

Cooking in Oz:
Designing Instruction and Packaging Nostalgia

BY

GRETCHEN NEIDHARDT
A.B., University of Chicago, 2008
M.A., University of Missouri – Columbia, 2011

THESIS

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Defense Committee:

Jonathan Mekinda, Chair

Hannah Higgins

Christine Jenkins, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of
Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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SUMMARY

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook synthesizes childhood memories of food and stories to create an intensely nostalgic experience for its readers. The cookbook is separated into sections based on Dorothy's journey through Oz with recipes referring to specific characters and events. Written by Monica Bayley and published in 1981, the book uses visual cues to provoke memories of the original novel *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, published in 1900. Even the titles remain almost exactly the same, despite the shortening to *The Wizard of Oz* in many subsequent adaptations. W. W. Denslow's original illustrations are used throughout the book, as well as quotes from L. Frank Baum. Both serve to situate the reader within the story and prompt the reader to recall experiences of reading the original novel. A history of Oz-related memorabilia is discussed, as well as the effectiveness of a popular culture touchstone as a marketing tool.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook is not merely a piece of memorabilia; it is also an instructional text and fits within the category of children's cookbooks. The history of cookery instruction for children is reflected in this volume. There is a distinct difference in the way that cooking instruction for children is directed. The recipes in this book do fit into the Oz storyline, but instead are Bayley's family recipes, reflecting mid-century middle-class Americana home cooking. Readers reminisce about this type of food, remembering it while reading and then physically recreating the experience when making the recipes. These food memories, along with the childhood memories of the Oz fairytale, provoke nostalgia in the reader and lead her to reach back through reminiscences of both taste and imagination.

I. INTRODUCTION

WE'RE OFF TO COOK THE WIZARD: JOURNEY FROM CHILDREN'S BOOK TO COOKBOOK

The fantasy world of Oz is part of the cultural landscape in the United States. Introduced in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* by author L. Frank Baum and illustrator W. W. Denslow in 1900, Oz has been repackaged countless times, including nostalgic manifestations in food, marketing and memorabilia. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, published in 1981, is one of these densely nostalgic objects, drawing on consumers' various ideals of food and fantasy. There are two narratives present in the cookbook: the original story of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and the history of cookery in the United States. This cookbook elicits deep and broad feelings of nostalgia through these idealized memories of food and childhood.

A. The Cookbook

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook is roughly six inches square and about a centimeter thick but otherwise similar in design to early editions of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. The physical similarities provoke visual memory cues, mainly through Denslow's illustrations, which except for the full-color plates are reproduced in the same dark blue as the text. The color themes of each section are the same (blue for Munchkins, green for the Emerald City, etc.), but instead of using Denslow's device of themed illustration colors for each section of the story, the recipes themselves use foods with the geographic colors.

The illustrations in the cookbook are all Denslow designs from the original novel, with the exception of the cover, which incorporates elements from a promotional poster that

W. W. Denslow designed for the initial publication in 1900.¹ The top half of the cover is the original text stating “The Wonderful Wizard of Oz” and the bottom half is Dorothy and her entourage. The spatial configuration of the title and the illustration is similar to the original cover of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, despite the different proportions (see Figure 1).

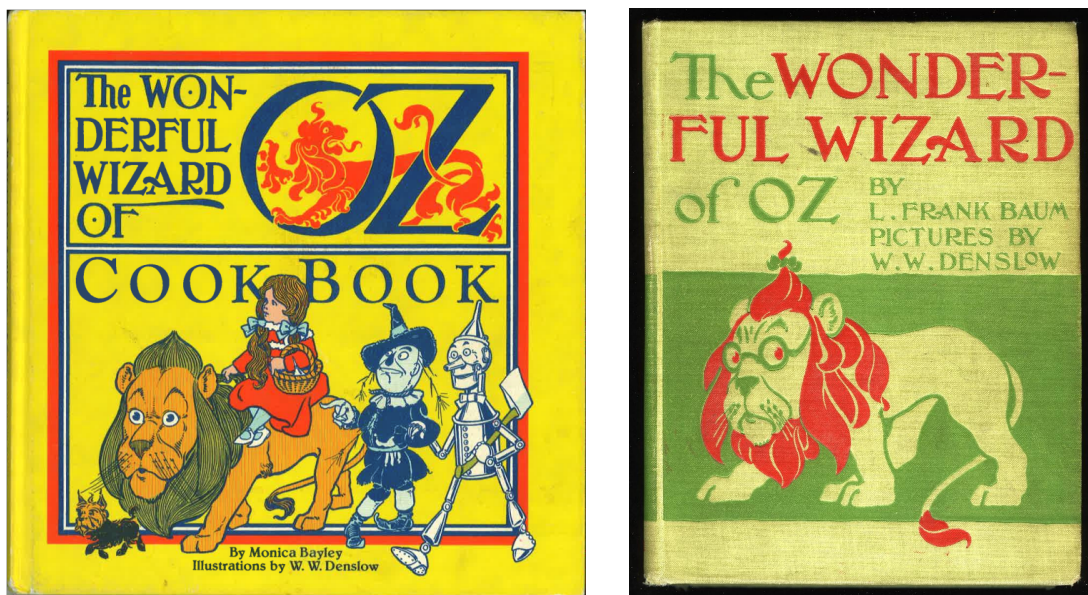


Figure 1. Left: *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, front cover, 1981. New York: Macmillan. Author’s photograph. Right: *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, front cover, 1900. Chicago: George M. Hill Co. University of Virginia Special Collections.

The title text looks handwritten. This ties the cookbook to Denslow’s art style as he generally commissioned hand lettering instead of type for the captions to his illustrations. These small

¹ L. Frank Baum, W. W. Denslow, and Michael Patrick Hearn, *The Annotated Wizard of Oz: The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (New York: Norton, 2000), plate 4.

details recall the original novel and serve as visual cues to provoke memories in the contemporary reader, leading to nostalgia for one's earlier readings.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook is split almost evenly between illustration and text. Most of the text is devoted to recipes. Unlike other children's cookbooks based on literature, there is very little prose or commentary included here.² The only non-recipe text is the front matter, including an introduction, "Aunt Em's Helpful Hints" and "Dorothy's Rules for Beginners," which are one page each and the back matter, including a brief glossary and index. The seven recipe sections revolve around specific parts of Dorothy's journey to and from Oz. Each is tied to a color and/or regional American cuisine as described by the author in her introduction. These associations with the Oz narrative, color, and American regions are intended to provoke memories that will make the reader feel nostalgic.

B. Nostalgia

Nostalgia is an idealized concept of a place and time. Escapism is always present in nostalgia; there is continuity to each person's specific ideal of what is nostalgic to him or her. Historian Svetlana Boym points to this need for continuity, "an effective yearning for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity in a fragmented world."³ Human memory is notoriously unreliable, but paradoxically the ideas one is nostalgic for remain stable. One can return to the same consistent idealized time and place, crafted through years of selective memory and emotion.

² Cookbooks will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III, but examples include *The Little House Cookbook* by Barbara M. Walker (New York: Harper Collins, 1979), which is largely historically educational in nature, and *The Nancy Drew Cookbook: Clues to Good Cooking* by Carolyn Keene (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1973), which is set up as a series of narratives with recipes interspersed throughout.

³ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiv.

Nostalgia was not originally such a happy concept. Johannes Hofer introduced the term in 1688 to explain the melancholy of Swiss mercenaries. Nostalgia is the combination of two Greek words, *nostos* and *algos* meaning “return to the native land” and “pain” respectively.^{4, 5} This initial definition was translated into English as “homesickness.” At that time, traveling back to a birthplace was arduous at best and impossible most of the time. Once new technologies such as the steam engine were introduced, going home again became increasingly plausible. However, once people returned home they noted that it was not the same. The concept of nostalgia evolved into a longing not just for a specific place, but for a specific place at a specific point in time that one remembered. Due to the inconsistency of memory, a nostalgic ideal might have never existed at all in reality. Further mutations of nostalgia allowed that a person did not have to have experienced this time or place personally, but must merely possess a longing to be there. Nostalgia has only shed its negative associations with mental instability in the past century; before it was thought of as an illness, not a marketing tool.

During the twentieth century, nostalgia developed into a commercial device. The commercial nostalgia is an important part of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, but the nostalgia packed into the object goes beyond the mere whims of profiteers. Oz-related nostalgia encompasses memories of childhood, escapism, and fantasy. Not every single child read (or enjoyed) the Oz stories, but those that did have very specific memories of what it was like to read those books, listen to the radio plays, and watch the movies or plays. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* as published in 1900 was the first iteration of the story, but retellings and continuations have kept Oz in the collective consciousness.

⁴ Susan J. Matt, “You Can’t Go Home Again: Homesickness and Nostalgia in U.S. History,” *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 2 (2007): 470.

⁵ Johannes Hofer, “Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia,” *Bulletin of The Institute of the History of Medicine* 2, no. 6, trans. Carolyn Kiser Anspach (1688, repr. 1934): 380.

While *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* is an excellent example of a mass-produced object marketed by nostalgia, it is not the first to capitalize on Oz-related feelings and memories. In 1933, little more than a quarter-century after *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* was published, Jell-O produced a radio show for children about the Oz universe. As part of a promotional tie-in, Baum's *Little Wizard Stories*⁶ were released as four separate 30-page booklets. An advertisement for Jell-O appeared in the front and back, and a two-page spread of Jell-O recipes with loose ties to the story itself were the last two pages. One example, *Ozma and the Little Wizard*, will be discussed throughout. Below is the front and back cover (Figure 2).⁷

⁶ Originally published separately in 1913, and then collectively in 1914 and reissued in 1932. David L. Greene and Dick Martin, *The Oz Scrapbook* (New York: Random House, 1977), 38. Three of the four booklets can be viewed in their entirety on Michigan State University's page Little Cookbooks: Alan and Shirley Broker Sliker Culinary Collection (<http://www.lib.msu.edu/exhibits/sliker/index.jsp>). One is not yet digitized, but seemingly will be up shortly.

⁷ The illustrator for the booklets is not credited, but the front cover and interior illustrations would be by John R. Neill, the illustrator for all the Oz books except the first, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. It is unclear if Neill illustrated the back cover picture of the Scarecrow and Tin Woodman carrying a platter of Jell-O, but it is in the same style.



Figure 2. Left: *Ozma and the Little Wizard*, front cover. Right: *Ozma and the Little Wizard*, back cover. Little Cookbooks, The Alan and Shirley Broker Sliker Culinary Collection, Michigan State University.

These booklets were marketing nostalgia to increase consumption of a specific brand, Jell-O. This is similar to Bayley's 1981 cookbook, but only insofar as it capitalizes on nostalgia for Oz as a vehicle. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* has no such brand loyalty. The recipes are idealized Americana food consumed by a privileged middle-class in the middle of the twentieth century.

C. Food in Oz

The recipes in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* offer a snapshot of idealized post-World War II cuisine. Bayley claimed she used family recipes, which she would have cooked herself throughout the twentieth century. While it would be ludicrous to claim that this rich and heavy

Midwestern food signified the ideal cuisine for everyone, it was the food often celebrated in idealized American institutions: diners, state fairs, home cooking, Norman Rockwell paintings, and so on. The recipes include dishes like chicken and dumplings, tinned corn beef hash, brownies, baked stuff red snapper, and pot roast (for a complete list, see Appendix II). This aspirational idealization of middle-class American food, especially prevalent in the post-WWII suburban boom, represents another element of nostalgia in the cookbook—nostalgia not just for childhood memories of the fantasyland Oz, but also for an idealized home life eating around the kitchen table, which is no less a fairy tale than Oz.

Cookbooks for children have been published since the mid-nineteenth century. Early examples were more typically narratives with a small number of recipes inserted into the story. As new theories of instruction were introduced, children's cookbooks changed their narrative and visual layout. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* has recipes that closely resemble those found in an adult book, including a title, ingredients, and basic steps with very little general cooking instruction or advice. There are several possible reasons for this design: it could be for children who might already know the basics of cooking, or more likely it could be meant as a nostalgic bridge—an item purchased by an adult fan of Oz to be shared with a child and potential fan. There is still very much an Oz narrative present in the cookbook, but it is told through the illustrations, some spare quotations and the structure of the chapters and recipe titles which mirror the events in the original story.

The format of this cookbook, from the cover to the illustrations to the text in and around the recipes, evokes *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, which takes one on a culinary and nostalgic journey. The specific histories behind both recipe design and the world of Oz will be explored

next in order to showcase how both are manipulated in this cookbook, which is keyed to individual experiences and memories of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, but in a mass-produced object. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* offers a collective recollection of a popular fairy tale and the food preparation of youth, through familiar recipes and illustrations. The sparse text combined with the multitude of recipes and illustrations allows the reader to customize his or her individual experience of this cookbook in order to guarantee the continuity of individual nostalgia. This cookbook packs many different things into a small package. It includes an entire Oz narrative, as well as an overview of American cookery. The illustrations by Denslow recall the Oz narrative and the many recipes by Bayley invoke an entire history of American cooking.

