Developing psychological resources for creative writing through challenging stereotypes in Australian food history: a creative work and exegesis

CHARMAINE LIZA O'BRIEN

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

CENTRAL QUEENSLAND UNIVERSITY

SUBMITTED: AUGUST 2017

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION AND ARTS

PROFESSOR DONNA LEE BRIEN

DR JUDITH BROWN

Abstract

The necessity for innovative responses to sustain our natural environmental, social and cultural wellbeing and economic prosperity is a constant refrain in contemporary society. Creativity is the prerequisite for innovation and creativity is a driving force in the modern economy. Creative skills will be key assets for individuals, organisations and communities into the future and creative people will be seen as the source of innovative ideas. Developing creative capabilities in individuals is therefore of vital importance and advancing knowledge about creativity is essential to achieving this growth. Studying the practice of creative individuals holds significant potential to progress understanding on how to develop creativity more widely. Situated in the field of creative writing, using a food history project as the vehicle, this thesis seeks to demonstrate through the example of an individual writer's experience of creative process and performance, how creative writing research contributes to wider understanding of creativity and how it can be developed.

Through investigation of primary resources, supported by secondary material, the creative work of this thesis, 'The Colonial Kitchen' mounts a compelling challenge to the accepted notions of Australia's colonial food history – that the colonial diet was abominable and colonial cooks incompetent. It argues as a main theme that social aspiration and defence of class privilege had a significant influence on the reporting of colonial foodways. Additionally, it notably demonstrates colonial literature as a rich and largely untapped source of culinary reference. In doing so, the work offers a new, more nuanced and considered understanding of the food production, cookery and eating practices of colonial Australians, thereby making a contribution to food history.

Creativity is largely a psychological phenomenon. During the process of producing the creative work, the author documented her psychological experience in a journal with the aim to capture direct experience of the creative challenge of producing a work of measured contest to established historiography. The data resulting from this experiment was the starting point for the exegetical component of this thesis that explores the psychological resources that are utilised in the creative process and how these might potentially be developed. The exegesis employs a mixed methodology including practice-led and phenomelogical elements. A review of the literature of the psychology of creativity furnishes the theoretical tools through which the psychological material of the

writing journal is explored in a series of coaching sessions between the author and a psychological coach. Through this exploration, the exegesis concludes that focused human-centered support, informed by understanding of the complex multi-factorial nature of creativity, offers a valuable approach to creativity development. A set of guidelines derived from the research findings is offered as tool for supporting the development of psychological resources for creativity in individuals.

Acknowledgements

This research higher degree candidature was supported under the Commonwealth Government's Research Training Program / Research Training Scheme. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support provided by the Australian Government.

Completing a PhD is a project of many years. It is a product of persistence and endurance as much as discovery, intellect and passion. Arriving at the point of completion brings up varied emotions in response to the different aspects of self that have been engaged in the process. One the one hand, I cannot wait to be done so I can enjoy an evening out, weekend or a holiday without feeling guilty that I should be working on the thesis. On the other, I feel trepidation and sadness looming around the loss of what has been such a compelling focus in my life over those years and the institutional support I have received from supervisors, university support staff and fellow candidates. My primary supervisor Professor Donna Lee Brien is legendary for her ability to be warmly supportive while leaving you in no doubt when you need to reconsider, re-write or junk elements of your work. She is tireless in finding opportunities for her students to publish their work and helping then build the skill and understanding towards gaining confidence in producing work for publication. I have had some tough days on this PhD journey when I got lost and confused but I knew I could rely on Donna to help me get back on track, even when it involved having to travel to a different place to the one I thought I was heading to. It has been a great pleasure to work with her on this project and I shall miss having her support and interest. I also wish to thank Professor Judith Brown for her support. I have been fortunate to undertake my PhD candidature with Central Queensland University as the level of institutional support they provide to higher research students is exceptional. I particularly want to acknowledge Research Higher Degree staff members Kath Milostic and Natasha Toons for their consistently cheerful and timely help with practical aspects of the candidature process.

I expect my family and friends might feel a sense of relief at not having to listen to my talk about this PhD. They have put up with many years of it and sometimes I have missed special events because of the demands of getting it done. Amongst my friends, Lissa Johnson and Paul Daniell have been particularly significant in their support to my achieving this project by truly listening and helping me resolve and manage many of the challenges of it. Many other friends have kindly endured hearing my woes and my hopes

throughout and have generously supported me in various ways. Thank-you Sandra See, Mark Conoley, Kirsten Grant, Verity Campbell, Jo Swiney, Sally Gudgeon, Sonie Wilson, Mary Ryliss Clark, Julie Hannaford, Meg Thomas, Ruth Hayes, Nayantara Pothen, Kiran Sandhu, Bharti Kumari, Vishu Singh, Jacqui Newling, Alison Vincent, Anna Reynolds and Anne Burgi. Finally, many thanks to my parents June O'Brien and Michael O'Brien for their support.

Declaration of Authorship and Originality

I, the undersigned author, declare that all of the research and discussion presented in this thesis is original work performed by the author. No content of this thesis has been submitted or considered either in whole or in part, at any tertiary institute or university for a degree or any other category of award. I also declare that any material presented in this thesis performed by another person or institute has been referenced and listed in the reference section.

[redacted]..... (Original signature of Candidate)

Date

Copyright Statement

..... [redacted] ..... (Original signature of Candidate)

Date

A note on reading this thesis

As is accepted in the discipline of creative writing, I sought publication for the creative work as soon as it was completed. The creative work has since been published as *The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901* (Rowman & Littlefield 2016). The creative work as presented here is the original manuscript as submitted to the publisher. It does not include any of the subsequent interventions, including editing, images, formatting and indexing, that were made by the publisher to prepare the manuscript for publication. Mindful that I was submitting work to an American publisher, the spelling used in the manuscript aligns with American English conventions. Spelling used in the introduction, methodology and exegesis is Australian English. The creative work is referenced using the Chicago notes and bibliography style as per the publisher's requirement for a submitted manuscript. Endnotes are situated at the end of each chapter of the creative work and its unique bibliography is situated at end of the creative work. The exegesis uses the Chicago author-date style and has a separate bibliography, which includes the reference list for the introduction and methodology sections.

Table of publications and presentations arising from and/or relevant to the thesis work

Publications

O'Brien, Charmaine. 2018. "The Devil at Work". In *The Routledge Companion to Food in Literature,* edited by Donna Lee Brien, and Lorna Piatti-Farnell,United Kingdom: Routledge.

O'Brien, Charmaine. 2016. *The Colonial Kitchen.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

O'Brien, Charmaine. 2016."Social Struggle, tall tales and stereotypes: A closer look at food in colonial Australia." *The Victorian Journal of Home Economics*, 55: 12-18.

O'Brien, Charmaine. 2013. *The Penguin Food Guide to India*. New Delhi: Penguin India.

**Note: This work does not arise from the thesis, however part of the writing of it and its subsequent publication occurred during my candidature and affected my work on this thesis.*

O'Brien, Charmaine. 2013. "Text for Dinner: Plain Food in Colonial Australia . . . or Was It." MC Journal, 16. http://journal.mediaculture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/657

**Note: This work was commended in the Sophie Coe Prize for Food History 2014*

O'Brien, Charmaine. 2013. "The Colonial Queen of Cookery Books". In TEXT Special Issue 24: *Cookbooks: Writing, Reading and Publishing Culinary Literature in Australasia*. Edited by Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessel, 2013. http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue24/content.htm

O'Brien, Charmaine. 2014. "The Taste of Class: Colonial Australian Food Writing, Fact or Fiction?" In *TEXT Special Issue 26; Taste in Writing and Publishing*. Edited by Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessel. http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue26/content.htm

Presentations

O'Brien, Charmaine. "The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901." Presentation at Great Writing 2017, Imperial College, London, June 2017.

O'Brien, Charmaine. "Dystopian Vision or Utopian Reality? Food and Cookery in Colonial Australia. Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, Melbourne University,

December 2016.

O'Brien, Charmaine. "A Taste of Class". Australian Studies Research Network: Talking About Food: Food History Panel. University of Technology, Sydney, March 2015.

O'Brien, Charmaine. "Eat Like an Aristocrat: or how history could help us win the battle of abundance." International Food Studies Conference, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, February 2014.

O'Brien, Charmaine. "Text For Dinner: 'Plain Food in Colonial Australia…or Was It? Non-fiction Now Conference, RMIT University, Melbourne, November 2012.

O'Brien, Charmaine. "How to Eat Like an Aristocrat". Popular Culture Association of Australia and New Zealand, Annual Conference, Melbourne, June 2012.

Contents

Introduction and methodology

Faced with the problem of challenging the negative stereotypes of the foodways of colonial Australians deeply embedded in collective cultural memory, how can a writer engage with her psychological resources to support the process of creating a non-fiction work on this topic?

In 2016, the Australian Prime Minister unveiled a government "innovation agenda" that included one billion dollars to drive an "ideas boom" towards creating a "modern dynamic 21st century economy" in Australia (Borrello and Keany, 2016). The motivation was not original: it echoed a prevailing—then and now—global sentiment that future prosperity will be increasingly dependent on the generation of knowledge through innovation (Farmakis, 2014; Goepel, Hölzle and Knyphausen-Aufseß, 2012). Creativity is the prerequisite for innovation and creativity has been "coopted as the driving force in the new economy" (Throsby and Hollister 2003, 11). Consequently, creative behaviour has been elevated from a "merely positive trait to a highly sought after commodity" (Runco and Adullah, 2014, 248). "All sorts of creative people are seen as the…source of innovative ideas in inventing the future" (Throsby and Hollister 2003, 11). Fostering the creative industries will be vital to societal well-being and the ability of individuals to think creatively and mobilize creative outcomes will become core assets in respect to work futures (Farmakis, 2014; PMSEIC, 2005; Smith, 2007; Matthews, 2012). Yet the research being conducted on understanding how to best develop and support creativity is relatively minor in relation to this propounded importance (Runco and Adullah 2014, 248). If, as Runco (2004) claims, one of the key tasks of contemporary educators is to help learners build their creative capabilities, then advancing knowledge about creativity is essential to achieving this growth. Studying the practice of creative individuals holds significant potential to progress understanding on how to develop creativity more widely (Avieson, 2008).

This thesis is situated in the field of creative writing, and it is specifically about creativity and creativity development explored through writing practice. According to Webb and Brien (2006, par.10) creative writing research "clearly fit[s]…research that focuses on creativity and innovation"—it is in this domain that creative writing scholars

can "contribute [and] demonstrate [their] capacity…and build disciplinary connections". This thesis begins in the creation of an original written work. A symbiotic exegesis examines my (as the author's) psychological processes during the creation of this work and explores how my 'psychological resources' might be more effectively engaged to enhance my creative capacities. The outcomes further inform practical guidelines for supporting the development of creative capabilities in others. Thus, through close examination of the experience of an individual creative writer, this thesis aims to make a contribution to the field of creative writing, and subsequently into research that focuses on creativity and innovation through building understanding of how creative capabilities might be developed more broadly.

The two thesis components each embody further discrete aims. The creative work aims to make a contribution to the "thorough historical analysis" of the food culture of Australia's colonial period that is lacking in Australian history (Bannerman 2011, 49; Lawrence, 2001), while the exegesis aims to contribute new understanding to how creativity might be enhanced through developing the psychological mechanisms involved in creative process. These two components have been designed to each contribute towards achieving the superordinate aim of this thesis, nevertheless each is also distinct from the other in field, domain and approach. What knits the creative work and exegesis together is the thesis' methodological framework, which I will now outline.

Developing creatively

Sustained empirical research into creative thought and production began in the 1950s when scientists began to investigate the psychological drivers of creative behaviour (Policastro and Gardner 1999, 213). Creativity investigation has more recently expanded into other fields, nonetheless the most significant body of research on creative phenomena exists in the field of psychological science and this work predominantly draws upon it (Runco, 2015). Creativity researchers vigorously debate what constitutes creative behaviour and the standards by which a creative product might be recognised. Nor have they arrived at a universally agreed definition of creativity. However, there is broad consensus on the following points:

- for a product (an idea, process or artefact) to be considered 'creative' it must be novel;

- the process of original creation is complex;
- the capacity to be creative exists in most human beings;
- creative potentialities can be developed; and,
- by its very nature creativity is unique and therefore significantly individualistic, nonetheless environmental and contextual conditions exert considerable influence on creative performance.

The methodological design for this thesis is therefore based on the following assumptions: a creative product must be original; creativity is complex and individual; environment and context can impact creative performance; and creativity can be developed.

While this thesis is a scholarly work, it is also deeply personal. As a practising writer and researcher with a significant record of creating long-form publications my commitment to practice is demonstrably robust. Yet, my writing was not advancing; it was not the work I wanted it to be. In my estimation it was deficient of "artistry…precision and beauty [that makes it] compelling and entrancing", and I felt I lacked the talent and imagination to produce the evocative imagery and insightful characterisation I aspired to create (Moorhouse 2017, 50). This sensing of a gap between my ambition as a writer and my capacity to fulfil it could be conceptualised as a "surprising phenomenon", an "interruption [upon] some habit of expectation" that inspires a drive to inquire into this experience (Awbrey and Awbrey 1995, 48). The obvious action was to practice more, to write more—a necessity to develop any skill. Still, I perceived my impediment to creative development might be more a matter of personal psychology than technical competence, and insight into how I might more fully develop my creative potentialities might be usefully gained by asking questions of my practice—to inquire into the meaning I made of my writing and reflect on the purpose it served in my life (Igweonu, Fagence, Petch and Davies 2011, 227). I needed a process that "drew me into dialogue with the practice itself" and encouraged reflection upon, and articulation of, my creative process to reveal "the elusive obvious, [the] inhibitors of [my] creative development" (Igweonu et al. 2011, 227).

Purpose is a critical driver of creativity; it also "shapes reflective inquiry by its translation into a plan and method of action based upon foresight of the consequences of acting under given observed conditions in a certain way" (Awbrey and Awbrey, 1995,

50). My purpose in undertaking this inquiry has been to develop as a creative practitioner. The goals of this project: to develop understanding of the psychology of creativity and explore how such understanding might be applied to developing creative capability in myself, and potentially in others, were designed to fulfil my purpose. The objectives, or guidelines, of this study are:

1. To investigate my experience of creating a literary work.
2. To identify relevant psychological theories that describe my experience and could potentially inform the development of my creative performance.
3. To inform theoretical understanding and develop strategies for creativity development more broadly.

Objectives are driven by prior experience, or "foresight of consequences" (Awbrey and Awbrey, 1995, 50). My experience is that my practice of writing typically generates thoughts, such as "I am hopeless. I cannot do this. I am a fraud", that inhibit my writing, and my prior education in psychology suggests to me to investigate my underlying psychological processes to elicit understanding of this arising phenomenon. The methodology of this project, the 'plan of action', has therefore been designed to achieve these objectives. The project design was aimed at striking a balance between "recognising and using constructively my own knowledge and experience and maintaining sufficient detachment to enable insightful interpretation of data with a good degree of objectivity" (Forbes 2014, 16).

I perform all the roles in this thesis. I am the writer who produced the creative work. I am the subject of investigation of the exegesis. I am the researcher who does the investigation. This thesis is an overall experiment in my own development as a creative individual. It is "important as research in its own right", and its academic context means the findings about my own practice might be generalised to make a new contribution to knowledge (Boyd 2009, 4). In order to achieve the purpose and objectives of this project I needed to design a creative methodology that was flexible enough to accommodate all the elements—of practice, theory, criticality and self —I wanted to bring to it to.

Methodological framework

The overarching methodological strategy for this research project is creative practice-led research. It employs a range of methods to enable the creative, critical and reflective

thinking and research that underpin the development of the creative work and the interdependent complementary exegesis.

CREATIVE WORK

Originality is the hallmark of creativity (Amabile,1983; Runco, 2004), thus the creation of a relevant and novel artefact for this thesis was critical to gaining new understanding about creative writing practice. The research question was approached in the first instance by researching and writing a book-length work of literary non-fiction, *The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901*. The impetus for this project came from investigation of the current secondary source material on, or referring to, the production and consumption of food during Australia's colonial period and therefore involved an examination of the historiography of the subject (Marwick, 2008). Undertaking this research allows this work to be positioned within the fields of Australian history and food history. Writers of Australian colonial history have predominantly chosen to use and retell negative and unappetising stories, reports and images of the food consumption and cookery of colonial Australians, presenting these largely devoid of any examination and explanation of the background, context and circumstances that may have led to these choices, or indeed questioning the veracity of these "historiographical conventions" (Asseal 2013, 683). The aim of the creative work is to challenge the popularly accepted understanding of foodways in colonial Australia and, in doing so, contribute to the development of knowledge about Australian history and to world food history. While I cannot attest to its effect on readers a leading scholarly publisher, Rowman and Littlefield, published this work in September 2016 (see Appendix A).

The creative work is based upon the exploration and analysis of primary historical and social material, along with scholarly research from across a broad range of disciplines using an accepted historical methodology (UOC, 2006; Krauth, Brien, Watkins and Lawrence, 2014). The final manuscript resulted from applying "creative strategies and structures…to this factual material [to] weave it into a broader interpretive…narrative" (Krauth et al, 2014; see also Brien 2000).

JOURNAL

Researching, drafting and editing the creative work additionally contributed to this thesis by providing an opportunity for me to challenge my creative thinking and writing

capabilities. I documented my psychological responses to the challenges I experienced during the process of writing the creative work in a journal from July 2015 to March 2016. A practitioner writing about their own performance is an accepted field of enquiry in the creative arts as this can provide critical insight into practice more generally (Igweonu et al. 2011, 227). Miechenbaum (1975, 143) suggested that people could be asked to think aloud when doing various creative tasks to determine more specifically the thinking processes in operation during creative performance. In this journal I reflected on my experience and recorded my thoughts as they emerged during the writing of the creative work without explicitly censoring or trying to shape these, an activity that could be considered a form of 'thinking out loud' about creative process. I allowed myself to write in the journal when I felt compelled to do so and I wrote as much as I wanted, resulting in 20 separate dated entries totalling 14,449 words. This journal links the two components of this thesis: It captures my lived experience of creativity and becomes the "essential matrix of inquiry" through which the exegetical work critically engages with my process of creative production (Awbrey and Awbrey 1995, 40; see also Webb and Brien, 2012).

After I completed the book manuscript I read through the journal entries three times to determine if any themes had emerged across these. At this point I was not looking to address the research question, rather to ascertain a general sense of my meaning making (Hycner, 1985). As a result, I conducted what could be characterised as a thematic analysis. I identified four distinct themes that I conceptualised as: self and identity; writing process; assumptions about creativity and creative writing; and, ambition. I allocated a colour to each theme and bracketed the entries by marking each with the relevant theme colour. Entries that did not relate to these themes were marked up as 'general' (Hycner 1985, 283). Entries were categorised under the four headings and repetitive or similar reflections were consolidated (7,941 words in total ; Zainal 2007, 3; Hycner, 1985; Lester, 1999). This categorised material became the seminal data from which to investigate the psychological process of my creative experience.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to provide a conceptual framework through which to examine the categorised journal material, core theories and concepts in the psychology research on creativity and creative writing were located through a literature review. This study aims to develop

understanding of the psychological resources in play during the creative process so it must ask how it might be possible to know about these. A key approach to constructing theory and advancing knowledge in creativity research is collecting detailed data on eminent creative individuals (Simonton 1999, 116; Boden, 1994). Researchers might look for "developmental experiences, personality traits, or environmental factors [that might have] contribute[d] to exceptional creative achievement" (Simonton 1999, 117). There are two predominant methodologies used to study creative people: nomothetic and idiographic. Nomothetic research collects historical data on multiple eminent individuals and subjects this to statistical analysis with the aim of establishing general principles of creativity that stand up to measures of scientific validity (Simonton 1999, 116). Nomothetic methods aim to establish how creative people are alike, or like others (Wallace 1989, 26). The idiographic approach looks for knowledge about creativity from studying the psychology of individual creators (Wallace 1989, 26). Researchers taking an idiographic approach favour detailed case studies focused on understanding the "more idiosyncratic principles that govern the actions of specific individuals" (Simonton 1999, 117). Barron and Harrington (1981, 465) assert:

> *Gathering of rich psychological data on creative individuals [provides] good bases for predicting creative achievement …biographical inventory is especially important to the study of life's outcomes, and to the intersection of historical or socioeconomic conditions with stage of professional and personal development.*

Simonton (1999, 117) contends that idiographic research cannot formulate more generally applicable principles of creativity because of its focus on the unique aspects of particular individuals. Gardner (1993, 23) argues that studies using either nomothetic or idiographic method can both make important contributions to creativity research: the former offers "precision and copious background information" and the latter "fresh insights [towards a] comprehensive study of creativity". An ideal research framework for understanding creativity would gather data that can be subjected to normative testing as well as elucidating unique aspects of individual creators, but short of that, the aims of the research should determine the method of data collection (Gruber 1998, 27; Policastro and Gardner 1999). As this study sought to gather deep psychological material from a single subject, an idiographic approach using a case study method was chosen.

CASE STUDY METHOD

Case studies allow researchers to closely explore complex human action through the detailed analysis of data within a specific context and elucidate holistic understanding of the process and behavioural conditions of the phenomenon under study from the "actors perspective" (Zainal 2007, 1). A distinct advantage of the case study method is its ability to illuminate a phenomenon as it occurs in real life (Zainal 2007, 4). The development of case studies is a widely used method in creativity research and personal diaries or journals are commonly used as the material from which to develop these (Amabile, Kramer and Ben-Ur, 2013: Runco, 2004). While the "microscopic" sample size of a case study significantly limits the ability to generalise from it, various methods can be applied to overcome this such as "triangulating the study" with other relevant research to try and "confirm the validity of the process", still inferences need to be drawn tentatively (Zainal 2007, 2; Policastro and Gardner, 1999). Despite these limitations, case studies are widely used in creativity research because they allow for the individuality that is "critical in creative work [to be revealed] case by case" (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 98; see also: Policastro and Gardner ,1999). A particular limitation of the case study method in understanding creativity is that it is often "archival and therefore has the limitations of non-experimental ex post facto research" (Runco 2004, 677). The case study presented in this research offers the potential novelty of being contemporary to the subject's experience.

To effectively interpret a case study the researcher must have an "adequate level of understanding of the work itself" (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 98). As I am investigating my psychological experience during my performance of writing I assert a claim to that adequate understanding, although the issue of biased interpretation may be considered problematic where the investigator and subject are one (Zainal 2007, 5). In response to this, I believe my professional experience, indeed my self-interest in developing through this project, enabled me to delineate each of these roles sufficiently to make my performance in each a valid one..According to Policastro and Gardner (1999, 213) the case study method allows a clear instance of the subject of interest —in this case creativity—to be examined such that "attempts to construct a social-scientific explanation, and program of research, [are] based upon a thorough understanding of the phenomenon". The methodological design of this project therefore can be considered broadly phenomenological in its approach. Phenomenological research aims to provide

deep insight into experience in order to gain understanding as to how an individual makes sense of a given phenomenon (Hycner, 1985). Phenomenological approaches are based in a:

> *paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasise the importance of personal perspective and interpretation…powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions…[and are] good at surfacing deep issues and making voices heard…and [challenging] the normative assumptions nomothetic methods [aim for] (Lester 1999, 1).*

Phenomenological studies use single or small numbers of subjects who are chosen because they can offer some "meaningful insights into the topic of study" (Hycner 1985, 213). Methods such as case study and personal journals are also commonly used to capture the clearest instance of the natural phenomenon as it occurs (Hycner 1985; Lester. 1999). The methodological design of this study—an author keeping a journal while creating a written work and submitting that journal to academically rigorous investigation—offers a clear instance of the experience of creativity and thereby has the potential to elucidate "meaningful insight" into this phenomenon (Hycner 1985, 213).

COACHING

The material of the journal is interrogated using psychological coaching as a tool to connect the research problem to the observed data. Coaching is a "professional helping conversation which takes place in dyadic personal relationship" between a coach and coachee (Arlø and Dahl 2014, 501). It is a dynamic form of learning, a dialogical process during which the coach listens, reflects upon what the coachee has shared to engage them in a reflective process "to examine, clarify or resolve private or professional challenge" (Arlø and Dahl 2014, 501; Stetler 2015, 508). Professional coaching is most widely used in organisations to support individuals to achieve clearly defined goals—and increasingly to develop work teams (Stetler 2015, 111; Losch, Mattausch-Traut, Muhlberger and Jinas 2016,1). Still, there are many different types and approaches to coaching most of which have been developed from therapeutic models, yet it is distinctive from most other dialogue based therapies in that it is future focused and action based (Arlø and Dahl 2014, 501). The coaching approach employed in this study is known as 'psychological coaching': evidence-based practice grounded in psychological theories, principles and

approaches (Grant and Cavanagh, 2007). Psychological coaching draws more explicitly and deeply on aspects of previous life experience that shape an individual's thinking and behavioural patterns than other forms of coaching such as skills or executive coaching. It must be noted that psychological coaching does not deal with the clinical issues of which psychology is traditionally concerned. Rather, it "deals with people who are basically functional albeit dissatisfied with some aspect of their lives", for example, their creative performance as per this study (Grant and Greene 2004, 18).

Coaching is a change methodology and all coaching can be described as 'developmental', however the term is used here to specifically describe coaching that seeks to help the coachee develop a more complex understanding of self and how they make sense, or meaning, of their experience and to use this understanding to design actions to achieve desired change. It might also be referred to as "transformative" coaching (Grant, Passmore, Cavanagh, and Parker, 2010). The coaching approach employed in this study seeks to facilitate developmental change. It additionally draws on a model of "narrative collaborative coaching … a transformative learning process where learning always implies an impact on identity and self-understanding" (Stetler 2012, 111). Working in collaboration, the coach helps the coachee illuminate the personal narrative operating in respect to the core challenges under consideration by "connecting the coachee's actions with identity issues and vice versa" (Stetler 2015, 5). The coaching supports the emergence of a new narrative by "changing the person's [understood] past history collaboratively by incorporating new events and persons and by challenging and recreating the story's plot" (Stetler 2012, 111). According to Stetler (2015, 5):

> *[Personal] narratives are the vehicles which link specific events in a timeline and which have special impact on the client. If these narratives are a strain on the client, the aim is to deconstruct them in the collaborative process between coach and client. Deconstruction implies the potential for change. By reflecting on the narrative and presenting additional possible interpretations, the dialogical partner [coach] applies procedures that undermine the taken-for-granted understanding of the client's life and identity.*

Coaching is considered to be particularly effective in helping people manage change and complexity, and it is known to support personal development such as creativity (Gash 2017; Stetler 2012; NHS 2005). According to Miechenbaum (1975, 131) methods—such

as psychological coaching— which aim to help individuals "gain an understanding of past influences, background, experience, habits and present behaviour" can facilitate them to form "attitudes and personality factors that enhance creativity". The flexibility and scope of coaching means it can be applied in a "wide range of contexts, always focused on the needs of the coachee" (Forbes 2014, 14). In a study on coaching creative writers Forbes (2014, 14) found that "coaching filled a niche not met by other forms of support for writers".

My decision to use coaching as a method of investigation in this project was based in the first instance on my experience as a professional coach. I hold a Masters degree in coaching psychology. I work in a university institute managing the coaching component of a major research program and I coach private clients including creative practitioners. My education, qualifications and experience thus allow me to utilise a psychological coaching approach as a tool in the exegesis. Secondly, there are notable similarities between creativity and coaching. Reflection is at the heart of creativity as it is an endlessly reflective process. Reflective capacity is key in understanding our own intentions and reflective capacity is a key skill for coaches (Stelter, 2012). Coaching is a relevant approach for examining and developing creativity because it is reflective and aims to understand how an individual makes meaning: creativity is essentially a meaning making process (Stelter 2012, 138; Barron 1988, 95; Gruber and Wallace 1999,104). Coaching aims to develop a holistic understanding of individual thinking and action (Stetler 2012, 138): creativity is a holistic process. Coaching is applied curiosity: curiosity is a key skill of creative individuals. Indeed, coaching is a creative practice and process in of itself (Gash 2017).

Coaching is typically enacted as a dialogical relationship between two independent individuals, a coach and a coachee. Nevertheless, 'self-coaching', an autonomous learning and development process in which a individual employs coaching method and tools towards making change without the support of an external coach, is a viable alternative (Losch, Traut-Mattausch, Muhlberger and Jonas 2016, 12; Grant and Greene, 2004). Self-observation, which might take the form of narrative documents such as a journal, is an essential aspect of the self-coaching process (Stelter 2012,129; Grant and Greene, 2004). The self-coaching process is by and large the same as the dyadic model: A dynamic dialogical process whereby the individual listens to their internal dialogue through self-observational process such as writing thoughts down, reflects upon this,

challenges and supports what arises, and develops a plan of action "to examine, clarify or resolve private or professional challenge" (Arlø and Dahl 2014, 501; Stetler 2015, 508). In this study I enact a self-coaching process. I deliberately delineate my performance in the dual roles of coach and coachee in this study to allow for, and comply with the standards of, its form as a scholarly investigation. In real life, a person enacting a self-coaching process might not be so definitive in this role segregation—although as this work demonstrates such overt practice might be considered worthy of adopting as it facilitates independent action in each role.

While self-coaching is an accepted approach in coaching, the research literature directly addressing it is small but emerging (Grant and Greene, 2004). Even when working with an external coach, it is "implicit" a coachee develop self-coaching skills as they have to learn the "mind and communication skills that will help them to achieve their objectives", i.e., they have to do the work (Nelson Jones 2006, 251). Chan and Latham (2004, 261) describe self-coaching as a form of "self-persuasion", a strategy whereby individuals persuade themselves to change their own attitudes or behaviour with no "direct attempt from others to convince themselves of the desirability" of such change. According to Aronson (1999, 883), self-persuasion has "enormous power to affect long term changes in attitude and behaviour precisely because individuals convince themselves that a particular thing is the case". Chan and Latham (2004, 261) claim the "effectiveness [of self-coaching] can be inferred from its self-persuasive nature". A study by Miechenbaum (1975, 142) found that a program of self-instructional training for creativity in the form of self-statements, helped subjects to modify "both their self-perceptions and performance in the direction of more creativity". Subject's learnt the self-statements through experimenter modelling and subsequently used these independently to enhance their creativity, an experimental model based on an established clinical paradigm of using self-talk for behaviour change (Miechenbaum 1975, 131). Such self-talk is akin to self-persuasion. Miechenbaum (1975, 142) suggested that self-statement packages could be designed to take into account individual differences in creativity. Chan and Latham (2004, 265) consider Miechenbaum's training procedure as a form of self-coaching. All of this has particular relevance to this study with its method of self-coaching applied to address an individual's identified barriers to creative development.

Effective self-coaching requires "very high self-regulation, self-motivation, and self-learning competencies", the "courage and determination to succeed", as well as

knowledge and ability to perform designated task/s (Losch et al. 2016, 12; Grant and Green 2004, 29; Chan and Latham 2004;). Chan and Latham (2004, 274) found coaching from an external source more affective in increasing academic performance on two dependent variables than self-coaching overall. However, subjects who self-coached and had existing knowledge and ability to perform the tasks required were easily able to reach the same grade as those who were coached externally (Chan and Latham 2004, 274). Losch et al. (2016,12) found coaching more effective than self-coaching in preventing procrastination, an outcome they partly attribute to an absence of a live example or role model in the independent treatment. Still, subject satisfaction rating with either treatment was equal. Sliter and Christiansen (2012, 175) suggest that impression management might be problematic when someone has been trained to self-coach because the individual might know "how to fake it in the right direction" and give socially desirable responses. Aronson says (1999,) self-persuasive strategies have a deep and long lasting impact because "individuals convince themselves that a particular thing is the case". This might be equally problematic though, as the individual might only see the issue from a singular point of view, theirs, and once a person has convinced themselves of something, especially if it is emotive, they might find it hard to change their mind on it even in the face of evidence to the contrary (Ecker, Lewandowsky, Swire and Chang, 2011). Taking these considerations into account, I choose self-coaching as a method confident my education and experience as a coach, along with my record of long form publication and academic achievement, allows me the necessary competencies—self-regulation, self-motivation, self-learning, courage, determination, knowledge, task ability and experience—to effectively undertake such a process. In choosing this approach, I also took into account the affordability, accessibility and suitability of working with an external coach. High quality coaching services are expensive, averaging around several hundred dollars per session (Coutu and Kauffman 2009). I was not able to identify a coach whose knowledge, experience and approach exceeded what I could bring to the process who was accessible to me. As the evidence for the value of coaching in helping people achieve professional and personal performance continues to emerge, coaching is becoming increasingly utilised across a range of sectors, however as creative writers, and many other creative practitioners, are often low waged cost might be a barrier to them benefiting from the services of an external coach (Sonesh, Coultas, Lacerenza, Marlow, Benishek and Salas 2015;Throsby and Hollister 2003). In the broader context of creative writing, enacting a self-coaching practice as part of this creative writing thesis

additionally serves as an experiment in the possibilities of this process for other writers and creative workers. Further, because of the deeply personal nature of this investigation I felt psychologically safer [see below] working through it with myself. In fact, I might have been more inclined to 'impression management' or restraint with an external coach in expressing the deeply entrenched negative thinking patterns I held about myself because I felt a considerable degree of shame around this.. A constraint in a self-coaching approach is that it limits the scope of the process to my own knowledge, experience and point of view. Physical expressions— body language, tone of voice, eye movement—can be useful indicators to an external coach of significant, but unconscious, mental or emotional states in a coachee, but this type of noticing might not be present in self-coaching. Working with an external coach would have brought different knowledge and perspective and the coaching sessions would have taken a different shape. However, the form the coaching sessions take through the self-coaching process are as relevant as any other. Playing the role of coach and coachee also presented the problem of how to create different viewpoints. Using theories of creativity as a coaching tool was an important strategy in this regard as applying these to exploration of my lived experience assisted me to move into and hold the role of investigator-coach. Additionally, my professional training as a coach, or a 'skilled helper', provides me with a strategic framework that supports an objective distance from a coachee (see: Egan 2014).

The dialogue that emerges between the coach and coachee in the coaching sessions reported in the exegesis are, as previously indicated, informed by my psychology education and practice as a psychologically minded coach and include terms that might be usefully explained here to help the reader who does not have such education, in particular 'psychological safety', 'locus of control', locus of casuality' and 'locus of evaluation'.

Psychological safety refers to establishing an environment—such as a therapeutic or coaching relationship—in which an individual feels understood, respected and valued; free from external evaluation; and their potential recognised (Rogers 1954, 256). Locus of control describes the extent to which an individual understands the contingency between their behaviour and a desired outcome. The degree to which a person believes they have control over outcomes will impact their motivation to take creative action (Lather, Jain and Shukla 2014, 50; Weiner, Nierenberg, Goldstein 1976, 53). Locus of causality describes whether a person experiences, or attributes, the 'cause' or source of motivation for their behaviour as autonomous (internal) or coerced (external) (Deci and Ryan 2000b,

58). Locus of evaluation refers to the extent to which an individual judges or assesses their behaviour or work by internally developed or externally imposed standards. These aspects of psychological attribution and evaluation are further addressed in respect to their relationship to creativity in the discussion section.

The work of this study proceeds with the coach using the material of the journal as the starting point to investigate and understand the coachee/writer's experience of creating a written work. This takes place across four coaching sessions. The coach takes as her tools of inquiry the theoretical learning of the literature review. Theory is used by the coach to structure and synthesise the coachees experience; direct the process of the inquiry (Forbes, 2014); probe the coachees experience to ask questions of it that "extend the learner's capacity for inquiry and reflective thinking …[with the intention] of disclosing relations not otherwise apparent" (Stelter 2012, 129); and "examine and reinterpret the assumptions of their world models" (Awbrey and Awbrey 1995, 51). Theory informs the conceptualisations the coach offers the coachee to invite them to "jump off" into further reflective thought (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 101). Understanding the "modality in which the creator thinks" is a persistent question in studying creative work, however it can take "considerable degree of expert knowledge to penetrate the tangled niches of the …human mind" (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 104). Coaching can be "dark labouring" and it relies on the coach's skill in supporting the coachee to "recognise patterns, and to interpret significance" —to see the working out behind what they think and do—and have the courage to make sense of experience in a new way (Awbrey and Awbrey 1995, 51; Forbes 2014, 14). Psychological coaching is deep inquiry into self and it can precipitate the "bursting out of the startling conjecture" (Awbrey and Awbrey 1995, 51) that can lead to change—to the development of psychological resources.

The methodological design of this exegesis could arguably be described as autoethnographic. Autoethnography is a "form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context" with the aim to explore some aspect of daily life and reflect upon the personal, or 'insider', experience of this phenomenon (Butz and Besio 2009, 1660). The narrative produced, differs from other personal experience narrative, such as autobiography or memoir, in that the writer takes on the "dual identities of personal self and academic researcher" to systemically examine their experience and make it meaningful through a framework of theoretical and methodological tools and research literature to bring deeper understanding to a larger social or cultural phenomena (Butz

and Besio 2009, 1660 & 1665;). Autoethnographers use self-generated material such as that produced by journalling to identify patterns in self in response to the experience in which they are researching (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2011, 49). Autoethnographers subsequently describe these patterns in way that provides an account that "allows for the inner feelings and interpretations of someone involved in the phenomenon being studied" in a way that cannot be cannot be considered by those outside the experience (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2011, 49). Autoethnographic work is "most often [produced] through the use of conversation" [allowing the writer] to make events engaging and emotionally rich" (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2011, 49 through reflecting on the emotional experiences of the researcher (Butz and Besio 2009, 1662). In this way, autoethnography is the "performance of critical reflexivity…self-critical sympathetic introspection" that then provides a mode for "tracing the effect of these influences on the work we produce" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1662). Challenges of autoethnographical methodology include the "communicative dead-end of solipsism", or the view that the self is all that can be known; being merely "confessional tales"; and presenting a risk to the self-identity of the writer (Butz and Besio 2009, 1661). Autoethnography has been used to study clinical interactions such as that between therapist and patient allowing for "outcome findings and success markers not available through more objective …models of intervention and research" (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2011, 50).

In making myself the primary research subject in order to "understand some aspect of the world [creativity] that involve[s] but exceeds [self]" through a critical reflective process that includes drawing upon data from a journal, engaging in dialogical process [self-coaching] structured by theory and method that allows for, and works with, subjective experience including emotions, the methodological design of the exegesis can be seen to have strong autoethnographic parallels [Butz and Besio 2009, 1665). Nonetheless "whether a representational strategy is called autoethnography depends on the claims made by those who write and those who write about the work" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1664). According to Igweonu et al (2011, 227A), creative practitioners writing about their own performance to build critical insight into practice more generally, such as this exegesis aims to do, is an accepted field of enquiry in the creative arts, yet he does not describe this approach specifically as autoethnographic and, nor do I for this work. While autoethnographers work to bring deeper understanding of a phenomenon to light, the process of affecting change through that understanding was not clear to me—or

that it was even the point of the process, although I presume it is. I, instead, wanted to employ a methodology that explicitly sought to understand, and build a plan of action for change, in this case for developing creativity. Furthermore, the nature of this thesis is particularly complex encompassing in its various elements an in-depth knowledge of Australian history, a capacity for high-quality writing, knowledge of the field of coaching psychology and experience in applying its theory through methods and tools as well as the openness, courage and curiosity to make myself the subject, of what will become publically available, intense psychological scrutiny. The concept is unique and justifiably so is its methodology.

Creative Work

The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901

Introduction: The Land of Mutton and Damper

In 1867, from April through to October, as the overnight mail train to Paris pulled out of Ludgate Hill station in London the aroma of roast beef wafted from it. This savoury odour did not emanate from the pantry car as might have been expected but from several large cooked joints of meat consigned to the parcel van. The following morning when the train arrived in the French capital these meats were conveyed to the Paris Exhibition, where they were served up, at the most popular restaurant there, to "astonished Frenchmen" who gave them their "rapturous approval". "Who would have thought", wrote a correspondent in the *Colonial Mail* reporting on this, "that a caterer from the wilds of Australia should be able to bear off the palm for gastronomic excellence in the presence of all the cooks of all the capitals and courts of Europe".[1] Reporting on this report the *South Australian Advertiser* declared it "strange indeed" that somebody from the "land of mutton and damper" had been able to win the enthusiastic appreciation of the ostensibly gastronomically superior French for their food.[2]

Anglo-Australian society was just 80 years old in 1867, yet the seeming improbability of one of its members achieving culinary success in Europe was owed to an idea built up over this short period of Australians as bad cooks and uncouth eaters, an image perpetrated in the commentary of international visitors and, sometimes more stridently, by local opinion (as exampled by the *Advertiser*). The inhabitants of the antipodean colonies were believed to exist exclusively on an abominable diet of badly cooked greasy meat ('mutton') accompanied by bread ('damper' was a rudimentary flour and water loaf), over-cooked cabbage and leaden puddings washed down with saccharine tea. Critics routinely blamed the collective ineptitude of Australia's domestic cooks for this sorry state of gastronomic affairs. Moreover when Australians sat down to meals they reportedly gobbled and "grubbed" their food instead of eating it refinedly as the Gallic population where purported to do.[3]

Counterpoised to this vision of a distasteful homogenous culinary landscape are accounts of nineteenth century Australia as an arcadia where all manner of European, tropical and warm weather species of grain, fruit and vegetables flourished. Meat was plentiful; mutton and beef were the most commonly eaten protein foods but pork, fish, oysters, prawns, crabs and local game such as kangaroo, wallaby, duck, teal and pigeon were other options. From this perspective colonial Australians enjoyed a veritable

culinary paradise. They also had a particular concern with cultivating respectable social behaviour including good table manners, and if you care to look the stories they wrote are rich with images of warm—perhaps not always perfectly elegant—hospitality, generously laid tables and pleasure in the culinary bounty of their antipodean home.

Still, the evidence that some colonial Australians ate an interesting, varied and healthful diet has largely been ignored. Scholars and writers have most often persisted in offering up the unappetising stereotypes arising from the period to represent the totality of Australia's culinary history. The result is that modern Australians hold their Anglo-Celtic food heritage in disdain preferring to explore more 'exotic' continental European and Asian cuisines. Indeed the majority Anglo population seems to prefer to understand their culinary heritage as entirely derived from these cultures. A view that the rest of the world has been engaged in sharing: "A true expression of our young, free-spirited and uninhibited culture, our food and wine has become a great way to get to know us" —or have others to know us in the way we want to be known.[4] If the English culinary heritage of Anglo-Australians is ever mentioned in contemporary food writing about Australia's inspired, multi-cultural, unconstrained and passionate modern food culture it is more often to disparage it:

> *Just as our 200 odd years of plodding along in the footsteps of the most boring cuisine on earth —Anglo Celtic—was a great tragedy for Australian history.*[5]

The lack of a rich and nuanced understanding of Australia's colonial food history is due in part to failure in challenging the "meat and damper" stereotypes to uncover the unwitting testimony behind these by asking standard historical questions: Who was it that was writing about food? What was their point of view? How did historical circumstances shape their experience? What else was going on at the time that might have had an impact? Who was the intended audience for food writing? What might the writer have been trying to achieve? There are scholars who ask just such questions of our food history but it can be hard for them to find an audience amongst contemporary Australians who insist on comparing the marvellous gastronomic present with our culinary past, forgetting that our colonial ancestors had different expectations and experiences of food: We have not stopped to consider that perhaps they also enjoyed what they cooked and ate, even if their meals no longer seem appealing to a society with greatly heightened culinary expectations.

I wonder though that if what lurks behind our insistence on disowning our British food heritage is a much greater tension: the fact that our ancestors dispossessed Aboriginal people of their land and radically altered the place that they had eaten well from for tens of thousands of years. We can't take the past back and many Anglo-Australians struggle to understand how we might reconcile with the traditional owners of the country that we also understand ourselves to belong to. It is often human inclination to turn away from tension when we feel challenged in resolving it and perhaps our cultural insistence on accepting that our colonial ancestors ate a diet that was boring, abominable and unappetizing is in part a defence against facing the conflict inherent in the existence of a non-Aboriginal 'Australia'.

The aim of this work is to challenge the accepted view of Australia's colonial period as one of abysmal food and deplorable eating habits by exploring the complex society of colonial Australia through its kitchens, cooks, cookbooks, literature, gardens, producers and providores. In doing so I hope it will make a unique contribution to world food history.

Notes on terms used in this book

AUSTRALIA

When the country that has become known as Australia was first settled by Europeans in 1788 it was variously referred to as New South Wales, New Holland or Botany Bay. For the first 40 years of settlement the place was officially known as New South Wales. The Aboriginals who had lived on the continent for tens of thousands of years before 1788 did not know it by any of these names. The first recorded use of the name "Australia" is in the journal of the explorer Matthew Flinders in 1814 and it began to be used more after that time. Over the course of the nineteenth century the continent was divided into six separate self-governing British colonies that federated in 1901 to become the states of the Commonwealth of Australia. I have used the term 'Australia' throughout the book as a convenience.

THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES

New South Wales -1788; Victoria -1856; South Australia -1857; Van Diemen's Land/Tasmania -1803; Queensland -1859; Western Australia -1890

COLONIAL & COLONIALS

From 1788 to 1901 Australia was a colony of Great Britain. This book focuses on this period. The term 'colonials' as used in this work refers to all Europeans living in Australia during this time.

SETTLERS AND COLONISTS

I use these terms interchangeably to describe European people living in the Australian colonies including the convicts who were forcibly sent out.

ENGLAND AND BRITAIN

Great Britain is a political entity made up of the countries of England, Scotland and Wales. In the colonial period England was the major power in this trinity and the terms 'England/English' and 'Britain/British' cannot always be differentiated and are used interchangeably in this work.

METROPOLIS/METROPOLE

London: the cultural and social centre of the known universe for colonial Australians.

[1] *"Eating and Drinking,"* South Australian Advertiser*, November 13, 1868, 12. The* Colonial Mail *article was reported in the* Advertiser. *The "caterer" in question was actually a duo, Felix Spiers and Christopher Pond, and the particular patch of Australian "wilderness" they hailed from was the booming metropolis of Melbourne. We will meet Spiers and Pond in their colonial restaurant in chapter 5.*

[2] *"Eating and Drinking,"* South Australian Advertiser*, November 13, 1868, 12.*

[3] *Richard Twopeny,* Town Life in Australia *(Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1976), 71.*

[4] *"Australia's Top Chefs". http://www.australia.com/en/things-to-do/food-and-wine/australias-top-chefs.html.*

[5] *John Newton, comment in response to Ben Neutze, "Netflix Reaches Peak Food Porn in Chef's Table,"* Crikey Daily Review*, April 27, 2015. http://dailyreview.crikey.com.au/netflix-reaches-peak-food-porn-in-chefs-table/23029#comment-69287.*

Chapter 1. The Land and Its People: Time and Place

DREAMING – JANUARY 1788

KA-MAY, WEÉ-RONG, TUBOW-GULE, WOCCANMAGULLY, YURONG

Across a 50-mile stretch of the south-eastern edge of a great southern land its perimeter had been pushed open by water to form a bay, a harbour and an estuary. The territory adjacent to and between all this water belongs to the people of the Eora Nation[1]. For the tens of thousands of years they had nurtured this land to provide them with enough to eat, and little more, enjoying seasonal or situational abundance when it occurred. Their food was created through Dreaming stories and sustainable management practices. Rituals of singing and dancing for the spirits of plants and animals kept the land productive and healthy.[2] The natural force of fire was used to engineer the environment. They cleared small patches of land by burning it; this encouraged the growth of grassland, which in turn attracted kangaroo and emu to feed on the tender shoots. These animals were fleet, their fur and feathers a natural camouflage against the long grass and forest making them difficult to see from a distance. It was necessary to get up close to dispatch them with a spear. Drawing them onto cleared patches of green "parkland" effectively corralled them making it easier to fell them for eating.[3]

Kangaroo and emu were probably more like a special roast dinner for the Eora, a once or twice a week treat depending on the season. Everyday food was drawn from the various waterways and along shorelines: fish, prawns, eels, oysters, mussels, crabs and the occasional whale washed up on the beach. In reedy areas adjacent to the water birds and their eggs, lizards, frogs, and snakes could be caught. Possums and birds were captured for eating using methods built upon intricate understanding of a particular animal's habits and preferences. Insects and grubs, native truffles and mushrooms, and the roots, leaves, fruits, seeds, nuts, and rhizomes of hundreds of different plants were collected and eaten.

The Eora lived across a small area of a huge island—a continent. Across this greater land there were many tribes of Aboriginal people who spoke different languages, told different stories, enacted different rituals and ate different things, but they commonly

used fire to manage the land and the way they hunted and collected their food and the methods they used for cooking it were similar.[4] Amongst them they had access to more than 25,000 different native plants and hundreds of species of animals, birds and fish, which they used as sustenance and medicine.

In 1770 the English explorer James Cook 'discovered' Eora country. When Cook and his party came ashore there off the ships that had brought them from the other side of the globe the Eora people they encountered ran away and hid. Cook's men happily ate the shellfish meal they had left cooking over a fire.[5] In the eight days the Europeans spent there exploring, collecting and categorising, they helped themselves to local fruit, seafood, and green vegetables. The expedition's botanist, Joseph Banks, noted a particularly enjoyable meal of a stingray and its tripe accompanied by a dish of cooked leaves of *tetragonia tetragoniodies*, "which eat as well as spinage".[6] The party proceeded from this place, which they designated Botany Bay because of the profusion of plants Bank's team collected there, to sail along the east coast of this continent all way to its conclusion in the Torres Strait. Cook's final summation of the place in his journal was that the "Land naturally produces hardly anything fit for a man to eat". [7]It seems this suggestion that there was a lack of eatables might have been as much an act of imagination as the concept that this place was *terra nullius*, or nobody's land.

JANUARY 18, 1788 —BOTANY BAY, NEW SOUTH WALES

In the hour between eight and nine o'clock in the morning a fine breeze eased a convoy of ships into this embayment, bringing them alongside several other vessels: eleven of them in all, carrying close to 1400 people.[8] They had departed England 250 days earlier under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip. His safe landing of this fleet on the other side of the world, in a place marked on a map by the only other Europeans to have seen it eighteen years previously, was an achievement of the age. Yet no fanfare marked their departure, and there was no triumphal announcement when news of their arrival eventually reached London.

A celebratory leave-taking would have been inappropriate in the circumstances. Just over half the souls on board were taking an enforced passage to Botany Bay as punishment for felonies they had been convicted of and the prevailing attitude towards them was more 'good riddance' than 'bon voyage'. Anyone who might have cared to

farewell one of these scoundrels probably did not expect to see him or her again. Popular opinion fancied they were going to the ends of the earth and that their return was unlikely.

320 BC-1770 —TERRA AUSTRALIS INCOGNITA

Australia was imagined into existence.[9] Speculation that a great land must necessarily exist in the southern hemisphere to balance the globe had begun with Aristotle in ancient Greece. While it remained undiscovered map-makers filled the void with a hypothetical *Terra Australis Incognita*, the unknown land of the south, and variously shaped and depicted it, often with fantastical creatures swimming in the ocean around it: unknown it could be whatever anybody cared to make it.[10]

In a way it was cookery that caused the Australian continent to emerge from conjecture into certainty. In the early seventeenth century there was a vigorous and lucrative trade in spices between Europe—where cooks liberally employed these aromatic flavourings in the dishes they prepared—and the archipelago of Indonesia, from where the Dutch had gained control of international commerce in nutmeg, cloves and mace. Plying the route between source and market brought Dutch ships to the western coast of an unknown land they charted and called New Holland. It was in the vicinity of where *Terra Australis* was expected to lie but no one proclaimed it as this mythic place: the great south land remained undetermined.

In 1768 James Cook sailed from London as the captain of an English expedition to observe the transit of Venus in Tahiti. Upon completion of this overt mission he had covert instruction to continue to sail southward to determine if a "continent of land of great extent" was anything more than an antique fiction.[11] Cook was of the mind that he would find only ocean and when his lieutenant sighted a coastline in April 1770 he proclaimed it too small to be *Terra Australis* and considered nearly two millennia of speculation as put to an end.[12] However, Cook was charged with exploring any land he did find, great or otherwise. He brought the expedition to anchor in a bay off this coast—at Botany Bay, where we met them earlier. Cook and Joseph Banks assessed the land they explored as a place of distinct agricultural possibility: they described fine meadows and rich soil capable of producing "any kind of grain" that would be easily cultivated because the trees grew far enough apart that not a "single one" would need to be cut down to allow the ground to be worked.[13] There was a small bounty of more immediate comestibles: The bay teemed with various fish, crustaceans, succulent oysters and large

stingray and the land provided "plenty of eatable vegetables and wild spinage".[14] After scouting around, collecting specimens and carrying out some necessary ships maintenance the company headed north and charted more than 2000 kilometres of coastline. On August 22nd 1770 Cook claimed possession of it this land on behalf of the king of England and named the place New South Wales.

Cook had rightly surmised that the land he had charted was the eastern part of New Holland: merging the two halves produced the first tangible map of the contours of a continent; demystifying a legend and giving shape to a place that could now be occupied and worked upon.[15] The descriptions and measures resulting from Cook's expedition had made a fictional place real but new imaginings for it were to emerge, and the people caught up in these would question if the esteemed explorer had himself been telling stories, especially when it came to food.

LONDON, 1783-1787

Once back in England Cook keenly pronounced New South Wales as a place of considerable prospect where the application of industry to the land would produce abundant food of all kinds, and that there was so much pasture all year round that it could support more cattle than could ever be delivered there: Banks was an even more enthusiastic promoter of its potential.[16] The fact that they had only a few months experience of the place and no solid knowledge of the annual weather patterns —and Cook's earlier assertion that the land lacked natural bounty suggested that it might not be that productive —did not dissuade people from petitioning the British government to settle the place. In 1783, James Matra, who had served as a midshipman on the 1770 voyage, put forward a proposal, supported by Banks, proclaiming that sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco and spices could be easily cultivated in New South Wales.[17] As these men were amongst the few Englishmen to have seen the place anyone considering this petition might not have realised they had no evidence that these plant products would flourish there. Other petitioners envisioned the new territory as a strategic base for facilitating trade in the region and beating off rival empire building nations. When the decision to settle Australia was finally made it was announced as a means of solving a more pressing local problem.[18]

Increasing industrialisation in eighteenth century England had catalysed economic and social disruptions that in turn contributed to an escalation in criminal activity.

Prevailing opinion considered felons to be "scumme" who should be removed from society.[19] Brutal punishments such as hanging, flogging and assignment to work gangs were commonly meted out and discharged publicly. British society was growing wary of seeing such reminders of the wickedness they lived amongst though, and transporting convicts to the American colonies proved a more palatable measure of disposing of large numbers of them, but after winning the Revolutionary War in 1783 the newly independent Americans refused to take in anymore imported law-breakers. Without this outlet British gaols became so overcrowded that excess prisoners were housed in decommissioned ships on the River Thames and Plymouth Harbour. They were more visible on these 'hulks' than behind prison walls. Law-abiding citizens complained of feeling variously menaced, disgusted and sympathetic in seeing them: pressure mounted for less noticeable incarceration.

King George III opened the 1787 British parliament with the announcement that the "inconvenient" problem of jam-packed gaols was to be remedied by disposing of convicts to New South Wales. He reiterated the "salubrious conditions"—as reported by Cook and Banks—and "the remoteness of the situation, from whence it is hardly possible to return without permission" as ideal for this purpose.[20] Such was the alleged fecundity of this barely known land it was anticipated the convict settlers would be self-sufficient in food within two years of their arrival and the first-fleet of crooks and their minders was sent off to Botany Bay on May 13th 1787 with provisions calculated to last that long—assuming an ever increasing supplement of local comestibles.

JANUARY 26TH 1788, PORT JACKSON, NEW SOUTH WALES

Arthur Phillip captained the first-fleet into Botany Bay as he had been directed in London but it only took a couple of days' acquaintance with the place for him to determine there was nothing to recommend settling there. The bay was shallow, there was no fresh water supply and the "finest meadows in the world" were nowhere to be found.[21] He ventured a little further up the coast discovering what he described as "the finest harbour in the world" and a sheltered cove off it with deep-water anchorage and running fresh water. He relocated the fleet there, named the place Sydney Cove, unloaded the ships of people and supplies and set about creating the foundations of a colony.[22] The roll-call of Europeans that came on-land: 14 officials and civilians including Phillip and judge advocate David Collins; 245 marines, a number of who were accompanied by wives and children; 753

convicts, made up of 548 men, 188 women and 17 children.[23] There were a number of people come freely including the private servants that Phillip and the appointed chaplain Reverend Richard Johnson brought with them. The 323 ships crew were not intended to stay at Sydney, however they would have had a look around and there is no surety as to whether they all sailed off when their respective vessels departed some months later.[24]

THE TENOR OF THE TIMES

The fleet ships had been packed to capacity with the material goods necessary to establish a colony including the supply of food provisions.[25] This cargo was critical in ensuring physical, and cultural survival: it provided the means to reproduce the physical infrastructure of an English world and to cook and eat the meals of an English kitchen. This material carriage of their known world into the new by the settlers was mirrored in the way they thought about what they were doing there.

In describing the beginning of settlement at Sydney, David Collins called it a place "undisturbed since creation", and paraphrasing a line from Milton's *Paradise Lost* he hoped the "new possessors" of New South Wales did not bring minds impervious to being changed "by time or place".[26] It did not occur to him that the biblical references he used demonstrated that despite putting the major part of a year and 15,000 miles (24,000 kilometres) between them and England, that he and his fellow settlers could not readily divest themselves of the tenor and thinking of the time they had come from any more than they could of the cultural and social practices learnt in that place. The minds that went to work on creating the new colony had been formed in an era dominated by themes of progress, improvement and civilisation; reason, logic and categorisation; trade, colonisation and empire; and democracy and human rights, and these concepts all played out, in varying degrees, in shaping the foodways of colonial Australia.[27]

Cook arrived on the back of a scientific expedition of observation and measure. The decision to transport convicts to the antipodes was subtly influenced by humanitarian concerns regarding treatment and reformation of criminals. Maritime activity was integral to putting these ideas into action across the globe. European settlement of Australia could not have happened in 1788 without ships and sailors: Mariners, and the odd pirate, navigating trade routes first spotted the continent. Ships carried the raw and exotic materials from colonised lands back to Britain, fuelling its economic growth and the emergence of mass consumerism. Military action, or the threat of it, was often necessary

to gain and maintain occupied territory and keep trade routes open; naval might was critical in this. In 1788 the British navy was the largest and most powerful in the world and a key force in building empire and establishing Britain as a dominant world power. It was fitting then that a naval officer, Captain Arthur Phillip, be commissioned first governor of New South Wales.

The British government had issued Phillip with a set of official instructions for founding the new colony.[28] At around 3,000 words these seem scant direction for the task, none the less they provided a framework for Phillip and it was up to him to decide and undertake whatever actions he deemed necessary to fulfil his commission.[29] Feeding the people under his charge was an immediate imperative. The first step was to clear a patch of land and erect a storehouse on it so that the provisions could be unloaded from the ships, kept securely and controlled. The foodstuffs were government property.[30] Philip was at discretion to choose how to distribute these with the proviso to do so in the most economical way and keep account of everything issued. The provisions provided and the quantities calculated were based on the well-established navy victualling system. On a navy ship every man on board was issued with equal rations and Phillip decided to maintain this practice in the settlement.[31] It proved a controversial decision. The military detachment deeply resented being put on an equal footing with convicts in this way, although they were provided with an allowance of alcohol that was not supplied to their charges.

David Collins, responsible for keeping official records in his role as judge advocate, sets out the rations for one week for each man at: 7 pounds of biscuit, I pound of flour, 7 pounds of beef or 4 pounds of pork, 3 pints of pease and 6 oz. butter. The issue of flour or flour based food varies across accounts of the rations: sometimes eight pounds of flour was given, other times it was 7 pounds of bread plus the pound of flour, these variations reflect the development of the settlement over time, and flexible nomenclature. 'Biscuit' was made from flour and water dough rolled to half-an-inch thick, cut into rounds and baked thrice to remove all moisture. It substituted for flour and bread on sea-voyages as it kept for long periods without going mouldy in the moist conditions. It was so hard that it had to be softened in liquid, or crushed up and used like flour, to make it edible. Issuing biscuit as part of the rations might have been a measure of economy in using up any supply remaining from the long journey out. Once the principal buildings of the settlement such as the storehouse and hospital were set up, kitchens for the barracks, a

public bakehouse and communal ovens for baking bread were next to be constructed.[32] The ration of plain flour could alternatively be mixed with fat and/or liquid to make a pudding, porridge or a 'mess', instead of bread. The term 'biscuit' was also used to describe bread. What this tells us with certainty is that flour was a key staple that could be used in various ways depending on availability of additional ingredients and means of cookery.

The meat ration was 'salt meat', another staple of lengthy ocean travel. It was prepared by treating pieces of fresh meat with salt and saltpetre to draw liquid out before it was packed into barrels and strong brine poured over it. This process could preserve meat for up to two years. Producing barrels for salt meat was a test of a cooper's skill. If the staves were not bound tightly enough the brine would leak out and the meat rot. Salt meat had to be steeped in water to remove the salt caked on it before it could be used and it was usually cooked in liquid to rehydrate it. When enough fresh fish was caught this was issued in lieu of the salt meat ration but people showed a preference for the preserved flesh as it added more flavour to dishes because of the salting process it had been subjected to.

Pease, the dried peeled seeds, or peas, of the fruit *pisum satvium*, were an inexpensive food that provided bulk at a meal. The traditional English method for preparing pease was to cook these with a piece of ham or bacon and flavouring ingredients such as spices or fresh herbs until they broke down into a thick pottage. Pease were also boiled in a cloth bag to produce a solid pudding. The settlers in New South Wales would have variously employed each of these methods when preparing their portion of pease, sometimes melting a little of their butter ration on top as a dressing.[33]

Rations were initially distributed once a week and doling these out was a time consuming task. Each portion was measured off from the larger supply and issued; what was given out and what remained had to be documented. Some of the convicts ignored the idea that this food was intended to last a week and ate it all in a few days. One fellow reportedly made his entire ration of flour into dough, shaped this into eighteen cakes and devoured the lot in one sitting—he died not long after. The distribution was changed to twice weekly.[34]

Laid out like this these provisions seem to offer little prospect of anything other than a dull and monotonous diet. These were intended only to provide adequate energy to

sustain a man engaged in rigorous labour not to comprise the singular food source of the colony.[35] Based on the small information of Cook and Banks the British government expected that the settlers would find it an easy matter to catch, collect and cultivate sufficient fresh food to adequately supplement the rations in the first instance, and soon afterwards make the government supply of these basic staples unnecessary.

Military men were accustomed to enhancing the rations provided to them. The officers sent out to New South Wales would have brought additional non-perishable foodstuff such as sugar, tea, spices and raisins in their luggage: "All the comforts we bought from the ship with us".[36] Many of the officers on board had served in other parts of the world —America, the West Indies, India, Portugal—and had had the opportunity to try all sorts of unfamiliar foods; the more adventurous amongst them would have developed sophisticated palates. Australia certainly offered the opportunity to sample novel foods. The officers would often venture out into the wilderness beyond the settlement either on official survey to measure distance, mark maps and search for fertile land and fresh water, or just to satisfy their own curiosity.[37] From the entries in their various journals it seems that if they could catch an animal, bird or reptile they were prepared to cook and eat it. Marine captain Watkin Tench writes of broiling a crow with slices of salt pork and stewing a snake, which he reported as palatable but tough. Surgeon-General John White described duck stuffed with slices of salt beef roasted over a campfire as a delicious repast. Midshipman Newton Fowell wrote that most of the local birds were very good to eat with the exception of the cockatoo. There was a general gustatory appreciation for emu but these large birds were fast and hard to catch, outrunning the agile greyhounds some of the officers had brought with from England as hunting dogs. Lieutenant Ralph Clark wrote that native lizards were good to eat but his preference was for birds. David Collins duties kept him deskbound so he notes his servant's report that witchetty grubs tasted "sweeter than any marrow" as his contribution to recording culinary exotica.[38]

Ship's surgeon George Bourchier Worgon penned an enthusiastic ode to "scouring the woods…[lighting up] a rousing fire and eating hearty of our Fare" such as kangaroo pie accompanied by plum pudding and a bottle of "*O be joyful*".[39] White eats kangaroo begrudgingly. He says the meat lacks flavour because it has no fat and that he would give it to his dogs in other circumstances. Other of the officers considered it a delicacy and set up huts to hunt these large marsupials from.[40] As the kangaroo was a difficult animal to

catch perhaps the taste was enhanced by the thrill of the chase, and the knowledge that the opportunity to hunt game so freely was a privilege held exclusively by the aristocracy back in England. Unless you owned an estate, or were invited to a hunt, capturing wild birds and animals was poaching, a crime punishable by death, or transportation to Australia. As the colony developed some of the officers employed convicts—who well might have had some experience of poaching—as their personal game-keepers to keep a supply of kangaroo and birds on their table: it was like being a lord with the wilderness as your estate.

It was a reasonable expectation that in sending people to a place surrounded by water that an ample supply of fish could be relied upon as a food source for them. 8,000 fishing hooks, 48 dozen lines and several drag-nets (siene) had been packed to support the settlers to harvest the anticipated fish. There were certainly abundant species in the harbour: soal, mullet, bream, schnapper, Jewfish, turbot, skate, leatherjacket, bass, sting-ray, mackerel, John Dory and other fish none of officers had seen before.[41] Cockles, oysters, mussels and lobster could be collected along the water's edge. Worgon claims that fresh fish was served at every meal he sat down to but the catch was rarely large enough to feed more than 200 people. On a rare occasion when a siene captured enough fish to feed everyone in the settlement it burst on being hauled in, spilling its slippery cargo back into the sea.[42] Seasonal fluctuation was an issue in the availability of aquatic protein; the fact that there were only three skilled fishermen in the settlement was another, and their knowledge had been honed in a completely different climate.

In March 1788 Phillip sent off a couple of dozen men to Norfolk Island to start the work of establishing a satellite settlement there. Ships travelling the1000 miles of Pacific Ocean between there and Sydney Cove would sometimes return with green sea turtles captured from the warmer water near the island. Turtle was an expensive and prestigious food in England in the eighteenth century and only the wealthy could aspire to a turtle dinner.[43] Given its status it is not surprising to learn that when the people in Sydney found themselves with such a prized food that they "luxuriously feasted upon" it.[44] Turtle was typically made into a soup with all its different parts, including its rich green fat, lights and guts, served as accompanying dishes. Preparing it in this way was a complex process. Phillip served turtle at government house and he might have had the resources to produce a complete turtle repast: lacking a cook and additional ingredients other settlers would have prepared it more simply as a one-pot meal.

On the King's birthday in 1788 Phillip invited the officers to government house to celebrate this occasion with a meal that included kangaroo, duck and fish accompanied by pies, preserved fruit, and "sallads".[45] The enthusiastic pursuit, capture and consumption of native sources of meat is strongly evidenced in the journals of the first settlers in New South Wales. Their culinary standards were British and meat was a high status food in that culture, accordingly they gave it more attention in their writing, and later historians chose to focus on re-reporting this consumption. It has largely been forgotten, or ignored, that the English were also very fond of eating composed salads, and the settlers likewise ate their vegetables: there is plenty of greenery poking up in their records if you care to notice it.

Phillip had a large vegetable garden tended by men he bought with him from England, from which to furnish the fresh produce he served his guests. In the early days, before it was productive, someone from his staff would have undoubtedly joined in collecting the abundant variety of esculent plants growing around the settlement. They called these by familiar English names: parsley, balm, sorrel, spinach, chickweed and wild celery.[46] Presumably the local plants shared a similarity, in appearance or taste, with their namesakes but these would not have been the same species. We know they ate the fleshy leaves of *tetragonia*; the crunchy salt-tolerant samphires growing close to the water; and the "nutty" flavoured tip, or 'cabbage,' of the cabbage palm tree, almost sending it extinct in their enthusiasm for this particular leafy vegetable.[47]

Native greenery was also used as a substitute for tea, a beverage that was widely consumed in England in the late eighteenth century. Many of the settlers would have been accustomed to drinking it regularly but there was no ration of it supplied. One female convict wrote in a letter that there was much hope that a supply of tea might anytime arrive from China.[48] Until that ship came in they made do by boiling the leaves of the native sarsaparilla, *smilax glycopylla*, to produce a substitute drink tasting like liquorice. The fact that it was naturally sweet made this beverage doubly welcome as there was no issue of sugar to mix into anything. The avid consumption of this 'sweet tea' quickly diminished the supply and people had to walk further and further away from the settlement to gather it, sometimes with deadly consequences. The sailor John Nichol came to Sydney in 1791 and wrote in his journal of an "old female convict, her hair quite grey with age, her face shrivelled, [suckling] a child …her fecundity ascribed to the sweet

tea that was being drunk". Armed with this tale he collected some seeds from the plant and took them with him to sell in Canton.[49]

All settlers were encouraged by Phillip to cultivate gardens to grow fresh produce. Seeds and tools were provided from the public stores and the convicts were allowed Saturday afternoons off to dedicate to horticultural activities. Gardens were planted with familiar domesticated varieties of vegetables and fruit. Not everything took in the foreign conditions but cabbages and pumpkins did well. While these terms were latterly interpreted to indicate a singular type of each of these vegetables the period usage often indicated a variety of a species. The 'cabbages' in the settlers garden's included a wide range of tight and loose leafed members of the *brassica* family such as kale, savoy, collard, mustard and cauliflower. 'Pumpkins' included varied *cucurbitaceae* such as squashes, melons and cucumbers. Family diversification would also have been found amongst the onions, radishes, peas, beans, turnips, cress, lemons, apples, strawberries, peaches, quinces and grapes that were planted.

Officers were better resourced to grow their own food. Some stocked up at Cape Town with additional plants and cuttings—some of which would prove more adaptable to the conditions of New South Wales. Ralph Clark put in a vegetable patch on an island in the harbour, which he rowed to in a boat. Others had the means to employ convicts to garden for them outside of their penitent working hours. If there was game, fish, and foraged and cultivated vegetables on the table, in addition to items made from the rations and whatever supplemental supplies they have brought with them then the officers, and others who made up the 'free' population, in New South Wales must have enjoyed much better meals than history has allowed them—at least some of the time.

The 700 or so convicts who comprised the majority population of the colony were popularly conceived as a homogenous group of worthless useless people England would be well rid of. Many of them were of the lower classes and the crimes they committed were often indicative of their struggle to exist in a society that was evolving socially, yet remained inequitable for people without wealth and connections. Their most common crime was petty theft. It was not bread, as popularly promoted, that they stole but mainly cloth—linens, lace, bed sheets—and sundry household goods. They would have taken these to sell, and some would have used the money to feed their families. There were a few food thieves sent out to Botany Bay: Elizabeth Beckford stole cheese, Thomas Chadwick pinched some cucumbers, Francis Blake had helped himself to 12 ounces of

his employer's chocolate and John Hart carried off a basket of someone else's food worth 12 shillings.[50] It was the monetary value that got Hart, and the others, transported as the theft of anything worth 12 shillings or more was a capital crime punishable in physical death, or the social death of being sent to the end of the earth at Botany Bay.

There also were fraudsters and forgers and they tended to be skilled artificers—masons, coopers, wheelwrights—educated clerks or artists from middling backgrounds. Nor were they all British: John Black Caesar was from Madagascar, Peter Parris was French, John Moseley was African-American and John Coffin was a "black" of unknown origin.[51] Far from being inherently hopeless the convicts had a range of useful skills, they were mainly young and healthy, many of them were literate and two-thirds were male. As a workforce for starting a colony from scratch they had the physical capacity for the necessary labour and the know-how to operate in an urban environment.[52] If they lacked the agricultural and farming knowledge necessary to build a food system from scratch as was needed that was an issue of planning and failure to send out people with this knowledge, not their inadequacy.

The convict experience of food and cookery prior to transportation would likewise not have been a singular one, and it was not necessarily deprived. Those who had been living in London and industrial towns such as Manchester may have found it necessary to 'eat-out' because they did not have access to cooking facilities, but the street-stalls and cook-shops they ate from offered considerable variety of prepared eatables: baked apples, spiced gingerbread, hot loaves of bread, fresh fruit, oysters, roasted meats, prepared dishes, hot beverages, pies and puddings.[53] Those who had been rural labourers and servants would have eaten simple meals of freshly baked bread and locally produced butter and cheese with one-pot meals of seasonal vegetables flavoured with bacon. The distinctive regional food practices of the counties of England were beginning to disappear in the late eighteenth century but the convicts who came from places like Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cornwall and Devon may have held tastes and cookery practices distinctive of those regions. It was in New South Wales that their diets were brought to sameness because of the constraints of the circumstances as much as from any lack of understanding or experience of what decent food, cookery or eating might have been. Conversely, convicts who came from situations where gaining regular access to decent food was a challenge would have found the rations they received a considerable dietary improvement.

