

**The Rise of the Chocolate Chip Cookie:
Kitchens, Cookbooks, and Modernity in the Early Twentieth Century**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the rise in popularity of the chocolate chip cookie in the 1930s. It argues this popularity was dually rooted in challenges created by technological innovations of the oven and in the publication of new technical cookbooks written to address those difficulties. In the nineteenth century, kitchen appliances relied upon a present cook to monitor the approximate heat of the oven and progress of the bake using a vague recipe. However, in the twentieth century, ovens came with thermostats and timers, and as a result, recipes grew more exact to match. Unfortunately, home cooks had difficulty updating older recipes to this level of specificity, and they needed to learn new modes of baking. To solve this problem, motherly figures such as Ruth Wakefield published cookbooks that aided struggling home cooks. The popularity of this cookie offers a unique look at how the American cooks dealt with the rapid onset of modernity in the 1920s and 1930s by falling back on a dependable motherly figure offering traditional concepts of baking while embracing new ideas and ingredients. This thesis evidences cookbooks and newspapers to demonstrate these changes within the kitchen itself and elaborate on the pressures faced by home cooks.

America's Cookie: An Instant Classic

Just about every American understands the special delight of devouring a homemade treat speckled with melty semi-sweet chocolate chips, flavored with the distinct sweetness of brown sugar and vanilla, and graced with crisp edges carefully hugging the ooey gooey goodness at the center. Although these beautiful nuggets of joy have only been blessing the United States for less than a century, the chocolate chip cookie is deeply intertwined in American consciousness. The cookie's success itself prompted Nestlé to begin manufacturing chocolate chips for the express purpose of making chocolate chip cookies, and the recipe was printed on the back of the bag.

This author is particularly fascinated by the origins of this deeply enmeshed cookie. Thinking about a time before this scrumptious sweet seems impossible, but that was the reality of every American, including some still alive today, before 1938. Yet, why was this particular cookie the one that captured the hearts of many? What was it about those chocolate chips in a

buttery, brown sugar dough that defeated every other delicious cookie for the love of Americans? This paper posits that the chocolate chip cookie's rapid popularity serves as a case study in how home cooks disconcerted by modern technology were drawn to a simple food that embraced the modern environment yet remained rooted in the traditional past.

The first section of this thesis will outline the domestic culinary environment in the nineteenth century to articulate the dramatic twentieth-century changes described in the second section. As appliances changed in the twentieth century, home cooks had to abandon previous understandings of cooking food for more exact techniques such as baking temperature. Offering baking temperatures and times, these recipes reflect the changes to which cooks were adapting. As these fundamental changes to the kitchen occurred, sugar manufacturers were producing more sugar than they had previously, and chocolate factories had developed new techniques to make chocolate more versatile. The third section discusses the confusion and circumstance of these home cooks. Many of the home cooks turned not to their mothers but rather to prominent female figures for information on how to cook in this new domestic environment. The fourth section details the emergence of the cookie out of the aforementioned conditions as well as its ties to American tradition. As industrialization and the postwar economic boom brought improvements to domestic appliances in the 1920s and 1930s, perplexed home cooks turned to female figures for new recipes suited to these appliances even through the hardships of the Great Depression, and the chocolate chip cookie was one such recipe that captured the hearts of Americans with its mythic ties to the traditional past while embracing the modern age.

To articulate these scenarios surrounding kitchen appliances, ingredients, and cooks, this thesis draws upon primary sources such as cookbooks and newspapers and uses secondary sources to gain a better perspective on forces the primary sources describe. In particular, the cookbooks demonstrate the ways in which women were interacting with recipes and appliances

by tracking the changes made to the general format of individual baking recipes and by serving as one medium in which cooks learned new methods of cookery. The newspapers offer a deeper understanding of how Nestlé appealed to American women in particular with their advertisements for chocolate to make chocolate chip cookies, which exhibits the external social pressures that home cooks faced.

The Old Way: Nineteenth Century Cooking

In the nineteenth century, baking required a watchful eye and skilled hand to operate kitchen appliances. Pearl L. Bailey authored a textbook demonstrating the ways various ranges could be operated in 1919. She wrote that coal ranges required home cooks to create a fire themselves, monitor the dampers, and add coal as needed in order to heat the oven.¹ Bailey states that gas ranges operated with a “pilot-light” or stop cocks that need to be lit manually, and she recommended turning the gas oven on before it was needed to heat the oven, reducing the flame to hold the heat, then switching the gas off a few minutes before the dish finishes baking to conserve gas.² These ranges required home cooks to either be very present in their kitchens to tend to their coal or gas ranges because electric ranges were not yet as common in kitchens. Although electric ranges had been in use since the late 1880s, these appliances were very expensive in the cost of the equipment and electricity, and the appliances carried a risk of fire that would not be solved until after World War I.³

In using these appliances, home cooks often followed vague recipes. In W. A. Henderson’s 1857 cookbook, the author does not describe the heat at which the oven should be

¹ Pearl L. Bailey, *Domestic Science Principles and Application: A Textbook for Public Schools* (St. Paul, MN: Webb Publishing Company, 1919), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives, 30-2.

² Bailey, *Domestic Science Principles and Application*, 32-4.

³ Scott Alan La France, “‘A man’s castle is a woman’s factory’: Streamlining and electric kitchen appliances.” (Master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 1989), 7.

to properly bake the specified dish.⁴ Rather, Henderson dictates the dish be baked in a quick oven, a moderately heated oven, or even simply “put...into the oven.”⁵ In addition, he recorded the recipes in paragraphs with the ingredients mixed into the often unclear instructions, and one such recipe for drop biscuits from Henderson’s cookbook reads as follows:

*“Beat up the whites of six eggs, and the yolks of ten, with a spoonful of rose-water, and then put in ten ounces of beaten and sifted loaf sugar. Whisk them well for half an hour, and then add an ounce of carraway-seeds [sic] crushed a little, and six ounces of fine flour. Mix the whole well together, drop them on papers, and bake them in a moderately heated oven.”*⁶

Other nineteenth century cookbook authors such as S. J. Hale similarly offer vague oven instructions with no bake temperature and writes recipes in paragraphs, and Hale’s recipes are much less spatially separated on the page with less distinct recipe titles.⁷ Neither cookbook author offers details on the size of the pans that should be used in their cake recipes, which could drastically change the bake time if the pan chosen by the home cook is too shallow or too deep.⁸ Some later cookbooks in the first two decades of the twentieth century suggest that cooks ascertain whether their cakes are done by checking to see if the sides of the cake have pulled away from the pan, but these books explaining the technique are aimed at teaching cookery to uninformed audiences such as young girls. Though, the described techniques may suggest how these earlier cookbooks presumed cooks would be testing the doneness of their baked goods.⁹ These vague instructions suggest that the home cooks following these recipes had a great deal of

⁴ W. A. Henderson, *Modern Domestic Cookery and Useful Receipt Book Adapted for Families* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1857), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection.