II. CREATION, FORM AND FUNCTION: A FORMAL ANALYSIS OF THE WONDERFUL WIZARD OF OZ COOKBOOK

The story of Oz is part of the popular cultural landscape of the United States. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* cookbook combines the narrative of the first Oz story with the popular foods of the twentieth century. American food culture does not exist in a vacuum—the recipes represent an evolution of food that is influenced by different cultural groups of the United States. At the same time, these recipes were created by a culture of assimilation and even though at one time they had diverse influences, they are presented as an unquestioned and homogenous cuisine. The combination of the quintessential American fairy tale and idealized mid-century American cuisine results in a material culture object that is designed specifically to provoke nostalgia through several channels, including children’s literature, cooking instruction, and food itself.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook was compiled by Monica Bayley and published by Macmillan in 1981, staying in print until 1986.⁸ Bayley, primarily a book editor but also a part-time cookbook writer, credited herself as the author and W. W. Denslow as the illustrator.⁹ It is a six-inch square volume that more closely resembles a children’s book than a cookbook. Its 127 pages include recipes interspersed with Denslow’s illustrations from the original novel. The craft-quality paper would never resist food stains. The binding is so tight that the book could not lay flat without breaking the spine. It is not an ideal book to reference in the kitchen, which makes one wonder how practical it was really ever meant to be.

⁸ *Books in Print, 1985-1986* (New Jersey: R. R. Bowker Co., 1987), 5558.

⁹ Monica Bayley wrote two other cookbooks, *Black Africa Cook Book* (San Francisco: Determined Productions, 1977) and *Pacific Islands Cook Book* (San Francisco: Determined Productions, 1977). She also authored two children’s book adaptations, *The Snoopy Omnibus of Fun Facts from the Snoopy Fun Fact Calendars: Based on the Comic Strip Created by Charles M. Schulz* (San Francisco: Determined Productions, 1982) and *Susan Perl’s Park Peep!* (San Francisco: Determined Productions, 1982).

A. Denslow's Illustrations

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook has nostalgic authority through the use of W. W. Denslow's original illustrations. As mentioned, the design of the book itself evokes the original 1900 publication, but Denslow's illustrations were exclusively tied to publications of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* for almost half a century.¹⁰ Denslow's illustrations remain the most consistent visual cues to the original novel, setting up an easy return to one's memories of reading the book as a child.

The illustrations in the cookbook are largely the same as Denslow originally drew them, but shrunk down to fit the smaller size of the cookbook.¹¹ Denslow illustrated almost every page of text in the original novel. Most of these were single-color illustrations that either stood alone or in the background of the text. In addition to 16 color plates, the cookbook includes 26 dark blue illustrations and eight full-color illustrations throughout the rest of the text. These fill in the negative space on pages with text (Figure 3).

¹⁰ The next illustrator for the Oz books was Evelyn Copelman in 1949. Her illustrations of the characters were heavily influenced by the aesthetic of the MGM film released in 1939. Many illustrators have drawn editions of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* since Copelman in addition to editions that have no illustrations at all.

¹¹ The plate illustrations in the cookbook are approximately 11 cm wide and 15 cm tall; the illustrations in the original book are approximately 13 cm wide and 17.5 cm tall.

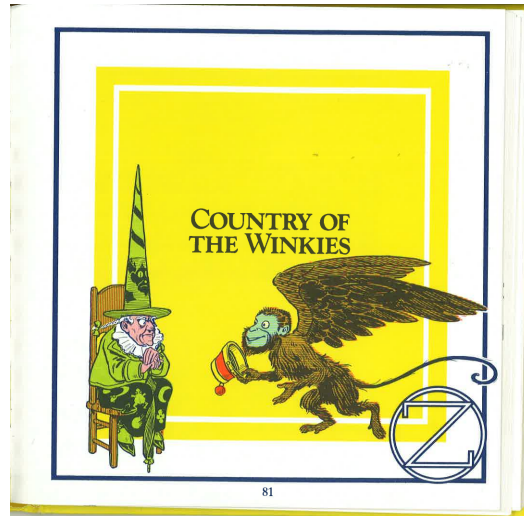


Figure 3. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, “Country of the Winkies” chapter introduction, page 81, 1981. New York: Macmillan. Author’s photograph.

Additionally each page with a chapter title on it has a monochromatic illustration set against the color that parallels that region in the original book (Figure 4).

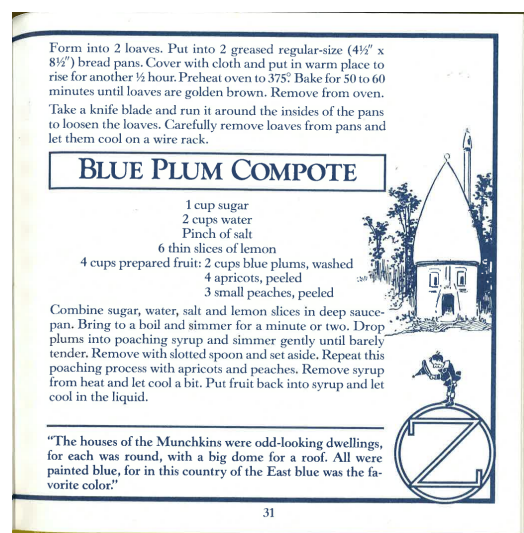


Figure 4. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, Blue Plum Compote recipe, page 31, 1981. New York: Macmillan. Author’s photograph.

Adding up the color plates, the chapter introductions, the color illustrations and the blue illustrations, there are a total of 58 Denslow illustrations in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*.

The only illustration that is not by Denslow is the map on page four that faces Bayley's introduction, credited to L. Frank Baum. This map is the only illustration that post-dates *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. It includes the four cardinal regions of Oz (plus the Emerald City). However the country of the Gillikins in the north first appears in his sequel *The Marvelous Land of Oz* (1904). At this point Denslow was no longer illustrating Baum's works and John R. Neill had taken over as "Imperial Illustrator of Oz." Frank L. Baum first created the map in 1908 to accompany his *Fairylogues and Radio-Plays*.¹² The map as reproduced in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* is simplified (Figure 5).

¹² These were very early film-making attempts by Baum to bring a traveling exhibition of hand-colored trick movies to audiences around America. He produced most of it himself and was forced to declare bankruptcy when they were unsuccessful. These toured around the country; possibly the map was a handout given to audiences to orient themselves for the short stories. The theatrical versions of Baum's works consisted of vignettes and never resembled the strong central narratives of his written works, so a map might have been necessary to help the audience make the connection between the book and the drama.

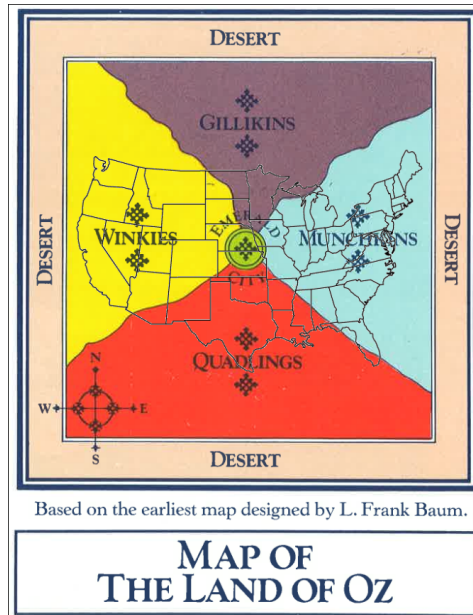


Figure 5. Map of continental United States superimposed onto Map of the Land of Oz. Oz map from *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, page 4, 1981. New York: Macmillan. United States map from <http://www.worldatlas.com>. Author's manipulation.

The lines are clean and the colors are bright. It looks quite different from the Denslow illustrations with their thick and precise lines; these lines are thin and made by a more mechanized method that looks technologically incongruent with the processes available at the end of the nineteenth century.

Denslow's illustrations are part of the nostalgic pull of this cookbook—they are so distinct and characteristic that they could never be used for anything but Oz. The illustrations strongly resemble woodcut prints, although at least one source contends that they were all

from zinc engravings.¹³ The lines are thick and strong and the designs are simple. They surround the recipes just as they surrounded the original text.

B. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*

It would be difficult to follow the cookbook without previous knowledge of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. Recipes are grouped by chapters keyed to the geography of Oz and the sequence of the narrative. When *Oz* was published in 1900, it was one of the most lavishly illustrated volumes available for children.¹⁴ L. Frank Baum wrote the text and W. W. Denslow illustrated 24 color plates, as well as single-color illustrations on almost every page, sometimes even as background to the text. The single color was coordinated to Dorothy's locale in the story. Kansas was a dull brown, while each region in Oz had its own color. These coordinated colors become the themes for the recipes in each chapter of Bayley's cookbook (see Appendix I for a table of the regions and their respective colors).

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz is often billed as the first American fairy tale. It is fantastical with supernatural elements like witches and magic talismans, but punctuated with modern American elements. Dorothy is an orphan being raised by her mortgage-strapped Aunt Em and Uncle Henry on the gray and desolate Kansas prairie. Even the magical creatures Dorothy meets have their mechanical limits; the Tin Woodman cannot oil himself if he forgets to do so regularly and seizes up, just like a contemporary reader's simple metal machine. The Wizard of Oz himself is just a humbug, but impresses the people of Oz with tricks he learned while traveling in a circus, a familiar event in America at the turn of the century. Baum meant to write

¹³ L. Frank Baum, W. W. Denslow, and Michael Patrick Hearn, *The Annotated Wizard of Oz: The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (New York: Norton, 2000), xli.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxii.

a new and modern fairy tale, and in doing so he captured the specific spirit of modernism in America. The continuing popularity of the story is a testament to the accessibility of his story and characters, resulting in the robust nostalgia for Oz, expressed in the general fan community and casual placement of Oz in contemporary culture.

C. Transformation into Recipes

Both references to Oz and to popular food reinforce nostalgia in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*. Even though the Library of Congress subject heading for this cookbooks states “Cookery—Juvenile literature” right on the copyright page, the practicality behind nostalgic marketing would suggest that the target audience of this book are adults with idealized memories of food and Oz. The food it includes is simple, but not necessarily aimed at child chefs. Many recipes require oven or stove use and some recipes are long and complicated, such as the yeast bread. Even though a glossary and tips are included, most children would not be able to complete these recipes themselves without assistance from experienced adults. An adult audience would also be more susceptible to the nostalgia packaged within, both relating to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and the Americana recipes Bayley has written, supposedly based on her own childhood foods from the mid-twentieth century.

The recipes themselves are split into sections based on Dorothy’s journey throughout the original Oz novel. The chapter titles are: Cyclone Country, Land of the Munchkins, Yellow Brick Road, The Wonderful Emerald City of Oz, Country of the Winkies, Country of the Quadlings, and Home Again. In her introduction, Bayley claims that each chapter’s recipes have two specific ties: most chapters have a specific regional American cuisine determined by overlaying the map of Oz with a map of the United States and most chapters feature

ingredients that are specific to the theme color of the region as dictated by Baum in the original story (see Appendix I for a list of regions and colors associated with chapters and Appendix II for a full list of recipes). There are some exceptions, however. The Kansas sections have no stated official color¹⁵ and neither the Yellow Brick Road nor the Emerald City are keyed to a particular regional American cuisine.¹⁶ The Emerald City is the most vibrant and rich place portrayed in the Oz books; it's overlay on top of Kansas in the map might represent some sort of wish fulfillment on the part of Dorothy, Baum, and even Bayley, all of whom hailed from the Midwest.

Despite Bayley's claims that the food is regionally different throughout her chapters, the recipes reflect Bayley's own mid-century food experiences. After World War II, there was a commercial boom in food that led to the homogeneity of eating never before seen in the United States.¹⁷ Newly mechanized food processes made the most important factor in food consumption reliability. Sameness became a mark of quality and food companies heavily utilized the new science developed to feed troops and civilians during World War II. Food eaten during the 1950s and 1960s was specific; multiple current cookbooks are devoted to the retro cuisine. Bayley's focus on these post-war recipes could also have been an independent nostalgic exercise, having little to do with *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and more to do with the comfort food adult purchasers would associate with their youth.

¹⁵ This could be due to the fact that Baum describes Kansas as gray and in the books the background color for the illustrations is brownish-gray. Neither shade is particularly appetizing for food.

¹⁶ The Yellow Brick Road chapter presumably does not have a specific regional cuisine because it is a transitional space within the novel; when placed on a map of the United States it would cover several different regions. The Emerald City seems to have no stated theme because it exists in the same space as Kansas, but to tie the fantastic Emerald City to the relative mundanity of Kansas (and by extension the Midwest) would interrupt the nostalgic fantasy of escapism.

¹⁷ Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 110-111.