While the convicts were technically incarcerated there were, in the early years of settlement, no prison walls to keep them contained. They were free to roam around within official limits but there was really nothing to stop them wandering further, or even escaping, except their own fear of the potential dangers of going too far into the woods, and the camp was where they safely got their reliable food supply. Two soldiers who went looking for sweet tea got lost and perished from hunger, and a convict named Cooper Hadley was killed by Aboriginals when he strayed while out collecting tea and leafy greens. The convicts were able to supplement their rations with foraged vegetables and fruit but they were not allowed access to guns or dogs and could not freely hunt native animals for additional meat as the officers could. Convicts were employed to catch animals and fish to bolster the food supply for the entire settlement. Anything they caught was decreed government property and if they tried to dispose of it for personal benefit they were harshly punished: A convict game-hunter was given a hundred lashes and stripped of this role after selling a kangaroo he had caught. Convict William Bradley, one of the few experienced fisherman in the colony, was caught putting aside a few fish from the catch to sell privately for which he received a flogging: he kept his job though. There were harshest penalties still for stealing food in the colony: some people were hung for it.

Male convicts were forced to do the work of building the new colony. They had to clear the ground of scrub and trees, dig roads and quarry stone using only hand tools. It was hard physical labour made harder by the hot climate, and the fact that they were not there by choice. Come Saturday afternoon some convicts would have been disinclined to expend any additional toil on their own gardens and stealing other people's vegetables was a much easier way of enhancing their rations. The governor's bountiful garden was constantly subject to depredations and John Black Caesar was profligate in his use of other people's gardens as an additional food source.[54]

"PROCEED TO THE CULTIVATION OF THE LAND"

Issuing rations and small scale garden pottering was only intended as an interim measure to feed the colony. Once the necessary basic infrastructure had been put in Phillip was expected to direct his attentions and as much of his labour force as required to growing large scale crops and increasing the stock of animals in order produce enough food to get people off the government store. The powers-to-be in London had been confident that the colony would be producing enough fresh food to be self-supporting within twelve

months. Perhaps it was their confidence in the fecundity of New South Wales that caused them to neglect to send out anybody with any particular expertise in growing food.[55] Phillip, who had his own farm in Hampshire, took the precaution of engaging his overseer, Henry Edward Dodd, to come out with him to advise on agricultural matters. Land was cleared and planted with wheat, barley and maize in anticipation of these becoming the staple and sustaining crops of the colony. Large-scale plantings of the types of English food plants the settlers had in their domestic gardens were put in along with exotic edibles such yams, cocoa, banana, guava, tamarind, sugar cane and rose apple. In the virgin soil of the colony the crops and food plants shot up exuberantly, and then largely failed to thrive. The wheat yielded small return and turnips and yams that took did not grow very large although they were sweet. There were varied opinions as to the cause of the disappointing results: planting out of season, "want of skill", and a "sterile" soil that would require manuring to make it fertile.[56] Each of these summations was valid. The weather pattern, seasonal climate and soil were totally unfamiliar. Rainfall seemed unpredictable; when it came it was heavy but then long periods of dry conditions followed. The land around Sydney was either sandy or hard sandstone covered with a thin layer of topsoil. Native plants had adapted to this by putting out a shallow root system. Many of the introduced plants needed deeper soil to set. There was little hope of much animal dung to enrich the soil. The few sheep that managed to live through the sea journey struggled to survive the climate and a diet of unfamiliar grass. All but one of the small bovine herd disappeared when the man responsible for pasturing them came back into the settlement for his mid-day meal and left them unattended in the woods.[57]

It was not entirely dismal on the farming front. The conditions suited vine crops such as pumpkin and cucumbers, and the luxuriant growth of grapes excited speculation about the potential of this fruit as an export product. [58] Poultry, geese, turkey, pigs and goats proved more adaptable to the environment and began to multiply. The imported animals were largely government property and there was a ban on eating the larger livestock to allow them to breed up their numbers.[59] These were small additions to the food stock though. The ground around Sydney Cove was never going to produce enough food for the current population let alone the future shiploads of convicts the government in London hoped to dispose of to Botany Bay. When a survey party found better soil at Parramatta fourteen miles inland Phillip relocated the government farms out there. Under the supervision of Dodd a team of convict labourers cleared the land and put in crops.

Cook's assertion that New South Wales had some of the "finest meadows in the world" was derided as "faithless fable telling" after months of surveying failed to locate any land that did not require clearing, and even then its fecundity was tenuous.[60] It was the lot of the convicts to clear the land by hand, with occasional use of dynamite to remove stubborn trees. This was back breaking work, in a hot climate with all sorts of stinging and biting insects and snakes with "venomous fangs" to be contended with.[61] Planting, cultivating and harvesting the crops were likewise carried out using hand tools. It is hard to imagine that they went about this work with any enthusiasm, but Dodd reportedly had such a positive influence on the men he managed at Parramatta that they undertook their farming work without the need for any "military coercion".[62]

The yields at Parramatta were a considerable improvement on what had been harvested in Sydney. Maize cropped particularly well, however there was disappointment in this as it was considered an inferior grain in England and used as animal feed.[63] Wheat was the preferred cereal of the British. It had been expected to flourish in the colony and for local production to replace imported flour, but the wheat crops struggled to thrive and maize had to be used to substitute for part of it in the rations. The settlers were accustomed to eating bread, pudding and pastry made from wheat flour. The milling equipment they had was designed to finely grind wheat and could only process dried maize kernels to a coarse meal best suited to preparation as a porridge or gruel rather than bread. A rough textured compromise loaf was made with a mix of maize meal and wheat flour. A report that a man seen eating this particular bread subsequently died cannot have done much to recommend it.[64]

WHAT'S COOKING

The first kitchen in colonial Australia was an iron pot filled with water set over a campfire on the firm sand of a beach. It was used to cook fish for a group of convicts working to clear the ground in preparation for unloading the cargo, including 330 more cooking cauldrons, off the First Fleet ships.[65] None of the men who kept journals of the early years of settlement of Australia thought to leave a comprehensive record of the methods of cookery employed in the colony. We can though piece together a picture of how the rations and the foods the settlers foraged and grew were prepared and eaten from glimpses of the boils, broils, and 'messes' they did record.

The English mode of life was the reference point for every matter in New South Wales and the way the colonists cooked and consumed their food naturally replicated—within the limits of available resources—the familiar practices of 'home'.[66] An open fireplace was the cooking engine of the British kitchen in the eighteenth century. The size of the hearth and the equipment a household had available to prepare their meals varied with their economic circumstances. The most common cookery method was boiling food in a pot suspended over the fire. If economy required it an entire meal could be cooked in one vessel. Into the pot would go a piece of bacon or other salted meat, fresh meat if there was any, a net of vegetables and a cloth wrapped pudding of some kind. The cook added and removed items from the pot depending on their qualities, for example fat meat went into cold water but a pudding went in when it was hot so that the pressure created an air-seal between the water and its cloth wrapping that prevented the water penetrating it such that it did not taste of the other food it was cooked with. Skimming the liquid kept the 'pot liquor' clean so it could be drunk as a soup or used as a gravy. This was the method used by the navy to provision meals on ships, albeit on a larger scale.[67]

The settlers in New South Wales cooked fish and salt pork by boiling, and on Norfolk Island the native Mount Pitt bird was boiled up just "like mutton".[68] There was no mention of any accompaniments. Governor Phillip would have sat down to well-cooked meals of boiled meat, vegetables and pudding. He often invited company to dinner so the colony's officers and civil servants got to enjoy such fare with him.[69] When they dined away from the gubernatorial table they would have had the resources to dine on similar repasts. The lesser soldiery and the convicts would have had to make do with a simpler version of the one pot meal that was referred to as a 'mess'.[70] This was a stew or pottage made from pease or rice cooked with a piece of salt meat and any vegetables at hand.[71]

Lighting a small fire and broiling, or grilling, slices of game meat, a bird, fish or a few oysters over it was another method the settlers used for cooking their food. It was simple and quick—relative to boiling—and particularly suited to expeditions away from the settlement. Out on an exploratory march Tench writes of broiling a crow with a few slices of salt pork by rigging up a makeshift grill over a campfire with a couple of ramrods —the metal bar he used to stuff the gun with the projectile that took down the bird that became his supper.[72] Officers and convicts alike would have eaten many small animals, birds and reptiles—and even a few rodents—by barbequing them in this way.

The flour ration issued to the settlers was predominantly used to make bread. Settlers could take their flour, or prepared dough, to the public bakehouse and have the baker turn it into loaves at the cost of giving over a portion of it. Complaints about bakers short-changing on the finished product were a constant in the colony for decades. There was no requirement for anybody to use the services of the bakehouse and they could treat their flour as they pleased. Individuals built their own ovens or baked cakes of flour and water dough on a shovel over a fire to make a rustic unleavened loaf or 'damper'.[73] An alternative to bread was to use the flour to make a boiled pudding such as the plum pudding Worgon had enthusiastically picnicked on while out scouring the woods.[74] Puddings were a quintessential item of English cuisine and could be sweet or savoury, simple, or complex. These were commonly eaten with meat, or before it, to add substance to a meal in the same way as bread but as a pudding was boiled it could be made without an oven. Colonists who had access to additional foods such as eggs, milk (from goats), dried fruit (plums), sugar, and spices could enrich their puddings with these items.

THE HANDS THAT FEED

There are few glimpses of cooks in the records of early Australia. We can perhaps see one at government house: Phillip had a French servant, Bernard de Mailez, who Tench refers to as his 'cook', but he may have been the governor's steward with responsibility for organising his master's meals rather than preparing them.[75] It was practice in the British navy to eat in a small group called a 'mess'. Each week one of the group would take a turn to act as mess cook with responsibility for collecting the rations, carrying out any pre-preparation—such as making a pudding—and taking the food to the galley where the ship's cook boiled it all in a large copper.[76] The mess cook collected the meal when it was ready, set the table, served it and cleaned up. Marked on the first map of Sydney is a 'cooking place' adjacent to the marine's camp where a large cauldron was set up.[77] The settlement at Sydney was set-up and run along "military lines" so the provision of meals likely replicated naval practice.[78] The officers were certainly in the habit of dining together and when Lieutenant William Bradley wants it known he is piqued he quits the "mess and … messed by himself".[79] On a ship senior officers brought a servant with them to do their mess work, a practice they would have continued in Sydney. The general rank and file would have continued to share the chore with their mess with a government employed male cook manning the communal copper.[80]

All the convicts in Sydney were assigned to work, if they had relevant skills they would be put into roles that utilised these. Almost half the female convicts listed their occupation as 'servant'. Elizabeth Lees was the only one who described herself as a cook, but most of these women would have had basic cookery skills. Those who were put out as domestic help to officers, or to the wives who had accompanied them, would have done kitchen work for them.[81] Convicts were responsible for preparing their own meals. Domestic cookery was a determinedly female activity in the eighteenth century. Some male convicts 'employed' a female to cook for them by offering the protection of a de-facto relationship and/or a share of their rations. There were four times more men than women in the colony so most of the men would have had to "dress their provisions" themselves.[82] A shortage of equipment was another impediment in preparing their meals. There were only 330 cooking pots sent out, which necessitated a practice of shared use, and likely shared cooking and eating. Those who did not have a claim on a pot had to give a portion of their food to whoever might be willing to cook it for him, or otherwise eat it raw: an elderly convict reportedly died from indigestion caused by eating uncooked rations because he had no vessel to cook in.[83]

STARVING OR JUST REALLY HUNGRY

When the first fleet departed England the official understanding was that additional supplies would be shipped out to New South Wales twice a year until the colony was self-supporting. By late 1788 there was no sign of these provisions. [84] The butter had already run out and was replaced by sugar in the rations—apparently this was a welcome substitute as the butter not been much good anyway.[85] When the catch was sufficient fish was issued in-lieu of salt meat. Phillip decided to reduce the rations as a precaution against total failure of the settlement's staple foods. In October 1788 he reduced it to two-thirds; in April 1790 he reduced it twice more until it stood at half the original and these were issued daily to prevent people eating more than a day's rations at a time. Because the issue was much smaller this daily dispensing was quicker work. [86] With the cuts it was calculated there would be enough food to last 5-8 months. What was left though was in an appalling condition: the rice was infested with insects and the salt pork emaciated. Drought and plagues of mice and other pests had almost decimated the already poorly performing crops leaving little additional food to be gained from these, and the wild

vegetables had been over-foraged. The people in Sydney feared "famine was approaching with gigantic strides".[87]

Working hours were reduced to account for the lowered calorific intake of the convict labourers. Three hundred people were sent over to Norfolk Island where there was a more plentiful supply of food. Convicts were given more time to forage for additional edibles. Renewed effort was made to catch kangaroo for meat but the kill was so small commensurate with the effort required to achieve this that it was abandoned. Fishing seemed the best chance for supplementing the food supply; the intensity with which this was undertaken wore out the fishing nets and there was no more rope to repair these. If someone was lucky enough to shoot a kangaroo or catch a large fish and asked a friend to dine with him on it, the "invitation always ran 'bring your own bread', even if it was given by the Governor: Each man when he sat down [to dinner at Government House] pulled his bread out of his pocket and laid it by his plate".[88]

Hunger escalated the incidents of food theft. Thieves plundered any productive garden. Clark had hoped that creating a vegetable patch on an island would keep it safe but he found it impossible to bring his potatoes, onions or corn to "perfection" before somebody nicked them.[89] Out at Parramatta Superintendent Dodd's foiled an attempt to steal cabbages from his garden and then died from exposure after spending hours running around, without a shirt on, trying to catch the would-be bandits. Reverend Richard Johnson boasted a bountiful garden of edibles, which he was reluctant to share, so people helped themselves to his produce under the cover of darkness.[90] A convict caught stealing potatoes from the Reverend was given three hundred lashes. As the rations dwindled punishment for stealing food became more draconian. A convict who stole a pig was chained to two other men who had robbed the Governor's garden and the trio forced to live together in this way for two months. John Anderson, who had been transported for stealing linen, received two hundred lashes for taking someone else's vegetables. Food theft was not exclusive to the professional filchers in the colony. A soldier received 500 lashes for garden robbery and a seaman the same for pilfering Government House vegetables. In 1789 six marines were hung for robbing the public store of flour, meat, and alcohol. Their execution was a public event intended to deter people from stealing food, and show that no one in the colony was exempt from the law. The immediate gnaw of hunger was more potent than fear of future death and raids on potential food sources continued: on one occasion thieves broke into the hospital store and grabbed what they

thought was flour and sugar; when they discovered their haul was actually a case of chamomile flowers and sudorific powder intended to induce sweating they dumped the stolen goods.[91]

The brutal punishment of these petty thefts was not a practice exclusive to New South Wales.[92] Stealing was a capital crime in English law and there was little judicial sympathy for it. [93] Public shaming, inflicting corporeal pain and execution were standard punishments in Britain intended to act as a deterrent to "vicious and idle" thieves.[94] There were humanitarian and moral concerns about this approach to law and order, and in fact these had influenced the decision to establish a penal colony in Australia as transportation was considered a humane alternative to physical annihilation and allowed for the possibility of reform.

Real hunger and the fear of starvation made the people of Sydney miserable, lethargic, disgruntled and more prone to taking the edible property of others but few people, if any, actually starved to death.[95] There were incidents of human mortality in which food was a factor. Convict William Crozier stole some wheat berries from the store, ate these raw and then washed them down with a "great quantity of water", which fermented the grain in his bowel and caused him excruciating pain. He was given medical treatment but subsequently died and the cause of his expiry sheeted to this strange eating act.[96] As the flour became increasingly stale the convicts took to preparing it as a mess with any green vegetables they could forage. A female convict reportedly perished after eating such a dish.

On June 3rd 1790 the six ships of the Second-Fleet sent out from England began to arrive in Sydney. They brought an additional 1250 convicts, a contingent of soldiers of the nascent New South Wales Corps to replace the marines, and a relatively meagre addition of provisions. Phillip had sent advice back to London that the colony was not ready to take more people and that what was needed was more supplies, instead he got a lot more mouths to feed, and some very sick people to look after.[97] The British government had commissioned private contractors to transport this second contingent of convicts. These former slavers had struck a deal that saw them paid for the number of people they embarked in England whether that person arrived in New South Wales dead or alive. The contractors starved their charges by withholding the rations provided for them. Several hundred convicts died on the journey; the survivors arrived in the colony emaciated and more than half of them had to be hospitalised. The contractors then

proceeded to sell the rations they had withheld. Phillip was outraged but the circumstances forced him into purchasing the ill-gotten provisions from these mercenary privateers.[98]

Because of the situation with the food supplies the spike in mortality rates at this time is often cited as evidence that people were dying of starvation in New South Wales. This was not untrue but it was of people who had been starved on the second fleet, survived the journey and then died in the colony. In actuality many settlers enjoyed the "highest health"; Clark wrote to a correspondent he had never felt better in this life, despite being in "one of the worst countries in the world".[99] The high birth rate and low infant mortality —compared to that in England—are considered good indictors that the population was healthy rather than starving. Indeed the convicts were well looked after if they got sick.[100]

One of the first tasks Phillip assigned to his convict workforce was to erect a hospital building and dig in a large garden adjacent to it.[101] The produce of this garden was used to feed patients and cure them. The prevalent issues presented at the hospital were scurvy and dysentery, both debilitating and potentially fatal conditions. The former was caused by a lack of vitamin C and was cured by the sufferer eating foods rich in this substance such as citrus and leafy green vegetables. Convicts were sent out to gather wild greens for use in the hospital to supplement the more familiar species planted in its garden.[102] Nettle soup was commonly given to invalids in England and it is likely that patients in Sydney were given their greens in similar concoctions. Dairy products, fresh meat and broth and jellies made from bones were other vital foods of the health system practised in the eighteenth century. Goats were kept as part of the hospital store and would have supplied milk.[103] Kangaroo and fish were the fresh meat supply; the government catch of these was prioritised to the hospital if required. When the sick of the Second Fleet filled the hospital convicts were tasked to go out and collect acidic native berries as an additional antiscorbutic.[104]

Dysentery was a common problem in military and settlement camps. People lived at close quarters and often used the same limited water supply for their hydration and their hygiene. This was no different in Sydney where a single fresh water source, the 'tank stream', was used to wash dishes and persons, as well as provide drinking water. Pearl barley, oatmeal, sago, raisins, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, sugar, red wine and tamarinds had been sent out in the colony's supplies specifically for use in the hospital. Soaking starchy foods such as barley and oatmeal and straining off the resulting slightly gelatinous

liquid and mixing this with sugar, spices and wine were typical of the preparations used to treat dysentery, and more generally for returning invalids to health. Sago was cooked whole and treated in the same way and the raisins may have been made in a spiced sweet porridge.[105] Surgeon White found the kino extruded by the native red gum tree to also be efficacious in treating dysentery.[106] The resources put into the hospital show a concern for maintaining the bodily wellbeing of the convicts, however it was probably less of a humanitarian gesture than a reflection of the fact that they needed to be kept well in order to work.[107]

CURIOUS TASTES

The Eora were as reticent to interact with the Europeans settled at Sydney Cove as they had been with Cook and his party in 1770. Phillip had been instructed to engage the "natives" and live in "amity and kindness" with them, albeit to ascertain "what manner our intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage of this colony".[108] In the first instance the officers were very interested in observing and recording as much as they could about the Eora as material for the books several of them had contracts for with publishers back in England. It seems that the book buying public of Britain were eager for stories of exotic 'savages', but not of the convicts unless it was to give examples that confirmed the common prejudices of them.

The convicts were more frightened of the Eora than curious: Two of their fellows had been killed by Eora when they went out to cut rushes—the official view of this was that convicts had provoked the attack. A female convict wrote "the savages continue to do us all the injury they can …I know not how many people have been killed".[109] In truth it was only four men, but the idea that they would be attacked if they stayed too far from the camp helped keep the convicts curtailed. This fear did not stop some of them stealing Eora fishing gear and spears, nor did the prospect of a flogging if they were caught doing it as it was forbidden.[110]

The settlers at Sydney could see the Eora most clearly when they were out on the water in bark canoes catching fish; spearing eels from rocks; or gathering oysters and mussels along the shoreline. From these observations it was concluded that fish was their principal food. Based on this assumption a survey party were perplexed when they found walking tracks used by the Eora some distance inland as they could not understand how they could feed themselves so far from the sea. Tench surmised from these paths that the

Eora must move around with the seasons to get their food.[111] Over time they noted them hunting kangaroo, eating fern fronds and nuts from trees.

In October 1788 Phillip had an Eora man, who came to be known as Arabanoo, kidnapped and brought into the settlement. This act coincided with the first reduction in the rations and he hoped to find out from Arabanoo "whether or not the country possessed any resources by which life might be prolonged".[112] There is no indication as to whether any such information was elicited but Phillip decided to civilise Arabanoo. He was bathed, shaved, dressed in European clothing and sat down to table to eat the food of the settlement. He enjoyed roast duck and pork and broiled fish; rejected turtle and alcohol, and grew to like bread and tea.[113] He was taught to wipe his hands on a towel and to refrain from throwing the refuse on his plate, and the plate, out of the nearest window. Another Eora man, Bennelong, was subsequently captured: he ate everything with gusto. Phillip used the rations to encourage more Eora to come into the settlement. This food would have been completely novel to them and the opportunity to eat something that did not require hours of hunting and foraging to procure must have been very appealing. When rations were cut every person in the settlement, including the Governor, took the reduction except the Eora receiving these as Phillip thought it might indicate to them a weakness they could exploit if they came to understand that the settlers were going hungry.[114]

POTENT PROFITS

Colonising foreign places and taking raw and exotic materials from these for purposes of further manufacture, retailing and consumption built the British Empire. The trade routes plied by its ships were its lifeline. Claiming and settling New South Wales brought the Australian continent —albeit a very small patch of it to begin with—into this global network. Phillip had been instructed to do everything he could to prevent any communication with the ships of any other nation that might be trading in the vicinity, and if this proved impossible any foreign arrivals were to be prevented from having contact with anyone in the colony unless they received his particular permission. To comply with this Phillip had a sheltered cove on the opposite side of the harbour set up as a place where any unpreventable alien ships could anchor—to take on supplies and carry out repairs—that was far enough away from the settlement to prevent easy communication.[115] This command was a principle of the mercantilism that had shaped

Britain's economic policies and it forbid her colonies to trade with other nations, but that ideology was becoming outmoded by one of free trade in the late eighteenth century.

American whalers were the first 'foreign' ships to arrive in Sydney Cove in 1791. Their crews managed to make their way into the settlement where they found the colonists eager to engage in commercial transactions. The sailors traded cured beef, molasses, tea, flour and alcohol with the convicts for fishing gear and spears stolen from the Eora, their government issued clothing and bedding, and sexual favours. The soldiery exchanged their own gear and belongings or used money if they had it.[116] The settlers it seemed were proponents of the emerging free trade ethos. Enterprising captains started loading up their ships with goods, most particularly rum, in India to trade in New South Wales as a nicely profitable detour on their way to China.[117]

The British government had proposed keeping New South Wales alcohol free for the first three years. Phillip had had to put up a persuasive argument to be permitted to take a supply of spirits for the marines—he anticipated difficulty signing anyone up for service if teetotalling was part of the deal—otherwise he held with keeping the convicts sober, allowing them the occasional measure of grog on special occasions such as the monarch's birthday. Trading alcohol was illegal in the settlement. Visiting ships were inspected to prevent any spirits that might be on board coming onshore. This had no effect: the booze came off the boats clandestinely and found its way into wider circulation via trading circles made up of officers and convicts. Collins blames the influx of alcohol off ships for all the "fatal diseases" suffered in the colony and derides the people who profited from selling it.[118] His was a lonely protest. The convicts did not like being out at Parramatta, despite getting more food there, because it cut them off from the shipping activity in the cove and the possibility of getting in on the commercial, or drinking, activities originating off these vessels.[119]

There were other trading opportunities that were less pernicious to the health of the colony. Provisioning visiting ships with fresh vegetables was a good earner for those who could grow or forage these. Sailor John Nichol recorded that a marine sergeant provided the crew of the Lady Juliana, one of the ships of the Second Fleet, with an ample supply of potatoes and greens for half-a-crown a day.[120] Given that the colony was reportedly at the height of its food crisis when this ship was in port the plentiful availability of fresh provisions suggests more food was available than the official records allow.

IMPROVING SUPPLY

The arrival of the Second Fleet provided a short-lived boost to the food supplies; the rations then had to be reduced again before being reinstated in full. This pattern of inconsistency in food supply persisted to some degree into the early nineteenth century, overall though it steadily improved. The public fields at Parramatta were producing good crops of wheat and plentiful vegetables, livestock was multiplying and ships were arriving more regularly with government and commercial supplies. The success of the small independent farmers in the colony was mixed.

Convicts who completed their sentence were entitled to a grant of 30 acres of land tax free for a decade, along with any tools, grain and livestock that could be spared from the public stock and provisions for 12 months, if they wished to take this up. All that was required was to give over any timber on the land fit for naval use. It seems an incredible offer to persons who in their convictism were considered less than human. It would have been impossible for most of the convicts to have ever owned land in England, and the offer was partly intended to dissuade them from returning there. At a pragmatic level it encouraged people to do the work of opening up and improving the place; philosophically it was believed that separating the convicts from their familiar cohort and habitat and putting them into a different environment could transform their nature and lead to a moral regeneration. As most of the convicts had come from urban environments placing them in agrarian one —on the other side of the world—was certainly a radical transformation of their circumstances.[121]

Coming from urban backgrounds the emancipist farmers found it hard to turn their acquired land to sustainable productivity. Convicted burglar James Ruse was one of only two transportees who claimed to have farming experience. When he petitioned Phillip for a land grant he found himself supported to become the model emancipist farmer. There are contradictory reports as to his success. Ruse himself claimed that he could feed his family from his farm, whereas others claimed he was starving.[122] Privates and non-commissioned officers were also entitled to take up land grants. They were given the same support as the emancipist farmers with the additional assistance of free convict labour. They also had their wages freeing them from reliance on the land for their livelihood and providing a redundancy if their crops failed that the emancipists did not enjoy.[123] Collins reports the soldiery as successful farmers; Phillip found them otherwise.[124] These varied accounts of agricultural progress occur across the records of

the colony's early years reflecting the process of getting to know the soil and the climate; the extent of an individual's grit; and personal friendships and grievances.

All in all when Phillip departed Sydney in 1792 the prospects for the colony were positive. Despite the shortage of food and the reduced working hours the convict work force had constructed public buildings and private homes, built roads and wharves, and established farms. The five years of unceasing effort he had put in to achieve this had taken its toll on his health, and the salt-diet he shared with everybody else in the colony had exacerbated an existing renal problem. Yet what rankled Phillip most was that New South Wales was "most infamously represented" in England and its inhabitants "vilified as rum-sodden, neglectful and immoral".[125]

When Francis Grose arrived in Sydney to temporarily relieve Phillip he was astonished to discover that there were flourishing gardens producing all kinds of fruit and vegetables. He was expecting New South Wales to be the unfavourable place he had heard it described as in England and was therefore surprised to find it other than he imagined and happily changed his own opinion. In 1793 two Spanish ships arrived in the harbour. Spain was Britain's great rival in the empire building game at this time and the people at Sydney were determined to show the Spaniards that despite being "severed from the mother country [and] residing in the woods …amongst savages….[they] had not forgotten the hospitalities due to strangers".[126] Everyone made an effort to be as cheerful as possible and there was a jubilant mood in the town. To thank their hosts the visitors put on a roast beef dinner for the colony's dignitaries and treated its ladies to hot chocolate and doughnuts at a separate fete on the shore. They were effusive in their praise for the abundant supply of fresh garden produce in the colony. The local demimonde did not make such a good impression when they doped some of the Spanish crew and robbed them.[127] In 1802 a French expedition found themselves as astonished as Grose had been upon discovering the flourishing state of such a distant place as New South Wales. They stayed for five months so this was not the fleeting impression of the kind given by Cook and Banks that had seemed so deceptive in the beginning. As it turned out Banks estimation of the potential of New South Wales was proving prescient, although the ghouls and goblins of Botany Bay were more present in the global imagining of Australia than its flourishing crops and cornucopia of produce.[128]

When he sailed out of Sydney Phillip expected to return in two years; he never did make it back. If he had he would have been pleased at the vastly improved agriculture and

the ever-increasing capacity for food self-sufficiency. Most of the population were eating pretty well. Getting a pound of meat everyday was something most of the convicts could never have imagined in England. There are few convict voices recorded to give us their side of the story but one female prisoner wrote, "we have good victuals and a warm bed".[129] Phillip would not have been pleased though by the means by which the improvements had been achieved and the changed social climate of the colony.

He was barely out of the harbour when Grose made his first act as Lieutenant Governor and replaced the civil administration with a military oligarchy. The officers, on the whole, had not liked Phillip's egalitarian style of leadership. They resented his insistence on their having equal rations with the lowlife they were paid to oversee, for punishing the marines severely for stealing, and most of all for refusing the commissioned officers land grants and trying to prevent trading in alcohol thereby denying them the opportunities they saw as the rightful perquisites of colonial service.[130] They did not hold with his vision of a country of small-scale farmers. They had grander plans and were champing to enact them: Grose set these free. He made generous land allocations to officers, allowed them more government-fed and clothed convict labour to work their farms, and every encouragement to private trade. After a poor harvest in 1793 he cut the convicts rations but not those of the officers, and he let the disparity stand even when the food supply improved again.

Facilitating the officers to act as private individuals while enjoying the benefits of public employment allowed them to create significant private wealth and radically escalated their power in the colony. Under Grose the trade in alcohol turned vigorous; it was still illegal but he did nothing to prevent it. When John Hunter relieved Grose in1795 he found that the public duty the officers were paid to do had become a secondary consideration to their private work selling liquor. They also started paying convicts with alcohol for any extra work they did for them. More ships were doing a rum run from India speculating on turning a tidy profit in New South Wales. Sometimes it was hard to get grain for the government store because it was bought up to be distilled into locally made liquor; the illegality of producing spirits proved no disincentive to bootlegging. What Hunter inherited from Grose was a place run by the NSW Corps that was bordering on ungovernable.

The significant advantages enjoyed by the NSW Corps officers allowed them to open up land and run large properties while participating in the trade of the town. They saw it

as a duty to self and country to exploit the land to its full potential and they were not going to miss this chance to make their fortune. They could produce and sell; muscle out any competition and intimidate anybody who questioned their dealings. In 1808 the Corp overthrew then Governor Bligh in what became known as the "rum rebellion". The popular version of this event is that Bligh was trying to stop their trading in rum, whereas what incited them was his intention to rescind crown land that Grose had allowed them to illegally possess and return it to public farming. The association of the rebellion with rum fitted the image of New South Wales as a place of drunken licentiousness, even though the rate of alcohol consumption was equivalent to that in England.[131]

"NOTHING" BUT GHOSTS

In 1801 William Westall travelled to New South Wales with the intention of making sketches of the place to sell. He later wrote to his patron that he had seen "nothing" worth illustrating during his two-month stay there. Watkin Tench thought the same place an "inexhaustible source of curiosity and speculation", full of "rare and beautiful plants" and "objects to exercise the imagination".[132] It seems that the way the colony was presented depended on who was doing the telling. In his early days there David Collins had described it as nothing more than a "Place of Banishment for the Outcasts of Society".[133] After a decade of living in Sydney he believed that the years of hardship were over and that the colony had been transformed into a place of "plenty, ease and pleasure".[134] On his return to England he intended to persuade people to give up the "odium and disgust" they held about New South Wales. [135]Collins book on the settlement sold reasonably so he might have changed a few minds, but the die had been cast and the ghosts of Botany Bay lingered well into the nineteenth century. Overshadowing any success was the "shameful, distasteful stigma" of the country's convict origins.[136] Its supporters had to "struggle against the gulf-stream of depreciation" held with "perverse tenacity" by Englishmen, their "inveterate prejudice" having originated in the earliest accounts of the place.[137]

This wilful persistence in disparaging the colony regardless of the evidence extended to food. The early struggle to get enough to eat and the governmental focus on recording only the issued staple rations has been allowed to stand as representing the totality of the early foodways of Australia, despite the presence of all the other food in the records: someone was eating all those vegetables. New South Wales was understood as a hard place —indeed it continued to be in many respects—and it seems that the picture of

people struggling with 'starvation', or eating a 'plain' and miserable diet was preferred: it fitted the image of it as a land of rogues and savages. People back in England might have found the knowledge that the criminals banished to Botany Bay were eating good victuals a bit much to swallow, after all their taxes were paying for it.

[1] *Twenty different clan groups make up the people of the Eora nation.*

[2] *Bill Gammage, The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2012], 129.*

[3] *Gammage, Estate, 15; John Hunter, An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island With the Discoveries which have been made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean, since the publication of Phillip's Voyage, compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governor Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; and the Voyages of the first Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's Company to England in 1792 (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 59, http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/huntran.*

[4] *Gammage, Estate.*

[5] *Rodney Kelly, a sixth generation descendent of the Gweagal people of Botany Bay (a clan of the Eora nation) says Cook's men fired their muskets at his ancestors which caused them to run away: Bank's chooses not to mention this in his journal entries of first contact. Rodney Kelly, "Descendent of first contact says Australia was invaded 'by gunfire'", interview by Fran Kelly, Breakfast, ABC Radio National, June 23, 2016, http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/breakfast/descendant-of-first-contact-says-australia-was/7536714*

[6] *Joseph Banks, "Some Account of That Part of New Holland Now Called New South Wales" in The Endeavour journal of Joseph Banks, August 1768 - July 1771 (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales), http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series.*

[7] *James Cook, Captain Cook's Journal During His First Voyage Round The World Made in H.M. Bark "Endeavour" 1768-81 A Literal Transcription of the Original MSS. With Notes And Introduction, edited by Captain W.J.L. Wharton, R,N., F.R.S, 318. London: Elliot Stock, 1892, http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00043.html#ch8.*

[8] *Reports vary as to how many people departed in England and how many arrived in Australia. There were births and deaths on the journey and a few absconders at ports along the way. Some counts included the several hundred ships crew and others exclude them.*

[9] *In 1788 the term 'Australia' was not used to describe the place. Official documents talked of NSW, New Holland and Botany Bay. For convenience I have used Australia throughout the book. For the first 40 years of settlement New South Wales was Australia.*

[10] *Also called La Grande Isle de Java, La Australia del Espiritu Santo or more simply South Land*

[11] *"Secret Instructions to Lieutenant Cook 30 July 1768", Museum of Australian Democracy, http://foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/nsw1_doc_1768.pdf*

[12] *This matter was not settled though. His masters in London sent him out again in 1772 to circumnavigate the globe as far southward as possible to finally determine if there was a great southern land. This time they believed him when all he found was a lot of ice.*

[13] *"Secret Instructions to Lieutenant Cook 30 July 1768", Museum of Australian Democracy, accessed January 20-22 , 2015, http://foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/nsw1_doc_1768.pdf*

[14] *Banks, Endeavour Journal.*

[15] *It was not mapped in its entirety until Matthew Flinders circumnavigated the continent between 1801-1803.*

[16] *James Cook. "Exploration of the East Coast of Australia", chap 8 in Captain Cook's Journal During His First Voyage Round The World Made in H.M. Bark "Endeavour" 1768-81 A Literal Transcription of the Original MSS. With Notes And Introduction Edited by Captain W.J.L. Wharton, R,N., F.R.S. (London: Elliot Stock, 1892) http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00043.html#ch8; Banks, Endeavour Journal.*

[17] *George Burnett Barton, "James Matra's Proposal" section 3.1 in History of New South Wales From the Records. Vol. I, —Governor Phillip, 1783-1789 (Sydney: Charles Potter, 1889). http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks12/1204171h.html*

[18] *Barton, History of New South Wales, "Proposals for Colonising New South Wales", section 1.1.*

[19] *Francis Bacon, Essays, Civil and Moral. Vol. 3, Part 1 (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909–1914), accessed February 2015. http://www.bartleby.com/br/00301.html*

[20] *G.B. Barton, History of New South Wales, "Heads Of A Plan", section 3.3.*

[21] *Cook, Captain Cook's Journal.*

[22] *Named for his patron Lord Sydney.*

[23] *The children were not convicts. Some of them were born on the voyage out and others would have been born to their mothers in jail prior to being shipped off.*

[24] *The numbers of people embarked at Sydney Cove is not universally agreed upon. The number of convicts and officials was well documented and consistently reported but the number of free settlers, ships crew and children are elastic because these people were not rigorously documented.*

[25] *David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales Volume 1 With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To Which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand: Complied by Permission, From the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King, 100 (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), accessed January – April, 2015 http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/colacc1*

[26] *Collins, Account Vol. I.*

[27] *John Gascoigne, The Enlightenment and the origins of European Australia. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Tim Flannery, The Birth of Sydney. (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1999); Julie McIntyre, "Not Rich and Not British: Phillip Schaeffer, 'Failed' Colonial Farmer", Journal of Australian Colonial History 11 (2009), 1- 20.*

[28] *G.B. Barton, "Phillip' Instructions {1787}", section 3.21 in History of New South Wales From the Records. Vol. I, —Governor Phillip, 1783-1789 (Sydney: Charles Potter, 1889). http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks12/1204171h.html*

[29] *The instruction book for my washing machine is about the same length.*

[30] *This was true of all material items sent out with the first fleet: clothing, plants, livestock, tools, etc.*

[31] *Jacqui Newling, "Foodways Unfettered" (Masters Dissertation., University of Adelaide, 2007); Janet Macdonald, Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era (London Chatham Publishing. 2004); Lois Davey, Lois., Margaret Macpherson and FW, "The Hungry Years: 1788-1792." Historical Studies 3*

(1947):187-88. All men on-board British navy ships were issued with equal rations.

[32] *Built to supply biscuit to the ships returning to England in the first instance. Phillip was instructed to release these ships as soon as he could. Several of them were to go via China to pick up cargoes of tea and other commodities.*

[33] *Newling, "Foodways Unfettered," 59.*

[34] *Collins, Account Vol. I, 63.*

[35] *Bryan Gandevia, "Socio – medical factors in the evolution of the first settlement at Sydney cove 1788-1803". Royal Australian Historical Society 61 (1975): 3-5; Davey, Macpherson and Clement, Hungry, 5, Newling, Unfettered, 21.*

[36] *George Worgon, Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003, http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/worjour; 'Raisins' was used as a generic term for all types of dried grapes.*

[37] *And provide material for the books they had contracted with publishers back in England.*

[38] *Watkin Tench, A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson Including An Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and Of Its Natural Productions (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1998), 111, http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit; John White, Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales with sixty-five plates of non descript animals, birds, lizards, serpents, curious cones of trees and other natural productions (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2001), 92, http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit; Watkin Tench, A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay With an Account of New South Wales, its Productions, Inhabitants, &c. To which is subjoined, A List of the Civil and Military Establishments at Port Jackson (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1998), 73, http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit; Ralph, Clark, The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792 (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 265, http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/clajour; Collins, Account Vol.I, 449.*

[39] *Worgon, Journal, 34-35. I presume this to be something alcoholic.*

[40] *White, Journal, 114; Tench. Complete Account, 165.*

[41] *William Bradley, A voyage to New South Wales, December 1786 – May 1792. (Sydney; University of Sydney Library, 2002-15), October 1788, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/brajour.xml;chunk.id=d793e103;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d793e103;database=ozfleet;collection=settlement;brand=ozfleet. The names used for some of these fish were taken from approximate English species, e.g., turbot that are not found in Australian waters.*

[42] *Worgon, Journal, 18; Collins, Account Vol. I, 103,*

[43] *C. Anne Wilson, Food and Drink in Britain From the Stone Age to the 19th Century (Chicago: Academy, 1991), 225. Worgon, Journal, 9.*

[44] *Worgon, Journal, 9. Worgon jokes that "we shall have a ship full of aldermen coming out to NSW", a reference to the popularity of turtle soup at public banquets in Britain; it is also a bit of food snobbery as turtle had lost some of its prestige by the late eighteenth century as it had become less expensive and therefore more readily accessed by a wider section of society.*

[45] *Worgon, Journal, 35.*

[46] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 45; Banks, Endeavour Journal; Tench, Complete Account; Clark, Journal; Worgon, Journal ; White, Journal.*

[47] *Newton, Fowell, "Letters and Papers in the Mitchell Library, July 12, 1788." http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/fowjour.xml;chunk.id=d1042e107;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d1042e107;database=ozfleet;coll*

ection=settlement;brand=ozfleet; Worgon, Journal, 11. Livistonia australis. The settlers also used the wood of this tree and its leaves to make 'cabbage palm hats' but harvesting its edible tip kills the tree.

[48] *Helen Heney, ed, Dear Fanny: women's letters to and from New South Wales 1788-1857 (Canberra; Australian National University Press, 1985), 2.*

[49] *John Nichol, The Life and Adventures of John Nichol Mariner Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1822, 131.*

[50] *Blake's occupation was listed as a servant. He may then have stolen from his employer as drinking chocolate was a fashionable practice for ladies of the upper classes in the eighteenth century. I wonder if he was curious to sample it, or if he intended to sell it.*

[51] *Caesar and Coffin both listed their occupation as 'servant'. It was fashionable to have African servants in Georgian England.*

[52] *Stephen Nicholas, ed, Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's past (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chpt.1.*

[53] *Stephen, Mennell, All manners of food: eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present (United Kingdom: Blackwell, 1985).*

[54] *Collins, Account Vol.I.*

[55] *"On the policy of settling, with convicts only, a country at once so remote and extensive, I shall offer no remarks": Tench, Complete Account, 229.*

[56] *Worgon, Journal,12; Collins, Account Vol.I,*

[57] *Collins, Account Vol. 1, 64. Some years later a survey party came across these cows in the wilderness some distance south of the settlement where they had happily multiplied.*

[58] *Arthur Phillip, The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay With an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, compiled from Authentic Papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments to which are added the Journals of Lieuts. Shortland, Watts, Ball and Capt. Marshall with an Account of their New Discoveries (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 85, http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/phivoya. As it turned out Australia did become a successful producer and exporter of dried grapes.*

[59]. *Collins, Account Vol.I, 402. Poultry was privately owned and was exempt from this rule*

[60] *Tench, Complete Account, 176.*

[61] *Collin's routinely uses "venomous fangs" in association with "snake" when he reports on sightings or encounters of these reptiles.*

[62] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 101.*

[63] *"Observations on Maize, By a Settler of Camden, New South Wales". The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, March 13, 1839, 3; Newling, Foodways Unfettered, 54.*

[64] *Newling, Foodways Unfettered, 42; Collins, Account Vol. I, 269. The list of supplies sent out with the first fleet includes 40 'corn mills', however corn was used as a general term for grain in the eighteenth century. What we now call corn or sweet corn was referred to as maize or 'Indian corn'.*

[65] *Worgon, Journal, 23. The 'workmen' Worgon refers to are the convicts: His euphemism minimizes the reality of the hard labor they were set to.*

[66] *The food resources some of the convicts found themselves with likely exceeded what they had been used to in Britain.*

[67] *Macdonald, Feeding Nelson's Navy, chapter four.*

[68] *Clark. Journal, 382.*

[69] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 46.*
[70] *The term 'mess' could also be used to mean any cooked food.*
[71] *Newling, Foodways Unfettered , 59.*
[72] *Tench, Complete Account, 24. A ramrod is a metal bar that was used to load a gun.*
[73] *Tench, Complete Account, 157; Newling, Foodways Unfettered, 56.*
[74] *Worgon, Journal, 54.*
[75] *Tench, Complete Account, 43; White, Journal, 87; "The de Maliez mystery—in search of the governor's French cook", Sydney Living Museums, accessed March 30, 2015, http://blogs.hht.net.au/cook/the-de-maliez-mystery-in-search-of-the-governors-french-cook/*
[76] *Macdonald, Nelson's Navy, 104.*
[77] *Newling, Foodways Unfettered, 76.*
[78] *Barton, History of New South, preface; Angus McGillivery, "Convict Settlers. Seamen's Greens, and Imperial Designs at Port Jackson: A Maritime Perspective of British Settler Agriculture", Agricultural History, 78 (2004): 266*
[79] *Clark, Journal, 376.*
[80] *Military cooks were always men.*
[81] *Nicholas, Convict Workers, 200.*
[82] *Bryan Gandevia, "Socio – medical factors in the evolution of the first settlement at Sydney cove 1788-1803", Royal Australian Historical Society 61 (1975): 13; Newling, Foodways Unfettered, 57.*
[83] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 221.*
[84] *The supply ship Guardian had been sent but it was wrecked on an iceberg off South Africa.*
[85] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 100.*
[86] *Collins, Account Vol. I, 100.*
[87] *Tench, Complete Account, 119-122.*
[88] *Tench. Complete Account, 124. An invitation to a meal in Australia can sometimes include the request "bring a plate'. It means to bring a plate of food, not just an empty plate, and is said to have originated from this early necessity of bringing your own bread to dinner.*
[89] *Clark, Journal, 135.*
[90] *Newling, Foodways Unfettered, 49.*
[91] *Tench, Complete Account, 17; Collins. Account Vol.I, 285. Opium was a common ingredient in sudorifics, perhaps if the thieves had eaten it it might have temporarily allayed their hunger.*
[92] *Early colonists in America were also known to steal from each other's gardens.*
[93] *British law about property had been made by the elite who owned most of it.*
[94] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 289.*
[95] *Collins, Account Vol.I , 289; Gandevia, "Socio-medical", 8*
[96] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 121. Bizarre eating behavior such as this could have been a symptom of semi-starvation: Gandevia, "Socio-medical", 10.*
[97] *The correspondence was sent back to London with the first-fleet ships he returned there.*
[98] *Collins, Account Vol.I, The contractors, Messer's Camden, Calvert and King, and the shipmasters were later subject to an inquiry in London but no charges were laid.*
[99] *Tench, Complete Account, 84 ; Clark, Journal, 355.*
[100] *Nicholas, Convict Workers, 192.*
[101] *This was actually a very large tent. A pre-fabricated hospital building arrived from*

England in 1790. It was sent out flat-packed and contrived such that it could be erected in a day without the need for skilled men or even a hammer: in the end it took a week and the labour of several ship's carpenters to put it up.

[102] *Collins, Account Vol.I.*

[103] *It was practice to keep goats on a ship as a source of milk. Captain Cook had a goat that was famed for having gone around the world.*

[104] *Fowell, "Letter 10. Sydney Cove in Port Jackson July 12, 1788"; Collins, Account Vol.I, 131.*

[105] *Hannah Glasse, The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy (London: W. Strahan, J. and F, Rivington, 1774), 137.*

[106] *White, Journal, 149.*

[107] *Nicholas, Convict Workers, 192.*

[108] *Barton, History of New South Wales, "Phillip' Instructions {1787}", section 3.21*

[109] *Heney, Dear Fanny, 1.*

[110] *Collins, Account Vol.I,; Tench, Complete Account , 89.*

[111] *Tench, Complete Account, 65.*

[112] *Tench, Complete Account, 67.*

[113] *Tench, Complete Account , 96.*

[114] *Tench, Complete Account 126; Collins, Account Vol.I,*

[115] *Collins, Account Vol.1, 88.*

[116] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 164.*

[117] *Rum was used in the colony as a generic term for any spirit.*

[118] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 137.*

[119] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 196. It also limited the possibility of stowing away on these ships.*

[120] *Nichol, Life and Adventures, 139.*

[121] *Grace Karskens and Richard Waterhouse, "Too Sacred to Be Taken Away: Property, Liberty, Tyranny and the 'Rum Rebellion". Journal of Australian Colonial History 12 (2012): 5; Alan Frost, "As if Were Another America: English Ideas of the First Settlement in New South Wales at the End of the Eighteenth Century". Eighteenth-Century Studies 7 (1974): 255-273.*

[122] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 160.*

[123] *McIntyre, "Not Rich", 4. There was no physical currency in the colony —not officially anyway—government wages took the form of promissory notes.*

[124] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 313.*

[125] *Grace Karskens, Inside the Rocks: the archaeology of a neighbourhood (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1999), 57.*

[126] *Collins, Account Vol.I.*

[127] *Flannery, The Birth of Sydney, 117-120; Collins, Account Vol.I, 243.*

[128] *John Rickard, John. Australia: A Cultural History (London: Longman, 1988), 28-29.*

[129] *Nichol, Life and Adventures, 116.*

[130] *Karskens and Waterhouse, "Too Scared", 6.*

[131] *Phillip Isle. "Rum beginings: Towards a new perspective of the Grose years". Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 91 (2005): 15.*

[132] *Barton, History of New South Wales, "Introductory Sketch"; Tench, Complete Account, preface.*

[133] *'Collins, David (1756 – 1810)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, Australian National University, accessed February 11 2016, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/collins-david-1912*

[134] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 403. He is certainly not referring to the conditions of the convicts here.*
[135] *Collins, Account Vol.I, 407.*
[136] *Rickard, Australia, 25.*
[137] *Barton, History of New South Wales, "Introductory Sketch".*

Chapter 2: Food production

Fifteen thousand wellwishers gathered to send off the exploration party led by John O'Hara Burke and William John Wills when it departed from Melbourne on August 20, 1860. They were leaving to traverse the Australian continent from south to north —2000 miles of "vast unknown interior"— on camel back; "no other expedition [had] excited greater interest".[1] The crowd that farewelled them was only superseded on January 21st 1863 when 100,000 people from across Victoria thronged to the capital to pay their respects at the public funeral of Burke and Wills.[2] The popular story of their demise is that they starved to death because they refused to eat native foods.[3] The party was provisioned with the portable staples of a European diet including a large cache of specially produced biscuits made of dried pulverised meat and flour. Expeditioner's usually took meat on hoof and slaughtered it for meals along the way. Taking these biscuits was an experiment that added several tonnes of weight to the luggage wagons, slowed the party down and added to circumstances that ultimately found Burke, Wills and their surveyor, John King, stranded and starving in remote Queensland.[4]

Aboriginal people had shared food with the party along their journey and from them they had learnt that the spores of the aquatic fern nardoo (*Marsilea*) could be ground into edible flour. When their food supplies ran out Burke insisted only nardoo would keep them from starvation and the three focused their attention on collecting and preparing it: this did not prove enough to keep Burke and Wills alive. More nuanced opinion on the cause of their death suggests that they did not understand how to prepare nardoo to rid it of the toxic thiaminase it contains and that consuming this substance exacerbated the beriberi that actually killed the two men in late June 1861. In November of that year a search party found King alive and being looked after by "friendly natives".[5]

'OH, FOR FRENCH COLONISERS'.[6]

Reflecting on the pauce use of indigenous ingredients in Australian cookery, Maggie Beer, one of the country's most influential contemporary cooks, mused that if only the place had been colonised by the French "they would have been immediately into the wonderful things [native foods] available."[7] It's an idea that stems from the received historical narrative that the early settlers completely disdained indigenous food sources and that their singular English insistence on flour, sugar and mutton caused them to

nearly starve to death at Sydney Cove.[8] The parallel with the Burke and Wills myth is obvious and likewise the notion that colonial Australians completely spurned the "wonderful" new foods available to them does not quite stand up to challenge. As to the French, theirs is another story. While the ships of the first fleet were removing from Botany Bay on 26th January 1788, two French ships sailed in. Each side was surprised at encountering their colonising rival, but neighbourly pleasantries were exchanged and the English ships continued the short northward journey up to Port Jackson. The French remained in the Bay for nearly two months where they carried out ship's maintenance, shot a couple of Aboriginals and declared that in "their whole voyage they nowhere found so poor a country, nor such wretched miserable people" [9]. Hardly comments to indicate that Gallic settlers would have voraciously tucked into the same food as the locals, indeed they would have replicated their familiar cuisine as they had in their own colonies.[10]

THE INDIGENOUS KITCHEN

Early Australian settlers did eat native foods. We have seen them foraging for wild vegetables, catching kangaroos and green turtles, broiling fish, birds and lizards and infusing the leaves of native *similax* to drink. They also collected and ate mushrooms and all sorts of fruit including wild figs and a small green currant like berry that was good made into a tart, albeit with the addition of plenty of sugar to counter its "excessive sourness".[11] Watkin Tench was not especially enamoured of this local "gooseberry" but considered the "common orchis root" a worthy comestible.[12] At the time Tench left England a beverage of middle-eastern origin called *salep* was a fashionable health drink. It was prepared from dried pulverised orchid root boiled in milk with sugar, lemon and cinnamon. The Eora chewed the bulbs of native orchids to relieve diarrhoea and perhaps the curious and observant Tench noticed this and experimented with the same. Salep prepared from local *orchidaceae* species might have been given in the hospital at Sydney as it was considered beneficial for a wide range of medical conditions.[13] The settlers also used Aboriginal technology to obtain food supplies: when their fishing nets rotted they copied the Eora method of creating rope from bark to repair these.

Tench could have drawn on his own knowledge of the culinary possibilities of orchids without having seen Aboriginal usage as he and his fellow colonists ate a variety of plants and animals that the Eora did not. They refused to eat shark, stingray or snake. They did not eat the leafy greens the settlers collected or make 'tea' from *similax*, in part

because they did not boil water—that they did not understand this technique was demonstrated when an Eora man tried to put his hand into a pot of boiling water to steal a fish a sailor was cooking.[14] Nor did the settlers get the idea for using native *dodonaea* species as a substitute for hops in their early attempts at beer brewing as the Eora did not make or drink alcoholic beverages —until they were introduced to these by the colonists.

The settler's consumption of native edibles could be seen as eating around the edges.[15] If they had been reticent at first to sample the novel foods they found in New South Wales that could be ascribed to natural human inclination.[16] That they tried things and did not like these is also to be expected, and some foods were suspect. A root vegetable looking similar to horseradish that they saw the Eora collecting proved to have a palatable sweetish taste but caused bowel cramps and nausea when consumed by the settlers. A convict was reported to have died from eating a native nut and others became violently ill from eating the same thing. Hunter and Bradley both concluded that the Eora must have some process for removing the noxious qualities of these foods but in the absence of this knowledge the settlers understandably avoided these items, and probably others like it.[17]

The convicts believed the Eora would attack them if they wandered too far into the woods. Whether this belief was founded or not it served to keep them contained to the settlement and would have limited their experimentation with native eatables. This suited officialdom as dispensation of rations kept the convict population tied to the settlement, and the work of developing it.[18] There was the possibility that if they learnt too much about indigenous foods they would be able to survive independently and abscond. There were other disincentives to the convicts to eating wild foods: a group of men who escaped and lived with the Eora for a short time returned to the settlement ill with abdominal swellings caused by the "change of food"; another absconder found he was unable to sustain himself on the produce of the woods and came back "half-starved"[19]. It was only when the rations began to run out that the convict population were purposefully encouraged to forage for additional foods.

There was never an intention for native foods to serve as anything more than a supplement to the rations of familiar staples. A reliable local food system was necessarily to be focused on cultivating imported grains, vegetables, fruits and animals. In the first instance these suited the taste and food technology of the settlers—it would have been hard for them to envision anything other. Secondly, these were species that had been

subject to lengthy cultivation, or husbandry practices in the case of livestock, that had modified these for controllable consistent production, or reproduction, at the scale necessary to feed what was expected to be an expanding population, and provide excess for commercial exchange. It was certainly possible that Australia's native foods might be modified—after all domesticated food plants all started in a wild form—however meeting the pressing food needs of the colony required a more expedient response, and when the imported plants began to flourish there was little imperative to fiddle around with the genetics of the local ones. Not all the food plants introduced to the colony were familiar in the sense that they were of European origin. Exotic species such as coffee, cocoa, tamarind, banana and sugar were picked up at Rio De Janeiro and Cape Town on the voyage out for cultivation in New South Wales because of the potential global marker for the consumable products of these plants: there were no buyers for the indigenous foods of Australia.[20]

'CIVILISING' THE SAVAGE

Arguably the most potent idea of western philosophy in the late eighteenth century was that human society 'progressed' through four stages from hunter-gatherer to pastoral, agricultural and ultimately commercial. Each stage was considered a necessary advance on the previous one and a society focused on commercial enterprise had achieved the "pinnacle of progress". [21] People who existed by catching and collecting whatever mother nature cared to provide were in this model considered 'savage' and those who produced, sold and consumed excess to their basic needs were 'civilised'. The progressive thinkers of the era believed that reaching this state of "social perfection" was the "natural state of affairs" and that science, reason and industry were the necessary tools in improving the human condition to this.[22] Englishmen, amongst other western Europeans including the French, ardently believed it was their duty to assist people they classified as 'primitive' to progress towards a more civilised state. They also believed it was their god given right to enrich themselves in the process.[23]

The way the men who shaped the colony of New South Wales understood this country, and her indigenous people, was deeply entrenched in this idealised philosophy of progress. David Collins described the Australia he arrived in in 1788 as a "savage world" and Arthur Phillip pronounced the natives "rude and uncivilised". Establishing civilization through the implementation of English agricultural, social, legal and

economic systems was to necessarily promote the "good, the glory and the aggrandizement" of England": In the minds of the settlers the process of colonisation was a meritorious undertaking.[24] The English believed themselves to be the most progressive society in the world and eating native foods, the sustenance of primitive Aboriginals, when these were no longer necessary for survival, would have represented failure to civilize.[25]

Using English terms to describe native foods: emu was "like young beef", Pitt birds became Mutton birds or "flying sheep", local fish species became turbot and sole and skate, wild greens were "spinage" and native fruit "apples"; and processing these through English cookery techniques of boiling, roasting, baking and stewing were attempts to transform unfamiliar indigenous ingredients to make them palatable to the mouth, and the mind, of the colonists[26]. However Sydney's development as an urban centre was marked by a distinctive social anxiety.[27] The settlers were unhappily aware that the view from London —the centre of the Anglophone world—was that the place was wild, full of savages and a depot of depraved criminals. Of more pressing concern was the possibility of social contact with former convicts or lower class free settlers who had 'improved' themselves through opportunities available to them in the burgeoning colony. To counter the possibility of being tainted by residence in Australia the imperative to cultivate civilised habits was heightened. What someone ate, how they ate it and whom they ate it with were particularly visible indicators of civilized behaviour (see: chapter 5). The colony's elite —such as they were— "adhered to traditional middle or upper class English customs and foodways" in demonstration of their "superior social status".[28] This necessarily excluded the use of most indigenous foods as the fact of these being wild and uncultivated materially represented exactly the insinuations of colonial inferiority the colonists were desperate to stave off. Eating foods such as witchetty grubs suggested that the consumer had a "wild and uncivilised palate that could also succumb to cannibalism".[29]

Artist and author Louisa Meredith lived in New South Wales in the early 1840s where she "never saw a native fish at a Sydney dinner party, preserved or cured cod and salmon from England being served instead, at a considerable expense".[30] The cost was a large part of the appeal of this imported fish as it allowed social expression of ample means, but it also demonstrated that one—rightly—understood colonial materials to be sub-standard. Fresh local fish not only lacked financial prestige it was the food of

convicts and the desire on the part of the colonial gentry—amongst who Meredith numbered herself—and aspirant free settlers "not to resemble convicts" in any way affected their food choices: Eating salted fish "inverted the convict diet".[31] Meredith additionally describes the practice of eating preserved fish as one of 'fashion' and the use of some native foods did go in and out of vogue. Godfrey Mundy attended a dinner at the residence of the Lieutenant General of New South Wales where he found himself" "sipping doubtfully, but soon swallowing with relish" wallaby-tail soup, boiled schnapper, with oyster sauce, kangaroo venison and Wonga-Wonga pigeon with bread sauce.[32] The association of game with the privileges of the English aristocracy rendered colonial game meats such as those served by this high officer of the British crown acceptable.[33] Tasmanians so enthusiastically pursued the gentlemanly sport of hunting an act was passed in the parliament there in 1860 that made it illegal to kill or possess any native game —defined as emu, wild ducks, teal, plover, bittern and bronze-winger pigeon —during their breeding season.[34] One of the parliamentarians involved in debating and passing this bill was Edward Abbott, the author of Australia's first cookery book. What was considered most 'Australian' about Abbott's book was its section on cooking native game and recipes for various kangaroo preparations. From its 1869 edition the nineteenth century publishing blockbuster *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* included a section on Australian cookery supposedly representative of what was eaten in the colonies that included recipes for kangaroo tail soup, roast wallaby, parrot pie and curried kangaroo tails.[35] While larger macropods, ducks and other birds were given a place on the dining tables of the colonial elite indigenous plant foods were rarely seen. Eating wild vegetables and fruits retained the stigma of primitive food, to be eaten only in desperate circumstances; anyone who ate these was either savage or lower class. At the urban dining tables of socially aspirant and anxious colonial Australia nobody wanted to be seen eating foods that might suggest they were wild.[36]

There were other factors that inhibited consumption of indigenous foods. More and more land was cleared to allow the growth of the township of Sydney and the cultivation of introduced crops and pasturing of animals. This pushed the habitat of native animals and plants further away and made much less accessible. People in the colony had largely stopped raiding crops and gardens but kangaroos developed a keen interest in eating from fields of growing grain and they came to be seen as pests. This tarnished their appeal as game and people lost interest in eating them.[37] The fields of grain the kangaroos were

happily feasting on were producing good yields; the growing pastoral industry meant that meat was cheap and easily available; and the port was increasingly busy with ships bringing regular supplies of imported foodstuffs.[38] The colonists in Sydney had no need to resort to hunting and gathering to furnish their meals.

The way the food system developed in New South Wales was replicated in the other Australian colonies. In 1804 a penal settlement was established at Hobart in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and the founding population struggled to feed themselves adequately. They lived on rations and foraged wild food while they cleared land and planted vegetable gardens and grain crops —they also filched food from each other —on Christmas day of this first year 100 swans were caught and cooked for the convicts dinner.[39] The climate here was more like Britain than semi-tropical Sydney and Vandemonians found that this, and the fertile soil, easily supported the growth of European crops and dairy cattle allowing them to quickly replicate British foodways: "Every grain, every vegetable known to Europe grows bountifully in Van Diemen's Land".[40]

The colony of Victoria was illegally founded in 1835; there were no government-supplied provisions to support its development. Grain, butter, fresh fruit and vegetables—and booze—from Van Diemen's Land, supplemented by hunted game and fish, fed the settlement in its nascent stages. The colonists were becoming dab hands at cultivating the land and market gardens and grain crops were quickly established to produce food for the Victorian settlers: no one went hungry there.[41] The colony of South Australia was founded the year after Victoria, the population was made up entirely of free settlers who embraced indigenous foods and were particularly enthusiastic about eating native birds. Parrot was "capital eating" and stewed cockatoo, parrot-pudding and emu steak were dishes that would be relished "even in London"; kangaroo was "best meat I have ever tasted" and the "superior flavour" of local fish put it "amongst the finest in the world". [42] However the vegetables they preferred were the imported English varieties that flourished in the local soil.[43] Before he left Britain J.B. Hack had been led to expect "terrible conditions" in the antipodean colonies but on discovering South Australia to be otherwise he proclaimed the "real hardship" would be to return to England.[44] All the Australian colonies grew out from a central settlement that became a town then a bustling capital city. As in Sydney the spread of urban development and the accompanying clearance of land to grow introduced crops and animals to feed the population and provide

commodities for trade pushed the native flora and fauna further away: out of sight and out of use in urban kitchens.

By the mid-nineteenth century the Australian continent was divided into six self-governing colonies each with its own administration and parliament.[45] The climate and geography was different in each and patriotic colonists crowed about the unique attributes of their home territory. Each shared the common feature of a capital city centered on a sheltered port that faced toward the sea. Ships were the lifeblood of communication, connection and the capitalism the colonists embraced, and a place to receive and embark ocean-going vessels was essential. Most of the Australian population was huddled in her coastal cities and towns but there was a vast interior still to be fully discovered. Early explorers and men looking to run pastoral ventures had pushed open a lot of the land in from the coast. After the gold rushes of the 1850s men rode further out onto the frontier to prospect potential mines. Like Burke and Wills they supplemented the basic provisions they carried with what they could shoot and forage. As they pushed out across the continent they often took their lead on what was edible from observing what Aboriginal people ate. Sometimes the local tucker was too confronting to their sensibilities: on many occasions it saved their lives.

Adventurer Arthur Bicknell observed Aborigines on Cape York eating snake, insect larva, lizards and beetles wrapped in the leaves of the ginger plant and cooked over hot stones observing that they relished every bit of the snake, especially the "great delicacy" of its fat, but to his palate the flesh was '"dry and almost tasteless".[46] Bicknell was handy with a gun and often shot something local for dinner. He made cockatoo into a fricassee, spatchcocked an opossum, and copied the native method of cooking a bush turkey in a pit filled with hot stones. His opinion of kangaroo was unflattering. He claimed nobody ate it unless they were desperate, with the exception of the tail, which made good soup.[47] His opinion could be indicative of the changed attitude towards kangaroo as a pest, or it might be that the species he found unpleasant was different to those others found so toothsome. Bicknell was careening around North Queensland in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The vast tracts of verdant land and mineral wealth here had already drawn a population. Bicknell was never far from a town or settlement where he could get more familiar supplies and would not have experienced the hunger that drove other explorers to be more adventurous in trying native plant foods.

Earlier Australian explorers set out with transportable rations almost identical to those that sustained the first settlers: flour, rice, salt meat, butter, tea and sugar. The lack of fresh food meant scurvy was an occupational hazard. On his various expeditions into the interior of New South Wales explorer and botanist Allan Cunningham made his party eat wild plants to stave off this potentially lethal malady.[48] The eminent explorer Charles Sturt nearly died from scurvy on an expedition to discover if there was an inland sea in the centre of Australia. He recovered by eating native food plants. An exploration party in Tasmania survived entirely on the 'native bread', a truffle like fungus, they learnt to find by observing local Aboriginals.[49] When the party led by George Grey in Western Australia discovered a "native provision store" he was reluctant to 'rob' it despite the fact that he and his men were desperately in need of food. After consulting his Aboriginal guide he decided to take only enough of the stored cycad nuts to relieve their immediate hunger.[50] Grey wrote at length about Aboriginal food gathering, hunting and preparation in his expedition journal. His explorations taught him that the food eaten by Aborigines "varies from latitude to latitude, so that the vegetable productions used…are totally different" across the country.[51] Here is Grey's summation of the different foods eaten by Aboriginals in Western Australia:

> *Six sorts of kangaroo. Twenty-nine sorts of fish. One kind of whale. Two species of seal. Wild dogs. Three kinds of turtle. Emus, wild turkeys, and birds of every kind. Two species of opossum. Eleven kinds of frogs. Four kinds of freshwater shellfish. All saltwater shellfish, except oysters. Four kinds of grubs. Eggs of every species of bird or lizard. Five animals, something smaller in size than rabbits. Eight sorts of snakes. Seven sorts of iguana. Nine species of mice and small rats. Twenty-nine sorts of roots. Seven kinds of fungus. Four sorts of gum. Two sorts of manna. Two species of by-yu, or the nut of the Zamia palm. Two species of mesembryanthemum [pigface]. Two kinds of nut. Four sorts of fruit. The flower of several species of Banksia. One kind of earth, which they pound and mix with the root of the mene. The seeds of several species of leguminous plants.*[52]

Whether or not European explorers ate indigenous foods on their travels they often recorded what they saw Aboriginal people eating and as they pushed into more of the country the lists of native foods grew. This observation and listings of indigenous plant and animal foods fitted into the period's over-arching focus on categorisation and

systematising human knowledge —exemplified by the popularisation of the encyclopaedia in this era. What they could not so obviously see was how Aboriginal people managed their land. The idea that they did nothing more than hunt and gather whatever came in their way and starved otherwise, fitted with the 'uncivilised savage' category they had been slotted into. The techniques Aborigines used to cultivate food were so different to the practices the settlers understood that these were invisible to them at first, and remained largely incomprehensible at best.

Aborigines purposefully used fire to farm their country. They adeptly controlled it to burn selected patches and encourage the growth of grass there. The edges of the 'pasture' this process created were left to shrub and trees that animals could hide in and thereby feel safe enough to venture out to feed on the open sward; this corralled them making them easier to catch. Different animals were attracted to different types of sheltering foliage and grass. Aboriginals understood these preferences and shaped edges and meadow to attract varied animals and create diverse food opportunities for themselves. They also shaped vegetation along the edges of water holes, springs and billabongs to draw animals to these, or to keep them away if they did not want a particular water source to become muddied or overdrawn.[53]

When the settlers first arrived in New South Wales they surmised that lightning strikes must have been the cause of the numerous burnt trees they saw.[54] Even when they understood that the burning was deliberately carried out by Aboriginals —Phillip was reluctant to put pigs into the woods to breed for fear the animals would be barbequed due to the frequency of the fires —they remained ignorant of its purpose. After surveying much of north-west Tasmania in the early nineteenth century Henry Hellyer concluded that the only accountable reason for the burning was for indigenous people to "keep the kangaroo more concentrated for their use".[55] There were European farmers who came to appreciate the purpose of the burning, and its potential usefulness in managing large tracts of land with minimal labour. Some of them attempted to copy 'firestick farming' but they did not understand how to control it and ran the risk of igniting buildings, haystacks and far more land than they intended causing dangerous bushfires.[56]

The colonists might not have been able to perceive indigenous methods of cultivation —or accept these as legitimate if they did—but they knew a good piece of farmland when they saw it. The grassy open ground that kangaroos like to feed on with good soil, water, spaced trees and little undergrowth was "very fit for cultivation".[57] Discovering such

cleared land was a boon as it could be easily converted to animal production by erecting fencing around it.[58] In 1821 David McConnel appropriated 12,000 acres of land outside of Brisbane to run dairy and beef cattle on. He believed he had a moral obligation to "extirpate savages from their native soil in order that it might be peopled with more intelligent and civilised" human beings, who would, to his way of thinking, rightfully progress the land towards more productive commercial output.[59]

Arthur Phillips's vision of New South Wales as an agrarian society of small-scale farmers went with him as he sailed out of Port Jackson in 1792. His immediate successors Francis Grose, and then William Paterson, made generous land grants to the officers of the New South Wales Corp that Phillip had denied them. The officers had grander visions for progressing the colony—and their personal wealth —beyond the agricultural stage to commercialism through large scale farming of high value exportable commodities such as wool.[60] Corps officer John Macarthur exemplifies this progress. Within twelve months of Phillip's departure he had obtained 200 acres of land at Parramatta where he began to experiment with crossbreeding sheep. He then persuaded the authorities in London to grant him 5,000 acres more on which to grow the breeds he had improved to thrive in Australian conditions. Land obtained by the Reverend Samuel Marsden nearby to Macarthur was also successfully turned to raising sheep and these two men, paid as spiritual and military representatives of the British crown respectively, significantly enriched themselves pioneering the Australian wool industry.[61] The example of Marsden and Macarthur proved an instructive and inspirational one. As more land was opened up, first into New South Wales and then the other colonies, it was rapidly populated with sheep. News of the wealth that could be made by growing sheep and cattle on virtually free land began to draw more free immigrants to the colonies.

While they were establishing their pastoral enterprise the Macarthur family did not taste the flesh of their growing flock. Instead they employed a gamekeeper —imitating the practice of the landed gentry in England—to supply their dining table with meat from duck and kangaroo. Colonial sheep were raised for their fleece but as the flocks multiplied an offshoot of this was a ready supply of their meat, called as mutton. Growing wool grew colonial fortunes; wealth bought political and social influence and the ability to create a lifestyle that was a visible representation of this status: the model they aspired to emulate was that of the British upper classes. This led to a demand for fresh beef, the most valued meat of an Englishman. In England it was only the wealthy classes who

could afford to put roast beef on the table regularly. A working man might eat it on Christmas or other holyday feast if his local lord stumped up an ox for a community roast: the middling classes might enjoy it once a week depending how upward they were from the middle.[62] The demand for beef in the colonies was strong enough to inspire the development of a major beef industry. Men rode out across the continent, staked a claim to a sizeable tract of land and stocked it with cattle. If these 'squatters' had appropriated decent land, and were tough enough to endure the initial conditions, they could do very well indeed. Large stock stations, farming both sheep and beef, rapidly grew up across Australia. The stock could easily double in two years and at least again in four.

Cattle were walked from rural stations into towns where they were penned and fattened up before being butchered and sold to a generally prosperous urban population. As stations opened up further and further into the interior the distance over which the animals were travelled increased. Until a rail network capable of transporting sheep and large bovines was built in Australia in the middle of the nineteenth century meat got onto people's plates on hoof. It was common for beef cattle to be walked from stations in eastern Queensland to markets in Victoria, a distance of some 2,000 kilometres; a journey that could take anything from six months to a year with a small team of men called 'overlanders' driving the stock. All in all there was plenty of meat in the market, and it was cheap. The illustrious English novelist Anthony Trollope, out in the colonies to visit his son in 1871, reported that meat in Australia cost from two to four pence a pound compared to England where it sold for four to five times that; at this price even a 'labouring man" in the colonies could afford to eat meat three times a day, whereas his counterpart in Britain would go "without it altogether".[63]

Land was the source of wealth in Britain but there was only 80,000 square miles of it and most of that was tightly held by the upper classes. Even with the opportunities unleashed by the industrial revolution the wealthiest people in England remained its landowners. If you were not in line to inherit an estate or a farm then your chances of progressing your social position by becoming 'landed' were limited. The nearly three million square miles of the Australian colonies on the other hand offered the opportunity to relatively easily acquire vast acreage because of it purportedly being '*terra nullis*' and there for the taking to be advanced by turning it over to profitable agricultural production. It was adventurous men with a little capital, typically the well-educated portionless sons of the British aristocracy, or its ambitious middle class, who emigrated to Australia and

built the country's pastoral industry—Trollope's son Frederick and Edward Dickens, son of the famous Charles, being notable offspring of the type.

