons, Morrison and Isaac (2012) argue that conventions of cartoons allow for visual frame amplification. In an entirely different manner, a novel's narrative and moral can try to convince readers of movement goals by amplifying and extending frames (Coley 2014; Isaac 2012).

The roles that genre-specific conventions play in frame alignment can help us examine an understudied phenomenon in social movements: how activists attempt to popularize radical frames. Movements advance a wide range of frames, and some resonate with a broader audience more successfully than others. Other frames are more radical and pose greater challenges to widespread beliefs (Ferree 2003). While all frames must be both resonant and radical—without resonance, frames would be incomprehensible, but without radicalism, frames would suggest no changes to the status quo—frames can slide along the spectrum of resonance and radicalism (Hewitt and McCammon 2004). Radical frames are often less successful in mobilizing adherents and become marginalized within a movement (Ferree 2003). However, it is not well understood how activists might try to popularize radical frames. According to the logic put forth in studies about radical and resonant frames (*e.g.,* Ferree 2003), to popularize radical frames, activists would have to replace the more radical ideas with those that would align more easily with an audience's beliefs.

I present a new way of understanding how activists can advance radical frames. By including radical frames in media that belong to familiar genres or subgenres, activists might popularize these frames without removing the radical ideas. This would work

toward “frame extension,” in which activists explain to an ambivalent audience how the political goals are pertinent to their lives and interests (Snow et al. 1986). I suggest that prominent themes or expectations of cultural genres can make the radical frames relevant to the lives of audience members. Community cookbooks’ commitment to traditional femininity extends the more radical frames to make them palatable to middle- and upper-class white women readers. While some readers could interpret the more radical feminist frames in newspapers as feminists hoping to abandon the home and family, it would be much harder to reach this conclusion after reading these frames in a cookbook. Community cookbooks’ gendered character aids with frame extension, signaling to readers that they could support feminist goals while also continuing to remain dedicated to their families, if they so desired.

I argue that this framing process is analogous to baking spinach into brownies to encourage children to eat their vegetables (Seinfeld 2008). Children often reject spinach because they do not like the taste, while the public might reject a feminist frame because it does not align with their beliefs about women. However, children might be more likely to eat spinach, and readers might be more likely to accept more radical frames, if these things are “baked into” something they know they like.

Usually, scholars explain that the power of resonance comes from within the frame itself, ignoring the role that the cultural medium may play (Oliver and Johnston 2000; Snow et al. 1986). I suggest that the cultural object in which a frame resides may help popularize the frame. In short, context matters. In this study of feminist culinary discourse, I argue that the gendered character of a cultural genre can demonstrate to readers how a radical frame is relevant to their lives.

Prefigurative Politics

For the third process that typifies feminist political discourse, I provide insight into feminists' recommendations for culinary action. In cookbooks and articles about cooking, feminists taught readers to obtain and prepare food. Yet, feminists did not simply suggest any ordinary approach to food. Instead, they advocated foodwork that could empower women both within and outside the home.

I develop the concept of "personal prefigurative politics" to describe these culinary suggestions. In personal prefigurative politics, activists use their personal lives to model their visions of social change (Williams 2017). This concept builds upon previous studies about prefigurative politics, which show how activists enact the daily actions, relationships, and power structures they would like to see instituted in broader society (Breines 1982; Epstein 1991; Leach 2013a; Polletta 2002). In prefigurative politics, activists put their goals into practice; they model their vision of a "good society" through their actions. This follows the Gandhian teaching to "be the change you want to see in the world."

To date, the literature on prefigurative politics has developed an organizational bias. Most scholars of prefigurative politics focus on how activists build social movement organizations that model the social changes they desire (Boggs 1977; Breines 1982; Chen 2016; Epstein 1991; Leach 2013a; Polletta 1999, 2002) (for a notable exception, see Futrell and Simi 2004). One of the most cited examples of prefigurative politics is the New Left's participatory democracy—when activists formed non-hierarchical organizations, encouraged all members to voice their opinion, and made decisions by

consensus (Breines 1982; Polletta 2002). More recently, the Occupy movement has been structured around the participatory democratic principles of non-hierarchical organizations and consensus building (Howard and Pratt-Boyden 2013; Leach 2013b; Smucker 2013). Occupy and the New Left have viewed participatory democracy as a way of putting their goals of justice and equality into practice. With participatory democracy, these activists believed they were enacting a new model of society. While scholars who have studied participatory democracy have simply described it as prefigurative politics, I argue that is actually a form of "organizational prefigurative politics," when activists structure their social movement organizations to model their ideal society.

I argue that prefigurative politics need not be limited to the organizational level of social action. In fact, the original concept of prefigurative politics involves a politicization of everyday life. As Boggs (1977:104) explains, activists who engage in prefigurative politics are "breaking down the division of labor between everyday life and political activity." However, scholars usually demonstrate this politicization of "everyday life" with empirical data about what activists do in their social movement organizations (Boggs 1977; Breines 1982).

To capture the full spectrum of prefigurative activity, we should also consider how activists use their personal lives to prefigure their goals. I understand the personal sphere to include activists' family lives, relationships, and lifestyle choices. In each empirical chapter, I demonstrate how feminists discussed personal prefigurative politics by proposing methods of cooking within individual homes that could allow families to model their version of the good society. Activists may also engage in personal prefigurative politics in other everyday actions such as their relationships, parenting

methods, fashion, and transportation choices (see Table 1.1). Because personal prefigurative politics requires different resources and sets of interactions from organizational prefigurative politics, these two political forms should be considered separate social processes under the broader umbrella of prefigurative politics.

My concept of personal prefigurative politics brings together several forms of personal politics whose prefigurative dimension has not been fully recognized. For example, in "political consumerism," activists align their goals with their personal actions of purchasing goods and services (Bennett 2012; Haydu and Kadanoff 2010; Johnston 2007; Micheletti 2003; Willis and Schor 2012). Scholars rarely mention the prefigurative character of political consumerism, but it is likely that activists make specific consumer choices in part to model the social changes in lifestyle that they desire on a larger scale. Further, "prosumption," or actions that simultaneously involve production and consumption, can be situated in the personal sphere and prefigure an ideal society (Chen 2015; Ritzer 2015). Although prosumption has been studied as an economic phenomenon rather than a social movement activity, it is possible that activists may engage in these practices to model their political goals. The concept of personal prefigurative politics clarifies a common purpose of a range of actions in the personal sphere—the ability to model visions for social change.

There are also instances when organizational and personal prefigurative politics go hand-in-hand. I define "integrated prefigurative politics" as when activists build organizations that facilitate individuals' efforts to prefigure their goals in their personal lives. Additionally, these organizations are themselves prefigurative, because with them, activists attempt build a new society that operates according to their principles. As we

will see, all four feminist movements proposed forms of integrated prefigurative politics when they built or suggested organizations that enabled women to cook (or not cook) in ways that modeled the movements' visions. Other examples of integrated prefigurative politics include food cooperatives, women's health clinics, and gay bars (*e.g.,* Cornell 2009; Echols 1989). Additionally, the "sharing economy" or "collaborative consumption" establishes organizations or websites that coordinate sharing between members (*e.g.,* Hamari, Sjöklint, and Ukkonen 2015). While the sharing economy has generally not been situated as a social movement activity, one can imagine activists who value anti-consumption establishing their own sharing organizations to prefigure their social and economic visions (Ozanne and Ballantine 2010) (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Examples of Personal, Integrated, and Organizational Prefigurative Politics

Personal	**Integrated**	**Organizational**
Cooking and eating	Kitchen gardens	Non-hierarchical structures
Romantic relationships	Cooperative kitchens	Direct democracy
Clothing / appearance	Gay bars	Consensus decision-making
Division of housework	Communes	
Parenting methods	Food co-operatives	
Political consumerism	Women's health clinics	
Prosumption	Sharing economy	

When we expand prefigurative politics to the personal sphere, we also broaden the empirical and historical scope of movements that are understood as engaging in prefigurative activity. Previously, scholars of prefigurative politics focused on studies of participatory democracy, which is most commonly associated with social movements of the 1960s and later (Breines 1982; Howard and Pratt-Boyden 2013; Leach 2013a; Polletta

2002; Smucker 2013). Only one of the movements I study (radical second-wave feminism) engaged in participatory democracy. Yet, all four movements—including woman's temperance and woman's suffrage in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—discussed how to prefigure their visions for social change. Further, this shows that activists developed forms of prefigurative politics decades before activists of the 1960s engaged in participatory democracy.

In all four feminist movements I studied, activists developed ways of cooking that prefigured the world they would like to inhabit. Their cookbooks, newspaper articles, and archival materials reveal a preference for certain styles of cooking that worked toward the social changes they desired. If feminists followed their culinary recommendations, they would turn their families into microcosms of the society they hoped to build. These suggestions of personal prefigurative politics ranged from cooking healthful food in order to bring about sobriety and a world free of domestic violence to encouraging men to cook to balance the division of gendered labor. Through cooking in their personal homes, feminists aimed to build a new society within the walls of the old.

Therefore, in their discourse about cooking, feminists engaged in three central processes that challenged women's subordination. By building a moral collective identity, extending frames to readers, and suggesting forms of personal prefigurative politics, feminists used discussions of cooking to support their political goals. In these instances, feminists approached foodwork as something that could lead to women's empowerment. Feminists transformed the kitchen into an arena of social movement activity.

Therefore, this dissertation builds upon scholars' recent attempts to show how social movement activity can take many forms and exist in a range of settings. Examining the home and family is particularly important for studying feminist social movements, because much of women's lives are concerned with domestic and caretaking tasks. Further, widespread cultural understandings about women are intimately linked with women's domestic roles. I show how feminists have used discourse about a central domestic task to challenge women's subordinate role in the family and in the broader society. If we fail to take seriously feminists' contentious actions within the home, we overlook a major dimension of their challenges to patriarchal authority. By recognizing the home as an arena of social movement action, we can better understand the dynamics of social change.

What's To Come

The theoretical foundation that I present above is woven throughout the rest of the dissertation. In the chapters that follow, my analysis and the presentation of feminists' discourse about cooking takes center stage, but I will occasionally offer reminders of the theoretical significance of these findings. In Chapter 2, I explain my research methods and analysis. I describe my reasoning behind selecting four cases across two historical time periods. I introduce the types of sources in which I uncovered feminists' culinary discourse. While I save descriptions of particular sources for later chapters, in Chapter 2, I explain what cookbooks, newspaper articles, and archival materials can teach us about how feminists politicized cooking. As one of the first sociologists to systematically analyze cookbooks, I developed a method of analyzing the data that allowed me to learn

how feminists connected cooking to their political goals.

The remainder of the dissertation follows the historical trajectory of the feminist movements. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 deal with the first wave of feminist action, while Chapters 6, 7, and 8 cover second-wave feminism. Chapter 3 summarizes the historical context for the first wave of feminist activism. Feminist discourse about cooking is best understood if we can contextualize it within the contemporary gender structure, which includes cultural beliefs about gender and patterns of gendered action. In the late nineteenth century, the cultural construction of True Womanhood dictated that women should be pious, pure, domestic, and submissive, and they had access to few legal and political rights. Also useful is information about the contemporary foodscape, or the food practices, trends, and production systems that shape how people ate and cooked. At the time, early processed and canned foods were growing in popularity and refrigerated railroad cars increased the availability of fresh produce, milk, and meat around the country, but Americans' diets were still largely based on breads, preserved meats, and produce that could be obtained locally in season. This chapter also provides historical overviews of the woman's temperance and woman's suffrage movements, and describes the particular cookbooks, newspapers, and archival materials that I analyzed.

Chapter 4 presents the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's culinary discourse. These women argued that unhealthful food was one of the main causes of alcoholism. They defended the moral superiority of healthful foods, arguing that vegetables, whole grains, and foods without spices produced more virtuous people. Temperance women's claims about cooking built a moral identity that separated them from the working class, whose diets epitomized unhealthfulness. By presenting

themselves and their culinary practices as more moral, temperance women worked to convince others to adopt these practices, which temperance women believed would result in a sober society. In their discussions of personal prefigurative politics, temperance women suggested that cooking healthful foods would allow women to turn their families into models of a sober society in which women experienced protection from abusive alcoholic husbands and exercised more power within the home.

Chapter 5 focuses on how woman suffragists politicized cooking. These activists boasted about their culinary skill and argued that this made them good wives and mothers. In contrast to temperance women's moral identity, suffragists used their moral identity to align themselves with mainstream women. Suffragists hoped that voters, legislators, and judges—who would decide the fate of woman's suffrage—would be more likely to support the cause if they believed that women would not abandon their families once they received the vote. By publishing cookbooks, suffragists bolster this moral identity as women who continued to cook. However, within these cookbooks, suffragists advanced more radical political arguments. I argue that the cookbooks' commitment to domestic femininity helped extend these more radical frames to readers, demonstrating that women could be involved in politics without neglecting their domestic roles. However, suffragists did not approach cooking without critique; they also suggested alternative methods of cooking that lessened women's domestic work in the kitchen and enabled them to pursue outside interests. This discursive strand somewhat contradicts suffragists' celebration of their cooking, but it serves a different political purpose. By engaging in these revised culinary practices, women would be able to prefigure suffragists' political goals within their personal lives.

Chapter 6 marks the shift to the second wave of feminist activism. By the mid-twentieth century, women's political rights had increased and they had entered the paid workforce in increasing numbers, but their advancement was hindered by cultural expectations for women to first and foremost be dedicated to the domestic sphere. The foodscape had also transformed between the first and second waves of feminist activity, with the latter facing a world filled with processed foods, "convenience products," and electrical kitchen appliances. This gender structure and foodscape provided the raw materials for feminists' political discourse about cooking. Chapter 6 also includes short histories of the liberal and radical wings of second-wave feminism. I also introduce the particular cookbooks, newspapers, and archival materials in which I uncovered liberal and radical second-wave feminists' culinary discourse.

Chapter 7 presents liberal second-wave feminists' culinary discourse. Similar to suffragists, some liberal feminists divulged their love of cooking. Alongside these affirmations, liberal feminists explained that their culinary skills made them good wives and mothers. This moral identity aligned liberal feminists with mainstream women. Like suffragists, liberal second-wave feminists worked through the existing political system to achieve their goals, so this moral identity may have helped gain the support of the voters, lawmakers, and judges who would decide the fate of liberal feminists' political goals. By publishing cookbooks, liberal feminists strengthened this moral identity. However, within these cookbooks and other discourse about cooking, liberal second-wave feminists advanced more transgressive frames. I argue that the gendered character of cookbooks may have extended these frames to ambivalent readers, demonstrating that women could pursue paid careers and politics without fully abandoning their domestic roles. Liberal

second-wave feminists also proposed culinary methods that could prefigure their political goals within women's personal lives by balancing the gendered division of housework, decreasing women's culinary labor, and enabling them to work outside the home.

Chapter 8 explains how radical second-wave feminists politicized cooking. Like temperance women, radical feminists made claims about cooking that situated them as morally superior to the mainstream. This moral identity supported radical feminists' political goals, for it could work to convince others to adopt their culinary practices. Radical feminists focused on achieving social change through the grassroots, arguing that shifting daily practices could result in a transformation of society. Thus, the more people who adopted their practices, the closer radical feminists came to their political goals. Radical feminists recommended that women cook more healthful foods, avoid meat, and grow or produce their own food, which they argued could help women prefigure liberation and empowerment within their personal lives.

After the empirical chapters lay out the empirical evidence, Chapter 9 concludes the dissertation by reiterating the lessons we can learn by studying how feminists have politicized cooking. This chapter begins by drawing comparisons between feminist movements' culinary discourse, both within and across historical context. These comparisons demonstrate the effect of the historical context on feminists' discourse about cooking. More interesting to a social movements scholar, these parallels and distinctions can also teach us how different elements of social movements lead activists to politicize cooking in different ways. Further, we can also learn that activists' political agendas shaped the particular ways in which they subversively engaged in cooking and proposed different techniques for "doing revised femininity" through cooking. I conclude by

discussing the questions I still have and offering ideas for future research.

Small portions of Chapter 1 have been published in *The Sociological Quarterly,* 2017, S. J. Williams, "Personal Prefigurative Politics: Cooking Up an Ideal Society in the Woman's Temperance and Woman's Suffrage Movements, 1870-1920." The dissertation author was the primary investigator and sole author of this paper. Additionally, small portions of Chapter 1 have been published in *Social Movement Studies,* 2016, S. J. Williams, "Hiding Spinach in the Brownies: Frame Alignment in Suffrage Community Cookbooks, 1886-1916" and *Advances in Gender Research,* 2016, S. J. Williams, "Subversive Cooking in Liberal Feminism, 1963-1985." The dissertation author was the primary investigator and sole author of these papers.

CHAPTER 2:

Methods

This dissertation utilizes mixed methods to gather and analyze feminist discourse about cooking. I triangulated data to arrive at a complex understanding of how feminists politicized the kitchen. Many studies that employ triangulation use qualitative data to validate statistical findings and further support a given story or "truth." Other scholars use triangulation to reveal different versions of an issue and demonstrate "different facets of understanding" (Hesse-Biber 2012:137). My approach falls under the second camp. I engage in what Hesse-Biber (2012:138) describes as feminist approaches to triangulation, which involves uncovering "subjugated knowledge," defined as "oppressed group's voices and ways of thinking that have been devalued by dominant, patriarchal, forms of knowledge." She argues that feminist researchers examine the voices that have previously been ignored. Rather than trying to make these voices fit with other, more "official" or "dominant" forms of data, the researchers give equal weight to different forms of data and study what the inconsistencies between these data can tell us about the subject. In some studies, this feminist triangulation can give voice to a range of oppressed people's experiences that the dominant record would otherwise ignore, and this presents a more complex understanding of the situation (Hesse-Biber 2012; Nightingale 2003).

I triangulated different forms of data to uncover the subjugated knowledge of cooking within the feminist movement. Even when studying a movement that asserted the importance of women's voices, scholars have discounted some voices and topics of discussion. Especially in studies of the suffrage, temperance, and liberal second-wave

feminist movements, scholars have focused on activities that resemble conventional, male-dominated forms of politics—such as lobbying legislators or working through the courts. Discussions of feminized activities such as cooking have been discounted and overlooked. Just as feminist historians have questioned the male-dominated historical record and uncovered women's histories, I reveal topics that have been overlooked within histories of feminism. As Friedman (1995:20) argues, "The same questions feminist have asked of masculinist history about the erasure and distortion of women's lives must be put to feminist histories."

I reveal this subjugated knowledge within four feminist movements by analyzing feminist cookbooks, articles about cooking in feminist media, and archival material. I then compare the inconsistencies between these data rather than trying to make them fit the same conclusion. As I will explain below, each form of data reveals a different side of the story about how feminists have politicized cooking. Notably, some forms of data (*e.g.,* newspapers) uncover how movement leaders developed ideals about cooking, while other forms of data (*e.g.,* community cookbooks) reveal culinary discourse from rank-and-file members, while the recipes demonstrate how movement ideals intersect with the constraints of taste, time, and technology that shaped the daily task of feeding oneself and one's family.

However, none of these forms of data can tell us how feminists *actually* cooked. I cannot enter feminists' kitchens and observe them as they pulled together meals for themselves and their families. I do, however, study what they wrote about cooking. Documents about cooking reveal how feminists assigned meanings to this domestic task and debated the best ways of completing it. Thus, the cookbooks, newspaper articles, and

archival material reveal feminists' political discourse about cooking rather than their actions in the kitchen.

In the chapter that follows, I first describe my comparative design and my selection of four feminist movements. I then explain how I found and used historical materials, including cookbooks, newspaper articles, and archival sources. Finally, I describe how I used Nvivo 10 to code and analyze these data.

Comparative Design and Case Selection

For this dissertation, I devised a comparative design in which I study four movements—two movements in each of two time periods. From 1875 to 1920, I study the woman's temperance and suffrage movements. From 1963 to 1986, I study the liberal and radical wings of second-wave feminism. This design allows me to make both within-time and cross-time comparisons, highlighting different dimensions about feminists' political discourse about cooking.

The within-time comparisons, to borrow language from quantitative methods, hold the historical context constant. This brings into relief how each movement redefined the typical approaches to cooking of the time period. For example, the contemporaneous temperance activists and suffragists faced the same foodscape that included an agricultural and transportation system, food technology, and food trends. Similarly, both movements worked within the same broader gender structure, which involves the dominant cultural beliefs about gender and the gendered patterns of relations of the time (Epstein 1988, 2007; Lorber 1994; Risman 2004; Sewell 1992). During the era of temperance and suffrage, dominant ideas about femininity directed that women should be

pious, pure, domestic, and submissive, situating their home and families at the center of their responsibilities. Both the foodscape of the late nineteenth century and the gender structure shaped Americans' discourse about cooking in the home. However, if these were the only influences on culinary discourse, temperance and suffrage activists would have written about cooking in the same way. Instead, each movement produced writings that highlighted their own culinary style. This within-time comparison allows me to examine how each movement's politics shaped how they wrote about cooking. These comparisons remove the confounding variables of time and gender structure, better allowing me to identify when differences in culinary discourse are related to movement politics.

I also made cross-time comparisons between the first and second wave of feminism. The cross-time comparisons give us a sense of how the changing foodscape and gender structure shifted culinary discourse. Second-wave feminists faced a food world that had gone through technological and cultural revolutions in the previous 50 years. The gender structure was less changed; although women were able to vote and had started entering the workforce in significant numbers, women generally remained in charge of caring for the home and family. These changes in the foodscape and gender structure are reflected in second-wave feminist discourse about cooking. The ingredients in these feminists' cookbooks and how much time they suggested spending in the kitchen varied greatly from what was discussed in temperance and suffrage materials about cooking. This demonstrates that when movements politicize domestic actions, they do not do so in a vacuum—the routines of daily life are also shaped by the broader historical context. However, discovering the effects of historical era on discourse about cooking is

not the only result of engaging in cross-time comparisons—nor is it the most useful in helping us understand how social movements politicize everyday actions.

More importantly, by making cross-time comparisons, I have discovered parallels in how feminist movements throughout time have politicized everyday life. These comparisons have allowed me to recognize that particular political traditions yield certain ways of approaching cooking. In each time period, I have one movement that engaged in liberal politics (working within the political and legal system to achieve their goals) and one radical movement (that attempted to replace these systems with new ones based on alternative values). The cross-time comparisons allowed me to see that the liberal movements (suffrage, liberal second-wave feminism) politicized cooking in similar ways. Further, the culinary discourse of the more radical movements (temperance, radical second-wave feminism) mirrored each other. Thus, the cross-time comparisons highlight ways of politicizing cooking that are not tied to any one decade of protest, but are instead related to particular kinds of movements.

For my four cases, I selected social movements that comprised the first two waves of mass feminist activity in the US. I will provide a brief overview of each movement here, and more detailed descriptions of each movement are included in the empirical chapters. The woman's temperance movement aimed to eliminate alcohol and increase women's protection and power within the home; temperance advocates attempted to both reform the lifestyles of alcoholics and enact state and federal legislation that banned the production and sale of alcohol. The woman's suffrage movement worked to enfranchise women through state and federal legislation. Liberal second-wave feminism worked through the courts and electoral system to increase women's political representation,

legal rights, and presence in previously male-dominated spaces such as professional careers. Finally, radical second-wave feminism aimed to build a more woman-centered, egalitarian society from the ground up by creating new relationships and institutions that were based on less patriarchal values.

Scholarly debate about the temperance movement requires me to defend my choice to include woman's temperance as a feminist movement. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) worked to improve the situation of women within the traditional positions of wife and mother. While a movement in the twenty-first century that focused on wives and mothers might not be viewed as feminist, in the nineteenth century, the WCTU's goals represented an advancement of women's position. Overall, the WCTU aimed to give mothers more protection and power. By advocating for temperance, women stood against abuse and abandonment from drunk husbands. These women fought for a society in which they could have more influence on their children than the saloon. The WCTU also introduced many women to public demonstrations, public speaking, and politics (Bordin 1981; Epstein 1981; Giele 1995). With Willard's "Home Protection Ballot," the WCTU also advocated enfranchising women. The WCTU also supported women's health, dress reform, and exercise, and they attempted to improve working-class women's lives and eliminate the social causes of prostitution by addressing their housing and improving work training (Bordin 1981; Epstein 1981; Giele 1995). Of course, like the tactics of any feminist movement, many of these tactics were problematic and advanced only a particular vision of femininity—of white, middle-class femininity—that was unobtainable for many women. However, the temperance women undoubtedly pursued several methods of improving women's power and protection in a

society where they had little of each. Thus, I include temperance in my study of feminist movements.

All four feminist movements prioritized the voices of middle-class white women's voices. This tendency for women's movements to silence the most disadvantaged women is a pervasive trend that has contributed to continuing gender inequality, especially among the working class and racial and ethnic minorities. However, the fact that each of the four movements privileged white middle-class women's voices essentially imposes a control for race and class. Because the temperance, suffrage, liberal second-wave, and radical second-wave feminists whose ideas were featured in movement publications and material were generally middle-class white women, this limits the potential for differences in culinary discourse between movements to be due to race and class. Thus, I chose cases and designed my comparisons so I could focus on the role of movement politics in shaping how feminists politicized cooking. In the remainder of this chapter, I explain the data and coding methods I used to complete this research agenda.

Cookbooks

In the course of my research for this dissertation, I have analyzed 20 feminist cookbooks and coded 3,998 recipes within these cookbooks. I define feminist cookbooks as those compiled or published by feminist organizations or authors who self-identified as feminists in the book. Thus, if a woman who wrote a cookbook belonged to the National Organization for Women but did not identify as a feminist in her cookbook, I did not include that book in my sample. See Appendix A for a complete list of the cookbooks included in my study. These cookbooks fall into two camps: community cookbooks and

cookbooks published by a feminist collective. In this section, I will first explain the history of these types of cookbooks before describing their distinguishing features. I will then detail how I selected cookbooks for inclusion in this study. Finally, I will explain how cookbooks are useful for studying our social world.

American women have been involved in compiling and publishing community cookbooks since the Civil War. Cookbook historians believe that the first community cookbook was published in 1864 to raise money for the Sanitary Fair held in Philadelphia to aid victims of the Civil War (Cook 1971; Longone 1997). The idea of publishing a cookbook to raise funds for an organization quickly spread. For this reason, community cookbooks are sometimes called fundraising or charitable cookbooks. Publishing a cookbook became a popular way for American women's groups to raise money in the late nineteenth century. Women from organizations such as churches, towns, clubs, and junior leagues published between 3,000 and 6,000 community cookbooks before 1916; the estimates vary so widely because these cookbooks are not often preserved (Cook 1971; Longone 1997). Until the twentieth century, community cookbooks were mostly a white, middle- to upper-class, Protestant phenomenon (Nussel 2006; Schenone 2003).

Community cookbooks form their own distinct subgenre of cookbooks. While general cookbooks are usually written by one author for personal profit, the editors of community cookbooks compile recipes from other members of a community or organization (Bower 1997; Schenone 2003). The resulting book often contains recipes from tens or hundreds of women, with the contributor's name listed after their recipe. Each woman submits a favorite recipe, which sometimes results in a cookbook containing several recipes that offer slight variations on the same dish. For example, the

breads chapter of *Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife* contains four recipes for "Nut Bread," three for "Graham Bread," and three for "Bran Muffins" (Clinton Political Equality Club 1916). The repetition of recipes may indicate which dishes were staples or favorites among each community of women. Finally, some community cookbooks contain advertisements from local businesses. These advertisements helped to offset the cost of printing the book.

The components of community cookbooks have evolved, making temperance and suffrage cookbooks look different from second-wave feminist cookbooks. In community cookbooks published in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, many recipes are simply a list of ingredients with no directions for what to do with them. Only in the first decades of the twentieth century did it become standard to format a recipe by first offering a list of ingredients and then at least a few sentences that explained what to do with them (Cotter 1997; Neuhaus 2003). Further, early community cookbook recipes do not follow one system of measurement; instead, each recipe operates according to whatever measurement system each woman used in her own home. This means that in cookbooks published before cups, tablespoons, and teaspoons became standard measurements in the US, ingredients could be measured in a number of ways. For example, in *The Woman Suffrage Cook Book,* recipes call for butter that is measured in pounds, ounces, teaspoons, tablespoons, spoons, cups, and coffee cups; other recipes require little, small, and large pieces of butter; still others compare pieces of butter to the size of an egg, walnut, nutmeg, or hickory nut (Burr 1886). In second-wave feminist cookbooks, after measurements for cooking became more standardized nationwide, the recipes generally follow the same system of measurement. Finally, early community

cookbooks tend to include chapters of household cleaning hints, directions for caring for the sick, recipes specifically for children, and decorating tips. These extra directions for housekeepers gradually fade from community cookbooks as the twentieth century progressed.

In this study, I also included two cookbooks that do not fall under the category of community cookbooks. These cookbooks are all radical second-wave feminist cookbooks. In their attempts to build a new society based on more woman-centered values, radical second-wave feminists established many alternative institutions—such as women's health clinics, credit unions, bookstores, and record labels—that provided women with services and products that they had difficulty getting from mainstream institutions that prioritized men and men's work. Feminist publishing houses were one such alternative institution established in the 1970s. The non-community cookbooks were all printed by feminist presses. Since they were published by these feminist presses, and since the authors clearly signified themselves as radical second-wave feminists, I include these books in my sample of feminist cookbooks. These two books follow the conventions of more general cookbooks. Recipes in these books are written by a collective of authors. Since the recipes were not submitted by many women in an organization, there are no names after recipes. The format of the recipes and measurements of ingredients are standardized throughout the book. The recipes are distinct; there are not several recipes that explain how to make the same dish. The books are professionally bound with glossy soft covers and have tables of contents, indexes, dedications, acknowledgements, and introductions.

If we broaden our scope to examine the genre of cookbooks as a whole, we see

that cookbooks have a gendered character that emphasizes the ideals of traditional domestic femininity (Ferguson 2012; Nussel 2006). Cookbooks can be read as instruction manuals for domestic femininity (Neuhaus 2003), teaching women how to fulfill their socially expected roles as the main caretakers of the family and home (Welter 1966). While barbecue cookbooks or professional cookbooks are aimed at men and thus adopt a more masculine character, the vast majority of cookbooks, especially those for general home use, are aimed at women. These books cater to the social expectations for women to be the ones in charge of family meals. Thus, cookbooks, especially those during the time periods I am studying, were a cultural genre that was largely aimed at women. Cookbooks were, and continue to be, a symbol of domestic femininity. Throughout this dissertation, I will demonstrate how feminists made use of this gendered character of the genre to advance their political goals.

Selection of Feminist Cookbooks

The 20 cookbooks I analyzed in this study include all of the cookbooks I could find that were published by the suffrage, liberal second-wave, and radical second-wave feminist movements. This includes only seven suffrage, three liberal second-wave, and three radical second-wave cookbooks. Each movement likely published additional cookbooks, but copies of these cookbooks may not have survived to the twenty-first century. Cookbooks, especially community cookbooks that are often simply stapled together or bound with plastic combs, are often judged as having little value and are thrown out. Alternatively, copies of these cookbooks might be buried in the backs of private owners' cookbook shelves and have not been donated to libraries.

I found feminist cookbooks through several routes. I discovered many by searching WorldCat, a database of most of the world's library catalogs. I found mentions of others in feminist newspapers, archival material, and secondary sources. Several of the suffrage and temperance cookbooks been digitized and posted on websites like Google Books or Hathi Trust. When I could not gain access to a book's full text online, I visited the holding archives and transcribed the book, received photocopies of the entire book, or I purchased the book from websites such as Amazon, eBay, or Albiris. If I could not track down the cookbook through these sources, I did not include it in my study.

The woman's temperance movement published more cookbooks than the other three movements combined. I selected a sample of seven temperance cookbooks that mirrored the date and place of the seven suffrage cookbooks. For example, to match the 1891 *Holiday Gift Cook Book* from the Rockford (Illinois) Equal Suffrage Association, I analyzed the 1900 *Family Cook Book and List of Popular Parlor Games* from the North Rockford (Illinois) WCTU. For a list of the pairings of suffrage and temperance cookbooks, see Appendix B.

What We Can Learn from Cookbooks

I use cookbooks to examine how activists translated their political goals into directions for practice within the home. By their very nature, cookbooks give directions for action. They are instruction manuals for the kitchen, one dimension of the domestic sphere. Thus, in cookbooks, authors lay out the steps it would take to enact their vision for a domestic life. Thus, cookbooks are ideal sources for identifying how activists brought their politics to the kitchen to redefine how people should cook. In this

dissertation, I examine how activists proposed using the personal sphere to model, in miniature, the societies they wanted to build. I study how activists discussed "personal prefigurative politics" by suggesting how they could use kitchens to prefigure their political goals. I argue that cookbooks published by social movements not only give cooking directions—they also instruct how to use cooking to enact the movement's goals within the home. In other words, cookbooks published by social movements are instruction manuals for personal prefigurative politics.

While cookbooks can tell us about activists' ideals and suggestions for how to turn the home into a miniature model of their political goals, cookbooks cannot tell us how these activists or others actually cooked. In addition to being instructional, cookbooks are also aspirational. To twenty-first-century observers, this aspirational nature is most visible in cookbooks that are glossy tomes that are more suited for a coffee table than a kitchen counter, filled with full-spread artful pictures of elaborate recipes that require unusual vegetables, spices that can only be sourced from a particular region of an Asian country, and hours of one's time. Yet, even the more utilitarian cookbooks represent aspirational desires—to be a good housewife or to cook more healthful food. As I will show, cookbooks also represent authors' aspirations for how people should obtain, cook, and consume food. For activists who published cookbooks, these aspirations also include how people should turn their homes into miniature versions of the society they wish to build. Thus, while movement cookbooks cannot tell us how activists actually cooked, they can show us activists' goals for the personal sphere and the steps they believed would be necessary to achieve these goals.

However, at the same time, recipes are more constrained by the realties of

everyday life than other forms of discourse about cooking. In cookbooks, we can also see how ideals about cooking intersect with the constraints of taste, economics, time, and technology that go into feeding oneself and one's family several times a day. For example, compared with a lengthy essay in a feminist newspaper about the best way to cook to support the movement's political goals, recipes in a community cookbook are more likely to be shaped by personal tastes, the preferences of children, the ingredients an activist can regularly access, and the time she has available for cooking. This does not mean that the recipes accurately reflect how individual activists actually cooked. Instead, I argue that because recipes must translate ideals into lists of ingredients, cooking times, and methods, they are more likely to come head-to-head with the material and cultural constraints of cooking in a given historical era.

Depending on the type of cookbook, we can gain insight into the ideals at different levels of a social movement. Cookbooks written by one author or a collective represent that author or group's perspective. However, the wider reach of these cookbooks, published in greater numbers and distributed throughout the feminist publisher's network of feminist bookstores and organizations, made them more likely to become exemplary of the movement's "party line" when it came to cooking. On the other hand, community cookbooks published by a social movement open a window into the culinary discourse of the rank-and-file members. Since community cookbooks are "written" by the tens to hundreds of women who submit recipes, these books are markers of culinary ideals of the general members of movement organizations rather than the discourse of movement leaders. Thus, community cookbooks are excellent sources for examining if and how the ideals espoused by movement leaders are adopted by the rank-

and-file. This is especially important when studying personal prefigurative politics, a political tactic that requires individual members to enact changes in their own homes. In personal prefigurative politics, activists attempt to build a new society, home by home, within the walls of the old society. Community cookbooks are one of the best sources we have to examine if rank-and-file members adopted the discourse about personal prefigurative politics, since one can study if their recipes teach readers how to model the movement's ideal society. If the rank-and-file did not adopt the discourse about personal prefigurative politics, their recipes would be no different than recipes in contemporaneous non-movement community cookbooks. Thus, community cookbooks can be a litmus test for the adoption of the ideals of personal prefigurative politics throughout all levels of a social movement.

Articles About Cooking

I also analyzed newspaper, magazine, and newsletter articles about cooking within feminist media. Across all four movements, I analyzed 756 articles. I only searched for articles in publications sponsored by organizations affiliated with the four feminist movements I studied. After a brief survey of a range of publications from each movement, I focused my research on the publications that contained the most discussion of food and cooking.

For the temperance and suffrage movements, this meant researching the movements' national publications, the WCTU's *Union Signal* and the suffrage movement's *Woman's Journal.* These national publications contained news about state and local organizations, but most of the articles were more general discussions about

movement goals, tactics, and related political and social issues—including food, cooking, and health. Temperance and suffrage state and local newspapers, on the other hand, contained mostly organizational news and did not often engage in these broader discussions in which I discovered most articles about cooking. Thus, for temperance and suffrage, I focused my research on articles within the *Union Signal* and the *Woman's Journal.* I accessed these journals on microfilm at the Frances E. Willard Memorial Library and Archives and the New York Public Library, respectively. I searched through these newspapers for their entire run until the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments were passed; this resulted in searching for articles from 1883-1919 for the *Union Signal* and 1871-1920 for the *Woman's Journal.*

My tactics changed for second-wave feminism, as different types of publications were more likely to contain articles about cooking. In liberal second-wave feminism, publications that covered topics aside from organizational business, legal cases, and electoral battles were more likely to contain articles about cooking. This included both local and national publications. Thus, I researched publications with national scope such as *Ms.* magazine. I also researched a variety of local and state publications. Because of their non-hierarchical organizational structure, radical second-wave feminism did not have one central national publication. Thus, all the radical second-wave feminist publications I researched were produced by small, local groups, though many of these publications were distributed nationally through the network of women's bookshops. However, there are hundreds of local and state publications from liberal and radical feminism. I randomly selected liberal and radical publications from holdings in archives that specialized in feminist history. Often, these archives contained only a few issues of

each publication. Thus, I could not research the entire run of these publications.

To find articles about cooking within temperance, suffrage, liberal second-wave, and radical-second wave feminist publications, I adopted a variety of tactics. If the publication had an index, I looked for articles listed under keywords such as cooking, eating, food, health, kitchen, nutrition, and recipe. I also flipped through the pages of each issue to look for articles about cooking. I also scanned the letters to the editor, which would often reference earlier articles. If a letter or another article referred to a previous article about cooking, I tracked down the earlier article. I only analyzed articles that focused on the act of cooking. This includes recipes, suggestions for how one should cook, or stories about kitchen experiences. I did not include articles that discussed policies about food—for example, I did not include temperance and suffrage discourse about pure food legislation or second-wave feminists' discussions about food stamps.

What We Can Learn from Articles

Articles about cooking develop feminist ideology and explain its relation to actions in the kitchen. In articles in newspapers, magazines, and newsletters, feminists tell kitchen stories or explain their approaches to cooking. These articles usually describe a particular way of cooking, but these discussions often focus on the principles behind the culinary approaches rather than giving precise directions for cooking in exactly this way. They explain *why* cooking should be done in particular ways; this justification of action is largely absent in cookbooks. Further, feminists use articles to highlight the meanings and political consequences of cooking in particular ways. Newspaper articles are the main sources in which feminists use cooking to draw moral boundaries between themselves

and others. In these articles, feminists argue that their approaches to cooking make them moral subjects. Newspaper articles are also where the tactic of personal prefigurative politics and the ideology behind it can become explicit as feminists connect particular ways of cooking to their political goals. Thus, articles are most useful for uncovering feminists' reasons for approaching cooking in particular ways and how they used cooking to make claims about moral boundaries and personal prefigurative politics.

Archival Material

I also searched for material about cooking in archives related to each of the four movements I study. I researched archives of feminist organizations and the personal archives of women active in the movements. I visited 12 archives that housed large feminist collections or key materials about feminism and cooking. For a complete list of the archives I visited, see Appendix C. Many of these archives are where I accessed the collections of feminist newspapers, magazines, and newsletters that I discussed above. However, I also analyzed materials such as meeting minutes, treasurer's notes, letters, flyers, essays, photographs, menus from feminist restaurants, and personal feminists' recipe collections. When approaching these collections, I searched the finding aids for keywords such as food, cooking, cookbook, recipe, kitchen, and health, and I would investigate sections of the collection that were more likely to include information about feminists' thoughts on cooking.

What We Can Learn from Archival Materials

Depending on the type of material, archival collections can reveal different ways

in which feminists have politicized cooking. Materials such as feminists' personal recipe collections demonstrate that sparked the interest of individual activists. This reveals the foods or cooking methods that interested activists, but does not offer any reason for why they preferred these recipes. In this regard, personal recipe collections are similar to community cookbooks that compile recipes from individual activists. Materials such as menus and other items from feminist restaurants are similar to cookbooks written by one feminist or collective of feminists, for menus demonstrate the foods that one feminist or group of feminists deemed suitable for serving in a feminist restaurant. In other words, this represents only how one actor or group of actors within the larger movement brought their politics to the kitchen to make culinary decisions, but by being specially designated women's spaces that attract many movement members, restaurants had the potential to become exemplary of the broader movement's ideas about cooking. Letters, flyers, and meeting minutes can contain explanations of the feminists' preferred culinary methods and the political goals and meanings behind these preferences. In this sense, these materials are similar to newspaper articles that are likely to explain how each movement's politics result in particular approaches to cooking. Finally, I found background information about individual feminist cookbooks in archival materials such as letters, meeting minutes, newsletters, and treasurer's notes. I used these materials to research why individual feminist organizations decided to publish a cookbook—the answers to this question helps me understand part of the political utility of discourse cooking, especially how feminists used cooking to draw moral boundaries.

Coding and Analysis

To reveal feminists' culinary preferences and the reasons behind these ideals, I inductively coded these sources according to *what* each author suggests cooking, *how* they suggest cooking it, *who* they recommend should cook it, and *why*. Some materials did not have information under one or more of these four categories. For others, I coded multiple nodes within each category. "What" yielded categories that described the main ingredients of each recipe or food that was being discussed; for example: beef, chicken, whole grains, and vegetables. Under "how" are codes such as boil, deep fry, bake, cooperative cooking, and the amount of time required for cooking. "Who" designates the gender of the potential cook. "Why" identifies the reasons that activists offered for following a particular recipe or cooking in a particular manner; this yielded categories such as health, frugality, or labor saving. I also coded for the moral boundaries that feminists constructed with cooking by coding for "similar to mainstream" when feminists used cooking to prove their similarity to others and coding for "different from mainstream" when feminists used their culinary methods to signpost how they differed from others.

In cookbooks, I coded each recipe as an individual unit. I coded each recipe within the seven temperance and seven suffrage cookbooks, and within the second-wave cookbooks, I coded every other recipe. I also coded each article and piece of archival material as individual units. I coded these materials in Nvivo 10. Coding frequencies alerted me to the major culinary trends within each movement. This revealed the foods and methods that feminists encouraged others to use to put their political goals into practice within their own homes.

Through these mixed methods, I developed a picture of each feminist movement's preferred culinary style, both at the level of the "party line" and the rank-and-file members. Although I cannot uncover how feminists actually cooked, I reveal their ideals when it came to ingredients and how to cook them. I compare discourse from contemporaneous movements to examine how different political approaches can result in politicizing food in different ways—in other words, I study how social movements that face the same foodscape end up with different culinary approaches. I also compare discourse from movements across time to trace similarities in how activists politicize cooking. These similarities highlight how particular political traditions yield certain approaches to cooking regardless of the time period. I will now turn to these feminist movements, revealing how each movement politicized the kitchen and arrived at their own culinary style.

CHAPTER 3:

Woman's Temperance and Woman's Suffrage in Historical Context

The nineteenth century brought immense change for Americans. At the start of the century, most Americans lived in rural, agrarian communities where subsistence farming was the main means of survival. This lifestyle required every member of the family to work in the household or on the family's agricultural land (Cowan 1983). However, by the turn of the twentieth century, most Americans lived in urban centers (Weber 1899). The market revolution and the Industrial Revolution changed the nature of what was considered "work," drawing men to work in factories or offices where they earned wages (Davies and Frink 2014). New technologies revolutionized the way people and goods traveled, affecting all corners of daily life and spreading white settlements across the continent (Hindle 1986). Unprecedented numbers of immigrants arrived on the country's shores and populated the booming cities (Daniels 2002). A bloody Civil War had been fought over slavery and the role of a federal democratic government (Hummel 2014). The century saw the expansion of the franchise, first among propertyless white men, and later among Black men (though soon afterward, Jim Crow laws in the South severely limited Black men's access to the vote) (Shklar 1991).

These changes posed many problems for middle- and upper-class American women. As the U.S. transformed around them, many women realized that their traditional domestic roles had less and less impact over their family members and their communities. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and woman's suffrage, the first two major women's social movements in the country's history, asserted the importance of

women in guiding the nation through its growing pains. These women took to political involvement, arguing for expanded rights so they could protect their families and communities and could help decide the future of the nation. Cultural ideas about gender and women's disenfranchisement limited the forms of political involvement open to women; however, these factors also enabled women to form social movements that fit within these constraints, providing the means by which women could work toward their political goals.

In the chapter that follows, I first introduce the gender context at the time of the woman's temperance and woman's suffrage movements. Then, I provide an overview of the nineteenth-century foodscape, which is what activists confronted when they politicized food and cooking. The rest of the chapter focuses on the two social movements. I first provide a historical overview of the WCTU, highlighting its political ideas, tactics, and demographics. This is followed by a discussion of the primary sources where temperance activists wrote about food and cooking. I then provide the same historical information for the woman's suffrage movement, followed by an introduction to suffragists' writings about cooking. This historical overview provides the foundation for Chapter 4's and Chapter 5's analyses of the political roles that discourse about cooking served for temperance activists and suffragists.

The Historical Gender Context

Temperance women and suffragists became active in a historical context that posed significant institutionalized barriers to women's independence and ability to mobilize. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the gender structure, in

which both cultural ideas and institutionalized patterns of resources work to constrain and enable individuals' actions (Risman 2004; Sewell 1992), rested on a foundation created by True Womanhood, an ideology of separate spheres, and the political and legal disenfranchisement of women.

In the mid-nineteenth century, American women were held to a cultural standard of "True Womanhood," which mandated that women adhere to four virtues: piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness (Welter 1966). These qualities supposedly came naturally to women as part of their inherent feminine character. Failure to embody any of these four tenets resulted in social stigmatization (Welter 1966). Because True Womanhood prioritized virtues that were more easily achieved by white, middle- to upper-class women, the inability to embody this cultural mandate played a role in the stigmatization of women who belonged to the working class or racial and ethnic minorities. Yet, there was variation in adherence to True Womanhood even among middle-class white women; many leveraged these virtues to gain increased influence and shift women's roles (Hewitt 2002; Welter 1966).

During the reign of True Womanhood in the mid-nineteenth century, the home was viewed as women's central sphere. The standard narrative is that the market revolution and the Industrial Revolution removed paid work from the home and defined this work as best suited for men, while the unpaid work that remained within the home was defined as feminine (Davies and Frink 2014; Padavic and Reskin 2002). In the early nineteenth century, women were in charge of a variety of domestic tasks, including caring for children and older family members, cooking, procuring food, putting up preserves, making butter, fetching water from wells, washing dishes, cleaning the house,

spinning, sewing, making the family's clothing, washing said clothing, arranging social engagements, and educating children (Cott 1977; Degler 1980; Shapiro 1986; Strasser 1982). Industrialization affected many of these domestic tasks, but, as Ruth Schwartz Cowan argues, many nineteenth-century technological developments did not actually lessen the work that women were expected to complete. Many of the new developments—such as industrial flour mills or meatpacking plants—removed from the home work that had been traditionally completed by men. Other developments that affected women's work simply increased expectations, resulting in no net lessening of work. For example, the industrial production of cloth led to the desire for more clothes, and the task of sewing these additional clothes fell to women (Cowan 1983).

At the same time as these industrial developments were shifting (but not lessening) women's domestic labor, the home became culturally redefined as a heavenly contrast to the rest of the outside world (Cott 1977; Shapiro 1986). "Work" became understood as something completed in the public sphere for compensation, was masculinized, and "desecrated the human spirit" (Cott 1977:67), while the home contributed to moral salvation. However, as Kerber (1980, 1988) and others have argued, women's domestic sphere and men's public sphere were not entirely distinct; women's domestic actions were believed to contribute to the proper functioning of the public sphere in a healthy democracy. To argue for women's expanded political rights, temperance women and suffragists had to combat those who believed that women already exercised sufficient influence over the nation through their domestic roles.

Despite the strength of True Womanhood, cracks spread through the foundation as women began to seek paid employment, gain legal rights, and pursue civic

involvement. Temperance women and suffragists later took advantage of and expanded these cracks as they called for women's increased political rights. In the mid-nineteenth century, opportunities for women in higher education grew exponentially (Sklar 1995; Solomon 1985). Some educated women entered careers, but they were typically limited to positions that valued women's "natural" caretaking abilities—such as teachers, secretaries, clerical workers, sociologists, and settlement house workers (Davies and Frink 2014; Hoffman 2003; Kwolek-Folland 1994; Prentice and Theobald 1991; Sklar 1995). Many working-class women, especially single women and widows, faced an economic uncertainty that necessitated their paid employment (Kessler-Harris 2003; Vapnek 2009). In 1840, about 10% of all women worked in jobs outside their homes—often in industry, domestic service, or teaching. A much larger number of women took in work or sold some of their homemade products (Kessler-Harris 2003). As employment options for women expanded, the number of women working outside the home grew throughout the nineteenth century (Kessler-Harris 2003). These working women violated True Womanhood's tenets of domesticity and submissiveness, but they pushed for women's economic rights and the ability to achieve economic independence (Vapnek 2009).

The middle of the nineteenth century marked the first legal reforms that ensured married women's property rights; for the next several decades, individual states slowly granted married women the right to control their own earnings and property (Basch 1982; Chused 1983; Kerber 1988). These laws created a class of property-owning women who were disenfranchised; thus, these laws had re-created taxation without representation. At a time when white male suffrage had become universal, regardless of property ownership,

it became harder to use democratic principles to defend property-owning women's exclusion from the franchise. In the late nineteenth century, some states granted women limited suffrage by enabling them to vote for issues that were deemed to concern "women's realm," such as school board elections (Kraditor 1965).

Despite their inability to vote, nineteenth-century women found ways of being involved in politics. These political methods often aligned with cultural ideas about femininity and their domestic roles. Women's actions in the home, from boycotting imported goods to raising democratic citizens, were forms of political action (Baker 1984; Kerber 1980). In the nineteenth century, women became involved in greater numbers in social service organizations; women's supposed morality justified these public actions and situated them as above the immoral realm of politics. Some early women's political organizations argued that women's sphere included women and children everywhere, which allowed women to get involved in public organizations that addressed women's and children's issues (Baker 1984; Hewitt 1984). Women's clubs represented the pinnacle of this feminine form of political involvement. Many women's clubs "sought to bring the benefits of motherhood to the public sphere" by working to enact a range of social reforms (Baker 1984:640). Therefore, women became politically involved, but there was a division between men's and women's forms of politics. Temperance women and suffragists called for an erasure of that division. As we shall see, temperance women and suffragists continued to use arguments about women's nature and women's sphere to justify women's political action. However, they used these arguments to call for women to have the same political rights and opportunities as men.

The Historical Food Context

The nineteenth-century food context provided the foods and appliances that temperance women and suffragists then politicized, and it also with helped shape these activists' culinary concerns. Prior to the 1840s, both urban and rural Americans did not eat much fresh produce, fresh milk, or fresh meat. Their unvaried diet relied heavily on bread, preserved meats, eggs, cheese, and preserved vegetables and fruits (Cowan 1983; Strasser 1982). The railroad changed all that. After the Civil War, refrigerated rail cars further enabled the shipment of fresh foods across long distances (Levenstein 1988).

Cooking occupied much of women's time, even with the technological advances of American kitchens. Colonial and early nineteenth century cooks worked over open hearths, which were dangerous and inefficient. With an open hearth, unleavened quickbreads and "one-pot" meals such as soups and stews were easiest to produce. Yet, by the Civil War, most households had acquired a cast iron stove, which used coal instead of wood and burned fuel more efficiently (Cowan 1983).[2] As Ruth Schwartz Cowan (1983) points out, this is an example of technology replacing household labor that had traditionally been masculinized—the task of chopping and splitting wood often fell to men, but the switch to coal eliminated this task. The new stoves did bring some improvements to women's lives—they were less likely to burn down the house or endanger the cook. However, the shift to cookstoves went hand-in-hand with increased culinary expectations. The stoves enabled women to boil, bake, and fry three different things all at the same time (Strasser 1982), which brought variety to America's tables but

[2] Cast iron stoves slowly became replaced with gas ranges after 1900 (Wilson 2012). Although the turn of the century brought the invention of many electric cooking appliances, these were not widely adopted until later in the century (Strasser 1982).

required more work from women (Cowan 1983).

Although middle- and upper-class women in the late nineteenth century employed domestic servants, they were not entirely uninvolved in cooking. Unless they could afford an army of servants (and most households could only afford one), women continued to perform culinary work alongside the hired help (Cowan 1983; Levenstein 1988; Strasser 1982:33).[3] Procuring food and cooking were still defined as these women's jobs, as it fell under managing the operations of the household.

Through the nineteenth century, American foodways were generally Anglo-Saxon (Levenstein 1988). Nutritional experts argued that meals in which ingredients were mixed together (as they are in many ethnic cuisines) caused more indigestion than meals in which meats, vegetables, and starches were cooked separately (as they are in American, British, and Irish cuisines) (Levenstein 1985). Middle-class Americans attempted to teach American cooking to new immigrants as a way to improve the health and social conditions of city slums (Levenstein 1985). This effort was part of the broader push to "Americanize" immigrants by teaching them how to speak English, the fundamentals of American history and civics, and democratic ideals of the nation (Mirel 2010).

The nineteenth century also saw the rise of several dietary reform movements, and elements of these movements made their way into temperance and suffrage culinary discourse. The first substantial one was led by Sylvester Graham, a minister and temperance lecturer in the early nineteenth century. He argued that alcohol and

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[3] The reliance on domestic servants was so strong that the "servant problem" became a national obsession toward the end of the nineteenth century. Panic arose over both a shortage of domestic help and the perceived lack of competence of the women who were available to work (Levenstein 1988; Sutherland 1981). The "servant problem" remained until several decades into the twentieth century, when electric appliances became commonplace and it became normalized for middle-class women to complete their own domestic tasks (Cowan 1983; Strasser 1982).

unhealthful foods—especially meats, processed foods, and spices—wreaked havoc on the body's normal processes and led to illness and weakness (Haydu and Kadanoff 2010; Nissenbaum 1980; Sokolow 1983). Graham believed that deterioration of these physiological processes would lead to immoral behavior (Nissenbaum 1980; Whorton 1982). The recommended diet of vegetarian foods and whole grains was purported to curb an overactive sexual desire, which would in turn strengthen individuals and return them to good health (Sokolow 1983; Whorton 1982). Graham's ideas eventually gained new life with the Seventh-Day Adventists and Dr. John Harvey Kellogg. Kellogg, in charge of a Seventh-Day Adventist health institute in Battle Creek, Michigan, became a well-known supporter of vegetarianism and began manufacturing whole-grain cereals. To avoid sexual depravity, Kellogg recommended drinking lots of water, cold enemas, hot sitz baths, and a vegetarian diet that avoided alcohol, caffeine, tobacco, and spices (Sokolow 1983; Whorton 1982). As we will see, these ideas also had a strong influence on how the WCTU approached food.

Concerns over the adulteration of processed foods drew temperance women even deeper into culinary politics and gave suffragists another reason to argue for women's enfranchisement. As food processing outside the home became more commonplace, concern arose over the conditions in which these foods were produced. Meats were in danger of becoming spoiled or diseased, canned goods were often contaminated with copper or tin, flours contained finely ground rice or plaster of paris, and milk was watered down and colored to look whole (Goodwin 1999:42-43). Many pure food advocates blamed adulterated foods for widespread illness, and they worried about the drugs and alcohol in patent medicines. Temperance women, who already shared

Graham's and Kellogg's beliefs that meat, spices, and caffeine ruined individuals' health and morality, added impure foods to their list of concerns. The pure food crisis also created a political opportunity for suffragists, who argued that women needed the vote to protect their families from dangerous foods (*e.g.,* Anonymous 1916a). Increased agitation led to the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act, which prohibited deceptive labeling of foods and drugs, required that all active ingredients be included on medicine labels, and led to the establishment of the Food and Drug Administration (Goodwin 1999).

Domestic scientists also helped shape how temperance women and suffragists politicized cooking. Catherine Beecher, one of the earliest proponents of rationalizing housework, argued that housework was women's most important duty, one prescribed by God. To best serve Him, Beecher urged women to be more efficient and orderly in their housekeeping (Strasser 1982). Beecher's ideas became more fully developed by the growing ranks of domestic scientists (who were almost all women), who introduced science and rationality to domestic tasks. Advances in knowledge about nutrition, germs, and disease led reformers to eschew traditional housekeeping methods. Further, households appeared haphazard compared to the factories and workplaces that became emblems of rational efficiency (Strasser 1982). Domestic scientists believed that reforming the home had widespread social and health benefits (Shapiro 1986; Strasser 1982).

Food in particular was an attractive target for reform because "it offered the easiest and most immediate access to the homes of the nation. If they could reform American eating habits, they could reform Americans" (Shapiro 1986:5). Domestic scientists paid greater attention to the nutrients in food, exact measurements, and sanitary

cooking methods. Through cooking classes, domestic scientists taught society women, working class women, and children dietary principles and sanitary methods of preparing food (Shapiro 1986; Strasser 1982). Thus, domestic scientists prioritized health over taste or the pleasure of eating (Ferguson 2014; Shapiro 1986). As we will see, temperance women made use of the increased knowledge about the nutrition and sanitation of cooking. Suffragists, on the other hand, took advantage of domestic scientists' calls for more efficiency and rationality in the kitchen.

The woman's temperance and woman's suffrage movements arose in this shifting historical landscape. Although the home was largely understood as women's proper sphere, women were becoming more involved in public life. The WCTU and the woman's suffrage movement were two separate, but related, attempts to increase women's power in this historical context. And, as I will show in Chapters 4 and 5, food and cooking factored into each movement's politics. Temperance women and suffragists politicized elements of the contemporary foodscape to support their visions for change.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union

Alcohol consumption in America peaked between 1800 and 1830, when alcohol was a central part of life (Tracy 2009). After American Independence limited access to British beer, Americans developed efficient distilling technologies to turn grain into whiskey, producing a much more potent alcoholic beverage. The early nineteenth century also marked an increase of immigrants from Germany and Ireland, where drinking beer and whiskey, respectively, was a major part of daily life (Blocker 1989). These newcomers supported the boom in urban saloons (Tracy 2009). The brewing and

distilling industries grew after the Civil War, but per-capita consumption of alcohol remained relatively stable throughout the late nineteenth century (Tracy 2009). In the mid-nineteenth century when woman's temperance became active, alcoholism was constructed as a social problem of urban, Catholic, working class men (Blocker 1989; Gusfield 1963).

The WCTU was part of the larger temperance movement, which also included men's temperance leagues. As a whole, the temperance movement aimed to stop people from drinking. Throughout the nineteenth century, men's temperance leagues focused on the act of declaring abstinence for oneself. In the early nineteenth century, temperance was seen as part of middle-class status, a way of marking oneself as a successful "self-made man." For middle-class men, pledging temperance was evidence of achievement, self control, and authority (Fletcher 2008). Later in the century, working-class men formed the ranks of the Washingtonian movement, which gathered reformed alcoholics into brotherly communities that resemble today's Alcoholics Anonymous support groups (Blocker 1989; Fletcher 2008).