The recipes in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* are more robust than those offered in Jell-O's 1933 pamphlets. There are only four recipes per pamphlet and at least four are repeated in two publications. They are only loosely tied to the Oz universe and not tied to the specific Little Wizard story at all. Below is the recipe page from *Ozma and the Little Wizard* (Figure 6).



Figure 6. *Ozma and the Little Wizard*, page 30, 1933. Little Cookbooks, The Alan and Shirley Broker Sliker Culinary Collection, Michigan State University.

The only two recipes even remotely related to Oz are the “Emerald Fruit Cup” (for the Emerald City) and “Magic Ice.” Obviously these recipes will be less diverse since they must use Jell-O products, but they are still capitalizing on an Oz connection to appeal to children and adults. An adult would have to figure into the use of this pamphlet somehow—likely through

both purchasing and sending away for the promotional material, buying the Jell-O needed to make the recipes, and in the actual recipe preparation. However, do note that many of these processes involved with the Jell-O recipes are much more child-friendly than the recipes in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*. No boiling water is needed, only warm water. No oven or stove use, just chilling in the refrigerator or freezer. Children can make sure to collect the boxes and listen to the radio show to know when and how to obtain the pamphlets. These Little Wizard stories were depending on nostalgia, but in a more immediate way than *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*. The concurrent Jell-O Oz radio show was meant to entertain children—these pamphlets existed to be consumed in conjunction with that show and to promote Jell-O. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* is more reliant on childhood memories of a broader Oz universe as well as a more dynamic childhood ideal of food.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook uses its physical and creative content to remind readers of Oz and childhood. The physical design of the book, including both the format and Denslow's many illustrations interact with the mid-century recipes from Monica Bayley's past to make a reading experience bound in idealized childhood memories of both Oz and food.

III. WRITING FOOD: THE HISTORY AND IMPACT OF COOKBOOKS

Cookbooks use aesthetics of design and food to introduce lifestyles. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* uses a long history of instructional children's cookbooks to journey into a childhood fantasyland composed of both a fictional story and an aspiration to the types of food prescribed by middle- and upper-class ideals. The aesthetic nostalgic devices in the cookbook itself, many of which have a foundation in earlier cookbooks for children, herd along these two desires: to revisit a land of (1) magic experiences and (2) idealized food.

There are problems inherent in studying cookbooks. The intention behind the book itself is difficult to judge. The lifestyle portrayed in a cookbook might be the ideal of the reader, author, or publisher, or any combination. Cookbooks are popular gifts, but the recipient might not aspire to the same lifestyle portrayed in the book he or she unwittingly received. Cookbook historian Jessamyn Neuhaus lays out some of the problems that arise when discussing cookbooks,

There is no simple way to assess the role cookbooks might have played in society. They might demonstrate what people ate; they can as easily portray what people wished they could eat... Commercial cookbooks...function at a fascinating but murky intersection between the public forces of marketing and publishing and the private lives of those who purchase cookbooks.¹⁸

One cannot study exactly what specific books meant to specific people. There are too many factors and too much is undocumented, particularly for books published in previous generations. This is a particular problem for *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* since its proposed audience is children. Generally speaking, the high price of hardcover illustrated books in the late 20th century makes it unlikely that a child would have purchased this cookbook for

¹⁸ Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), introduction, para. 5, Kindle edition.

him or herself. However, information about cookbook history, as well as cookbook trends, design history, and even the popularity of Oz, lets one explore the significance of the nostalgic meaning behind the publication of this memorabilia.

A. History of Children's Cookbooks

Different types of cookbooks serve different instructional and entertainment functions.¹⁹ Before wide-spread literacy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, written cooking instruction was the domain of the cooking elite—chefs for royalty and other important persons. Ingredients and instruction were sparse; anyone using a written recipe would already know the basics of cookery and these steps were often implied. As more and more women learned to write, female heads of the household would keep journals, known as *receipt books*, in which they would keep recipes and other household tips.²⁰ Writers began publishing explicitly instructional household texts beginning in the mid-eighteenth century.²¹ Settlement houses and

¹⁹ Please note that there is a rich and lengthy history that is not discussed here. For a brief overview of cookbook history before the nineteenth century, see Anne Willan's *The Cookbook Library: Four Centuries of the Cooks, Writers, and Recipes That Made the Modern Cookbook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). Two resources for cookbooks primarily in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are Janet Theophano's *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives Through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) and Jessamyn Neuhaus' *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

²⁰ Receipt is an old-fashioned word for recipe. These books often included much more than just food, becoming a go-to manual for medicines, religious verses, personal thoughts, and other clippings or handwritten material. These books were considered heirlooms and often contain recipes and advice from multiple generations of women. Their popularity declined sharply as encyclopedic books rose to prominence, negating the need for a personal encyclopedia. For more information, see Chapter I, "Cookbooks as Communities," in Janet Theophano's *Eat My Words* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

²¹ These books not only discuss cookery, but also other aspects of housekeeping, including cleaning, etiquette, medicine, and managing a staff of servants. Initially, these books were largely written by men, but women soon rose to prominence too. In the mid-nineteenth century, they were intended for both the lady of the house, whose job was to manage the home, and the head housekeeper. Because a new audience was emerging - female heads of household - who had not traditionally done their own cooking, more background and more instruction was provided within the recipes. Female literacy became a higher priority, which led to more written cooking instruction. Household shopping was directed by the matron, so ingredients were offset and easier to find. As literacy became increasingly common in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the audience for these books also grew; for instance, Amelia Simmons's book *American Cookery* (in print from roughly 1796-1826) is dedicated to any

other assimilation and instructional programs began publishing encyclopedic cookbooks in the late nineteenth century.²² Community cookbooks were compiled by several members of a particular group and can reflect community trends and foodways.²³ Cookbooks for children debuted around the same time as encyclopedic cookbooks. Through their language and illustrations, one sees the various instructional design trends for children throughout time.

Both an emerging middle class and a decrease in household staff prompted the increase in instructional household literature since the mid-nineteenth century. These changes were concurrent with the scientific advances associated with the Enlightenment and later the Industrial Revolution. As cooking became more structured, cooking classes and teachers evolved to disseminate the new scientific ways of cooking, include standardized measurements and ovens with temperature regulation. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* reflects a scientific recipe design—ingredients in exact quantities with precise directions and cooking times and temperatures.²⁴

woman who wanted to improve her station. Cookbooks continue to serve as aspirational texts today, showcasing the idealized home environments of celebrities like Martha Stewart and Ina Garten, whose publications appeal in part to the hope to recreate their idealized domestic lifestyle.

²² One of the first examples of an encyclopedic cookbook is *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1896), first written by Fannie Farmer. Still in publication today, the aim of an encyclopedic cookbook such as this is to be a complete listing of all the recipes and techniques that one needs to know in order to cook. The first encyclopedia cookbooks often were published as extensions of settlement houses and cooking schools, encouraging the “correct” American diet to an influx of immigrants who brought their own food traditions. Other examples of encyclopedic cookbooks include *The Joy of Cooking* and *The Betty Crocker Cookbook*.

²³ Community cookbooks are usually small and published on a very limited scale to raise funds by a group (generally women). Each person is sharing something personal with the public; instead of making a pumpkin pie, you are making your neighbor Martha’s pumpkin pie. Community cookbooks strengthened the popularity of “home-cooked” food, popularizing the comfort dishes that occur throughout *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*. Community cookbooks were also prevalent on shelves since they were often much cheaper than their officially published counterparts. These books are invaluable for studying specific communities, particularly since each woman (and occasionally, each man) was putting forth a recipe that was meant to represent her within the rest of the group. Popular food items usually have several recipes with personal variations. One can also see what types of ingredients are used and can make conclusions about food availability.

²⁴ Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom’s Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), chap. 1, para. 39, Kindle edition.

This type of specific cooking instruction was also evident in children's cookbooks in the early twentieth century, but adjusted for less experienced cooks. *Ozma and the Little Wizard* uses exact measurements, but some are precise because it is the pre-measured Jell-O packet. Any water called for is merely "warm," not an exact temperature. See the detail of the recipes from *Ozma and the Little Wizard* below (Figure 7).

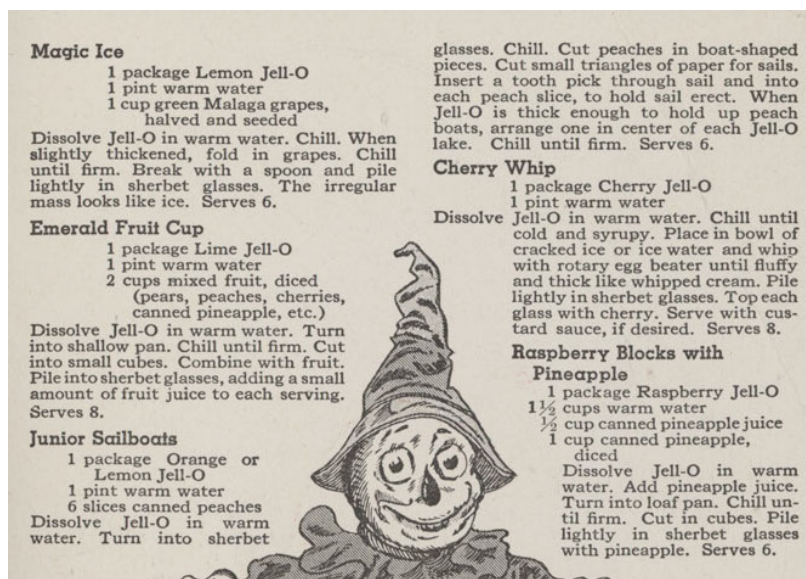


Figure 7. *Ozma and the Little Wizard*, top half of page 30, 1933. Little Cookbooks, The Alan and Shirley Broker Sliker Culinary Collection, Michigan State University.

The twentieth century also saw a proliferation of novelty cookbooks, a category certainly relevant to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, especially since the novelty aspect of the cookbook is often nostalgic. The term "novelty cookbook" covers a wide range—it can be the novelty of the author, food related to a specific theme or cuisine, or any other niche interest. Some of these books have little practical value but serve to increase the owner's

cultural capital, such as having a book on fancy confectionary while not owning any of the tools to construct the recipes.²⁵ Often these books are meant to be read instead of used, particularly if one cannot obtain the tools or education, and the visuals in the books are quite compelling. Visual cues in particular can be the appeal of the novelty cookbook. Denslow's illustrations in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* are the initially obvious tie from the cookbook back to the novel. Once one has picked up *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* and recognized Denslow's illustrations and the subject matter, then one can absorb the further connections made by the recipes.

B. Cookbooks for Children

The first cooking books for children were published in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁶ They introduced girls to the practical aspects of the kitchen and household management. Education was explicit in the texts; the recipes never started out as complicated, but instead supplemented maternal instruction. Themes changed with shifts in cultural norms. In the mid-nineteenth century it was still common for middle-class households to employ a servant. Children's cookbooks at this time emphasized how a girl should interact with that servant and how she should instruct the preparation of meals. As servants became less common, these cookbooks transitioned to instruction in food preparation. The cookbooks reflected contemporary realities, including making weekly income stretch during periods of depression or specific instructions for different food fads. Neuhaus gives the example of 1950s children's

²⁵ Food has always had elite components, reaching back to the extravagant banquets of Roman antiquity. When one owns a manual on how to prepare an elite food item a connection is formed between that person and his or her conceptions of a richer lifestyle.

²⁶ Ann A. Hetzler, "Nutrition Trends During 150 Years of Children's Cookbooks," *Nutrition Reviews* 63, no. 10 (2005): 347.

cookbooks reflecting adult trends in packaged food, containing recipes for hot dogs (ingredients include hot dogs and buns), and instructions for making biscuits from a packaged mix.²⁷ Perhaps because they are so dated by their focus on contemporary trends, few of these books are well-known today, making it difficult to determine how popular they might have been.

Cookbooks for children have also been presented as educational opportunities. The instructing institution varies; it could be government agencies, cooking school directors, nutritionists, or even brands. Food education trends have changed drastically over time, very much explicit in children's cookbooks. In the late nineteenth century, children's cookbooks emphasized the ideal diet of lots of fats and carbohydrates for energy. These recommendations mirrored those encouraged by reformers running the cooking schools in urban areas, including those in settlement houses with low-income families that needed the maximum amount of energy for the least amount of food. Conversely, today cookbooks advocate for more whole grains and fewer processed foods and fats.²⁸ Ever since the Progressive Era in the late nineteenth century, health education has been important, and as in marketing, educators believed that if they got to children early they could instill "good" habits for a lifetime.

One early Progressive-Era example of a cookbook for children is *Six Little Cooks: Or, Aunt Jane's Cooking Class*, written by educator and settlement house worker Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland and published by A. C. McClurg and Company in Chicago in 1891. *Six Little Cooks* was part of an entire series of narrative educational books for children, including other topics such

²⁷ Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), chap. 8, para. 24, Kindle edition.