Stock happily multiplied in the antipodean conditions but there was a shortage of labour to do manual farm work. In the coastal areas of Western Australia men from American whaling ships who had come ashore to barter with settlers for fresh meat and vegetables reportedly abandoned their maritime engagement to work on stations as the rewards were more lucrative, and the work far less dangerous than harpooning enormous marine mammals.[64] The labour shortage in Australia was not going to be fixed by men skiving off from their ships and emigration to the colonies was actively encouraged in England. In support of this, and probably because they sensed a market, a number of writers penned 'emigrant manuals' that advised on the processes of migrating to the colonies and detailed the benefits—and potential pitfalls depending on the inclination of the author—of doing so.[65] The principal attractor was the possibility for emigrants of any class to improve their pecuniary position. Amongst these works were the *Emigrant manual no.1: the British colonies described, with advice to those who cannot obtain employment at home* and *The Gentleman Emigrant*. The audience for these particular works were aimed at the workingman and the educated sons of the gentry and middle-classes respectively, however there was the possibility of a workingman achieving the lifestyle of a gentleman in Australia, if not his status, and foremost amongst the pleasures of this was a bountiful table. In Australia it was possible for anybody who worked to afford to eat the food of England, but "better than at home and more of it".[66] Emigrant manuals particularly highlighted the cheapness and availability of meat in this abundance.

MEAT THREE TIMES A DAY

The book Trollope published about his colonial explorations was not an emigrant handbook as such, however he keenly promoted Australia as a place of opportunity and understood food as an inducement to emigration. He liberally peppers his work with comments about how labouring men could easily afford the best cuts of meat and to eat it at each meal of the day.[67] Over and over again in the records of colonial Australia people commented on the appearance of meat at every meal and it is inarguable that animal flesh was an integral part of the colonial diet. Yet the average consumption of meat in the 1880s in Australia was a "third of a kilo a day". [68] Across three meals a day that's about 4oz./110gms a time: two slices of bacon at breakfast, a couple of slices of meat at lunch

and a couple of chops for dinner. It's not that much when you look at it laid out, however the fact that people in the colonies could eat this much meat was repeatedly remarked upon because it was unusual for the time and more than that enjoyed in any other European country of the period. Reporting it as "more than twice the average consumption of England" is technically correct, however it is not necessarily as much as this might sound because the average consumption in the mother country was less than 4 ounces (100gm) per day.[69] What has been perpetrated alongside this is an image that said meat was eaten in excessive quantities and that this consumption was undesirable: "high and low, rich and poor, all eat meat to an incredible extent …not in mere slices, but in good substantial hunks".[70] Meat eating was also purported to be deadly in the colonies.

In 1863 a Melbourne physician claimed that children in that city were dying from dysentery or gastric fever (typhoid) that originated in "overstuffing with animal food" .[71] Both these diseases are bacterial and can be transmitted on food although the cause of infection is more often contaminated water. Melbourne was a booming city in 1863, its population had grown ten-fold over the preceding decade but it did not have a sewage system and domestic and industrial effluent ran down the open gutters along the streets. By all accounts the place stunk and infant and child mortality was high. Contaminated meat may have been the source of infection in some cases, however quantity had nothing to do with it. The story fits nicely though into the prevailing narrative of unappealing excessive meat eating in the colonial era. It is more likely that the majority of colonial Australians relished being able to eat as much meat as they did. Over the course of the nineteenth century as incomes increased in England people there spent more of their wages on meat. Meat has always been the most prestigious element of the diet across almost all societies.[72] It is arguable then that given the chance to eat it 'thrice daily' even French colonisers would have done that. Perhaps what was more at issue was the prestigious status of meat and the fact it could be enjoyed as a staple food across all classes in Australia.

THE TASTE OF CLASS

The dominant cultural norms of the colonies faithfully replicated, as exactly as possible, those of England including its class system.[73] In Britain a hereditary aristocracy occupied the pinnacle of this social hierarchy but its premier members rarely migrated—anywhere— and a self-appointed 'colonial gentry' took their place in Australia. In the

earlier years of settlement officers of the government, clergy and military and free emigrants who had 'squatted' on land and built their wealth from it formed this 'upper' class. The *acien regime* back in England would not have considered this collective a comparable set. The British upper classes were wealthy but it was 'breeding' that conferred rank: entrée into the upper ranks could not be bought.[74] In Australia the absence of a genetically legitimatised elite to maintain barriers into high society meant that wealth could be employed to facilitate upward class movement.[75] The buoyant economic conditions that largely prevailed in Australia from the early decades of the nineteenth century provided opportunities for a person of any class to make money and to use wealth to progress up the social hierarchy.[76] There is a detailed story about class in colonial Australia in chapter five, suffice to say here that because the social and economic conditions were fluid and flexible this resulted in a complex and competitive social environment in which people jostled to gain position and were anxious to be seen to be respectable and genteel. The irony of this was that as people advanced their own social position and power through wealth they were rigid in keeping other aspirants out. Those who had ascended to higher rank kept others under surveillance and were alert for any faux-pas or slip-up of behaviour, dress or language which they were quick to note with responses intended to shame the interlopers, yet they often condemned them for things they did themselves.[77]

One of the ways the ostensible colonial gentry sought to ward of the perceived threat to their social leadership from other such self-made persons was by asserting themselves as the rightful arbiters of good taste. They defined the genteel behaviours and manners — copying English modes— that demonstrated one knew how to do things in the best taste and was therefore of established background. The easy access to meat available to all classes of colonial Australians denied the colonial gentry the use of what was an important status symbol in British culture—the regular consumption of meat —with which to distinguish themselves from the rest of society.[78] When a social group—in this case the colonial upper class —experiences an exclusive symbol as losing power because it has been taken up by an outsider group—aspirant middle and working class people — seeking to emulate them, one of the ways of defending against this incursion is to assert the use of it negatively.[79] Given their relatively recent rise in social status, and their determination to replicate English class distinctions, the colonial elite would have wanted to maintain meat as a unique class privilege. Their "ideology of defence" in this was to

condemn the meat eating of the lower classes by drawing attention to it through caricatures that showed it as bad taste.[80] This served to punish social aspirants for transgressing class boundaries by making meat eating seem undesirable thus preventing them from acquiring any of the qualities of gentility or status that regular consumption might have conferred.

Creating unappetizing descriptions of the eating habits of the lower ranks may have also been an attempt by the colonial gentry to demonstrate to those in Britain that they understood the ways of upper society where a "slice of mutton" was what someone of breeding took at a meal, not the great lumps of meat purportedly eaten by Australians of inferior background.[81] Disparaging the quality of local meat, as well as the way it was eaten, was another way for the colonial gentry to demonstrate that they had superior taste, for anything of colonial origin was considered to be of inferior quality to that found in Britain. It was important for them to demonstrate to their brethren in England that they understood and enacted the British mode of life as they expected to return there with their Australian made fortunes and did not want the taint of colonialism to mar what they anticipated would be a triumphant return.[82] Journalist Richard Twopeny exemplifies the type of person of higher social rank who wrote disparaging comments about the food and eating habits of the greater body of colonial Australians. He emigrated from England at the age of nineteen and made his adult career in the colonies but he referred to England as 'home'. [83] He claimed the meat available in Australia was inferior to that of Britain and famously wrote that colonial Australians coarsely 'grubbed' their food rather than dining on it as people of refinement and taste, such as the French, would have. After a stint working in Australia British writer Nat Gould blamed equitable access to meat for the 'larrikin' —mischievous and uncouth—behaviour of young colonials:

> *The larrikins gorge themselves with meat in an almost raw state. Their orgies are disgusting and no respectable wild beast in the Zoo would behave with half their beastliness over a meal.*[84]

Writer and journalist James Ewing Ritchie, out in the colonies on a visit from London, likewise blamed larrikinism on the consumption of too much fresh meat and suggested that the larrikin might be better suited to a vegetarian diet.[85] The similarity of these comments also suggests that in penning their various works on the colonies that some of these writers may have copied each other, a common practice in travel literature of the

period, thus perpetrating the same images over and over.[86] Twopeny, Gould, Ewing and other writers like them not only had the privilege of literacy but the social status that enabled them to have their opinions published: they used their pens to shape understanding of what and how colonial Australians ate and they did so with their class prejudices firmly in place.[87] What Twopeny, Gould and their ilk neglected to do was to ask, or at least report, how the common man liked the food he 'grubbed' down. Perhaps if they had he may have heard something like this conversation between Richard Mahoney, a successful doctor, and a working class man on a boat returning to England from Australia circa late1850s:

> *l left England, sir, six years since, because a man is a sprite to live on air alone. My father went half-starved all his days—he was a farmhand, and reared a family o' nine on eleven* b*ob a week. He didn't taste meat from one year's end to another. Out yon [Australia] … I've ate meat three times a day… I've come home to fetch out me old mother and the young fry. They shall know what it is to eat their fill every day of the seven.*[88]

This scene takes place in the novel *The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney* and is a fictional exchange, however it suggests that colonial Australians outside of the upper ranks may have experienced the meat they ate as other than abominable. Perhaps the taste of it in the physical sense may have been of small matter. Food was fuel for the working classes and simply having access to ample and regular supply may have imbued it with satisfactory flavour. The fact that eating meat so freely would be denied them back in Britain might have added additional savour. Conversely the aspiration to demonstrate cultural taste in contrast to the lack of it in others may have influenced the negative portrayals commentators made of the eating habits of rank outsiders.[89] What people actually ate and the way food might be used symbolically are not necessarily related: Trollope fell out of favour with Australians when he publically complained about their constant boasting of the superiority of colonial meat, wine and flour.[90]

NOT BY MEAT ALONE

The prodigious output of wool from Australia led to a collapse in global wool prices in 1842 and economic disaster threatened the colonies. To offset financial losses the now steeply devalued sheep were disposed of by boiling their carcasses in huge iron vats to

extract their fat, or tallow, an exportable product that was used to make candles for lighting. The 'melting down works' where the sheep were processed emitted a lingering putrid odour that was a "serous nuisance" but the tallow industry had saved many a grazier from ruin and people put up with the consequences.[91] Even when the wool price recovered some pastoralists continued to send their sheep to be processed for tallow as the returns were good. This led to concern that meat supplies might be reduced, however the outcome was actually advantageous for meat consumers. The leg of sheep was the most valued part of the animal for eating but there was little fat in them and they were not consigned to the boiling pots instead they were sold cheaply for cookery; some processors created a 'value-added' product by turning the excess legs into mutton hams. [92] Wool prices went up and down on other occasions over the following decades and tallow production ramped up whenever there was a low point in this cycle.[93]

Improvement in canning technology in the mid-nineteenth century allowed Australian farmers to begin to export excess meat, in addition to wool, into the larger British marketplace and meat-preserving companies began to replace boiling-down works. Canned Australian meat "poured into the home market" but it was not well received.[94] The early canning process left the meat with an insipid flavour and flaccid texture. The prejudice against anything colonial in England led to the understanding of Australian meat as inferior. The fact that the canned product was cheap only fuelled the belief that it was substandard. When the lower classes in England were encouraged by upper class social commentators to eat the canned colonial meat as an inexpensive food source they adamantly rejected the proposal: "if we can't have English meat we would rather not have it at all".[95] When canned colonial meat was served to prisoners in English jails they refused to eat it. The National School for Cookery in London trained teachers to help reform the cookery of the lower classes and it championed the use of affordable Australian tinned meat. The school's recipe manual included instruction on how to turn this product into mulligatawny soup, sausage rolls, meat pies, rissoles, savoury hash and mince.[96] As canning processes advanced the product improved, however Australian canned meat retained a tainted image well into the late nineteenth century and was not served in any English household that could afford better.

Despite the popular portrayal of colonial Australian as rapacious carnivores they did not live by meat alone. Their main cereal food was bread. They preferred a loaf made from wheat and, given the choice they preferred it to be made from finely milled refined

flour. White bread was a status symbol. Bread made from rough whole-wheat flour or other grains was associated with poverty.[97] The first wheat crops planted in and around Sydney did not thrive, maize was much more successful, but the settlers were not keen on it, and, perhaps more importantly, it was not a lucrative export commodity. The climate of Van Diemen's Land supported growth of wheat, and other cereals such as barley and oats, and this island colony was able to supply the mainland settlements with cereals early on in the period. As people pushed inland away from the coast the soil and climatic conditions were found to be better suited to growing wheat and understanding of farming in the Australian environment was increasing with experience. The crux of the story is that there was vast acreage of "golden soil" that could be harnessed for large-scale production of cereal crops.[98]

Commercial cattle farming initially focused on beef production. People kept their own dairy cows for milk, even in cities if they could afford to. In Melbourne people paid shepherds to walk their cows out to crown land on the outskirts of the town to graze them during the day, returning them to their urban pens for milking in the evening. The very wealthy lived on urban estates large enough to accommodate on-site pasture for their animals. Over the nineteenth century technological development in milking, transport and refrigeration allowed commercial dairy enterprises to take over supplying the urban population with milk, butter and cheese to have with their bread – or porridge if they added a knob of butter to it in the Scottish way. Farmhouse dairy products continued to be made and eaten on rural properties.

For much of the nineteenth century there was land somewhere in Australia that could be had cheaply, or at no cost from colonial governments eager to attract settlers. In 1861 the New South Wales government brought in a 'free selection' act with allowed people to choose 40-to-320 acre lots of land that had been designated as agricultural land before it was surveyed and purchase this on very agreeable terms. The intention was for this land to be 'improved' by bringing it under cultivation for crops and to break the monopoly of the pastoralists who did little to 'progress' agriculture. Free selectors grew cereals and ran small mixed farms—there were squatters who also produced grain. Clearing the land for crops was arduous manual work and this limited production. As ploughing technologies improved wheat fields proliferated across southern and western Australia and it became the dominant cereal crop. The development of rail networks linking the inland farming regions with major port cities along the coast allowed wheat to be transported more

efficiently and it also became a major export product. Local mills provided flour to small local bakers who baked bread for much of the population.

The temperate dry climate of the southern colonies suited wheat production. The semi-tropical and tropical conditions of the coastal regions of northern New South Wales and Queensland were ideal for growing sugar cane. There was a buoyant market for sugar domestically and as an export commodity.[99] Refined cane sugar had been a luxury item in England well into eighteenth century and it still retained a vestige of its lustre of indulgence and novelty. J.E Ewing wrote that his first sight of a sugar cane plantation in Queensland made him feel as "Alice must have felt in Wonderland". [100] The combination of the decreasing cost of sugar and the growing collective wealth of colonial Australians allowed them to consume much more of it, and it was a raw ingredient that could be 'spun' into products of much higher value.

Australian sugar was grown in the north of the country but was predominantly consumed in the prosperous cities of the south were it was fabricated into a variety of sweet comestibles.[101] Manufacturers of confectionary, cordials, sweet aerated waters, jams and biscuits operated in every capital city and businesses making sugary treats were often at the forefront of industrial innovation. The premier exemplars of colonial confectioners operated their enterprises in Melbourne, the wealthiest metropolis of the colonies in the later half of the nineteenth century. The Swallow & Ariel Company created the meat biscuits Burke and Wills took with them on the expedition that opened this chapter. The fatal ending of that transcontinental adventure probably didn't inspire a huge up-take of that particular product but it was sweet biscuits, cakes and puddings that were the company's very successful stock in trade. The company owned their own sugar plantations in Queensland and refined the raw product at their three-acre premise in Port Melbourne. By the 1890s Swallow & Ariel had become one of the biggest employers in Australia such was the demand for their products. Robertson Macpherson started the famous Macrobertson's confectionary company making simple boiled sugar sweets in the shape of animals in the bathroom of his family's Melbourne home in 1879 at age 20. From this he built a massive industrial 'lolly' making enterprise with a factory that covered an entire city block. The business got its sugar supply largely from its own plantations in Queensland. Macpherson amassed such a fortune making sweets he became Australia's highest tax -payer—a distinction he claimed to be proud of, even as he ardently campaigned for tax reform.[102]

In 1844 a slice of pineapple sold for a penny from fruit stalls in London; in Australia a "cartload" of this same fruit could be had for not much more.[103] Undoubtedly this differential in price was an exaggeration but pineapple had been such an expensive and prestigious food in England into the early decades of the nineteenth century that even the nobility only enjoyed them occasionally. There was much praise for the wonderful luscious fruit grown in Australia and the glorious displays of seasonal produce colonial fruiterers made of it in their shop windows.[104] Grapes, peaches, apricots, bananas, melons, passion-fruit, guavas, Cape gooseberries, mangoes, pears, apples, custard-apples, oranges, tamarinds, figs, strawberries, damsons, plums, lemons, oranges and citrons were grown across the colonies. Fresh fruit was cheap in season and it was widely enjoyed. Even Louisa Meredith, who was decidedly inclined to criticise colonial foodstuffs and eating habits, is complimentary about the fruit. She nominates rose-coloured watermelon as her favourite and gives her "approved" method for eating it: "cut a sufficiently large hole [in the melon] scrape out some pulp, pour in a bottle of madeira or sherry, and mix it with the cold watery pulp".[105] Pineapple and stone fruit were also canned and grapes and apricots dried for export into a British, and international market, eager for these Australian fruit products.

GROWING GREENS

Colonial Australians stand accused of not growing, and therefore not eating, enough vegetables, yet if one reads widely of period writing, and is more open to seeing them, there are certainly vegetables there.[106] We will look at the reasons people might not have included a lot of vegetables in their meals in chapter six but here we will look at how they were produced. Grand visions of pastoral stations that exceeded even the largest English estates in size, endless rolling wheat fields and luxuriant plantations dominated the image of Australian food production because they were both distinctive and essential to the economy. This large-scale farming had made foods that held high cultural status for colonial Australians—meat, wheat flour bread and sugar —easily affordable and therefore a potent influence on their food choice. [107] In contrast to these magnificent agricultural productions vegetables were produced in a more sedate fashion. There was no global export market for vegetables —fresh produce was shipped between colonies —and they were not grown across massive swathes of land on the romanticised frontier.[108] On pastoral stations and farms a kitchen garden supplied fresh vegetables, the harvest varying

with season. In the cities the wealthiest citizens living on palatial acreage there would have employed a gardener, or several, to grow vegetables, and fruit and wine grapes, for their tables. Some urban dwellers may have had their own small garden plots but the majority bought fresh vegetables grown in market gardens established on the edges of towns, usually adjacent to a creek, billabong or river from which they could take the necessary water. The modest size of these agricultural enterprises; that they were hidden on private property, or located on the periphery; and offered no notable contrast to similar gardens in Britain, thereby lacking any novelty value in publications intended for the home market might have contributed to people not 'seeing' the places where vegetables were grown.[109]

Vegetables started to find more mention in colonial tales in the wake of 1850s Australian gold rushes, largely in reference to the people who grew them. The prospect of finding gold, and the ensuing economic buoyancy of the colonies, attracted many thousands of Chinese men and by the 1870s they were the second largest group of people in Australia after those of British background. Anglo- Australians held a voracious prejudice against people of Asian ethnicity and they were routinely discriminated against. The Chinese found work on sugar plantations, on fishing vessels and as hotel cooks but their employment opportunities were limited because of their ethnicity so they set-up their own enterprises including growing and selling vegetables, and by the latter decades of the nineteenth century they dominated market gardening across the colonies. A mention of "Johnny Chinaman" and his miraculous way with growing vegetables became a commonplace in commentary on urban and rural life in Australia. Arthur Bicknell describes the Chinese in outback Queensland:

> *Far away in the interior of the colony, wherever there is a small mining camp, Johnny Chinaman turns up: here he starts a garden, and will make all manner of things grow. I have seen bananas, tomatoes, oranges, lemons and pineapples growing in a Chinaman's garden where all around is a desert of sand and rock. Constant care and attention is bestowed upon the plant. Although they are the only men who make gardening a success in these out-of the way places, they are greatly disliked, and often their gardens are robbed and the Chinaman beaten and abused.*[110]

He goes on to acknowledge their "excellence" as gardeners and he later employs a Chinese man as a cook and gardener but he is at pains to point out that he thinks little of them as men. Nat Gould describes the Chinese in Sydney with similar sentiments:

> *The Chinese are excellent gardeners and many of them good cooks. Many people have a decided objection to eat vegetables grown by Chinamen. Australian cities would, however, be badly off for vegetables if there were no Chinese gardeners…[they] quickly turn a most unpromising plot of ground into a first rate garden. Although not desirable citizens, they are industrious and thrifty.*[111]

J.E.Ewing on the other hand is quite taken aback at the prejudice against the "ever civil and industrious Chinese" who so effectively supplied Australians with cheap vegetables —and fish—grown on land that was often considered useless.[112] It was "painstaking work" to grow vegetables and there was a suspicion that the Chinese were successful in this because they used their own urine and faeces as fertiliser. [113] The Chinese hawked the vegetables they grew walking from door –to – door with their produce kept in baskets balanced from a pole slung across their shoulders. As Australian cities burgeoned they took to using horse drawn carts to travel the greater distances required to provide housewives with their vegetables. Chinese men vending vegetables were a commonplace sight across urban Australia into the early decades of the twentieth century: clearly there were Australians who ate the fresh herbs, salad greens and other vegetables and fruit that they grew and sold.

ABORIGINALS IN 'AUSTRALIA': ABUNDANCE TO SCARCITY

Depictions of the Chinese supplanted that of the 'natives' in providing an exotic human element in writings about metropolitan Australia. Urban growth and agricultural development had pushed many Aboriginals off their land onto small government run settlements where they were issued with rations of flour, sugar, tea and salt-beef as replacement for the hundreds of plant and animal foods they traditionally ate and could no longer hunt and gather. The provisions they were left with were similar to those issued in the early settlement at Sydney where disenfranchisement from their historic food sources had begun. Phillip had enticed Eora into the settlement, after kidnapping Arabanoo, Colbee and Bennelong, by providing them with the same provisions doled out to everyone else. Collins claimed that once introduced to these they came into the camp

eagerly asking for the rations as if they had been "born" to them.[114] It is perfectly reasonable to imagine that the Eora enjoyed the novelty of new flavours and it must have seemed miraculous to them to get food so easily when they were accustomed to spending much of their day physically working for it. Phillip expresses personal doubt in his journal about the impact of colonisation on Aboriginals, however he attempts to reduce the dissonance he seems to be experiencing between those thoughts and the reality of his commission by claiming that introducing them to European ways of food preparation such as boiling would help them enjoy a more "civilised" life.[115]

The niggling of Phillip's conscience about the impact of European settlement on Aboriginals proved to be salient: the process of civilisation destroyed their way of life, and many of them. The settlers bought diseases to which they had no immunity; in 1789 a smallpox outbreak is estimated to have killed the majority of Eora living closest to Sydney Cove.[116] Tuberculosis, influenza, measles, whooping cough and the common cold also proved deadly to Aboriginals across the continent as more of them came into contact with Europeans. The "pale-faced trespasser" felt completely justified in retaliating against any Aboriginals they caught taking sheep for food by shooting them dead. The fact that the colonists rapidly multiplying flocks had driven off the native animals they relied upon for meat was no consideration to them.[117] Settlers deliberately removed Aboriginals from their lands by murdering them in unprovoked massacre or giving them poisoned flour or bread. The change in their diet from eating hundreds of different fresh plant and animal foods across the year to constant repetition of the same four of five processed items seriously undermined their health. The further away from the coastal cities, regional towns, fertile pastoral and farming land and mining areas Aboriginal people lived the slower the eventual impact of European civilising processes on them.

In 1880 Mina Rawson found herself living with her husband in an isolated area of Queensland surrounded by mangrove swamps; the only way for supplies and people to get in or out was on a very slow boat.[118] She found herself "beholden to the blacks for [the] knowledge" they shared with her about local native foods that she could use.[119] Rawson was a hardy practical woman willing to try anything that the Aboriginals ate to learn what she could take into her kitchen to create "sumptuous" meals.[120] When the family financial situation became precarious she took to writing cookery and household management manuals aimed at pioneer housewives like her. She positively encouraged people to use indigenous foods and gave instruction and recipes for preparing goanna

curry, roasted and boiled bandicoot, roasted carpet snake, salad of native thistle or the young shoots of rough leaf fig, nettle beer, lilly-pilly and native currant jams, bush yams, native spinach, baked pigweed, cobbera worms, large grasshoppers, wombat, wild mushrooms and flying fox baked inside a pumpkin.[121] Rawson's books sold well and she was well regarded for her no nonsense domestic advice. Her willingness to adapt her eating habits to the local environment was unusual though.[122] She may have inspired others in similar circumstances to experiment with the native food of their particular part of Australia; for readers living in the city her suggestions would have been of small use, there were few Aboriginals left there to share their knowledge, nor native foods growing close to their kitchens. There were men who foraged native cresses along waterways, trapped birds in bushland and collected whelks and cockles on beaches nearby to urban areas and hawked these around to housewives and restaurants allowing a little bit of the wild to slip into their cookery.

[1] The Age*, August 21, 1860, 5.*

[2] The Age*, August 21, 1860, 5; Tim Flannery,*The Birth of Melbourne *(Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2010), 249.*

[3] *This is what I was taught at high school in the 1970s.*

[4] *"Departure of the Exploring Expedition",* The Argus*, June 21, 1860, 5.*

[5] *"King's Narrative",* The Star*, November 5, 1861, 2; "Did Burke and Wills die because they ate nardoo?", State Library of Victoria, accessed June 30, 2015, http://burkeandwills.slv.vic.gov.au/ask-an-expert/did-burke-and-wills-die-because-they-ate-nardoo*

[6] Oh, for a French Wife *was a popular cookbook published in 1953 in which its authors, Ted Moloney and Deke Coleman, assured readers that they were the first generation of coffee drinkers in Australia: This was not true. Colonial Australians commonly enjoyed coffee prepared from freshly roasted and ground beans they bought from their local grocer.*

[7] *Quoted in, Charlotte Craw, "Gustatory Redemption? Colonial Appetites, Historical Tales and the Contemporary Consumption of Australian Native Foods",* International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies *5 (2012): 13- 24.*

[8] *Craw, "Gustatory Redemption" 13-14; Richard Beckett,* Convicted Tastes *(Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 8; Jacqui Newling, "Dining with Strangeness: European Foodways on the Eora Frontier",* Journal of Australian Colonial History *3 (2011): 27; Barbara Santich, "Nineteenth-Century Experimentation and the Role of Indigenous Foods in Australian Food Culture",* Australian Humanities Review*, 51 (2011): 65; Blake Singley, "Hardly anything fit for Man to eat: Food and colonialism in Australia",* History Australia*, 9 (2012): 27.*

[9] *David Collins, An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales Volume 1 With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To Which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand: Complied by Permission, From the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 43. http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/colacc1*

[10] *David Burton,* French Colonial Cookery: A Cook's Tour of the French-speaking world *(London: Faber and Faber, 2000), intro. Arthur Phillip had expressly forbidden his men to shoot at Aboriginals.*

[11] *John White, Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales with sixty-five plates of non descript animals, birds, lizards, serpents, curious cones of trees and other natural productions (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2001).* http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit; *Newton Fowell, "Letter 10. Sydney Cove in Port Jackson July 12, 1788"; Collins, Account Vol.I, 131.* http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/fowjour.xml;chunk.id=d1042e107;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d1042e107;database=ozfleet;collection=settlement;brand=ozfleet

[12] *Watkin Tench, A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson Including An Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and Of Its Natural Productions. (University of Sydney Library, 1998), 131.*http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit.

[13] *Holly Chase, "Suspect Salep", in Look & Feel; Studies In Texture, Appearance And Incidental Characteristics of Food. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, ed Harlan Walker (Totnes, England: Prospect Books, 1993), 45-46; Hannah Glasse, The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy (London: W. Strahan, J. and F, Rivington, 1774), 237. By the early nineteenth century salep stalls had become common on London streets allowing workers to enjoy what had been an elite drink. Salep was alternatively flavoured with rose or orange water.*

[14] *John Hunter, An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island With the Discoveries which have been made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean, since the publication of Phillip's Voyage, compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governor Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; and the Voyages of the first Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's Company to England in 1792 (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 62.* http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/huntran; *William Bradley, A voyage to New South Wales, December 1786 – May 1792 (Sydney; University of Sydney Library, 2002-15) http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/brajour.xml;chunk.id=d793e103;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d793e103;database=ozfleet;collection=settlement;brand=ozfleet.*

[15] *Jacqui Newling, "Dining with Strangeness: European Foodways on the Eora Frontier",* Journal of Australian Colonial History *3, 2011: 47.*

[16] *Claude Fischler, "Food habits, social change and the nature/culture dilemma",* Social Science Information*, 19 (1980): 938-942 Faced with a meal of dog, rice paddy snails and silkworm that was prepared for me in Nagaland I was reticent in trying it, and I am a seasoned culinary adventurer.*

[17] *Hunter,* Journal*, 129; Bradley,* Voyage*, October 1788.*

[18] *Jacqui Newling, "Foodways Unfettered" (Masters Dissertation, University of Adelaide, 2007), 31.*

[19] *Collins,* Journal Vol. 1*, 354*

[20] *Singley, "Hardly Anything Fit", 46.*

[21] *Julie McIntyre, "Not Rich and Not British: Phillip Schaeffer, 'Failed' Colonial Farmer,* Journal of Australian Colonial History *11 (2009): 5; Matthew Arbo, "On The Idea of Commerce As a Natural Means of Human Improvement: Adam Smith's Theory of Progress", in* Theology and Economics: *A Christian Vision of the Common Good ed. Jeremy Kidwell and Sean Doherty (US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 93-95.*

Elements of each these proposed stages can exist at the same time, for example small commercial exchange will take place at the earlier stages.

[22] *McIntyre,* Not Rich*, 5; Takats, Sean,* The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France *(The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2011); John Gascoigne,* The Enlightenment and the origins of European Australia *(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 9.*

[23] *Arbo, "On The Idea of Commerce", 95-96.*

[24] *Collins, Journal Vol.1, 89; Arthur Phillip, The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay With an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, compiled from Authentic Papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments to which are added the Journals of Lieuts. Shortland, Watts, Ball and Capt. Marshall with an Account of their New Discoveries (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 75.* http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/phivoya.

[25] *Colin Bannerman, "Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c.1850 to c.1920"(PhD thesis., University of Canberra, 2001), 20.*

[26] *George Worgon,* Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 43,* http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/worjour*; Joseph Banks, "Some Account of That Part of New Holland Now Called New South Wales" in* The Endeavour journal of Joseph Banks, August 1768 - July 1771 *(Sydney: State Library of New South Wales),* http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series*; Ralph Clark,* The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792*m (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003),* http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/clajour*; Singley, "Hardly Anything Fit", 30; Santich, "Nineteenth-Century Experimentation", 73; Zilika Janer, "(in) Edible Nature: New World Food and Coloniality",* Cultural Studies *21 (2007): 391.*

[27] *Penny Russell, "Unsettling settler society", in* Australia's History: Themes and Debates, *ed. Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2005), 32.*

[28] *Newling, "Dining with Strangeness", 46.*

[29] *Godfrey Mundy, Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies: With a Glimpse of the Gold fields (London: Richard Bentley, 1885), 340.*

[30] *Louisa Meredith, Notes and Sketches of New South Wales During A Residence In That Colony from 1839 To 1844. Mrs Charles Meredith (London: John Murray, 1844), 44.*

[31] *Robert Hughes, The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787 -1868 (Australia: Random House, 2003), 343.*

[32] *Mundy,* Our Antipodes*, 24.*

[33] *Singley, "Hardly Anything Fit", 25; Newling, "Dining with Strangeness", 46.*

[34] *"An Act To Provide For The Protection Of Native Game During Breeding Season (24 Vic, No 19)", Tasmanian Numbered Acts, accessed July 20, 2015, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/tas/num_act/aatpftpongdtbs24vn19724/*

[35] *Isabella, Beeton,* Beeton's Book of Household Management *(London: Ward, Lock, Bowden, 1892), 308, 394-39, 550, 81-83. Isabella Beeton had been dead for four years by this time. Her husband Sam continued to update the book after her death.*

[36] *Newling ,"Dining with Strangeness", 46.*

[37] *Singley, "Hardly Anything Fit", 41.*

[38] *Newling,* Foodways Unfettered*, 93; Singley, "Hardly Anything Fit", 41*

[39] *Lucy Frost, "Eating Van Diemen's Land",* Island *(1994): 31.*

[40] *Frost, "Eating Van Diemen's Land", 32.*

[41] *Charmaine O'Brien,* Flavours of Melbourne: A Culinary Biography *(Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2008), 32-55.*

[42] *John Stephens, The land of promise: being an authentic and impartial history of the rise and progress of the new British province of South Australia (Australia: Smith Elder, 1836), 60.*

[43] *Stephens, The Land of Promise, 60; Henry Watson, A Lecture on South Australia: Including Letters from J.B. Hack, Esq and Other Emigrants. Delivered before the Members of the Chichester Mechanics Institution, Nov. 27 (South Australia: J. Giddon, 1837), 15-16.*

[44] *Watson,* A Lecture*, 16. This species of fungi is* Laccocephalum mylittae*.*

[45] *New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, Queensland, Western Australia. These remained independent territories until Federation in 1901.*

[46] *Arthur Bicknell,* Travel and Adventure in Northern Queensland *(London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1895), 100.*

[47] *Bicknell, Travel and Adventure, 189.*

[48] *Dane Kennedy.* The Last Blank Spaces *(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 139-40.*

[49] Hobart Town Courier*, February 7, 1829, 2.*

[50] *George Grey,* Journals of Two Expeditions Of Discovery In North-West And Western Australia During The Years 1837, 1838, and 1839 *(London: T.W Boone, 1841), chp.4, accessed March-April, 2015, http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00055.html. Grey did not want to "mark the first approach of civilised man to this country of a savage race by an unprovoked act of pillage".*

[51] *As did their language, social identity and cultural practices.*

[52] *Grey, Journals of Two Expeditions, chap.4.*

[53] *Bill Gammage,* The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*. (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2012). If you are interested in pre-European land management practices of Aboriginal Australians I highly recommend Gammage's comprehensive and erudite book on this subject.*

[54] *Clark, Journal and Letters, 350.*

[55] *Gammage,* Biggest Estate*, 192.*

[56] *Gammage,* Biggest Estate*, 314.*

[57] *Gammage,* Biggest Estate*, 245.*

[58] *Gammage, Biggest Estate, 282*

[59] *Robert Hogg, "The Most Manly Class that Exists: British Gentleman on the Queensland Frontier",* Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 13 (2011): 69.*

[60] *McIntyre, "*Not Rich*", 1; Lauren Rickards,"Educating the 'natives': parallels in cultivation and civilization, in Victorian and English agricultural education", in* Exploring the British World *ed. Kate Darien-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, Kiera Lindsey, Stuart McIntyre (Victoria: RMIT Publishing, 200), 327.*

[61] *F.W Clement and J.F Rogers, "Early Settlers in the Colony in the Nineteenth Century", in* Tucker in Australia*, ed Beverley Wood (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1972), 47.*

[62] *Day, Ivan. "Ox Roasts—From Frost Fairs to Mops." In* Over a Red-Hot Stove: Essays in Early Cooking Technology*, edited by Ivan Day, 55–82. Totnes, England: Prospect Books, 2009.*

[63] *Anthony Trollope,* Australia and New Zealand Vol.1 *(London, Chapman and Hall, 1876), 75, http://www.archive.org/stream/australiaandnew03trolgoog#page/n10/mode/2up.*

[64] *Grey, Journals of Two Expeditions, chap.4.*

[65] *A lack of first–hand experience of the colonies did not stop British writers cobbling*

together these works from the reports of others.

[66] *Frost, "Eating Van Diemen's Land", 32.*

[67] *Trollope,* Australia*, 75 (as one example).*

[68] *Geoffrey Blainey,* Black Kettle and full moon: daily life in a vanished Australia*, (Camberwell., Victoria: Penguin, 2003), 201. The average consumption of meat in Australia in 2014 was 300 grams a day. The popular diet recommended by the leading public scientific research organisation, the CSIRO, prescribes at least that quantity of "animal food" everyday for Australians to achieve optimal well-being. "A third of a kilo" is 330 grams, yet no one has suggested that colonial Australians might have enjoyed high levels of health through eating meat rather than being disease ridden because of it.*

[69] *Blainey,* Black Kettle*, 201; Vacalv Smil,* Eating Meat: Evolution, Patterns, and Consequences*, 610, accessed July 15, 2015, http://www.colostate.edu/Dept/GDPE/Distinguished_Ecologists/2006/Smil/Eating%20Meat.pdf.*

[70] *Richard Twopenny.* Town Life in Australia *(Ringwood; Penguin Books, 1976), 65.*

[71] *Blainey,* Black Kettle*, 201.*

[72] *Consumption of meat typically increases with growing wealth. India serves as a salient contemporary example: As a country renowned for its sophisticated vegetarian cuisine rising incomes have led to increasing demand for meat.*

[73] *Penny, Russell,* A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity, *(Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994),152; Amy Butterfield, "Send Me A Bonnet: Colonial Connections, Class Consciousness and Sartorial Display in Colonial Australia, 1788-1850" (B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Sydney, 2012), 38.*

[74] *In theory: Cash-strapped aristocrats often made strategic marriages with well-heeled members of the lesser classes who had 'made' their money.*

[75] *Russell, Wish of Distinction, 7.*

[76] *The majority of emigrants were single men, particularly in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.*

[77] *Butterfield,* Send Me A Bonnet*, 40.*

[78] *Rebecca Zeuss, "Food Styles And The Gourmet Subculture" in the* Proceedings of the Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy 'A Multiculinary Society'*, ed, Barbara Santich and Michael Symons (1987), 92.*

[79] *Zeuss, Rebecca, "Consuming Symbols: An Anthropological Analysis Of Australian Food in High Culture, Industry and Popular Culture" in the* Proceedings of the second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 'Foodism - philosophy or fad?' Adelaide, September 21 - October 1 *ed. Barbara Santich, Michael Symons and Colin Turner (1985), 160; Peter Naccarto and Kathleen Lebesco,* Culinary Capital *(London: Berg: London, 2012), 78.*

[80] *Zeuss,* Consuming Symbols*, 161; Nancarto and Lebesco,* Culinary Capital*, 79.*

[81] *Anthony Trollope.* The duke's children *(London: Oxford University Press, 1951), 320.*

[82] *Butterfield,* Send Me a Bonnet*, 13.*

[83] *Twopeny,* Town Life*, 85.*

[84] *Gould,* Town and Bush*, 103.*

[85] *Ritchie Ewing,* An Australian Ramble or A Summer in Australia *(Paternoster Square, London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1890), 190.*

[86] *Mano Spiering, "Food, Phagophobia And English National Identity"* European Studies*, 22 (2006): 31.*

[87] *Jack Goody,* Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*,*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 37; Colin Bannerman, "Making Australian Food History". Australian Humanities Review *51 (2011): 58.*

[88] *Henry Handel Richardson,* The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney *(London: William Heinemann, 1930), 352.*

[89] *Nancarto and Lebesco,* Culinary Capital*, 81.*

[90] *"Black Cuisine vs. White Cookery",* The Brisbane Courier, *May 4,1872, 7*

[91] *Mundy,* Our Antipodes*, 148.*

[92] *Keith Farrer.* A Settlement Amply Supplied *(Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1980), 55-57.*

[93] *O'Brien,* Flavours of Melbourne*, 50-51; Trollope,* Australia*, 75.*

[94] *Ewing, Australian Ramble, 141.*

[95] *Trollope,* Australia*, 59.*

[96] *Rose Owen Cole, The Official Handbook For The National Training School For Cookery Containing The Lessons On Cookery Which Constitute The Ordinary Course of Instruction in the School With Lists Of Utensils Necessary, And Lessons On Cleaning Utensils (London: Chapman & Hall L.D, circa 1890), 40-52.*

[97] *F.W, Clement and J.F. Rogers, "Early Settlers in the Colony in the Nineteenth Century" in* Tucker in Australia*, ed Beverley Wood (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1972), 49. Grace Karskens,* Inside the Rocks: the archaeology of a neighbourhood *(Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1999), 64.*

[98] *From the Australian national anthem, Advance Australia Fair: "We've golden soil and wealth for toil".*

[99] *Farrer,* Amply Supplied*, 22*

[100] *G.A. Derham,* The First Hundred Years, 1854- 1954 Swallow & Ariel Ltd *(Port Melbourne: Swallow & Ariel,1954), 6; O'Brien,* Flavours of Melbourne*, 82-84; Jill Robertson,* Thee Chocolate King *(Melbourne: Lothian Books, 2004), 15.*

[101] *Peter Griggs, Global Industry. Local Innovation: The History of Cane Sugar Production in Australia, 1820-1995 (Switzerland, Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 6.*

[102] *O'Brien, Flavours of Melbourne, 170-174.*

[103] *Gould,* Town and Bush*, 196.*

[104] *Ewing, Australian Ramble, 197; Gould, Town and Bush, 196.*

[105] *Meredith,* Notes and Sketches*, 43.*

[106] *Clements & Rogers,* Early Settlers*, 48. Phillip Muskett,* The Art of Living in Australia *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1997), introduction,,* http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/p00022.xml;chunk.id=d1210e450;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d1210e450;database=;collection=;brand=default

[107] *White flour and refined sugar are now low status foods, and the prestige of meat varies as to how much is paid for it and whether it comes from an industrial feedlot or a farmer who knows the individual animal's name. It has been the abundant availability of these foods, coupled with modern nutritional knowledge that has resulted in devaluation in their status. There is no compelling evidence though that colonial Australians were 'unhealthy'; in fact they seem to have enjoyed good health earning the nickname 'cornstalks' because they grew much taller than the average Briton.*

[108] *Swallow & Ariel advertised the availability of "compressed vegetables": presumably to make these more transportable.*

[109] *McIntyre, "*Not Rich*", 1.*

[110] *Bicknell, Travel and Adventure, 46.*

[111] *Gould,* Town and Bush*, 110.*
[112] *Ewing, Australian Ramble, 181.*
[113] *Clements and Rogers,* Early Settlers*, 48; O'Brien,* Flavours of Melbourne*, 110*
[114] *Collins,* Journal Vol.I*, 259.*
[115] *Phillip, The Voyage of Governor Phillip, 49.*
[116] *Chris Warren, "Was Sydney's smallpox outbreak of 1789 an act of biological warfare against Aboriginal tribes?" Okham's Razor, accessed July 12, 2015, http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/ockhamsrazor/was-sydney's-smallpox-outbreak-an-act-of-biological-warfare/5395050.*
[117] *Mundy,* Our Antipodes*, 26.*
[118] *Winifred Moore, "Her guests ate flying fox and liked it",* The Brisbane Courier*, June 30 1951, 2.*
[119] *Wilhelmina Rawson,* The Antipodean cookery book and kitchen companion *(Melbourne: George Robertson & Co., 1897), 54.*
[120] *Rawson,* Antipodean*, 6.*
[121] *Moore,* Flying Fox*, 2. All Rawson's works on cookery include reference, instruction and/or recipes for cooking and eating native foods.*
[122] *Santich, "Nineteenth–century Experimentation", 72; Blake Singley, "More than just recipes: reading colonial life in the work of Wilhelmina Rawson" in TEXT Special Issue 24: Cookbooks: writing, reading and publishing culinary literature in Australasia, ed Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessell, October 2013, http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue24/Singley.pdf.*

Chapter 3. The Kitchen

A fattened ox draped with a ribbon caused people in Sydney to break out in cheer as it was paraded around the town in mid-October 1831. The prominent colonist William Charles Wentworth had put up the animal as a symbol of triumph at the departure of his nemesis Governor Ralph Darling. The enthusiasm with which the crowd greeted the bull may not have derived so much from personal political persuasion but the knowledge that it would be their lunch the following day, if they cared to get themselves out to Wentworth's suburban estate at Vaucluse, which 4,000 of them did. After completing the triumphal procession the ox was slaughtered, dressed and slung on a huge out-door spit where it was roasted overnight, along with a number of sheep.[1] When the ox carcass was ready the guests were so keen to get their share of roast beef they swarmed the men employed to carve it causing them to abandon their knives and leave the pressing mass to help themselves.[2] In 1863 Joseph Hawdon arrived in Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, accompanied by three hundred head of livestock he had walked from New South Wales thus pioneering the overland route between the two colonies. This event, "perhaps the most interesting and pleasing that had occurred since the formation of the colony", was duly honoured with a celebratory ox roast, the sacrificial beast selected from Hawdon's peripatetic herd, "for the entertainment of all comers".[3] When the separation of the colony of Victoria from New South Wales was finally agreed upon in late 1850 "new-born" Victorians celebrated this "glorious news" with "general jubilee" including public ox-roasts. [4] In the coastal town of Warrnambool a bullock— donated by a local grazier and dispatched and dressed by a town butchery firm —was "comfortably fixed, horns and all" on a seventeen foot long spit to be cooked that night to be ready for lunch the following day. It was important that the spit bar pierced the animal parallel to its backbone so that there was no other rupture from which its juices might drip out. The elongated central bar might have been fixed correctly but it could not hold the weight of the beast and it dragged on the ground, preventing it from being rotated and evenly cooked. The issue was resolved by shortening the spit, wedging the frame with wooden chocks and replacing the four pronged turning mechanism with a dray wheel. The spit was revolved manually and was expected to need four men to turn it; fixing the wheel reportedly allowed it to be "easily turned by a child"—unlikely though that a single juvenile did the work of turning the eight hundred pounds or so of meat. [5] At midnight a fire was kindled on either side of the now securely spitted steer; while it was turning the

meat would have been basted with fat that dripped from it and caught in a large pan placed beneath it. At nine o'clock the following morning it was "perfectly done". Later that day several hundred people feasted on the cooked meat in between participating in a vigorous program of festive activities such as slippery pole climbing, blindfolded wheelbarrow racing and trying to catch a pig by its greased tail.[6]

Newspaper reporting on these local ox-roasts proudly situated this style of community feasting as part of "old English hospitality" and "good Old English fashion", and equally "characteristic" of the way colonial Australians liked to honour significant individual achievements and notable civic events.[7] The public roasting of oxen, beginning with parading the live animal before it was butchered, and communal feasting on the cooked meat to celebrate important religious, royal, national and secular events had been a tradition in Britain for centuries before Australia was settled. An ox-roast in England was usually bequeathed to the "poor and industrious classes" to enjoy by wealthier citizens.[8] Australian roasts seem to have maintained the community spirit without such overt class reference, except in Geelong where an ox-roast put on for the Wathaurong people, was sardonically described as a "corroboree" to give them " a steak " in the newly independent colony.[9] The origins of these communal animal roasts might have been pagan, they were certainly linked with the 600-year-old tradition of roasting meat in front of a fire that was intrinsic to English character and patriotism.[10] And English identity was paramount in colonial Australia.

The Europeans who founded Australia —convicts, military personnel and civilians alike—were, with some small exception, British, that is they identified as English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish.[11] They would have all looked the same to Aboriginals but each had their own cultural identity exemplified in their varied speech: The Irish and Welsh had their own languages; the Scottish the distinctive Scots vernacular; and the English an assortment of regional speech styles that could render the conversation of a Kernowyon from Cornwall incomprehensible to a Tyke from Yorkshire. Each identity was additionally distinguished to some extent by social customs, religious practice and food preferences. The contingencies of constructing a word limited general history of food in colonial Australia requires me to resort to representing Anglo-colonial Australians as a homogenous people for the most part, and they were similar in many ways, however varied British national identity was an operant, sometimes potent, social and cultural factor.

With that said, Australia had been colonised to meet English needs. While the mixed Anglo-Celtic population held varied opinions about England —ranging from obsequious to hateful—the majority considered it their natural home —technically correct for emigrants but the allegiance persisted with many who were colonial born—and the cultural model they reproduced was that of the 'mother country'.[12] Scotsman David Collins, deputy judge advocate of the British government in New South Wales, described the first settlement in Sydney as an "English colony".[13] English political, legal, economic, and social systems were the foundation of white Australian society: "everything is conducted in as English a manner as can be attained by a young country imitating an old one".[14] In keeping with this, colonial cooks "perpetuated an English style of cookery, English food values, [and] an English meal structure". [15] This English model that colonial cooks based their practice on was a porous receipt book absorbing regional and global influences such that these were considered a natural part of their food and were not routinely remarked upon.[16] By the time British people were sitting down to dinners in Australia the English cuisine their meals replicated had incorporated Middle Eastern, Indian, French, German, Italian, Scottish and Welsh influences.[17] The fact that modern commentators often fail to notice this when decrying colonial food as 'plain', or mono-cultural, might be because obvious literary signposts to the 'multicultural' influences in it are absent (see chapter 7).

Contemporary description of the replication of English cookery and eating in colonial Australia as a "folly" and "devoid of sense" when other ways might have been more logical—seen from the present point of view—echo the prevailing cultural sentiment about the foodways of early Australia.[18] But how could the settlers have done otherwise? That colonial Australians used an English, or British, mode as a "frame of reference" for their cookery was "inevitable" and their "style of cooking … could not possibly have been anything other": The way people eat is part of their culture and it "travels with them".[19] Rather than being senseless eating familiar food would have satisfied normal human needs, providing comfort and reassurance in an unfamiliar environment, particularly in the earlier decades of settlement, and expression of sentiment and belonging: colonial Australians valued their British heritage, culinary and otherwise. [20] It was a human necessity to draw on a known structure to construct a new society and within this food practices were one way people could sustain an identity aligned with the norms and expectations of the society they understood themselves to belong to.[21] Colonial

Australians instituted a British based culture, with a quintessential English core, and enacted its norms but it was far from an inflexible model. As more of the population came to be born in Australia they could see themselves as both British —be it English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh— and Australian: this an identity emerged from melding cultural heritage with the differences of location. Some people tenaciously refuted any colonial affiliation, regarding their situation in the colonies as a temporary inconvenience —even if it went on for a lifetime —and insisted on rigorously upholding British standards. Others more happily embraced the possibilities and pleasures of colonial life. Colonial cookery was of the latter inclination; it remained largely faithful to its English parent while taking on some modifications in respect to its new environment.

THE KITCHEN

Replicating English food required applying English cookery processes to available raw material, which in turn necessitated having the appropriate equipment and kitchen set-up, or close enough to it, to do so. A solid fuel fire was the essential technology of any kitchen anywhere in the world at the time Australia was settled and remained so until well into the nineteenth century.[22] Simple campfires were the first cooking places in Australia. When the settlers built themselves permanent dwellings they set a stone or brick fireplace in a sidewall, laid a hearth inside this on which to set and contain the fire, and installed a chimney to let out the smoke and put a wooden mantle around it. The wealthier a home the bigger the fireplace, and the greater the selection of culinary pots and pans and utensils used on it, nonetheless the design and mechanism of applying heat to food was essentially the same whether the household was great or small. The type of fuel to be used was a consideration: A wood fire could be kindled on the hearth floor; coal had to be burnt in a grate. Colonial Australians enjoyed inexpensive access to both these materials. There was plenty of wood to be had in Australia when land was being cleared, and rich seams of coal were being mined by the early nineteenth century. In contrast fuel was expensive in Britain and less well-off families could not afford the fuel required to produce the intense and sustained dry heat necessary to roast a piece of meat. Colonial Australians had the meat and the fuel to roast, however more humble households might not have had the equipment required to pull the process off. For meat to be properly roasted it had to be suspended in front of a fire—not over it, that was broiling— held by some sort of spit and rotated by a roasting jack. Meat was ‘spitted’ either horizontally or

vertically. For horizontal roasting ‘choice’ cuts such as leg of mutton or beef sirloin were impaled on a metal rod that held the meat across the length of the fire. Steak, chops, birds, fish or shellfish could be roasted using a grid iron or cradle spit that held these smaller items between metal grill bars so they could be revolved in front of the fire. Vertical, or dangle, spits, suspended from a hook or a crane cantilevered from the wall, dangled the meat vertically before the fire. There were various mechanisms for rotating spits. In the well-staffed kitchens of England’s noble households people were employed solely to turn horizontal cooking spits. In all but the most rarefied colonial kitchen the task of revolving the roasting meat would have fallen to the cook, in addition to his or her other duties, and a ‘spit jack’ would have been used to do this work in any household that could afford one. Advertisements in colonial newspapers offered ‘vertical’, ‘bottle’ and ‘smoke’ jacks for sale. While a ‘spit’ and a ‘jack’ are the holding and turning equipment respectively this terminology was often mixed up. The ‘vertical jacks’ offered for sale in Tasmania in 1833 would have been dangle spits turned by a either a bottle jack, a wind-up mechanism contained in a bottle shaped metal housing, or a smoke-jack installed in a kitchen chimney that harnessed hot gas rising from the fire to turn the spit connected to it. Horizontal spits could also be turned by a system of springs and weights.

A trough or pan was placed underneath the meat to capture the juice and fat that oozed from it as it cooked and was rearticulated as basting to keep it moist. Even if a cook was using a jack to mechanically turn the roast they had to keep their attention focused on it to ensure it was basted sufficiently and to judge by sight and smell when it had been brought to perfection. A sweet or savoury pancake batter might be placed in a dish beneath the meat to be ‘fired’ by the radiant heat and flavoured by soaking up the drippings. This ‘dripping pudding’ could be sweet or savoury and was eaten before the meat or with it.

An illustration of an ‘Australian kitchen’ in *Beeton's Book of Household Management* shows a female cook basting a joint of meat dangling from a bottle jack in front of a blazing fire that looks like it is fuelled by coal. Coal produced a more intense heat than wood, and because it had to be burnt in a grate, a coal cooking fire was smaller. As coal became more extensively used fireplaces became narrower and vertical spits were more suited to this. Roasting meat horizontally required a wider hearth, therefore a bigger kitchen and the resources to burn enough wood to keep a commodious fire at a high temperature. In areas of rural Australia where firewood could be freely collected wood-

burning fireplaces would have remained in use. In the cities and large towns, where most of the Australian population lived, coal was the more widely used solid fuel and as *Beeton's* depicts it, vertical roasting would have been the more common method of cooking meat in colonial households.

Roasting was all about enhancing the flavour of the meat and roast meat, particularly beef, was the ne plus ultra of food for the Englishman. Colonial born and bred Edward Abbott expressed exactly this sentiment in his seminal Australian cookery book:

> *The joint must at first be put at a distance from the fire, which must be brisk and clear. As the meat warms, it must be brought nearer. During the time it is roasting it must be well basted; the fat must be paper-covered. When nearly done dredge it with flour, and a few minutes before you take it up, sprinkle some salt on it. Put horseradish round the dish, and serve it in its own gravy, quite devoid of fat, and you have perfection "the roast beef of old England, oh!*[23]

If roasting seems a simple process it is deceptively so; it required the best meat, plenty of fuel, the right equipment, a cook with the time to tend to it and a skilled carver to serve it. Many of the meals that have been reported in Australian history feature roasts but these were often special occasion meals, and/ or tales of dining with the wealthy who could afford everything necessary to put roasted meat on the table daily. A roast joint was more likely a once a week treat enjoyed at Sunday lunch by a middling or working class urban family.[24]

Everyday foods —boiled meats and puddings, soups, stews, braises, sauces, fried items and even toast— were cooked in small and large pots and on flat iron griddles placed over the fire on iron trivets. Cooking vessels could be suspended over a fire from hooks or chains fixed in the fireplace cavity or from a moveable arm affixed to the wall that the cook used to more easily manoeuvre a heavy cauldron of food on and off the heat. An experienced cook knew how to use the fire to best advantage. He or she would move pots closer to, or further away from it to obtain the appropriate level of heat for a particular dish. Ashes and coals could be raked out and used for more gentle heating. Camp ovens, three-legged lidded cast iron pots that were set-over hot coals pulled out of the burning fire to slow cook food, were commonly used. Additional coals could be placed on top of the lid of this receptacle to replicate the all-over heat of an oven making it suitable for baking bread. A 'Dutch oven' was a three-sided sheet metal box placed

with its open side facing to the fire that could be used to cook meat in households where there was no spit- jack. [25] Cooking over a hearth was hot work and could be potentially dangerous. Pots and frypans had long handles to allow the cook to keep a distance from the flames and avoid burns: Jane Forbes, a free settler living at Parramatta in the early years of the colony, reportedly fell into a fireplace while cooking breakfast and later died of her injuries.[26]

Some colonial kitchens had a separate oven recessed into the wall adjacent to the fireplace used for baking bread. Made from bricks it had flat floor —set around shoulder height to create a higher temperature—and curved walls to ensure even heat. It was fired by setting a wood fire inside it—coal was not suitable—and when the cavity was hot enough the ashes were scrapped out and the shaped bread dough slid in on a wooden paddle. A tight fitting door ensured the heat was kept sealed in. Pies, pastry, vegetables, cakes and other items would also be baked in the oven once it had done duty for bread. It was quite a process to bake bread at home in this way and colonial Australians, particularly urban dwellers, more often bought their loaves from commercial bakers—an occupation recommended as a profitable one in emigrant handbooks.

By the mid-nineteenth century many Australian kitchens had a cast-iron cooking range installed on top of the hearth in the fireplace recess. In *Beeton's* the Australian cook is working at what was called an 'open' range; this had a central exposed fire contained by a grill with an oven on one side and a hot water heater on the other. Hooks might still be used for suspending pots over the open fire that burnt in the centre of the range or it might have had hot-plates installed over the top of the fire that pots could be safely sat on upon. An 'open' range had initially referred to a freestanding grate on the hearth and the version with sides was essentially an evolution of that. The next development was the 'closed' range. This had a completely enclosed fire and more cooking plates on the top: the handles on pots and pans became shorter for use on this type of appliance. A closed range was alternatively called a stove. There was also a 'colonial oven' made from sheet metal that was a type of closed range with the fire placed below the central oven.[27]

Regardless of the type of solid fuel cooker used in a kitchen, before a cook could even make a cup of tea in the morning the previous days ashes and cinders had to be swept out from the fire grate. Burning solid fuel produced a fine layer of gritty soot that coated the kitchen; to protect a cast-iron range from the corrosive effects of this it had to be rubbed over with black-lead (graphite) and turpentine, which was then rubbed off. The

steel knobs and handles had to be polished by rubbing them with an emery cloth. The iron, enamel and copper cookware used required thorough scrubbing with various mixtures of sand, bi-carbonate of soda and soap to clean off smoke and soot residue. An array of brushes, shovels and cloths were employed for this essential up-keep.[28] Once all that was done the cook had to start a fire and maintain it until all cooking tasks had been finished in the evening. Regulating the temperature of the oven and the cook-top required frequent manipulation of the fuel load and the flow of air via flues—which the cook also had to de-soot at least once a week. The oven was inevitably hotter on the fireside so any food cooked in it had to be watched and turned. As the fire was kept going from morning to night colonial cooks had to contend with the ambient heat from this, something that must have been trying in the warmer parts of the continent. All this before any cooking could take place.

A FIRE WITHOUT EFFORT

In 1841 the celebrity chef Alexis Soyer installed two new gas stoves into the kitchen he presided over at the Reform Club in London. The inventive Soyer was an enthusiastic adopter of emerging technologies such as the use of gas for cookery. He extolled the benefits of using it: "it is a fire that never requires making up, is free from carbonic acid which is so pernicious…it creates neither dust nor smell…[and] is also quite free of smoke".[29] Soyer's kitchen was a showcase of culinary modernity; people visited the Reform Club just to tour it and a poster he had made up of it was a bestseller, yet his personal uptake of gas cookery had small influence on changing the strong prejudice the British population at large held about it; fears that were shared by colonial Australians. [30] They eagerly read English newspapers and magazines, as well as letters from modish friends and relatives there, to keep abreast of the latest fashions, innovations and events: this information was subsequently used as a primary reference in constructing their social and material lives in the colonies. They knew about Alexis Soyer: his inventions and his exploits featured in colonial newspapers and his popular cookery books were referenced and sold in the colonies, nonetheless his commendation of gas cookery had as little influence on the opinion of it in Australia as it had in Britain. A correspondent for the *South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal* described the use of a gas oven for 'baking roast meat' as an "abomination" and a threat to wellbeing. Roasting meat in front of a fire was believed to be the healthiest manner of consuming it and the *Gazette* writer advised

readers that if they were concerned that a hotel might be roasting it in a gas fired "machine" [oven] that they should order boiled meat instead.[31] People were reluctant to adopt gas for cookery because they believed that the smell emitted by it would taint food and that it was dangerous, and for cooks used to manipulating a wood or coal fire the technicalities of cooking over gas were a mystery.

Privately owned gas works were suppling much of the power for public and private lighting in the colonial capitals by the mid-nineteenth century. The gas companies had paid for the pipelines that delivered their product and they were looking to enhance their return on investment by getting Australians to use gas to run their kitchen stoves as well as their domestic illuminations. *The Australian Cook* written by Melbourne based chef Alfred Wilkinson in 1876 was sub-titled "With Especial Reference To The Gas Cooking Stove" and was prefaced with two essays that described how a gas stove worked and how to cook over it. Wilkinson's enthusiasm for cooking with gas might have stemmed entirely from the benefits it conferred in his professional kitchen, however there is a strong sense of sponsorship by a gas company about it. The Metropolitan Gas Company engaged London trained cookery instructor Margaret J. Pearson to give cookery demonstrations on gas cookers at the popular 1888 Melbourne Centennial Exhibition and her subsequent cookery book recommended gas for its " economy, cleanliness, and saving of time".[32] Gas companies also hired out gas stoves so that households could access the equipment needed to consume their product without the deterrent of a significant financial outlay. People continued to profess preference for the flavour of food cooked over a wood or coal stove, but increasing numbers of gas cookers were installed in Australian kitchens: cooks were probably brought around to the idea more than anything because it significantly reduced their kitchen labour.

Cooking with gas eliminated the need to light a fire and keep combustible material at hand. Without a daily deposit of soot the kitchen required less cleaning, and it only filled with smoke if something was burnt. Colonial Australians preferred to build their kitchens separately to the house to contain the heat generated by a solid fuel stove and keep the home as cool as possible.[33]A kitchen fitted with a gas cooker was cooler—as it could be easily turned on and off as required—and cleaner and it allowed the kitchen to come inside the house in closer proximity to the dining room, reducing the time and labour required to transport food from an external kitchen. All of which made domestic cookery less onerous for the women who did it, and less affronting to the propriety of those who

might have preferred to have a cook but either could not afford or find one. Cookery teacher Harriet Wicken recommended gas cookers to Australian cooks because they were clean and the gas cheap but acknowledged this was only possible in urban kitchens.[34] Gas was not piped out to farmhouses and cooks that prepared meals in rural kitchens continued to cook over solid fuel ranges until well in the twentieth century: at least a country cook could provide the properly roasted meat that her urban counterparts had given up in favour of baking it in a gas "machine". The trio of heroines of the novel *The Three Miss Kings*, set in Melbourne circa 1880s, are determined on being independent after moving to the city from their parental country home. A modern gas stove installed in the kitchen of their rented domicile helps their quest for self-sufficiency by freeing them from the need for a maid to do the work that would have been necessary to produce their meals on a solid fuel stove.[35]

KEEPING IT COOL

The evolution of the cooking range from an open hearth through to fully enclosed gas powered cooker was not unique to the colonial kitchen, nor where its challenges; British cooks were just as keen to reduce the labour, cost and time associated with producing meals. What more uniquely impinged on Australian cooks was the climate. The yearly temperature pattern of the island colony of Tasmania might have been more like England but the mainland conditions were markedly warmer; the further north you went the hotter it became and the heat more constant. Butter melted, milk curdled, cheese sweated, bread dried out and it was often impossible to set a dessert jelly —partaking of these particular confections was not a bodily necessity but jellies were a quintessential dish of English cuisine and colonial Australians liked to enjoy them. Meat had to be cooked very soon after killing otherwise it could quickly deteriorate and become infested with maggots.[36] In England meat was usually hung for some time after being slaughtered to let it become tender and develop flavour. Complaints about the poor quality of colonial meat were in part due to a perception of it being tough because it had to be eaten so soon after being dispatched. Dr Philip Muskett railed against Australians failure to adapt to their semi-tropical climate in their insistence on maintaining their culturally familiar English food habits. In his book *The Art Of Living in Australia* an ice-chest is recommended as vital equipment in the colonial kitchen, a necessity for keeping food fresh and preventing butter turning to "semi-liquid grease".[37] A large block of ice was required for the chest to

function as a cooler. Ice had first been supplied into Australia from the frozen lakes of Massachusetts, carried on fast clipper ships packed in straw before being produced locally in commercial ice-manufacturing plants.[38] This was all very well for people able to afford the additional expense of buying ice, and who lived in cities and towns where it could be easily delivered. This was not possible in rural areas and the necessity of keeping food cool out in the 'bush' led to a distinctive innovation of the colonial kitchen. On farms and stations raw meat was kept cool by hanging it in a 'drip safe', an upright wooden frame covered with hessian kept damp by soaking its ends in a tray of water. The safe was kept on a veranda to catch the breeze. As the air passed through this caused the water in the hessian to evaporate by drawing heat from inside the safe thus cooling down the meat kept in it. The safe evolved to have mesh doors and shelves on which to keep other foods and acquired the name 'Coolgardie' when it became commercialised. It had the additional advantage of keeping flies out and the legs of the safe were stood in jars of water to deter ants, and a parade of other creeping and crawling things that were part of living in rural Australia, from scaling up these to get at the comestibles.

THE BUSH KITCHEN

An English woman out on a visit to a family residing in one of bustling cities of the colonies would have noticed little difference in their kitchen from the one she knew at home. Apart from its caption what distinguished the kitchen illustrated in Beeton's book as uniquely Australian was the kitchen door ajar to let the heat out, and the view through it along a veranda across a lawn to a forested landscape or the 'bush' —the basket spilling over with a cornucopia of fruit might also have been intended as another indicator of an antipodean location.[39] Australians used the term 'the bush' to describe both undeveloped rural land and country areas and living in the bush was what most uniquely differentiated a colonial lifestyle from a British one. European Australians inhabited the bush in different ways. There were the 'pioneers' who cleared undeveloped land and then lived on it as farmers or pastoralists, and the more successful of them employed people in various roles to help run their rural enterprise. Small country centres were populated by people who ran the post office, taught at the local school, worked as police, carted farm produce to the nearest railway siding or cooked for the local doctor. All of these people could be described as leading a 'bush life'. The most popularly promulgated images of life in the Australian bush were those that "evoked themes of struggle and survival": men

clearing land and battling drought, bushfires and Aborigines to eke a meagre living from subsistence farms.[40] Tales of derring-do swashbucklers overcoming obstacles as they adventured across the wild landscape was a variation on this theme. These were masculine stories with exhausted harassed wives and hungry children bit players in the background. The simple diet that sustained them —meat, damper and tea—reflected the austere reality of this life.

The meat they ate in the bush would have been freshly killed mutton or salt beef. Damper was a type of bread made from dough of flour, water and salt kneaded into a large flat cake that was baked in the ashes of a fire. Louisa Meredith said it was the only kind of bread used in the bush. She described it as a "heavy and dirty" loaf and disliked eating it but acknowledges that many people enjoyed it.[41] Some cooks added a little tartaric acid and bicarbonate soda to their damper dough to leaven and lighten it up a little, and on occasion a few sultanas to sweeten it. 'Bush' or 'billy tea' was made by boiling the leaves in a high-sided pot, a billy, of water with plenty of rough brown sugar. The resulting brew was drunk in large cups or pannikins without milk. This trinity came to symbolise the Australian diet intertwined with the idea that bush life represented Australian national identity.

> *The woman had spread some food meanwhile, a couple of empty tea- chests turned up, forming the table. Cold salt beef, rather hard; freshly baked damper, and a bottle of pickled anchovies, with tea of course, sweetened with plenty of coarse sugar, but no milk, was the fare.*[42]

There were no Australian publishing houses until the late nineteenth century so colonial writers typically had to seek a contract with a London based firm if they wanted to see their work in book form. These companies relied on the much larger British book buying public for their profit and this market wanted to read about the exotic aspects of Australian life, not those that were similar to English living. In the early days of settlement this exotica had been supplied by descriptions of the 'savages' and unusual plants and animals. With Aboriginals driven out of sight and the land cleared of its native flora and fauna to grow familiar crops and animals it was stories of the hardship of life in the bush, including its limited cuisine, which provided the novelty they were seeking, and perhaps affirmed a prejudice about the inferior nature of colonial life. The bush diet was

very similar to the rations eaten in the early settlement—with much more tea and sugar—and the theme that connected both was the struggle for survival in an uncivilised land.

THE GOLDEN YEARS

The discovery of gold in Australia in 1851 was arguably the most significant event of the colonial period: it was certainly a game-changer. Gold prospecting was the most popular, and equitable, get-rich-quick scheme of the nineteenth century. If a man could get himself to a goldfield he had as much chance as the man working next to him, regardless of his social position, to win mother nature's lottery and unearth an alluvial jackpot. The discovery of gold anywhere in the world dominated newspaper columns and general conversation. When gold was found in New South Wales in May 1851 the government tried to keep it secret fearing the information would spark a 'rush' to the goldfields and drain the pastoral industry —the colony's key economic sector— of labour. When the news inevitably came out this was exactly what happened: men of all classes, rural and urban, abandoned their work, their homes, and sometimes their families, and headed off to the goldfields. Two months later the announcement of gold strikes in Victoria resulted in an exodus of people from Melbourne and when the crops in the market gardens surrounding that town came close to rotting for lack of male labourers to pick these, women had to go out and do the harvesting. The lure of gold also drained the neighbouring colonies of Van Diemen's Land and South Australia of workers.[43]

When news of the Australian gold strikes hit international headlines it was an "electric stimulus throughout the whole civilised world".[44] Tens of thousands of men from Britain, Europe and America scrambled for a berth on whatever ocean going vessel they could find heading to the antipodes.[45] Victoria had the richest gold deposits and the majority of international migrants arrived in that colony and its population ballooned from 25,000 in 1851 to more than 540,000 a decade later.[46] The astute, or less lucky, realised there was more assured fortune to be made in the colony's booming capital selling goods and services, including food and drink, to newcomers on their way to the goldfields, and when they came back again to spend their 'winnings' —or commiserate their failure. The gold, the capital and the people that flowed into Melbourne over this decade turned it into largest and wealthiest city in Australia, and for a time it was the second most prosperous city of the British Empire —the 'Paris of the Antipodes'. There were more gold strikes in other colonies well into the nineteenth century. Melbourne lost

a large section of her population to Western Australia when gold was discovered in that colony in 1890.[47] Dr Phillip Muskett was of the decided opinion that Australians needed to improve their diet by eating more fish and drinking more wine and he bemoaned the tendency of Australian men to be "swayed by the idea of mining and a strike", saying that it caused them to neglect developing the viniculture and deep sea fishing industries that would supply his recommended food products.[48]

Gold turned Australian society upside down. The enormous influx of people it attracted had eased up by the 1860s. However the ever-advancing prosperity it catalysed saw a constant immigration of people from Britain attracted by opportunities in agriculture, mining, services and trade for any class of person who was prepared to work. Transportation to Australia was ceased, and while it was not the primary reason for its cessation, it could hardly be seen to be a punishment to send felons to such a prosperous place.[49] That it was no longer a penal colony lent it further appeal. There were people, both in Britain and the colonial population itself, who insisted on maintaining the idea of Australia as licentiousness and socially depraved 'Botany Bay'. The image that emerged from the gold rush era was not one of flourishing and affluent urban places where people ate in restaurants and shopped in stores stocked with foods from around the globe. Rather, it was a reinforced version of the bush legend that now tended towards a romanticisation of the hardships of Australian life but persisted in suggesting that the colonial diet consisted of little more than mutton, damper and tea.

