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Table retrenchment: domesticity, recipes, and identity in Mormon women, 1870-1970

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METROPOLITAN COLLEGE

Thesis

TABLE RETRENCHMENT:
DOMESTICITY, RECIPES, AND IDENTITY
IN MORMON WOMEN, 1870–1970

by

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B.S., University of Utah, 2018

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requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Finally, I want to acknowledge the women who wrote these recipes I have grown to love and have formed the foundation of my work. These women are not abstract to me; they are my mothers, my grandmothers, my cousins, and my friends. Through these recipes I have come to know some part of these women and I am grateful they wrote recipes that tell their stories.

TABLE RETRENCHMENT:

DOMESTICITY, RECIPES, AND IDENTITY IN MORMON WOMEN, 1870–1970

HALEY McFADDEN

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the relationship between the identity of Mormon women and the performance of domesticity through the analysis of recipes published in four magazines between 1870 and 1970. Through the quantitative and qualitative analysis of recipes published in the *Woman's Exponent, Young Woman's Journal, Relief Society Magazine,* and *The Improvement Era*, patterns in recipe type, ingredients, language, and publication emerged to prompt questions about the roles of specific themes and recipe types.

Beginning with the Retrenchment period in 1870, this thesis examines how Mormonism protected itself culturally through economic isolation by encouraging the preservation of food instead of purchasing similar products. In the 1890s the *Young Woman's Journal* used bread recipes to teach young women and girls about the importance of self-sufficiency and simplicity in a time of great cultural change and turmoil within the Mormon community.

Twentieth-century Mormon women continued to use recipes as a method of identity expression and cultural change as they sought to gain respectability by assimilating into mainstream American culture. The domestic science movement heavily influenced the recipes written by Mormon women at this time as they sought to retain the domestic practices of their past by becoming model homemakers. During both World

Wars, Mormon women proved themselves champions of American causes through strict adherence to rationing efforts. Mid-century Mormon women continued to use recipes to prove their belonging not only to American womanhood but also to Mormon womanhood as they focused their energy on homemaking and mothering both as a patriotic duty and a religious experience.

The study and analysis of the recipes published by and for Mormon women during this time shows that Mormon women used their performance of domesticity to express their identity as belonging to Mormon womanhood through the specific requirements of Table Retrenchment, even as those requirements changed over time.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In July 1847 the first Mormon pioneers entered what they called the Salt Lake Valley to establish a settlement away from the violent government-sanctioned persecution they had endured first in Kirtland, Ohio and then in Nauvoo, Illinois. This harassment had resulted in the martyrdom of the first president of the Church, Joseph Smith. In his wake, a man named Brigham Young came forward to lead the Saints more than a thousand miles into the West in search of safety (Arrington 1985). In the Salt Lake Valley and other parts of what would come to be Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, and California, Mormons established communities where they were free to practice their faith as they pleased.

These were formative years for the culture developing around the doctrine and exclusive structure of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. As in other frontier communities, the undefined nature of life in the developing American West offered women opportunities to influence and exercise power over their social environments that were limited in the Eastern states (Foster 1979). However, Mormonism continued to restrict the role of women in the religious hierarchy and formal structure of the organization. The Church was, and still is, ruled by an exclusive all-male leadership primarily composed of a president, two councilors, and a council of twelve men. Until 1867, there was no permanent female leadership role on any level (Derr 2016).

The exclusive and restrictive nature of the official hierarchy did not mean that women were not present, seen, and heard by their religious male leadership. Mormon

women have always had a voice in their culture, and their legacy can be found largely in their writings. From journals to short stories, from letters to business transactions, the meaningful presence of Mormon women at all levels of Mormon society is evident. Through generations of neglect, and in some cases blatant disregard, their voices and their history have been left behind or even forgotten. Much of the history of Mormon women is not found in the official records, but in quiet, unassuming places: in quilts, needlework, correspondence, and recipes. This thesis adds to the growing record of Mormon women's history through studying the recipes written by and for Mormon women to better understand what it meant to be considered a Mormon woman through the performance of domesticity.

When I started my journey into examining recipes and cookbooks, I didn't think I would be interested by Mormon women's food writings. Even as a Mormon woman myself I wasn't convinced there was much there that was worth studying; after all, Mormons aren't known for a particularly distinctive or notable cuisine. But as I read more recipes and household advice sections in magazines written by Mormon women, I was captivated. In just reading and looking at recipes, I could see a lineage of the ideals of a womanhood I understood and lived. I found pieces of knowledge and tradition that spoke to me, that I instinctually understood as they are part of me, part of my family. In these recipes I found a trail of breadcrumbs that helped me to understand the cultural history of the generations of women who wrote these recipes and defined what it means to be a Mormon woman even today.

As I began to explore recipes and look at them critically, I noticed that there was a

connection between the recipes and the expression of womanhood. Over time, patterns emerged as the number of recipes published in magazines and newspapers for Mormon women fluctuated with war or internal events in Mormonism. Certain kinds of recipes were more prominent at different times or there were periods of time when no recipes appeared at all. These preliminary observations led me to ask more questions and look for more answers and make connections between recipes and Mormon women.

In this thesis I will seek to answer how cooking and domesticity came to be defining of Mormon womanhood. In studying recipes, I have found connections between how women think and feel about themselves and have been able to see how these thoughts have changed over time. By connecting these changes to cultural events and movements, they can be linked together with the recipes to show that Mormon women express their collective identity and membership through recipes. In essence, the recipes written by Mormon women form a bridge between cultural changes in Mormonism and the changing ideals of womanhood, allowing for an examination of the expression of group gender identity across time. I will examine the changes in the way Mormon women express their identity as part of the sisterhood of Mormon women by analyzing recipes printed in magazines and newspapers written by and for Mormon women. My primary argument, supported by the qualitative and quantitative analysis of recipes, is that Mormon women have expressed belonging to their specific group gender identity through their practice of domesticity.

Before beginning, there a few things that must be acknowledged about this work. First, my research is geographically biased toward the Mormon Culture Region of Utah,

Idaho, and Arizona. Most of the available sources were written and published in this region thus making research into recipes from other locations difficult to include in the scope of this thesis. Second, this study is also racially homogenous and focuses on white women. Latter-day Saints have a long history of excluding non-white and non-American voices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This history made it difficult to find recipes written and published by non-white women. Finally, at no point in history have Mormon women been monolithic. In this thesis I will make sweeping generalizations that will not have been true of all Mormon women. By studying gender expectations as dictated by Church authorities, both male and female, the collective identity of Mormon women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be organized and defined but was not necessarily true for all Mormon women. All of these circumstances and assumptions are avenues of research that can and should be pursued in other projects.

I should also explain my use of the term "Mormon." In 2018 the Church asked that the use of the word "Mormon" be discontinued, and that other, more accurate terms be used, including Latter-day Saints (Nelson 2018). This thesis uses several terms to refer to members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. However, I think there is still a place for "Mormon." I use the words Mormon, Mormondom, and Mormonism to describe the culture associated with the Church, which cannot be disentangled from the doctrine and gospel espoused by the Church. However, the culture lacks the authority of canonization necessary to place it squarely in the realm of what Latter-days Saints believe is the truth of their religion. Secondarily, I use it for clarity, as Mormon is still widely used and, as McKay Coppins wrote, "*the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day*

Saints presented a multisyllabic writerly dilemma that my own God-given talents left me powerless to solve" (Coppins 2021). So, I use the term Mormon to distinguish between doctrine and culture, to create a divide between what Mormons believe to be truth and what is part of an ever-changing culture.

With these qualifications in mind, I will begin with a review of the relevant literature, describe the methods used in the collection of recipe data, then continue with a short history to provide context, before proceeding with an analysis of the recipes. The analyses are arranged chronologically and explore both the cultural influences and events at play and the recipes themselves. The first time period examined begins in 1872 and ends in 1900, a period I am calling Retrenchment, after Mauss (1994). The second period explored during this thesis is called Assimilation and begins in 1900 and ends in 1960. The analysis concludes with the Pre-Correlation period between 1960 and 1970. An explanation for these time periods and their names will be given in later sections. Each section of analysis will combine historical context, cultural explanations, and a set of specific recipes, with findings from the data collected during the course of this study in the form of visualizations, including charts and graphs created from the data collected for this thesis. Finally, I draw these analyses together to show that Mormon women have used domesticity to express their belonging to Mormon womanhood under the guidance of Table Retrenchment and toward the cultural goals of Mormonism at large.

Literature Review

Since the mid twentieth century there has been an explosion of research into women's history, and particularly into Mormon women's history. Fifty-six years after the

end of its publication, the *Woman's Exponent* was restored to publication in 1970 by scholars Claudia Lauper Bushman and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, in response to a growing interest in discovering and recording the stories of Mormon women and rekindling the tradition of Mormon women's literary pursuits started by the *Exponent* a century before (Brooks, Steenblik, and Wheelwright 2016). Since this revival, there has been an increased interest in the history of Mormon women and the subject has become an accepted academic pursuit. Thanks to this interest in Mormon women, a range of subjects, eras, and events has been thoroughly research.

Most obviously, the history of Mormon women and polygamy has been investigated by many historians, including Laurel Thatcher Ulrich. In her book, *A House Full of Females*, Ulrich (2017) discusses the connections between polygamy and the women's rights movement in Mormonism until 1870, providing excellent background into the culture and daily lives of Mormon women in the mid nineteenth century. Others, such as Richard Van Wagoner (1989), have written about Mormon polygamy more generally without a focus on women.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich wrote, "For those who find the past not just a foreign country but a different planet, records matter. The writings of early Latter-day Saints expose their peculiar values. They also reveal the many things they shared with those who considered them aliens" (Ulrich 2017, xxv). With an abundance of writings by Mormon women including personal journals, poetry, works of fictions, and journalistic endeavors, the words of Mormon women have been the subject of many articles and studies aimed at understanding certain aspects of Mormon women's history. Beginning in

the 1870s Mormon women published their own written works in newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and local newsletters that were created specifically for them, providing women a place to express themselves individually and as a community. As this thesis relies on recipes printed in newspapers and magazines written by and for Mormon women, the work of those who have analyzed these publications are helpful and even essential to understanding and interpreting the recipes. These studies include Laura Vance's analysis of changing ideals in Mormon women's magazines and how they compare to more mainstream American publications with a similar audience, Lisa Olsen Tait's deep dive into the use of a generational voice in the *Young Woman's Journal*, and Jean Anne Waterstradt's tribute to the history and significance of the *Relief Society Magazine* (Vance 2002; Tait 2012; Waterstradt 2004). The publication most researched and discussed for its significance in Mormon women's history is the *Woman's Exponent*, its history having been recorded and analyzed by Alfene Page (1988) and in several articles by Sherilyn Cox Bennion (1976; 1981; 1993).

More general histories of Mormon women have been written by Colleen McDannell in her book *Sister Saints* which documents the history of Mormon women after the end of polygamy and into the twentieth century (McDannell 2019). Natalie Kaye Rose's dissertation on the history of Mormon girlhood and young women fills a gaping hole in the history of Mormon women and provides background necessary to understanding the recipes written for young women that are analyzed in this thesis (Rose 2016). Histories and analysis of women's daily domestic lives and the culture they created have been recorded by Lawrence Foster in his domestic history of Mormon

women (1979) and by two giants of Mormon women's history, Carol Cornwall Madsen and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher who have studied the formation of community among Mormon women (Madsen 1981; 1995; Beecher 1982).

Mormon women have never existed in a vacuum, however, and their relationship to American women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are important to understanding identity formation and development in Mormon women. As changes in Mormon culture are often a reaction to American culture and rely on changes in women's behaviors, a basic understanding of American women is essential in understanding Mormon women. There are many works on the subject of American women in the nineteenth century. Especially relevant to this thesis are Nancy Cott's *The Bonds of Womanhood* (1997), Barbara Welter's "The Cult of True Womanhood" (1966), and Louise L. Stevenson's *The Victorian Homefront* (1991), all of which describe the domestic lives, community, and familial ties of women in nineteenth-century America. The history of American women in the twentieth century is also relevant to this thesis. Key works focused on the changes in American women between 1900 and 1970 include Lynn D. Gordon's study of women's education in the Progressive Era (1987), Estelle B. Freedman's work on the changing views of women in the 1920s (1974), and Amy Lynn Bentley's dissertation on women's Homefront efforts during World War II (1992). As there are certain periods when Mormon women change more rapidly or more dramatically than others, the works listed here represent those times and provide critical understanding for the means and reasons of changes in Mormon women.

While this thesis also investigates the formation and understanding of identity in

Mormon women, of necessity it touches on the identity of Mormons more generally. To discuss identity, this thesis relies heavily on the sociological research of scholar Armand Mauss. His sociological analysis of twentieth-century Mormon culture in *The Angel and the Beehive* has formed the timeline of identity development in this thesis (Mauss 1989; 1994a; 1994b; 2011). He relies on Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber's theory of religious integration to conceptualize the tension and assimilation of new religions in relation to dominant cultures. Mauss applies these ideas to Mormonism, revealing that Latter-day Saints both assimilate and retrench simultaneously, explaining many of the trends in Mormon culture through the twentieth century.

In referring to a process of retrenchment or retrenching, Mauss does not provide a strict definition as most of his work focuses on the assimilative efforts Mormons took to become part of American culture. A standard dictionary definition is helpful in understanding the process described by Mauss and other writers. Merriam-Webster defines "retrench" as "to cut down or pare away" (*Merriam-Webster* 2005). The concept of cultural retrenchment is deeply ingrained in Mormon scholarship and a clear definition is difficult find, but it is, in essence, the strengthening of a cultural identity by emphasizing unique or peculiar beliefs or practices and the deemphasis of the cultural habits or beliefs of other cultures, thus creating separation from other groups. Put simply, Mormon retrenchment is the cutting away of cultural aspects that create sameness with other groups to create a more unique cultural identity. It is the acts of stripping away American culture that will feature in this thesis. A later section will elaborate on the history and purpose of retrenchment in Mormonism.

Mauss has devoted many articles and books to the subject of Mormon assimilation into American culture in the twentieth century, and in later sections I will discuss the details of this process. In this context, however, assimilation is best described by Mauss himself:

> Religious movements which, like Mormonism, survive and prosper, succeed, among other things, in maintaining indefinitely an optimum tension between the strain toward greater assimilation and respectability, on the one hand, and toward greater separateness, peculiarity and militance on the other. Along the continuum between total assimilation and total repression is a narrow segment on either side of the center; within this narrow range of socially acceptable variation, movements must maintain themselves, pendulum-like, to survive (1989, 31–32).

Assimilation in the twentieth century was about the survival of Mormonism both as a culture and a religion by shedding those practices that made them most unpopular with Americans, namely theocracy and polygamy, in favor of adopting mainstream ideas and practices, specifically major political parties and gender roles. During the assimilation period "Mormons favored the nourishing nectar of nationalism. Both as individuals and as a church, they borrowed heavily from American institutions" (Mauss 1994, 197). Mormons assimilated so well that "By about 1960, Mormons from the grass roots on up shared most of their religious, political, and social beliefs with middle America and generally subscribed to what might be called the American civil religion" (Mauss 1994, 198).

The third movement discussed by Mauss is correlation. Beginning in 1960s and 1970s Mormons again started "resisting the worldly cultural encroachments" that began to cross the boundaries of what remained acceptable in Mormon culture (Mauss 2011, 3). Correlation culminated in the 1970s with a standardized, centralized, and sterilized version of Mormonism that could be practiced uniformly across the world (Mauss 1994).

While doctrine was not changed, rhetoric and the subjects publicly discussed by leaders did, thus shifting the focus of Mormon culture toward a more "monogamous, Victorian, and benignly patriarchal tradition so well epitomized by such fifty's television shows as 'Leave It to Beaver'" (Mauss 1994, 198). While this thesis will end in 1970, and will not include the implementation of correlation, I will briefly examine the subtle shifts in Mormon culture that led up to the more culturally complicated matter of mixing retrenchment and assimilation in the last three decades of the twentieth century.

Together, these three cultural periods form the timeline in which the recipes analysis included in this study resides. The specifics of each era will be discussed in greater detail in later sections. When examined on the continuum of Mormon history, these labels and the analysis provided by Mauss suggest that the identity of Mormons as a whole is ever changing and increasingly complex.

History and Identity Through the Lens of Food

Recipes and cookbooks have been the focus of many studies on identity of all kinds and are relevant to the research undertaken in this thesis as they set an example and precedent for the analysis of recipes as an expression of identity. Researchers such as Arjun Appadurai, Susan Kalčik, Richard Wilk, Karen Metheny, and Sidney Mintz have all studied national, regional, or cultural cuisines as a means to understand the identity of the people who make and consume these foods (Appadurai 1988; Kalčik 1984; Metheny 2022; Mintz 2008). More applicable to the research conducted in this thesis is the work of Janet Theophano in *Eat My Words*, her book discussing cookbooks and recipes of women

across time and in various communities and parts of the world (Theophano 2002). The breadth of Theophano's work shows the universality of recipes and cookbooks as expressions of women's individual and community identities.

Many scholars have sought to study food in connection with religious and cultural identity. Because of its use of food in symbolic religious ritual and its notable food rules, Jewish foodways have been studied by many scholars who have many times connected recipes and food to their cultural and religious identity. Daniel E. Feinberg and Alice Crosetto have examined cookbooks as a means of preserving and transmitting Jewish identity (Feinberg and Crosetto 2011). A volume edited by Cara de Silva studies the recipes from Jewish women imprisoned in a Czechoslovakian concentration camp during the Second World War for the ways identity was preserved in food even as the women were forced to abandon all aspects of Jewish life (de Silva 1996). Finally, Genie Milgrom, in *My 15 Grandmothers* (2012), and the accompanying recipe book, *Recipes of My 15 Grandmothers: Unique Recipes and Stories from the Times of the Crypto-Jews during the Spanish Inquisition* (2019), demonstrates how recipes can change with identity and yet, while identity may evolve, elements of recipes remain constant. These studies are based on the notion that food can be used "to convey cultural identity" and therefore, cookbooks and recipes "contain food formulas" that can be used to breakdown identity and understand its component parts (Feinberg and Crosetto 2011, 151). While other religious foodways have been studied, the scholarship on Jewish foodways is expansive and offers a base from which similar investigations might be undertaken on other religious groups, including Mormon women.

Another group whose identity has commonly been studied through recipes is African American women. Rosalyn Collings Eves argues that memory is critical to the shaping of a collective identity and that cookbooks and recipes are remarkably effective when they function as "memory texts" (Eves 2005). Memory, Eves writes, "connects us to our pasts and informs our identity as individuals and members of communities" and that memory is transmitted through recipes, cookbooks, and food (Eves 2005, 281). More specifically, Eves concludes that, "Recipes convey information not only *for* women but *about* them," through the documentation of the daily activities, aspirations, and values exposed through an examination of recipes and cookbooks (Eves 2005, 282). Eves' work on memory in the cooking of African American women translates well to one of the only studies on memory in community cookbooks written by Mormon women (Bishop 1997).

Marion Bishop uses cookbooks from Mormon congregations with which she has personal connections to articulate the work of transmitted knowledge across time and space (Bishop 1997). Her study of these cookbooks reveals that the women who wrote the recipes and compiled them into community cookbooks, "use[d] the recipes to speak, building a female sense of community" within the religious patriarchy of Mormonism (1997, 90). Bishop found that Mormon women have been using the recipes and cookbooks they compile as a form of speech to "sustain the Mormon traditional religious value of family, along with woman's role in the home, and in the church community, while at the same time articulating and validating more individualized ideas" (1997, 90). This study of community cookbooks as memory has informed my research and my decision to focus on recipes printed in newspapers and magazines for Mormon women

for their connection to identity, both individually and collectively.

While there is extensive scholarship on the foodways of other religious cultures, there have been few ventures into the landscape of Mormon food studies. Brock Cheney's *Plain but Wholesome*, a general history of Mormon pioneer foodways (2012), is noteworthy, as are several articles on specific aspects of Mormon foodways such as Kristine Wright's (2016) study of the connection between Mormon women's breadmaking and ritual practices, Rachel Hunt Steenblik's 2015 essay on the Mormon food ethic and values, and the aforementioned work of Marion Bishop (1997) on Mormon community cookbooks. Few others have made Mormon foodways the focus of any study or contemplation, though interest has been growing in last decade.

One historical work is particularly relevant to this thesis as it touches on similar themes, time periods, and methodologies. Before her time as a Church Historian working with the Church History Department in Salt Lake City, Utah, the late Kate Holbrook completed a dissertation comparing the foodways of Mormons and the Nation of Islam in the twentieth century (Holbrook 2014). This research is most similar to my own in its use of recipes as source material for analysis of religious identity through the lens of retrenchment and correlation. Holbrook's analysis of Mormon foodways has informed much of the analysis presented in this thesis. While Holbrook's work has contributed to the themes and events discussed here, my work differs in sources and method of analysis. Relying heavily on recipes published in newspapers and magazines for Mormon women, I use both qualitative and quantitative analysis to understand Table Retrenchment through periods of retrenchment and assimilation.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

There are many reasons to study recipes and to consider them important historical documents as argued by many scholars and writers, including many of those already mentioned in this work. As I have already stated, I didn't think I would ever study the recipes written by Mormon women. When I started my investigation into Mormon recipes I didn't find a connection to them through the familiarity of ingredients or dishes; I didn't eat all that much Jell-O or tuna noodle casserole growing up. But I did discover a deeper, more visceral connection that felt like reading the unwritten biographies of my grandmothers. In her analysis of recipe texts, Colleen Cotter wrote,

> By looking at the language and structure of a recipe, we begin to see how a recipe can be viewed as a story; a cultural narrative that can be shared and has been constructed by members of a community. It is no wonder that my grandmother often told me how she could 'read a cookbook like a novel,' how she 'could get lost in it.' I didn't understand it then, but she was a member of a larger community of cooks, with whom she shared implicit alliances and knowledge. …She could 'read' her cookbooks because they carried elements that fired her imagination, that drew her in, that caused her to reflect on her own behavior as a 'cook', and to construct her identity (as a housewife and mother, which indeed was her occupation) in terms that were readily accessible to her and in relation to her peers. Her cookbooks took her beyond her own kitchen and into her community (Cotter 1997, 53).

As Cotter demonstrates, recipes reflect the history of daily life and the intimate relationships between individuals, families, and communities that are often unwritten and underutilized, and unrecognized for their importance in explaining the past.

The recipes written by and for Mormon women during the nineteenth and twentieth century serve as a window into the intimate lives of women, a record of the tasks that filled their days, and an exposition of their opinions of themselves. More

specifically, the recipes studied in this thesis reveal the changes experienced by Mormon women, Mormonism more generally, and by Americans over a hundred-year time period. The genesis of this thesis is the desire to understand the connection between Mormon womanhood and domestic activities; recipes are simply one source from which to explore this connection.

This study does not stand alone in its analysis of seemingly ordinary sources as the means of gaining understanding about a group of people whose history has been unnoticed for many generations. Cotter (1997) and others have argued the importance of using sources that traditionally have been ignored by scholars because they exist in "a female sphere outside of high culture" and have not traditionally been considered legitimate historical documents, particularly in reconstructing women's lives (Showalter 1991, 147). Elaine Showalter (1991), for example, notes the value of studying non-literary "texts" or forms of material culture that are inseparable from women's daily lives yet are undervalued or ignored. Examples of such studies related to Mormon womanhood include Carol Holindrake Nielson's book (2004) on the album quilt created by the women of a Salt Lake City congregation in 1857 and Mary Bywater Cross's 1997 book on the Mormon migration and the quilts of Mormon women. These works discuss both the monumental events and the mundane realities of the lives of Mormon women through their quilts. Further, Jennifer Reeder has discussed the historical importance of material culture both in the spiritual and practical applications in the lives of Mormon women when she wrote, "quilts, samplers, banners, aprons, even glass grapes – represent Mormon women and their past. …These material objects are valuable tools to examine

female history and agency" (Reeder 2016, 68). This thesis does not deal with material objects as the studies I have just mentioned do, but my purpose is the same. By examining recipes the stories of the women who used and created them are revealed, as are their ideas about the world and their place in it.