⁵ Henderson, *Modern Domestic Cookery*, 224, 231.

⁶ Henderson, *Modern Domestic Cookery*, 224, 231

⁷ S. J. Hale, *The Good Housekeeper or The Way to Live Well and to Be Well While We Live* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan and Company, 1839), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection.

⁸ Hale, *The Good Housekeeper*; Henderson, *Modern Domestic Cookery*.

⁹ Mary J. Lincoln and Anna Barrows, *The Home Science Cook Book* (Boston: Home Science Publishing Company, 1902) Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection; Jane Eayre Fryer, *The Mary Frances Cook Book; Or, Adventures Among the Kitchen People* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1912), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection.

knowledge as to how warm a quick oven actually was, and they perhaps only needed these recipes for guidance in making new variations on recipes they already knew rather than for instructions on cooking a new dish.

Cookies were one such food item that home cooks could prepare in the nineteenth century with multiple variations appearing in cookbooks. Dutch linguist Nicoline van der Sijs writes that the modern “cookie” is derived from the Dutch word *koekje* meaning “small cake.”¹⁰ Beatrice Ojakangas suggests that a word relating to cake was given to the little confections because a small amount of cake batter was placed into eighteenth century ovens to test the oven’s temperature before the whole cake was placed inside, and the resulting tester “small cakes” were given to children.¹¹ Primary sources support Ojakangas’ secondary contention because older cookbooks often conflate the word for “cookie” or “cooky” with that of “cake,” and most recipes for cookies are placed under the section on cake recipes, further suggesting that the two sweets are related.¹² Even into 1936, Irma S. Rombauer in her timeless *The Joy of Cooking* uses “cookie” and “drop cake” interchangeably in a recipe that is more commonly known today as a drop cookie recipe, meaning the cookie dough is dropped onto the baking sheet rather than sliced or cut with a cookie cutter.¹³ This history of cookies as a basic oven test may have contributed or be able to explain later professional cooks regarding the cookies as simple. However, unlike

¹⁰ Nicoline van der Sijs, *Cookies, Coleslaw, and Stoops: The Influence of Dutch on the North American Languages*, trans. Piet Verhoeff and Language Unlimited (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 125.

¹¹ Beatrice Ojakangas, *Great Old-Fashioned American Desserts* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 263.

¹² Marion Harland, *Common Sense in the Household: A Manual of Practical Housewifery* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Company, 1873), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection, 334-5; Elizabeth S. Miller, *In the Kitchen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1875), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection, 365; Emma Frances Voris, *The New Columbian White House Cookery* (Chicago: Imperial Publishing Company, 1890), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives, 230-2.

¹³ Irma S. Rombauer, *The Joy of Cooking* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1936), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection, 430.

today, cookies made with any sort of chocolate were rare for this period, but sugar was clearly present in all of the cookie recipes.¹⁴

During the nineteenth century, sugar production was still small in comparison to what it would soon become in the United States. Refining sugar was costly and difficult to do without machines, but by the 1880s, manufacturers began using steam power to ease this process.¹⁵ The U.S. also faced problems with access to sugar because the U.S. had not yet colonized countries such as Cuba and the Philippines that could grow sugar cane, and instead they relied on sugar beet producers in the temperate, U.S. climates such as Colorado, Michigan, and Louisiana.¹⁶ Smaller sugar production lowered sugar's accessibility to the majority of home cooks and to food manufacturers.

Additionally, chocolate was also beginning to change in the nineteenth century. Originally, chocolate had been served as a sacred beverage in Mayan and Aztec societies as a bridge between two people, in betrothals, amongst nobility, or between diplomats in addition to being used as a force of giving life.¹⁷ After colonizing the continent, Europeans ever so slowly grew fond of the beverage, and by the 17th and 18th centuries chocolate had almost earned the title of a mass commodity.¹⁸ Although Europeans had shed the spiritual connection the Mayans originally had with the beverage in favor of embracing chocolate as a medicine to treat the humors, chocolate soon became something tasty, stimulating, and filling to Europeans.¹⁹ By

¹⁴ Hale, *The Good Housekeeper*; Henderson, *Modern Domestic Cookery*.

¹⁵ Samira Kawash, *Candy: A Century of Pain and Pleasure* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2013), 31.

¹⁶ April Merleaux, "Sugar and Civilization: Race, Empire, and the Cultural Politics of Sweetness in the United States." (PhD diss., Yale University, 2010), 3.

¹⁷ Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 27, 30, 35, 51.

¹⁸ Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 161.

¹⁹ Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe. *The True History of Chocolate*, 3rd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), 126.

1755, chocolate had made its so-called return to the Americas by way of the British colonies, and by 1777, Dr. James Baker and John Hannon had opened the first mechanized chocolate factory in Dorchester, MA, which would later be known as the Walter Baker Company that was notable for selling one-inch baking squares.²⁰ However, this chocolate was still very rich in fat, until 1828 when Dutch chemist Coenraad van Houten created a screw press to separate the grinded paste of cocoa beans into the fat, known as cocoa butter, and the powder, known as simply cocoa.²¹ By mixing excess cocoa butter into the unseparated cocoa paste, chocolatiers could create chocolate that was pleasant to chew since previous chocolate was too hard and bitter to be eaten by itself.²² As chocolate became more edible and palatable as a food rather than only a beverage, companies could further tweak the recipe and ratio of cocoa butter to paste to make the chocolate unique to their company.

In September 1867, Henri Nestlé, a Swiss inventor, first tested his milk food intended for young infants whose mothers could not feed them herself, and this milk food was successful in feeding premature babies to those that were a few months old. The milk food first went onto store shelves in 1868, and by 1873 the product was sold in at least 17 countries, including the U.S. and Switzerland. After Nestlé sold his company in 1875, the Nestlé Company began manufacturing condensed milk three years later when faced with pressure from competitors. Daniel Peter invented milk chocolate in the late 1870s by adding condensed milk²³ to a modified

²⁰ Marcia Morton and Frederic Morton, *Chocolate: An Illustrated History* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1986), 34.