Working to extract gold from the earth was sheer physical effort—which is why anybody, provided they were physically capable, could do it. Success was often a matter of stamina and persistence. It was outdoor work so 'diggers' were often freezing and soaked through to their skin or profusely perspiring and burnt from the sun depending on the season. Life on the goldfields was makeshift and temporary; home was a tent and kitchen facilities rudimentary. Food needed to be substantial and sustaining, easy to put together and suitable for cooking over a campfire. The writer William Howitt came to Victoria from England with his two sons in 1852 to try their luck on the Bendigo goldfields. Howitt was a friend of Eliza Acton, the author of the most popular English cookery manual of that time.[50] He wrote to her describing the food that he and the other diggers ate. There were several variations on the basic damper," the "universal bread of the bush".[51] "Leather jackets" were round cakes a quarter of an inch thick baked in a frying pan, "equal to any muffin you can buy in the London shops"; "fat cakes" were the

same, only fried in fat and "really excellent".[52] These two items were quick to cook and were had at breakfast and afternoon tea accompanied by pan-fried beefsteaks, mutton chops or bacon. With a bit more time at hand a leavened damper baked in a camp oven — "a loaf equivalent to any home-baked bread in England" —was made to accompany a slow-cooked soup, stew or fricassee.[53] An alternative dinner might be steak with potatoes and a slice of a boiled suet pudding made with raisins, a preserve of "native currants" or dried apples. Howitt did not enjoy the 'bush tea' that other diggers drank in copious quantities; he wrote incredulously of it: "yes, *boil* them [tea and sugar] up together" and describes the resulting brew as "tea syrup".[54] All in all though he was pleased with his goldfields eating and suggested to Acton that she put together a work on "bush cookery". [55]

Domestic cookery was highly gendered, a distinct female occupation, during the colonial period. There were few women at the diggings and most men had to fend for themselves for their food. Howitt had a copy of Acton's book with him and found it very useful in helping he and his sons get up their meals. Most of their fellow diggers would not have had the benefit of such guidance and likely had limited cookery skills. An alternative option was to take meals from nearby commercial establishments that were commonly run by Chinese. The prevailing prejudice against Asiatic people held by the European majority saw the Chinese relegated to the sections of the diggings considered least likely to yield any gold and they were often harassed and beaten. Yet the diggers were happy to eat food prepared by Chinese cooks. The canteens they operated had been set-up to serve Chinese miners traditional Cantonese dishes but they soon extended the range of offerings to include the soups, roast meats, pies and puddings that appealed to hungry Europeans.[56] If the diggers tried the Chinese offerings no one publicly recorded the experience. Away from the goldfields, metropolitan based writers described the Chinaman's food as "literally swimming in fat", "one mass of oily substances", "a carrion mess", "simmering with all kinds of nastiness" and "little pieces of meat served with I don't know what". [57] These unappetising descriptions —probably informed more by racial bigotry than experience— did not dissuade Anglo-Australians with experience of Chinese cooks on the goldfields from the affirmed opinion that they were excellent cooks of English meals and people keenly employed them to make meals. In the colony of Queensland in the 1890s there was "scarcely a pub or station" without a Chinese cook.[58]

THE SQUATTOCRACTIC LIFE

Life in the Australian bush was not always a hardship: For the pastoralist, or 'squatter,' it could be very profitable and commensurately comfortable. Squatters were men who held sprawling tracts of land on which they ran large numbers of sheep and cattle. They had gained the moniker by an earlier practice of taking over, or 'squatting', on crown land and claiming rightful ownership by staking out boundaries with fences and then asserting a moral right to it. In the early decades of colonial settlement this allowed men of all backgrounds: emancipated convicts, free settlers and government employees to acquire considerable estates or 'stations'. By the mid-nineteenth century it was harder to take up land for free and some capital was needed to acquire it. Successful squatters, and not all of them were, could become very wealthy and " squatting in Australia was undoubtedly one of the most profitable pursuits open to the gentleman immigrant".[59] It attracted the portionless sons of the British aristocracy and ambitious men of some means who had little chance of owning land in England.[60] The combination of wealth, blue blood and social pretentions elevated successful squatters into the upper echelons of colonial society —provided they knew how to act like a gentleman.[61] They were alternatively referred to as the 'squattocracy' or the 'natural aristocracy' and aimed to replicate the lifestyle of the landed gentry in England building spacious homesteads surrounded by manicured gardens and living as "luxuriously as in any gentleman's house either in the colony or at home …with the best of everything".[62]

After visiting various pastoral stations in Queensland as a part of tour of the colonies Anthony Trollope was more reserved in his description of the squatter lifestyle. He wrote that "the number of sheep [on a] station will generally indicate with fair accuracy the mode of life" conducted in the homestead. A squatter with a hundred thousand sheep or more would keep a man-cook and a butler.[63] This cook would be expected to furnish the table with 'made dishes' currently in fashion in London along with classic English fare such as roasted meats. The butler would know the appropriate imported and colonial wine to serve with meals. A squatter with less than 10,000 sheep would expect to enjoy absolute plenty in roasted and boiled mutton and beef, brandy with water, and tea, but there were no fancy dishes on his table nor champagne; his cook would have been female or perhaps a Chinese man.[64] Trollope wrote that squatters had a preference for plenty over luxury and were "content with things a little rough".[65] The successful squatters of the lush Darling Downs region —the "magnifcos"—took offence at Trollope's remarks.[66]

Trollope brought his own cook from England with him to Australia because he believed he would not find colonial cookery up to his standard. Not long after their arrival the cook found herself a husband, "well above her station", and left Trollope and his wife to take their chances.[67] It seems he shared the English conviction that things were not quite up to scratch in the colonies and viewed his experiences in Australia from this perspective. He was full of praise though for the warm and liberal hospitality shown to guests by squatters; a sentiment echoed by other commentators who said they never failed to provide good meals, accommodation and friendly company even to strangers who happened to be traveling by.[68]

The rural, and often remote, location of pastoral stations meant that a squatter's kitchen had to be supplied almost entirely from his own land. Meat, of course, came from his stock; fresh produce came from a kitchen garden and orchards established adjacent to the homestead. Grape vines flourished in the more temperate areas and varieties were cultivated both for the table and to make wine.[69] Milch cows were kept stabled to supply milk to make butter and cheese. Luxury food items such as imported preserves and condiments as well as more pedestrian dry goods were ordered from the nearest well-stocked grocery store. For many squatters their 'bush life' was one of ease, comfort, gentility and a well-supplied table that incorporated the trinity of bush food as part of its bounty.[70] At Waterloo station Godfrey Mundy enjoyed a lunch of roast mutton, potatoes, damper and champagne and hock, served in the "correctest of green glasses". [71] While the most successful squatters enjoyed a distinct and rarefied life, not all of them lived as bountifully, and for some the great heights were temporary as wool and land prices roller-coasted across the nineteenth century sending many of them bankrupt in the downturns.

Bush life was varied in the colonial period and people living outside the city did not give their kitchens over solely to the production of cooked mutton, tea and damper. Phillip Muskett believed that colonial Australians would repel any "accusation' that tea and damper was their national dish.[72] Nonetheless he was writing at the time when images of bush life were becoming enshrined in the construction of an Australian national identity. The reality was most people lived in metropolitan areas and life in the bush was almost as removed and exotic to them as it was to people in England and tales of life in the bush were just as popular with urban Australians.[73] In part it is because tales of rural hardship in the colonies were the stories that sold, that images of a rudimentary bush kitchen have dominated our idea of what colonial Australians ate. The majority of the

urban dwelling Australian population did not cook their daily meals over a campfire but they were keen on eating out-of-doors. One of the great benefits of colonial life was the moderate climate and Australians were avid picnickers. Come the weekend or a public holiday they would pack up supplies and head off in numbers to popular spots in the bush or along the coast to enjoy eating outside. As a novelty a male member of the party would brew up a batch of 'billy-tea' in the pioneer spirit.

When Queen Victoria's son, Prince Alfred, visited Melbourne in 1867 it was decided to put on a great outdoor public feast to show him the best of colonial hospitality. A crowd of 10,000 or so people had been expected at the event but on the day the numbers swelled to more than 60,000 and some "chicken hearted meddler" warned the Prince off attending.[74] The crowd had been waiting patiently for the royal personage's arrival but when they heard the news that he had defected bedlam broke out. People rushed the tables of food and made off with everything including the plates and cutlery. Others grabbed the wine and beer that had been donated by local producers and showered each other with it in between slugging down mouthfuls. By all reports the picnic turned into a right royal debauchery. Several months later the Prince was in Sydney where another outdoor feast was staged for his benefit. He showed up at this one and someone attempted to assassinate him; fortunately he only sustained a minor wound. Alfred probably went home after all this to confirm that the colonies were indeed uncivilized.

[1] *Reports on number of sheep cooked vary from six to twelve, but there was most certainly only one ox.*

[2] *"Fete Champetre at Vaucluse",* The Sydney Monitor*, October 22, 1831, 3; "Sydney News",* Launceston *Advertiser. November 16, 1832, 358; Barbara Santich,* Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage *(Adelaide: Wakefield Press 2013), 124.*

[3] *"Most Important",* South Australian Register*, April 7, 1838, 2; "Dinner to Mr Hawdon*", Southern Australian*, June 9, 1838, 3.*

[4] The Melbourne Morning Herald Extraordinary*, November 11, 1850, 1.*

[5] *Approximately 450 kilograms: a rough working of what the ox might have weighed.*

[6] The Argus*, November 30, 1850, 2.*

[7] The Argus*, November 29, 1850, 2.*

[8] *Ivan Day, "A Jubilee Ox Roast", accessed June 6 2015, http://foodhistorjottings.blogspot.co.uk/search/label/A%20Jubilee%20Ox%20Roast.*

[9] The Geelong Advertiser*, March 16, 1850, 2.*

[10] *Ivan Day," Ox roasts —From Frost Fairs to Mops", in* Over a red-hot stove: essays in early cooking technology*, ed Ivan Day (Totnes, England: Prospect Books, 2009), 55-82; Ben Rogers,* Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull and the English Nation *(London: Chatto & WIndus, 2003).*

[11] *The Kingdom of Ireland did not join with Great Britain until 1801, after which it became known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

[12] *Edward Abbott,* The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery For The Many As Well As For The "Upper Ten Thousand" *(London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864), 10.*

[13] *David Collins,* An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales From Its First Settlement, in January 1788, to August 1801 With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To which are added Some Particulars of New Zealand; compiled by permission, from the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King; An Account of a Voyage Performed by Captain Flinders and Mr. Bass; by which the existence of a strait separating Van Diemen's Land from the Continent of New Holland was Ascertained. Volume 2, 100 (*Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/colacc2.*

[14] *Louisa Ann Meredith.* Notes and Sketches of New South Wales During A Residence In That Colony from 1839 To 1844. Mrs Charles Meredith *(London: John Murray, 1844), 49.*

[15] *Barbara Santich,* Looking For Flavour*, (Adelaide: Wakefield, 1996), 6.*

[16] *Graham Pont, "Upstart Gastronomy: A cuisine without Peasants", in* Proceedings of the second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 'Foodism - philosophy or fad?, ed *Barbara Santich, Michael Symons and Colin Turner (1985), 52.*

[17] *Stephen Mennell,* All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present *(United Kingdom: Blackwell, 1985).*

[18] *Lucy Frost, "Eating Van Diemen's Land",* Island *(1994): 31-35; Colin Bannerman, "Making Australian Food History",* Australian Humanities Review *51 (2011): 57.*

[19] *Barbara Santich, "Australian Culinary Xenophobia", in* Proceedings of the Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy: A Multiculinary Society, *ed Barbara Santich and Michael Symons (1987), 34.*

[20] *Grace Karskens,* The Colony: A History of Early Sydney *(Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2010), 53. Bannerman, "Making Australian Food History", 58.*

[21] *Peter Naccarto and Kathleen Lebesco,* Culinary Capital *(London: Berg: London, 2012), 3.*

[22] *Cooking on a solid fuel stove remained a necessity for many rural Australians well into the twentieth century.*

[23] *Abbott,* Cookery Book*, 9.*

[24] *Penelope Vigar,* Australian Colonial Cookery *(Adelaide: Rigby, 1982),10.*

[25] *Vigar,* Australian Colonial Cookery*, 10.*

[26] *Collins,* Journal Vol. 1*, 353.*

[27] *Susan Addison and Judith McKay,* A Good Plain Cook: An Edible History of Queensland (*Brisbane: Boolarong, 1985), 1-3.*

[28] *Rose Owen Cole,* The Official Handbook For The National Training School For Cookery Containing The Lessons On Cookery Which Constitute The Ordinary Course of Instruction in the School With Lists Of Utensils Necessary, And Lessons On Cleaning Utensils *(London: Chapman & Hall L.D, circa 1890), 13-16.*

[29] *Ruth Cowen,* Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer Victorian Celebrity Chef (*London: Phoneix, 2006), 45-47.*

[30] *Angela Woollacott, "The Colonial Flaneuse: Australian Women Negotiating Turn-of-the-Century London",* Signs*, 25 (2000): 761; Bannerman, "Making Australian Food History", 57.*

[31] South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal, *December 21, 1850, 4.*

[32] *Margaret Pearson,* Cookery Recipes for the People *(Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1888), preface.*
[33] *Clara Aspinall,* Three Years in Melbourne *(London: L. Booth, 1862), 102.*
[34] *Phillip Muskett,* The Art of Living in Australia *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1997), 182, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/p00022.xml;chunk.id=d1210e450;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d1210e450;database=;collection=;brand=default.*
[35] *Cambridge, Ada.* The Three Miss Kings (*London: Virago, 1897), 74.*
[36] *Ralph Clark,* The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792 *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), 119, http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/clajour; Vigar,* Australian Colonial Cookery, *25; Meredith, Notes and Sketches, 66.*
[37] *Muskett,* The Art of Living, *115.*
[38] *Muskett,* The Art of Living, *55.*
[39] *Aspinall,* Three Years in Melbourne*, 102.*
[40] *Rhiannon Donaldson, "Revisiting a well a 'well-worn theme': the duality of the Australian Christmas Pudding 1850-1950".* Eras Journal *6 (2015): 6.*
[41] *Meredith,* Notes and Sketches*, 67.*
[42] *Mary Theresa Vidal,* Bengala or, Some Time Ago *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2000), 46, http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/.*
[43] *Sasha Griffin, 2015.* S.T. Gill & his audiences *(Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2015), 76.*
[44] *Muskett,* The Art of Living, *16.*
[45] *It was predominantly men who came in the early years of the Australian gold rushes.*
[46] *Griffin,* S.T. Gill, *76; O'Brien,* Flavours of Melbourne*, 71.*
[47] *Victoria also experienced a severe depression on the back of its heady gold rush decades.*
[48] *Muskett,* The Art of Living*, 16.*
[49] *Griffin,* S.T.Gill*, 76.*
[50] Modern Cookery for Private Families *was first published in 1845. It was sold in Australia. It is considered to be—most notably by Elizabeth David—the best book on English food that has yet been published.*
[51] *Valmai Hankel, ed.,* First Catch Your Kangaroo: A Letter about Food Written from the Bendigo Goldfields in 1853 by William Howitt to Eliza Acton *(South Australia: The Libraries Board of South Australia, 1990), 16.*
[52] *The 'muffin' referred to here is a pull-apart savoury roll, not the cake like item we now more commonly use this term for.*
[53] *Henkal,* Catch Your Kangaroo*, 16.*
[54] *Henkal,* Catch Your Kangaroo *16.*
[55] *Henkal, 17; Barbara Santich, ed.* In the Land of the Magic Pudding: A Gastronomic Miscellany *(Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2000), 18.*
[56] *The Chinese who came to Australian goldfields predominantly came from the Canton region.*
[57] *Nat Gould,* Town and Bush: Stray Notes on Australia (*Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1974), 103.*
[58] *Arthur Bicknell,* Travel and Adventure in Northern Queensland *(London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1895), 89.*
[59] *Robert Hogg, "The Most Manly Class that Exists: British Gentleman on the Queensland Frontier".* Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 13 (2011): 68.*
[60] *Hogg, "The Most Manly", 68.*

[61] *Hogg, "The Most Manly", 68.*
[62] *J. Ritchie Ewing,* An Australian Ramble or A Summer in Australia*. (Paternoster Square, London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1890),169.*
[63] *Trollope, Anthony.* Australia and New Zealand Vol.1 *(London, Chapman and Hall, 1876), 76, http://www.archive.org/stream/australiaandnew03trolgoog#page/n10/mode/2up.*
[64] *Trollope,* Australia and New Zealand*, 76.*
[65] *Trollope,* Australia and New Zealand*, 13; "Black Cuisine vs. White Cookery",* The Brisbane Courier , *May 4,1872, 7.*
[66] *"Black Cuisine vs. White Cookery", 7.*
[67] *Trollope,* Australia and New Zealand*, 84.*
[68] *Trollope,* Australia and New Zealand*, 149; Gould,* Town and Bush*, 65; Bicknell,* Travel and Adventure*, 74; "Black Cuisine vs. White Cookery", 7.*
[69] *Gould,* Town and Bush, *65.*
[70] *"Black Cuisine vs. White Cookery", 7; Gould,* Town and Bush, *65-66.*
[71] *Godfrey Charles Mundy,* Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies: With a Glimpse of the Gold fields *(London: Richard Bentley, 1885), 33.*
[72] *Muskett,* Art of Living*, 96.*
[73] *Donaldson, "Revisiting a well a 'well-worn theme", 6.*
[74] The Age*, Saturday November 30, 1867, 4.*

Chapter 4: The cook and the help

When the will of Michael O'Connor of Adelaide was read out in 1897 it was discovered that he had left his entire estate, a modest £300, to a neighbour, Mrs Carpenter, leaving his widow penniless. This spousal disownment had not resulted as it might be imagined from an extramarital affair, rather from alleged bad domestic cookery. Mr O'Connor suffered from indigestion and claimed in his will that Mrs O'Connor had tried to poison him with her "unacceptable culinary efforts" forcing him to seek his meals at his neighbour's table. While he was alive "nothing pleased him better" than to taunt his wife by saying to her: "God sends meat but the devil sends cooks" —perhaps his testate action had been intended to make her life hell.[1] O'Connor was not the only one who liked to suggest that Lucifer was the progenitor of colonial cooks. The epigram he used appeared nearly 100 times in the colonial press across the nineteenth century in relation to the standards of Australian cooks, and it was aired in more kitchens than the O'Connor's. [2] A women's columnist for a Victorian newspaper called the saying an "old saw" … often quoted for no other reason than that which arises from discontent and a disposition to grumble at everything. But unfortunately, it is too often a badly cooked dinner … that draws forth this ungallant speech"[3]. It was popular sport to complain about the ineptitude of colonial cooks citing them as the cause of all the unhappy marriages and cases of dyspepsia in the colonies: the devil at work indeed.[4]

After traveling the world as a naval cook and trying the cookery of France, Turkey and Java before settling in Australia the pseudonymously named "Doctor" wrote to a colonial newspaper disagreeing with the "scathing criticism" commonly made of Australian cookery. He proclaimed that his experience in the matter "leads me to think that Australian women are generally good cooks"; he only stopped short of decreeing them the "best cooks in the world" because they tended to be extravagant in their use of eggs, butter and sugar.[5] The question of the "cooking ability of Australian women" was the subject of several letters to Sydney *Sunday Times* in 1896. In the opinion of the "Gastriloquist" Australian cooks were entitled to a victory wreath for their "efforts in the culinary department". Their merit derived from skill in producing clean, simple, appetising food that "surprised with savouriness, all the while being "economical". Foreign cooks on the other hand made dishes that were too spicy and fatty for his taste.[6] On the same letter page J.G. De Libra expressed his opinion that "foreign cooks are

unequalled" and while he stops short of expressing a direct opinion of Australian women cooks he says that they fail to make the most of any abilities they might have because they cook so much meat.[7] There are many more contradictory views on colonial cookery across the records. The author of an essay about the Victorian goldfields that appeared in *Household Words* said that opinions of conditions there were so "perfectly contradictory "as to be "perfectly bewildering": the same could be said of the views on colonial cookery. [8]Negative opinion of colonial cooks tends to be the more vigorously reported and Australian historians for the large part have preferred to stick to these, but clearly there were colonial Australians who enjoyed the food their cooks made for them. The one thing all the commentators agreed upon was that the Australian cooks they were commenting on were women.

Leaving your wife, and children, without a cent in favour of a mere acquaintance was a cruel act and it suggests that the source of O'Connor's discontent might have been more than badly cooked meals. One wonders if his indigestion might have stemmed from a disposition towards excessive drinking and/or if he was sharing more with Mrs Carpenter than his dinner. The source of the general discontent with colonial cooks can similarly be considered to originate in more than the food on the table, yet unlike my unsubstantiated speculation on the source of the tensions in the O'Connor marriage there is a case to be made on evidence.

Sir Joseph Banks —his knighthood bestowed for services that included his role in the discovery of Australia —wrote to William Bligh in 1805 offering him the Governorship of New South Wales with the particular encouragement to accept the position because he would easily find rich husbands there for his four unmarried daughters. If Bligh had been inclined he could have made himself a tidy fortune into the bargain, instead he chose to focus on reforms that interfered with the dubious and sometimes illegal wealth accumulation projects being pursued by officers of the crown in cahoots with private individuals. A mutiny against Bligh put an end to his meddling and he returned to England unaccompanied by any colonial sons-in-law: Money had won out over morals, an outcome many in England would have considered inevitable in a place "tainted with felony" where "rascals, such as ex-convicts and lesser members of the military, could make "colossal fortunes".[9] Others held a view of the place more aligned with Bligh's usurpers and they came out to pursue the "many openings to wealth in the new colonies".[10] In the first instance it was the possibility of land holding that attracted them

and after 1851 it was gold, business and land. All in all it was a "moneymaking place" and the settler in Australia "devotes his every thought and energy" to acquiring it.[11]

The English journalist James Ewing Ritchie rambled around Australia when it was booming with post gold-rush prosperity but he advised those who were well-off in England they would find no advantage in coming out to the colonies: he needn't have bothered to tell them that, socially and financially well-placed Britons were not inclined to emigrate anywhere, let alone the antipodes.[12] The free settlers who came to Australia were individuals who, because of background or lack of inherited wealth or connections, had limited socio-economic prospects in Britain. In immigrating to the new world a clever man had the opportunity to achieve through hard work and ingenuity what had been "denied [him] in the old".[13] No matter where on the social scale he had begun in life, as a man grew rich in the colonies he aimed to create a lifestyle that emulated the habits and privileges of the British elite—as best he understood these—in which a key indicator of status was the employment of servants to do your domestic work; keeping a cook showed society that a man was rich enough to free the women of his domicile from the burdensome toil of cooking meals.[14]

Upwardly mobile colonial Australians might have had the means to employ a cook, however their aspirations to running a paid domestic workforce were often thwarted by a shortage of servants of all types. An advertisement seeking a 'man cook' in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* on July 7th 1803 offered the successful applicant the possibility of travelling to England or India with the family if they conducted themselves well. When this role had not been filled by August they widened their scope to a male or female cook, and when in late September the position remained vacant the employment notice was amended again with the words: "wanted immediately". Perhaps this call to urgency had the desired effect as the notice ceased to appear—or perhaps the family sailed off to the subcontinent where there was a more plentiful supply of servants. There were many more advertisements for cooks that sought to win their services with the offer of liberal wages. In the early decades of settlement a cook's "sobriety and honesty" and a character that "would bear the strictest scrutiny", testified by references, seemed to be more essential qualifications for employment than their skills.[15] The fact that there were emancipated convicts in the settlement's free workforce was at play in this concern for character but the requirement for a cook to provide evidence of moral competence prevailed across European society at the time. Domestic cook's were held with suspicion

because they were often entrusted with money to purchase supplies and to keep the accounts of this spending and therefore had the opportunity to adjust these to their advantage; in large household they had power over subordinate servants; and female cooks in particular were thought to possess a corruptive "sexual magnetism" that might be used to lure men, including the master, to serve her own purposes.[16] Colonial cooks were accused of deliberately breaking dishes and other equipment to get a kickback from the storekeeper from whom the replacement item was brought. [17]

The early colonial preference for employing male cooks stemmed more from pragmatism than concern about the potential allure of having a female in the kitchen. There were many more men than women in the colony so there would have been more males available to fill the role. [18] A male cook could also be expected to do all his own labour such as cutting firewood, cleaning out the kitchen chimney and butchering poultry and small game thus reducing the number of servants required to run a kitchen. A female cook would need someone else to do this heavy work for her.[19] In a circumstance were servants were reasonably scarce, and could therefore demand high wages, being able to engage just one to do everything saved the effort of trying to find more of them in a competitive market, and for middling households it saved them money.[20] Conversely, employing a skilled man to prepare household meals could be prestigious because you had to be able to afford to pay him higher wages and provide a wider range of component ingredients so he could prepare 'made dishes' that required more sophisticated culinary skills to produce than roast or boiled meats. Anyone reading the advertisement in *The Sydney Gazette* in 1803 seeking a 'man cook' who "understands pastry and made dishes" would have understood the would-be employer to be wealthy, and socially ambitious. There would have been female cooks perfectly capable of producing fancy dishes but they could not access the type of professional culinary education available to men so their work was not valued as highly.[21]

As the nineteenth century progressed into its second half advertisements for domestic cooks in the colonial newspapers more often specified that a female was wanted for the role —commercial establishments such as hotels continued to prefer men to do the work—and from here on the gender of household cooks, paid or obliged to do the work through family role, can be taken to be female; men cooks will make a reappearance later in the chapter. The number of women in the colonies had grown exponentially, such that they outnumbered men by the end of the colonial period, and the wide range of

opportunities available to men for more lucrative work than household servitude contributed to females dominating the market for paid domestic cooks—a role they had long occupied as unpaid wives and daughters. And if the state of cooking in the colonies was poor then it was women who were blamed: Ritchie Ewing lamented the plight of Australian husbands who had wives who were "egregiously over-dressed" yet had no idea how to cook a steak and boil a potato; others complained that this simple combination was all that many colonial cooks knew to make.[22]

Colonial Australians keenly employed domestic servants yet they tended to have a "bad attitude" towards them.[23] The first domestic workers in the colonies had been assigned convicts and a prejudice would have lingered from that association. What informed this negative mind-set towards domestic workers was that many of their employers had not long left the lower classes, and possibly service work, themselves. Their disdain for their servants acted as a defence against revealing their own humble origins in a society that was in a collective state of ruthless social climbing and riven with tension about background as people jostled to gain position and status. What they did not seem to realise was that putting your servants down and treating them poorly was a clear signal that you had not been brought up with people serving you. There was another issue of origin at play in the bigotry towards colonial servants, including cooks, and that was that many of them were Irish.

BRIDGET O'RILEY AT WORK

The majority of the Australian population throughout nineteenth century were English or of English origin; the next biggest group were Irish who made up a quarter of the populace. The historic relationship between the English and Irish was flammably antagonistic, fuelled by religious and ethnic differences and issues of sovereignty. Tens of thousands of Irish prisoners had been transported to Australia by the 1830s—a number of them convicted of seditious activities against the British crown—many of the 9,000 women in their number were assigned out as household servants to cook and clean for military men and free settlers. Irish also freely emigrated to the Australian colonies to escape economic and cultural oppression and there were many unmarried girls amongst them sent out by their families to find work: domestic service was the most accessible employment for them. In 1841 the humanitarian worker Caroline Chisholm set up the 'Female Immigrant's Home' in Sydney to provide free accommodation for single women

who had been sent out to New South Wales from Britain to find work. Chisholm had been compelled to this action through concern that without "friends or advisors" to look out for them these young women were prey to the attentions of unscrupulous men and "did not conduct themselves with propriety".[24] The Home provided a place of moral and bodily safety as well as functioning as an agency to place the girls in domestic work—the fees charged for this service partially funding the Home. Chisholm noted the distinct aversion potential employers had to taking Irish girls to do their cooking and cleaning:

> *"Have you no English [girls]?" "Not one." "Then I will go without; I am so thoroughly disgusted with the Irish."*
> *"If you can send me a very smart English girl, you will oblige me; but another Irish girl, I will not take".* [25]

She was surprised by this attitude as her experience had shown her that nearly all the girls, whether Irish, English, Scottish or Welsh, sent out to the colony to work as servants needed training and she doubted that one nationality was better than the other. She found the Irish girls "well-disposed, and anxious and willing to learn". If they were found to be wanting as servants it was because few of them had experience working for genteel families in Ireland. Chisholm believed that if the girls were not good servants it was the fault of their employers who did not take the time to teach them how to cook and clean because they did not know how to do these things properly themselves. [26] Over the years 1845-1852 more than 4,000 young Irish girls orphaned in the Great Famine were selected from the workhouses they had been consigned to and shipped out to Australia to help rectify the shortage of wives and domestic servants.[27] When these Irish girls arrived in Australia people jeered them in the streets and characterised them as slovenly, stupid, and sneeringly referred to them as "Bridget' or 'Biddy'. [28] They took them as domestic servants though all the while complaining about them. Richard Twopeny was dismayed when he discovered that "four out of five" servants working in Adelaide in the 1870s were Irish, as he believed them all to be "dirty liars".[29] A sarcastic feature in a Victorian newspaper outlined the faults purportedly shared by all female Irish servants: she did things backwards, had gentlemen callers, dared to insist on having a night off and most significantly that she knew no more of cookery than "what had been acquired amongst the bogs of old Ireland", exampled by a supposedly typical conversation between 'Bridget' and her employer:

"Are you able to do plain cooking?" queried the mistress.
"The plainer the better for me ma'am" responded Bridget.
"Now look here, then", said the lady. " My husband likes his meat boiled and I like mine roasted. You understand?"
Yes, ma'am" assented the domestic.
"Now, if I gave you a fowl to cook for dinner, how would you do it?
"I would roast it first ma'am' said Bridget thoughtfully, "and you could ate your share, thin[sp] I would boil the rest for the masther [sp.]"[30]

If the Irish girls taken into service in colonial Australian households were poor cooks it was because they almost all came from impoverished rural backgrounds where their experience of cooking and eating would have been of simple dishes—bread, cheese, vegetable and cereal pottages flavoured with bacon—if they had actually had enough to eat. Their young age and unmarried state meant that their domestic experience was limited; their formal education most certainly was, and they generally possessed few skills when they arrived in the colonies beyond their youthful capacity for labour. The complaints about their bad cookery might additionally been informed by people having greater expectations of what they wanted on their tables than the girls knew how to cook. An Irish servant might put a decent loaf of home-baked bread and a nice stew on the table but if her aspirant employer thought they should be eating something else as due their status it was bound to be received with complaint and dissatisfaction: something that may have been heightened by the consideration that the reason they had to put up with 'Bridget's' poor cooking was that they could not afford anything better.

There are two classes of servants in the colony...the better class may only be had by giving the highest wages, which some people will not and others cannot do. They have, therefore to put up with inferior servants"[31]

COOK'S NIGHT OFF

There was general consternation at the perceived magnificence of a cook's earnings in the colonies. Regardless of her skill she could expect to get £40 a year at a minimum —the same amount a skilled female cook in London would earn as a top wage—and she was further criticised for her enjoyment in spending her salary on fancy clothing and fripperies to dress up in when she went on the weekly night out her employer begrudged

her taking.[32] After spending several years living in Victoria in the 1850s Elizabeth Murray wrote the novel *Ella Norman* to purposefully deter upper-class do-gooders from their well-meaning practice of sending impoverished English girls out to find work, and husbands, in the Australian colonies.[33] She uses a scene with a cook to demonstrate the social disorder of the place:

> *Ella left the piano, and the two ladies sat down before the fire just lighted by the elegant Bessie, whose £40 per annum as cook enabled her to indulge her taste for dress to her heart's content*[34].

That a mere cook was so extravagant, and that her employer let her get away with it, would have been shocking to the aristocratic ladies in England that Murray intended her book for. It was the moral duty of a mistress to train her servants to be respectful, obedient and thrifty.[35] By showing that a cook was allowed to get away with such profligate behaviour Murray intended to raise doubts in the minds of her audience as to the appropriateness of sending young girls out to Australia if they were to be under the charge of inadequate instructors.

Echoing Chisholm and Murray, others laid the blame for poor domestic cookery on mistresses who themselves did not know how to cook and therefore could not instruct a servant on how to select and treat good quality ingredients, plan appropriate menus, prepare well-made meals and be economical in all her culinary practices. One cook complained that her employer hampered her capacity to provide good meals because she refused to provide the right cooking equipment.[36] Then there were the women, who had little skill in cookery who could not afford, or could not find, a cook, which left them to muddle through meal preparation as best they could often to the disappointment of those they fed—Mrs O'Connor perhaps being a case in point. The solution to the problem of poor cookery in the colonies was widely held to lie in the establishment of training courses focused on culinary education that could equally serve to improve the cookery skills of general servants; increase the pool of trained cooks; demonstrate to "refined and educated ladies how things ought to be done" such that they could then train their servants; and teach unmarried girls how to properly run a kitchen once they had successfully snared a rich husband.[37]

A correspondence that went on in the Melbourne press over a decade in the mid-nineteenth century is an instructive example of the issues that beset colonial cooks and

the products of their kitchens. In 1863 the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* carried an article decrying the "tyranny" of female domestic workers. The writer decried them as a selfish breed interested only in making money and improving their own circumstances and stridently declared that the lot of them were terrible cooks.[38] He describes the typical servant cook as a female who previous to her arrival in the colony had lived in a "cellar or mud hut… and existed on a singular diet of potatoes and red herring…when she could get something to eat at all"—a pointed and callous reference to Irish girls come out in the wake of the famine.[39] As a potential solution to the collective ineptitude of Melbourne's domestic cooks he welcomed the announcement that a servants 'Home' where working-class females could be trained in cookery was to be opened. Similar to Chisholm's Sydney establishment, this 'Melbourne Home' would provide respectable accommodation for servant girls between assignments and act as a placement agency for domestic staff with the fees charged for this service to be used to fund the proposed cookery instruction. More than a decade passed before this cookery training is mentioned again and it seems that in that time the servant situation had not improved. The annual report of the committee of the Home announced that there were so few servants coming through its agency that it was not generating sufficient revenue to fund cookery training for its "inmates". [40] In light of this pecuniary challenge, the committee proposed to offer cookery classes to the general public for a fee. They believed that such classes would be attractive to women who wanted to take an active part in the management of their households and become "independent of servants"—possibly a polite way of acknowledging that some ladies may have had no choice in the matter because they could not afford a cook even if they could find one.[41]

MAIDS OF HONOUR

Working as a cook or a general servant—a role that typically included cookery work—was the major form of employment for women in Victoria —as was the case in the other colonies —however work opportunities were expanding.[42] Over the decade between 1861 and 1871 the number of women who made their living ministering to "entertainment and clothing" tripled.[43] Working as a barmaid serving drinks to male customers in a hotel might have qualified as such "ministering to entertainment"; it was certainly a new opportunity for female employment. When the entrepreneurial Felix Spiers and Christopher Pond—the same caterers whose Parisian triumph opened this book—began

to employ young women to serve drinks at the Royal Hotel in Melbourne it was hailed as innovation—by the more open minded. [44] The respectable citizens of Melbourne considered that these barmaids were there purely to entertain male patrons and were little better than prostitutes. In a scene from *Ella Norman* the heroine, a young English gentlewoman recently arrived in the colonies, reads an advertisement in the local newspaper for "fifty young ladies of pleasing appearance and good address" to work for Spiers and Pond at their Café de Paris.[45] She finds this curious and asks her genteel host:

> *"Why don't they have men as waiters?"*
> *"Because the Café would lose half its attractions and half its profits. To chaff with or at an innocent and pure young girl, is one of the chief attractions of our loafers about town. A few months and the bloom is off the perch, and the downhill road swiftly run".*[46]

Murray would have intended this scene to further alarm the aristocratic ladies in London she believed were unwittingly providing "plenty of candidates" for this corrupting work by sending out unaccompanied young women to Australia as "bait' for employers happy to "expose poor girls to such an ordeal" for their own gain.[47] Spiers and Pond were astute businessmen who surely intended to profit by employing pretty girls to serve drinks in the male dominated environment of their hotel.[48] They went to some effort though to ensure their female staff maintained their decency. They promoted them as "Maids of Honour" and uniformed them in neat black dresses with demure lace collars and cuffs that covered them from neck to wrist to ankle—in the fashion of the day these would have been nipped at the waist to highlight the female form underneath. Less conservative commentators thought Spiers and Pond's barmaids were the "pick of the basket" who were often whisked off from their work to become the wife of an enamoured patron and assume a position of respectable housewifery: they might even have employed a cook if their husband was good earner. [49]

There were only so many girls that Spiers and Pond could employ, even if the turnover was high due to marriage proposals, and it was Melbourne's sewing factories, that dominated the use of the town's female workforce.[50] Knowing that there were increasing alternative employment opportunities for them and that demand for their services was high because more women were choosing other types of work left servant cooks in a position of some power. It is possible that they were less compliant, less

deferential and more demanding about pay and conditions than their employers expected, and if the mistress could not or did not want to cook, then such behaviours could easily have been felt as 'tyrannical': sending an unappetising meal to the table might have been a subtle threat that cook was not happy with her situation.

The role of the domestic servant cook had remained much the same for centuries. The clothing factories women chose to work in were a product of industrial advancement, and the fact that they could work independently in a hotel was an outcome of social change—whether welcome or not—affected by technological developments. In the more egalitarian climate of Australia self-respecting young women did not want to go into domestic servitude in part because there was no training and opportunities for advancement that more modern occupations offered. [51] Which brings us back to cookery training in Melbourne, but first another scene from Ella Norman in which Jane, the maid, informs her mistress she is leaving:

I am not going to demean myself in service any more. Me quarter's up next week, and from today is a wakes [sp] warning.[52]

Despite the dearth of servants coming through the Melbourne Home the committee still held with the idea that running cookery classes would be of interest to females who wanted to work as cooks. After all there was a demand for them and there was decent money in the work; it just needed to be professionalised with training to improve the standard of cookery and thus raise the status of cooks and improve the appeal of the role. There might have been an element of wishful thinking in this as most of the members of the committee, belonged to the Melbourne gentry. They would have been hard pressed to live in the style their social rank required without servants, especially a cook, so they needed to ensure a supply of trained domestics were available. To this end the committee announced its intention to run cookery classes at the Melbourne Home similar to those taught at the National Training School for Cookery in London assisted by a graduate from this august institute and sought public donations to support this proposal.

DIRECT FROM LONDON: THE LATEST IN DOMESTIC ECONOMY

One of the most newsworthy exhibits at the 1873 London Exhibition was a temporary kitchen were the public could take in a series of cookery demonstrations of "100 dishes particularly suited to all the classes with incomes exceeding £500". In response to this display 25,000 visitors to the Exhibition signed a petition to say that they would be "glad

to see the mode of cookery among the middle and poorer classes sensibly improved".[53] The average wage of a working class man at the time was £50 pounds a year; it is a curiosity as to how seeing dishes prepared that required an income ten times that amount inspired people to make the connection with helping those who they considered culinarily challenged. None the less the public enthusiasm for the proposal led to the establishment of the National Training School for Cookery (The School) dedicated to producing teachers to instruct the "poor and ignorant" to improve their cookery knowledge and skill.[54] The establishment of The School was widely reported in the London newspapers that were eagerly read in the colonies and were influential in shaping fashion, preference and ambition in Australia. As was the practice of the day interesting articles would be clipped from the imported newspapers and re-reported in local ones and news of The School was further disseminated in the colonial press. When the intention of the Melbourne Home to run cookery classes modelled on the program of The School was announced Melburnians would have known of the success of this establishment in England and they were forthcoming with the requested donations to help establish similar cookery education in the colony, although their motivation was more concerned with resolving their own "servant difficulty" than improving the meals of the poor. [55] In September 1875 the Melbourne Home's secretary announced that an invitation would be extended to the general public to attend its cookery classes for a fee.[56] This announcement inspired a wave of letters to the newspapers weighing in on the subject of cookery. According to the opinions of these various correspondents, local (Melbourne), colonial (all of Australia) and British cookery were all objectionable—as these were essentially the same thing their views were at least congruent. Between them they denounced the food habits and cookery of the labouring classes and identified bad cookery as an "evil that exists in almost every middle-class household".[57] The quality of the language employed by these correspondents suggests they were well educated and of a more elevated social position than the people they directly accused of cooking badly, however there was some reference to terrible meals being served by cooks in homes that could afford one: it seems the devil was at work in the kitchens of all classes.

> *There is no doubt if these classes [at the Melbourne Home] are patronised, many a miserably served table will be improved. Who that knows anything of housekeeping has not felt the anxiety that often crossed the mind of the head of the household as to whether the dinner served will be fit for guests. The*

> *disappointment constantly occurs of finding your cook who professed to understand the culinary art cannot boil a potato or a leg of mutton, and you must be satisfied with the latter raw to the centre.*[58]

The letter writers went on to cite all this bad cookery as the root cause of a litany of problems: loss of health and vigour in men; marital discord and domestic tragedies; social anxiety; intemperance caused by the man of the house having to seek compensation in drink when not satisfied by his dinner; and death resulting from partaking of improperly cooked food—it seems the digestive troubles, and perhaps the conjugal tension, of Michael O'Connor were widely shared by colonial men. [59] These opinion givers were unequivocal about who deserved the blame for this, potentially diabolical, failure of colonial cookery: in their collective view it was the women who kept servants; the women who cooked for their families and the women who worked as cooks. The correspondents identities are hard to determine as they all signed their writings with a *nom de plume* or an initial, but such definitive fault finding with female culinary skill suggests they were men, whom, would have rarely entered the kitchen of their own domicile. It is possible that women were amongst these critics, especially upper-class females who never cooked, as they were renowned for harshly judging their own sex for any perceived shortcomings.[60] Technically they were correct in blaming women for the standard of domestic cookery as it fell entirely on them to see to the feeding of their families. Perhaps if any of complainants had spent time in a colonial kitchen they might have been more sympathetic to the challenges faced by the cooks who had to work in them.

Having exhausted their individual gripes about the 'miserable' cookery they claimed they and their fellows were subjected to each correspondent enthusiastically welcomed the initiative of the Melbourne Home to teach cookery classes. Here was something that could contribute to ameliorating their suffering by helping "thousands of colonial women incapable of cooking even a chop or a potato properly" to develop the cookery skills that would keep the bread winner of the household in good temper, health and vigour; keep him away from drink and not only improve but "reconstitute…many a *ménage*".[61] The health and comfort of the whole family would be improved; waste would be eliminated leading to fiscal savings and the lady of the house could gain control and avoid being "held in thraldom by a tyrannical Biddy".[62] Clearly these critics wanted something 'better' on their domestic dinner plates but they failed to elucidate in any substantive way

exactly what would relieve their perilous culinary situation. I wonder if the cookery they hankered after might have had been somewhat fanciful, something that was beyond the scope of the domestic cook in a domestic kitchen. Their grumbles about cookery might have been indicative of uneasiness around the changing role of women in colonial society. The fact of young women choosing to work in factories, or hotels, and then spend their spare hours in enjoying public entertainments rather than remaining cosseted at home learning domestic skills must have disturbed the psyche of a few colonial men, as it certainly troubled conservative females, and complaints about cookery could have been an unconscious expression of unease about social change. Undoubtedly there were women in Melbourne who did keep a miserably served table, and the concerns expressed regarding the standards of cookery cannot be wholly dismissed as imagined or the product of psychological dissonance but its worth holding them up against these considerations.

As it turned out the first series of cookery classes held at the Melbourne Home were not delivered by a lady from The School as advertised but by Monsieur Desire Loyer a "well-known French cooking chef, thorough artist and efficient teacher".[63] The course of instruction he taught covered the fundamentals of soups, gravies, jellies and baking; roasting joints; boiling vegetables and preparing game, fish and poultry dishes. An article on the classes that appeared in a popular journal described the course participants as ladies with no experience of the "mysteries of life below the stairs", meaning those of the class who had no need to go into the kitchen.[64] A person who claimed to have attended Loyer's classes wrote to *The Argus* praising the teaching but saying that the price of participation, whilst justified due to the quality of the food used, made them too costly for the ordinary person, and certainly too expensive for the aspiring domestic servant. The writer went on to suggest that a much greater contribution to the betterment of the general level of cookery in Melbourne could be made by printing the recipes from the classes on postcards and sending these out to every home in the city—a suggestion that was not taken up. The Melbourne Home persisted in running cookery classes but failed to raise the funds to build a dedicated training kitchen. This hampered the development of a serious cookery education program as classes had to be taught in the same kitchen that was used to prepare meals for the women staying there, and then only in between mealtimes.

When the first graduate of The School finally arrived in 1879 to assist Melburnians to improve their cookery the Melbourne Home was either no longer involved in teaching cookery, or was unable to accommodate the style of Mrs Macpherson, a 'first class diplomee' of that revered institute and latterly of the Edinburgh School of Cookery. She delivered her cookery lectures on the stage at the Athenaeum theatre. Her performance there included demonstrating how to truss, dress and boil a chicken and prepare an egg sauce to serve with it; fry fish; clarify fat; whip up an omelette and make an Albert pudding. The charge to watch Macpherson at the Athenaeum was modest and she reportedly attracted large audiences of females. From Melbourne she embarked on a tour of the eastern colonies that attracted good crowds and gratifying newspaper reports. Her lectures were considered to have helped thousands of women to learn about the "evil, which exists in almost every middle-class household" but the demonstration format was thought to be ineffective in helping them to develop any practical experience in improving their malevolent cookery.[65]

The next graduate of The School to arrive in Melbourne was Miss Margaret J. Pearson in 1888. She had come at the invitation of the Working Men's College to teach practical hands-on cookery classes of the type she had been running in England and Scotland. Her appointment was partly supported by the Victorian government who had agreed to fund 40 state school students to attend the classes: an action that was an interim step towards the introduction of cookery classes as part of Victoria's compulsory secondary school curriculum for girls. Persistent calls for 'cookery reform' had been influential in this decision. If was believed if girls weren't learning to cook at home, making it part of their formal education ensured they had some cookery knowledge and practical skill when they entered upon their eventual role as provider of family meals. Traditionalists complained about this, claiming that teaching cookery in schools was a waste of money and resources on things that should be learnt in the home—where they no doubt felt women belonged.

Pearson ran day classes for school students and evening classes primarily attended by young women who worked during the day.[66] The overt purpose of these classes was to teach cookery but they also offered participants an opportunity to 'improve' themselves—even if it was incidentally. Conservatives might have decried formal cookery education for girls but it was one of the few educational opportunities available to females outside of secondary school. Attending cookery classes presented the participants with the

opportunity to improve their literacy (reading recipes and instructions); mathematical skills (weighing, measuring and altering recipes); knowledge of science and technology (as applied to cookery); logic (pulling a meal together from shopping to clean up) and values (etiquette and social behaviours). Pearson's training at The School and her likely background, placed her in good stead to impart this additional knowledge and model desirable social behaviours to her students.

RESPECTABLE YOUNG WOMEN

If a woman wanted to undertake The School's course of training to become a cookery instructor she had to be able to read and write, be confident and capable of speaking in front of an audience, have 'superior manners' and the desire to be of use to others, that is she had to come from a totally different class to the people she would eventually teach.[67] Such selection criteria determined that the trainees would have to come from the middle and upper middle classes, yet it was an imperative of these classes that women did not work, instead they married men who could afford to keep a wife cocooned in the domestic sphere and focused on her family. This was problematic for a woman not in possession of an independent income or a male to support her. If her father had died and her elder brother chose not to share the family wealth with her—as was his prerogative—and she was unable to find a husband to keep her, or if her husband died without leaving her well provided for, she had to go out and work. The roles deemed suitable for respectable ladies without means had been limited to governess or ladies companion. The establishment of The School helped expand those options and the work of 'cookery instructor' gained a listing in the popular *Cassell's Household Guide* as a suitable occupation for respectable young women who need to earn their bread. It can be surmised then that Pearson, was a woman able to role model appropriate social behaviours to her pupils all the while teaching them to cook.

Public carping about the poor state of domestic cookery was not exclusive to the colonies. The British press was full of comment and debate on the same topic with prominent people such as Charles Dickens writing scathingly of the standards of English cookery.[68] Given the strong tendency of colonial Australians to take their cue from the Metropolis they might have been inspired to start complaining about local cookery because it had become something of a fashion in London to express dissatisfaction with domestic cooks and cookery. Articles taken from English newspapers decrying the eating

habits of the lower and middle classes there were regularly reprinted in the Australian press. A piece entitled "English cookery" that had originally appeared in Germany was translated and disseminated in England and subsequently widely reproduced in the colonial press. In this article a "lady tourist" from Germany complained about the "lamentable" English cookery she had encountered on a visit to London; the roast meats were not cooked through enough for her taste; "sweetly sour" rhubarb tarts were "terrible"; she was flummoxed that the English served up their green vegetables "in a shocking natural condition"—an interesting comment given the more common charge that British cooks subjected vegetables to an overly long application of heat —and puddings were so "dreadful" she pronounced that nothing less than a "root and branch reform" of the English culinary condition was required: The "only one way to stem the tide" on the appalling state of pastry and sweetmeats was for the parliament to forthwith engage a Viennese pudding cook to instruct the nation— it's reasonable to suggest that something of a national bias was at play in the Frau's commentary. [69] The idea of 'cookery reform' she raised in 1856 developed into an issue of national importance in England, and was concurrently taken up in Australia. [70] Of the many of the articles advocating such cookery reform in the colonial press most were taken from British newspapers and journals and described the culinary conditions there that were in need of improvement. In a talk given in Melbourne in 1897 on the reformist subject of 'hygiene in cookery' the speaker took all the evidence he used to substantiate his argument from English examples.[71] If colonial Australians were content to take their direction on this topic from London, which is perfectly understandable if they knew themselves as English, we will also look there.

There was a general mood for reform in Britain in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was held as truth that the application of scientific method and principles of rationality and logic would progress social and moral advancement, improve physical and community wellbeing and build a strong nation.[72] This communal striving for betterment included strident demands for "urgent" reformation of cookery, especially in burgeoning towns.[73] Practical training in cookery was considered to be key in affecting such reform hence the establishment of The School was a key initiative towards this end.[74] Referring to the work of household cookery as domestic science, domestic economy or household management was intended to name it as practice to which formal fundamental principles could be learnt and applied for its betterment. This drive to reform the way people cooked

in England was inevitably voiced by the privileged and educated in respect to the food habits of those they considered socially beneath them. They held that the poor, the working classes and the middle classes—depending on who was giving their opinion—were wasteful with food and that helping them to rationally improve the way they cooked and ate "would save them untold sums" and "benefit their health and strength."[75] The School reportedly received letters every day from the "upper classes" requesting an instructor be sent out to show the workers in their locale "how to stop wasting their food through sheer ignorance".[76] The progressive industrialisation of Britain over the nineteenth century catalysed the movement of a significant part of the population into London and large industrial towns where there were more opportunities for work. Urbanisation brought the different classes into closer contact with each other and the wealthy in some part arrived at their opinions about how the lesser classes ate because they were now 'seeing' more of them: What people chose to feed their families was "no longer a private matter."[77] Proximity also inspired social competition.[78]

> *All the foolish extravagance of English life is due to the inherent snobbishness of our nature. The merchant apes the noble, and the shopkeeper apes the merchant and the first notion of the poor man who has made a few shillings is to dress himself in the costume of the class just above him.*[79]

One of the common charges made against the upper classes was that they were needlessly extravagant and wasteful with food, and that they suffered enormously from the malaise of indigestion because of their gastronomic prodigality. Perhaps it did not occur to them that the lesser classes might be trying to imitate them.[80] Other commentators were writing about how difficult it was for a workingman to provide for his family on a small income, so you have to wonder how much food was really being wasted.

CLEAN EATING

A key element of cookery reform was improving its 'hygiene'. Under this banner were concerns that the type of materials use to make pots and pans and utensils should be non-poisonous—Dr Nield's talk was largely concerned with the dangers of using copper cookware—and the "inexorable necessity" to keep kitchen and its equipment scrupulously clean.[81] Hygienic cookery also meant the cook understood how to choose nourishing food, prepare it so that it retained its nutritive value and maintain strict

economy while doing so—this latter principle largely concerned with avoiding waste by using up every scrap off food. These hygienic principles were embedded in The School's training program.[82] The course of instruction emphasised cleanliness, economy and nutritional principles. The practical lessons were taught from the school's own handbook in which the recipes are methodically laid out and the commentary on these sparse and to the point. This manual has the tone of a dour moral tract and there is not one hint in it that the poor and ignorant cooks that were to be taught from it might take any pleasure in their meals. The School was a very earnest institution and the serious tone it adopted was considered necessary to ensure that domestic cookery was imbued with the importance due to it, and that women were valued for the contribution they made to their families physical, financial and social wellbeing through their role as cook. The School provided its training program to students free of charge on the understanding that as qualified instructors they would go out into poor parishes and country towns and deliver cookery education based on the principles they had learnt.[83] The colonies seem to have qualified as a place in need of cookery reform as Macpherson and Pearson were joined there by fellow diplomees Harriet Wicken and Annie Fawcett Story. These women were the first to provide formal instruction in domestic economy in Australia. Through their influence and leadership formal cookery education for girls became part of the curriculum in Australian schools by the late 1880s. In 1897 the woman's editor of the Melbourne Herald, Rita Vaile, laid out her principals for 'hygienic cookery': the use of "non-poisonous utensils, perfect cleanliness, the adoption of the scientific principles laid down for conserving the nutriment of food and the selection of nourishing food, [were] the cardinal points to be observed". [84] Vaile was not trained at The School but she could have been singing from its hymn book. She also told her readers that it was a "vulgar thing to do" to give children cake between meals and that offering a visitor a sweet cake at eleven o'clock in the morning would be interpreted as the act of a 'savage', and if the said confection has been bought instead of homemade the accusation of indolence would be added to the charge sheet".[85] Vaile seems to have absorbed the intertwined moral and rational approach to cookery advocated by culinary reformists.

THE MAN COOK

Now we come to the begging question: where were the male cooks? They could be found working in domestic kitchens in Australia more readily up until the middle decades of the

nineteenth century but as the century progressed they moved out of that realm and left that work to women. There were exceptions. Men continued to cook in the grandest residences. The kitchens of the governor's official home in each colony would most often have had a male chef presiding over it. The very wealthiest private households would have preferred to employ a man to prepare their meals as that was the practice of the British nobility and elite colonials would have felt it due their status to emulate this. It might have been a struggle to find the right man to do the job though as there were more lucrative commercial possibilities for skilled cooks in the colonies than being tied to a single employer. In Hobart one culinary *artiste* become the darling of the local aristocracy supplying the tables of everyone of any importance from the governor down with soups, pates and truffled vol-au-vents; he also ran a profitable sideline supplying ice and was reputed to be making himself a considerable fortune, moreover this particular cook was an ex-convict.[86]

A man working as head cook at a private gentleman's club would have commanded a good salary and it was a prestigious appointment.[87] Exclusive member-only clubs were an important British social institution replicated across the Anglophone world and membership of a club was a mark of social status. If a man had done well for himself gaining entrée to a club was a crown on his achievements. Clubs were every bit as popular in Australia as they were in London. Once a man had a club to belong to he would typically spend a lot of time there —many made it the centre of their world. Clubs were conveniently located in the city and offered the combined amenities of home, office and leisure place. There would be a library, a billiard room, a card room, private spaces to study, a bathhouse, sleeping quarters, a dining room, a bar, a well-stocked cellar, waiting staff and the camaraderie of fellow members enjoyed in an exclusively homo-social atmosphere.[88] The best food in the colonies was said to be found in its private clubs, at least by the men who patronised them, women could not make that judgement because they were not permitted to dine there, although respectable ladies were not in the habit of taking meals outside private domiciles. Two of the most famous chefs of the nineteenth century Alexis Soyer and Charles Elme Francatelli gained their celebrity running the kitchens of exclusive London clubs. No colonial club cook emulated their level of fame. The closest candidate was Alfred. J. Wilkinson who presided over the stoves at the Athenaeum Club in Melbourne. He was reputed to cook the best meals in that city. [89] He also wrote one of Australia's earliest cookbooks, *The Australian Cook,* in which he

championed the use of the gas for cookery. At a public cook-off designed to promote the advantages of various brands of gas burning stoves Wilkinson was reported to have triumphed in promoting the wares of his sponsor by preparing a meal of soup a la reine, whiting with maître d' hotel sauce, boiled Murray Cod with [real] oyster sauce, braised lamb cutlets with peas, lambs brains with tomato sauce, roast beef, boiled chicken with celery sauce, boiled potatoes, green peas, asparagus, rhubarb tart, custards, cabinet pudding and macaroni au gratin as the concluding savoury. [90] Women who read about this event in the newspaper might have been glad to gain some insight as to the type of dishes their menfolk were eating in their clubs. There was a prevailing sentiment that the only place a middle-class man could get anything fit to eat was at his club, because his wife and servants were profoundly ignorant of good cookery.[91] This notion was allowed to stand as a justification for abandoning his family dining table in favour of eating with his peers. Clubs were designed to allow a man to feel like he lived in grand surroundings. The food he could eat there was prepared by professional chefs and provided him with the experience of more sophisticated cookery and dining. If he went home and expected his wife or female cook to be able to replicate this magnificence no wonder he wrote to the papers and complained.

Male cooks also worked in hotels and restaurants of varied type and on outback stations, where they might work as shearers cook, a uniquely Australian culinary employment. Shearing sheep with manual clippers was extraordinarily physical work, a shearer had to hold the squirming animal and deftly slide his shears between wool and flesh to remove the fleece in one piece and he had to do it all quickly because he was paid per sheep. When it came time to eat a shearer was in possession of a huge appetite and the cook had to make sure there was enough of what they liked or risk the wrath of a team of strong men. A shearers' cook might travel with a shearing team as they moved from station to station if the men liked his handiwork. Station owners who employed a poor cook might find men reluctant to return to shear his flock the next season.

[1] *'Testamentary Caprice",* The Adelaide Advertiser*, May 15, 1897, 7.*

[2] *Attributed to English playwright David Garrick circa late 18th century. I found several variations used in Australian newspapers.*
"Heaven sends us good meat, but the devil sends us cooks".
"Heaven sends meat, but the devil sends us cooks".
"God sends good food, and the devil sends cooks".

"God send us meat and the devil sends us cooks".
"The Lord sends grub and the devil sends cooks".

[3] *"Of Interest to Women",* The Ballarat Star*, December 8, 1892, 65.*

[4] *"The Housekeeper",* The Queenslander*, October 20, 1883, 635.*

[5] *The Doctor, "Cooks: At Home and Abroad",* Nepean Times*, December 24, 1898, 7.*

[6] *"Can Australian Women Cook? They Can, By Gum!",* The Sunday Times*, November 22, 1896, 11.*

[7] *"Foreigners Are Unequalled",* The Sunday Times*, November 22, 1896, 11.*

[8] *Margaret Mendelawitz, ed, Charles Dickens' Australia: Selected* Essays from Household Words 1850-1859. Mining and gold (*Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2011), 119.*

[9] *J. Ritchie Ewing,* An Australian Ramble or A Summer in Australia *(Paternoster Square, London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1890), 134.*

[10] *Stephens, John.* The land of promise: being an authentic and impartial history of the rise and progress of the new British province of South Australia *(Australia: Smith Elder, 1836),1.*

[11] *Richard Twopenny,* Town Life in Australia *(Ringwood; Penguin Books, 1976), 95.*

[12] *Ewing,* Australian Ramble*, 134.*

[13] *Graham Connah,"The Lake Innes Estate: Privilege and Servitude in Nineteenth – Century Australia".* World Archaeology *33 (2001): 140*

[14] *Connah, "Lake Innes Estate", 140; Stephen Mennell,* All manners of food: eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present*. (United Kingdom: Blackwell, 1985), 212.*

[15] The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, May 8 1803, 4; Sean Takats,* The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France *(The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2011), 40.*
Takats, Expert Cook, 40.

[16] *Takats,* Expert Cook*, 55.*

[17] Melbourne Leader*, July 24, 1869, 5.*

[18] *Indeed, female servants were notoriously sexually abused by the men they worked for in the early colonial period: see Anne Summers,* Damned Whores and God's police *(Ringwood, Penguin, 1994).*

[19] *That is not to say she was not actually capable of doing it but the belief at the time was that women were not as physically capable as men.*

[20] *Shar Jones and Kirsten Otto,* Colonial Food and Drink 1788-1901 *(Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1985), 148.*

[21] *Mennell,* All Manners of Food*, 134.*

[22] *Ewing,* Australian Ramble*, 135.*

[23] *Connah, "Lake Innes Estate", 140.*

[24] *Caroline Chisholm,* Immigration Considered In a Brief Account of the Sydney Immigrants' Home (*Sydney: James Tegg, 1842), 3.*

[25] *Chisholm,* Immigration Considered*, 31.*

[26] *Chisholm,* Immigration Considered*, 22 & 50.*

[27] *These roles would have been indivisible for some women.*

[28] *John Rickard,* Australia: A Cultural History *(London: Longman, 1988), 37; Twopeny,* Town Life in *Australia, 51.*

[29] *Twopeny,* Town Life in Australia*, 49-62.*

[30] *"The Irish Domestic Servant",* Bairnsdale Advertiser and Tambo and Omeo, *November 22, 1902, 4.*

[31] *Clara Aspinall,* Three Years in Melbourne *(London: L. Booth, 1862), 192.*

[32] *"The domestic servant in Australia takes the cake in more senses than one when it is her night out. Her night out! It would be difficult to discover … when it is her night in", in Nat Gould,* Town and Bush: Stray Notes on Australia (*Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1974), 199.*

[33] *Elizabeth Murray,* Ella Norman: or, A Woman's Perils *(Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1985), preface.*

[34] *Murray,* Ella Norman*, 19.*

[35] *Blake Singley, 2014. "Everything Pertaining to the House: Cookbooks, Domestic Science and Ideology in Australia". In* Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond, *ed, Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts. (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 2.*

[36] *"Kitchen economies",* Temora Star *, June 30, 1900, 25.*

[37] *Colin Bannerman."Making Australian Food History".* Australian Humanities Review *51 (2011): 56; "The Housekeeper",* The Queenslander*, October 20, 1883, 635; "Australian V. London Cookery",* The West Australian*, September 16, 1898, 7, 1898.*

[38] *Just like most people who came out to the colonies.*

[39] The Illustrated Melbourne Post*, March 8, 1863, 5.*

[40] *Its full title was 'The Governess Institute and Melbourne Home' however it was commonly referred to as the 'Melbourne Home'.*

[41] *"Training School For Servants",* The Argus*, January 2, 1875, 5.*

[42] *Victorian Census 1861,'Occupations, ADA Historical, accessed August 22, 2015, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/VIC-1861-census_01-03_viii ; Victorian Census 1871, 'Occupations', ADA Historical, accessed August 22, 2015, http://hccda.anu.edu.au/pages/VIC-1871-census-01_22;*

[43] *Victorian Census 1871, 'Occupations', ADA Historical, accessed August 22, 2015, http://hccda.anu.edu.au/pages/VIC-1871-census-01_22*

[44] The Illustrated Australian News*, August 27,1867, 16.*

[45] *Murray refers to the place advertising for female workers as the Café De Paris. Spiers and Pond did run a restaurant of that name. It was in the same building as the Royal Hotel but women were only employed in the hotel bar as the Café exclusively employed male waiting staff as it was intended to replicate the rarefied atmosphere of a men's club; the bar was a more raucous place.*

[46] *Murray,* Ella Norman*, 21.*

[47] *Murray,* Ella Norman*, 21.*

[48] *'Respectable' women did not patronize hotel bars in Australia in the nineteenth century, of course there were 'unrespectable women' who did, but the majority of patrons were men.*

[49] *"The Barmaid".* Table Talk*, October 6, 1893, 10.*

[50] *"Topic of the Week",* The Australasian*, March 3, 1877, 18.*

[51] *Barrie, Dyster,* Servant & master: building and running the grand houses of Sydney 1788-1850 *(Kensington, N.S.W: New South Wales University Press, 1989), 16.*

[52] *Murray,* Ella Norman*, 25.*

[53] *"National Training School For Cookery",* The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24, 1874, 6.*

[54] *National Training School For Cookery",* The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24, 1874, 6.*

[55] *Editorial,* The Argus*, April 4, 1875, 4.*

[56] *Which was also the practice at NTSC; National Training School For Cookery",* The

Sydney Morning Herald, *June 24, 1874, 6.*

[57] *"National Training School for Cookery",* The Sydney Morning Herald, *June 24, 1874, 6.*

[58] *"Utilitas", letter to the editor,* The Argus , *September 11, 1875, 5.*

[59] The Argus, *June 17, 1876; "Utilitas", letter to the editor,* The Argus, *September 11, 1875, 5; Editorial,* The Argus, *April 4, 1875, 4.*

[60] *Linda Young,* Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain *(Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmilian, 2002); Penny Russell,* A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity *(Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994).*

[61] *"The Melbourne Home Cookery Classes", The Argus, September 28, 1875, 7.*

[62] *The Melbourne Home Cookery Classes", The Argus, September 28, 1875, 7.*

[63] *"The Cookery Classes At The Melbourne Home", The Argus, September 11, 1875, 5.*

[64] The Australasian Sketcher, *October, 1875, 8. In reality there were few homes in Melbourne with basement kitchens but the saying stems from the practice in England of citing the kitchen on the lowest storey of a house.*

[65] *"National Training School for Cookery",* The Sydney Morning Herald, *June 24, 1876, 6; Singley,* Everything Pertaining to the House, *6.*

[66] *Females could enter the workforce at 15.*

[67] *"Training in Cookery",* South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, *June 26, 1880, 15.*

[68] *William Henry Wills. "A Good Plain Cook".* Household Words, *May 11, 1850,139-141.*

[69] *"English Cookery",* Sydney Morning Herald, *August 2 1856, 8.*

[70] *I am not suggesting that the Frau was the originator of the call for cookery reform just that her comment fitted in with something that was already in the social ether.*

[71] *"Hygienic Cookery",* The Age, *October 16, 1897, 7.*

[72] *Singley,* Everything Pertaining to the House, *2.*

[73] *"National Training School for Cookery",* The Sydney Morning Herald, *June 24, 1874, 6.*

[74] *'Training in Cookery",* South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, *June 26, 1880 , 15.*

[75] *"Cookery Reforms",* The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser, March 22, 1890, 651.*There was suggestion that concern about the health of the lower classes stemmed from the idea that they would be better workers if they were better fed. See Mennell,* All Manners of Food.

[76] *"Training in Cookery",* South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, *June 26 1880 , 15.*

[77] *Singley,* Everything Pertaining to the House, *2.*

[78] *Mennell,* All Manners of Food, *212.*

[79] *"Cookery Reforms",* The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser, March 22, 1890, 651.

[80] *"Training in Cookery",* South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, *June 26, 1880, 15*

[81] *"Training in Cookery",* South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, *June 26, 1880, 15.*

[82] *Rose Owen Cole,* The Official Handbook For The National Training School For Cookery Containing The Lessons On Cookery Which Constitute The Ordinary Course of Instruction in the School With Lists Of Utensils Necessary, And Lessons On

Cleaning Utensils *(London: Chapman & Hall L.D, circa 1890), 13-16.*

[83] *Cole,* Official Handbook*, 457.*

[84] *"Hygenic Cookery",* The Age *, October 18, 1897, 7.*

[85] *Barbara Santich, ed,* In the Land of the Magic Pudding: A Gastronomic Miscellany *(Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2000), 94-5.*

[86] *Godfrey Charles Mundy,* Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies: With a Glimpse of the Gold fields *(London: Richard Bentley, 1885), 534.*

[87] *In Australia this term is now used for lap-dancing clubs and strip joints.*

[88] *Amy Milne-Smith, "Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914",* Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006): 798.*

[89] *Charmaine O'Brien,* Flavours of Melbourne: A Culinary Biography *(Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2008),114.*

[90] *"The Town",* The Leader*, October 2, 1875, 12.*

[91] *Milne-Smith, "Flight to Domesticity?", 805.*

Chapter 5: Colonial Manners at Table

In September 1855 the London *Times* published a series of letters received from a Charles B. Croons in Melbourne, Victoria. This correspondence purported to relay the story of an injustice Croons claimed he had been subjected to by Sir Charles Hotham, the Governor of colony of Victoria. According to Croons after taking a draught of the beer provided by Hotham at a vice-regal ball he uttered "O Lord!" and hastily left the supper room with one hand pressed against his stomach intimating he was going to be sick. He claimed that this involuntary action had led to his dismissal as a government contracted provider of victuals and his public shaming as a man of "weak digestion and deficient in official discretion and ball room etiquette". The *Times* responded with "dignified intensity" on the matter in a long essay in which this "small theme" was "thoroughly analysed" and the Governor found wanting. In response to this a former Victorian colonist resident in England wrote in to inform the *Times* it had been victim of an "elaborate pasquinade" against Hotham in retaliation for his substituting "bad beer for good champagne" at a Queen's Birthday ball.[1] The Melbourne *Argus* re-printed the entire episode for its readers, adding its own commentary delighting in the fact that journalists in the Metropole had been so easily taken in in their eagerness to report that social behaviour in the antipodes was wanting.[2] In summing up the matter the *Argus* congratulated the responsible satirist for fabricating an incident that was "so exactly to life": Manners mattered in the colonies and it was entirely possible that a man's prospects and interests might indeed be "injured", even "destroyed", if he was caught out setting a bad example in public.[3]

UPSIDE DOWN IN THE ANTIPODES

Europeans had once believed that if people were living antipodally to them in the southern hemisphere they would necessarily be standing upside-down on the end of the earth.[4] By the time the English settled Australia nobody subscribed to this idea as a literal truth, however the notion of society being in the reverse in the colonies was a popularly used trope. When the hero of the novel *Ella Norman*, Francis Pierrepoint, arrives in Melbourne circa 1860 he is quickly made aware that genteel qualities such as honesty and fairness, so integral to decent society in Britain, had been overturned in Australia in favour of cheating and flagrant self-interest: **"**Well this is the antipodes, you know, everything is upside down".[5] Manners mattered in the Australian colonies precisely

because social conditions were so tumbled as to seem to favour people operating without them.

Sending a fleet of prisoners, their minders and an assortment of free settlers to the other side of the world to found a new colony from scratch was nothing short of a radical social experiment, yet the mode in which the early colonists strived to live was far from novel. They, for the most part, understood themselves as "English people living in another place" and set out to replicate the way of life they were accustomed to.[6] They were used to operating in a society structured by a complex rank ordered hierarchy and it was natural that the precepts of class division and social authority inherent in this system be asserted in a place occupied by civilized Britons, although not everyone playing in the new colony was considered 'civilised'. A hereditary aristocracy and gentry occupied the uppermost ranks of the English social system. They owned most of the country's land, held much of its wealth and were the arbiters of the law, government, social practice and fashion, and they held their power tightly—membership of this class was owed entirely to an accident of birth.[7] Established Englishmen of these elite classes did not emigrate to the colonies—they had nothing to gain from it. This left a social vacuum in Australia. No one had any hereditary entitlement to social precedence and those who claimed it through official roles often found their authority usurped. In the first decades of settlement people had to rely on each other to survive; there weren't that many of them and they lived closely together. Settlers who challenged the status quo found themselves with a bit more leeway to push in and those who asserted authority had to concede more than they might have otherwise.[8] This meant social conditions in Australia were more fluid than in England from the beginning of European occupation.

Increasing numbers of free settlers began to come out to the colonies from Britain after 1815. The end of the long running Napoleonic wars in that year left a great many soldiers unemployed and the British labour market flooded with workers; food prices were high and wages were low; the country went into an agricultural and industrial recession. Over in Australia the sun was shining, meat was cheap and there was opportunity. Governor Lachlan Macquarie wanted to encourage emigrants to come and contribute to the development of New South Wales beyond its function as a prison camp and held out the prospect of cheap land to attract people. His strategy worked: over his twelve year tenure an ever increasing stream of free British emigrants contributed to a tripling of the European population of Australia to nearly 40,000.[9] The people who

willingly came to the antipodes were a mixed lot; some amongst them considered themselves of some social standing, even if it was marginal—the peripheral sons of the gentry, the impoverished sons of clergy, military and naval officers, out of work army and navy surgeons, junior military officers on half-pay, "a number of indescribable adventurers from almost the twentieth rank in England", members of the acceptable professions and their wives, and the occasional royal bastard under an assumed name—and they asserted themselves as members of a colonial elite muscling in on the established squatters, who conceived of themselves as the landed gentry.[10] Louisa Meredith said that the distinctions in society in Australia in the 1840s reminded her of the "dock-yard people in *Pickwick Papers*:

> *Dockyard people of upper rank don't know dockyard people of lower rank—dockyard people of lower rank don't know small gentry—small gentry don't know tradespeople—commissioner don't know anybody.*[11]

The established squatters believed they were a superior class, styling themselves as 'exclusives'. They did not take kindly to immigrant interlopers moving in on the upper social territory they had claimed; the newer arrivals considered these early squatters to be men of low principal who had profited from misery and corruption—selling weak men rum and rorting the government system. Both groups were united though in their abhorrence of emancipists, ex- convicts living civilian lives. The free settlers believed that anyone who had come to the colonies as a prisoner could never be truly redeemed and was to always be treated with suspicion, as they were held to be inherently dishonest and constitutionally wedded to a nefarious lifestyle; even if they became rich they could not "wholly overcome the prejudice against them" .[12] Social interaction with former convicts was to be studiously avoided by respectable persons as one's reputation might be marred by the association. As the territory of the Australian colonies expanded and the free population increased and dispersed more widely across the continent it became difficult to know who had spent time as an involuntary guest of the British Crown. This heightened anxiety about unwitting association with emancipists meant social interactions were often made tense by underlying suspicion about another's true origins. Emancipists had their own division between those who had committed crimes in England and those whose delinquency was carried out locally.

At a further remove the colonists were concerned that they were under surveillance from London. They understand that the view from the Metropolis was that people living in Australia were upstarts, morally suspect and culturally incompetent and that they were being watched and judged on their behaviour.[13.] Think about it this way: Britain was the imperious 'mother' and the colonists her least favourite children she had been only too happy to see leave home. In the way of human psychology this made them desperate for her approval. London prescribed the standards that mother most valued and she needed to see that the colonists could perform these orthodoxies in order to win her love and affection. Many of the colonists had no intention of settling permanently in Australia, their ambition was to go home to Britain triumphant with material success, yet they knew they would need to show they had upheld moral and social standards for the 'mother land' to wholeheartedly clasp them to back to her bosom.