Sources

The recipes for analysis in this thesis have been pulled from newspapers and magazines authored by and for Mormon women beginning in 1872 and ending in 1970. The four publications utilized in this research are: the *Woman's Exponent* (1872–1914), the *Young Woman's Journal* (1889–1929), the *Relief Society Magazine* (1914–1970), and *The Improvement Era* (1929–1970). These periodicals were all published in Salt Lake City, Utah for a Mormon audience. Though readership initially focused on what has been called the Mormon Culture Region (MCR) in Utah, Arizona, and Idaho, as the reach of Mormonism grew over time, the magazines developed to appeal to an increasingly global membership. Only the *Woman's Exponent* had no official affiliation with the Church but functioned as an informal voice for the Relief Society, the women's organization that was, at the time, independent from the rest of the Church. The *Young Woman's Journal* was the first publication to be sponsored by an official Church organization, the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, that was also a female-only organization for the young women of Mormondom. Both the *Woman's Exponent* and the *Young Woman's Journal* were replaced by the *Relief Society Magazine* and *The Improvement Era*, respectively, in the early twentieth century.

These sources show that there were official narratives about women's behaviors

issued to them by the "leading sisters" of the Church. As described by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, the "leading sisters" were a group of elite women who "not only led out in matters intellectual, but ruled informally the whole society of Mormon women" (Beecher 1982, 25). For many Mormon women in the nineteenth century when the "leading sisters" spoke, their words "seemed to have the force of law" (1982, 26). While many of these women had no official status within the organization of the Church, they "gave assignments, encouraged specific projects, and generally preserved the continuity and sense of community of the women" (1982, 26). Evidence of both official and unofficial female leadership can be found in all four publications featured in this thesis. The prominent voice of the "leading sisters" shows that there was a semi-official formula for womanhood and that it was standardized by women themselves under the system of retrenchment beginning in 1870.

Database Formation and Analysis

To best analyze the contents of hundreds of recipes in these four publications, I developed a procedure to systematically organize and work with my information. I modeled my process after the methods described by Barbara Ketcham Wheaton and Laura Kitchings. Wheaton, a food historian and writer, is a pioneer in using databases as a way to study cookbooks and recipes. Wheaton suggests that, "An inventory of the ingredients and a consideration of their qualities, an analysis of the techniques at the cook's command, a reconstruction of the kitchen and its equipment, and finally the serving and eating act that all this has led up to: this is the knowledge that will allow the researcher, teacher, or student to understand the social acts of preparing and eating meals

in past times and place" (Wheaton 2014, 333). Over her career, Wheaton has created a database of recipes and cookbooks called The Sifter (thesifter.org). As an online public cookbook database, The Sifter allows researchers to search specific historical recipes by information including ingredient, author, and geographic location. I have modeled my own database after the one created by Wheaton, though it is much simpler and only records specific pieces of information relevant to the subject of this thesis.

Also inspired by Wheaton, Boston University Gastronomy program graduate Laura Kitchings expanded Wheaton's database construction into the making of visualizations utilizing current digital technologies and software (Kitchings 2021). Visualizations, Kitching explains, are a way to see patterns and to "craft specific stories from datasets to explore elements of the data that may get lost when looking at the dataset as a whole" (2021, 14). Her thesis develops a workflow that has aided in my own process by providing a roadmap beginning at source identification, data collection, and analysis, and finally resulting in the visualizations and graphs featured later in this thesis. Kitchings' own research into historical cookbooks combined with her background as an archivist and her interest in data collection and analysis produced sophisticated visualizations. My own database is much less extensive in the kinds of data collected and therefore the visualizations are simple but effective in identifying patterns and notable pieces of information within the database.

Following the examples of Wheaton and Kitchings, I created spreadsheets to record information including recipe title, publication, category, attribution, geographic information, certain ingredients, and serving sizes. If any information was not written in

the original recipes, it was not recorded. Through this process, I created a database of recipes through which both quantitative and qualitative analysis can be conducted. Altogether, 7,253 recipes have been recorded in this database. Through the collection process there were changes and additions to information fields, and data points were added to some recipes as new criteria became relevant. For clarity's sake, I created definitions for each food category and for two categories created secondary classifications to allow for further analysis within those categories. Definitions can be found in the Appendix A of this thesis.

I began the process of data collection by creating a spreadsheet for each publication, with a tab for each volume or year to keep the information simple and organized during the collection process. After all the information had been collected, I combined the data into a master spreadsheet for each publication and then a complete master document to include all recipes and their data points. To complete the analysis, some data were divided into smaller portions of time and other data were broken up by food category or ingredient before being processed through tools in GoogleSheets to create the simple visualizations that revealed patterns of recipe numbers and types over time.

Visualizations were made by using the Pivot Table tool in GoogleSheets to extract specific pieces of data to form new charts focused on certain times, ingredients, categories, or publications. These charts were then converted into graphs using the graphing tools in GoogleSheets. The visualizations were altered for clarity using the customizations tools in the program. In some visualizations, there are parts of data lines

that are missing, these are not an indication of missing data or a technical malfunction but an absence of recipes of certain types or during certain times. In this study, a lack of data is just as notable as the abundance of data.

In this thesis, recipes have been used both as quantitative data and for qualitative analysis. The collection and analysis of data taken from recipes "over a long period of time reveals trends which are otherwise lost in a narrow focus on tracking the development of individual recipes" (Lehmann 2013, 99). The extended analysis of the recipes used in this study has revealed trends and hidden patterns that have formed the backbone of this thesis. Perhaps more important, the quantitative analysis of recipes in this study has, as Gilly Lehmann wrote, helped me "to situate cookbooks by showing either that a given example is in line with its contemporaries, or, on the contrary, unusual for its period. Comparisons between books of the same period can also point up differences that are the result of the social origin of the recipes" (2013, 99). In her survey of recipe analysis techniques, Lehmann focuses on whole cookbooks, but the use of quantitative and qualitative analysis and its benefits are the same for analysis of the recipes printed consistently in newspapers and magazines.

The recipes used in this thesis were chosen for their ability to reflect historical and cultural moments in time and their prescriptive capacity as identity forming devices. In the context of the collective identity of Mormon women, they are the thread that can be found at all times in the history of Mormon women. They are an invaluable source of understanding because of their significance to the women they were written for.

CHAPTER THREE

The Formula of Mormon Womanhood

The two most basic aims of Mormon womanhood are marriage and motherhood. The importance of these roles can be found in the foundations of doctrine and are closely tied to the ideals of American womanhood in the nineteenth century. Upon their settlement in the Salt Lake valley in 1847, many of the men were occupied with the necessity of building homes and community infrastructure, and some were even returned to the eastern United States to help others with the journey west. This void left the women to create and uphold "both the ideal and the reality of the American Zion" (Arrington 1958; McDannell 2019, 3). After the community was better established, many men were asked to serve proselyting missions of unknown length across the United States and in other countries. In the absence of so many men, women came to rely on each other and themselves to support their families, as well as run many aspects of the community. Women also took on "diverse jobs in the growing Latter-day Saint community. Family was not their only concern" and women were involved in the early establishment of Utah at every level (McDannell 2019, 13). While family may not have consumed all of their attention, it was certainly central to what they believed to be their divine purpose.

Marriage has always been important to Mormons, as it is believed to be necessary to achieving full exaltation in the afterlife. This makes the choice to marry or whom to marry very important to many believers as it has implications that extend beyond death (The First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [First Presidency] 1995). In the nineteenth century, Mormon marriage was complicated by the

practice of polygamy, which will be explained in greater detail later in this thesis, but here it is important to understand that any kind of heterosexual marriage was both expected and essential to the physical and eternal lives of Mormon women.

Polygamy was discontinued in 1890, but the emphasis on marriage was not dispelled. If anything, marriage in the early twentieth century was seen as a means by which the religion and culture of Mormonism could be perpetuated. Marriage for Mormons is naturally followed by children and for women, motherhood. In Mormon doctrine, it is believed that motherhood is the God-given calling of all women, the highest honor and responsibility that can be bestowed on woman (First Presidency 1995). Through the nineteenth and twentieth century motherhood was presented to women as the central means to continue the religion; further, by caring for their children, they were caring for and influencing their community (Laneri 2016)

Neither the social pressure to marry or become a mother separated Mormon women from American women in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Both Barbara Welter and Nancy Cott, American women's historians, among many others, have described the ideals and practices of American womanhood in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America and the importance domesticity played in the performance of womanhood. Cott specifically discusses the importance marriage held for American women at large, regardless of religious belief. She wrote that "Marrying meant beginning a vocation imbued with significance for society," as women had limited political rights and roles, if any at all, and marriage gave adult women a place in their communities (Cott 1997, 80). For American women generally, marriage also meant motherhood which, like

Mormon motherhood, was “portrayed as women’s self-fulfillment, [when] motherhood manifested itself in self-denial” (Cott 1997, 91).

Welter describes womanhood for white middle-class women in the nineteenth century as a performance of domesticity through “The Cult of True Womanhood” (Welter 1966). From the perspective of this gendered ideology, women’s education was in conflict with “the practice of housewifely arts,” leading to the potential destruction of the “four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity” through the public lives of women (Welter 1966, 152, 166). Similarly, Cott describes nineteenth-century domesticity as a means by which “women’s gender-group identity” was formed by “assimilating diverse personalities to one work-role that was also a sex-role signifying a shared and special destiny” (Cott 1997, 100). Mormon women drew upon these same values of womanhood into creating their own version that incorporated Mormon doctrine, while simultaneously creating a community to express their collective identity.

Relief Society and the Mormon Woman Collective

The Relief Society is the women’s organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and still functions in much the same way as it has since its inception in 1842 (Derr 2016). Each congregation has its own Relief Society chapter that functions under the guidance of the larger organization both of the Church and the Relief Society General Presidency and General Board. For the purposes of this thesis, the individual Society chapters are less important than the influence of the Relief Society General Board and the General Relief Society Presidency, who would have been considered among the “leading sisters” in the nineteenth century (Beecher 1982). The Relief Society in the

nineteenth and twentieth century was not dissimilar to charitable organizations established by other Christian and Protestant women in the United States (Cott 1997; Giesberg 2008).

In her study of the Relief Society in certain Utah communities in the late nineteenth century, Carol Cornwall Madsen said, “The story of the Relief Society in Cache Valley also demonstrates the strength of religious commitment in women’s lives and the social power of organized womanhood in the nineteenth century” (Madsen 1995, 129). The Relief Society had been established first in 1842 in the Mormon settlement in Nauvoo, Illinois, and again in Utah in 1867, when it finally became a permanent fixture in the structure of the church (Derr 2016). The purpose of the Relief Society was consistent with the aims of other women’s aid organizations and benevolent societies of the nineteenth and twentieth century: “looking to the wants of the poor – searching after objects of charity, and in administering to their wants – to assist; by correcting the morals and strengthening the virtues of the female community” (The Female Relief Society of Nauvoo 1842a).

The charitable efforts of the Relief Society will be described in a later chapter. In this section I will focus on the creation of community among Mormon women through the Relief Society. The context in which Relief Societies existed matters to understanding the importance they held in the lives of women as individuals and as members of communities. In the nineteenth century, Mormon communities “transcended the individualism characteristic of many western frontier ventures. Their cooperative pattern emerged from a strongly internalized group identity and shared mission which defined

and linked the concepts of stewardship and community in a creative partnership" (Madsen 1995, 128). In many cases, early Mormon settlements were characterized by a communitarian lifestyle, where all members of the community worked together, at some level, to achieve the necessities of daily life (Arrington 1958). Mormon communities at this time did not make a huge distinction between their physical needs and their spiritual needs. Brigham Young, then the head of the church, said, "Everything that pertains to men, their feelings, their faith, their affections, their desires, and every act of their lives, belong [to the Kingdom] that they may be ruled by it spiritually and temporally" (Young 1865, 329). The ordered building of a society in Utah "depended upon a gendered division of labor" to complete necessary tasks to make it through each day (Madsen 1995, 131).

As Mormons in nineteenth-century Utah often lived far from the amenities of modern life, such as doctors and grocers, the relationships within smaller communities became increasingly important as "Mormonism reinforced and at the same time transformed patterns of association common to rural societies everywhere. Women banded together to spin, weave, and care for the sick, but also to participate in sacred rituals" (Ulrich 2016, xix). Prior to the reestablishment of the Relief Society, these meetings between women were informal and not unlike the associations between other rural women as described by Nancy Cott (1997), Judith Giesberg (2008), and others. There were, in many parts of the United States, women's societies that provided aid to those in need and sought to exert their moral influence on their communities.

Of women's aid societies during and after the Civil War, Judith Giesberg

concluded that the middle-class status of the membership of these organizations "relieved them of the worries brought on by a temporary loss of household income ... [while] the war offered relief from domesticity and the opportunity to pursue exciting careers in public activism" (Giesberg 2008, 40). For many Mormon women, the Relief Society provided the same social opportunities and outlets from the monotony of domestic life (Madsen 1995). The Relief Society was not unlike many other women's aid societies in nineteenth-century America. However, what defines and separates the Relief Society from numerous other groups is its unshakable devotion to preaching the doctrines of the Church to women. Relief Society meetings were not simply gatherings to organize for public change or charitable work. Meetings of the Relief Society were places where women "shared personal witness and affirmed sisterhood" (Beecher 1982, 37). The Relief Society defines and separates Mormon women from other groups as it provided them with a community identity that was focused on their unique religious beliefs.

As Madsen writes, the Relief Society "institutionalized the cooperative efforts and sense of accountability of women to the community, …it facilitated communal work, gave its members a broader range of social experiences than domesticity offered, and redefined the concepts of public and private space for women" (Madsen 1995, 129). This communal work enabled by the Relief Society "developed in its members a distinct female consciousness through the specific tasks it formulated, administered, and implemented along with those generated by Church leaders. Bound by common purposes, Relief Society women coalesced into a cohesive female network" (Madsen 1995, 131).

For many women who participated in communal work and the Relief Society,

they were not simply part of a club or a society; they felt they belonged to a sisterhood, “an important ideological construct, expressing a sense of unity forged through the shared hardships of persecution and forced emigration” (Tait 2012, 58). This sisterhood provided Mormon women with the opportunity to find a sense of belonging through “their willingness to embrace and be embraced” (McBaine 2017, 197). Early in the establishment of the Relief Society, the women were counseled by their male leaders that “none should be received into the Society but those who were worthy,” but did not provide any guidance on what attributes or habits a “worthy” woman might possess (Female Relief Society of Nauvoo 1842b). In the first iteration of the Relief Society, admittance was determined “by presenting regular petition signed by two or three members in good standing in the Society- whoever comes in much be of good report” (Female Relief Society of Nauvoo 1842c). This process established “the starkest example of Mormon womanhood being strictly defined by a set of behavioral markers,” as the acceptance of any woman was decided arbitrarily and there were no formal criteria for membership (McBaine 2017, 196).

Ultimately, the Relief Society did away with the practice of admission by recommendation, but the definition of Mormon womanhood that had emerged became a means by which “to gauge a woman’s tether to the sisterhood’s gravitational pull” (McBaine 2017, 196). As Mormonism moved into the twentieth century, membership to the Relief Society and therefore to Mormon womanhood became more dependent on “tacitly agreed-upon cultural markers of what made a ‘good’ Mormon woman. The consistency of those practices among a majority of women created a sense of belonging

and drew a boundary between those who participated in these same behavioral markers and those who didn't" (McBaine 2017, 196). Behaviors such as marriage and motherhood created the markers by which Mormon womanhood was defined and domesticity was the means by which womanhood was performed. Perhaps most importantly, the Relief Society proved that "women were their own acknowledged and unquestioned leaders," a concept that became increasingly relevant as Mormon womanhood changed over time (Beecher 1982, 39).

As many Mormon women married and became mothers, they were able to fulfill the requirements to belong to the sisterhood of Mormon women, but through their practice of domesticity they performed this belonging. The recipes examined in this thesis show that women achieved their status as wives and mothers more fully when they also practiced domesticity to its fullest. While marriage and motherhood were the pinnacle of achievement for Mormon women, unmarried women were not precluded from the activities of domesticity simply because they had no use for them as wives and mothers. Unmarried and childless women still performed domesticity as an act of belonging to Mormon womanhood, as will be examined in later sections. Through the deconstruction and analysis of recipes, their place of importance as an expression of identity and aspiration both as Mormon women and in familial roles is seen through the continued emphasis on motherhood and marriage. Further, we see that these ideals shift over time as we look at the different time periods outlined by Mauss; the ideals remain consistent while their presentation and application change to fit the needs of Mormon culture at large. In the next section I look more closely at this periodization beginning in

the 1870s with the retrenchment movement.

CHAPTER 4

Table Retrenchment

By 1870 Brigham Young, then president and head of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, feared for the sanctity and survival of the utopia he had so carefully ruled for over two decades in Utah. In 1869 the Union Pacific Railroad had been completed, opening the territory to the rest of the country (*Deseret News*, May 19, 1869). Young saw the newly completed Union Pacific Railroad line as equally good and evil. The railroad benefitted the Mormon community by making emigration easier and faster, allowing more Mormon families to join in the work of Zion in Utah. It also brought desperately needed opportunities for economic growth in trade and mining (Arrington 1985). But Young feared that the railroad would bring too much influence and culture from outsiders that would corrupt and draw the Saints away from the safety and strength of Mormonism. In a very real way, Brigham Young felt that the Mormon way of life and culture was under threat.

To fight these influences, Young attempted to enact reforms intended to serve as a buffer between the Saints and everyone else in America. Many of these reforms were focused on women's lives and their daily habits. First, Young encouraged women to perfect their home industry skills, such as sewing, and hoped that they would eventually make all their own clothing from raw material to a finished product (Arrington 1985). Like similar efforts made by other utopian leaders in the nineteenth century, specifically Bronson Alcott's Fruitland experiment, attempts to become completely self-sufficient and isolated from American capitalism were unsuccessful (Strickland 1985). While Mormon

utopian efforts were not dissimilar from others during the same period in the methods used to create an isolated society, the practices put into place through retrenchment to separate Mormonism not only from other religious utopias but also America at large created a buffer between Mormons and other Americans.

Young was not the only leader concerned with the potential corruption of Mormon women from outside influences brought by the railroad. Eliza R. Snow, one of the most influential leading sisters of the day, encouraged a style of dress that was practical and economical called the Deseret Costume. Featuring a pants and tunic combination, Snow's new style was very similar to the bloomer costume worn by other women for various purposes (Beecher 1981). The style did not ultimately catch on and was never wildly instituted as a popular form of dress as Mormon women continued to wear styles popular in the rest of the United States.

On November 14, 1869, Brigham Young addressed a congregation of Saints in Salt Lake City on the observations he had made on his recent tour of the southern region of the territory. The bulk of his address was given to describing the extravagances in which he had seen the Saints indulging in and the ways in which he thought change could be enacted for the benefit of all. Young was specifically bothered by the way the Saints were eating, from the kind of dishes to the way in which food was consumed. He said, "The Americans, as a nation, are killing themselves with their vices and high living," before going on to advice the Saints in exactly which way he thought they should be eating for the strengthening and preserving of the Mormon culture and population (*Deseret News*, November 24, 1869).

Young went on to describe exactly what and how he thought the women of Mormondom should be feeding their families. For breakfast he suggested that the Saints eat as they do in England, “bread and butter, a little cheese, a few eggs, food that is light and nutritious, and which does not require so much labor in cooking” (*Deseret News*, November 24, 1869). For dinner, the largest midday meal of many rural families in the nineteenth century, Young said, “If you want something new try this; …don’t pile the table full of roast meat, boiled meat, and baked meat, fat mutton, beef and pork; and in addition to this two or three kinds of pies and cakes” (Turner 2017; *Deseret News*, November 24, 1869). This advice flew in the face of fashionable modes of dining for the aspiring American middle-class seeking respectability, which included an element of conspicuous consumption in the meals served at home (Clausen 1993; Williams 1996).

The goals of the Mormon utopia were not to ascribe to American middle-class sensibilities, but to separate themselves from American culture, a subject that will be discussed in detail later in this thesis. The aspirations for Mormon culture held by its leaders did not stop Mormon women from taking part in the more fashionable and extravagant cooking described by the latest household guides, as evidenced by the observations of Brigham Young. Household advice and cookbooks and recipes published by Catharine Beecher, Eliza Leslie, and in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* all prescribed more extravagant and complicated meals and dishes for the purpose of creating the ideal home atmosphere for middle-class Americans (Lobel 2014). While Mormon women were somewhat isolated from the rest of the world by their remote location in the Salt Lake valley, they were not ignorant or unaware of the happenings beyond the territory; indeed,

it is possible that they had limited access to women's publications such as *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Ladies' Home Journal* and would have been aware of the trends in housekeeping.

While the advice given to Mormon women by their religious leadership was in opposition to that of the outside world, the recipes analyzed in this thesis suggest that the prescription given to Mormon women about their cooking and housekeeping habits was not totally disconnected from nineteenth-century American practices. American middle-class meals "were linked by a common concern with ritual, formality, and schedule," as were Mormon meals. While Mormon women sought to bring their own values into the practice of eating by instituting the ideals of simplicity and frugality outlined by Young (Williams 1996, 5), these ideas were remarkably similar to those expressed in cookbooks and manuals like Mrs. Beeton's *The Book of Household Management*: "The necessity of practicing economy should be evident to everyone ... We must always remember that to manage a little well is a great merit in housekeeping" (Beeton 1888, 2). The application of these principles of economy and simplicity in Mormon food ideals will be detailed in later sections, but for now, it is important to recognize that Mormon recipes and ideals were not beyond the influence of American Victorian standards.

Continuing his address, Young claimed that simpler and more frugally produced meals would benefit the health of the husbands and children of women who engaged in these reforms. He said, "Dispense with your multitudinous dishes, and, depend upon it, you will do much towards preserving your families from sickness, disease and death. If this method were adopted in this community, I will venture to say that it would add ten

years to the lives of our children" (*Deseret News*, November 24, 1869). Young was not a doctor and had no evidence on which to base his claim, but like his contemporaries William Alcott and Sylvester Graham, this did not stop him from using his authority as Church president to sway the minds and actions of those whom he led (Strickland 1985; McWilliams 2008).

Young knew that his address alone would do little to enact these reforms; those who were to make the changes needed to be the ones to instigate them. Young asked Mary Isabella Horne, the president of a local chapter of the Relief Society, "to call the sisters ... and ask them to begin a reform in eating and housekeeping. I told her I wished to get up a society whose members would agree to have a light, nice breakfast in the morning, for themselves and children, without cooking something less than forty different kinds of food, making slaves of themselves" (*Deseret News*, November 24, 1869). On February 10, 1870, the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association met for its inaugural meeting in the home of Joseph and Mary Horne (Derr 2016). The meeting began with the appointment of Mary as president and Sarah M. Kimball as secretary before moving on to the ratification of several prepared resolutions toward the accomplishment of what the women called "retrenchment."

Retrenchment, meaning to simplify or cut away, came to be the standard by which Mormon women lived and formed the ideology around which the collective identity of Mormon women was constructed (Mauss 1994). Retrenchment was a response to changes in Mormon society and the growing influence of American culture in Utah. Quite literally, the goal of the Association was to teach women "how to retrench from aspects

of secular culture that were considered detrimental” (Rose 2016, 105).