²¹ Morton and Morton, *Chocolate: An Illustrated History*, 47.

²² Morton and Morton, *Chocolate: An Illustrated History*, 48-9.

²³ Jean Heer, *World Events 1866-1966: The First Hundred Years of Nestlé*, trans. A. Braley, G. Heath, and Peter Walding (Switzerland: Lausanne, 1966), 83; "Travel through our history timeline," *Nestlé*, Nestlé, accessed 18 Sept 2023, <https://www.nestle.com/about/history/nestle-company-history>; Sources vary on who supplied Peter with the condensed milk for his chocolate. Jean Herr's Nestlé history records that Peter got the idea for using milk from the nearby Nestlé company but used milk from the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Company that would later merge with the Nestlé Company in 1905. The current history detailed on Nestlé's website, however, claims that Peter used Nestlé's condensed milk in his trials.

chocolate recipe, and the Nestlé Company eventually merged with Peter's company to begin selling chocolate under the Nestlé name in 1904.²⁴

The technical changes to appliances, recipes understood using prior knowledge, and low production of sugar and chocolate defined cookery in the nineteenth century. Women were used to darting between the kitchen space and the pantry and to keeping an eye on the heat source to ensure an even bake on their homemade goods. They were taught recipes orally, likely by an older female such as a mother, and utilizing cookbooks for variations of their memorized recipes like cookies. Although sugar was still small in its production, chocolate was beginning to become a more flexible foodstuff. However, as this kitchen environment changed with further industrialization and the economic boom of the postwar 1920s, this nature of a cook's presence in the kitchen and memory of recipes faltered and shifted out of necessity for changing, modern technology.

The New Way: Modern Twentieth Century Cooking

In the new twentieth century as the industrial revolution entered the domestic sphere and business boomed during the 1920s, "modern" technology emerged and was extremely useful to home cooks. However, scholars have left the term modernity undefined in relation to how its technological changes impacted home cooks. For the purpose of this paper, the term modernity refers to this new exact, efficient shift in cooking methods that allowed home cooks to accomplish more tasks in a shorter amount of time. Modernity's technical upgrades gave cooks the freedom to attempt new, previously unknown recipes with the extra time this efficiency afforded them, and the recipe's exactness through the use of specific bake temperatures gave home cooks the ability to exactly recreate a dish as written.

²⁴ Heer, *World Events 1866-1966*, 34-5, 39, 42, 60, 64, 83, 86.

Josephine Perry, a cookie cookbook author, describes American women in an anecdote before her chapter on “Modern American Recipes.” A class of twelve housewives in a cooking class were making cookies, and one woman was painstakingly cutting almonds with a paring knife. Perry chastises this young woman and states that, “She was shaving the almonds as fine as the American woman could do it in her cheap little nut grinder. She was spending several hours doing a job that the American woman would finish in fifteen minutes.”²⁵ This preference for using time-saving methods demonstrates how crucially Perry viewed efficiency in modernity.

Likewise, Ruth Graves Wakefield interacted with modernity through the appliances she used in the kitchen and would later invent the chocolate chip cookie.²⁶ After graduating with a degree in dietetics from Framingham State Normal School in 1924, she worked as a home economics teacher and dietician.²⁷ In 1930, Wakefield and her husband Kenneth opened the popular Toll House Inn in Whitman, Massachusetts in an old home that had been previously used as a toll house for horseback travelers.²⁸ She published cookbooks, titled *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, and in them, she describes that heat-controlled ovens freed up time for cooks in the kitchen and allowed them to do “something more profitable” now that they no longer need to hover around ovens. Wakefield also titled her cookbooks to emphasize that the dishes inside are good, evaluated, and easily replicated thanks to modern advancements. These two cookbook authors demonstrate that people conceived modernity as a way to become even more efficient using new technology to cut down on time spent in the kitchen on menial tasks and to avoid recipes doomed to fail.

²⁵ Josephine Perry, *Around the World Making Cookies* (New York: M. Barrows & Company, 1940), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection, 49.

²⁶ Ruth Graves Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 9th edition (New York: M. Barrows & Company, 1939), Special Collections & Archives, The University of Iowa Libraries, 9.

²⁷ Ruth Graves Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 9th edition (New York: M. Barrows & Company, 1939), Special Collections & Archives, The University of Iowa Libraries, 9.

²⁸ Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 1939, 3.

With this new modernity, modern appliances began to enter into the market. Scott La France contends that most home kitchens in the 1920s were concerned less with aesthetics and more with functionality as most guests were not entering that space, but that tradition was beginning to change by the mid-1920s, which can be seen in the design shift in gadgets like stand mixers changing from complicated to sleek.²⁹ However, this may be describing a change to wealthier homes. Thomas Hubka warns that many authors only consider upper class kitchens, and he describes the majority of American homes as being kitchen-centered rather than using a “parlor-dining-room-centric interpretation.”³⁰ Hubka then contends that households were kitchen-centered before transitioning to including a prominent living area and becoming tri-centered on the kitchen, living room, and bedroom.³¹ Therefore, a majority of home cooks would have been working in a central kitchen rather than hidden away from the rest of the household. The self-contained range with both a stove and an oven were first created in the late 1910s, which formed a concentrated cooking space for home cooks.³² As early as 1914, electric timers were introduced to these ranges, and thermostats that kept the oven at a stable temperature in the late 1920s.³³ The combination of those two advancements allowed for cooking to become less of an art and more of an exact science.³⁴ As the kitchen space leaned more heavily into modernity, electricity became a more viable option for home cooks.

Although gas ranges still dominated by the end of the 1930s, electric ranges were quickly growing more popular during that decade.³⁵ Electric ranges were operated with switches to turn

²⁹ La France, “A man’s castle is a woman’s factory,” 14, 31.

³⁰ Thomas C. Hubka, *How the Working-Class Home Became Modern, 1900-1940* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 23, 62.

³¹ Hubka, *How the Working-Class Became Modern*, 122-3.

³² La France, “A man’s castle is a woman’s factory,” 49.