Stand back further again and the "savage" was still seen to be skulking in the background, a menacing presence in the untamed expanses, giving rise to doubt as to whether Australia could ever be a civilised place.[14] By the mid-nineteenth century there was small chance of an urban dwelling Australian interacting with an Aboriginal. Dispossessed Aboriginals who had survived the settlers guns, their diseases and malnutrition wrought on them by the drastic change in their diet were intentionally segregated on settlements out of sight of the white population, although some continued to live urban lives.[15] Emancipists however were all around —they were the majority of the Australian population until the 1850s—and it was their presence that led it to continue to be considered corrupt and uncivilised. Manners mattered in the colonies because displaying correct behaviour showed you were civilised despite your surroundings and therefore would not be judged wanting back in Britain. Another division the colonists maintained was between those who were 'sterling', or British-born and those who were 'currency' and born in the colonies, the latter suggestive of possible suspect origins. The particular divisions of exclusives, squatter, emancipist, currency and sterling were unique to Australian society although the fact that a "caste" system had formed replicated the "uniform life of the old country".[16]

For the first half of the nineteenth century the pastoral industry was the lifeblood of the colonial economy. Exporting wool was hugely profitable particularly when the land had been got for nothing and the government supplied cheap labour. Squatters made money for themselves and their urban investors. They built magnificent town houses in

the colonial capitals and shopped, banked and spent their leisure time there, and the "cities were as dependent for wealth as any squatter on land, sheep and convict labour".[17] Occupying the centre of the economy gave squatters considerable social clout; in essence they had replicated the feudal system of England. Then the 1850s gold rushes bought a "flood-tide of prosperity" to the colonies that opened up many new avenues to make money.[18] The hundreds of thousands of people that swelled the Australian population in the decade between 1851-1861 came in through capital cities and major towns and they spent their money there: mercantile firms became extremely wealthy; traders built significant assets in cash and property; artisans could ask "almost any wages"; shopkeepers did a roaring trade retailing all the comforts and luxuries of life; and landlords could command high rent for commercial and residential real estate.[19] The rapid growth in urban areas provided considerable opportunities for people of the working and middling classes to grow their own wealth beyond the yoke of the colonial gentry.

THE TRADESMAN VULGARIS

People who did well in urban occupations were sneeringly categorised by the colonial upper classes as 'tradesmen', 'parvenus', 'nouveau riche' and 'self-made men'. These divisions in colonial society were already established but the influx of gold money and the more equitable opportunities it unleashed elevated prejudice about 'men on the make' amongst the colonial gentry to almost hysterical levels. This was not an original bigotry: The British upper classes had a fervent disdain for tradesmen, people who made their living publically selling goods or services or were involved in entrepreneurial property development. [20] The colonial elite held to idea that nouveau riche tradesmen were vulgar—we will come to the hypocrisy of that—indeed this notion was gripped especially tightly in Australia as retailing was a popular occupation with emancipated convicts.[21] Colonial parvenus also keenly advertised their wealth with material possessions and retailing was therefore a lucrative business. Successful shopkeepers were believed to be especially intent on transcending class boundaries and seeking social position and influence entirely on the basis of wealth:

> *Men and women of the gentry alike feared the pretensions of [tradesmen] and created brutal caricatures of the rude, vulgar, pushy and over-bearing tradesman and their wives as a defensive against them and other members of the middle and lower classes with social aspirations.* [22]

This then was the crux of it: Manners mattered most in the colonies because anybody could make money. Getting seriously wealthy was a real possibility for a person of any background, although the advances most often made were from working-class to somewhere on the middle-class rungs with the occasional street hawker to millionaire success story.[23] There were also people who struggled and hardly improved themselves at all. Increasing incomes allowed people to acquire the material trappings that had been the prerogative of the upper classes: a villa home decorated with the latest furnishings, fashionable clothing, jewellery, a carriage, pedigree dogs and servants. Nouveau riche Australians were routinely depicted as lacking taste and propriety when it came to enjoying the unfamiliar experience of having money to spend on fancy material goods: the clothing they wore was too flash, their homes were too showy, their jewellery ostentatious, their persons were fat, their servants mismanaged and the carriage an affectation—only the dog was spared disparaging comment.

THE *VULGARIS* AT TABLE

The writer Marcus Clarke wove all the stereotypes of the vulgar parvenu into a satirical piece entitled "Nasturtium Villas" in which he describes visiting the home of the archetypal colonial self-made man, a tradesman named Joseph Wapshot and his family. Wapshot is fat and his coarse hands twinkle with rings; his wife is plump and her chubby fingers sparkle with rings. "Evidence of wealth without taste was all around" the villa. The furniture has been chosen simply because it was expensive and set out exactly as in the catalogue it was bought from: the walls were hung with "abominable" reproductions of famous paintings the Wapshots did not even know the names of. The servants are scared of their master and only stay because he pays well. The dinner table at Nasturtium Villa was a spectacle of crude superfluity and unsophisticated taste. The mutton, home grown vegetables and puddings served up were good but the dishes that required more production, the entrees, soup and fish, are "infernally bad", and what is served as champagne is actually moselle. The implication is that Wapshot knows nothing about fine dining all the while believing he is enjoying it. This tradesman's affected display of wealth is a glaring signal that he was not born to it.[24] Clarke condemns Wapshot as silly and foolish for trying to "emulate his betters" in his "assumptions of good-breeding and taste".[25] He does acknowledge him as a jolly and unstinting host, but then belittles this as

a way of buying friends, and concludes that if he knew his place Wapshot would not be such a bad fellow.

> *It is among the nouveux riches that these evils really exist; the people who have plenty of money without knowing how to spend it, and who attempt to make up by the abundance of food for the want of taste manifested in the serving of it.*[26]

Money gave the self-made man the means to usurp the material symbols of class and dispossess those who believed themselves to be 'better' of the visible means to discriminate between people: if anyone could ride in a carriage or live in a grand house then who could tell who was worth knowing. Lampooning the lifestyle of the rising classes as ham-fisted imitation was a counter-attempt to divest them of influence, but catcalling their aspirations could not stymie the effects of new wealth. Money allowed upstarts to intrude into the social territory that the colonial gentry considered their exclusive domain: the riches of a self-made man allowed him entrée to government house balls, a place at the head table at grand public fetes, service on civic and cultural committees and councils; he could buy a box at the theatre or membership at a club. Yet what the self-made man wanted to crown his material achievements was to be considered a 'gentleman', an upward improvement in social rank that, purportedly, was not available for purchase.[27]

The term 'gentleman', as it was used in colonial Australia, was a social designator largely held to signify that a man was the product of high birth and perfect breeding—in other words a gentleman was born not made. His female counterpart was a 'lady'. There were some exceptions: men of the church, military and parliament whose work was of public service were considered eligible to call themselves such. Men who bought and sold for a living most assuredly did not qualify for the title—that was the theory; in practice it was a more flexible concept. To the aspirant colonial tradesmen, to be deemed a gentleman was to not imagine you were the descendent of some noble lineage but to know yourself to be considered as respectable and genteel: intertwined descriptors that also slip and slide in their meanings but being well-mannered, polite and showing refinement in behaviour were the key elements. The colonial tradesman's aspirations were towards middle class respectability rather than aristocratic loftiness.

The sudden appearance of an obscure coat-of-arms over a fireplace intended to indicate kinship with some distinguished line of breeding was a more likely occurrence

amongst the colonial gentry as they staked more and more claim to superior social status. However their assertions of genetic superiority were often spurious. They might be only a generation, or perhaps even a decade, on from being in trade themselves. The absence of noble English blood in the colonies allowed people to more easily use money to commander social territory. The colonial gentry mocked the tradesman for his intent on coming to the colonies to better himself when their own motives for emigration were exactly the same. With the exception of a small number of do-gooders and adventurers every European who had freely chosen to come to Australia had done so to improve their financial position, that was the truth of it. The characterisation of the newly well off as tasteless social climbers by the self-appointed colonial elite was nothing but hypocrisy.

> *You know how people are mixed up with each other here; however they despise them, the most respectable cannot exclude the bad characters from their houses, while they are in trade.*[28]

IMPROVERS AND DEFENDERS

Manners mattered to colonial Australians in different ways for different reasons. For some flaunting the conventional ideals of polite behaviour was a way of asserting independence and thumbing one's nose to authority. The ambition of achieving respectability could be quite modest: a secure home, decent meals and simple good quality clothing.[29] There were "more shades than in the rainbow" between the "first and last" sets of colonial society, nonetheless I am going to assert the existence of two main camps in the battle for social advancement: the improvers and the defenders.[30]

The improvers were members of lower status groups actively on the lookout for opportunities to enhance their community standing. In an environment where there were lower barriers to advancement and social conditions were more permeable improvers thrived. Defenders were members of higher status groups and in a fluid social environment they were more likely to perceive their position to be under threat. They felt as if they had something to lose and defended their position by going on the attack against the improvers.[31] This is exemplified by the disparaging commentary on tradesmen and the rising middle classes by the colonial elite and their preoccupation with maintaining social divisions.[32] English visitors often remarked that the colonial upper class maintained a more heightened sense of class-consciousness than in England. [33] What they could not see was that social distinctions were being rigidly held in place in the colonies by a particular

tension: it was often the case that when someone from the lower ranks had risen to achieve respectability they could be pitiless in their attempts to prevent others from rising and would condemned them for things they had done, or continued to do, themselves: the improvers had become defenders.[34]

In an environment where people could look alike because they had access to same material ornamentation and objects, social behaviour, speech and connections became increasingly important in "delineating one's caste" and providing the grounds for exclusion of outsiders.[35] One of the ways the colonial gentry sought to ward off the perceived threat to their social leadership from tradesmen and other such self-made persons was by asserting themselves as the rightful arbiters of so-called 'good taste'. They attempted to define the genteel behaviours and manners —copying English modes— that demonstrated one knew how to do things in the best taste and was therefore of established background. In reality there were no inviolable standards of behaviour operating in England.[36] Industrialisation had created many new sources of wealth in Britain. The aristocracy there were also being challenged in their social leadership by a rapidly expanding and upwardly rising middle class who aspired to a form of polite behaviour that reflected industriousness, morality and domesticity rather than the "dissolute elegance of aristocratic manners".[37]

Likewise there were varied ideas swirling around colonial society about what constituted good behaviour. If you were a defender you held with the notion that defining and enacting polite behaviour was the exclusive provenance of the elite and that "one needed the leisure and education of a gentleman" to be "truly polite".[38] It suited the gentry to insist that ideal social behaviour was a factor of good breeding. This effectively narrowed down the field to exclude others from upper social territory. Improvers on the other hand, naturally, believed in the possibilities of improvement; they believed in it as a bigger concept; personal development was "part of nation building and progress", it was "the first requirement of good society …[it] should be the aim of each and all of its members".[39] Progressing one's economic and social position was therefore a civic duty and being able to perform politely in public was a necessity in carrying this out. Politeness was associated with the prevailing 'spirit of the age': progress, civilisation and education, and no one wanted to be "backward, old-fashioned and unimproved".[40] Ever vigilant in their attempts to maintain social dominance and close off possible lines of attack, defenders insisted that the colonial self-made man was jealous, vindictive and

exclusive and represented only his own interests; and that his improvements were all "egotism and vanity"—he was not allowed even a modicum of community intent. [41]

> *I hate your pompous self-made man,*
> *Who somehow seems*
> *To botch up the original plan,*
> *And never dreams*
> *He'd have far more attention paid him*
> *If he allowed that others "made him".*[42]

The idea of politeness was inseparable from the concept of good manners such that the two terms were used interchangeably. Politeness had a fine pedigree. It traced its roots to the chivalric code of medieval knights and in its broadest, and most romantic, sense it was a "social virtue" requiring "self-control and discipline of both body and tongue …artful mastery over one's manners and conduct".[43] By the 19th century it had "morphed into good taste and respectability" and shifted towards the narrower concept of etiquette as "precise rules of interpersonal behaviour".[44] Manners were a social performance of politeness. The way a person conducted him or herself served to shape perceptions of them and define their social position.[45] As politeness moved beyond the gentlemanly elite it became a performance of etiquette and people learnt the manners that they needed to perform as a way to better themselves.[46]

The parvenu could learn how to act out the manners that demonstrated politeness by studying an etiquette manual, a publishing genre that reached its height of popularity in the Anglophone world in the nineteenth century.[47] Authorship of these books was unfailingly ascribed to an 'aristocrat', a 'Lady' or a 'Gentleman', or a nom de plume. Despite the greater social changes the behaviour of the aristocrat remained the model for these works. It is unlikely that the authors actually belonged to the class they claimed but they wanted their readers to believe that they were on hereditary terms with good breeding and were therefore qualified to write about it. They were more likely better-educated servants, a butler or a housekeeper with experience of working closely with the upper classes. What they offered readers was a vision of aristocratic behaviour that mixed the real with the imagined. These guides could never instruct in the subtleties and sophistications of manners but they mapped a way to social advancement for improvers.[48] We can never know if the people who bought etiquette manuals actually modelled their

behaviour on the examples in these, however the popularity of such guides suggests that some people believed that by following the instructions in them they could learn good manners to help them enhance their chances in a competitive world.[49] Defenders reviled these books declaring that nothing could be learnt from them and decrying those who dared to imagine they could improve themselves anyway.[50]

THE IMPORTANCE OF TABLE MANNERS

In his popular 1791 guide to "rules of behaviour during meals" the author John Trusler declaimed:

> *Of all the grateful accomplishments, and of every branch of polite education, it has long been admitted that a gentleman and a lady never shew themselves to more advantage, that in acquitting themselves well in the honours of the table.*[51]

It was an adage that was often reproduced in nineteenth century works on etiquette. One's manner of eating was considered particularly telling of one's social credentials, or lack thereof, so it was important to gain mastery of table manners if you aspired to be considered as a gentleman or lady. Food and food practices played a unique role as markers of social status as eating with others was one of the most commonly practised public behaviours. Manuals of etiquette unfailingly included instruction on the right way to give a dinner and how to exhibit the correct form when you were a guest at one.

Colonial Australians bought guides to manners that were written and published in England for an English audience, although many of them would have considered themselves as part of that population. Even if they called themselves Australians the socially aspirant would have believed that British standards were what they should aim to emulate. The Melbourne based publisher E.W. Cole produced *Coles Manual of Etiquette* in the early 1880s but this was nothing more than a reprint of one the most successful English works, *The Manners and Rules of Good Society or Solecisms to be avoided by a member of the Aristocracy,* packaged in a new binding. Not long after Cole published his manual, a book called *Australian Etiquette: or The rules and usages of the best society in the Australasian colonies, together with their sports, pastimes, games and amusements* came out. Its claim to being specifically "Australian" was more evident in its descriptions of sporting pastimes and the inclusion of detailed statistics on walking, hurdling, yachting, cricket, bowling, bicycle and tricycle racing, pole vaulting and horse racing and

breeding. The rules prescribed for "dinner giving and dining out" and "table manners and etiquette" are no different from those in an English manual, regardless we shall use it as our colonial exemplar.

Readers are assured that "race" was no longer the "only requisite for a gentleman", that is you did not have to be born to the role, and one could learn, and enact, the values, manners and defining behaviours of best society by following the rules laid out in the book.[52] In order to elevate oneself socially it was of the "highest importance that all persons should conduct themselves with the strictest regard to good breeding, even when in the privacy of their own homes, when at table."[53] Correct table manners could only be acquired through proper training and unfailing practice of these at all meals. If you wanted to demonstrate you were well-bred you needed to be ever vigilant over the way you ate: tea or coffee should not be poured into a saucer to let it cool down; keep your lips closed when chewing; never place a knife into your mouth; do not be greedy; don't slurp from a spoon or make sucking noises; asparagus, olives and artichokes could be eaten with fingers but fruit must be eaten with a silver knife and fork. There are many of these rules. It was also essential that when you were in society that you subdued your emotions, did not lose your temper, nor show that you had taken offence at a supposed slight.[54] On this reckoning at least one of the 300 men, described as "gentlemen", who sat down to a grand public dinner in 1853 to celebrate the founding of Melbourne failed to qualify for the title. The evening began with a "first rate" feast that was eaten in perfect decorum. It was in the middle of the after dinner speeches and toasting that a scene broke out that "beggared belief". William John Turner Clarke had taken offence at something his neighbour had said and started punching him. This set-off a "general row" in the vicinity and the other diners stood up on the tables and kicked over "wine, wine bottles, wine glasses, punchbowls and their fragrant contents" in their eagerness to get a look at the affray. The police had to be called to remove Clarke. He came before a magistrate the next day and denied being drunk. The judge had been at the dinner and seen Clarke in action and reprimanded him for his shameful behaviour saying that it was "not the act of a gentleman". Perhaps Clarke had not been set a good example at home.[55]

Being "thoroughly at ease" at the table required "habitual practice of good manners" and these were to be learnt and practiced over and over again in the home, under the guidance of the woman of the house who had a moral responsibility for teaching and upholding proper table etiquette.[56] However, there was a problem with this in some

colonial homes. The shortage of women in the colonies had meant "men often had to marry beneath them" and a man in this situation rarely invited guests home to dinner because his wife "drops her h's, eats her peas with her knife, and errs in various ways" and such behaviour if known by others would damage his social reputation. [57] Women were believed to have a superior ability to pick up and imitate the manners of gentlewomen and a lady could be easily "manufactured" if she had role models to copy.[58] Colonial women were known to be particularly vigilant in quelling the social ambitions of their sex and a wife who ate her peas with a knife was unlikely to be invited into the homes of the type of women she could learn from by close observation. She might have seen ladies with well-bred manners at public events but they were likely to shun her. Her best option for behavioural improvement was to resort to etiquette manuals. Her husband had more options for social learning. He could for example observe the eating behaviour of other men dining at his club, if he had one, or at a more public venue such as the Café de Paris.

SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT AT THE CAFÉ DE PARIS

On the afternoon on June 12 1858, in the "wilds" of Melbourne, the Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Barkly, dismounted his horse outside a two-storey building with the sober appearance of a bank. Waiting there to greet him were Felix Spiers and Christopher Pond. Barkly had come by prior appointment to inspect the newly completed premises of the latest enterprise of these two entrepreneurial men, the Café de Paris, located on the first floor. The duo would have greeted the governor with due ceremony of raised hats and elegant bows and escorted him through the wide central gateway, across the vast iron roofed hall, up the staircase and into the spacious and elegant apartments of the Café, where they would have proceeded to guide him around the grand dining room and point out all its sumptuous appointments and advantages:

> *"Your Excellency may we draw your attention to the oaken tessellated floor; the walls embellished with mirrors; the best of decorative art; the coved stained glass ceiling; the fine napery and plate."*
> *"Patrons will be able to conduct confidential tête-à-têtes on matters of business, or state, in these private booths or enjoy more public conversations at one of these centrally positioned fine mahogany tables".*
> *"If we may say so, we believe that more splendid accommodations will not be*

found elsewhere in the colony, and Mr Pond has just returned from a tour of the most celebrated restaurants in London and the Continent and he intends to introduce all the latest improvements into the Café"
"Our great kitchen features all the best in modern cookery and a very spacious larder, but Your Excellency now we come to the heart of the matter, the pride and joy of Mr Spiers and I: our CLOSSAL GRIDIRON, on which choice cuts of meat will be cooked— under the watchful observation of patrons should they so choose. And now Sir, may we tempt you with a chop?"

Spiers and Pond had both arrived in Melbourne in the early 1850s amongst the gold hungry hoards pouring into the place. Neither of them made it out to the diggings but they still did well out of gold, albeit in an indirect fashion. Their first business venture in the town was a basement restaurant called the Shakespeare Grill; their customers the gold hunters who swelled the town. The set menu at the Grill was a grilled chop, a steak and a boiled potato accompanied by a pint of British beer for one shilling. They must have served a lot of chops because they made the money at this establishment to open their next venture, the up-market Café de Paris—which they proudly advertised as having been very costly to build. Spiers and Pond were self-made men and they intended the Café to be a venue for everyone to enjoy: "mercantile men, professional men, men of leisure, men of toil, bohemians, the gentry, the *nouveaux riche*, the bon vivant and the man with economies to consider".[59] Females were not permitted in the Café. This did not present an issue for respectable ladies as they would not have wanted to be seen in the place anyway.

The Café was located in the same building as the Theatre Royal and the Royal Hotel. Spiers and Pond were taking a risk opening such a civilised operation at the same address as these two places of amusement. The 3000-seat theatre had been built in provide entertainment to all the citizens of Melbourne but not long after it opened the dancer Lola Montez was engaged to perform her infamous 'Spider Dance' there, during which she was reputed to lift her skirts high enough for the audience to see that she was not wearing any underwear. Apparently this was not the truth of it, but Melbourne's newspapers screamed that Montez' performance had been morally offensive. She was equally known for the many lovers she had taken and this undoubtedly inspired the outraged reaction to her appearance.[60] The one critic that said her show had actually been dull—and who may have been the only one of them who actually saw it—was ignored: the damage was done, the Theatre Royal was seen as a disreputable venue and decent citizens stayed away. This

was not the worst of 71-75 Bourke Street. Patrons of the Royal Hotel were reportedly served drinks by 'girls in tights'—the 19th century equivalent of working in a g-string—and women of 'ill-repute' picked up customers —and/or picked their pockets—in a side bar referred to as the 'saddling paddock'.[61] Then there was the building's entrance hall, The Vestibule: a "dirty, greasy malodorous den [with] "beer sodden" walls held together by "bilious looking mortar" where "unsavoury loafers" gathered to rowdily "nobblerise" (drink) during theatre intermissions.[62] As it stood Spiers and Pond had taken the risk of investing heavily in a fancy restaurant located in a building popularly believed to be the habitué of deplorable men and women. The visit then, of Governor Barkly, to the Café, although not a ceremonial one, was a godsend for Spiers and Pond. As the Queen's representative a colonial governor held the top rank in the social hierarchy of whichever colony he governed. Barkly's approbation, in the form of his visit, would have gone some way to bestowing respectability on the Café—despite its surrounding environs—and respectability was of the utmost importance to the Café' success.

Spiers and Pond were men of grand ambition. They wanted to achieve nothing less than "culinary and social reform" in the colony of Victoria and set an example for others through the Café.[63] The menu they offered featured the most fashionable made dishes and the concept of roasting meat on a visible gridiron and carving it at the table had been inspired from similar practice at Simpson's, one of the most fashionable restaurants in London. The turtle soup they served was actually made with turtle, unlike the concoctions unscrupulous operators passed off as the real thing when it was a 'mock' version. Customers of the Café were invited to see the live chelonians on display before they were dispatched to the kitchen. The coffee was reported as the most delicious in Victoria. The food served in the Café was largely a replication of the cuisine of the British upper classes, so there was nothing reformatory in that, and there were other establishments in Melbourne serving the same style of food. It may be that the claimed reform was to be found in the preparation and quality of their food or the service: a consistent approving remark made of the Café was that the food, and the coffee, were served hot, apparently a "very unusual circumstance at public dinners, and one deserving of special mention when it does occur".[64] In their claim to social reform we can find a little more to chew on.

Despite its disreputable surroundings the Café was an immediate success with men of all classes and welcomed for its "civilising effect".[65] If you were one of those men who had done well for himself and wanted to improve socially, you could not learn the

niceties of dining from those born to such things because they wouldn't have you at their domestic dinner table. You could though, because you had money in your pocket, dine at the Café de Paris and there start to learn how to progress, as one enamoured patron commented, in the "art of surrounding [yourself] with the elegances and comforts of life". In the dining room of the Café a 'self-made' patron could, by observing the dining practices and etiquette of more socially skilled gentlemen at the next table; taking note of the small but well chosen wine list and partaking of the menu composed of classic and fashionable dishes gain an education in how to behave and eat and drink in the most civilised way.

The upper class patrons of the Café de Paris may have enjoyed showing off their superior social accomplishments to an admiring audience, but there was a strong element of self-preservation in their deigning to mix with nouveaux riche men. The Café was the perfect place for them to reinforce their superior position; in this public theatre they could flex their social muscle in such as way as to remind men that good 'breeding' could never be bought: a power play that belied their own fear of losing their relevance in society. Melbourne's gentry were small in number: insistence on maintaining their 'pure' bloodlines had left them particularly demographically vulnerable. Some of them were also running out of money; given the disdain they showed for making it they couldn't very well go out and work for it, however they could bring it into the family—if circumstances forced it—by marrying their daughters off to parvenus or their sons to well–heeled heiresses of tainted convict parentage and the Café offered them a place to observe who they might admit to their ranks.

Spiers and Pond excluded 'females' from the Café to imbue it with the atmosphere of a private gentleman's club from which women were traditionally barred. Many of the Café's patrons would have been desirous of joining a club but if you lacked the connections necessary to gain membership, even if they had the monetary wherewithal, dining at the Café in the all-male company offered an approximate experience. Creating the Café as a public place that all manner of men were able to collectively, and equally, occupy could be considered a 'social reform' in a colony that took as its cultural model the rigidly classed British social system. The access and exposure these men had to each other in the Café might feasibly have made some small contribution to development of a more equitable society in the colonies. The self-made men who frequented the Café de Paris were not all entirely imitative of the upper classes; there were those who had their

own ideas about things, after all they had made it to the dining tables of the Café through their own entrepreneurial ability and individual determination. In fact the elevated classes were also learning from them, they might not have liked it but it was these speculative, go-ahead types that were gaining in society and if they did not want to be outpaced the upper classes needed to understand their competition. As a place where men could size each other up and mingle the Café was a microcosm of the greater social blending that led to the emergence of Australia as one of the more egalitarian societies in the world.[66]

Excluding women from the Café was not a social reform. It conformed exactly to the social standards of the day. The embargo on women entering the Café would not have been an issue for ladies of the upper classes, and those who mimicked them, as social precedent did not permit them to dine out in restaurants, nor to even be in the vicinity of the Café on Bourke Street. According to the very genteel Clara Aspinall: ”no lady ever ventures into the other streets [apart from Collins Street], excepting on urgent business”.[67] This does not mean that females were absent from the other streets of Melbourne just that Aspinall had the well-honed upper class ability of not ‘seeing’ those of her own sex who were not of her milieu. Spiers and Pond did not exclude women from their drive for social change. As we learnt previously they employed women to work as barmaids in the Royal Hotel when they took over the licence for it. These so-called ‘maids’ were different to the women in tights who had served drinks there previously and who were considered in the same vein as sex workers. By giving their female employees a new title and putting some clothes on them Spiers and Pond spearheaded a change in making bar work a more respectable occupation for women. By the 1880s there were barmaids in Australia earning up to three times more than women who worked as domestic servants.[68] Women might not have advanced up the staircase to the Café but they were to be found on the ground floor of the building, socialising in the hallway bar and eatery and it is here that what might be considered as the world’s first bout of female jelly wrestling took place.

One early December evening the gentle din of considered conversation in The Vestibule was rent apart when a female patron spat in the face of the another causing her to fall to the floor where her assailant and two other women began kicking her and “aggravating their unseemly conduct with disgraceful language”: the melee became a very sticky one when they started throwing jellies, custards, and sponge cakes at each other. It was later revealed in court that the victim was a “notoriously quarrelsome scandalous woman” to whom “nearly all the disturbances that took place in the city were

more or less attributable to".[69] The perpetrator of this fracas, Ann McDonald, was most certainly not the sort of women Clara Aspinall would have 'known', or noticed, but she would have been shocked by her behaviour if she happened to chance upon the report of the incident while reading *The Argus* after her breakfast.

Spiers and Pond departed Melbourne in 1863 and returned to England to explore business opportunities there, taking with them the money they had made in the colony. They were farewelled with a feature story in *The Illustrated Melbourne Post* that detailed their material accomplishments in Australia, as well as the more intangible ones:

> *They [Spiers and Pond] have shown that liberality of disposition, generosity of conduct and integrity of character are not incompatible with the acquisition of a fortune, and that it is quite possible to achieve worldly success, and at the same time conciliate the good opinion of their fellow citizens.*[70]

Colonial Australians had a reputation for not caring whom they stepped on in order to make a buck. This may have been another case of 'bad press' for the colonies, perpetrated by the upper classes in an attempt to denigrate the economic success of the lower by making it appear that their acquisition of wealth was unscrupulous in its methods. If it was a valid reputation and colonials had adopted a 'reap at any price' attitude then it might be seen that Spiers and Pond had made another social reform in showing that you could become very rich and still earn the "respect and good wishes of thousands of persons as well".[71] Spiers and Pond had promised upon their departure from Melbourne to promote the colony of Victoria back in Britain: in London they were initially "looked upon with disfavour" as colonial upstarts but this did not shake them from their commitment. At the 1867 International Exhibition in Paris—where we began this book—Spiers and Pond set up an 'English and Australian' restaurant and the features of this particular enterprise that won them the "rapturous approval" of Frenchmen were ones they had successfully perfected in Melbourne: roasted joints of meat and barmaids. The young women employed by them to serve drinks at the Exhibition restaurant had been selected in England to ensure they were blonde and of a certain age and height and their Gallic customers reportedly went wild for these maids: wiser from their Melbourne experience Spiers and Pond had made them sign contracts agreeing that they would not marry until the exhibition was over.[72]

[1] *Melbourne had a history of 'bad beer'. The town's early brewers used water from the Yarra River that also served as the town's sewage and waste disposal to make their product. Local beer was suspected of killing 16 people in 1843 and a batch of dodgy beer had made a lot of people sick at a previous governor's ball. It is understandable then if Melburnians were touchy about the quality of their beer.*

[2] *It is possible that the* Times' *response might also have been a satire.*

[3] *"What they say of us in England",* The Argus*, December 6, 1855, 6.*

[4] *Thomas Suarez,* Shedding the Veil: Mapping the European Discovery of America and the World *(New Jersey: World Scientific, 1992), 15.*

[5] *Elizabeth Murray,* Ella Norman: or, A Woman's Perils *(Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1985), 39.*

[6] *Penny Russell,* A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity, (*Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 152; Penny Russell, Savage* or Civilised? Manners in Colonial Australia *(Sydney: New South Press, 2010), 108.*

[7] *This was becoming less true and there were people who made it in on their wealth, although they were usually held with suspicion by those with ancient bloodlines: read Austen, Thackeray, Trollope or Collins for confirmation.*

[8] *Convicts were often brutally treated and they were forced to do hard manual labour, however they had certain privileges and freedoms they would not have had in a prison in England: the opportunities they could avail themselves of upon emancipation were unprecedented.*

[9] *"Australia: Historical demographical data of the whole country", accessed July 17, 2015, http://www.populstat.info/Oceania/australc.htm. Local contributions were also made to this increased population: Australian women were known to be fecund.*

[10] *Amy Butterfield, "Send Me A Bonnet: Colonial Connections, Class Consciousness and Sartorial Display in Colonial Australia, 1788-1850" (B.A Hons. Thesis, University of Sydney, 2012), 38; Butterfield, 38; Martin Boyd,* A Difficult Young Man *(Ringwood: Penguin, 1972), vii; Linda Young,* Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain *(Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmilian, 2002).*

[11] *Meredith, Louisa Ann.* Notes and Sketches of New South Wales During A Residence In That Colony from 1839 To 1844. Mrs Charles Meredith *(London: John Murray, 1844), 53; Charles Dickens,* Pickwick Papers*, chp 11, http://www.victorianlondon.org/etexts/dickens/pickwick-0002.shtml.*

[12] *Meredith,* Notes and Sketches*, 51.*

[13] *Young,* Middle-Class Culture*, 147; Robert Hogg,* Men and Manliness on the Frontier: Queensland and British Columbia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century *(US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 30.*

[14] *Russell,* Savage or Civilised?*, 19-52.*

[15] *Christopher Lloyd, "The emergence of Australian settler capitalism in the nineteenth century and the disintegration/integration of Aboriginal societies: hybridisation and local evolution within the world market". In* Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies*, ed Ian Keen (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2010), http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Indigenous+Participation+in+Australian+Economies/5161/ch02.xhtml*

[16] *"Social conditions",* The Age*, January 8, 1855, 5.*

[17] *Russell,* Savage or Civilised?*, 107.*

[18] *"Social conditions",* The Age*, January 8, 1855, 5.*

[19] *"Social conditions",* The Age*, January 8, 1855, 5.*

[20] *Russell,* Wish of Distinction*, 4. Skilled trades such masons, plumbers, carpenters that*

are now called as 'tradesmen' in Australia were known as artisans or mechanics in the colonial period.

[21] *Russell,* Wish of Distinction*, 4; R.H. Sweet, "Topographies of Politeness".* Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*,12 (2002): 363.*

[22] *Russell,* Wish of Distinction*, 8.*

[23] *The confectioner Robertson Macpherson and publisher E. W Cole are two particular examples: Macpherson started his empire selling sweets door-to-door and Cole built up funds to start his book business selling meat pies from a street cart.*

[24] *Meredith,* Notes and Sketches*, 51.*

[25] *Lawrence Hergenhan, ed.* Marcus Clarke. A Colonial City High and Low Life *(St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1972), 327-331.*

[26] *'The Great Dinner Question",* The Courier*, April 14, 1859, 2.*

[27] *Russell,* Wish of Distinction*, 7; Graham Connah, "The Lake Innes Estate: Privilege and Servitude in Nineteenth –Century Australia".* World Archaeology *33 (2001): 140.*

[28] *Murray,* Ella Norman*, 14.*

[29] *Grace Karskens,* Inside the Rocks: the archaeology of a neighbourhood *(Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1999).*

[30] *Australian Etiquette*: or, the rules and usages of the best society in the Australasian colonies; together with their sports, pastimes, games and amusements *(Sydney: McConnell, 1885), 21.*

[31] *Deborah Terry., Craig Carey and Victor Callan, "Employee Adjustment to an Organizational Merger: An Intergroup Perspective".* Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin *27 (2001): 267-9 (this article has a useful but succinct description of Social Identity Theory which is what I see being played out here).*

[32] *Meredith,* Notes and Sketches*, 51.*

[33] *Young,* Middle-Class Culture*, 129; Butterfield,* Send Me A Bonnet*, 13.*

[34] *Russell,* Wish of Distinction*, 5; Butterfield,* Send Me a Bonnet*, 40.*

[35] *Hogg,* Men and Manliness*, 30.*

[36] *Russell,* Savage or Civilised?*, 114.*

[37] *Russell,* Savage or Civilised?*, 114.*

[38] *Sweet, "Topographies of Politeness", 364.*

[39] Australian etiquette*, 19.*

[40] *Sweet, "Topographies of Politeness", 373.*

[41] Sydney Morning Herald*, May 10 1857, 4.*

[42] *"The Self-Made Man",* The Northern *Miner, July 26, 1893, 8. This rhyme was originally an advertisement for West End beer; it seems an odd way to promote such a pedestrian product as beer.*

[43] *Michéle Cohen, "Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity 1750-1830",* Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005): 313.*

[44] *Cohen, "Manners Make the Man", 314; Michael Curtin, "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy",* The Journal of Modern History *57 (1985): 374.*

[45] *Russell, "*Savage or Civilised?*",163.*

[46] *Cohen,* Manners Make the Man*, 314.*

[47] *Young,* Wish of Distinction*, 133.*

[48] *Cas Wouters, "Etiquette Books and Emotion Management in the 20th Century: Part One; The Integration of Social Classes",* Journal of Social History*, 29 (1995): 109; Young,* Wish of Distinction*, 137.*

[49] *Curtin,, "A Question of Manners", 403.*

[50] *Young,* Wish of Distinction*, 137.*
[51] *The frontispiece of this book features a Trusler coat of arms with the word 'aspiro' written across the shield. It seems to be a made up word that plays on the use of Latin words in heraldry. I am not sure whether it is a tongue-in-cheek dig at the sort of person who would buy the book or an encouragement to social aspiration.*
[52] Australian etiquette*, 10.*
[53] Australian etiquette*, 121.*
[54] Australian etiquette*, 103.*
[55] *"Old Colonist Festivities", Port Phillip Pioneers Group, accessed October 2015, http://www.portphillippioneersgroup.org.au/pppg5cu.htm.*
[56] Australian etiquette*, 129.*
[57] *Richard Twopenny,* Town Life in Australia *(Ringwood; Penguin Books, 1976), 108.*
[58] *Twopeny,* Town Life in Australia*, 106.*
[59] The Argus*, June 5, 7, 1858.*
[60] *She had taken an impressive line up into her bed: Franz Liszt, Alexandre Dumas, King Ludwig I of Bavaria, a couple of dashing military officers and a Parisian newspaper proprietor amongst others.*
[61] *The 'barmaids' of the Royal Hotel we met in chapter 4 were the 'improved' version of these female employees.*
[62] *"The Theatres",* The Argus*, June 28, 1859, 5.*
[63] Opinions of the Press on Messrs. Spiers & Pond's Management of the Café De Paris, Melbourne and of Many of the Principal Enterprises of which They Have Been Connected *(Melbourne: Herald Office, 1861), 10.*
[64] Opinions Of The Press*, 10.*
[65] Opinions Of The Press*, preface.*
[66] *Which is not to say that class divisions do not exist in modern Australia. See: Ross Gittens, 'Egalitarianism in Australia is just a façade',* Sydney Morning Herald, *accessed July 1http://www.smh.com.au/comment/egalitarianism-in-australia-is-just-a-facade-20130716-2q25k.html.*
[67] *Clara Aspinall,*Three Years in Melbourne *(London: L. Booth, 1862), 8.*
[68] *Melburnian, "Social Sketches: the barmaid',* Table Talk*, October 6, 1893, 10.*
[69] *"Police. City Court. Thursday December 8. (Before the Police Magistrate, Mr.E.P.S. Sturt) Drunkeness And Disorderly Conduct",* The Argus*, December 9, 1859, 9.*
[70] The Illustrated Melbourne Post*, December 3, 1862, 3.*
[71] The Illustrated Melbourne Post*, December 3, 1862, 3.*
[72] *"At the Paris Exhibition",* The Argus*, July 6, 1867, 3.*

Chapter 6: The Meal

"As a matter of course young ladies do not eat cheese at dinner parties", nor should they partake of game meat, savouries or more than two glasses of wine when dining with others. Thus ran the advice in *Coles Manual of Etiquette*, a colonial reprint of a popular English guide to genteel social behaviour.[1] According to its author, who called himself as "a member of the aristocracy", such restraints were to be necessarily observed to avoid offending the sensibilities of male diners who were "very, if not over, fastidious, about the appetites displayed by young ladies".[2] Presumably the reader understood why a man might be made uncomfortable by the sight of a youthful female enjoying a piece of stilton, a slice of venison or an anchovy toast, as there is no further elucidation on the matter—married ladies and professional women were not as offensive and when dining in mixed company they could acceptably drink five glasses of wine.[3] The writer Elizabeth Murray claimed that the conversations in her novel *Ella Norman* are exactly those she heard while living in Australia in the 1850s.[4] Her book is disdainful of colonial life and determinedly juxtaposes correct English social behaviour with the uncouth manners and mores of Australia. In the following scene the English born Mrs Townsend shows that she knows how to properly restrain her eating after her husband complains that she does not join him at his evening meal:

> *"You are very unsocial to let me dine every day alone"*
> *"We give you the pleasure of our company, which ought to satisfy you," said his wife. "Ladies never appear to advantage when eating. They are never supposed to eat …Ella and I ate a very substantial repast with the children, without shocking your sensibilities by doing so in your presence. You know you do not like to see ladies enjoy a dinner".*[5]

Mr Townsend does not dispute her assertion. He goes onto to tell her how that day he attended a lunch at which the women present "pitched into" the food right in front of him and washed it down with "such oceans of champagne that I did not know what to make of it. However they seemed to think 'there was nothing in it', so I suppose it was all right". "Who were they?" [asked his wife incredulously] "Oh! Squattresses": in other words, they were colonials.[6] Murray's intention is to show an English readership that Australian women did not know how to be ladies, but it is well for us that they were not so delicate

in their eating habits. In the novel the *Three Miss Kings* the meals enjoyed by the three young ladies of the title, Elizabeth, Eleanor and Patty, allow us an insight into the meal patterns of colonial Australians.

The King sisters are determined on pursuing their independence on the small income they have inherited from their deceased parents. They move to the city where they eventually marry men who suit them perfectly and live happily ever after, before this inevitable conclusion they style their life to their own choosing and eat what they like—possibly because there are no men at their table. Before they leave their country home they enjoy a breakfast of a freshly caught schnapper fish and home baked bread. Once settled in the city they allowed themselves the indulgence of taking their lunch at a restaurant as it freed them up to spend the morning studying at the library—by the time the King's were enjoying their Melbourne life it had become acceptable for respectable ladies to eat in suitable commercial establishments. Their next-door neighbour sometimes invites them to a lunch serving them lamb cutlets with mashed potatoes along with lemon cheesecake and meringues on one occasion and a dish of fish and a gooseberry fool on another. The "infinitesimal" kitchen of their rented accommodation —with its modern gas stove—did not lend itself to any elaborate food preparation. When they spontaneously invite a visitor to stay for lunch at their domicile they have the borrow the meal—cold sliced chicken and ham, bread and butter, a plate of biscuits and sherry—from their landlady. In the afternoon they always take a tea, a cup or two of the beverage that provides "rest and relief" accompanied by thin slices of bread —"deftly shaved" from a loaf—spread with butter.[7] This tea break might also be fashioned as a tea meal with the addition of simple homely viands such as pickled fish. If the girls were hungry later in the evening they would take a supper of thick slices of bread and jam with a glass of milk. When they went out in the evening, which they occasionally do, their hostess might provide them with a dinner meal, or an elaborate supper, or both, if the girls had been invited to dine and then dance afterwards. Other less routine meals they enjoy include a picnic lunch of roast beef, chicken pie and salad, and Elizabeth's wise, kind, considerate and very wealthy fiancé takes her out for a meal of sweetbreads, champagne and fresh strawberries and cream to introduce her to the tastes of the continent in preparation for their impending European honeymoon.[8]

The type of meals the fictional Miss Kings enjoyed across the course of their adventures were representative of those eaten by most existent Australians of the colonial

era. However there was considerable diversity as to what meals people took across a day, when and how they ate, as well as the actual content of them. Before we explore these meals we need to place them into a broader cultural context. Just as colonial Australians replicated the technology and tools of the British kitchen and applied the culinary techniques and methods of English cookery to ingredients to replicate the food of the mother country, their meal patterns replicated those of England.[9] The most marked distinction, and some might argue it was the only one, between cooking and eating in Australia and in Britain was that in the colonies food was abundant: "almost everything we [in England] consume can be found there cheaper and more plentiful".[10] There were "radical" changes in meal patterns and styles of eating in England across the nineteenth century resulting from the "acute shifts in society" that were being driven by the frenetic pace of technological and economic change of that period.[11] A whole new meal, lunch, emerged during this time because men were traveling further from home to work in expanding urban centres as they could easily do this on the new railway networks. There were people who embraced the emerging modes of eating and people who resisted any change to their dietary habits; eventually the eddying shifts in the form, time and content of meals slowed and melded into a more singular societal model of meal taking, but that was not until the early twentieth century. Before that happened eating habits in the Anglophone world were more diverse: What time a person ate; the number of courses served; how they set food out; what they put it out on; as well as the content of the meal, were all variables in eating that came together in different ways indicative of a person's social rank, their economic position, their ambition and whether they lived in a city or the country.[12] As colonial Australians replicated the physical infrastructure, the enabling institutions and the social and cultural systems of English life inevitably the form of the meals they ate altered in alignment with the changes in Britain: people in the colonies also took up eating lunch and serving their social meals in a new-fangled Russian style practiced by the most fashionable inhabitants of the Metropolis.

The meals enjoyed by The Three Miss Kings—breakfast, lunch, tea, dinner, supper—were then in no way unique to colonial food culture. Exploring them will require to and froing between England and Australia. Colonial examples will prevail in the illustration of these meals, although much of the narrative on eating and cooking in the Australian sources is directly lifted from British newspapers and magazines—a practice we have encountered throughout this book that confirms that much of the population of Australia

in the nineteenth century understood and experienced their foodways as indivisible from the British.

BREAKFAST

If there was one meal that was a constant right across the colonial era it was breakfast. In the early years of settlement convict labourers started their work at sunrise and were allowed a small interval to take a mutational meal later in the morning. This would have been a simple repast of cereal based gruel or pottage with a piece of bread or an "insipid, but not disagreeable", porridge of boiled Indian corn.[13] This was far from an ideal way to start to the day to the English and colonial appetite. Breakfast was preferably a substantial meal built upon "infinite variety" and high quality ingredients.[14] A woman in possession of a cook was advised to never leave the choice of breakfast dishes to her employee's imagination if she wanted to show herself a good housekeeper. An appetising and assorted spread was what was required and if cook was left to her own inclination she would just cut slices of meat from the previous night's roast dinner and warm these through—every day.[15] Eggs and bacon were the mainstay with the former lending themselves to varied preparation: fried, curried, buttered, poached or savoury omelettes, an "especially delicious" breakfast dish could be prepared by poaching eggs in sweet cream seasoned with salt and pepper.[16] Fresh and toasted bread or hot scones with plenty of butter made up the base line of an acceptable breakfast. Assorted fresh fruit and flowers were always to be on the breakfast table.

A good housekeeper would have the ingenuity to provide any number of other dishes to add interest to the morning meal. If fresh fish was available that was to take "precedence" over everything else, otherwise it was more often leftovers that were made up into breakfast dishes—even if cook was to be admonished for doing exactly this with cold meat. Cookery educator Harriet Wicken encouraged colonial housekeepers to purchase an ice-chest such that the remains of fish and meat served the previous evening could be kept and "concocted into delicious dishes" for breakfast the following day such as this one:

> **Breakfast beef**
> Thin slices of cold roast beef (underdone)
> ½ gill melted butter
> ½ gill gravy

> 1 tablespoonful walnut ketchup or vinegar
> 1 tablespoonful of red currant jelly
> salt and pepper
> Lay the slices of beef in a heatproof dish. Blend the melted butter gravy, jelly, and ketchup together, and pour over the meat. Cover the dish containing the meat and sauce and place it in a steamer and steam for half an hour. Transfer the meat slices into a serving dish and pour the sauce over it.[17]

Preparing potted meat was another way of fabricating leftovers into interesting fare for the breakfast table.

> The way to prepare it is as follows – it may be veal, ham, beef, tongue, chicken or even mutton: —Pass the meat through the mincing machine, mix it with a small quantity of butter, add pepper, salt, chopped parsley, according to taste with a very little sprinkling of grated nutmeg, ground mace and cloves; a few sprigs of mint and thyme finely chopped to give additional flavour. Place the mixture in a jar, filling it up, so as to cover it with clarified butter, and stand in a warm oven until the meat is smoking [I interpret this to mean steaming not burning].[18]

A herbed omelette stuffed with minced meat; bacon sandwiched between hot toast spread with anchovy paste; fried rabbit; cold beefsteak pie, pressed tongue, brawn; tomato rice garnished with bacon and boiled eggs; chuculuts, scotch eggs served in a gravy sauce, or fried cucumbers served with mutton or veal cutlets were other dishes a colonial housekeeper might consider preparing for breakfast. [19] Coffee made from freshly roasted and ground beans purchased from the local grocer was the preferred beverage at breakfast. Tea was to be put up as well for those who insisted on it, and anyone who liked to take a glass of mild ale was to be encouraged to do so.[20]

All of this was an ideal presentation of breakfast. It suggests a somewhat leisurely lifestyle where the mistress of the house had the resources and inclination to fuss over details of meals each day and that her family had the time to enjoy her efforts. If she could afford to employ a cook then it was a well-off middle or upper-middle class household. Sometimes breakfast was the only meal a woman ate with her husband. Sitting down to such a fine repast every morning would have been a reality for some Australians, and more of an aspirational model for others. The reality of breakfast for lower middle and working class families would have been less elaborate: eggs and bacon, toast and

jam, stewed fruit and tea. Oatmeal porridge was a dish that was enjoyed in the mornings by colonial Australians of all classes. Dr Phillip Muskett's description of breakfasting habits in the colonies was even further from this. He claimed that people slept as late as possible and swallowed a hasty breakfast of "ubiquitous" chops, steak and sausages in a frantic rush to get to work. He advised people to take the time to eat a liberal breakfast of fish, bacon, scones and toast generously slathered with butter because it was essential for a business or professional man to have a fatty breakfast so he can "go on all day".[21]

LUNCH

Before there was lunch there was dinner. In his journal of the early years of Sydney David Collins records several middle-of-the-day meals—notable because the governor at the time gave or attended these—which he calls dinner. The term lunch or luncheon did not come into use to describe a meal until the early nineteenth century. At the time that Governor Phillip sat down to dinner at one o'clock in the afternoon on June 19 1788 to celebrate the King's birthday, or five years later when Lieutenant- Governor Grose was entertained to a noon dinner aboard one of the Spanish ships moored at Sydney in 1793, most Britons ate two main meals a day: a breakfast and a dinner. In the interim between these people took other refreshments variously called bever, noonings, nuncheon or lunch. These small meals were intended to tide one over between more the substantial repasts of the day—we would now call them 'snacks'—one writer described a nuncheon as the "merest mouthful" but how much that actually might be was relative to your occupation.[22] Agricultural labourers might take a nuncheon of bread and cheese with beer or cider; domestic servants a slice of plain cake or bread and cheese and tea; the lady of the house a thin slice of cake and a glass of sherry; a gentleman out shooting would put a sandwich in his pocket. These bevers, or lunches, might be had around eleven in the morning between breakfast and dinner and again in the afternoon. Another light meal might be taken in the evening, depending on how long your day was.[23]

The time of the dinner meal started to move further into the afternoon in the early decades of the nineteenth century and some people were eating it a five o'clock, while others continued to take their main meal in the middle of the day. If you took your dinner at the earlier hour you were probably living in the country and if you ate it later in the day then you were more likely to be living in a major town or city. There were no definitive rules on this though and people ate when it most suited their habits, or their aspirations. A

wealthy squatter living on a rural station might take his dinner later in the day or into the evening, while his workers and servants ate at two o'clock; a man working in the city might insist on having his dinner at one o'clock taking himself to his club or a restaurant to do so if it was too far to travel home for this meal. The key thing was that a dinner was the substantial meal of the day and across the nineteenth century it was taken at different times. Lunch as a serious meal was a new invention.

The dinner hour was being pushed later into the day by the symbiotic forces of technological advancement and urbanisation. Industrial development created more work opportunities in towns and people moved into urban areas to take up employment; the towns subsequently grew and people had to live further out from the centre; railway and trams services between residential suburbs and commercial centres allowed people to travel greater distances to work. The upshot was that a man who worked in the city would leave home early in the morning and not return until the evening. As dinner was considered the most important meal of the day it was held back until the man of the house arrived home. This left a long interval between breakfast and dinner and it was 'lunch' that expanded from being a piece of bread or cheese to a more substantive meal to fill the gap.[24] In rural areas where people worked close to home they could continue to have a middle-day dinner at their domicile. Domestic servants also ate their dinner during the day.

Lunch was considered a woman's meal because it was considered a domestic one — if a man took a meal at his club at noon he would have referred to it as dinner. Some professional and business men working away in their city offices considered a proper daytime meal an unnecessary intrusion into their work and many preferred not take it at all, perhaps nibbling on a few biscuits as they pored over ledgers, or they were sustained by having partaken of the type of fatty breakfast recommended by Dr Muskett. Lunch, or luncheon, was conceived of as a light meal as it was seen as more of a frivolity, a filler rather than a serious undertaking. The sort of dishes recommended for luncheon were indicative of its lesser status. Lunch was to be made of light dishes, particularly of a type that might be served cold, that defined it as a meal without much gravitas. English novelist Jane Austen dismissed the "the mid-day meal under the cursory appellation of "cold meat".[25] Austen was writing in the early decades of the nineteenth century when lunch had only first emerged and was considered somewhat suspect by the upper classes.[26] As more people lunched the concept settled and it was allowed a bit more

substance and the lady of the house would often make "her real dinner at luncheon".[27] If she had children they would often join her for their 'dinner' at the same time—just as we saw with the Townsend family at the beginning of this chapter.

Lunch went on to become quite fashionable. In 1857 The Café François in George Street Sydney advertised that it was offering luncheon of the most recherché dishes, including kangaroo and mock turtle soup. A serialised story called *Exile* that appeared in a Sydney newspaper in 1890 featured a hero returned to England after ten years living on an isolated island "eating cocoanuts and breadfruit". When the protagonist uses the word "nuncheon" his mother is confused and says "how strangely you talk, do you mean luncheon?" "Nuncheon or luncheon is all the same as long as I get it" replies her newly returned son.[28] The point of the scene is to highlight that this man's exile has left him behind the times. Harriet Wicken —author of the best-selling *Kingswood Cookery Book* —gave a series of cooking classes in Victoria in 1887 during which she demonstrated luncheon dishes that included mock venison, Scotch woodcock—soft scrambled eggs served on toast spread with anchovy paste—German toast —bread dipped in a sweet egg mix and fried, aka French toast—and breast of mutton with piquant sauce. The combination of eggs, anchovy and bread was popular for colonial luncheons.[29]

> **Stuffed eggs with sardines—an appetising luncheon dish**
> Boil three eggs till hard, shell them, cut in halves and remove the yolks carefully; put them in a mortar with three or four sardines drained from the oil, skinned and the centre bones removed, a little butter and a dust of red pepper; pound till smooth; refill the whites with the mixture, cut off the tips so that they will stand firm, and serve each on a diamond of fried or toasted bread.[30]

Ever concerned with colonial eating habits Dr Phillip Muskett worried that working girls only took tea with bread and butter in the middle of the day while others took too heavy a midday dinner. The solution for both, the under and over-eaters, was to adopt a medium-weight meal of soup, fish, salad or vegetables and perhaps some stewed fruit—a prescription that sounded a lot like a lunch. Muskett advised that more substantial eating be postponed to the end of the day, and declared that "if there is anything of which I am certain, it is that tea in the middle of the day is a deadly destructive fluid".[31] It was fortunate then that taking tea was an afternoon ritual.

TAKING TEA

Tea was a drink, and it was a meal, and there were two different tea meals. There was a tea meal that was a snack that was eaten by people who were going to take their dinner in the evening. Then there was a substantive tea meal that was taken as the evening repast by those who ate their dinner in the middle of day. The light tea was 'afternoon tea' and the other was 'high' or 'meat' tea: the people who were eating them usually just referred to them as tea. Afternoon tea was taken at that time. A meat tea might be pushed into the early evening. If you took afternoon tea you were a well-off urbanite and if you took a meat tea you were probably living in a regional town and were of the middling or working classes.[32] Our Miss Kings eating thin bread and butter with their cup of tea neatly fit this categorisation: they were genteel girls living in the bustling city of Melbourne. It was the practice in the country to invite friends to high tea, a habit that the ladies columnist for the Melbourne *Leader* actively encouraged her suburban readers to appropriate. A high tea was an informal meal and therefore less demanding on a hostess, especially if she only had a couple of female servants, and more comfortable and cosy for guests. There was no skimping on the eats: at just one high tea guests could be presented with a selection of hot and cold meats, fish balls with potato chips, jugged hare, fondue, macaroni cheese, chicken and ham sandwiches, chicken cakes, gingerbread, chocolate buns, hot buttered toast, eggs, tea cakes, plain and fancy biscuits, jellies and fruit.[33] The criterion was that the food could be easily passed around and that it could be prepared beforehand. This was a meal for the hostess to relax with her guests and not be anxious about what was going on in the kitchen as she might be at a dinner. This was a casual meal so there was no compulsion to try out fancy dishes. At a public cookery class in Sydney in 1894 Harriet Wicken demonstrated a selection of high tea dishes that included fish cutlets, fricassee of rabbit, fricassee of prawns and lobster and mullet with piquant sauce. Note the similarities in the dishes served across breakfast, lunch and tea and we will see them again at supper—all the glory was saved for dinner. When a tea meal was composed of an extensive spread of dishes it was referred to as a high tea, and when it comprised a more simple collation of chops, steak and sausages it was usually referred to as a meat tea in the colonies.

The quality of the tea, and coffee, served was considered as important as the food and the hostess was advised to make sure she attended to preparing the beverages herself.[34] This avid pursuit of taking tea with meat and other dishes was of grave concern to a Dr

Andre Wilson who pronounced it a dangerous habit detrimental to health.[35] It does not seem that too many people took heed of his caution—in 1900 Australians reportedly "held the world record" for consumption of both meat and tea".[36]

DINNER

Taking your 'dinner' meant eating the most substantial meal of the day. The term was more tied to content and form rather than a particular time. It could be had sometime in the middle of the day or in the evening— except with those who held with dinner being a midday meal regardless of what was on the plate, but we will wait to meet them at supper. Having explored daytime meals thus far we will concern ourselves with a dinner that was had in the evening. The hour at which people sat down to an end of the day meal slipped into the night from late afternoon because the development of domestic gas lighting allowed people to easily illuminate their homes, essentially extending the day with more hours of light, and dinner pushed into this newly vivified temporal space. Homes had previously been lit using candles and lamps made from, or fuelled by, combustible materials such as beeswax, whale oil and tallow. The first two were expensive. Tallow, which colonial Australians had plenty of, smelt, smoked and gave off a low light. To be able to light a room sufficiently to sit down to a meal, especially a social one, and see what you were eating required significant candle-power so you had to be wealthy to be able to afford to eat at night. Everyone else ate the meal over which they took the most time and effort during cost free daylight hours. Eating dinner into the night then had a certain social prestige and inviting guests to an evening meal became the favoured style of entertaining for urbanites.[37] Eating an early dinner then took on a particular association with provincial life as gas lighting was not available in rural areas. Country people tended to go to sleep earlier and start their working day while city folk where still lying in bed; having their dinner in the middle of the day suited their lifestyle better.

Leftovers were not served at dinner. This was the meal that generated the material for the meals following it. The cooked meat, fish and vegetables that were potted, fried, devilled, sauced, minced, made into cutlets, rissoles, patties and fillings for breakfast, lunch, tea and supper originated from the dinner table. The dishes for a dinner were freshly made and a cook applied all her skill, or lack of it, and effort into producing this meal. Dinner greeted the man of the house at the end of his working day. Women were instructed to ensure that their husband enjoyed tempting and well-cooked domestic

dinners as this was one of "the strongest ties of family life".[38] A man who enjoyed good eating at home would not be tempted to eat at his club, or a restaurant, nor would he need "artificial stimulants to keep up his spirits".[39] To wit: If a man spent too much time away from his family gallivanting with his male peers spending his money on bought meals and drinking, then it was the fault of his wife for not keeping up an alluring dinner table. In a family of advanced social standing a man might eat his dinner alone. His children would have certainly taken their main meal earlier in the day and his wife may have eaten with them. A wife was not necessarily expected to eat an evening dinner with her husband unless they had guests. There was a lot of aspiration in this sort of arrangement, it was copied from the practice of aristocratic families who largely had marriages that were arranged and entirely social in their function and who lived in big houses staffed servants that allowed a husband and wife to lead quite separate lives. A middle class couple in Australia probably more often sat down to dinner together, although their children may have eaten earlier, if they had a servant to wait upon them. If a household was without hired help then the master of the house would take his dinner by himself while his wife and older female children served him.

Class and gender influenced who sat down with whom to eat together and wealth and social rank influenced what was eaten and how it was eaten. A colonial gentleman might take a dinner of soup, fish, roasted meat or one or two made meat dishes, pudding, cheese, dessert and coffee.[40] A working-man might enjoy a meat stew or boiled or baked meat, vegetables, pudding, bread and cheese and tea with milk and sugar. The dinner meal of the family of an itinerant rural worker or struggling farmer might be fried bacon and eggs, or stew of potatoes and salt meat, damper bread and tea without milk.[41] Naturally there were all sorts of variations on dinner and because it was considered the premier meal what was written about it could have been idealized, aspirational, fantastical, derogatory or an accurate representation of what was eaten at any one particular dinner. Anglophile Richard Twopeny usually found colonials wanting in their eating habits so its unsurprising that he claimed that the reality of the Australian dinner table fell "really short of any ideals" and that even the upper classes contended themselves with "very plain fare"; it was only when they had guests that they put fancier dishes on the dinner table.[42]

GIVING A DINNER

A very modish mid-nineteenth century dinner might have had fountains of perfume placed along the centre of the dining table—a small table required one fountain and a larger one three or four. As part of this scented arrangement finger glasses filled with rosewater and small flowers were to be set out for each guest; larger arrangements of flowers and fruit were placed between the fountains and all of this colour and fragrance were to compose the "attractions" of the most voguish social meal.[43] These decorations were an essential part of a new form of dining known as 'A La Russe' and they occupied the space where the food would have be placed if you were entertaining guests À La Française style. The latter was the established mode for giving a dinner. It comprised two or three 'courses', and a concluding dessert, made up of a selection of dishes that were all placed on the table at once—leaving no room for ornaments. The first course started with soup and once this was served the soup tureen would be removed from the table and replaced with fish and roast meat, which the host and/or hostess would carve in front of the guests. On the table in front of them would be made dishes, vegetables and condiments. Meat and fish were passed around on individual plates and guests would help themselves to what was available in the centre according to their taste and appetite and they passed items to each other. When this course was finished the dishes were removed, clean plates and cutlery put out and a new selection of food laid on the table. The second course included game meat, shellfish, lighter made dishes, sweet and savoury pies, sweet pudding, tarts, sweet creams, custard, and jellies. There was not such a division between sweet and savoury food in the nineteenth century in English eating practice. Putting all these dishes out together allowed guests who were ready for something sweet to take that rather than having to wait for it to come at the end of the meal, however some diners might have liked to eat a slice of sweet pudding with their meat as this was a long standing custom. Jelly and custard would have been kept to each other. If a third course was served this would be cheese and salad and again another clean plate and appropriate cutlery laid. After all the courses were done the tablecloth was lifted to reveal a fresh one underneath and the dessert laid down the centre of the table. This was a course of sweet titbits: fresh and dried fruit, biscuits, macaroons, wafers, confectionary, plain sponge or pound cakes—heavier filled cakes went with the second course—preserves —eaten by the spoonful off a dessert plate—and a few savoury nibblings of nuts, olives and cheese biscuits. After dessert the women went to a separate room to drink tea and coffee and the

men stayed in the dining room to smoke and get boozed. Wine was served with dinner but you had to ask a servant to bring it to you. They poured a glass of whatever was wanted and brought it over on a tray and stood there and waited while the guest downed the drink and handed the empty glass back: it made it pretty obvious if you were drinking a lot and polite society demanded public decorum. When the ladies left the room the men could help themselves to port and brandy more freely.

A menu for a formal dinner À La Française style can be read in a way that leads to pronouncements that colonial Australians had gargantuan appetites and were habitual gluttons: It presumes that each person at the table ate everything that was offered when it was highly unlikely that they did. A dinner in this style was built on a principle of hospitality of ensuring that everyone had something that they liked to eat, and on a desire for social display, the more food you could lay on the wealthier you were. There was a potential pitfall in this of not knowing where to draw the line and putting on so much food you showed you were noveau riche. People complained about the waste of this style of eating and that the dishes went cold on the table. In its fullest expression a meal served À La Française was reserved for occasions when guests came to dinner or for public meals given to celebrate special events such as the one held in September 1853 to commemorate the twenty year anniversary of the foundation of the colony of Victoria by its “old colonists’ —a term used to distinguish the people who were in the colony before all the gauche upstart arrivistes began to pour in with the gold rush. We visited this event in chapter four to witness the post dinner brawling that took place there, but before that happened this is the menu for the dinner that the 300 male guests sat down to:

> **SOUP.** - Ox tail, a l'Anglaise; vermicelli, a la Italien. Sherry.
> **FISH.** - A la maitre de Hotel; a la Brochet; a la Regency; a la Criterion; a la Toulouse. Sherry.
> **ENTREES.** - Saddle of mutton; loins of beef; brain fritters au gratin; boiled fowl, a la Victoria; croquet a la Polonais; calf's ears, turtle style; croquet o'lamb, a la Marechelle; Turban of Conde; veal cotelette Talliho style. Hock ans Sherry.
> **VEGETABLES.** - Potatoes, fried; ditto, a la maitre d'Hotel; ditto, Lionaise; cauliflower; ditto, au gratin; trifolis, a la Espagnoie.
> **ROAST.** - Lamb, stag fashion; turkey, various styles; goose, a la Richelieu; ditto, a la Robespierre; duck, a la Prince of Wales; fowl, a la Criterion; salad. Champagne.

DESSERT. - Cream de vanille; ditto, almond; calfs-foot jelly; blanc-mange; confectionery. Sparkling hock and Moselle.

FRUITS. - Apples; oranges; almonds; raisins, &c. Claret.

Mulled claret; punch infernal. Coffee; cigars.

In their everyday eating, colonial Australians would have taken their dinner in a manner that replicated the easy familial aspect of the À La Française style with the dishes placed on the middle of the table passed around between each other. If a man were dining on his lonesome then someone, his wife or servant, would have passed the food to him.

Taking dinner in the À La Russe style emerged in England circa 1830s. The rules of this way of dining were that various dishes were separately portioned and dressed with their appropriate garnishes in the kitchen or at the sideboard and then served to each guest one course at a time. Servants took additional side dishes around to the diners to help themselves from. A menu was provided at each place because guests at an À La Russe meal found themselves looking at table decorations instead of the food and therefore could not know what they were going to have next without this written information. Some hosts allowed their guests to help themselves to the dessert otherwise all the food was issued to them. It was a controversial style as people accustomed to an À La Française dinner were offended by having their meal choices made for them and the more decorative—or pretentious —way the food was laid out on the plate: "what do I want with dinner a la Russe...with all [its] culinary fripperies" wrote an objector to the practice.[44] Others considered it "the most satisfactory plan for serving dinner" citing the distinct advantage of allowing for the food to be served hot.[45] By the mid-nineteenth century giving an À La Russe dinner was the most fashionable mode in which to serve guests. Edward Abbott cautioned that serving a meal in this style required a lot of servants in order to portion the food, garnish it, hand it out, take around the side dishes and clear away and reset for each course, and that serving each guest at an À La Russe style repast with each dish with no choice on their part led them to be "literally crammed [with food and drink] according to "swinish rule".[46] Serving such a dinner required an enormous inventory of plates and cutlery as these were set fresh with each new serving of food, of which there might anywhere between eight to twelve courses. Then there were all the necessary decorations and a plethora of consumer items appeared to serve this purpose. Because of the material and manpower requirements of À La Russe dinner these offered an unparalleled opportunity to display one's wealth and taste to a public audience.

There was particular competition around the decorative displays in the middle of the table and people often complained that they could not see whom they were dining with for the jungle of plants, vases and other knickknacks placed in front of them. The structure and strictures inherent in an À La Russe dinner made it a more formal meal and its dissenters found it lacked the intimate conviviality of the À La Française style—hardly surprising if they were unable to see their dinner companions.[47]

If the host or hostess persisted with carving the meat themselves at the table the dinner was termed 'demi-Russe'. There would be various 'demi' style dinners that colonial Australians gave or attended that combined elements of both the Française and Russe eating styles that they made work to suit their family life, social aspirations and available resources. The Acclimatisation Society gave an À La Russe style dinner at Scott's Hotel in Melbourne in 1864 attended by the Governor of Victoria that featured native game and seafood and local meats in almost every dish, and there were 70 of these all up. We can gain an understanding of how such a dinner was approached by reading the mouthful-by-mouthful description of one the attendees:

> *The guests for the most part contented themselves with tasting [rather than eating an entire serve of it] each delicacy as the waiters brought it round. The succession of viands might be best illustrated by the following particulars of our own ventures in the gastronomic line: —Sydney Rock Oysters, then a spoonful of turtle soup; then kangaroo tail, followed in steady succession by Yan Yean eels a la Tartare; fillet of trumpeter au turban, vol au vent of frogs, fricandeau of wombat with spinach, curried bandicoot, parroqueet patties, vension cutlets, aspic of native pigeon (the bronze-wing), galantine of turkey with cold tongue in slices, boiled rabbit with celery dressing, and roast turkey with Jerusalem artichokes. Then came saddle of Chinese mutton, and lamb, also a la Chinoise, with pillaw; a slice of guinea fowl, and a breast of Mallee hen, with something presumed to be truffles.*[48]

It's a lot of mouthfuls but he's only tasted about a third of what was on the menu.

SUPPER

After all that eating there was still room for supper, the final meal of the day. There was no doubt about where supper stood, it was always taken in the evening. What was had at a

supper depended on how the meals previous to it where taken. A family that ate dinner in the middle of the day might take a more substantial supper that was very similar to a high tea. If a high tea was taken early in the evening and then a supper several hours later closer to bedtime I wonder if the two meals might not have been furnished from the same dishes. People who ate dinner in the evening would take just take a glass of wine and a biscuit for supper or a slice of bread and cheese and a cup of tea. Colonial Australians seemed to have been encouraged to something of a paranoia about going to bed with a full belly. Sleeping on an "empty stomach" when practiced as a habit was purported to be a considerable "risk" to good health resulting in "emaciation, sleeplessness and general weakness".[49]

Supper was not that straightforward though. It could also mean a substantial hot evening meal and when some people said they were going to have their supper they essentially meant they were off to eat something more like a dinner. In this case they were likely to be people who were in the practice of calling their midday meal 'dinner' even if it was just bread and cheese.[50] There were countless hotels and public eating establishments in Australian cities that advertised the availability of "hot suppers" which suggests that there were plenty of people looking to take something quite substantial in the evening—perhaps for their health's sake.[51]

VEGETABLES IN SEASON

Across this book and this chapter we have seen what colonial Australians were eating at their meals. We can see these things because they were committed to paper in one form or another in words or illustration, and sometimes there is physical evidence to tell us what people cooked and ate. So let's take a look at what was purported to be missing: Colonial Australia's stand accused of "rarely caring" to eat vegetables.[52] The menu for the Acclimatisation Society dinner feature the line 'vegetables in season" with no elaboration on what these might have been or how they were prepared. And this is part of the problem with vegetables; they were more often not talked about even if they were there.

Vegetables had had a long association with peasant food and poverty in Europe. People ate these only if they could not get anything else much to eat: The upper classes held vegetables in disdain well into the eighteenth century.[53] Meat, refined cereals, spices, sugar, tea, coffee and chocolate; these were the prestigious foods: they were expensive and inaccessible to the less well-off in England, or had been and were still bathed in the

glow of costliness and scarcity by the time Australia was colonised. If colonial Australians were not making room for vegetables on their plates it would have been because they could afford to eat their fill of other foods that had a much higher cultural value for them that they had not been able to afford in England such as meat and refined wheat flour bread. Vegetables could become expensive at different times of the year when the season and weather were not conducive to their production. If a cabbage or a pound of carrots cost more than a pound of meat and you valued flesh food more than vegetable food there is really no question as to which you will choose. We must remember that understanding about nutrition and vitamins and the detrimental effects of highly processing foodstuff was still in its nascent stages in the nineteenth century. Some of the health advice colonial Australians operated under we would now consider questionable, for example they were advised that roast meat was a very healthy and nutritious food to eat. Some vegetables were said to be indigestible; for a society that subscribed to the idea that a great many health problems stemmed from 'indigestion' this was an added disincentive to consumption of fresh produce.[54]

Vegetables might not have been shown on the table in the colonial records as they were considered a commonplace, something that was as a matter of course put up on the table. Meat was the ingredient that got all the attention. Roasting a piece of beef or poaching a fish or creating` made dishes was where the cook put her or his efforts. It makes sense then that the dishes that were the most valued were the ones that were written about and recipes given for these.[55] Many colonial Australians were intent on climbing the ladder of improvement, of being seen to be civilised and genteel. They wanted to make money and they wanted to improve their social position. It was all about progress and heading into the future. They were not interested in venerating a vegetable based peasant cuisine because a lot of them were not too far removed from eating meals in which turnips, potatoes and cabbages were the major components. Vegetables were enunciated on menus though when they had been subject to more complex processing that added value to them by turning them into distinct dishes to which further prestige could be added by calling these in pseudo French. In case you missed it earlier there is an example of this on the menu at the Old Colonists dinner:

> **VEGETABLES.** - Potatoes, fried; ditto, a la maitre d'Hotel; ditto, Lionaise; cauliflower; ditto, au gratin; trifolis, a la Espagnoie.

The English had a long tradition of eating "grand sallets" (salads) composed of divers leafy vegetables, fresh herbs and young root vegetables that were painstakingly mixed and dressed.[56] Brillat Savarin's famed work on gastronomy, *The Physiology of Taste*, includes a story of a young Frenchman who makes his fortune in London dressing other people's salads. He carries around a mahogany case filled with oils, including but not limited to olive, perfumed vinegars, caviar, truffles, anchovies, eggs and soy from which he concocts his emulsions. He was known as the "fashionable salad maker" and it was only people of fashion, the wealthy upper classes, who could afford to have him dress their leafy greens.[57] Salad was an upper class dish, and it was also a woman's dish. If a woman hadn't the services of the French salad dresser she was advised to mix and dress the salad with her own hands. The mistress of a wealthy establishment was not going to go into the hot and hectic kitchen to make her salad, instead she did it in the sedate still room where she made health and cosmetic preparations and cordials and confectionary, in effect this hid the salad. It was not made in the kitchen so it was not typically written about in cookbooks. And because it was a woman's preparation, and it was made of vegetables, it was just not given much attention.[58] Salad may have equally appeared on colonial dinner tables without anyone much commenting on it.