With a quorum of twelve women representing various congregations in the Salt Lake Valley, the Ladies Cooperative Retrenchment Association agreed to carry out the principles of retrenchment to the best of their ability. To begin, they vowed, “That, as health is the main-spring of happiness, and economy the way-mark to prosperity, we recommend a careful consideration of the results of our present mode of fashionable table serving” (Ladies’ Cooperative Retrenchment Association 1870). While a call for self-sufficiency isn’t explicit here, “a careful consideration,” could have included a more thoughtful approach to what was being purchased for a household and what could be made within it. Self-sufficiency is also implied in the word “economy,” which, as the sisters stated, represented “the way-mark to prosperity” (Ladies’ Cooperative Retrenchment Association 1870). Until the railroad connected Utah to the rest of the United States, it was very difficult to bring goods into the Salt Lake Valley and thus many products made outside of Utah were expensive. When the Saints had first arrived in Utah in July 1847, they built their lives and communities from scratch. Self-sufficiency was a necessity in Utah, not a choice to be made based on an ideological principle. Yet, the urgings of Young and the stated principles of the Association suggest that there had enough movement away from self-sufficiency to cause concern and a call to action.

This new thoughtfulness about eating and cooking was followed by a commitment to use the time saved by adhering to retrenchment for “noble purposes – such as instructing each other and the rising generation in the principles of physical and intellectual improvement” (Ladies’ Cooperative Retrenchment Association 1870). The

third resolution stated that the women would not pass judgement on each other for their simply laid tables and “we say that henceforth any table neatly spread, with no matter how plain, but wholesome, food, shall be considered fashionable.” While all of the resolutions passed by the Association at this first meeting were important, the third resolution was about changing the culture. By declaring that a simple meal was the fashion of Mormonism, the women effectively made any woman who laid an extravagant table unfashionable and less Mormon. Thus, simplicity became a tenet of retrenchment.

The final two resolutions committed the women to teaching retrenchment to younger generations and to invite other women to join them in retrenching. Together these practices made up what the ladies called “Table Retrenchment.” These resolutions were followed by a pledge: in “realizing the many evils growing out of the excess and extravagance which our present customs require in the great varieties of dishes demanded in table entertainments, [members of the Association] do mutually agree to unite our efforts in sustaining by our examples” (Ladies’ Cooperative Retrenchment Association 1870).

Shortly after his address in November 1869, Brigham Young gathered his family and asked his daughters to form “a society for the promotion of habits of order, thrift, industry, and charity; and above all things, I desire them to retrench from their extravagance in dress, in eating and even in speech” (Gates 1911, 8). He went on, “This silly rivalry has induced a habit of extravagance in our food; it has involved fathers and husbands in debt, and it has made slaves of the mothers and daughters. It is not right. It is displeasing to the Lord … Then, again, our daughters are following the vain and foolish

fashions of the world" (Gates 1911, 9). With this chastisement fresh in their minds, the Young sisters formed their society, which they called the Retrenchment Association, that operated independently until it was placed under the authority of the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association as the Young Ladies' Department at a meeting in May 1870 (Young Ladies' Department 1870). At this meeting Ella Young Empey was made president and six of her biological sisters were elected to serve as counselors. The resolutions passed by the Young Ladies' Department were much more specific than those of the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association and focused more on dress than anything else. But they were clear about the purpose of retrenchment: "inasmuch as the Saints have been commanded to gather out from Babylon and 'not partake of her sins, that they receive not of her plagues', we feel that we should not condescend to imitate the pride, folly and fashions of the world; inasmuch as the church of Jesus Christ is likened unto a city set on a hill to be a beacon of light to all nations, it is our duty to set examples for others, instead of seeking to pattern after them" (Young Ladies' Department 1870). In this statement of purpose from the young women of Mormonism, they set themselves apart from others, as an example of righteous living and those worthy of blessings from God, as long as they were true to the guidance of retrenchment.

In 1872 the *Woman's Exponent,* published by Campbell & Patterson in Salt Lake City, became the unofficial voice of retrenchment. In its first issue the *Exponent* expressed its stated goals to "contain a brief and graphic summary of current news, local and general; household hints, educational matters, articles on health and dress, correspondence, editorials on leading topics of interest suitable to its columns, and

miscellaneous reading" (*Woman's Exponent* 1872a). In 1875 Lula Greene Richards was joined in editorship by Emmeline B. Wells, who took over full editorial duties in August 1877. Emmeline remained editor until the paper was shut down in 1914 (Bennion 1976).

The *Exponent* was critical to the formation of the Mormon woman identity as it was the first time Mormon women were able to freely publish their own writings. In conjunction with the Relief Society, the *Exponent* "served important identity-building functions and helped to reinforce a sense of pride and unity among women of the church" (Foster 1979, 11). For the first time, Mormon women had the power of the pen and "discovered the power and potential of the press as a publicist for their causes" (Page 1988, 1). Nonetheless, as Sherilyn Cox Bennion wrote, "Although the Exponent served as a forum where women could express views on subjects like the extent to which they should become involved in activities outside their homes and where Eliza R. Snow could publish theological treatises and be chastised only after the fact, it remained loyal to church leaders and policies" (Bennion 1976, 223). A defense of polygamy was a large portion of what the *Exponent* published, asserting that Mormon women were free, educated, and active in their communities and not enslaved by their husbands or entrapped in abusive marriages.

It was also the first time women began to see their identity as a set of specific behaviors as the *Exponent* put those behaviors into words. In the past, the most formal qualification of Mormon womanhood was admittance into the Relief Society, the woman's organization associated with the Church. In the nineteenth century, to become part of the Relief Society, a woman had to have the endorsement of an established

member in good standing. There were no specified habits, skills, or behaviors that qualified a woman for membership, only the good word of a member was required (Female Relief Society of Nauvoo 1842a; 1842b). Now, however, publications like the *Exponent* articulated the qualities of Mormon womanhood for all members to read and embody.

In that first meeting of the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association, the women of the Association distilled the ideology of retrenchment down to two major themes: self-sufficiency and simplicity. Led by these guiding principles Mormon women wrote recipes that, I argue, merged the performance of domesticity into the performance of their identity as a part of the community of Mormon womanhood. Essentially, in performing Table Retrenchment, Mormon women were performing their cultural and religious identity. By examining the recipes from these publications in their historical context, then, the development of the Mormon woman identity can be seen over time as women adapt to changes both within Mormonism and more generally in American culture. In the next section, I explore these changes in Mormon culture that affected women's lives through the recipes they wrote and read to show that Mormon womanhood between 1870 and 1970 was, in part, an act of domestic performance.

Analysis

The rest of this thesis is concerned with the analysis of recipes from four major women's publications with the goal of showing how the performance of womanhood changed through the ideology of Table Retrenchment. Despite having recorded over seven thousand recipes during the course of this study, only a selection will be included

in this analysis. The recipes chosen are representative of two major themes of retrenchment across time: simplicity and self-sufficiency.

In her 2014 dissertation Kate Holbrook wrote that one of the greatest values that Mormons saw in food was its capacity to render them self-sufficient from outside support. Holbrook observed, "The major components of self-sufficiency that influence habits were growing your own food, gathering and maintaining a two-year supply of food, and frugality" (Holbrook 2014, 10). These three principles of self-sufficiency are the framework within which recipes for the preservation of food were written and published. These are also principles that are closely associated with Table Retrenchment and aid in the successful achievement of retrenching.

Recipes analyzed for their representation of self-sufficiency will focus on the preservation of food, including those for canning, pickling, and the making of fruit into jams and jellies as well as other less common methods. These recipes will be the lens through which the process of retrenchment, assimilation, and the beginning of correlation are viewed, providing insight into the changing performance of retrenchment, even as the values of retrenchment remained largely unchanged. Beginning with the retrenchment period in 1870, recipes published in the *Woman's Exponent* and the *Young Woman's Journal* show how food preservation was used to economically isolate the Saints to preserve Mormon culture from outside influence. Moving into the twentieth century and the assimilation period, Mormon recipes for preservation shifted to become tools of integration by showing support for American causes and the economy. Finally, by the 1960s the Mormon community was the most culturally American they had ever been,

becoming nearly indistinguishable from the larger American Christian population. However, changes in leadership and a more general longing for a lost identity brought around a second retrenchment movement that would kick off in the 1970s with the Church-wide correlation movement. The recipes published in the 1960s show the complexity of the late twentieth-century Mormon identity as women learned to both retrench and assimilate simultaneously through their recipes by holding on to their cultural traditions and embracing the ingredients and techniques of the twentieth century.

To articulate the changes in the application of simplicity through the changing performance of retrenchment, I then focus on bread recipes printed in these publications. Mormonism has a long history with bread making that, while not particularly well documented, has been mentioned by several writers, including Kristine Wright and Kate Holbrook, and is discussed in the limited discourse on Mormon food history. My analysis will focus on the changing nature of recipe presentation, the kinds of bread documented over time, and linking the simplicity of retrenchment to the ever-changing concept of womanhood.

Bread also serves a lens through which to examine women's role and domestic ideologies. As shown by Mark McWilliams (2008) in his analysis of the writings of nineteenth-century American food writers, including Catharine Beecher, Sarah Josepha Hale, and Sylvester Graham, the making of bread is transformed into an explicitly female task and one that should be done in the home to produce the best results. The eating and health philosophies of Graham were explicit in linking bread and health to the role of women as wives and mothers. In Graham's opinion, "it is the wife, the mother only – she

who loves her husband and her children as woman ought to love, and who rightly perceives the relations between the dietetic habits and physical and moral condition of her loved ones and justly appreciates the importance of good bread to their physical and moral welfare" (Graham 1837, 105). The crux of Graham's ideas about health was that overstimulation eroded the health of a person, therefore simple food was ideal for maintaining and improving the health of Americans, and that it was the duty of women, as wives and mothers, to make good and simple bread at home for the benefit of their families.

The writings of Graham, other nineteenth-century domestic advisors, and modern scholarly observation, as well as my own analysis, show that bread making also has been closely associated with the maintenance of the financial and physical health of the family. Across time, bread making has been the indicator of frugality and health, both to be safeguarded and improved through women's domestic talents. My analysis shows that bread making also served as a symbol of simplicity and self-sufficiency for Mormon women.

Together, simplicity and self-sufficiency exhibit the changes made to Table Retrenchment over time and through the many cultural movements of Mormonism. These principles persist in Mormon culture today, just as they have for more than a century, and serve as a consistent and effective unifier of Mormon women. The analysis will proceed chronologically, allowing for the context and cultural shifts to be explained and connected to the recipes. I begin in 1872 with the first issues of the *Woman's Exponent* and end with the final volumes of the *Relief Society Magazine* and *The Improvement Era*

in 1970. This period covers some of the most interesting and turbulent times in Mormon history. As previously stated, this analysis will follow the pattern of retrenchment and assimilation established by Armand Mauss, following the timeline of 1872–1900 as the retrenchment period, 1900–1960 as the assimilation period, and 1960–1970 as the pre-correlation period. Each section will begin with an explanation of the major factors at play, followed by an analysis of recipes from that period to show the changing expressions of retrenchment through preserves and bread.

CHAPTER 5

Retrenchment, 1872–1900

Prior to the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in May 1869, independence and self-sufficiency were not a choice, but a necessity of survival in Utah (Arrington 1958). Before goods and people could be transported quickly by rail, the only means of getting to Utah was via overland travel on a wagon, which was both slow and expensive (Arrington 1985). The railroad brought many opportunities to Utah, but Brigham Young, then president and leader of the Church, was skeptical of how the railroad would change Utah and Mormon culture. Young understood that the railroad could be of use to Mormons by bringing more immigrants to Utah to aid the building of the Mormon community and that there could be economic benefit to the largely impoverished Saints, but mostly he feared an influx of non-Mormon settlers who would disrupt the Mormon utopia he was building (Arrington 1985). During the nineteenth century, Mormon leaders "had tenaciously attempted to maintain distinctive ideals and practices which were in conflict with those acceptable in American society" to build Mormon culture and identity (Foster 1979, 14). To Young, the benefit of isolation was that Mormon culture and society could be strengthened away from any distraction or outside influence. He was also sure that any stress placed on Mormon culture could be combatted by a renewal of tradition and self-sufficiency. Retrenchment was part of his campaign to preserve and reinforce Mormon culture.

One of the consequences of the railroad was to bring more commerce and economic interaction between Utah and other states and territories. Young had carefully

built an economy that functioned, in part, outside of the boundaries of American capitalism with the goal of keeping influence and money within Utah and among the Saints (Arrington 1958). With the railroad came more exposure and Young encouraged the Saints to refrain from purchasing goods manufactured outside of Utah, or better yet produce all that was needed through home industry (Arrington 1958). With many of the responsibilities of the home falling exclusively on women and girls, the burden of keeping money within the territory was also placed on the domestic skill of women and girls. This expectation is manifest through recipes for food preservation.

Woman's Exponent

Before 1889, when the *Young Woman's Journal* began publication, the *Woman's Exponent* was alone in printing recipes exclusively for women under the banner of Table Retrenchment. This separation in time only adds to the distinction of the *Exponent* when it comes to the recipes printed by the newspaper. As this thesis focuses mostly on recipes for bread and preserves, much of the data analysis has featured only those recipes. When comparing the amount of each category of recipe printed in each publication studied here, the *Woman's Exponent* is an outlier (Figure 1). This graph, produced from data collected in the process described in the methods section of this thesis, shows that the *Exponent* printed more recipes for preserves than for bread, unlike the other three publications included here. My research suggests there could be several reasons for this phenomenon.

First, there was the need to be economically separate from the American market. Preserving their own food would keep Mormon women from purchasing goods produced outside the community. Second, it was a practical necessity without the use of

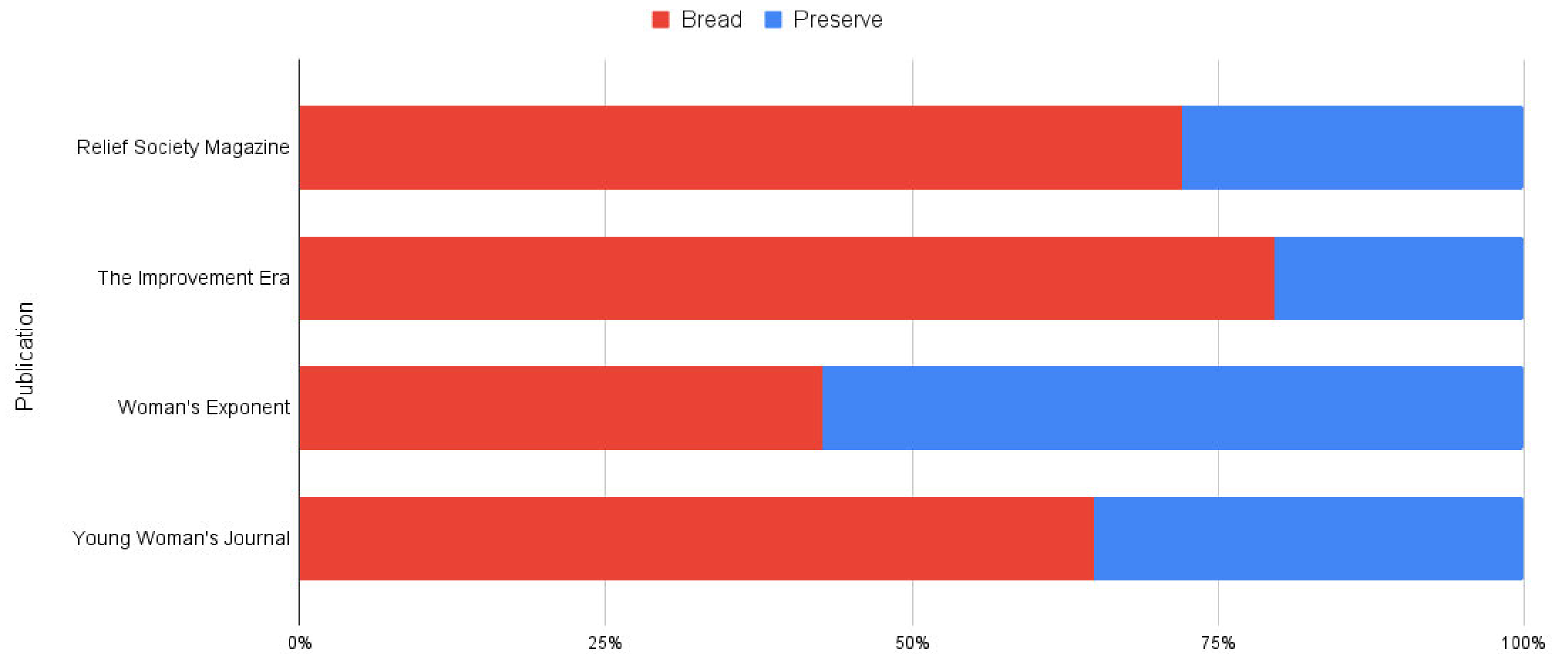

Figure 1. The publications studied in this thesis can be examined to show the many narratives of the story of Mormon women, this bar graph reveals, through the comparison of the percentage of bread and preserve recipes published in each magazine, that each publication is unique in its approach to Table Retrenchment.

refrigeration to keep food into the winter months when fresh food was hard to come by. The third reason can be explained by looking at the kinds of preserve recipes printed. Between 1870 and 1900 the *Exponent* published a total of 48 preserve recipes. For this study, each preserve recipe was assigned a secondary category within the Preserve category. These secondary categories include different methods of preservation, and their definitions are listed in the Appendix A of this thesis.

When these secondary categories are graphed and compared, it is immediately obvious that recipes using certain methods of preservation were more frequently published than others. Figure 2 shows that a variety of methods were used to preserve foods including canning, pickling with salt or vinegar, dehydration, the use of gelatin, and processing foods into sauces. This graph shows that certain methods such as dehydration and the preservation of food in gelatin were published only a handful of times between 1872 and 1900, making the vast majority of preserve recipes published during the retrenchment period for canning and pickling.

To understand why recipes for pickling and canning were the most frequently published, a closer examination and some contextual points are necessary. For the purposes of this research, pickling has been defined as any food that is preserved in vinegar, and canning is defined as foods preserved in a jar, tin can, or bottle and sealed either through the use of a water bath or other method. I define sauces, in this context, as foods preserved for the intention of being used to flavor other foods, including jams,

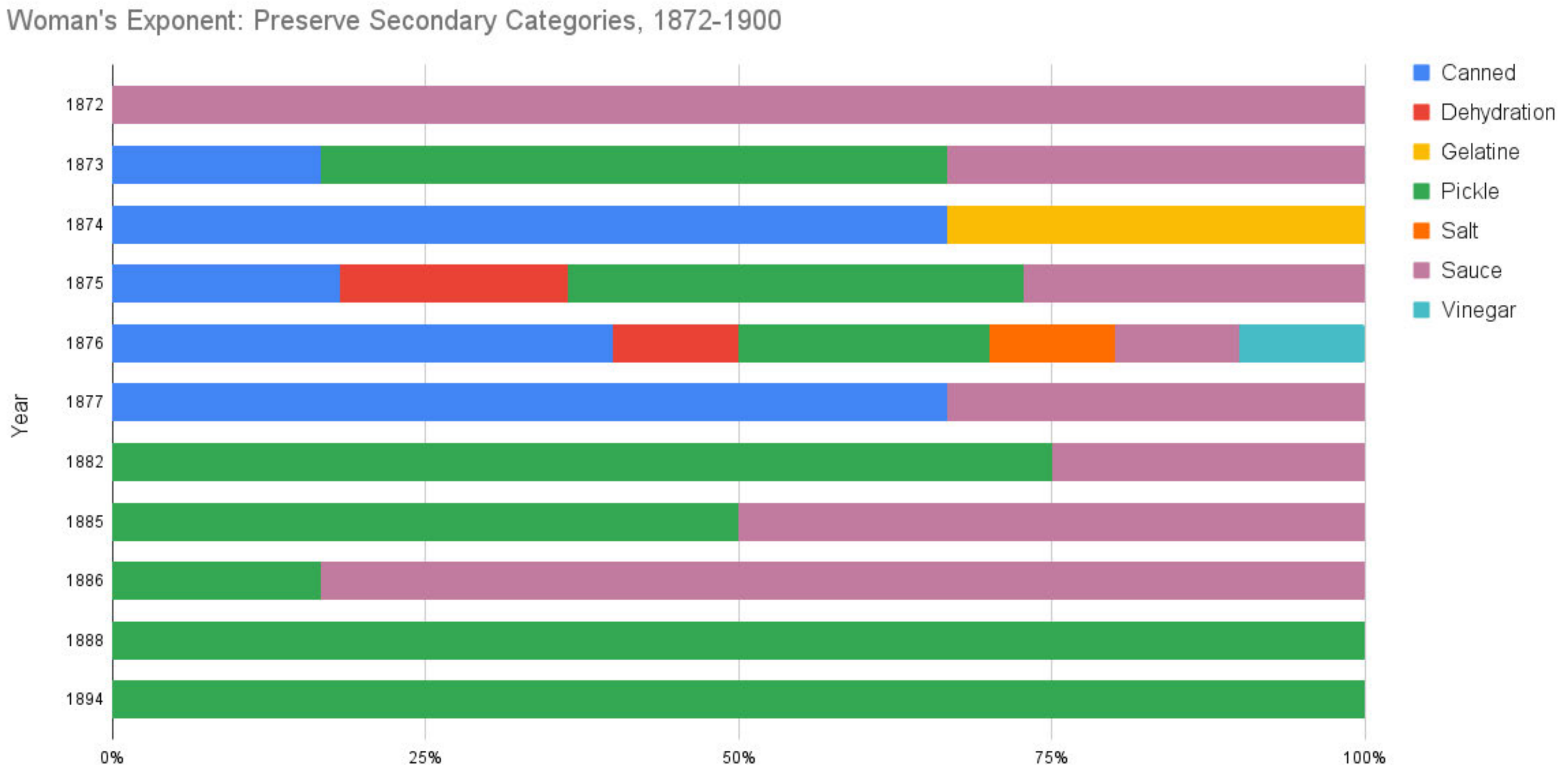

Figure 2. The Woman's Exponent printed a significant number of preserve recipes during the Retrenchment period between 1872 and 1900. This bar graph represents, by year, the number of each kind of preserve recipe published.

jellies, and relishes[1]. Between canning and pickling, these recipes make up just over half the total number of preserve recipes published in the *Exponent* between 1872 and 1900; further, recipes for pickling appear more often and more consistently than recipes for canning do (Figure 3). Pickling was a popular method of preserving food across the United States, particularly following the introduction of the glass Mason jar in 1858 (Mason 1858). Home-canning of non-pickled foods was not safe, however, until the widespread use of the pressure cooker following World War I (Turner 2017). With this historical context and the data presented here, a reasonable conclusion can be made that pickling was used to preserve fresh fruits, such as peaches, and all kinds of vegetables because the technology to preserve them in a jar through the use of a water bath was not yet available for home-use.

Recipes published in the *Woman's Exponent* were often minimally instructive on technique, assuming the reader had a certain level of understanding of cookery and did not need every minor procedure explained. However, recipes for preserves were often lengthier, featuring more explanation on procedure than most others. This suggests that Table Retrenchment demanded that women learn more about food preservation to fulfill their duty as retrenched women.

While these recipes are longer than other types of recipes, averaging 89.5 words per recipe, they are not as long as those that would later be published in the *Young Woman's Journal, Relief Society Magazine*, or *The Improvement Era*. They are

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[1] The recipes in this category are made with all methods of preservation, but are specifically made to flavor other dishes, a common practice in the late nineteenth century to make bland foods more palatable in the lean winter months (Turner 2017).