²⁸ See Ann Hertzler's article for an overview of nutritional trends in the United States. Ann A. Hertzler, "Nutrition Trends During 150 Years of Children's Cookbooks," *Nutrition Reviews* 63, no. 10 (2005): 347.

as manners and housekeeping.²⁹ *Six Little Cooks* is about six girls, three older (ages 11-13) and three younger (ages 8-10) that form a cooking club while their Aunt Jane is visiting. The different ages of the girls allow Aunt Jane to specify which recipes are more complicated than others, as well as to teach her opinions on cooking and femininity. When one of the cooking class members questions the use of time spent cooking complicated dumplings when they are just going to be quickly eaten, Aunt Jane replies,

“If each one was cooking for herself alone I should think it a very poor business, but when you think how much our social pleasure is increased by having nice things, and that when we make them we are gratifying our fathers and mothers and brothers, it doesn’t seem so much like wasted time. To enjoy cooking you must never think of your own satisfaction in eating what you make, but of the pleasure you are going to give to others.”³⁰

Aunt Jane teaches her students not only specific recipes and cooking tips and techniques, but also an entire attitude towards womanhood. These girls are upper middle class; a Black cook named Rhoda usually prepares all the food, but for these lessons she benevolently lets the girls use her kitchen. In theory, they do not need to know how to cook in order to survive, but it is a womanly art because it is in service to others and that sort of benevolence is indicative of the Progressive Era as a whole.

Cookbooks for children encourage children to emulate the attitude towards cooking displayed by the adults around them, including aspiration to a lifestyle in addition to knowledge about nutrition. Cookbooks for adults began to use more and more rhetoric to make work in the kitchen seem like an appealing, fun, and motherly duty, and cookbooks for children reflected those ideas. As Neuhaus explains about cookbooks in the 1930s, “Cookbooks for

²⁹ Jane Addams, *The Selected Papers of Jane Addams*, Volume 2, ed. Mary Lynn McCree Bryan, Barbara Bair, and Maree De Angury (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 141.

³⁰ Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland, *Six Little Cooks: Or, Aunt Jane’s Cooking Class*, 8th ed. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1891), 224.

children used the same imagery of an artist bent on creation. As her mother explains to Ann in *Kitchen Magic* [1932], “Don’t think that cooking is all science, either. It’s just as much of an art. The kitchen is a studio, as well as a laboratory, and a fine cook is really an artist.”³¹ The ideal had shifted from science to art and continues to travel along this continuum even today. During the Victorian era, the precise and delicate art of food (especially sugar creations) determined the status of your table. Scientific measurement and new nutrition standards made up the majority of cooking instruction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Creativity and spontaneity in food became more important in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly creativity in budgeting food during the Great Depression. During World War II, the United States was busily developing new processed foods that could be cheaper, shipped further, and would last longer, both to ship to soldiers and to be used on the home-front in the face of rationing shortages. In the post-war boom, this processed food became available to families all over the United States. Science was lauded as the great food equalizer since synthetic additives made food cheaper and potentially more nutritious. The backlash to processed food started with protests in the 1960s and 1970s regarding harmful chemicals. Julia Child’s television show, promoting gourmet cooking at home, began airing in 1963. Other chefs like Alice Waters espoused cooking gourmet and organic food and in the 1980s, the Nouveau Cuisine and Slow Food movements seemed to mirror these beliefs. This back and forth has now culminated in the art/science synthesis of molecular gastronomy. Children’s books reflect the cooking trends in adult’s books whether the emphasis is on art or science or both, but children’s cookbooks do so in a version that is comprehensible to a less experienced chef.

³¹ Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom’s Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), chap. 1, para. 39, Kindle edition.

Another prominent feature in children's cookbooks is corporate promotion, often partnered with popular culture. The Little Wizard pamphlets published by Jell-O in 1933 are an excellent example. Popular culture is one of the only aspects of society constantly accessible to children, making it one of their few realms of power. One cannot assume too much about the purchasing power of children; economic power is usually in the hands of an adult. Children's cookbooks occupy their own publishing niche while mirroring the genres published for adult cooks. This makes them marketable both to children and to the adults actually purchasing the books, particularly if the book makes the adult feel a nostalgic tie to something from their own childhood, like *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*.

C. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook: Genre*

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook is published as a children's cookbook, but it draws from several genres. It is a specialty piece, meant specifically for fans of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. Ostensibly, it is also meant for children, although some of the recipes and instructions might be hard to follow for a young cook. The cookbook is a novelty item: it is a small volume with relatively few recipes, and it is not meant to serve as a guide for eating each day, but more for occasional food-making. The recipes are Americana recipes—hearty foods that are often associated with an older generation of home cooking, such as Braised Pork Chops and Green Cabbage, Humbug Chicken Legs, and Green Apple Crisp. Each section is grouped by region (East, South, West, and Midwest). However, the ingredients are the main regional division, not necessarily the preparation, such as blueberries in the New England section. This book is also

possibly the byproduct of a personal recipe journal. In one interview, the journalist implies these recipes are Bayley's favorite family recipes.³²

D. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook: Format and Recipes*

Bayley's recipes are mostly made up of raw and unprocessed ingredients. There are some processed foods in the ingredients, such as canned creamed corn, dry cottage cheese, shortening, and "weiners." However, these ingredients are used sparingly and most existed well before World War II. Bayley never states any particular educational agenda for the children reading and cooking her book, but through the exclusion of brand names and most processed foods, she seems to be emphasizing the importance of cooking with quality ingredients. At this point in time, Alice Waters had opened Chez Panisse in 1971 in Berkeley (where Bayley lived), which emphasized using local and organic food. Mollie Katzen had published *The Moosewood Cookbook* in 1977, which contained vegetarian recipes from the Moosewood Restaurant in Ithaca, New York. Neuhaus states, "[A] food revolution occurred in the 1970s: the natural foods movement and medical research on the effects of cholesterol created new popular awareness about diet and health...By the early 1970s numerous Americans cooked and consumed natural foods for both its health benefits and for its contribution to the good of the world."³³ A consciousness was emerging about what and how people eat and while Bayley's cookbook does not explicitly endorse that viewpoint, it certainly does not dissuade it either.

The nostalgic appeal of food lies in both memory and desire. The pleasurable memories of foods from childhood take on a mythical appeal. Nostalgic desire can also exist for food that

³² Nancy J. Stohs, "A Rainbow of Recipes," *Milwaukee Journal*, Dec. 16, 1981.

³³ Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), conclusion, para. 4, Kindle edition.

has never actually been experienced, such as bread made from scratch or for a dish that someone else remembers, like a great-grandmother's apple pie. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* proposes that these recipes are "comfort food," the type of food that the reader would have eaten growing up. This discounts many diverse reader experiences, while also demonstrating that a reader could have nostalgia for this type of food, even if he or she never actually experienced it. In the mythos of America, apple pie is king, whether or not you had apples around growing up.

According to her introduction, Bayley keyed some regions of Oz to particular regions of the United States in addition to associating some chapters with a specific color (see Appendix I for an overview of regions and Appendix II for a full list of recipes). Just like *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, the cookbook opens and closes with sections on Kansas. These recipes are typical Midwestern food, using ingredients traditionally grown in that area (wheat, potatoes, beef) and also influenced by the ethnic populations that settled there, particularly Germans.³⁴ German, Midwestern influence can be seen in the Kansas Potato Pancakes. See Figure 5 below for a comparison of the recipe for Kansas Potato Pancakes in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* and the recipe for German Potato Pancakes in the first edition of *The Joy of Cooking* (1931), published by Irma Rombauer, a writer of German descent living in St. Louis, MO. The two recipes are almost exactly the same: similar ingredients and similar proportions, but printed almost fifty years apart.

³⁴ Germans composed the relative ethnic majority in both Kansas and Wisconsin in 1980 (*Persons Who Reported at Least One Specific Ancestry Group for Regions, Divisions, and States: 1980*, prepared by the Population Division, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1983)).

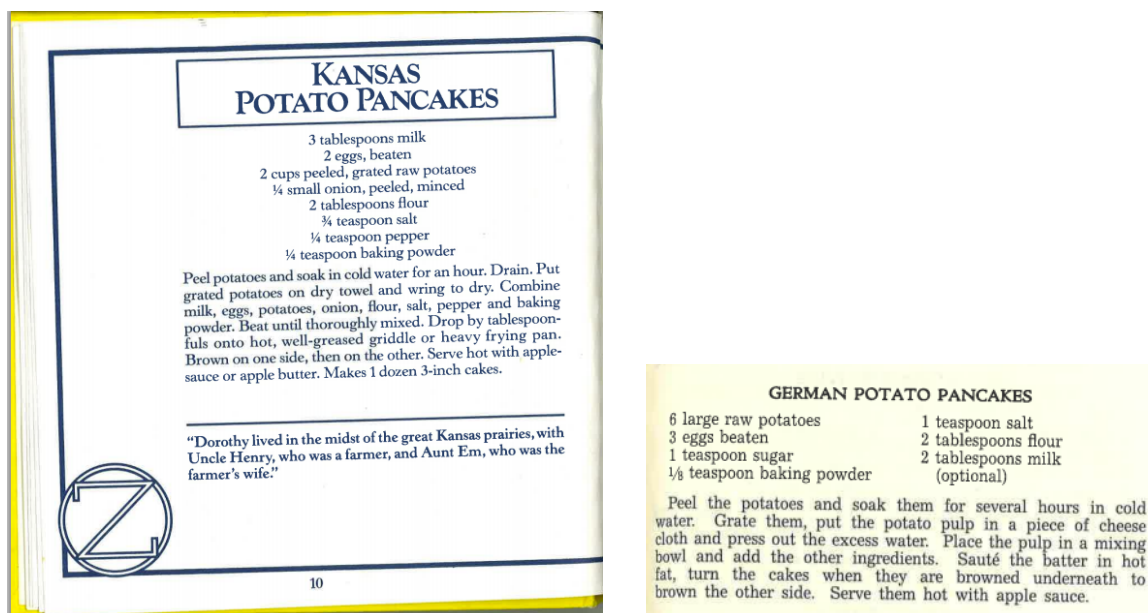


Figure 8. Potato pancake recipes. Left: *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, page 10, 1981; Right: *The Joy of Cooking*, page 205, 1931. Author's photographs.

Bayley drew from family recipes for this cookbook so a regional bias towards the Midwest reflects her Wisconsin upbringing.³⁵ There are more main dishes included in the Kansas sections than in any other. Kansas certainly has the strongest regional connection to its recipes, perhaps because it is actually based on a real region in the United States and not an imagined link between a fantasy region and a real region.

Several of the Oz chapters in the book are associated both with a color and with specific American regions that correspond to their geographic location.³⁶ Munchkin country is represented by food with blue ingredients that would also be typical Northeastern cuisine. Sometimes these categories overlap, including the many recipes with blueberries, the official fruit of Maine. Most of the other recipes only have tenuous ties to the Northeast region.

³⁵ Nancy J. Stohs, "A Rainbow of Recipes," *Milwaukee Journal*, Dec. 16, 1981.

³⁶ See Figure 5 for a map and Appendices I and II for a complete listing of geographic associations and recipes.

The other two regions, Winkie and Quadling, have very loose ties to their proposed regions (West and South, respectively). Instead, yellow and red ingredients are used in abundance and recipe titles reflect the characters and events in those sections of the book. Recipes in the Winkie country include items like eggs, lemons and bananas and refer to the Wicked Witch of the West's winged monkeys (Winged Monkey Macaroons) and the detour through the China country (China Princess Pecan Brittle, China Cow Milkshake). Recipes in the Quadling country section are made up of red ingredients, like tomatoes and red snapper.

This Quadling chapter has significantly fewer recipes than the other chapters, which is surprising both because of the abundance of red foods and the rich food culture of the South. Perhaps this is because neither Baum nor Bayley ever spent much time in the South and the Quadling section of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* is a short journey at the very end of the novel not included in the MGM film, perhaps ensuring that it never became entrenched in the popular culture conception of Oz. Adding more about this section would not add to the nostalgic appeal of the cookbook.

Notably, there are no illustrations or photographs of finished food products in the Oz cookbook. Food photography was relatively expensive and difficult to produce in 1981, even though food photography has been published at least since Betty Crocker's 1956 *Picture Cook Book*. Also the small size of the book—only 127 six-inch square pages—means that there is not much room for drawings of food. In addition, adding pictures other than Denslow's would have negatively affected the authenticity of the cookbook's ties to Oz. Part of the nostalgic appeal is that the book is so reminiscent of the original publication; additional illustrations would have marred the integrity of Denslow's work. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* occupies a unique space between cookbook and children's book. Not a truly practical cookbook, nor a

strict retelling of the Oz story, this volume combines elements of both to provide a nostalgic experience through the vehicle of food instruction. The recipes reflect a history of assimilation in American cuisine, as well as a history of the design and content included in cookbooks for children.