Women became heavily involved in the previously male-dominated temperance movement in the winter of 1873-1874 during a frenzied period of women's temperance activity called the "Crusades." Thousands of American women left their homes to publicly protest saloons. These women put a face on the suffering caused by alcoholism. Women who had lost sons, husbands, and brothers to alcoholism, or had been beaten or abandoned by these men, turned out to protest, and their women friends joined them in solidarity. To enhance their image as innocent victims, the protesters played upon the cultural idea that women were naturally more pious and pure. These women knelt in

prayer outside saloons and prayed for the saloon keepers and customers to recognize the evils of their ways. As Fletcher (2008:86) explains, "the Crusade spectacularly resurrected moral suasion through the employment of female victimization and morality." The Crusaders often endured harassment and violence from saloon customers and owners—men often showered the women with alcohol, threw food at them, and attacked them in fistfights. However, these shows of violence from saloon crowds only bolstered the image that they were immoral criminals and heightened the idea that women were innocent victims (Fletcher 2008).

Other Crusaders met more positive reactions from saloon owners. Some owners gave in to the persuasion and closed their doors. In a few instances, saloons closed as Crusaders used axes to split open casks of alcohol (Epstein 1981). In just a few months, hundreds of communities saw women's temperance protests, and over a thousand saloons had been temporarily closed (Epstein 1981; Fletcher 2008). While most of the saloons reopened within a year, the effects on the Crusaders themselves lasted longer. The Crusades had pulled women middle-class white women outside their homes and involved them in public action, which was an unfamiliar territory to many (Bordin 1981; Fletcher 2008). Getting involved in this activism broadened women's responsibilities beyond the walls of their homes.

In late summer of 1874, the WCTU rose out of this newfound sense of responsibility, identity, energy, and purpose created by the Crusades. Crusaders brought their tactics of moral persuasion by pious women into this new organization (Fletcher 2008). The WCTU aimed to reform suffering individuals of their alcohol habits. This approach views intemperance as a moral lapse of individuals—not as a problem caused

by social institutions. Gusfield (1963) labels this approach “assimilative politics,” for temperance workers aimed to assimilate the suffering alcoholics into an abstinent life. The WCTU maintained that abstinence was the most moral state of existence, and they hoped drinkers would recognize their social deviance and wish to change their ways (Bordin 1981; Fletcher 2008; Gusfield 1963; Woman’s Christian Temperance Union 1877:143). To this effect, temperance women engaged in missionary efforts in attempts to rescue society’s outcasts from the grips of alcohol. They worked with criminals, the unemployed, and the homeless, attempting to teach them the evils of their ways and guide them toward a more moral path that included abstinence (Gusfield 1963). This emphasis on personal reform was present in the WCTU from its beginnings to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919.

However, personal reform was not the only political approach adopted by the WCTU. When Frances Willard was elected president of the WCTU in 1879, she encouraged a wide array of tactics and social reforms. Under Willard’s “Do Everything Policy,” the WCTU supported activities and reforms that spanned the ideological spectrum, essentially endorsing whatever activities the local or state unions wished to pursue (Epstein 1981). Beneath this policy was the belief that alcohol was “connected to every conceivable social problem,” and thus, any type of philanthropic social work could arguably lead toward a dry society (Epstein 1981:124). Thus, the Do Everything Policy held together many disparate approaches to achieving temperance. Willard continued to cultivate the Crusader image of women as moral victims who encouraged personal conversion to sobriety. However, she also supported more progressive social reforms that attempted to attack alcoholism by changing the social institutions—poverty,

industrialism, political disenfranchisement—that supported it (Epstein 1981; Fletcher 2008). Willard even formed an alliance with the Knights of Labor. Preserving families was one of the WCTU's main goals, and they believed the demands of the labor movement—a living wage and the eight-hour day—would do much to improve family life (Epstein 1981).

The "Do Everything Policy" also included pushing for prohibitionary legislation on both the state and national levels. Some within the WCTU—especially Southerners—believed it was not women's place to advocate for legislation, as they believed it improper for women to be involved in any form of politics (Fletcher 2008). Despite these concerns of a more conservative faction, Willard and the WCTU supported prohibitionary laws as one of the many routes toward a more sober society. In contrast to the "assimilative" politics of personal reform, Gusfield (1963) labels this legislative approach "coercive" politics. Under this orientation, reformers did not operate under the assumption that people who drank would recognize they were being socially deviant. Instead, the "coercive" approach maintained that people who drank believed their own culture was "right" and would not reform their ways unless they were forced to by law (Gusfield 1963:7).

Willard was also a staunch supporter of woman suffrage as a means of achieving temperance. Willard believed the vote would give women power to protect themselves and their children from alcohol (Bordin 1981; Epstein 1981; Masson 1997). With her argument for the "Home Protection Ballot," Willard claimed that women's status as innocent and moral victims of alcoholism necessitated their use of the vote to protect themselves and their families. Rather than pushing for the vote as an extension of equal

rights to women, Willard argued for woman suffrage on the grounds of morality, spirituality, and the family. She portrayed the male-led society as lacking in motherly moral guidance, for it had allowed the development of alcoholism, poverty, corruption, and other social problems. Willard maintained that enfranchised women would reinstall morality into politics and society (Epstein 1981; Fletcher 2008). Political power—*i.e.,* the vote—was a necessity if women were going to reform society. Willard was not the only one who justified woman suffrage in this way; this type of argument became very popular in the suffrage movement toward the end of the nineteenth century (Buechler 1986; Kraditor 1965; McCammon 2009).

Coalitions on the state level formed between WCTU chapters and woman's suffrage organizations, and usually took the form of temperance activists working with suffragists to campaign for the vote. These coalitions between the WCTU and the suffrage movement were most likely to occur in locations and times when temperance activists viewed alcohol as a growing threat (McCammon and Campbell 2002).

After Willard's death in 1898, the WCTU narrowed its focus. Rather than pursuing a multitude of social issues, the leadership of the WCTU began focusing more exclusively on prohibitionary legislation (Bordin 1981). However, as I demonstrate below, some women in the WCTU continued to see a connection between alcoholism and food. In the pages of the *Union Signal* and in meetings, women of the WCTU continued to discuss cooking even as they advocated for a national amendment for prohibition.

Demographics of the WCTU

The expansion of temperance action that occurred under Willard's presidency

coincided with a rapid expansion of membership. In 1881, the WCTU included 22,800 members. Just ten years later, this number jumped to 138,377. By 1911, membership was at 245,299 and growing (Gusfield 1955:222). These members were part of a hierarchical organization that contained local and state chapters beneath a national umbrella organization. Each local, state, and national chapter contained various departments that pursued different aspects of temperance work. For example, in 1894, the some of the departments of the national WCTU included Scientific Temperance Instruction, Physical Culture, Sunday School Work, Temperance Literature, Health and Heredity, Sanitary and Economic Cookery, and Work Among Colored People (National Woman's Christian Temperance Union 1894).

The women of the WCTU were generally white, middle-class, and Protestant. Temperance sentiment was also strongest in rural areas, as alcoholism was generally defined as an urban problem. The WCTU had less presence in the South, where temperance support had a different makeup (Giele 1995:90-92). The South had fewer European immigrants pouring into the cities, and support of temperance does not appear to have fallen along racial lines (Blocker 1989). Instead, temperance support was strongest in areas that experienced rapid economic growth. As Blocker (1989:90) explains, "the increasing numbers of southern entrepreneurs and workers discovered that traditional drinking patterns made a poor fit with the exigencies of life under the new regime."

As middle-class women, the women of the WCTU likely strove to approximate the ideal of True Womanhood, and they would have been able to achieve this gender ideal with more ease than their working-class or black sisters. Their class and race

privilege afforded them the privilege of not having to work for wages, and they likely could afford a domestic servant. The average WCTU member also belonged to the segment of American women who were pursuing higher education in greater numbers in the late nineteenth century. Thus, temperance women's ideologies and tactics were grounded within this class, race, and gender context.

Temperance Discourse About Cooking

Food was nearly as important as alcohol to the women of the WCTU. As I will illustrate below, temperance women viewed unhealthful food as a root of alcoholism. The women of the WCTU also largely enacted women's traditional domestic roles, which included being in charge of the household cooking. As a result of both of these factors, the WCTU produced a wealth of material about cooking. They circulated newspaper articles about the best methods of cooking, and they discussed it over meetings. They also published many fundraising cookbooks. Before I explain how temperance women strategically used claims about cooking to advance their political goals, I will provide an overview of temperance primary sources about cooking.

Newspaper Articles

Newspapers were one of the main methods of communicating ideas about food and cooking within the WCTU. The organization's official news outlet, *The Union Signal,* frequently ran articles about cooking, food, and nutrition.[4] I gathered 200 articles

4 State chapters of the WCTU also published newspapers, but they were typically smaller and less comprehensive. While I used state newspapers to find information about fundraising cookbooks published by state or local chapters, because of their short length and tendency to focus on local news, they were less

about cooking between 1883 and 1919, from the start of the newspaper's run to the ratification of Prohibition.

The authors of these articles usually had a form of expertise related to health or cooking. Often, these articles were written by male doctors, including Dr. John Harvey Kellogg of Kellogg cereal fame and the Battle Creek, Michigan sanitarium (Kellogg 1890, 1890). There were also a handful of women in positions of scientific authority who often wrote about cooking for *The Union Signal*. For example, Dr. Kellogg's wife was the superintendent of the WCTU Department of Hygiene from 1883 to 1885, and she wrote articles such as "How Shall We Eat?" which reinforced the ideas her husband preached about the connection between unhealthful food and intemperance (Kellogg 1883b). The most articles about cooking were written by Dr. Louise C. Purington, superintendent of the WCTU Department of Health and Heredity from 1895 to 1913; she wrote articles ranging from "Food Economics," which focused on diet and how a woman should feed her family, to "Pure Food Legislation," which argued for the necessity of pure food laws and followed this legislation's political fortunes throughout the country (Purington 1901, 1905). The department of Health and Heredity also had a sub-unit of Domestic Science from 1896 to 1907 led by Marion A. McBride, who was also an early female pioneer in the journalism profession (Castle 1890; National Woman's Christian Temperance Union 1883). McBride also wrote several articles about cooking for *The Union Signal (McBride 1892).*

From time to time, ordinary women also contributed their ideas about food and cooking. Many times, these opinions came in the form of letters to the editor. These

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useful as a source for general discussions of cooking.

letters generally supported the themes about cooking that were put forth by the national leaders—that the food was the foundation of a temperate lifestyle.

The Union Signal also frequently included recipes and asked for readers to send in their favorites. Regularly occurring columns like "Our Cook Book" listed several recipes per week (Anonymous 1884c). I have not been able to determine whether this cookbook ever saw the light of day, but it resulted in a column of recipes that ran for several weeks. Recipes also took center stage during World War I, when *The Union Signal* ran a weekly column titled "Bake the Barley into Bread and Bar it From the Bar." This column featured multiple variations on bread, muffins, and soups made with barley flour (Anonymous 1918a). When Herbert Hoover, then serving as Federal Food Commissioner, called for women to reduce their use of wheat flour during the war, temperance women spotted an opportunity to make a political statement about temperance. They argued that barley should be used for food, not alcohol, and they offered numerous recipes that used barley flour in place of wheat flour.[5]

Archival Material About Cooking

Reports of meetings and informational pamphlets also reveal temperance women's thoughts on food and cooking. The WCTU published annual reports of state and national meetings, which included reports from the superintendents of every department, presidents of local unions, membership counts, and the president's address. In these annual reports, discussions about cooking often appear in the reports from

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5 Suffragists also included a wartime column of wheat- and sugar-reducing recipes in their national newspaper, but their recipes relied heavily on corn meal, canning, and dehydrating, and they did not make a special point to argue that Americans should use barley for food instead of alcohol.

superintendents of departments that have something to do with food— for example, the departments of Hygiene, Health & Heredity, Sanitary & Economic Cookery, Domestic Science, or Kitchen Gardens. These reports often opened with a general statement about the importance of their work to the movement, and then would proceed by reading short reports about each state's work in that particular field (or, a state's annual report would detail the work in local unions), followed by suggestions for how local unions can accomplish work in this line—for example, by distributing pamphlets or holding meetings about particular health topics.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association also published hundreds of pamphlets about a wide range of social issues related to temperance. Several pamphlets discussed health issues, including a few that discussed food and cooking. In one such pamphlet, "Food and Health," a female doctor, Dr. Lauretta E. Kress, explains how to eat in a way that preserves the health and keeps the cravings for alcohol at bay. After detailing her suggested diet, Kress remarks, "Such a diet produces less demand for stimulating beverages, and is sufficient for maintaining the body in a high degree of efficiency" (Kress 1919:3). Other pamphlets related to food included "Health—A Bible Study," which contained scripture passages about how one should eat (Bordeau-Sisco 1919a). Another pamphlet, "The Baby—Its Food" explained that breast milk was far superior to bottled milk because of its cleanliness ("it is always free from dirt and germs"), and described how to transition babies onto hard food (Bordeau-Sisco 1919b).

Cookbooks

Of the four movements I researched, temperance women published the most

cookbooks. I have found mention of 34 different cookbooks published in the US by WCTU chapters between 1878 and 1919. There were likely additional cookbooks published by temperance organizations that have been lost to the historical record. The 34 cookbooks that I found evidence of are largely from the Northeast and Midwest, with only three coming from the South and six from the West. Most of the cookbooks were published by state or local WCTU chapters—for example, the Massachusetts WCTU (Massachusetts WCTU 1878) or the WCTU of North Rockford, Illinois (North Rockford WCTU 1900). There are many more cookbooks published in this time period that had a temperance slant, but these were written by an individual author and published by a commercial publisher. I have eliminated these cookbooks from my sample because they are not fundraising cookbooks that raised money for the WCTU.

Temperance cookbooks range in size, length, and style. Many were small pamphlets; the *Collection of Original and Adapted Receipts* was bound with stapled card stock and was only about two inches high and five inches wide. At the other end of the spectrum, the *Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union Cuisine* was a hardcover book filled with 145 pages of recipes and ads. In contrast to suffrage or second-wave feminist cookbooks, temperance cookbooks did not spend much space on explanations of their political cause—perhaps the idea of temperance women publishing a cookbook did not warrant much explanation. Their cookbooks generally consisted of ads, recipes, and a few religious or folksy quotes about cooking and women's traditional roles.

I analyzed seven of the 34 temperance fundraising cookbooks in depth. As I explained in Chapter 2, I selected these seven to mirror the cookbooks published by

suffrage organizations. The temperance cookbooks I analyzed in depth included *Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union Cuisine; Family Cook Book and List of Popular Parlor Games* from North Rockford, Illinois; *Tested Recipes for Good Things to Eat* from Pomeroy, Washington; *Collection of Original and Adapted Receipts* from Lake County, Ohio; *WCTU Cook Book* from Wenatchee, Washington; *White Ribbon Cook Book* from Moline and Corinth, Michigan; and *Choice Recipes* from Hinsdale, New York.

In these newspaper articles, archival materials, and cookbooks, temperance women passionately discussed the proper methods of cooking and eating. Yet, these discussions did not simply relate to health and nutrition science. Throughout their discourse about cooking, temperance activists considered how claims about cooking could help them achieve their goal of a dry society. As I have stated in the first part of this chapter, women of the WCTU argued that healthful cooking was the root of a temperate lifestyle. In the following chapter, I will explain this argument in more detail, showing how temperance women believed they could build a dry society by cooking.

The Woman Suffrage Movement

The woman suffrage movement was the first mass social movement in the United States that aimed to advance women's rights. Suffragists pushed for more than 70 years to enfranchise women. The beginning of the movement is usually identified as the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, where 100 women and men signed the "Declaration of Sentiments," which defined women as citizens who were entitled to the same rights and

opportunities as men (Stanton, Anthony, and Gage 1881:70-73). Woman's suffrage advocates pursued many different routes to women's enfranchisement until 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment extended voting rights to women.

The early suffrage movement emerged from the abolitionist movement. While ideas about "True Womanhood" defined the home as women's sphere, the cultural expectation for women to be pious allowed them to become involved in acts of "pietistic female benevolence" (DuBois 1999:32; Welter 1966). As the abolitionist movement evolved from evangelical Protestantism, many middle- to upper-class White women became involved. Through this political involvement, women learned and internalized abolitionist ideas about the moral equality of all human beings. They began extending this egalitarian ideology to women, arguing that women and men were equally human (DuBois 1999; Kraditor 1965).

The ideological inheritance from abolitionism can be seen in the ideas and demands of early suffragists. At the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, women's rights activists rewrote the preamble of the Declaration of Independence to list women's grievances against men (Stanton et al. 1881:70-73). In this document and throughout the early women's rights movement, activists such as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucy Stone extended enlightenment ideas of democracy and natural rights to women. These activists claimed that men and women were equal and thus should be granted equal voting and legal privileges (Giele 1995; Kraditor 1965). In addition to advocating for women's enfranchisement, early suffragists called for a variety of legal reforms that gave women more power, including property rights and the ability to control their own earnings (DuBois 1999; Giele 1995).

After Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation abolished slavery in 1863, the abolitionist movement quickly refocused on making freedmen full citizens. As abolitionists focused on enfranchising past slaves, the vote also became the focus of the woman's rights movement (DuBois 1999). While feminist activists hoped that women and freedmen would be enfranchised simultaneously, the Republican party believed that women's enfranchisement would provoke too much opposition to what they saw as the main task at hand: granting citizenship to past slaves. The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 ignored the demands from woman's rights advocates. In fact, while establishing freedmen as citizens, the Fourteenth Amendment wrote the word "male" into the Constitution for the first time, explicitly stating the sexual division of political rights (United States Constitution 1868). Woman suffragists feared that this wording would construct additional constitutional barriers to women gaining the vote (DuBois 1999). Subsequently, the Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, enfranchised all men regardless of their race or history of enslavement (DuBois 1999; United States Constitution 1870).

The failure of the Republican party to support woman's rights in addition to expanding rights for freedmen led to a split between woman's suffrage leaders. In 1868, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony declared their autonomy from the Republican Party and the abolitionist movement, forming their own National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). Stanton and Anthony opposed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on the grounds that they did not enfranchise women alongside former male slaves. These suffragists believed that the political unrest of Reconstruction and the national concern over political rights provided a political opportunity to also enfranchise women. They worried that if the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments

passed, the opportunity to add woman suffrage to the constitution would not come back around for at least a generation. However, to support their calls for enfranchising women along with black men, Stanton and Anthony also advanced an entire strand of racist arguments that downplayed the situation of former slaves and questioned their fitness for the franchise (DuBois 1999). In place of supporting the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, Stanton, Anthony, and the NWSA pushed for a subsequent federal amendment that would enfranchise women (DuBois 1999).

Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry B. Blackwell, led the more moderate suffragists who did not wish to sever ties with the Republican Party and abolitionism. These suffragists created the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in 1869 (DuBois 1999). The AWSA continued to support the Republican Party in hopes that the Republicans would push for woman suffrage after political rights had been secured for former male slaves. In the meantime, this wing of the suffrage movement continued to support the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In contrast to the NWSA's advocacy for a federal constitutional amendment, the AWSA began pushing for woman suffrage measures on a state-by-state basis (Marilley 1996). Unfortunately for the AWSA, throughout the 1870s and 1880s, Republicans continued to ignore the topic of woman suffrage (DuBois 1999).

After 21 years, the tension between these two sides of the woman suffrage movement cooled. The two organizations united in 1890 to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) (Kraditor 1965). The NAWSA was never as tightly organized as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). It had a national organization that brought together a loose federation of clubs at both the state

and local levels (Kraditor 1965). Based on per capita fees from local affiliates (which likely underrepresent the actual numbers, as local clubs often did not send in their dues), NAWSA had 13,150 members in 1893; 17,000 members in 1905; 45,501 members in 1907; and 75,000 members in 1910 (Kraditor 1965). From 1914 to 1915, various reports put NAWSA membership at anywhere between 100,000 to 2,000,000 (Kraditor 1965).

While NAWSA was the largest suffrage organization, other groups existed that were more radical. In 1912, Alice Paul formed the Congressional Union (later the National Woman's Party), a more militant suffrage organization that was centered in Washington, DC. These suffragists pressured lawmakers to pass a federal suffrage amendment. The Congressional Union and early National Woman's Party purposefully kept their membership small, enabling them to respond quickly to changes in the political climate (Kraditor 1965).

In the late nineteenth century, suffragists' original egalitarian ideology began evolving in two major ways. First, the language of equal rights was joined by a focus on republican citizenship, which highlighted the republican ideals of civic virtue and public responsibility (*e.g.,* Dagger 1997). In what I call "republican citizenship frames," suffragists maintained that women should be enfranchised because they exhibited these republican ideals. At the turn of the twentieth century, most Americans viewed republican citizenship as a masculine realm (Haydu 2008; Quigley 2002). When suffragists argued that *women* could exhibit republican citizenship, suffragists challenged widespread gender understandings. Later in this chapter, I demonstrate how suffragists used cookbooks to help advance these republican citizenship frames.

Second, around the turn of the twentieth century, suffragists also began advancing

arguments that highlighted women's difference from men. I define "femininity frames" as arguments in which suffragists claimed that feminine qualities made women qualified to vote. In this line of thought, women had valuable characteristics and experiences that could improve the public sphere and government if they were allowed to vote (Buechler 1986; Kraditor 1965; McCammon et al. 2001). Scholars have termed suffrage arguments that invoke traditional femininity "expediency arguments" (Kraditor 1965) and "separate spheres arguments" (McCammon et al. 2001), but to focus on the cultural beliefs that these arguments used, I refer to them as femininity frames. These frames were more likely to resonate with a broader, more moderate audience because they used and bolstered widespread understandings of women (Buechler 1986; Kraditor 1965; McCammon et al. 2001).

Femininity frames also reflect the changing role of government in the late nineteenth century. Many activities that had been situated within individual homes in only a few decades prior (for example, spinning wool, weaving, sewing, baking bread, or churning butter) were situated in factories by the late nineteenth century. These activities became subject to government legislation. As Kraditor (1965:67) explains, "the historic sphere of woman was more and more influenced by political life, as governments passed laws concerning food, water, the production of clothing, and education." Femininity frames maintained that women had domestic expertise and could use the ballot to build a government that competently addressed these issues.

The woman's suffrage movement used a variety of tactics to convince lawmakers and the broader public to support the cause. They lobbied lawmakers, collected signatures on petitions, held marches, organized social events, and gave speeches to legislatures and

the general public. Suffragists distributed flyers and other literature, set up booths at local fairs, and advertised in newspapers (McCammon and Campbell 2001). Most of our previous knowledge about suffrage tactics and strategies focus on their actions in the public sphere. My research demonstrates that suffragists also used cooking, a key part of their domestic lives, to work toward the vote and greater gender equality. I show how suffragists' discourse about cooking supported their more public-facing tactics. In addition, suffragists proposed methods of cooking that they hoped would help build a more gender-equal world. By examining how suffragists politicized cooking, I uncover additional, previously undocumented means that suffragists used to challenge the patriarchal society.

Although the WCTU supported woman's suffrage as a means of improving women's power to protect the home, woman's suffrage organizations rarely reciprocated this support for fear of losing the support of "wets" (Kraditor 1965; McCammon and Campbell 2002). However, there was significant overlap between the WCTU and woman's suffrage organizations; one analysis found that as much as 40% of state suffrage activists also held office in state WCTU chapters (Clemens 1999). Many prominent suffrage leaders came to the movement through their initial involvement with the WCTU (Kraditor 1965).

The suffrage movement achieved its primary goal of enfranchising all American women citizens with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Both houses of Congress passed the measure in 1919, and Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify the amendment in August of 1920 (Kraditor 1965; Marilley 1996:212-6).

Demographics of the Suffrage Movement

The woman's suffrage movement was largely composed of white, middle- to upper-class Protestant women. Although there were several prominent middle-class black women who supported woman suffrage, NAWSA did not permit black women to join its ranks (Marilley 1996:168). While Jewish and Catholic women were allowed to join NAWSA, it is unlikely they took advantage of this opportunity in large numbers. Suffrage leaders were predominately Protestant and often disparaged followers of Judaism and Catholicism (Marilley 1996:178-80). In the late nineteenth century, suffrage leaders believed the key to success was in attracting the support of "respectable" middle- and upper-class white women (DuBois 1999). To attract this constituency, leaders relied increasingly on arguments about how women's morality and education would make them particularly good voters. However, these arguments often had racist and classist dimensions, for it was implied (and often made explicit) that women would be better voters than men, and especially uneducated black, Catholic, and Jewish men (Marilley 1996). In the South, arguments for suffrage also had dimensions of white supremacy, with some Southern suffragists going as far as requesting that race and educational qualifications be added at the same time as the sex qualifications were eliminated (Green 1997; Kraditor 1965; Marilley 1996).

Early suffragists were located in the Northern and Western states. The earliest major victories for woman's suffrage took place out West. A range of factors influenced this pattern (McCammon and Campbell 2001). Compared to other regions of the country, suffragists in the West were successful fundraisers, which allowed them to pursue a variety of movement activities. Western suffragists also were more likely than other

suffragists to use what I call "femininity frames," which resonated with widespread understandings of women at the time. Enfranchising women in Western states also required simpler legislative and electoral processes, creating larger political opportunities for the suffrage movement. Finally, the West had a higher percentage of women lawyers, physicians, and university students. McCammon and Campbell (2001) argue that the greater numbers of women crossing into male-dominated public spaces shaped public opinion to be more accepting of woman suffrage.

Women were able to vote in the Wyoming territory since 1869, and when Wyoming became a state in 1890, it was the first state to fully enfranchise women (Kraditor 1965). Colorado followed suit in 1893, and Utah and Idaho gave women the vote in 1896. After that point, no state enfranchised women until Washington in 1910 (Kraditor 1965). Western and states continued to enfranchise women over the next few years. In 1917, New York State became the first Eastern state to give women full suffrage. Suffrage activity in the South was slower to begin and succeed, but in the 1890s, suffrage leaders began to recognize the importance of organizing campaigns in the region (Marilley 1996). Suffragists remained active throughout the country until the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920.

Suffrage Discourse About Cooking

While many date the beginning of the woman's rights movement at the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, this long predates the formation of the WCTU. To better match the timeline of the WCTU, I begin my analysis of suffrage discourse in 1870, when the *Woman's Journal* was founded and when the NWSA and AWSA were fledgling

organizations. My search for suffrage discourse about cooking uncovered hundreds of newspaper articles, seven cookbooks, and a range of archival materials.

Newspaper Articles

The woman suffrage movement began publishing their own newspapers when they realized that they had significant trouble getting favorable pieces into the mainstream newspapers (Jerry 1991). Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton started the *Revolution* in 1868 when they split with the abolitionists and created the NWSA. The *Revolution* reflected Anthony and Stanton's more radical stance. However, the *Revolution* only existed for three years (Jerry 1991).

Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell started a more conservative competitor, the *Woman's Journal,* in 1870. The *Woman's Journal* was the unofficial organ of the AWSA, the faction of the suffrage movement that supported the Republican party throughout Reconstruction in hopes that they would eventually be rewarded with woman suffrage legislation. Because the *Woman's Journal* represented the less radical wing of the movement, its audience consisted of "moderate, conservative, professional women of the upper and middle class who were interested primarily in suffrage alone" (Huxman 1991; Jerry 1991:23). This demographic makes the *Woman's Journal* a better comparison with the temperance movement's *Union Signal,* which also spoke to moderate and conservative women of the middle- to upper-classes. The main difference between the *Woman's Journal* and the *Union Signal* is the political goal, making this an ideal comparison for examining how the political use of cooking differs across social movements.

The more conservative nature of the *Woman's Journal* did not mean that it echoed mainstream ladies' publications such as *Ladies Home Journal.* My research has uncovered that the *Woman's Journal* did discuss domestic issues, but the majority of its pieces covered news and ideas related to the struggle for women's enfranchisement. Its layout (four columns of small print with no illustrations) implied serious journalism, and the majority of its articles about the movement reflected this orientation (Huxman 1991).

In 1910, the *Woman's Journal* became the official organ for the NAWSA. In 1917, the *Woman's Journal* combined with a few other smaller suffrage newspapers to become the *Woman Citizen* in anticipation of women's country-wide enfranchisement (Huxman 1991). The price of the *Woman's Journal* dropped over time, from its initial cost in 1870 of three dollars an issue to one dollar an issue in 1917 (Huxman 1991). This is still relatively expensive, however; three dollars in 1870 have the same buying power as $53 in 2016, while one dollar in 1917 has the same buying power as $20.39 in 2016 (calculations performed using http://www.in2013dollars.com). During this time, circulation steadily rose, from a few hundred to 27,000 by 1917 (Huxman 1991). Due to its more conservative leanings than the *Revolution* and its continuous publication during the lifetime of the *Union Signal,* I analyzed articles from the *Woman's Journal* to compare suffragists' and temperance activists' culinary discourse. In total, I gathered 297 articles about cooking from the *Woman's Journal* between 1870 and 1920.

Although I completed the intensive analysis of the *Woman's Journal* to determine themes and compare suffrage discourse against temperance movement, I also supplemented this analysis with articles from other newspapers. For example, I gathered articles about cooking from *Progress,* the official organ of the NAWSA from 1901 to

1910, when it was absorbed by the *Woman's Journal.* I also gathered articles about cooking from the *Woman's Tribune,* which was run by a freelance editor Clara Bewick Colby and was published from Beatrice, Nebraska; Washington, DC; and Portland, Oregon between 1883 and 1909. I also searched for articles about cooking or cookbooks in state suffrage newspapers. Finally, I researched some local city newspapers in towns that had published suffrage cookbooks (for example, the *Clinton Courier* in upstate New York or the *Tacoma Daily News* in Washington).

Cookbooks

Several woman's suffrage organizations also published fundraising cookbooks, where they provided thousands of recipes. As I will show later in this chapter, in these cookbooks, suffragists directed their readers to cook in particular ways. For this project, I analyzed every cookbook that was compiled by a woman's suffrage organization, has survived to the present day, and is available to researchers in libraries or historical associations in the United States. This resulted in seven cookbooks. One cookbook was published by a national suffrage organization, two were from a state suffrage chapter, and four were published by regional or local suffrage groups. The cookbooks are relatively equally distributed across the Northeast, Midwest, and West. I analyzed *The Woman Suffrage Cook Book* from Boston, Massachusetts (Burr 1886); the *Holiday Gift Cook Book* from the Rockford Equal Suffrage Association in Rockford, Illinois (Rockford Equal Suffrage Association 1891); the *Washington Women's Cook Book* from the Washington Equal Suffrage Association (Jennings 1909); *The Suffrage Cook Book* from the Equal Franchise Federation of Western Pennsylvania (Kleber 1915); *Enfranchised*

Cookery from NAWSA (Hoar 1915); the *Suffrage Cook Book* from the Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County, Michigan (Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County 1916); and *Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife* from the Clinton Political Equality Club in Clinton, New York (Clinton Political Equality Club 1916) (see Image 4.1). There may have been additional suffrage cookbooks published at one point in time, but I have not been able to track down copies of them.[6]

Suffragists' community cookbooks combine cooking lessons with arguments for women's enfranchisement. Recipes, household tips, health suggestions, and advertisements rest alongside pro-suffrage quotes from public figures, histories of women's rights, and, in some cases, pictures of famous suffrage supporters. The cookbooks ranged from 22 to 256 pages. Three of the cookbooks were hard-bound, while the other four books are soft-cover pamphlets bound with staples.

Publishing a cookbook was a fundraising tactic that suffragists likely learned about from their involvement in other women's organizations. Publishing a cookbook to raise funds for the cause was discussed at least once at the national suffrage convention. The notes from the 1904 NAWSA annual convention included a list of fundraising ideas for local and state chapters. Included in this list were a cooking school and a cookbook. The list directed, "Issue a cook book, collecting tested recipes from suffragists all over the State, and make a vegetarian department a specialty. Sell advertising space" (National American Woman Suffrage Association 1904).

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6 For example, a *New York Times* article about the suffrage campaign in New York state reported that "suffragists were asked to send their best recipes to the State Headquarters for a suffrage cook book" (Anonymous 1916d). However, I have not found a suffrage cookbook that was compiled by the New York state suffrage association. Further, a *Woman's Journal* article explained that a Nebraska suffrage organization was organizing a cookbook, but I have not uncovered this book (Anonymous 1903).

However, most of the suffrage cookbooks did not appear to be especially successful financially. In part, the Washington Equal Suffrage Association (WESA) published Washington Women's Cook Book to help raise funds for hosting the NAWSA convention in July 1909 and the 1910 Washington state campaign for women's enfranchisement (DeVoe 1909; Sapp 1942). The suffragists sold the cookbook as they went door-to-door canvassing voters ahead of the 1910 election, and they also sold the cookbook from suffrage booths at fairs throughout the state (Eaton 1912, 1921; National American Woman Suffrage Association 1908). Despite these efforts, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, treasurer for the WESA during the 1909-1910 campaign, wrote that the *Washington Women's Cook Book* "proved to be a good investment in every sense but the financial one" (Eaton 1910). The Washington suffragists published 3,000 cookbooks and priced them at $1 each. The final tally from Eaton noted that the suffragists only sold 1,351 books. Special donations attempted to cover the deficit, but the WESA still came up $333.31 short (Eaton 1910). Carrie Chapman Catt, who had previously served as president of the NAWSA, hypothesized on the cause of the slow cookbook sales. Although the WESA published the cookbook in an attempt to prove that suffragists were good housewives (see Chapter 4), Catt believed that the cookbooks did not sell well because "our constituency is not domestic" (Catt 1910).

The Washington suffragists were not the only ones who had trouble selling their cookbook. Suffragists in Clinton, New York also faced some difficulty in selling their Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife. They priced their cookbook at 25 cents. Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife was published in December of 1916, and suffragists advertised in the local newspaper, "Get a Suffrage Cook Book for a Christmas present"

(Anonymous 1916b). However, the suffragists did not sell all the copies of the cookbook by Christmas. In February, a blurb in the local paper explained of the suffrage cookbook: "There are yet quite a number of the books remaining which the club would like to dispose of… Nothing better for a Valentine's Day Present" (Anonymous 1917a). This advertising push was not completely successful, for in March, another article explained, "few copies still remain unsold and are offered to the first covers at the nominal price of 25 cents each. That those who wish to secure this book will have to act quickly is certain, as the edition is nearly exhausted and the call for copies outside is steadily growing" (Anonymous 1917b).

The cookbooks' timing suggests that many of them were published during waves of intense suffrage activity leading up to state-wide elections when woman suffrage measures were put to the voters. The 1909 *Washington Women's Cook Book* was part of the WESA's successful campaign to pass woman suffrage in 1910. *The Suffrage Cook Book* from Western Pennsylvania was published in 1915, just before the state-wide referendum to enfranchise women. The 1915 *Enfranchised Cookery* from NAWSA published recipes from women in California, who had just received the vote in 1911. The NAWSA cookbook appeared just before key 1915 elections in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts. In 1916 in upstate New York, suffragists published *Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife* a year ahead of the 1917 election when New York voters passed a measure that gave women the vote. *Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife* even referenced this upcoming election in the dedication, for the book was "Dedicated to the Men and Women of Kirkland in the hope that 1917 may bring 'Votes for Both!'" The 1916 *Suffrage Cook Book* from Wayne County, Michigan was published

between the unsuccessful 1913 and successful 1918 state referenda for woman suffrage. These cookbooks may have simply been a product of the increased suffrage activity and enthusiasm during campaign years. Alternatively, the cookbooks may be linked more intimately to the campaigns. Data from Washington (where I was able to gather the most information about the history of a suffrage cookbook) suggests that suffragists published cookbooks in an attempt to fundraise for these campaigns. Yet, the cookbooks' contribution to campaigns was not solely monetary; they also helped frame suffragists in a way that might have been more favorable to voters and legislators. By publishing cookbooks, suffragists presented themselves as moral mothers and wives who were making moderate rather than radical demands.

Archival Material About Cooking

To better understand the role of cookbooks in the suffrage movement, I also researched a variety of archival materials. I searched for mentions of suffrage cookbooks in the annual reports of NAWSA meetings. In these summaries, individual state suffrage associations reported on their recent activities. I also examined archival material from suffrage chapters that had published a cookbook. To research the history behind the *Washington Women's Cook Book,* I studied the papers of Emma Smith DeVoe, the president of the WESA when the book was published. I sifted through scrapbooks of local newspaper clippings, letters, treasurer reports, and drafts of histories of suffrage activity in Washington. To research *Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife* from Clinton, New York, I examined the papers of the Clinton Political Equality Club. This involved reading meeting minutes and scrapbooks that had been compiled by Clinton suffragists.

The Washington collection had numerous materials discussing their cookbook. However, looking for mentions of suffrage cookbooks in the other archival materials was akin to searching for needles in haystacks. This may be because local or state chapters did not believe a cookbook to be worth reporting to the national association.

Conclusion

In nineteenth century, women slowly undermined the authority of True Womanhood, creating openings just wide enough for temperance women and suffragists to push for women's political rights. However, the resilience of True Womanhood led both movements to frame their political goals as measures that would enable women to better fulfill their domestic duties. As we will see in Chapters 4 and 5, both movements also politicized cooking, engaging in culinary discourse that supported their efforts to eliminate alcoholism or enfranchise women. The contemporary foodscape provided the raw ingredients for these culinary discourses. The culinary trends, kitchen technology, and food movements all contributed elements to temperance and suffrage culinary discourse, but each movement used these raw ingredients differently to support their own political goals.

CHAPTER 4:

Cooking for Sobriety and Salvation: Temperance Discourse About Cooking, 1875-1919

Members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union saw many dangers lurking in the things people ate and drank. Alcohol was their main nemesis. They believed that alcohol destroyed bodies, lives, families, and the nation. Yet, alcohol was not the only threat to the integrity of society. Temperance women saw food as just as dangerous as alcohol. They believed unhealthful food was one cause of alcoholism, and they thought that healthful food could steer people away from liquor.

In this chapter, I explain how this discourse about cooking played political roles in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). I examine writings about cooking from the WCTU from its formation to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919. I first explain how temperance women used discussions of cooking to draw moral boundaries between themselves and the working class. Temperance women argued that their food was more wholesome and thus more moral than the unhealthful food of the working class. This moral boundary aided temperance women's attempts at moral suasion, in which they tried to convince the working class to abandon drinking and adopt a more healthful—and moral—life. Next, I describe the culinary methods that temperance women believed would create a dry society. I argue that these activists propose forms of *personal prefigurative politics,* in which activists use personal, everyday actions to enact their ideal society within their own homes. Women of the WCTU women also built temperance restaurants, which combined personal and

organizational action to represent a form of *integrated prefigurative politics.* With proper cooking, temperance women argued they could build a sober world, one family at a time.

Building a Moral Identity: Cooking for Salvation

Temperance activists argued that their diet made them more moral than outsiders. In discussions of cooking, women of the WCTU built moral identities and defined their relationship to the working class. They described healthful food moral food, and they argued that eating this food made for a virtuous life. Temperance women maintained that their way of life—including their diet—was more moral, and they encouraged others to join them on this higher plane of morality. Thus, the moral identity set temperance women apart from others, but it supported the broader tactics of the WCTU, which aimed to bring about sobriety by reforming Americans' daily habits.

Healthy Food, Heavenly Bodies

Like many others in the Western context before and after the late nineteenth century (*e.g.,* Backett 1992), temperance women saw healthful food as inherently moral. Temperance advocates maintained that any affront to health was a sin. They saw the human body as a temple to God and a medium through which His work could be achieved. To pollute the body with unhealthful food not only violated laws of health, but religious and moral laws.

Morally charged language especially appears in descriptions of food that activists considered unhealthful. Temperance women explained that housewives should not "tempt" their children and families with a variety of rich foods (Kellogg 1883c). These

activists believed they led a "crusade against bad food" (Anonymous 1906). In an article titled "Good Cooking: The Frying Pan and Other Evils," Mrs. Kellogg explains the sins of "the infernal frying pan" (Kellogg 1883a).

Many temperance activists went further, explaining the connections between the laws of health and morality. In a letter written to the *Union Signal,* one woman explained, "The physical law is just as important and as infallible as the moral, and so closely are they interwoven that we cannot draw a clear line between them… We must recognize any infringement of the law of health as sin, and expect such to retroact with debasing effect" (Singleton 1884). This WCTU member believed that the "physical law," or the "law of health," was barely distinguishable from the laws of morality, so that breaking the law of health also meant breaking moral laws. Other temperance activists repeated this sentiment, arguing that the study of cookery and nutrition was the study of "divine law:"

> … transgression against the laws which govern the welfare of the body is no less sin than transgression against the moral laws by which society is bound together. When this shall have been recognized, and our daughters shall be taught that the highest and holiest study of womanhood is that of the laws of life; when they shall see that the art of cookery is yet more noble and ennobling than those of music and painting… Such an education by no means implies a return to the drudgery of which so many housewives complain. It means a deep and reverent study of the divine law—that written in the book of nature equally with that which has come through revelation. (Anonymous 1886a)

This author argues that to act unhealthfully is to sin. To prevent future sins, the author suggests that young women learn the laws of health and how to cook in a way that follows these laws. These young women would then become holy as they enacted divine law. A WCTU member Elizabeth Gordon also saw the connection between religion and health, believing that the laws of health just as holy as other religious laws. Gordon

wrote, "I believe good bread contains every element that the body needs and there is more religion in it than in poor theology" (Gordon 1897). Dr. Louise Purington, the long-standing superintendent of the Health & Heredity department, joined the chorus when she simply stated that religion included health: "Bacteriology, sanitation, pure food, are a part of sound religion" (Purington 1909b). While observers from the twenty-first century might argue that the bland temperance diet would cause misery, temperance advocates argued that people should follow their culinary advice not only because it was more healthful, but also because health followed God's word.

Many temperance activists aligned health with religion by way of the body; they argued that the body was a temple or a tool with which to God's work. Unhealthy bodies prevented people from feeling the divine presence, and sick people could not complete God's work. Temperance advocate Hester Poole argued for the former, explaining that the body should be kept clean and healthy for the spirit:

> the body ought to become the "temple of the Holy Ghost."… All power exists first in the spirit—a truth which is never to be forgotten—but it acts through and by means of the organs of the body. The body, then, is a temple devoted to the use of the indwelling spirit, for which purpose it should be kept clean, wholesome and beautiful. Can the Holy Ghost, the breath of the living God, illuminate anything other than this? While the spirit can control and heal the encasing body in proportion to the wisdom and faith of the individual, it is not wise to leave to a spiritual act whatever we can do in accordance with the laws which God has made for the physical envelope. (Poole 1889c)

Poole maintains that a healthy body provides a proper home for the spirit. While she admits that "wisdom and faith" might heal a body, it is wiser to abide by the laws of health—which she argues were made by God Himself. Maintaining a healthy body, then, would allow "the Holy Ghost, the breath of the living God," to "illuminate" the soul.

Thus, the body was both shaped by God's laws of health and could be illuminated by His spirit—if one stayed in good heath.

While Poole argues that God made the laws of health, others invoke the idea that God made the human body. One temperance women argued that by raising healthy children, they were continuing God's work of creating humanity:

> Help us to elevate the labors of the kitchen from the plane of drudgery to the realm of high art!… Let us take courage, weary mothers, while other artists deal with pencil, plaster and pigment, we will work in God's grand material the human body, building up strong sinew and firm tissue; moulding into lines and curves of grace; tinting with the beautiful hues of health and so sustaining and continuing God's work. (Singleton 1884)

According to this author, housewives continue God's work by feeding their families healthful food that nourishes and strengthens their bodies. Viewed from this angle, cooking is not drudgery so much as a woman's highest religious and moral calling. In one of his articles in the *Union Signal,* Dr. Kellogg presents the human body as God's crowning creation, and he argues that to defile it with unhealthful food would be an egregious sin:

> So long as a man regards his body as a harp of pleasure to be played upon as long as its strings can be made to vibrate, so long he will continue to travel down the hill of physical decadence and degeneration in spite of the most minute sanitary regulations. But when he recognizes his divine origin and obligations, and himself as the crowning masterpiece of creation, his body a precious thing to be sacredly preserved, developed, expanded, and purified for service for humanity in this world, and a never-ending opportunity for development and joyous existence in the world to come, then only will he begin to climb towards the heights from which he has fallen, where he may once more stand forth as the crowning glory of creation, the masterpiece of God, "the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals." (Kellogg 1902)

Kellogg maintains that decadent and unhealthful food, which people eat solely for pleasure, causes "degeneration." The sacred and divine body, created by God, falls into

sin and disrepair. However, if people eat the proper food, their bodies once again can fulfill their position as God's masterpieces. By repairing God's greatest achievement, the human body, people also are able to continue God's work in other arenas—to complete "service for humanity in this world." Thus, temperance activists saw healthful food as inherently moral. They equated the laws of health with divine law, arguing that any threat to the operation of the human body worked against God's plan.

Nourishing the Soul

Since temperance activists believed that healthful food was inherently more moral, they also believed that whoever ate this food would become more moral. They argued that healthful food would keep people away from sin. Above, we saw how Kellogg considered it a sin to defile the sacred human body with unhealthful food. Below, we will see how other activists made this lesson more abstract, arguing that unhealthful food leads to sin more broadly, regardless of its effects on the human body. Women of the WCTU maintained that bad food ruined the soul and led people down the road of evil and depravity. The temperance diet, on the other hand, ensured a good, moral soul and steered them clear of sin. Thus, temperance women argued that their diet not only was more moral, but made people live more moral lives.

Temperance women argued time and again that their more healthful diet fed their soul as well as the body. The soul needed nourishment just as the body did, and the stomach was linked to the soul. For example, Purington explained, "the nurture of the soul depends largely upon the nurture of the body;" thus, if one nurtured the body with healthful food, one also nurtured one's soul (Purington 1901). Similarly, an anonymous

WCTU member, reporting on health issues discussed at the 1910 national convention of the WCTU, argued that human rights included pure food, clean water, pure air, sanitation, and ventilation, as all of these cause “redemption of body and soul” (Anonymous 1910a). Another WCTU member, Dr. Cordelia Greene, extended this morality from the individual to the home, “the choice of the best foods has much to do with the physical and moral well-being of every home” (Greene 1889). Purington agrees that homes could be made moral through the food that women served. She argues that by examining food labels, properly nourishing one’s family and community, and by avoiding “excess in meat supply, spices, and highly seasoned foods,” housewives could create an atmosphere that is “pure, holy, and undefiled” (Purington 1912). In the eyes of the WCTU, healthful food had the power to elevate individuals, families, and homes to a higher, more moral plane.

On the other side of this equation, unhealthful foods led to immorality and depravity. Rather than nurturing one’s soul, bad food tainted the soul. As Purington wrote, “The question of diet lies at the root of reform. Inebriety, *immorality,* and other diseases are often the result of impure, irritating food” (emphasis added) (Purington 1908). Purington likens immorality to a disease that could be caught or spread between individuals. In this case, immorality could be contracted by exposing oneself to unhealthful food. With a graceful reference to indigestion, an anonymous temperance advocate argued that people are “dyspeptic in soul because they are so in body” (Anonymous 1890). WCTU member Elizabeth Gordon writes that bad food causes a “deranged stomach” and describes how this affects one’s morals: “Of course, a man’s stomach is not his soul, but if his stomach is entirely out of order his soul has a way of hiding and you can not find it” (Gordon 1897). Thus, an upset stomach not only causes

physical discomfort, but moral decline as well.

Similarly, Mrs. Kellogg explains:

> So strong is the bond of union between mind and body that whatever creates a morbid action of the bodily functions, dwarfs and cripples the mental and moral faculties and any practice which lowers the standard of healthy action in the vital machinery has a tendency to degrade the powers of man's higher nature. Especially is this true in relation to habits of eating and drinking. Probably no other of the vital processes exerts so strong a controlling influence over the mind, character and disposition of an individual as the digestive. (Kellogg 1883b).

Here, Mrs. Kellogg argues that a poor diet makes people less moral and takes away from their "higher nature." She sees the food as the main influence on a person's character and mood. Indigestion affected more than a person's fleeting moods; the temporary grumpiness associated with an upset stomach was not Kellogg's main concern. Instead, she believed that unhealthful food could darken a person's more permanent personality, state of being, or soul.

Inevitably, an immoral character leads to immoral actions. Women of the WCTU believed unhealthful food could drive a person to all sorts of sins, including prostitution, smoking, alcoholism, and violence. As Mrs. Kellogg explains, "a morbid stomach is a prime factor in the production of no small part of the various ills, and, we may even say vices to which humanity is heir" (Kellogg 1883b). Here, unhealthful food creates a craving for vice.

On the other hand, temperance activists believed that wholesome foods fostered moral actions and allowed for a good life. One anonymous WCTU member explained that "the power and potency of a calm, well-ordered life is largely in the food." She maintains that the diet that could create this good life relies heavily on fruits, vegetables,

and whole grains—as she calls it, a “Christian way of eating” (Anonymous 1890). The power of healthful food to create good lives comes from the construction of a sound sense of morality, which then leads people to virtuous pursuits. Temperance activists believed healthful food fully satisfied a person’s physical cravings; in the same vein, healthful food fully satiated a person’s soul. With strong moral senses, people on a wholesome diet could not be tempted to partake in various forms of vice, including alcoholism. Sound morals built a road block on the pathway to inebriation.

Similarly, Hester Poole explains that people who eat healthful food tend to avoid alcohol because of their morals:

> If his diet consists of grains, fruits, and vegetables simply cooked, with other habits, good; he cannot, for any length of time, retain an appetite for strong drinks. The desire dies out of him, and in its stead comes up a disgust which is both moral and physical. (Poole 1889a)

Later in this chapter, we will learn more about temperance activists’ argument that healthful food prevents physical cravings for alcohol. Here, Poole alludes to this physical link between food and alcoholism, but she also explains that healthful food led to sobriety through a bolstered morality.

We have seen how temperance activists maintained that their diet led to a good, virtuous life without alcohol or other vices. Temperance activists equated health with morality and thus defined their wholesome food as more moral. They argued that it was a sin to make the human body sick with bad food. Healthful food, on the other hand, built a strong moral sense and led to an honorable life. Therefore, temperance activists argued that those who followed this wholesome diet would be more moral than those who did not. In other words, they used this diet to draw a moral boundary, dividing the ethical

eaters from the wicked and depraved eaters. Temperance women squarely situated themselves on the moral side of this divide, building a collective identity that signaled their superior virtue. Yet, this boundary ran along more than dietary lines; it also divided white, middle-class Protestants from the immigrant, working-class Catholics.

Elevating the Working Class

In the minds of temperance women, unhealthful diets were often associated with working-class eaters. This highlights the class tensions within the temperance movement. Certainly, many middle-class families likely transgressed into diets that temperance women would not have approved. A few WCTU members called out women in their own ranks for not following the movement's recommended diet (*e.g.,* Lake 1884). However, more often than not, unhealthful eating habits were defined as a social problem especially concerning the working class. Similarly, alcoholism was defined as a social problem of the working class, even though the affliction also affected middle- and upper-class men (Gusfield 1963). Thus, temperance activists did not only argue that their wholesome diets made them more moral; they also argued that their diets made them more moral than the working class.

For example, a Dr. Paulson, writing in the *Union Signal,* quotes at length a fellow doctor's views about the connection between morality, cooking, and class. A dietary reawakening was needed to elevate the working class to a higher moral plane—one that raised them above alcohol and other forms of sin. In the middle of this explanation, the doctor identifies the working class as the ones whose diets need improving:

Some think that, in speaking of cookery as a moral agent, I am greatly

> exaggerating its power; and they may regard it as idle folly if I go still further and say that cookery is not only a powerful moral agent in regard to individuals, but may be of great service in regenerating a nation. Yet, in saying this, I believe I am speaking quite within bounds, and I believe that schools of cookery *for the wives of working men* in this country will do more to abolish drinking habits than any number of teetotal societies. (Paulson 1906)

This doctor claims that teaching working-class women to cook would increase the nation's sobriety—and morality—because their husbands would be eating more healthful food. This doctor defines alcoholism squarely as a working-class issue, for he does not even entertain the idea that middle-class husbands might also abstain from alcohol if their wives learned more wholesome ways of cooking. Middle-class alcoholism is deemed a non-issue, perhaps because the doctor assumes that these households already eat more healthful food. In the section below on integrated prefigurative politics, we will see that temperance women built organizations for the specific purposes of teaching working-class women how to cook more "healthful" food.

In sum, in their culinary discourse, temperance activists built a moral collective identity. Women of the WCTU claimed that they ate wholesome and moral foods while the working class ate unhealthful foods that poisoned the body and soul. This identity placed the WCTU on a higher moral plane than the working class. This supported temperance activists' attempts to convert alcoholics and other deviants into moral, abstaining actors—or, in Gusfield's (1963) terms, the WCTU's "assimilatory politics." This form of politics requires the conviction that one way of life is better while others are wrong. As we have seen, temperance women were adamant that their diet was best—they related it to gospel, believed it continued God's work, and thought it elevated them to a higher plane of existence. And, true to form in assimilatory politics, temperance

advocates attempted to convince outsiders to "assimilate" into their superior diet. Thus, the moral identity temperance activists built with discussions about food supported their broader political goals of encouraging others to join them in their more moral lives.

Prefigurative Politics: Food as the Gateway to Alcoholism

Temperance women argued that the immorality paved a path from bad food to alcoholism, but they also argued that physiology linked unhealthful food with the craving to drink. Temperance activists argued that if women cooked wholesome foods for their families, people's increased morality and properly functioning bodies would result in the cessation of drinking. Cooking was portrayed as a preventative measure, a step that could eliminate alcoholism before it even began. Dr. Louise C. Purington, superintendent of the WCTU's Health and Heredity Department, explained that by teaching nutrition and the proper methods of cooking, her department "bears the same relation to temperance as prevention to disease" (Purington 1899). Another WCTU member, Mary Abel, argues that meals—not saloons—are to blame for alcoholism:

> It has been well said that drunkards are not made in the saloon only graduated there and it is a pertinent question: Where are they made?… We must lay a large share of blame upon home discomfort in its many forms… But there is a more important factor, the home table. (Abel 1892)

In the Union Signal, temperance women portray the kitchen as the birthplace of alcoholism, and they argued that the proper food could help people steer clear of alcohol.

When the women of the WCTU claimed that they cooked healthful foods to prevent alcoholism, they engaged in discourse about personal prefigurative politics. As I explained in Chapter 1, prefigurative politics model a movement's vision of an ideal

society. In other words, activists become the change they want to see in the world. In *personal* prefigurative politics, activists use their personal, domestic lives to model their ideal world. In the following sections, I show how temperance activists argued that women could use cooking to model a sober world within their own homes. By recommending that women avoid alcohol in their cooking and focus on whole grains and vegetables, temperance activists suggested that women use cooking to transform their families into a model of a sober society. Further, the WCTU also recommended forms of integrated prefigurative politics, which combined action on the organizational and personal levels, when they recommended building institutions such as kitchen gardens and temperance restaurants that spread the knowledge and consumption of healthful foods. Table 4.1 provides the prevalence of these main themes within temperance discourse about personal and integrated prefigurative politics.

Table 4.1. Prefigurative Politics in Temperance and Suffrage Discourse About Cooking

	Alcohol	Spices	Red Meat	Condiments	Whole Grains	Fruits & Vegetables	Fry	Taste	Health	Kitchen Gardens	Restaurants
Temperance											
Union Signal Articles (N=200)	--	2 (1%)	18 (9%)	1 (.5%)	39 (19.5%)	39 (19.5%)	1 (.5%)	16 (8%)	94 (47%)	32 (16%)	6 (3%)
Cookbook Recipes (N=2,153)	9 (.4%)	218 (10.1%)	193 (9%)	36 (1.7%)	94 (4.4%)	1056 (49%)	168 (7.8%)	105 (4.9%)	23 (1.1%)	--	--
Suffrage											
Woman's Journal Articles (N=297)	--	2 (.7%)	51 (17.2%)	1 (.3%)	15 (5.1%)	76 (25.6%)	10 (3.4%)	28 (9.4%)	90 (30.3%)	4 (1.3%)	4 (1.3%)
Cookbook Recipes (N=1,975)	60 (3%)	298 (15.1%)	226 (11.4%)	43 (2.2%)	89 (4.5%)	998 (50.5%)	196 (9.9%)	151 (7.6%)	133 (6.7%)	--	--

Personal Prefigurative Politics: Avoiding Alcohol in Cooking

In temperance women's recommendations for cooking, we can see their beliefs that particular foods drove one to drinking. By teaching women to cook foods that they approved, temperance advocates hoped that individual households would become sober and prefigure their visions for social change. The first commandment of temperance cooking was to avoid alcohol in recipes. Popular recipes of the time called for including alcohol like brandy, wine, or cider in sauces, puddings, or pies. Temperance women objected to such recipes on the grounds that the taste of alcohol in the food would wake a desire for more alcohol. One woman wrote to the *Union Signal* in disgust after she found recipes that used alcohol in a cookbook that had been recommended by the *Union Signal* itself. Her concern for the alcohol in these recipes is palpable:

> But what if husband or brother or guest have a slumbering appetite within, a tyrant asleep but not dead, which the taste of that brandy in the pudding shall awaken to life and energy? What if the children learn to love the taste of that in mother's pudding which shall prove a lifelong temptation and may ultimately work disaster and disgrace and ruin in that loved family circle? Alas, that we who are mothers and wives and sisters should place such temptation in the way of our loved ones! (W. 1885)

Here, the author worries that a pudding flavored with brandy would awaken a "slumbering appetite" for alcohol that would lead her children and husband to the saloon door. Many other temperance activists echoed this fear. One woman, in a speech to the state convention of the Massachusetts WCTU, cites a physician who noted:

> Of 622 moderate and immoderate drinkers with whom I have conversed, 337 tell me that they acquired the desire for wine and other alcoholic poisons by their use in articles of diet and in the family and social circle, dealt out to them by their wives and sisters and female friends. (Cone 1885)

Temperance activists did not subscribe to the popular idea that alcohol burns off in the

cooking. They argued that including alcohol in any dish was detrimental; in the eyes of the WCTU, adding wine to roast meat was the same as drinking a glass of wine.[7]

The editors of the *Union Signal* were careful to print only recipes without alcohol. The newspaper even included recipes that explained how to substitute for alcohol when a recipe called for it. For example:

> SUBSTITUTE FOR WINE, BRANDY AND CIDER IN PIES AND OTHER COOKING
> If when canning fruit in the summer, a portion of the fruit juices, which almost always go farther than the fruit and more than fill the cans, is saved, and either canned or bottled by hand, this makes an excellent wetting for mince meat, currant or grape jelly heated and thinned by water, is another delicious substitute for strong liquors. For mince pies the juice of the meat that is left over after careful boiling is a valuable addition to the mixture. For [sweet pies,] lemon, orange or cherry juice or syrup is the finest flavoring nature produces. (Anonymous 1884c)

This rule of including alcohol-free recipes extended to temperance cookbooks. In the 2,153 recipes across the seven temperance cookbooks I coded, only nine of them, or .4%, called for any type of alcohol (see Table 4.1). While those nine recipes were rather startling to find in a WCTU cookbook, that number is much smaller than the number of recipes that called for alcohol in comparable cookbooks of the time. For example, suffrage cookbooks contains 60 recipes that called for liquor, which was a full 3% of the recipes. In these nine recipes in temperance cookbooks, three recipes mentioned that the wine or cider was optional or could be replaced with fruit juice. For example, the cookbook from Pomeroy, Washington, *Tested Recipes for Good Things to Eat,* includes a recipe for fruit salad that originally calls for cherry wine and brandy, but then notes that

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7 Temperance activists had a good point—when alcohol is added to a recipe, not all of it burns off during cooking. In fact, if one adds alcohol to a roast meat and bakes it for 25 minutes, 45% of the alcohol remains. The longer the alcohol cooks, the more it burns off, but even if a sauce with alcohol is simmered for 2 hours, 5% of the alcohol is retained (US Department of Agriculture N.d.).

the wines are optional:

> FRUIT SALAD
> (Will serve 40). One large can pineapple, 12 oranges, 12 peaches or 2 cans or 1 quart home canned, 1 pint red raspberries, 1 pint dew or blackberries, 1 pint strawberries, ½ cup candied cherries, juice from 3 lemons, 2½ cups frosting sugar; may need more or less according to sweetness of fruit; 2 cups cherry wine, ½ cup brandy. You can use apples and bananas or any other fruit and not use the wines. Let stand several hours. Serve with whipped cream.
> Bess Williamson. (WCTU of Pomeroy 1909:25)

Almost all of the recipes in temperance cookbooks did not call for alcohol. By teaching women how to cook without cider, wine, or liquor, temperance women believed they were giving women the blueprints for a sober life. Temperance women argued that following these recipes would help eliminate family members' temptation for alcohol.