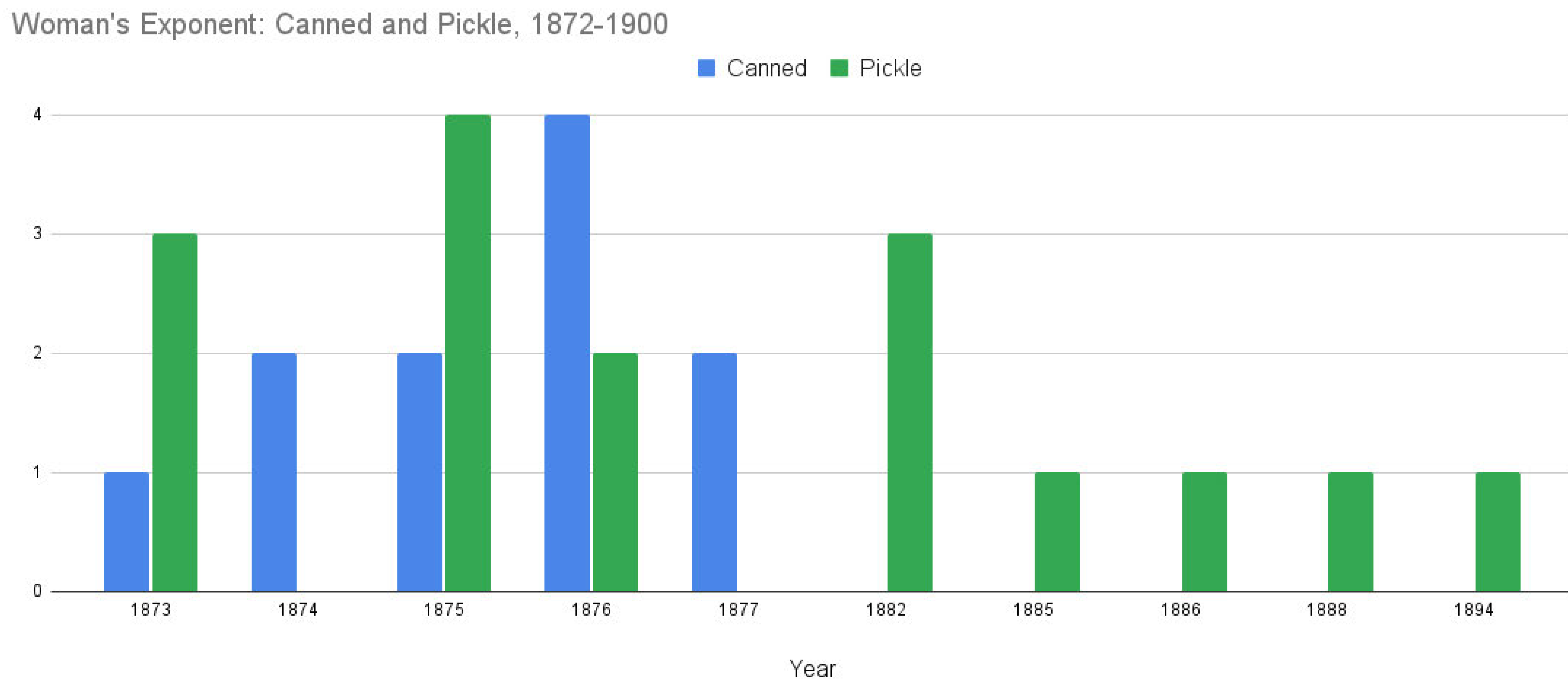

Figure 4. Recipe types can be significant both for their absence and prominence during a certain time period. This graph shows the difference between the number of recipes for canned preserves versus pickled preserves between 1872 and 1900 in the Woman's Exponent. The emphasis on pickling rather than canning can be explained by a number of technological and cultural factors.

comparatively light on explanation and instruction, assuming the reader and potential cook possessed at least a cursory understanding of basic preservation techniques. These recipes assume that women and girls had already been taught the basics of cooking, presumably, by some matriarchal figure, be it a mother, aunt, grandmother, or sister. The limited instructions exhibited by the recipes in the *Exponent* showcase the influence of older women on younger women that would be used to great effect in the *Young Woman's Journal*. The *Exponent's* subtle expectation of knowledge, perhaps learned from another woman, shows that "The most specific way mothers prepared daughters to fill their proper sphere was by teaching them domestic arts and advocating domesticity" (Theriot 2015, 70). With limited instruction, the *Exponent* assumed that readers had a proper domestic education and did not require basic learning from outside sources. For example, a recipe for "Home Prepared Citron for Cakes and Puddings" published in 1876 instructs the cook to, "Take the citron, cut and prepare it in the ordinary way" (*Woman's Exponent*, November 1, 1876) (Figure 4). There is no more instruction on the process or indication of what "the ordinary way" is except to say that the syrup should not be boiled until it is thick, but that the jars should be left uncovered so that the preserved citron might dry gradually.

This same recipe is also explicit in its connection to retrenchment. Nearly half the text of the recipe is devoted not to cooking instruction, but to explaining why this recipe is important and should be used by Mormon women. It states, "you will have an excellent substitute for the imported article, which will answer the same purposes" (*Woman's Exponent*, November 1, 1876). This is a clear representation of the practice of retrenching

Home Prepared Citron for Cakes and Puddings.—Take the citron, cut and prepare it in the ordinary way except to boil the syrup until it is quite thick, but instead of closing up the jars, leave them open for the air to enter, taking, of course, every precaution against dust or damp. The preserve will then dry gradually, and you have an excellent substitute for the imported article, which will answ r the same purposes. Now is the time of year, and there are plenty of citrons for sale very cheap. Another year perhaps many housekeepers knowing this recipe may raise their own citrons at home.

Figure 5. Woman's Exponent, November 1, 1876

away from consumerism and toward the virtues of self-sufficiency through home industry. The recipe continues with a reminder that citrus is abundant and very affordable at the moment of its publication but shows a clear preference for another means of obtaining citrus fruits. As the recipe states, it is best to purchase fruit for preserving when it is at its cheapest; it also says, “Another year perhaps many housekeepers knowing this recipe may raise their own citrons at home” (*Woman’s Exponent*, November 1, 1876). The preference for homegrown fruit is clear and was, in 1876, not so outlandish an idea as it might seem today. In the 1800s, homes in Salt Lake City, Utah were positioned on spacious lots within large blocks to allow for more agriculture within the city (Scheer 2022). In her analysis of maps to understand the urban development of Salt Lake City, Brenda Case Scheer noted that “city founders prized self-sufficiency, permitting the planting of vegetable gardens and fruit trees in the early years and erecting barns and animal holding areas” (Scheer 2022, 218). Despite living in a growing urban environment, residents of Salt Lake would have had a strong connection to agriculture as

they grew food at home and then prepared and preserved it in their own kitchens. Scheer found that by the 1870s the carefully planned city was changing as, "the church's grip on the city's development weakened with the influx of new arrivals brought by the transcontinental railroad and mining and commercial opportunities. … Consequently, the city began to accommodate its layout to new peoples and urban uses" (Scheer 2022, 218).

With an understanding of the physical setting in which this recipe was written, and in the context of retrenchment, this recipe takes on new and greater meaning. First, preservation in and of itself is a common enough means of self-sufficiency even today, with the connection between the canning of fruit and the desire for economic independence. Second, this recipe specifically encourages women to refrain from purchasing a similar product that may have been manufactured outside of Utah, in keeping with the isolationist economic policy of retrenchment. Third, this recipe suggests that women who are truly committed to the cause of retrenchment will grow their own fruit for preserving and not rely on the harvest of farmers who are potentially outside the faith community. However, it is also understood that by the mid-1870s there were changes occurring in the physical structure of Salt Lake City that might, for some, have made growing fruit more difficult or inconvenient than in the past. These changes, as stated by Scheer, were caused by newcomers, many of whom had not migrated to join the Mormon enclave. Combined with the fear of cultural corruption by outside forces that prompted retrenchment, the encouragement to plant fruit trees for use in future preservation is an indicator that the homemaking activities of Mormon women were expected to be comprehensive and were critical to the maintenance of Mormon culture.

> To Preserve Grapes with Honey.—Take seven pounds of good sound grapes on the stems, the branches as perfect as possible, and pack them snugly without breaking, in a stone jar. Make a syrup of four pounds of honey and one pint of good vinegar, with cloves and cinnamon to suit (about three ounces each is our rule.) Boil them well together for twenty minutes, and skim well, then turn boiling hot over the grapes, and seal immediately. They will keep years if you wish, and are exceedingly nice. Apples, peaches and plums may be done in the same way.

Figure 6. Woman's Exponent, September 1, 1874

In other recipes printed by the *Exponent*, ingredients were more important than the text of the recipe. For instance, in 1874 the *Exponent* published, "To Preserve Grapes with Honey" (*Woman's Exponent,* September 1, 1874) (Figure 5). This recipe relies on sugar and the exclusion of oxygen by suspending bunches of grapes in a mixture of honey and vinegar. Honey is an interesting ingredient in Utah's history. Honeybees are not native to Utah or even North America but were imported with some of the first European colonists (Horn 2006). Mormon pioneers brought hives of honeybees with them on their journey west in 1848 on the advice of Brigham Young, who had hoped to be able to replace the Saints' reliance on sugar with honey. J. Michael Hunter (2020) has noted that the first twenty years of honey production in Utah were slow and difficult because of poor weather, a scarcity of forageable plants, and drought. It was also difficult to bring honeybees to Utah as the overland journey usually killed them. But the railroad made bringing bees to Utah much easier and increased the bees' chance of surviving the journey. Census records show that in 1870 Utah reported producing only 577 pounds of

honey, but in 1880 the territory recorded 87,331 pounds of honey, a dramatic increase of more than 15,000 percent (United States Census 1870; 1880). Hunter, a specialist in the history of bees and honey in Utah, has found that many families in Salt Lake City kept bees and the honey could have used in a variety of recipes and for medicinal purposes (Hunter 2020).

The recipe "To Preserve Grapes with Honey," represents the self-sufficiency required of retrenchment through its ingredients (*Woman's Exponent,* September 1, 1874). Honey was a foodstuff that could be produced and harvested at home, thus avoiding the need to purchase honey, saving money, and preserving the cultural traditions of Mormonism. At the time, honeybees were often associated with Mormon women and girls for their seemingly tireless work at gathering nectar for honey. Women and girls were encouraged to emulate the bees in their industrious habits. Additionally, the whole of the Mormon community was also compared to a hive, where all members worked for the good of the whole (Jones and Thayne 2008). Honey was a symbol of what Mormon women's retrenchment could be if properly done: honey requires many hours of monotonous and diligent work, as does the achievement of retrenchment.

Young Woman's Journal and Mormon Redefinition

The Young Ladies' Department of the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association went through a re-branding of sorts shortly after Brigham Young's death in August 1877. The name was changed to the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association or the YLMIA (Gates 1911, 83). In 1889 Susa Young Gates, daughter of Brigham Young, started the *Young Woman's Journal* as the official publication of the

YLMIA (Gates 1911). Much like the *Exponent*, the *Journal* published poetry, essays, and pieces of fiction written by readers as well as pieces on subjects that might interest young women and girls such as dress, cooking, and local affairs. The *Journal* united the young women of the Church and taught them what it meant for them to become Mormon women. While the *Exponent* was mostly concerned with enabling women to perform retrenchment for the purpose of economic and cultural isolation, the *Journal* connects this performance with womanhood.

The *Journal* was born just as one of Mormonism's most infamous and controversial institutions was dying. Polygamy, or plural marriage, had been practiced by some Latter-day Saints since the early 1840s, but in October 1890 then president of the Church, Wilford Woodruff, declared that no more plural marriages would be performed by the church (Van Wagoner 1989; McDannell 2019). Through the 1870s and 1880s polygamy had been the reason for many political and social troubles between Mormons, Americans, and the United States government. All women in Utah had been disenfranchised,[2] many men had gone into hiding to evade capture and imprisonment, and most Americans thought Mormon women were enslaved in loveless and abusive marriages (McDannell 2019; Ulrich 2017; Jones and Thayne 2008). The discontinuation

[2] In 1870, shortly after the passage of the 15th amendment granting all men in the United States the right to vote, Utah voted to grant all women in the territory the same right. One year later, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton visited Utah and met with local suffrage leaders including soon-to-be editor of the *Woman's Exponent*, Emmeline B. Wells. By the 1880s the US Government had determined that the best way to attack polygamy, widely considered a scourge on the American people, was to use suffrage as a weapon. In 1882 the Edmunds Act disenfranchised polygamous men and women. The Edmunds Act ushered in an era of terror among the saints as federal agents began arresting any polygamous men they could find, sending many men into hiding and leaving their families without their leadership or income. Later, in 1887, all Utah women regardless of their marital status or type were disenfranchised under the Edmunds-Tucker Act (McBaine 2020).

of polygamy in 1890 created tectonic shifts in Mormon culture, as the foundation of Mormon society, the family, was forced to change rapidly.

In the 1890s Mormonism at large struggled, not only with the end of polygamy, but with the territory's advancement to statehood in 1896 and thus the dissolution of theocratic political systems and communitarian economies independent from American capitalism. These changes forced Mormons to "redefine the boundaries of their community and retain their Mormon-ness as the primary basis of individual identity. In particular, many leaders and parents perceived a generational crisis and worried that younger Mormons were not living up to the standards of the community" (Tait 2012, 54).

In the wake of the abolition of polygamy, many Mormons struggled to redefine the meaning of marriage. The practice of plural marriage had been a sacred and foundational piece of Mormon culture and Church doctrine and some members fought to keep it alive while others quietly accepted the reality and adjusted their expectations of marriage. While this change was monumental, and "the end of church-sanctioned plural marriage galvanized this widespread concern about young women's decorum and possibly marrying outside the religion, expectations of young women's behavior did not radically change" (Rose 2016, 80). Young women were still taught the same principles about marriage that had been established many years before, namely that marriage to a non-Mormon was unacceptable and that a woman's eligibility and marital success were, in part, based on her ability to perform domestic tasks. Through the performance of domesticity and their mastery of Table Retrenchment, young women learned how to become the literal embodiment of Mormon womanhood.

With this context in mind, the recipes published by the *Young Woman's Journal* have greater meaning as instruments of retrenchment in the face of yet another challenging circumstance. The *Journal* begins this education in the embodiment of retrenchment with the saga of Maggie Farnham, a fictitious young bride who is eager to please her new husband, Arthur, by being a good housekeeper and cook. Maggie's story is told in four parts that were published in the first four issues of the *Journal*. The serial follows her attempts at various culinary tasks that inevitably end in disaster and find Maggie running to her mother for help.

The first installment of "Maggie Farnham's Experience" shows that Maggie is an educated woman: "To be sure she did love to read. And the principle aim of her mother had been to give Maggie a 'good schooling'" (Aunt Amelia 1889a, 24). Both Maggie and her mother are out to prove that "a good schooling" does not preclude her from being a good housekeeper and cook. However, Maggie's first days as a wife do little to prove the critical matrons of Maggie's hometown, Masonville, wrong. The story follows Maggie through a morning of sweeping and dusting and the hour of intellectual enrichment required of a properly retrenched woman before she sets out to prepare dinner. On this first day of having full responsibility for the domestic affairs of her little home, Maggie is saved by her mother, who brings a loaf of bread knowing that her daughter has not baked any herself.

That evening after the dishes are washed, Maggie goes, as instructed, to her mother's house to get some yeast so she can make bread for her household. But upon her return home, she is "in somewhat of a quandary as to what kind of bread she should mix

or rather to whose example in the mixing she should follow" (Aunt Amelia 1889a, 24). This is the first real clue we get that Maggie is not an experienced cook. Up until this point, her ineptitude has been hinted at or rightfully excused. But Maggie, a married woman, does not know how to make bread. She had seen her mother make bread, but never done it herself with the guidance of a more experienced cook. Maggie ultimately chooses to follow the method used by her mother in-law, Mrs. Farnham, and successfully produces a dough. But in the morning Maggie gets caught up in bidding her husband farewell while the bread bakes and she very nearly burns her loaf to a crisp (Aunt Amelia 1889a, 25).

This first part of Maggie's story shows the importance of the generational tone of authority that permeates all the recipes in the *Journal*. Lisa Olsen Tait has undertaken an analysis of this tone and concluded, "At the core of the Young Woman's Journal was a specific generational voice, addressing itself to the 'girls' in response to the pressures and transitions registering in Mormondom during a pivotal period" (Tait 2012, 53). This first chapter of Maggie's story, and the data collected for this thesis, show how significant breadmaking was to the domestic education of young women. Figure 6 represents the kinds of bread recipes published during the retrenchment period. The range of recipe types, from scones to loaves, reveals the comprehensive nature of what would have been considered a proper domestic education.

In his initial address to the Saints about what came to be known as retrenchment, Brigham Young stressed that simplicity through frugality would improve the lives of women and their families (*Deseret News*, November 24, 1869). Later, the Ladies'

Cooperative Retrenchment Association resolved that, "as health is the main-spring of happiness, and economy the way-mark to prosperity, we recommend a careful consideration of the results of our present mode of fashionable table serving" (Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association 1870). These ideals of simplicity through thrift were echoed by the *Young Woman's Journal* in 1896 when it stated, "highly seasoned food may suit the taste, but there is not the proper nutritive elements in it to build up the body, besides it takes too much time, patience, and expense" (Wight 1895, 80). In addition to preserving and even improving the financial state of their families, the fulfillment of the principles of Table Retrenchment promised that the health of children and husbands could be improved, thus the recipes were important both physically and ideologically.

These principles are again at work in the story of Maggie Farnham, continued in the December 1889 issue of the *Young Woman's Journal*. In the penultimate chapter of Maggie's story, she receives a guest, the "practical Mrs. Smith," just before she is due to serve dinner. Maggie wishes she had something more to serve her friend, other than the small steak and boiled potatoes she has prepared for herself and her husband (Aunt Amelia 1889b, 88). Maggie offers to send to the store for canned peaches to enrich the meal, but Mrs. Smith stops her: "You'll do nothing of the sort Maggie Farnham, at least not on my account" (Aunt Amelia 1889b, 88). Then, Mrs. Smith teaches Maggie two important lessons in retrenchment. The first lesson is the virtue of frugality through simplicity: "If people want to be always poor, always with their nose to the grindstone,

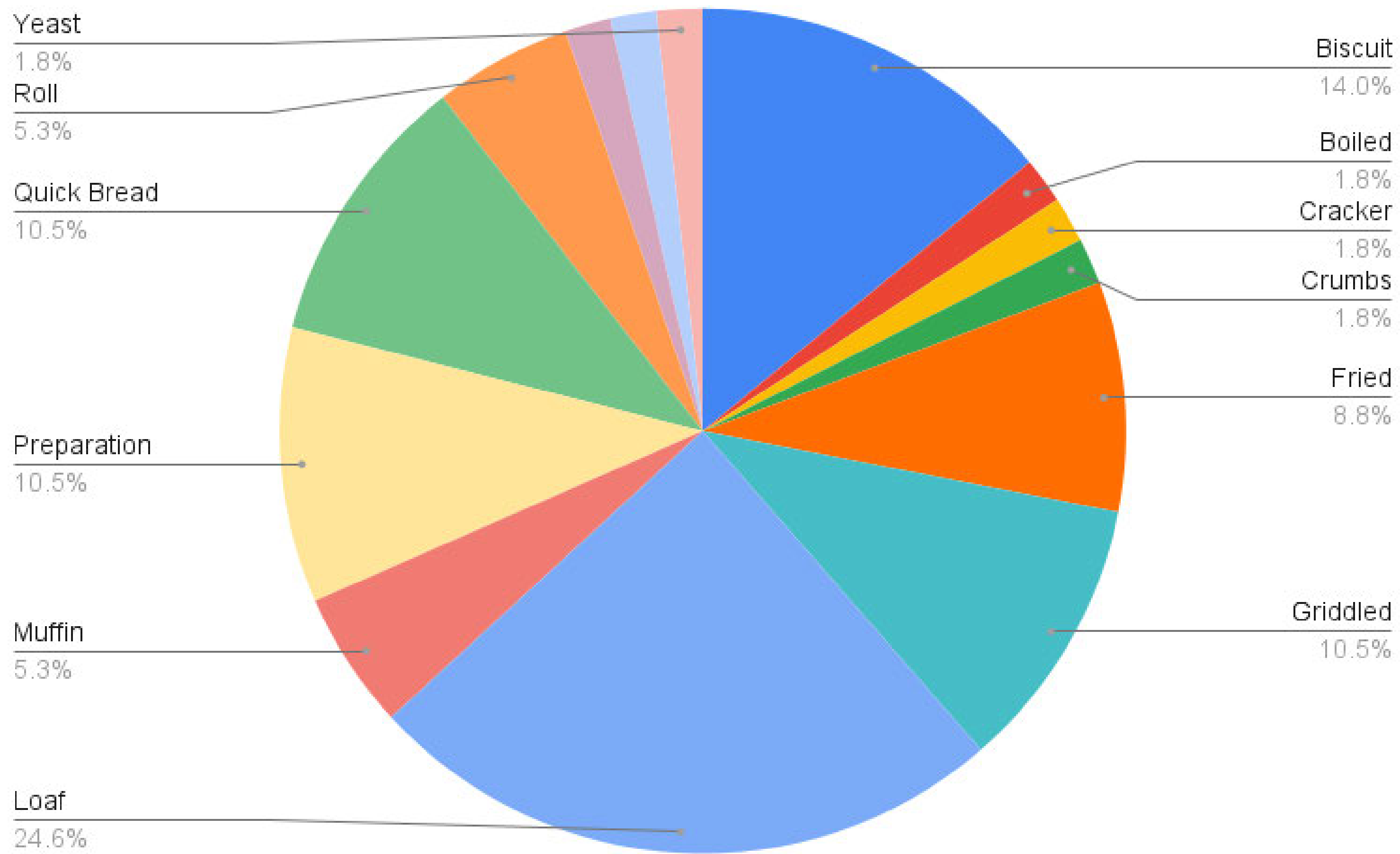

Figure 7. As with preserves, the type of bread recipes published during the Retrenchment period is revealing about the encompassing nature of the domestic and culinary education of Mormon women and girls in the late nineteenth century.

just let them keep a running store account, and get canned fruits and meats every day" (Aunt Amelia 1889b, 88).

The second lesson Maggie learns from Mrs. Smith in in cooking. Mrs. Smith asks Maggie if her husband likes dumplings, to which she responds that she doesn't know because she has never made them before. Mrs. Smith says, "Well, you have a quarter of an hour, I think you said, so give me your apron, get out a pan and your yeast powder, and we will soon have something that will help out the bread, fill up your hungry stomachs, be a dessert and best of all is cheap enough to be often found on such poor young economist's tables as your own twice a week" (Aunt Amelia 1889b, 89). She then gives Maggie a tutorial in dumpling making filled with measurements and the sensorial instruction that can only come from an experienced cook. The dinner is deemed a success, not in spite of, but because of its simple nature.

In this recipe, important ideological principles both of retrenchment and womanhood are imparted to Maggie and also to the reader. First, the generational voice is strong as Maggie learns not from a cookbook, but from a woman who has the knowledge to fill a gap in her domestic education. Second, this story illustrates how critical domestic education is to retrenchment and that a woman cannot retrench without proper and complete education. And without being able to retrench, she can have no time to spend on intellectual enrichments. Third, by using domestic skill, money can be saved by relying on simple recipes. Finally, Mrs. Smith's lesson teaches Maggie that the fashion of Table Retrenchment is simplicity and that she shouldn't, for the good of her family and herself, run up a bill at the store just to please her guests. It is a reminder of the resolution

made by the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association that, "henceforth any table neatly spread, with no matter how plain, but wholesome, food, shall be considered fashionable" (Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association 1870). More broadly, Maggie's story shows that a woman's education in the late nineteenth century was incomplete without a full repertoire of domestic skills.

The *Exponent* had devoted numerous column inches to encouraging mothers to educate their daughters properly, and to see to their domestic education most particularly. The *Journal* continued to promote the education of girls: "Nowadays a girl's education is not considered complete unless she had a good practical knowledge of the principles of Cookery" (Widtsoe 1899, 275). In 1872 the *Exponent* wrote that a woman should be, "above all else, …a first-class cook," along with all the other skills such as sewing and cleaning necessary for the proper completion of domestic tasks (*Woman's Exponent*, November 1, 1872). Several months later, in January 1873, the *Exponent* wrote an account of a poor young man who was single and aimless in life, but kind and gentle. Any such man should have been in search and even in need of a good wife to settle him and give him direction. The article goes on to describe a woman, "moving rapidly on towards thirty; pale and rather pensive, who stands behind a counter instead of taking charge of a household as she should do at her present age, leaving the shop for some one younger or older to mind. And all this because she did not understand cooking" (*Woman's Exponent*, January 31, 1873).