Colonial nurserymen and seed merchants sold a huge variety of vegetable plants and seeds. These were extensively advertised and when a new nursery catalogue came out it was usually noted in newspaper editorials or as a stand-alone item in a column. There was obviously a vested interest on behalf of the newspaper to support their paid advertisers, nonetheless they must have considered the subject of interest enough to readers. Colonial Australians were keen gardeners and they had a considerable selection of vegetable seeds available to them including, but in no way limited to, French beans, turnips, celery, radishes, leeks, cauliflower, salads, Dutch cabbage, carrots, parsnips, endive, turkey beans, chervil, parsley, sage, spinage [sp], white beet, white salads, white onions, vegetable marrow, mustard, savoy cabbage, coriander, aniseed, mint, red cabbage, English cabbage, kale, potatoes, pumpkins, calabash, cucumber, artichokes, beetroot, asparagus, French peas and salsify. We can't know who bought these seeds, if they planted them if they did and if they thrived. It does suggest the possibility that there were many colonial Australians with kitchen gardens and that if they were growing vegetables they would have been eating them —even if they did not make much of a show about it.

110 FAHRENHEIT IN THE SHADE

If there was one time of the year you could guarantee the weather in the Australian colonies it was the 25th December. On this day the temperature was always 110ºF: Or so said those who railed against the Australian habit of replicating the traditional British Christmas dinner in the colonies, and it was the Christmas pudding that writers such as Marcus Clarke took particular issue with:

> *A very merry Christmas, with the roast beef in a violent perspiration, and the thermometer at 110° in the shade! ...It may be a rank heresy but I deliberately affirm that Christmas in Australia is a gigantic mistake…if [a] gentleman …is sensible, and possesses digestive organs, it is quite probable that he will refuse to load his stomach with the portable nightmare known as plum pudding.*[59]

If it was "one hundred-odd in the shade" on any Christmas day it must have been in the northern parts of Australia.[60] The yuletide season fell in summer in the colonies and the thermometer edges upward across the continent but the southern states —where Clarke and other Christmas commentators were writing from—were not in dog days that early in summer, never the less it probably felt like Hades to Englishmen. Christmas was a winter festival in Britain and the orthodox meal of roast meat and plum pudding eaten on the occasion was suited to a time of year that was cold and dark. Here was another case of the antipodes being upside down: Christmas in England fell close to the shortest day of the year and in the colonies it was nearer the longest and the atmosphere light and warm. Squatter John Hunter Kerr pleaded for relief from the "hot and heavy plum pudding of the United Kingdom" at Christmas and urged its replacement with something "dainty" and better suited to colonial conditions.[61] He gave no suggestion as to what the alternative might be and chances are he continued to find himself facing a plate of steaming pudding come Christmas day. Writing of Sydney in the early part of the nineteenth century surgeon and naturalist Joseph Arnold was of the opinion that the colonial habit of eating Christmas dinner showed that Europeans had not yet made a home in Australia. Looked at another way replicating familiar and valued customs could be seen as a way of trying to make an unfamiliar place into a home.

Keeping Christmas in the "old fashion" without regard to heat or cold was only to be expected of the English: "a nation that never surrenders to the fire of an enemy cannot be expected to give in to the fire of the sun".[62] Plum pudding was "especially prized by

Britons all over the world…as fit companion for the roast beef of Old England".[63] Eating exactly this meal on Christmas day was a connection to the values of Empire, a way of staking a claim to the mission of "upholding civilisation" on the far side of the world: weather be dammed, this was serious cultural nourishment. [64] When local flour supplies threatened to run short in Tasmania in 1859 and expected stocks of imported dried fruit failed to arrive in Victoria in 1856 there was concern that the shortfall of these items might result in some people not being able to make their Christmas pudding. There was no suggestion of any acceptable substitutes.

Christmas pudding was plum pudding; these names were used interchangeably, however plum puddings were eaten all year round and the festive title was given only to those intended for consumption on the Yuletide. The 'plums' the pudding contained were currants and raisins—dried grapes, not the fresh fruit of the *Prunus* tree called plums that become prunes when dried. The story of this pudding mirrors the movement of meals. It started out at the beginning of a meal as a soupy dish of beef stock flavoured with wine, onions, citrus and spices, thickened with bread and studded with raisins. It was an expensive dish so it was only eaten on special occasions, predominantly holy days such as Christmas. At some point this plum pottage solidified to become the plum pudding and it moved to the middle of the meal to be eaten with the roast beef. By the end of the colonial era it had made its way to the end of the meal accompanied by a sweet sauce.

Christmas had fallen out of favour as a holyday celebration in Britain—there were plenty of others to choose from: Twelfth Night, Shrove Tuesday, Easter, Michaelmas, Pentecost—by the early nineteenth century. It was Queen Victoria's German husband, Albert, who resurrected this celebration of the Christ child's birth because it was an important festival in his native country. The decorated Christmas tree that became an essential accoutrement of an English Christmas was a German tradition instituted by Albert, not a British one. Later that century concerns emerged that the British Christmas pudding was in "danger of being branded a foreigner" because the ingredients it was produced from were all imported.[65] People did not seem to realise that it had always been made of foreign elements. The dried fruit, spices and sugar it contained had never been products of England, these key ingredients travelled into English kitchens from the Levant, India and the West Indies: the Christmas pudding was as exotic as the adorned tree. Fortunately, colonisation had brought "lands under the flag of Empire"—including Australia, which had become major supplier of dried fruit to Britain—where these items

could be produced on "British soil" thus preserving the pudding's identity as a native dish.[66] Colonial Australians preserved their loyalty to British tradition and continued to eat Christmas pudding, resolving the problem of the clash between climate and cultural affiliation by taking their pudding outside and eating it at a Christmas day picnic.

FOREIGN INCURSIONS

The wistful reflections of contemporary Australians on how much better our food would have been if we had only been settled by the French is not exclusive to the now, it has historical precedents. The idea that French cooks produced a cuisine that was unquestionably superior to any other national cookery was one that came to firm establishment in the nineteenth century, certainly in the minds of the Gallic population.[67] It was an assertion that some English people took to heart and decided to judge their native cuisine as wanting. The English aristocracy employed French cooks and French chefs worked in the most prestigious private clubs. French cookery became associated with the upper classes and those with social aspirations longed for a French cook and to eat French food.[68] If you could not afford a Gallic cook then you could at least say how wonderful French was and disparage English cookery to show you that you understand fine cuisine. If your cook couldn't produce French food you could rebuke her for her failings and write into the newspapers and complain about the terrible state of cookery and how 'plain' English food was. It was common practice for commentators on Australian cookery to hold up the ideal of Gallic cuisine "as a mode of rebuke to reinforce colonial culinary inferiority"; largely in imitation of what they had read in the English newspapers.[69]

Many Britons were traveling to France and eating in restaurants there. They associated this haute cuisine with all of French food and with the idea that good food had to be complex and complicated.[70] They came home to roasted meats and puddings and decried the 'simplicity' of British cuisine. They wrote to the newspapers about it. Colonial Australians read about this terrible lack in the cookery of the motherland, and because they were already feeling inferior so far away from the metropolis this heightened their sense that what they were eating was not good enough and needed to be something else.[71] Except not all Britons, whether they were in England or the colonies, took French cuisine to be superior. They might not have understood the "mastery of French cooks to be purely imaginary", nonetheless they were not to be swayed by fashion

from confidence in their own taste.[72] Perhaps it was just their "John Bull' insolence that caused them to say that French food was not all it was cracked up to be and to take the defensive against "foreign culinary pretensions".[73] They called suspicion on the French use of cooking in sauces and the generous use of onion and garlic saying that such additive flavours were a necessary cover–up for poor standard of the raw ingredients available in France. English produce on the other hand was of such good quality that there was no need for the kickshaws and fripperies of the French kitchen to be able to eat well of English food. Not all Colonial Australians wanted their meat disguised in sauces either.[74]

Then there were those who took the middle ground such as the correspondent who wrote into the Brisbane courier on the subject of dinner À la Russe and shared his thoughts on French cookery into the bargain. He complimented the food in France as a "very good thing", when it was well done, "but of all the abominations under the sun, we do except even the filthy details of Chinese dining, nothing can exceed bad, or even second rate, French cookery". In his opinion the French were keen on restaurants because they needed somewhere to eat to escape the "greasy messes and begarlicked olios" of the middle class dinner. He also pointed out that the "best parts of French cookery have long been grafted upon the scientific English cuisine". [75] His summation of French cookery was idiosyncratic but he was correct on his final point: French and English cuisines were not entirely separate.[76] There was much that was French in the cookery of England—although there was not much back the other way—but it had been so absorbed as to no longer be noticed as foreign. The rissole, soufflé, fricassee, and mayonnaise, amongst other things, were just everyday items. Like the Christmas pudding people had lost sight of their exotic origins and saw them as part of good plain English food. [77]

[1] *E.W Cole,* Manners and rules of good society, or, Solecisms to be avoided / by a Member of the aristocracy *(Melbourne: E.W. Cole, circa 1890), 117-118. Cole put his title on the cover, spine and fly page of this book but it was just a reprint of one of the most successful, and most copied, etiquette manuals of the nineteenth century:* Manners and rules of good society, or, Solecisms to be avoided / by a Member of the aristocracy. *The version Cole printed was the 18th edition of this work. Cole presumably bought the rights to publish a colonial edition.*

[2] *Cole,* Manners and rules*, 115.*

[3] *A mercy!*

[4] *Elizabeth Murray,* Ella Norman: or, A Woman's Perils. *Melbourne: Hill of Content,*

1985, preface.

[5] *Murray,* Ella Norman*, 19.*

[6] *Murray,* Ella Norman*, 19.*

[7] *Ada Cambridge,* The Three Miss Kings (*London: Virago, 1897), 184.*

[8] *Cambridge,* The Three Miss Kings*, 234.*

[9] *Barbara Santich, "Australian Culinary Xenophobia", in* Proceedings of the Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy: A Multiculinary Society, *ed Barbara Santich and Michael Symons, 1987, 34; Graham Pont, "Upstart Gastronomy: A cuisine without Peasants", in* Proceedings of the Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 'Foodism - Philosophy or Fad?, ed *Barbara Santich, Michael Symons and Colin Turner, 1985*

[10] *Isabella Beeton,* Beeton's Book of Household Management *(London: Ward, Lock, Bowden, 1892).*

[11] *Tom Jaine. "Forward", in* Eating with the Victorians*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), x.*

[12] *Jaine,* "*Forward", x.*

[13] *David Collins,* An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales Volume 1 With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To Which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand: Complied by Permission, From the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003) 64, http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/colacc1; 'Transported for Life',* Colonial Times*, February 1, 1853, 3.*

[14] *Edward Abbott,* The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery For The Many As Well As For The "Upper Ten Thousand" *(London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864), 141.*

[15] *'The Housekeeper',* The Queenslander*, February 19, 1881, 234.*

[16] *Cream skimmed from fresh milk.*

[17] *Phillip Muskett,* The Art of Living in Australia *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1997), http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/p00022.xml;chunk.id=d1210e450;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d1210e450;database=;collection=;brand=default, 255. A quarter of a gill is approximately 70 milliliters or 2.3 ounces.*

[18] *"How To Make Cold Meat Tasty",* The Queenslander*, December 1, 1900, 7.*

[19] *"Household receipts",* Leader*, March 18, 1865, 20.*

[20] *Abbott,* Cookery Book*, 140.*

[21] *Muskett,* The Art of Living*, 53.*

[22] *"The Subsidiary Meals"* – Gympie Times and Mary River Mining Gazette*, 19 November 19, 1898, 35.*

[23] *C. Anne Wilson, "Luncheon, Nuncheon and Related Meals", in* Eating with the Victorians*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 32-49.*

[24] *Kirsten Olsen,* Cooking with Jane Austen (*London: Greenwood Publishing Company, 2005), 10.*

[24] *Wilson, "Luncheon, Nuncheon and Related Meals", 44.*

[25] *"The Subsidiary Meals",* Gympie Times and Mary River Mining Gazette*, November 19, 1898, 35; Kirsten Olsen,* Cooking with Jane Austen*, 10.*

[26] *Viewers of Downton Abbey might recall a scene from the show's first season when the Dowager Countess Grantham makes a sneering comment along the lines of: "Lunch? What is this lunch?".*

[27] *Wilson, "Luncheon, Nuncheon and Related Meals", 44.*

[28] *"Exile",* The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, July 31, 1880, 199.*

[29] *Wicken wrote and published this book in England in 1885. She revised it and published an Australian edition in 1889.*
[30] Cobram Courier*, November 23, 1893, 6.*
[31] *Muskett,* The Art of Living*, 58.*
[32] *Laura. Mason, "Everything Stops for Tea" in* Eating with the Victorians*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 68-85.*
[33] *"High Tea",* Leader*, May 3, 1884, 6.*
[34] *"High Tea",* Leader*, May 3, 1884, 6.*
[35] *"Dangers of High Tea",* Launceston Examiner*, May 20, 1899, 3.*
[36] The Worker*, August 25, 1900, 8.*
[37] *This association with eating late and social status still holds true in India. The wealthier you are there, the later you eat. In Mumbai, where social competition is as intense as it ever was in the nineteenth century Anglosphere, eating dinner around midnight has become a mark of distinction for the elite.*
[38] *"The Subsidiary Meals",* Gympie Times and Mary River Mining Gazette*, November 19, 1898, 35.*
[39] Sydney Morning Herald*, October29, 1875, 2.*
[40] Maryborough Chronicle*, May 19, 1874, 2.*
[41] *Mary Theresa Vidal,* Bengala or, Some Time Ago *(Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2000) 256,* http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/.
[42] *Richard Twopenny,* Town Life in Australia *(Ringwood; Penguin Books, 1976), 72.*
[43] *"Diner A La Russe",* The Australasian*, May 13, 1865, 3.*
[44] *"The Good Old' And Whereas'",* Mount Alexander Mail*, December 7, 1859, 7; "The Great Dinner Question",* The Courier*, April 14, 1859, 2.*
[45] *Valerie Mars, "A la Russe: the new way of dining", in* Eating with the Victorians*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 119.*
[46] *Edward Abbott,* The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery For The Many As Well As For The "Upper Ten Thousand" *(London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864), 186-187.*
[47] *Mars, "A la Russe", 114.*
[48] *"The Acclimatisation Society's Dinner",* The Argus*, July 7 1864, 6-7.*
[49] *'Health Notes",* The Ballarat Star*, August 25, 1894, 15.*
[50] *C. Anne Wilson, "Supper: The Ultimate Meal", in* Eating with the Victorians*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 139-149.*
[51] *My grandparents ate a very similar meal pattern to this across the twentieth century: a cooked breakfast, morning tea, a lunch of cold and cooked dishes, afternoon tea, a three course dinner and a supper of biscuits and freshly brewed coffee. They had meat at every meal and plenty of home grown vegetables. They were not overweight, rarely sick and both lived into their early nineties.*
[52] *Louisa Ann Meredith,* Notes and Sketches of New South Wales During A Residence In That Colony from 1839 To 1844. Mrs Charles Meredith *(London: John Murray, 1844), 165. Less than 30% of Australians in 2015 ate anywhere near the five serves of vegetables a day that are said to be necessary for good health: Perhaps this stems from ancestral habit!*
[53] *Stephen Mennell,* All manners of food: eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present *(United Kingdom: Blackwell, 1985), 46.*
[54] *Mennell,* All Manners of Food*, 46.*
[55] *Mennell, All Manners of Food, 47.*
[56] *Oral communication: I learnt this attending a historic cookery course on Christmas*

foods with preeminent English food historian Ivan Day in November 2009; John Evelyn, Acetaria: A Discourse Of Sallets*,* http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15517/15517-h/15517-h.htm*.*

[57] *Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, "Gastronomic Industries Of the Emigres", In* The Physiology Of taste; Or, Transcendental *Gastronomy,* http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5434/pg5434.html

[58] *Oral communication: I learnt this attending a historic cookery course on jellies and molded foods with preeminent English food historian Ivan Day in June 2010.*

[59] *Lawrence, Hergenhan, ed.* Marcus Clarke. A Colonial City High and Low Life *(St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1972), 28-30.*

[60] *Fergus Hume,* The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2012), 198.*

[61] *John Hunter Kerr,* Glimpses of Life in Victoria By a Resident *(Edinburgh: Edmorston & Daughter, 1860), 396.*

[62] *Hume,* Hansom Cab*, 198.*

[63] The Queenslander*, January 22, 1898, 172.*

[64] *Rhiannon Donaldson, "Revisiting a well a 'well-worn theme': the duality of the Australian Christmas Pudding 1850-1950".* Eras Journal *6 (2015).*

[65] The Queenslander *January 22, 1898, 172.*

[66] The Queenslander *January 22, 1898 , 172.*

[67] *Zilikia Janer,"(in) edible nature: new world food and colonality",* Cultural Studies *21 (2007): 393.*

[68] *Mennell,* All Manners of Food*, 121.*

[69] *Colin Bannerman, "Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c.1850 to c.1920" (PhD thesis., University of Canberra, 2001), 269.*

[70] *Driver, Christopher,* The British at Table 1940-1980 *(London: Chatto & Windus, 1983), 7.*

[71] *Colin Bannerman, "Making Australian Food History".* Australian Humanities Review *51 (2011): 61.*

[72] *Sean Takats,* The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France *(The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2011), 1.*

[73] *Driver,* British at Table*, 84.*

[74] *Bannerman, "Print Media", 269.*

[75] *"The Great Dinner Question', The* Courier*, April 14, 1859, 2.*

[76] *Driver,* The British at Table*, 102.*

[77] *Driver,* The British at Table*, 84.*

Chapter 7: Colonial Cookery Books

After nearly seventy years of relying on cookbooks written in England for instruction and inspiration colonial Australians greeted the publication in 1864 of the first antipodean culinary work, *The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery For the Many, As Well As For The "Upper Ten Thousand",* with incredulity in the first instance: "An 'Australian Cookery Book'! Who would have thought it?" [1]The person who had "thought it" was its author Edward Abbott, parliamentarian, magistrate, fervent litigant and self-proclaimed aristologist. Abbott lived on the island colony of Tasmania and one local newspaper, the *Cornwall Chronicle,* waved off the doubters and championed the book proclaiming it contained "the modern cookery of the Mother Country and the Colonies"; that the directions for preparing each dish would be "clear, copious and to a large extent original"; and predicted it would enjoy "wide circulation" in Australia and Europe. [2] The opinion from the Metropolis was somewhat different.

In a critique of Abbott's book in a "leading English literary journal" the reviewer began by taking the opportunity to resolutely put Australians in their place describing them as people of "inferior social rank" lacking in breeding and refinement. The critic conceded that there were many energetic and self-assertive men in the colonies who had made large fortunes as "merchants, sheep-feeders and contractors" but criticised their "passion for display", "luxurious self-indulgence" and desire to ape the manners of London and Paris with expensive dinners and wines. When he got to the book he pronounced it a collection of "very many old things" with nothing much that was new and little to offer English cooks. However he believed it suited colonial aspirations and that it would sell well in "Melbourne, Adelaide, Tasmania and Sydney".[3] Astoundingly this review was reprinted in the colonial press with the suggestion that it was a positive endorsement for Abbott's work—I can only imagine that the editor who chose to publish it either did not read it very carefully or was blithely optimistic.

While it may have been condescending towards the background and lifestyle of colonial Australians the English review of *The English and Australian Cookery Book* was a more accurate summation of the work than the exuberant review in the *Chronicle*.[4] There was little in Abbott's work that was novel. Most of the recipes it contains were taken from the work of English cookery writers including Eliza Acton and Alexis Soyer. [5] It was standard practice at the time for cookery writers to copy recipes from other authors

and publish these as their own. Acton famously complained about these unacknowledged "borrowings" and Abbott at least allows that his book contains the "advantages" of her work.[6] Yet he declares her recipes are too elaborate for persons of modest means and that this had induced him to put together a culinary work that could actually affect "some reform in the cuisine of some of my countrymen's establishments".[7] He places the responsibility for domestic meals with "no other than the good housewife" and reminds her that economy and punctuality are key elements of good cookery. As exemplars of ideal meals he chooses to describe a dinner given by a Paris millionaire prepared by the famed chef Caréme served at a table laid with gold, silver and fine porcelain, and another of a hundred or so dishes prepared from expensive ingredients that was famously given by an aristocratic French dandy.[8] If Abbott intended these examples to inspire the middle-class housewives he hoped would use his book to greater culinary achievement, it seems at odds with his insistence that economy was key to producing wholesome domestic viands; that "the smaller the dinner, the better chance of it being well-served"; and it would have required a contingent of well-trained servants to ensure such elaborate meals were served punctually. Abbott advises that a wife who fails her husband in the provision of good food should be discarded for another as "in the Arab tradition". [9] I expect he was joking, still it is hard to imagine a woman with responsibility for getting up family meals within a budget would have found his introduction an enticement to explore the book further.

Alongside the conventional chapters on soups, roasting, boiling, baking, frying, pastry and made dishes *The English and Australian Cookery Book* includes sections on laver (seaweed), mosses, orange flower water, digestion, herring and anchovy paste, magical drinks, ice, toasted cheese, fondue, ginger, salads, Hebrew refraction, soy, vinegar, and chocolate amongst others—with almost all of this material taken from other sources. Interwoven into the one-hundred and fifteen chapters is an extensive and eclectic selection of quotations, advice, principles, lines from poems and plays and maxims on culinary matters—some a little tenuous in their relationship to that subject— appropriated from popular and highbrow sources. Abbott admits that the original matter in the book is "trifling" and calls it an "industrious compilation".[10] The work has a scrapbook style and you get the sense in reading it that he must have been collecting the material in it for years, indeed much of what he incudes is already quite historic in 1864. Before he entered the "culinary field" Abbott had been the proprietor and editor of the *Hobart Town*

Advertiser.[11] As we have seen throughout this book nineteenth century newspaper editors were in the practice of cutting out interesting items from other publications and placing them in their own; filing away those not used immediately for later inclusion when they needed to fill space. It is not uncommon to find the same article appear in periodicals in England, America and Australia over a number of years. This practice meant that items could go "viral", albeit slowly, as they were cut from one paper and appeared in others across the globe.[12] Abbott would have been familiar with this literary cobbling from editing the *Advertiser* and seems to have applied the process to creating his book.[13] He has been generous in his offering to readers but to fit it all into 292 small pages the content is crammed and the print is petite. This is particularly so in the recipe sections making these a visual challenge to use and the directions for preparing dishes are more often concise than copious as in this example:

> **Rinoles**,—Take short paste, roll very thin, and cut it into small round pieces. Put into them some hashed meat, or forcemeat, and gather up the paste over it; moisten the edges, and press them securely together. Fry them in a piece of very hot fat, drain them, and serve them hot. A rinole may be made in the napkin in the shape of a pate.[14]

This format of presenting recipes without quantities and with ingredients and brief method run into one piece had been the standard practice in cookery writing up until the mid-nineteenth century. It was a model that presumed that the person using the work had well-developed cookery knowledge and skills and it was a vestige of the earliest culinary manuals that were written by professional cooks for others of their guild. By the time Abbott's work came out the biggest market for cookbooks were middle-class women who actually needed to learn to cook from a book not just get the idea of the components of a dish. Eliza Acton understood their needs and she revolutionised the way recipes were written when she published *Modern Cookery* in 1845. She provided a separate list of ingredients and their exact quantities and cooking times for the dish. Her directions still presume a certain level of experience in the cook, however her instructions are by far the more "clear and copious" compared to Abbott's—something of an irony given his claim that the "elaborate" nature of Acton's work inspired him to write his book and that he took recipes from her and then truncated these. {*Note: I have chosen to reproduce all the recipes in this chapter exactly as they appear in their respective original publications,*

including spelling, so that you can see the various layouts and forms chosen by their authors and enjoy their distinctive styles}.

Abbott pseudonymously ascribed authorship of *The English and Australian Cookery Book* to an "Australian Aristologist" —although it was no secret that he was the responsible party—someone who studies or takes part in the art and science of cooking and dining. The book is more focused on his ideals of sophisticated eating than on everyday meal preparation and it offers more to encourage the aspiring bon vivant than practical assistance to the middling housewife to reform her cookery. The confident predictions that *The English and Australian Cookery Book* would enjoy wide popularity did not come true.[15] The first and only print run of the book was 3,000 copies and the last sighting of new copies being offered for sale was in 1873.[16] Acton's work in comparison was reprinted thirteen times over its first decade, sold in the many tens of thousands and remained in print until the end of the nineteenth century.

Modern scholars question whether *The English and Australian Cookery Book* qualifies to be categorised as a cookbook and suggest it offers little insight into what that wider colonial population might have been cooking and eating.[17] It is a wonderfully eccentric volume that undoubtedly reflects Abbott's particular preferences and ambition—something that could be said for many books on cookery—and recipes such as the following one for a cold soup that requires explanation as to how to eat it suggest it as aspirational rather than commonplace:

> **Spanish Gaspacho**, —Take two onions, some tomatoes, a handful of green pimento, a cucumber, a clove of garlic, parsley, and chervil; cut the whole into small pieces, and put them into a salad bowl. Add as much crumbled bread as will form double the quantity which the dish already contains; season with salt, pepper, oil, and vinegar, like a salad, and complete the gaspacho with a pint of water to make the bouillon. Gaspacho is eaten with a spoon; it is a favourite dish with the Andalusians.[18]

Many of the recipes Abbott included in his book belong to the cannon of cookery described as 'plain' —a style we will investigate further on in this chapter. As the food colonial Australians ate is often described as such it can be argued that *The English and Australian Cookery Book* does offer some representation of the standard cookery of the

period even if the book itself was not much used by colonial housewives. The receipt Abbott gives for ox cheek would be considered a plain dish:

> **Stewed Ox Cheek**,—Put the cheek into a stewpan, with two onions, two cloves, three turnips, three carrots cut up, two bay leaves, a couple of heads of celery, and a little allspice, pepper, and salt, with a few sweet herbs. Let it simmer for three hours, and skim it frequently. Take out the cheek and melt an ounce of butter in a stewpan, add to it a half-pint of the soup [that the cheek was cooked in], and thicken it with some flour and a tablespoon of ketchup [see note], tarragon vinegar, and a wineglass of port wine, with a little cayenne, and let it come to near a boil. Serve it with the head [cheeks] on a dish, divided, and the soup in a tureen.[19]

Ketchup was a widely specified condiment in nineteenth century Anglophone cookbooks. It is the parent of the gluggy sugary tomato based sauce of that name familiar to us now but it is quite different from this so it is worth taking a slight detour to become acquainted with it.[20] According to Abbott "there is nothing so useful in cookery as good ketchup". He cited the ingredients from which it was commonly prepared as oysters, elderberries, tomato, walnut, anchovy, caper and cockles and gave several recipes for it, including this one that uses freshly picked seasonal mushrooms capturing their essence for year round use:

> **Mushroom Ketchup**,—Syn.: Catchup, catsup, katchup, ketchup. Sprinkle mushrooms, fresh gathered with common salt for three days, then squeeze out the juice, and to each gallon add cloves and mustard-seed of each half an ounce; all-spice, black pepper, and ginger bruised one ounce; boil sufficiently [strain and bottle]. Bottles of the best kind are required to hold it.[21]

ADVANCE AUSTRALIA FARE

When Abbott writes of his desire to reform the cuisine of his countrymen—by offering instruction and advice to their wives on how to cook—he probably meant people living in Australia. However he does address the work to "the English housewife, and to her prototype in the colonies" so he may have hoped to extend his influence into England as per the title of the book. Abbott was born in the colonies, but he considered Britain as the "parent" and believed that by providing guidance to her antipodean "offspring" to

improve their fare that he was advancing the development of Australia to the glory of Britain. [22] This is one of the most interesting aspects of Abbott's book; he has huge ambition for it and is confident he can attain it, even in the face of the "croakers" in Britain who "care little" for her citizens living away from its Isles.[23] He is proud of his native land and aims to extend English cookery by adding an Australian branch to it. To that end he provides instruction and recipes for preparing native game such as emu, black swan, wombat, mutton birds, bustard (*Otis Australasianus*) wattle bird, and wild pigeons; gives a catalogue of the unique fish found in the various colonies including the first complete list of the edible fish of Tasmania; and scattered reference to colonial produce, bread, wine and other culinary miscellany. His recipes for slippery bob (kangaroo brain fritters), pan jam (a braise of roasted kangaroo tail) and kangaroo steamer were particularly noted. "Of all the dishes brought to the table, nothing equals that of the steamer" and Abbott gives several methods for preparing this slow cooked preparation including one awarded a medal at the 1862 London Exhibition and his own quick cook version:

> **Kangaroo steamer** (Author's Recipe)—This is a simple species of braise, and as its name imports, the meat is steamed. Cut the meat in pieces about a quarter of an inch square, and put it into a pan with a well-covered lid, with a spoonful of milk, an onion shredded into small pieces, and some pepper and salt to taste. When it has been on the fire a short time add about a tenth the quantity of salt pork, or bacon cut to the same size as the kangaroo, with a spoonful of ketchup. Serve hot with jelly.[24]

The reference to 'jelly' is intended to denote the use of a sweet condiment such as this "molasses" made from golden beets called mangold or mangel-wurzel: a spoonful of this drizzled over a steamer would work well with the savoury meat.

> **Colonial Jam and Molasses**—Take any quantity of mangold [golden beets], wash and pare them; then grate on a coarse grater and express the juices through a cheese cloth; add to the juice obtained about one-third of its bulk of grated carrot; and simmer gently for about forty-eight hours; a drop or two of essence of lemon or vanilla will improve it. The treacle is simply the juice of mangold evaporated to a proper consistence over a slow fire. [25]

WHO COOKED FROM THE BOOKS

A contemporary cook who took the time to read *The English and Australian Cookery Book* would likely be surprised at the breadth of interest in food and cookery demonstrated by at least one colonial Australian, and the richness of the sources Abbott drew upon to compile this work shows he was not alone at the time in his interest in gastronomy, even if talking and writing about food was not the commonplace topic it has become in the twenty-first century. The existence of any cookery book is no proof that anybody ever cooked from it. A reference in a personal journal or diary to preparing or serving a particular recipe from a cookbook, or food splatters or marks of wear on the pages of a physical copy are better evidence of its use. Cookbooks are often aspirational and set out an ideal cuisine.[26] What is contained within them can be the author's idea of what they think their audience should be cooking and eating to achieve some end be it gastronomic, health related, social advancement or to promote their own interests. [27] Someone might purchase a cookbook because it contains instruction on what they think they should be cooking or what they want to be eating more than it mirrors what they are actually preparing and consuming, or will ever cook and eat.[28] Yet the impermanent nature of food materials and the products of cooking mean that cookery books remain as the key source of information about the food of the past providing insight into the particular individual who put a work together, the intended audience, the cultural environment of the time and the culinary evolution, or otherwise, of a society. Cookbooks can influence what people choose to prepare in their kitchens and serve at their tables, and over time this can shape a food culture. A singular work could affect such change but when a collective of books proffering similar ideas of food and eating emerges the influence is more certain.

THE MISSING LINK

A copy of *The English and Australian Cookery Book* was sent to Queen Victoria to deposit in her library. In return Abbott received a letter from the monarch's private secretary thanking him on her behalf for this gift.[29] If the royal person had taken the time to leaf through it she might have enjoyed it as a romp through British food history. Abbott draws material and references from the earliest English cookery books, herbals and household manuals of the seventeenth century, across popular works of the eighteenth century and up until the time he publishes in the mid-nineteenth.[30] In putting this material

together in his book and enjoining it to distinct Australian elements Abbott linked colonial Australians to their culinary heritage while pushing a space open into that cannon of cookery for them to add something new.[31] Unfortunately it did quite not work out that way.

At the time Abbott's book came out there was a growing nationalist movement in Australia and that theme exists in his work. None the less when it came to cookery colonial Australians did not seem too eager to separate themselves from the English model. They continued to buy English cookery books such Acton's *Modern Cookery*, *Beeton's Book of Household Management* and *Warne's Model Cookery.*[32] To a large extent they did not have much choice in this as local cookbooks only trickled out in the decades following the publication of *The English and Australian Cookery Book.* It was not until the 1890s, as the six separate colonies moved towards federating to become the Commonwealth of Australia and a nationalistic fervour gripped the population, that there was a surge in the number of Australian cookbooks. This was also a product of the growing momentum of the colonial publishing industry. Before the 1880s most colonial authors contracted with a London based publisher to get their work released in book form —which is what Abbott did and his work was never published or printed in Australia— and the colonial market was a significant one for English publishers so they had a vested interest in ensuring the latest books quickly made their way to the antipodes shutting down the need for local material. The inclusion of a selection of Australian recipes, including the two following, from the second edition of *Beeton's* might have been for novelty value but it could also have been an acknowledgement of the colonial market for this domestic manual. [33]

> **Pancakes Melbourne (Australian Dish)**
> Ingredients—2 breakfastcupfuls of flour, 2 breakfastcupfuls of sour milk, 2 breakfastcupfuls of ripe fruit mashed and sweetened, 2 ozs of butter melted, 2 eggs, 1 good teaspoonful of carbonate of soda, sugar, lard, ½ a level teaspoonful of salt.
> METHOD—Mix the flour, mik, eggs and salt into a smooth batter, and let it stand for 1½ hours. Then add the melted butter and the carbonate of soda previously dissolved in a little hot water. Fry the pancakes in hot lard, pile them one above another with a thick layer of fruit between them, Sprinkle with sugar and serve. TimeAltogether about 2 ½ hours. Average Cost, 10d. to 1.s.[34]

Parrot Pie (Australian Recipe)

Ingredients—1 dozen paraqueets (a small long-tailed tropical parrot), 6 thin slices of lean beef, 4 rashers of bacon, 3 hard-boiled eggs, ½ tsp parsley, ¼ of a teaspoonful of finely-grated lemon peel, salt and pepper, puff paste, flour.

METHOD—Prepare the birds, and truss them like a quail or any other small bird. Line a pie dish with the beef, over it place 6 of the paraqueets, interspace slices of egg, parsley, and lemon-rind, dredge lightly with flour, and season with salt and pepper. Cover with the bacon cut into strips, lay the rest of the birds on the to, interspace slices of egg, season with salt and pepper, and sprinkle with parsley and lemon-rind as before. Three-quarters fill the dish with cold water, cover with puff paste, and bake in quick oven.

Time—2 ½ hours. Cost, uncertain.[35]

The other thing about Abbott's work was that while he professed it to be for the "many" it largely reads as a representation of the lifestyle of the elite, or the "upper ten thousand" of the book's title. There were colonial Australians who aspired to ape the aristocratic mode of living but the majority of the population did not have the resources, leisure time or servants to lead such a lifestyle and their ambitions were those of the growing middle class. They valued work and deriving success from personal effort; ensuring respectability through display of manners and morals and maintaining an earnest public façade. The middle class colonial housewife seeking cookery instruction needed practical manuals focused on day-to-day concerns relevant to her life and the restraints of preparing meals for a family.[36] There was a prevailing idea that frugality and morality were connected and wasting food was considered immoral. The colonial housewife might have felt some social pressure to demonstrate parsimony in how she provisioned her family, but the cost of food took up more of the family budget than it does now making kitchen economy a pressing consideration.[37]

One of the next substantive Australian cookery books to appear was *Mrs Lance Rawson's Cookery Book and Household Hints* in 1876. This was the first cookery book written in Australia by a woman and specifically addressed to the conditions there. Rawson's book was written "entirely for the Colonies, and for the middle classes, and for people who cannot afford to buy a Mrs Beeton's or Warne".[38] She was clearly claiming at

an audience concerned with economy and living conditions in Australia, and similar to *Beeton's* the guidance she offers her readers extends beyond recipes to managing other aspects of domestic life such as needlework, constructing simple tables, making pillows, preparing cosmetics and medical preparations. Rawson's work was welcomed for its practicality and for truly addressing Australian conditions and it met with much greater success than Abbott's. Over the following years she produced a number of works including the *Australian enquiry book of household and general information: a practical guide for the cottage, villa and bush home* and *The Antipodean cookery book and kitchen companion*, this latter work remaining in print for close to a century. [39] Early in her marriage Rawson had found herself living in remote rural Queensland and she understood firsthand the needs of "young ladies of a family who do the cooking and have the ordering of the meals themselves". She encouraged other women living in the bush to understand the natural environment as a valuable food resource as she herself had done and included recipes for native plant and animal foods that she devised after observing what the Aboriginals living around her ate.

> **Fruit birds stewed—**When the birds are cleaned and picked split them down the backs and fry a nice brown with a couple of slices of lean ham. Have ready a stew pan with some stock, or gravy, and remove the birds from the pan into this; let them stew slowly for a good hour, season with pepper, salt and two or three eschalots; about ten minutes before serving thicken with a lump of butter rolled into flour.
>
> **Bandicoot—**The sooner this little animal is prepared after being caught the better. It can either be scalded and scraped like a pig or skinned. I prefer the former mode for boiling, as it looks nicer when sent to the table. It can be stuffed or not, according to the taste. Soak it in salt and water before cooking.
> To bake the above—Skewer back the head between the shoulders, cut off the first joints of the legs, draw them close to the body, and skewer securely, stuff the inside (the same as you would a sucking pig) and bake in a quick oven, basting it well with butter or dripping, before serving mix a spoonful of flour with half a cup of cream or milk and two eggs well beaten, season with pepper and salt, and pour over the bandicoot. Rosella jelly is very good with it.

> **Wallaby**— The wallaby should be skinned and prepared as soon as possible after it is shot or caught. Only the hindquarters are used, though I have seen it cooked whole, but the fore part is usually sinewy and tough.
> Stewed—Cut in small pieces and place in a stew-pan with a little water, a few eschalots, herbs, pepper and salt to taste; let it simmer very slowly for an hour, then add a teaspoonful of butter and a glass of Colonial or Port wine. [40]

The native ingredients that appear in Rawson's books add a distinctive Australian element into her work, however the cookery she puts before her readers replicates the British model and her recipes are essentially those of the so-called 'plain cookery' canon.

A GOOD PLAIN COOKERY MANUAL

Miss Margaret Pearson arrived in Australia in 1886 from Scotland where she had been working as the superintendent of the Dundee School of Cookery. Pearson was a graduate of the National Training School for Cookery in London and she had come out to the colonies to give cookery lessons, first in Sydney and then in Melbourne where she published *Cookery Recipes For The People* in 1886. Pearson described her work as a handbook of "plain wholesome cookery" and it sold more than 13,000 copies across three editions.[41] A decade later, Hanna Maclurcan, co-proprietor of the popular Queen's Hotel in Townsville, published *Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book: A Collection of Practical Recipes, Specially Suitable for Australia.* A review of this work in the *Brisbane Courier* described it, positively, as a book of good plain cooking. The first print run of *Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book* sold out in weeks, and a second edition was swiftly produced. By 1903 there were 26,000 copies of Maclurcan's book in print—one of which was duly sent to Queen Victoria. As discussed it is difficult to know if anyone ever reproduced a recipe from either of these books, however such sales figures can, at the least, be taken to indicate a popular interest in the style of food preparation, that is 'plain cookery', delineated in these two particular culinary manuals.[42]

A modern review of a body of recipes encapsulated in a cookbook as "plain cookery", would not serve to recommend it as the term would be understood by most contemporary cooks, and eaters, to describe food that was dull and lacking in flavour and cosmopolitan appeal.[43] Plain cookery meant something altogether different to colonial Australians. Pearson describes it as an "art"; perhaps something of a rhetorical epithet, but she was not given to dramatic language in her writing so she must have felt the use of

the descriptor was justified.[44] What Pearson and Maclurcan present in their respective books is English cookery, which could be alternatively labelled as 'plain cookery'.[45] Acton's *Modern Cookery* was also described as a manual of plain cookery and the commonly used definition of this style of food preparation as "the principles of roasting, boiling, stewing and baking" comes from her book.[46] If this terse catalogue were used to describe any cuisine it would serve to make it sound austere, and the historic understanding of English food and cookery, and its Australian doppelganger, has likely been diminished by a face value acceptance of it.[47] A considered inspection of Acton's work shows that her instructions for the plain methods of roasting, boiling, and stewing of food, cover thirteen pages, followed by more than one hundred pages of recipes for nineteen different varieties of meat, poultry, and game that are further divided into numerous variant cuts. Three pages were dedicated to instruction for boiling potatoes properly. The principles of baking were elucidated across several chapters, taking under this classification the preparation of various types of pastry and a multitude of baked puddings, cakes and biscuits. To ensure the best results when preparing her recipes Acton enjoins her readers to follow the slow methods of cooking she describes.[48] It is not hard to find contemporary culinary advice recommending slow cookery to "really bring out the flavours of food" so the discovery that this was the method prescribed for producing plain cooked dishes suggests that this style of cookery potentially had more taste than we imagine.[49] The celebrated twentieth century English food writer Elizabeth David says that Acton's *Modern Cookery* was the "most admired and copied English cookery book of the nineteenth century". [50] We know that Abbott borrowed from her work and as the aspiration of most colonial cooks was the reproduction of English cookery it is not unreasonable to expect that her work influenced the authors of other colonial cookbooks such as Pearson or Maclurcan. The content of their respective manuals is similar to that found in the other 100 or so works of cookery published in Australia before 1901, and these in turn are little distinguished in their repertoire from British works of the period.[51] There is an evident canon of recipes and techniques across all these books and their authors were all drawing from each other and from earlier works.

What was considered to constitute plain cookery was not as straightforward as Acton's definition; it was also generally understood to be free of any French influence.[52] It was a commonly held suspicion amongst the English that Gallic cooks employed sauces and strong flavourings such as garlic and other "low and treacherous devices" to

disguise the fact that they had such poor quality ingredients to work with.[53] On the other hand, they had such faith in the superior quality of their native produce that they considered it only required treatment with basic cookery techniques to be rendered toothsome: this culinary Francophobia persisted in the colonies.[54] In the novel, *The Mystery of the Hansom Cab*, set in Melbourne in the 1880s, the landlady of a boarding house tells the detective come to make inquiries about one of her lodgers that she is "only a plain cook, and can't make them French things which spile [sic] the stomach".[55] While books of plain cookery might have been understood to have excluded any Gallic influences there had been a significant absorption of French and other foreign elements into English cookery but these had become so embedded as to be unremarkable. A telling example of this is the inclusion of curry in the plain cookery canon. While the name and homogenised form of this dish is of British invention, it retained the varied spices, including pungent chillies, of the Indian cuisine it simulated. Recipes for curry and curried dishes were included in Pearson, Maclurcan, Rawson and Abbott and it was an exception if instruction for making spiced soup, stew or rice dishes were not incorporated in any colonial cookbook. Rawson keenly recommended making a curry from the tail of the young native iguana.[56] The following recipes for Indian style dishes are from Pearson, Rawson and Maclurcan respectively:

> **Mullagatawny Soup**
> Ingredients.
> 2 quarts of veal stock
> 2 onions
> 1 bunch of parsley
> Salt and pepper
> 1 teacupful of cream
> Juice of ½ lemon
> 1 tablespoonful of currie powder
> Mode.
> Have ready about two quarts of good veal stock, seasoned with the parsley, onions, salt and pepper. Take a small chicken, cut it into joints and skinned, and after having strained the stock place into it the chicken, and simmer till fowl is tender, add at the same time one tablespoonful of currie powder; just before serving strain in juice of ½ lemon and teacupful of cream.

Boiled rice should always be served with this soup in a separate dish.[57]

Prawn Curry

Ingredients: Some fresh prawns, peeled, —or a tin of preserved,— ½ a cocoanut, grated, 1 onion, some white stock or milk, 2 teaspoonfuls of curry powder, 1 tablespoonful flour, 1 lemon. Mode: Peel the prawns and stew them in a little water til tender. Grate or rasp ½ a cocoanut into about ½ a cup of hot water, and pass it through a sieve. Shred up a small onion and add it to the prawns. Strain off some of the water from them, and add about a cup of white stock or sweet milk. Season with pepper, salt, and a dust of cinnamon, if liked. Let this stew a few minutes, then blend the curry powder and flour into a paste with the milk of the cocoanut, and stir it into the saucepan. Also add the strained cocoanut. Let the whole simmer for about ten minutes. Serve with rice piled around the dish. [58]

401.—Curried Bananas

6 green bananas
½ cupful of desiccated cocoanut
A little cayenne & salt
1 teaspoonful of anchovy sauce
½ pt. of milk
2 tablespoonfuls of curry powder
1 teaspoonful of Worcestershire sauce
1 egg

Mode.—Put in a bowl the cocoanut, and pour over it the milk, and allow it to stand for one hour, then put it into a saucepan with the other ingredients. Peel and slice the bananas and add to the curry; allow it to simmer for ten to fifteen minutes, and just before serving beat up the egg, and stir in, served with boiled rice.[59]

There was no recipe given for preparing curry powder by any of these authors. 'Currie stuff' was such a commonplace by the time they were writing they would have assumed that a cook would have had her own preferred recipe for it or use a pre-prepared commercial product. Abbott considered commercial curry powder a "travesty' and gives the following formula for preparing it from scratch—his confident assertion that Bengali

cooks would use cayenne is not correct as that particular cultivar of *capsicum annum* has never been widely used in India by Indians and is more associated with the West Indies.

> *In a book in our collection "The Cook" by Read, the author says that no cayenne is to be used in curry powder. We fancy a Bengalee or Malay would laugh at such a foolish recommendation. The following are our proportions: —Mustard seed one ounce and a half; coriander, four ounces; turmeric, four and a quarter ounces; black pepper, two and a half ounces; cayenne, one ounce and a quarter; ginger, half an ounce; cinnamon, cloves, and mace, each quarter of an ounce. To be well pounded and mixed, and kept in a stoppered bottle in a dry place* [60]

The strong moral tone of middle class life in the nineteenth century saw plain cookery become conflated with "plain food", though the latter was not necessarily the result of the former. Plain food was devoid of any "gustatory temptations" such as "salt, spices, sauces and any flavorings that might have cheered the senses".[61] This very real plainness was actively sought by some as plain food was "synonymous with moral rectitude […] and the plainer the food the more virtuous the eater", it was also considered to be essential for children's physical health and spiritual wellbeing that they be confined to eating meals of minimal flavour.[62] The consumption of plain food was seen as a necessary practice in the achievement of good character.[63] There was little of Pearson's "art" involved in creating plain dishes capable of enhancing the moral virtue of the consumer, except perhaps a particular ability to prepare it such that it was not so unappealing as to be inedible but insipid enough in its flavour as to provide no temptation to eat any more than that required to ease hunger and sustain life.[64]

If dishes had to be devoid of any appetising flavouring to qualify as plain food then Pearson and Maclurcan's books most assuredly fail to qualify as manuals for this type of cookery. The recipes contained in their respective works feature a much greater use of components associated with flavour enhancement than we imagine to have been employed in plain cookery, particularly if we erroneously believe it to be analogous to plain food. Spices are used extensively in sweet and savoury dishes, as are various fresh green herbs and lemon juice and rind; homemade condiments such as mushroom ketchup and a liberal employment of sherry, port, Madeira, and brandy that a virtuous plain food advocate would have considered most intemperate. Pearson and Maclurcan both give instructions for preparing rich stocks and gravies drawn from meat, bones and aromatic

vegetables, and prescribe the end product of this process as the foundation for a variety of soups, sauces, and stews. Recipes are given for a greater diversity of vegetables than the stereotyped cabbage and potatoes of colonial culinary legend.[65] Maclurcan had spent most of her life living the colony of Queensland and her book displays a distinct tropical regionalism in recipes that use green bananas and pawpaw as vegetables, alongside other exotic species—for that time—such as eggplant, choko, mango, granadilla, passionfruit, rosella (the 'fruit'/calyx of *Hibiscus sabdariffa*), prickly pear, and guava.

734. Prickly Pear Jelly

1 quart prickly pears

2 lemons

1 quart water

1 cupful sugar

3 ozs gelatine

2 glasses sherry

MODE. —Get the prickly pears, rub them in sand or sawdust with your boot or piece of wood until all the prickles are removed, then cut them into four pieces; squeeze the juice of the two lemons in with them, put them into the saucepan with the water and sugar, allow them to boil for two hours; should they require more lemon juice put in the juice of another half, then strain, put back into a saucepan and allow it to boil with the gelatine and sherry until the gelatine is dissolved; strain and put into wet moulds, place on the ice until set.[66]

392—Pumpkin Tops

Pumpkin tops

Carbonate of soda

Buttered toast

Salt

Pepper

Butter and poached eggs

MODE. —Pluck a large quantity of the shoots of a pumpkin vine; wash well and boil in salted water, to which a pinch of soda has been added; when soft strain thoroughly and press in a colander, then return it to the saucepan and add a little piece of butter and seasoning of pepper; have ready some buttered toast cut into

squares and place in a vegetable dish. Just before the pumpkin tops are ready to strain, poach some eggs nicely; and when the greens are placed neatly on the buttered toast, arrange the poached eggs on top and serve.[67]

At the time she wrote her book Maclurcan lived in far north Queensland in the booming port city of Townsville and her coastal location is reflected in the extensive selection of recipes for local species of fish and seafood, which won her a reputation as an expert on seafood. [68] This recipe for the bêche-de-mer, or sea cucumber, that were harvested from the warm water of northern Australia was a unique inclusion in her work.

15—Beche-de-mer Soup

4 qts. good brown stock

1 chicken

3 eggs (hard boiled)

¼ Ib prawns

½ tin mushrooms, or ¼ Ib fresh ones

2 onions

MODE. —Boil the chicken in the stock for an hour and a half, then take it out and cut all the flesh into small shreds, put it into the stock again with the prawns (which should be cut up), mushrooms, sliced onions and the white of the eggs cut finely; allow all to boil until the onions are quite tender, take the yolks of the eggs and make them into small round balls mixed with very little flour, balls to be a little larger than peas, and put in the last moment when the soup is quite ready; add a wineglass of sherry.

THE BECHE-DE-MER. —Half a pound is sufficient for this quantity. Before using, soak it well for three days, changing the water every four hours, and scrape it each time before putting in the clean water; and boil for it for three or four hours the day before using it; it ought then to be soft enough to cut; if not, boil another hour. Cut the beche-de-mer into thin slices and put it into the soup an hour before serving, and when all is ready add a gill of sherry.[69]

There was a large Chinese community living in Townsville in the late nineteenth century. They grew the town's fruit and vegetable supply; ran the ships that specialized in catching beche-de-mer (sea cucumbers)— they dried these to sell and people complained about the smell of this process permeating the town—and worked as cooks. Maclurcan

employed Chinese in the kitchen at the Queen's Hotel and there was speculation that she got the recipes for her book from her oriental employees, but the content is too English and too like others of the time for that to be true. [70] It might be though that she took the more unique recipes for seafood and tropical fruit and vegetables from them, after all they were catching and growing these things and would have known how to prepare them. Another distinctive note in Maclurcan's work is the use of fresh ginger to perk up dishes such as kangaroo tail soup and turnip stew. Dried and preserved ginger was commonly used in cakes and puddings at the time but Maclurcan's use of the fresh product in savoury preparations suggests an Asian influence, and she may have been Australia's earliest exponent of east-meets-west cookery.[71]

By the late nineteenth century colonial cooks had developed a reputation for their enthusiasm and skill in producing cakes, biscuits, puddings and desserts. There were people who considered that the amount of eggs, sugar and butter used in the colonies to make sweet items was extravagant.[72] The fact of it was that Australians enjoyed an ample and affordable supply of these base ingredients and revelled in being able to easily create culinary confections that would have been considered luxurious back in England. The following recipe from Pearson for gingerbread cake is further example that her plain cookery was far from devoid of flavour and interest:

> **Gingerbread cake**
> Ingredients.
> 2 Ibs treacle
> 2 ½ Ibs flour
> ½ Ib of butter
> ¾ Ib of brown sugar
> 4 ozs caraway seeds and little allspice [ground]
> 4 ozs mixed peel
> 4 well-beaten eggs
> 1 teaspoonful of ground ginger
> 1 teaspoonful of ground cinnamon
> 2 teaspoonfuls of carbonate of soda
> MODE.
> Put butter into mixing bowl and beat to a cream; heat the treacle; place flour in mixing bowl and make a hole in the centre; after treacle has melted pour it into

centre of flour; beat the eggs well, and add; cut up mixed peel into small pieces, and add them with the rest of ingredients; pour in melted butter, work it well up; put it into a jar and cover with towel; let it stand till next day; bake it in a buttered tin in moderate oven. [73]

A huge range of fruit was grown across the various colonies and these were also fashioned into sweet preparations such as in these two recipes from Rawson:

Pine apple Salad.—Ingredients: 1 English pine, sugar, 1 lemon, nutmeg, 2 glasses sherry or some colonial wine, a little salt, whipped cream. Mode: Slice the pine and drain off the juice, squeeze the juice of a lemon and grate some of the rind over it, make a strong syrup by boiling together 2 cups of sugar to 1 of water; when cool add the juice from the pine and the wine, grate some nutmeg into it, and when cold pour over the pine. Let it stand an hour or two, and serve with cream.[74]

Peach Snowballs.—Ingredients: 1 pound of rice, some sugar, 6 peaches. Mode: Throw the rice into saucepan of boiling water and let it boil from five to seven minutes. Drain it, and when it has cooled spread it in equal parts on six small pudding cloths. Peel the peaches carefully, coat them thickly with sugar and place one in the centre of each layer of rice; gather the cloth round and securely tie it. Then plunge these puddings into boiling water, and when done turn them out, sprinkle with sugar, and serve with a sweet sauce over them. Time, one hour and a half to boil.

A seasonal haul of lemons could be preserved with spices using the following pickle recipe from Pearson. Modern cooks will note a similarity to the 'Moroccan' preserved lemons that have become a popular condiment over the past few decades—Pearson's version is better (in my opinion) than the Levantine and producing a jar of these will provide material evidence that there were colonial cooks whose 'plain cookery' was far from plain:

Lemon pickle
Ingredients:
6 lemons.

2 ozs of bay salt, well beaten.

½ oz mace.

2 oz. mustard seed.

1 quart of vinegar, boiling.

1 oz. of garlic, or shallot.

1 nutmeg, sliced.

Mode.

Take six lemons, cut in quarters, pick out the seeds, put into a jar, strew over the bay salt well beaten, and let it stand three days, covered with cloth and plate; put in cloves [note: these have not been included in the ingredients list which I expect is an accidental omission; I suggest using 3-4 cloves] and mace beaten fine, and garlic or shallot, then mustard seeds bruised and nutmeg sliced; make a quart of vinegar boiling hot and pour over ingredients; cover the jar closely and tie leather over it. It will be ready for use in a week.[75]

THE TASTE OF WORDS

Words about food, written and spoken, have become a ubiquitous aspect of popular culture in prosperous economies across the globe, arguably nowhere more so than modern Australia. Commentators who write or talk about food have had to become inventive with descriptions to try and make their work distinctive in a sector corpulent with contenders. And their readers and listeners expect that what they are served up should be fulsome and laudatory such as this example:

> *"Baked fennel … stuffed with its own mashed insides and garlicky breadcrumbs, in a puddle of zinging tomato soup with a vibrantly fresh bunch of broccoli shoots riding shotgun. Bellissima".*[76]

Colonial food writers were more inclined to use plain titling and pragmatic language when writing about food keeping descriptors minimal, although their works are not without style and pleasure, you just have to read these to discover this.[77] We have also come to expect contemporary works on cookery to be partly, if not the most part, made up of professionally styled high quality photographic images of produce, meals, table settings and locations in which these are being eaten. Colonial cookbooks have few, if any, illustrations. In my experience people will flick through a colonial cookery manuals

looking for the pictures, lose interest when they discover there are no visual stimulants, have a cursory read of a few titles and find that these plain words confirm their understanding that colonial Australians were uninteresting and uninterested eaters: case closed.

Words can exercise significant influence on how we taste food and how we might value what we taste.[78] The absence of literary and visual rhetoric in colonial food writing has likely contributed to the popularly held opinion about the unappetizing state of colonial meals, Perhaps if Pearson or Maclurcan anointed their own works with enthusiastic recommendation and reference to international influences in their recipes, this might have contributed to a more positive historic impression of the food of colonial Australians. As an experiment with this idea let's take the following recipe from Pearson that she unromantically titles: "white sauce", and recommends serving it with "boiled fowl".[79] It is hardly language to make the dish sound appealing to the modern cook or eater, and certainly likely to confirm an expectation of plain cookery as tasteless and boring.

> **White Sauce**
> Ingredients.
> ½ pint of cream.
> 4 shallots.
> Little mace and lemon peel.
> 1 spoonful of sherry wine.
> Yolk of 1 egg.
> Squeeze of lemon juice.
> 1 teaspoonful of anchovy liquor.
> Thicken half-a-pint of cream with a little flour and butter, four shalots minced, a little mace and lemon peel; let it boil for a few minutes. Before serving add a spoonful of sherry wine, the well-beaten yolk of an egg, a squeeze of lemon juice, and a teaspoonful of anchovy liquor.

On reading through the recipe though it is clear that it contains the promise of significant flavour—and if you cared to reproduce it that would prove it. So, what if the recipe remained the same but the words used to describe it were changed, for example: the title to "Salsa Blanca" and the introductory remark to "this luxurious silky sauce infused with

eschalot, mace, lemon, and sherry wine is perfect for perking up poached free-range chicken".[80] How much better might it then taste to you, and how much more interesting a place the colonial kitchen seem?

[1] *"Literary Announcement",* The Cornwall Chronicle*, November 12, 1864, 2.*
[2] The Cornwall Chronicle*, June 20, 1863, 4.*
[3] *"Literary Announcement",* The Cornwall Chronicle*, November 12, 1864, 2.*
[4] "Literary Announcement", *The Cornwall Chronicle*, November 12, 1864, 2.

[5] *Soyer was French but he made his name in England and his books were written in English for the British market.*

[6] *Eliza Acton,* Modern Cookery for Private Families *(London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), i-vi; Edward, Abbott,* The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery For The Many As Well As For The "Upper Ten Thousand" *(London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864), vi. Acton was spared the anguish of discovering that Isabella Beeton had copied much of her work without acknowledgement into* Beeton's Book of Household Management *as she died before it was published.*
[7] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book, v.
[8] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book *viii & p.112.*
[9] *Abbot*t, English and Australian Cookery Book*, vi.*
[10] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book *, x.*
[11] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book *, vi.*
[12] *Infectious Texts: Viral Networks in 19th-Century U.S. Newspapers, Northeastern University, accessed July 22, 2013,* http://www.northeastern.edu/nulab/infectious-texts/
[13] *Abbott's work is not unlike the 'scrapbooks' of ideas, re-tweets, likes, links and photographs that we so avidly post on social media.*
[14] *Abbott,* The English and Australian Cookery Book*, 28. My interpretation of the last cryptic sentence is that these pastries can be made in a square shape. 'Rinoles' is the spelling/term used by Abbott. The term rissole is used in France/Europe for the dish Abbott's recipe produces. Another colonial cookbook, Pearson's Cookery for the People, includes a recipe for 'rissoles' that is very similar to Abbott's. The term rissole is used in contemporary Australia to describe a meat patty.*
[15] *"Literary Announcement",* The Cornwall Chronicle*, November 12, 1864, 2;* Cornwall Chronicle*, September 19, 1863, 5.*
[16] *Michael. Sprod. "Bibliographic Description", in* The English and Australian Cookery Book Companion 1864-2014 Sesquicentenary Edition*, by Some Australian Aristologists (The Culinary Historians of Tasmania, Hobart, 2014), 15.*
[17] *Colin Bannerman. "Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c.1850 to c.1920" (PhD thesis., University of Canberra, 2001).*
[18] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book, *20.*
[19] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book, *26.*

[21] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book*, 196-197. I have made Abbott's mushroom ketchp several times and have redacted his formula into a modern recipe format that produces 1 cup of ketchup.*

Ingredients: *250gm mushrooms; ¼ cup salt; 6 cloves; ½ tsp yellow mustard seeds; 4 allspice; ¼ tsp black peppercorns; and a 5cm piece of fresh ginger, peeled and slightly crushed.*
Method: *Slice mushrooms and put these in a glass or ceramic bowl or dish, sprinkle with salt, cover and let these sit for three days (I put a weight on these to ensure the juice is extruded). Drain the liquid off. Put the mushroom liquid and all the other ingredients into a saucepan. Bring to a gentle boil and then simmer for a few minutes. Strain and use.*

[22] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book*, v.*

[23] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book, *xi.*

[24] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book*, 84.*

[25] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book, *145.*

[26] *Tom Jaine, "Banquets and Meals,' in* Pleasures of the Table: Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy 61-64*, eds. Barbara Santich and Michael Symons, Adelaide, 2010. Now and then! I wonder how many people who have cookbooks from chefs such as Heston Blumenthal or Ferran Adria have ever done more than look at the pictures in them.*

[27] *An alternative take on Abbott's motivation for producing a cookery book is that he saw it as a way to make money and recoup his finances after he incurred significant losses fighting a protracted legal battle over a land claim.*

[28] *Colin Bannerman, "Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c.1850 to c.1920" (PhD thesis., University of Canberra, 2001). 44.*

[29] The Cornwall Chronicle, *July, 1865, 3.*

[30] *Some of the works Abbott refers to include: Elizabeth Raffald, The Experienced English Housekeeper, 1769; Robert May, The Accomplisht Cook, 1660;* The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. Opened*, 1669; William Kitchener,* The Cook's Oracle*, 1822;*

[31] *Contemporary Australian chefs trying to shape an 'Australian cuisine' would be well served in exploring Abbott's book.*

[32] *A gold nugget found in Turon New Wales was named after Eliza Acton. See: 'Arrival of Gold', Empire, November 14, 1851, 4.*

[33] *Martyn Lyons and John Arnold.* A History of the Book in Australia 1891- 1945: a National Culture in a Colonised Market *(St Lucia QLD: University of Queensland Press, St Lucia QLD, 2001). Bannerman, "Print Media', 14.*

[34] *Isabella Beeton, ed.* The Book of Household Management (*London, Ward Lock London, 1888), 394.*

[35] *Beeton,* Household Management*, 395.*

[36] *Bannerman, "Print Media", 182.*

[37] *Sarah Freeman.* Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and their Food *(London: Victor Golllancz, 1989).*

[38] *Wilhelmina Rawson.* Mrs Lance Rawson's Cookery Book and Household Hints *(Rockhampton: William Hopkins, 1886), 1.*

[39] *Blake Singley. "More than just recipes: reading colonial life in the work of Wilhelmina Rawson",* TEXT Special Issue *24 (2013), 3.*

[40] *Rawson,* Mrs Lance Rawson's Cookery Book, *34.*

[41] *Margaret Pearson.* Cookery Recipes for the People*. (Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1888), 3.*

[42] *Charmaine O'Brien, "Text for Dinner: Plain Food in Colonial Australia . . . Or Was It."* MC Journal *16, no. 3, June (2013).*

[43] *Arjun Appadurai,. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India",* Comparative Studies in Society and History *30 (1988), 10.*
[44] *Pearson, Cookery* Recipe*s, 4.*
[45] *O'Brien, "Text for dinner".*
[46] *Acton,* Modern Cookery*, 167.*
[47] *O'Brien, "Text for dinner".*
[48] *Acton,* Modern Cookery*, 67.*
[49] *"Tips on Using a slow-cooker", BBC Good Food, accessed January 2, 2016: http://www.bbcgoodfood.com/howto/guide/10-top-tips-using-slow-cooker*
[50] *Elizabeth David,* An Omelette and a Glass of Wine *(London: Penguin, 1986), 305.*
[51] *Colin Bannerman, "Making Australian Food History",* Australian Humanities Review *(2011), 57; John Hoyle.* An annotated bibliography of Australian domestic cookery books, 1860s to 1950 *(Willoughby, N.S.W, Billycan Cook, 2010). Numbered amongst these works are various editions of books, such as Rawson's, and a selection of pamphlets put out by commercial companies to promote products. Hoyle's extensive bibliography only includes material that he was able to see himself so there may be other works of the period not listed in his otherwise thorough survey.*
[52] *David,* An Omelette and a Glass of Wine*, 35.*
[53] *Alan Saunders. "Why Do We Want An Australian Cuisine?",* Journal of Australian Studies *30 (2006), 4. See also Freeman and Mennell.*
[54] *O'Brien, "Text for dinner".*
[55] *Fergus Hume,* The Mystery of a Hanson Cab *(Melbourne: Text Publishing,, 2012), 26.*
[56] *Wilhemina Rawson,,* Mrs Lance Rawson's Australian Cook and Laundry Book*, (J.W. Knapton & Co Melbourne, 1897), 54.*
[57] *Pearson,* Cookery Recipes*, 5.*
[58] *Wilhelmina Rawson,* The Antipodean Cookery Book and Kitchen Companion*. (Melbourne: George Robertson & Co., 1897), 61.*
[59] *Hannah Maclurcan,* Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book: A Collection of Practical Recipes, Specially Suitable for Australia *(*Townsville*, J. Wilmet & Son, 1898), 401. Note: Maclurcan does not use pages numbers in this edition; instead the recipes are numbered sequentially.*
[60] *Abbott,* English and Australian Cookery Book*, 209*
[61] *Barbara Santich,* Looking for Flavour *(Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 1996), 28*
[62] *Santich,* Looking for Flavor*, 28. See also Freeman.*
[63] *That we continue to label foods "good" or "bad" shows that we still imbue food with moral overtones albeit subverted into health concerns.*
[64] *O'Brien, "Text for dinner".*
[65] *O'Brien, "Text for dinner".*
[66] *Hannah Maclurcan,* Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book*, 290. Prickly pear was introduced to Australia to start a cochineal dye industry as the beetle lives on these cacti. It was then used as a natural fencing material and quickly became an invasive pest particularly in the tropical conditions of Queensland. Rawson also gives recipes for prickly pear jelly and jam.*
[67] Maclurcan, Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book, *392*
[68] Charmaine O'Brien. "The Colonial Queen of Cookery Books", in TEXT Special Issue 24: Cookbooks: writing, reading and publishing culinary literature in Australasia, eds. Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessel, 2013, http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue24/content.htm
69 Maclurcan*, Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book,* 8.

[70] *North Queensland Herald*, May 25, 1875, 2*; North Queensland Herald* March 18, 1896, 15*; North Queensland Herald May* 1896, 10; *North Queensland Herald,* September 27, 1869, 12; Paul McGuire*, The inns of Australia (*Melbourne*:* Heinemann), 1952.

[71] O'Brie*n,* "The Colonial Queen of Cookery Books".

[72] The Doctor*, "*Cooks: At Home and Abroad"*,* Nepean Times*, December 24, 1898, 7.*

[73] Pearson, *Cookery Recipes,* 80.

[74] Wilhelmina, Rawson*. The Antipodean cookery book and kitchen companion* (Melbourne: George Robertson & Co., 1897), 85.

[75] Pearson, *Cookery Recipes,* 96.

[76] Larissa, Dubecki, "Dish it up", *The Melbourne Magazine* 104, 2013, 24.

[77] Bannerman*, "*Print Media"*,* 166; David, *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine*, 306.

[78] Tom Jaine, "Banquets and Meals,' in *Pleasures of the Table Proceedings of the fifth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy 61-64*, eds. Barbara Santich and Michael Symons, Adelaide, 2010.

[79] Pearson, *Cookery Recipes*, 48.

[80] O'Brien, "Text for dinner: plain food in colonial Australia … or was it".

Bibliography (creative work)

Abbott, Edward. *The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery For The Many As Well As For The "Upper Ten Thousand*. London : Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864.

Acton, Eliza. *Modern Cookery for Private Families*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858.

Adams, David, ed. *The Letters of Rachel Henning*. Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1977.

Addison, Susan and Judith McKay. *A Good Plain Cook: An Edible History of Queensland*. Brisbane: Boolarong, 1985.

Appadurai, Arjun. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1988): 3–24.

Aspinall, Clara. *Three Years in Melbourne*. London: L. Booth, 1862.

Arbo, Matthew. "On The Idea of Commerce As a Natural Means of Human Improvement: Adam Smith's Theory of Progress". In *Theology and Economics: A Christian Vision of the Common Good* edited by Jeremy Kidwell and Sean Doherty, 93- 107. US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Australian Etiquette: or, the rules and usages of the best society in the Australasian colonies; together with their sports, pastimes, games and amusements. Sydney: McConnell, 1885.

Bacon, Francis. *Essays, Civil and Moral. Vol. III, Part 1*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909. www.bartelby.com./br/00301.html

Bannerman, Colin. *A Friend In The Kitchen*. NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1996.

———. "Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c.1850 to c.1920." PhD thesis., University of Canberra, 2001.

——. "Recipes Come from Kitchens: Food Culture Comes from Printing Presses". In *Culinary History*, edited by Lynn Martin and Barbara Santich, 107-113. Brompton, South Australia: East Street Publications. 2004.

——. "Making Australian Food History". *Australian Humanities Review* 51 (2011): 49-63.

——. "Indigenous Food and Cookery Books: Redefining Aboriginal Cuisine." In *Culinary Distinction*, edited by Emma Costantino and Sian Supski, 19-36. Perth: API Network/Australia Research Institute, 2006.

Banks, Joseph. "Some Account of That Part of New Holland Now Called New South Wales" in *The Endeavour journal of Joseph Banks, August 1768 - July 1771*. Sydney: State Library of New South Wales. http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series.

Barton, George Burnett. *History of New South Wales From the Records. Vol. I, — Governor Phillip, 1783-1789*. Sydney: Charles Potter, 1889. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks12/1204171h.html.

Baynton, Barbara. *Bush Studies*. London: Duckworth and Co. London, 1902.

Beckett, Richard. *Convicted Tastes*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Beeton, Isabella. *Beeton's Book of Household Management*, London: Ward, Lock, Bowden, 1892.

Bicknell, Arthur. *Travel and Adventure in Northern Queensland*, London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1895.

Blainey, Geoffrey. *Black Kettle and full moon: daily life in a vanished Australia*. Camberwell. Victoria: Penguin, 2003.

Bradley, William. *A voyage to New South Wales, December 1786 – May 1792*. Sydney; University of Sydney Library, 2002-15. http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/brajour.xml;chunk.id=d793e103;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d793e103;database=ozfleet;collection=settlement;brand=ozfleet.

Brewer, Anthony. "Adam Smith's stage of history. Discussion Paper No. 08/601".Department of Economics, University of Bristol: Bristol, 2008.

Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme. *The Physiology of Taste; Or, Transcendental Gastronomy*. http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5434/pg5434.html.

Butler, James Davie. "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies". *The American Historical Review*, 2 (1896): 12-33.

Burton, David. *French Colonial Cookery: A Cook's Tour of the French-speaking world*. London: Faber and Faber, 2000.

Butterfield, Amy. "Send Me A Bonnet: Colonial Connections, Class Consciousness and Sartorial Display in Colonial Australia, 1788-1850." B.A (Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 2012.

Boyd, Martin. *A Difficult Young Man*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1972.

Cambridge, Ada. *The Three Miss Kings*. London: Virago, 1897.

Cannon, Michael. *Life in the Cities*. Sydney: Currey O'Neil Ross, 1983.

Chase, Holly. "Suspect Salep," In *Look & Feel; Studies In Texture, Appearance And Incidental Characteristics of Food*. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, edited by Harlan Walker**,** 44-47.Totnes, England: Prospect Books, 1993.

Chisholm, Caroline. *Immigration Considered In a Brief Account of the Sydney Immigrants' Home*. Sydney: James Tegg, 1842.

Clark, Ralph. *The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003. http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/clajour

Cole, EW. *Manners and rules of good society, or, Solecisms to be avoided / by a Member of the aristocracy*. Melbourne: E.W. Cole, circa 1890.

Collins, David. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales Volume 1 With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To Which are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand*: *Complied by Permission, From the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003. http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/colacc1

Collins, David. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales From Its First Settlement, in January 1788, to August 1801 With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To which are added Some Particulars of New Zealand; compiled by permission, from the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King; An Account of a Voyage Performed by Captain Flinders and Mr. Bass; by which the existence of a strait separating Van Diemen's Land from the Continent of New Holland was Ascertained*. *Volume 2*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003. http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/colacc2

Cook, James. *Captain Cook's Journal During His First Voyage Round The World Made in H.M. Bark "Endeavour" 1768-81 A Literal Transcription of the Original MSS. With Notes And Introduction Edited by Captain W.J.L. Wharton, R,N., F.R.S*. London: Elliot Stock, 1892. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00043.html#ch8

Hergenhan, Lawrence, ed. *Marcus Clarke: A Colonial City High and Low Life*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1972.

Crook, Edgar. *Vegetarianism in Australia - 1788 to 1948: A Cultural and Social History*. Raleigh, N.C: Lulu.com, 2006.

Clement, F.W, and J.F Rogers. "Early Settlers in the Colony in the Nineteenth Century." In *Tucker in Australia*, edited by Beverley Wood. Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1972.

Cobley, John. *The Crimes of the First Fleet Convicts*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970.

Cohen, Michéle. "Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity 1750-1830." *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005): 312-329.

Coleman, Dedire. "The Camp as New Albion: Early Visions and Views of Sydney. 18-30 in Australian writing and the city." In refereed proceedings of the 1999 Conference held at the New South Wales Writers' Centre Sydney 2-6 July, edited by Fran de Groen and Ken Stewart, 1999.

Connah, Graham. "The Lake Innes Estate: Privilege and Servitude in Nineteenth – Century Australia." *World Archaeology* 33 (2001): 137-154.

Cook, James. *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.

Cowen, Ruth. *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer Victorian Celebrity Chef*. London: Phonenix, 2006.

Craw, Charlotte. "Gustatory Redemption? Colonial Appetites, Historical Tales and the Contemporary Consumption of Australian Native Foods." *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 5 (2012): 13- 24.