³³ La France, “A man’s castle is a woman’s factory,” 52-3.

³⁴ La France, “A man’s castle is a woman’s factory,” 53.

³⁵ Jane Busch, “Cooking Competition: Technology on the Domestic Market in the 1930s,” *Technology and Culture* 24, no. 2 (1983): 222.

the current that heats the coils on and off, but Bailey writes in 1919 that electric ranges were more expensive and convenient than the gas range despite being less common.³⁶ Later, the Great Depression had led to lower electricity prices, and as a result, the average price of an electric range reached about \$135 dollars in 1938, a nine dollar decrease from 1930.³⁷ Additionally, the New Deal enacted in response to the depression brought about large-scale electrification, allowing more homeowners to access that modern advancement and own an electric range.³⁸ However, gas ranges still remained less expensive than their electric counterparts.³⁹ Advertising for both ranges, though, emphasized the respective modernity of each range, demonstrating that home cooks were being pressured to embrace this new technology in their homes.⁴⁰ By 1940, sales of either gas or electric ranges were greater than either industry had yet seen as home cooks worked to become exact in this modern age.⁴¹ With the efficiency updates that had been made to these appliances, the workspace even changed as well.

Kitchen organization itself was also shifting towards modernity. Kitchenettes, or a “wee kitchen,” are small units that keep essential ingredients in close reach to the cooking range.⁴² In addition to the growth of the kitchenette, pantries fell out of use and were replaced with storage in the kitchen to keep ingredients and kitchen utensils within close reach.⁴³ As pantries moved into cabinets, cooks likely had to downsize the amount of ingredients they kept on hand. Becoming more efficient and modern with their appliances, home cooks also needed new recipes

³⁶ Bailey, *Domestic Science Principles*, 34-5.

³⁷ Busch, “Cooking Competition,” 223.

³⁸ Hubka, *How the Working-Class Home Became Modern, 1900-1940*, 66.

³⁹ Busch, “Cooking Competition,” 234.

⁴⁰ Busch, “Cooking Competition,” 238.

⁴¹ Busch, “Cooking Competition,” 245.

⁴² Anna Merrit East, *Kitchenette Cookery* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1918), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives, 1-4.

⁴³ La France, “A man’s castle is a woman’s factory,” 20.

that had been specifically adapted to these new ovens, especially now that baking no longer required frequent trips to the pantry.

Starting in the 1920s, recipes began calling for specific bake temperatures in Fahrenheit rather than describing the heat from the oven.⁴⁴ This change represents the new thermostats available in ovens to control and maintain a specific temperature. Additionally, these new recipes shifted from paragraph form to separating the ingredients from the instructions.⁴⁵ These recipes look similar to modern recipes, as demonstrated by a recipe for colonial cookies:

<i>“3/4 cup shortening</i>	<i>4 cups flour</i>
<i>1/2 cup granulated sugar</i>	<i>1 teaspoon baking soda</i>
<i>1/2 cup brown sugar</i>	<i>1 teaspoon salt</i>
<i>1 egg yolk</i>	<i>1/2 cup each raisins and walnuts</i>
<i>1/2 cup sour cream</i>	<i>1 teaspoon vanilla</i>
<i>3/4 cup rolled oats</i>	
<i>1/2 cup boiling water</i>	

Cream shortening and sugar, add egg yolk, and cream. Scald rolled oats with boiling water and add to first mixture with flour sifted and mixed with baking powder, salt, fruit, and nuts. Add vanilla. Chill and roll out. Have the dough as soft as can be handled. Using less flour if necessary. Bake in a moderate oven. Keep in a crock. These cookies improve with age.

Time in oven, 10-12 minutes. Temperature 350°. Servings, 48.”⁴⁶

This indicates that with the decline of the pantry, home cooks may not have had the same quantity of various ingredients and needed to know at a glance what would be needed for each

⁴⁴ *Modern Priscilla Cook Book* (Boston: Priscilla Publishing Company, 1924); *Good Housekeeping's Book of Menus, Recipes, and Household Discoveries* (New York: Good Housekeeping, 1925), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection.

⁴⁵ *Modern Priscilla Cook Book*.

⁴⁶ *Modern Priscilla Cook Book*, 84.

recipe. Additionally, the number of cookie recipes in these cookbooks is greater,⁴⁷ culminating in Perry's 1940 cookbook dedicated entirely to cookies.⁴⁸ The growth of the cookie in these texts suggests that either more women were looking for variations of a simple baked good or that home cooks did not carry prior knowledge of how to create these variations on their own due to the strange new appliances they were using.

One very important ingredient for these cookie recipes was growing in its production. After the United States colonized tropical regions that could produce sugar, American sugar production increased dramatically from an average 54 pounds of sugar produced for consumption per person per year in 1890 to 85 pounds in 1920. After World War I, this consumption would continue its dramatic growth and reach a whopping average 110 pounds of sugar produced for consumption per person per year in 1930, more than double the amount of sugar being manufactured just four decades prior. Sugar in the 1920s also became very cheap and plentiful in the wake of expanding sugar production in U.S. colonies, which created an oversupply.⁴⁹ This increase in sugar may have also contributed to the increased number of cookies in cookbooks, or simply encouraged home cooks to be more adventurous since replacing ingredients after a disappointing result was now less expensive.

As America earned her sweet tooth, chocolate also experienced a boost in popularity. Hershey first began selling chocolate bars in 1900, but it was not until World War I that chocolate became popular as a food in the U.S. During the war, soldiers had been given (and then immediately consumed) emergency rations of chocolate, which was believed to be a super

⁴⁷ *Modern Priscilla Cook Book*; *Good Housekeeping's Book of Menus*; Mary Hale Martin, *My Best Recipes* (Chicago: Libby, McNeill & Libby, 1934), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives - Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection.

⁴⁸ Perry, *Around the World Making Cookies*; Author does have a very broad definition of "cookie" and includes recipes for baked goods like the baklava (140) and tortillas (150).