Temperance cookbooks also contained recipes for drinks that did not contain alcohol. Presumably, these drinks were meant to take the place of alcoholic beverages. Some of these recipes were relatively simple and were glorified fruit juices. For example, the *W.C.T.U. Cook Book* from Wenatchee, Washington included a recipe for "Temperance Punch," which was essentially fruit juice. Yet, the addition of "temperance" to the title signifies its status as an alcohol-free alternative to punches with liquor.

> TEMPERANCE PUNCH
> To one gallon water add 4 cups sugar, squeeze and strain juice from one dozen lemons and one half dozen oranges, cut one pineapple into small dice, half fill bowl with cracked ice and pour juice and sugar over, adding pineapple. If fresh pineapple be used, it should be grated.—Mrs. G. Berry. (WCTU of Wenatchee 1912:9)

Other drink recipes in temperance cookbooks were more involved, and may have attempted to provide drinks that satisfied cravings for drinks such as beer. For example, the following recipe for sarsaparilla resembles a science experiment:

> WHOLESOME SUMMER DRINK.
> Boil four ounces crushed sarsaparilla root in four quarts of water, two hours hard; strain it. Add to the liquor eight pounds of granulated sugar. Boil fifteen minutes; when cold add two ounces essence of sarsaparilla; add four ounces tartaric acid. Can drink as soon as made, or will keep. Take a glass of water, tablespoon of the syrup; add a teaspoon carbonate soda to foam. (Massachusetts WCTU 1878:72)

The non-alcoholic drink recipes in temperance cookbooks taught women how to provide their family with beverages that would quench their thirst without causing inebriation. These recipes brought temperance principles into the kitchen, demonstrating how women could reorient their traditional tasks to build a sober space within the home. In other words, these recipes directed women to engage in personal prefigurative politics. The WCTU hoped that consumption of alcohol—either in a meal or from the glass—would eventually dwindle to nothing across the entire society. They put their goals into practice within their own homes by removing alcohol from their cooking and making non-alcoholic beverages. They believed this would help extinguish their family's cravings for alcohol. By using cooking to build a sober family space, temperance activists modeled in miniature the society they wished to create on a larger scale.

Personal Prefigurative Politics: Healthful Foods

However, temperance activists did not deem all alcohol-free food to be safe. They also argued that unhealthful food would lead people to drink. Nearly half (47%) of *Union Signal* articles about cooking expressed a concern for health, while fewer (30%) suffrage articles showed this same concern (see Table 4.1). While more recipes in suffrage cookbooks explicitly mentioned health as a reason for cooking a particular dish, suffrage cookbooks tended to include more of the ingredients that temperance women deemed

unhealthful (see discussion of particular ingredients below). Temperance advocates believed that people suffering from indigestion would resort to drinking, and they often blamed indigestion, or "dyspepsia," on unwholesome foods. Dr. Kellogg argues in more than one article that indigestion would lead someone to take alcohol-based medicine, which would lead to an addiction to alcohol. For instance:

> In the first place, bad cookery leads to indigestion, and frequently the indigestion leads to the taking of bitters of some sort to correct it—a remedy which is worse than the disease. The victim goes first to a doctor who prescribes some variety of tonic bitters, ready prepared or otherwise, and in a little time, the man gets to buying bitters for himself. (Kellogg 1890)

The route from indigestion to alcoholism not only traveled via medicine; along another route, depression delivered a patient from indigestion to alcoholism. A different doctor argues that people who suffer from indigestion would grow depressed and start to drink. He maintains that indigestion would produce "a depression which seems well-nigh unendurable and which frequently leads the sufferer to indulge in some form of alcoholic drinks in order to drive away, even if it be but temporarily, this almost unbearable despondency" (Paulson 1906). Thus, temperance activists believed cooking unhealthful foods would cause indigestion, which in due time would lead to alcoholism.

In addition, temperance advocates believed that unhealthful food did not completely fulfill people's appetites. Temperance activists explained that people would be driven to drink in order to satiate their appetite. They argued that proper nutrition would enable people to control their desires. For example, the national superintendent of the Department of Health and Heredity, Dr. Louise C. Purington, explains:

> We must never forget that the deep down trouble with the drunkard is his appetite. If we could cover this one point, if we knew the restraining grace

> in adaptable food, we should touch the button to move the right machinery in the mechanism of reform. (Purington 1909b)

According to Purington, healthful food would allow people to better control their appetite for alcohol. While unhealthful food may stimulate appetites beyond the control of individuals, healthful food would both decrease appetites for alcohol and empower individuals to better control it.

With healthful food playing such a key role in the sobriety of society, temperance activists spent much energy determining which foods belonged in this category. Temperance activists generally considered whole grains as more healthful than refined white flour (e.g., Goff 1885). Whole grains were discussed in nearly 20% of *Union Signal* articles about cooking, compared with only 5% of suffrage newspaper articles (see Table 4.1). They also held fruit in high regard, with one doctor going so far as to suggest a fruit-based diet as a cure for alcoholism (Anonymous 1890; Paulson 1906). The foods that temperance activists condemned included red meat, condiments, and spices (Kellogg 1883c, 1902; Paulson 1906). Table 4.1 shows that these unhealthful ingredients appeared more often in suffrage culinary discourse than in temperance cookbooks and newspapers.

In temperance women's discussion of whole grains, the connection between food, health, and temperance becomes clear. In the following excerpt from a *Union Signal* article, Hester Poole argues for the superiority of whole grains:

> Of all foods wheat is the queen—wheat not deprived of those muscle and nerve-building properties which lie directly beneath the outer husk. In fact, whole wheat meal cooked in some form, is the foundation of a perfect diet… The bread, again, ought, for the young and growing, to be only made out of whole wheat. Why not out of fine flour? Because out of the wheat has been sifted two-thirds of its nutriment, leaving little more than the starch or heat-producing elements. Consequently the youth is starved in bone, brain, and muscle for the want of just those portions which have

> been discarded in the bran. Jennie grows fretful, spiritless and morbid. Constipation and dyspepsia, failing spells and functional-derangements follow. (Poole 1889b)

We have seen that activists argued that foods that left people hungry or dyspeptic were more likely to lead to alcoholism. Thus, when Poole argues that refined grains do not provide enough nutriment and cause dyspepsia, implied is the argument that refined grains cause alcoholism. Whole grains, on the other hand, would prevent alcoholism by easing indigestion and fully satiating one's hunger and nutritive needs. The recipes in temperance cookbooks that featured whole grains also highlighted their health benefits. Whole grains appeared nearly as often in suffrage cookbooks as in temperance cookbooks (see Table 4.1), but in temperance cookbooks, whole grain recipes highlighted their health benefits. For example, Choice Recipes included a recipe for "Sanitarium Bread," while the W.C.T.U. Cook Book contained a recipe for "Health Bread." In a recipe for "Graham Bread with Yeast," the contributor commented, "I make no white bread now as the children like it so much and we have all enjoyed better health since we omitted the white" (WCTU of Hinsdale 1915:9).

Women of the WCTU also situated fruits and vegetables as requisites for a sober life. Produce joined whole grains in the ranks of the most healthful foods. As one superintendent of the WCTU's national department of Health and Heredity explained, "It is also to be remembered that fruits, fresh vegetables, salads, etc., contain in their acids, phosphates and flavoring properties, much that is not only desirable, we almost might say essential to many" (Bull 1893). Defined as healthful, fruits and vegetables were believed to be one of the best bulwarks against alcoholism. A *Union Signal* article reported on a recent lecture by Dr. Kellogg, who was asked if "children inherited a craving for

stimulants like alcohol and tobacco." Kellogg responded "that he did not believe children ever inherited morbid appetites; if they lived where they could have an abundance of peaches, plums, pears and other fruits with finely flavored juices, they would not be likely to take up these bad habits" (Manning 1898). Fruits were seen as so important to the temperance effort that Hester Poole, a WCTU member cited throughout this chapter, wrote a fruit-centric cookbook titled *Fruits and How to Use Them.* While I do not include this cookbook in my sample of temperance cookbooks because it is not a community cookbook, its existence demonstrates the centrality of fruit to the temperance diet. In a review of *Fruits and How to Use Them,* the *Union Signal* argues that fruit is crucial for a moral, orderly, and temperate life:

> The mighty rivers and sluice-ways of the blood have in them purity or pollution largely according to the materials that come to them along the highway of the esophagus. The power and potency of a calm, well-ordered life is largely in the food, and it is pitiable beyond all language that people deliberately make themselves ill-natured as well as ill, dyspeptic in soul because they are so in body, when our Heavenly Father has put to our lips the sweet, nutritious cooling potion of a thousand varied fruits… Would that this book were in the hands of every housekeeper, and that the gracious bill of fare it indicates might replace pork, pastries, and gravies on every table. (Anonymous 1890)

This review argues that *Fruits and How to Use Them* provides housekeepers with directions for replacing their unhealthful meat- and fat-heavy meals with more healthful fruit recipes. According to temperance logic, these healthful recipes would also be recipes for sobriety, ones that could turn every family into a sober household.

Healthful foods were contrasted against meats, spices, and condiments, which temperance advocates blamed as a cause of alcoholism. In the following few paragraphs, I provide a small case study of temperance discourse about spices, though similar

arguments were made for the evils of meats and condiments. These activists discussed spices with such vehemence that one might think spices contained the devil himself. They argued that spices created a thirst that water alone could not quench, driving people to the liquor bottle. For example, Dr. Kellogg argues that spices and condiments "lead to intemperance by the cultivation of a taste for hot, irritating substances. They create a craving for more food than can be digested, and for liquors as well" (Kellogg 1902). Dr. Paulson echoes this sentiment when he maintains that spicy food makes people crave alcohol:

> When a neurotic individual who has inherited a weakened, hyper-sensitive nervous system partakes of highly-spiced, firey foods which taste hot even when they are cold, they create in him a thirst which water does not satisfy, and it is not surprising that if he should ultimately discover that the saloonkeeper and the patent medicine vendor dispense the stuff that satisfies his abnormal craving. (Paulson 1906)

These ideas about spicy food connect to the notion that unhealthful food did not satiate people's appetites. Spicy food, Kellogg and Paulson argued, created uncontrollable "abnormal cravings," and people turned to liquor to satisfy them.

The experts also argued that spicy food led to indigestion, which in turn led one to drink. Kellogg argues that amateur cooks use spices to hide defects, but this comes at the cost of making the food indigestible. He explains that more experienced and skilled cooks can improve the taste of food without spices:

> Persons who do not know how to cook, seek to make food palatable by using spices and condiments to hide defects. Really good cooking consists in increasing the digestibility and improving the palatableness of food. Bad cookery injures the natural flavors of foods and adds a variety of high seasoning which renders it still more indigestible than the unskilled preparations would be without them. (Kellogg 1902)

Here, Kellogg brings up the argument that indigestion leads to alcoholism. As we saw

above, he maintained that the medicines prescribed for indigestion contained alcohol. Thus, indigestion could lead someone to become addicted to alcohol via their medicine. Another route from indigestion to alcoholism was through depression; as we saw earlier, Paulson argued that indigestion could make people so upset that they turn to drinking to cheer them up. Here, Kellogg connects spices to these arguments, maintaining that cooking with spices is a danger to sobriety because this culinary technique makes food indigestible.

Many recipes followed this advice and avoided spices, making for bland foods. Temperance cookbooks included spices in 10.1% of their recipes, compared with 15.1% of recipes in suffrage cookbooks (see Table 4.1). For example, the following recipe calls for boiling down chicken into a solid that one could slice:

> CHICKEN CHEESE
> Take old chickens, and stew until they come from the bones easily. Chop the meat; add salt and pepper, put back into the broth, which should be well cooked down. Boil up and put into a crock to cool. Slice and eat cold. This is nice for picnics.—Mrs. L. R. Howe. (WCTU of Wenatchee 1912:80)

This recipe calls for no additional flavoring, aside from salt and pepper, to make this sliceable "cheese" from chicken. Even fat is absent from the recipe. Another exemplary instance of this bland flavor profile comes in the form of a simple "Noodle Soup." The recipe directs the reader to make her own noodles. The directions for the soup consist of only one sentence, "Add noodles to good stock, boil 15 to 20 minutes" (WCTU of Hinsdale 1915:15). Elsewhere in the cookbook, soup stocks involve boiling meat bones for hours, without adding any additional ingredients, fats, or flavorings. Thus, "Noodle Soup" refers to noodles (that have been far overcooked by today's standards) in a plain

meat broth.

In their cookbooks, temperance women also cited taste less frequently than suffragists as a reason for cooking a particular recipe. Some recipes advertised the recipe's good taste through the title: for example, the titles of "A Very Good Johnny Cake" (WCTU of Hinsdale 1915:9), "Mocha Frosting (Very Good)" (WCTU of Hinsdale 1915:79), "A Delicious Meat Pie" (WCTU of Pomeroy 1909:7) draw readers to the recipe in expectation of a tasty dish. Other contributors commented in the body of the recipe about how good it was. One called their recipe, "Beef Spanish," "a dish for the gods" (WCTU of Pomeroy 1909:9). Another recipe for "Dropped Eggs," essentially poached eggs served on toast, explained that it was "most delicious for breakfast" (WCTU of Wenatchee 1912:69). However, only 4.9% of temperance recipes noted the taste, while 7.6% of suffrage recipes did so (see Table 4.1). This indicates that temperance women valued taste less than suffragists, or at the very least, were more fearful of flavorful food's potential to turn their families into alcoholics.

The concern for health also extended to temperance activists' cooking methods. They saw the frying pan as especially dangerous, for they thought it introduced too much fat to the diet. In a *Union Signal* article where Mrs. Kellogg explained the evils of "the infernal frying pan," she wrote, "Fried meats, fried bread, fried eggs, fried vegetables, doughnuts, griddle cakes and similar combinations of melted fat and other food substances are almost universal articles of diet, we can hardly call them food, for their only virtue consists in staying the cravings of hunger at the expense of digestive organs." She also referred to fried food as a "universal dyspepsia producer" (Kellogg 1883a). Accordingly, temperance cookbook recipes called for frying less often than suffrage

cookbooks did (see Table 4.1).

In sum, temperance discourse about cooking reveals a call for personal prefigurative politics. The *Union Signal* frequently published articles in which doctors and WCTU department heads explained the benefits of cooking wholesome foods. These leaders and experts argued that if women cooked more healthful food, they would eliminate cravings for liquor. In WCTU cookbooks, temperance women provided directions for how to achieve this more sober life through proper cooking. While some recommendations were more popular than others among the membership (*i.e.,* hardly any women submitted recipes with alcohol, while a decent number did submit recipes with spices), overall, the fundraising cookbooks follow the discursive trends laid forth in the *Union Signal,* especially when compared with suffrage cookbooks. Thus, the members of the WCTU argued that through cooking, individual women could turn their families sober and create temperance sanctuaries within their homes. In other words, they could model, or prefigure, their ideal society in miniature.

Notably, women could enact this form of personal prefigurative politics even in the absence of organizational prefiguring. In other words, to make their personal lives model their vision of the "good society," temperance women did not have to create special social movement organizations. Instead, they could model their political goals in their own personal kitchens. As I will explain below, temperance women did advance alternative institutions to help spread their cooking techniques to people outside the movement, but most temperance women situated most of their discourse about cooking in the personal sphere rather than in these alternative institutions.

Integrated Prefigurative Politics: Kitchen Gardens

The above section focused on personal prefigurative politics, when temperance activists recommended using actions in the personal sphere to model their visions for social change. However, temperance women also suggested forms of integrated prefigurative politics, which involved action on both the organizational and personal levels. In discussions surrounding food, integrated prefigurative politics usually took the form of "kitchen gardens" (a wordplay on "kindergardens," and sometimes combined into one word to make "kitchengardens"), in which temperance activists taught young girls the principles of housework. Kitchen gardens were often the responsibility of the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union (YWCTU or the Ys). The Ys taught kitchen garden classes to girls from 7 to 17 years old. Kitchen gardens included lessons on cleanliness, orderliness, and very easy cooking techniques. Often, these lessons were put to song. Pupils wore white aprons and hats. At the end of the course, the students put on a demonstration, in which they donned their uniforms, marched into the room, and sang their lessons, often using miniature brooms or dishes as props (Anonymous 1885). Kitchen gardens also existed outside the temperance movement, with the aim to train young girls as domestic servants in the hopes of addressing the shortage of young women willing to be cooks and housemaids (Cincinnati Kitchen Garden Association 1883). The WCTU made kitchen gardens their own and used them to teach the basics of a temperance household. Thus, kitchen gardens represent a form of integrated prefigurative politics, for activists built organizations that allowed individuals to model their personal practices after the movement's goals.

Temperance activists believed that teaching young girls the principles of housework would help build a dry society. Often, students had to take a temperance pledge to enroll. Some instructors taught their more advanced students the temperance philosophy behind cooking, emphasizing that they should not cook with alcohol or feed their families unhealthful food. However, most kitchen garden lessons focused on cleanliness. Kitchen garden students learned that clean, organized homes would eliminate drunkenness. For example,

> The kitchen garden is one of the most practical branches of our work. In this pleasant school girls from seven up to seventeen are taught to keep their own homes bright and clean, and orderly, thus lessening the power of the temptations to drink, which are so difficult for fathers and brothers to resist where the home is cheerless and destitute of comfort. (Barnes 1885)

Just as they believed eating spicy food would increase the temptation for alcohol, temperance activists explained that a dirty home would also drive men to drink. They argued that an attractive, comfortable space would lure men home at the end of the day, preventing them from going to the saloon. Another WCTU member, reporting on kitchen gardens in Pennsylvania, explained their sobering effects upon families in a similar manner:

> These children will bring order into many a disorderly home. The lessons taught them in miniature housekeeping will make many a cozy home, to which the husband and father will hasten when his day's labors are done, instead of going to the saloon because his wife fails in the most important duty of a woman, fails in the neatness of her home and palatable fare for the table. (Skelton 1883)

Thus, WCTU kitchen gardens aimed not only to teach young girls temperance lessons, but aimed to have these girls implement their lessons at home. Temperance women hoped that these girls would make their homes more welcoming and inviting, which would draw

their brothers and fathers home after work. Mary McClees, the superintendent of the Kitchen Garden department, explicitly connected clean homes with temperance when she explained, “you are doing a most practical and forcible kind of temperance teaching, when you train a dozen or more little girls in such habits of cleanliness and order that they can make their own homes bright and happy, and offer attractions to fathers, brothers and husbands which shall offset those of the saloon” (McClees 1886a).

In addition to teaching girls how to keep a clean, “bright and happy” home, kitchen gardens introduced the basics of wholesome cooking. The idea was kitchen gardens could provide a culinary primer for more specialized cooking schools. McClees often referred to kitchen gardens as “the open doors to the cooking school” (McClees 1886b). Advanced kitchen gardens went beyond the basics and offered cooking lessons. In the pages of the *Union Signal,* McClees expressed her hope that all kitchen gardens could eventually move in this direction. She made the familiar argument that wholesome food was at the root of a sober life. She explained, “nothing is more essential than that our girls should be taught what to eat and how to prepare wholesome food, which may save them and others from the effects of an unhealthy appetite” (McClees 1886b).

Although kitchen gardens taught girls of all classes the basics of keeping a clean and orderly home, they were aimed especially at working class girls. YWCTU groups usually started by offering paid courses, later transitioning into teaching free classes, or, as they called it, “mission work” (H. 1884). In the north, “free” was code for working class, while in the south, “free” was code for courses of black girls (Anonymous 1885).

Offering kitchen garden classes to girls from poor families served one practical purpose—it trained girls in housekeeping in the hopes that they could be domestic

servants. Mary McClees, superintendent of the Kitchen Garden Department, included training domestic servants as one of the objectives of her department. During the annual convention of the national WCTU, McClees explained the three main goals of kitchen gardens:

> 1. To teach girls how to work.
> 2. To teach girls how to make their own homes brighter.
> 3. To teach girls who are servants how to make others homes pleasant.
> (Anonymous 1886b)

The attempts of temperance women to train young girls to be domestic servants reveals their panic about the "servant problem," or the shortage of young women who were willing to work in middle- and upper-class homes. Women of the WCTU lamented that working-class girls would rather work in factories than in homes. Further, many white middle-class women saw the new wave of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe as unfit for domestic service (Levenstein 1988). The fear of the servant shortage was scrawled across the pages of the *Union Signal* in the late nineteenth century, where temperance women brainstormed how to increase the numbers of domestic servants. Ideas ranged from better treatment to offering domestic servants the freedom to live in their own homes and come to work for a scheduled work day similar to factory hours. Kitchen gardens were part of this discourse about the shortage of domestic servants.

However, women of the WCTU also saw kitchen gardens as much more than a solution for the "servant problem." Kitchen gardens were also seen as a way to improve the working class. Temperance women hoped that the students would take the lessons they learned into their own homes, where they would clean and make simple, wholesome foods for their families. Thus, kitchen garden lessons were often geared toward working

class homes. For example, McClees explained that advanced students who were learning to cook should have certain recipe cards “that are especially adapted to the homes of the poor, as they are for plain, inexpensive, as well as most wholesome dishes” (McClees 1887). According to temperance women, when working-class girls brought kitchen garden lessons to their own homes, they would improve their families’ lives by introducing better health and morals. Without kitchen gardens, temperance women saw the working class as having “all the vices of civilization and without its enlightenment” (Anonymous 1884a). Having grown up in this sinful environment, working-class students had absorbed bad habits that temperance women wanted to change. One WCTU member explained, “as the girls are from the lowest class of society, the work of teaching and *elevating* them is slow, but encouraging, nevertheless” (emphasis added) (L. 1885). Once the girls themselves were elevated, they could also elevate their homes by introducing cleanliness and simple, wholesome food, “ameliorating the condition of life in their own homes, present and future” (Anonymous 1883b). This did not only mean improving the physical health of the working class. As we have seen, temperance activists associated health with morality, believing that the most virtuous life was a healthy one. Thus, in the words of the superintendent, kitchen gardens would “do much toward the physical, mental, and, indirectly, *moral elevation of the poor*” (emphasis added) (McClees 1887).

Thus, kitchen gardens were a form of integrated prefigurative politics for the WCTU. These organizations encouraged a shift in how individual girls and women completed their traditional domestic tasks. They involved prefigurative action on the organizational level—rather than lobbying Congress for better domestic science education in public schools, temperance women took it upon themselves to put their goals

into practice and build specialized schools. Yet, these organizations also implicated actions in the personal sphere. These schools also aimed to teach girls how to build a temperance family through one's cooking and cleaning.

Integrated Prefigurative Politics: Restaurants

Kitchen gardens were not the only form of institutional prefigurative politics that had to do with cooking. In much fewer numbers, temperance women wrote about establishing dry restaurants that provided men alternatives besides the saloon for a place to eat or socialize. One woman who boasted of successfully feeding 2,300 people a day at her WCTU coffee house offered lessons on how to build a temperance restaurant (Anonymous 1892a). Like kitchen gardens, restaurants involved both organizational and personal prefiguration. Within the alternative institutions of the restaurants, men and women were able to change their daily, personal practices of eating.

Temperance restaurants also targeted the working class, attempting to change their eating habits so they would be less likely to eat food that stimulated their desire for alcohol. Dr. Paulson, who we met earlier as he tried to explain that a wholesome diet of fruit could cure alcoholism, argued that the typical eating establishment in the slums served such unhealthful food that it led people to drink. He writes, "it is becoming more evident to us why saloons flourish so abundantly in the slums" before offering a menu from "one of the ordinary State street eating houses." The menu includes "pork chops, pickled pigs' feet, coffee and doughnuts, fried oysters, liver and bacon, sardines, cheese sandwich, shrimps, red hots, hot tamales, sour-krout [sic], kidney stew, liver and onion, Mexican hash, ham sandwich." After this list, Paulson asks, "Can anyone question that

the eating three times a day of such unnatural and unphysiological foods does create a thirst for stimulants, particularly in already hereditarily predisposed individuals?" (Paulson 1906). Paulson compares this to the food served at a "Workingmen's Home" in the same neighborhood, a charitable institution that served what he considered healthful food. He explained that this menu featured "bean soup, corn on cob, baked potatoes, sweet potatoes, boiled rice, macaroni, peas, sliced tomatoes, poached eggs, string beans, granola, granose, zwieback, apples, peaches, grapes, caramel cereal, milk" (Paulson 1906). The more healthful menu, Paulson argued, would properly nourish working-class men and would eliminate their desires for alcohol, keeping them out of the saloons that plagued their neighborhoods. This "Workingmen's Home" thus provides an excellent example for temperance restaurants and demonstrates the class dimensions of temperance women's discussions of integrated prefigurative politics.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how temperance activists politicized cooking by making this domestic action support their political goals. First, temperance activists used cooking to build a moral identity that encouraged others to adopt their way of life. Temperance activists argued that their style of cooking made them more moral than the working class. They argued that the temperance diet included more wholesome foods that allowed people to continue God's work, while unhealthful food defiled God's greatest creation, the human body, and led people into a life of sin. This moral boundary supported temperance activists' political goal, for they encouraged others to join their way of life. Part of the strategy of the WCTU was to engage in "assimilatory politics," in

which activists attempted to morally persuade others into adopting the desired reforms. Presenting temperance activists as more virtuous aided in these attempts in moral suasion, for, to convince someone to change their life, one first had to teach them that a reformed life was better than their old one. Therefore, by using food and cooking to draw moral boundaries that set themselves above the working class, temperance activists bolstered their broader political tactics, in which they attempted to persuade others to adopt their sober lifestyle.

Second, temperance activists discussed *personal prefigurative politics* when they explained how cooking in personal homes could help build a dry society. Temperance activists argued that cooking healthful food could prevent drunkenness by keeping people away from alcoholic medicines and eliminating cravings for alcohol. They encouraged individual women to cook wholesome food, which they believed could turn family members sober. Thus, through cooking, temperance leaders argued that women could refashion their homes into models of their ideal, dry society. They could use their personal actions to prefigure their political goals—*i.e.,* they could engage in personal prefigurative politics.

Throughout this culinary discourse, temperance women hold women accountable for the sobriety of their families. A woman and her food are blamed if her husband becomes an alcoholic. This creates an interesting conflict between women's position in temperance discourse. On the one hand, temperance women argued that women were the victims of alcoholism, abused and abandoned by drunk husbands. They argued that sobriety would bring more power and protection to women within the family. However, in temperance women's discourse about cooking, they blamed women for the prevalence

of alcoholism. To a twenty-first-century feminist eye, this seems awfully close to blaming the victim for the crimes that were committed against them. There may be some victim-blaming going on in this discourse, but it is important to keep in mind that temperance activists also blamed the alcohol industry, saloons, food manufacturers, and government inaction. In this light, cooking more healthful food was one of several methods for working toward they political goals, and one which could be completed within their own homes. While some might still interpret this discourse as victim-blaming, others might interpret it as teaching women that they have the power to cause a social revolution by creating a dry society through their cooking and housekeeping.

Thus, temperance activists connected cooking to their political goal of convincing people to forego alcohol. While their approaches to cooking were certainly shaped by the historical era and the broader food trends of the time, temperance activists also steered cooking to support their own political purposes. As we will see in the next chapter, not all women—and not even all political women—in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century approached cooking in the same way. Suffragists considered how cooking could serve their own political goals. While suffragists also discussed personal prefigurative politics in the kitchen and drew moral boundaries with cooking, they engaged in these two mechanisms in very different ways from their temperance sisters.

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CHAPTER 5:

Cooking for Enfranchisement and Equality: Suffrage Discourse About Cooking, 1870-1920

At first glance, woman suffragists suffered an identity crisis when it came to cooking. Suffragists expressed their love for cooking, published cookbooks, held cooking contests, and bragged about their culinary prowess. In these displays, suffragists painted themselves as good mothers and wives. However, in other writings about cooking, suffragists seemed to undermine the happy housewife identity. Suffragists argued that women should do more than cook and care for their families. Even within the pages of cookbooks, suffragists pushed for expanding women's sphere of activity beyond the home. Suffragists also proposed ways of cooking that would take less time and energy. They explained that men should also be responsible for feeding the family. In the most extreme discussions, suffragists considered how cooking could be entirely removed from individual homes.

When we recognize that these various discussions about cooking played different political roles for the suffrage movement, they appear less schizophrenic. These various strands of discourse worked together to support suffragists' attempts to empower women in both the public and domestic spheres. Suffragists, like all other feminists I study in this dissertation, used culinary discourse to build a collective identity of themselves as moral actors. However, while temperance women made moral claims about their cooking that set them apart from mainstream women, suffragists made moral claims about cooking that aligned themselves with mainstream women. By arguing that they continued to cook,

suffragists portrayed themselves as good wives and mothers. This moral identity could reassure the men who were voters and legislators—who would decide the fate of woman's suffrage—that enfranchised women would not destroy the nation's social fabric because they would remain committed to their families.

This moral identity also enabled suffragists to engage in another process that did not appear in temperance women's discourse about cooking. Suffragists used their fundraising cookbooks to advance more radical arguments about gender equality and women's role in government. By including arguments about women's political participation next to recipes, suffrage cookbooks demonstrated that women could be involved in politics and still complete their domestic duties. The cookbooks and articles about cooking, which are instruction manuals for performing traditional femininity, likely made these radical arguments more appealing to conservative readers. I argue that this process is akin to "hiding spinach in the brownies," or concealing less agreeable items within a larger package that is more favorable to the audience.

Like temperance women, suffragists also discussed how they could use cooking to prefigure their desired social changes within their personal lives. However, suffragists' political agenda led to the development of different forms of personal and integrated prefigurative politics. While temperance women argued that cooking in particular ways could allow families to model a sober society, suffragists focused on how particular methods of cooking could allow women to pursue outside interests. Suffragists contemplated approaches to cooking that could bring about a more gender-equal world. In their discussions of personal prefigurative politics, suffragists suggested that more men should cook at home, and that everyone should cook quick, simple meals with the help of

labor-saving kitchen technology. In discussions of integrated prefigurative politics, suffragists proposed cooperative kitchen schemes that would remove cooking from individual homes and bring several families together to eat meals at a centralized dining room.

Therefore, upon closer inspection, the various elements of suffragists' culinary discourse do not represent an identity crisis. Instead, the moral identity, radical arguments within cookbooks, and prefigurative politics all bolstered suffragists' arguments that enfranchised women would continue to be dedicated mothers and wives. However, in the latter two discursive strands, suffragists did attempt to revise what women's domestic roles entailed. Suffragists used discourse about cooking to propose changing women's lives within the home, but they did not call for women to abandon their families altogether.

I begin this chapter by discussing how suffragists celebrated their cooking and built a moral identity as good wives and mothers. Next, I explain how this outward commitment to domestic femininity also worked within suffrage cookbooks to extend more radical arguments to readers. The following section focuses on prefigurative politics, showing how suffragists advocated methods of cooking that could help women model a more equal world within their personal lives. I describe two forms of personal prefigurative politics—men cooking and labor saving—that involve prefigurative action on the personal level of social activity. I then turn to integrated prefigurative politics by highlighting suffragists' discussions of cooperative kitchens, which involve both personal and organizational action to model gender equality. To conclude this chapter, I provide a brief contrast of suffrage and temperance culinary discourse to illustrate how the different

political agendas led to different ways of discussing cooking.

“The Way to a Man’s Vote is Through the Stomach:” Cooking and Moral Boundaries in Suffrage Campaigns

Suffragists relied heavily on traditional political avenues to achieve their goals. To pass legislation that would enfranchise women, suffragists needed the cooperation of voters and politicians. Suffragists’ attempts to gain these men’s support were made more difficult by the rumors spread by anti-suffragists. Opponents of woman suffrage claimed that enfranchised women would refuse to do domestic work, abandon their families, and become masculinized (Behling 2001; Camhi 1994; Jablonsky 1994; Kinnard 1986). Suffragists countered this argument by insisting that they continued to cook. By displaying culinary prowess, suffragists defined themselves as moral wives and mothers who cared about their families. Thus, suffragists used cooking to create a moral identity that aimed to assuage the fears of the men—the voters and legislators—who would ultimately decide the fate of woman suffrage.

By pushing for women’s participation in the public sphere, suffragists violated the dominant cultural mandates that women be pious, pure, domestic, and submissive (Welter 1966). In the eyes of broader society, women’s most important social role was to raise honorable male citizens who would be ethical voters and politicians (Kerber 1980). Thus, women were supposed to raise citizens but were not citizens themselves. Women’s social role was private and domestic, not public.

In this cultural context, many opponents to woman suffrage interpreted the push for the vote as an abandonment of women’s traditional domestic sphere and the activities

such as cooking. Religious leaders frequently made this argument; for example, Cardinal Gibbons (also Archbishop of Baltimore) reportedly announced, "the ballot would drag women from her domestic duties into the arena of politics, and rob her of much of her charm, goodness and true influence" (The New Republic 1915). A pastor of a First Presbyterian Church in Washington also argued that suffragists walked away from their domestic duties: "Believer in woman's rights that I am, it is beyond my powers of observation to see why woman today should neglect home and children in her attempt to secure the ballot, and that is what many are doing" (Anonymous 1909b). Sentiments like this seem to have stuck with Emma Smith DeVoe, the president of the WESA. She cut out the latter article and placed it in her scrapbook, and many elements of her successful 1909-1910 campaign aimed to disprove the argument that women deserted the home in pursuit of the vote.

Suffragists fought back, arguing that women could vote and complete their domestic duties. The *Woman's Journal* often ran reviews of cookbooks, and suffragists used this opportunity to prove that suffragists were still interested in household tasks. One review took issue with the fact that the cookbook in question drew a distinction between housekeepers and women involved in politics—such as suffragists and temperance activists. The author of the review explained, "We should like to suggest to the author, however, that there is no necessary incompatibility between desiring to vote and knowing how to cook. It was unnecessary, and therefore unwise, to draw a contemptuous contrast between the women who are good cooks and housekeepers, and the women who go on temperance crusades and 'clamor for the ballot'" (Anonymous 1882).

By claiming that they continued to cook, suffragists portrayed themselves as moral wives and mothers. Anti-suffragists attempted to lambast suffragists as selfish, immoral women who pursued their own their own interests above their families'. Showing that they cooked allowed suffragists to demonstrate that they still selflessly cared for their families. This moral identity was key for suffragists' political success. While temperance advocates could create a sober society by convincing individuals to change their way of life, women could not be enfranchised through individual lifestyle changes. To win the vote, suffragists relied on electoral politics, which required politicians and voters to support the suffrage cause. To gain these men's support, suffragists needed to present themselves as people who would continue to care for men and the family. By claiming that they cooked, suffragists appeared more similar to mainstream women, and their demands seemed less threatening to the traditional way of life. Suffragists hoped that this identity would be more appealing to the men who would vote on the fate of woman suffrage.

Suffragists tried many tactics to convince outsiders that seeking enfranchisement did not mean neglecting the family. In one tactic, movement leaders and public figures vouched for woman suffragists' domestic skills. For example, Henry B. Blackwell, who edited the *Woman's Journal* with his wife, Lucy Stone, wrote an article that proclaimed that suffragists were excellent housekeepers:

> So far from regarding domestic tasks and abilities with disfavor, suffragists estimate them more highly than they have been hitherto classed by the public. It is noticeable that the most eminent pioneer suffragists, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, were all model housekeepers, and administered the business of their homes with exceptional ability. (Blackwell 1906)

In a similar article, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, the Pure Food advocate, lauded suffragists' cooking. He argued that suffragists were actually better housekeepers than their opponents. The *Woman's Journal* reported:

> Dr. Harvey W. Wiley believes that advocates of equal suffrage have a shade the better of anti-suffragists in housewifely duties. Recently the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage had "Suffrage Domestic Days" at the Cafe Republique in Washington, D.C., and Dr. and Mrs. Wiley strolled in for a meal. Dr. Wiley is known as a heavy eater; he ate about everything that the suffragists served, leaned back in his chair, signed and said: "Suffragists know how to cook, and are just as good housewives, if not better, than women who are not suffragists." (Anonymous 1913a)

As alluded to in the story about Dr. Wiley, suffragists also attempted to convince outsiders of their housekeeping skills by displaying their culinary talents at public events. Even the women in the more aggressive Congressional Union had "Suffrage Domestic Days" when advocates for the vote cooked meals for patrons. For decades, suffragists had been cooking food to sell at fairs, which they understood as both helping to raise money for the cause and helping portray suffragists in a favorable light. For example, in 1870 the *Woman's Journal* reported that some suffragists had resolved to contribute 200 cans of fruit to the Woman Suffrage Bazaar that was to be held in Boston. These suffragists explained, "This fruit will be put up by the good housewives of Vineland, who do their work on the morning of Election Day, and put a vote into the ballot-box in the afternoon, and its excellence will be anther proof, if such is needed, that these strong minded women do understand domestic duties" (Anonymous 1870b). More than 40 years later, suffragists continued to sell food at fairs to convince outsiders of their domesticity. A poem called for suffragists to contribute food to a Suffrage Fair so they could "show their culinary art" and win additional suffrage supporters:

> They say the home is woman's sphere.
> To every suffragist that's clear.
> To prove this, everyone must make
> For the Suffrage Fair a pie or cake.
> A salad, sandwich or a tart
> To show our culinary art.
> Bring jellies, jams and pickles, too;
> Send in your wares without ado.
> Perhaps you'll get the ribbons blue,
> And for The Cause win friends a few. (Anonymous 1913b)

In another tactic, suffragists attempted to prove their culinary skill through cooking contests. Suffragists gleefully reported cooking victories by women in the movement. For example, *Progress* reported that one suffragist, Mrs. Paul Perrault of Cleveland, won first price for her loaf of bread in the Cleveland Food Show. The article explained how Mrs. Perrault accomplished her traditional domestic duties while also being involved in politics: "On the day she baked this winning loaf, she spent much time in corralling votes for Mrs. Hyre, who was a candidate for the School Board. She says: 'The fact that I won first prize (a china dinner set) shows that a woman can attend to her housework and still indulge in politics'" (Anonymous 1909c).

Suffragists in New York City also recognized the political utility of cooking contests. Suffragists had a booth at the 1910 Domestic Science and Pure Food exhibition. The New York Times reported that these suffragists held a contest for the "best loaf of bread by a woman enrolled in any New York, New Jersey, or Connecticut suffrage society." According to the anonymous journalist, by entering this contest, the contestants were "spurning the idea that the franchise would tend to supplant the frying pan" (Anonymous 1910h).

Other suffragists held cooking contests in an attempt to prove that they were

better cooks than anti-suffragists. In Rochester, New York, a suffragist challenged any anti-suffragist to make superior biscuits and chocolate cake:

> A cooking contest, in which Miss Jane Thomson, of Chicago, Suffrage organizer in Rochester, challenged any anti-suffragist to compete with her in making Southern hot biscuit and chocolate cake, has created much suffrage publicity in Rochester. Miss Thomson gave a demonstration Sept. 1 in the windows of the Rochester Railway and Light Company, and chose a newspaper man from each of the city's dailies to be the judges. Any hungry man or woman was invited to step in and sample the cooking. No anti-suffragist came forward to accept Miss Thomson's challenge. After cooking all day she talked to 500 men that evening on the principal city corner, as a proof that cookery and civics do not interfere with each other. (Anonymous 1915)

This "cooking contest" attempted to disprove anti-suffragists' claims that women abandoned the kitchen as they became involved politics. Not only did Thomson win this cooking contest by default; she also gave a public speech to prove the compatibility of cooking with civics. Importantly, the article mentions that she addressed this speech to 500 *men,* demonstrating the target audience of this stunt. By publicly demonstrating her culinary skills and combining cooking with "civics," Thomson aimed to convince New York men to vote for the upcoming state-wide referendum that would enfranchise women.

Publishing cookbooks was also part of suffragists' attempt to demonstrate their culinary skill and their moral identity as good wives and mothers. When the first suffrage cookbook was published, the *Woman's Journal* proclaimed, "this book contains hundreds of valuable receipts, contributed by women who believe in equal rights. It ought to dissipate forever the delusion that woman suffragists do not know how to cook" (Anonymous 1891).

By portraying suffragists as moral mothers and wives, the *Washington Women's*

Cook Book played a crucial role in the 1909-1910 Washington campaign to enfranchise women. The campaign highlighted suffragists' domestic and feminine characteristics. They avoided large demonstrations, meetings, and conventions, focusing instead on interpersonal actions such as talking individually with voters. This tactic prevented the opposition from realizing the suffragist's strength, and it aligned with widespread ideas about respectable femininity (Eaton 1921:6-7). Individual suffragists attempted to canvas each voter in the state. WESA treasurer Dr. Cora Smith Eaton later recalled, "Every woman personally solicited her neighbor, her doctor, her grocer, her laundrywagon driver, the postman, and even the man who collected the garbage. It was essentially a womanly campaign, emphasizing the home interests and engaging the cooperation of the home makers" (Eaton 1921:7).

The cookbook helped the Washington suffragists cultivate the appearance of a "womanly campaign" that focused on how suffrage could help the home. In her treasurer's notes, Eaton explained that the cookbook "lent a domestic air to the campaign" (Eaton 1910). When canvassing voters, many suffragists also attempted to sell copies of the *Washington Women's Cook Book (Eaton 1912)*, which widened the visibility of the book. Eaton argued that the cookbooks helped prove that suffragists were homemakers, and that women would not abandon the home once they received the vote. She explained, "We have some wonderful cooks in the active ranks of the suffrage workers in this state… and the wives who use the suffrage cook book will have one strong argument to induce their husbands to vote for equal suffrage at the November election. We only hope that the way to a man's vote is through the stomach" (Anonymous 1910f). In other words, the way to a man's vote was by convincing him that

his wife would continue to feed him and care for him once she was enfranchised. WESA president Emma Smith DeVoe confirmed that the cookbooks had a political purpose alongside the monetary one. DeVoe explained to an Idaho newspaper:

> To raise money for this campaign we recently published a “Vote for Women cook book.” We had two ideas in view in this. One was, of course, the money and the other was the vindication of the slur put upon suffragists that they have no domestic traits. Every recipe in the book was given by some housewife of Washington who is a suffragist and a housekeeper. (Anonymous 1910e)

Suffragists claimed that the tactic of selling cookbooks door-to-door was politically successful. They explained, “Another wise move of hers [DeVoe’s] which has given us much publicity and brought us many converts, both of women and men, among the conservative group who halt at the truism that ‘women’s place is at the home,’ is sending out speakers with Washington Women’s Cook Books” (Anonymous 1910b).

The suffragists convinced at least a few local journalists that they could cook. One article in the *Seattle Star* exclaimed, “Who says that women suffragists can’t cook—that they neglect home, children, and husbands—or that they will if suffrage is granted them? Have you seen the cook book published by the Washington Equal Suffrage Association? If you think that women suffragists can’t cook, you should look at this book” (Anonymous 1910c).

The Washington suffragists also emphasized their culinary interests by sponsoring a “Kitchen Contest” in the *Tacoma Daily News.* In the Kitchen Contest, suffragists asked women to send in short essays on household subjects. The *Tacoma Daily News* printed many of these essays near other news stories about the woman suffrage movement. The suffragists gave monetary prizes for the best essays (Eaton 1912). The *Tacoma Daily*

News, in an article about the Kitchen Contest, explained the suffragists' interest in homemaking:

> The *News* believes the women of Tacoma, Pierce county and in fact the entire state will show much interest in the "Kitchen Contest," opened in this paper yesterday under the direction of the Equal Suffrage association of this state. It may not be known generally, but the Equal Suffrage association is working not merely for votes alone, but for the general uplift of womankind, and one of its principal objects is reform in the kitchen. This has been emphasized time and again by the leaders of the movement when attending farmers' institutes and other gatherings. They believe that, while they are entitled to vote, they have more important duties in homemaking, and the dignifying of housework has been one of their favorite topics everywhere. (Anonymous 1910d)

In this article, the *Tacoma Daily News* explains that suffragists remain committed to the home. This article frames suffragists' main concern as the "general uplift of womankind," which includes enfranchising women along with improving the domestic sphere. According to the *Tacoma Daily News,* the Kitchen Contest demonstrated that suffragists did not walk away from women's traditional activities. Instead, as the *Tacoma Daily News* explained, "[the Kitchen Contest] tended to discount the notion that the homes would suffer if women were given the ballot" (Anonymous 1910g).

In addition to the cookbook and the Kitchen Contest, Washington suffragists strategically engaged in cooking at their lobbying home base at Olympia, the state capital. The suffragists who lobbied the state legislators often cooked meals for them. The *Seattle Daily Times* reported that the suffragists "have been able to keep a coterie of women in Olympia which has button-holed members of the Legislature upon the street and in the corridors of the capitol and which has been even able to appeal to some of the domestically-bereft through the medium of a home-cooked dinner" (Anonymous 1909a). The *Woman's Journal* made sure to point out that suffragists were the ones cooking these

meals. The *Woman's Journal* explained that the newspapers in Olympia thought "it is quite a point in favor of equal suffrage that the officers of the Association do the housework:"

> After a hard day's work endeavoring to convince legislators of the justice of their bill, the suffragists go home to their headquarters to don aprons and do the cooking. There are no servants at the suffragist headquarters, and the women who are demanding votes for their sisters, are showing by their example that they can maintain a home, while seeking franchise rights. (Anonymous 1909d)

The fact that the suffragists did their own housework was also publicized in the local newspapers in Washington. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* ran several stories on this topic, including one that was accompanied by an image of three suffrage leaders cooking and sweeping (see Image 5.1). This image was printed beneath the headline, "WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS BUSY PEELING POTATOES WHEN NOT GETTING VOTES" (Anonymous 1909e). In sum, the Washington suffragists used cooking to create an image of themselves as housewives who were invested in women's traditional domestic tasks. This was politically strategic; by celebrating their cooking, suffragists aimed to convince voters and legislators that women would not abandon the family once they gained the vote. The Washington suffragists' campaign was ultimately successful; the 1910 amendment passed by a wide margin.

In Clinton, New York, the suffragists' cookbook appears to have served a similar purpose. Prior to the publication of the 1916 *Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife,* the suffragists held monthly "Political Equality Food Sales" in a central downtown location. The food sales helped prove that suffragists were skilled cooks. One upcoming food sale that was advertised in the local newspaper boasted of the suffragists' culinary expertise,

"lots of good things are expected, and there will be some Washington's birthday features, one of them being a cherry sea-foam candy, a very delicious confection invented by one of our leading suffragist cooks. The sales are becoming more popular each month, and deservedly so, for a more tempting array of white and brown bread, cakes, cookies, marmalades, candies, etc. would be hard to find" (Anonymous 1914). With such skilled cooks in the ranks of the Clinton Political Equality Club, the suffragists decided to publish a cookbook. The *Clinton Courier* explained of the upcoming cookbook, "It is well known that the Clinton Suffragists are good cooks, as has been proven by the quality of the viands offered at their food sales, and any recipes that these good cooks recommend will be eagerly sought for by the ladies of the town" (Anonymous 1916e). A subsequent article pointed to the cookbook to disprove the misconception that suffragists wish to abandon the home, family, and kitchen. The *Clinton Courier* argued, "We are sure they will prove that women who believe in suffrage have an interest in the home also" (Anonymous 1916c).

The cookbooks themselves have some hints about this use as a tool that aimed to gain men's support by portraying suffragists as moral homemakers. Across the seven suffrage cookbooks, 23 (1.2%) recipes mentioned that they should be cooked for children, while temperance cookbooks only have 5 (.2%) recipes that were directly aimed for children. The direction to cook certain recipes for children reinforces suffragists' role as mothers and homemakers. For example,

> CAKES FOR CHILDREN
> One pint flour, one cupful sugar, half a cupful butter and a pinch of salt. Mix with milk or water, flavor with lemon, rise with baking powder, or cream of tartar and soda, or yeast. Bake in little scallop tins.—Abby Morton Diaz. (Burr 1886:79)

By directly referencing children in the title of this recipe, Diaz alludes to women's role as mothers. Thus, the suffragists' moral identity as good mothers and wives was bolstered by recipes that revealed that suffragists cooked *for their families*.

Other recipes pointed more directly to cookbooks' attempt to convince men to vote for suffrage legislation. In *Enfranchised Cookery,* a recipe for "Enfranchised Macaroni" mentioned that one might be able to convert voters with this dish:

> ENFRANCHISED MACARONI
> Prepare macaroni in double boiler as usual. Slice one large onion, and one large green pepper. Brown in bacon drippings, add one can tomatoes; salt to taste. When boiling pour over macaroni which has been placed in baking dish. Take whatever number of small rib pork chops you desire. Cut away the fat; place on top of macaroni. Bake twenty minutes in hot oven with cover on. Remove cover, sprinkle over with grated cheese and brown. *A splendid voter getter.*—May Bartlett Shawhan Hoar, Woman's City Club (emphasis added) (Hoar 1915:7)

In recipes like Enfranchised Macaroni, suffragists are not simply wooing men with food that tastes good. The suffragists are also reassuring men that they remain committed to their traditional domestic roles. Therefore, the food converts voters both with its delicious taste and a moral identity of suffragists. The recipe for "Boneless Birds" also refers to this strategic role of food:

> BONELESS BIRDS
> Take two slices of veal steak, or more if desired. Pound a little, then cut into pieces as near three inches square as possible. Chop together two large green peppers and two onions and a small bit of parsley. Place a teaspoonful of this on each piece of veal, add a tiny piece of bacon. Roll veal into little parcel and fasten with string or tooth-pick. These form the birds. Now cut four strips of bacon into pieces, place in sauce pan; when tried out remove bacon and place an onion and a pepper sliced, in drippings. Dredge birds with flour and add to onions and peppers when well browned, add enough boiling water to cover, salt and pepper to taste and boil twenty minutes. Allow gravy to boil down, and add enough milk to cover, thicken and serve, first removing the fastening holding the birds

> in shape. *If you cannot convert with this, give up. The man has neither heart nor palate.*—May Bartlett Shawhan Hoar (emphasis added) (Hoar 1915:6-7)

In sum, suffragists used cooking to help them build a moral identity that was appealing to the men who were voters and lawmakers. By claiming that they continued to cook, suffragists assuaged men's fears that women would abandon the home and family. Thus, suffragists created a moral identity as dedicated wives and mothers. Suffragists used this moral identity to support their broader political agenda, which required relying on men to enact legislation that would enfranchise women.

Hiding Spinach in the Brownies

Beneath the veneer of expert housewifery, suffragists used cookbooks to advance radical arguments about transforming women's role in society. Once suffragists used cookbooks to lay claim to the moral identity as good wives and mothers, they attempted to expand the activities that were acceptable for women. Suffragists used the feminized character of cookbooks to extend republican citizenship frames to the average housewife, proving that women could incorporate new practices into their lives without abandoning their traditional feminine roles. The conservative feminine nature of cookbooks helped suffragists align more radical frames with a more moderate audience. Thus, cookbooks allowed suffragists to make more radical arguments while still appearing to be moderate housewives.

Republican citizenship frames contested popular beliefs about femininity because they maintained that women should vote because they could take public responsibility and express civic virtue. Specifically, republican citizenship frames challenged the notion

that women's roles in the republic were solely private and domestic. These frames encouraged a more substantial reconfiguration of femininity that went beyond making voting acceptable for women. Therefore, republican citizenship frames likely would have garnered less popular support than femininity frames, which invoked widespread understandings of women. However, republican citizenship frames might have been more palatable if suffragists delivered them in a familiar and comforting cultural genre.

By placing republican citizenship frames in cookbooks, suffragists communicated that they did not expect women to abandon traditional feminine practices for these new ones. This helps achieve frame extension, or an explanation of how movement goals are pertinent to an audience's lives and interests (Snow et al. 1986), for the cookbooks demonstrate that readers could keep their feminine identities as mothers and housewives and still exhibit these new practices. In other words, the gendered character of community cookbooks extends radical frames by making them relevant to readers' lives.

A *Woman's Tribune* article predicted that cookbooks' incorporation of more radical suffrage arguments would help convert more conservative women to the cause. The article pictures a domestic servant becoming politicized as she uses the Rockford suffragists' *Holiday Gift Cook Book:*

> The holiday gift of the Rockford E.S.A. is certainly a unique affair, and one calculated to carry rebellion into the kitchen. Imagine the feelings that will be aroused in the breast of the cook as she looks for the recipe for strawberry pudding and finds that Abraham Lincoln would share the privileges of the government with all who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women. She learns that bananas sliced can be used as a substitute for strawberries, and in the next sentence that William H. Steward declared that justice was on the side of woman's suffrage. When she gets as far along as preparing salted almonds, she learns that Charles Sumner prophesied that in the progress of civilization woman's suffrage was sure to come. As every direction for preparing the toothsome viands is

> flanked by the most elevated sentiments concerning the value and need of woman's ballot, one can well believe that Bridget will do her work a little more conscientiously and bear herself with that pride which demands perfection in, the work of one's hands, as she exclaims, "I, too, am a citizen of this great Republic." (Anonymous 1892b)

This *Woman's Tribune* article imagines that the *Holiday Gift Cook Book* would convince cooks that they could support woman suffrage while continuing to pursue their domestic duties. The article describes a cook coming across republican citizenship frames as she searches for the directions to make strawberry pudding. The layout described here—recipes sandwiching pro-suffrage quotes from public figures—was common to several of the suffrage cookbooks. In the *Holiday Gift Cook Book,* quotes and recipes shared the same page; the *Washington Women's Cook Book* included quotes at the beginning of each chapter; and the *Suffrage Cook Book* dedicated entire spreads to letters from famous suffrage supporters, often accompanied by a signed portrait of the public figure (see Image 5.3 for a cookbook page that combines both quotes and recipes). Thus, suffragists wove republican citizenship frames into otherwise feminized fabric of cookbooks.

Alongside recipes, suffragists included a variety of republican citizenship frames. In one kind of argument, suffragists maintained that women should vote because they could own property and pay taxes. I include property ownership in republican citizenship frames because to exemplify civic virtue, one of the main tenets of republicanism, one should be economically independent (Dagger 1997). At the end of the nineteenth century, property ownership was still culturally masculinized, since legal advances had only recently allowed married women to own property in some states (Chused 1983). Yet, even in the feminized cultural object of cookbooks, suffragists frequently use the property ownership frame. For example:

> Taxation without representation is tyranny. Our honored forefathers fought seven years, sacrificing their blood and treasure to establish this principle. Women are now taxed. Women are not represented. Is it any less tyrannical and oppressive for the women of today to submit to this injustice than it was for our fathers a century ago?—Margaret T. Skiff (Rockford Equal Suffrage Association 1891:16)

Skiff points out that property ownership was a masculine practice that had justified American independence and white men's vote. The sentence "Women are *now* taxed" (emphasis mine) alludes to property ownership being a new practice for women. Thus, property ownership frames maintained that women should be able to vote because they could engage in the previously masculine practice of owning property.

Republican citizenship frames like this one were more likely than femininity frames to anger anti-suffragists. Many "antis" believed that suffragists encouraged women to jettison their traditional practices and replace them with masculinized ones (Camhi 1994). Anti-suffragists believed that if women became involved in one masculinized sphere, such as voting, they would continue evolving into masculine creatures, abandoning their families as well as their feminine practices and traits (Behling 2001). Antis' fears of defeminization would be fueled by republican citizenship frames, in which suffragists encouraged women to engage in additional masculine practices besides voting.

Yet, by placing republican citizenship frames within a cookbook, suffragists imply that women should not replace their traditional feminine practices with these masculinized ones. For example, above, Margaret Skiff argues that women should vote because they can enact the masculinized practice of owning property. This frame falls directly after an advertisement for a local drug store that touts "Choice Perfumes, Toilet

Articles, Fine Soaps, Sponges, Art Goods, Brushes—Tooth, Hair, Nail" (Rockford Equal Suffrage Association 1891:16). Recipes for "Lemon Pie" and "Cookies without Eggs" follow Skiff's quote. The ad appeals to the traditional concern with feminine beauty, while the recipes teach housewives to fulfill their duty as head cook and make delicate desserts. These markers of traditional femininity that surround the radical frame imply that women could still complete their traditional feminine tasks while also accomplishing a previously masculinized practice like property ownership. By including this more radical frame in a cookbook, suffragists debunk the anti-suffrage argument that women would become defeminized and abandon their families. Suffrage cookbooks make republican citizenship frames relevant to the average housewife by demonstrating that women could own property and vote while continuing to cook, clean, and care for their families.

The ability for cookbooks to present republican citizenship frames in an appetizing way is best captured in frames that claim that women are interested in politics. To be an ideal republican citizen and fully participate in voting and leadership, one must show an interest in political issues (Dagger 1997). In the late nineteenth century, only men were expected to pay attention to government and politics. Anti-suffragists capitalized on this popular belief and argued that women did not want the vote because they were uninterested in current affairs and the workings of the state (Camhi 1994). Suffragists contradicted this popular belief by arguing that women were, in fact, interested in politics. For example, the Governor of Arizona assures readers that in his state, newly enfranchised women (Arizona women gained the vote in 1912) were active and informed voters who paid proper attention to current affairs:

> Not only have the women of this state evinced an intelligent and active interest in governmental issues, but in several instances important offices have been conferred upon that element of the electorate which recently acquired the elective franchise. […] —W. P. Hunt, Governor of Arizona (Kleber 1915:110)

This frame contradicts turn-of-the-century understandings of femininity, which mandated that women should focus on home and family (Welter 1966). Despite the fact that an interest in politics was culturally gender-typed masculine, suffragists claimed that women could follow politics and be knowledgeable in current affairs, and that this made them eligible to vote.