The "Household Hints" section of the *Exponent* did not mince words when it came to explaining the expectations of a womanhood to Mormon women, and neither did

the *Journal*. Both publications were clear in the stress placed on marriage and the assertion that cooking was critical to the eligibility of a woman to be married at all. The *Exponent* went so far as to claim that without cooking and housework to keep them busy, women would think of nothing but dress and they would "degenerate," and "though it [housekeeping] be ever so humble, it is the most natural, and the healthiest, office to which woman is ever called" (*Woman's Exponent*, November 15, 1872). "Household Hints" advertised that "there is no exercise better calculated to assist in finely developing the female form than the various duties of housekeeping" (*Woman's Exponent*, December 15, 1872). So, in performing Table Retrenchment to promote the health of her family, a woman was ensuring her own health simply by being actively engaged in cooking, cleaning, and other domestic tasks.

The *Journal* in the 1890s was far more concerned than the *Exponent* with teaching girls and young women the importance of marriage and developing their domestic skills toward becoming wives and mothers. While the *Exponent* might have seemed harsh in its depiction of single, childless women, the *Journal* was explicit about the worth of all women: "my sister, you under value your own great gift, the greatest gift that God can give to humanity. The need of the world today is noble, pure, high-minded mothers who realize their power for good as homemakers, which means man-makers" (Dunford 1898, 17). The *Journal* focused on instilling retrenchment ideals in women who were not yet wives and mothers, aiming to create a generation of perfectly retrenched women to lead another generation of young women in retrenchment. Thus, the *Journal* communicated the ideals that were established by the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment

Association in 1870 and later codified by the *Woman's Exponent* into the performance of Mormon womanhood through the practice of Table Retrenchment.

CHAPTER 6

Assimilation, 1900–1960

Despite the cultural difficulties Mormonism faced in the 1890s, the twentieth century was an opportunity to work toward a new goal. Rather than trying to strengthen a unique Mormon identity through isolation, early twentieth-century Mormons tried assimilating into American society, as discussed by sociologist Armand Mauss (1994). When describing how Weber and Troeltsch's theory of religious cultural assimilation applies to Latter-day Saints, Mauss wrote, "If survival is the first task of the movement, the natural and inevitable response of the host society is either to domesticate the movement or to destroy it. In seeking to domesticate or assimilate it, the society will apply various kinds of social control pressures selectively in an effort to force the movement to abandon at least its most unique and threatening features" (Mauss 1994, 4).

In the context of nineteenth-century Mormon history, the most threatening feature of Mormon culture was polygamy and Americans were particularly interested in the status and role of women. The pressures placed on the Church, the culture, and members are clear. From legal sanctions to physical violence, nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints faced significant pressure to abandon plural marriage, the practice of Mormonism that was the most abhorrent to many Americans. After years of legal persecution, polygamy was finally abandoned in 1890. The social and cultural changes in Mormonism in the 1890s have already been discussed, but it is worth stating here that the 1890s were massively transformative for Latter-day Saints as they sought redefinition in the absence of practices that had formed a significant portion of the collective identity of Mormons.

This period of transformation and redefinition period carried over into the early twentieth century as Latter-day Saints learned to "survive and prosper" without polygamy. During this time Mormons succeeded in creating "an optimum tension," as Mauss describes it, between themselves and mainstream American culture, making strides toward "greater assimilation and respectability" (Mauss 1994, 5). This tension is formed by the push and pull between the peculiarities that separate Mormons from other groups and their own assimilation. This balance between peculiarities and assimilation is expressed in the recipes written by Latter-day Saint women in the twentieth century as they continued to redefine themselves individually and as a collective of Mormon women, searching both for unique identity and respectability in American culture.

This section will cover a sixty-year period, during which both American and Mormon culture underwent monumental changes. During this time, Latter-day Saint assimilation efforts were hindered by a series of scandals that played out on the national stage and kept them living in the shadow of polygamy long after the practice had been officially abandoned. The Great Depression also revealed the dire financial state of many Saints living in Utah and the deeply held distrust of the federal government held by many Mormons at the time (McDannell 2019). However, Table Retrenchment and women became Mormonism's greatest tools of assimilation during rationing efforts for both World Wars, the domestic science movement of the 1920s and 30s, and in the growing popularity of strict gender roles for American women in the 1950s.

Internally, Mormon women experienced a changing of the guard as the *Woman's Exponent* was replaced by the Church-sponsored *Relief Society Magazine* in 1914 and the

Young Woman's Journal was combined with *The Improvement Era*, its Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association counterpart, in 1929. These changes in publications echo the shifts occurring in assimilation strategies. Both the *Exponent* and the *Journal* were steeped in the roots of retrenchment which required a certain amount of withdrawal into the fold of Mormonism, the very opposite of the goals of assimilation. With new magazines, the goal of assimilating into American culture could be better communicated through new recipes that reflected the changing expectations of Mormon women's domestic activities.

As this section covers such a large period of time and there are so many recipes and events available to research. I will not go through every decade or event. Rather, the analysis conducted using the database I created shows that there are several moments in time, periods of history, and themes that are significant. These instances are the focus of this section.

When looking at a visual representation of the number of bread and preserve recipes published between 1900 and 1960, there are a few points of interest (Figure 7). At the beginning of the century, bread recipes seem to go on a roller-coaster, in numbers, if not in popularity, jumping sharply, falling, and rising again every few years. In this section, then, I will discuss the cultural factors at play in the lives of young women and girls that led to the publication, or the lack thereof, of bread recipes between 1900 and about 1910. On this graph, as well, there is one spike that is immediately obvious that requires explanation: the jump in preserve recipes in 1917. This phenomenon will be discussed in detail along with its relationship to assimilation and rationing efforts during

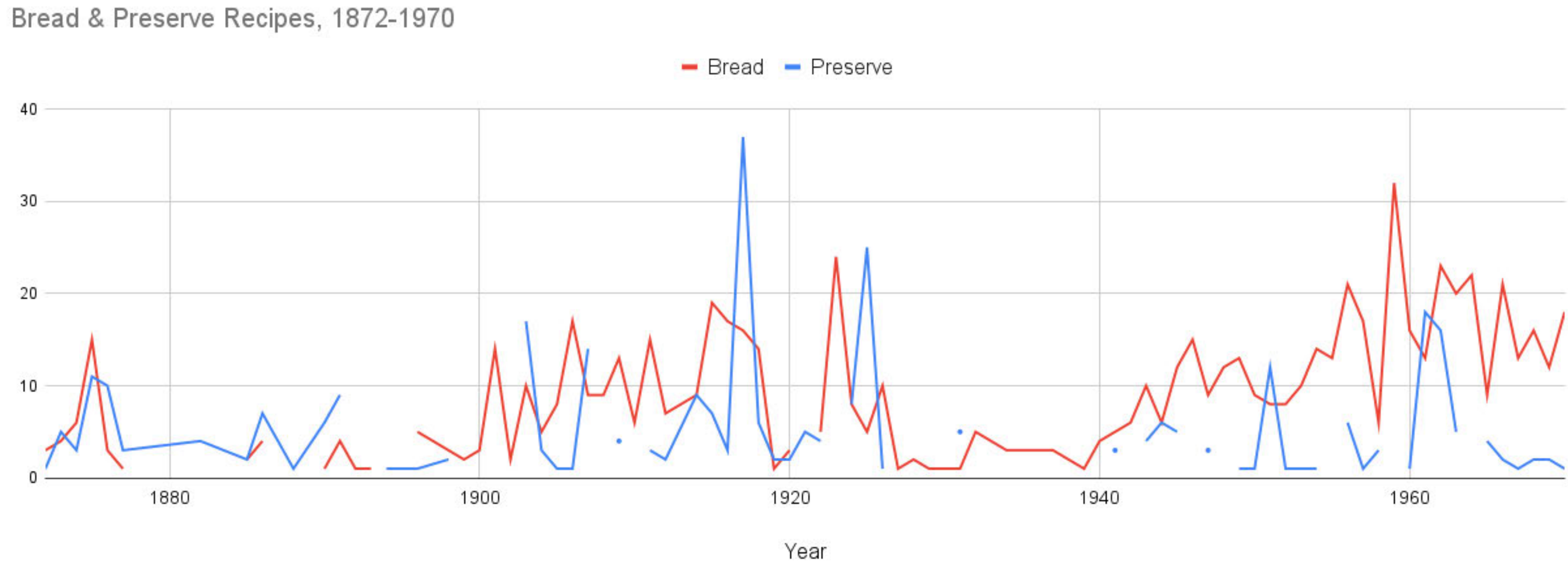

Figure 8. A comprehensive look at the totality of bread and preserve recipes published during the period of time covered by this thesis shows that there are certain eras or instances where some recipe types are more or less prominent by the number of recipes published at a certain moment.

World War I. The absence of preserve recipes after about 1925 is also conspicuous on this graph and warrants examination. Here I will link preserve making at this time to the Mormon fascination with domestic science and health and its connection to the role of motherhood, and show how these concepts, evident in methods of preserve recipes, are central to the development of assimilation in the twentieth century. Finally, the rise in bread recipes beginning in the 1940s will be explored in the context of The Relief Society Grain Program and the efforts made by the organization toward assimilation during World War II.

I then place these trends within the larger context of women's education. A representation of the total number of recipes of all categories published during this period in each publication shows that there was a significant amount of attention given to the domestic education of young women and less attention granted to that of the adult women of the Church. I draw this conclusion from the database based on a comparison between the total number of recipes published during this period between magazines with an adult versus an adolescent audience. The visualization from which these conclusions are drawn shows a clear preference, across the total time of publication for each magazine, for the domestic education of young women through the publication of recipes (Figure 8). With these data in mind, then, in this section I will pay special attention to the recipes published for young women and girls, as well as the factors at play in the lives of young people to help explain the significance that assimilation held in their daily activities.

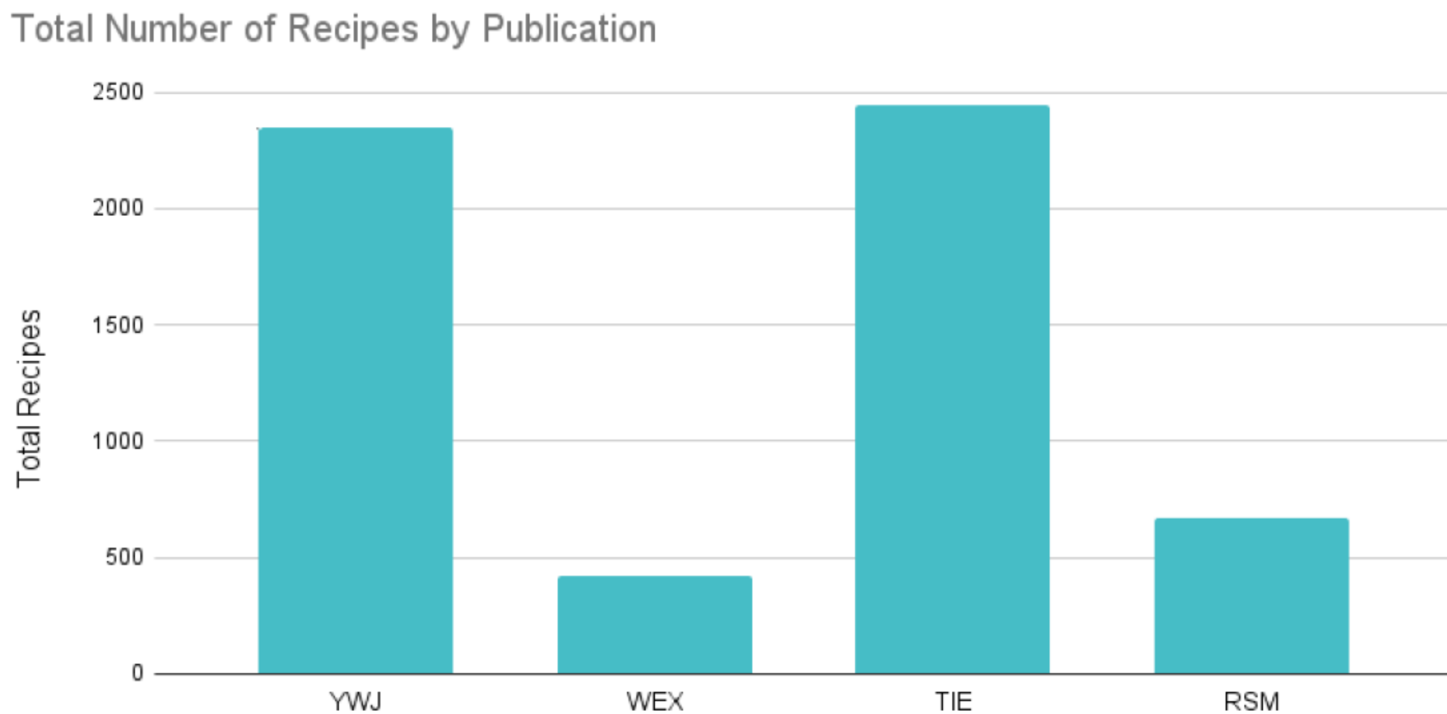

Figure 9. A comparison of the number of recipes of all types published in each of the four publications studied here reveals that there was, from 1872, a significant emphasis on the domestic education of young women and girls. Both the Young Woman's Journal (YWJ) and The Improvement Era (TIE) were focused on an audience primarily made up of young women ages twelve to twenty.

Mormon Exceptionalism, Domestic Science, and the Girl Problem

Mormon exceptionalism, or as Lisa Olsen Tait has described it, "the story of how Mormons became a different, unique people who then gradually negotiated the resistance of the outside world to become more like everyone else in American society," is the process of Mormons becoming the best at being American (Tait 2009, 222). During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Mormon exceptionalism became an important tool used by women and girls for assimilation. In recipes, this exceptionalism was manifest through the interest in the field of domestic science. The *Young Woman's Journal's* focus on young women and girls carried over from the 1890s into the early twentieth century. Instead of working to keep young women away from American culture, "it was important that the church's youngest women represent Mormon exceptionalism but also show how they were 'normal'. The church's advice literature and scouting program, while openly influenced by more mainstream trends, provided young women with methods to understand the theology of their religion and also how to physically embody their religion" (Rose 2016, 69). As described in previous sections, the female embodiment of Mormon culture was achieved through domesticity, and this sentiment did not change in the twentieth century.

In the early 1900s the church developed a scouting program for young women, called the Bee-Hive Girls. This organization followed a national trend of encouraging outdoor activity "as a solution to cure the ills of adolescence in young men and women" (Rose 2016, 71). In the United States many scouting groups associated with different religions or ethnic groups sprang up, including the Bee-Hive Girls. Before creating their

own organization for girls, the church investigated some kind of membership with both the Girl Scouts and the Campfire Girls. However, the YLMIA leaders felt that "the Girls Scout program did not stress women's domestic life enough to fit the model of a proper Mormon girlhood" (Rose 2016, 71). While the church found more ideological alignment with the Campfire Girls on the subject of domestic education, they opted to create their own program where the curriculum could be better controlled and could focus on domesticity. The Bee-Hive Girls are an example of twentieth-century Mormon assimilation, in the ways secular and sacred acts were woven together, presenting "a model of how adolescent Mormon women should act during this new transitional moment for the church" (Rose 2016, 71).

More broadly in American culture, there were fears that girls would grow up spending too much time away from home. More specifically, there was a fear "of young women's embrace of popular culture on their own terms" (Rose 2016, 74). Termed the "girl problem," these concerns were less about the kind of domesticity girls engaged in and more focused on filling the lives of young women with the right kinds of activities that would encourage them to live domestic lives. Mormon culture did not escape the "girl problem" and put into motion plans to "directly address this problem by creating a model of young Mormon women" (Rose 2016, 75). The *Young Woman's Journal* was instrumental in the shaping of young women during this time.

Through her examination of the *Young Woman's Journal*, Natalie Kaye Rose found that "The YWJ used the latest mainstream expert advice that fit within the church's worldview to encourage the upholding of Mormon womanhood, marriage, and family. By

taking advantage of this discourse that included experts in the 1900s–1920s, the church was able to become part of the mainstream on their terms and spread advice that represented their long-standing values" (Rose 2016, 85). This was the assimilation strategy in the early twentieth century: to take what the world offered that remained within the boundaries of acceptable Mormon practice to become part of mainstream America. Rose's research suggests that a great deal of the responsibility for assimilating through changing behavior lay on young women's ability to exemplify Mormon exceptionalism toward the goal of becoming "normal" in the eyes of wider American society. A close examination of the *Young Woman's Journal* shows how its recipes became a primary means of encouraging assimilation among young women by blending exceptionalism with trends and innovations acceptable in American culture, particularly through the introduction of domestic science.

In 1901, Leah Widtsoe began authoring a section in the *Journal* entitled, "Lessons in Cookery." Each installment taught the basic principles of cooking one particular dish or type of food. Widtsoe was a Mormon pioneer in the field of domestic science and made it her mission to educate women and girls both on the practical skills of Table Retrenchment and the ideology of its relation to the performance of womanhood. In each lesson she authored in the *Young Woman's Journal*, the ingredients were broken down, often with a brief history and an explanation of the chemical parts of the ingredient and how they interact with heat or liquid. In April 1901 the *Journal* published Widtsoe's lesson on bread that began with a lengthy account on the making of grain into flour (Widtsoe 1901, 179). Widtsoe continued, "This process of flour making has been briefly

described because it is hoped that every girl will go to a flour mill and ask the miller to explain the process to her" (Widtsoe 1901, 179). She goes on to suggest that small groups of girls should go on just such an outing together to learn about the flour milling process and encouraging social connections and domestic education.

The lesson concludes with a number of bread recipes "given by Mrs. Susa Y. Gates, who has had much experience" (Widtsoe 1901, 179). Here, the use of Gates' name serves a dual purpose: first, the mention of such an illustrious member of the "leading sisters" gives credibility to the generational authority that continued into the twentieth century. Second, it recalls the Mormon past when girls were taught at home and more Mormons lived rural, agricultural lives that were idealized by the church. Thus, the recipes given in this lesson hold the weight of tradition.

The importance of tradition is emphasized in first two recipes for "Brown Bread (set with sponge.)" and "Half and Half Bread (the best daily bread ever made.)" use the unstandardized measurements "teacup" and "teacupful" (Widtsoe 1901, 179). These measurements were far more common before 1896 when cooking measurements became standardized in America (Sokolov 1988). While the use of unstandardized measurements isn't uncommon in the recipes printed in the *Journal* in the early 1900s, Figure 9 shows the frequency of the use of standardized and non-standardized terms in the Young Woman's Journal and reveals a definite pattern. If we contextualize their usage in bread recipes, the appearance of non-standardized terms becomes significant, as does their disappearance, particularly in comparison to earlier recipes of similar method. The frequency of use of both standard and non-standardized terms can be tied to assimilation

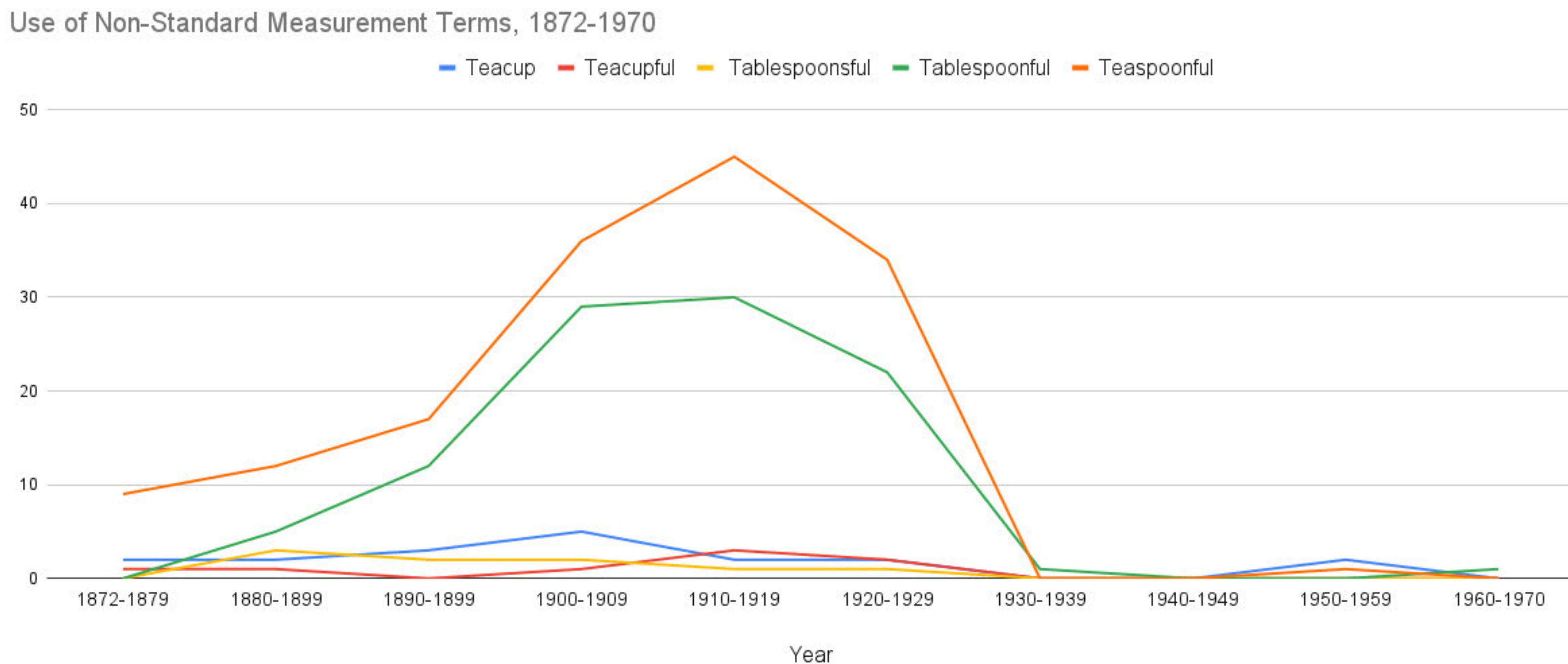

Figure 10. The use of non-standard measurement terms in Mormon women's recipes after their standardization in the United States in 1896 serves a dual purpose. First, some terms decline in use, a signal of assimilation through exceptionalism and adherence to new practice. However, the increased use of other non-standard terms shows that Mormon women had not forgotten their domestic traditions and used recipes of the past as a way to connect Table Retrenchment to the future of Mormon assimilation

efforts, but also to a continued emphasis on Mormon traditions, like the baking of homemade bread.

By 1905 recipes published in the *Young Woman's Journal* were authored by Grace T. Cannon of Cannon's School of Cookery in Salt Lake City. The recipes were preceded by a note: "In all these recipes when a cupful, a tablespoonful, or a teaspoonful of any ingredient is called for, the measurement must be exactly level. A cup means a half pint" (Cannon 1905, 48). This clarification reveals that the process of shifting to standardized terms and measurements was not immediate and it required explanation and definition for many women. The change to using standard terms and measurements in recipes that had previously used non-specific or unstandardized terms is a small move toward assimilation. It could be that more women were using recipes from sources outside of Mormonism such as Fannie Farmer's *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* or any number of popular women's magazines, and that standardized measurements were becoming the norm in Mormon women's cooking. Their use within Mormon publications, however, shows that church leaders and the editors of the magazines were choosing to make connections between tradition and modernity, seeking to push women toward the domestic science movement. Domestic science would soon take over as the most prominent mechanism of assimilation in Mormon women's lives. The peak of standardized measurements in recipes between 1900–1920 coincides with the height of interest among Church leaders in domestic science as a tool of assimilation. Its rise beginning in 1890 parallels a change in the relationship between Latter-day Saints and the United States both through statehood and the end of polygamy, while its decline after

1920 reflects the integration of Mormons into American culture.