⁴⁹ Merleaux, "Sugar and Civilization," 21, 92, 93.

food at the time due to its ability to boost energy and fight fatigue. Prior to this period, chocolate had been sold in chunks broken off of a slab at the time of purchase. Upon the soldiers' return, chocolate had gained a reputation as "a real food, fit for men, women, and children alike," and chocolate bars grew as a form of candy, which some even consumed as a quick lunch.⁵⁰

These modern changes in appliances, kitchens, recipes, sugar, and chocolate created a vastly different environment than to what home cooks had become accustomed. Even more so, these changes came very quickly for many. Thomas Hubka asserts that the "middle majority," so named to describe the broadest part of the population not considered upper-class yet not impoverished, experienced this complete overhaul of their domestic world from 1900-1940. While some wealthier classes experienced this shift towards modernity slowly by being able to experience the latest technology as it emerged, many members of the middle majority were abruptly faced with figuring out the new technology as they moved into urban areas or received mass electrification from the New Deal.⁵¹ As these home cooks floundered in their sudden new environment, some sought to embrace the changes, but many of them turned to traditional, female faces for help.

Home Cooks: The Confusing Newness of Modernity

As technology began to change and become more exact, some knowledgeable women turned to a more scientific method of understanding these changes. In 1908, the American Home Economics Association elected Ellen H. Richards as its first president because she had pioneered the field of home economics. Richards believed that men and women had an equal part to play in applying science to all parts of life including food and home sanitation, and she rebuffed the idea that the field should only for women despite the largely female membership of the association. In

⁵⁰ Kawash, *Candy*, 94, 105-6, 107, 156, 157, 161.

⁵¹ Hubka, *How the Working-Class Home Became Modern 1900-1940*, xiii, xix, 66.

these changing times, she saw antiquated methods of cooking as handicapping women that wanted to work outside the home because older means of production such as spinning, weaving, and soapmaking were no longer conducted within domestic spheres. In this way, she sees modern technology as a means for women to be able to use their newfound efficiency for tasks outside the home, rather than condemning them to domestic space. Richards was very concerned with women's education and proclaimed that, "The first need in woman's education today is a grounding in respect for inexorable law, not only in physics, chemistry and mathematics, but in physiology and in sanitary science, and not least in social-economic science."⁵² Ellen H. Richards emphasizes that baking and cookery should not be conceived as separate from mainstream science because fields such as chemistry and math appear prominently in kitchens. Progress in scientific fields is inherently related to the kitchen, and kitchens should be elevated to the same level as laboratories. Home cooks in the twentieth century were becoming acutely aware of this connection and learning how variables like pan size and bake time can alter the result of a chemical reaction in their baked goods.

To help educate women seeking understanding of home economics specifically, Pearl L. Bailey published a textbook. As described earlier, she outlines various types of ovens cooks may encounter to help teach "girls" to cook. Her textbook is set up with chapters, titled as lessons, which include areas such as creating cookie doughs and variations thereof and making drop cookies. In the back of the book, she supplies a score card to be used in judging the baked goods and a breakdown of foods by percentage of water, "total digestible nutrients," protein, fat, carbohydrates, and "ash" as well as by "fuel value per pound" in calories.⁵³ Her breakdown of both food education and food consumption implies the scientific standard Richards aimed to

⁵² Caroline L. Hunt, *The Life of Ellen H. Richards* (Boston: Whitcomb & Barrows, 1918), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives, 280, 285, 289, 291, 293.

⁵³ Bailey, *Domestic Principles and Application*, 30-36, 215-218, 350, 352.

apply to kitchens. Bailey implements formal education to teach cooks to apply scientific terms like calories and carbohydrates and consider the intricacies of the foods which they are making. However, not all women learned about these modern understandings through textbooks and formal education, and instead they looked to motherly figures, often with a background in home economics, to explain the concepts in a more familiar manner.

In 1921, the Washburn Crosby Company in Minneapolis, Minnesota ran a puzzle advertisement that when cut out and assembled could be mailed back to the company for a prize: a pincushion resembling a sack of flour. Although eager consumers mailed in many completed puzzles, some puzzled home cooks also sent in queries about how to knead bread, prevent cakes from falling, or make a delicious apple pie. These cooks received responses to their problems from a name known widely today: Betty Crocker. She would go on to host radio programs, write cookbooks, and concoct cake mixes that required two eggs for freshness. However, Betty Crocker was never an employee at the Washburn Crosby Company who happened to respond to befuddled home cooks. Rather, Samuel Gale created her as a means to respond to these home cooks as he believed that home cooks would trust a woman, voiced by the women in the Washburn Crosby service department, to give them baking advice.⁵⁴

The creation of Betty Crocker met a demand that was created by the rapid spread of new, modern appliances. Recipes from as late as 1910 were now out of date with updated ovens, leaving home cooks scrambling to find compatible recipes. Although new cookbooks did add specific bake times, many cooks relied instead on older family recipes that were now obsolete. These home cooks found acclimatizing to the new appliances a daunting task and trying to modify old recipes with trial and error wasted time and money. Betty Crocker instead offered home cooks tested

⁵⁴ Susan Marks, *Finding Betty Crocker: The Secret Life of America's First Lady of Food* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 9-11, 29, 131, 169.

recipes tucked into bags of flour, mailed upon request, or delivered across the radio airwaves. These recipes used bake temperatures and times so that they could be baked in new ovens, and the recipes were advertised as being tested to give them the same authenticity as family recipes baked and tweaked by generations. Although the radio show targeted women who felt trapped in the home, men also tuned into the show to learn baking advice. The listeners were drawn into the program because, “Betty often did what Mother was too far away to do – advise, instruct, console.”⁵⁵

The methods of learning cookery were already tending towards listening to an outside source, rather than only learning from one’s mother. In 1912, Jane Eayre Fryer published a cookbook entitled *Mary Frances’ First Cookbook, or Adventures Among the Kitchen People*. This book follows a young girl named Mary Frances as she learns to cook with the help of kitchen utensils such as “Toaster Man” and “Auntie Rolling Pin” and with the guidance of a cookbook her mother made her. In addition to following the story of this young girl learning important lessons about the kitchen, the book serves as a cookbook for young girls also learning to cook alongside Mary Frances.⁵⁶ This indicates that perhaps not all cooking knowledge was being garnered from one’s mother in the beginnings of the twentieth century. This shift away from relying solely on older female family members may have pushed overwhelmed home cooks towards relying on personalities like Betty Crocker, or cookbook authors, such as Ruth Graves Wakefield.

Wakefield herself grew up with a copy of *Mary Frances’ First Cookbook*, which was gifted to her by Wakefield’s aunt Maude when Wakefield was nine years old.⁵⁷ As a graduate

⁵⁵ Marks, *Finding Betty Crocker*, 26-9, 32, 36, 191.