IV. THE WONDERFUL WIZARD OF OZ: A NEW AMERICAN FAIRYTALE

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz was a joint creation of author L. Frank Baum and illustrator W. W. Denslow, seamlessly intertwining illustrations and text. Baum and Denslow shared the copyright and though both would later disagree and ultimately part ways one can hardly separate Baum's work from Denslow's. Denslow's illustrations were seen as so integral to the story that they were used until 1944, when Evelyn Copelman provided new illustrations that more closely matched the characters as visualized in the MGM film.

A. The Partnership of L. Frank Baum and W. W. Denslow

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz was only one of three book collaborations between Baum³⁷ and Denslow,³⁸ partners from 1898-1901.³⁹ Their first book, *Father Goose: His Book* (1899), originated from the nonsense verses Baum wrote while traveling as a salesman. He showed some of these verses to Denslow, who started making illustrations for them. Some of

³⁷ L. Frank Baum was born in 1856 and grew up in an affluent household in New York and Pennsylvania. His adult ventures before and after writing *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* never allowed him to approach the financial comfort of his childhood. He worked as an actor, playwright, general store operator, newspaper editor, traveling salesman and magazine publisher before writing novels. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* was his fifth commercially published work; in total he wrote over 55 novels, many of which were popular series written under pseudonyms. He married Maud Gage in 1882 and had four sons. He died of complications from a stroke in 1919. For an in-depth biography, see Katherine Roger's *L. Frank Baum, Creator of Oz: A Biography*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002).

³⁸ W. W. (William Wallace) Denslow (Jr.) was also born in 1856, but to a working class family. They moved around the east coast often as his father changed jobs multiple times. Denslow lived in New York City from the time he was 12 and enrolled in art school. Denslow traveled often as a young adult, doing book and costume design as well as illustrations for books, newspapers, and advertisements in Philadelphia, Boston and New York. He moved to Chicago and then Denver and San Francisco, primarily illustrating for major newspapers. He had moved back to Chicago for the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and stayed there until around 1901. After disagreeing with Baum over the royalties for *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* musical, Denslow moved back to New York. He kept illustrating, including a series of small children's books that he also authored. Denslow drank heavily throughout his life, dying in 1915 of pneumonia after two days of binge drinking. He was married and divorced three times and had one son that he never met. The only monograph biography of Denslow is Douglas G. Greene and Michael Patrick Hearn's *W. W. Denslow*. (Mount Pleasant, MI: Clarke Historical Library, 1976).

³⁹ Very little in the way of archival material exists for either Baum or Denslow. Baum does have a collection at Syracuse University. There is some correspondence to/from Baum that could be illuminating, but there is very little information directly from Denslow. The acrimonious fall-out between the two men would make it difficult to judge the objectivity of any commentary in later correspondence. Denslow's papers do not seem to have been kept.

Denslow's illustrations even changed and inspired new verses from Baum. For instance, at one point Baum told Denslow that he had a verse about an ostrich dance. Denslow sketched a little girl wearing ostrich plumes dancing with an actual ostrich. Baum liked this much better than his original idea of an awkward man who moves like an ostrich so he rewrote the verse to reflect Denslow's sketch (Figure 9).⁴⁰

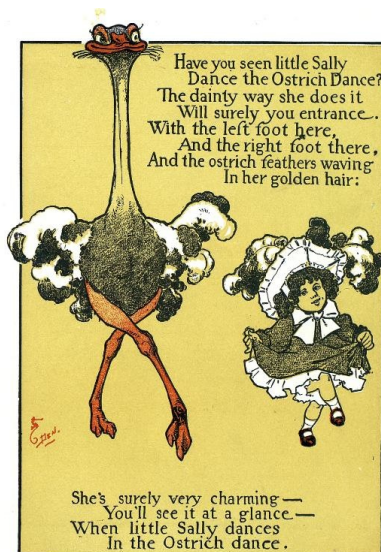


Figure 9. *Father Goose: His Book*, Ostrich Dance, 1899. Chicago: George M. Hill. University of Florida, Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature.

Denslow and Baum had a difficult time finding a publisher for *Father Goose*. They originally intended to finance the publication themselves, but it would have been prohibitively expensive. The illustrations took up much more room than the verses, which were hand

⁴⁰ Douglas G. Greene and Michael Patrick Hearn, *W. W. Denslow* (Mount Pleasant, MI: Clarke Historical Library, 1976), 82.

lettered; Denslow designed the layout for each page in addition to illustrating, making each a own poster-like work of art. Denslow contacted the George M. Hill Company in Chicago, who agreed to publish the book if Baum and Denslow paid to have the color plates made. The letterer, Ralph Fletcher Seymour, was actually cheaper than both paying for the plates and laying out printed text.

Father Goose was an immediate success and went through multiple printings during its first year, becoming the best-selling picture book of 1900 and lead to a similar deal for Baum and Denslow's next book, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. This book was also an instant best-seller and went through multiple printings its first year of publication. The book spawned a successful stage show that toured nationally from 1902 to 1904. This production returned both men to their earlier careers in the theater, but also led to the demise of their partnership.⁴¹

Publishers used Denslow's illustrations for nearly half of the publication history of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*—from 1900 until Evelyn Copelman's MGM-influenced illustrations in 1944. Part of this is due to Denslow owning half of the copyright; if a publishing house wanted to use another illustrator, they would have to find a way around the legal rights that Denslow

⁴¹ Interviews from after the publication of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* show the tension between Baum and Denslow. Baum's name is more closely linked with the story. He certainly devised the majority of the narrative, but W. W. Denslow always claimed to have designed aspects of the narrative also, both through his illustrations and through his conversations with Baum. In an interview he discussed the Cowardly Lion, "In order to get another element of fun, we introduced the Cowardly Lion. Lions are usually ferocious. The fun of the thing, as I saw it, was to make him a coward" ("Denslow: Denver Artist, Originator of Scarecrow and Tin Man," *Denver Republican*, Sept. 4, 1904). According to this statement, Denslow asserts that he had an at least equal role in creating one of the major characters of the novel. This statement was made in 1904, well after Baum and Denslow had parted ways.

The animosity between the two men worsened during the creation of the stage musical of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in 1901. Denslow and Baum worked with composer Paul Tietjens on the production. Denslow designed costumes (a job he had been quite successful at earlier in his life), and demanded one-third of the profits, but neither Baum nor Tietjens felt this was fair. All three eventually came to a settlement to avoid a lawsuit, but this has permanently strained their relationship. Baum stated later that he would never share the copyright of his books again, and he never collaborated closely with another illustrator in the same way (L. Frank Baum, W. W. Denslow, and Michael Patrick Hearn, *The Annotated Wizard of Oz: The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (New York: Norton, 2000), liii). Tellingly, John R. Neill, who illustrated the rest of Baum's Oz books, only met the author a handful of times.

and his estate owned. After *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* entered the public domain in 1956 the book reappeared in many different forms, often with different illustrations (or with no illustrations at all). However, before the 1939 release of the MGM film and subsequent new illustrations, Denslow's illustrations and Baum's text were inseparable.

B. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz: Publication and Design*

The use of color in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* was astonishing for the time. Each location in the story has a color theme, using that color for both textual references and the in-text illustrations; the illustrations were different colors from chapter to chapter, making an abstract color map. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* parrots these illustration colors in the ingredient colors.⁴² Part of this is practical; if Denslow and Baum wanted to print text over Denslow's large background illustrations, black on black would not be readable. Black over a color would stand out much better. The book that Denslow and Baum created, as published by George M. Hill from 1900 until 1902, and then republished in facsimile by Books of Wonder in the 1980s, is a startling work of color. Denslow's background in book design was apparent in the meticulous and cohesive layout of the entire package, including the cover, copyright page, and endpapers. The text itself was set and printed by Hill; as with *Father Goose*, Denslow and Baum paid for the color plates.

The design of illustrations is altered in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*; the plates are faithfully reproduced, albeit smaller, but there are no illustrations that hover behind the text. Marginal figures exist around the text, but are never overlaid with it. The textual content of the cookbook also has a rigid format; the design of how each recipe is written must remain

⁴² See Appendix I for a full list of colors.

consistent throughout the book. It must also remain clear and readable. When a person is using the book to cook, he or she is looking back and forth from the written recipe to their food. Quick readability is an important part of being able to complete that process. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* draws as much from the Denslow illustrations as it can while still maintaining its function as an instructional book.

C. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz: Popularity and Placement in Children's Literature*

Both Baum and Denslow wanted to write a new type of children's book. In their co-signed introduction to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, they bemoaned traditional scary tales with "all the horrible and bloodcurdling incident devised by their authors to point a fearsome moral to each tale."⁴³ Denslow himself had no love for people who wanted to take the joy out of childhood and had always hoped to entertain both children and adults with his work. In 1903 interview, Denslow stated,

There was precious little printed then [during his childhood] for a boy to laugh at...and I made up my mind that some day I'd furnish the laugh material to them. To make children laugh...you must tell them stories of action. They aren't really fascinated by cruelty—it's action they want. The trouble is that their desires have been misunderstood. I tell my stories with pictures and I can often indicate action by expression. Action and expression, then, are two of my mainstays, and when you add the incongruous you have the triad that I rely upon.⁴⁴

This philosophy of Denslow and Baum was remarkable for the time as they forged a new path for children's entertainment. Even the whimsical animal stories of Beatrix Potter, starting with *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* in 1902, emphasized a moral at the end of the story, such as obeying

⁴³ L. Frank Baum and W. W. Denslow, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900; repr., New York: Books of Wonder, 1987), 5.

⁴⁴ "A Lover of Children Who Knows How to Make Them Laugh," *Detroit News*, September 13, 1903.

your mother. For Baum and Denslow everything did not have to have a lesson and furthermore, children had their own way of enjoying things that was distinct from adults. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* was meant to be a story of pure escapism. There are pieces of morality and suspense, but no overt admonishments.⁴⁵ Consumers of Oz do not seem to miss the morality and bloodshed as *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* has been in print continuously for over 100 years, sold over five million copies before it went into the public domain in 1956, spawned multiple adaptations in other media (including cookbooks), and has been translated into almost every modern language.⁴⁶

The academic study of Oz has not kept pace with its general popularity, but one early scholar who discussed Oz was literary critic Edward Wagenknecht. In 1929, he published an essay called "Utopia Americana," which alleged that Oz was always meant as an American utopia,

I have spoken of the Land of Oz as an American utopia. By this I do not mean that the Oz books are full of social criticism. Since they were written for children, this is obviously not the case. Yet the utopia element in them is strong, and if the children do not forget it all by the time they grow up, perhaps it is not too fantastic to imagine that it may do some good....Our American utopia may be somewhat crude in spots but there is no denying that it is ours. It would be comparatively simple to make the history of Oz a somewhat more highly finished record, but the chances are nine out of ten that you would at the same time make it somewhat less American. Someday we may have better American fairy tales but that will not be until America is a better country.⁴⁷

To Wagenknecht, Oz was a uniquely American utopia because it consisted of American materials: mechanical inventions like the Tin Woodman and common farming props like the

⁴⁵ Lack of strong morals is one reason given by libraries for exclusion of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and its sequels. Other reasons for resistance against Oz have included poor prose, negativity, one-dimensional characters, and witchcraft. In addition to neglect in libraries, Oz has also largely been shunned by academia. See Martin Gardner and Russell B. Nye, *The Wizard of Oz and Who He Was* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957), p. 14 for further information.

⁴⁶ L. Frank Baum, W. W. Denslow, and Michael Patrick Hearn, *The Annotated Wizard of Oz: The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (New York: Norton, 2000), xiii, ci.

⁴⁷ Edward Wagenknecht, *Utopia Americana* (Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Press, 1970), 30, 40.

Scarecrow. The American utopia can only be as good as its fundamental materials and Oz is still not perfect even in its utopian state. There are still villains and problems, but these issues are solved quickly with simple solutions. In many ways, utopias are the geographical manifestations of nostalgia. When Wagenknecht talks about Oz as an ideal place, he is being nostalgic for his memories of reading about the land and its people and customs. Many utopian visions have involved a return to past ways of life, including simplified food and cooking methods. Oz is a very simple place and this is reflected in the recipes included in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, which while not advocating a return to a prairie lifestyle, does include recipes that are old-fashioned compared to the contemporary food of the 1980s.

D. Oz: Adaptations and Placement in Popular Culture

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook is part of a long line of commercial adaptations of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. It falls in the middle of artistic adaptations of the story and commercial products. Story adaptations have included movies, radio shows, television shows, and other books (abridged, graphic novels, retellings). Commercial products include games, toys, food, and collectables.

Adaptations of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* have served to keep memories of the story in the cultural consciousness. The most popular adaptation is *The Wizard of Oz*, the MGM film made in 1939, which became hugely recognizable due to its annual airings on network television starting in 1956.⁴⁸ However, many earlier adaptations exist, including the initial stage play that toured nationally from 1902-1904 and caused so much acrimony between Baum and Denslow.

⁴⁸ This paper is not the place for an in-depth discussion of all of the popular culture ramifications of the MGM film. For a fascinating discussion of the MGM Oz within popular culture, see Salman Rushdie's short volume *The Wizard of Oz* (London: BFI, 2012).