Curtin, Michael. "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy." *The Journal of Modern History* 57 (1985): 395-423.

David, Elizabeth. An Omelette and a Glass of Wine. London: Penguin, 1986.

Davey, Lois, Margaret Macpherson, and F. W Clements. "The Hungry Years: 1788-1792." *Historical Studies* 3 (1947):187-208.

Day, Ivan. "Ox roasts —From Frost Fairs to Mops." In *Over a red-hot stove: essays in early cooking technology*, edited by Ivan Day, 55-82. Totnes, England: Prospect Books, 2009.

Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor Books, 1977.

Derham, G.A. *The First Hundred Years, 1854- 1954 Swallow & Ariel Ltd*. Port Melbourne: Swallow & Ariel, 1954.

Donaldson, Rhiannon. "Revisiting a well a 'well-worn theme': the duality of the Australian Christmas Pudding 1850-1950." *Eras Journal* 6 (2015). http://arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-6/donaldsonarticle.php.

Driver, Christopher. *The British at Table 1940–1980*. London: Chatto, 1983.

Dyster, Barrie. *Servant & master: building and running the grand houses of Sydney 1788-1850*. Kensington, N.S.W: New South Wales University Press, 1989.

Evelyn, John. *Acetaria: A Discourse Of Sallets*. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15517/15517-h/15517-h.htm.

Ewing, Ritchie, J. *An Australian Ramble or A Summer in Australia*. Paternoster Square, London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1890.

Farrer, Keith. *A Settlement Amply Supplied*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1980.

Flannery, Tim. *The Birth of Melbourne*. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2010.

Flannery, Tim. *The Birth of Sydney*. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1999.

Fletcher, B.H. "Phillip, Arthur 1738–1814." *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/phillip-arthur-2549/text3471.

Fischler, Claude. "Food habits, social change and the nature/culture dilemma." *Social Science Information* 19 (1980): 937 – 953.

Freeman, Sarah. *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and their Food*. London: Victor Golllancz, 1989.

Frost, Alan. "As if Were Another America: English Ideas of the First Settlement in New South Wales at the End of the Eighteenth Century." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7 (1974): 255-273.

Frost, Lucy. "Eating Van Diemen's Land.: *Island* (1994): 31-35.

Frost, Lucy. *No place for a Nervous Lady: voices from the Australian bush*. Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1984.

Gammage, Bill. *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2012.

Gandevia, Bryan. *Life in the First Settlement of Sydney Cove*. Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 1985.

Gandevia, Bryan. "Socio – medical factors in the evolution of the first settlement at Sydney cove 1788-1803." *Royal Australian Historical Society* 61 (1975): 1-19.

Gascoigne, John. *The Enlightenment and the origins of European Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Glasse, Hannah. *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. London: W. Strahan, J. and F, Rivington, 1774.

Gollan, Anne, *The tradition of Australian cooking*. Canberra: National University Press, 1978.

Goody, Jack. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Gould, Nat. *Town and Bush: Stray Notes on Australia*. Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin Books, 1974.

Grey, George. 1841. *Journals of Two Expeditions Of Discovery In North-West And Western Australia During The Years 1837, 1838, and 1839*. London: T.W Boone, 1841. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00055.html.

Griffin, Sasha. *S.T. Gill & his audiences*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2015.

Griggs, Peter. *Global Industry. Local Innovation: The History of Cane Sugar Production in Australia, 1820-1995*. Switzerland, Bern: Peter Lang, 2011.

Hartley, Dorothy. *Food in England*. London: Macdonald General, 1979.

Heney, Helen, ed. *Dear Fanny: women's letters to and from New South Wales 1788-1857*. Canberra; Australian National University Press, 1985.

Hankel, Valmai, ed. *First Catch Your Kangaroo: A Letter about Food Written from the Bendigo Goldfields in 1853 by William Howitt to Eliza Acton*. South Australia: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1990.

Hodgkinson, Clement. *Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*. London: T. and W. Boone, 1845.

Hoyle, John. *An annotated bibliography of Australian domestic cookery books, 1860s to 1950*. Willoughby, N.S.W: Billycan Cook, 2010.

Hogg, Robert. *Men and Manliness on the Frontier: Queensland and British Columbia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Hogg, Robert. "The Most Manly Class that Exists: British Gentleman on the Queensland Frontier." *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 13 (2011): 65-84.

Hughes, Robert. *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787 -1868*. Australia: Random House, 2003.

Hume, Fergus. *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2012 (first published in 1888).

Hunter, John. *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island With the Discoveries which have been made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean, since the publication of Phillip's Voyage, compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governor Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; and the Voyages of the first Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's*

Company to England in 1792. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003. http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/huntran.

Instone, Lyn. "Eating the country." *Journal of Australian Studies*, 29 (2006): 135-41.

Isle, Phillip. "Rum beginnings: Towards a new perspective of the Grose years." *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 91 (2005): 15-28.

Jaine, Tom. "Banquets and Meals." In *Pleasures of the Table: Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy* (1991): 61–4.

Jaine, Tom, "Forward." In *Eating with the Victorians*, edited by C. Anne Wilson, ix-xi. Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004.

Janer, Zilika "(in) Edible Nature: New World Food and Colonality." *Cultural Studies* 21 (2007): 385-405.

Jones, Shar, 1986."Colonial Christmas Fare." *Heritage Australia* Summer (1986).

Jones, Shar, and Kirsten Otto. *Colonial Food and Drink 1788-1901*. Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 1985.

Karskens, Grace. *Inside the Rocks: the archaeology of a neighbourhood*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1999.

———. *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney*. Crows Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2010.

Karskens, Grace and Richard Waterhouse. "Too Sacred to Be Taken Away: Property, Liberty, Tyranny and the 'Rum Rebellion." *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 12 (2012): 1- 22.

Kennedy, Dane. *The Last Blank Spaces*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Kerr, John Hunter. *Glimpses of Life in Victoria By a Resident*. Edinburgh: Edmorston & Daughter, 1860.

Kingston, Beverly. "When Did We Teach Our Girls to Cook?" *Australian Cultural History: Food, Diet, Pleasure* 15 (1996): 89-101.

Leach, Helen. "Translating the 18th century pudding." *Terra Australis* 29 (2008): 381–396.

Litvack, Leon. 2004. "Outposts of Empire: Scientific Discovery and Colonial Displacement in Gaskell's "Wives and Daughters". *The Review of English Studies. New Series* 55 (2004): 727-758.

Lyons, Martyn and John Arnold. 2001. *A history of the book in Australia 1891- 1945: a national culture in a colonised market*. St Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press, 2001.

Lloyd, Christopher. "The emergence of Australian settler capitalism in the nineteenth century and the disintegration/integration of Aboriginal societies: hybridisation and local evolution within the world market". In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies*, edited by Ian Keen. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2010. http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Indigenous+Participation+in+Australian+Economies/5161/ch02.xhtml.

Macdonald, Janet. *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era*. London: Chatham Publishing. 2004.

McGullivery, Angus. "Convict Settlers. Seamen's Greens, and Imperial Designs at Port Jackson: A Maritime Perspective of British Settler Agriculture." *Agricultural History*, 78 (2004): 261-288.

McIntyre, Julie. "Not Rich and Not British: Phillip Schaeffer, 'Failed' Colonial Farmer." *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 11 (2009): 1- 20.

Maclurcan, Hannah. *Mrs Maclurcan's Cookery Book: A Collection of Practical Recipes, Specially Suitable for Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1905 (first published Townsville, 1898).

Martin, Ged, ed, *The founding of Australia: The Argument About Australia's Origins*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1978.

Mars, Valerie. "A la Russe: the new way of dining." In *Eating with the Victorians*, edited by C. Anne Wilson, 112- 138. Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004.

Mason, Laura. "Everything Stops for Tea." In *Eating with the Victorians*, edited by C. Anne Wilson, 68-85. Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004.

Mendelawitz, Margaret, ed. *Charles Dickens' Australia: Selected Essays from Household Words 1850-1859. Mining and gold*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2011.

Mennell, Stephen. *All manners of food: eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present*. United Kingdom: Blackwell, 1985.

Meredith, Louisa Ann. *Notes and Sketches of New South Wales During A Residence In That Colony from 1839 To 1844*. Mrs Charles Meredith. London: John Murray, 1844.

Milne-Smith, Amy. "Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914." *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006): 768-818.

Mundy, Godfrey Charles. *Our Antipodes, or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies: With a Glimpse of the Gold fields*, London: Richard Bentley, 1885.

Murray, Elizabeth. *Ella Norman: or, A Woman's Perils*. Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1985 (first published 1864).

Muskett, Phillip. *The Art of Living in Australia*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1997. http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/view?docId=ozlit/xml-main-texts/p00022.xml;chunk.id=d1210e450;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d1210e450;database=;collection=;brand=default.

Naccarto, Peter, and Kathleen Lebesco. *Culinary Capital*. London: Berg, 2012.

Newling, Jacqui. "Dining with Strangeness: European Foodways on the Eora Frontier." *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 3, 2011: 27-48.

Newling, Jacqui. "Foodways Unfettered." Masters Dissertation. University of Adelaide, 2007.

Nichol, John. *The Life and Adventures of John Nichol Mariner*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1822.

Nicholas, Stephen, ed. *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's past*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

O'Brien, Charmaine. *Flavours of Melbourne: A Culinary Biography*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2008.

———. "Text for Dinner: Plain Food in Colonial Australia . . . or Was It." *MC Journal*, 16, June 2013. http://journal.mediaculture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/657

———. "The Colonial Queen of Cookery Books". In *TEXT Special Issue 24: Cookbooks: writing, reading and publishing culinary literature in Australasia*. Edited by Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessel, 2013. http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue24/content.htm.

———. "The taste of class: Colonial Australian food writing, fact or fiction?" In *TEXT Special Issue 26; Taste in writing and publishing*. Edited by Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessel, 2014. http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue26/content.htm

Olcelli, Laura. "Alessandro Malaspina: An Italian Spaniard at Port Jackson." *Sydney Journal*, 4 (2013): 38-48.

Olsen, Kirsten. *Cooking with Jane Austen*. London: Greenwood Publishing Company, 2005.

Opinions Of The Press On Messrs. Spiers & Pond's Management Of The Café De Paris Melbourne And Of Many Of The Principal Enterprises of Which They Have Been Connected. Melbourne: Herald Office, 1861.

Owen Cole, Rose. *The Official Handbook For The National Training School For Cookery Containing The Lessons On Cookery Which Constitute The Ordinary Course of Instruction in the School With Lists Of Utensils Necessary, And Lessons On Cleaning Utensils*. London: Chapman & Hall L.D, circa 1890.

Pearson, Margaret. *Cookery Recipes for the People*. Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1888.

Phillip, Arthur. *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay With an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, compiled from Authentic Papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments to which are added the Journals of Lieuts. Shortland, Watts, Ball and Capt. Marshall with an Account of their New Discoveries*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003. http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/phivoya.

Pool, David. *Mapping our world: Terra Incognita to Australia*. Canberra. ACT: National Library of Australia Canberra, 2013.

Pont, Graham. "Upstart Gastronomy: A cuisine without Peasants." In *Proceedings of the second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 'Foodism - philosophy or fad?*, edited by Barbara Santich, Michael Symons and Colin Turner, 41-55, 1985.

Rawson, Wilhelmina. *Australian cook and laundry book*. Melbourne: J.W. Knapton, 1897.

Rawson, Wilhelmina. *Australian enquiry book of household and general information: a practical guide for the cottage, villa and bush home*. Melbourne: Pater & Knapton, 1894.

Rawson, Wilhelmina. *Mrs Lance Rawson's cookery book and household hints*. Rockhampton: William Hopkins, 1886.

Rawson, Wilhelmina. *The Antipodean cookery book and kitchen companion*. Melbourne: George Robertson & Co., 1897.

Richardson, Henry Handel. *The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney*. London: William Heinemann, 1930.

Rickard, John. Australia: *A Cultural History*. London: Longman, 1988.

Rickards, Lauren. "Educating the 'natives': parallels in cultivation and civilisation in Victorian and English agricultural education." In *Exploring the British World*, edited by Kate Darien-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, Kiera Lindsey, Stuart McIntyre, 315-329. Victoria: RMIT Publishing, 2004.

Robertson, Jill. *The Chocolate King*. Melbourne: Lothian Books, 2004.

Rogers, Ben. *Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull and the English Nation*. London: Chatto & Windus, 2003.

Russell, Penny. *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994.

Russell, Penny. *Savage or Civilised? Manners in Colonial Australia*. Sydney: New South Press, 2010.

Russell, Penny, "Unsettling settler society." In *Australia's History: Themes and Debates*, edited by Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell, 22-40, Sydney University of New South Wales Press, 2005.

Santich, Barbara. "Australian Culinary Xenophobia." In *Proceedings of the Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy: A Multiculinary Society*, edited by Barbara Santich and Michael Symons, 28-39, 1987.

——. *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press 2013.

——. "French food and fashion at the end of the nineteenth century: the view from colonial Australia." In *Gastronomic Encounters*, edited Barbara Santich and A. Lynn Martin, 62-69. Brompton. South Australia: East Street, 2004.

——.ed. *In the Land of the Magic Pudding: A Gastronomic Miscellany*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2000.

——. *Looking For Flavour*. Adelaide: Wakefield, 1996.

——. "The High and the Low: Australian Cuisine in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *Journal of Australian Studies*, 30 (2006): 37-49.

——. "Nineteenth-Century Experimentation and the Role of Indigenous Foods in Australian Food Culture." *Australian Humanities Review*, 51 (2011): 65-78.

——. *What the doctors ordered: 150 years of dietary advice in Australia*. Melbourne: Hyland House, 1995.

Shaw, A.G. L. *The Reasons For The Foundation Of A British Settlement At Botany Bay in 1788*. http://openjournals.library.usyd.edu.au/index.php/ART/article/viewFile/5505/6176.

Singley, Blake. 2014. "Everything Pertaining to the House': Cookbooks, Domestic Science and Ideology in Australia." In *Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond*, edited by Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

Singley, Blake. "Hardly anything fit for Man to eat: Food and colonialism in Australia." *History Australia*, 9 (2012): 27-42.

Singley, Blake, "More than just recipes: reading colonial life in the work of Wilhelmina Rawson." In *TEXT Special Issue 24: Cookbooks: writing, reading and publishing culinary literature in Australasia*, edited by Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessell, October 2013. http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue24/Singley.pdf.

Spiering, Mano. "Food, Phagophobia And English National Identity." *European Studies*, 22 (2006): 31-48.

Saunders, Alan. "Why Do We Want An Australian Cuisine?" *Journal of Australian Studies* 30 (2006): 1-17.

Stephens, John. *The land of promise: being an authentic and impartial history of the rise and progress of the new British province of South Australia*. Australia: Smith Elder,1836.

Suarez, Thomas. *Shedding the Veil: Mapping the European Discovery of America and the World*. New Jersey: World Scientific, 1992.

Summers, Anne. *Damned Whores and God's police*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1994

Sweet, R.H. "Topographies of Politeness." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Societ*y 12, (2002): 355-374.

Takats, Sean. *The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France*. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2011.

Tench, Watkin. *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson Including An Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and Of Its Natural Productions*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1998. http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit.

Tench, Watkin. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay With an Account of New South Wales, its Productions, Inhabitants, &c. To which is subjoined, A List of the Civil and Military Establishments at Port Jackson*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 1998. http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit.

Terry, Deborah J., Carey, Craig J. and Callan, Victor J. "Employee Adjustment to an Organizational Merger: An Intergroup Perspective." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 27 (2001): 267-280.

Trollope, *Anthony. Australia and New Zealand Vol.1*. London, Chapman and Hall, 1876. http://www.archive.org/stream/australiaandnew03trolgoog#page/n10/mode/2up.

Trollope, Anthony. *The duke's children*. London: Oxford University Press, 1951.

Twopenny, Richard. *Town Life in Australia*. Ringwood; Penguin Books, 1976.

Vidal, Mary Theresa. *Bengala or, Some Time Ago*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2000. http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/

Vigar, Penelope. *Australian Colonial Cookery*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1982.

Watson, Henry. *A Lecture on South Australia: Including Letters from J.B. Hack, Esq and Other Emigrants. Delivered before the Members of the Chichester Mechanics Institution, Nov. 27*. South Australia: J. Giddon, 1837.

Webster. E.W. trans."Meterology by Aristotle." http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/meteorology.2.ii.html

Wills, William Henry. "A Good Plain Cook," *Household Words*, May 11 (1850): 139-141.

Wilson, C. Anne. *Food and Drink in Britain From the Stone Age to the 19th Century*. Chicago: Academy, 1991.

Wilson. C. Anne. "Luncheon, Nuncheon and Related Meals." In *Eating with the Victorians*, edited by C. Anne Wilson, 32-49. Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004.

Wilson, Anne. C. "Supper: The Ultimate Meal." In *Eating with the Victorians*, edited by. C. Anne Wilson, 139-149. Gloucestshire: Sutton Publishing, 2004.

White, John. *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales with sixty-five plates of non-descript animals, birds, lizards, serpents, curious cones of trees and other natural productions*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2001. http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit

Woollacott, Angela. "The Colonial Flaneuse: Australian Women Negotiating Turn-of-the-Century London." *Signs*, 25 (2000): 761-787.

Worgon, George.B. *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon*. Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003. http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/worjour.

Wouters, Cas. "Etiquette Books and Emotion Management in the 20th Century: Part One; The Integration of Social Classes." *Journal of Social History*, 29 (1995): 107-125.

Wishart, Alison & Wessell, Adele. "Reading Recipes for Culinary Heritage." r*eCollections*, 5, 2010.

Young, Linda. "How like England can we be: The Australian International Exhibitions in the nineteenth century." *Seize the Day: Exhibitions, Australia and the World*, edited by Kate Darian-Smith, Richard Gillespie, Caroline Jordan, and Elizabeth Wills. Melbourne: Monash University ePress. 2013: 1-12.

Young, Linda. *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmilian, 2002.

Zeuss, Rebecca. "Consuming Symbols: An Anthropological Analysis Of Australian Food in High Culture, Industry and Popular Culture." In the *Proceedings of the second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 'Foodism - philosophy or fad?' Adelaide,*

September 21 - October 1, edited by Barbara Santich, Michael Symons and Colin Turner, 157-164, 1985.

Zeuss, Rebecca. "Food Styles And The Gourmet Subculture." In *Proceedings of the Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy 'A Multiculinary Society'*, edited by Barbara Santich and Michael Symons, 92-98, 1987.

EXEGESIS

Exegesis title: Identifying and developing psychological resources to support creativity development in writers.

Introduction

This investigation is concerned with the development of a single subject, a creative writer, however it aims to arrive at a set of guidelines that can be used to inform the development of other writers, and creative endeavour more broadly. It begins here with an introductory exchange between the investigator/coach and the subject-writer/coachee in order to establish the coaching intervention enacted further on in this study. Next, a literature review explores the concept of 'psychological resources' and the relevance of these to performing creative acts, a determination that requires explication on the subject of creativity. Following from this, the investigator and subject-writer engage in a series of focused coaching sessions in which learning from the preceding review are used to bring understanding to the reported psychological processes of the subject-writer during a creative performance, and explore ways to enhance future creative literary production. In conclusion, the findings of the documented sessions are considered against the broader literature and a set of guidelines to support creativity development are proposed.

INTRODUCTION TO THE COACHING SESSIONS

> *I give all this background information because I do not think one can assess a writer's motives without knowing something of his early development. George Orwell*
> *25 April 2016*

Dear Coach Charmaine;

I am writing to you to ask if you might consider taking me on as a client. I understand that you have a special interest and experience in working with individuals to develop their creative capabilities. I also know something of coaching psychology myself and I understand a good 'fit' between coach and coachee is crucial to building the rapport and trust essential to doing the psychological work of personal change and development. I know that if you agree to take me on as a coachee it will be a symbiotic learning journey and the change I seek will be created between us in a process of reiterative effort. As a first step in this my instinct is to provide you with some background—a narrative on my creative career.

I am a writer and I want to pursue further creative development. To this end I kept a journal of my psychological state during the writing of my most recent book, which

revealed a jumble of thoughts and feelings coalesced into particular patterns of thinking I believe hinder the development of my creative capacity. I propose I send you this journal as a first step in our working together. I think it will be better for the process if I hold back the specific question I am trying to resolve just now; instead I will expand further on my history to give you more context.

I knew I was going to be a writer when I was a teenager: I had a vision of myself sitting at a desk in a book-lined study with a fire burning and a dog at my feet. I was a very lacklustre student at school, my reports were full of "could do much better" — nobody ever helped me to, though. The only subjects I performed well in were English composition and comprehension and Australian literature. I was praised for my creative writing even though it almost exclusively took as its subject typical teenage woes. When I finished school and therefore believed myself to have 'grown up' I stopped writing about teenage angst, and I stopped writing completely because I did not know what I wanted to write about. Yet, I maintained my ambition to be a writer without taking any action toward this, until, some years into adulthood, I read a book called *Food in History*: it was an epiphanic experience. I had discovered my subject matter—I was going to write about food history. Over the past two decades I have initiated and created a significant body of written work on Indian and Australian food history and food culture. I also decided to undertake a PHD in creative writing to expand my understanding of creative process and foster my development as a writer. My overarching purpose is to live a creative life built around the pursuit of creative inquiry lived out in the practice of research and writing.

I believe my most recent work, *The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901*, makes a unique, and important, contribution to Australian history, and that, together, its content, language and style makes it a creative achievement. However, the field will judge if I have achieved what I claim to. As I was writing this work an idea for a novel emerged. This is what I want to pursue next, but I feel I need to restructure my self-concept, and my concepts of creativity, in order build my capability to achieve that. I hope one day to be able to write something as evocative and resonate as Patrick White did in his *Tree of Man*:

> *She was tremendously happy. There were whole quarters of still sullen sky, but that from which the cloud had been torn away glittered with a new jewellery of stars. As the dray reeled across the stones you could breathe the cold stars, that*

shivered, and glittered, and contracted and lived (1961, 90).

I realise that in writing all this I have also given you signposts to reading my journal, nevertheless it seems necessary to give you my own historic narrative to put the journal into context. I trust in your professional capacity to be as objective, as much as any human ever can be, in your initial reading of the journal. I purposefully wrote this letter to symbolise my interest in working with you, on this inquiry into creative development in a way that explores how knowledge might be got at and expressed in alternative ways.

Yours sincerely

Charmaine O'Brien

27 April 2016

Dear Writer Charmaine;

I almost missed your letter amongst the morass of food delivery and cleaning services flyers I scooped out of my mailbox earlier today. I would be very pleased to work with you. Please send me your journal and I will read it and come back you with a plan for proceeding with this particular creative inquiry.

Looking forward to learning more about you and your work.

Warm regards

Coach Charmaine

Date 30 April 2016

Dear Writer Charmaine;

Your decision to provide a detailed history of your writing life as an introduction to the personal inquiry captured in your journal was I imagine both instinctive and informed. I deduce from what you have written that you have an understanding of some of the methodologies recommended to investigate creativity and psychological theories of its development. As you also know something of coaching I think between us we will be able to bring the complexity of thought and perspective necessary to exploring how you might build your creative writing capacity. As you point out, you might find you need to deconstruct aspects of your self-concept to achieve this development. I agree that for the

most part we shall work as equals however this needs to be a loose enough coupling to allow movement in our roles across the course of our work. There will be times when you will need me to support and guide you in a manner more parental than peer: we, as an entity will need to ebb and flow like clouds across White's night sky to allow you to reveal more of your shimmering self showing to the world. Our experience together will have its share of metaphor, possibly even poetry, but first we need to get down to some practicalities. The trust you demonstrate by sharing your history and your journal with me puts us in good stead towards creating a productive empathic working relationship.

I want to speak here of methodology and a little of theory—these can be poetic, but I want to use them in a more pragmatic way. Our shared inquiry could be best described as a phenomenological approach that seeks to illuminate the specific by understanding how you perceive and interpret your experiences. In sending me your journal and choosing to work in a dialogical (coaching) mode, you have nominated the use of two key phenomenological methods, which I anticipate will be powerful in helping us to understand your experience; gain insight into your motivation and actions; and bring to light and challenge assumptions that might be contributing to any discrepancy between your performance and your ambition. By holding ourselves in an investigative posture to examine the material of this case we will build knowledge of how you think about your writing and yourself as a writer, with the intention of probing our findings with appropriate theoretical tools to ascertain where we might best intervene to stimulate creative development.

It is appropriate to phenomenological methodology that you submitted your journal to me in the first instance free of any specific hypothesis, or research question. It has allowed me to read it relatively free of presuppositions and stay as true, as possible, to your reported experience. My first step was to read through it and 'listen' to your words to get a feel for what was being said and identify recurrent ideas and issues, which I bracketed into categories. I read these again and mind-mapped the units to identify relationships between factors and emergent themes. During this I recorded responses that inevitably arose in my thoughts in the margins to try and keep these from interfering in the raw data.

The next step is for me to share my findings with you and for us to work to identify the mindsets structuring the way you make meaning and the impact this is having on shaping your creative thought and actions. You have a well-developed capacity for self-

reflection and a profound intelligence of yourself and I am excited for your possibility. I have used theoretical tools to probe and prod the material in your journal to see how these might further illuminate what I have interpreted and what this might additionally point to. Before that happens, I need you to send me your research question so I can be more purposeful in what I am directing theory at. It is important that you see how I have arrived at my interpretations, and of course you must challenge these if they are not true to your own experience. I hope that the way we work together might contribute to expanding the boundaries of what is considered to be scholarly knowledge.

I look forward to meeting you next week.

Yours in creative scholarship

Coach Charmaine

Literature review

WHAT ARE PSYCHOLOGICAL RESOURCES?

Resources are vital for the development of creative work (Runco and Abdullah, 2014; Enko, 2014). Beyond obvious human essentials such a food and shelter, material and technological resources are required for creative production, to varying degrees, and creative people undeniably need human resources to stimulate and support themselves (Wahba and Bridwell, 1976; Gardner, 1993). All of these can be classified as external resources. Further, creative practice requires a combination of components: expertise, creative thinking skills, intrinsic task motivation and a supportive environment, elements, or resources, that are largely internal to the creator—external conditions notwithstanding, although how a creator uses their resources can shape the responses of their environment (Amabile, 1983). An appropriate approach to understanding the role of internal resources in creativity, and build understanding as to how these might be developed, is through psychology.

Psychology is concerned with understanding how the human mind functions, particularly the connection between the internal working of the mind and external behaviour. As a scientific discipline, psychology employs empirical methods to infer causal and correlational relationships between psychological and social variables with the aim of establishing general principles of human mental functioning (APA, 2017). Psychology is known to be concerned with the assessment and treatment of mental health problems, but there is considerable activity in the field focused on understanding non-pathological human activity such as creativity (Barron 1988, 77). The following overview of the fundamental schools of psychological inquiry gives a context in which to understand the concept of psychological resources.

Cognitive psychology is concerned with how we know the world. It focuses on the mental processes used to mediate information from the external environment such as memory, perception, attention, judgement, reasoning, problem solving, language production, comprehension, thinking and meta-cognition. Cognition is widely held to play a key role in creative behaviour and cognitive capacities are vital resources for creators. Emotions, or affect, also influence how individuals understand, or think about the world, and subsequently effect behaviour. Emotions are widely considered to play a key role in creative behaviour (Brand 1991; Rathunde 2000, 4; Radford 2004). Positive

affective states, such as enthusiasm and openness to experience, can be tapped to "broaden cognition and pursue novel, creative and often unscripted paths of thought and action" (Fredrickson 2001, 220). Ravenna (1991, 97) found negative emotionality, such as anxiety and stress, was an "important source of originality and insight" in women, and creative writers often leverage negative emotions (Pourjalali, Skrzynecky and Kaufman 2010). The ability to learn is essential to creativity. Behavioural psychology focuses on the study and alteration of behaviour. It holds that any person of normal functionality can potentially be trained to perform any task and that mastery is the result of repetition of behaviour. Social psychology investigates individual behaviour in a social context and the influence of the immediate environment on individual cognition and subsequently on behaviour (Amabile 1983). Social psychology is concerned with wide range of intra-and interpersonal phenomenon such as self-concept and identity, which are important in creativity. In addition, there are many themes and concepts in psychology considered to play a role in creative behaviour including personality, motivation, self-efficacy and self-regulation that might be investigated and understood from any of these approaches.

THE NATURE OF CREATIVITY

The capacity to be creative is a unique aspect of human experience: it is also a significant resource (Barron 1988,77). Creativity is the necessary precursor to innovation and creative thinking can change the course of the future. Our propensity to create in response to a perceived need for improvement ensures change as a fundamental factor of human society. Understanding creativity has exercised creative minds for millennia: ancient philosophers first conceived of it as a rare gift of the gods, divine inspiration that had little to do with human agency—an idea that still lingers in popular conceptions of the phenomenon (Gardner 1988; Cropley 2016; Chan 2013, 26). Modern scientific inquiry into the "inventive potentialities" (Guilford 1950, 445) began in earnest in the 1950s when stagnant economic conditions in the USA, and national humiliation at Soviet Russia putting the first satellite into space, was blamed on a lack of creative initiative amongst American workers. These circumstances spurred psychologists to study creativity in order to understand how it might be developed (Gláveanu 2010, 149; Guilford 1958, 3; Cropley 2016, 242).

Frenetic contemporary demand for innovation as a source of competitive edge has accelerated scientific interest in understanding creativity, and further afield (Williams,

Runco and Berlow 393, 2016; Chan 2013, 26; Chua, Roth and Lemoine 2014, 189). Research into creativity is now more or less equally represented in psychology, education, business administration and economics and the social sciences (Williams, Runco and Berlow 393, 2016; Chan 2013, 250). Scholars investigating creativity in other fields have challenged biases and assumptions in psychology research on the phenomenon; these "insights [have] coincided with an increasingly interdisciplinary approach among psychologists where creativity is conceptualised as a product not only of individuals, but also of societies, cultures and historical periods" (Chan 2013, 25). While mindful of an extensive literature on creativity beyond psychology this project has predominantly used and examined research in that discipline, confident that it holds within its scope consideration of the multitudinous factors that influence creative behaviour.

DEFINING CREATIVITY?

Despite the compelling interest in its subject matter, the field of creativity research "still lacks a consensual understanding of the creative act" (Mumford and Gustafson 1989, 27). The idiosyncratic "almost infinite [nature of creativity means it] defies precise definition" (Torrance 1988, 43); the fact that the "psychological components of creativity are unseen and possibly largely unconscious" adds to the difficulty (Cropley 2016, 238). Some researchers claim the failure to achieve a universally accepted definition of creativity impedes progress in understanding it (Runco and Jaeger 2012, 92; Sternberg and Lubart 1991,12; Simonton 2012, 103). Others are more nonchalant that such a complicated phenomenon resists definitional reduction (Torrance 1988, 43). Researchers commonly work around this problem of classification by citing the so-called "standard definition of creativity", to wit: "Creativity requires both originality and effectiveness" (Runco and Jaeger 2012, 92). Originality denotes a creative product that did not previously exist in exactly the same form and is, according to Runco and Jaegar (2012, 94) "absolutely necessary" for creativity There is little dispute in the literature that to be considered creative a product must be original, although to what extent is arguable. Some theorists consider an idea sufficient to qualify as creative as long the thinker finds it to be novel; while others consider imagination, dreams or unexpressed thoughts intrinsically creative even without producing any new product (Torrance 1988, 43; Barron and Harrington 1981, 441). Gláveanu (2010, 152) points out that "producing the 'new' requires a

constant dialogue with the 'old' existing system of artifacts, norms and knowledges". A unique idea operating in isolation might also be unrealistic and useless— it could even be maladaptive and dangerous—therefore to be considered creative "original things must also prove effective, or useful" (Runco and Jaeger 2012, 92: Cropley 2016, 239). Usefulness might be served in a practical, artistic, aesthetic or theoretical sense (Cropley 2016, 239). Regardless of its wide use, the conception of creativity as simply original and useful is also considered to be an inadequate description of a complex phenomenon and its use in research problematic (Runco and Jaeger 95, 2012; Simonton 2012). Asking: "Novel compared to what? Useful for whom?" demonstrates the potential difficulties (Glá veanu 2010, 152). McLoughlin (2016, 170) problematizes the matter further by looking beyond western cultural notions to cultures in which creative tradition is "especially valued…[and] creative individuals are less likely to produce outputs that radically depart from or challenge the domain within which the work is produced." Some researchers elaborate the standard definition to make it more useful: Amabile (1983, 33) says a product or response will be judged creative to the extent that it is novel and appropriate, and the task is heuristic (discovery focused) rather than algorithmic (unambiguous instruction); in other words copying something that already exists does not qualify as a creative act. Simonton (2012, 103) and Boden (1994) both incorporate the element of surprise, or non-obviousness, into their chosen definition. Torrance (1988, 44) provides further examples of other elaborations.

The standard definition of creativity largely describes the outcome, the "observable creation", or *something* that has been symbolised to make it accessible, be it an idea, object or process (Runco 2010, 189; Rogers 1954, 250; Little 2014, 135; Barron and Harrington 1981, 442). It assumes a creative product [provides] the essential evidence for creativity (Runco and Pritzker 2015, 77). It does not address *whom* it is that comes up with the original ideas: the creative individual. Runco and Pritzker (2015, 77) define "creativity [as] the *ability* [my italics] to produce work that is both novel and appropriate". What then is this ability? How does an individual think up new ideas, elaborate these into potential new products, take action to turn them into reality and continue to work over time? In addition to being new and useful, a creative product must be "judged to have some value according to external criteria" imposed by others (Wallace 1989, 28). Some researchers argue that a product does not require external affirmation to be considered creative (Torrance 1988, 43; Barron and Harrington 1981, 44). Still there is

more significant consensus that the "creative act …must be expressed in a social context and ultimately be understood by others if it is to be creative" (Fiest 1998, 300). Certainly creativity can only be studied, or recognised, retrospectively, that is after a product has been produced and rated as creative by qualified experts (Hall and MacKinnon 1969, 73). A desire for recognition can drive creative work and it is an assumption of this project that a creator desires external acknowledgement of their work (Runco 2010, 189). How, then, do products resulting from the creative processes of a creative individual come to be valued as creative achievements?

Creativity studies are most often structured into categories of person (individual), product (artefacts), press (environmental conditions) and process (Runco 2002, 32). This categorisation helps to organise research but in reality these elements function reciprocally, with each likely to be more salient at different points of creative achievement. A recent trend in creativity research has been towards conceptualising creativity as a "emergent property of a system in action" in which all identified elements operate in consequence of each other (McIntyre 2013, 85; and Wallace 1999; Feldman 1999; Csikszentmihalyi, 1991 and 2006). Person, product, press and process form a system of creativity. The triangulation of individual, domain and field is also commonly used in the literature to describe creativity systemically (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). In this concept 'individual' refers to the creator's talent, personal capabilities, cognitive profile or aptitude; 'domain' is the area in which the individual is working; and 'field' is made up of the institutions and positions (social context) that provide training and "eventually confer status upon certain persons and products which are judged to be creative" in a particular domain (Gardner 1988, 21). Where there is tension or discordance arising from the interface of system elements "the most creative acts occur" (Gardner 1988, 21). The categorisations of person (individual), process, product, press (environment), domain and field will be used to structure this review.

Scientific research on creativity seeks to "propound the laws which govern the behaviours and thought processes of [creative] individuals and the principles by which certain products come to be judged as creative" (Gardner 1988, 8). Progress has been made in illuminating various aspects of creative phenomena, but nothing is conclusive, to be sure the research can be contradictory and confusing. Opposite views of creativity exist. The "democratic" view holds it as an ordinary component of human existence, therefore all people are creative and able to turn their creativity on or off at will, while the

romantic view proposes creativity as "heaven sent" and available only to a chosen few (Cropley 2016, 239). Despite being debunked in the scientific literature the latter idea persists in the wider community most particularly the idea that creative success is predominantly due to 'talent' (Cropley 2016, 238; see Throsby and Hollister, 2003). Without a restrictive definition of creativity there is no barrier to the myths and misperceptions that befuddle understanding of it (Barron and Harrington 1981, 442). However, if such a definition were constructed "its implications and assumptions", would necessarily shape, and potentially limit, the way creativity is understood (Barron and Harrington 1981, 442). The current "conceptual vagueness" might therefore be useful in trying to comprehend human creativity (Simonton 2012,103).

The preceding discussion demonstrates that creativity is a complex phenomenon. Arriving at a true understanding of creativity will necessarily require a "broader perspective that accommodates all elements" (Cropley 2016, 239). To this end, the following definition has been chosen as a reasonable framework to anchor this research:

> *Creativity is the interaction among aptitude, process and environment by which an individual or group produces a perceptible product that is both novel and useful as defined within a social context (Plucker, Beghetto and Dow 2004, 90).*

This definition is systemic ("interaction among"), broad enough to encompass all the identified elements of creativity (aptitude/person/individual, process, product) and narrow enough to usefully work as containment lines (novel, useful, social context). The use of the term "aptitude" has been used in preference to trait to suggest creativity as a set of dynamic characteristics and skills that can be changed (Plucker et al. 2004, 90). Stabilised by this definition this chapter will continue, firstly by examining the elements of creativity; secondly, exploring psychological theories and models that consider the dynamic relationship between these more systemically; thirdly, the literature on the psychology of creative writing will be reviewed and comparison made between the psychological resources required for creativity more broadly and those, if any, unique to the process of creative writing; and, finally, relevant psychological resources for creativity will be elucidated through this process.

THE CREATIVE PERSON

The creative person is an individual who regularly sees problems (gaps) and acts to "fashion novel products or ideas to solve these…which come to be valued [as] creative achievements" (Gardner 1989, 9). Creativity researchers are, naturally, interested in understanding the behaviours and thought processes of such individuals (Gardner 1988, 9). The study of the "patterns of [personality] traits…characteristic of creative persons" to ascertain the "interests, attitudes and temperamental variables" that might be significant in creative production are a bedrock of modern creativity research and remain a key area of interest in the field (Guildford 1950, 444; Gardner 1993, 20; Williams, Runco and Berlow 387, 2016; Simonton 2000, 153).

Personality refers to the unique patterns of thinking, feeling and behaviour of individuals that are stable across time and situations (Feist 1989, 290). The "essence of a creative individual is the *uniqueness"* [my italics] of their behaviour and ideas and personality studies of creative people try to determine the aspects of personality that might facilitate creative thinking and action (Kellogg 1999, 97). There is broad empirically supported consensus that a common personality profile generally holds amongst creative individuals and that personality plays a significant role in creative effectiveness (Hall and MacKinnon 1969; Guildford 1973; Little 2014, 137; Fiest 1998, 304; Feldman 1999, 174; Mumford and Gustafson 1989, 34; Runco and Pritzker 1999, 74; Piirto 2010). According to Fiest (1990, 300) the "primary function of traits is to lower the threshold for trait congruent behaviour", for example, if someone is characteristically curious it will be easier for them to develop the broad range of interests held to be important to generating creative ideas.

Fiest (1998, 300) parses the personality attributes common to creative behavior into social, cognitive, motivational and affective "dispositional elements". Trait based theories of personality are contentious in psychology. Personality is a multifarious subject and it is never as simple as lists of characteristics. The creative personality system is recursive and bi-causal and many of its particular traits are covariant with others; creative people often hold opposing personality traits, and the ability to express contradictory traits is likely necessary to carry out the complex work of creativity (Amabile 1987, 362; Piirto 2010, 3; Feist 1989, 300; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996b). None the less the categorization Fiest (1989) proposes forms a useful organizing framework that will be loosely used here to examine

the research on creative personality, mindful of the outlined complexities in respect to this subject.

Social dispositional elements

Social personality dispositions refer to attitudes and interactions towards others (Feist 1989, 300). Creative people frequently exhibit introverted social behaviour, preferring limited engagement with others (Barron and Harrington 1981, 454; Little 2014, 15). The nature of creative work often requires individuals to work alone for long periods, suggesting introversion, or a "relatively asocial or antisocial orientation", might be a necessity (Fiest 1998, 300). Creative individuals tendency to be more open to experience makes them more self-aware and sensitive to their own feelings and thoughts and those of others, which can make them vulnerable to heightened emotional response and social withdrawal might be necessary to cope with the intensity of aroused feeling (Simonton 2000, 153; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996b; Hall and MacKinnon 1969, 326). Yet, if a creator is ambitious for their work to be recognised their creativity must ultimately be expressed in a social context and interacting with and influencing others is necessary for gaining this validation (Fiest 1989, 300). It might therefore be necessary for a creator to engage more extroverted aspects of self to exert this influence and creative people can be highly charming when they want, or need, to be (Little 2014, 145).

Creative individuals tend to be independent, individualistic, self-reliant, self-confident, non-conformist, autonomous and unconventional (Runco and Pritzker 1999, 74; Feist 1989, 300; Hall and MacKinnon 1969, 326; Simonton 2000, 153). These attributes support them to stand out from the crowd, make autonomous judgements and achieve via independence rather than conformity —all necessary precursors to original thinking (Gruber 1988, 36; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996b). The very nature of creative work is to bring forward new ideas that challenge the status quo. Creative products are often "perceived as deviant by the majority" and the creator might be subject to rejection or even ridicule, in the first instance (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996b). It can take time for original ideas to be recognised and independence and autonomy support an ability to be tenacious with novel concepts (Gardner 1988, 9). Risk taking, spontaneity, playfulness and courage support the discovery and promulgation of original ideas, and the "nerve" to be unpredictable (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Runco and Pritzker 1999, 74). Paradoxically creative individuals usually need to be conservative when learning the conventions of a

domain because they have to know its rules before they can transform it by breaking them (Barron and Harrington 1981, 455; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996b).

Less appealingly, creative individuals have a tendency to be self-centred, self-seeking, autocratic, conceited, dominate and hostile, traits that might be a product of the constant process of having to defend their creations and/or life choices (Feist 1998, 300). Creative people can be mercenary in their relationships, encouraging others then discarding them when they are no longer useful in helping the creator pursue their goals (Runco and Pritzker 1999, 73; Helson 1999, 91; Feist 1989, 300). They can be socially aloof and often have an aversion to "conventional and highly regulated activities"—traits intertwined with a desire to be unique from others, which in turn supports the pursuit of originality (Little 2014, 149).

Cognitive dispositional elements

Cognitive elements are the traits of creative individuals indicative of their tendencies towards performing mental tasks (Kellogg 1999, 106). Creative individuals tend to be open to, and actively seek out, new concepts and experiences. They are curious, observant and have wide interests—traits that provide them with new material to synthesis with knowledge and imagination to generate original ideas. They prefer complexity and broader meaning to details and facts; are not afraid to work with challenging concepts and ideas; prefer to take the time to reflect and understand; and tolerate ambiguity, as it is in the reconciliation of competing tensions that originality often emerges (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996b; Feist 1998; Runco and Pritzker 1999, 74; Hall and MacKinnon 1969, 326; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996a; Simonton 2000, 153).

Motivational dispositional elements

Runco (2010, 186) contends that cognitive traits are the "least" of the elements driving creative achievement. An individual might be able to generate many creative ideas but they also need to take action to turn these into communicable products and one of the strongest factors in creativity is the drive to undertake the work involved (Runco 2010, 187). Intrinsic motivation, that is doing a task for its own sake, rather than for any extrinsic rewards it may bring, is considered critical to creativity as it drives the commitment, energy and perseverance required to produce creative output (Cropley 2016, 239; Amabile 1983, 357; Czikszentmihalyi, 1996a; Gruber and Wallace 1999,98; Feldman 1991, 174; Sternberg and Lubart 1999, 10; Gardner 1988, 19 ; Runco 2010, 186). It is generally considered to take around ten years to master a domain such that a

creator can instigate novel change in it (Feldman 1999, 173; Csikszentmihaly 2006, 14). This bespeaks the characteristic ability of creative people to "work, long, hard and persistently with extraordinary concentration" (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 105). The opportunity creativity offers to actualise individual potential enhances its intrinsic appeal, and engaging in creative activity can lead to increased intrinsic motivation (Rogers 1954, 252; Ryan and Deci 2000b, 58). Intrinsic motivation engages attentional involvement in a task that increases enjoyment of it, which in turn supports persistence and experimenting with different ways of doing things (Abuhamdeh and Csikszentmihalyi 266, 2011). A study by Liang, Hsu and Chang (2013, 112) found that intrinsic motivation played a crucial meditational role in stimulating imagination—and creativity is not possible without imagination.

Intrinsic motivation is linked to purpose, and purpose might be considered the central driver of creative endeavour (Gardner 1993). Creative work inevitably involves routine tasks and activities, a sense of purpose helps the creator to persist with these (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 105). Engaging in purposeful work activates further ideas, increasing complexity and generating new projects thus the creative process is 'driven' (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 104). The importance of purpose is demonstrated by the fact that many creative people persist in creating work despite the lack of material benefit (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 110; see also Throsby and Hollister, 2003). Amabile (1987, 365) found that extrinsic factors such as monetary reward could actually negatively influence intrinsic motivation by causing the creative person to shift their focus from the work itself to doing what is required to get the reward. Still, creative people tend to be motivated by ambition and the prospect of extrinsic reward is not necessarily detrimental to creative achievement, indeed lack of financial recompense might undermine an individual's ability to pursue creative achievement no matter how motivated they might be (Feist 1998, 390; Throsby and Hollister 2003, 33).

Motivation is not inherent in a person; one decides to be motivated by something: "To live a creative life is one of the intentions of a creative person" (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 94). How then does the purpose arise that inspires expression in creative activity? The source of motivation may vary from person to person but it must come from somewhere; "it might be a natural passion for a field…[or] it may be sought as refuge from difficult circumstances [or trauma]…[or from] a need to prove that one is worthy of respect and admiration …[or] that others have underestimated their value. Any or all of

these may function to keep the process going" (Feldman 1999, 175). However, unless such experiences can be harnessed to serve creative expression they have the potential to undermine creativity development (Feldman 1999, 175). What is it then that causes purpose and motivation to become harnessed to creative behaviour? Motivation cannot be trained and research points to a strong relationship between emotion and motivation in the creative process (Liang et al. 2013,111; Csikszentmihalyi 1996b).

Affective dispositional elements

Creative individuals process information intellectually and emotionally and creativity is as much an affective phenomenon as it is a cognitive one (Feldman 1999, 174; Radford 2004). Brand (1991, 403) conjectures, that the "whole of mind [including creativity] evolves from feeling". Mastering a creative domain is an act of "complex informational processing" involving the deployment of "culturally acquired" emotional markers on "certain items of information or lines of connection" within the individual's thought framework that determine "what is in and what is out" to help shape and make sense of the information (Radford 2004, 59). This emotional processing is largely unconscious (Radford 2004, 54). Information that cannot be made to fit into an existing system creates a dissonance, "it is the tension, or emotional discomfort, of such dissonances that are the impetus to creative development [as] the creative act works to release or reconcile this tension" (Radford 2004, 54). In this way it is emotion that tips off the motivation for creative action. The creative individual's tendency to emotional sensitivity can serve them well when they are intuiting and developing new ideas, but at other stages of the creative process emotionality can become a burden that gets in the way of working, for example, by undermining focus (Gruber 1988, 29; Liang et al. 2013, 111). Creative people commonly experience affective traits such as anxiety and the relationship between mental health and artistic creativity has been a particular focus for research. A creative career can be "merciless in its demand [requiring] exacting discipline, toil without stint, and sacrifices, and it yields an uncertain reward" —the price for creative achievement might well be affective disorder (Barron 1988, 95). Creativity can also be associated with a certain amount of psychopathology, yet successful creative individuals have "compensatory characteristics" that allow them to control less effective aptitudes (Simonton 2000, 153; Simonton 2017, 25). Many creative people have no pathology at all (Helson 1999, 99).

The dispositional elements, or traits, determined to be common to a representative 'creative personality' will be expressed in various combinations in any individual—some will not be present and some stronger than others. Age, gender and cultural background can also influence expression of personality characteristics (Mumford and Gustafson1988, 28; Helson 1999, 99). There is a strong theme in contemporary psychology that considers personality as constructed rather than innate, therefore it can potentially be reconceived, or reconstructed (Albertson, 2014). A creative individual might express different personality characteristics according to circumstances, suggesting these traits are "partly under voluntary control [and] with sufficient motivation and effort, one might adapt a different style to better suit a situation (Kellogg 1999, 106).

Creative identity

Personality dispositions are only part of creativity and creative people have many different personalities. Barron (1988, 94) argues that it is "the recognition of oneself as creative" that drives individual creativity. A person who holds a self-identity (the acting of self in the world) as a creative person "critical to his or her self-concept" (the way we understand self) will seek opportunities to reaffirm this identity through their behavior, thus conceiving of self as creative provides motivation to be creative (Jaussi, Randel and Dionne 2007, 248). An important variable in a creative self-identity is that the individual believes they have the efficacy to act creatively (Jaussi et al. 2007, 248). An individual with a creative self-identity will consistently choose to approach any task they want to accomplish by approaching situations with a personal style that is:

> *open, intuitive, alert to opportunity, interested in complexity as a challenge to find simplicity, independent of judgement, questions assumptions, is willing to take risks, unconventional in thought and allows odd constructions to be made, keenly attentive, and driven to find pattern and meaning … coupled with the motive and the courage to create (Barron 1988, 95).*

In this conception creativity is a dynamic response enacted by an individual because they understand self as creative and in possession of the capability to express self in creative productivity (Jaussi et al. 2007): Descartes maxim *cogito ergo sum* comes to mind.

CREATIVE PROCESS

An individual initiates the process that results in the creation of a novel idea or product (Barron 1988, 80). Building understanding of the processes the individual engages in to generate this original product is essential to understanding creativity (Ward, Smith and Finke 1999, 190). In the first instance, the individual thinks up an idea in response to a problem they are unsure how to progress but are motivated to work out how to do so (Kellogg 1999,106). Thinking, or cognition, involves using mental processes such as attention, judgement and evaluation, memory and imagination and planning to mediate information from the external environment to "create, manipulate and communicate ideas" (Kellogg 1999, 10). The mental acts involved in generating creative ideas include "retrieval, association, synthesis, transformation, analogical transfer, categorical reduction, an ability to search data for patterns, to understand how things are in relation to one another and looking for ways to make different connections" (Sternberg and Lubart 1991, 8). While creative thinking is complex all its processes belong to everyday cognitive activity and all "people of normal intelligence have the potential to be creative to some degree" (Ward et al. 1990,190; Nickerson 1999, 392). Nevertheless, some people produce more creative work than others, and some produce more notable work, and it is how, and why, an individual uses their cognitive skills that is more important in influencing creative behaviour than mere possession of these (Barron and1981, 445). Individual differences in using cognitive processes to produce novel and effective products might be understood to lie on a "continuum of creative functioning" (Ward et al. 1990,191).

In its early throes, creativity research tended towards a reductionist approach to understanding the phenomenon (McIntyre 2013, 86). Researchers focused on identifying singular component skills of creative thinking, such as divergence and intelligence, and developing psychometric instruments to measure these, leading in turn to the erroneous understanding that these elements represented the totality of creative ability (Barron and Harrington 1981, 463; Torrance 1988, 45; Williams, Runco and Berlow 2016). Divergent thinking does generate novel ideas but convergent thinking is equally important in exercising choice and discrimination about the usefulness of these (Onarheim and Friss-Olivarius 2013, 4). A certain degree of intelligence is necessary to produce original and effective ideas but high intelligence does not necessarily equate with higher creative achievement (Sternberg and O'Hara 1999, 269). Creativity is more than the production of

ideas and it might be more usefully conceived of as "intelligent action" driven by cognitive capacities that facilitate continuous "construction of multiple representations of reality, processing of these representations, conceiving of possibilities and selecting data" rather than a product of native intelligence (Barron and Harrington 1981, 442).

Creativity is a complex entity that cannot be fully understood by "simply considering the individual parts" (McIntyre 2013, 85). Imagination, for example, is an essential cognitive skill for creativity, but possession of imaginative capacity does not necessarily equate with creative productivity (Liang et al. 2013, 111). Numerous component cognitive skills are simultaneously involved in thought processes (Kellogg 1999, 10). Operationally, creative thinking is a "multifactorial and dynamic" system in which elements interact in "dense, extensive, and interrelated networks" that cannot be separated (McIntyre 2013, 85). By its nature creative thinking is a complex system. Complex systems are "chaotic, highly nonlinear and essentially impossible to explain and predict from mechanisms and laws", and it is the interactions between multiple components in a system that are important (McIntyre 2013, 85). A range of other factors such as cultural values and environmental conditions also influence the "likelihood of creative production", but these "achieve their impacts by way of cognitive functioning" (Ward et al. 1990,190). It is the way these elements are used together that facilitates creative contribution (Mumford and Gustafson 1988, 34).

Novel inventions tend to emerge incrementally. Ideas are generated, explored and reintegrated in a reiterative process that can be "messy" and take time (Cropley 2016, 239). An individual's effectiveness in terms of this process might be influenced by a variety of attributes including individual differences in cognitive capacities to "identify patterns in information, take different perspectives on the problem, the richness and flexibility of stored cognitive structures to which the processes are applied [and] the capacity of memory systems" (Mumford and Gustafson 1998, 32). The specific cognitive processes applied to integration of information will either "facilitate or inhibit creative functioning" and thus impact the resulting creative product (Ward et al.1990, 190). The individual's cognitive capacities will be influenced by personality traits such as curiosity, openness and tolerance of ambiguity as this allows them to bring more information into cognition and process it such that they will have "multiple understandings available" to draw on for problem solving (Mumford and Gustafson 1998, 32). That individuals have a predisposition towards offering original solutions influences the development and

utilisation of their cognitive processing capacities (Gardner 1988, 10). This cognitive activity often happens outside the conscious awareness of the creative individual because their mind is psychologically "prepared to process information in ways…conducive of creative achievement" (Cropley 2016, 241).

A key facility in creative thinking is the ability to break established mental sets, "subconscious tendencies to approach a problem in a particular way" shaped by past experiences and habits, during problem solving (Amabile 1985, 365). Well-developed mental sets are the structures through which information is processed, these are crucial to "negotiate day-to-today existence [as they] allow us to predict likely outcomes based on incomplete information"; mental sets are also necessary for the creative process (Synder, Ellwood and Chi 2017, 110). A mental set is built from general cognitive machinery (imagination, divergent thinking, intelligence, problem finding skills) and a well-developed knowledge and comprehension of a given domain, as well as assumptions, perceptions and beliefs. Building mental sets takes time and hard work and the commitment the individual makes to achieve this gives them the faculty to consistently produce work from these sets. Conversely mental sets can become fixed such that new ideas are structured in predictable ways limiting the individual's creative capacity by keeping them within the boundaries of what they know and "less receptive, perhaps even resistant to novel interpretations" (Ward et al. 1990,191; Synder et al. 2017, 110). Recent work in neurology has trialled the use of non-invasive brain stimulation that allows recipients a temporary window during which [they] can access a different cognitive style and enhance creative insight (Synder et al. 2017, 111). Short of accessing this sort of technology, psychological techniques can be used to change mental sets more persistently. Meta-cognition —thinking about thinking —is an effective cognitive strategy for changing established mental sets (Liang et al. 2013, 111). Illuminating the mental structures being used to make sense, or think with, opens these to modification, for example by taking a different perspective thereby pushing open new pathways for perceiving problems (Ward et al. 1990, 190; Runco 2015, 296). Challenging the assumptions mental sets are built upon can also lead to "creative insights…[w]hen individuals question their assumptions, they are often able to shift perspectives on a problem, or perhaps even get out of a conceptual rut" (Runco 2015, 295). "Transcending the constraints" of prevailing modes of thought is believed to be significant in level of creative achievement (Feldman 1999, 183). Challenging mental sets to form new

articulations can also pose considerable intellectual and emotional challenge (Albertson 2014, 77). The driving force to make such fundamental change is purpose: the "overriding criterion in creative thinking is meaningfulness" (Kellogg 1989, 10).

Boden (1994), proposed two different levels of creative achievement. 'P', or personal, creativity is that which is merely new to the individual and 'H', or historical, creativity which is new to society and is transformative. The idea that there are different levels of creativity has become established in the creativity literature, although Runco (2015, 296) calls it a false dichotomy and says it is problematic in educating for creativity. Gardner (1998, 10) suggests creative achievement might be better conceived to lie on a continuum between "everyday and exemplary creativity". Elaborating on Boden's theory Radford (2004, 54) describes the process of creativity occurring within a "conceptual space" or mental framework in which information is processed to make sense:

> *The framework offers the possibilities within which information is combined and separated, grouped and regrouped and may be seen to define the boundaries of that which makes sense both within the space and at its parameters" (Radford 2004, 54).*

Individuals who stay working within their known boundaries of sense, "solving problems by making use of what they already know and can already do", are likely to only make minor creative achievements. Those who challenge the boundaries of their conceptual space—which can be understood to be analogous to mental sets—to "reorganise and restructure" to transform the way they process information might make major creative achievements (Cropley 2016, 242). The "cognitive strategies" a creator uses can "differ markedly, depending on whether creative production involves the generation of new understandings or the application of existing understanding" (Mumford and Gustafson 1989, 38). Weisberg (2009, 24) claims innovative advances in any field come from "staying in the box" and building upon the foundation of established expert and domain specific knowledge.

DOMAIN

All creative individuals use their general cognitive capacities to create novel ideas and products. Nevertheless, there is no one absolute creative process but, rather, a set of

processes differentially related to alternative types of creative endeavours and each creator must also utilise specific skills and knowledge structures relevant to the domain in which they work (Mumford and Gustafson 1989, 38). A domain is the stable cultural and symbolic aspect of creativity in which new products are preserved and transmitted (McIntyre 2013, 85; Baer, 2012). Creativity occurs when a person makes a change in a domain, therefore a domain is essential "because it is impossible to introduce a variation without reference to an existing pattern"—there has to be something to be compared to be able to see difference (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, 315). It is essential for a creator to have learnt the symbol system, for example writing or music, and the rules and concepts of a domain in order to make novel and effective change to it (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, 314). Each domain requires a creator to develop and utilise distinct mental and technical processes to be able to work in it and communicate their discoveries (Baer, 2012; Gardner 1993, 373; Mumford and Gustafson 1989, 38).

Thorough education in a domain is a prerequisite for creative achievement (Gardner 1993, 362). In a study of eminent creative individuals Gardner (1993, 373) concluded significant creative achievement arose from the creator finding a domain they could "commit to"; that the motivation to commit to it arose from discovering a "fit" between the domain and the individual intelligences of the creator and this connection allowed them to thrive in it and rapidly develop their creativity. The domain a creator committed to was often linked to childhood experiences. Feldman (1999, 173) argues that the fit between an individual and domain at a particular period in time might be more significant to creative achievement than the level of mastery of it, adding that the role of domain on the development of creativity is not yet well understood.

CREATIVE PRODUCT

Particular thought processes can only be considered creative if they result in a product that is deemed creative (Amabile 1983, 359). In order to understand creative process a "backwards through time" approach is required, whereby creative accomplishment is studied to elucidate the processes that led to it (Mumford and Gustafson 1989, 28). A person might have a creative personality, and, provided their mind has ordinary functionality, they will have the cognitive capacities required to process information creatively, but it is only through products that is it possible to ascertain their creative ability (Amabile 1983, 359). The creative product acts "as an operational referent for

studying creative processes and determining the meaning of creative potential" (Mumford and Gustafson 1989, 28). However, the product itself needs to be validated as creative to stand as a referent to work backwards from. Just as process and product cannot be separated, creative product cannot exist except in relationship to a field: "creativity is a process that can be observed only at the intersection where individuals, domains and fields interact" (Csikszentmihalyi 2006, 3).

FIELD

As a general principle, it is held that creative work needs to be deemed important by others who belong to a relevant field (Gardner 1988,10; McIntyre 2013, 90). The term 'field' in this context specifically refers to the social aspect of creativity, the institutions that hold domain knowledge and are structured around this (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, 315; McIntyre 2013, 89). A field is the "group entitled to make decisions as to what should or should not be included in the domain and whose judgment is accepted by others" (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, 315). An individual creator works to produce some variation in the existing information of a domain (McIntyre 2013, 89). To be considered creative this variation has to be accepted and selected for preservation in the domain by the field (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, 324). The creator therefore needs to "negotiate the changes through the field" to achieve this (McIntyre 2013, 89). This can mean that what is selected as creative might not always be judged by objective measures and might be more indicative of acceptance by a particular field of judges (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, 324). The idea that creativity should be defined by "virtue of consensus on the part of knowledgeable contemporaries" and what it is that might entitle someone to decide whether or not something new is accepted into a domain is certainly challenged (Gardner 1989, 10). Even so, a field can have a "profound effect on creative actions" such that it can determine how creativity develops, or even if it develops (McIntyre 2013, 90; Feldman 1999, 178). If an individual's progression in a domain is reliant on performance in the field then a creator's ability, or otherwise, to self-promote comes to the fore in gaining validation for their work (Gardner 1993, 377). A creator therefore needs to find avenues for influencing others and making contacts in the field (Feldman 1999, 179; Csikszentmihalyi 1999, 326).

The characteristics of a field tend to shift across time and the varied expression of these characteristics at any period can impact the creative development of individuals in

that field (Feldman 1999, 178). Individuals might be inspired or oppressed by the field. If there is a good fit between the individual's purpose, motivations, talents and domain, there is more chance this will cause significant shift in the creator's development in order to meet the particular challenges of that domain (Feldman 1999, 179). Alternatively, a creator might be well served in being a misfit as it is often the ability of individuals to notice and exploit asynchronies in the domain-field system that results in significant creative achievement (Gardner 1993, 381). An individual who is too ensconced in a field may not see tensions in the system that can be profitably exploited to create change, or they might feel they have too much to lose in challenging and transforming the domain they are comfortably working within (Gardner 1993, 381). Highly creative individuals might even enjoy "being on the edge" and be able to withstand the concomitant strain of this, yet working at "the edge of one's creative powers… is often a highly affective process for the creator and their need for unconditional support is unprecedently great" (Gardner 1993, 383). Creativity is both an act of "rebellion and conformity" (McIntyre 2013, 90). Individuals have to achieve some degree of fit within a field otherwise their ideas might be considered too "weird" to be acceptable and they will be unlikely to receive the level of support they need (Gardner 1993, 383).

ENVIRONMENT OR PRESS

According to Csikszentmihalyi (1999, 25), culture and society "are as involved in the constitution of creativity as the individual". Influences on creative development are broader than those of domain and field: the time and place of one's existence, greater social and cultural conditions and historic events can all impact on individual creative development —the happenstance of being in the right place at the right time probably plays as great a role as any other factor (Feldman 1999, 181). To imagine that great creativity is independent from context is "absurd" (Feldman 1999, 177). How a culture values different creative pursuits influences creativity development. If a culture values a particular creative activity it will be "tuned to detect potential [in that domain] to develop the talent to its fullest, and to richly reward excellence at the highest levels" (Feldman 1999, 180). A "great deal of what is necessary for creativity" might very well be "beyond the control of the individual (Feldman 1999,179).

While an individual might possess particular skills, talent and motivation, the sociocultural environment plays a significant role in influencing a person to respond

creatively, or not, to challenges in the environment (Simonton 2013, 71; Amabile 1985). That creativity is a social-psychological phenomenon is demonstrated in the growing focus on a "context dependent view of creativity" and understanding the role of the sociocultural environment on creative production (Chan 2013, 22). The "attributes of the situation influencing evaluation of the individual's productive efforts might be detrimental to creative output (Mumford and Gustafson 1998, 28; McIntyre 2013, 90). A restrictive, rigid, inflexible and punitive environment can hinder an individual's creativity even if they have an enduring high level of interest in a task (Amabile 1983, 357). A supportive, evaluation-free environment can promote the translation of creative thoughts into creative behaviour (Sternberg and Lubart 1991, 8). Major creative contributions often emerge in situations where the parameters, or boundaries, are less restrictive; firm goals and stricter requirements for assessment often limit creators to making relatively minor contributions (Mumford and Gustafson1988, 38). A poor environment might be overridden by high motivation on the part of the creator (Sternberg and Lubart 1999,11). But, rather than relying on the individual's strategies for dealing with external challenges, it is possible to foster social conditions to encourage the development of psychological prerequisites for creativity (Cropley 2016, 245; Amabile 1983, 366). Environments in which a creative effort is explicitly encouraged, supported, recognised and rewarded, particularly in the exploratory stages of the creative process, help establish a climate in which an individual perceives they have the freedom to take risks in invention, are more likely to inspire creative activity (Cropley 2016, 245; Mumford and Gustafson 1988, 37). Because the environment is constantly changing the creative person also has to be able adjust and alter the resources they bring to it to in order generate novel possibilities responsive to the demands of their environment (Gardner 1988, 7).

CREATIVITY AS A SYSTEM

There is a trend in the creativity research to conceptualise the phenomenon systemically (Feldman 1999; Csikszentmihalyi, 2006 and 1999; Gruber 1988). In a review of recent research McIntyre (2013, 92-95) concluded, "it is difficult to refute" that creativity is "an emergent property of a system in action" and that a "systems view of creativity that recognises a variety of interrelated forces operating at multiple levels" and "reconceptualise[s] [it] as a property of complex systems" might best serve to understand it. Interactions in complex systems are by nature unpredictable therefore by its very

nature creativity is unpredictable (Cavanagh 2006). In order to generate ideas that are recognised as original the creative individual "organises their resources" in novel ways that "depart from existing norms" (Gardner 1988, 8). When these original ideas are communicated into the system (domain and field) they can cause a deviation in it, potentially sending it off in a new, unpredictable direction. Other developing areas of creativity research are neurobiological, genetic and computational, however it is beyond the scope of this research to review these areas (see: McLoughlin 2016; Dietrich 2004; Martindale 1999; Boden 1988).

PSYCHOLOGY OF CREATIVE WRITING

Writing is "part of a wider creative process" sharing the "universal cognitive bases" of all creative thinking (Harris 2009). Like all creative activity, it is problem solving, but its form is linguistic (Lubart 2010, 149). Creative writing is often defined as the production of fictional prose, poems and scripts, however, it is also recognised that there are forms of non-fiction writing which are highly creative, including creative non-fiction, literary journalism, poetic biography and many others (Barbot, Tan, Randi, Santa-Donato and Grigorenko 2012, 209). Runco (2012, 186) declares "by the very nature of writing every writer —provided they are not just copying material —is creative …[although] it might be best to use a continuum … with highly imaginary writing [at one end] and factual records at the other" to indicate how creative the work is. Barron (1966, 157) defines creative writing as that which " communicate[s] in an original manner, the writer's interpretation of experience". According to Piirto (2010, 3) creative writing is "largely an attitude", shown in particular ways of thinking, responding to the imaginative and taking deliberate action to write. "Intention and interest [drive creativity] … effort is not expended unless there is some drive …[it is] self-concept and recognition of oneself" as a creative writer that informs the values and goals that drive "taking the time and effort" to do the intentional work of writing (Runco 2010, 187). If that work is original and effective then it is 'creative writing' whether it is fiction or non-fiction (Runco 2010, 187). Creative writers are described thus because of how their work is received not how they are—"the analysis comes afterwards" (Harris 2009).

Much of the research on the psychology of creative writing focuses on investigating the characteristics of creative writers (Forgeard, Kaufman and Kaufman 2013, 321). Understanding creative writers can lead to "enlarged understanding of all creative

individuals [and] to a broader concept of the entire field of creativity" (Barron 1966, 157). Creative writers, "with their prominent communication skills, can provide insightful perspectives on the processes of creative thinking and art-making" (Enko 2014, 10). The personality of creative writers largely holds with the general characteristics of creative people as previously described herein. Barron (1966, 158) found that creative writers were most characteristically highly intelligent, independent and autonomous, with strong verbal fluency, and well-developed aesthetic sensibility. Additionally, they were productive, philosophical, highly aspirational and unconventional thinkers; as well as candid, forthright, interesting, interested, and ethical practitioners (Barron 1966, 158). He concludes though that creative writers "are no different" from other creative individuals (Barron 1966, 159). Other psychological portraits of creative writers tend to be less flattering: "great writers often demonstrate a fundamental character [that] reveals significant failure along developmental lines, that is a basic lack of maturity…synthesised with tremendous fear, rage or other powerful emotions"(Piirto 20010, 7). Barron and Harrington (1981, 456) claim creative writers tend to be less stable, less venturesome and more prone to feelings of guilt. Traits of openness and trust are particularly relevant to writers as they often explore their own experience for ideas, yet doing so can entail exposing personal thoughts and feelings in their work and emotional risk taking can leave a writer feeling vulnerable (Kellogg 1999, 111). Anxiety tends to be a predominant trait in creative writers (Pourjalali, Skrzynecky and Kaufman 2009, 24). Writing can be a difficult process for many writers and anxiety might arise from difficulties in work process or fear of criticism—which in turn can negatively impact information retrieval and concentration and get in the way of the creative writing process (Kellogg 1999, 113). It might be that conditions of the creative writing domain and field influence this as much as any personal neuroticism. Creative writers are faced with having to continually generate new material from one's imagination; low barriers to entry into the field make it extremely competitive; and the precarious nature of trying to earn a living as a writer and a tendency for institutional support to be directed to only a few writers, might account for any relationship between mental health issues and creativity (Pourjalali et al. 2009, 24; White 2017; Moorhouse 2017). Kellogg asserts if society supported and encouraged creativity more widely any such relationship might not exist (Kellogg 1999, 118). Conversely creative writing has been found to be supportive of psychological well-being (Pourjalali et al. 2009, 25). Freud (1908) believed creative writing had psychological

benefits for the writer as an outlet for neuroticism that might otherwise find less productive expression.

The psychological perspective on creative writing can tend to emphasise cognitive processes, however writers themselves prefer to focus on their experience of their actions and the "inner forces by which they live and write" (Bardot et al. 2012, 209). To understand what is important in writing it is necessary to "follow and analyse the experience of the writer writing" (Nelson, 2008). Runco (2004, 667) emphasises the necessity of taking into account the subjective experience of creative individuals as the value of creativity is in originality and difference not the sameness, or generalizable principles, that scientific research looks for.

Motivation is critical to creative writing (Runco and Pritzker 1999, 74; Kellogg 1999, 109). In his classic study of creative writers Barron (1966, 159) found the "most impressive of all [characteristics] was the extent to which motivation played a role both in the writer's becoming a writer and in the way in which creative writing served a more general philosophic purpose". Much is made in the literature of writers doing the work of writing because they are intrinsically motivated to do it (Amabile 2001, 333). The source of intrinsic motivation in creative people is often postulated to have its roots in emotional needs arising from earlier developmental stages and that creative behaviour is an attempt to satisfy these innate psychological needs (Deci and Ryan 2000b, 57; Freud 1908; Gardner 1993; Runco 2004, 669). "In theory, writing performance should depend partly on emotional factors [as] it is a task of meaning making" (Kellogg 1994, 113). The eminent writer George Orwell (1946, par.2) describes his own motivation for writing:

> *I had the lonely child's habit of making up stories and holding conversations with imaginary persons, and I think from the very start my literary ambitions were mixed up with the feeling of being isolated and undervalued.*

Orwell (1946, par.11) also pronounced the process of writing as a "horrible, exhausting struggle". The heavy cognitive load of creative work sustained over decades, often with little financial reward, public recognition or other support, and the criticism and enormous expectations of a writer if success is achieved suggest that it is "inner abiding resources", such as the need to resolve strong emotional needs, that might have the power to drive a writer's efforts in the face of such conditions (Deci and Ryan 2000b, 58). Certainly, there are also many positive emotional benefits to creative writing such as the

opportunity for self-expression, pleasure in working with words and immersion in imagination, as well as some writers reporting that they find writing relaxing (Amabile 1985, 398). If writing generates positive feelings a writer is more likely to spend more time doing it. Taking action, in this case writing, enhances feelings of competence; feeling competent as a writer reinforces intrinsic motivation for the action of writing (Deci and Ryan 2000b, 58; Enko 2014).

The "orientation of motivation concerns the underlying attitudes and goals that give rise to action" and the nature and focus of motivation likely matters more than any amount of it (Deci and Ryan 2000b, 55). Amabile (1985, 398) found that motivation to write for extrinsic ends could undermine creative performance. The role of extrinsic motivation however, is more nuanced (Baer 1998a, 18). Extrinsic motivation may be useful in creative performance in some conditions such as in expectation of audience reaction or deadlines (Baer and McKool 2009). Kellogg (1994, 106) advises caution in pointing to intrinsic motivation to explain "creative achievers tendency to stubborn labour" by providing examples of successful creative writers clearly indicating extrinsic motivations for their work. Chan (2013, 23) warns against "romantic ideas" —such as doing it for the love of it—about working in the creative industries [in general] that "fuel ambition" and cause workers to accept "fierce competiveness" and precarious employment conditions (See also: Thomas 2013; Tokumitsu 2014). The key to creative writing is committing the time and effort to it, and this investment might be inspired by the opportunity "writing affords as a vehicle for [the] meaning making which is critical to human beings", alternatively "social recognition from peers and readers may well be a still more potent" driver (Kellogg 1994, 103). An individual's intrinsic and extrinsic motivations might both be psychological factors in creative writing (Kellogg 1994, 105). Individual creative writers develop and change across their lifetime (Lindauer 1993, 221; Simonton 2000, 151; Gardner 1993). Situations and capacities change as we age, bringing "various pressures to adapt", which also impact creative capacities, approach and style (Runco 2010, 183). These adaptations are often tied to values, preferences and self-concept and change across the lifespan might even be a necessity for creative individuals (Runco 2010, 182). External forces play a well-attested role in the writing process and the judgement of others in the field such as readers, experts, critics and reviewers can also encourage adaptation and change (Lindauer 1993; Harris 2009).