⁵⁶ Fryer, *The Mary Frances Cook Book*.

⁵⁷ Fryer, *The Mary Frances Cook Book*; “Ruth Wakefield, at 73; created toll house cookie,” *The Boston Globe*, January 11, 1977; The first page of this copy in the Ruth Graves Wakefield Cookbook Collection in the

from Framingham State Normal School, Wakefield used this education to teach home economics and later open a restaurant with her husband. In 1930, Ruth Graves Wakefield and her husband Kenneth opened the Toll House Inn in an old home previously used as a toll house for horseback travelers.⁵⁸ The inn emphasized their “small quantity cookery” and ability to create home-cooked meals just as their customers did in their own households.⁵⁹ This penchant for home cooking was a strong theme in restaurants in the 1920s, but although the National Restaurant Association switched gears in the 1930s to shift towards advertising husbands treating their wives to dinner, the Wakefields’ inn and home cooking style still remained incredibly popular throughout the 1930s.⁶⁰ Throughout her life, Wakefield learned how to cook in a way that embraced efficient appliances and appealed to the general population’s desire for home-cooked meals, and then she opened a restaurant with her husband to cater to the demand for home-cooked meals that likely arose as cooks became uncomfortable cooking in their own homes.

To assist these frazzled cooks, Wakefield published her recipes almost yearly beginning in 1930 in *Ruth Wakefield’s Toll House Tried and True Recipes*. Before readers can reach the actual recipes, they must first flip through twenty-eight pages of cooking advice Wakefield offers. These pages present tips on topics including heat control in ovens, range care, and organization of refrigerators.⁶¹ Wakefield’s condensed lessons in kitchen practice is not common in cookbooks at this time. However, her continued publishing of this section in her 1930s cookbooks suggests that many home cooks that were purchasing the books did not know that information and needed to be taught that knowledge. Wakefield’s and Fryer’s cookbooks suggest

Framingham State University Archives bears a handwritten dedication to Wakefield from her aunt Maude dated Christmas 1912. As Wakefield was born in June 1903, she would have been nine years old during December 1912.

⁵⁸ Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield’s Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 1939, 3.

⁵⁹ Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield’s Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 1939, 3.

⁶⁰ Samantha Barbas, “Just Like Home: ‘Home Cooking’ and the Domestication of the American Restaurant,” *Gastronomica* 2, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 47, 51; Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield’s Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 1939, 3.

⁶¹ Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield’s Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 1939, 3, 9-37.

that home cooks did not need to wholly rely on figures like Betty Crocker for recipes and advice as some cookbooks could be used to introduce cooks to their updated kitchens and appliances.

Although, price may have put these cookbooks out of reach for lower class cooks. Wakefield's 1943 cookbook sold for \$2.50, but some recipes, including those of Betty Crocker, were placed into sacks of flour or mailed at the request of home cooks.⁶² Although these home cooks may have been disadvantaged in learning new modern techniques described in cookbooks, they still had some access to recipes that were used with heat-controlled ovens and other new appliances.

However, literacy may have been more of a problem for some home cooks looking to learn how to adapt to the modern environment because not all Americans were literate enough to be able to read these published cookbooks. Though, determining just how many Americans were literate is very difficult as literacy was self-reported, rather than tested, until 1870, meaning that an illiterate person embarrassed about their inability to read or write could simply lie to the U.S. Census Bureau. However, from 1890 to 1920, an increase in cheap novels and reprints as well as the growth of libraries by the turn of the century sparked a rapid growth in literacy in the United States. In 1870, the illiterate population was recorded to have been at about 20% of the overall population, and by 1920, only 6% of the population could not read nor write. By 1940, that number had shrunk to just 2.9%.⁶³ This national growth of literacy suggests that much of the U.S. would have been able to read these cookbooks.

⁶² Ruth Graves Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 18th printing (New York: M. Barrows & Company, 1943), Special Collections & Archives, The University of Iowa Libraries; Marks, *Finding Betty Crocker*, 28.

⁶³ Edward E. Gordon and Elaine H. Gordon, *Literacy in America: Historic Journey and Contemporary Solutions*(Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 265, 273, 276-7.

Unfortunately, literacy rates were not uniform across the demographics within the United States population. White populations tended to have higher literacy rates than Black populations did, likely because of the racial segregation of schools. As White populations had been on a downward trend of illiteracy to reach a mere 4% illiteracy rate in 1920, Black populations experienced a belated decline in illiteracy. By 1930, 17.5% of Black people were illiterate, and by 1940, that number had shrunk to 11.5%.⁶⁴ Publishers and authors were thus likely writing with a White audience in mind because not all Black audiences may not have been literate enough to read this information. However, as mentioned, Betty Crocker's radio show may have been a way to orally receive recipes, assuming one could afford access to a radio.

Literacy was not the only area in which cooks of color were affected in the early twentieth century. Although beet sugar is chemically indistinguishable from cane sugar, cane sugar was viewed as civilized because sugar beets could be grown in temperate places where White farmers lived, but cane sugar grown in tropical regions with people of color had to be civilized through machinery. Additionally, chocolate had a color line in terms of factory employment. White women were allowed to earn a higher factory wage by hand-dipping chocolate, but Black women were denied that work despite the irony of their dark skin color. This work and wage discrimination also likely affected their ability to buy a cookbook initially. However, several jazz and ragtime songs drew comparisons between sweetness and Black children between 1902 and 1920, later using sweetness and chocolate after World War I as a metaphor for displacement and migration. Although many children first became consumers within candy stores of the 1920s, white candy shopkeepers discriminated against Black shoppers, including their beating and stabbing of a nine-year-old Black boy named Lucius Harris.⁶⁵ As a

⁶⁴ Gordon and Gordon, *Literacy in America*, 273, 275.

⁶⁵ Merlaux, "Sugar and Civilization," 9-10, 103, 106, 116, 133-4.

result of this discrimination against Black communities and lower literacy rates, the White populations were the likely audience for chocolate advertising and cookbooks.

As primarily white middle majority and upper-class home cooks flustered in their updated kitchens, many of them turned towards motherly figures for advice on how to operate with modern appliances, and those motherly figures were often backed by scientific training in culinary arts. This bridge of using a traditional, motherly figure to convey new methods was appealing to many cooks as it embraced the familiar while applying the trends of the day. Because many home cooks sought out a motherly figure for support, home cooks found familiarity in this foreign modernity. Home cooks wanted to be able to be comforted by the past while embracing the future. This desire to mesh the old methods with new understandings also managed to appear in both the teacher and in the actual food.