Later Baum produced his own movies (very much at his own expense) of some of the other stories at various times before his death in 1919 and the aforementioned Jell-O-sponsored radio show, which ran in 1933-34.⁴⁹ However, the MGM film looms larger in popular culture than any of these earlier attempts for several reasons.

Color was an important aspect of the film, just as color had been important to the original novel. Both media showed off new technologies: multi-color printing for the book and Technicolor for the film. However, the narrative use of color in the film was very different than in the novel; Dorothy's silver shoes did not stand out on the screen, so they were changed to ruby slippers, regions no longer had a favorite color in the film, and there are no rainbows mentioned in the book.

When *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* was published in 1981, Oz had been assaulting popular culture for decades. In 1956, CBS acquired the rights to show the movie on television and starting in 1959 it was shown annually until 1991. In 1981, the audience was primed; *The Wizard of Oz* had been shown on television for 22 straight years at that point, and *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* book still had never gone out of print. Exposure to all things Oz-related was at a high point.

⁴⁹ These movies produced by Baum were termed "fairylogues," similar to a travelogue, but in a fairy land. This production was called *Fairylogue and Radio-Plays*. These were in part very early versions of film - he used the special effects available to him at the time and sent the film to France to be hand-colored. The entire production toured and was a mix of motion picture, slide show, and live narration and acting. This venture was quite expensive and also never popular enough to recoup the expenses. Besides these fairylogues, other adaptations of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* included a live movie using some of the footage from *Fairylogue and Radio-Plays* released in 1910 called *Wonderful Wizard of Oz*; a 1925 silent movie, *The Wizard of Oz*, released by Chadwick Pictures starring Oliver Hardy as the Tin Woodman; several touring marionette versions starting in 1928; a radio play sponsored by Jell-o which ran from 1933-1934 (discussed in more detail below); television specials airing in 1960, 1964 and 1967; and a feature cartoon starring Liza Minnelli as Dorothy in 1974 called *Journey Back to Oz*. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* has also been adapted into numerous plays and musicals, notably *The Wiz* (1974) and *Wicked* (2003, based on the Gregory Maguire book of the same name released in 1995). Baum's subsequent Oz books have also had numerous adaptations.

In addition to books and movies, Oz-related games and toys have been produced since the original book appeared. Early games that were released included *The Wogglebug Game of Conundrums* (1905), *The Wonderful Game of Oz* (1921, fig. 8), and *The Waddle Book* (1934). *The Wogglebug Game* consisted of riddles and was more distinctly tied to the second Oz book, *The Marvelous Land of Oz*, as well as the comic strip that L. Frank Baum produced. *The Wonderful Game of Oz* was released by Parker Brothers and was similar to *Candyland* with players were represented by pewter (later wood) figures of characters and rolled cubes lettered W, I, Z, A, R, and D to advance on a path with chances for both extra advances and setbacks. The most recent edition of the game was released in 1935.⁵⁰ *The Waddle Book* was released by Blue Ribbon Books in 1934 and included the original *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* text and illustrations along with figurines in the back to be cut out and attached to metal springs. This enabled a child to make the characters “waddle” down an inclined ramp (not included). Other games were released after the film in 1939, but none featured Denslow’s character renderings as much as the three mentioned above.

⁵⁰ David L. Greene and Dick Martin, *The Oz Scrapbook* (New York: Random House, 1977), 174.

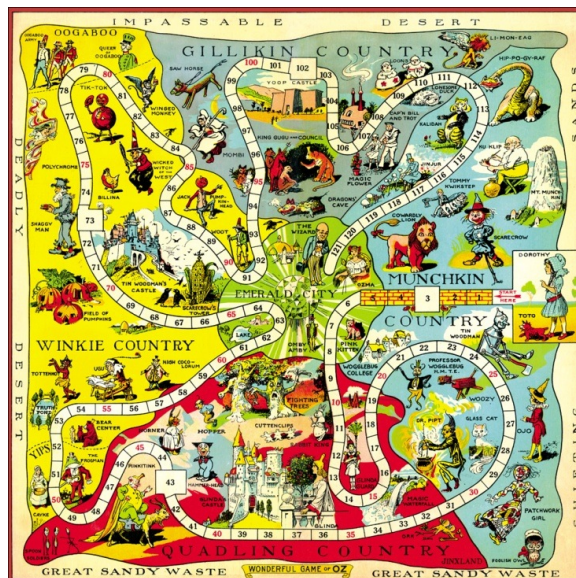


Figure 10. *The Wonderful Game of Oz*, game board, 1921. *The Wonderful Wiki of Oz* (oz.wikia.com).

One of the most interesting intersections of nostalgia and popular culture comes from marketing. Some of the most prolific corporate tie-ins of products to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* include those related to food. Two in particular stand out due to their overt linking of Oz with advertising: Jell-O and Swift peanut butter. As mentioned, Jell-O sponsored a *Wizard of Oz* radio program on NBC from 1933-1934. One of the promotions urged fans to send in box-fronts from Jell-O packages for one of four Little Wizard books with color images and recipes. Each booklet states, “Surely a wizard invented Jell-O desserts! They’re so wonderful that they sound like magic! And the lovely Jell-O colors must have come from a fairy’s jewel box, we’re sure,” and “Tell Mother about the new dishes in the back of this book because we’ve heard that the grown-ups like this kind of magic, too!”⁵¹ Jell-O’s relationship with Oz extended from the

⁵¹ Elaine Willingham and Steve Cox, *Cooking in Oz: Kitchen Wizardry and a Century of Marvels from America’s Favorite Tale* (Nashville, TN: Cumberland House, 1999), 182.

book to the movie. When the gate-keeper shows Dorothy and her companions the Horse of a Different Color when they first enter Oz, the actual horse was dyed using colored Jell-O.

Another product campaign that used *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* was for Swift peanut butter in the 1940s.⁵² Some of the Oz-related promotions included souvenir juice glasses and Oz-related recipes such as “Tin Woodman’s Sundae,” which includes “Oz Peanut Butter Sauce.” Even though these products came out after the 1939 MGM film, the illustrations accompanying them are more reminiscent of those in the books. Each juice glass had an illustration of a character, but the illustrations are not faithfully either Denslow’s or Neill’s, likely because those illustrations were still protected under copyright.

Food promotions like these are one of the main ways that fandom, the sense of community and affinity surrounding a specific cultural phenomenon, is cemented for people. A child read the book and enjoyed it; that child might then either passively or actively seek out things connected to that enjoyable experience. If a child listened to the Oz radio hour and heard about Jell-O at the end of the show or saw a print ad in a magazine with his or her favorite character the Tin Woodman, or asked his or her mother to buy the peanut butter in the souvenir glass instead of the regular plain glass, that child was surrounding him- or herself with memorabilia. For some children, this fandom continues throughout a lifetime. Fandom intersects with nostalgia when fond memories of the characters and universe become something comforting and consistent. Products are produced and sold in order to appeal to this set of people that want to bolster their abstract nostalgic memories with physical objects.

⁵² Bill Beem, “A Checklist of Oz Character and Promotional Glasses,” *The Baum Bugle* 34, no. 1 (1991): 7.

The popularity of Oz has been expressed in multiple forms throughout the twentieth century. The novel has been adapted into several different media, even branching off into games, radio, and recipes. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* does not seem to be overtly influenced by these other adaptations, but instead pulls heavily from the original source material created by Baum and Denslow, but with slight alterations in the case of Denslow's illustrations and a lack of context for Baum's brief quotations. The storyline is followed by the chapter divisions and recipe names, but Denslow's illustrations are explicitly inserted into the work. The design of this cookbook is similar to the original novel, evoking nostalgia for the book that is strengthened by readers' ties to food and childhood.

V. GOING HOME AGAIN: NOSTALGIA'S HISTORY AND TIES TO OZ, FOOD AND CHILDHOOD

Aunt Em had just come out of the house to water the cabbages when she looked up and saw Dorothy running toward her. "My darling child!" she cried, folding the little girl in her arms and covering her face with kisses; "where in the world did you come from?" "From the land of Oz," said Dorothy gravely. "And here is Toto, too. And oh, Aunt Em! I'm so glad to be at home again!"⁵³

Originally conceived in 1688 by Johannes Hofer as a medical affliction, nostalgia now has a positive connotation. Current historian Svetlana Boym defines nostalgia as a rift between time and space—a yearning for not only a different place but also a different time. People build their personal nostalgic yearnings from memories—either from their actual past or a memory of some place experienced through reading or watching media. Nostalgia gives people a concrete ideal to return to repeatedly; unlike the nuances and complications of reality, nostalgia is a stable place that each person customizes to his or her exact likes and dislikes. Nostalgia expands from this individual experience to a shared one when it intersects with public experiences, including those of popular culture. Additionally, food and childhood are both often associated with fond memories and nostalgic views of the past. Companies use these associations to promote their goods, using design to evoke these feelings of nostalgia.

A. History of Nostalgia and Current Conceptions

Johannes Hofer invented the term nostalgia in his dissertation describing the effects he witnessed in Swiss natives removed from home. Hofer's description of nostalgia is akin to our modern definition of homesickness, but he brings up the important point that objects can trigger nostalgic feelings,

⁵³ L. Frank Baum and W. W. Denslow, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900; repr., New York: Books of Wonder, 1987), 261.

Nostalgia, moreover, indeed as far as I am able to assume in the uncertainty of the thing, is sympathetic of an afflicted imagination....by revisiting the oval tubes of the center brain, it is originated by arousing especially the uncommon and ever-present idea of the recalled native land in the mind....It is easily clear from that, moreover, that the imagination is affected because men thus oppressed are moved by small external objects and nothing creates a stronger impression than the desire recalling the homeland.

⁵⁴

Hofer assumes that nostalgia is a curable disease. Various cures proposed by him and others range from burying someone up to their neck to removing these physical triggers to simply sending the afflicted home. People no longer think of nostalgia as a disease; the sentimentality one feels about a time or place can be a positive way of remembering or honoring the past. Physical objects are still very much triggers to these feelings. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* is just one such reminder—it exists in its reminiscent form solely to evoke memories of the original book and story, provoking nostalgia for another time and possibly place.

Svetlana Boym looks at nostalgia through the lens of a contemporary historian. She discusses Hofer at length, as well as the conceptual evolution of nostalgia. Even though nostalgia is no longer thought of as a treatable illness, she still sees nostalgia in a negative light,

Nostalgia...is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy. Nostalgic love can only survive in a long-distance relationship....Somehow progress didn't cure nostalgia but exacerbated it. Similarly, globalization encouraged stronger local attachments. In counterpoint to our fascination with cyberspace and the virtual global village, there is a no less global epidemic of nostalgia, an effective yearning for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity in a fragmented world. Nostalgia inevitably reappears as a defense mechanism in a time of accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals.⁵⁵

Nostalgia is a concept that can only exist when one can conceive of a time or place that is not present. This becomes easier the more removed one becomes from his or her birthplace and also the more one consumes about fantastical times and places. Fantasy lands like Oz excite a

⁵⁴ Johannes Hofer, "Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia," *Bulletin of The Institute of the History of Medicine* 2, no. 6, trans. Carolyn Kiser Anspach (1688, repr. 1934): 381.

⁵⁵ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiv.

passion for make-believe worlds. As books like *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* become part of the historical consciousness, fans find each other. The International Wizard of Oz Club was founded in 1957 and is still active today. Boym is correct that the Internet has made creating these types of communities easier, but this collective nostalgia for a made up place is not a new phenomenon. The Internet has just made it easier to connect and collaborate and disseminate ideas of nostalgia.

Boym surmises that nostalgia, particularly the positive perception, arose with modernism and industrialism. In talking just about nostalgia for a past time, not necessarily a made-up time, the creation of the mass-produced object came with the creation of a yearning for a time when such objects did not exist. A prominent earlier example of nostalgia for past processes is the Arts and Crafts movement, lead by William Morris in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Arts and Crafts pieces have endured, as well as writings, and even though the productive arm of the movement was not long-lasting, the idea of resurrecting past practices is still discussed today.⁵⁶ This is especially prevalent in cooking and the movement to return to “honest” food that has been building in opposition to processed foods for the past few decades. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* encourages this subtly by including ingredients that Bayley would have largely encountered during her own mid-century childhood and not newer ingredients from the time of publication in 1981.

⁵⁶ Instead of being content to purchase mass-produced furniture, books and other goods, Morris and his fellows created Arts and Crafts objects by hand, in a way that they used to be produced. Participants in this movement mourn the loss of a purer art that they feel has been lost in the new industrial age. In response to this Morris and his colleagues resurrected older practices of craftsmanship for the objects generally produced by machinery. However, they could not compete with the cheapness and ease of mass-produced goods; their objects were not viably productive and self-sufficient because they cost too much to produce and there were not enough willing buyers. For a discussion of new methods of production from the Arts and Crafts perspective see Walter Crane’s “Of the Revival of Design and Handicraft,” in *Arts and Crafts Essays* (London: Rivington, Percival and Co., 1893).