By including these frames in a cookbook, suffragists assure readers that women could continue their feminine duties while pursuing an interest in politics. Governor Hunt's letter falls in the middle of the chapter on "Bread, Rolls, Etc.," directly after the recipe for "Dumplings that Never Fail" and before the recipe for "French Rolls." The Governor's letter also comes a few pages after the recipe for "Hymen Bread" (above), which directed women on the art of feminine behavior. Sitting next to these recipes for bread and femininity, the argument about women's interest in politics implies that women could pursue this new hobby while still completing their traditional responsibilities. Therefore, cookbooks provide frame extension for republican citizenship frames by demonstrating that women can incorporate the ideas in these more radical frames into their everyday lives.

Other suffragists used cookbooks to make the same point more directly: women's interest in politics would not drive women away from the domestic sphere. The Wayne County suffragists introduce their cookbook with one such disclaimer:

> The recipes were, for the most part, contributed by Detroit suffragists, and

> may help to show again what has been so often demonstrated before, that an interest in politics is not incompatible with an interest in cookery. (Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County 1916:3)

This is the first page of the cookbook—the first thing a reader sees after opening the cover. This sets the tone for the rest of the book, reminding the reader that women can be interested in politics and still cook any of the recipes that follow. By including this frame within cookbooks, suffragists insist that this new interest in government does not replace feminine practices like cooking and caring for one's family.

In sum, community cookbooks' commitment to domestic femininity extends radical frames to moderate women readers. By including republican citizenship frames within a book that gives directions on achieving traditional feminine tasks, these new activities are reconciled with women's traditional roles as mother and housewife. While anti-suffragists tended to portray suffragists as defeminized women who abandoned their homes and families (Behling 2001; Camhi 1994), suffragists argued that women could take on previously masculinized practices—like property ownership, an interest in government, and voting—without abandoning their traditional responsibilities. Thus, for suffragists, cookbooks were an ideal medium for advancing republican citizenship frames. A cookbook assures the reader that even if women owned property and were interested in government, women would not fully jettison domestic femininity. While cookbooks' commitment to traditional femininity might seem antithetical to republican citizenship frames, this gendered character is precisely what might make these frames more appealing to a broader, more moderate audience. By placing these frames between recipes for food and instructions on fulfilling traditional feminine roles, suffragists demonstrated that a woman could accomplish previously masculine practices alongside

her traditional feminine tasks.

This process of frame extension aligns the radical frames with widespread beliefs, but not in the manner in which we are used to frames achieving resonance. Usually, scholars explain that the power of resonance comes from within the frame itself, ignoring the role that the cultural medium may play (Oliver and Johnston 2000; Snow et al. 1986). Here, I suggest that the cultural object in which a frame resides may help popularize the frame. In short, context matters. I argue that the gendered character of a cultural genre can demonstrate to readers how a radical frame is relevant to their lives.

This process is like baking spinach into brownies to encourage children to eat their vegetables (Seinfeld 2008). Children may reject spinach because they don't like the taste, and readers might have rejected republican citizenship frames that did not align with their beliefs about women. However, children might be more likely to eat spinach, and readers might be more likely to accept more radical frames, if these things are "baked into" something they know they like. Parents and activists who wish for more radical transformations may object to this tactic because the overall change is small. In the end, children are still eating brownies, and readers are still committed to domestic femininity. However, getting the spinach or radical frames into children's and readers' diets might be a step toward more substantial change.

Prefigurative Politics

Although suffragists published cookbooks so they could present a moral image of themselves as good mothers and wives, we have seen how suffragists hid radical political messages within the covers of these cookbooks. Now, we will see another way in which

suffragists used their discourse about cooking to subversively challenge the status quo. Beneath the cover of conservative respectability that was created by claiming to be involved in the kitchen, suffragists advanced methods of cooking that could subversively challenge the gender order.

Suffragists also developed a style of cooking that they believed, if followed widely, could help create a more gender-world. With these proposed methods of cooking, suffragists could prefigure, or model, a miniature version of their desired society. These suffragists suggested forms of personal prefigurative politics, in which activists use their personal lives to prefigure their visions of social change. Suffragists considered how cooking could help them transform the family into a microcosm of a more gender-equal world.

To model gender equality in private homes, suffragists considered how to balance domestic labor between men and women. Table 5.1 illustrates the most common forms of prefigurative politics in suffragists' discourse about cooking. They encouraged ways of cooking that would lessen women's work and encourage men to take on more of it. Some suffragists suggested that men cook more within the home. Additionally, suffragists highlighted the benefits of labor-saving methods and technology, arguing that lessening women's domestic work was another way to model a more gender-equal world. In other instances, suffragists proposed cooperative cooking arrangements that would centralize cooking in a common kitchen that served many families. I argue that cooperative kitchens are a form of integrated prefigurative politics, in which personal and organizational prefiguration go hand-in-hand.

	Personal Prefigurative Politics	Integrated Prefigurative Politics	Total
Newspaper Articles	186 (63%)	111 (37%)	297

Table 5.1. Prefigurative Politics Common in Suffrage Culinary Discourse

	Labor Saving	Kitchen Technology	Canned Food	Men Cooking	Cooperative Kitchens
Suffrage					
Newspaper Articles (N=297)	36 (12.1%)	18 (6.1%)	--	30 (10.1%)	36 (12.1%)
Cookbook Recipes (N=1975)	16 (.8%)	54 (2.7%)	105 (5.3%)	65 (3.3%)	--
Temperance					
Newspaper Articles (N=200)	4 (2.0%)	5 (2.5%)	--	1 (.5%)	4 (2.0%)
Cookbook Recipes (N=2153)	12 (.6%)	31 (1.4%)	68 (3.2%)	--	--

Personal Prefigurative Politics: Building the Gender-Neutral Kitchen

Suffragists proposed the idea that men should cook more often. At the time, this idea challenged long-standing gendered practices and ideas about labor. Temperance women almost never mentioned the possibility that men could cook, much less should. While 30 (or 10%) of *Woman's Journal* articles about cooking in some way discussed men's ability to cook, only 1 temperance article (or .5%) touched on this issue. This pattern held true even in suffragists' cookbooks; 65 recipes (or 3.3%) were contributed by men, while men contributed no recipes to the temperance cookbooks I analyzed (see Table 5.1).

Some suffragists questioned the idea that cooking should be women's role, and they argued women had no natural cooking ability. Instead, they maintained that men could cook just as well as women could, if only someone taught them how. For example, Lucy Stone, one of the editors of the *Woman's Journal* and a longtime leader of the suffrage movement, relates the story of men who passed their cookery classes with flying colors:

> While women are taking prizes for excellence in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, English Literature, &c., the *London Times,* from the

> report of the Educational office of the Society of Arts, shows that, in this society, five young men had taken first class honors in cookery… When there is an open field, and fair play, there can be no doubt that both men and women will find their natural and proper spheres. It is quite possible that some of our present opinions may be reversed. (Stone 1877)

Here, Stone argues that men and women can complete the same tasks equally well, if only they are given the same training and experience. She alludes to the idea that gender roles are culturally constructed rather than biologically determined. Stone urges readers to consider cooking not as a naturally feminine task, but as something that men and women could complete equally well.

Other suffragists repeat this sentiment, arguing that the lack of ability should not stop men from taking on some of the work in the kitchen. One article offers many anecdotes of men who cook, clean, dress the children, and do laundry. In conclusion, the author writes, “My observation goes to prove that where men try, they are capable of becoming, and do become good housekeepers” (A Woman Housekeeper 1874). Thus, suffragists often paired their calls for men to cook at home with the argument that men could cook just as well as women could. In another article, a suffragist tells the story of a woman who taught her sons to cook and clean. She relates the value of men knowing these skills, especially if their wives fell sick and could not complete the housework. She maintains, “In a partnership, each member of the firm should be able to perform, or at least direct, the other’s work; and there is no reason why a man should not understand some of the details of housekeeping, or a woman learn to drive a nail straight and use a saw if necessary” (Hall 1888). Again, the call for men to take on some of the cooking and housework is accompanied by the argument that men can actually cook—if someone

teaches them how. These suffragists attempted to redefine the gendered ideas surrounding domestic work, arguing that men could complete these tasks just as well as women could.

In other articles, suffragists are more direct in their suggestions for men to take on some of the work in the kitchen. One suffragist, Bessie B. Hunt, chronicles her hectic days that are packed with housekeeping chores. By the end of the article, she realizes that all of this hard work is not worth the stress. She suggests that women let the small, superfluous things go undone. She also proposes that family members—including men—help overworked mothers:

> When I think of the work my mother (Heaven bless her memory) did, and of the grinding, wearing, monotonous labor of hundreds of women everywhere, I want to take their stiffened hands in mine and say, "Don't." Let the ground slip from under your feet a little. Tie a towel round the neck of thirteen-year-old Tom, and see if he can't wash dishes. Ease up. Slow up. Hitch up the horse and take a ride, even if something goes undone. (Hunt 1884)

By directing readers to make their sons wash the dishes, Hunt explains how to build a home that has a more balanced division of labor between men and women. She calls for suffragists to reorient practices in the personal sphere—in their own kitchens—to prefigure a more gender-equal world.

Suffrage cookbooks reflected this call for men to cook more often. Across the seven suffrage cookbooks I analyzed, men contributed a total of 65 recipes. While this is a very small portion of the total number of recipes in suffrage cookbooks, the fact that there are any recipes at all from men is significant. Community cookbooks were (and continue to be, even in the twenty-first century) a feminized domain. Thus, the recipes contributed by men represent a large step toward incorporating men into the home kitchen. A few of these recipes were for relatively everyday foods, including a recipe for

"Loaf Cake" from a contributor by the name of Paul Gates in the *Woman Suffrage Cook Book* (Burr 1886:93). Similarly, in the *Washington Women's Cook Book,* Harry E. Mittlestad contributed a recipe for baked beans:

> BAKED BEANS
> One quart beans, parboil in clear water, drain, place in bake pan, add two tablespoons molasses, one pound pork, one-half teaspoon mustard, teaspoon sugar, salt to taste. Bake in oven all day. Keep covered with water and a tight lid. This dish is all the better for being warmed over. —Harry E. Mittlestad, Avon. (Jennings 1909:43)

By attributing men's names to these recipes for everyday foods, suffragists challenged the notion that women should be the ones in charge of the cooking in the home.

However, these recipes for ordinary foods were not typical of the recipes contributed by men. Instead, most of these recipes were contributed by men who were public figures or who wrote about the relatively masculinized version of cooking in the great outdoors. This tempers these recipes' challenge to the gendered division of cooking in the home. However, I maintain that these inclusions still represent a push toward greater gender equality in the kitchen, especially when compared to the utter lack of recipes from men in temperance cookbooks.

Some of the men who contributed recipes to suffrage cookbooks were public figures. When building their cookbooks, suffragists often asked for contributions from important men. Usually, these men sent a short letter explaining that they supported the suffrage cause. However, in a couple of instances, men also sent along a recipe or two. For example, the author Jack London sent two recipes to *The Suffrage Cook Book* (see Image 5.4). However, his recipes were accompanied by the explanation, "I have consulted with Mrs. London, and we have worked out the following recipes, which are

especial 'tried' favorites of mine" (Kleber 1915:45). This indicates that Jack London's wife was likely the one in charge of the daily cooking in their household. However, the recipes for "Roast Duck" and "Stuffed Celery" that have Jack London's name below them challenge the usual state of affairs, in which women generally contributed recipes to fundraising cookbooks (Kleber 1915:45, 99).

The Suffrage Cook Book also included a recipe from Dr. Harvey Wiley, the pure food advocate. Aligning with his expertise on nutrition and food, he contributed a breakfast recipe for "Mush." While the WCTU was also a large supporter of Dr. Wiley, none of the temperance cookbooks I analyzed contained recipes attributed to him, and the *Union Signal* did not print any of his recipes. In his recipe in *The Suffrage Cook Book*, we can clearly see Wiley's emphasis on health through his preference for whole grains:

> Mush should be made only of the whole meal flour of the grain and well cleaned before grinding. Whole wheat flour, whole Indian Corn Meal, whole wheat and whole barley meal are examples of the raw materials.
> Take one pint (pound) of meal, ½ teaspoon of salt, four pints (pounds) of water. Add the salt to the water and after boiling stir in slowly, so as to avoid making lumps, the meal until all is used. Break up any lumps that may form with the ladle until the mass is homogeneous.
> Cover the vessel and boil slowly over a low fire so as not to burn the contents, for an hour. Or better after bringing to a boil in a closed vessel place in a fireless cooker over night.
> …
> The food above described is useful especially for growing children as the whole meal or flour produce the elements which nourish all the tissues of the body.
> Respectfully,
> Dr. Harvey W. Wiley (Kleber 1915:104)

This recipe was also accompanied by a note, explaining that "Dr. Wiley urges house wives to grind their own wheat flour and corn meal, using the coffee grinder for the work" (Kleber 1915:104). This reveals his distrust of processed foods and emphasis on

whole, rather than refined, grains. However, his public figure status and his scientific expertise causes his recipe to adopt more of a tone of the male scientist giving nutritional advice for women to follow at home, rather than serving as an example of a man who is breaking gender barriers by cooking. Yet, at least *The Suffrage Cook Book* included Wiley's recipe; none of the temperance cookbooks I analyzed did the same, even though temperance activists were more closely aligned to Wiley's politics. This may indicate the suffragists' greater interest in involving men in the task of cooking.

The rest of the recipes contributed by men instructed women to cook in the great outdoors (see Image 5.5). Most (91%) of these recipes came from the *Washington Women's Cook Book,* which had a section of recipes for camping and another section for recipes to cook while at sea. Robert Carr, a professional chef for various groups in the Seattle area, contributed many of these recipes. He cooked for the Mountaineers, a group of avid mountain hikers based in Seattle (Jennings 1909:129). WESA treasurer Dr. Cora Smith Eaton was the secretary for the Mountaineers and the first woman to climb the East Peak of Mount Olympus in northwestern Washington (Anonymous 1907:83). The inclusion of Carr's recipes were likely Eaton's influence, as well as a reflection of a middle- to upper-class White culture that was more outdoors-oriented than in other parts of the country.

Carr's recipes explained how to cook during excursions away from the home kitchen. This included recipes for mountaineering or backpacking expeditions. Many of these recipes, such as "Bannocks or Open Fire Bread," allude to cooking over a rudimentary campfire (Jennings 1909:131). Others make reference to the wild surroundings and the risky adventures that take place in them, including "Carr's Hardtack

Pudding (Bread Pudding of the Forest)" (Jennings 1909:136) and "Prospector's Soup" (Jennings 1909:133). "Carr's Fruit Cake" is explained to be "a valuable ration for carrying the fruits and nuts desired on a hard climb" (Jennings 1909:137).

In addition to breaking the gender norms of who contributes to community cookbooks, these recipes also erode gender boundaries by suggesting that women take part in arduous adventures in the wilderness—previously considered a domain for proving one's masculinity. In allusions to climbing mountains and hunting, these recipes imply that these previously masculinized activities are available to the presumed female audience of the cookbook (see Image 5.6). These recipes teach women how to feed themselves and others on various expeditions. For example, the chairman of the Mountaineers, L.A. Nelson (Meany 1933:7), contributed a recipe that explains how to deal with dwindling food reserves:

> DOUGH GODS
> A mountaineer's list of recipes would not be complete without the ration to which the trail-maker or scout is reduced when the supplies are nearly exhausted and there is little left besides flour and salt. However, hard necessity may be the only guide followed at such a time.
> To one quart of flour, two teaspoonfuls of baking powder and one teaspoonful of salt, add enough water to make a stiff dough. Mix like flapjacks and bake in a frying pan. —L.A. Nelson (Jennings 1909:138)

Other recipes teach women how to cook food that has been freshly killed in the wild. Carr provides a recipe for "Venison Chops—Hunter's Style," while another Washington man, Will Humes, offers a recipe "To Fry Venison in Camp" (Jennings 1909:135). Similarly, in his recipe for trout, Humes directs the presumed female reader of the cookbook to catch and cook the fish in a setting that is far from the more refined and feminized home kitchen:

> TO COOK TROUT IN THE FOREST
> First catch your trout.
> Then with a sharp knife split lengthwise along the spine from the inside, cutting from the front while holding the fish on its back on a log, stump or piece of bark.
> Salt and pepper plentifully the separated halves on their cut sides, allowing them to remain several hours or over night in a covered pan, when they may be well rolled in flour or cornmeal and dropped, salted side down, into a skillet of hot fat (bear's lard if obtainable), and fried over embers left from a fire of fir or hemlock bark, turning the pieces over after a short time. Do not cover the skillet.
> Trout under one-half pound in weight may be similarly treated without splitting. —Grant W. Humes, Port Angeles, Wash. (Jennings 1909:134)

Catching the fish yourself and preparing the fish on a stump refer to actions that are highly masculinized. Asking the reader to cook the trout in bear lard implies the even more masculinized activity of hunting bears. By instructing women to cook while on outdoors expeditions, these recipes encourage women to take part in an activity that was almost exclusively reserved for men. Thus, by completing this recipe, women could prefigure increased gender equality within their personal lives. Yet, there is a catch—to cook trout in the forest requires significantly more labor than most other recipes in suffrage cookbooks, which generally aim to decrease the time women spent cooking. However, suffragists may have found this additional culinary labor more acceptable if women challenged gender roles in other ways, such as by participating in expeditions. Further, while these outdoors recipes do not necessarily imply that the male contributors are cooking frequently at home, the inclusion of any recipes from men does supper the sentiment offered by Lucy Stone at the beginning of this section—that men are capable of completing the action of cooking.

In sum, suffragists were much more likely than temperance women to suggest that men are capable of cooking and should cook at home more often. Suffragists' messages

on this subject aren't as strong and direct as liberal second-wave feminist women were (as we will see in Chapter 7). However, suffragists were some of the first activists who attempted to dismantle centuries-old gender norms, so it makes sense that they would do so hesitantly and with qualifications. The fact that they suggested at all that men could cook in the home or offered recipes from men in fundraising cookbooks represented large steps for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By suggesting that men cook, suffragists proposed a way in which suffragists (and their husbands) could model their ideal, gender-equal society within their families. In other words, I argue that men cooking represented a form of personal prefigurative politics that would allow suffragists to build the society they envisioned within the walls of the old.

Personal Prefigurative Politics: A Model of Faster, Simpler Cooking

Suffragists also considered how to make the home more equal by cutting down the amount of time and energy that cooking required. Suffragists proposed another form of personal prefigurative politics when they suggested labor-saving cooking techniques. They discussed how to make cooking faster and easier within individual, private homes. Spending less time cooking would help balance the gendered division of household labor and allow women to pursue additional activities in the public sphere. Thus, labor-saving cooking techniques could help suffragists prefigure their vision of society within their personal lives.

Suffragists encouraged women to find easy and simple ways of cooking. Labor saving was a more common theme throughout suffrage discourse about cooking. Thirty-six *Woman's Journal* articles about cooking (12.1%) discussed the idea that women

should save time and energy while cooking. This was not such an important theme in temperance discourse; only four (2%) of *Union Signal* articles about cooking mentioned labor saving. There is less difference between suffrage and temperance cookbooks when it came to labor saving; only 16 suffrage recipes (.8%) mentioned the issue, and 12 temperance recipes (.6%) noted it (see Table 5.1).

The emphasis on labor saving reveals some suffragists' frustration with women's domestic work. While suffragists presented a public image that they continued to cook, beneath the surface, there were other sentiments that framed cooking as a tedious struggle. For example, one *Woman's Journal* article describes cooking as a stressful and difficult task analogous to war:

> Among the millions of housewives in this country, the preparation of three meals a day, year in and year out, involves an amount of work, care, perplexity and anxiety that renders life anything but a smooth and placid stream; at best, it makes life a kind of warfare with various belligerent forces—a daily skirmish with certain household foes—never conquered, but when temporarily overcome, always ready again to renew hostilities. (Amica 1878)

The warfare metaphor did not fully express this author's feelings about cooking; the author continues on to compare women's status as the home cooks to that of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt:

> The heavy burden of responsibility, the often severe task of looking up, preparing cooking and making ready these three daily meals, is enough to stretch to the utmost tension of endurance the mental activity, the physical strength and the moral nerve of women of the most submissive temper and best executive ability. The often trying conditions under which this warfare is to be prosecuted, under which this work is to be performed, can find a parallel only in the straits to which the tasked Hebrews in their Egyptian slavery were reduced; namely, to make their tale of bricks without straw. (Amica 1878)

The author does not end on this rough state of affairs. To conclude, the author explains,

"we do not wish to convey the idea that these hard conditions are hopelessly fixed and are forever to remain a part of Woman's destiny" (Amica 1878). Implied is the idea that things can be done to lighten women's burden in the kitchen.

The *Woman's Journal* recommended cookbooks that served this very purpose. Several cookbook reviews in the suffrage newspaper rated books highly for teaching how to make meals in little time. For example, a review of *The Easiest Way in Housekeeping and Cooking* explains that the book is "valuable for beginners everywhere" (Anonymous 1881). Another review profiles *Quick Cooking: A book of culinary heresies for the busy wives and mothers of the land.* The book contained 340 recipes that could be prepared in 15 minutes, and another 250 recipes that could be prepared in an hour. The review explains, "No waste is so general and so lightly estimated as a waste of time. But a waste of time is a waste of life… Every young housekeeper should have this book and study carefully its excellent suggestions" (Blackwell 1888). In these reviews, suffragists encourage women to follow cookbooks that teach fast and simple cooking. Along with convincing men to cook more often, decreasing the amount of work in the kitchen was another way to balance the gendered division of labor and model a more equal world.

Labor saving also informed suffragists' cookbooks, where some recipes boasted of their speed. Often, this came in the form of recipe titles, as in the case of "Speedy Cake:"

> SPEEDY CAKE
> 1 cup sugar; 1½ cups flour; 2 teaspoonfuls baking powder; sift three times, add 2 eggs; put in cup 4 tablespoonfuls melted butter and fill up with sweet milk, vanilla to taste and pinch of salt, beat all together; bake in layers or one cake. —Mrs. O. M. Healy, Woman's City Club. (Hoar 1915:11)

This recipe for cake may not seem speedy in comparison to cake mixes developed in the twentieth century, but compared to other cakes of the time that were much more complicated or required extensive beating of eggs and batter, "Speedy Cake" is certainly true to its name. Other contributors advertise that their recipe takes less time than comparable recipes:

> COOKED OIL MAYONNAISE
> Materials:
> 2 Tbsp. olive oil,
> 2 Tbsp. flour,
> 1 c. hot water,
> ¼ c. vinegar and lemon juice mixed,
> Yolk of 1 egg,
> ½ tsp. mustard,
> ½ tsp. salt,
> ½ tsp. paprika,
> 1 c. olive oil.
> Cream together 2 Tbsp. each olive oil and flour. Add slowly hot water and vinegar and lemon juice. Cook in double boiler until it thickens, and add beaten yolk of egg, mustard, salt and paprika. Take from fire and when cool, but not entirely cold, add 1 c. of olive oil, ¼ c. at a time. Beat it in with Dover egg beater. *This takes less time than regular mayonnaise, makes twice as much and will keep a week in the ice box.* —Mrs. George Bouton. (Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County 1916:102)

These recipe contributors aimed to decrease the amount of time women spend on cooking. The jury is still out on whether these recipes actually take less time than similar dishes of the time period. Until the mid- to late-twentieth century, it was not customary to list the cooking times alongside recipes in cookbooks. One could attempt to replicate the recipes with the kitchen technology of the time period to determine how long each recipe took, but unfortunately, I do not have the time or resources to accomplish this. For now, we cannot know exactly how long these dishes took to cook. However, the mentions of speed highlight the importance of this subject to the suffragists who contributed these

recipes.

Suffragists did not simply pay attention to the time that recipes required; they also noted the labor required for other recipes. In some instances, recipe contributors note that their version of a dish is superior because of its ease:

> CHERRY OLIVES
> Fill quart glass jar with cherries that are still on the stem; shake the jar, striking the side frequently with the palm of the hand in order to pack the cherries as closely as possible; pour rounding tablespoon of salt into the top of the jar; fill with a mild vinegar and seal. The cherries will be ready for use in two weeks. *This method is especially satisfactory, since neither the fruit nor the vinegar requires heating.* The cherries make an attractive garnish for the meat platter. —Mrs. C. O. Bailey. (emphasis added)
> (Clinton Political Equality Club 1916:15)

This recipe for pickling cherries does not require any sort of heating, which decreases the amount of labor required to put up the fruit in the jars. The recipe's contributor argues that her recipe is "especially satisfactory" because it requires fewer steps and less labor.

Suffragists' use of canned food also reveals their preference for meals that could be easily assembled. In their fundraising cookbooks, suffragists relied more heavily on canned food than did temperance activists. One hundred and five recipes in suffrage cookbooks called for canned food (5.3%), compared to 68 (3.2%) in temperance cookbooks. As we will see in Chapter 5, this pattern intensifies with the liberal second-wave feminists, who often included recipes that relied solely on canned and pre-packaged foods. Alternatively, when suffragists called for canned food, they usually called for one or two canned ingredients. For example, the following recipe for tomato soup calls for one can of tomatoes:

> TOMATO SOUP
> 1 can tomatoes, 1 pint water, 1 bay leaf, 6 cloves and 1 onion, cook 20 minutes; 3 tablespoons sugar, 1/8 teaspoon soda, 1 teaspoon salt, added;

> then thicken with 2 tablespoons butter and 3 tablespoons flour well blended. Strain and serve. —Helen W. Taylor. (Clinton Political Equality Club 1916:2)

Canned food was becoming increasingly popular in the late nineteenth century. The mechanism for canning food was developed at the turn of the nineteenth century when the French government held a competition for developing better ways to feed its army (Wilson 2012:220-1). The quality of canned food was frequently suspect—and often for good reason. Concerns of putrefaction or adulteration loomed large until the twentieth century (Wilson 2012:220-2). Yet, the popularity of canned food grew in the late nineteenth century (Wilson 2012:223).

The reliance on canned foods, and especially canned tomatoes, reveal suffragists' more flavorful and exotic cuisine, compared to the temperance activists' recipes. While temperance leaders pleaded women to cook bland food without spices and with little fats, suffragists did not share these concerns. Their food sounds flavorful in comparison to temperance recipes like Chicken Cheese (see Chapter 4, page 118). For example, in the following recipe for Spanish Rice, canned tomatoes, chili peppers, onion, and bacon enhance the dish's flavor:

> SPANISH RICE
> Boil one teacup of rice; add one can tomatoes, six little Chili peppers, one onion. Fry the onion a little in bacon. Heat altogether; delicious.
> Cook the rice Japanese style, which is: Wash well, put in tightly covered kettle with salt, butter and just covered with water. Boil hard fifteen minutes without uncovering. If it boils over move back but do not uncover. Can be made with left-over rice and tomatoes. —Mrs. F. W. Cotterhill, Seattle. (Jennings 1909:32)

This recipe designates not only suffragists' increased likelihood to call for canned ingredients, but also their lack of moral concern about strong and rich flavors (in contrast

to WCTU attitudes toward food). Mrs. Cotterhill explains that the spicy, rich dish is "delicious."

Canned tomatoes were one of the more popular canned ingredients in suffrage cookbooks. Also included in this list are other forms of vegetables, often corn or peas. Canned salmon or other kinds of fish also appeared frequently. For example:

> SALMON LOAF
> 1 can salmon, minced fine, 1 egg, cup milk, 4 cream crackers, 1 pinch salt. Put in basin with weight on top, place in steamer and steam for one hour.
> —Mrs. J. G. Kirby. (Clinton Political Equality Club 1916)

With vegetables and fish making up the ranks of canned food, one might guess that the reliance on canned food measures a lack of access to the fresh versions of these foods rather than a measure of suffragists' intentions to save time and energy while cooking. It is certainly possible that suffragists in regions with little access to fresh tomatoes or fresh salmon would be more likely to rely on the canned versions of these foods. However, a comparison of suffrage and temperance cookbooks from the same regions demonstrates that within the same region, suffragists were more likely than temperance activists to call for canned food in their recipes (see Table 5.2). Only in Rockford, Illinois did the temperance cookbook have a higher percentage of recipes with canned food. This helps eliminate the possibility that suffragists call for more canned ingredients because of limited access to the fresh versions of these foods. Instead, I argue, suffragists' reliance on canned foods is one piece of their attempts to establish less laborious and time-consuming means of cooking.

Table 5.2. Recipes with Canned Food in Suffrage and Temperance Cookbooks, Organized by Cookbooks from Comparable Regions and Dates

Cookbook	Recipes with Canned Food
Woman Suffrage Cook Book, Boston MA 1886 (N=405)	6 (1.5%)
Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union Cuisine, MA 1878 (N=268)	1 (.4%)
Holiday Gift Cook Book, Rockford IL 1891 (N=29)	1 (3.4%)
Family Cook Book and List of Popular Parlor Games, Rockford IL 1900 (N=70)	3 (4.3%)
Washington Women's Cook Book, Seattle WA 1909 (N=649)	46 (7.1%)
Good Things to Eat, Pomeroy WA 1909 (N=450)	13 (2.9%)
The Suffrage Cook Book, Pittsburgh PA 1915 (N=289)	10 (3.5%)
Collection of Original and Adapted Receipts, Lake County OH ca. 1912 (N=32)	0 (0%)
Enfranchised Cookery, Los Angeles CA 1915 (N=70)	7 (10.0%)
W.C.T.U. Cook Book, Wenatchee WA ca. 1910-1914 (N=486)	17 (3.5%)
Suffrage Cook Book, Detroit MI 1916 (N=349)	21 (6.0%)
White Ribbon Cook Book, Grand Rapids MI 1912 (N=243)	7 (2.9%)
Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife, Clinton NY 1916 (N=184)	13 (7.1%)
Choice Recipes, Hinsdale NY 1915 (N=604)	27 (4.5%)

Suffragists also turned to other kitchen technologies to help them save energy and time in the kitchen. The Industrial Revolution spawned a number of additional culinary innovations, and suffragists highlighted the labor-saving potential of these devices. Suffragists mentioned kitchen technology (excluding canning) in 18 (6.1%) of *Woman's Journal* articles about cooking. This aspect of cooking was much less important to temperance activists; only five (2.5%) *Union Signal* articles discussed kitchen technology (see Table 5.1). For example, when explaining an exhibit at the Food Fair in Boston, the *Woman's Journal* favorably compared the modern kitchen against the colonial one: "Colonial methods will be illustrated by an old Plymouth kitchen with its fireplace and kettle swinging on the crane, the pewter dishes and clumsy utensils… Gas ranges, light

enamel dishes and the latest household inventions will show *how work is made easier for housekeepers of to-day*" (emphasis added) (Anonymous 1897). One author even looked forward to the day that that technology could entirely eliminate the kitchen from personal homes:

> It is already acknowledged that fruits can be put up more beautifully as well as more successfully in the canning factory than in the kitchen. This does away at one stroke with the annual fruit-canning annoyances that were such a source of affliction to our patient mothers and grandmothers… The kitchen, like the spinning-wheel and the old-fashioned reaper, must sooner or later become merely a relic of a bygone age… labor-saving devices and modern inventive genius are invading the kitchen, and its days will soon be numbered. (Anonymous 1902b)

Here, technology is seen as saving women from cooking, which is portrayed as an "annoyance" and a "source of affliction." Thus, some suffragists complained about the labor that cooking required and looked to various technologies for assistance. This sentiment undermines the suffragists' public image as women who continued to cook and subscribed to the various tenets of conservative femininity. However, this more subversive strand of discourse serves a different political purpose for suffragists. These discussions proposed ways to prefigure a more gender-equal world. By lessening or eliminating duties in the kitchen, suffragists limited the offending feminized work. As we have seen, convincing men to cook was also a part of these attempts to prefigure a more equal world within their personal lives. Lessening the work in the kitchen would ideally mean that both men and women would have less work to do, but realistically, it would decrease women's work to be more level with the small amount of work that men were doing. When discussing labor saving and kitchen technology, suffragists always framed it as lessening *women's* work.

Kitchen technology was also mentioned in association with the recipes included in the *Woman's Journal.* During WWI the newspaper ran food columns where they instructed women how to can fruits and vegetables or cut down on flour. Despite the overwhelming focus on how to accommodate rationing, labor saving tips were also worked into these recipes. One article about canning highlights technologies that would ease the process. It explains that "a potato peeler when dehydrating, a strawberry huller at 5 cents, special shallow trays for grading and sorting vegetables, cores, pitters, and food choppers are labor saving devices" (Anonymous 1917c).

To some suffragists, the use of progressive kitchen technology was so important that it signified membership in the movement. Supporting the suffrage cause was part of a broader progressive worldview that was concerned with advancing civilization through several means. For these women, progress and civilization was also linked with efficiency. Suffragists also pursued efficiency in the household. As one suffragist explained in relation to domestic work, "Every step in life we take for the clearing up of difficulties, for the better regulating of work and the wiser adjustment of duties, is a step out of darkness into light, from confusion to a state of order, away from imperfection toward perfection" (Davis 1880). When pitted against progress and civilization, inefficiency in housework is seen as not only conservative, but also barbaric and primitive. Suffragists defined themselves against this conservative worldview, and thus, their very identity involved being efficient with their daily actions. For example, Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of suffrage leaders Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell and a suffrage leader in her own right, explained that a refusal to make use of kitchen technology is not only conservative, but anti-suffragist:

> In some cases progress is hindered because the woman has no vote… Sometimes the conservatism of the woman herself is the stumbling block. Not far from the spot where this article is written, a woman of ninety died, who had always refused to use a stove. She preferred to do her cooking over an open fire on the hearth, as her grandmother and great-grandmother had done before her. She was the true type of the anti-suffragist. (Blackwell 1917).

In Blackwell's argument, to be a suffragist not only meant supporting women's right to vote; this identity also involved seeking progress and civilization in many dimensions of life, including using modern kitchen technologies to lessen women's domestic work.

One of suffragists' favorite culinary tools was the fireless cooker (also called a hay box), which was essentially an early version of the slow cooker. The fireless cooker consisted of a wooden container that was filled with hay, with one or two pot-sized holes. Cooks would heat a pot of food on the stove and then place the pot into the hay. The hay acted as insulation and allowed the food to continue slowly cooking for hours without needing to be supervised. Suffragists lauded the fireless cooker for its labor-saving potential. One testimonial in the *Woman's Journal* explained of the fireless cooker, "Mrs. Black, wife of the Director of the Industrial School at Frankfort, in a recent public address, says she has used it in her home for thirteen years, and has found it invaluable in lightening her housework" (Blackwell 1905).

Suffragists' fundraising cookbooks taught women to make use of kitchen technology. Only a small percentage of suffrage recipes mentioned various kitchen technologies, but suffragists called for kitchen technologies more frequently than temperance women. Fifty-four (2.7%) recipes in suffrage cookbooks mentioned items such as a meat grinder, egg beater, or food chopper—all nineteenth-century inventions that became common household items by the end of the century (Franklin 2013; Ross

2013; Wilson 2012). Only 31 (1.9%) recipes in temperance cookbooks discussed these kitchen technologies (see Table 5.1). These technologies aimed to save time while cooking. While the egg beater may seem commonplace, or even old-fashioned, in the twenty-first century, the egg beater was a large technological advancement that significantly decreased the time and energy spent beating. The following recipe directs the reader to use an egg beater for ten to fifteen minutes. Although this may seem like a long time, beating a batter to the correct consistency could easily take twice as long without the multiple wires of an egg beater.

> BREAKFAST GEMS
> One cup water, one cup milk, two cups flour; beat from ten to fifteen minutes rapidly with an egg-beater. These will rise like popovers. No salt, the cups of flour not heaped; bake in a quick oven.
> —Martha B. Pitman (Burr 1886:6)

Suffragists also made good use of meat grinders. Grinders allowed cooks to avoid manually chopping meat, seafood, and vegetables into extremely small pieces. Suffragists directed readers to use grinders frequently in recipes for loafs or croquettes made from ground meats. In the following recipe for Oyster Loaf, the work of chopping the oysters into small pieces is easily completed with a grinder:

> OYSTER LOAF FARCIE CHAMPIGNONS
> Materials:
> 2 qts. of solid oysters,
> 1 Tbsp. grated orange rind,
> Butter size of 2 walnuts (melted),
> 1 egg (well beaten),
> ½ pt. mushrooms,
> Cracker crumbs,
> Salt and pepper.
> Drain oysters, then pass through grinder. Add salt and pepper, orange rind, butter and egg. Then add enough powdered crumbs to hold the ingredients together and mold into neat loaf. Make a hollow in the center and fill with mushrooms. Cover over the top again and dredge in crumbs. Bake a

> golden brown. Serve either hot or cold. —Mrs. John B. Ford. (Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County 1916:16)

Mechanical food choppers served a similar purpose to meat grinders, in that they aided cooks with the process of cutting whole ingredients into smaller pieces. The mechanical food chopper was developed in the 1860s, and was a predecessor of the food processor. While the operator cranked the handle, a container rotated while blades moved up and down and chopped the contents. The choppers came with a set of blades that had different purposes. In the following pudding recipe, the cook is directed to chop the suet (a type of beef fat) in a food chopper equipped with a fine blade:

> PLAIN SUET PUDDING
> 1 cup beef suet
> 1 teaspoon salt
> 2 eggs
> 3½ cups flour
> 3 teaspoons baking powder
> 2 cups milk
> Put suet through meat grinder or food chopper, fine blade. Sift flour, salt, baking powder and rub suet into flour well. Beat eggs lightly, add milk and stir into mixture.
> Butter mold and fill ¾ full and steam three hours. This quantity makes two good sized puddings.
> It is very nice made without the eggs and using one-half the quantity. Fill a deep pudding dish or pan with fruit, apples or peaches, dropping the suet pudding over the fruit in large spoonsfull and steam 1½ hours. (Kleber 1915:157)

These recipes teach the reader to cook with modern kitchen tools that aimed to save time and energy. In other words, in their cookbooks, suffragists directed women to cook in ways that lessened their domestic work.

The fireless cooker also made an appearance in the *Washington Women's Cook Book.* WESA president Emma Smith DeVoe wrote directions for making a fireless cooker. The cookbook did not include recipes specifically for the fireless cooker; instead,

DeVoe explained that any recipes for beans, cereals, or soups that are supposed to be cooked slowly could be adapted to the fireless cooker. DeVoe also explained the benefits of the fireless cooker, which sound very similar to the benefits of the slow cooker that were highlighted by liberal second-wave feminists in the 1970s. Because the fireless cooker could prepare food without needing to be attended to, it freed women to leave the kitchen and accomplish other tasks. DeVoe explained that she was able to hike while her food was cooking:

> I used a similar cooker one summer while in the mountains, and I assure you it was delightful on returning from a five hours' tramp in the woods to find my dinner nicely cooked, warm and ready to eat. (Jennings 1909:169)

In the time that was freed by the fireless cooker, DeVoe, like many other Washington suffragists, was able to foray into the male-dominated world of outdoor exploration. However, the fireless cooker may have allowed DeVoe to do more than hike. In a 1911 letter to DeVoe, a friend requested additional copies of the *Washington Women's Cook Book* and mentioned the piece on the fireless cooker: "I smiled to read [your entry] of the fireless cooker. You must have needed one in your campaign" (Beniton 1911).

By lightening women's domestic work, they were freed to pursue what suffragists deemed more worthwhile activities that were previously open mostly to men. For example, in an article titled "Progressive Housekeeping," Jane Kingsford explains that when women refuse to change their daily routine, they miss opportunities to save time and energy. Kingsford laments the fact that her mother used a soft wood table for her food preparation, which required frequent tedious scrubbings to remove the bacteria. She writes:

> It makes my heart ache to think of the unnecessary labor that was done in

> mother's kitchen. A slate-top table for vegetables and a marble-top table for mixing dough would save scrubbing. Stone and marble can be sterilized quickly with hot water and wiped dry and be chemically clean with little labor. (Kingsford 1897)

Here, technological developments are key to decreasing women's domestic labor. Kingsford also explains that with the time that they saved, women should engage in enlightening activities such as reading. When she praises a new (and somewhat puzzling) technology of quick-light asbestos screens in fireplaces, Kingsford explains that since women no longer had to procure wood, haul it inside, and build a fire, they could read instead. "An asbestos glow-fire may not be as poetical as the old hickory log mother had, but the house-mother has more time to keep up her reading" (Kingsford 1897). Combined with encouraging men to cook more often, labor-saving techniques and devices modeled a world in which women did not have to spend all their time on domestic chores. Instead, suffragists hoped women could be involved in education, literary pursuits, and activities in the public sphere.

The suffrage cookbook from Clinton, New York is quite literally bookended by sentiments about how cooking fit into this ideal feminine lifestyle. In their cookbook title, *Choice Recipes for the Busy Housewife,* the suffragists emphasized that cooking should make room for women's participation in a range of activities. At the end of the cookbook, suffragists included a statement from Samuel McChord Crothers that reiterated this idea: "Housekeeping is not an absolutely continuous performance, and neither is voting" (Clinton Political Equality Club 1916:44). With these statements, the Clinton suffragists aimed to present a cookbook that could to teach women to cook in ways that would allow them to expand their lives beyond their homes. In other words, *Choice Recipes for the*

Busy Housewife could potentially help women model the ideal society within their personal lives.

Therefore, in suffragists' discussions of labor saving, they discussed how to prefigure their goal of a gender-equal world on two fronts. First, decreasing women's domestic labor could help balance women's household work with men's paltry domestic contributions. Second, quick and easy cooking could enable women to pursue activities in the public sphere, such as hiking, politics, or education, that had been previously dominated by men. By teaching women to cook in less time, suffragists proposed methods of modeling a more gender-equal world.

Integrated Prefigurative Politics: Cooperative Kitchens

Suffragists frequently wrote about cooperative kitchens, which centralized cooking outside of individual homes. Sometimes, cooperative kitchens meant groups of families who collectively hired a professional cook. This removed the work of cooking from the home and reduced food costs. At other times, discussions of cooperative cooking were hypothetical notions for a grand restructuring of society. Cooperative kitchens represent a form of integrated prefigurative politics, in which activists establish an organization that helps them prefigure their ideal society within their personal lives. Suffragists only wrote about cooperative kitchens in *The Woman's Journal;* since cookbooks were directed for use in individual homes, they were not the correct venue to talk about an organization that would eliminate home cooking. Thirty-six (12.1%) *Woman's Journal* articles mentioned cooperative kitchens, while only 1 (2%) *Union Signal* article discussed the concept—and this single article was written by Charlotte

Perkins Gilman, whose progressive ideas about gender and politics were arguably more closely aligned with the suffrage movement (see Table 5.1) (Stetson 1898).

Some scholars frame the discussion of cooperative kitchens as a response to the "servant problem" (Levenstein 1988), or the shortage of women willing to be domestic laborers in the private kitchens of middle- and upper-class families. By forming cooperative kitchens, families could avoid searching for domestic help and could still receive three meals a day. Suffragists certainly discussed cooperative kitchens as a solution for the shortage of domestic servants. The *Woman's Journal* excitedly reported on the progress of several cooperative housekeeping experiments across the nation. In one article about a cooperative kitchen in Chicago, the author explained, "The experiment grew out of the difficulties of keeping servants in a suburb of a city" (Anonymous 1901).

Other scholars situate cooperative kitchens within nineteenth-century feminist discourse, explaining how early feminists proposed removing domestic tasks like laundry and cooking from the home as a rebellion against limiting and oppressive social expectations (Hayden 1978, 1982; Spencer-Wood 1987). While suffragists related cooperative kitchens to the servant problem, they also hailed cooperative kitchens as institutions that could empower women. They speculated that cooperative kitchens would eliminate the domestic work that they considered drudgery. In one call for cooperative kitchens, the author describes housework as a near-impossible task, especially without hired help:

> The present system of house keeping, with its numerous demands upon the time and attention of women the many branches of work included in it, and above all its daily increasing complexity and perplexity with regard to servants, is so onerous that few women are equal to it. Every where it is clad with terror, and we do not wonder that it so general a subject of

> discussion among women, when they come together socially. From what quarter is relief to come?... Where is Mrs. Pierce's "Cooperative Housekeeping," which was so big a star of hope in the horizon of distressed housekeepers, a year or more ago? (Anonymous 1870a)

This author pleads for cooperative housekeeping schemes to provide housekeeping relief. The author specifically refers to Melusina Fay Pierce, one of the first Americans to develop a cooperative housekeeping scheme. Pierce publicly critiqued domestic work as the cause of women's oppression. She proposed a system in which women would collectively pool their domestic labor; these women would also be paid a salary (by their husbands) equal to that of skilled male laborers (Hayden 1982).

Suffragists were intrigued by the promise of cooperative kitchens. In a description of a cooperative kitchen that was being set up in Philadelphia,

> The alleviation of certain burning domestic complications has long been dreamed for. The device of going out to restaurants and boarding houses, a solution more or less favored in New York and Boston, has never approved itself in the eyes of Philadelphians. It is a cheerless way to live, as well as inconvenient and expensive... But a co-operative kitchen which sends meals to private houses does not diminish the seclusion of family life, so sweet to the hearts of citizens. (Philadelphia Ledger 1893)

This experiment captured the attention of suffragists. In a follow-up article, *Woman's Journal* editor Lucy Stone wrote, "Inquiries have reached us from many directions in regard to the 'Co-operative Kitchen and Joint Food Supply' experiment lately started in Philadelphia. We have ourselves watched for news of it with great interest…" (Stone 1893). This particular cooperative kitchen in Philadelphia failed because the interested families were unable to find someone who could successfully manage the kitchen. However, Stone remained hopeful about the future of cooperative kitchens and their potential to reduce women's domestic work. She predicted that cooperative kitchen

experiments would continue, "considering what the alternative to the neighborhood kitchen would be; the ancient *régime* of the cook, the endless planning of meals, the burden of marketing… Despite the failure of the repeated experiments in this direction, it is certain that a co-operative kitchen, bakery and laundry are among the good things which are to come for the relief of women, but which will still leave the individual home intact" (Stone 1893).

In her discussion of cooperative kitchens, Stone makes it clear that lessening women's domestic work would not destroy the family. This idea is repeated in other *Woman's Journal* articles, most clearly in one that highlighted the writings of Lily Braun, a German feminist thinker. Braun argued that the modern family is typified by "dilettantism in the kitchen." She believed that "a sentimental regard for the traditional hearth-stone must be met by cooperation and a consciousness of the historical development of the family… family unity which is only bound together with a tablecloth is of questionable value" (Anonymous 1902a). Therefore, Braun argued, removing the kitchen from individual homes would not bring ruin to families. In fact, cooperative cooking could strengthen the family: "When at home, working mothers would have time to devote to their husbands and children and to the cultivation of their minds and bodies" (Anonymous 1902a). By emphasizing that the family would remain intact, suffragists attempted to dissuade critics of cooperative housekeeping. In a way, these claims echo the moral boundaries that suffragist drew to identify themselves as moral mothers and wives. These women pushed for women's rights, but they used cooking to reassure their families that they would not abandon them. In discussions of cooperative kitchens, suffragists took this line of thinking one step further. Even if women did not cook, they

still would not abandon their families; in fact, the family might even be stronger, as women would be able to interact more meaningfully with their family members.

In some cooperative kitchen proposals, suffragists even called for men to take part in the cooking. In one *Woman's Journal* article, an anonymous author called for cooking and laundry to be mechanized outside the home. She points to tasks such as spinning and weaving that were previously completed within the home, but were performed much more efficiently by factory workers the late nineteenth century. This author calls on men's monetary and industrial resources to mechanize cooking and laundry in a similar fashion:

> We do not believe that washing and ironing are especially feminine occupations, any more than we do that spinning, weaving, candle-making, knitting and many other similar businesses are, which were once entirely in women's hands. And we do not expect relief to housekeepers until men, by the aid of machinery and cooperation, come to the rescue, and do housework more perfectly and economically than it can now possibly be done… The same is true with cooking. The most onerous portions of it will some day be done out of our houses, by wholesale, excellently and perfectly. But as this will require expensive machinery, steam apparatus, ranges, ovens, wagons for transporting meals to and fro, the improvement must be initiated by men… cooperative housekeeping, in some form or many forms, will be a necessity. (Anonymous 1870a)

Similar to other instances in which suffragists argue that men should cook more often, this author argues that there are no essential gendered differences when it comes to work. In other words, there is nothing in women's nature that makes them naturally better at cooking, cleaning, or spinning wool. In fact, men could accomplish these things just as well as women could—or perhaps even better, seen as men had the resources to apply modern industrial technology to these tasks. By removing cooking from the individual home and placing it in factories, this would both lessen women's domestic work and get

men more involved in a form of cooking.

Suffragists explained that a major benefit of cooperative kitchens was that they could free women to pursue loftier goals and activities. In this sense, cooperative kitchens served a similar purpose as labor saving techniques in individual kitchens. For example, one reader of the *Woman's Journal* submitted a clipping from the Boston Globe about cooperative kitchens. The reader introduces the article with:

> Aware that you are inclined to favor any plan that will emancipate women from unnecessary drudgery, and give them greater freedom for study and development, may I ask you to publish the following editorial… (Codman 1877)

Once released from the "unnecessary drudgery" of cooking, this reader argues that women would be able to pursue "greater study and development." This idea that cooperative housekeeping would allow women to leave the kitchen for more worthy undertakings was repeated throughout the *Woman's Journal.* Another article explains, "The idea is becoming more and more general that co-operation in household work is the one thing most needed to improve the health, life and prospects of women." The anonymous author argues that cooperative kitchens could enhance "the great intellectual development of women" by "rescuing her from their drudgery" (Anonymous 1883a). Therefore, suffragists did not only see cooperative kitchens as a solution to the "servant problem;" they also saw them as a way to alleviate women's domestic labor and empower them in their pursuits of politics, higher education, and careers.

Similar to kitchen gardens in the woman's temperance movement (see Chapter 4, pages 120-126), cooperative kitchens are a form of integrated prefigurative politics. Suffragists constructed cooperative kitchens as they attempted to build a new society that

operated according to their principles. Thus, these organizations prefigured suffragists' visions for social change. Yet, cooperative kitchens also involved personal prefigurative politics, since they allowed suffragists to change their domestic practices to ones that reflect greater gender equality. Cooperative kitchens enabled families to become a model of gender equality, prefiguring a more egalitarian world in which women were also free to pursue interests outside of the home. Thus, cooperative kitchens are a form of integrated prefigurative politics, in which a prefigurative organization allows activists to engage in personal prefigurative politics.

In sum, taken all together, suffragists' culinary discourse proposes shifting women's roles. In moral claims about cooking, suffragists asserted that they would not abandon their homes and families. However, suffragists did push for revising the homemaker role to one that was more empowering to women. Within their cookbooks, suffragists argued for expanding woman's sphere to include civic participation. In discussion of personal and integrated prefigurative politics, suffragists proposed methods of cooking that could reduce women's domestic labor and place them on a more even playing field with men. This style of cooking could enable women to pursue activities beyond the walls of the home. Thus, suffragists used discourse about cooking to argue that they would continue to serve as homemakers, but they also used culinary discourse to discuss ways of liberating, empowering, and enfranchising the women who served in these roles.

Conclusion

Temperance women and suffragists both belonged to white, middle-class women's movements that operated simultaneously and were situated in the same social and gendered historical context. Further, they both faced the same foodscape as they discussed cooking. However, they developed different ways of politicizing food and cooking. This distinction reveals that activists' discourse about cooking does not solely reflect the time period's culinary trends; it also becomes intertwined with activists' political agendas.

At the beginning of this chapter, we saw how suffragists celebrated their culinary skill and achievements. By proving that they continued to cook, suffragists demonstrated that they would not abandon their families as their democratic duties grew. These claims have the effect of diminishing the differences between suffragists and mainstream women. This moral identity could help suffragists reach their political goals, as it may have reassured the male voters, legislators, and judges—who decided the fate of woman suffrage—that enfranchised women would remain committed to their families. This political motivation becomes even more clear when we also examine how temperance women built their own moral identity with culinary discourse. Unlike suffragists, temperance women used their moral claims about cooking to separate themselves from mainstream women. Women of the WCTU argued that their methods of cooking were more moral. This identity would not help achieve suffragists' political goals, but it could work toward temperance women's goals by providing a moral case for why others should adopt their culinary practices. If large numbers of people altered their daily eating habits, temperance women believed that a sober society would ensue. Thus, each movement used culinary discourse to build a moral identity that could help them achieve their

political goals.

The difference between these moral identities led suffragists and temperance activists to use cookbooks for different political roles. Like most community cookbooks, both suffrage and temperance cookbooks asserted a commitment to domestic femininity. For suffragists, this was key for maintaining a moral identity as good wives and mothers. However, within the pages of these cookbooks, suffragists advanced more radical arguments that called for expanding women's roles beyond the walls of the home. I argue that the gendered character of the cookbooks softened these arguments and made them more palatable to readers who may have been skeptical of suffragists' more transgressive demands. By including these arguments in a cookbook, suffragists demonstrated that they wished to revise rather than abandon their domestic roles. This may have helped suffragists spread the appeal of their calls for women to become more involved in politics and other activities in the public sphere. Temperance women did not focus so much on increasing women's participation outside the home; thus, they did not need to use cookbooks to advance more transgressive arguments. Instead, they used the cookbooks to teach women how to prepare the cuisine they considered more moral and healthful.

Finally, each movement recommended styles of cooking that could help them model their own political goals. There were significant differences between suffragists' and temperance women's forms of personal and integrated prefigurative politics. Suffragists highlighted methods of cooking that worked to level women's and men's domestic work and could enable women to pursue activities outside the home. By following these actions, suffragists argued that women could prefigure a more equal world within their personal lives. On the other hand, temperance women advocated for

methods of cooking that they believed would reduce cravings for alcohol. They argued that this culinary style would allow families to prefigure a sober society in which women were abused and abandoned less often and exercised more control within the home.

Thus, similar political processes existed in both temperance women's and suffragists' culinary discourse, but the particular way in which activists engaged in these processes depended on their political agendas. In chapters 7 and 8, we will notice differences between liberal and radical second-wave feminist culinary discourse. Yet, we will also find echoes of how feminists in the first wave of activism politicized cooking. Due to political similarities, suffragists' and liberal second-wave feminists' political discourse is nearly indistinguishable. Perhaps more surprising, underlying political resemblances between temperance women and radical second-wave feminists mean that these two movements' culinary discourses share many characteristics.

Small portions of Chapter 5 have been published in *The Sociological Quarterly,* 2017, S. J. Williams, "Personal Prefigurative Politics: Cooking Up an Ideal Society in the Woman's Temperance and Woman's Suffrage Movements, 1870-1920." The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

Small portions of Chapter 5 have also been published in *Social Movement Studies,* 2016, S. J. Williams, "Hiding Spinach in the Brownies: Frame Alignment in Suffrage Community Cookbooks, 1886-1916." The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1909.—FOURTEEN PAGES.—IN

WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS BUSY PEELING POTATOES WHEN NOT GETTING VOTES

From Left to Right—Mrs. George Mellott; Mrs. William Belote; Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe.

OLYMPIA, Jan. 24.—(Staff Correspondence.)—When the women suffrage lobbyists are not getting votes for their bill, or writing letters or checking up lists, they are peeling potatoes, sweeping and doing other house work. Unlike other lobbyists, the woman suffragists do not have a large fund to spend. At the headquarters in the Horr residence on Main street, an establishment is maintained and the lobbyists themselves do all the work. When a supporter of the movement to get votes for women goes back home, there is always somebody else to take her place. Those in the picture are Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, Mrs. William Belote and Mrs. George Mellott.

Image 5.1. Woman Suffragists Busy Peeling Potatoes When Not Getting Votes
In 1909, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* printed this image of prominent Washington suffragists engaged in sweeping and cooking. The president of the Washington Equal Suffrage Association, Emma Smith DeVoe, is on the far right. The caption reads, in part, "When the women suffrage lobbyists are not getting votes for their bill, or writing letters or checking up lists, they are peeling potatoes, sweeping and doing other house work. Unlike other lobbyists, the woman suffragists do not have a large fund to spend. At the headquarters in the Horr residence on Main street, an establishment is maintained and the lobbyists themselves do all the work." Suffragists displayed their culinary prowess to create a moral identity as dedicated homemakers. Image from Emma Smith DeVoe Papers, Washington State Library, Scrapbook F.

Image 5.2. Covers of Suffrage Community Cookbooks
Suffrage cookbooks combined culinary lessons with political messages. The cover of the 1909 *Washington Women's Cook Book* (bottom left) shows two pennants that read "Votes for Women" and "Good Things to Eat." The 1915 *Suffrage Cook Book* from the Equal Franchise Federation of Western Pennsylvania (bottom right) alludes to gender equality by depicting Uncle Sam balancing a man and a woman on a scale. Simultaneously, Uncle Sam steers a wheel whose spokes represent states where women had already been enfranchised. Also pictured: the 1886 *Woman Suffrage Cook Book* from Boston (top left) and the 1891 *Holiday Gift Cook Book* from the Rockford Equal Suffrage Association (top right). Images from Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project, Michigan State University; the Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archive, Special Collections, University of Michigan; and Project Gutenberg.

Christmas Cook Book.

IL

ROCKFORD E. S. A.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOC.

IN the administration of a state, neither a woman as a woman, or a man as a man has any special functions, but the gifts are equally diffused in both sexes.—*Plato.*

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

Strawberry Pudding.

¾ box of gelatine, 2 oranges, 2 lemons, 2 cups of sugar 1 box strawberries. Soak the gelatine in ½ pint cold water one hour; then add ½ pint boiling water, the juice of the lemons and oranges and sugar, strain into a mould and let it stand until it begins to harden then stir in the strawberries. When sufficiently hard, turn out of mould and serve with whipped cream. Bananas, sliced, can be used as a substitute for strawberries.—MRS CHANDLER STARR.