A Brand-New Beloved Tradition

Despite the fame of the Toll House's lobster dishes, Ruth Wakefield's chocolate chip cookie remains the recipe most remembered from that restaurant. However, Wakefield took the secret of how exactly she concocted the recipe to her grave in 1977. Some accounts say that she ran out of nuts for a colonial drop-do cookie and replaced them with chocolate she expected to melt in the oven. Others insist that she had run out of butter and needed the cocoa butter in chocolate for its fat content. A few sources suggest that she used leftover chocolate from another recipe to prevent it from going to waste, or even that a mixer had comically vibrated the chocolate off of a shelf and into the bowl of cookie dough.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Carolyn Wyman, *The Great American Chocolate Chip Cookie Book: Scrumptious Recipes & Fabled History from Toll House to Cookie Cake Pie* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 19, 23-22.

Whatever the mysterious origin of this cookie, its success was immediate. The recipe first appeared in the 1938 edition of *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes* under the name "chocolate crunch cookies," and the recipe specifies that Nestlé semi-sweet chocolate be used despite other recipes in the same book calling for unbranded semi-sweet chocolate, or even competing Baker's chocolate.⁶⁷ Sources conflict on whether or not it had been published in a newspaper between 1930 and 1938, but as this thesis found no evidence of that newspaper publication, it will assume 1938 as the general public's first time reading the recipe. After supposedly seeing sales for semi-sweet chocolate bars rise 500% in New England, Nestlé put the recipe for chocolate chip cookies on the packaging for their bars and eventually morsels under the moniker "Toll House Cookies" with Wakefield's permission.⁶⁸ This would have made the recipe even more accessible to Americans, especially those who could not afford Wakefield's entire cookbook. By late 1939, the cookie had become so popular that Nestlé had scored its chocolate bars into 160 small squares to ease home cooks who had to chip the chocolate by hand, and in December 1940, Nestlé released their signature semi-sweet chocolate morsels for use in chocolate chip cookies.⁶⁹

An American chocolate company, Hershey, attempted to compete with Nestle by releasing similar chocolate chips known as bittersweet Dainties, but they were discontinued shortly after their introduction in 1941 due to World War II.⁷⁰ Although Nestlé suffered the same diversion of chocolate for the war as soldiers once again required it on the battlefield, they were

⁶⁷ Ruth Graves Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes* (New York: M. Barrows & Company, 1938), Courtesy Framingham State University Archives, 165, 180, 184.

⁶⁸ Wyman, *The Great American Chocolate Chip Cookie Book*, 28; Some say that in return for this deal, Wakefield received free chocolate for life.

⁶⁹ Wyman, *The Great American Chocolate Chip Cookie Book*, 30.

⁷⁰ Wyman, *The Great American Chocolate Chip Cookie Book*, 31-2; *Seattle Daily Times*, Seattle, Washington, 1942; Kawash, *Candy*, 223; By World War II, chocolate rations had been modified to be more resistant to melting, and these new bars had been purposefully designed to be less appetizing to encourage troops to only eat them in case of emergency in response to their immediate consumption in World War I.

able to embrace the conflict to advertise the cookies as a treat to be sent to brave soldiers overseas.⁷¹ This connection between baking chocolate chip cookies and patriotism signifies that women could assist the war effort by baking troops homemade cookie, which although a recent creation, would likely already remind soldiers of home. Nestlé's association with the cookie through its chocolate created a loyalty and craving with customers that neither American chocolate giants nor war could fracture.

Holding onto tradition is a trend for this cookie. One proposed suggestion for Wakefield's creation of the cookie involves the colonial drop-do cookie. Although the colonial cookie recipe from *Modern Priscilla Cookbook* is similar, Wyman suggests that this colonial do-drop cookie theory came from a misunderstood Nestlé brochure calling the colonial drop-do cookie the emotional rather than actual ancestor of the chocolate chip cookie because they both stand "for hospitality, for kindness, for the good things in life."⁷² Although, the name of the cookie is not the only place in which colonial America seeps into the mythology of the chocolate chip cookie.

Wakefield's Toll House Inn touts colonial ties in the history of their building.⁷³ However, skeptics question the merit of the inn's colonial ties by claiming the "toll house" was merely a residential building constructed in 1817, well after the colonial period.⁷⁴ Additionally, other prominent figures of the time were promoting a connection to the past. Betty Crocker was deeply rooted in nostalgia by eulogizing the preparation of food from scratch back in the 1910s and by portraying her as an "ageless 32" motherly figure, just old enough to collect rich wisdom, yet

Wyman, *The Great American Chocolate Chip Cookie Book*, 31-2.

⁷² Wyman, *The Great American Chocolate Chip Cookie Book*, 26.

⁷³ Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield's Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 1939, 3.

⁷⁴ Wyman, *The Great American Chocolate Chip Cookie Book*, 26.

still young enough to not be outdated.⁷⁵ These prominent claims to the traditional past may have served as a way to bridge older methods of cookery with the newer ways by calling upon the past to make the transition more familiar and comfortable.

This bridge between the old and new was likely very comforting for people in a changing world. Home cooks could prepare a very delicious cookie that both embodied colonial America while embracing modern technologies like heat-controlled ovens and edible, semi-sweet chocolate. Many advertisements of Nestlé's semi-sweet chocolate bars and morsels convey a smaller, almost-nuclear family with a young woman being praised by her husband and children for her cookies. Additionally, these advertisements emphasize that the cookies should be made for kids coming home from school, fellow bridge players, or for guests when it is the cook's turn to host.⁷⁶ Although Nestlé published the advertisements which potentially are not accurate to lived reality as a result, the ads still represent the pressure under which cooks were placed to have a family for whom they bake. Additionally, these advertisements likely had to be somewhat relatable to audiences in order to be effective. One such newspaper ad suggests that "It is doubtful if any Toll House Cookie ever survived a picnic. Frequently, they don't even get there!" and depicts a young boy eagerly lifting a cookie out of a picnic basket.⁷⁷ These advertised situations in which chocolate chip cookies could be eaten all center around social gatherings and family, suggesting that baking is a communal practice, especially if hosting duties rotate amongst various groups, especially bridge. This social interaction centered around food suggests that women who had felt isolated in the home were perhaps finding or maintaining community using the cookie as an offering, according to Nestlé's marketing team.