In 1903 Widtsoe had also invoked the legacy of Mormon pioneers in an article about the use of stale bread. She wrote, “Let our sisters read about the trials of the early settlers of these valleys, when a loaf of bread was the most precious thing to be obtained, and when one loaf was made to last a family for days, and I am sure each one would decide that never again would she waste one crust” (Widtsoe 1903, 181). What follows are recipes for preparing stale bread into meals or dishes to “assist our younger housewives, that henceforth they will never be guilty of wasting one piece of bread.” A set of similar recipes appeared later, in 1907 and focused mainly on the making of toasts for invalids (Holmgren 1907, 79). The 1903 article states, “simplicity is a guiding principle and any tendency toward display should be avoided.” The food described for the sick (broth, gruel and toast) in other sources, such as Fannie Farmer’s *Boston Cooking School Cook Book,* (Farmer 1901), are generally simple in preparation, and we can assume the recipes for invalids in the *Young Woman’s Journal* are likewise simple (Farmer 1901). But the goal of the small paragraph of explanation on “Invalid Cooking” is not to establish simplicity as a principle of the food itself, but rather in the serving and plating of the food. These recipes are merely the gateway for readers to understand and then apply the principle of simplicity found in Table Retrenchment, a principle that remained relatively unchanged. In so doing, the language of the recipes connected the reader directly to the legacy of nineteenth-century Mormon womanhood through the performance of domestic ideals, a tradition that, in the eyes of the Church, superseded the need to be seen as normal.

The Pursuit of Health and Normalcy Through Science

The need to be seen as "normal" did not bypass adult Mormon women, either, however the use of domestic science was presented not as a means of normality, but as a way to become exceptional mothers by improving the health of their children through healthier, simpler cooking. Health had always been a concern for Mormon women, evidenced by the many references made to health in recipes and articles in the nineteenth century, but it had not been used as a means of retrenchment or assimilation until the twentieth century. A brief detour into the history of Mormon health and food beliefs is helpful in understanding the recipes of the 1900s.

In 1833 Joseph Smith, then president of the church, announced a new set of food rules for Mormons called The Word of Wisdom. These rules prohibited the consumption of alcohol, tea, and coffee and the use of tobacco of all kinds. The Word of Wisdom also encouraged the limited consumption of meat and emphasized the use of herbs, fruit, and vegetables both as food and as medicine (Smith, 1833). Throughout the nineteenth century, these laws were adhered to on an individual basis with little uniformity from person to person (Peterson 1972). But as twentieth-century assimilation efforts began to erode the distinctiveness of the Mormon identity, more and more members saw the Word of Wisdom as an important part of the performance of their religious identity. In the early 1900s, this performance took on meaning within Table Retrenchment as a way to both assimilate and perpetuate the retrenchment principle of maintaining and improving health through simple food.

Kate Holbrook explained it best when she wrote:

> Latter-day Saints also used science to describe their commitments to the Word of Wisdom. Scientist and LDS Church leader John Widtsoe and nutrition scientist Lead Widtsoe used a scientific approach to justify LDS culinary and food-production habits. Both said they did so to prove to the world that Joseph Smith had been God's prophet, using the standards of the larger culture both to justify and insist upon the important distinctions of Mormonism. This refrain that scientific research proved Word of Wisdom guidelines to be best for human health, and therefore proved the prescience of Smith's revelation, continued throughout the twentieth century. Latter-day Saints uniformly spoke about health to make sense of the reasons for Word of Wisdom prohibitions against coffee, tea, alcohol, and tobacco (2014, 29–30).

The introduction of domestic science into Mormon domestic practices was a tool of assimilation, but it was also a means of cultural retrenchment. By using popular science to prove the correctness of what Mormons believe to be a revelation (the Word of Wisdom) given to Church president Joseph Smith, the belief in its correctness and divine origin was strengthened, increasing the importance of faithful adherence. By keeping to the laws of the Word of Wisdom, any member could express their religious identity as a Mormon, but women used science and recipes to physically embody the law while simultaneously assimilating and strengthening the unique Mormon identity. The recipes of this time show the use of domestic science through the embrace of standardized measurements, education on the latest cooking techniques and technologies, and, as we will see, the growing use of name-brand products. The recipes written within the boundaries and contexts of domestic science and the Word of Wisdom portray Mormons "as healthier and more scientific than their fellow Americans who valued these same ideals," feeding the assimilation goal to not simply be "like those mainstream Americans, but better" (Holbrook 2014, 28, 2).

The Relief Society Grain Storage Program and the Homefront War Effort

In her research, Kate Holbrook reported that LDS recipes display a higher-than-average reliance on wheat. In *Mormon Country Cooking,* Winnifred C. Jardine speculated that, “The penchant for breadmaking and baking may have come to Mormons from their pioneer ancestry. But more likely it has been encouraged by the hundreds of pounds of wheat stored in the cool basements of Mormon homes” (Jardine 1980, 39). It is also possible, Jardine continues, that the extensive grain storage programs established by the Relief Society in the nineteenth century are the basis for a Mormon breadmaking tradition.

To fully understand the tradition of breadmaking in Mormonism, a trip to the distant past is needed. In the 1850s, shortly after Mormon pioneers settled in Utah, Church leaders asked the men to concentrate their efforts toward the storage of grain in preparation for the trials and hardships they believed would precede the second coming of Jesus Christ (Embry 1974). By 1856, however, Heber C. Kimball, advisor to Church President Brigham Young, suggested that the responsibility for storing grain be given to women. In the few years that men had been tasked with gathering and storing grain, they had been largely unsuccessful, claiming that they had sold most of the grain for the purchase of “fine shoes, fine dresses, fine bonnets, ribbons, veils, laces, and other imported finery” for their wives and daughters (Kimball 1856). In her analysis and history of Relief Society grain storage, Jessie L. Embry noted that “many of the sisters agreed with Heber C. Kimball that they had made impossible demands on their husbands and fathers for the wheat. They hoped that by being ‘frugal and industrious’ they could be

a source of ‘comfort and strength’ to the men” (Embry 1974, 8).

As discussed in regard to the preservation of food in the nineteenth century, preventing the purchase of imported goods was of the utmost importance to Brigham Young. Despite the failure of men to successfully store grain, the burden of such responsibility was not transferred to women until 1876, after the institution of retrenchment and very near the end of Brigham Young’s life. This responsibility was not purely practical or physical but carried a spiritual and ideological significance that did not escape the women tasked with collecting and storing grain.

At the time, many outsiders saw Mormon women as pitiful creatures, enslaved, and trapped in polygamous marriages to abusive and negligent men, used only to bear children and keep house (Ulrich 2017). However, this view was quite contrary to the way many Mormon women actually lived and thought about themselves; indeed, Mormon women “saw themselves as equal partners with the men and the most independent women in the history of the world” (Embry 1974, 5). The Relief Society played a major role in creating the sense of liberation felt by many Mormon women through its emphasis on cooperative work, political activism, and the organization’s independence from the direct control of male Church leadership. After its reorganization in 1854, once the Saints were settled in Utah, the Relief Society was instrumental in creating opportunity and community for Mormon women. Both retrenchment and the grain storage initiative

> gave them [the women of the Relief Society] the responsibility over economic affairs designed to mitigate the impact of the railroad on the Mormon community in Utah. The sisters were placed in charge of projects such as establishing retrenchment societies to encourage the women to use home grown goods, organizing cooperative stores and raising silkworms and manufacturing silk. The women accepted the call to store grain as a continuation of these economic policies (Embry 1974, 6).

The storage of grain was felt by many women to be an essential part of retrenchment; thus the act of grain storage served as the physical embodiment and manifestation of their efforts to preserve and strengthen Mormon culture in the face of opposition.

Grain storage was more than an assignment to many women, as was retrenchment. As already mentioned, the words of the "leading sisters" and the male leadership of the Church were taken very seriously by many people. The counsel given by these leaders, both male and female, was often considered law and was carried out as such. Grain storage had very real physical consequences attached to it. The first years the Saints settled in Utah were not easy; they struggled to grow much of anything and what they did manage to grow often was eaten by crickets or froze in a late frost in spring (Arrington 1958, 49). Prior to that, the Saints had suffered hunger in Winter Quarters, a temporary settlement established after they had fled their city of Nauvoo, Illinois in 1846 (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [*Saints*] 2018). They were no strangers to the hardship of an unsuccessful harvest and a season without the security of food storage (*Saints* 2018). These memories were still fresh in the minds of many of the women who were called on to store grain in 1876.

The charge from Church leadership to take responsibility for grain storage was a very spiritual task for women as well. One factor at play in the matter of grain storage was the fervor Mormons held at the time for millennialism, or the belief, as expressed in the Book of Revelation, that Christ's return to the earth will begin a 1,000-year period of righteousness and prosperity with Christ as ruler. Latter-day Saints, both in the past and present, believe that the millennium will come after a time fraught with war, political

strife, personal suffering, and natural disaster. In the nineteenth century, "Many of the Saints believed these days of destruction would come during their generation and that they needed to be prepared to weather the troubled times" (Embry 1974, 3). To many of the women who undertook the cause of grain storage, it had very real implications for their ability to survive the catastrophic events they believed would befall them later in life. They accepted "the call as a revelation from God given to help the Church members meet the famine that would proceed the Millennium and to prepare them for other natural disasters that might occur suddenly" (Embry 1974, 8). The women of the Relief Society were "excited about their new pursuit because they could accomplish a task that was necessary to build up the Kingdom of God and to further the work of the Lord" (Embry 1974, 9). Mormon women truly felt their participation in the collection and storage of grain was "a mission from God to prepare the Saints for the famine during the last days," and they worked diligently for many years to build storage facilities to store the grain they collected through purchase, gleaning, and harvesting (Embry 1974, 15).

However, the general attitude toward millennialism changed in the 1890s as political pressure eased with the abolition of polygamy in 1890 and statehood in 1896. Many Mormons no longer felt that they would live to see Christ's Second Coming or even the terrible events they believed would precede it, and with these changes in sentiment, there "also came a change in many of the sisters' attitudes toward grain storage" (Embry 1974, 20). In the nineteenth century, Mormon women had held tight to their grain, not letting it go for any reason, but keeping it safe for use during a great famine. However, now that many did not believe such a need was imminent, they began

to loosen their grip on the grain.

Mormon women began to dispatch their grain in the early twentieth century as a means to aid the needy and those affected by disaster. These practices aligned the program both with the originally stated mission of the Relief Society, "to seek out and relieve the distressed" and with the growing Progressive Era movements of women's acceptable engagement in charitable work (Female Relief Society of Nauvoo 1842, 36; Cocks 2006; Embry 1974). However, most of the grain was given to help those already within the Mormon fold. Only in the case of exceptional need did the sisters extend their charity to outsiders. For example, the Relief Society sent a railcar full of flour, bedding, and clothes to the San Francisco in 1906 following the devastating earthquake and fire, making them one of the first organizations to send aid to those who had lost their homes (Embry 1974). Again, in 1907, the sisters sent grain to China during an intense famine (Embry 1974). These incidents encouraged the sisters' grain storing initiatives and shifted their focus from millennialism to welfare and placed them further within the interests acceptable to American womanhood.

As concerns about Millennialism died down in the early twentieth century, Mormon women's understanding of their grain storage and breadmaking efforts changed in light of their new assimilationist goals. One article in the *Young Woman's Journal* in 1906 makes the connections between retrenchment, assimilation, grain, and domestic science clear. First, one of the principles of retrenchment was frugality through economy, an ideal that was not lost at the turn of the century. The *Journal* wrote: "Economy should be observed in all our performances" (Booth 1906, 222). Second, the *Journal* asserted,

"Bread made from whole wheat flour is accepted as the standard for health and nutritive value," bringing in the practice of simplicity for the benefit of health. The *Journal* continues on to explain the difference in flours and the parts of the wheat grain that held the most nutritive value, as well as the advantages of consuming simple, whole wheat bread. Finally, the *Journal* does all of this through the lens of domestic science. As already discussed in this chapter, domestic science was one of the most-used tools of assimilation for women in the twentieth century. Evidenced by the recipes and articles printed for Mormon women, grain storage, with domestic science, moved from being a way to prepare for the catastrophes that would precede the Millennium to become a practice of health and care for the family. By storing grain and having locally milled flour, Mormon women were using both the principles of retrenchment and the goals of domestic science to assimilate. For Mormon women, breadmaking was about maintaining and improving the health of the family, and grain storage was a key aspect of those aims.

The Relief Society's grain storage work came to a head during World War I. In the months leading up the entrance of the United States into the war, the Relief Society General Board encouraged women to "amass more grain so they would be ready to meet the problems the war might cause" (Embry 1974, 41). As predicted, food shortages and rising costs plagued Americans by 1918. That year, the government approached the church about selling the grain gathered and stored by the Relief Society. Male leadership was against the sale on the basis that the grain had been donated and earmarked for charitable purposes, not for profit. Only a month after this initial refusal, the government returned with another offer for the sale of the grain, adding that it was a "matter of loyalty

of the Relief Society to the government" (Embry 1974; Presiding Bishopric of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1918). After discussion among the male leadership alone, they agreed to sell the grain before consulting with the Relief Society leadership. This caused a rift that was quickly resolved as the sisters agreed with the decision to sell the wheat. Later that year, forty thousand bushels of wheat were ground into flour in Utah mills and shipped to the government for distribution at home and abroad. In June 1918 the Relief Society chapters in Utah and Idaho sold roughly two hundred thousand bushels of wheat to the United States government to aid the war effort (Embry 1974, 51).

The sale of the wheat earned the Relief Society praise from national publications as well as the general membership of the church. Although they wouldn't have called it an act of assimilation then, it was heralded as such by *The Improvement Era*, as the editors praised the Relief Society as "they promptly and loyally complied with the request and the wheat has been taken over by the government and used to help meet the demands made upon the country by our allies" (Smith and Anderson 1918, 82).

A graph showing the frequency of bread recipes in the *Relief Society Magazine* and the *Young Woman's Journal* shows a strong correlation with a bread baking tradition, but also shifting ideas about grain storage and the importance of assimilation in the twentieth century (Figure 10). During the war years, between 1914 and 1918, recipes for bread published in the *Young Woman's Journal* and the newly issued *Relief Society Magazine* reveal an interesting pattern. During its first year, the *Relief Society Magazine* did not publish any recipes for bread, but in 1915, it printed two recipes while the more established *Young Woman's Journal* printed nine in 1914 and seventeen in 1915. When

Figure 11. The tradition of bread-making continued to be strong in Mormon culture into the twentieth century, as shown by this line graph tracking the number of bread recipes published in the Young Woman's Journal and the Relief Society Magazine during and immediately after WWI. The diamond pattern reveals that the publications traded off which published more bread recipes by year, signaling the continued importance of domestic education for women and girls.

the data for this time period are graphed, they reveal an interesting shape, the lines for each publication forming a rough diamond pattern. A closer examination shows that when one magazine published a lot of bread recipes, the other published very few, and that they seemed to take turns printing more recipes for bread. This pattern likely reflects differences in the age and experience of the readership of each publication, and possibly the amount and kind of instruction needed for younger and older women.

Despite this fluctuation, the overall number of bread recipes rose between 1900 and 1918, the peak of early twentieth century assimilation efforts, most particularly during the First World War. In the immediate aftermath of the sale of the Relief Society's wheat, the number of published bread recipes in the *Relief Society Magazine* and the *Young Woman's Journal* plummeted to just one recipe in 1919, perhaps because the release of grain stores left many communities with less grain with which to make bread.

In contrast, as will be discussed in the next section, the data collected and analyzed for this study do not show the same pattern for preserve recipes during the same time period. Indeed, the number of preserve recipes declines to the point of disappearing. This suggests a greater emphasis was placed on bread making than food preservation in the wartime assimilation efforts of Mormon women as bread recipe publication remained high while preserve recipes fluctuated greatly. The connection between Mormon women and the importance of bread is not fully explored in this thesis, and should be considered for another study or project.

These patterns also reveal the strong connection between the women and girls of Mormonism. Across all the recipes studied in this thesis, there is a responsibility placed

on the older women of the Church to teach and coach younger women through their adolescence and into their young adulthood. This is yet another manifestation of sisterhood in Mormonism, however it is not formed on a basis of shared suffering or trauma, but on the relationship between girls and mothers or mother-figures. In her book *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America,* Nancy M. Theriot states that: “The mother-daughter relationship was the core experience of nineteenth-century acculturation” and that “The mid-nineteenth-century girl spent most of her time in the company of women” (Theriot 1995, 64). In the nineteenth century, much of a middle-class girl’s time was dedicated to her domestic education, a responsibility that fell primarily to mothers. To many, “domesticity is a necessary aspect of adult femininity and one not meant to be fulfilling,” adding to the glorification of self-abnegation described by Theriot (Theriot 1995, 71). It was the role of older women to “provide the younger with a living model of total feminine commitment by advocating a lifestyle while expressing unhappiness with it, but celebrating femininity while suffering through it” (Theriot 1995, 65).

Theriot describes an acculturation of self-denial and sacrifice for young women into womanhood as a series of initiations, that by “learning what is womanly, a girl is actually learning her own mother’s idea of womanliness” (Theriot 1995, 63). While by the early twentieth century the Victorian notion of “separate spheres” had begun to dissipate, Mormonism hung on to the strength of the mother-daughter relationship described by Theriot. Still, many Mormon women felt that “The most specific way mothers prepared daughters to fill their proper sphere was by teaching them domestic

arts" (Theriot 1995, 70). These connections between women and girls in Mormonism are evidenced by the recipes in the *Relief Society Magazine* and the *Young Woman's Journal* during the First World War, in which teaching women and girls about breadmaking was an obligation and breadmaking was an act of patriotic assimilation.

In the *Young Woman's Journal*, Leah Widtsoe continued to give lessons to young women on a range of topics related to domesticity. The *Journal* also published a series on "Home Economics" authored by Anna Grant Midgley, former domestic science teacher at L.D.S. High School. Like Widtsoe, Midgley had close ties to the Mormon elite of the day as her father, Heber J. Grant, was made president of the Church in 1918. Midgley's articles continued to call on a generational authority and invoke her status as a "leading sister" in the early twentieth-century church to influence her readers. Both of these strategies were traditions in the lives of young Mormon women, but, much like Widtsoe, Midgley used domestic science to bring Mormon domesticity into the modern day and to create connections between Mormon girls and other American young women (Midgely 1914, 49).

In comparing the recipes in the *Young Woman's Journal* and the *Relief Society Magazine* during World War I, there is a clear difference in recipe content and manner of instruction, reflecting their different audiences. The *Journal* remained focused on the education of young women in domestic science and continued to provide printed lessons on all kinds of household tasks and responsibilities. The *Relief Society Magazine* was far more concerned with influencing adult women toward the war effort. Near the end of the war in 1918, Janette A. Hyde, author of many cooking and homemaking articles in the

Relief Society Magazine, wrote, "We feel that every loyal American citizen who wishes to serve his country must adopt, as far as practicable, the food regulations which the United States Food Administrator, Mr. Hebert C. Hoover, is trying to introduce in the American home" (Hyde 1918, 151). Hyde goes on to introduce a lesson on cereals, including many bread recipes and advice on flour milling. She even discusses the nutritive value of a flour milled at a university in Utah that was tested for its health benefits. The recipes in this article are attributed to "Agricultural College experts" and are fairly simple with exact measurements and clear instructions (Hyde 1918, 152). These recipes are notable as they are an example of the ways in which Mormons of this time were still trying to hold on to some of the old practices of retrenchment, namely the pride taken in local production and knowledge. Throughout the article, to introduce the recipes, Hyde goes back and forth between praising the local Utah (and Mormon) food habits and advertising "Hooverism" and the direction given by the government to help the war effort. The combination of retrenchment by focusing on local practices and endeavors with admonition to support the United States Government and to be proper Americans in the details of Mormon life creates an interesting paradox which can be seen through the twentieth century and even into the twenty-first century.

The New Preservation, 1900–1930

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw the modernization of Mormonism and a lessening of the fear and skepticism of the world outside of Mormonism. Colleen McDannell has concluded that Mormons saw the advantages of education and what it could mean for the advancement and improvement of the church

and Mormon culture at large. During this time, Mormons at all levels "did not perceive modernity as a natural threat" to their culture or to church doctrine (McDannell 2019, 37). During the tenure of Joseph F. Smith as president of the Church from 1901 to 1917, Mormonism modernized with the organization of Church administration, budgeting, and the reorganizations of male priesthood quorums. Through this process, McDannell states, "The church did not merely become another denomination, like other Protestant churches: instead, it mixed religious with business, sexuality, entertainment, gender roles, and politics" (McDannell 2019, 38). This mixture is part of the balance of "optimum tension" between Mormon culture and American and, in large part, hinges on the performance of womanhood through domesticity (Mauss 1994).

As in previous decades, recipes for food preservation continue to show the Mormon goal of self-sufficiency, but during the twentieth century preserving food was not about exhibiting a defiant spirit or encouraging home industries. Instead, food preservation was used as a tool to support American causes in a way that allowed Mormon women to maintain their religious cultural identity while assimilating through their support of American causes. As shown in Figure 7, preserve recipes in the early 1900s were published inconsistently and in low numbers, however, there is a peak in 1917, with 37 recipes published that year between the *Relief Society Magazine* and the *Young Woman's Journal*. At the same time there was a movement in America toward domestic education for all women (McDannell 2019). Universities across America, including Utah State Agricultural College and Brigham Young University, offered courses to train women in all manner of domestic arts, including cooking. In Utah, this

effort was championed by Leah and John Widtsoe.

The Widtsoes played an important role in the domestic life of Mormon women in the early twentieth century. Both were educated at eastern schools in the late 1800s, had served a proselyting mission in Europe together, and returned to Utah to fill leadership roles in the church. Leah, as the daughter of Susa Young Gates, and the granddaughter of Brigham Young, held a special place in the hierarchy of “leading sisters” in her position on the Relief Society General Board (Beecher 1982). She had a modern domestic education from the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City, the Pratt Institute in New York City, and an honorary doctorate in humanities from Brigham Young University, representing the future of Mormon domesticity (Laneri, 2019, 9). But Leah was also deeply connected to the traditions of Mormon womanhood through her mother, one of the first champions of retrenchment and longtime editor of the *Young Woman’s Journal* (Laneri 2019).

Leah and John were married in Salt Lake City in June 1898 and the couple immediately moved to Germany where John completed his PhD in biochemistry (Laneri 2019, 12). Their combined passions and educational backgrounds made them the perfect arbiters for the cause of domestic science as the new way to perform Mormon womanhood. As president of Utah State Agricultural College, John pressured the Relief Society to include lessons on home economics and industry in their curriculum, going so far as to threaten to establish his own organizations for women’s domestic education if it did not find a place in the Relief Society (McDannell 2019, 46).

By the mid-1910s the Widtsoes got their wish and lessons on domestic science

were added to the Relief Society lessons published in the *Relief Society Magazine*. In June 1917 the Home Economics lesson for the month was on "Preservation of Fruits and Vegetables." The lesson began, "It is the patriotic duty of every American citizen to help in every way possible in the production and conservation of our food products. …Women and girls can help in this important matter by canning and putting up for next winter fruits, vegetables, meats, soups, anything and everything that will have a food value. The high cost of living, the shortage of food supplies, have made it necessary to urge this matter very earnestly" (Anonymous 1917, 351). There are two messages here: first, that the preservation of food is a means by which Mormon women can show their dedication to being American citizens; second, that women and girls are primarily responsible for this preservation and for the saving of foodstuffs and money.