Justice is on the side of Woman's Suffrage.—*William H. Seward.*

Yes, I am heartily in favor of Woman's Suffrage. It is both just and expedient.—*Andrew Ashton.*

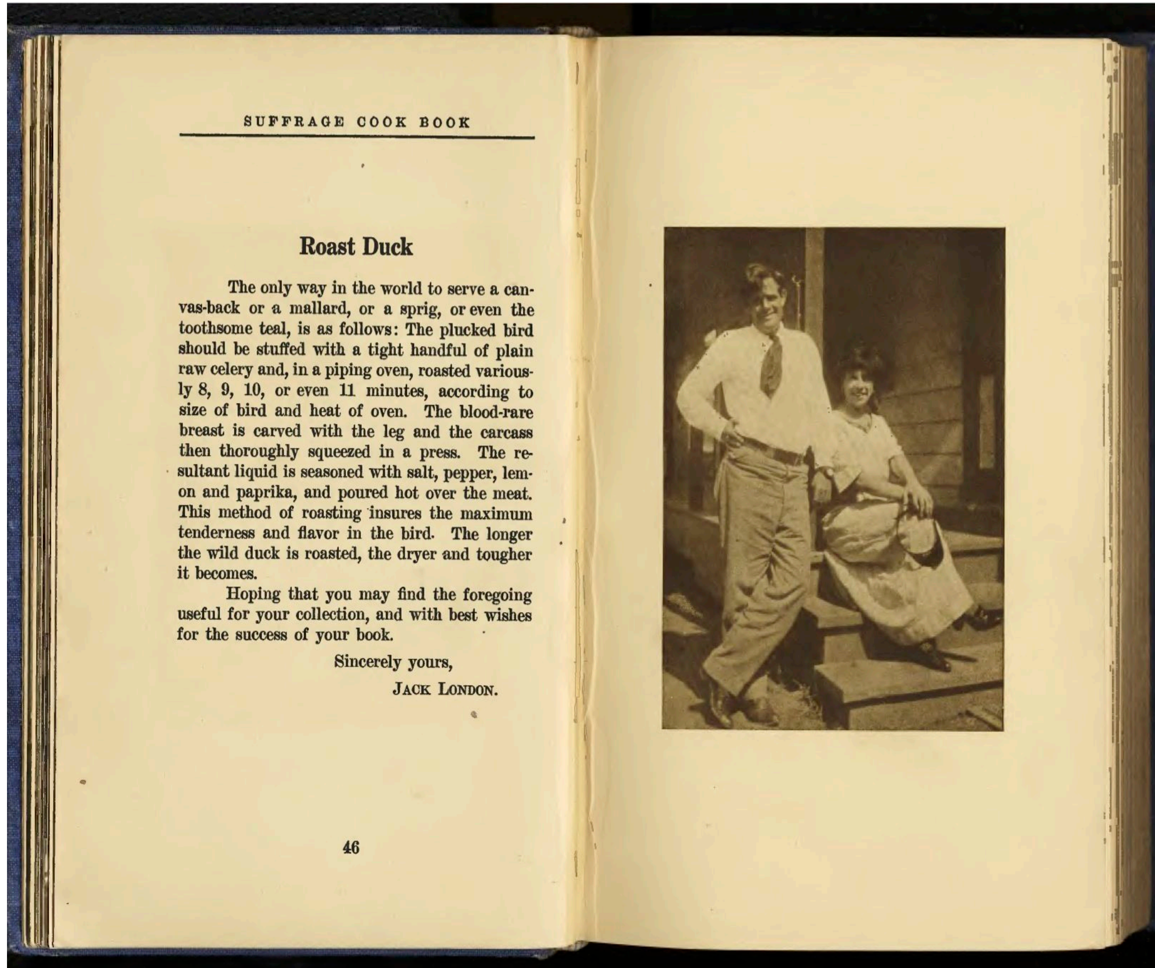
Cabbage Salad.

Cut very fine with a sharp knife a solid head of cabbage. For the dressing take ½ cup of sugar, ½ cup vinegar, 3 eggs, 2 heaping tablespoons butter, 1 teaspoon salt, boil till it thickens; when cold stir through it.—CARRIE ASHTON-JOHNSON.

Woman's voice has ever been for the weal of home and society; the municipal franchise in her hand, truth, justice, and all the essential rights of community, would find in her, a staunch and courageous and effective defender.—*Dr. Thomas Kerr.*

Image 5.3. First Page of the *Holiday Gift Cook Book*

This page offers recipes for Strawberry Pudding and Cabbage Salad between quotes from Plato, Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, Andrew Ashton, and Dr. Thomas Kerr. While looking up the directions for strawberry pudding, a cook likely also read the adjoining republican citizenship frames—for example, Lincoln's argument that women should take part in the "privileges of the government." The cookbook, and its implied commitment to the caretaker role, was an ideal container for extending these republican citizenship frames to a more conservative audience. The cookbook reassured readers that enfranchised women would remain dedicated to their families, even if they also engaged in the new actions and responsibilities required of true republican citizens. Image courtesy of Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archive, Special Collections, University of Michigan.



SUFFRAGE COOK BOOK

Roast Duck

The only way in the world to serve a canvas-back or a mallard, or a sprig, or even the toothsome teal, is as follows: The plucked bird should be stuffed with a tight handful of plain raw celery and, in a piping oven, roasted variously 8, 9, 10, or even 11 minutes, according to size of bird and heat of oven. The blood-rare breast is carved with the leg and the carcass then thoroughly squeezed in a press. The resultant liquid is seasoned with salt, pepper, lemon and paprika, and poured hot over the meat. This method of roasting insures the maximum tenderness and flavor in the bird. The longer the wild duck is roasted, the dryer and tougher it becomes.

Hoping that you may find the foregoing useful for your collection, and with best wishes for the success of your book.

Sincerely yours,

JACK LONDON.

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Image 5.4. Jack London's Recipe Submission in *The Suffrage Cook Book*
Men contributed 65 recipes to the suffrage cookbooks I analyzed, while the temperance cookbooks contained no recipes contributed by men. The inclusion of recipes from men disrupts the traditional gendered expectations of community cookbooks, which were (and continue to be) a largely feminized genre. Thus, recipes like this one represent a step toward incorporating men into the home kitchen. Image from Project Gutenberg.

Image 5.5. "Men Cooking Breakfast at Camp 1"
Suffragists implored men to cook more often in the home. The *Washington Women's Cook Book* included many recipes that had been contributed by men, but most of these recipes taught how to cook in the great outdoors. Many of these men were members of the Washington outdoors club, the Mountaineers. By cooking in the wild, men could complete culinary tasks while still keeping their masculinity intact. In this picture, men of the Mountaineers cook on a 1912 excursion. Image: University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Order Number MTN00007, page 4b. Image included with permission from Nicolette Bromberg, Visual Materials Curator, University of Washington Libraries.

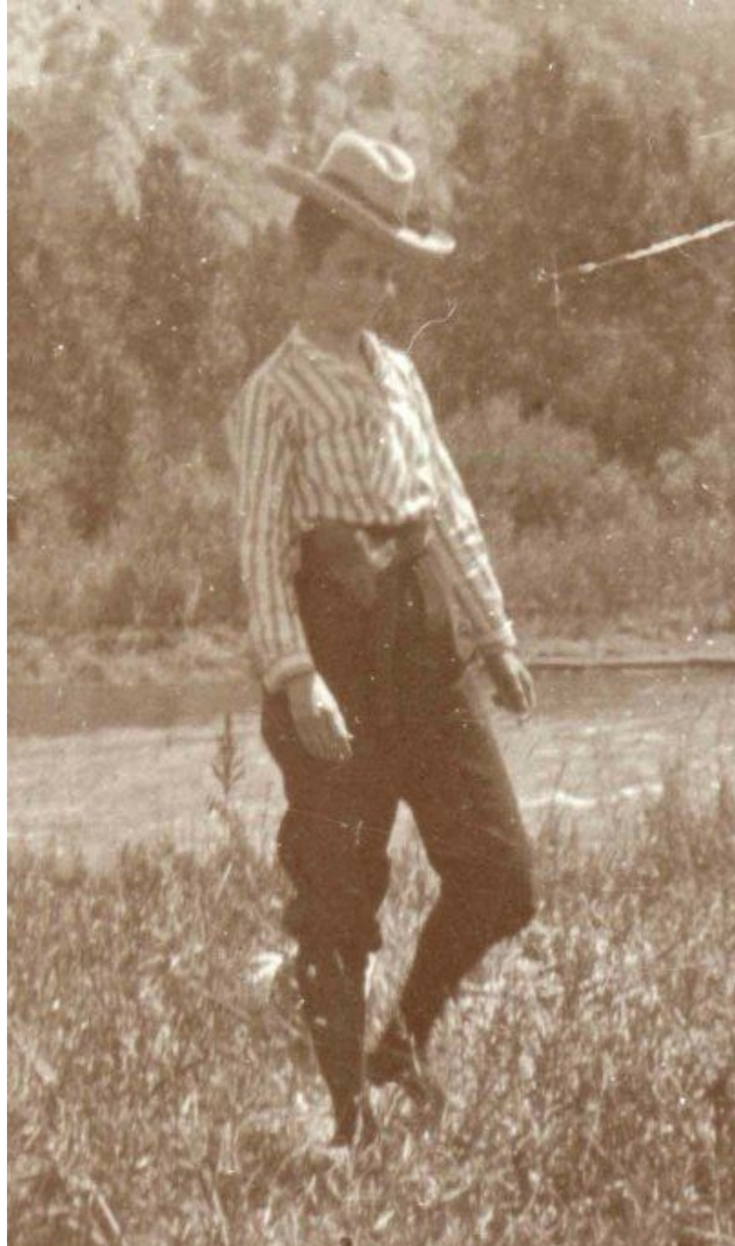


Image 5.6. Dr. Cora Smith Eaton in Yellowstone National Park
Eaton, treasurer for the Washington Equal Suffrage Association, was also a member of the Mountaineers, a Seattle club that took excursions and climbed the peaks in the Pacific Northwest. Here, Eaton is pictured in Yellowstone National Park in 1902. Image: Janet & Elliot C. Barnes Photograph Albums (MSC031), Yellowstone National Park Archives. Image included with permission from Anne L. Foster, archivist, Yellowstone National Park.

CHAPTER 6:

Liberal and Radical Second-Wave Feminism in Historical Context

After the legislative achievements of the first wave of feminist activity, there was a noticeable break in widespread feminist activism. Prior suffragists continued to be politically active through organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party, and temperance women fought desperately to preserve prohibition (Gusfield 1963; Taylor 1989). However, these large-scale social movements began to dissipate into a collection of passionate, active individuals. There were small-scale "abeyance structures" that kept the feminist spirit alive throughout the 1920s, the Great Depression, World War II, and the post-war years (Taylor 1989), but it wasn't until the early 1960s that a large-scale feminist movement emerged in force yet again.

Second-wave feminists picked up where the first wave left off. While suffragists and temperance activists pushed for women's basic protections and political rights, second-wave feminists pushed for measures that would work toward more general equality between men and women. These activists used the political rights gained in the early twentieth century to work toward broadening women's opportunities and changing cultural ideas about gender. They critiqued the social institutions for placing women in a subservient position to men. One wing of the second-wave movement—liberal feminists—worked to overcome this state of affairs by pursuing legislation. The other wing—radical feminists—attempted to revolutionize institutions from the ground up. As I will show in Chapter 7 and 8, the two wings of the second-wave feminist movement also politicized cooking, arguing that actions in the kitchen could help women achieve

equality with men.

In this chapter, I first provide a brief overview of the gender structure that second-wave feminists faced. Next, I describe the food trends, technologies, and practices that typified the 1940s through the 1980s. Then, for both liberal and radical second-wave feminism, I explain the political goals, tactics, and demographics before introducing the materials in which liberal feminists wrote about cooking. The information in this chapter contextualizes liberal and radical second-wave feminist challenges to the status quo and provides a foundation for Chapters 7 and 8, which will dive into the details of how each wing of the movement politicized cooking.

The Historical Gender Context

Similar to nineteenth-century women, American women in the 1950s and 1960s faced confining cultural ideas about femininity. However, the mismatch between these cultural ideas and the reality of many women's lives created vulnerabilities in the system, providing opportunities for feminists to critique and challenge dominant gendered beliefs and practices.

The home continued to be defined as women's primary sphere. It was expected that middle-class women would complete all of the domestic work; new technologies, the shrinking population of workers willing to be domestic servants, and constricted family budgets during the Great Depression all reduced the likelihood that middle-class women would hire domestic servants (Cowan 1983; Hewes 1930). Attitudes toward domestic work changed accordingly. Previously, doing one's own domestic work was seen as the result of unfortunate circumstances, but after World War I, housework was reframed as

an expression of a woman's love for her family (Cowan 1983).

Simultaneously, American culture sanctified the family. During the prosperous post-WWII period, Americans formed new families and had children at astonishing rates. Women's median age at their first marriage dropped to just over 20 in 1945 and did not rise in earnest until the 1970s; for men, the median age at first marriage hovered around 23 from 1945 to 1970 (May 1999:xii). Although the fertility rate had been sharply declining since the early nineteenth century, this trend reversed in the post-war period (May 1999:xiii). For many Americans, the family represented a safe haven from the uncertainty of global politics during the Cold War (May 1999). Yet, contrary to today's nostalgic viewpoints, the post-war nuclear family was not a return to a "traditional" family form that had previously dominated American social life. Instead, this family was a new creation, one meant to "fulfill virtually all its members' personal needs through an energized and expressive personal life" (Coontz 1992:27; May 1999).

As Americans sought security in the family, they also strengthened gender ideologies that emphasized sexual difference between men and women (May 1999). Motherhood was seen as the epitome of femininity and central to women's identity (May 1999:xii). Women were expected to be housewives, first and foremost, who selflessly dedicated their lives to emotionally and physically supporting their husbands and children (Friedan 1963). The cultural expectation for women to be mothers and housewives also shaped women's legal rights. Women's rights to her husband's property and earnings were severely limited, and in most states women were required by law to take their husband's name (Coontz 2011). Women had little power to choose a life that did not include motherhood; married women's access to birth control was not protected until

1965, and unmarried women had to wait even longer. In some states, doctors performed abortions only if they ruled that the pregnancy threatened the mother's life (Luker 1985).

However, as in the nineteenth century, the cultural ideas about women's domesticity did not correspond with the reality of many women's lives. By the end of the 1950s, more married women than ever before had joined the paid workforce (May 1999). During the 1950s, married women's employment increased by 42% (Goldin 1990). Women were 25% of the total workforce in 1940 and 40% in 1980 (Cowan 1983). Many women entered the labor force out of economic necessity—not out of a desire to escape their domestic duties. Costs of food, housing, and transportation soared during the 1960s and 1970s, while workers' wages stagnated. Thus, households that had previously relied on one worker's income found they could do so no longer, and women entered the workforce (Strasser 1982). Economists found that during this time, one of the strongest predictors of women's labor force participation was their spouse's income (Cowan 1983; Kreps 1971; Layard, Barton, and Zabalza 1980). Men took on more of the domestic labor, but women still completed the overwhelming majority of it. Thus was born women's "second shift"—the cooking, childcare, and cleaning that women still had to do once they returned home from their paid employment (Hochschild 1989).

Within the workplace, ideas about women's submissiveness and their "natural" ability to serve men and children led to women being kept in lower-ranking service positions (Coontz 2011). Many employers fired women when they married or became mothers, which demonstrates the strength of the idea that motherhood was women's main social role (Coontz 2011; Hartmann 1994). In sum, the hegemonic femininity of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s emphasized the housewife role, but women were pursuing

various actions, including paid employment, that undermined their complete dedication to the home. Further, as women born in the 1940s and 1950s came of age, they did not share their parents' beliefs that the family and traditional gender roles offered a welcome sense of security (May 1999). These factors weakened domestic femininity's dominance, providing an opportunity for second-wave feminists to challenge it even further as they began to organize for more rights and opportunities.

Other contemporary social movements also helped spark second-wave feminism. Students throughout the country had been participating in the Civil Rights Movement, where they learned to talk about and combat systems of oppression. White women in the movement learned political tactics, developed friendship and activist networks, and gained an independent sense of self (Evans 1980). The mostly white New Left spun out of the Civil Rights Movement and argued that established systems of power such as the government and universities dominated people from all races and classes. These social movements provided models and activist experience for women who recognized that they too occupied second-class citizenship and were oppressed by dominating social forces. As we shall see later in this chapter, the second-wave feminist movement sprang onto the scene in the early 1960s as women began pushing for their own rights.

The Historical Food Context

Dominant ideas about women and cooking helped bolster the cultural construction of domestic femininity. Like other domestic tasks, a housewife's cooking became redefined as a measure of her love for her spouse and children (Shapiro 2004). As historian Ruth Schwartz Cowan (1983) argues, "Feeding the family had once been just a

part of a day's work; now it was a way to communicate deep-seated emotions." The close connection between femininity and cooking meant that women continued to complete this work more often than men. In 1965, the ratio of women's to men's time spent cooking was over 9:1; for married women and men, the ratio was higher than 10:1 (Bianchi et al. 2000).

In the decades before second-wave feminism, the food industry was changing how women used cooking to express feminine love for their family. Appliances such as refrigerators, freezers, dishwashers, blenders, and pressure cookers became commonplace, while grocery stores were flooded with new processed foods that claimed to save women time in the kitchen. Some segments of society grew concerned about the evolution of the food system and advocated for organic, less processed foods. Chapters 7 and 8 demonstrate how liberal and radical feminists co-opted different pieces of this foodscape to show how particular methods of cooking could help empower women.

The twentieth century was dominated by an explosion of processed foods. By the end of the 1920s, large companies were involved in packing meat, milling flour, and producing sugar, dairy, baked goods, canned goods, and cereals. Food historian Harvey Levenstein (1993:27) argues that by the 1930s, the major food processors were close to eradicating the American diet's reliance on the seasons. By WWII, the food industry recognized the profits to be gained from "value-added" processed foods and raced to develop new items. After WWII, indestructible canned and dehydrated foods that had been developed for the troops were sold to the civilian market (Shapiro 2004). The early twentieth century saw the development of frozen fruits and vegetables; by the 1960s, consumers were also buying frozen meats and meals (Levenstein 1993:27; Shapiro 2004;

Strasser 1982). During the 1950s, or what Levenstein (1993) calls the "Golden Age for American food chemistry," food processors carefully honed their techniques by developing hundreds of new additives that helped process and preserve foods.

Even before the 1940s, women received pressure on many fronts to incorporate new processed goods into their kitchens. Home economics instructors taught that canned goods were invaluable tools to the modern housewife seeking efficiency. The popular media, from women's magazines to daily newspapers, pushed processed foods by extolling the benefits of these products or offering recipes that combined various processed ingredients (Levenstein 1993). In 1927, General Mills developed a radio personality named Betty Crocker, who offered culinary advice that often relied on General Mills products (Levenstein 1993; Shapiro 2004). Marketers fueled the belief that the new processed foods improved women's lives by saving them from the drudgery of housework (Levenstein 1993:27; Shapiro 2004).

Thus, before second-wave feminism solidified in the 1960s, the American food industry had already transformed into a manufacturer of processed goods. This history casts doubt on the claims of those who blame feminism for the dietary and culinary changes of the twentieth century. Conservative social commentators like Rose Prince (2010) have argued that feminism has "killed the art of home cooking." According to Prince, "it's feminism we have to thank for the spread of fast-food chains and an epidemic of childhood obesity" (Prince 2010). Even Michael Pollan has argued that feminists are responsible for the shift away from cooking most meals from raw ingredients. In a 2009 piece in the *New York Times Magazine,* Pollan writes that culinary skill was "a bit of wisdom that some American feminists thoughtlessly trampled in their

rush to get women out of the kitchen" (Pollan 2009). However, the historical record demonstrates that the food industry had been begging women to use processed foods since the turn of the twentieth century (Matchar 2013).

The rise in processed foods was accompanied by developments in kitchen appliances. By the post-war years, most families had electric or gas stoves. Refrigerators also became commonplace, followed by home freezers, which boosted the consumption of factory-frozen foods (Strasser 1982; Wilson 2012). By 1980, almost half of American households owned dishwashers (Strasser 1982:279). Kitchens also began to house other electronic devices, such as blenders, pressure cookers, and slow cookers (Levenstein 1993; Wilson 2012). The modern kitchen became such a symbol of American prosperity and capitalism that it factored into global politics. In 1959, Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev engaged in what became dubbed the "Kitchen Debates" at the American National Exhibition in Moscow. Nixon and Khrushchev visited the exhibition's centerpiece, a model ranch home complete with a well-equipped kitchen. While Khrushchev discounted the domestic technologies as superfluous, Nixon argued that the modern technologies embodied capitalism's ability to bring Americans better lives (May 1999). Thus, the dominant discourse about food technology during the mid-twentieth century was that it improved women's quality of life and eased their household labor. However, as liberal second-wave feminists later argued, this technology did not do enough to reframe women's relationship with cooking, as domestic tasks were still seen as women's main priority. As we will see, liberal feminists used these convenience foods and appliances, but showed how they could fit into a more empowering life for women.

The political agenda of radical feminists, on the other hand, led them to be more sympathetic to critiques about the American food system that had been circulating within the New Left, the environmental movement, and the counterculture. In the mid-1960s in San Francisco, a group called the Diggers began spreading ideas about the dangers of the industrial food system (Belasco 1989). These ideas reverberated throughout the counterculture and amassed other, related arguments. Armed with an ecological awareness, the counterculture expressed concerns about the widespread ramifications of chemicals, from pesticides to additives, that were involved in the production of food (Belasco 1989). During this time period, vegetarianism also re-surfaced due to concerns about health, environmental impact, and the morality of taking another animal's life. Especially influential was Frances Moore Lappé's book, *Diet for a Small Planet,* which argued that the meat-heavy diet of the US was an inefficient use of the world's limited ability to produce food for a growing population. Producing meat was especially costly in terms of grain and water; one cow could feed fewer people than the grain that went into raising that cow (Lappé 1971).

Thus, the counterculture incorporated food into their attempts to align their lifestyle with their political beliefs. Activists began avoiding what they called "plastic" food—processed foods created by the mainstream agricultural-industrial complex. Instead, the counterculture sought "natural" foods. Safest were foods that one grew and prepared oneself (Belasco 1989). Organic foods began to gain in popularity, and "health food" occupied a growing share of the market (Levenstein 1993). Eventually, the mainstream food producers co-opted the "countercuisine" by changing how they label and market foods, mass producing countercuisine staples such as granola and yogurt, and

eventually altering the nutritive composition of foods in an attempt to make them more healthful (Belasco 1989).

In sum, by the 1960s, the historical context had placed women between the proverbial rock and a hard place. As women entered the workforce in greater numbers, their unequal treatment there became more apparent. To women who were forced into paid employment by economic necessity, the definition of a good wife and mother as someone who was fully devoted to her family seemed unfair. On the other side of the coin, the full-time homemakers who expected the family and domestic work to provide complete fulfillment often found themselves feeling less than satisfied. Liberal and radical second-wave feminists focused on different problems and developed their own solutions that they hoped would lead to a more gender-equal world. In their quests for gender justice, these feminists also politicized food and cooking. As we will see in Chapters 7 and 8, liberal and radical feminists incorporated different elements of the contemporary foodscape into their political discourse.

Liberal Second-Wave Feminism

Liberal feminists of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s gained the reputation of being anti-housework and anti-housewife. To many observers, the notion of liberal feminist cookbooks is an oxymoron. In this perspective, feminists are defined *against* the housewife role and the tasks that accompany it. This presumption is not entirely unwarranted. As I will explain in this section, liberal feminists did shed light on the many problems associated with the housewife role, and they pushed for women's increased involvement in arenas outside the home. However, my research demonstrates that the

standard history of liberal second-wave feminists exaggerates their hatred for domestic tasks and overlooks a major subset of their discourse about the home. I uncover liberal second-wave feminist discourse about cooking and demonstrate how these feminists used it to work toward their visions of gender equality.

The overwhelming success of Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique,* published in 1963, may have contributed to the perception of liberal feminists as women who refuse to partake in any domestic task. In *The Feminine Mystique,* Friedan investigated "the problem that has no name," or housewives' desperation and depression. Friedan argued that housewives' depression stemmed from their lack of self-identity, since their main purpose was to serve their children and husbands. She explained that this problem surfaced especially when highly educated women married and did not use their education, resulting in their loss of self. At the root of this problem was the "Feminine Mystique," a cultural doctrine that argued that women should find fulfillment only in "sexual passivity, male domination, and nurturing maternal love" (Friedan 1963:43).

To combat the Feminine Mystique, Friedan argued that women should work in a paid job outside the home. She maintained that women would feel more fulfilled if they became committed to something that made use of their full capacities and is valued by society. Once women learned to seek fulfillment in the workplace rather than as a housewife, Friedan argued that women would be able to "reach maturity, identity, [and] completeness of self" (Friedan 1963:364). They would break free of the constraints of the Feminine Mystique.

In essence, Friedan critiqued the housewife role as an unfulfilling position that leads women to depression and dependence on men. Friedan pushed women to view

housework and cooking not as a career, but as tasks to finish quickly so that women could move on to more meaningful and creative work. For example, Friedan writes, "she can use the vacuum cleaner and the dishwasher and all the automatic appliances, and even the instant mashed potatoes for what they are truly worth—to save time that can be used in more creative ways" (Friedan 1963:342). Friedan also recommended hiring cleaning women; this reveals a class bias in liberal second-wave feminism that ignores the experience of working-class women and relies on their domestic labor so that middle-class women can advance themselves in the public sphere (Friedan 1963:349-50). In sum, Friedan pointed out the problematic nature of the housewife role, and she argued that women should not be confined to it.

Friedan's emphasis on paid employment points to liberal feminists' central concern with increasing women's access to economic resources. These feminists viewed economic resources as the foundation of broader power and independence (Rosen 2000). While radical second-wave feminists (as we will see in the next section) argued that heterosexual relationships and cultural ideas were the main cause of gender inequality, liberal second-wave feminists argued that changing relationships or culture would be impossible without first altering the economic balance between men and women (Friedan 1976; Rosen 2000).

To improve women's control of economic resources, liberal second-wave feminists worked to integrate women into the workforce, strengthen women's numbers in higher education, increase women's political representation, improve social security benefits for women, institute widespread childcare provisions, and protect women's right to an abortion (Friedan 1963; Rosen 2000; Whelehan 1995). Liberal feminists argued that

women could do any job that men could do. They maintained that particular jobs or activities were not inherently gendered. Thus, feminists' arguments for integrating women into the workplace invoked ideas about men and women's equal capacities (Friedan 1976; Rosen 2000).

Most studies of liberal second-wave feminists focus on how activists and organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) worked through the existing political and legal system to achieve favorable laws and rulings on these many issues (Rosen 2000; Whelehan 1995). Liberalism trusts the power of democracy and meritocracy, so it makes sense that these feminists would work through established political and legal channels (Whelehan 1995).

By working within the political system, liberal feminists won many victories that aided women's integration into the economy. In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act. This turned "equal pay for equal work" into law—employers were no longer allowed to pay women less for doing the same job as a man (Rosen 2000). Despite the law, income inequality persists today; in 2015, women in the United States made only 80% of men's income (Hegewisch and DuMonthier 2016). In 1964, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Anon 1964). Title VII also formed the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce Title VII. However, the inclusion of sex in Title VII was not taken seriously at first; for the first several years of its existence, the EEOC refused to enforce the sex segment of the law. In some parts of the country, nearly half the claims of discrimination that were submitted to the EEOC were about sex (Rosen 2000). Activists

were especially maddened by the refusal of the EEOC or courts to abolish sex-segregated "help wanted" classifieds (Rosen 2000).

NOW was formed in 1966 out of frustration at the government's inaction on women's issues (Freeman 1975; Friedan 1976). NOW was the largest liberal feminist organization and served as the organizational leader of the movement. At its first conference in October 1966, NOW elected Betty Friedan its president and issued its "Statement of Purpose." NOW called for a variety of measures that would improve women's status in the workforce, including equal wages between men and women, equal representation in the professions and government, better access to higher education, child care, and programs that retrained women after their children have left the nest. The Statement of Purpose also called for eliminating traditional roles within marriage and creating equal partnerships. It explained, "a true partnership between the sexes demands a different concept of marriage, an equitable sharing of responsibilities of home and children and the economic burden of their support" (National Organization for Women 1966).

After pressure from NOW, the EEOC prohibited sex-segregated "help wanted" classified ads in 1968 (Rosen 2000:80). NOW further encouraged the EEOC to enforce Title VII by apprehending employers who had discriminated against women. NOW supported women who had filed discrimination claims to the EEOC and had entered lawsuits against employers (Ferree and Hess 2000; Rosen 2000:81). NOW also endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would have ensured women's equal rights under the Constitution (Rosen 2000:82). After passing the Senate in 1972, the ERA eventually failed because it was not ratified by enough states by the 1982 deadline (Soule

and Olzak 2004). Once abortion was legalized with *Roe v. Wade* in 1973, NOW worked to protect women's reproductive rights from further attack by conservative factions who attempted to undermine the Supreme Court ruling (National Organization for Women 2016).

Friedan and NOW also organized the Women's Strike for Equality on August 26, 1970, 50 years after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. The "strike" involved demonstrations across the country. In the most publicized action, 50,000 marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City (National Organization for Women 2016; Rosen 2000). As historian Ruth Rosen explained, "Although she hoped that women would abstain from their usual work, Friedan viewed the strike as a symbolic gesture" (Rosen 2000:92). As a symbol, the strike called attention to women's work, which largely went unrecognized and unrewarded. Although the late 1960s and early 1970s were a heady time for liberal feminists, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, they continued their efforts to incorporate women into current social structures by working through established political and legal channels.

Demographics of Liberal Second-Wave Feminism

Liberal second-wave feminists were generally white, middle-class women, with the exception of a few prominent Black and Chicana women who were involved in the early years of NOW (Roth 2004:28). The first leaders had roots in the "Old Left," which had given them organizing experience. For example, Betty Friedan was involved in unions during the 1950s (Horowitz 1996; Rosen 2000). By the time they formed NOW, these women were already institutional activists or professional women who served on

governmental commissions on women (Roth 2004). Thus, the founders of NOW were generally highly educated, middle-class professional white women who had strong network ties to other activist organizations and the federal government (Buechler 1990; Ferree and Hess 2000; Freeman 1975). The membership appears to have reflected the leaders. In 1974, a survey of a sample of NOW members found that 63% were employed full-time, 15% were employed part-time, and 17% were homemakers. Sixty-six percent of NOW members had bachelor's degrees, and 30% had advanced degrees (Freeman 1975). Scholars generally characterize liberal feminists as older than the women who comprised the radical wing of the second-wave movement (Buechler 1990; Ferree and Hess 2000; Freeman 1975).

NOW formed a national parent organization, based originally in New York City and later in Washington, DC, with a network of state and local subsidiaries. National leadership coordinated national actions and built policy, while local chapters could decide which issues were most important to them and develop their own projects (Rosen 2000:80). By 1970, NOW's membership rose to 3,000; by 1971, there were 4,500 members. In 1972, there were 200 chapters of NOW across the country. By 1982, after large drives to support the ERA, NOW's membership swelled to over 200,000 (Barakso 2004).

Liberal Feminist Discourse About Cooking

I begin my analysis of liberal feminist discourse in 1963, when *The Feminine Mystique* was published. This text is emblematic of liberal feminist ideology, especially as it relates to the domestic sphere. However, the majority of my original research

examines discourse from the 1970s and early 1980s. This is the period when the movement flourished—in public commentary, the rise in NOW membership, and the growth of movement publications. *Ms.* magazine, my main source of liberal feminist articles about cooking, was not founded until 1972. I end my analysis in 1985; by this point, movement activity had wound down and the ERA had been defeated. The following sections introduce the specific materials in which I uncovered liberal feminists' culinary discourse.

Magazine and Newspaper Articles

To search for liberal feminist articles about cooking, I scanned every issue of *Ms.* magazine from its beginnings in 1972 to 1985. *Ms.* is the most widely circulated liberal second-wave feminist periodical. The 300,000 copies of the first issue of *Ms.* sold out in 8 days; throughout the 1970s and 1980s, circulation was in the 400,000 to 500,000 range (Thom 1997). Gloria Steinem and a team of pioneering liberal feminists created *Ms.* provide a media outlet for feminist commentary on social issues. The popular media was generally unfavorable toward feminism and painted these activists and their ideas as threatening, man-hating, and selfish (Faludi 1991). Through *Ms.,* liberal second-wave feminists could popularize their ideas independently of the mainstream media. The high-quality magazine emulated other women's magazines of the time, with glossy color pages, regular sections, and feature stories. Generally, women (and a handful of men) who identified as feminist wrote pieces in *Ms.* magazine; there were several editors who wrote regularly, and each issue also included several stories written by guest authors. Aside from the letters to the editors, the authors in *Ms.*—especially the editors who wrote

regular columns or stories—can generally be considered movement leaders rather than the rank and file. In *Ms.,* these activists inspected a wide range of issues with a liberal feminist lens. I collected any article or letter to the editor that discussed the act of cooking. Often, this included articles that mentioned cooking in addition to other kinds of housework. In all, I collected 89 articles about cooking from *Ms.* magazine.

I supplemented *Ms.* articles with articles from other liberal feminist newspapers I came across in my research, *e.g., Sister Advocate, Atlanta Woman,* and *Distaff*. I found these newspapers within larger collections of feminist periodicals in special collections libraries. Often, these collections contained only a few issues of a particular newspaper, so I was not able to search the entire runs of these newspapers for writings about cooking. However, I did not find many other liberal second-wave feminist articles about cooking outside of *Ms*. This is likely due to the dearth of liberal second-wave periodicals aside from *Ms.* and official newsletters from NOW; in comparison, radical second-wave feminists published many more periodicals. Thus, popularity of *Ms.* may have led it to dominate the market for liberal second-wave publications.

Archival Material

Finally, I searched for discourse about cooking in NOW chapter newsletters and the collections of prominent liberal second-wave feminists. This research did not yield as many results, so these materials do not feature in my analysis. However, I did come across a few instances when NOW chapters used their newsletters to issue a call for recipes or advertised a fundraising cookbook. These newsletters make clear that the activists hoped these cookbooks would raise money for the chapters.

Cookbooks

I uncovered four cookbooks published by liberal second-wave feminist organizations. This sample includes all cookbooks in WorldCat that were published by a liberal feminist organization and were available to researchers in US libraries in 2013. At the Radcliffe Institute's Schlesinger Library, I accessed *Pots and Politics* from the Washington State Women's Political Caucus (Kaplan 1976), *Cookies (and Punch Too!)* (National Association for Girls and Women in Sport 1977), and *NOW We're Cooking (NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter 1979)*. Additionally, through a search of online booksellers that lasted several years, I acquired the *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook* from the Virginia chapter of NOW (Gill and Stevens 1983). There may have been cookbooks published by additional liberal second-wave feminist organizations, but by 2013, these texts had not yet made their way into a library; nor were they available through used book sellers.

First and foremost, liberal second-wave feminists aimed to raise money with these cookbooks. The cost of these cookbooks varied; the *First Virginia Cookbook* cost $7, while the smaller *Cookies (and Punch Too!)* cost $2. However, raising money was not the sole reason for publishing a cookbook; I will explain in Chapter 7, the cookbooks also served several political roles for liberal feminists. Further, like suffrage cookbooks, liberal second-wave feminist cookbooks did not appear to be particularly successful at raising money for the organizations. I spoke to one woman from the Champaign, Illinois NOW chapter who admitted that boxes of the cookbooks never sold.

These cookbooks combined recipes with political arguments. In half of the

cookbooks—*NOW We're Cooking* and *Cookies (and Punch Too!)*—the introduction provides the bulk of the political messages. In the *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook,* quotes from public figures deliver feminist sound bites between recipes, and hand-drawn illustrations adorn many of the pages (see Image 6.1). In *Pots and Politics,* the recipes are surrounded by political essays and collections of quotes and slogans. I coded every other recipe in liberal second-wave cookbooks, arriving at a sample of 188 recipes. The cookbooks ranged from 39 to 142 pages. Three of the cookbooks had soft covers and were bound with staples or a comb binding; the remaining cookbook, *Pots and Politics,* was hard-bound.

Radical Second-Wave Feminism

The early 1970s gave rise to a second strand of more radical feminist thought. In the first few years, it was common for NOW to house both liberal and radical women. However, as the decade progressed and radical feminists developed their politics, radical feminists tended to develop their own organizations and institutions.

Radical feminists emerged from the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left, frustrated at women's roles within these organizations (Evans 1980; Roth 2004). In the SNCC, white women were usually left to work in houses and offices, while black women went out onto the front lines. Rosen (2000:97) explained that this situation "exaggerated stereotypes of weak white women who needed protection and strong black women who needed none." Similarly, the New Left's Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) marginalized women, who felt that they were nothing more than sexual objects who cooked and made coffee (Belasco 1989; Echols 1989; Rosen 2000; Roth 2004). Many

accounts of the emergence of radical feminism argue that coming from an established movement community facilitated women's organizing (Freeman 1975), but Benita Roth (2004) points out that emerging from a pre-existing movement comes with its own challenges of breaking and separating from close-knit ties and previous loyalties.

These experiences in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left led radical feminists to be critical of the institutions of family, love, marriage, and heterosexuality (Echols 1989; Rosen 2000). While liberal feminists argued that women's economic disadvantages caused widespread inequality, radical feminists held that the patriarchy was built upon women's inequality in the family and home. For example, Cell 16, a radical feminist organization in Boston, compared the institutions of family and slavery:

> We take a stand against the nuclear family. This stand is very threatening to many people, but we regard it as basic. The very term "family" was invented by the Romans to denote a new social organism, whose head ruled over the wife, children and slaves, and was invested under Roman Law with rights of life and death over them all… This unit is no longer economically necessary, just as slavery is not. But it is psychologically necessary for men who are trying to live up to an identity based on this traditional but now obsolete power. (Cell 16 1969:7-8)

Comparing family to slavery was common in the radical second-wave feminist movement. Slavery removed slaves' humanity and exploited slaves' labor for the benefit of slaveholders; radical feminists argued that the family similarly exploited women for the benefit of men. Radical second-wave feminists believed that men's power was supported by women's labor within the family.

The family is tightly wound with cultural ideas about femininity. Thus, in their critiques of the family, radical second-wave feminists also critiqued the cultural ideas about women that justified their subservient family roles. In an article titled "On Female

Enslavement… and Men's Stake in It," radical feminist Dana Densmore explained,

> Men have constructed an elaborate rationalization of why women are naturally suited to their role. This is the whole fantasy of WOMEN'S NATURE: gentle, loving, unaggressive, tender, modest, giving, patient, naive, simplistic, simple, irrational, instinctual, intuitive, home-centered. This is what they want her to be, so they set it up as the ideal of womanhood and, treating it now as a norm, say that because women are that way they are suited to the role imposed on them and must be happy. (emphasis in original) (Densmore 1971)

Therefore, radical feminists critiqued patterns of gendered action and the gender-essentialist cultural ideas that upheld the traditional heterosexual family structure. The cultural ideas about women being "naturally" more submissive and domestic serve to keep women in the subservient role as housewife. Liberal second-wave feminists also critiqued the housewife role, but their critique focused on the inability of housewives to gather personal economic resources. On the other hand, radical feminists' main problem with the housewife role was its lack of power and individuality—regardless of women's economic status (Rosen 2000). This distinction led to much larger differences when it came to deciding on courses of action to rectify these problems.

Early radical feminists are usually credited with developing the tactic of consciousness-raising, even though both radical and liberal feminists participated in these groups. In consciousness-raising groups, women became aware of how their individual experiences as housewives and mothers were not just separate unhappy situations. Women learned to recognize that "the personal is political," meaning that their problems were caused by oppressive institutions and cultural ideas that affected all women and required collective political action (Hanisch 1970). The understanding of these issues was the first step, followed by a range of subsequent actions that challenged culture and the

institution of the family.

Radical feminists argued that women could liberate themselves from their position of slavery within the family by taking action within their daily lives. These daily actions reclaimed women's power as individuals and challenged cultural ideas about femininity. For example, Cell 16 suggested the following steps:

> Rename yourself then to become your own person… stop buying and wearing cosmetics, even if one has "bad skin" or whatever. Men get along without cosmetics and they aren't really so frightening looking… The same goes for clothes. Find what is comfortable and wear it… Stop following fashions, looking at fashion magazines, shopping. Bright colors and delightful materials are wonderful to have around, but do you really want to decorate your BODY with them? On your body they cry out, "Look at me, touch me, I'm swinging, I'm sexy, I'm female…" Another possibility for individual action is confronting men on the street when they follow, proposition, or bait you. (emphasis in original) (Cell 16 1969:11)

Thus, radical second-wave feminists frequently changed their daily and personal actions to challenge unequal heterosexual relationships (Taylor and Whittier 1992).

Liberal second-wave feminists worked through the political and legal system to work toward improving women's control of economic resources, but these methods could not challenge culture and the institution of the family quite as directly. Further, radical feminists believed that the existing political and legal system operated on oppressive and patriarchal principles, which made it even less likely that working through these channels could eliminate women's oppression. Instead, changing individuals' daily actions could help restructure oppressive social institutions from the ground up. Radical feminists also worked to build their own, alternative organizations and institutions that were based on more egalitarian values. While liberal second-wave feminists encouraged women to enter higher education, the paid workforce, and politics, radical feminists attempted to avoid

male-dominated institutions and instead worked to forge new career pathways that were not situated within exploitative institutions (Rosen 2000).

As they challenged oppressive, patriarchal institutions and attempted to build their own, radical feminists engaged in debates about the centrality of cultural ideas about gender. Some radicals aimed to “render gender irrelevant” and deconstruct the entire system of gendered ideas and practices (Echols 1989:6). Some radicals moved in the other direction, employing rather than challenging gender essentialism (Echols 1989:6). These feminists oriented their daily practices and alternative institutions toward “women’s values” rather than the oppression that they saw in the rest of male-dominated life. Some scholars argue that this tendency to celebrate women’s nature led radical feminism to become a separatist movement that no longer engaged with the mainstream system (Echols 1989; Rudy 2001). Some scholars classify this as “cultural feminism” or “lesbian feminism,” representing an entirely different movement from radical feminism (Echols 1989; Rudy 2001). Others, however, do not distinguish the two as separate movements (Faderman 1991; Rosen 2000; Whittier 1995).

In this dissertation, I do not make the distinction between radical and cultural feminists, because I see their similarities as more important than their differences. Both critiqued the family and other mainstream institutions that exploited women and aimed to construct new practices and institutions that were organized around alternative, non-oppressive values. There was considerable membership and organizational overlap between the early “radical” feminists and later “cultural” feminists. Further, it is difficult to identify purely “radical” feminism that did not engage in some aspect of cultural feminism. Any time a movement builds an alternative institution, it could be critiqued as

"separatist." Nancy Whittier (1995) argues that lesbian feminist culture became central to the movement, especially as the external climate chilled and became more conservative in the early 1980s, making other forms of resistance impossible. Thus, I do not separate radical and cultural feminism into two movements; the similarities between the movements means that analytical separation would not bring additional insight into how these feminists politicized cooking.

Demographics of Radical Second-Wave Feminism

The radical second-wave feminists I study were largely white and middle-class. Benita Roth (2004) argues that white radical feminists' privileged class and racial status led some radicals to conceptualize the feminist struggle as one of all women against mainstream society. These activists emphasized the commonalities of women's experience, arguing that women shared a bond of universal sisterhood. Further, they portrayed their own approaches and ways of life as more liberated than the mostly white New Left movement organizations that they had abandoned (Roth 2004). This orientation was not shared by feminists of other races and ethnicities. Black and Chicana feminists generally did not view themselves as better than others in their racial and ethnic communities. Instead, Black and Chicana feminists identified strongly with their racial and ethnic communities and conceptualized their struggle as that of "the entire racial/ethnic community in battle against white America's domination" (Roth 2004:70). Also, Black and Chicana feminists recognized that racial, ethnic, and class divisions prevented all women from experiencing a "universal" experience of sisterhood (Roth 2004). Although this dissertation focuses on white, middle-class feminists, it is important

to acknowledge how race/ethnicity and class shaped radical feminist politics and discourse about cooking.

The radical second-wave feminist movement first gained its footing in the larger cities—particularly New York—in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Rosen 2000). The construction of radical feminist institutions in cities made urban radical feminist life particularly lively. The movement quickly dispersed throughout the country, spreading to both other regions of the country and to rural communities. As we will see in Chapter 8, many radical feminists left urban centers in search of self-sufficiency, increased autonomy, and separation from oppressive institutions.

Unlike liberal second-wave feminists, radical feminists never had a centralized national organization. Instead, radical second-wave feminism was based in small, grassroots organizations and informal groups (Echols 1989; Whittier 1995). These groups were often non-hierarchical and usually did not belong to a formal organizational network across regional boundaries. However, this lack of centralization did not keep individual groups isolated from each other; the creation of women's publishers and bookstores facilitated the circulation of newsletters, newspapers, magazines, and essays from radical feminists across the country (Onosaka 2006).

Radical Feminist Discourse About Cooking

Like temperance activists, suffragists, and liberal feminists, radical feminists extended their politics to the kitchen. They published articles about cooking in radical newspapers and newsletters, they kept archival records of feminist culinary activities, and they published cookbooks that offered directions for preparing food in ways that could

work toward social change. These sources reveal discourse many scholars would not expect; even Levenstein, whose social histories of food are so thorough that they nearly become encyclopedic, writes off the possibility that radical feminists might have been interested in food. He claims, “On the left, only the new women’s liberation press resisted the burgeoning interest in food and cooking, in large part because it still reflected traditional ideas about the division of labor” (Levenstein 1993:186). Radical feminists did find the traditional division of labor problematic—just as they found the heterosexual family to be problematic. But these feminists did not simply offer a critique and stop there. Instead, they developed different ways of living *and cooking* that aligned with their politics. My analysis of radical feminism begins in 1967, which marks the formation of the first radical feminist groups in New York City, but the bulk of radical feminist discourse about cooking comes from the 1970s and 1980s. The following sections introduce the newspaper articles, archival materials, and cookbooks in which radical feminists politicized cooking.

Magazine and Newspaper Articles

Unlike liberal feminism, there was no publication that served as the unofficial outlet of the radical feminist movement. Instead, radical feminists produced numerous newspapers and magazines. Some of these newspapers were glorified newsletters published by small grassroots feminist organizations, but they contained other articles about a range of feminist issues. Additionally, radical feminists also formed collectives that published more official newspapers and magazines, collecting articles from radical women and distributing the publication across the country. The alternative institutions

that radical feminists built—such as bookstores and publishing houses—aided with the production and spread of these newspapers and magazines.

Because of the large number of radical feminist publications, I analyzed a sample of newspapers and magazine articles about cooking. I analyzed radical feminist publications that were housed in collections at the Schlesinger Library, Duke's Sallie Bingham Center, and Smith College's Sophia Smith Collection. These collections often contained incomplete runs of each publication. I searched through these collections for articles about cooking, and I stopped when I felt that I had reached saturation—when the new articles I was gathering were not bringing any new insights into how radical feminist politicized cooking. I gathered a sample of 170 radical feminist articles about cooking from 17 different publications. These newspapers and magazines came from all regions of the country, with both urban and rural areas represented.

On the whole, these newspapers and magazines seemed less professional and polished than liberal feminists' *Ms.* magazine. Most of the magazines were black and white, adorned with hand-drawn illustrations or photographs taken by movement members. Radical feminism had a few figures who were recognizable leaders of the movement, but these women wrote only a few pieces that tended to recirculate throughout radical feminist publications. The more grassroots nature of radical feminism meant that most of the articles were written by women who were not famous leaders, but who constituted the movement's rank and file.

These publications contained a range of articles that touched on the issue of food and cooking. Recipes made a regular appearance, with some publications offering regular food columns. These publications also included reviews of cookbooks, especially

cookbooks published by radical feminists (see below). Yet, the bulk of radical feminist articles about food and cooking highlighted an issue about food or cooking—such as vegetarianism, raising cows for milking, or co-operative food stores.

Cookbooks

I also analyzed three feminist cookbooks that were written and published by radical feminists. These are all of the cookbooks written by radical feminists that I could access in US libraries or purchase from used booksellers. The Bloodroot Collective, which continues to operate a radical feminist restaurant in Bridgeport, Connecticut, published their 1980 *Political Palate: A Feminist Vegetarian Cookbook* and 1984 *Second Political Palate* (Beaven et al. 1980; Beaven, Furie, and Miriam 1984). I researched these books at the Schlesinger Library. At Special Collections in the Haas Arts Library at Yale University, I accessed the 1983 *Whoever Said Dykes Can't Cook? Cookbook* (Contenta and Ramstetter 1983), a community cookbook that was published by an organization of radical feminists in Cincinnati.

These differed from the temperance, suffrage, and liberal feminist cookbooks I study in that only one of the three was a community cookbook that gathered recipes from many women within an organization to raise money. The other two cookbooks, written by the Bloodroot Collective, were more professional publications from a radical feminist press, with the recipes written by a small group of women. However, the relatively non-hierarchical nature of the movement meant that even the Bloodroot cookbooks were written by women who could best be described as rank-and-file as opposed to movement leaders. Adding to the resemblance to community cookbooks, Bloodroot included a

handful of the recipes (including the recipe for Curried Apple and Potato Soup pictured in Image 6.2) from women who were not part of the core collective, but may have been regular customers or friends of the restaurant. Further, the fact that three or four women wrote most of the recipes did not result in emphases that were different from the rest of the movement's culinary discourse. The culinary themes of the Bloodroot cookbooks align with the dominant themes in the one community cookbook and the other radical feminist materials about cooking. Radical feminist cookbooks ranged in price from $3.50 for the *Whoever Said Dykes Can't Cook? Cookbook* to $12.95 for *The Second Seasonal Political Palate*. The *Whoever Said Dykes Can't Cook Cookbook* was the shortest at 48 pages, while *The Political Palate* was 305 pages.

These cookbooks contained recipes, illustrations, introductions, and feminist quotes. The introductions were often where these feminists explained their political ideas and how cooking factored into their ideology. As we will see in Chapter 8, the political content of these cookbooks also extended to the recipes, where radical feminists directed women how to use the kitchen to create a model of the social change that they envisioned. Like liberal second-wave cookbooks, I analyzed every other recipe in radical feminist cookbooks to reach a sample of 200 recipes.

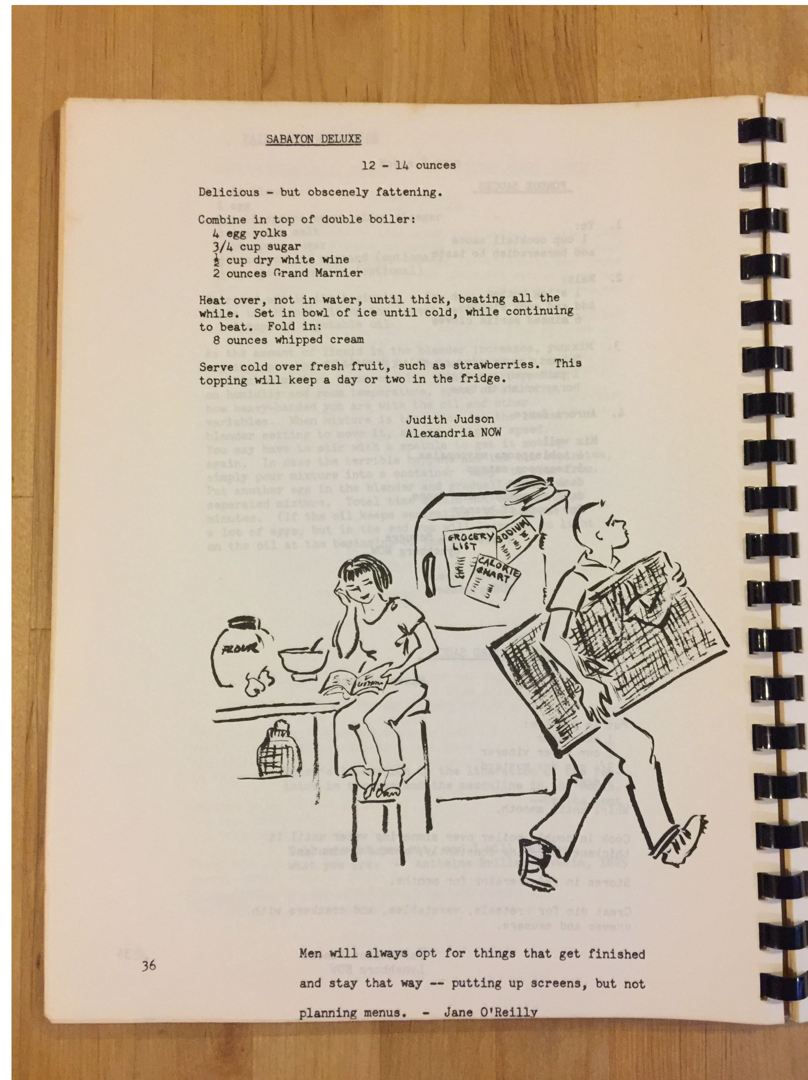
Archival Material

I also analyzed archival materials from the collections of radical feminists who were involved in activities related to food and cooking. The collections that were most useful to me were those related to the restaurants started by radical feminists. At the Schlesinger Library, I accessed the H. Patricia Hynes and Rochelle Ruthchild collections,

which contained material from the radical feminist Bread and Roses Restaurant in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Smith College housed the bulk of the papers from Dolores Alexander that related to her Mother Courage restaurant in New York City. At Yale University, I researched the collection from the Bloodroot Collective, which continues to operate a radical feminist restaurant in Bridgeport, Connecticut. With menus, photographs, and explanations of their organization and operations, these collections about feminist restaurants gave me a good sense of the foods that radical feminists approved and the food practices they endorsed.

Conclusion

Leading into the 1960s, dominant cultural understandings of femininity framed the home and family as women's central concerns, but economic necessity had forced many women into the paid workforce. Within the workforce, women's advancement and success was hindered by expectations that they would remain primarily dedicated to their families. Discontented with this state of affairs and learning how other populations fought for increased rights, women sprang into political action in the 1960s and 1970s. While liberal feminists focused on improving women's economic power, radical feminists challenged cultural ideas about femininity and the institution of the family. To address these different foci, liberal and radical feminists developed different political tactics. Chapters 7 and 8 show how the two political approaches led liberal and radical feminists to politicize different parts of the contemporary foodscape as they worked for women's equality.



SABAYON DELUXE

12 - 14 ounces

Delicious - but obscenely fattening.

Combine in top of double boiler:
4 egg yolks
3/4 cup sugar
½ cup dry white wine
2 ounces Grand Marnier

Heat over, not in water, until thick, beating all the while. Set in bowl of ice until cold, while continuing to beat. Fold in:
8 ounces whipped cream

Serve cold over fresh fruit, such as strawberries. This topping will keep a day or two in the fridge.

Judith Judson
Alexandria NOW

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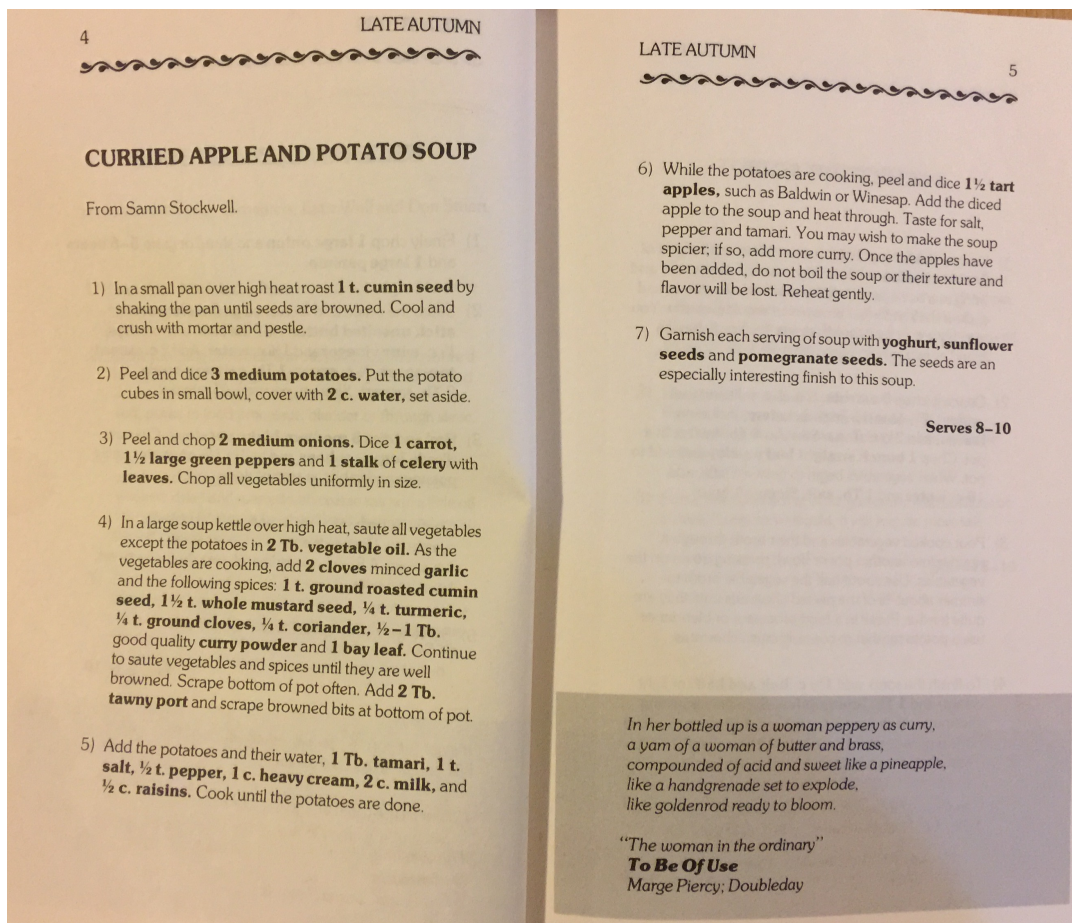
Men will always opt for things that get finished and stay that way -- putting up screens, but not planning menus. - Jane O'Reilly

Image 6.1. Sample Page from *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook*
On the pages of the *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook,* illustrations and feminist quotes join recipes. Here, the recipe for Sabayon Deluxe from Judith Judson of the Alexandria NOW chapter is accompanied by a quote from Jane O'Reilly's famous essay, "The Housewife's Moment of Truth," which appeared in the first issue of *Ms.* magazine in 1971. The quote reads, "Men will always opt for things that get finished and stay that way—putting up screens, but not planning menus," and is adorned with an illustration of a man trotting through the kitchen with a screen, while a woman pauses from cooking to read a recipe, the grocery lists and health charts behind her reminding us that the work of feeding the family is a constant job. Image included with the permission of the Alexandria NOW chapter.



4 LATE AUTUMN

CURRIED APPLE AND POTATO SOUP

From Samn Stockwell.

1) In a small pan over high heat roast **1 t. cumin seed** by shaking the pan until seeds are browned. Cool and crush with mortar and pestle.

2) Peel and dice **3 medium potatoes.** Put the potato cubes in small bowl, cover with **2 c. water,** set aside.

3) Peel and chop **2 medium onions.** Dice **1 carrot, 1½ large green peppers** and **1 stalk** of **celery** with **leaves.** Chop all vegetables uniformly in size.

4) In a large soup kettle over high heat, saute all vegetables except the potatoes in **2 Tb. vegetable oil.** As the vegetables are cooking, add **2 cloves** minced **garlic** and the following spices: **1 t. ground roasted cumin seed, 1½ t. whole mustard seed, ¼ t. turmeric, ¼ t. ground cloves, ¼ t. coriander, ½–1 Tb.** good quality **curry powder** and **1 bay leaf.** Continue to saute vegetables and spices until they are well browned. Scrape bottom of pot often. Add **2 Tb. tawny port** and scrape browned bits at bottom of pot.

5) Add the potatoes and their water, **1 Tb. tamari, 1 t. salt, ½ t. pepper, 1 c. heavy cream, 2 c. milk,** and **½ c. raisins.** Cook until the potatoes are done.

LATE AUTUMN 5

6) While the potatoes are cooking, peel and dice **1½ tart apples,** such as Baldwin or Winesap. Add the diced apple to the soup and heat through. Taste for salt, pepper and tamari. You may wish to make the soup spicier; if so, add more curry. Once the apples have been added, do not boil the soup or their texture and flavor will be lost. Reheat gently.

7) Garnish each serving of soup with **yoghurt, sunflower seeds** and **pomegranate seeds.** The seeds are an especially interesting finish to this soup.

Serves 8–10

In her bottled up is a woman peppery as curry,
a yam of a woman of butter and brass,
compounded of acid and sweet like a pineapple,
like a handgrenade set to explode,
like goldenrod ready to bloom.