⁷⁵ Marks, *Finding Betty Crocker*, 14, 218.

⁷⁶ *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1941-1949; *The Sunday Oregonian*, Portland, Oregon, 1940-1949; *The Seattle Sunday Times*. Seattle, Washington, 1941; *Seattle Daily Times*, 1941.

⁷⁷ *Seattle Daily Times*, August 31, 1941.

The cookie itself is a particularly tasty one indeed. Many advertisements emphasized the inclusion of whole chocolate in the cookie, and many hungry people who had recently fallen head over heels for chocolate after World War I were likely drawn to that. Home cooks felt confident making the cookies as many ads highlighted the ease of baking the cookies and that the recipe “never fails.”⁷⁸ The cookies themselves even lend themselves toward feeding a large number of people. The original recipe for the cookie makes about 100 cookies, which are much smaller than the chocolate chip cookies of today.⁷⁹ Because the recipe makes so many small cookies, this would make them an excellent option to feed large quantities of people, or for many people to have seconds (or thirds). The large number could also allow home cooks to bake cookies to take outside the home while still being able to retain some for their household, and that could help to reconcile women’s new role outside the home while still providing their family with goods from the kitchen. Interestingly, despite cookies being served to share with others, they are individual cookies that are not part of one whole dessert, such as a cake would be. This size difference may suggest that consumers of the cookie were becoming more individualistic or that the cookies were easier to share because they did not need to be separated from one another, which means that younger children or busy hosts could access the bite-sized desserts quickly.

The chocolate chip cookie combined ideas of a colonial past with modern techniques, which made the cookie particularly appealing to masses of people coping with rapid change in technology. Home cooks struggling to adapt to their new appliances who could no longer turn to their mothers for help turned instead to motherly figures like Ruth Wakefield, who taught them new recipes, including chocolate chip cookies, that had been formulated to be baked in modern appliances. The cookie itself appealed to the new taste many had acquired to chocolate chunks

⁷⁸ *The Sunday Oregonian*, November 24, 1940.

⁷⁹ Wakefield, *Ruth Wakefield’s Toll House Tried and True Recipes*, 1938, 165.

and lended itself to social interactions due to its shareability and delight of audiences to complete the home cook's successful assimilation to modern culture and technologies while still maintaining their traditional ability to bake treats for loved ones.

Conclusion: A Carefully Considered Cookie

As the twentieth century brought new technology in kitchen appliances, home cooks confused by the change popularized the chocolate chip cookie because it tied ideas of the colonial past to modern appliances under the guidance of a motherly figure. Old methods of baking required a cook to remain close to the heat source and to have a deep understanding of their finicky ovens that they had gained orally from their mother. Modern appliances removed the need for watchful cooks, but because the appliances required a bake temperature, many old recipes had to be specially modified to bake correctly. Additionally, ingredients such as sugar and chocolate had grown in production and popularity, which gave home cooks new materials with which to work. As home cooks floundered, motherly figures such as Ruth Wakefield stepped in to assist home cooks by providing recipes suited to modern standards. The chocolate chip cookie in particular had ties to the colonial past both in the Toll House in which Wakefield operated and in the similarities to a colonial drop cookie, but it could be baked in a modern oven and then shared with others as proof that the home cook was still functional in the modern kitchen.

In conducting this research, scholarship seems to avoid discussing the gap between the advances made in technology and the financial burden brought on by the Great Depression in the 1930s. The toll that economical onslaught would have made on the middle majority in the 1930s remains undiscussed and could potentially fundamentally alter the way in which the middle majority upgraded their appliances. Additionally, it may have been as simple as a matter of the

prices falling with the depression making the upgrade much more affordable to those that still had some sort of income. Further research should also be done to elaborate on the differences in which people experienced modernity based on their race since this paper could only briefly encompass the intersection of race and literacy with regard to the textual recipe and access to ingredients.

This perspective on the onset of modernity in the early twentieth century emphasizes the way in which a majority of people interacted with it, rather than solely focusing on the ways in which it was invented. Considering the impact technological changes made on the greater population creates a fuller picture of the means in which the changes were accepted and how people coped with those rapid changes. Food in particular is often indicative of the culture in which it is found, and analyzing why food is important or popular within a group of people can grant larger insight that would have otherwise been overlooked, as it had been here with a simple dessert. The availability of ingredients is often what forges the palate of a culture, and examining the tools and available ingredients with which people can cook illuminates why people may cook and enjoy certain foods while not consuming others.

Overall, the origins of this cookie are incredibly important because understanding them allows for the appreciation of why they are still consumed widely today. Americans still relish freshly baked, warm chocolate chip cookies, and chocolate chip cookies have wiggled into ice creams, cakes, liqueur, pizzas, pancakes, milk shakes, cheesecakes, pies, puddings, trifles, truffles, and protein cookies. Some even enjoy just eating the raw cookie dough, and Nestlé sells a safe version of it by the tub with the intention for consumers to eat out of it with a spoon. Managing to avoid this cookie is truly an outstanding feat, but the author of this thesis would not encourage that behavior. Instead, see figure 4 below, and consider baking a batch of the historical original chocolate chip cookies while considering how all the ingredients made it into

the kitchen and how easy the oven makes the process. Let the cookies bring back reminders of loving relatives baking them and remember the generations of other cooks that baked them too with that same amount of love.

“*Chocolate Crunch Cookies*”

Cream

1 cup butter, add

¾ cup brown sugar

¾ cup granulated sugar and

2 eggs beaten whole. Dissolve

1 tsp. soda in 1 tsp. hot water, and mix alternately with

2 ¼ cups flour sifted with

1 tsp. salt. Lastly add

1 cup chopped nuts and

1 lb. Nestles [sic] yellow label chocolate, semi-sweet, which has been cut in pieces the size of a pea.

Flavor with

1 tsp. vanilla and drop half teaspoons on a greased cookie sheet. Bake 10 to 12 minutes in 375° oven.

Makes 100 cookies.”⁸⁰

⁸⁰ *The original 1938 published recipe for what would soon be known as the chocolate chip cookie from Ruth Wakefield’s Toll House Tried and True Recipes.*

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