Reminiscing about an idea repeatedly makes that idea part of a personal identity. Nostalgia enables abstract ideas, places, and times to become part of one's fabric. When someone says he or she is a fan of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, that person has selected a very specific part of their identity. Through fan groups like the International Wizard of Oz Fan Club, or even less formal arrangements like owning a calendar, poster, or cookbook, one expresses this nostalgia materially. Like any other material object, these nostalgic pieces can then be marketed.

B. Nostalgia for Oz

In *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, Dorothy is homesick, but not necessarily nostalgic. She is not a sentimental child in any aspect and nostalgia is full of sentimentality. Her longing for home aligns more with Hofer's original descriptions of nostalgia than the modern definition. However, popular culture has molded both Dorothy and Oz fans into nostalgics. The simplicity of longing evidenced in Dorothy's struggles to get home is appealing. People have mixed feelings regarding their own places of origin; rarely are there only positive associations with a homeland. Dorothy is not actually as simple as she is sometimes made out to be; she wants to go home again, but she knows that home is not particularly wonderful. In an exchange with the Scarecrow, who is a bit surprised she would want to leave Oz to return to dreary Kansas, Dorothy demonstrates knowledge that her longing is not wholly logical,

"Tell me something about yourself, and the country you came from," said the Scarecrow, when she had finished her dinner. So she told him all about Kansas, and how gray everything was there, and how the cyclone had carried her to this queer land of Oz. The Scarecrow listened carefully, and said, "I cannot understand why you should wish to leave this beautiful country and go back to the dry, gray place you call Kansas." "That is because you have no brains," answered the girl. "No matter how dreary and gray our homes are, we people of flesh and blood would rather live there than in any other country, be it ever so beautiful. There is no place like home."

The Scarecrow sighed. "Of course I cannot understand it," he said. "If your heads were stuffed with straw, like mine, you would probably all live in the beautiful places, and then Kansas would have no people at all. It is fortunate for Kansas that you have brains."⁵⁷

Dorothy is not necessarily homesick for Kansas itself as an independent entity, but she misses her home, which encompasses Kansas, the farm, Aunt Em and Uncle Henry. One of Denslow's full color plates pictures the scene above; it is set between the two pages from which this quote is taken (Figure 11).



Figure 11. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, plate 5, 1900. Chicago: George M. Hill. University of Virginia Special Collections.

⁵⁷ L. Frank Baum and W. W. Denslow, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900; repr., New York: Books of Wonder, 1987), 44-45.

This picture also appears in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* on page 45, opposite the recipes for Haystack Sandwiches and Scarecrow Sandwiches in the Yellow Brick Road section. In this plate, Dorothy looks sad, the Scarecrow looks interested and puzzled, and Toto looks askance at Dorothy, as if he is also wondering why she would want to go home to Kansas after she has seen Oz. The concept of Oz being “over the rainbow” never appears in the book and was an invention of the MGM film, but the sentiment of traveling to a magical place that is fundamentally different is still strong in the book itself. The time spent in Kansas in the story is brief, and despite Kansas’ importance to Dorothy evidently Denslow did not feel the need to devote any full-page or full-color illustrations to her home.

At the end of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, Dorothy does return home again and the reader vicariously makes this impossible journey back to a home unchanged by time and distance. The last chapter in the book (Chapter XXIV: Home Again) is two paragraphs long. Above the text is a red landscape of the farmhouse and below is Dorothy running eagerly and one shoe has even come off in her haste (Figure 12).

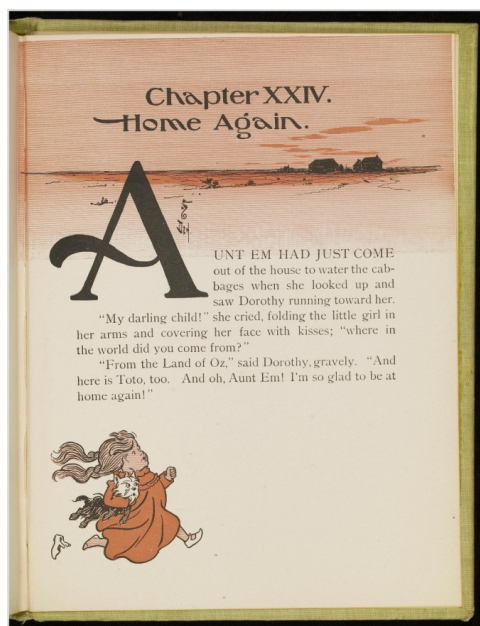


Figure 12. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, page 261, 1900. Chicago: George M. Hill. University of Virginia Special Collections

Svetlana Boym discusses the impossibility of returning home in reality above and historian Susan J. Matt confirms that this concept of not being able to return home was prevalent even while *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* was being written, “It seems clear that in the United States, however, the sense that return [to one’s home] was impossible came more gradually, gaining wide acceptance only in the wake of the Civil War, massive immigration, urbanization, and industrialization.”⁵⁸ According to Matt, in this time period L. Frank Baum would have been aware of the appeal of being able to return home. Looking at Baum’s own history of living all over the country with his family and never returning to his own childhood home in New York, Dorothy’s successful return reads as wish fulfillment.

⁵⁸ Susan J. Matt, “You Can’t Go Home Again: Homesickness and Nostalgia in U.S. History,” *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 2 (2007), 485.

Baum plays with these ideas of nostalgia and homesickness throughout *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. By creating a fantasy world that has endured for over one hundred years, he's created an environment about which one can be nostalgic. This potential for nostalgia has been enhanced by adaptations of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, as well as Oz's regular appearances within popular culture, including in food advertisements and this cookbook. Nostalgia for Oz exists, but as a fantasyland the nostalgia stems from memories of reading and watching and loving these characters and stories. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* capitalizes on this nostalgia, using the original illustrations and recipe names from book events, as well as "American" food that its readers likely grew up eating. Later the deep connections between childhood, food and nostalgia will be discussed in more depth, but for now it is enough to think of the nostalgia and longing for a place created in Baum and Denslow's imaginations and embellished through one's own reading of the text.

Nostalgia and longing can be translated into a concrete manifestation. Justin Schiller created the Wizard of Oz Fan Club in 1957 when he was 13 years old. In 1959, this became the International Wizard of Oz Club (IWOC), which is still in operation today.⁵⁹ The IWOC

⁵⁹ The club publishes a newsletter/journal, *The Baum Bugle*, which generally contains original articles, out of print stories from an author associated with Oz, as well as a "trading post" flyer with announcements about Oz memorabilia for sale, short mentions of Oz in the news, and reviews of Oz-related publications. The *Bugle* started out as a four-page mimeographed newsletter, but is now a glossy journal, usually over 40 pages in length. The articles are generally well-researched and thorough. The IWOC membership is an active and interested fan base, which comes with advantages and disadvantages. Many esoteric publications in newspapers and other ephemera have been sought out and published by tenacious fans of Oz; however, the attitude towards Oz and its creators is usually one of veneration leading to potential distortion of facts or at least suppression of negativity. The journal is edited but not peer-reviewed and has no issue creating a warm sense of nostalgia and familiarity with Oz and its creators even if that means an imbalanced view. Despite these potential concerns, many literary critics and historians that focus on Oz have been involved with the IWOC and their work has been published elsewhere as well. The community created by the IWOC encourages research as well as nostalgia. In addition to the *Baum Bugle*, the club also publishes *Oziana* once a year, which is a collection of Oz-related stories and poems. This has been published since 1971 and the IWOC description of the publications states that it is one of the earliest examples of fan fiction. For more information see the pages "History of the Club," *The Baum Bugle*, accessed December 15, 2013, <http://ozclub.org/history-of-the-club> and "Oziana," *The International Wizard of Oz Club*, accessed December 15, 2009, <http://ozclub.org/oziana/>.

publications include both an academic-type journal and a yearly journal of fiction written by fans about the Oz universe. Fan fiction is one method of concretely exploring nostalgia for a place that has never existed—a fictional universe. Svetlana Boym was quoted above as saying that nostalgia is a longing for a place that has never existed, but fan fiction negates that somewhat; the act of writing about the world one wants to inhabit is a way of visiting it. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* is not fan fiction in the sense that it is a narrative with developed characters, but the book does follow the general storyline of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and adds its own interpretations of the characters and what they might have eaten. The reader of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* has an Oz-related experience separate from the memory of reading (or watching) *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*.

Memories formed during childhood shape one's nostalgia for that period. Part of these memories and experiences are the media that are consumed, including things like *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. Adherents establish official clubs and networks like the IWOC to create legitimacy for this longing. People can now share and discuss nostalgia for Oz, either through scholarly pursuits like building up bibliographies of writing and memorabilia or through creative outlets like fan fiction, where one returns to the universe and also keeps expanding upon it. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* both perpetuates and reflects this type of nostalgia. This is a newly creative work—it is hard to imagine that Baum or Denslow ever pictured their characters in a cookbook since they rarely eat in the books as it is. These characters are now placed alongside recipes that follow their journey and themes and names, which is a culmination of the nostalgia one might feel towards both food and Oz. At the same time, readers of this book bolster their own nostalgia towards food and Oz. Food is an important part of the nostalgia of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*. Ties to childhood and memory do not only

exist in the fictional media that one consumes, but also in the physical food that one remembers making, smelling, and eating.

C. Nostalgia for Food and Childhood through Cookbooks

Children's literature alone does not make *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* a nostalgic object. Food and memory have always had a strong relationship and food brings its own nostalgic associations to any object.⁶⁰ Nostalgia is not necessarily involuntary or voluntary; it is instead a coherent ideal of all the best parts of one's memories, whether or not they are factually accurate. These include the wished-for locations and feelings and events that cannot be dismissed or forgotten.

Material goods and sensory memories serve as concrete place and time markers for nostalgic memories. Memories and nostalgia become part of identity. Marketing and business scholars William J. Havlena and Susan L. Holak discuss the evolution of nostalgia from a feeling of homesickness to a marker of identity within the realm of social sciences, "...homesickness' no longer applies in the same way when describing nostalgic emotion. Rather, from the sociological perspective, nostalgia allows human beings to maintain their identity in the face of major transitions which serve as discontinuities in the life cycle."⁶¹ These transitions include the processes of growing up and out of childhood, but childhood memories anchor a person to their self-identity.

⁶⁰ The most famous discussion of food, memory and nostalgia is Proust's episode of the madeleine in *In Search of Lost Time*. This episode is meant to illustrate the phenomenon of involuntary memory since Proust only remembers the Sunday mornings with his aunt once he actually tastes the madeleine and the memories come to him unbidden.

⁶¹ William J. Havlena and Susan L. Holak, "'The Good Old Days': Observations on Nostalgia and Its Role in Consumer Behavior, *Advances in Consumer Research* 18 (1991): 324.

Food is an important part of life and childhood in the United States. Meals are ceremonial events and cooking has become more and more personalized as more families transitioned to independent existence where cooking responsibilities (and therefore cookbook audiences) shifted from a servant to the female head of the household from the 19th to the 20th century. Anthropologist Jean Duruz discusses a contemporary need for memories of food, “Haunted by the forces of globalization, new technologies, and changing conceptions of time and space, the post-industrial West is rife with nostalgic returns to figures of comfort and the beguiling possibilities they offer for reenactment.”⁶² Cooking offers up an opportunity to reenact cooking rituals that one remembers from another lifetime. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* provides opportunities to make these idealized middle-class “comforting” meals: biscuits, cookies, dumplings, gelatin molds. All of these foods are standard middle-class mid-century American comfort food and many will be laden with memories for those who grew up making and eating these dishes. Even if one did not actually make these meals in his or her own family, he or she would have been bombarded with advertising images touting this food as comforting and a standard to which to aspire. Just as there can exist nostalgia for fantasylands, there can also exist nostalgia for fantasy foods.

Havlena and Holak discuss nostalgia as it relates to consumerism. The pair has published multiple articles on this topic, but this is not at all a new phenomenon. Commercial brands have enlisted the aid of nostalgic associations for decades, including ties to childhood and *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. The Jell-O radio campaign with *The Wizard of Oz* mentioned in previous chapters is one example of how a food product can be marketed with nostalgia. To refresh, in 1933-34, Jell-O sponsored a 15-minute radio show that aired three times a week

⁶² Jean Duruz, “Haunted Kitchens: Cooking and Remembering,” *Gastronomica* 4, no. 1 (2004): 57.

revolving around stories in the Oz books. As a promotion, four short *Little Wizard Stories of Oz*⁶³ books were reprinted, identical to the 1913 editions, and sent to consumers in exchange for a dime and some Jell-O box tops. The back cover of each of these books featured an illustration of the Scarecrow and the Tin Woodman carrying a gelatin mold. An insert was also included linking Jell-O with the stories in the book and offering recipe tie-ins similar in theme to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, such as an Emerald Fruit Cup made with lime Jell-O.⁶⁴ In this case the illustrations and promotional materials are twenty years old, dating from 1913 and being used for a 1933 radio show.