"The woman in the ordinary"
To Be Of Use
Marge Piercy; Doubleday

Image 6.2. Sample Pages from *The Political Palate*

Only one radical feminist cookbook, the *Whoever Said Dykes Can't Cook? Cookbook,* was a community cookbook that gathered recipes from many women within an organization. The other two radical feminist cookbooks were written by the Bloodroot Collective, a small collective of women who operated a feminist restaurant. The Bloodroot Collective established a radical feminist press and used this to publish their cookbooks, which makes their books appear more professional. Yet, these books retained elements of community cookbooks. A handful of recipes came from women within the community; the pictured recipe for Curried Apple and Potato Soup is from Samn Stockwell, who was not one of the four authors or owners of the restaurant. Bloodroot also included feminist quotes throughout their cookbooks. Pictured is a poem from feminist poet Marge Piercy that reads, "In her bottled up is a woman peppery as curry, / a yarn of a woman of butter and brass, / compounded of acid and sweet like a pineapple, / like a handgrenade set to explode, / like goldenrod ready to bloom." Image included with the permission of Selma Miriam, an original and continuing member of the Bloodroot Collective.

CHAPTER 7:

Cooking for Economic Power: Liberal Second-Wave Feminist Discourse About Cooking, 1963-1985

Liberal second-wave feminists were some of the fiercest critics of the housewife role. Feminists such as Betty Friedan argued that housewives sacrificed any hope of fulfillment as they served their family members' needs and completed domestic work. These activists also found it problematic that the housewife role made women financially dependent on their spouses, for they argued that economic inequality between men and women was at the heart of broader gender inequality.

This critique of the housewife role led to popular stereotypes of feminists as women who refused to cook, but my findings reveal a different picture of feminists' relationship with the kitchen. In the wide range of culinary discourse produced by liberal feminists, most activists suggested positively engaging with cooking. Many liberal second-wave feminists celebrated their cooking, and they discussed ways of preparing food that enabled women to pursue careers and political involvement.

In this chapter, I analyze the meanings that feminists imparted to cooking and the purposes that cooking served for the movement. Similar to my other empirical chapters, I do not wish to construct an argument about how liberal feminists' politics caused them to develop an approach to cooking that differed from mainstream culinary trends. As we will see, some elements of liberal feminists' culinary approach seem markedly similar to how ordinary Americans cooked. More important to my analysis are the political meanings that these feminists attached to these practices and how this culinary discourse

contributed to the movement.

This discourse about cooking served several political purposes. First, liberal second-wave feminists boasted about their culinary skills. I argue that this was not just culinary bravado; public assertions of cooking were also politically strategic moves. These affirmations of cooking aligned liberal feminists with broader moral standards of motherhood and family life that could appeal to a wider audience. To achieve their political goals, liberal feminists required external support from voters, lawmakers, and judges. Thus, claims about cooking worked to build a politically strategic moral identity for liberal second-wave feminists.

Second, liberal feminists used publications about cooking to advance their political arguments. I call this process "Hiding the Spinach in the Brownies," for feminists employed an appetizing medium (cookbooks) to deliver ingredients (political arguments) that might be more objectionable if they stood alone. Cookbooks and other publications about cooking demonstrate a commitment to the family and home. Thus, similar to the public declarations of culinary skill, cookbooks aimed to convince outsiders that feminists would remain involved in the home and family. Yet, these cookbooks contained political arguments that pushed for the expansion of women's roles beyond the domestic sphere. The genre of the cultural object—the cookbooks—added a reassuring dimension to these arguments for conservative readers. By including political arguments in a cookbook, liberal feminists showed that they wished to reform—not abandon—the home and the family. These culinary materials may have extended liberal feminist frames to a more conservative audience.

Third, liberal feminists advocated for cooking in ways that could prefigure, or

model, a world in which women controlled more economic resources. This strand of culinary discourse somewhat contradicts the celebration of cooking found in the first two strands, for liberal feminists recommended culinary practices that lessened the time and energy that women would need to spend cooking. These culinary actions are forms of personal prefigurative politics that aimed to build, from the ground up, a world in which women could work outside the home more easily. Liberal feminists directed home cooks to prepare simple meals more quickly, implored men to cook more often, and taught women to make money from cooking. These suggestions represent forms of personal prefigurative politics, in which activists prefigure their political goals within their personal lives.

Fourth and finally, some liberal second-wave feminists used cooking to symbolize women's lives and struggles. By invoking culinary imagery in protests and art, liberal feminists called attention to the problematic and constraining nature of the housewife role. The symbolic rejection of cooking served as a proxy for the rejection of the housewife role. I argue that this symbolic use of cooking is a framing device, used to deliver feminists' political arguments. However, as the rest of the research in this chapter shows, anti-cooking protest signs did not translate into concrete suggestions for avoiding the kitchen. Instead, this chapter shows that liberal feminists advocated for engaging with cooking—albeit in subversive ways.

Therefore, culinary discourse played important political roles for liberal feminism. Discourse about cooking helped these activists frame their arguments and extend these frames to diverse audiences. It helped liberal feminists form a collective identity that aimed to mobilize allies. Culinary discourse also was the vehicle through

which activists delivered lessons on prefiguring the social change they desired. Thus, the home kitchen was an important site for liberal second-wave feminism. If we follow the traditions of social movement scholars and focus on the public sphere rather than the home, we miss an important dimension of the processes by which liberal feminists challenged the patriarchal status quo. Liberal second-wave feminists brought the kitchen to the front lines of feminist battle. In the *Ms.* article she wrote about food, Morgan (1980) acknowledges the importance of cooking to feminist politics. She explains that there is “a whole new feminist politics of food, dealing with men, with menus, and with power—over distribution as well as cooking… Our revolution, as always, begins at home.”

Building a Moral Identity

Like suffragists, second-wave feminists faced opponents who claimed that feminists abandoned their families and kitchens (Faludi 1991). While anti-suffragists claimed that suffragists would leave the home as they entered politics, anti-feminists in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s believed that women would desert the home as they pursued paid jobs, leaving men to care for the children and the house. Opponents to the movement loved to argue that feminists did not cook. Like anti-suffragists, anti-feminists in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s perpetuated the idea that feminists abandoned the home and their families as they selfishly pursued their own careers (Faludi 1991; Solomon 1978). For example, Jerry Falwell, an evangelical pastor and a leader of the Moral Majority, explained that feminists had mobilized a “satanic attack on the home” (Faludi 1991:232). Phyllis Schlafly, the leader of the opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, asserted

that feminists "hate men, marriage and children. They are out to destroy morality and the family" (Rosen 2000:39).

By contrast, some liberal second-wave feminists celebrated their culinary skills. They publicly admitted that they enjoyed cooking, and they took pride in their accomplishments in the kitchen. Yet, these discussions were not just affirmations of cooking. Liberal feminists also pointed out that their cooking meant that they were good wives and mothers who would not abandon their families. Thus, liberal feminists leveraged cooking to portray themselves in a favorable light to mainstream society.

The comparison across temperance, suffrage, liberal second-wave feminism, and radical second-wave feminism offers a suggestion for why liberal feminists used cooking to build this moral identity in particular. As the reader may recall from Chapter 5, suffragists also argued that their culinary skills made them good wives and mothers. I argue that this similarity results from suffragists' and liberal feminists' reliance on outsider support to achieve their political goals. Similar to suffragists, liberal second-wave feminists worked within the political and economic systems to advance gender equality. To be successful, however, these feminists needed allies within these systems. They needed the support of legislators, judges, and voters—and, within the workplace, they needed the support of bosses. With the exception of voters, in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, most of these key players within the political and economic systems were men. To gain the support of these key players, liberal second-wave feminists needed to convince them of their goals. This is more easily accomplished with goals that appear moderate and activists who seem reasonable and relatable. It would be much harder to get legislators, judges, voters, and bosses to support goals that appear to transform the very

basis of society and are advocated by radicals whose ideas and ways of life seem foreign to the mainstream. Therefore, just as suffragists did, liberal second-wave feminists used claims about cooking to build a moral identity of themselves as moderate, relatable women who would not dismantle the institutions of family and home.

In one vivid example of liberal feminists boasting about their culinary skills, one activist challenged anti-feminists to a pie-baking contest. In Oklahoma, Wanda Jo Peltier, Vice President of feminist newspaper *Sister Advocate,* requested that the leader of the anti-ERA Oklahoma Eagle Forum participate in an "ERA Bakeoff." The newspaper argued that the bakeoff was "being held expressly for the purpose of showing that feminists do have a sense of humor," which demonstrates that these feminists were fully aware awareness of the stereotype that labeled them as women who wouldn't cook (Anonymous 1978a). However, the bakeoff also made an important claim about feminists' culinary abilities. By publicly displaying that they could cook (this bakeoff was to take place at a restaurant), these feminists portrayed themselves not as radicals, but as women who engaged in activities that many other women complete. This message was driven home in the *Sister Advocate* article about the results of the event. The anti-ERA leader did not accept the challenge, but the ERA Bakeoff continued, as Peltier competed against on a man who was a longtime ERA supporter. The judges named Peltier the champion. In her victory statement, Peltier argued that her cooking skills made her more of a woman than the anti-ERA leaders who turned down her challenge. She explained:

> I guess Edmondson and Patterson just weren't "woman enough" to compete… We thought we were challenging them on their own turf—the kitchen—but apparently they couldn't handle the heat. Wouldn't it be

> ironic if "women's libbers" and men were more at home in the kitchen than the Eagle Forum, who seem to consider themselves such "total women"? (Anonymous 1978b).

Here, Peliter uses cooking to build a moral identity as a woman who is skilled at domestic tasks. This signals that feminists would not abandon the home, even though they advocated for increasing women's rights and opportunities in the public sphere.

This cooking contest is a near-perfect mirror image of an event staged by a suffragist in 1915. As I explained in Chapter 5, suffrage leader Jane Thompson challenged any anti-suffragist in Rochester, New York to a cooking contest. In both the suffrage and liberal second-wave cooking contests, an opponent never came forward, but this did not deter either feminist. In 1915, Thompson held a solitary cooking display in the windows of a local business. In 1978, Peltier found a fellow women's rights advocate to compete against, and held the contest in public (and the addition of a male contestant adds further feminist weight to this performance by demonstrating men's cooking capacity—see the section below about men cooking). Local newspaper reporters served as the judges for each contest. Respectively, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists deemed both events a success. Importantly, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists aimed for these events to send the same message: that feminists can (and will) still cook, even if they push for women's rights. The *Woman's Journal* explained that the 1915 cooking "contest" was "proof that cookery and civics do not interfere with each other" (Anonymous 1915). Similarly, in 1978 *Sister Advocate* proclaimed that the contest was "Proving once and for all that 'women's libbers' can cook" (Anonymous 1978b).

The similarity between these two events might lead one to think that the liberal second-wave feminists were aware of the suffragists' cooking contest and purposefully

emulated it. However, the report on the Oklahoma cooking contest makes no reference to the suffragists' cooking contests. The 1970s feminists' apparent lack of knowledge about the earlier contest strengthens the possibility that both suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists independently decided to hold matching events. This is not a random coincidence. Instead, components of both movements led to the similar public displays of cooking. Both movements aimed to incorporate women into the current political system, and both required the support of political insiders—who were mainly men—to achieve this goal. Thus, both movements used cooking to develop an identity that was favorable to the mainstream and aimed to assuage men's fears that feminists abandoned their families. Therefore, suffragists' and liberal second-wave feminists' similar political goals and tactics produced similar identity-building uses of cooking—such as holding public cooking contests to demonstrate their culinary abilities.

Although liberal second-wave feminists echoed suffragists' claims that they continued to cook, they wrote about this issue less often than suffragists. However, liberal second-wave feminists did use their cookbooks to demonstrate that they could please people's palates. Take, for example, the recipe for "Curry Cheese Sauce" from the *First Virginia Feminist Cook Book*:

> CURRY CHEESE SAUCE
> Makes 1 cup.
> When feminist duties take their toll of time, and you have an emergency company dinner to prepare, this sauce over broccoli will impress your guests that you may be an active feminist, but you also know how to please the inner person.
> Combine in top of double boiler:
> 1 small package of Velveeta cheese
> 1 small (8 oz.) package of sour cream
> 1 teaspoon dry mustard (or to taste)
> 1 teaspoon curry powder (or to taste)

> Stirring occasionally, cook until the cheese melts and the sauce is well blended and smooth. —Bobbie Patrick, Rock Hill, South Carolina (Gill and Stevens 1983:33)

This recipe asserts feminists' ability to cook—although some observers may question whether melting Velveeta is a true form of cooking. The recipe contributor, Bobbie Patrick, maintains that women could both be involved in "feminist duties" and still "please the inner person" with their cooking. Another recipe in the same cookbook also argues that feminists could use this dish to prove their culinary prowess to their doubtful friends. In "Roasted Venison and Potatoes," John Frazer explains, "Even if you seldom need this recipe, you can impress your deer-hunting acquaintances when they proudly bring you a haunch that you can give them a tasty double-dish. That will raise their consciousness about the culinary art of feminists" (Gill and Stevens 1983:76).

While suffragists boasted about their cooking to gather votes for the cause, some liberal second-wave feminists demonstrated their culinary skill to gain votes for themselves, as candidates running for office. One goal of liberal second-wave feminism was to increase women's presence in government, including in elected positions. *NOW We're Cooking* included a recipe from Helen Satterthwaite, who was elected as an Illinois state representative in 1974 and served in this position for 18 years (Meadows 2013). According to the note following the recipe, Satterthwaite printed this recipe on the back of her campaign card.

> HELEN SATTERTHWAITE'S SUSTAINING STEW
> 1½ lb. lean stewing beef, cut in small cubes
> 46 oz. can tomato juice
> 1 large onion, diced
> 1 C. celery, diced
> 2 t. salt
> ¼ t. pepper

> 1 t. oregano
> 2 qt. water (or beef stock or vegetable cooking water)
> 1½ C. quick cooking barley
> 2 10 oz. packages frozen mixed vegetables
> Brown meat well in 8 qt. pan. Add tomato juice, onion, celery, salt and pepper, oregano and water. Simmer about ½ hour. Add the barley and simmer 20 or 25 minutes, with occasional stirring. Add the 2 packages of mixed vegetables and cook about 10 minutes longer until the vegetables are tender.
> Served steaming hot with garlic bread and salad, this makes a hearty meal for 12 to 15 people. In hot weather, try it chilled with a dollop of sour cream on top. —Helen Satterthwaite.
> This recipe was on the back of the campaign card used by Helen in her successful campaign for State Representative. (NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter 1979:63)

By including a recipe on the back of her campaign card, Satterthwaite revealed that she could cook, despite her desire to serve as state representative. This marked Satterthwaite as someone who was still interested in domestic issues, and the image of her as the family cook likely made her more relatable to a broad audience of voters.

For women running for office, demonstrations of culinary skill have the potential to backfire, for they could mark candidates as too feminized or domestic for the masculinized world of politics. This is similar to the double-bind faced by professional women in a male-dominated field. If a woman appears too authoritative, her co-workers will not expect this from a woman; they will criticize her for not being warm enough. However, if she appears too warm, her co-workers will not think she "has what it takes" to advance (Eagly and Carli 2007). Including a recipe on a campaign card is akin to erring on the side of warmth. Satterthwaite aimed to increase her likability by aligning with others' expectations about women. However, this is a dangerous game to play when entering a male-dominated field; the recipe could have marked Satterthwaite as not having the strength, competitive drive, and thick skin (all masculinized qualities) needed

for a career in politics. Luckily for Satterthwaite, voters were convinced by her campaign and elected her to office.

As Satterthwaite's recipe demonstrates, building an identity as a good caretaker had instrumental value for pursuing other career opportunities. Thus, being a good caretaker was only part of feminists' identity; they were sure to point out that women should not solely conform to the traditional feminine roles of wife and mother. In many instances when feminists claimed that they cooked, feminists were quick to explain that they were not confined to the housewife role. For example, in Robin Morgan's *Ms.* magazine article that I quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Morgan explains that some feminists cook, but "it's easier to enjoy cooking if you don't have to do it three times a day every day, and if the people around you don't assume it's your sole reason for existence on the planet" (Morgan 1980). Similarly, after asserting that feminists continue to cook, another *Ms.* magazine article stated that cooking has "become for women what hunting and fishing have become for men—enjoyable at times, but, thank God, not *necessary*" (Mainardi 1974).

For liberal feminists, claims about cooking asserted domestic competence. By claiming to cook, feminists diffused their opponents' claims that they were not domestic and abandoned their families. But many feminists also used these claims about cooking to gain access to rights and careers. For liberal second-wave feminists, it was crucial to gain the support of voters, legislators, judges, and bosses. Claims about cooking helped liberal second-wave feminists gain these people's support. Ironically, by claiming to cook, liberal feminists built a moral identity that helped them gain the freedom to be something other than a housewife.

Hiding Spinach in the Brownies

In addition to helping liberal second-wave feminists build a politically useful identity, discourse about cooking could also help spread feminists' message to a more conservative audience. Cookbooks and other publications about cooking portray a dedication to domestic femininity—albeit not necessarily a primary dedication. By using these publications, liberal feminists not only countered their opponents' arguments that feminists would abandon the home and family; they also potentially piqued the interest of readers who may have objected to feminism due to the belief that feminists were anti-family and anti-housewife. However, if one of these former critics picked up a liberal feminist cookbook, they would not discover a ringing endorsement of the housewife role. Instead, in their cookbooks and other publications about cooking, liberal second-wave feminists included a range of political arguments that called for reforming family relationships and encouraged women to follow pursuits outside the home.

In this section, I argue that the medium in which these arguments are delivered matters. The cookbook softens the blow of these arguments, because the cookbook's commitment to domestic femininity makes it clear that feminists do not plan to abandon the home. In other words, the media genre (in this case, culinary publications) might make some collective action frames more palatable to a moderate or conservative audience. The cookbooks and other publications about cooking may have extended feminist frames to this audience, encouraging them to consider how feminism relates to their own lives. In Chapter 5, we saw that suffragists employed this tactic when they included radical republican citizenship frames in fundraising cookbooks (see pages 145-

152). The cookbooks assured readers that women would remain committed to the home, even if they also began pursuing the many public duties required in republican citizenship. Liberal second-wave feminists used their publications about cooking in a similar way. The cookbook genre invokes widespread cultural notions about traditional femininity, assuring readers that despite their critiques of the housewife role, liberal feminists did not plan on abandoning their homes and families.

Two of four the liberal second-wave cookbooks contained quotes or essays alongside the recipes (the other two cookbooks contained political arguments in their introductions). For example, *Pots and Politics* included a wealth of material in addition to the recipes. In this book, the Washington chapter of the NWPC reprinted the 1909 suffrage *Washington Women's Cook Book* and added recipes and other material from the 1970s. The editor explains that they got the idea to include quotes from the suffrage cookbook: "The 'Tongue in Cheek' chapter (no, it is not a quick recipe) is our miscellaneous collection of anything we felt would afford a snicker to those who read at the table. Taking the lead from the 1909 cookbook and its use of quotations, we put together one of our own, some serious and some biting" (Kaplan 1976:9). Here, Kaplan also reveals that she expected readers to come across these quotes as they were using the cookbook—or reading it at the dinner table after they cooked a meal from it.

Within these cookbooks, liberal second-wave feminists advanced arguments about reforming the family. These activists largely focused on empowering wives and mothers. For example, at the bottom of a page that offers the recipe for "Pine Nut Salad," readers of the *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook* come across Black feminist Flo Kennedy's critique of the inequity of typical marriages: "Any woman who still thinks

that marriage is a fifty-fifty proposition is only proving that she doesn't understand either men or percentages" (Gill and Stevens 1983:25). Elsewhere in liberal feminist cookbooks, quotes highlight the unceasing nature of women's domestic work. Below the recipe for "Donna's Soup" in the *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook,* Anne Morrow Lindbergh explains, "By and large, mothers and housewives are the only workers who do not have regular time off. They are the great vacationless class" (Gill and Stevens 1983:9). Still others point out the precarious nature of housewives' situation, for these women must preform an extraordinary amount of work simply to remain dependent on men. *Pots and Politics* includes a quote from Frances Dana Gage, an abolitionist and early suffragist, who claims, "Wife, mother, nurse, seamstress, cook, housekeeper, chambermaid, laundress, dairy-woman, and scrub generally, doing the work of six, for the sake of being supported" (Kaplan 1976:64).

If these arguments were included in a newspaper or speech, audience members might believe feminists called for women to walk away from their families. However, by folding these arguments into cookbooks, feminists demonstrated that they would not abandon their homes. The gendered nature of the genre—the domestic femininity that is implied in cookbooks—adds a further level of complexity to the critiques of the family, for it demonstrates that feminists wish to reform (and not renounce) the family. By making this point more clear, the cookbooks help make feminist ideas on the family palatable to a more conservative audience.

Liberal feminist cookbooks also contained arguments about women being able to broaden their horizons beyond the home. In *Pots and Politics,* near the recipes contributed by 1970s feminists, the NWPC printed slogans that called for women to

become more involved in an array of activities. These slogans included "A woman's place is everyplace," "Women! Make policy not coffee," "Biology is not destiny," and "We need women in the house… and in the senate too" (Kaplan 1976:66). These slogans played on the widespread cultural notions that woman's natural sphere is the home, and that women are inherently suited to domestic tasks. While making a nod to these beliefs, these slogans also argued that women could also excel at activities outside the home.

This sentiment is repeated throughout liberal feminist cookbooks. For example, the *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook* quotes suffragist Lucy Stone, who argued that women should not be confined to the home: "Too much has already been said and written about woman's sphere… Leave women, then, to find their sphere. And do not tell us before we are born even, that our province is to cook dinners, darn stockings, and sew on buttons" (Gill and Stevens 1983:112). While it may seem somewhat hypocritical to include this quote in a cookbook, in effect, the mixture of this argument with the surrounding recipes makes the point that while women can (and do) complete domestic labor such as cooking, they should be free to pursue additional activities beyond the home. In other words, women should not be constrained to the traditional image of domestic femininity. A Betty Friedan quote in *The First Virginia Feminist Cookbook* explains, "When she stopped conforming to the conventional picture of femininity, she finally began to enjoy being a woman" (Gill and Stevens 1983:54). While the cookbooks prove that women may continue to complete household tasks, the political arguments within them emphasized that women should not solely conform to the image of domestic femininity.

In sum, cookbooks and other publications about cooking may have aided in the

extension of liberal feminist frames to a more conservative audience. When liberal feminist arguments are included in a cookbook, it is difficult to interpret them as calling for an abandonment of the home and family. By including progressive arguments within conservative cultural genres, liberal second-wave feminists effectually were "hiding spinach in the brownies;" in other words, they took ingredients that might be objectionable on their own and baked them into a more agreeable medium. This tactic might get children to eat their spinach—or it could convince readers to accept liberal feminist arguments. Food attracted at least one reader to liberal feminist publications. In February of 1980, *Ms.* published an issue dedicated to food. The issue featured articles that explained how to use cooking to work toward feminists' political goals (see sections on personal prefigurative politics below). One woman wrote to *Ms.* to explain that she bought this issue, despite her previous distaste for feminism:

> I hardly ever even skim through *Ms.* as it is too "feminist" for my tastes, but I did purchase the February issue. I didn't even flip through the pages—the cover alone caught my eye and I immediately bought the magazine as I am really "into" food. Thank you! Hope you'll include more articles and essays on the wonderful subject of food in future issues. (Paraizo 1980)

For this reader, it was food—not logical arguments, and not appeals to her unjust situation—that convinced her to purchase a the publication and read feminist analyses of the culinary world. Although we cannot know if this woman accepted the feminist arguments or read articles that did not discuss food, we do know that the culinary content was the first thing that successfully attracted her to *Ms*. Discourse about cooking had the power to reach audience members who might otherwise shy away from movement messages. Thus, discourse about cooking served at least two major purposes for liberal

second-wave feminism. Cookbooks and other publications about cooking bolstered these activists' attempts to build a politically useful identity; simultaneously, these publications also worked to disseminate liberal feminist arguments to a broader audience.

Personal Prefigurative Politics

Above, we saw that liberal second-wave feminists claimed that they continued to cook. These claims bolstered a moral identity, painting feminists as women who would not abandon their families. Liberal second-wave feminists also leveraged these claims about cooking to make their arguments for gender equality more appealing to people outside the movement. However, if we look closer at liberal feminists' recommendations for cooking, we notice that they did not enthusiastically endorse all culinary methods. Instead, liberal feminists advocated for particular ways of cooking. These activists suggested cooking in ways that could prefigure the social change they desired.

Liberal feminists recommended cooking in ways that modeled a world in which women found power by working and being involved in politics. First, liberal second-wave feminists advised cooking fast, convenient meals, which gave women more time to pursue careers and political involvement. Second, liberal second-wave feminists wanted men to cook in order to ease women's domestic work, freeing women to pursue paid work. Finally, liberal second-wave feminists encouraged women to make money from cooking professionally (see Table 7.1 for the common prefigurative themes within liberal feminist culinary discourse). In this discourse, liberal second-wave feminists provided the blueprints for modeling a society in which women controlled more economic resources. Therefore, liberal feminists promoted forms of personal prefigurative politics, in which

activists use their personal lives to model their ideal society.

Table 7.1. Prefigurative Politics Common in Liberal Feminist Culinary Discourse

	Labor Saving	Kitchen Technology	Make Ahead	Canned Food	Frozen Food	Men Cooking	Professional Chefs
Liberal							
Ms. Articles (N=89)	14 (15.7%)	6 (6.7%)	2 (2.2%)	1 (1.1%)	1 (1.1%)	31 (34.8%)	10 (11.2%)
Cookbook Recipes (sample N=188)	9 (4.8%)	18 (9.6%)	15 (8.0%)	60 (31.9%)	12 (6.4%)	27 (14.4%)	--
Radical							
Newspaper Articles (N=170)	5 (2.9%)	6 (3.5%)	--	6 (3.5%)	3 (1.8%)	9 (5.3%)	3 (1.8%)
Cookbook Recipes (sample N=200)	3 (1.5%)	73 (36.5%)	2 (1%)	18 (9%)	2 (1%)	6 (3%)	--

Personal Prefigurative Politics: Quick and Simple Cooking

Liberal second-wave feminists suggested ways to spend less time in the kitchen. On the surface, this contradicts their public claims that feminists continued to cook. However, these feminists *did* advocate cooking—they just recommended cooking less. Liberal feminists encouraged cooking fast and simple meals, which gave women more time to pursue careers and political involvement. Thus, liberal feminists presented their methods of cooking as ones that would allow women to continue their commitment to their jobs and improve women's control of economic resources. For example, in *Pots and Politics,* the cookbook by the Washington State Women's Political Caucus, the recipes are labeled "Recipes for the Busy Political Worker, Elected Official, or Candidate" (Kaplan 1976). This title situates the recipes as tools that facilitate women's involvement in politics. By spending less time and energy cooking, liberal second-wave feminists

could increase women's economic power by integrating them into the previously male-dominated workplace.

In *The Feminine Mystique,* Betty Friedan argued that women should treat housework and cooking as something that should be done quickly in order to move to more meaningful and creative work. This idea also pervades liberal second-wave feminist articles, cookbooks, and recipes that encourage women to finish cooking quickly and without wasting much effort. Ideally, this culinary style could give women the time and energy to pursue a career. For example, Shirlie Kaplan, the editor of *Pots and Politics,* explains that the cookbook was about "speed cooking," and described how cooking fit into the busy lives of many feminists:

> What does the family prepare for the wife and/or mother coming home at odd hours, exhausted? What does a woman or a man alone knock together between 5:30 or 6 P.M. fall-into-the-house and the 7:00 P.M. meeting, hearing or rally? There is no time for careful shopping or preparation. (Kaplan 1976:8)

Although she is presenting a cookbook, Kaplan makes clear that cooking should not be women's main life priority. Instead, cooking is something to be completed quickly, in the small pockets of time in women's busy schedules.

These liberal second-wave feminists valued quick cooking, but easy cooking was equally important. Just as women's time was deemed a finite resource, so was women's creative energy. Kaplan (1976:8) explains that women are "apt to fix a meal while solving other problems," and that recipes should be simple enough to allow for this. Similarly, she encourages women to cook dishes that do not require significant mental energy. In explaining the short and simple collection of recipes in *Pots and Politics,* Kaplan (1976:8) notes, "what we ended up with was an abbreviated chapter and some

points of view, none of them profound. We saved our profundities for politics, naturally."

Articles in *Ms.* magazine also discuss how to approach cooking in ways that would enable women's careers. In one article, the author explains that dual-career couples usually prioritize particular household tasks and eliminate or lessen those that they do not care about. Cooking-related tasks often did not make the cut. For example, one dual-career couple decided to never wash a single dish again: "In the interest of streamlining housekeeping tasks, two-career couples may make choices that appear eccentric. One couple agreed to use paper plates, 'because neither of us could see demanding that the other wash the dishes when we each hated it so much.' Why not? Life is short" (Barrett 1984).

Although liberal second-wave feminists suggested cooking when they were not at their 9-to-5 job, many were careful to avoid claiming that women could "have it all." In a *Ms.* article titled "Supermom," Madelon Bedell explains her attempts to stop holding herself to this impossible ideal. Bedell realizes that she is trying to be a "supermom" after cooking *navarin printanier,* "a glorified lamb stew," for a large family gathering. Bedell, who works full-time and has several young children, explains her drive to be a perfectionist in every task she approaches—including cooking *navarin printanier*. "If you follow the three-and-one-half-page Julia Child recipe carefully, without cheating, it takes most of the day to fix. I never cheat." Bedell comes to understand that the burden of two jobs—one paid, one unpaid—is making her a nervous wreck. Bedell decided to stop trying to be a supermom. This process involved decreasing her standards at home and refusing to do everything for her family:

No point, at this stage, in trying to do new things. The trick was to stop

> doing the old ones. Stop reacting to familiar situations in the familiar way… Let me illustrate.
> It is after dinner. My husband raises his head from the newspaper and says: "Is there coffee?"
> I rise my head from my novel and say: "I don't know. Is there?"
> Shattering.
> Or another. My youngest son comes home from school and says: "Did you bake the cake for the sale tomorrow?"
> "No, son, I didn't. Here's a dollar. Run out to the store and buy one, will you?"
> Mind-blowing! (Bedell 1973)

Therefore, at least some liberal feminists were aware of the tendency to try to "have it all," or to be superwomen. These women saw these ideals as problematic. Bedell explains that as an aspiring supermom, she was holding herself to impossible ideals that continued to place the majority of the household labor on women and made her feel inadequate when she had trouble keeping up. To allow women to maintain a career, a family, and their sanity, Bedell advocates not aspiring to be a supermom, but to reduce her standards and convince other family members to help out (in the next section, we will see more about convincing husbands to do more work in the kitchen).

More broadly, liberal feminists often advocated for reducing one's culinary standards as a labor-saving mechanism. In an article in the first issue of *Ms.,* "The Housewife's Moment of Truth," Jane O'Reilly describes the "*Click!"* feeling, or the instance in which women recognize that their personal lives are shaped by broader gendered social forces. O'Reilly also explains how to move toward a more feminist life. She recommends that women save time and energy by cooking less elaborate dinners:

> I know a man and woman who decided to stop eating dinner. She had been rushing around putting children to bed, and then laying on a candlelit dinner with three kinds of food on the plate for her husband. They liked chatting at dinner. He helped clean up. They never finished before ten. But one night they discovered that both were dreaming of long comfy

> evenings reading by the fire. So they skipped the ritual feast—and replaced it with sandwiches. (O'Reilly 1972)

Here, a couple dispenses with the social norm of large, time-consuming meals so that they can spend more time and energy on something more personally meaningful. Similarly, in *Pots and Politics,* Kaplan argues that women should not feel pressured to produce elaborate gourmet meals, "nor does a photographer come every day to snap your table for a magazine cover" (Kaplan 1976:8). Like many other liberal feminists, Kaplan encourages women to break out of social expectations about the quality and presentation of food.

Labor saving was a common suggestion in *Ms.;* 14 (15.7% of the articles) articles about cooking discussed how to save time and energy (see Table 7.1). This issue was also prevalent in the recipes in liberal second-wave cookbooks. I coded these recipes for various ingredients, cooking methods, and comments that marked the recipe as one that could be completed quickly and simply. These codes included "kitchen technology," "make ahead," "canned food," "frozen food," and "labor saving." Across the sample of recipes I coded, nearly half (or 91 recipes, 47.9%) included one or more of these codes. This pattern demonstrates the importance that liberal second-wave feminists placed on cooking techniques that were fast and simple.

For example, in the following recipe for "Broccoli Salad," Alexandria NOW member Leslie Weaver explains that the dish is "feminist" and "easy-to-toss together:"

> BROCCOLI SALAD
> 4-6 Servings
> This is one sweet feminist, easy-to-toss together salad.
> Mix well:
> 4 cups raw cut-up broccoli
> ½ cup raisins

> 1 small onion finely chopped
> 8 slices cooked bacon, crumbled
> Set aside and mix well:
> 1 cup mayonnaise
> ½ cup sugar
> 3 tablespoons vinegar
> Pour the dressing over the broccoli mixture and toss lightly. The salad can sit in the refrigerator overnight. —Leslie Weaver, Alexandria NOW (Gill and Stevens 1983:22)

In other recipes, titles called attention to the fact that the food was simple to make. *NOW We're Cooking,* the cookbook from the Champaign, Illinois NOW chapter, contained a recipe for "Corned Beef: Slow and Easy," which required simmering corned beef in a Dutch oven for 4 hours (NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter 1979:34).

To save time and energy while cooking, liberal second-wave feminists kept the procedures of recipes simple. Many liberal feminist recipes require only a few steps, decreasing the time and energy required. For example, the recipe for "Quick No Mix" in *Pots and Politics* emphasizes "There is no mixing;" instead, the recipe simply requires putting fruit in a pan and covering it with fruit juice, cake mix, chopped nuts, and margarine (Kaplan 1976:49). Casseroles were also a favorite dish, as they required little preparation and produced a hearty one-dish meal.

These feminists also relied heavily on convenience products and technology. In my sample of recipes from liberal feminist cookbooks, 18 (9.5%) used some type of kitchen technology such as a slow cooker, a pressure cooker, or a blender. In *Ms.,* six articles about cooking (6.7%) mentioned kitchen technology (see Table 7.1). While radical second-wave feminist cookbooks relied even more on kitchen technology (with 36.5% of recipes utilizing appliances), radicals used appliances less to save money and more as tools that allowed them to go even more in-depth into the culinary process.

While liberal feminists used slow cookers to save labor, radical feminists used food processors to make their own sauces and pestos from scratch. Liberal feminists loved slow cookers, as this appliance did the cooking while women worked during the day. *Pots and Politics* includes a chili recipe that encapsulates the reasons why liberal second-wave feminists found slow cookers so attractive. This recipe claims that even "a single person who is too busy to bother with cooking" could manage to make herself a hearty meal with a slow cooker:

> SLOW-COOKED CHILI AND OTHER COMBINATIONS
> "As a single person who is too busy to bother with cooking, I find my 'slow-cooker' invaluable, particularly for hearty soups and stews."
> Chili:
> 1 lb. hamburger
> 1 can stewed tomatoes
> 1 can kidney beans
> 1 package of chili sauce (powdered kind)
> Toss into slow-cooker on Friday evening, and after a day-long conference on Saturday, come home to a hot, delicious meal. (It will work for other days of the week, too.)
> "Slow-cooking makes hamburger taste good. One pound of hamburger plus cans of any vegetables makes a home-made tasting soup."
> Prepare tomorrow's meal while doing the dishes tonight. And, that's what to do with that odd slice of roast beef! —Thea Moisio-Saeger, Seattle. (Kaplan 1976:50)

In this recipe, a slow cooker enables busy, working women to eat a home-cooked meal that requires hardly any cooking. The most laborious task in this recipe involves opening the cans of beans and tomatoes. This recipe implies that using a slow cooker frees up women to attend engaging and exhausting conferences. Further, when the recipe directs feminists to "prepare tomorrow's meal while doing the dishes tonight," it nearly makes the labor for tomorrow's meal vanish. Feminists could get an additional meal in exchange for no work at all.

Feminists also used pressure cookers to reduce the time and energy they spent in the kitchen. Pressure cookers turned meals that required hours to cook into quick fixes. *Pots and Politics* included a recipe for "Curried Chicken (via pressure cooker)" which required cooking all the ingredients in the pressure cooker for 30 minutes (Kaplan 1976:55). While the slow cooker produced one-pot meals that required preparation the night or morning before, liberal second-wave feminists used the pressure cooker in nearly the opposite scenario—to cook one-pot meals in a matter of minutes. *NOW We're Cooking* included a pressure-cooker recipe for Vichyssoise. It called for cooking leeks, Oleo, potatoes, chicken broth, and half and half in a pressure cooker for 3 minutes before blending and serving (NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter 1979:4-5).

A *Ms.* magazine article by poet Alice Walker explained the wonders not of a new technological development, but of an old one. In fact, suffragists lauded the very same device—the fireless cooker—as something that could save women the labor of cooking and enable them to pursue other interests. Walker discovers the fireless cooker when she was a dinner guest, perplexed because there was no sign of anyone preparing food—no aroma, no harried hosts running around the kitchen. Instead, the hosts engaged Walker in a deep conversation about literature and history as Walker grew increasingly ravenous. Eventually, the hosts sat Walker down at the dinner table and surprised her by lifting a hot pot of Irish Stew out of a wooden chest that was stuffed with hay. In the *Ms.* article, Walker explains that she now uses the fireless cooker (Walker 1982). Walker explains that Although Walker does not explain how the fireless cooker reduces cooking labor, the technology fits perfectly in with the dominant discourse elsewhere in *Ms.* about empowering and enabling women to follow careers.

While some liberal second-wave feminists idealized these technological innovations, historian Ruth Schwartz Cowan critiques the idea that convenience items save women any labor. Cowan argues that innovations like the vacuum cleaner, cake mix, and the pressure cooker, advertised as products that make women's lives easier, actually raised standards of housework and created more work for women (Cowan 1983). While Cowan's theory is valid in some situations, it may not apply when there is an indisputable, basic need for a certain household task. People need to eat several times a day, and in the 1970s, for most Americans, eating take-out food for every meal was not an option. Thus, if cooking was inevitable, tools such as slow cookers allowed women to achieve this task with less time and energy. Cake mixes may persuade women to bake a cake twice a week (a superfluous dessert that, prior to the cake mix, they didn't feel compelled to make nearly as often); a slow cooker is a different story. Slow cookers addressed domestic tasks that were already on women's docket. Accordingly, many liberal second-wave feminists argued that slow cookers eased their labor. These activists did not mention that using slow cookers raised expectations that they should cook more often—most women had to cook nearly every night anyway. However, liberal second-wave feminists argued that these convenience tools made "more work for mother" in another manner—by allowing women to engage in paid work.

Dinner could be even easier if recipes included canned, packaged, or frozen food. In the sample of cookbook recipes I coded, nearly a third of them (60 recipes, or 31.6%) used at least one canned ingredient. Additionally, frozen food made many appearances in these recipes—12 (6.3%) recipes called for items such as frozen vegetables (see Table 7.1).

These recipes often look like prototypes for Sandra Lee's "Semi-Homemade." Sandra Lee, a twenty-first-century culinary figure, teaches women to cook meals by combining a few canned or packaged foods (e.g., Lee 2010). In some liberal second-wave recipes, cooking becomes the task of assembling processed foods. For example, the recipe for "One Dish Dinner" in *Pots and Politics* combines ground beef, a can of tomato soup, and a can of green beans in a casserole dish before topping it with leftover or instant mashed potatoes (Kaplan 1976:49). Another *Pots and Politics* recipe follows this pattern of using only a few canned ingredients:

> ALICE'S SOUP
> From a 79-year old woman who says she does not like to cook.
> Mix 2 cans mushroom soup, 1 can creamed corn, 1 can tuna fish. Heat and eat.
> Optional: cheddar cheese slices or pieces and browned onions. Or stick piece of cheese in bowl. —Norma Fried, Seattle. (Kaplan 1976:50)

"Alice's Soup" comes from a woman, probably Alice, who hated to cook, but it fits perfectly with liberal second-wave feminists' ideas of fast and easy cooking. Similarly, *NOW We're Cooking* includes a recipe for "Broccoli Casserole," which uses only five ingredients, all canned or processed:

> BROCCOLI CASSEROLE
> 10 oz. box frozen chopped broccoli
> 1 C. cooked Minute Rice
> 10½ oz. can cream of mushroom soup
> 8 oz. jar Cheese Whiz
> 5 oz. can water chestnuts, drained and sliced
> Thaw broccoli and drain. Add rice, soup, Cheese Whiz and water chestnuts. Mix thoroughly. Pour into a 1½ qt. greased casserole dish. Bake at 350° for 30 minutes. Freeze well. —Susan Hurst (NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter 1979:20)

Twenty-first-century foodies might cringe at the use of Cheez Whiz and cream of mushroom soup—especially in the same recipe. Yet, the emphasis here is not on using

fresh food, nor producing a healthy meal, nor making a Michelin-starred gourmet dish; the point is to turn out food quickly and without much effort.

Liberal second-wave feminists also utilized frozen food, a convenience item that had been developed in the half-century between suffrage and liberal second-wave feminism. The following recipe from *NOW We're Cooking* uses both frozen spinach and boxed mashed potatoes:

> SWEDISH GREEN POTATOES
> 8 servings of Potato Buds mashed potatoes
> 10 oz. package frozen chopped spinach
> ¼ t. sugar
> ¼ t. pepper
> 2 T. chopped chives
> 1½ t. dill weed
> Prepare Potato Buds according to package directions. Cook spinach according to directions and drain well. Add spinach, sugar, pepper, chives and dill weed to potatoes. Mix until well blended. Place in 1½ qt. size casserole. Bake at 350° for 30 minutes. —Kim Esker (NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter 1979:22)

Therefore, liberal second-wave feminists encouraged people to cook with a range of convenience foods that saved time and energy in the kitchen.

Liberal feminists utilized many processed and frozen convenience foods, but liberal feminism is not the *reason* for these foods' continued popularity. As Chapter 6 explained (see pages 199-200), food manufacturers developed canned, frozen, and processed foods in the early twentieth century and were pushing them on consumers long before the second wave of feminism (Matchar 2015). These foods had become well incorporated into the American diet by the 1950s. As growing numbers of women entered the workforce out of economic necessity, many relied on these foods to continue to fulfill their domestic roles, which mainstream culture presented as women's top priority.

Liberal feminists also used these foods to enable women's employment, but they challenged the dominant relationship between femininity and food by arguing that employment should take precedence over women's family roles. Thus, liberal feminists' call for empowering women by prioritizing paid employment also included recommendations that women make use of the food technologies that had been developed throughout the twentieth century.

These activists also suggested that food be cooked ahead of time, which allows people to create home-made meals in a way that fits with their busy, career-oriented schedules. Fifteen (7.9%) of the recipe sample recommended making the dishes ahead of time so it could be quickly prepared when people wanted to eat it (see Table 7.1). For example, the recipe for "Frozen Slaw" instructs the cook to prepare the dish and then freeze it for future use. When it came time to use this dish for a meal, one simply needed to thaw it:

> FROZEN COLE SLAW
> 1 medium head cabbage, shredded
> 1 green pepper, chopped
> 1 carrot, grated
> 1 t. salt
> Dressing
> 1 C. vinegar
> 2 C. Sugar
> 1 t. whole mustard seed
> ¼ C. water
> 1 t. celery seed
> Mix salt and cabbage and let it sit one hour.
> Squeeze excess moisture out and discard; mix cabbage with pepper and carrot. Mix dressing ingredients and boil for 1 minute. Cool to lukewarm and pour over cabbage mixture. Put in containers and freeze. Thaw to eat.
> —Dorothy Kearns (NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter 1979:14)

Recipes like this are excellent for people who are working long days and have little time

to prepare food during the week. Pulling food out of the freezer and thawing it is much simpler than cooking a meal from scratch, and much more appealing on a weeknight after a long and tiring day of work.

In sum, liberal second-wave feminists advocated for cooking in ways that could enable women's careers and improve women's control of economic resources. Quick and simple methods of cooking model an approach to domestic tasks that does not take over women's lives. Instead, the top priority remains women's work outside the home. Therefore, by suggesting that cooks pursue labor-saving methods, utilize kitchen technologies, use convenience products such as canned and frozen foods, and make food ahead of time, liberal feminists advocated for forms of personal prefigurative politics that could model the home life necessary to advance their goals in the public sphere.

Personal Prefigurative Politics: Men in the Kitchen

Saving time and energy while cooking was one step toward enabling women to enter careers, but liberal feminists recognized that labor saving techniques on their own would not be enough. As long as women continued to be saddled with all of the domestic chores, it would be difficult for them to gain equal footing with men in the workplace. These women recognized the "second shift" before Hochschild (1989) coined the term. Liberal feminists argued that men should cook more often in the home. Often, these activists connected men cooking with women's improved chances of success in the workplace. Liberal feminists also argued that getting men to cook would overthrow outdated ideas about gender; these activists believed that there were no essential gender differences that made men—or women—better at any given task. The issue of men

cooking took different forms across different feminist media. In *Ms.* magazine, thirty (33.1%) articles about cooking suggested that men should cook at home. Further, in the sample of recipes in liberal feminist cookbooks that I coded, 11 (5.8%) recipes were submitted by men (see Table 7.1).

Integrating gendered spheres was a key goal of liberal second-wave feminism. Just as liberal second-wave feminists attempted to integrate women into the previously male-dominated professional workplace, these feminists also attempted to integrate men into the previously female-dominated household and kitchen. They argued that women were not inherently better at cooking, and that men could complete this task just as well as women could. For example, the women of the Washington NWPC argued that their cookbook was not only for women. *Pots and Politics,* which reprinted the 1909 suffragist *Washington Women's Cook Book* and added a section of recipes from the 1970s feminists, began with a statement that encouraged men to cook the recipes in the book: "People of both sexes eat; people of both sexes cook. Although the assumption of the 1909 cookbook was that only women cooked while only men and children ate, in 1976 we prefer not to make such categorical distinctions... The recipes in this book may be recreated by members of either sex" (Kaplan 1976:5).

To prove men's ability to cook, *Ms.* included many pieces that mentioned men in the kitchen. For example, *Ms.* printed a letter from a reader who shared his love for cooking:

> I've been a practicing Jewish Mother since long before I was married. I've always enjoyed cooking for friends of both sexes… When I was living alone, I cooked the elaborate meals for myself that I now do for my family. It has always seemed worth cooking for an hour to eat for an hour. Even washing the dishes afterward is (almost) worth it. My wife feels the

same way I do about this. She's a good cook too. (Kenin 1976)

Here, the reader, Eliot Kenin, plays with—and overturns—the gendered expectations about cooking. He identifies as a "Jewish Mother" at the beginning of the letter, but does not reveal that he is a man until the end of the letter. Through this trick, Kenin highlights the gendered stereotypes about cooking while he simultaneously disrupts them. Liberal feminists also documented men's ability to cook in an article about Old Home Days, a festival in a small town in Vermont. The author proudly reports that the town's firemen now cook food for attendees: "The full course sit-down dinner of previous Old Home Days has fallen out of favor, largely because it calls for full-time stand-up cooks—namely, women. Instead the town has a new tradition: the local firemen take turns tending fires of a different sort, barbecuing chicken or broiling hamburgers for the town" (Mainardi 1974).

Several examples of men cooking appear in section that *Ms.* magazine had designated for children. In this small section, *Ms.* published stories or cartoons that taught feminist lessons to children. Many of these stories emphasized that men and women are equally capable of any activity. Thus, several stories featured men who cooked. One cartoon featured a diverse array of families, including one in which the husband cooked. The story explained, "Kim's mother works, so Kim helps her dad with the house and her baby sister. Some of her friends think it's funny that her dad does all the cooking—until they taste his pizza!" (Drescher 1981). *Ms.* also encouraged young boys to cook so that they would grow up without assuming that women should always cook for them. For example, illustrations that accompanied an excerpt from *Many Hands Cooking: An International Cookbook for Girls and Boys* depicted both boys and girls preparing the

food. Next to the recipe for Lipoti Cheese from Hungary, a boy dressed in traditional Hungarian clothes stands behind a workstation, handing a girl in a traditional dress a piece of toast adorned with cheese (Cooper and Ratner 1975).

Adding to the proof that men could cook, liberal feminist cookbooks included recipes contributed by men. The majority of recipes are attributed to women, but women also constituted the majority of liberal feminist organizations. Recipes contributed by men display success stories in the integration of the kitchen. For example, men contributed one of the most elaborate recipes in *Pots and Politics,* a cookbook that otherwise focused on quick and simple recipes. “Nourishing Fast Fish Fry” still emphasizes the “fast” nature of the recipe, but it contains more than four ingredients, none of which are canned or processed, and it does not rely on any convenience tool. The recipe points out that the contributors are husbands of feminist troubadours:

> NOURISHING FAST FISH FRY WITH STEAMED RICE
> ½ lb. fish (red snapper, perch, or whatever is common to your area)
> 2 eggs
> ½ c. milk
> ¼ tsp. freshly ground pepper
> ¼ tsp. salt
> dash paprika
> ½ c. wheat germ
> oil for frying
> Start steamed rice first!
> Cut up fish in small chunks.
> Dip into batter (made of beaten eggs, milk, salt, pepper, paprika)
> Roll each piece in wheat germ.
> Fry in hot oil until golden brown.
> (Keep fish warm in oven as you go along—should be ready at same time as rice. Serve with vegetable.) —These gourmet specials developed by Chuck and Eric, husbands of Sandie Nisbet and Pat Larson of the traveling Co-Respondents Readers Theatre Troupe.*
> *The Co-Respondents, three in number, two actresses and one guitarist-singer, give feminist programs all over the country. (Kaplan 1976:55)

This recipe sends a clear message that men can cook while women are working or participating in feminist activities. The fact that this recipe is one of the most elaborate in the book also implies that men can develop the skills necessary to master more complex cooking tasks. Men's ability to complete domestic tasks is also apparent in the following recipe from the *First Virginia Feminist Cookbook:*

> FRIED EGG ROLLS
> 18 egg rolls
> Combine:
> ¾ cup Chinese cabbage, chopped
> ¼ cup bean sprouts, drained
> 1 can bamboo shoots, drained
> 2 8-oz. bags salad shrimp
> Make ready for filling:
> 18 egg roll wrappers
> *Place wrapper as you would a diaper for folding.* Spoon mixture onto wrapper just below an imaginary line from right corner. Fold these tips over mixture; then roll from the bottom to the top corner. Moisten and seal.
> Heat in a wok or frying pan:
> 3 cups vegetable oil
> Fry egg rolls until they are brown. —Paul Roscoe, Friend of Charlottesville NOW (emphasis added) (Gill and Stevens 1983:3)

This recipe sends a clear message that men can cook and complete other domestic tasks that are traditionally feminized. By instructing the reader to fold the egg roll wrappers like you would fold diapers, Roscoe reveals that he not only has knowledge of cooking—he also has experience with the least glamorous job that comes with raising young children. This demonstrates that it is indeed possible for men to successfully complete domestic tasks.

Liberal second-wave feminists offered many plans that would encourage men to cook more often. One of the articles in the first issue of *Ms.* explained how to write an egalitarian marriage contract. Cooking was an important item on this contract; *Ms.*

recommended splitting the task equally between spouses. One example of a marriage contract stipulated: “Breakfasts during the week are divided equally; husband does all weekend breakfasts (including shopping for them and dishes). Wife does all dinners except Sunday nights. Husband does Sunday dinner and any other dinners on his nights of responsibility if wife isn’t home” (Edmiston 1972). Another article offers several different solutions to balancing the division of domestic chores, such as splitting the list of tasks, taking turns doing various chores, a “laissez-faire” arrangement in which individuals fend for (and clean up after) themselves. Finally, the author suggests an arrangement in which individuals do whatever tasks they want, which “makes it all right for a woman who cooks well to do so if she wants to, but it also lets her refuse to cook despite her talent, if she prefers to do repair work or lawn mowing” (Pogrebin 1979).

In 1972, *Ms.* featured one couple who had an “egalitarian marriage,” who explained their experience and offered tips for replicating their partnership. Throughout the interview, Sandra Lipsitz and Daryl Bem explain how to make egalitarian decisions, how to ensure that one person’s career doesn’t take over, and how they divide household tasks (Servan-Schreiber 1972). Sandra and Daryl participate equally in both the workplace and the home. Sandra has integrated into the male-dominated academy, while Daryl has integrated into the feminine domestic sphere. There is also no distinction when it comes to gendered capacities or abilities—they both can perform the same tasks just as well. When asked, “Who is the better cook?” Daryl replied, “We both cook moderately well. We know how to follow recipes and are willing to risk an occasional disaster by experimenting. But most of the time we are a dietitian’s horror. We rarely eat salad and fresh vegetables. Our usual menu consists of things like rice and chicken and frozen

vegetables" (Servan-Schreiber 1972). The allusion to frozen vegetables and being a "dietician's horror" also hints at the tendency for liberal second-wave feminists to focus on quick, easy, and convenient methods of cooking.

In a step beyond egalitarian marriages, liberal second-wave feminists also supported men who completed the majority of the household labor. "Househusbands" were another means of integrating previously gendered spheres of the home and the paid workforce. These men stayed home to care for children and take care of the household duties while their wives worked outside the home. Liberal feminists applauded househusbands and gave them a significant amount of press. For example, *Atlanta Woman,* a liberal second-wave feminist newspaper, printed an article titled, "HE'S the Homemaker of the Year." The story describes Keith Wellsted, age 29, who beat over 50 women to win the Genesse County, Michigan "Homemaker of the Year" award. The article glowingly describes how Keith cooks, cleans, shops, cares for their 18-month old son, and volunteers at the church (Anonymous 1985).

Liberal second-wave feminists also used the issue of househusbands to clarify particular messages about the housewife role. Many feminists argued that the homemaker role was significant and difficult *work,* even if it went unpaid. Househusbands bolstered this idea when they discussed how they spent their time. Wellsted, the award-winning homemaker, exclaimed, "I don't just sit around—I'm hard at work. Lots of men would be surprised at how much work this job really is" (Anonymous 1985). Keith provides a great sound bite for feminists, who had been fighting since the nineteenth century to convince men that housekeeping was, in fact, work. Thus, in explanations of househusbands, feminists not only advance the idea of integrating the gendered spheres of work; they also

use this opportunity to highlight the physical and emotional labor required for the housewife role.

Some discussions about househusbands also reiterate feminist critiques of the homemaker role. Similar to the homemakers in *The Feminine Mystique,* househusbands experienced "the problem that has no name," or the depression and desperation that comes from fully dedicating oneself to serving others' needs (Friedan 1963). For example, Joel Roache wrote about his experience as a househusband in *Ms.* and reported the anxiety fostered by the housewife role:

> Finally, the image of the finished job, the image that encouraged me to start, was crowded out of my head by the image of the job to do all over again. I became lethargic, with the result that I worked less efficiently; so that even when I did 'finish,' it took longer and was done less well, rendering still less satisfaction… I became more and more irritable and resentful. (Roache 1972)

Roache finds that he becomes psychologically affected by the boring repetition of tasks that are not intellectually stimulating. Other househusbands explained feeling isolated and longed for a sense of personal fulfillment. Jerry McCarty explained in another *Ms.* article, "I kind of felt like a lot of housewives. I'd hear about my wife's successes when she came home, and I wasn't getting any positive feedback of my own. I wasn't meeting any new people. I missed having adult relationships" (Holcomb 1982).

These confessionals of househusbands validate "the problem that has no name" (Friedan 1963). If househusbands experienced these feelings, then feminists could argue that housewives' widespread depression was not solely due to women being "neurotic," as psychologists liked to claim in the 1950s. The problem did not lie with women reacting poorly to their roles. Instead, the problem lay with the homemaker role itself.

Caring selflessly for one's family and household, expecting to find fulfillment in scrubbing floors and changing diapers, and being financially dependent on one's spouse all caused *anyone* who had this job to feel depressed, unfulfilled, and resentful. By integrating men into the feminized sphere of housework, liberal second-wave feminists were not only encouraging men to take on some of the household work; these men also provided additional evidence of the problems with the homemaker role. In turn, renewed concern about the homemaker role reinforced the idea that this work should be shared between men and women and strengthened calls for women to take on a more fulfilling professional identity.

In sum, liberal second-wave feminists encourage men to share equally in the cooking at home. By cooking more often, men would enable women to enter the workforce. As they advocated for a balanced division of domestic labor, these activists proposed a way to model a domestic life that equally enables men and women to enter the workforce. In this form of personal prefigurative politics, men's increased cooking could lead to increasing women's access to paid work and control of economic power. Thus, liberal second-wave feminists called for prefiguring their desired social change when they suggested that men cook more often.

Personal and Integrated Prefigurative Politics: Cooking Up Cash

Liberal second-wave feminists also argued that cooking could directly increase women's economic power. They encouraged women to make money by cooking professionally. By encouraging women to make cooking a career (that they get paid for), liberal second-wave feminists achieved two of their main goals. First, this would

integrate a previously male-dominated profession, as the majority of professional chefs were (and continue to be) men. Second, by getting paid for cooking, women would be able to increase their economic power. At times, this discourse was situated in the personal sphere, directing women how to make money out of their homes. These discussions reveal examples of personal prefigurative politics. At other times, liberal feminists instructed women to leave their homes and expand their professional culinary activities by starting restaurants or other culinary businesses. In these instances, liberal feminists recommended forms of integrated prefigurative politics, involving both organizational and personal prefigurative action. Throughout, liberal feminists encouraged women to transform cooking, an action typically situated within the home, into a money-making pursuit (see Image 7.1).

Rather than discouraging women from cooking or chastising them for enjoying a feminized task, in this strand of discourse, liberal second-wave feminists acknowledge and even encourage women to indulge their culinary interests—as long as they turn it into a viable business. In one *Ms.* article, Florence Fabricant, who later became a food critic for the *New York Times,* lauds women who turn their culinary interests into a business. In this discourse, the food that is cooked or how long it takes is not as important as the business savvy that women bring to the kitchen:

> Turning a talent for cooking or a love of food into a business or a new career is an alluring notion that many women have pursued successfully in this era of gourmania… But beyond love and talent almost every career in food will eventually require mastery of the structural under-pinnings that make any business tick: contracts, capitalization, accountants, insurance, taxes, and lawyers—to name a few. (Fabricant 1985)

In this discourse, liberal feminists encourage transforming cooking from an act of

subservience to an act of financial independence. In another *Ms.* article, cookbook author and culinary entrepreneur Paula Wolfert explains, “housewives [are] becoming entrepreneurs on little more than common sense and the confidence they have a skill… So, from a little street smarts and a big thank-you to Julia Child—she’s the role model—many women have created jobs for themselves” (Lyons 1980).

By encouraging women to make money from cooking, liberal second-wave feminists directed women to gain entry to a professional space that has historically been dominated by men. In 1973, *Ms.* magazine founder and feminist leader Gloria Steinem complained about the gender inequality in professional kitchens. Steinem’s frustration over this inequality is palpable: “we can’t achieve greatness even on our own turf: why are most of the great couturiers men? and the great chefs?” (Steinem 1973). Steinem points out the irony of this situation; women complete the majority of the cooking in the home, but when it comes to *getting paid* for this work, men dominate. In 1970, women were only a tiny percentage of professional chefs (even today, studies find that women are only five to 15% of professional chefs [Sutton 2014; Villeneuve and Curtis 2011]).