The lesson continues with instructions on sterilization, descriptions of the various bacterial invaders that might ruin the preservation of foods, and then details for several methods. At this time, more Utah homes were equipped with running water and electricity than many other states, making the instruction on the latest cooking technologies necessary and relevant to the domestic science movement (McDannell 2019, 46). These technological advantages also put Mormon women in Utah at the forefront of the domestic science movement, another point in their fight for assimilation. The recipes do not specify the method of preservation, but they do provide more detail as to weights and measures than is seen in many earlier recipes in the *Relief Society Magazine, Woman's Exponent*, or *Young Woman's Journal*. For example, in the process of canning soft fruits such as berries and stone fruits, the recipes specify the percent of sugar that

should be added to water to make the syrup for pouring over the fruit in jars. Previously, there had been very little instruction on the preparation of the syrup or liquid, let alone how sweet it should be to appropriately preserve the fruit. The rest of the lesson details instructions on the canning of most common fruits and vegetables, including fruit juice, and the use of tin cans in preservation. A similar lesson on food preservation appeared in the *Young Woman's Journal* in August 1917 (Midgley 1917, 399). These one-off lessons suggest that the magazines were meant to be kept for reference, perhaps the pages cut out and preserved in a personal recipe collection.

The *Journal's* lesson is much less concerned with the patriotic duties of canning and focuses more on the teaching of a new method, the cold pack method. This technique was featured in the *Relief Society Magazine* lesson, but the *Journal* actively sought to distance itself from "The old method" as it was more labor intensive and took longer than the new method (Midgley 1917, 399). The *Journal* then dedicates more than a page to the instruction of the cold pack method, discussing the most minute details before presenting the recipes. By referencing an "old method," the *Journal* signals that there is a history of preserving that is "familiar to most of us" (Midgley 1917, 399). Much like the *Exponent*, the recipes printed in the *Journal* assume that the reader has some level of familiarity with cooking and preservation techniques and does not need to be told how to perform every little step. In fact it assumes the reader already knows the more traditional way of preserving. While this explanation is clearly for a beginning cook, there isn't a description on how to boil water or how to cut the fruit or vegetable; a basic cooking knowledge is expected. These recipes are short, giving the barest of detail specific to the

fruit or vegetable. By contrast, there are only nine recipes for specific foods, while the lesson in the *Relief Society Magazine* had twelve. The note before the recipes are given in the *Journal* states, “Follow directions accurately,” signaling that by 1917 the generational voice of authority had not been abandoned but would continue to influence young women for another generation (Midgley 1917, 399).

While the guiding voice of an older generation was still strong in the *Journal*, the inclusion of a new method of preservation that was more specific and scientific was a change from previous recipes. This new technique was a signal of the progression of Mormon women in the area of domestic science and their dedication to it. Support for domestic science among Mormon women was strong and easily adopted into the ideals of Table Retrenchment. Other domestic movements in the nineteenth century had sought to free women from the monotony of domestic labor, but “home economists believed that the house was precisely where women naturally belonged” (McDannell 2019, 46). This was perfectly in keeping with the ideals of Mormon womanhood, and with Leah Widtsoe at the helm of Mormon domestic science, the importance of motherhood was never forgotten.

In her thesis on the writings of Leah Widtsoe and the importance of motherhood, Ashley Marie Laneri (2019) describes why motherhood was so central to Widtsoe’s teaching of the domestic arts. As discussed in the introduction of this paper, Mormon womanhood is based on two things: motherhood and marriage. Both were viewed as divine roles, though motherhood was considered the more noble of the two. Widtsoe took the divine calling of women to motherhood very seriously and saw it both “as a way to

help women have a voice and create change in the world around them" and the means by which women "could participate in the word of God" (Laneri 2019, 27; 29). As the purpose of mothering is to raise and care for children, Widtsoe believed in "homemaking as a profession that helped to prevent sickness, and which prepared children for what they would experience in their adulthood" (Laneri 2019, 31). As many Mormon mothers were also members of the Relief Society, Widtsoe strongly urged women to be active in their meetings and "by doing so they would fulfill their role as mothers" (Laneri 2019, 41). This connection between motherhood, homemaking, and the Relief Society through Widtsoe adds context to the recipes printed in the *Relief Society Magazine* as she "viewed one major purpose of the Relief Society as teaching women the role of motherhood and that by so doing they would learn to become a positive influence on society" (Laneri 2019, 41). The role of the Relief Society, both in the emphasis placed on motherhood in the twentieth century and in the advancement of assimilation cannot be overstated. Colleen McDannell remarked, "While male leaders romanticized motherhood in their conference talks, women taught mothers how to use science to make their homes efficient and healthy" (McDannell 2019, 46). The sentiment of ideology was for men, while the practical business of achieving assimilation through the use of the emerging field of domestic science was for women.

Challenges to Assimilation, 1930–1940

The first test of Mormon assimilation in the twentieth century came with the stock market crash in 1929 and the Great Depression of the 1930s. Across America families struggled to put food on the table and find work, but the already financially stressed

population of Utah was particularly vulnerable. To combat the influx of unemployed and hungry families, the Relief Society mobilized, putting hundreds of women to work as social workers, and the Church started its own welfare program that is still in use today (McDannell 2019). However, between 1930 and 1939, there were only five preserve recipes published between the *Relief Society Magazine* and *The Improvement Era*, all printed in 1931. In fact, as the Depression dragged on into the late 1930s fewer and fewer recipes of all kinds were published, making the 1930s the fourth least productive decade in terms of recipes publication.

The lack of recipes during this time is notable in light of the history of Mormon recipes. As has been discussed in previous sections of this thesis, one might think that in a time of financial crisis, Mormons might have relied on their history of surviving hardship through self-sufficiency and resourcefulness. But the recipes of the 1930s do not suggest that any attempts to revive old traditions of pioneer-era economy and industry were made, despite the distrust of the federal government that was common among Mormons at the time and a growing sentimentality about nineteenth-century Mormon pioneer life among prominent Mormon men (McDannell 2019, 58). Both U.S. Senator William King and President J. Reuben Clark of the First Presidency[3] “longed for a nineteenth-century pioneer past of self-reliance, isolation, independence, strength, and cultural purity” (McDannell 2019, 58).

These ideals are remarkably similar to those that spurred the actions taken by

[3] Since its organization in 1830, the Church has been governed primarily by a council of three men, called the First Presidency, and by a second council of twelve men, termed The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Brigham Young in the 1800s to build the Mormon utopia that was largely dependent on the work of women. Amy Brown Lyman, then member of the Relief Society General Board, had worked to turn the Relief Society toward social work and helping local families both before and during the economic crisis through partnership with other religious and secular organizations (McDannell 2019). In the 1920s, Lyman had transformed the Relief Society into "a potent lobbying force for a variety of measures benefitting the health and welfare of the entire community" (Hall 2010, 213). The Society was part of a number of social projects during that earlier period, including the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act which resulted in the decline of maternal and infant mortality. Lyman was critical to the advancement of Mormon women into the twentieth century as prominent members of their community as they "adapted the legacy of female activism developed during the territorial period to address issues affecting them in a new setting" (Hall 2010, 214).

Lyman was also largely responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Relief Society, which included the publication of the *Relief Society Magazine* (Hall 2010). Her leadership focused on community activism and social work, a focus that might have drawn attention away from domestic education during the first three decades of the twentieth century, resulting a general lack of recipes printed in the *Relief Society Magazine* at that time. A change in the leadership of the Relief Society and the First Presidency of the Church in the late 1920s did not result in the renewal of retrenchment values, however, as again evidenced by the lack of recipes in the 1930s. It is interesting to note, as will be explained in the following section, that the number of bread recipes

began to rise in 1940, the same year that Amy Brown Lyman became president of the Relief Society (Hall 2010).

Mormon Domesticity Outside of Utah

My analysis shows that beginning in 1940, there is another rise in the number of bread recipes (Figure 9). These numbers steadily increased and remained high through 1970, the end of the study period. Mormon women in the 1940s sought to fulfill the role of the "Wartime Homemaker," a designation coined by Amy Lynn Bentley in her dissertation on domesticity and rationing during the Second World War (Bentley 1992, 81). Bentley describes the "Wartime Homemaker" as "inevitably young, white, middle-class, and going about her work with good cheer" (Bentley 1992, 81). This description is strikingly similar to the ideal outlined by the *Relief Society Magazine* and *The Improvement Era* at mid-century, and the objective for American women "to fight the good fight in the kitchen" fit into the boundaries of Mormon womanhood, Table Retrenchment, and the assimilation effort perfectly, allowing women to continue their domestic lives as a perfect performance of patriotism and religious and gender identity (Bentley 1992, 81).

Women across America were called on by the government to aid the war from their kitchens, making their homes into extensions of the battlefield. First, the kitchen was the arena in which women could conserve food by keeping to rationing restrictions and preventing waste. Second, kitchens were places of nurturing, "where women could ensure their families received satisfying and nutritious foods" (Bentley 1992, 81). Even as thousands of women left their kitchens to join the workforce and families were torn

apart by the war, women were still positioned as the guardians of family and morality, a job many Mormon women took seriously. As rationing forced women to focus on conserving food, *The Improvement Era* took on the responsibility to educate and encourage young women in the art of Table Retrenchment as a means to fulfill these patriotic responsibilities.

In 1945 Belle S. Spafford succeeded Amy Brown Lyman as president of the Relief Society, ushering in an era of greater influence of male priesthood leadership than had existed under previous presidents (McDannell 2019). Unlike Lyman, Spafford "embraced the Relief Society's... emphasis on women's domestic responsibilities" and carried out policies created almost exclusively by men, placing the Society in a "support role" rather than in a position of influence (McDannell 2019, 65). After Spafford's appointment, the total number of all kinds of recipes printed in the *Relief Society Magazine* and *The Improvement Era* increased (Figure 11).

Between 1942 and 1945, when rationing was at its most strict, bread recipes remained relatively low compared to the post-war years. Beginning in 1945 there was a small uptick in the number of bread recipe, but then it dropped again. Bread recipes didn't really take off again until the mid-1950s. Post-war Mormonism readily embraced a distinctly Victorian ideal of woman that "circled around the traditional triad of home, children, and church," limiting the public activities and influence of Mormon women (McDannell 2019, 71). Church-sponsored magazines were critical to the dissemination of these ideals of womanhood, specifically the importance of motherhood. In a 1950 issue of the *Relief Society Magazine*, Church president David O. McKay stated, "Wifehood is

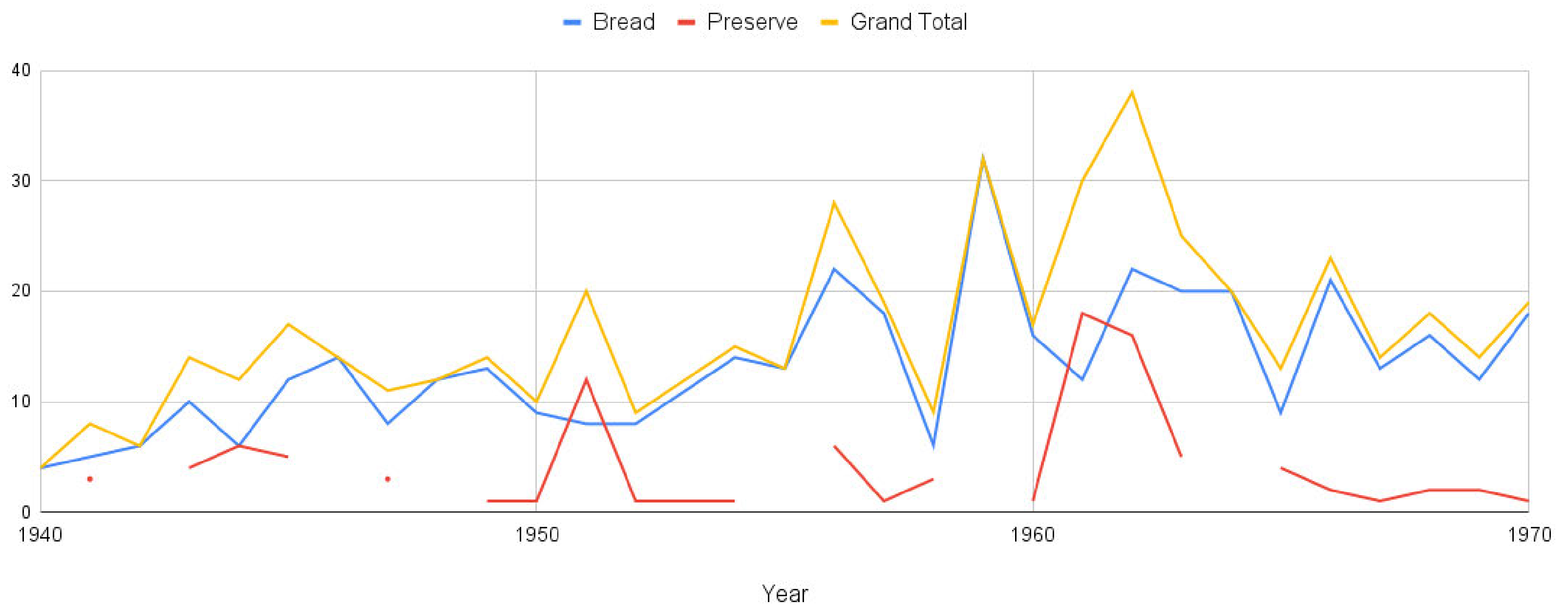

Figure 12. Following WWII, a change in the female leadership of the Relief Society had a marked change on the kind of recipes published in both the Relief Society Magazine and The Improvement Era. This graph shows the large gap in the number preserve recipes published between 1945 and 1949, a contrast to the spikes in the number of preserve recipes published in the early 1950s and 1960s as Mormons began to recall the culinary past of the nineteenth century.

glorious, but motherhood is sublime" after describing the selfish and aimless life a married woman who chose not to have children (McKay 1950, 800). Sentiment and the prescription of male authority were not the only encouragement or resource on which Mormon women drew to become perfect mothers. The recipes printed in the *Relief Society Magazine* and *The Improvement Era* during this time suggest that, as it had in the past, breadmaking was an important part of idyllic motherhood.

In 1951 the *Relief Society Magazine* published an article entitled "Let's Bake Bread," authored by general board member Josie B. Bay. Bay briefly makes the argument that all women should bake bread because it is economical and everyone wants to save money, but the bulk of her writing was given over to making the case that all children deserve to eat homemade bread. It is clear that to Bay, making bread is not primarily about health or economy through simplicity as it had been in the past. Instead, Bay argued that "There are some basic experiences which no child should miss. Among these, in my opinion, breadmaking reigns supreme. I sympathize with the child who has never had the experience of coming home from school to be greeted by the sweet, wholesome, appetizing smell of a batch of freshly baked bread" (Bay 1951, 398). With no mention of the health of children or the family and only a brief mention of the economic implications of breadmaking, the shift in the retrenchment ideology of bread from the physical care of the family to a reflection of motherhood is evident. Even the recipes that follow for "White Bread" and "Whole Wheat Bread" do not make any effort to discuss the quality of the flour or the nutritive properties of wheat, as they had in the past.

Meanwhile, *The Improvement Era* published a series of recipes submitted by

prominent LDS women around the United States. The recipes were preceded by a brief life sketch of the featured woman and a history of her life as a wife and mother. These articles continue to invoke the generational voice to teach retrenchment to young women and girls. Many of these articles feature bread recipes, further emphasizing the place of breadmaking in mothering. One article, printed in June 1954 is written by the daughter of the woman featured, and focuses on her mother's role as a cook and a homemaker. In particular this article and its accompanying recipes are revealing of the importance of motherhood and the changing standards of Mormon womanhood.

Angela Bowen the daughter of Verona Bowen, the subject of the article, begins by describing her mother's education at Columbia University and at various European institutions before she was married. While Verona only had one child, she is described as a model of Mormon motherhood for the time. She had created a beautiful home with a large garden that was quiet and not disturbed by street noise. Angela described their family life as simple, "away from TV, noise, and excitement, but close to nature and our friends" (Bowen 1954, 468). These are important details to note because at the time, there was strong encouragement from all Church leaders to limit women's education and have lots of children early in adulthood (McDannell 2019). Verona Bowen is not representative of these standards as she is educated and only has one child. However, these things do not prevent her from being a good wife, mother, and homemaker and her daughter is proof. Angela concludes with a paragraph on her mother's cooking and praises her skill and her demeanor: "Mother has the perfect gracious manner for casual California living" (Bowen 1954, 468). The recipes that follow are a formula for a "typical

dinner" eaten by the Bowen family and include a recipe for "Garlic Bread" (Bowen 1954, 468).

This bread recipe provided by Angela is not like other bread recipes provided in similar articles as it is not rolls or a loaf of bread made from scratch. Instead, it uses a pre-made loaf that is sliced and then the pieces of bread are dressed with butter, garlic powder, and paprika before they are toasted in the oven (Bowen 1954, 468). This bread is not like the bread described in the previously analyzed *Relief Society Magazine* article; no child will come home to smell this bread and enjoy its aroma before taking a bite of soft, warm bread prepared by her mother. This bread may be purchased and prepared specifically for dinner, and it does not invoke motherhood in its making. The Bowens bring up interesting points on mid-century Mormon motherhood. These women show that Mormon motherhood, even at a time of strict adherence to a narrow set of behaviors, was not monolithic and it could be practiced and achieved in many ways. Perhaps because Verona was a well-educated and well-travelled woman, and who lived in California she did not feel she was bound by the same restrictions that might have been more prominent among Utah-based Mormon women. There are any number of personal factors that could have contributed to the way in which womanhood and motherhood were performed by both Verona and Angela Bowen, but their inclusion and that of their recipes in *The Improvement Era* show that Mormon women understood and accepted slight deviations from the ideals of motherhood. However, they still represent the ideal of Mormon womanhood and the bread recipe still maintains the relationship between simplicity and bread in the performance of domesticity in the role of mother.

For the most part, the recipes printed in all the publications discussed were based in the Mormon Culture Region (MCR) in Utah, Arizona, and Idaho and written by Mormon women who were steeped in traditional Mormon society. With the return of many Mormon men from war and the growing missionary effort, the geographic reach of Mormonism increased. In many issues of the *Relief Society Magazine* published in the 1950s and 60s there are whole sections of recipes from various congregations outside of the MCR, many featuring bread recipes.

These recipes exposed Mormon women to the cultures of other Mormons, some of them overseas. They show, to some extent, the continuity of Table Retrenchment across national and ethnic cultures as they blended with Mormon culture. This thesis will not explore the complexities of blending religious and other cultural identities, but the recipes printed in the 1950s and 1960s that feature recipes based outside of Utah and even the United States are worth mentioning here because they show the continued impact of assimilation.

In 1958, the *Relief Society Magazine* published a collection of recipes from congregations in New Zealand, including a few bread recipes. Compared to other bread recipes printed in the *Relief Society Magazine* at the time, they are very similar in the procedure, instruction, and ingredients. Notably, there is a recipe for “Homemade Yeast” made from hops and potatoes (Mendenhall 1958, 666). Based on the recipe information collected for this thesis, there seems to have been a resurgence of homemade natural leavening agents meant to be used in breadmaking. The earliest recipes for yeast recorded in this study is found in the *Woman’s Exponent* in 1886, the next can be found in the

Relief Society Magazine in 1957 and again in 1958 and 1970, with one final recipe printed in *The Improvement Era* in 1969. Yeast recipes published at mid-century are important signals of the changes in Mormon assimilation policy to come in the 1960s and later into the end of the twentieth century, which will be discussed in the next section.

CHAPTER 7

Pre-Correlation, 1960–1970

Between 1960 and 1970, Mormons were the most American they had ever been, and their recipes reveal very little of the previous uniqueness of retrenchment or the Mormon identity in the nineteenth century (Mauss 1994). The second retrenchment movement coming to Mormonism in the 1970s seems impossible considering how effectively Mormons had blended into American culture, but still, there are subtle signals that Mormons had retained pieces of their cultural past. Through recipes for preserves, these signals can been observed and connected to the tradition of Table Retrenchment even as the history of Mormon women became less understood in the 1960s and 70s. While the number of preserve recipes dropped in the 1960s, the type of preserves is notable as it indicates the reason for preserving. In previous decades, canning whole foods such as fruit or meat was more popular than the making of jam, jelly, and relish — what this study classifies as sauces or preserves meant to be eaten on other or with other foods that are usually cooked prior to preservation. In the 1960s, this trend is reversed as sauces come into greater prominence (Figure 12).

The focus on the education of young women as opposed to adult women continued as *The Improvement Era* published more than twice the number of preserve recipes as the *Relief Society Magazine* did between 1960 and 1970. However, it should be noted that the 37 recipes printed in *The Improvement Era* were almost all published in 1961 and 1962, while the 15 recipes published in the *Relief Society Magazine* were much more evenly spread out over the eleven-year period (Figure 13).

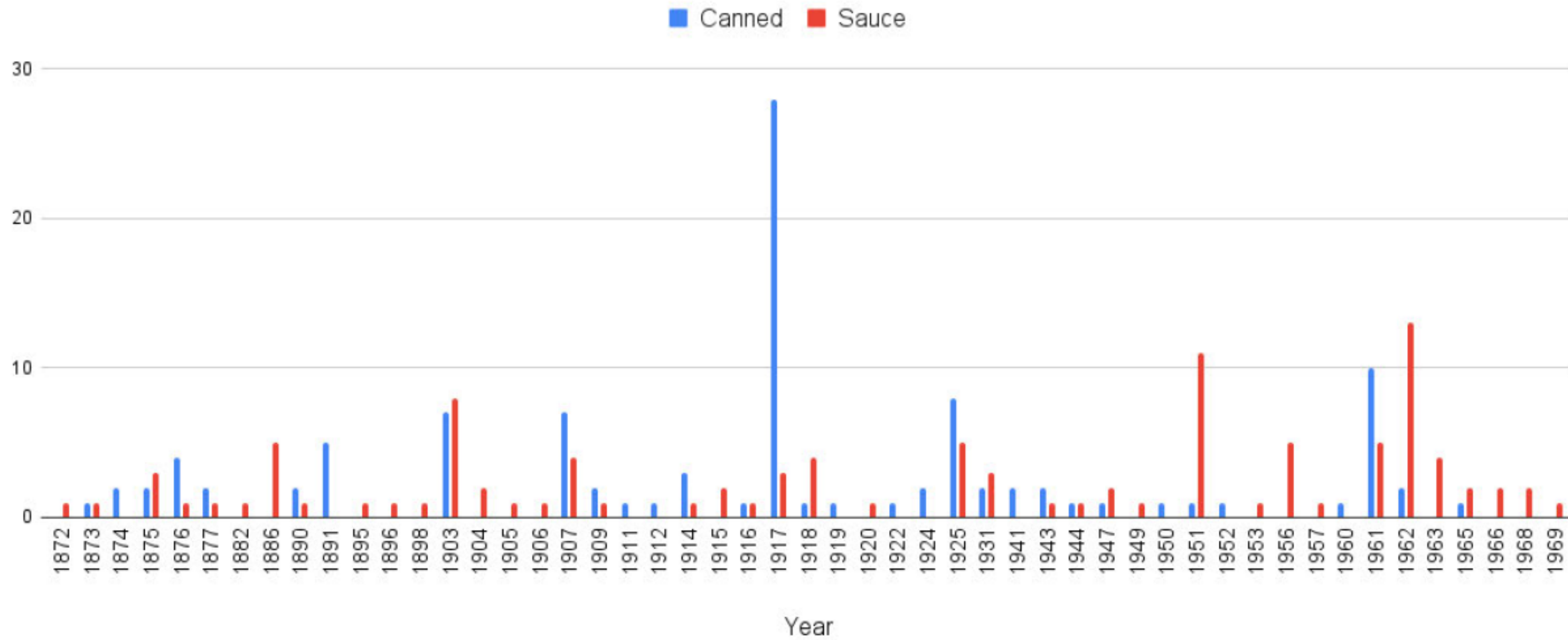

Figure 13. Preserve recipes of all kinds fell out of fashion in Mormon cooking between the 1940s and 1960s, seeing a small rise in popularity. The recipes of this time are notable because of the types of preserves that were published. Sauce recipes, including jams and jellies became more popular in the 1960s than at any other time.