The children listening to this show would not have been alive when the books were initially released in 1913.⁶⁵ Despite this, the booklets were identical, using the same illustrations and tying in Jell-O to the original stories, functioning in much the same way as *The Wizard of Oz Cookbook* with its original illustrations and food tied into the narrative of the original storyline (see previous Figures 2, 6 and 7 for examples of the covers and interiors of *Ozma and the Little Wizard*).

Children have little independent purchasing power; their parents were the ones supplying the Jell-O and also helping them mail away for the booklets. The Jell-O sponsorship had cross-generational appeal, counting on the idea that parents or other adults would have attachments to Oz and to these stories and would be willing to send away for material. Another part of the appeal would have been the “retro” style of illustration. These books were reproductions of an illustration style from 20 years ago. While this is a much smaller gap than

⁶³ The *Little Wizard Stories of Oz* is a set of six short stories ostensibly for younger children about Oz by L. Frank Baum in 1913. These were illustrated by John R. Neill, who illustrated all of the Oz books except for *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*.

⁶⁴ Carolyn Wyman, *Jell-O: A Biography* (San Diego: Harcourt, 2001), 31-32.

⁶⁵ Monica Bayley was born in 1919 and could have listened to the radio show, although at that point she would have been 14 years old and potentially past the age demographic.

the original production and then reproduction of Denslow's illustrations in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*, it is still a substantial length of time. These booklets would still be eliciting memories of the past, a time before World War I, perhaps prompting parents or other adults to share their own memories with children, creating a nostalgia within them for a set of books published prior to their births that they could not have possibly experienced contemporary with the original publishing period.

Other campaigns to market nostalgia rely on a more manufactured sense of design. These companies do not necessarily market an exact replica of a nostalgic object that someone remembers, but instead take elements of previous designs to create a cookbook specifically manufactured to elicit nostalgia. Anthropologist Jean Duruz discusses how remembering becomes part of identity in the context of retro-style cookbooks reminiscent of the 1950s and 1960s published for consumption in the 1990s,

[The article's] concern is to focus on dynamic connections between food, nostalgia and identity — on memories of food of the 1950s and early 1960s and on ways these memories are reworked as scripts for 1990s cultural remembering and investment. Specifically, the focus is on these scripts as forms of myth-making in the *present*, the production of fifties and sixties myths for public consumption in the nineties.⁶⁶

In setting up her discussion, Duruz proposes an intriguing relationship between food, publishing and memory that creates a specific nostalgia. This nostalgia becomes a script and the cookbooks are the vehicle through which the consumer decides what exactly it is he or she is nostalgic for. These could be foods the consumer experienced during childhood, but the consumer is not necessarily 40 years or older. Younger generations are purchasing these books too, succumbing to nostalgia for a time period they did not even experience. The design of the

⁶⁶ Jean Duruz, "Food as Nostalgia: Eating the Fifties and Sixties," *Australian Historical Studies* 30, no. 113 (1999): 232.

cookbook evokes this nostalgia through its design (the type, layout, colors, illustrations) as well as its contents.

Each person's nostalgia is individualized to their personal idealizations of former experiences and memories. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* provokes a very specific set of memories in order to evoke nostalgia: the original Oz story, as well as elements of middle-class American comfort food from the middle of the twentieth century. All of this is a fantasy—from Baum's initial storyline of a girl transported to Oz by a cyclone to Denslow's whimsical illustrations of an animate Scarecrow, Tin Woodman and Cowardly Lion to the placement of these comforting dishes within their supposed regional context to the actual physical act of an adult and child sharing this book, reading it and then making the recipes. Some of these fantasies are more attainable than others, but the entire book represents many idealizations, which are strengthened by the powerful nostalgic associations readers have for Oz, childhood, and food.

VI. CONCLUSION

DESIGNING NOSTALGIA: HOW COOKBOOKS AND CHILDHOOD ARE FILTERED THROUGH OZ

Svetlana Boym discusses nostalgia as a yearning for something that no longer exists; one can never actually return to childhood so instead one seeks out materials that remind them of these times. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* returns its readers to their original exposure to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, to experiencing that fantastical world. The visual design of these nostalgic objects is incredibly important. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* looks similar to the original *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* novel. W. W. Denslow's illustrations are on almost every page of both books. The recipes in the cookbook are named after characters, events and locations within the original story. The familiar is comfortable and as memories transfer into nostalgia for a past that may or may not have actually existed, people seek out items that remind them of what they considered to be simpler and happier times.

In addition to design, food evokes nostalgia for childhood comfort in a way that the fantasy and of Oz cannot quite reach as little food (and less prepared food) is consumed in the story. The comforting dishes like biscuits and gravy, gelatin molds, doughnuts and hot chocolate are all meals associated with "American" cuisine, popular throughout the 20th century. Childhood associations with food are strong and this book pushes our memories back to these familiar foods, even if one is only familiar with them through cultural associations and not necessarily direct experience.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook is a culmination of many different types of cookbooks, including those intended for children. Cookbooks for children have a history only dating back roughly a century and a half, but while this book claims it is for children, it seems to be marketed and designed for adults. The recipes themselves can be difficult, far above the

cooking skills of the average child, while the subject matter also appeals to children and adults alike. The Oz books have never been out of print, but sales seem to have been more robust during the first half of the 20th century. When *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook* was published in 1981, adults might have been more familiar with the original novel than children. Adding in the purchasing power of adults versus children, one can conclude that it was largely adults buying this volume. The recipes were old family foods from a woman who had grown up after World War II, which would appeal more to an adult than a child in terms of being comfortable because of familiarity and memory.

A novel about a journey to return home is transformed into a cookbook offering the same; a chance to return to childhood through a beloved story and familiar food. Dorothy returns home again by the end of the story. The reader also returns home, or to an idea of home, in the fantasy set up by *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*. The reader returns directly to his or her memories of Oz, helped along by familiar illustrations and storylines. *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* is a self-proclaimed fairy story and even though nostalgia was emerging as an impossible dream for Baum and those around him, he can negate that in his book as easily as he negates the rules of how cyclones work. In this fantasy book for children, one can indeed go home again. Both homesickness and nostalgia are solved with perseverance and in the meantime there is plenty of adventure, so one's troubles really don't seem all that bad.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook provides a similar dilemma and solution. The reader is reminded of a nostalgic time and place by the initial theme of the cookbook: *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. Through the story of Dorothy the reader eats his or her way through Oz, constantly reminded of Dorothy's journey through the illustrations, layout, and recipes. Cooking these foods allows one to be part of Dorothy's journey. By the end of the cookbook,

the reader has also returned home, having finished the book much in the same way one would finish the novel, with a sense of satisfaction at the happy ending of the journey through a memory.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Cookbook Chapters and Associated Regions and Colors

Cookbook Chapter	Oz Region	American Region	Color
Cyclone Country	Kansas	Midwest	NA
Land of the Munchkins	Munchkin	Northeast	Blue
Yellow Brick Road	NA	NA	Yellow
The Wonderful Emerald City of Oz	Emerald City	NA	Green
Country of the Winkies	Winkie	West	Yellow
Country of the Quadlings	Quadling	South	Red
Home Again	Kansas	Midwest	NA

APPENDIX B

Recipes in *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz Cookbook*

Chapter 1 - Cyclone Country

1. Kansas Potato Pancakes
2. Sunday Breakfast Oatmeal Scones
3. Aunt Em's Chicken and Dumplings
4. Toto's Almond Chocolate Bark
5. Uncle Henry's Beef Short Ribs
6. Dorothy's Brownies
7. Whirlwind Cake
8. Upside-Down Pudding
9. Cyclone Jumbles

Chapter 2 - Land of the Munchkins

1. Munchkin Fruit Bowl
2. Blueberries and Cream
3. Blueberry Pancakes
4. Spooky Sponge Cake
5. Bewitching Kisses
6. Magic Lemon Pudding
7. Munchkin Fruits and Nuts
8. Munchkin Currant Bread
9. Blue Plum Compote
10. Boq's Hot Pot
11. Corn-Sausage Casserole
12. Bread for Travelers
13. Rocky Road Candy

Chapter 3 - Yellow Brick Road

1. Yellow Brick Corn Bread
2. Bacon and Cheese Bricks
3. Red Onion and Bacon Sandwiches
4. Quick and Easy Corn Sauté
5. Roadside Picnic Eggs
6. Scarecrow Survival Snacks
7. Peanut Butter Toast
8. Haystack Sandwiches
9. Scarecrow Sandwiches
10. Old-Fashioned Icebox Cookies
11. Woodchopper's Beef

APPENDIX B (continued)

12. Tin Woodman Chips
13. Tin Woodman Nuts and Bolts
14. Tinned Corned Beef Hash with Dill
15. Cowardly Lion Quivering Gelatin
16. Cheesecake for the Queen
17. Field Mouse Nibbles
18. Hot Cheese Sandwiches
19. Imperial Rice Pudding
20. Delicious Porridge
21. Scrambled Eggs
22. A Loaf of Nice White Bread
23. Farm Doughnuts
24. Hot Chocolate

Chapter 4 - The Wonderful Emerald City of Oz

1. Sparkling Limeade Soda
2. Fresh Mint Iced Tea
3. Gatekeeper's Cheese Log
4. Green Split Pea Soup
5. Spinach Salad
6. Stuffed Green Peppers
7. Royal Green Beans
8. Soldier with Green Whiskers Salad
9. Braised Pork Chops and Green Cabbage
10. Green Apple Crisp
11. Lime Sherbet
12. Emerald City Picnic Chicken
13. Green Ribbon Potato Salad
14. Hill Climbers' Chicken Soup

Chapter 5 - Country of the Winkies

1. Yellow Bean Salad
2. Brown Sugar Meltaways
3. The Wonderful Winkie Omelet
4. Yellow Country Seafood Casserole
5. Freedom Day Lemon Chicken
6. Winged Monkey Macaroons
7. Quelala's Wild Rice Casserole
8. Winged Money Banana Sauté
9. Humbug Chicken Legs
10. Food-the-Eye Cherry Pie

APPENDIX B (continued)

11. The Wizard's Giant Pretzels
12. Superior Bran Muffins
13. Kind Heart Cakes
14. Liquid Courage
15. China Princess Pecan Brittle
16. China Cow Milk Shake
17. Mr. Joker's Stick Candy

Chapter 6 - Country of the Quadlings

1. Hot Tomato Soup
2. Cold Tomato Soup
3. Baked Stuffed Red Snapper
4. Quadling Burgers
5. Red Castle Hot Dogs
6. Red Country Spaghetti Sauce
7. Golden Cap Salad
8. Raspberry Cream Cake
9. Three-Step Chocolate Sundae

Chapter 7 - Home Again

1. Aunt Em's Cabbage Salad
2. Home Again Pot Roast
3. Watermelon Pickles
4. Strawberry Shortcake

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VITA

GRETCHEN NEIDHARDT

EDUCATION

University of Chicago Chicago, IL
B.A. in Psychology (2008)
Thesis: "Witnessing a Robbery: The Role of Sleep in Induced False Memory"
Advisor: Professor Howard Nusbaum

University of Missouri Columbia, MO
M. A. in Library and Information Science (2011)

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Urbana, IL
Certificate in Special Collections (2014)

University of Illinois at Chicago Chicago, IL
M.A. in Art History (2014)
Thesis: "Cooking in Oz: Designing Instruction and Packaging Nostalgia"
Advisor: Professor Jonathan Mekinda

HONORS AND AWARDS

National Merit Scholarship, University of Chicago, 2005-2008
Dean's List, University of Chicago, 2005-2008
H. W. Wilson Scholarship, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2009
Doris J. Athy Endowed Scholarship, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2009
Bryce Allen Memorial Scholarship, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2010
Dean's List, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2009-2011

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Library Association, 2009 – Present
Art History Graduate Student Association, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2011 – 2014
Chicago Archives Association, 2011 – Present
Society of American Archivists, 2010 – Present
Special Libraries Association, 2009 – Present

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant
University of Chicago, Psychology Department Chicago, IL
November 2006 – August 2008

Production Assistant

University of Chicago School Mathematics Project
October 2005 – September 2008

Chicago, IL

Contract Researcher/Intern

Prevail Health Solutions
May 2008 – September 2008

Chicago, IL

Professional Rater I

Washington University School of Medicine
October 2008 – December 2010

St. Louis, MO

Graduate Assistant

University of Illinois at Chicago
May 2011 – January 2013

Chicago, IL

Visiting Assistant Professor and Assistant Special Collections Librarian

University of Illinois at Chicago
January 2013 – Present

Chicago, IL

PRESENTATIONS

“Curating Cookery in Special Collections: Issues in Collecting and Preserving Culinary Instruction,” 2013-2014 University of Illinois at Chicago Library Faculty Retreat, Chicago, IL, November 2013