Liberal second-wave feminists aimed to correct this inequality by instructing women how to get involved in the food industry. For example, Fabricant suggests that women find a job with a local caterer or test kitchen. Fabricant even instructs women to give practice cooking lessons to feminist organizations as “a dress rehearsal for opening a cooking school.” According to Fabricant, even working on a community cookbook has the potential to increase women’s experience in the professional culinary world, as it could “became a springboard to other writing assignments” (Fabricant 1985). *Ms.* highlighted many women who had started businesses in the food world, from Sarabeth

Levine of Sarabeth's Kitchen to 17-year-old Kim Merritt who started her own chocolate-making business (Fabricant 1985; Pogrebin 1985).

Liberal feminists especially encouraged women to make money by becoming professional chefs and running their own restaurants. In these discussions, liberal feminists encourage women to become involved in a form of integrated prefigurative politics, forming an organization that would enable women to prefigure financial independence in their personal lives. One *Ms.* article profiles Jill Ward, co-owner of the feminist restaurant Mother Courage in New York City. As I will explain in Chapter 8, Mother Courage was more closely associated with the radical second-wave feminist movement, which aimed to create woman-centered spaces. However, the *Ms.* article discussed Mother Courage through a liberal feminist lens. The finances are the focus of this article, instructing women how to support themselves by starting their own restaurants. In the article, Ward talks about the financial nuts and bolts of starting a restaurant, touching on everything from restaurant location to menu pricing. Although Ward was a radical feminist, *Ms.* quotes her as uttering a statement seeped in liberal feminist thought: "For me, the biggest incentive is to be independent, and do what pleases me" (Schoch 1977). By teaching women to be financially independent by running a restaurant, *Ms.* demonstrates how to reorient women's relationship to cooking in a way that could prefigure, or model, a world in which women commanded more economic power.

Liberal second-wave feminists rallied around women who had become successful professional chefs. In 1982, *Ms.* ran an article on Hisae Vilca, who "has created a miniempire of top-rated restaurants that combine Oriental, Japanese, Italian, and

vegetarian cookery" (Anonymous 1982b). In articles like this, *Ms.* portrays women professional chefs as courageous warriors in a field where women were underrepresented. Another article lauded Les Dames d'Escoffier, an organization of women professional chefs, for providing a professional community to women who often found themselves alone in kitchens full of men. By praising Les Dames d'Escoffier and the women who made their livings as chefs, *Ms.* portrayed culinary work as a legitimate career path for women.

As professional chefs, women also fought outdated notions about gendered capabilities. Similar to how liberal feminists argued that women were not inherently better than men at cooking in the home, liberal feminists also argued that men were not inherently better at cooking in professional kitchens. Fabricant points to women who had become critically acclaimed chefs as proof that men are not more "naturally" suited to this line of work:

> The restaurant kitchen is less and less an exclusively male domain. Male skeptics who scoffed that lifting heavy stockpots was beyond female capability (and might damage the reproductive system as well) are eating their words as they frequent great restaurants and enjoy the likes of Leslie Revsin's roquefort beignets, Alice Waters's goat cheese calzones, and Lydia Shire's smoked partridge with star anise. (Fabricant 1985)

Here, Fabricant argues that culinary skill is not inherent to one gender; instead, men and women can be equally skilled as professional chefs. Thus, just as liberal second-wave feminists challenged outdated notions about men in their attempts to integrate home kitchens, they also challenged notions about women as they worked to integrate restaurant kitchens.

In sum, liberal second-wave feminists encouraged women to shift their

relationship to cooking, a task normally situated in the personal sphere. While some liberal feminists critiqued cooking for one's family as a subservient act that did not bring women personal fulfillment (*e.g.,* Friedan 1963), becoming a culinary entrepreneur would allow women to find independence and personal fulfillment through cooking. When culinary entrepreneurship was located in the home, this represented a form of personal prefigurative politics. When liberal feminists suggested that women start restaurants or other places of business, they encouraged forms of integrated prefigurative politics. Both forms would allow women to change their personal lives and model the social change that liberal feminists desired. By advocating for women to become professional chefs and culinary entrepreneurs, liberal feminists pushed women to cook in ways that could prefigure a world in which women controlled more economic resources.

Culinary Symbolism in Liberal Second-Wave Feminism

We have seen that liberal second-wave feminists offered a range of culinary discourse in which they either claimed to cook or advocated for particular ways of cooking. These strands of discourse served political purposes for the movement by helping to build a politically strategic moral identity and by providing recipes for prefiguring a more equal world. These findings demonstrate liberal feminists engaging with cooking, which contradicts the standard story that scholars tell about these activists. Many scholars typify second-wave feminists as rejecting the housewife role and the actions that accompany it (Brunsdon 2006; Giles 2004; Hollows 2007). As I explained in Chapter 6, liberal feminists such as Betty Friedan did critique the housewife role. However, my research demonstrates that while liberal feminists may have pointed out the

inherent problems of the housewife role, they did not mount a complete exodus from the domestic sphere.

It is understandable that onlookers might think that liberal feminists refused to cook. In addition to critiques like Friedan's of the housewife role, feminists used cooking as a symbol of women's lives and struggles. In these instances, liberal feminists metaphorically rejected cooking to symbolize their rejection of the housewife role. Thus, liberal feminists used cooking as a framing technique, in which they used cooking to deliver a message about a larger issue. Cooking as a frame helped feminists relate their arguments to their audience's lives and experiences.

The symbolic use of cooking is perhaps best typified by feminist artist Martha Rosler's 1975 short film, "Semiotics of the Kitchen." Rosler uses kitchen tools to teach the alphabet ("A is for Apron, B is for Bowl, C is for Chopper" etc.), but she wields these tools with increasing fury. As Rosler makes stabbing motions with a butcher knife and uses a variety of ladles and spoons to mime forcefully tossing food out the window, she embodies the anger that some feminists felt toward the monotonous domestic actions that were culturally designated as women's work (Brunsdon 2006; Rosler 1975).

A poem by Marge Pirecy is another classic example of using cooking in collective action frames that delivered a critique of the housewife role. Like Rosler, Piercy used her art to deliver feminist arguments. In her 1982 poem, "What's that Smell in the Kitchen," Piercy uses cooking to symbolize housewives' frustration and desperation:

> **What's that Smell in the Kitchen**
> All over America women are burning dinners.
> It's lambchops in Peoria; it's haddock
> in Providence; it's steak in Chicago;
> tofu delight in Big Sur; red

> rice and beans in Dallas.
> All over America women are burning
> food they're supposed to bring with calico
> smile on platters glittering like wax.
> Anger sputters in her brainpan, confined
> but spewing out missiles of hot fat.
> Carbonized despair presses like a clinker
> from a barbecue against the back of her eyes.
> If she wants to grill anything, it's
> her husband spitted over a slow fire.
> If she wants to serve him anything
> it's a dead rat with a bomb in its belly
> ticking like the heart of an insomniac.
> Her life is cooked and digested,
> nothing but leftovers in Tupperware.
> Look, she says, once I was roast duck
> on your platter with parsley but now I am Spam.
> Burning dinner is not incompetence but war. (Piercy 2009)

In Piercy's poem, women are burning dinners as a form of resentment. Through charred lamb chops and toasted tofu delight, these women express their anger at the stifling nature of the housewife role. Here, the collective burning of American dinners symbolizes women's "raised consciousness," or the realization that their discontent stems from confining roles and notions about gender. Thus, through culinary imagery, Peircy discusses the issue of housewives' desperation.

Liberal feminists also used cooking to frame political arguments in demonstrations. In 1968, feminists dumped a trash pile of aprons in front of the White House to protest domestic tasks (Friedan 1976). Similarly, at the 1970 Women's Strike for Equality in New York City, a protester held a sign emblazoned with "Don't Cook Dinner—Starve a Rat Tonight!" This poster spoofed an anti-littering campaign that New York City was waging during the same summer as the protest (Rosen 2000). As a framing device, cooking delivered feminist critiques of the housewife role. These uses of

cooking are largely symbolic; feminists in charge of the Women's Strike for Equality did not expect women to literally throw in the kitchen towel and walk out for good (Rosen 2000:92). However, these frames might have convinced some onlookers (especially anti-feminists) that feminists truly rejected cooking and other domestic tasks. Historian Ruth Rosen (2000:40) concurs, arguing that anti-feminists such as Phyllis Schlafly "mistook symbols for substance."

In fact, in my research, I rarely come across any serious calls to stop cooking altogether. Ironically, cookbooks contained the closest thing to a serious recipe for boycotting the kitchen. In two tongue-in-cheek recipes in *Cookies and Punch Too*, contributors directed readers to "make" cookies or brownies by going to the grocery store and buying them. These recipes were listed under the heading "An Alternative for Non-Cooks." For example:

> COOKIE RECIPE
> —Carole Oglesby, NAGWS President, 1977-78
> I recommend brownies purchased at your local grocery store. (National Association for Girls and Women in Sport 1977:19)

These recipes are more extreme versions of the recipes that advocated labor saving ingredients and techniques that I discussed above. The recipes for non-cooks occupy a space that is part-satire and part-directions-for-action. Despite the humor, these recipes acknowledge that some feminists might rather buy cookies than make them from scratch. Thus, at least a few feminists thought that using slow cookers and canned food was still too time- and labor-intensive. However, there were only 2 recipes that advocated not cooking at all, as compared with hundreds of recipes that did encourage cooking on some level.

In sum, liberal feminists used cooking to symbolize the housewife role, but this framing device did not result in a serious avoidance of all culinary tasks. Certainly, liberal feminists critiqued the housewife role, and in many instances, they used cooking to illustrate their arguments about the problems with wholly devoting one's life to the care of family and home. However, as the findings in this chapter demonstrate, liberal feminists did not advocate abandoning the home entirely. Liberal feminists also proposed methods of cooking that could prefigure a world in which women spent more time outside the home as they pursued careers or political involvement. Rather than a wholesale rejection of cooking, these feminists advocated for subversive ways of engaging with the kitchen that could help them achieve their goals. Thus, liberal second-wave feminists aimed to reframe women's relationship with cooking. As movement leader Robin Morgan explains in a *Ms.* magazine article, "it's easier to enjoy cooking if you don't have to do it three times a day every day, and if the people around you don't assume it's your sole reason for existence on the planet" (Morgan 1980). Liberal feminists aimed to dethrone cooking from its central position of importance to women's lives, transforming the task into something that facilitated more important pursuits in careers and politics.

Further, some liberal feminists even made claims about continuing to cook, which directly contradicted the symbolic rejections of cooking. While the symbolic rejections of cooking helped some feminists frame their critiques of the housewife role, the opposite claims of continuing to cook also had political purposes. As I have shown earlier in this chapter, these claims of culinary knowledge helped build a politically strategic moral identity. If feminists managed to convince others that they continued to cook and did not

abandon their families, others may have been more supportive of the movement and receptive to feminists' ideas.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the many political roles that discourse about cooking played for liberal second-wave feminists. Scholars who study the dynamics of social movements and social change generally overlook the home and family. From a distance, liberal second-wave feminism would be the likeliest candidate for a feminist movement that ignored the home. These activists strongly critiqued the housewife role and encouraged women to pursue activities that drew them outside of the home. However, the fact that even liberal second-wave feminists used the home to work toward their political goals demonstrates the importance of this setting for women's movements.

This chapter covered liberal second-wave feminists' diverse discourse about cooking. Some strands of their culinary discourse appear contradictory—they boasted about how well they cook, but they recommended spending less time cooking and used cooking to symbolize women's oppression. However, each discursive strand served a political role for the movement. First, liberal feminists used claims about cooking in their attempts to build a moral identity that could mobilize the support of key insiders in the political and economic system. Second, liberal feminists' publications about cooking made these activists' goals seem less disruptive to home and family life; this process might result in extending collective action frames to a broader and more conservative audience. Third, in their discourse about cooking, liberal second-wave feminists explained how to use actions in the personal sphere to prefigure the social change they

desired. Finally, in art and protests, liberal feminists used cooking to symbolize the rejection of the housewife role. Using cooking as a metaphor helped them frame their critiques of the housewife role.

Liberal second-wave feminists' culinary discourse displays many similarities to how suffragists used cooking to work toward their political goals. To counter anti-feminist attacks and build a moral identity, members of both movements boasted of their culinary skills. Both movements called for extending women's activities into the public sphere, which many conservatives interpreted as a threat to the home and family. To counter anti-suffragists' claims, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists argued that they continued to cook despite their desire to also pursue careers and political involvement. These feminists' arguments about cooking helped them build a moral identity as good mothers and wives who would not abandon their families. This moral identity was crucial for the success of each movement. To achieve their political goals, both feminist movements largely relied on the support of (mostly male) political and economic insiders. This reliance on existing voters and incumbents in the political and economic systems led both movements to form a similar moral identity that would be most appealing to the average insider.

Further, both suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists used the gendered character of culinary publications to advance their political frames, possibly extending their frames to a more conservative audience. By publishing cookbooks, both suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists assured their audience that they would not abandon the home. Further, by placing their arguments about expanding women's activities within these cookbooks, both groups of feminists attempted to demonstrate that they wanted

women to pursue these new opportunities and remain involved in the home. Thus, both movements participated in "hiding spinach in the brownies," encouraging a skeptical audience to consume radical arguments that had been baked into a more appealing cultural object.

Finally, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists even had similar recommendations for cooking-related personal prefigurative politics. Both movements desired a world in which women could pursue careers or politics. Both suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists recommended cooking in ways that could enable women's involvement in the public sphere. Their suggestions for cooking provided methods for using actions in the personal sphere to prefigure this social change. Members of both movements recommended minimizing culinary labor by making simple dishes or utilizing labor-saving technology. Further, to support their claims that women could succeed in careers or politics, both suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists argued that neither men nor women were naturally suited for any particular line of work—any task could be equally completed by a woman or a man. Both groups of activists also applied this argument to the home. They encouraged men to cook more often, lessening the domestic work that fell to women and further enabling women's pursuit of other activities. In sum, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists had similar visions for social change, and they made similar recommendations for prefiguring this social change through cooking.

While liberal feminist culinary discourse was similar to suffragists' writings about cooking, it also differed in several key ways. Notably, the American foodscape had evolved to produce many more convenience products and technologies, from canned food

to CrockPots. Liberal feminists took advantage of these developments. In general, liberal feminists' culinary suggestions are much more exaggerated than suffragists'—their recipes for fast and simple food are truly fast and simple, and they were much more direct in their calls for men to cook. Further, against the backdrop of slowly changing cultural beliefs about women, liberal feminists were much more willing than suffragists to critique the housewife role; this influences their metaphorical rejection of cooking to symbolize rejection of housewifery. The context of the mid-twentieth century shaped liberal feminists' culinary discourse, but the historical context is not sufficient to fully explain the content and political roles of this discourse. As we will see in the next chapter, the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s produced more than one strand of feminist discourse about cooking. Given the same historical context, liberal and radical second-wave feminists used cooking differently to work toward their respective political goals.

Small portions of Chapter 7 have been published in *Advances in Gender Research,* 2016, S. J. Williams, "Subversive Cooking in Liberal Feminism, 1963-1985" and *Contexts,* 2014, S. J. Williams, "A Feminist Guide to Cooking." The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of these papers.

Image 7.1. “Cooking Up a Fortune”
Liberal second-wave feminists saw women’s lack of economic resources as the root of broader gender inequality. These activists encouraged women to make money from cooking by becoming professional chefs, restaurant owners, and entrepreneurs in the food industry. Photo: Ariel Skelley, used with the permission of the photographer. Printed in “Cooking Up a Fortune: Women Who Profit from their Love of Food.” *Ms.,* April 1985.

CHAPTER 8:

“Food for People, Not for Profit:” Radical Second-Wave Feminist Discourse About Cooking, 1967-1985

In 1977, a small group of lesbian feminists opened a restaurant in Bridgeport, Connecticut along an inlet of the Long Island Sound. They named their restaurant Bloodroot, forming an analogy between the women’s community and a plant whose flowering stalks are connected by a vast network of underground rhizomes (Beaven et al. 1980:ix). The founders of Bloodroot aimed to provide a space where women would feel welcome and comfortable, in contrast to other public spaces (Baxivanos 2009). Bloodroot only served vegetarian and vegan food because they believed that eating meat contributed to the same culture of violence that normalized the abuse of women (Beaven et al. 1980:xi). Bloodroot was also a collective and aimed to eliminate power structures within the operation of the restaurant (Beaven et al. 1980:xiii).

Radical feminist politics shaped each of these dimensions of the Bridgeport restaurant. As noted in Chapter 6, radical feminists argued that the institutions of family, love, marriage, and heterosexuality lay at the heart of women’s subordination (Echols 1989; Rosen 2000). They attempted to change these institutions from the ground up by replacing patriarchal values and practices with woman-oriented, non-oppressive ones. Their attempts to rebuild institutions involved rethinking mainstream approaches to everyday actions. These feminists also formed alternative institutions that operated along values that allowed women more autonomy and power.

I demonstrate how cooking played a role in radical feminist politics. While most

studies of radical feminism argue that these activists focused on family, love, marriage, and heterosexuality, I demonstrate that these activists also challenged other institutions, such as the mainstream food system, that embodied patriarchal values. Their culinary discourse illustrated how women were oppressed by the standard food system and food practices, and they offered solutions for empowering women through food. In this chapter, I highlight two central processes by which radical feminists politicized food and cooking.

First, radical feminists framed their approach to food as more moral than mainstream food production and consumption practices. They argued that the food system was characterized by competition, aggression, and greed because it was under the control of men. Radical feminists also layered this gendered critique with moral claims, portraying the mainstream food system as immorally exploiting the powerless in the selfish search for profits. In contrast, radical feminists argued that women's experiences and nature led them to develop compassionate and beneficent food systems and practices. Again, their gendered arguments were also morally infused, as they claimed that they were selflessly concerned for the greater good. This strand of culinary discourse contributed to radical feminists' moral collective identity. Radical feminists separated themselves from the mainstream, pointing to their food systems and practices as evidence of their higher moral status. This moral identity may have helped encourage others to adopt radical feminists' approaches to food. In order to succeed, movements that attempt to transform social institutions from the ground up must convince others to adhere to the alternative practices recommended by activists.

Second, radical second-wave feminists also used cooking to prefigure their goals

of restructuring society around values and institutions that did not oppress women. By advocating for vegetarian diets and encouraging women to grow their own food, radical feminists proposed forms of personal prefigurative politics in which cooking could help women become independent and empowered within their personal lives. Radical second-wave feminists also built alternative institutions related to food and cooking. With these food co-ops and restaurants, radical feminists created the infrastructure that would allow women to engage in more empowering food consumption practices. Thus, these food co-ops and feminist restaurants represent forms of integrated prefigurative politics, which involve prefiguration on both the organizational and personal levels of social action.

This chapter begins with an explanation of how radical feminists built a moral collective identity through their critiques of the patriarchal food system. This is followed by a discussion of culinary prefigurative politics in radical feminism. I first feature the two primary forms of personal prefigurative politics, showing how radical feminists advocated for vegetarian and vegan diets and encouraged women to grow their own food. Next, I demonstrate how radical feminists built food co-ops and feminist restaurants that represented forms of integrated prefigurative politics. To conclude, I offer a brief comparison of temperance activists and radical second-wave feminists to highlight the similarities in how they politicized cooking.

Building a Moral Identity

In previous chapters, we have seen how each feminist movement used culinary discourse to build a moral identity. Radical second-wave feminists were no exception to this trend. In their discourse about cooking, radical feminists portrayed the mainstream

food culture and food production system as unjust and immoral, dominated by patriarchal values. Specifically, they painted the agricultural-industrial complex as selfishly exploiting consumers and the environment for the sake of profit, and they argued that mainstream culinary practices supported this patriarchal institution. By contrast, they described their own approaches to food production and consumption as more woman-oriented and morally sound. Radical feminist food would advance the wider public good.

These moral claims were strategically useful for radical feminists, who aimed to both revolutionize daily life and change the patriarchal institutions that were based upon these practices. Thus, the more people emulated radical feminists' practices, the sooner radical feminists would reach their political goals. By portraying their alternative culinary practices as more moral than mainstream practices, activists might persuade others—at least other leftists with radical leanings—to adopt their recommended lifestyle and therefore change social institutions from the ground up.

The Immorality of the Patriarchal Food System

At the heart of radical feminists' critique of the standard food system was the understanding that it was run by men. In 1971, *Rat,* a New Left newsletter based in NYC that was taken over by radical feminists, ran a piece titled "Another Story of Men and Money: The Great Food Ripoff." This article argues that there is a correlation between the food industry's male dominance and its tendency to exploit consumers for the sake of profit. The author explains that men direct—and profit from—each step of the process of food production and consumption:

Farm monopolies are run by men.* They grow food.

> Food companies are run by men.* They buy food from food monopolies.
> Supermarkets and restaurants are run by men.* They buy food from food companies and sell it for lots of money.
> Scientists are men.* They make medicine.
> Druggists are men.* They sell medicine for lots of money.
> Doctors are men.* They prescribe medicine to the sick for lots of money.
>
> *white rich straight men (Anonymous 1971a)

The emphasis that men controlled the institutions related to food production, distribution, and consumption provides a gendered foundation for radical feminists' other claims about the food system. This connected to some radical feminists' broader critique of "men's values," or the greed, aggression, and drive for dominance that they thought typified masculinity (Echols 1989). Thus, radical feminists' critique of the agricultural-industrial food system incorporated a gendered element; they believed that it was especially exploitative because it was run by men. Thus, when the author of the above *Rat* article continued, "Food company presidents pay scientists lots of money to make food that is very profitable, preserved and poisonous" (Anonymous 1971a), we understand that the company presidents she references are men, and that this critique of the food system is also a critique of masculine values.

Radical feminists also added a moral dimension to their critique of the male-dominated agricultural-industrial food system. Activists argued that a food system built on masculine values was inherently immoral, selfishly causing widespread harm for the benefit of the few. For example, Harriet Bye explained the agricultural system as typified by:

> the destruction of the American farmer and the take over of food production by large monopolies that produce neither more efficiently, nor cheaper, nor more nutritiously; but whose sole interest is profit without concern for the health of the soil, the beauty of the landscape, hunger,

> skyrocketing food prices, or an overburdening mechanization that causes unnecessary unemployment (Bye 1976).

Bye paints the standard food system as a greedily sacrificing environmental and social health for the sake of its own advancement. She also accused the food industry of committing the deadly sin of greed: “The jolly green giant[’s]… color and temperment [sic] are a product of his laughing all the way to the bank” (Bye 1976).

Bye even references the practice of unnecessarily processing foods for the sake of profit margins, making her an early critic of a practice that is widely critiqued by food activists in the twenty-first century:

> the realization of what actually goes into processed food, combined with my outrage at the profit motivation behind that synthesizing, not to mention the whole “oligopolic” economic structure that produced the mess, has so turned my stomach that the thought of buying a frozen pizza or Betty Crocker Brownie Mix repulses me. (Bye 1976)

While the blossoming organic food and environmental movements also made similar critiques of the food system around the same time, radical feminists’ critiques were built upon the foundation of an understanding of the patriarchal drive behind these immoral practices. Radical feminists did not view the standard food industry as gender-neutral; they saw its greed, competition, and desire for domination as a byproduct of the men who controlled it.

In their moral critiques of the patriarchal agricultural-industrial food system, radical feminists pointed to the exploitation of already disempowered populations and entities, such as the poor, the environment, and women. In an article titled “A Subtle Form of Genocide,” Harriet Charney critiques the food system for forcing developing countries to grow cash crops for industrialized countries, preventing the land from being

used to feed the local population.

> The agricultural problems of the Third World are… created and maintained by the needs of the U.S. and other industrialized countries. The industrialized countries need the resources of the Third World at cheap prices for their economic expansion… The high level of consumption in Western industrialized countries is made possible by the poverty of the Third World. (Charney 1976)

Thus, radical feminists painted the greedy mainstream food system as further oppressing already disadvantaged people across the globe, blocking them from exercising basic human rights such as health and security.

Radical feminists also added to the environment to the list of damages caused by the agricultural-industrial food system. These activists echoed the concerns and demands of the environmental movement, which especially coalesced around the excessive use of pesticides and the introduction of man-made pollutants into the environment (Carson 1962; Sale 1993). While radical feminists shared similar concerns, their discussions of the issue also carry an implicit gendered critique. For example, Bye (1976) described the agricultural-industrial food system as "inherently violent"—a characteristic closely associated with masculinity—as it sought to increase production through the destruction of environment: "The super large technology of mass production is inherently violent, ecologically damaging, self defeating in terms of non-renewable resources and stultifying to the human person."

Radical feminists furthered their gendered critique of the food system by arguing that it especially exploited women. They maintained that pesticides and chemicals introduced during food processing caused cervical cancer and harmed women's health in other ways (*e.g.,* Thiermann 1976). They also argued that the men in the food industry

made fortunes at women's expense. "Women are traditionally responsible for purchasing and preparing food. It is women who are forced to pay exhorbitant [sic], inflationary prices, while the food industry reaps profits off us" (Anonymous 1971b).

Further, radical feminists expressed concern that the food industry helped normalize masculinized cultural values that also permeated the broader culture and contributed to women's abuse and oppression. For example, radical feminists saw parallels between the abuse of women and the killing of animals for meat. Eating meat validated the objectification and abuse of living things, which disadvantaged both livestock and women. Feminists for Animal Rights, an organization from Berkeley, California, summarized this argument:

> Since exploitation of animals and women derive from the same patriarchal mentality, our struggle is for women as well as animals. FAR attempts to expose the connections between sexism (discrimination against women) and speciesism (discrimination against animals) whenever and wherever we can. We feel that the common denominator in the lives of both women and animals is violence—either real or threatened… We feel that such violence toward animals is inherently the same type of violence that is directed against women. (Feminists for Animal Rights n.d.)

These activists argue that by treating animals as a central source of food, the food system contributed to a culture of oppression and domination that harmed both animals and women. Therefore, in radical feminists' critique of the food system, women join the ranks of the poor and the environment as victims of the agricultural-industrial food system, which is guided toward immoral practices by patriarchal values. By highlighting how the food system further disadvantages powerless populations or entities, radical feminists strengthen their argument that the mainstream food system, driven by patriarchal values, is inherently immoral.

The Morality of Feminized Food Systems and Practices

Radical feminists distanced themselves from the moral depravity that they believed characterized the standard food system. These activists described their own ways of producing and consuming food as much more virtuous. In contrast to masculine greed and dominance, radical feminists explained that their alternative food institutions and practices were characterized by qualities commonly associated with femininity, including a selfless concern for the welfare of others. Radical feminists also argued that the feminine characteristics that supported their culinary approach resulted in more moral food systems and practices. They demonstrated how their alternative food practices embodied the heavenly virtues of kindness, humility, charity, and temperance (as in, the virtue that refers to the mindful judgment of action and moderation between self-interest and the public good).

Radical feminists formed and supported small, women-run food businesses that aimed to benefit the many rather than make money for the few. Later in this chapter, I will explain how these organizations worked to prefigure radical feminists' political goals. But radical feminists also portrayed these businesses as operating on feminine values, which led them to accomplish the moral task of more effectively addressing the needs of the public good. In one *Country Woman* article, the author solely identified as Slim interviewed a member of an all-women food collective, Amazon Yogurt. This woman argued that a woman-run food organization approached the task of providing food for people in a different way to organizations run by men:

The women in Amazon relate to each other in a less abstract way, a less

> competitive way… I'm trying to find the power within me, but by doing that I'm not ignoring the starving people. I know their oppression oppresses me. That's why we're putting together this yogurt factory. We've all got to work on alleviating the conditions that prevent us from taking power unto ourselves. We can't lead the masses, that still oppresses them, denies them space to seize their own power. Men and male-identified women don't come up with this kind of analysis. They sit and argue about rhetoric and abstract ideals. (Slim 1976)

While food corporations run by men were seen as competitive, dominating, and exploitative of those who are already oppressed, this member described Amazon Yogurt as working to help raise society as a whole. She describes the drive to contribute to the greater good as a consequence of women's experiences and nature. Women, she continues, also are more concerned about the health of the whole person or whole society rather than selfishly pursuing individual interests.

> I'm concerned with the whole person, from the molecules that make up my body to the way I function as an individual in the community and in this society to the way I and my sisters function to the way we as humans deal with the cosmos. Hence the statement that we've discovered the political connection between women and food. You have to pay attention to everything, like where your raisins come from for baking bread and what they do to your body when you eat them. This is something we've learned only by being women working with women, not in any other place. This is coming from a feminist, holistic way of looking at things. (Slim 1976)

Thus, radical feminists argued that women approached food and food businesses differently from men. While competitiveness, greed, and domination were gendered masculine in radical feminist critiques, the values of compassion and beneficence were gendered feminine. This gendered commentary underlies radical feminists' explanations of their more moral approaches to cooking.

Radical feminists argued that their food practices and businesses would not exploit the disempowered, but would contribute to the improvement of society. Radical

feminists explained they wanted to develop new food systems based on “a vision and a strategy toward the creation of a society based on peoples’ needs not on profit” (Charney 1976). Similarly, after lambasting the agricultural-industrial complex for taking advantage of developing countries, Bye (1976) champions a solution that she describes as better for the global population. She advocates “technology that would mobilize the potential of human capabilities, support them with first class tools, and, using the best of modern knowledge and expertise, create an economy that was oriented towards production by the masses rather than mass production. This would involve a decentralization of power and a gentle use of natural resources.” This proposed system is absent of greed, oppression, and other values that radical feminists deemed patriarchal; instead, a humanitarian and feminized concern for the welfare of the many takes center stage.

The alternative orientation to food that these activists proposed relied on practices at the personal level. They argued that personal practices, including shopping at farmers markets and food co-ops, were key to creating non-patriarchal food systems:

> I believe that we can choose to create a more human economic food production system, but we must be ready to fight for it on every front if that’s what we want… Legislation and consumer groups are important but there is much to be done on a local level: Organize farmer’s markets, check into your school lunch program, start bread baking cooperatives, build and support food co-ops… This can all be done by educating ourselves to think about the long term consequences of our acts and then to act on what we believe to be right. In this matter as in all others the personal is political and choosing not to act will create a nightmare jack-in-the-box world for some and starvation for others. (Bye 1976)

Here, Bye employs moral language to describe these personal practices as “more human” and “right.” These practices adopt even more of a moral halo when compared with

actions that lead to a dystopian future. Thus, radical feminists' more compassionate and beneficent approaches to food involved alternative systems, but they insisted that these systems also relied on alternative personal practices. In the next section on personal prefigurative politics, I will describe in more depth the personal practices that were part of radical feminists' visions for an alternative food system. These practices would remove women from reliance on the patriarchal agricultural-industrial food system that caused widespread destruction. Instead, women would be able to engage in food production and consumption in a more feminized, and moral, manner.

In sum, through their critiques of the mainstream food system, radical feminists built a moral collective identity. They expressed concern over the food system's masculinized qualities of greed and aggression, which they believed caused widespread destruction. Radical feminists placed themselves and their approach to food on a higher moral plane. The moral identity helped radical feminists deliver their major critiques of mainstream society; highlight the injustices done to the poor, the environment, and women; and offer solutions.

However, the moral identity also supported radical feminists' attempts to convert others to their alternative food systems and practices. As I covered in Chapter 6, radical feminists generally did not try to work through the existing political and legal system to achieve their political goals because they viewed these systems as inherently oppressive and problematic. Instead, radical feminists sought change institutions from the ground up, eliminating unjust practices at the individual level. Social institutions would be transformed if enough individuals adopted the improved practices. Thus, the movement's success relied on the conversion of many individuals to the appropriate practices. This

political approach involves "assimilatory politics" (Gusfield 1963), which rests on the understanding that one way of life is superior to others. By using culinary discourse to situate themselves as more moral than the mainstream, radical feminists attempted to convince outsiders to "assimilate" into their superior lifestyle. Thus, the moral identity that radical feminists built with culinary discourse supported their political agenda of transforming patriarchal social institutions at the grassroots.

Personal Prefigurative Politics

Of all the feminist groups I study, radical second-wave feminists are perhaps the best-known for politicizing the personal sphere. They coined the phrase "the personal is political," and they argued that actions in the institutions of family, marriage, and heterosexuality were deeply political (Echols 1989; Hanisch 1970; Rosen 2000). Yet, for all this recognition of the political significance of personal life, little has been said about how radical second-wave feminists also viewed their personal choices as *prefigurative.* In other words, radical feminists used their personal lives to model the social changes they desired. In this section, I will demonstrate how radical feminists advocated for particular styles of cooking that should be considered forms of personal prefigurative politics. Radical feminists also engaged in prefigurative politics when they built alternative institutions such as women's record labels, food co-ops, and coffee shops. However, to simply equate these organizational forms with prefigurative politics is to discount the prefigurative role of personal action. I demonstrate how radical feminists developed prefigurative food co-ops and restaurants, but I argue that these establishments were forms of integrated prefigurative politics that involved both organizational and personal

levels of social action.

Radical second-wave feminists were very eloquent in expressing how their daily lives became reflections of their political ideals and goals. Cooking was an integral piece of this prefiguration. For example, the Bloodroot Collective wrote in the introduction to *The Political Palate:* "Feminism is not a part-time attitude for us; it is how we live all day, everyday. Our choices in furniture, pictures, the music we play, the books we sell, and the food we cook all reflect and express our feminism" (Beaven et al. 1980:xi). The women of Bloodroot referred to cooking as their "art," which was inherently political: "We cook as a way to survive economically, yet our cooking is part of our study, our living, and our politics. It seems to us that there is no separation between art and politics; there is integrity which requires judgments and a value system underlying our work and our lives. Everything we do is the result" (Beaven et al. 1980:xvi). In describing the political meaning of cooking, the Bloodroot Collective echoes an explanation of prefigurative politics from Carl Boggs, an early scholar of prefigurative politics. Boggs argued that prefigurative politics involves "breaking down the division of labor between everyday life and political activity" (Boggs 1977:104).

These radical feminists worked to incorporate their political goals into their daily lives. As the Bloodroot Collective explained, in the introduction to their second cookbook, *The Second Seasonal Political Palate,* "the way we work and live is more whole than is generally possible; it is of a piece, organic. We live our work and work our lives. Our rewards are daily because we live what we believe" (Beaven et al. 1984:xix). A radical feminist who reviewed the cookbook agreed that political desires could be realized in personal practices such as cooking. The reviewer argues that Bloodroot is

"living proof that we *can* do it—we can live our lives wholly, our work can affirm our convictions" (Lanning 1985). Another radical feminist, Susan Sands, explained that she and her fellow activists "re-invent ways of living that give us daily continuity"—that is, continuity between politics and daily life (Sands 1975).

There were a few common ways in which radical feminists suggested using cooking to prefigure their political goals. Throughout these methods, radical feminists proposed how to bring their political goals of an egalitarian, non-oppressive society to their kitchens and dining room tables. They encouraged cooking vegetarian or vegan food to build a personal life that eliminated dominance and abuse. Radical feminists also advocated that women prefigure independence and power by foraging for food or growing it oneself. These feminists also supported forms of integrated prefigurative politics by building food co-ops and restaurants that allowed women to model their personal lives on their political goals. Table 8.1 highlights these trends within radical feminist cookbooks and periodicals.

Table 8.1. Prefigurative Politics Common in Radical Feminist Culinary Discourse

	Vegetarian	Vegetarian (excl. dessert)	Vegan	Vegan (excl. dessert)	Tofu	Grow Your Own	Seasonal	Food Co-ops	Restaurants
Radical									
Newspaper Articles (N=170)	43 (25.3%)	35 (20.6%)	13 (7.6%)	12 (7.1%)	--	87 (51.2%)	13 (7.6%)	15 (8.8%)	8 (4.7%)
Cookbook Recipes (sample N=200)	124 (62%)	78 (39%)	71 (35.5%)	54 (27%)	20 (10%)	11 (5.5%)	102 (51%)	--	--
Liberal									
Ms. Articles (N=89)	8 (9%)	8 (9%)	3 (3.4%)	3 (3.4%)	--	6 (6.7%)	3 (3.4%)	3 (3.4%)	3 (3.4%)
Cookbook Recipes (sample N=188)	100 (53.2%)	29 (15.4%)	24 (12.8%)	13 (6.9%)	--	--	3 (1.6%)	--	--

Personal Prefigurative Politics: Vegetarian and Vegan Food

More than any other dimension of cooking, vegetarianism and veganism characterized radical second-wave feminists' culinary politics. Through the avoidance of meat, radical feminists prefigured a more egalitarian, non-oppressive world within their personal lives. These activists equated the slaughter of animals with violence toward women, and argued that refusing to eat meat undermined the oppressive societal tendencies that disadvantaged both women and animals. Radical feminists also blamed meat-eating for global inequality and women's ill health. By encouraging vegetarian and vegan diets, radical feminists advocated for engaging in the non-violent, non-oppressive practices that could revolutionize society if adopted by the masses. Thus, radical feminists proposed ways of prefiguring their political goals within their personal lives.

Radical second-wave feminists saw similarities between a patriarchal society that oppressed women and a food system that oppressed animals. In their 1980 cookbook, *The Political Palate,* members of the feminist Bloodroot Collective compared men's control over women to raising and killing animals. They explained, "Our food is vegetarian because we are feminists... We oppose the keeping and killing of animals for the pleasure of the palate just as we oppose men controlling abortion or sterilization" (Beaven et al. 1980:xi).

The critique of meat eating went one step further when radical feminists compared it to the sexual objectification of women. In *The Sexual Politics of Meat,* Carol Adams became the most vocal proponent of this line of thought. Adams and other radical feminists argued that men often viewed women as objects that existed solely for men's sexual pleasure. When women are seen in this way, as only having one purpose, they are

stripped of their humanity. Similarly, animals raised for meat are seen as objects that exist for one reason—to satisfy human appetites. The parallels between women's and animals' oppression were strong enough to convince Pat Hynes, a radical feminist who owned a restaurant, to serve vegetarian food. Hynes explained, "I feel that vegetarian eating and cooking is a lot closer to feminism than meat-eating... Meat eating is like cannibalism. That's the way men see women, in the terms that apply to meat" (Shapiro 1975). Thus, cooking vegetarian food was a way to challenge the broader system of objectification that devalued both women's and animals' lives.

By avoiding meat, radical feminists aimed to lessen the power of this system of oppression that harmed both women and animals. For example, Feminists for Animal Rights explained, "we work in non-violent ways to change" the system that oppresses both animals and women (Feminists for Animal Rights n.d.). Vegetarianism was one such non-violent tactics that aimed to eliminate the pervasive violence that harmed both women and animals. One feminist argued, "in our present world which is ridden with violence and bloodshed, I feel there's a strong need for reducing it in whatever ways we may. Vegetarianism is such a way" (Thiermann 1976). By avoiding meat, radical feminists modeled the egalitarian and non-oppressive practices that they believed could revolutionize society. Feminists for Animal Rights referred to the prefigurative potential of a vegetarian diet: "We feel that it is not enough to claim an abstract respect for animals. We feel that we must show that respect in our own lives as well. As Carol Adams states, not eating the flesh of dead animals is one way of 'putting feminism into action'" (Feminists for Animal Rights n.d.). Put another way, vegetarianism allowed radical feminists' ends to become their means. By eating and cooking vegetarian food,

these feminists structured their personal worlds around non-oppressive values, which they hoped would replace patriarchal values as the default principles of social institutions.

Radical feminists argued that the personal practice of eating could also have global ramifications. Frances Moore Lappé's *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971) resonated with radical feminists, who adopted Lappé's argument about the potential for vegetarianism to solve world hunger. These feminists argued that producing meat is an inefficient use of the Earth's limited resources. They claimed that more people could be fed if humans directly consumed grains rather than the animals that eat the grains. As radical feminist Jenny Thiermann (1976) wrote, radical feminist vegetarians believed "we can ease the world famine since it takes 8 pounds of vegetable protein to form each pound of beef protein we consume." Radical feminists also saw the practice of growing beef in Central and South America as particularly evil: "Not only do we waste our own protein sources but we're robbing some of the poorest of the undeveloped countries of needed protein" (Anonymous 1973). Thus, through their diets, radical feminists re-oriented their personal lives around values and practices that, if adopted by enough people, could eliminate the oppression women, animals, and people in developing countries.

Vegetarianism was also seen as a measure that allowed women to take control of their health. The additives, hormones, and pesticides involved in meat production especially concerned radical feminists. For example, one *Country Woman* article about the over-reliance on herbicides recommended, "Avoid eating foods high on the food-chain, such as animal fat, organ meats, and animal tissue in general, since this is where

toxins accumulate" (Women's Center Committee on the Environment 1976). Another radical feminist explained how the meat industry posed health problems specifically to women:

> When I learned of the drugs given to fatten animals and the chemicals used in processing meat, I didn't want that extra pollution inside me since so many pollutants are already unavoidable. DES, a hormone found in most beef and chicken, has been proven to cause cancer of the cervix in women. How many sisters will suffer and die in the next generation because of our commercial meat producing industry? The latest meat hazard I read of was recent FDA findings that bacon and all nitrate-cured meats such as ham, hot dogs, bologna, etc. contain one of the most potent cancer causing agents known. BEWARE, BE AWARE sisters of what you eat! (Thiermann 1976)

In this understanding, meat contributed to women's oppression by ruining their health. Alternatively, vegetarian diets were portrayed as healthful. Thus, throughout their discourse about vegetarianism and veganism, radical second-wave feminists argued that women could remove oppression from their personal lives, prefiguring one of their main political goals.

Radical feminist cookbooks primarily featured vegetarian recipes. I coded recipes as vegetarian or vegan based on their ingredients. For example, many recipes were not advertised as vegan, but if they did not call for meat, eggs, or dairy, I coded them as vegan. If recipes did not contain meat but included eggs or dairy, I coded them as vegetarian. Of the 200 radical feminist recipes I analyzed, 62% were vegetarian and did not call for any form of meat (compared to 53.2% of liberal second-wave feminist recipes) (see Table 8.1). On top of this, another 35.5% were vegan and abstained from dairy products (compared to 12.8% of liberal feminist recipes). Therefore, nearly all the recipes in radical feminist cookbooks avoided meat. The difference between liberal and

radical feminist recipes on this matter grows even more stark when we eliminate the recipes for desserts, candies, breads, pies, or cookies, as many of these foods are vegetarian or vegan by default. In radical feminist cookbooks, 39% of the non-dessert recipes are vegetarian, compared to 15.4% of comparable liberal second-wave recipes. Similarly, 27% of the non-dessert radical recipes are vegan, compared to 6.9% of comparable liberal second-wave recipes.

This focus on vegetarianism and veganism can also be seen in the ingredients. Tofu, a staple of Asian cuisines for at least the past thousand years, rose to national prominence in the U.S. in the mid-twentieth century (Shurtleff and Aoyagi 2013). The 1960s and 1970s counterculture adopted tofu as a more healthful and compassionate source of protein. Even in the twenty-first century U.S., tofu remains a powerful symbol of vegetarian and vegan diets. Thus, through the inclusion of tofu in their recipes, we can see radical feminists' commitment to avoiding meat. Ten percent of recipes in radical second-wave feminist cookbooks called for tofu, while this ingredient did not appear once in liberal second-wave feminist cookbooks.

Radical feminist periodicals also reflected the emphasis on vegetarianism. Over a quarter (25.3%) of radical feminist articles about cooking advocated for vegetarianism, while an additional 7.6% advocated for veganism (see Table 8.1). Alternatively, liberal second-wave feminists rarely discussed this topic. Only 9% of *Ms.* magazine articles mentioned vegetarianism, and veganism appeared in an even smaller number (3.4%). Aside from demonstrating that radical feminists proposed meat-free diets more than liberal feminists, these numbers also show us that radical feminists were most likely to champion this diet in cookbooks. Recipes are particularly well suited to advocate for

vegetarianism, because they can easily offer suggestions for how to get by without eating meat.

For example, the Bloodroot Collective, which operated a feminist vegetarian restaurant, filled their cookbooks with directions for leading a meat-free life. Bloodroot included a few fish recipes in their first cookbook, but by the time they published their second cookbook in 1984, the collective had decided that even fish should not be eaten (Beaven et al. 1980, 1984). These recipes vary substantially from the quick fixes found in liberal second-wave feminist cookbooks. In Bloodroot's cookbooks, cooking is not presented as a task that is to be done quickly to move on to more important things. Instead, cooking takes center stage, and the women of Bloodroot did not have qualms about asking home cooks to complete intricate, time-consuming tasks. Instead, Bloodroot offered elaborate recipes that sought to authentically replicate many ethnic cuisines' vegetarian and vegan specialties. For example, the recipe for dahl in *The Second Seasonal Political Palate* does not provide any cheats when it comes to dealing with the spices that can make or break a home-cooked Indian dish:

> DAHL
> A gravy made of lentils or beans. Masur is made from red lentils; moong from split mung beans, generally available. We also like chana and urad dahl, available at Indian markets. Even supermarket split peas can be used.
> 1) Soak 1 c. lentils (dahl) in water to cover for about 1 hour. Drain, checking carefully to see there are no stones. Turn into a pot, cover again with fresh water and add 1 t. tumeric. Bring to a boil, cover, and simmer for 1 hour or more, until the dahl is tender. Add water as necessary, checking every 10 minutes.
> 2) To season dahl, chop ½ onion and mince 1 clove garlic. In a small frying pan melt 4 Tb. butter and begin cooking ½ t. whole black mustard seeds until seeds begin to pop. Add onion and garlic, and turn heat off. Finely dice enough ginger to yield 1 t.; add to pan. Chop ¼ of a hot chili pepper, and add to pan. Add ¼ t. ground cumin, ½ t. ground coriander, and the crushed seed of 1 cardamom pod, if available. A mortar and pestle or a

rolling pin work well. Simmer all together about 5 minutes.
3) Add above sauce, called a "tadka", to the dahl with 1½ t. salt. Simmer another 30 minutes and taste. You may need more salt. Dahl should be a thin gravy to serve over rice, so add water as necessary.
Makes 3-4 cups (Beaven et al. 1984:79)

These involved recipes betray a love for cooking that is absent from liberal second-wave cookbooks. In an oral history, Selma Miriam, one of the members of the collective, admitted that "There's several things I'm passionate about, and one of them is cooking. And doing new recipes is just wonderful! If I find something, if I can translate something so that it's vegan—or less good, vegetarian—and make it taste better than anything anyone had ever had, that's just such a thrill to me" (Baxivanos 2009).

In the 1980s, few Americans had exposure to veganism. However, radical feminists became some of this diet's earliest American proponents, encouraging people to avoid all animal products. Especially in their second cookbook, the Bloodroot Collective offered many vegan recipes. For example, the following recipe for "Blueberry Almond Tofu 'Cheese' Pie" resembles a cheese cake, but is made without any diary products:

BLUEBERRY ALMOND TOFU "CHEESE" PIE
This dairy free cheesecake rivals cream cheese cakes in flavor, but requires time and careful attention. This is our most requested recipe.
1) Make Crust: Preheat oven to 350°. In a food processor chop ¾ c. almonds. Turn into bowl. In processor combine 1/3 c. oil, 1/3 c. maple syrup, ¾ t. vanilla, ¼ t. almond extract, ½ c. + 2 Tb. whole wheat flour, 1/3 t. baking powder and 1/3 t. cinnamon. Turn machine on and off to combine. Return almonds to processor with 2 Tb. water and mix until just blended.
2) Oil a 9" x 12" baking pan and use a metal spatula to spread crust over bottom. Bake until light brown and slightly withdrawn from the edges. Wash processor.
3) Put ½ lb. tofu and 1½ c. juice (apple apricot or apple raspberry) in a pot, sprinkle in 1½ Tb. agar-agar, and bring to a simmer. Cook gently about 10 minutes. Set juice aside. Lift tofu out to drain in a dish.
4) If available, use a coffee mill to very finely pulverize 2/3 c. almonds and 1/3 c. each walnuts and filberts. Or pulverize in washed and dried

> processor. Whichever machine is used for the initial operation, the finely ground nuts should end up in the processor. Add the grated rind of 1½ lemons to the machine. Turn on processor and very slowly add 1½ c. oil, drop by drop, alternately with the drained tofu and 3½ Tb. lemon juice. Mixture should become thick and creamy like a mayonnaise. If you have added the oil too quickly, it may separate. If this happens, pour off the oil, turn machine on, and very slowly add oil again. Flavor with 1 t. salt, 1 Tb. vanilla, and 1/3 c. maple syrup. Scrape down and mix again. While machine is running, pour in the juice and agar-agar mixture. Turn this filling onto the almond crust, spreading evenly.
> 5) Rinse pot. Add 1 pt. blueberries, 2/3 c. apple raspberry juice, ¼ c. maple syrup, ¼ t. cinnamon, and bring to a boil. Meanwhile, stir together 1¼ Tb. arrowroot in ½ c. apple raspberry juice, stir into simmering blueberry mixture until thickened, remove from heat and spoon carefully over pie. Cool and then refrigerate.
> Serves 12 (Beaven et al. 1984:186-7)

Like many of the recipes in Bloodroot's cookbooks, this elaborate recipe requires a large time and energy commitment. It sends the message about the centrality of cooking to radical feminists' lives, especially if this practice enables women to consume food free of meat and other animal products.

Many of the recipes in other radical feminist cookbooks were less elaborate, but they still directed the reader to cook vegetarian and vegan food. The *Whoever Said Dykes Can't Cook? Cookbook,* published by a radical lesbian feminist group in Cincinnati, contained no recipes that called for meat. Indeed, vegetarianism was part of the call for recipes. In ads that requested recipes from women in the community, the editors specified that they only wanted vegetarian recipes: "VEGETARIAN ONLY PLEASE (nothing that needs to be caught, shot, or trapped)" (Anonymous 1982a). The radical feminists of Cincinnati delivered, contributing recipes that avoided meat. These recipes were less elaborate than Bloodroot's recipes, but were more suited to everyday meal preparation. For example, it would not be too much trouble to prepare "Vickimac's Quiche Supreme,"

which makes a hearty vegetarian dish from relatively common ingredients:

> VICKIMAC'S QUICHE SUPREME
> 1 c grated swiss cheese, 1 c grated sharp cheddar cheese, 2 bunches scallions sliced, 1 box fresh mushrooms sliced, 1 small green pepper diced, 2 eggs slightly beaten, ¾ c sour cream, chives to taste, dash cayenne pepper, 1-2 T butter. Preheat oven to 375 degrees.
> Saute pepper, scallions, and mushrooms til tender. Mix swiss cheese, pepper, scallions, mushrooms, chives and sour cream. Stir in eggs. Pour mixture into 8-inch deep dish pie shell. Top with sharp cheese and cayenne pepper. Dot with butter. Bake 35 minutes or til done. Let stand before serving. (Contenta and Ramstetter 1983:15)

Thus, vegetarianism and veganism was a common thread throughout radical feminist cookbooks. In recipes, these feminists offered a blueprint for re-orienting one's personal life toward an avoidance of meat. As we will see, radical feminists argued that vegetarian and vegan diets undermined the violence and oppression that pervaded social institutions and led to women's subordination. Thus, radical feminist recipes explained, step-by-step, how women could use their personal lives to prefigure a kinder and more empowering world.

Personal Prefigurative Politics: Grow it Yourself

As we have seen throughout this chapter, radical feminists aimed to rebuild or replace unjust and male-dominated social institutions. The agricultural industrial complex was one such institution that received many critiques from radical feminists. We've seen how radical feminists advocated for using the personal practice of vegetarianism to eliminate the violence that had become normalized in the meat industry. Radical feminists also suggested other personal practices that could prefigure their visions of a better society; namely, one in which women had power over their personal lives. Many

radical feminists encouraged women to become as self-sufficient as possible, especially in regards to food. These feminists—mainly situated in rural areas—recommended growing vegetables, raising animals for eggs and milk, and foraging for food. By growing or finding food, radical feminists were "learning to do it all and thereby freeing ourselves from dependence on men" (Anonymous 1976b). This approach to food allowed radical feminists to put their goals of autonomy and empowerment into practice within their personal lives.

Growing food was a popular discussion in radical second-wave feminist periodicals; nearly half (49.4%) of radical feminist articles that I analyzed advocated for producing or finding one's own food (see Table 8.1). Comparatively, only 6.7% of *Ms.* magazine articles recommended growing food. Radical feminists mentioned this topic in cookbooks less often; 5.5% of recipes in my sample explicitly recommended procuring ingredients by growing or gathering them. Perhaps recipes did not allow for the detailed explanations that usually accompanied discussions of growing vegetables successfully or identifying edible foods in the wild. In radical feminist magazines and newspapers, many articles about growing or foraging were accompanied by recipes; but I include these recipes in my analysis of periodicals rather than my analysis of cookbooks. Yet, even the small number of "grow-it-yourself" recipes in radical feminist cookbooks trumped what was in liberal second-wave cookbooks; no recipes in liberal feminist cookbooks mentioned this method of obtaining food.

As radical feminism progressed, many activists began leaving urban centers to start farms, sometimes in the form of small lesbian collectives. This faction of the radical feminist movement produced several publications, including *Country Women* and *Maize*,

which offered writings about the experiences of rural radical feminists. These publications likely addressed the lack of a nearby physical local women's community and the real need to share knowledge about how to run a successful farm. The driving force behind these radical feminists' exodus to the countryside was a quest for more power and independence. As one woman explained, "It was inevitable that the Back-to-the-Land Movement and the Women's Movement would someday come together because they are both made up of people attempting to reclaim power over their own lives" (Anonymous 1976b). As I explained above, radical feminists believed the standard food system operated on patriarchal and capitalistic values, resulting in disastrous social and environmental repercussions. To prefigure a world in which this oppressive food system did not exist, radical feminists developed personal practices that allowed them to be self-sufficient. Further, these personal practices also modeled a world in which women had more power and control and did not need to rely on others for survival.

Radical feminists' farming operations were mostly small-scale, but the size suited their purposes of obtaining self-sufficiency. As opposed to the agricultural-industrial complex they attempted to distance themselves from, radical feminists' primary goal was usually not to make a fortune. Instead, the main priority was being able to survive off the land. One radical feminist, Arlene Ishaug Delp, wrote a *Country Women* article about her farming experiences in Minnesota. Delp found joy and satisfaction by being independent from standard institutions, despite her lack of monetary compensation:

> Agribiz has chuckled, even laughed out loud at such simple doings as eight or nine cows. Well what can you expect, she is a woman, you know. But the important thing is that I am slowly gaining control… of my land and my future… These nine cows will pay for the dairy and the used equipment and provide me with a modest, simple living. That is all I

> require. You see, the land, the farm does not discriminate. If I can produce good quality clean milk and eggs (I also have about forty laying hens) nobody is going to pay me less for them because I am a woman, as had been my experience all through my working life. (Delp 1978)

Thus, radical feminists saw growing their own food as a step that allowed them to take control over their own lives, which they could not do when they relied on the standard food system. As long as these women could provide enough food for themselves, the absence of a salary was inconsequential. In fact, Delp argues that providing solely for herself rather than for money was refreshing, because she was not constantly reminded how she was likely being compensated less than men for the same work. Therefore, by producing their own food, radical feminists re-oriented their personal lives to prefigure a world in which women had more autonomy and power.

A handful of recipes in radical feminist cookbooks referred to growing food. This was most common in the Bloodroot Collective's cookbooks, which tended to feature ingredients that could not be easily purchased in a standard supermarket. In some cases, Bloodroot suggested that women grow these rare ingredients themselves. For example, the recipe for "Sunchoke Salad" encourages women to grow their own jerusalem artichokes:

> SUNCHOKE SALAD
> 1) Either grow your own Jerusalem Artichokes or buy them in a market. If you are harvesting your own after the first frost, scrub them thoroughly with a small brush under running water. Packaged ones need no cleaning and neither needs peeling.
> 2) For each diner, arrange a bed of fresh spinach on a dinner plate. Top with sliced raw mushrooms and thinly sliced sunchokes. Add a slice of onion separated into rings and finish with vinaigrette. (Beaven et al. 1980:259)

In recipes like this, radical second-wave feminists provided directions for cooking with

the foods that women had grown themselves. These recipes illustrate that radical feminists aimed to eat the food they grew, using it for their own survival rather than selling it for profit.

Producing one's own food had so much meaning for radical feminists that some activists even argued that meat-eating was permissible—as long as women raised and killed the animals themselves. Some radical feminists felt better about taking another creature's life if they had more control over the meat-production process. For example, in a *Country Women* article about butchering deer, activists identified as Hawk and Sam wrote, "It has made me very much in tune with what it means to take and use another's life… I feel good about my butchering experiences; I have learned a lot from doing it and feel one step closer to providing for my own needs" (Hawk and Sam 1974). Therefore, some radical feminists argued that killing one's own meat allows women to settle their conscience about meat-eating while also allowing women greater autonomy. Similarly, another *Country Women* article explained that by butchering animals, women become more intimately connected with their ability to survive off the land. "It is never easy to slaughter an animal or bird you have raised yourself, but somehow it makes a very tangible, real connection between your needs and your surroundings and how you choose to integrate these" (Tetrault 1975). Thus, butchering one's own meat became another form of personal prefigurative politics, in which radical feminists advocated for women to model independence and power within their personal actions.

Some radical feminists also argued that women could stop relying on the agricultural-industrial complex by foraging for food in the wild. Radical feminist periodicals often published articles that taught the art of identifying edible foods in the

wild—mushrooms were a particular favorite. For example, *Maize* ran a series of articles about mushrooming, all of which included illustrations, identification tips, and recipes. In one article about boletes mushrooms, the author, Merril Mushroom, explains, “Boletes are among the finest of edible mushrooms. They grow in woods and in open places from early summer to late fall, and they are easy for the novice to safely identify.” Pages of identification tips were followed by several recipes for boletes, including:

> BOLETES WITH LENTILS
> Soak 1 c. green or brown lentils in 2 c. water for a few hours. Then add another ½ c. water, ¼ c. carrots dived very small, ¼ c. onion diced small, and 3 c. diced boletes. Stir in 3 T. dark molasses, 2 T. cider vinegar, and 2 T. soy sauce or tamari. Cook slowly, covered, stirring occasionally, until the lentils are soft, usually about an hour. (Mushroom 1985)

Foraging for mushrooms was also featured in *The Political Palate.* Recipes that called for wild mushrooms often contained information on how to identify particular types of mushrooms, directing women to venture into the wild instead of pointing them toward a grocery store.