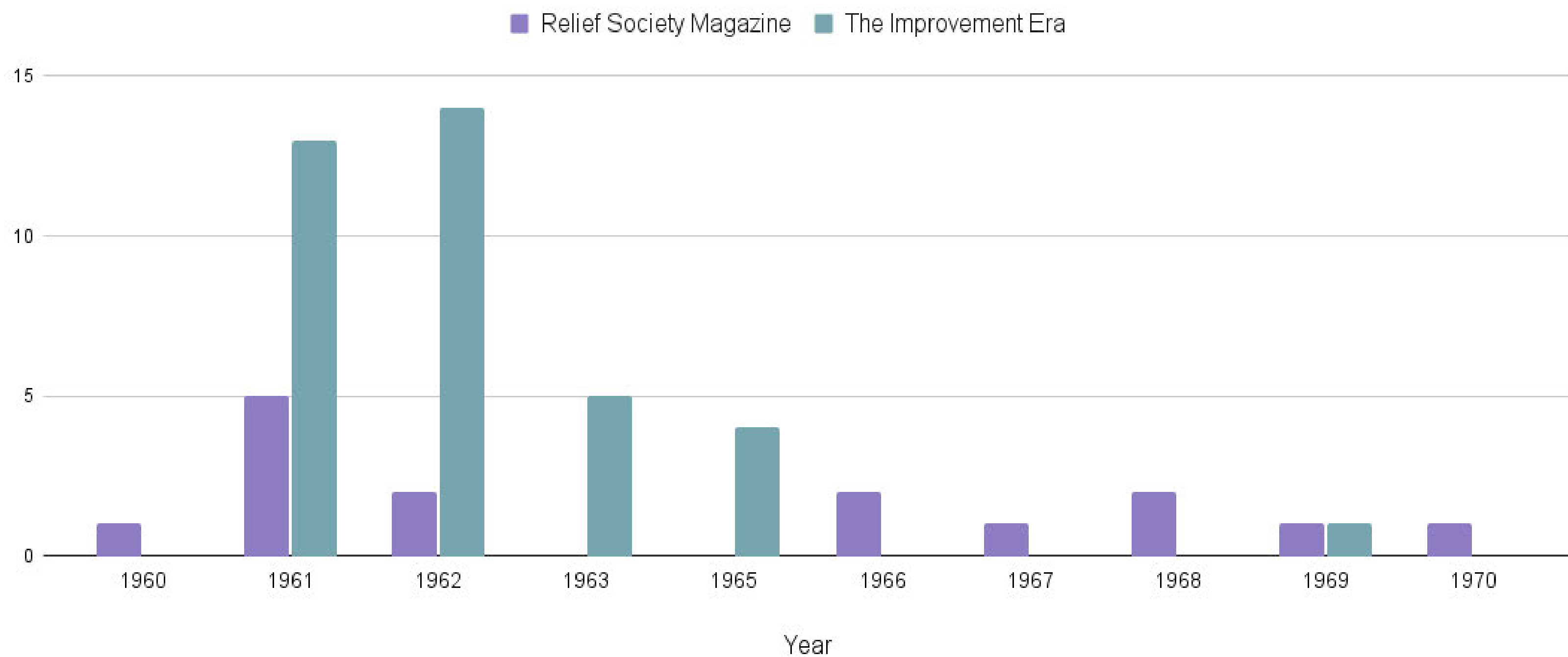

Figure 14. The emphasis on the domestic education of young women and girls persisted into the latter part of the twentieth century, as seen here by the number of preserve recipes published in the Relief Society Magazine and The Improvement Era in the 1960s.

In 1962 *The Improvement Era* (Pinnock 1962, 209) published an article entitled, "Make Jam Now," which featured a number of jam, jelly, and marmalade recipes. Generally, it is unusual to see preserve recipes in any month other than August, September, and sometimes July and October, the months when fruit and vegetables are harvested and at their most fresh and nutritious. But this article was published in March, when there are not abundant fruits or vegetables to be freshly picked and preserved. The point of the article is to encourage the making of already preserved (either dehydrated or frozen) fruit into jam, jelly, or other sauce format such as relish.

Before the recipes are given, a short article describes kitchen shelves full of preserves in fall that are depleted by spring, then these barren shelves are compared to the female audience: "We can replenish our shelves, can we replenish ourselves? Do you become empty, stale, and in need of refilling" (Pinnock 1962, 209)? Much in keeping with the original standards of retrenchment laid out by the Ladies' Cooperative Retrenchment Association, the article then suggests that women "Set aside a refilling time each day" for reading and reflection. While the original guidance given to women about the time that should be used for mental and personal enrichment did not give women any instruction on what exactly they should study, the 1962 advice did: the article suggests reading three or four books at once on the topics of "weaving, genealogy, child psychology, ceramics, cooking, music, gardening, or history," as well as religious texts accepted by the Church.

As for the recipes in this article, their content calls into question the purpose of preservation. By the 1960s canned goods of all kinds were readily available and

affordable, so it wasn't any great cost-saving measure to preserve your own food as it had been in the past, nor was it a patriotic gesture as it had been during wartime. So, what purpose did the making of jam and jelly serve? Many of the recipes call for foods that have already been preserved or foods that would need to be purchased from a grocery store, including canned pineapple and fresh oranges. Compared to recipes in the past that specifically called for fruit that had been homegrown, this is a striking departure from tradition and signals the assimilation of Mormons into the American economy and culture as isolation was no longer encouraged or expected, or even possible.

Jelly recipes also called for commercial pectin, a thickener used to set jam and jelly that is found in the skins of many fruits including green apples. In the past, pectin had rarely been mentioned, only the addition of a fruit known to help with setting the jelly. My research shows that the term pectin began to appear in the early twentieth century with the rise of the domestic science movement. In these recipes in 1962, they call specifically for pectin made by the MCP Pectin Company, which authored several recipes for the *Young Woman's Journal* and the *Relief Society Magazine*. The use of commercial pectin is a further indicator of the assimilation status of Mormons. From 1872 to 1970 the use of name-brand products in the recipes published in the publications used in this study is infrequent, with only a few notable surges. However, the frequency of name-brand products being mentioned in recipes increases slightly after an initial spike in 1940 (Figure 14).

Through the 1960s, bread recipes remained high, and at a relatively steady number, averaging 16 per year. Recipes for bread continue to link Mormon women to

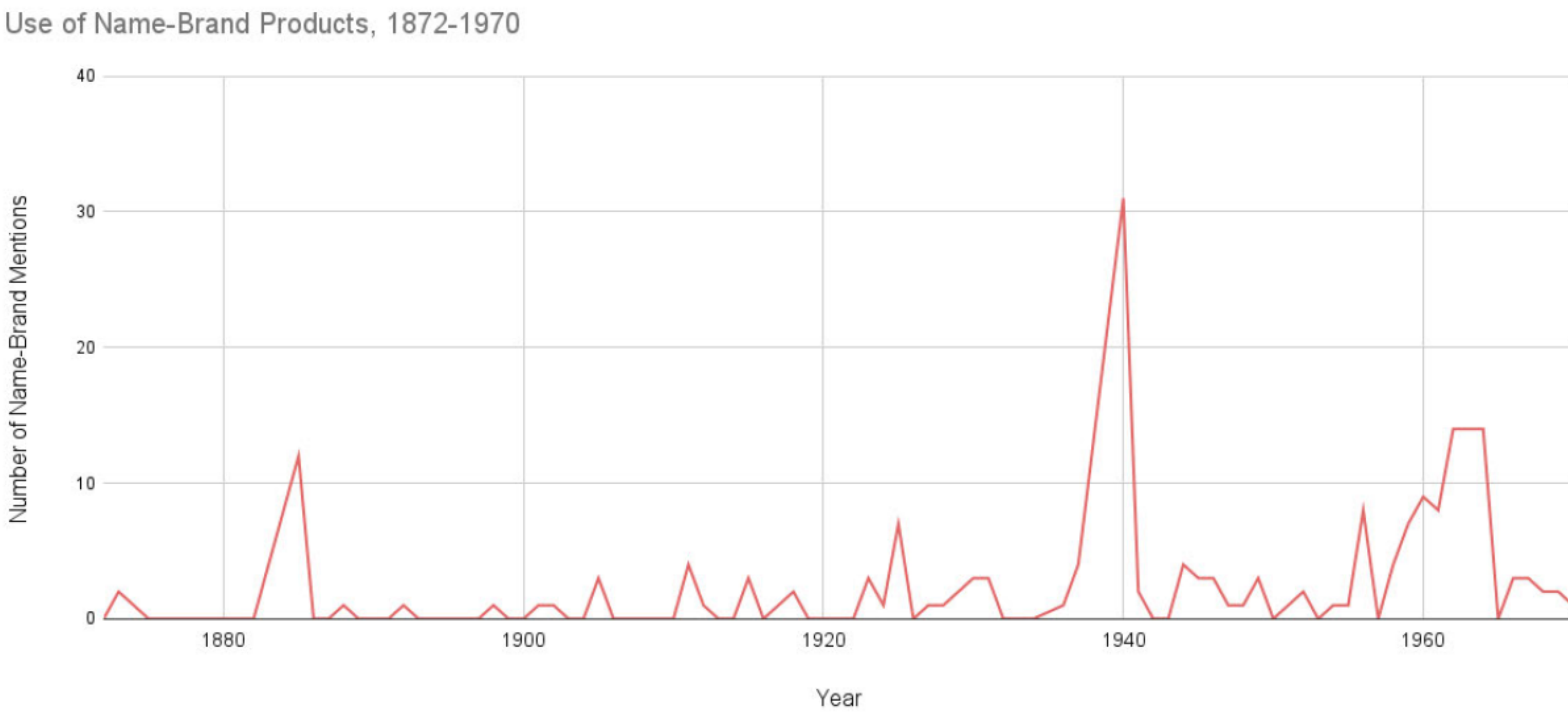

Figure 15. Using data from the Woman's Exponent, Young Woman's Journal, Relief Society Magazine, and The Improvement Era, this visualization shoes that the rise of the use of name-brand products in the recipes published for Mormon women between 1872 and 1970 was not steady, but over time their use increased until it reached a peak in 1940. This increase is evidence of the assimilation of Mormon women both into American culture and into the American economy.

their cultural identity as the principles of Table Retrenchment remain alive in the ideology of breadmaking (Figure 15). While recipes for preserves began moving away from the ideology of Table Retrenchment, bread recipes remained representative of simplicity. As discussed in earlier sections, bread became emblematic of simplicity in the nineteenth century and women became the keepers of morality through breadmaking (McWilliams 2008). Post-war Mormonism had also taken in Victorian ideals of womanhood, specifically those of women's role as mothers and homemakers, bringing an emphasis to breadmaking as a performance not only womanhood but of ideal Mormon motherhood (McDannell 2019). Thus, mid-century Mormons viewed breadmaking as representative of simplicity and as an expression of motherhood and the emotional care of children rather than as a means of saving money. However, these modern Mormon mothers were still concerned with the health of their families, just not in the same way previous generations had been.

As an example, in 1963 the *Relief Society Magazine* published the first in a series of articles entitled, "Stretching the Food Budget: Part 1 – Dry Milk." Authored by two women, both Ph.D.s in the Department of Food and Nutrition at Brigham Young University, the article discussed the benefits of using dry milk, mostly focusing on the convenience and frugality of keeping dry milk as a pantry staple and being able to use it as needed without needing to keep fresh milk in the house (Bennion and Morris 1963a, 592). The accompanying recipes range from breakfast foods to soups to dessert and a recipe for "Whole-Wheat Bread," all using dry milk.

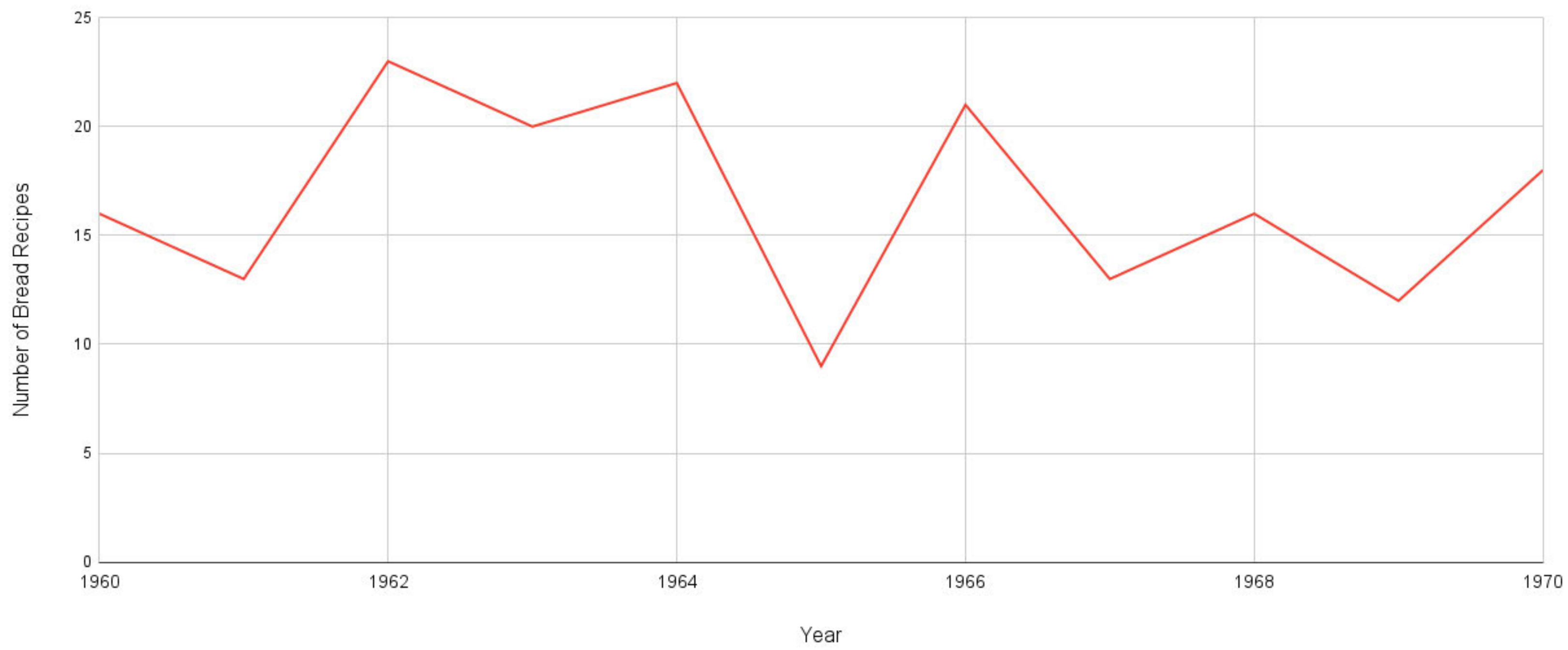

Figure 16. Despite the availability of ready-made bread, Mormon women still received recipes for bread that maintained the traditional ideology of Table Retrenchment, reframing it for the goals of mid-century Mormon women's assimilation.

The “Stretching the Food Budget” series continued in another issue with an article on the virtues of using evaporated milk (Bennion and Morris 1963b, 748). Calling on another established trait of Table Retrenchment, the recipes for bread in this article emphasize the increased nutritional value of breads made with evaporated milk. The article features a chart showing the increase in calcium and riboflavin in bread made with evaporated milk. This shows that the health and nutrition of families through simple foods is still important to Mormon women, so important that they don’t buy bread, they make it.

Commenting further on the health benefits of evaporated milk, Drs. Marion Bennion and Sadie O. Morris wrote, “bread may be made with different proportions of evaporated milk and water. The nutrients especially increased by the use of evaporated milk are calcium, riboflavin, and good quality protein” (Bennion and Morris 1963b, 748). The use of nutritional science was not new to the recipes published for Mormon women as the field of domestic science was alive and well in the community. However, it is significant that the voices of authority here are both women and affiliated with the predominantly Mormon school, Brigham Young University. Many articles on domestic science published earlier in the twentieth century had referenced, or been authored by, non-Mormon experts, including the United States Department of Agriculture, as a way to integrate into mainstream American culture. By calling on Mormon nutrition experts, the *Relief Society Magazine* very subtly shows a slight turning inward of Mormonism, another signal of the coming retrenchment efforts in the 1970s.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

From retrenchment to assimilation and back again, from bread to preserves, and from the *Woman's Exponent* to the *Relief Society Magazine*, this thesis has sought to demonstrate how women express their belonging to Mormon womanhood through their performance of domesticity. The recipes examined and analyzed here have formed a narrative of tradition and progress through the retrenchment and assimilation movements that took place in Mormonism beginning in 1870 and ending in 1970. Over this century-long period the women of Mormondom used their recipes to teach each other how to be Mormon women in their ever-changing culture, negotiating the delicate boundaries of their religion and the social and political aims of their culture.

Beginning with the first period examined in this thesis, between 1870 and 1900, I argue that women used food preservation to isolate their community economically from American capitalism in an effort to keep Mormon culture separate from that of others. While they were ultimately unsuccessful in keeping the Saints segregated, Mormon women continued to teach their daughters and young women about the principles and ideals of retrenchment, tying them to the requirements of womanhood through marriage and motherhood. Despite the intense cultural changes brought about by the end of polygamy and statehood in the 1890s Mormon women reinvented themselves into the twentieth century as model homemakers.

The achievement of assimilation in the twentieth century rested heavily on the ability of young women to appear exceptional in every way, but specifically as

homemakers. The recipes of this time, printed in the *Young Woman's Journal* and later *The Improvement Era*, show that young women were taught exceptionalism in the kitchen through the study of domestic science. Adult women too, took part in the domestic science movement in the early twentieth century, using their knowledge to show how they were exceptional American women. Both World Wars offered Mormon women an opportunity to show their dedication to American causes through a strict adherence to rationing guidelines by calling on generations of preserve recipes to prevent waste. Bread recipes called on these women to properly nourish the next generation of Americans through wholesome simplicity.

The final chapter of this thesis covered a single decade that preceded the massive changes that came to Mormon culture and the Church in the 1970s. The 1960s saw the emergence of the complicated practice of simultaneous retrenchment and assimilation as Mormon women grappled with their religious ideals of womanhood, their assimilation into American culture, and the desire to regain a stronger, more unique Mormon identity. The recipes of the 1960s embrace both modern technology, ideals, and cooking practices while recalling and romanticizing the recipes of the first retrenchment period when the Mormon identity was strongest.

This research is not without flaw or issue. It is exclusive on the subjects of race and geography, and does not account for influences of immigration, other religious cultures, ethnicity, or other identities. That focus effectively narrows the identity expression and interpretation synthesized here. This thesis was also influenced by the resources available online at the time the research took place and the condition of some

of the text prevented more extensive textual analysis. Each of these, and many other circumstances, provide opportunities for further research and understanding into the subject of Mormon women's food history and the wider fields of food history, women's studies, religious history, and identity research.

All together, these recipes show a legacy of a collective of women united, not only by a religion, but by their desire to belong to the powerful sisterhood of Mormon women. In her 2017 essay entitled "Mormon Women and The Anatomy of Belonging," Neylan McBaine briefly recapped the history of the Mormon sisterhood before moving on to describe several positive changes she has observed in the process of belonging to this sisterhood in the twenty-first century. McBaine acknowledges the diverse experiences and lifestyles of Mormon women, including everyone from stay-at-home mothers to doctors. She argues that all Mormon women belong to the sisterhood because they choose to, not because they are good cooks or mothers. She specifically quotes a woman who bravely discusses the anger and dissonance she experiences in her life as a homemaker, expressing her disappointment that she is not the kind of role model she wants for her daughters because she feels that she did not make a choice to become a homemaker, but that she was conditioned and fell into the role. Near the end of her essay McBaine returns to the vulnerability expressed by this woman and writes, "belonging looked like crafting and decorating from Pinterest because these are the behavioral indicators of belonging, but they left her resentful and mad. She had absorbed a definition of herself that was perhaps unexamined, and thus the choice to belong hadn't been a choice at all but rather a default" (McBaine 2017, 198).

McBaine's perspective on the issue of belonging stoked the fires of my brain when I first began this thesis. I started to wonder if I had made the choice to belong or if I too had been placed within the fold by default. As I persisted in my research, I expected to find myself pulling away from my sisters, disconnecting myself from my culture, but I felt the opposite. As I examined my own belonging to Mormon womanhood, I discovered that I had made a choice and that my choice had had nothing to do with cooking, cleaning, child rearing, marriage, or sewing. I belong because I choose to, because "sisterhood is a choice" and is, in this day and age, no longer defined by a performance of domestic tasks, marital status, or motherhood. Today, Mormon women belong when and where and how they choose, thanks to the dissipation of a devotion to neo-Victorian gender roles.

I hope no one who reads this comes away thinking that all Mormon women are terrific cooks and homemakers; some of them are and some of them are not. Some Mormon women are mothers, others are not. Some are lawyers, some are not. At the beginning of this thesis I stated that Mormon women have never been monolithic in thought, action, or identity. Each woman who chooses to belong to Mormon womanhood should be welcomed with open arms and shown all the love and acceptance that can be mustered, not judged based on the cleanliness of her home and the height of her Jell-O mold. This is where this thesis sits: at the junction of the past and the future, hoping to bring understanding and knowledge to a complicated subject and to inform the changes that will, hopefully, come to the community of Mormon women.

APPENDIX

Recipe Category Database Definitions

Food Category

Beverage: drink other than water

Bread: food made of flour, liquid, and sometimes yeast or other leavening agent

Casserole: dish made of a protein (meat fish, beans, etc.), vegetables (fresh or canned), and starchy binder (flour, rice, etc.)

Dairy: dish or product made mostly of milk

Dessert: dishes intended to be eaten at the end of a meal

Egg: dishes made mostly of eggs

Fish: dishes made mostly of fish (fresh and salt water) or shellfish

Fruit: dishes made mostly of fruit

Grain: dishes with rice or other grain as foundational ingredients

Meat: dishes consisting mostly of beef, pork, or poultry

Medicinal: recipes for the remedy of illness or injury

Other: recipes and dishes that do not fit into any other category

Pasta: dishes consisting mostly of noodles

Preparation: recipes for making ingredients that can be used in the making of other recipes and are not intended to be consumed on their own

Preserve: recipes for the preservation of fresh foods, including fruit, vegetables, and meat

Salad: cold dish made up of raw and/or cooked vegetables or fruit and seasons with a dressing, can include meat or fish

Sandwich: dish with some kind of filling between two slices of bread

Sauce: liquid to be served with other dishes to add flavor or moisten

Soup: liquid dish consisting of water, stock, meat, fish, and or/vegetables

Vegetable: dish consisting mostly of vegetables

Secondary Food Category

Bread:

Biscuit: small bread cake leavened with baking powder or baking soda

Boiled: bread distinguished by the method of cooking in boiling liquid or steam

Cracker: unleavened bread baked to a hard texture

Crumbs: recipes for the use of breadcrumbs

Fried: leavened dough cooked in hot oil

Griddled: leavened dough cooked on a hot, flat surface

Loaf: bread that is shaped and then baked with or without the use of a pan or tin

Muffin: small domed cake or quick bread baked in a small tin

Pastry: unleavened bread made with flour, water, and butter for use in pies

Preparation: recipes that use bread as a foundational ingredient

Quick Bread: bread made with a chemical leavening agent (no yeast)

Roll: small loaf of bread

Scone: small unsweetened biscuit-like cake made with some kind of fat (butter, lard, etc.)

Stuffing: a preparation made with pieces of bread soaked and baked in liquid

Preserves:

Canned: foods preserved in liquid in a jar, tin can, or bottled and sealed with through the use of a water bath or other method

Dehydration: foods preserved by drawing out as much liquid as possible, includes smoking

Gelatin: recipes for the preservation of food in gelatin or aspic, foods not meant to be eaten at the time of their making

Method: recipes that instruct on the steps of preservation rather than on a specific recipe

Pickle: foods preserved in vinegar

Salt: foods preserved in salt, similar to dehydration

Sauce: foods made into sauces intended to be kept for later use

Vinegar: recipes for the making of vinegar for use in preservation

APPENDIX B

Database Access

Master Database Spreadsheet

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