> PASTA CON FUNGHI
> First find your mushrooms. *Armillaria mellea* and *Clitocybe tabescens* are exceedingly common in the northeast. They appear in the third or fourth week in September on the surface of the ground and are parasitic on tree roots. Both have decurrant gills and produce a white spore print and look remarkably alike except that Armillaria has a ring. However, before you proceed with hunting wild mushrooms, you should know that caution is most necessary. No matter how much you study books or mushroom field guides, they are no substitute for a course in mushroom identification or going out in the field with a knowledgable collector. Some mushrooms can kill and some can make you very sick. Be sure an expert has identified what you find!
> 1) Cut off stems of about 2 qt. Armillaria mellea or Clitocybe tabescens. Wipe clean but do not wash. Clean and slice 8 frying peppers, using red ones, if available. Slice 1 very large onion.
> 2) Put 3 Tb. olive oil and 2 t. hot pepper flakes in a large frying pan and saute peppers and onions. When they are light brown, scoop them out of the pan into a large pot. Turn heat on high and fry the mushrooms, adding

> more olive oil if necessary. When mushrooms are well cooked, turn into pot and deglaze frying pan with ¼ c. tamari and a #2½ can of tomato sauce. Simmer, scraping up burnt bits and turn sauce into pot. Use tomato sauce can to add 1 can water and ½ can red wine. Add salt and pepper to taste. Simmer 20 minutes.
> 3) Finish mushroom sauce with 3 Tb. pesto (see recipe index), if available, and ½ bunch Italian parsley, chopped. Sauce should be thin and not very tomato-tasting. Thin with equal parts water and wine, as necessary.
> 4) Boil 2-3 lb. linguine or spinach noodles until just cooked. Drain and shake dry. Serve with sauce and freshly grated parmesan.
> Serves 6-8 (Beaven et al. 1980:264)

By teaching women to forage, radical feminists encouraged women to further remove themselves from the mainstream food system. Foraging did not even require purchasing seeds or animals for cultivation; foraging simply required labor and time.

The teachings related to foraging took many forms. In an article titled "Have You Had Your Weedies Today?", a radical feminist named Nett Hart explained how to cook the edible weeds that commonly grew in gardens. Hart argues, "The best approach to 'weeds' in the garden I've found is to eat them" (Hart 1984). She focuses on burdock, explaining how to gather it and identifying which parts to eat. Hart then offers several recipes for burdock, including:

> MISO SOUP WITH BURDOCK
> Boil burdock in lots of water. Add your choice of onions, garlic, vegetables-on-hand, parsley, noodles, seaweeds, mushrooms, ginger, cayenne. When all is cooked remove an ½ cup liquid, dissolve a glob of miso—amount depends on your taste and strength of miso—and stir in with the heat off. Serve. (Hart 1984).

Another radical feminist, writing under the name Sunflower Seed, encouraged restraint while foraging to ensure sustainability of wild plants: "Only pick the part(s) of the plant you are going to use… Don't cut down or dig up a whole cluster of plants. For every one you take, leave several. You can eat now and have plants next year" (Seed 1973).

Sunflower Seed argued that foraging allows women to remove themselves from the agricultural-industrial complex's oppressive principles that were contrived by men. Instead, women could orient their lives around the kinder principles in nature: "Nature manifests perfection. We can achieve inner harmony when we put ourselves in harmony with her laws." Thus, foraging was a key part of radical feminists' personal prefigurative politics that aimed to model a world without institutions that oppressed women and the environment.

Growing and foraging for food required that radical feminists be in tune with the seasons. By the 1970s, the globalized food system had ensured that anyone who largely relied on supermarkets could purchase the same products regardless of the season. However, for those who survived on food they grew, seasons were an integral part of survival. This is reflected in radical feminist culinary discourse; half of radical feminist recipes (51%) directed women to only cook the dish during a particular season (see Table 8.1). The recipes in both Bloodroot cookbooks were organized by season, with each season's chapter containing recipes with ingredients that achieved peak ripeness during that season. Bloodroot was not shy about reiterating this message when it was particularly important to use seasonal ingredients; for example, they introduced their Gazpacho recipe with a blurb that noted, "An excellent soup to be made only when local tomatoes are in season. It's not worth eating otherwise" (Beaven et al. 1980:218). Alternatively, the appropriate season was only mentioned in 1.6% of the recipes I analyzed from liberal second-wave feminist cookbooks. Radical feminist periodicals also had roughly twice as many articles that discussed seasonality (7.6% compared to *Ms.* magazine's 3.4%). Thus, radical feminists' attempts to be self-sufficient placed seasons at the center of their

culinary approach. One feminist wrote about the process of growing vegetables, "I want to communicate the excitement of this creative life nurturing work—to make garden maintenance sound flowing and cyclical rather than mechanical" (Thiermann 1975). These activists were immersed in the seasons' ebb and flow as they worked to build an alternative way of life that modeled kindness and empowerment rather than greed and oppression.

Integrated Prefigurative Politics: Food Co-ops and Feminist Restaurants

When radical feminists recommended vegetarian diets and growing or foraging for food, they recommended forms of prefigurative politics that were situated within the personal sphere. However, radical feminists also advocated for approaching food in ways that involved both the organizational and personal level of social action. Radical feminists are famous for building alternative institutions such as women's record labels, women's bookstores, and women's coffee shops; they also built alternative institutions related to food and cooking. In this section, I will focus on radical feminists' food co-ops and restaurants. These institutions also involved the personal action of food consumption. Thus, these food-related organizations represent *integrated prefigurative politics,* which involve both organizational and personal action to model activists' visions for social change.

Beneath much of this discourse about integrated prefigurative politics lay a desire to empower women through collective, democratic organizations. Many of radical feminists' food co-ops and restaurants claimed to be collectives, which were owned and run by a group of individuals who had—in theory—equal control of the operation.

Bloodroot explained in their introduction to *The Political Palate* (Beaven et al. 1980:xiii), "Feminist food, in our case, is produced by a collective. That means each of us does what she can do best and that we learn from and teach each other... That means we are very particular, that continuity is important to us, that we all taste and discuss the final seasoning of a soup." While feminists believed women did not have much power in the broader society, their collectives attempted to become models of equality by allowing each woman a voice in all activities, including cooking.

Compared to liberal feminist publications, radical feminist newspapers and magazines featured food co-ops more prominently. Food co-ops were mentioned in 8.8% of radical feminist articles about food, while they only appeared in 3.4% of *Ms.* magazine articles (see Table 8.1). There was a smaller difference between liberal and radical feminist publications in the discussion of feminist restaurants—4.7% of radical articles mentioned feminist restaurants, compared to 3.4% of *Ms.* magazine articles. Although these restaurants were started by radical feminists, liberal feminist took an interest because they encouraged women to make money from cooking. The *Ms.* articles that mentioned feminist restaurants focused on the founders' tips for starting a food business. These liberal articles were more geared toward teaching women to prefigure economic independence. Radical feminist articles, on the other hand, explained how these feminist restaurants were institutions that provided an alternative to the male-centered and oppressive ways of producing and consuming food. However, radical feminist articles are not the richest source of data about feminist restaurants; instead, their organizational documents from archives present a more detailed view of restaurants' goals.

I did not code any cookbook recipes for mentions of food co-ops or restaurants.

While two of the three radical feminist cookbooks were published by the Bloodroot Collective and incorporated recipes often served at the restaurant, the recipes did not instruct women to open their own restaurants. Instead, the recipes taught women how to cook within their individual homes. Thus, because cookbooks are more geared toward personal prefigurative politics rather than integrated prefigurative politics, discussions about radical feminists' food organizations were most prominent in articles and archival materials.

Food Co-ops

Radical feminists saw food co-ops as a way to build a food system that was less oppressive and more healthful than the standard means of producing, distributing, and consuming food. In the 1960s 1970s, and 1980s, food co-ops were popular with counter-cultural leftists outside of radical feminism (Belasco 1989). Food co-ops were generally owned collectively by the members, who paid a membership fee or contributed labor in return for discounted food prices. Co-ops usually bought food wholesale as directly from the source as possible to eliminate the cost of middlemen. Radical feminists justified co-ops with their own line of reasoning, which focused on how women in particular could be empowered by institutions that did not subscribe to the greed that typified the industrial food system.

A few hours into the New Year in 1971, over 100 radical feminists took over an abandoned building in the East Village of New York City. They aimed to claim the space for a Women's Center that would provide, among other services, a food co-op (New York Radical Feminists 1970). The New York Radical Feminists, who organized the building takeover, argued that the food co-op would allow women to adopt more

liberating personal practices. The food co-op would "illustrate to women how they are tied into profit-making institutions for basic life needs. Women can and will free themselves from dependency on the A&P by making contacts with farms and buying and selling their own food together" (New York Radical Feminists 1971). This sentiment was echoed in other radical feminists' explanations of their alternative food institutions, which generally grew out of "a desire for more local self-sufficiency, and a revulsion toward the wasteful, exploitative, corporate food industry" (McGarrity 1976). The slogan of the Cass Corridor food co-op in Detroit was "Food for people, not for profit" (Scott 1984).

Aside from proving institutions that served as an alternative to the oppressive agricultural-industrial complex, food co-ops allowed women more control over their personal consumption practices. One radical feminist explained that Detroit's Cass Corridor food co-op empowered members more than standard grocery stores empowered their customers: "There are some definite advantages to being a co-op member that are missing from the regular supermarket. The Co-op is a consumer-controlled business. Each member is part owner of the store and has one vote on the policies being made. The consumer is a lot closer to the food source and can have more of a say about what comes into the Co-op" (Scott 1984). Similarly, the organizers of the women's food co-op in New York City encouraged women's input on what foods the co-op should be sure to stock (Anonymous 1971b). Thus, radical feminists argued that food co-ops allowed women to exercise more control over their personal practices, which was one of their main political goals.

One of radical feminists' major critiques of the agricultural-industrial food system

was that it churned out unhealthful processed foods that were filled with dangerous chemicals. Food co-ops made it a priority to provide organic produce and other foods that were considered more healthful. For example, radical feminists in New York City explained the health reasons behind forming the women's food co-op:

> The idea behind it was to provide women with an alternative way of getting good, fresh, healthy, cheap food. Even more important is the knowledge we've been gathering about nutrition and how the system provides us with everything but good nutrition. One of the demands of the Womens Movement has been for control over our own bodies. For us, part of this means demystifying the advertising we are bombarded with daily. We are beginning to care about how and what we eat, no longer neglecting ourselves. This makes us like ourselves more and feel like whole and alive beings. (Anonymous 1971b)

Here, radical feminists portray the food co-op as a way to give women power in one of the most personal aspects of their lives—their bodies. By giving women the option to purchase foods that are organic or less processed, food co-ops allow women to align their personal practices with their political goals. Similarly, radical feminists touted the health benefits of Detroit's Cass Corridor food co-op: "The Co-op is an alternative to over-packaged, over-priced, and over-processed foods" (Scott 1984).

In sum, by building food co-ops, radical feminists modeled their ideal non-oppressive, egalitarian social institution. For example, one woman identified as Slim explained that one large food co-op put the goals of radical feminism into practice: "At this point, a whole cross-section of food buyers can walk in from the streets and come in contact with *the functioning expression of consciously evolved ideals and goals*" (emphasis added) (Slim 1976). In another article, Slim argued that the food co-op where she worked was a model for autonomous and empowered living: "I feel we're *beginning to be a model* for how we can take care of our own needs by organizing and putting out

energy. We feel a part of the movement that has produced the Community Center and health collectives, which could go on to provide auto garages, child care, recycling, whatever we care to create" (emphasis added) (Slim 1975). This radical feminist situates food co-ops with other alternative institutions created by the feminist community.

Importantly, these alternative institutions also involve personal action. Thus, the prefigurative organization of food co-ops also allow women to prefigure non-oppression and empowerment in their personal lives. In her description of the food co-op where she works, Slim quotes a food distributor who explains that alternative institutions and personal actions combine to prefigure activists' visions for social change. The distributor argues, "We don't see these goals as being 'idealistic' or something that will only come 'after the revolution.' They are the result of everyday decisions that we must make, and actions that we initiate, or refuse to participate in. We are striving for consistency in our personal, social, work and political lives" (Slim 1975). Thus, food co-ops allowed feminists to re-orient their personal practices to model their political goals.

Feminist Restaurants

Like food co-ops, feminist restaurants modeled the non-oppressive and woman-centered institutions that radical feminists believed would provide the foundation of a more egalitarian society. Further, restaurants allowed women to re-orient their personal practice of food consumption to one that was more empowering. Thus, restaurants were a form of integrated prefigurative politics that involved prefiguration on both the organizational and personal levels of social action. In this section, I will focus on two radical feminist restaurants: Mother Courage in New York City and Bread & Roses in Cambridge, Massachusetts. These two restaurants were owned and operated by radical

feminists, and they only employed women.

Mother Courage was one of the earliest feminist restaurants, opened in 1972 in a quiet corner of the West Village in New York City (Alexander n.d.; Anonymous 1975). Radical feminists Jill Ward and Dolores Alexander were the primary owners of the restaurant. Ward and Alexander gathered donations from the women's community to cover the start-up costs (Ward 1974). For its menu, Mother Courage served several vegetarian dishes in addition to dishes that included meat.

Ward and Alexander aimed to create a space where women felt welcome and comfortable, in contrast to most other public spaces where women felt objectified. As Alexander wrote retrospectively in a book proposal about Mother Courage, "we had lived long enough with the problem all women live with of not having enough space for women, women-space which not only supports psychically, but financially as well" (Alexander n.d.:3). The customers, many of whom were involved in the feminist movement, appreciated the fact that Mother Courage was, first and foremost, a space for women. At Mother Courage's third birthday party, Alix Shulman, a regular customer, explained, "Everytime I went somewhere without a man I felt like an interloper… At last there was a place for me and all women" (Anonymous 1975). Another friend of the restaurant wrote to Mother Courage, "It is almost easier to come up with good food than with your unique ambiance—women together and strong" (Ralph 1975). Alexander characterized Mother Courage as "a world of freedom and support with a unique modus operandi and a robust social atmosphere" (Alexander n.d.:3). Therefore, it would appear that Mother Courage succeeded at building an institution that was oriented toward women's comfort, as opposed to the majority of institutions that were oriented toward

men as their default patrons.

Mother Courage also allowed its owners to prefigure their political goals within their personal lives. By running the restaurant, Ward and Alexander were able to align their everyday life with their visions for a better society. As Ward explained, she wanted "to connect my inner reality with my daily activity" (Anonymous 1975). Alexander had not always fostered dreams of running a feminist restaurant. In fact, in her earlier life as a housewife, Alexander admitted, "I did not like to cook. I had done entirely too much of it." But Alexander was more willing to run a feminist restaurant than cook for family members at home. By running a feminist restaurant, Alexander believed she could instill in herself the values that she hoped would come to typify society at large. "We were coming to believe that the female principle did not include the qualities of aggressiveness, ruthlessness and competition. That these are elements of the male principle and we didn't want to have anything to do with it. We wanted to promote in ourselfs [sic] the female qualities of assertiveness, nurturing, and cooperation" (Alexander n.d.). Thus, Ward and Alexander hoped that involvement in Mother Courage would allow them to prefigure their visions for social change within their personal lives.

Mother Courage also modeled clientele egalitarian personal practices related to dining out. One of the restaurant's most famous practices was its method of pouring wine for a heterosexual couple. In an unpublished manuscript submitted to the *New York Times,* Alexander argued, "Isn't the ritual of serving the first taste to the man a sexist practice?" At first, the wait staff poured women the first taste of wine. However, many women balked at being poured the first taste, which led the manager to develop "an explanatory rap." She would explain, "This is a feminist restaurant, you know. We think

it's time women got to taste the wine. Do you know why you're tasting it? To tell whether it has turned in the bottle. It's no more mysterious than that. You don't have to be an expert for that." This explanation usually encouraged the women to taste. However, this practice often offended the men, and, to quelch future arguments among customers, Mother Courage shifted their practice to serving two people at a table the first taste of wine (but explaining that one taster needed to be a woman) (Alexander 1975). In her notes on this topic, Alexander explained that she enjoyed seeing "women's face light up with a big smile, a combination of pleasure, new confidence, independence, sweet revenge, AT LAST!" The wait staff at Mother Courage also placed the bill in the middle of the table, rather than directly in front of the men (Alexander 1975). The women of Mother Courage also encouraged women to order for themselves: "If a guy orders for a woman the waitress ignores him and asks her, What would you like? It's an education for them, consciousness-raising" (Anonymous 1975). Therefore, Mother Courage taught personal practices of food consumption that modeled egalitarianism and women's empowerment rather than women's dependence on men.

In the Boston neighborhood of Cambridge, similar principles guided the feminist restaurant Bread & Roses. Pat Hynes opened the restaurant in 1974. Similar to Ward and Alexander, Hynes accepted loans from individuals within the women's community to raise the money needed to open the restaurant (Anonymous 1976a). The restaurant featured a main dining room and a back room for performances or talks. Bread & Roses held special dinners every Sunday that served as benefits for local women's organizations. For example, on November 13, 1977, Bread & Roses held a Mexican dinner and benefit for Women Against Violence Against Women, with a presentation

from representatives from the group. Women could purchase a ticket to the dinner for $4.50 (Bread & Roses 1977). On other nights, Bread & Roses featured a minimal menu, with one appetizer, two soups, three to four entrees, bread, and two choices for dessert. The women of Bread & Roses claimed that they only served meat once a week (Anonymous 1976a) (see Image 8.1). Bread & Roses also eliminated wait staff; several feminist restaurants adopted this practice in an attempt to reduce overhead and create a less hierarchical environment. At Bread & Roses, customers placed orders at a counter and picked up their food from the kitchen window (Bread & Roses 1975).

Like Mother Courage, Bread & Roses aimed to produce an institution that provided a welcome atmosphere for women. In the prospectus for the restaurant, Hynes wrote, “We’re starting a women’s restaurant, a place where women and their friends can get together and eat in a feminist atmosphere. We’ll serve mainly good healthy food, much of it vegetarian. At least as important as the food is the atmosphere we hope to create” (Bread & Roses 1974). Although Bread & Roses was technically open to men, the workers tended to discourage men from visiting the restaurant in an effort to keep it a “women’s restaurant” (Anonymous 1976a).

Bread & Roses also served as a model of an institution that operated upon feminist values and aimed to empower, rather than oppress, women. Thus, the restaurant involved organizational prefigurative action as it modeled institutions that radical feminists hoped would become more widespread. The prospectus distinguished Bread & Roses from other profit-seeking businesses, arguing that the restaurant’s main goal was not monetary: “As feminists, we are naturally opposed to capitalism. Though we cannot work outside the realities of American economic life, we hope as far as possible to

operate as an alternative to business institutions as we have known them. Our main goal is not commercial; structurally, we see the enterprise as a cooperative venture and one responsive to the needs of our community" (Bread & Roses 1974). Thus, Bread & Roses served as a model of an organization that operated on non-oppressive values and aimed to serve the community rather than take advantage of it.

Like Mother Courage, this prefigurative organization also involved personal prefigurative politics. By eating in the woman-centered atmosphere of Bread & Roses, women could change their personal practices of food consumption to ones that were ideally more nourishing—both physically and mentally. Further, Bread & Roses taught women to adopt personal practices that could prefigure a less oppressive world. The restaurant offered a five-week course titled, "Feminism-Food-Feeding the World." Pat Hynes, the owner of Bread & Roses, taught the course, which explained the principles of vegetarianism and directions for practice. A flyer advertised that the course would cover the "choice of many feminists to be vegetarians and connections between war on animals / peoples / planet, meat-eating, sexism, and rape." The students also learned about farming and nutrition. To conclude, the class cooked a vegetarian meal together on International Women's Day (Hynes 1976). Thus, Bread & Roses represents a form of integrated prefigurative politics, for it served as a prefigurative organization that also modeled and taught personal practices that reflected radical feminists' visions for social change.

In sum, radical feminists aimed for restaurants and food co-ops to be prefigurative institutions that also allowed women to prefigure independence and empowerment within their personal lives. This is not to say that feminist businesses like these had unanimous

support from radical feminists. Some within the movement critiqued these organizations for participating in capitalism, which they saw as an inherently violent and oppressive economic system. However, the defenders of feminist businesses maintained that these organizations did in fact operate on feminist values and could lead to women's empowerment. Olivia, the feminist record label, published a paper that argued,

> feminist businesses are not just "selling products which promote the idea of equality"… They are woman-designed to meet our own needs and to become what we want. They are superb inventions which test out our feminist principles in crises of the everyday decisions which are moments because they have everything to do with our survival—politically and economically. Feminist businesses and feminist businesswomen are putting their lives and their livelihoods on the line in order to invent a way to gain actual power for women. (Woodul n.d.)

Thus, feminist businesses like restaurants and food co-ops attempted to align women's personal lives with their political goals. Through these organizations, and by encouraging women to avoid meat and grow food themselves, radical feminists advocated for using food and cooking in ways that could prefigure a less oppressive, more equal world.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how radical feminists have connected cooking to their political goals of building a less oppressive and more egalitarian society. Although these goals may appear very different from temperance activists' goals, both movements politicized cooking in similar ways. This similarity in their culinary discourse is due to both movements' attempts to enact social change from the ground up, starting with individuals' personal practices. As the reader will recall, temperance activists pushed for laws and a constitutional amendment that would prohibit alcohol; however, just as

important to the movement's politics were the attempts to reform individuals' behavior.

This similarity between both movements' tactics led to similarities in how temperance activists and radical feminists made moral claims about their approach to food and cooking. Both movements situated their own culinary approaches as moral, contrasting them against the immoral backdrop of mainstream food systems and practices. Temperance women argued that unhealthful food defiled God's greatest creation—the human body—and led to a life of sin. By contrast, temperance women maintained that healthful food was inherently moral and could result in a life of virtue. Similarly, radical feminists explained that the mainstream food system and practices were laced with greed, violence, and oppression. They portrayed their own culinary approaches as more just, kind, and supportive of the public good. Thus, half a century apart, these two movements used discourse about cooking to situate themselves as more moral than mainstream society. This moral identity could help convince others to adopt the culinary practices that temperance women and radical feminists recommended. Because both movements believed that individuals' personal actions could bring about social change, convincing others to adopt these practices was key to the movements' success.

Both temperance women and radical feminists focused first and foremost on empowering women within the home and family. They did not believe that the answer to women's empowerment lay in the political and legal systems. This meant that cooking and food became a primary method through which women's empowerment could be directly achieved, not an activity that indirectly supported women's empowerment by facilitating actions in more important spheres. With cooking occupying such central importance to women's empowerment, it was not problematic for temperance activists or

radical feminists to spend time and energy on the task. Thus, both movement's culinary prefigurative politics often involved time- and labor-intensive approaches to cooking. Health was also important to both movements; accordingly, temperance activists and radical feminists emphasized the importance of vegetables and attempted to avoid meat. Both movements also built restaurants, where patrons could adopt the movements' recommended personal practices of food consumption. Therefore, both movements developed some similar forms of culinary prefigurative politics, in which activists built organizations and used personal actions to model their visions of social change.

Of course, not all aspects of radical feminist discourse about cooking mirrored temperance women's culinary discourse. Radical feminists were not worried about the specter of alcohol. Radical feminists also were much more welcoming of spices and fats. While temperance activists eschewed the spicy foods of recent immigrants as a route to sin, radical feminists embraced exotic cuisines for their traditionally vegetarian and vegan dishes. This openness to foreign cuisines could be due to the more left-wing nature of radical feminism compared to temperance, which had a definite conservative and racist streak. Thus, the political tactics of a movement—*i.e.,* working toward social change from the ground up—do not always result in politicizing cooking in the same ways. Instead, there are other contributing factors—the political ideology and the historical era, for starters—that have shaped how each feminist movement has politicized cooking. In the next and final chapter, I will perform a more in-depth comparison between the four feminist movements to highlight some of the major factors that have influenced the way that kitchens become implicated in the quest for women's empowerment.

Small portions of Chapter 8 have been published in *Contexts,* 2014, S. J. Williams, “A Feminist Guide to Cooking.” The dissertation author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

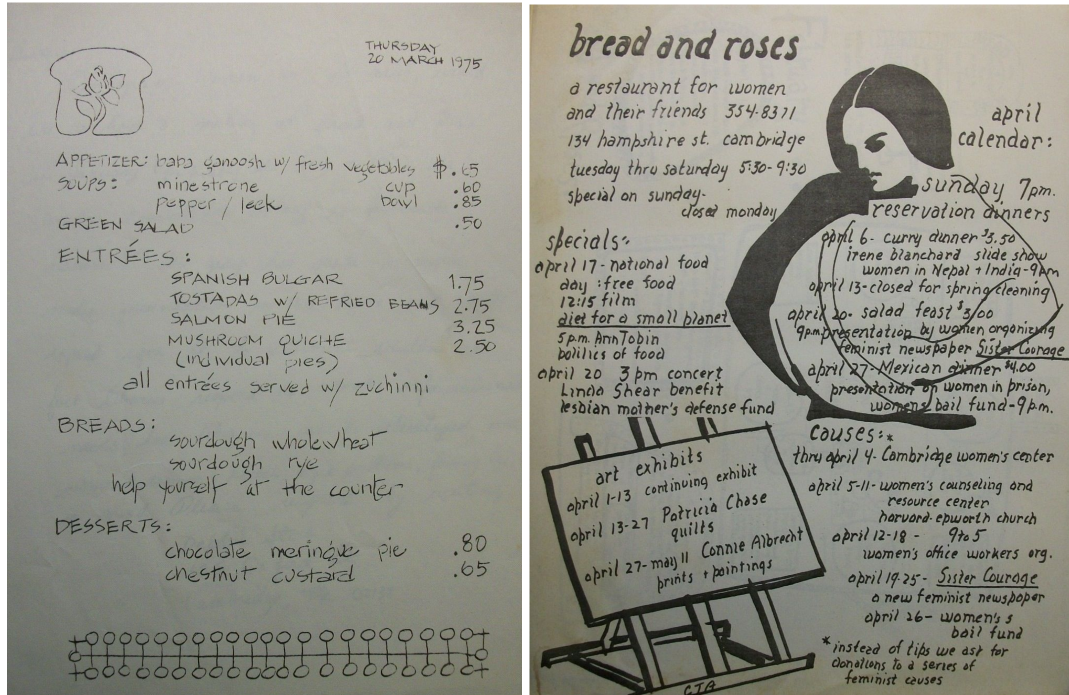


Image 8.1. Menus from Bread & Roses Restaurant
Bread & Roses Restaurant in Cambridge, Massachusetts opened in 1974. Like Mother Courage, Bread & Roses aimed to provide a safe and welcoming space where women could eat and build the feminist community. Bread & Roses served mostly vegetarian food. On Sundays, they had benefit dinners for organizations that provided services and assistance to women. Images used with the permission of H. Patricia Hynes. Menus from H. Patricia Hynes Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

CHAPTER 9:

Conclusion

We have now seen how the four major feminist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have politicized cooking. Despite the fact that each movement had their own methods of working toward women's empowerment, they all considered how cooking could help them achieve their political goals. Some feminists used claims about cooking in an attempt to lessen the distance between themselves and other, non-feminist women. Other feminists separated themselves from the mainstream by defending the superior morality of their culinary approach. Some feminists advocated cooking more healthful food, while others were less concerned with health than with convenience. Thus, there is no such thing as a universal feminist approach to cooking. What *is* common across all these movements is the process of politicizing cooking—no feminist movement that I studied remained silent on the topic. Each movement's particular culinary claims and recommendations depend upon their political ideas and tactics.

I begin this chapter by comparing and contrasting the culinary discourse from the four feminist movements that I study. These comparisons allow me to highlight how particular characteristics of social movements lead to certain ways of politicizing cooking. These empirical lessons lead into the main theoretical takeaways. I highlight what the sociological subfields of social movements and gender can learn from my dissertation. In the final section, I discuss several questions that remain unanswered. Addressing these questions in future research could help us understand further implications of the research that has been presented here by exploring feminists' internal

emotions about cooking, demonstrating the relationship between culinary discourse and action, determining which types of movements may be more likely to politicize the personal sphere than others, and investigating the cultural effects of culinary discourse.

Comparing Feminists' Culinary Discourse

Now that we have seen how each movement politicized cooking, some lessons can be drawn from examining the points of comparison and contrast. The within-time comparisons—for example, examining woman's temperance next to woman's suffrage and liberal next to radical second-wave feminism—most clearly reveals the differences in each movement's personal prefigurative politics. Even though they both faced the same contemporary foodscape, the WCTU and woman's suffrage developed different recommendations for cooking, which calls attention to how the different movement goals inspired different forms of personal prefigurative politics. This lesson is further solidified by the across-time comparisons, which allow us to recognize that political similarities between movements are associated with similar culinary discourse, regardless of whether the women were active in the nineteenth or twentieth century. The across-time comparisons also demonstrate that a movement's broader political goals and tactics not only shapes personal prefigurative politics, but also affects how a movement uses culinary discourse to build a moral identity.

Within the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, comparing woman's temperance and woman suffrage demonstrates how each group developed culinary suggestions that could model their political goals within personal homes. Without this comparison, one might doubt the political influence on these recommendations for action

in the kitchen, as each movement's personal prefigurative politics do resemble elements of the broader foodscape of turn-of-the-century America. Each movement does explain how their culinary suggestions could help activists enact political goals within their personal lives, but the comparison further clarifies the political orientation of these cooking methods. Temperance women advocated healthful, vegetable-based diets without alcohol or spices. While this health-conscious trend was popular outside of the woman's temperance movement, the WCTU demonstrated how these culinary ideas also supported their political goals of bringing about a sober society where women would be safer and have more power over the family. Alternatively, suffragists suggested that men should cook more often and that women should save time and energy in the kitchen by making use of the day's kitchen technology. The latter was certainly an element of culinary discourse outside of the suffrage movement. However, suffragists argued that these ideas about labor saving had relevance women's emancipation and empowerment. While we could analyze the political dimensions of temperance women's and suffragists' culinary methods on their own, the comparison further highlights how the different political goals of each movement lead to the activists advocating different culinary actions.

We can learn similar lessons by comparing the culinary discourse of the two wings of the second-wave feminist movement. Each wing co-opted strands of the broader culinary foodscape, arguing that particular culinary methods could help feminists model their political goals. Liberal feminists encouraged men to cook more often and women to cook quick and simple meals with the help of new kitchen appliances and "convenience products." The latter discursive strand was certainly popular outside liberal feminism in the mid-twentieth century, but liberal feminists shaped it to their own political purposes

by arguing that women should cook quickly and simply so that they could pursue careers, increase their economic power, and erode gender inequality. Radical feminists, on the other hand, advocated for women to eat vegetarian diets and grow their own food; both these ideas were popular with the broader contemporary counterculture. However, radical feminists connected these discursive strands to their particular political concerns, arguing that these culinary actions could weaken the institutions that systematically disadvantaged large numbers of women while also empowering individual women by bringing them better health and more control over what they consume. Like temperance and suffrage culinary discourse, the political dimensions of liberal and radical second-wave feminist culinary discourse could be ascertained by studying the movements individually. However, bringing liberal and radical feminism into conversation with each other provides further evidence of the political intentions behind this culinary discourse. Viewed side-by-side, it becomes clearer that the political differences between the two contemporaneous wings of second-wave feminism inspired different culinary recommendations.

Comparing the culinary discourse of movements across time also illustrates important lessons about how movements politicize cooking. The most obvious similarities exist between suffrage and liberal feminism. The cooking-related personal prefigurative politics of both movements were remarkably alike. Both movements advocated time- and labor-saving cooking techniques, enlisting the technologies of their day. Both movements also encouraged men to cook more often at home. Both suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists argued that these culinary measures would allow women to pursue opportunities outside the home, which both movements believed was a

major step on the path to women's empowerment. These two movements were iterations of a liberal feminist ideology, which argues that the path to gender equality is to integrate women more fully into the existing political, economic, and social systems. Both suffragists' and liberal second-wave feminists' attempts to incorporate women into male-dominated realms (and men into female-dominated realms) led to similar suggestions about how to use cooking to prefigure these goals.

Suffragists and liberal feminists' political commitments also shaped the similar ways in which they used culinary discourse to build a moral identity. Suffragists and liberal feminists fiercely defended their ability to cook, and they even adopted similar tactics to prove this. I found evidence of both suffragists and liberal feminists organizing cooking contests against anti-feminists to prove their culinary prowess. These feminists' claims of culinary ability countered their opponents' attempts to paint feminists as selfish women who abandoned their families in pursuit of their own self-advancement. By demonstrating their commitment to cooking, suffragists and liberal feminists assured their audience that they would still be good mothers as they pursued political rights and career opportunities. We can surmise the political motivation behind this moral identity—both movements worked through the existing political system to reach their goals, and thus relied on the support of lawyers, judges, legislators, and voters who were not part of the movement. When we identify this pattern across multiple movements, this explanation becomes more plausible. It becomes even more so when we recognize a different phenomenon occurring in movements that do not heavily rely on the existing political system to achieve their political goals (as we notice in woman's temperance and radical feminism, below).

Both movements also utilized the moral identity created by this affirmation of cooking to advance more progressive feminist arguments. While celebrating their culinary skill, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists also argued for expanding women's rights and opportunities. They "hid spinach in the brownies," placing more transgressive arguments within a medium—such as cookbooks—that was likely to appeal to a wider audience. Cookbooks demonstrate a commitment to domestic femininity, which might assuage the fears of moderate bystanders. However, beneath the appearance of traditional femininity, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists made arguments that challenged the gendered status quo. The gendered nature of the culinary media could help extend these more progressive arguments to a broader audience, demonstrating that women could combine these domestic tasks while also pursuing additional rights and opportunities. Thus, suffragists' and liberal second-wave feminists' similar political goals, tactics, and ideologies resulted in similar ways of using culinary discourse to advance political frames, in addition to their similar forms of cooking-related personal prefigurative politics and nearly identical ways of using claims about cooking to build moral identities.

Although we might not expect that radical feminism and temperance had much in common, their comparable political agendas produced culinary discourse that is surprisingly similar. Despite vast differences in temperance women's and radical feminists' religiosity and social conservatism, these two movements overlapped in their concern over the family's role in women's disempowerment. Temperance women believed that alcoholism caused women's lack of power and protection within the family. Radical second-wave feminism saw women's traditional roles in the heterosexual family

as the root of broader gender inequality. While temperance women pushed for women's elevated status within the "traditional" family and radical feminists hoped to revolutionize the institution of family altogether, members of both movements viewed women's current position in the family as deeply problematic.

Thus, both movements used culinary prefigurative politics to change, first and foremost, how the institution of the family affected women. While radical feminists also aimed to empower women outside the family, they believed that this broader empowerment would not be possible until heterosexual relationships changed and women removed themselves from the oppressive institutions that were connected to their role as housewives. Therefore, temperance and radical feminists did not recommend fast and simple cooking because these steps would not address the underlying issue. Instead, both movements instructed women to cook more healthful, vegetarian foods and engage in other practices that would primarily challenge oppressive forces within the family. Both movements also established restaurants that served these healthful, empowering foods. Thus, the comparative design clarifies how the politics of these movements shaped how activists incorporated cooking into their personal prefigurative politics and integrated prefigurative politics.

Comparing these four social movements also illuminates the political motivations behind temperance women's and radical feminists' use of culinary claims to build a moral identity. Both movements claimed that their cooking made them *more* moral than mainstream society. Temperance women claimed that unhealthful food caused immorality and vice, and their methods of cooking would allow for a virtuous life. Radical feminists argued that relying on the agricultural-industrial complex for one's

food made one complicit in the environmental and social destruction that this system caused worldwide. Thus, both temperance women and radical feminists explained the immorality of mainstream culinary practices and situated their own approaches to cooking as more moral.

By recognizing the political similarities between these movements—and how they differ from suffrage and liberal second-wave feminism—we can develop a clearer explanation for temperance women's and radical feminists' moral identity. Neither temperance women nor radical second-wave feminists needed the help of outsiders to achieve their goals. Both argued that social change would not occur without individuals making adjustments to their personal lives. While temperance women did push for abolitionist legislation, they did not believe that laws alone would eliminate alcohol; they also argued that daily practices would need to change. Thus, to achieve their political goals, both temperance women and radical feminists needed to convince others to change their habits. Situating their culinary practices as more moral than mainstream approaches to cooking might help attract adherents—especially people who are already like-minded. Thus, movements (such as woman's temperance and radical second-wave feminism) that focus on changing individuals' daily practices as the route to broader social change may be more likely to argue that their culinary practices are more moral than the mainstream's, while movements (such as woman's suffrage and liberal second-wave feminism) that focus on working through the existing political system to achieve change may be more likely to align themselves with mainstream culinary practices.

In sum, while we could surmise the reasons behind movements' culinary discourse if we studied the movements in isolation, comparing four movements helps

solidify these explanations. From the comparisons, it becomes clear that movements' broader political ideas, goals, and tactics are important factors that shape feminists' culinary discourse. The political leanings of a movement interact with the contemporary foodscape and gender structure to shape how each movement develops culinary recommendations that prefigure their political goals. Further, each movement made moral claims about cooking that supported their broader political tactics.

Lessons for Studies of Social Movements and Gender

In this study, I have used unconventional data sources to highlight dimensions of social movements that have previously been under-theorized. I demonstrate that activists extend their struggle for justice to home kitchens. The home and personal sphere are not realms that remain pure reflections of familial love and free of political activity; instead, actions in these spheres are shaped by myriad social forces, including social movements. Rather than protecting their families and homes from political critique, the activists I study have seriously considered how actions in the personal sphere can help them work toward their political goals. This recognition of the political role of the personal sphere—and the kitchen in particular—builds upon recent social movement scholarship that has expanded our understandings of the arenas and actions that are involved in social movements (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Fligstein and McAdam 2011; Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). However, even within these more recent studies that argue that social movements do more than challenge the state in public protest actions, the political potential of the personal sphere has remained relatively underdeveloped. My study fills this gap in our knowledge, demonstrating ways in which the home kitchen becomes

politicized as activists pursue social change.

In highlighting the political role of the personal sphere, my study also broadens our understanding of actions that challenge the status quo. Traditionally, sociologists had a very narrow view of activism, defining it as episodic public actions that targeted the state (McAdam 1982; McAdam et al. 2001; Tarrow 2013). Recent social movement studies have redefined activism to be "all collective challenges to constituted authority" (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008:84). With the understanding that social movements may challenge multiple institutions in addition to the state, activism may target such powerful entities as culture, family, organizations, or agriculture (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). The theory of multi-institutional politics lays the theoretical groundwork for us to consider cooking as a form of activism. As I have shown, feminists have proposed using cooking to challenge women's subordination within the family and broader social, political, and economic institutions. Without considering how cooking could be a form of activism, we would miss a substantial means by which four feminist movements have sought social change.

Understanding cooking as activism not only allows us to better understand the breadth of actions that challenge the status quo; it also suggests that movements with different demographics may lean toward different forms of activism. Women's movements may be more likely to use cooking as a form of activism, since the family is one of the main settings in which women struggle for power. In heterosexual couples, women continue to be tasked with the bulk of the domestic work, and widespread cultural understandings about femininity largely center on their caretaking roles in the family (Bianchi et al. 2000; Blair-Loy et al. 2015; Hochschild 1989). Thus, when considering

how to empower women, feminists may be more likely to politicize the home and personal sphere than, for example, male labor activists. Other tactics—picketing, striking—may be more suitable to male labor activists' political agendas, social capital, and network ties. In fact, particular forms of activism—especially those that require the social capital and network ties of men—are overrepresented within the social movements literature. By showing how women have challenged the status quo through different means, I broaden our understanding of forms of activism that might be preferred by activists who do not have the same political agendas, social capital, and network ties as men do. Thus, recognizing cooking as a form of activism is a step toward understanding the challenges posed by diverse social movements.

We can learn additional lessons for the study of social movements when we examine the particular mechanisms by which feminists have politicized cooking. We have seen that each movement's broader political ideas and tactics are very influential in shaping activists' culinary discourse. Feminists politicized cooking in ways that supported their broader political goals and tactics. Throughout this study, I have focused on three major social movement processes that describe how feminists have politicized cooking. These processes show how the politicization of cooking fits within known social movement traditions but also expands our understanding of the details of these processes.

First, feminist movements used cooking to build a collective identity. As we have seen, feminists made claims about cooking that situated themselves as moral actors. My findings support Taylor and Whittier's (1992) findings that daily actions contribute to activists' collective identity. However, this is not the whole story about cooking and collective identity. I argue that morality is also a key part of collective identity. Others

have noted that social movements are attempts to "realize a moral vision," but this focuses on the general motives and tactics of social movements rather than collective identity, specifically (Jasper 1997). Thus, my study brings to social movements a lesson from cultural sociology—that morality is a key part of identity construction (Lamont 1992; Lamont et al. 1996). Further, feminists' claims about cooking built a moral identity that supported their broader political tactics. This ties in with studies that show how social movements strategically develop collective identities that help them achieve their political goals (Bernstein 1997). While Bernstein mentions that collective identities can challenge or employ widespread moral understandings, she does not provide an in-depth analysis of the moral dimensions of collective identity. Thus, my study demonstrates that feminists have used claims about personal actions such as cooking to build a collective identity that situates them as moral actors in ways that support their broader political tactics.

Second, studying feminist culinary discourse helps us understand framing processes. Suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists hid spinach in the brownies by including transgressive feminist arguments within publications about cooking. The gendered character of publications about cooking, or the expectation that cookbooks demonstrate a commitment to domestic femininity, helps extend these political arguments to more conservative audience. Cookbooks demonstrate that women could combine feminist pursuits with domestic tasks, which might ease the fears of some onlookers who believed that feminists aimed to abandon the home altogether. Other recent studies demonstrate the importance of cultural genres and subgenres in framing (Coley 2014; Isaac 2012; Morrison and Isaac 2012), but feminists' culinary discourse reveals that the

gendered character of a subgenre is particularly important in activists' attempts to frame their arguments (Williams 2016). The comparative aspect of this dissertation shows that movements that rely on the existing political system to achieve their goals may be more likely to utilize this framing technique. These movements use the gendered character of cookbooks to bolster their moral collective identity as women who continue to cook, which is more likely to gain the support of legislators, voters, and judges who will decide the fate of the movements' goals. Yet, within these cookbooks and other publications about cooking, suffragists and liberal second-wave feminists also advanced more progressive political arguments that called for the expansion of women's actions to other pursuits outside the home.

Third, our understanding of prefigurative politics expands greatly when we consider the culinary recommendations from feminists. Previously, organizational forms of prefigurative politics received the most attention (Breines 1982; Howard and Pratt-Boyden 2013; Polletta 2002; Smucker 2013). However, in their discourse about cooking, feminists offered directions for prefiguring their political goals within the home, away from social movement organizations. I develop the notion of personal prefigurative politics to describe how activists use actions in the personal sphere to model their political goals. Alternatively, integrated prefigurative politics involve both organizational and personal prefigurative action (Williams 2017). This study corrects the organizational bias within studies of prefigurative politics. Additionally, by expanding prefigurative politics beyond organizational forms such as participatory democracy, I open prefigurative politics to a broader range of movements both before and after participatory democracy became popular with activists in the 1960s.

This study also contributes to our understanding of the relationship between women, domestic actions, and power. Women complete the overwhelming majority of foodwork (Bianchi et al. 2000; Cairns and Johnston 2015; Sayer 2005, 2016), and cultural expectations about women being “naturally” more caring continue to situate women as the default home cooks (Cairns and Johnston 2015; Cairns et al. 2010; Charles and Kerr 1988; DeVault 1991). Feminists have critiqued the relationship between femininity and food, and other scholars have interpreted these critiques as rejections of the domestic sphere (Brunsdon 2006; Giles 2004; Hollows 2007).

However, the feminists I study did not reject cooking. Instead, they proposed methods of cooking that they hoped would bring women more power. Each movement identified the aspects of cooking that they believed most contributed to women’s oppression, and the methods of cooking they suggested aimed to dismantle those most exploitative elements. Thus, feminists have developed ways of engaging subversively with cooking. By recognizing that feminists have subversively approached domestic tasks, we can improve our understanding of the many ways in which women have vied for power throughout the history of feminism.

This dissertation also provides an alternative to the doing vs. undoing gender debate within the gender literature. Scholars have argued that femininity and foodwork are intimately connected, to the point where women “do gender” when they cook and shop for groceries (Cairns and Johnston 2015; Cairns et al. 2010). Some gender scholars have argued that it may be possible to “undo gender” by engaging in interactions that reduce gender difference. However, others have maintained that undoing gender is not likely because of the difficulty of engaging in non-gendered interactions (West and

Zimmerman 2009). In feminist discourse about cooking, I find another option. The activists I studied proposed revising femininity around different culinary practices. Each feminist movement critiqued the contemporary connection between femininity and cooking. Yet, few feminists worked to undo gender by divorcing cooking from femininity altogether and engaging in non-gendered culinary practices (the difficulty of imagining a non-gendered culinary practice is evidence of the practical impossibility of undoing gender). Instead, these feminists proposed alternative ways of cooking that led to a more empowered femininity. This suggests the potential for individuals to engage in "doing revised femininity," in which they work to change the interactions linked with cultural ideas about gender. This process may not eliminate gendered divisions, but it may contribute to changes in gendered interactions and the gender power hierarchy.

Remaining Questions

A personal desire to understand one of my internal conflicts led me to research feminism and cooking. I have long considered myself a feminist, but I deeply enjoy cooking for myself and others. These two pieces of my identity confused me, as I had internalized the pervasive idea that feminists do not cook. I also understood and agreed with feminist critiques of women's domestic roles, and yet I found pleasure in performing the very actions that feminists critiqued. My investigation into cooking and feminism assured me that feminists since the 1870s have indeed engaged with cooking—contrary to popular thought, a feminist who cooks is not an anomaly. However, despite nearly a decade of researching and writing, I have not yet addressed the identity crisis that drew me to this topic in the first place. While I now understand the political roles of cooking

for feminist movements, I haven't grasped how feminists truly feel about their feminized, domestic roles. These feminists critiqued women's domestic positions, and yet they continued to engage in domestic practices, albeit while suggesting new ways of completing them. Do subversive methods of cooking allow these women to engage in this practice without reservations or internal conflict? Or, are the subversive methods of cooking simply a mechanism for coping with something they simply have to complete if they wish to eat? Do they still resent cooking, even if they have developed ways of doing it that align with their political goals? If they didn't have to cook in order to eat, would they continue to? Most likely, each woman would respond differently to these questions, and feminists from particular movements may be more likely to respond in certain ways.

During the course of my research, I also came upon other questions that remain unanswered. These questions led me on tangents that I eventually (often, not soon enough) decided were unsolvable with my current data. One of the most bothersome questions is whether culinary discourse aligns with practice. Throughout this dissertation, I have remained resolute in that I am studying discourse, not how feminists actually prepared meals. However, studying discourse about a practice naturally sparks curiosity about how this practice occurred. Did feminists follow through on their recommendations for various forms of personal prefigurative politics? This question is excruciatingly difficult to answer—most of the historical records do not document women's actions in the kitchen, but instead document the desires of cookbook authors or food and appliance marketers (Cowan 1983). We can indirectly surmise actions in the kitchen through consumption numbers, though even this is an imperfect measure. If we wish to avoid this problem for future scholars, studies about contemporary women's culinary practices

would go a long way toward documenting an action that has been a central part of women's lives but has been nearly erased from the historical record.

I also grew curious as to whether feminists' recommendations for subversive methods of cooking extended to other feminized tasks. Did feminists engage in similar political discourse about laundry, cleaning, or raising children? I found some evidence of this phenomenon, since many discussions about cooking also mentioned other domestic responsibilities. Temperance women argued that particular ways of cleaning the house could bring health, happiness, and sobriety to the family (Anonymous 1889; Purington 1909a, 1911). Liberal second-wave feminists praised househusbands who completed the majority of the child care while their wives served as the primary breadwinner for the family (Roache 1972; Weigand 1973). Thus, cooking may not have been the only domestic action that feminists politicized as they pushed for women's empowerment. It is likely that they also considered subversive ways of approaching other feminized actions that occupied much of women's time.

Further broadening the implications of the project, I also suspect that feminist movements may not be the only ones to politicize cooking and other domestic tasks. Food is intertwined with myriad social and cultural meanings and connected to several other social processes. Social movements that target racism, class inequality, worker's rights, globalization, environmentalism, and gender all could find numerous ways in which food is related to their political goals. Many of these movements' concerns have been incorporated into various social movements that focus on food. The organic foods movement grew out of concerns raised by the environmental movement about the overuse of dangerous chemicals (Belasco 1989). The locavore movement reflects

environmental concerns by highlighting the carbon footprint of foods that travel around the world (Rudy 2012). However, researchers have yet to investigate how movements not primarily focused on food or the home develop culinary methods and moral discourse about cooking in an effort to support their broader political goals. By investigating the politics of the home, social movement scholars may discover additional mechanisms by which movements work toward social change.

My final unanswered question regards the effects of feminists' culinary discourse. Long hidden inside a black box, the consequences of activism have recently become a focus of social movement scholarship (Amenta et al. 2010; Earl 2004; Giugni 2008). Feminists' culinary discourse could have two sets of consequences. First, feminists might have seen results from their attempts to build a moral identity that would align more people with their cause. Were voters, lawmakers, and judges more likely to support woman's suffrage and liberal second-wave feminism if they learned that these feminists continued to cook? Were people more likely to adopt temperance activists' and radical feminists' approach to cooking if they were exposed to these feminists' moral justifications of these techniques? Did any of this additional support lead to political success for feminists?

Second, calling for women to approach cooking in new ways might have had cultural consequences. Did women outside of the feminist movement learn about feminists' approaches to cooking? Did feminists' culinary discourse in some way, directly or indirectly, affect the expectations surrounding femininity and food? There are certainly elements of second-wave feminist culinary discourse that are common in the mainstream food culture today. However, I can do no more than view these similarities as

interesting parallels—I cannot prove that feminists' culinary discourse is a main cause of these phenomena. Liberal feminist called for men to cook more often; indeed, men's time in the kitchen has increased, although it has not yet reached women's levels (Bianchi et al. 2000; Sayer 2016). Radical feminists supported organic and local foods, advocated growing one's own food, and encouraged women to cook meals from scratch. In the twenty-first century, as concerns rise about environmental ruin and a broken food system, organic foods have become a multi-billion dollar industry, "locavore" was named 2007's Oxford American Dictionary's word of the year, and a "do-it-yourself" approach to growing, procuring, and making food has taken hold of middle-class American kitchens (Matchar 2015; Nizza 2007; Organic Trade Association 2016).

While many of my questions remain unanswered, I do know that feminists view cooking as an important issue along the path to women's equality. In all likelihood, feminists will continue to politicize food and domestic actions as long as these tasks are a central part of women's lives. While women's time spent on cooking has decreased since the 1960s, women continue to complete the vast majority of the cooking at home. In 2012, women spent more than twice the amount of time in the kitchen as men did (Sayer 2016). Women continue to feel responsible for the task of feeding the family, and women continue to use food practices such as cooking and grocery shopping to perform classed and racialized femininities (Cairns and Johnston 2015).

In fact, data from recent years shows that in North America, foodwork might be becoming even more central to women's lives. In Sayer et al.'s study of time-use data, the time that women spent on cooking each day actually *increased* for the first time since 1965 between 2004 and 2012. The twenty-first century food culture highly values

cooking foods from scratch (Pollan 2008, 2013), while "foodies" seek social status through the consumption and creation of authentic and exotic foods (Johnston and Baumann 2007, 2010). Among certain populations, a "do-it-yourself" ethic has led home cooks to make more foods from scratch (Matchar 2015). However, all this culinary enthusiasm does not lead to gender equality in the kitchen. Because foodwork is still a large part of "doing femininity," women are more likely to internalize the pressures to buy organic food or cook meals from scratch (Cairns and Johnston 2015). Foodies also reinforce gender divisions in subtle ways, with women expected to care for others through food (and thus continue to complete the majority of the daily cooking), while men are more likely to focus on the personal pleasure they find in food experiences (Cairns et al. 2010). Subsequently, while women's time spent cooking has increased in the twenty-first century, men's involvement is less in 2012 than it was in 1998 (Sayer 2016). If anything, the contemporary food culture has increased the prominence of foodwork within women's lives, making it more likely that feminists will continue to politicize cooking as they seek increased power for women.

Therefore, cooking is not a peripheral concern to feminists. Feminists have made political use of the relationship between women, power, and food at the same time as they have challenged this trifecta. They have used cultural understandings about women and food to support their political tactics, and they have proposed interventions into the culinary practices expected of women. Cooking becomes a vehicle for their particular visions of social change. If we focus solely on how activists pursue their goals in the public sphere or through governmental channels, as classical theories of social movements would have us do, we would miss a large subset of feminist activism. The

personal sphere is a central movement arena for feminists, who have long recognized that they face forces of oppression within their homes and families. Thus, the home kitchen should not be considered an apolitical haven, nor should it be written off as something that feminists did not deem important. Instead, discourse about the home kitchen is an excellent place to look for integral social movement processes, including the construction of collective identities and calls for activism. By studying how feminists have politicized cooking, we learn that the personal sphere is not immune to political challenges, and we learn how exactly the personal sphere becomes involved in quests for social change. We also recognize the subversive potential of domestic actions that are tightly bound with cultural understandings of femininity. Rather than detracting from feminists' quest for gender equality, cooking has supported feminists' attempts to secure a better future for women.

APPENDIX A:

List of Feminist Cookbooks Analyzed for this Dissertation

Appendix A. List of Feminist Cookbooks Analyzed for this Dissertation

	Date	Editor(s) or Author(s)	Feminist Organization	City	State
Temperance					
Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union Cuisine	1878		WCTU Massachusetts	N/A	MA
Family Cook Book and List of Popular Parlor Games	1900		North Rockford WCTU	Rockford	IL
Good Things to Eat	1909		WCTU of Pomeroy, Washington	Pomeroy	WA
Collection of Original and Adapted Receipts	c. 1912		WCTU Lake County, Ohio	Lake County	OH
WCTU Cook Book	c. 1912		WCTU Wenatchee, Washington	Wenatchee	WA
White Ribbon Cook Book	1912		WCTU Moline and Corinth	Grand Rapids	MI
Choice Recipes	1915		WCTU Hinsdale, New York	Hinsdale	NY
Suffrage					
The Woman Suffrage Cook Book	1886	Hattie A. Burr		Boston	MA
Holiday Gift Cook Book	1891		Rockford Equal Suffrage Association	Rockford	IL
Washington Women's Cook Book	1909	Linda Deziah Jennings	Washington Equal Suffrage Association	Seattle	WA
The Suffrage Cook Book	1915	Laura O. Kleber	Equal Franchise Federation of Western Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh	PA
Enfranchised Cookery	1915	May Bartlett Shawan Hoar	National American Woman Suffrage Association	Los Angeles	CA
Suffrage Cook Book	1916		Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County	Detroit	MI
Choice Recipes Compiled for the Busy Housewife	1916		Clinton Political Equality Club	Clinton	NY
Liberal Second-Wave					
NOW We're Cooking	1979		NOW Greater Champaign Area Chapter	Champaign	IL
The First Virginia Feminist Cookbook	1983	Mary A. Gill, Phyllis W. Stevens, Judith Judson	NOW Virginia	N/A	VA
Pots and Politics	1976	Shirlie Kaplan	Washington State Women's Political Caucus	Tacoma	WA
Radical Second-Wave					
The Whoever Said Dykes Can't Cook? Cookbook	1983	Maya Contenta & Victoria Ramstetter	Cincinnati Lesbian Activist Bureau / Dinah	Cincinnati	OH
Political Palate	1980	Betsey Beaven, Noel Giordano, Selma Miriam, Pat Shea	The Bloodroot Collective	Bridgeport	CT
Second Political Palate	1984	Betsey Beaven, Noel Furie, Selma Miriam	The Bloodroot Collective	Bridgeport	CT

APPENDIX B:

Pairings of Temperance and Suffrage Cookbooks

Appendix B: Pairings of Temperance and Suffrage Cookbooks

Movement	Title	Date	City, State
Suffrage	The Woman Suffrage Cook Book	1886	Boston, MA
Temperance	Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union Cuisine	1878	MA
Suffrage	Holiday Gift Cook Book	1891	Rockford, IL
Temperance	Family Cook Book and List of Popular Parlor Games	1900	Rockford, IL
Suffrage	Washington Women's Cook Book	1909	Seattle, WA
Temperance	Good Things to Eat	1909	Pomeroy, WA
Suffrage	The Suffrage Cook Book	1915	Pittsburgh, PA
Temperance	Collection of Original and Adapted Receipts	c. 1912	Lake County, OH
Suffrage	Enfranchised Cookery	1915	Los Angeles, CA
Temperance	WCTU Cook Book	c. 1912	Wenatchee, WA
Suffrage	Suffrage Cook Book	1916	Detroit, MI
Temperance	White Ribbon Cook Book	1912	Grand Rapids, MI
Suffrage	Choice Recipes Compiled for the Busy Housewife	1916	Clinton, NY
Temperance	Choice Recipes	1915	Hinsdale, NY

APPENDIX C:

List of Archives Visited

Appendix C. List of Archives Visited

- California State University East Bay, Special Collections. Hayward, CA (Temperance)
- Clinton Historical Society. Clinton, NY (Suffrage)
- Duke University, Sallie Bingham Center. Durham, NC (Liberal and Radical Second-Wave Feminism)
- Frances E. Willard Memorial Library and Archives. Evanston, IL (Temperance)
- New York Public Library. New York, NY (Suffrage)
- Northwestern University, Charles Deering McCormick Collection Special Collections. Evanston, IL (Liberal and Radical Second-Wave Feminism)
- Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Schlesinger Library. Cambridge, MA (Temperance, Suffrage, Liberal and Radical Second-Wave Feminism)
- Smith College, Sophia Smith Collection. Northampton, MA (Suffrage, Liberal and Radical Second-Wave Feminism)
- Stanford University, Special Collections. Palo Alto, CA (Temperance)
- University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library. Berkeley, CA (Temperance)
- Washington State Library. Olympia, WA (Suffrage)
- Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library. New Haven, CT (Radical Second-Wave Feminism)
- Yale University, Robert B. Haas Family Arts Library Special Collections. New Haven, CT (Radical Second-Wave Feminism)

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Anonymous. 1882. “Cooking and Castle-Building.” *The Woman’s Journal*, 393–393.

Anonymous. 1883a. “Co-Operation in the Home.” *The Woman’s Journal*, September 15, 295.

Anonymous. 1883b. “Tenth Annual Meeting of the National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union.” *The Union Signal*, November 8, 8.

Anonymous. 1884a. “From Georgia.” *The Union Signal*, March 20, 5.

Anonymous. 1884b. “Our Cook Book.” *The Union Signal*, February 28, 7.

Anonymous. 1884c. “The Temperance Cook Book.” *The Union Signal*, January 10, 6.

Anonymous. 1885. “Our Young People: YWCTU Evening in Jacksonville.” *The Union Signal*, November 5, 7.

Anonymous. 1886a. “Cookery and the Alcohol Habit.” *The Union Signal*, January 7, 6.

Anonymous. 1886b. “Monday Morning.” *The Union Signal*, November 11, 16.

Anonymous. 1888. “Farmer’s Drink.” *The Union Signal*, July 19, 7.

Anonymous. 1889. “Hygiene and Heredity.” *The Union Signal*, December 26, 12.

Anonymous. 1890. “Our Book Table: Fruits and How to Use Them.” *The Union Signal*, April 24, 5.

Anonymous. 1891. “Premium Notices: Woman Suffrage Cook Book.” *The Woman’s Journal*, October 17, 332.

Anonymous. 1892a. “Temperance Restaurant School of Methods.” *The Union Signal*, February 25, 9.

Anonymous. 1892b. “Woman Suffrage Cook Book.” *The Woman’s Tribune*, January 9, 5.

Anonymous. 1897. “The Boston Food Fair.” *The Woman’s Journal*, September 25, 308.

Anonymous. 1901. “Co-Operative Cooking.” *The Woman’s Journal*, March 9, 74.

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