Creative writing requires particular imagination and the ability to portray emotion, but whether individuals are attracted to this domain because they have those skills or whether working in it develops such capacity is uncertain (Lee and Min 2016, 306). The use of metaphor is common across creative individuals but creative writers are distinctly pronounced in using it to "probe and understand reality [and] create unity and pattern" in their work (Dowling 1985, 457). Creative writers are further distinguished by their ability to devise original and acceptable analogies and their capacity for emotionality and fantasy (Runco and Pritzker 1999, 74; Kellogg 1999,109). A study by Barbot et al. (2012) elucidated an "essential" set of skills for creative writing across all writing domains:

- general knowledge and intelligence – verbal intelligence, working memory, topic and writing knowledge, observation and visualisation
- creative cognition – originality and selective combination, imagination
- executive function – planning, concentration
- linguistic and literacy factors – vocabulary, generating details, knowledge of organising structures such narrative framework

The creative writer works in wide field of "gatekeepers" that includes critics, readers, editors, educators, publishers and directors and producers in terms of script and screen writing (Simonton 2013, 73). Any creative person has to be able to convince the field of the quality of their work and for this they need the contacts and personality traits that make it possible to be taken seriously (Gardner 1993, 12). If the field values different elements or aspects to the creator, or they do not have the resources to effectively navigate the field their work might not be recognised and supported; this is particularly true in "low consensus fields" of creative endeavour such as creative writing where success might depend more on "the extent to which the individual is representative of the field as a whole" (Simonton 2013, 77). Yet, creative individuals, including creative writers, often have a tendency to avoid conformity to the status quo (Simonton 2013, 77). Significant creativity can emerge in a disjuncture between a creator and field but an enduring problem in any field is that its established members may not like new ideas as these might threaten their own livelihood or status (Simonton 2013, 79). According to Amabile (1985, 334) an ideal environment for creative writers is one that "provides opportunities for learning effective work skills [and] support[s] active, deep engagement with challenging work". The reality is that few experience such environments and "most

creative writers face considerable challenges in pursuing their particular creative practice"(Amabile 1985, 334). Developing the motivations, attitudes and skills required for creative writing is more often entirely reliant on individual effort.

THE PROCESS OF CREATIVE WRITING

Writers create work by drawing upon their imagination and other creative processes to solve problems, uniquely expressing their resolution in literary form (Barbot 2012, 209). The process of writing is "thinking, researching, planning, writing drafts, consciously revising, consciously manipulating the unconscious and being unconsciously riven by it" (Harris 2009). It is these processes that creative writers are most interested in therefore understanding the processes involved is important to understanding creative writing (Runco 2010, 181; Nelson 2008). Lubart (2010, 151) describes various models of the cognitive processes writers use and summarises these into three main stages: "planning what to write; generating or drafting text; and editing or revision". Many "elements are present simultaneously" at the various stages of writing and the writing process is both linear —moving through the stages of production —and recursive, involving both cognitive and metacognitive skills (Barbot et al. 2012, 209). Idea generation and elaboration are particularly important aspects of creative writing. A writer generates a "guiding idea" as a "starting point from which the rest of the text will be developed", this primary idea is then elaborated upon leading to further idea generation and expansion (Lubart 2010, 152). The evolving nature of writing means it "best suits" people with a reflective thinking style (Lubart 2010, 152). The more a writer elaborates an idea, the more information they bring to it and the richer the associations contained in it. This, in turn, relies on interactions between various cognitive and non-cognitive aspects such as the writer's capacity to retrieve information from memory. This particular capacity further relies upon what has been chosen to be stored in memory to build a "conceptual knowledge base", and what is added to this mental store is influenced by aspects such as curiosity and observation, which are activated by motivation and affect (Lubart 2010, 152; Kellogg 1999, 108).

Movement between the cognitive spaces of writing (planning, problem solving, decision making, evaluation, revision) and text production (turning mental representations of ideas into text or spoken word) is the natural process of all creative writing (Lubart 2010, 152). Emotional associations as well as cognitive ones are involved in this process.

It is these associations that bring information into working memory where it can be worked upon (Radford 2004, 57; Forgeard et al. 2013, 321; Lubart 2010, 152). Writing is created in the incremental but constant movements between these various sub-processes, and it might be that it is creative process *per se* that organises all these various sub processes to function together (Lubart 2010, 156).

PERSONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL RESOURCES FOR CREATIVITY

Identifying qualities in individuals and environments that might promote the development of creativity is an enduring goal of creativity research (King, McKee, Broyles 1996, 190). The preceding review of creativity research indicates that most individuals hold significant psychological resources that can be potentially be drawn upon for creative endeavour. These include interrelated intellectual abilities, knowledge, styles of thinking, personality, motivation and environment. While individuals will have different capacities across these resources, these can be systemically developed in order to enhance creative capability (Barron 1988, 79).

The development of intellectual resources for creativity relies upon noticing, paying attention, maintaining an openness to experience, exploring, information processing, remembering and persisting, collectively these tendencies can be subsumed into the overarching trait of curiosity (Kashdan, Gallagher, Silvia, Winterstein, Breen, Terhar and Steger 2009, 987). "Constant curiosity" is a salient psychological resource for creativity and curiosity might play a role in individuals willingness to escape the boundaries of conventional thinking by fostering tolerance for ambiguity, uncertainty and discomfort that can arise when exploring outside the boundaries of the 'known" (Kashdan et al. 2009, 988). Central to curiosity is the "self-regulation of attention to find new experiences and sustain engagement" and "actively acting on curious feelings" (Kashdan et al. 2009, 989). The ability to support curiosity by asking questions —of self, others, system—is an important skill for creativity (Torrance 1988, 71).

Self-regulation and motivation are also key psychological resources for creative writers (Amabile, 1985; Eschleman, Madsen, Alarcon and Barelka, 2014, 593; Sternberg 2006, 89). The self-regulation of behaviour, including attention, is linked to goals and values, which are driven by motivation, but one decides to be motivated by something and curiosity might drive that (Zimmerman and Risemberg 1997; Sternberg 2006, 89; Kellogg 1999, 153). The motivation to achieve is a particularly valuable psychological

resource, as the need for success will drive an individual to work and the time spent on writing is the chief determinant of the productivity of creative writers (Kellogg 1999, 102). An essential feature of creative work is that it is purposeful work and purpose is a meta-psychological resource for a writer. Purpose is aligned with holding a vision of achieving a creative life and persistence with holding purpose over time and through difficulties entails tolerating ambiguity (Gardner 1993, 22). A creative thinking style marked by a preference to think and decide in new ways, to overcome obstacles and take sensible risks is linked to motivation and purpose (Sternberg 2006, 88).

Personality characteristics such as an ability to delay gratification, independence, self-discipline, self-efficacy and lack of need to conform are psychology resources that can facilitate a writer's ability to retrieve and creatively apply knowledge (Kellogg 1999, 97; Liang et al. 2013). A community and environment that is nurturing and rewarding of creativity is important to development of creativity and a writer's socio-cognitive skills in connecting and engaging to influence others, building strategic relationships and gaining support for their work is a considerable resource (Gruber and Wallace 1999, 100). On the other hand an "internal locus of evaluation" is also needed (Rogers 1954, 255). An important psychological resource for creativity then is a mature level of emotional development that allows the creator to seek and accept the support they need (Gardner 1993, 386). Ultimately, creative accomplishment is "a developmental matter" arising from change in perception and thinking that results in new constructions of knowledge that "transcend the constraints of current cognitive processing structures…and results in change in certain "emotional markers" such as "change in aesthetic or critical judgements" which can lead to changes in products, ideas, beliefs and technologies (Feldman 1999, 170). Personal capacity for change is a critical resource for the development of creativity (Kashdan et al. 2009, 989).

The practice of creative writing might require writers to draw more on a particular expression of these psychological resources (Barron 1966, 158). In addition each individual writer will have a style and approach to their work that is a unique expression of these qualities. The psychological resources any one writer might want or need to develop to promote their creative capacity will likewise be singular. It will depend on their purpose, motivation, identity, experience and personality. Understanding a writer, or any individual, in their distinctiveness is a necessary precursor to supporting their creative

development. In the next chapter I will explore a particular approach to building understanding of an individual creative practitioner to support them to develop.

Findings

The following chapter documents four coaching sessions in which the investigator acts as coach (C) and the writer-subject (W). The standard structure of a coaching session is to begin with a light conversational exchange between coach and coachee. As the course of the intervention progresses the coach would invite the coachee to reflect on the previous session and any actions they had agreed to implement. A critical difference between coaching and therapy is that coaching is action orientated and coaches often end a session by having coachees write down actions they will take to effect change towards their stated goals (Stetler, 2015; Grant and Greene, 2004). The nominated actions arise from the interaction of the coach and coachee during the session. The sessions documented in this chapter do not include these opening and closing exchanges as my acting as coach and coachee meant I did not need to create the conditions of socio-psychological comfort and responsibility these serve to create.

Coaches, in common with therapists, approach their work open to what emerges from the dialogue between coach and coachee (Rogers 1969, 193; Stetler, 2015). The coachee sets the agenda; the coach asks question arising from whatever the coachee wishes to talk about to help illuminate patterns in their thinking and make connections with their behaviour. It is common for a coachee to reiterate the same matter several times, or more in order to achieve insight into what it is they are seeking to understand. This reiterative aspect of coaching process is something it has in common with creativity (Fitzpatrick 2014, 161; Forbes, 2014). It is considered possible and effective to coach yourself (Grant and Greene, 2004). The four sessions documented herein were a genuine coaching exchange, an experiment conducted between myself as a creative writing practitioner and a professional psychological coach. I conducted this coaching exchange through writing backwards and forwards between the two roles. I documented this interaction, which went on over the course of a week, in its emergent unruly totality. The version presented here has been edited to bring it to congruence for the reader; align with standards of scholarly writing; and fit within operational boundaries (word limit). Rogers (1969) offers examples of the unwieldy, and often incomprehensible, nature of unedited verbatim therapeutic exchange.

COACHING SESSION ONE

C: I noted four distinct categories of thought in your journal: self and identity; the writing process; creativity and creative writing and what you think that is; and ambition. I thought we could approach our work through these themes. We will undoubtedly find these aspects are interrelated and that your thinking will often sit at the confluence of these themes (Feldman 1999, 169).

W: That sounds like a good way to begin.

C: Let's start with self and identity as there is a strident expression throughout the journal that you experience 'you' as getting in the way of your development as a creative writer?

W: I rarely become totally immersed and focused while writing because I find it hard to get myself out of the way. I think my inability to 'lose' myself when I write gets in the way of my creativity.

C: You write of experiencing the 'you' that gets in the way as an immature aspect of your self, you use the word 'teenage' to describe this self.

W: I experience my emotional self as immature. I often find myself mentally reacting to experience in the same way I did as a teenager: I want instant gratification. I want everything to be about me. I want my needs to be met easily. I don't want to try.

C: Could you elaborate on how your sense of yourself as immature gets in the way of your creative process?

W: It undermines my effort. I give in and think this is too hard; I can't do it. I feel sorry for myself and complain. It's like my teenage self is sulking and dragging my attention away.

C: Tell me more about thinking you "can't do it".

W: Writers often report an ability to lose themselves in their work such that words flow out (Csikszentmihalyi 1996c). It seemed to me as a teenager that if you were good at something it occurred naturally and if you had to try it meant you weren't any good at it. Writing feels like a grind to me. When I read of well-known writers saying they write just 'because they love it' (Amabile 2001) it makes me feel I am not creative, because that is not my experience.

C: So if you experience yourself as not easily being 'good' at something, you give up?

W. I do not recall being encouraged to try as a child. I think that is how I developed the idea that 'if I have to try I am no good' (Dweck 1996).

C: Yet you have persisted with writing even though you say it is hard for you?

W: It was the only thing I was praised for at school and I found it easy to do, then, now the more I write the harder it gets. I think it's because my ambition had grown and I feel my ability does not match up to that. I feel like I am falling short —that I don't have what it takes to be a successful writer.

C: You write in your journal that you feel like you "have to get it right" and "there is always something "out of reach" and you "keep walking down the same path every time"?

W: Because my internal teenager keeps grabbing my hand and taking me down it.

C: I wonder why you let her?

W: I feel stuck emotionally at that age. I keep setting off from that same point in the same direction but something gets in the way every time to stop me getting to my destination. It's like I am on a quest but I never get there. I don't understand why I fail so I just try again in the same way. A thought that has just emerged is that I want to be rescued and everything made perfect —this is what I mean by having the emotional maturity of a teenage girl. I have this fantasy that things should just happen… writing should just 'flow' out of me and I will be recognised and admired. It is embarrassing to admit this.

C: You have shared rich data through your journal and this conversation so far. I think we could effectively use theories and ideas from creativity research as tools to examine your story further and gain insight into how you can use your psychological resources to develop your creative capabilities. In the spirit of this inquiry we will get creative about your development, therefore we need to approach it with openness to what emerges from our dialogue (Rogers 1969, 193).

W: I feel both excited and apprehensive about what might come out.

C: Undoubtedly, this process will elicit such feelings. Emotions play an important role in creativity and perhaps we can help you learn to make use of emotions as part of your development (Radford 2004).

W: My sense is that my emotions are an underutilised resource.

C: Let me summarise where we are so far: You feel emotionally immature and this gets in the way of your development as a writer as it keeps you stuck somewhere you don't know how to move on from; you find writing hard work but you think it should be easy so this stops you trying; and you fear you don't have the capacity to fulfil your ambitions. Have I captured what you were expressing?

W: Yes.

C: You experience your 'teenage self' as detrimental to your creative process but studies of eminent creative people have found they often have a certain emotional immaturity and their creative drive and inspiration is linked to early life experience (Gardner 1993; Csikszentmihalyi 1996b). I wonder if you can think of how an adolescent aspect of self might be experienced as "resourceful state" for creativity (Gash 2017, 177)?

W: It could be a source of energy, maybe ego; a drive to explore self and forge identity by trying new things, definitely risk taking. I suppose a teenager is in a state of flux and open to experience. I can see how those things are valuable to creativity but I feel like my teenager sulks and narrows things down and off we go on the same path.

C: Your internal teenager is currently stuck, but what if you helped her to grow up a bit, to move on from where you feel she is detained emotionally?

W: How?

C: You mention openness to experience as a possible benefit of adolescence, and it is a key trait of creative individuals. Still, you describe your teenager as "narrowing" down, a defensive action which is the "polar opposite" to being open (Rogers 1969, 187). People typically act defensively in response to:

> *experiences …perceived or anticipated as threatening, as incongruent with the individual's existing picture of [self] …in relationship to the world. These threatening experiences are temporarily rendered harmless by being distorted in awareness, or being denied to awareness (Rogers 1969, 187).*

If you are open to experience you are open to letting things in but that also leaves you open to potentially being changed by new understanding and "we all fear change" (Rogers 1969, 18). I wonder why your teenager is shutting things down? What threatens her?

W: She does not know herself to be good at anything so she doesn't want to try because having to try for something means you are not very smart and therefore not loveable (Dweck 2006, 67). I did not feel "entitled to ask questions" when I was young (Shonstrom 2014, online). If I did not know something there was never any encouragement to work it out so I ended up thinking that I if I didn't know something I must be stupid, I did not "feel worthy of seeking" (Shonstrom 2014, online). I think putting up the defence is actually an excuse for her/me to not try—that feels comfortable even though it concurrently feels awful, but it's a defence against feeling stupid and unworthy.

C: Being open to change can bring up emotional discomfort, ambiguity and tension. It is a leap into the unknown and many people won't take the risk of heading into uncharted territory. Part of human nature is a "conservative tendency made up of instincts for self-preservation, self-aggrandizement and saving energy" (Nickerson 1999, 411). For many people this is the stronger tendency because they don't know how to cope with the emotional discomfort it can bring. It is a tendency that can limit creative capacity because new experience is shut down by being processed in the same way to ensure 'fit', even if it is an unhappy alignment (Rogers 1969, 189). Successful creative people stay open to newness and change, even deliberately seeking it out to stimulate creative ideas (Csikszentmihalyi 1996b). I wonder if we might be able to "grow" your teenage self such that she is more able to be open to experience, and engage her youthful energy in this task?

C: I think I am open to experience in the sense of seeking new things out in the world, but my teenager is deeply resistant to being open to new ideas about me and this limits my exploration of new things. It seems I have some psychological issues to resolve before I can use my psychology to develop creatively.

C: One of the ways coaching works is to help people to take action as a way of creating an experience of 'not' having the problem even while the same internal conditions exist (Stetler, 2015). I have an idea if you would like to hear it?

W: Yes.

C: How much does your teenager get to play?

W: She does not like games …she understands them to be about "winning" and does not think she can 'win' so she does not try. She does not play much at all.

C: I wonder if we could move you towards more fulsome creative capability by supporting your teenage self to be more playful and develop her curiosity as "openness to experience overlaps with curiosity" (Kashdan et al. 2012, 142).

W: I often shut down on ideas and emotions without playing around with them, and I understand how that might limit the development of my creativity (Nickerson 1999, 410).

C: You say your teenage self was not helped to learn, to search for new knowledge and experience?

W: I had to try and work out what was going on from my own limited knowledge. I suppose that is why I narrow down and choose to "cram and twist" my experience to fit into my existing mental structures (Rogers 1969, 189). You mentioned tension before, how it is experienced in the process of exploration because we don't know. I am not very tolerant of tension and therefore feel the need to resolve it quickly, which I expect is why I revert back to the same processes.

C: People often feel conflict between the urge to approach or avoid new stimuli. What you describe is known as "cognitive closure" and it is a common response to coping with tension (Kashdan et al. 2012, 142). Yet "curious people are psychologically flexible in that they are adept at committing effort toward interesting and deeply cherished goals despite the presence of tension" (Kashdan et al. 2012, 143). You clearly demonstrate your ability to commit to goals with your significant achievements in research and writing. How do your reconcile the evidence of your work with how you describe experiencing yourself?

C: My writing is about motivation. I am highly motivated to prove I am not stupid and to be noticed and acknowledged. It stems from exactly the same source that causes me to shut down on ideas.

C: That helps me understand where to help you look. But let's stick with curiosity just now. Curiosity is not just settling for the first idea, the obvious or the usual, but being open to other ideas, taking a different perspective on things, looking for evidence to the contrary, deliberately seeking out the opposite (Nickerson 1999, 410; Kashdan et al. 2012, 142). I noticed you ignore the evidence of your own work completed and published so far, in making your appraisal of yourself as someone who "shuts down" on things.

W: I feel I don't know how to be curious, to be creative, in the way I want to be so perhaps I am not seeing what I already have, what I have achieved, because I don't feel like it is good enough.

C: You are motivated to develop as a creative person, as a writer, but you seem more focused on outcome—being 'good enough' to get acknowledgement —than process and this might be interfering with the transformation you are seeking (Nickerson 1999, 410). Developing curiosity can help as it is about seeking things out for their own sake and being confident you can handle any "unwanted emotions and thoughts elicited by" such exploration (Kashdan 2012, 143). It seems your teenage self was not parented, or grown up, in a way that built confidence in exploratory behaviour and learning (Kashdan et al., 2012, 142; Shonstrom 2014, online). I wonder if it might be possible for you to play that role?

W: You mean to grow myself up?

C: Yes. Engage your teenager to help you to be more creative by supporting her to grow. Help guide her off familiar mental pathways: Take her hand when she wants to shut down and walk her down a different route. If she asks: "where are we going?" tell her that you are not sure but you can find out together. Ask her: "what can we do to find out?" You can support her to experience her naiveté as an exploratory tool and encourage her to a sense of wonder by making it safe to make mistakes, to help her learn to ask questions that deepen understanding, to take an active interest in learning, even encourage uncertainty and reward her for it. Look for solutions other than the first one (Nickerson 1999, 410). Walk her up new hills so she can get alternative perspectives on things. Help her seek out evidence to the contrary, about herself in the world as much as anything.

C: This discussion has made me realise that in allowing my teenager to respond in a pattern that was so strongly shaped by others I am demonstrating an external locus of control. Growing her up will help me build a more internal locus of control and trust myself to go down new, unknown, paths (Pourjalali, Skrzynecky and Kaufman, 2010; Rogers 1969, 189).

C: Believing that "how one's mind is developed and used is one's personal responsibility" is one of the most important principles for creative development (Nickerson1999, 415).

W: Obviously my teenager is my mind. I feel resentful no one helped her grow up in a positive and effective way, but I can see that if I am going to develop I need to take responsibility for that. I also realise the myth that creativity is either something you have or you don't have has been operating, in a subtle way, on my thinking (Dweck 2006, 67).

C: Despite all of this you have not given up on your writing though.

W: My persistence is driven by my motivation, however I do not experience that drive altogether positively. My ideal creative self would have a strong affiliative motivation, i.e., doing work for the work's sake, whereas I experience myself as having an achievement motivation focused on outcome that undermines my creativity (Nickerson 1999, 413; Amabile 1985). It seems a bad motivation to have.

C: Motivation is crucial to creative behaviour so let's discuss this more next session. In the meantime we have created a small behavioural experiment for you to try out. Let's write down what we discussed into a plan you can start to act on it.

COACHING SESSION TWO

C: In your journal you say: "other writers can get it right easily —that [the writing] just comes out". Can you elaborate on that?

W: I often hear writers say they write because they love to do it as if they have no other motivation for writing. I know writers who get very focused and seem to get work out more easily than I do. This concept of flow, of being utterly engaged and immersed in what you are doing, that creative people reportedly experience bothers me as I rarely have that experience (Csikszentmihalyi 1996c). I find writing hard work; I don't 'love it' when I am doing it and I often avoid starting a piece of writing. I worry about my motivation.

C: The idea of flow in creativity is sometimes overstated but ultimately it is just an element of a more comprehensive process (Csikszentmihalyi 1996c). Creative people do not exist in an endless state of flow and many do not experience it to any great extent. What is key in flow is attention and where you place your attention and it seems you struggle with that (Abuhamdeh and Csikszentmihalyi 201; Runco 2004, 667). In your journal you say you allow yourself to be distracted by what is going on in your head. Can you tell me more about that?

W: My attention is all over the place. I put my attention on what I experience as my lack of ability, but my deeper concern is really about my motivation because I know the real

reason I started writing was to try and get the recognition and admiration I did not get as a child, and that I feel I have also failed to get as an adult. I see this as a faulty, even shameful, motivation. I think I should be focused on 'art for arts sake' and have a noble purpose. I know I am trying to do the work for effect, to get attention and recognition—the outcome—and I know it undermines my work.

C: An "intrinsic interest in creativity activity for its own sake" is needed and "is important in higher levels of creative production" (Nickerson 1999, 413). Nevertheless, it is common for the motivation for creative work "[to be] fuelled, in part, by the desire for recognition of accomplishment" (Nickerson 1999, 413; Runco 2010; Kellogg 1999).

W: That gives me a more helpful perspective on my motivation.

C: That is not all though, "desire for recognition, if too strong, can work against creative productivity; and is unlikely to be effective … what is important is whether the motivator focuses attention on the task or the goal: internal motivators typically focus attention on the task whereas external ones typically focus it on the goal, and creativity suffers in the latter case" (Nickerson 1999, 413). People with very high levels of motivation [can become] too focused on the goal to concentrate effectively on the work itself (Nickerson 1999, 413; Runco 2004, 667). On a scale of 1-10 where would you rate your motivation to write?

W: 10! I am trying to resolve myself as a person, prove myself as worthwhile through it and there is probably nothing more motivating than that. I want to be a creative writer and lead a creative life.

C: "Wanting to be creative is probably the most potent motivator" (Nickerson 1999, 413). It is motivation that sets you off to get the knowledge to improve your practice and to do the hard work of creativity (Nickerson 1999, 420). Your motivation is an important psychological resource for you as a creative writer, it has maintained you through the years of continuing development required to achieve a creative vision, and it is driving you to seek further cognitive and emotional development essential to growing creativity (Nickerson 1991, 408). The work we are doing here is evidence of that.

W: Sometimes I can't believe I have come this far with my writing. It does not seem possible that someone like me could do it. I know some success would boost my confidence in myself as a writer. Logically though I know I cannot control that.

Acknowledgement seems to be very random. Getting to be ‘talented’ seems to comprise a good dose of luck.

C: In the main though you perceive your motivation to be a weakness?

W: Yes.

C: Might it be possible that it is actually your belief around your motivation that is problematic (Rogers 1969)? You say you focus on external outcomes while you are creating the work because that is where your motivation lies, even though you feel this undermines your work?

W: Yes.

C: If you accepted your motivations for writing, with all its fear and uncomfortable feelings I wonder what effect you think that might have for you, for your writing?

W: If I were more accepting of what I perceive as the bad motivation fuelling my drive to write it would have less influence over me. Not giving it any attention will probably allow me to focus more fully and engage with the work (Abuhamdeh and Csikszentmihalyi 2011).

C: If success and recognition are a normal aspect of the creative process at what part of the writing performance is external evaluation important?

W: Mainly when the book is finished, published and out in the world.

C: But you focus considerable attention on recognition when you are in the production phase?

W: Yes.

C: Do you have any ideas about how you can utilise your motivation more productively?

W: I think if I could focus my attention on the writing while I am writing and see it as a learning process I could improve my writing as my energy would be focused, and when it is done I can turn my attention to the next phase of the performance and focus on promoting the book and building influence in the field.

C: “Becoming an active manager of one’s cognitive resources [is]”partly a matter of paying attention to one’s own thought processes and of taking responsibility for one’s thinking” (Nickerson 1999, 416).

W: Holding an internal locus of control and evaluation (Rogers 1954, 254)?

C: Yes. “The goal should be to reinforce and strengthen internal motivation and to use external motivators to that end” (Nickerson 1999, 413). It means making an effort to “discover conditions that facilitate one’s own creative work”, which is exactly what we are doing here (Nickerson 1999, 417).

W: I think about the reader when I write and focus on making sure what I have written makes sense and reads well. I do this largely by reading the work out loud. I receive positive feedback about the voice and rhythm in my work. When I think about my readers it motivates me to write well. I feel confident I can give readers something worthwhile. Yet when I think about the fields of creative writing and history these feel variously cliquey, judgemental, pedantic and nepotistic. I do not feel I ‘belong’ to either. Luck seems to play big role in being recognised in the creative writing domain, nevertheless there seem to be levers to that ‘luck’ that I am not sure how to pull. In talking this out I’ve realised this replicates my adolescent circumstances, wanting attention and recognition from my parents and being confused as to what I need to ‘do’ to get it and therefore never seeming to get it ‘right’. It seems I have transferred my need for parental recognition onto an equally unavailable and perplexing field.

C: You feel like you have no control over getting recognition?

W: Yes. And because I feel like I have no control it distracts me. When I focus on creating a good experience for my reader then I do feel in control and I can focus on the writing for its own sake.

C: Receiving “positive competence information” is known to be important in supporting internal motivation and subsequently creativity development (Bandura 1977; Nickerson 1999, 412). If holding positive feedback in mind helps you focus when you are writing I wonder how you can use this understanding to better engage your motivation to help you develop as a creative writer?

W: I think it’s the growing up analogy again. It is about taking responsibility—taking myself seriously as a writer, as a grown-up with agency. I need to shift my attention to what is relevant to the stage of the writing performance I am at and not allow information from other stages to intrude. I could make more effort to influence the field instead of expecting it to just happen. Into the future I want to support other creative people to grow and develop. I have not had much support to grow creatively, which is not an uncommon

experience in the creative world, and I would like to extend such support to others. People would value my support more if I had recognition and success…there I am going back into what others value!

C: Do you ask for help from others? Do you actively seek support and feedback?

W: That's a good question. This relates back to not being encouraged to ask questions as a child and the resulting understanding that I was just expected to 'know', therefore I tried to work things out for myself. Of course I often got things wrong but I was not helped to see that as a learning experience, to value the effort rather than the outcome (Dweck 2016). I don't seek feedback because I don't feel confident I can manage it. I just keep on going …repeating patterns…feeling like there are some rules out there that I don't understand but if only I could "find the correct formula, then everything else would be magically straightened out" (Kopp 1976, 111). Yet another part of me rebels against the 'establishment'—the rules—so I think 'bugger you I am going to do it my way'. Then I complain I don't win the 'prizes' even though I won't play the games for which such prizes are handed out.

C: You have good insight into how the beliefs you use to make meaning of your experience were formed and how they play out: I wonder what would be "most at risk for you if you failed to live out those beliefs "(Garvey Berger 2006, 96)?

W: If I did not have the motivation to be recognised and prove myself I am not sure what would drive my work. I think I have done enough writing to keep doing it for its own sake, but without this motivation…I feel unsure…if I was not writing I do not know who I might be and that makes me feel anxious. If I let go of the beliefs and assumptions that shape my thinking and behaviour I would have to let new thinking in and expand my conceptual space—I do not know what might happen if I took that risk.

C: Could you be open to the experience and curious about it?

W: Adopting that stance could help me manage what I expect might be destabilising.

C: Ok. Let's get curious: You wrote about your ambition in your journal?

W: It surprised me to see that expression of ambition. I did not realise how ambitious I am. I understand myself to be essentially lazy and not very talented so ambition does not fit with those beliefs.

C: What does ambition mean to you?

W: It means being competitive; wanting to beat others; needing to win; being ruthless. I avoid anything that implies competitiveness. I do not think I have what it takes to win so it is easier not to try in the first place. I can then make excuses for not performing, such as being lazy or not having enough natural talent. This leaves me with room to save my self-worth: If I actually tried and failed there is nowhere to go.

C: What you are describing is a "fixed mindset", of which a defining feature is low effort and making excuses not to perform (Dweck 2006). The antidote is a "growth mindset", which you can learn (Dweck 2006). But, I want to inquire a little further into your beliefs about your ambition. You have made enormous effort with your writing. You have published a significant body of work. Writing is a very competitive field. I am curious how you hold this idea of yourself as a person who does not compete?

W: When I am writing I do not see myself as 'competing' as it is something you do by yourself. The only area I experienced myself as having any competence as a young person was writing, and it seemed that writers got attention and recognition, and what I wanted was to feel I was good at something through getting attention and recognition. This process of reflection has helped me see that I held the idea that if I produced work that I would be recognised through that sheer fact —like magic, the wishful thinking of a teenager. Once I started to publish work I realised that the way writers are valued is related to their public success. As I have not had much of this success, I interpret this to mean that my work is not of value to others, therefore why should I value it?

C: If you had such success what do you expect that would bring you more of?

W: Confidence that I was a good writer and therefore to keep on working. Recognition would make people want to engage with and work with me, value my input. I could become valued as a mentor. Having success would help me pursue my idea to support others to develop creatively.

C: You write in your journal that getting better at writing will help you achieve this success. You see your development as a writer as key yet you remain focused on outcome?

W: It gives me the motivation to keep going but I am so focused on getting the work 'done' that it makes it hard going (Runco 2004, 667). At the end I am exhausted and do not have the energy to promote my work; then I complain about it not getting any attention—I feel demoralised and do not value my work.

C: It seems you point your attention towards the future, something you have little control over, and a place you experience as being controlled by others. Your attention is a valuable resource in creativity (Abuhamdeh and Csikszentmihalyi 2011). You describe utilising your psychological resources such as attention and motivation to try and validate your worth through writing, which then exhausts you.

W: I know I need to learn to use my resources in a more renewable and enduring fashion.

C: What if you turned your attention to understanding your writing as a learning process, to focus on growing your capabilities as a writer (Dweck 2006).

W: How could I do that?

C: Allow yourself to pursue your dream of developing as a writer and working to develop others?

W: But I am!

C: You have told me that what you are really pursuing is the attention you never had from your parents. Children will often try and imagine another self that their parents might like better and accept if they are "unsure about being valued and loved" (Dweck 2006, 219). This can be a good adjustment to the situation as it provides some "security and hope" but you can get stuck on this self (Dweck 2006, 219). This self has served a purpose for you but its time "escort [yourself] into a framework of growth" (Dweck 2006, 211).

W: I am afraid I will lose my motivation, my ambition if I change. I might lose my drive for individuality. If I gave up on needing recognition and validation I might stop writing, then who would I be?

C: You do not have to give up your ambition. In fact, I think you need to really own your creative ambition and take responsibility for it. You are the one who has originated ideas and done the work to produce publications, but the way you tell your 'writing' story is to give others 'credit' for your motivation and the power to say whether your work has any worth.

W: Now that you reflect it back to me I can see how I am stuck in a narrative in which I am powerless. I am scared of challenge, struggle or feedback as I don't think I can cope. I use this to avoid taking responsibility so I can deflect any negative feedback and use my powerlessness as an excuse for not working hard or facing up to challenge.

C: How you do you think you might change your story to help you embrace your ambition?

W: I think my internal narrative needs serious re-writing to one in which I am more supportive of myself. In my new story, I could be a character who faces up to challenges, actively seeks feedback, and copes with setbacks. I need to reassess my purpose and my vision for my work so these are linked to my values and not what I think others want. I think I need to challenge myself to step up and be the hero in my story, to take on the risk of really pursuing what I want. I need to include others in my story.

C: I hear a growth mindset developing. Can I also suggest you might consider approaching challenges by asking: "what can I learn from this?" (Dweck 2006, 213). You have a strong learning focus, which is associated with curiosity and you could call that into service to support yourself. It is possible to enhance one's curiosity about the world simply by training oneself to "be more observant, to pay closer attention to aspects of daily experience to which we tend to be largely oblivious" (Nickerson 1999, 410). It is important that you have a plan for this change so let's work out a plan so you can start to take action.

COACHING SESSION THREE

C: In your journal you say that you write through the same "framework" and that you want to change this "system" in order to develop as a writer. Can you elaborate on this?

W: I feel like my work all comes out the same. I realise this is what 'style' is but I also feel I am stuck at a particular place with my writing. I see gradual improvement in it over time, yet it is also not changing. It feels like I am writing between the same boundaries.

C: You often wrote that you felt fearful, worried or overwhelmed about writing. It seems these feelings get in the way of your creative process. I wonder if the way you think about creativity and creative writing might be getting in the way of the development you seek?

W: Some of the worry I expressed is probably a normal part of the writing process (Kellogg 1999), but I heighten this in the way I make meaning of what I am doing. We talked about the framework of self I hold and how that was getting in the way of my creative development in a more global sense. I expect I have other interrelated frameworks operating in my creative system.

C: Creativity is a complex process that draws on and integrates many different facets of individual experience so your sense of interconnectedness seems accurate (Gardner 1988; Feldman 1999). Might you also be held in the same place by "some intimidating fantasy about the Great Writer" (Dweck 2006, 67)?

W: My idea of a 'good writer' is someone who easily and clearly expresses their ideas; can remember prodigious amounts of information; is able to work for long periods of time and stay focused and inspired. This is not how writing happens for me: it is often hard to clearly express what I want to say and I procrastinate about starting. If I was a 'great writer' I imagine I would experience writing as a joy. Also I would draft and redraft over and over again but I am slow and I run out of time for this.

C: Many great writers find writing hard (Kellogg 1999). Might your ideal writer be a variation of the creativity myth that idealises creativity as a magical gift that recipients are able to use effortlessly? (Cropley 2016).

W: Objectively, I know that creative work requires effort, but perhaps I am a more subject to that myth than I realised.

C: If a miracle happened over night and you turned into the writer you want to be, how would you know things were different?

W: I would wake up full of enthusiasm for my writing. I would be focused on it for hours at a time, words would flow out, and my inbox would be full of invitations to talk and attend events.

C: What would you be writing?

W: An epic novel.

C: Why do you specifically want to write an epic novel?

W: I enjoy reading long works and I like taking on big projects that can be worked on for a longer time. Maybe I want to do this because everything seems to need to be 'immediate' these days and being able to design and persist with an enduring project thwarts that societal trend.

C: Creative people have the capacity and inclination to take on big projects (Gardner 1988,12), and they often like to be separate and unique from others as it makes it "easier to develop one's own individual perspective" (Fiest 1998, 300). Your instinct to not

follow the crowd is a good resource for creativity, and probably a necessity to write an epic novel. How do you think you need to develop to achieve that?

W: Great novels have emotional resonance. I experience myself as emotionally immature—lacking in emotional understanding therefore unable to portray emotions. My sense is that I want to write this novel to grow myself up, personally and creatively—which are probably inseparable for me.

C: "Many, perhaps most…creations…have been motivated by purposes having more to do with personal interest...the individual creates primarily because it is satisfying to him (Rogers 1954, 252). Creativity is a holistic enterprise and your development as a writer will likely impact other aspects of your life. We need to come up with concrete actions for you to escort yourself towards the future you want. Do you have any ideas about how you might work to develop your creativity and creative writing skills?

W: I need to be more observant and curious about other people so that I notice more and can collect information: snippets of conversation, names for characters, characteristics of my characters, the way people move and express themselves, and how they react emotionally: My aspiration is to be able to create characters, both real and imagined, to "see what they did not see, say what they did not say" (quoted in Webb and Brien 2011,195). But, this is where I lack the ability to do the emotional work of this.

C: Can you say more about that?

W: For example, to develop the story in my novel I will need to ask questions of the characters. I need to be tuned into emotions to do that; to notice how feelings are expressed in real life and how other writers portray emotions. I feel I lack emotional resonance with self so it is going to be a symbiotic process developing myself emotionally alongside my characters.

C: You wrote in your journal that you see parallels between yourself and the people you were writing about in the book. Can you elaborate on that?

W: Colonial Australia was a class-conscious society that held a particular regard for 'respectability' because of its foundation as a penal colony. Colonial Australians were concerned to make sure they followed the social rules to demonstrate their respectability. If someone slipped up socially they might be ostracised but these rules were often arbitrary so it was hard to know how to do the 'right thing' and this made people anxious. I see parallels between this and my writing —I am trying to work out how to follow the

rules so I can be accepted as a writer —and the idea that if you get things 'right' everything you want is going to fall into place. For colonial Australians it was about being recognised as respectable citizens; for me it is about being recognised for my work; underlying both this communal and individual aspiration is the feeling that you cannot make mistakes because it equals failure.

C: You say you lack emotional understanding of others, but you have just expressed understanding of others' emotions.

C: Colonial Australians were fearful their supposed social inadequacies might be detected. I can pick up on that because that is how I feel as well. I can relate to it.

C: Do you think they might have had other emotions besides those?

C: They might have felt hopeful in forging new lives in a new place; they might have experienced pleasure to be in the natural environment, and curiosity about it; pride at their achievements; moments of happiness, and sadness, at life events.

C: You just told me that you can imagine how others might feel. How did you do that?

C: Imagined myself in their place. Imagined how I would feel.

C: What does that tell you?

C: That if I have an emotion that other people, even if they are historic or imaginary characters, could have those emotions as well; that I need to trust my own feelings. That if I can imagine how I might feel in a situation it might be a reliable point to start out from to explore how a character might be feeling and imagine what she might do.

C: And what does that tell you?

W: That I do have some emotional intelligence.

C: How do you think you might be able to develop this further to support your creative ambitions?

W: Being curious and open to experience? But that is also frightening. If I am open how do I know what might come into self? I might lose my sense of who I am. I think it is a risk for me to create different work.

C: You wrote in your journal that you would like more support? What does more support mean to you? Would it help you take more risks?

W: I imagine that I would like to know more writers, but I often find talking about my work with other writers, at least when I am working, kind of threatening. I need to keep my ideas to myself. Yet, I do want support when I am writing—it can be a lonely process. I want more of this type of support [coaching] because it can address all aspects of being a creative person. I think that is why I have a strong drive to support others because I know the serious pursuit of a creative practice is often poorly financially rewarded, acknowledged and supported.

C: You have strong empathy for the emotional toll that creative practice can incur for practitioners (Runco 2004, 667; Shaw 2015).

W: I see I have more emotional understanding than I credit myself with. This process has been useful in helping me to crack open my fixity around the idea that I lack emotional capacity.

C: Great. We need to finish here today. Next week is our last session and we will explore how else this coaching work might have supported you towards your aim to develop creatively.

COACHING SESSION FOUR

C: I noticed you expressed a lot of anxiety about writing in your journal. I am curious to know more about why you persist with writing?

W: Because I do not know who I am without writing. It is what I corral my ideas into. I have put so much time and effort into it and to building up ideas for future works. I cannot willingly let those ideas go. Writing is purposeful work for me.

C: "Purpose … a deep and abiding intention to develop one's creative potential [and] a long term interest in some form of creative expression" are essential to creative development (Nickerson 1999, 408). You have strong internal motivation to develop as a writer yet the conditions of the field make you doubt yourself and cause anxiety. It would seem this is a real point of tension for you.

W: Yes it is.

C: Do you have any ideas about how you might explore this tension to see what it might give you?

W: I have never thought of it as useful. Maybe it is holding me in position, like the tension ropes on a swing bridge, perhaps it is actually a driver, and if the tension dissipated maybe I would stop writing.

C: What if you went towards the tension, what would that look like?

W: Being gentler on myself; trying to create a place for myself in the field; lowering my defences by being more curious about others and being open to experience.

C: What else, if anything, has been useful for you in this coaching engagement?

W: Overall what has been most useful is the dialogue you have put me into with my practice. It feels like we have held my writer self up between us and prodded her with questions to see what we could shake out. What has come to light has often been the "elusive obvious", things I immediately recognised once I saw them in front of me—like I knew they were there but I had not been able to see them clearly (Enko 2014). We brought beliefs I have been subject to—that is I have been unable to see how they operate on my thinking—into my view; in other words we have made them object. I believe seeing these beliefs objectively will allow me to work to change them (Kegan 1994).

C: Can you share some examples?

W: Realising I am looking to discover "rules' I can just follow to become a successful writer and how that ties in with my concern about being emotionally immature as looking for others to lead the way and living by rules can be indicative of a less complex/mature level of psychological development (Kegan 1994, 132). The developmental step I need to take more responsibility for my creative career, to take more control of the issues we have uncovered rather than have them control my behaviour. If I can embed this new learning and make behaviour changes I should—theoretically—move towards a developmental shift that will transform and expanded my psychological resources (Kegan 1994, 133). Given that creativity is intertwined with the self I anticipate 'shifting' things in myself will give me more space to think and imagine into.

C: What else?

W: Surfacing tensions: Discovering my strong need for others to tell me what to do was confronting. I see this coming from a deep-seated schema, a childish place in me. I feel like I have been trying to win a game that I don't know the rules of, but I have been playing hard hoping I will get it, only to finally realise there are no rules. The way out of

this situation is to work from my own internal values and live with the tensions that making my own choices will entail. But if I am flexible and curious I can manage those tensions.

C: You describe a considerable impact.

W: I feel somewhat deconstructed by this process (Stetler 2015, 5; Albertson, 2014), however we have also surfaced ideas for how I can reconstruct my self-concept, especially my concept of myself a self-determining. Another insight is realising the tension between wanting rules and wanting to be unique. I think this unconscious conflict has been detrimental to my creativity because it causes me to get fixated on repetitive thoughts about how I am never going to succeed as a writer.

C: Another term for what you are experiencing is "self-actualization" and this process of making 'actual' more of the self is considered to have great "motivational force" (Rogers 1969, 8). It is a process of growing one's psychological resources towards taking actions that support you to develop.

W: I feel this process of gaining more self-knowledge has significantly enhanced my motivation to improve my writing practice and the way I perform as a writer. It has helped to illuminate beliefs that have been limiting my creative process. I will have to keep on working to change these beliefs but now they have become object I can work to shift them. All this time I have been looking for a set of rules to gain creative recognition and I have seen I actually have a set of rules operating that has been narrowing my creative capacity...talk about the elusive obvious.

C: Making "more of a claim on the world" as a creative person might help you to live more of the creative life you want (Kopp 1976,116).

Discussion

The study has proceeded on the assumption that creativity can be developed. A comprehensive review by Nickerson (1999) affirmed that is the case, however he tendered this conclusion advisedly as the complex nature of creativity means that individuals express the phenomenon in different ways, and there is no incontrovertible evidence that any particular method of creativity development is superior to another. Current approaches tend to be focused on building "thinking and problem solving [skills] with the aim to develop cognitive capacities to generate new ideas, problem finding, conceptual combination [and] idea generation" (Scott, Leritz, and Mumford 2004, 363). This approach can be effective in enhancing cognitive skills for working with available knowledge, but not the expertise on which these skills operate (Scott et al. 2004, 381). Weisberg (1988, 172) argues that the mental processes targeted in creative thinking training are part of everyday thought and therefore it is "neither necessary nor possible to increase anyone's capacity to be creative" through this approach. Runco (2004, 680) questions whether divergent thinking and problem solving are even necessary to creativity, suggesting that development of these skills in respect to creative performance might be redundant. Still, developing cognitive skills can "lead to feelings of efficacy [and] motivate creative efforts" and be a "valuable aspect of creativity development" (Scott et al. 2004, 383).

Another common approach to creativity training is focused on developing domain relevant skills (Onarheim and Friis-Olivarius 2013, 2). Domain skills play a critical role in creative achievement as producing something original in a domain requires mastery of it—an accomplishment that takes a great deal of work over a long time (Simonton 2017, 24; Nickerson 1999, 409; Gardner 1993). No matter how much raw talent an individual has, or how fluent their thinking might be, it is "motivation [that] sets [an individual] off to get [domain] knowledge and improve [their] practice" (Nickerson 1999, 420). Without strong intrinsic motivation, an individual is unlikely to persist in doing the work required to master a domain. King, McKee and Broyles (1996, 191) found that the personality trait of conscientiousness was positively related to creative accomplishment at low levels of creative ability, even though the characteristics of this factor—low openness and imagination—are considered antithetical to creativity. They concluded this finding reflected the criticality of self-discipline and consistent work to creative achievement (King et al. 1996, 191). That an individual persists with creative work indicates it is of

great personal importance to them; that it is important means there is purpose in it, and it is this purpose that inspires the motivation to take action and do the work (Enko 2014,7). Enhancing purpose and motivation hold particular potency for improving creative capability (Nickerson 1999, 408). Ensuring creative effort is autonomously chosen and aligned with values; setting personal standards and taking enjoyment from the challenge of exceeding one's previous efforts can all enhance creative performance (Nickerson 1999, 415; Enko 2014).

Motivation, purpose, belief and autonomy form the necessary "inner conditions" for creativity (Rogers 1954, 256). By their very nature these psychological elements tend to be resistant to overt attempts at their development, however appropriate external conditions can encourage their emergence. Establishing an environment in which an individual feels psyschologically safe is essential to fostering creativity as this helps them to be more open and sensitive to their experience; trust their own judgement and develop a secure internal locus of evaluation; and be more willing to try new things (Rogers 1954, 257). Enko (2014) found that perceived locus of causality and autonomy are related and important determinants of creativity in writers. An internal locus of control is also important as. the degree to which a person believes they have control over outcomes will impact their motivation to take creative action (Lather, Jain and Shukla 2014, 50; Weiner, Nierenberg, Goldstein 1976, 53). The extent to which an individual freely choses to behave creatively; feels that their behaviour can influence outcomes; and evaluates their creative work to their own standards are therefore significant psychological resources for creativity.

Despite the criticality of individual autonomy in determining creative behaviour, creativity is in part an ascription by others (Sternberg 1988, 145). Being recognised as creative requires acknowledgement by a field and in order to achieve this an individual must make some effort to seek it (Sternberg 1988, 145). While intrinsic motivation is undoubtedly necessary to spur creative work, the stamina and effort required to bring something to completion might rely more on external motivation (Enko 2014, 7). According to Shaw (2015, 162) "acceptance by one's peer group is a fundamental need, and hence …collective validation is generally more significant than personal validation". Gaining recognition, and reward can serve as positive feedback for a creator, enhancing their sense of competence and in turn inspiring further creative effort (Enko, 2014, 8; see also Runco, 2010, 189; Cropley, 2016, 245; Mumford and Gustafson 988, 37). A creative

individual therefore often works in a tension between internal and external motivation and effectively managing the demands of this tension is an important psychological resource, and a potential area for enhancing creativity.

The case study presented within examined a writer's (the author of this exegesis) reported psychological experience during the production of a creative work. The study used the method of coaching to deeply examine this experience, identify potential barriers to creative development and explore ways of building psychological resources to overcome these. Issues around motivation, locus of evaluation and desire for recognition all clearly presented in this study and were experienced as significant obstacles to creativity by the subject. As the subject of this case study, my personal experience is that the coaching method utilised catalysed important insights into the framework of assumptions and beliefs I hold about myself as a creative individual, the creative process and creative writing; in doing so this experiment has pointed to ways I can enhance and use my psychological resources to develop as a creative writer. I began the experimental coaching sessions feeling I needed to 'grow up', as a person, and a writer. My sense is the learning I have gained will prove transformative: it has enhanced my capacity to grow my creative capabilities and shown me I need to build confidence in my own judgement and put effort into fostering an external network. Exposing and normalising, what I conceive as my 'bad' motivation to write through the coaching process was particularly powerful. Holding my desire for recognition up against theories of creative motivation helped me to see how it has actually served me well, giving me the determination and tenacity to produce written works—whatever its nature, my motivation has made me a writer. This realisation has helped me realign my motivation to more mature ambition for myself as a creative individual—I think I have actually grown myself up some. Of course this is the self-reported experience of one individual subject. I was also the coach-investigator. A role I assumed on the basis of my training and experience in psychological coaching. As such I can be considered to hold a bias to expect productive outcomes from a coaching intervention and to value coaching as a method of human development. While acknowledging that my choice to use a coaching framework to explore and understand the creative act implies such assumptions, this study nonetheless provides an example of how psychological coaching can be an effective approach to developing individual psychological resources for creativity. Therefore it is worthwhile examining how coaching might function to achieve such development.

Effectively developing creativity requires support and challenge (Nickerson 1999, 419). A coach begins their work with a coachee by creating an environment in which the coachee feels supported to share their story with its relevant issues, concerns and hopes for the future. The coach listens carefully to this narrative and asks considered questions to build understanding of how the individual makes meaning of their experience to help them clearly determine the change they want to achieve. Engaging in this process of "dyadic discovery" contributes to creating a supportive environment (Roussin 2008, 225). Whilst a coachee freely nominates the change they wish to make, the process of making change is characteristically difficult and they will often resist it. This resistance tends to stem from a psychological fixedness around schema—organised mental frameworks of information and relationships between things, actions and thoughts—through which individuals habitually filter environmental stimuli. Schema can also be considered a type of mental-set, albeit of a more deeply psychological nature, as these play a critical role in how we process—categorise and organise—information and memory, particularly that which arouses an emotive response.[1] Schema "structure expectations about people, situations and events" and, subsequently influence cognitions and behaviour arising in response to these expectations. In other words, the structure of the schema produces a habitual response to new information—for example, stereotypes and confirmation bias—that make it consistent with the schema regardless of any other factors (Steel 2012, online). This tendency to fixity is inherent in human beings, but it can inhibit creativity (Runco 2004, 677). Established habits and rituals of thinking help people manage the world by processing incoming information—so rapidly that it occurs unconsciously—but it also results in an inclination to respond to experience in the same ways—personality traits are consistent patterns of response shown by an individual—preventing the development of new ways of seeing and understanding the world and solving problems. By their very purpose schema can be antithetical to the openness to experience and the production of original ideas essential to creativity. A key facility in creative thinking therefore is the ability to deconstruct, or break, established schema or mental-sets—that are inhibiting this ability—by challenging the "integrity" [of the] deeply held assumptions and beliefs" of which they are comprised (Forbes 2014, 2). Deconstructing redundant schema can be confronting, especially if these are leashed to early developmental experience, which is why the process can elicit resistance, still, this is where coaching ultimately aims to work, using reflection as a key tool in the process (Gash 2017, 27). A coach uses questions to encourage the coachee to reflect on their story from alternative

standpoints and shift perspectives on the situation from the one they habitually adopt, to lead them to become "more critically reflective of their assumptions" and how context shapes their meaning making (Mezirow 2009, 19). The experience of transcending a "current form of understanding [and moving] into a new place" can be transformational because it makes new actions possible from a larger field than previously available (Garvey Berger 2004, 347). By establishing rapport and understanding in the first instance, a coach aims to create an environment that supports the coachee to persist in the challenge of changing their current thinking towards greater psychological openness, adaptability and flexibility. Such capacities are considered key to creativity, and if a coachee is working to develop their creative capacity new action arising from transformation of their mental sets would be decisively directed towards this.

The concept of 'coaching creativity' is a relatively nascent domain and the scholarly literature on the concept is small but emerging (Gash 73, 2017; See: Wilcox, Bridges and Montgomery 2010; Sparrow 2008; Jolanta 2006). It does though offer some validation of the usefulness of coaching to writing performance. A study of seven creative writers who had experience of coaching found it had considerable worth in supporting writer development. The process of being listened to supported the writers to feel less alone and more able to "confront and address specific, individual issues" such as "blocks to progress in writing and ...development of a writing career" (Forbes 2014, 21). While the writers more often chose to discuss personal or creative issues in the coaching sessions they believed their writing benefitted from having addressed such issues (Forbes 2014, 21). Additionally, the self-reflective nature of coaching contributed to the successful maintenance and development of self-identity as a writer (Forbes 2014, 18). The writers were "ambivalent" about the writing experience of the coach, deeming it of value but not necessary, whereas they considered the coach's coaching skills critical to the success of the process (Forbes 2014, 21). A longitudinal investigation of the role of a faculty writing coach found that coaching empowered faculty members to significantly improve the quality and quantity of their writing by providing an "environment of trust and safety …welcoming new ideas" and boosting confidence and self-esteem (Baldwin and Chandler 2002, 15). In this case the coach held the requisite domain skills to "teach the complex subtleties of the writing process" (Baldwin and Chandler 2002, 13). Creative writers need "learning that is dynamic, fluid and reflective in a way that stimulates and nurtures creative talents" (Forbes 2014, 15). The "apparent synergy [between the process

of creative writing] and the reflective exploratory approach" of coaching gives it particular potential as a method of support for creative writers (Forbes 2014, 15). The same could be considered to hold true for supporting individuals to develop in any domain of creative practice.

Coaching is distinguished by its future and action orientated focus: coaches support coachees to develop towards valued goals by taking action to achieve these. The case study provides examples of the coach and coachee working to design behavioural experiments stemming from insights surfaced in the sessions. Coaches might also help coachees identify specific skills enhancement, for example enhancing imaginative capacity and building networks, and support them to identify relevant resources and opportunities towards this improvement. Tying together the presented case study and the, albeit 'microscopic', literature on coaching for creativity suggests it might represent a useful approach to creativity development, and certainly one that warrants further investigation.

Conclusion

This exegesis has sought to explore creativity through a broad theoretical examination of the phenomenon and a singular personal experience of it. It inarguably demonstrates that creativity in practice is a complex psychological process that is correspondingly complex to define, study and comprehend. It also suggests that the only way to gain a "realistic" understanding of creativity is to consider all relevant aspects of it: the individual, the environment they operate in and the meaning he or she makes of relevant context (Runco 2004, 677). Conceptualising creativity as a "multi-dimensional construct and creative accomplishment [as the] interaction or confluence among [these] dimensions" makes it possible to account for all its aspects (Feldman 1999, 169). The principle that creativity must be examined from an integrated multi-componential perspective is widely espoused in the literature. Therefore, if the nature of creativity is multi-factorial, and these factors variably influence each other, an individual holds a potential multiplicity of psychological resources they can use towards producing original and effective products.

The proposition that creativity emerges from a confluence of varied, and varying, dimensions aligns with a systems conceptualisation of it. According to Hennessey (2017, 343) it is only with the "adoption of a truly integrated systems perspective can researchers hope to ever understand the complexities of the creative process". A systemic understanding of creativity conceives of the phenomenon as the emergent property of the interaction between multiple factors operating in a dynamic system and does "not privilege either individual creators, texts, consumers or the sociocultural contexts" (McIntyre 2013, 9). In the same vein, Gláveanu (2010, 150) reasons that an understanding of creativity that focuses on the individual "cannot support a more comprehensive and systemic view". Still, it is the individual creator who represents the clearest instances of creative action—they are the predominant system through which creative elements converge to emerge creative products. Indeed, this study 'privileges' the experience of an individual writer— doing so limits its findings, however its particular value is that it offers rich description of a lived experience of writing and the psychological barriers to creative development experienced by a writer. That much of the experience of the subject of this study aligns with the propositions of creativity theory contributes towards validating this knowledge. Its unique methodology builds disciplinary connections by applying psychological theory to building creative capacities in a real case, thereby contributing to creativity research by demonstrating the usefulness

of the application of its theory. The data that has emerged from this study's idiographic approach makes a particular contribution to creative writing research in showing the internal workings of a major writing performance in real time rather than ex post facto. As the writer in question, my lived experience is that systemic externalities can, and do, "condition" and "determine" creative processes (Gláveanu 2010, 150). The environment a creator works in can have a significant impact on their creative productivity and efforts to develop conditions conducive to creativity are important, but creativity can only be supported by external conditions and not made to happen. Inevitably the site of originality is the creator's unique psychology and truly developing creativity capabilities might require an approach tailored to each individual. What any individual needs to change to enhance their creative potential will be different and personality, cognitive, social and cultural issues might all need to be taken into account.

Creativity can bring significant benefits to individuals such as adaptability, self-expression and wellbeing, but creativity also has potential costs as it is so strongly tied to originality, and because "original behaviour is always contrary to norms, all creativity is a kind of [social] deviance" (Runco 2004, 677). This can leave the creative person feeling on the outside of mainstream society. While creative individuals often value, or even pride themselves on being different to the norm, this can, conversely, also leave them with a sense of isolation, or resentment when their original ideas are not understood and accepted. The nature of creative writing—it is not unusual for a writer to take a decade to finish a novel—means that writers can face the additional difficulty of long periods of isolated work. Being creatively talented is often inferred as "an overwhelming positive experience" but Plucker and Levy (2001, 75) point to studies that show this is not necessarily the case and that gifted individuals "must face considerable personal and professional roadblocks emanating from their talent". Gifted individuals are often considered to be "doing just fine" because of their evident talent and are consequently not offered the support they might need to cope with the intra- and interpersonal challenges and sacrifices of achieving their potential. They may also feel they cannot ask for help because of the expectations their recognised talent brings (Plucker and Levy 2001, 75; Lubinski and Benbow 2001, 76). Talented individuals often face depression, isolation, professional jealousy and envy and "any serious discussion of talent development should address strategies that help to mediate the negative consequences of excellence"(Plucker and Levy 2001, 75). Given all of this, it makes sense that a method such as coaching that

is focused on the individual and can accommodate a holistic understanding of the creative process that takes into account their unique social and emotional needs, personality and identity, and the need to negotiate relevant externalities might represent an effective approach to developing creativity (Lubinski and Benbow 2001, 76). The coaching process can illuminate connections between all elements of the creative process and support the productive integration of these by the individual.

This study has taken psychological theories of creativity and applied them through a coaching framework to explore the potentiality of this method towards the development of an individual writer's psychological resources for creativity. As the writer subject of the coaching experiment conducted within this exegetical space, I feel my creative capacities to produce literary work have been significantly enhanced through the process. My claim to such development can only be evidenced at this point by this felt sense of creative growth. The documented coaching sessions clearly show the emergence of greater awareness of personal issues I experience as barriers to creative advancement and fresh insight into ways I might change or manage these towards improving my creative achievement. Only the production of future literary work might provide more concrete demonstration of the effectiveness of the process. The elements used in this investigation—psychological theories of creativity, and data from a journal and coaching—are established knowledge, and methods of inquiry and personal development. It is through their combinational design and application of this methodology that this project also makes a contribution to knowledge. It has validated that what psychological theories of creativity predict should help develop creative capabilities holds true in one real life case, including that exploration of personal issues in a one-to-one framework such as coaching has considerable value in respect to developing creative capacities. Additionally, in exploring a personal experience of creative process this study clearly shows that creativity arises from everyday 'normal' human thinking and feeling and contributes to quelling the idea that creative achievement derives from divine gift or genetic giftedness.

A key goal in undertaking this exploration of experience and knowledge has been to build understanding of how relevant psychological resources for creative writing might be facilitated. In terms of its findings, this project contributes to building knowledge of how writers might be supported to develop their creative capacities. The insights that have emerged from this study, which inform the following guidelines for developing

psychological resources, are situated in the field of creative writing and in this context these guidelines are intended to be applied with creative writers. That there is more similarity than difference between creative writers and other creative practitioners suggests that these guidelines might also be usefully applied to developing creativity in individuals more widely.

Creativity is largely constituted from psychological factors and these elements are therefore a critical resource in creative achievement. This study concludes with the proposition that gaining an in-depth understanding of an individual to determine their unique creative ambitions and corresponding development needs can serve as an effective approach to developing psychological resources for creativity. This investigation has specifically used psychological coaching and psychological theories of creativity as a method to enhance creativity by deeply exploring the psychological aspects of an individual writer's creative experience. The following guidelines for supporting creativity development are drawn from this experiment and the application of these guidelines to their fullest extent would require the person in the supporting role to be educated in a therapeutic modality and have the requisite helping skills (see: Egan 2014). If they also held a thorough understanding of the psychology of creativity their capacity to support the development of creative potential would be enriched. Working to deconstruct established mental-sets or schema and emerge new knowledge of self can be challenging, and potentially destabilising, so the supporter needs to be able to manage that process effectively. Creative development though, does not always require major psychological shifts, and these guidelines can also be more 'lightly' applied by educators or workplace professionals, who find their students or employees need support to think and act more creatively in response to problems. Ultimately, these guidelines aim to make a contribution by suggesting how we might enhance creative development by meeting the unprecedented need creative individuals often have for unconditional support (Gardner 1993, 383).

It is widely considered, although not undisputed, that the greater part of the value of any helping, or therapeutic alliance, such as coaching, is gained from the relationship between the coach and the coachee rather than any particular methodology—presuming as a baseline that the interaction is psychologically safe and appropriately supportive (Crits-Christoph, Gibbons, Hamilton, Ring-Kurtz and Gallop 2011; see also Egan 2014). While a coaching relationship might be useful in facilitating the type of development that

results in the enhancement of indiviudual's creative capabilities, working with a psychologist or a counsellor might be just as effective. Therefore, coaching represents just one helping approach with the potential to be useful in facilitating creative development, and the guidelines for developing creativity presented in this exegesis might be usefully applied by any practitioner seeking to support creative development. Nevertheless, as this thesis demonstrates, theoretically and practically, the similarities between creativity and psychological coaching, along with the future focused action orientation of coaching in general, make it particularly useful for creative development. The creative development guidelines herein could also be used by an individual to self-coach in conjunction with knowledge of the self-coaching process (see: Grant and Greene 2004). While I believe the coaching process offers a particularly valuable approach to developing creativity it is worth considering the particular value the specific content that, additionally and uniquely, informed the coaching sessions undertaken in this thesis might offer.

A key aspect of the experimental work that occurs in the exegetical component of this thesis was the study of the literature on the psychology of creativity, and the subsequent use of theories and information gained in this process as tools in the psychological coaching sessions. While this exegesis references the emerging literature on the potential effectiveness of coaching as a modality for developing creativity, this was a unique methodological process and I can only draw on my experience to comment on its usefulness (see: Gash 2017; Forbes 2009; Jolanta 2006). In my role as coach, I found the learning I gained about the individual, cognitive and social components of creativity facilitated new understanding of the phenomena and informed more relevant psychological approaches to support the coachee to investigate, question their assumptions and biases about their creative motivation and performance and more positively rearticulate their experience. As the coachee, I found the coach's direct pointing to the creative experience of others and theories of creativity, and the application of this understanding to form questions to explore and challenge my psychological framework around my creative experience particularly useful in helping me to formulate a more sympathetic understanding of my motivation, and how I might more positively harness this for my creative development. As I have already noted, whether this process enhances my creative competencies as demonstrated in output will only be demonstrated over time.

Another aspect I found useful as a creative person/writer was the challenge, and supporting evidence in the literature to the prevailing 'myths' about creativity, and the fact of it being an extraordinarily demanding process. I know I have fallen prey to the idea that writing 'should come easily; that if I was truly creative it would just flow,' when in fact I more often find it grindingly hard work. Gaining an expanded understanding of the creative experience has facilitated a more realistic set of personal expectations about my writing performance. I also gained new ideas for how I might approach my writing from theories and studies in the literature. Learning more about psychological theories of creativity has the potential to be useful to creative writers in developing their creative capacity and these could be explicitly taught to students of creative writing. Knowing about the psychology of creativity gives writers examples and information to draw from that might help them self-manage potentially difficult aspects of the creative process if these arise.

GUIDELINES FOR SUPPORTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL RESOURCES FOR CREATIVITY

Start with the person in front of you

A key resource of a creator is their uniqueness and what they might need for their development will be distinctive and diverse. These guidelines are not intended to be followed in a linear fashion, the aspects of creative development they are designed to respond to are interrelated and will arise simultaneously and recursively, but building understanding of the individual is an essential first step. The guidelines are intended to point to ways to guide conversations that will help the supporter gain that understanding and the creative individual to clearly identify what their issues and needs might be. These needs will evolve and shift over time as the individual goes through the process of development and a supporter needs to be flexible and able to adapt to emerging issues. There is no singular way to develop creativity and a supporter needs to be informedly creative in their response.

Let the lodestar guide

Purpose and motivation are critical drivers of creativity. You cannot make someone be creative; It is an autonomously arising phenomenon. Nonetheless, the development of clarity of purpose for creative behaviour can be supported. Ensure goals are aligned with purpose to focus motivation and thereby harness self-regulation to achieve these goals. One way to work in this area is to encourage the individual to articulate in detail their

vision of a creative life. From there, help them determine what actions they might need to take to achieve this; set clear goals towards this achievement; and make a plan to implement the required actions. Holding the individual demonstrably accountable—in an appropriately challenging way—for taking the determined actions can contribute to the effectiveness of this process.

Imagining resources

To take action towards change people need to feel they have the capability, or self-efficacy, to succeed in undertaking the required action. An individual might have freely identified an aspect of their behaviour they want to change and be motivated to make that change, but if they are unsure how to actually make that change, and/or lack confidence in their ability to do so, this can undermine their motivation and their effort. A supporter can work to help the individual develop a plan for change and identify resources they have, or might need to access, to enact this plan. One resource that creative individuals have, particularly creative writers, is imagination. Encourage the individual to use this resource by getting them to imagine how a character might respond to the situation. Thinking about how someone else might solve the problem can help open up possibilities outside the boundaries of their own identity. It also builds confidence in their ability to solve problems, and enhances their imaginary skills and self-efficacy around this key creative resource.

Open Pandora's box

The ancient Greeks might have imagined curiosity to be dangerous but modern creativity researchers consider it fundamental to creativity. Being curious supports openness to experience, which in tandem make an individual more willing to explore new things. This helps the individual build up a rich memory store of information, images, experiences, feelings and sensations which they can play around with to bring new things in relationship to one another to emerge original ideas. A supporter might encourage curiosity by suggesting the individual seek out experiences or understanding loosely related to the immediate problem and reflect on the learning the new information brings, and how that might be considered in relation to the problem. This process builds efficacy in being curious and its useful application.

Playing the field

The creative individual faces a unique tension to be original and conform enough to the rules of a domain and field such that their work can be recognised. The individual needs

to take responsibility for managing the demands of the external environment and learn to 'play the field' in order to identify, generate and gain opportunities within it. This might require developing, amplifying or managing particular personality characteristics to enhance 'fit' into a field. A creative individual might understandably baulk at this. They might feel they cannot modify their personality traits or are affronted by any suggestion of doing so. This can be a strongly emotive area and it takes a certain level of emotional maturity to make changes that might support gaining external recognition. Sharing the understanding that personality is considered to be constructed, might help orientate the individual towards the possibility of change. Encouraging them to imagine how someone else might negotiate a field can help them design actions to effectively manage their environment. This process might feel risky for the person as it involves exposing self and work to criticism. Acknowledging these risks and the emotions this might arouse and supporting the individual to make a plan for managing these, for example, reconsidering criticism as an opportunity to develop, can help them to build confidence to take on such challenges.

Aligning reality

Despite the need to fit into a domain and field the individual needs to hold their own standards of evaluation for their work. These standards will be tied to their purpose and personal values. Providing a non-judgemental environment for the individual to freely explore their purpose, motivation, values and ambitions can help them to generate autonomous standards. There may be a tension between these personal standards and those of the domain and field. It is often in this tension that a breakthrough in a domain lies, yet such change can be met with resistance by the field. The creator is faced with the choice to persist with driving the change, or integrating more of the existing standards into their work. A supporter can work here to help the individual examine the implications of their choices and take responsibility for these. This might involve helping them examine the situation to determine if they might integrate external standards to bring them in line with their own values and needs. Encouraging this flexibility to change, and gaining experience of making change actually supports the risk taking necessary for creative achievement.

Running the obstacle race

The individualistic nature of creativity means that creative people often work in isolation, perhaps no more so than writers. The way creative work is reflected in society is usually

through images and information about people who have achieved success as a creator. This can leave individuals who have not experienced such success feeling inadequate, and/or anxious, about their talent, their work practices or even their motivation. A supporter who is well-informed about creative process and more typical experiences of a creative career can help to normalise individual experience, reduce anxieties and devise strategies to help them to endure the 'obstacle race' of creative recognition and persist with their work.

Enjoying the best of it

The eminent creativity researcher Paul E. Torrance (1988, 68) says "being in love with what you do" is the key enabler of creative achievement. This points to the important role that emotions play in motivating creative action. A supporter can help an individual recognise the emotional underpinnings of their creative drive and to value their feelings as a resource. Many creators will find their labours are not met with commensurate material reward, but there are many other benefits of creativity and a supporter can help the individual to identify the satisfying and helpful outcomes of their creative endeavour and value these, which in turn enhances motivation. Perhaps the most important encouragement to creative development is to help someone enjoy the process and their identity as a creative person.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This exegesis has documented the useful experience of one creative writer in the application of psychological theories of creativity through coaching to support their creative development. That it is a singular case study means its findings can only be tentatively asserted, albeit that idiographic methodology is widely used in creativity research. An emerging literature on coaching for creativity—to which this work contributes—suggests that there is value in this approach. Future research into the use of interpersonal support modalities such as coaching on developing creative capacities in individuals conducted with a more significant subject cohort, over a longer period of time would serve to further explore and extend research on the value of this approach. The idea of developing psychological resources for creativity might also be situated and further explored in research into resilience. Understanding and supporting resilience has gained significant focus as our rapidly changing world has increased demands on people to cope with and adapt to change, that is, to be resilient. Resilience is a product of access

to resources—personal, social, cultural and material. Resilience tends to be understood as an individual responsibility, yet it is as much a function of systemic factors as personal ones. Developing psychological resources for creativity therefore potentially increases a person's capacity to be resilient—indeed resilience might be considered a particular resource of creative people given the harsh reality of achieving success in creative fields. Using a method, such as the one described and practised in this thesis that deliberately seeks to illuminate systemic influences on developing creative resources might offer further possibilities for understanding how to enhance resilience.

In a wider context, research on coaching for creativity might be extended into non-western cultural environments. The psychological literature on creativity is deeply mired in western paradigms that value original expression by individuals (Chua, Roth and Lemonie 2014). According to Gláveanu (2010, 151) "there are profound cultural differences in the way creativity is understood and manifested across cultures". What is valued in eastern cultures is more often adherence to cultural tradition than originality and breaking norms, as well as ethics and morality (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky and Chiu 2008). This suggests that factors such as intrinsic motivation, autonomy and locus of control might not be as essential to creative behaviour as western psychology holds them to be. Future research on other cultural perspectives on creativity would contribute to building understanding on how to develop creativity more globally, something that might prove prescient in countries with increasingly culturally diverse populations in ensuring everyone has equal opportunity to develop their creative potential.

References (exegesis)

Abuhamdeh, Sami, and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. 2011. "Attentional involvement and intrinsic motivation.'*Motivation and Emotion* 36: 257-267.

Albertson, Samuel. 2014. "Deconstruction toward reconstruction: A constructive-developmental consideration of deconstructive necessities in transitions." *Behavioural Development Bulletin* 19: 76- 82.

Alrø, Helle, and Poul Nørgård Dahl. 2012. "Dialogic group coaching – inspiration from transformative mediation." *Journal of Workplace Learning* 27: 501-513.

Amabile, Teresa M. 1983. "The social psychology of creativity: A componential conceptualization." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 45: 357–376.

———.1985. "Motivation and Creativity: Effects of Motivational Orientation on Creative Writers." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 48:393-399.

———. 1997. "Motivating Creativity: On Doing What You Love and Loving What You Do." *California Management Review* 40: 39-58.

———. 2001. "Beyond Talent: John Irving and the Passionate Craft of Creativity." *American Psychologist* 56: 333–336.

Amabile, Teresa M, Steven Kramer., and Ela Ben-Ur. 2013."Keeping a Diary to Catalyze Creativity." In *Maximise Your Potential: Grow Your Expertise, Take Bold Risks, and Build an Incredible Career*, edited by Jocelyn Glei, 115-123. 99U Book Series: Amazon Publishing.

American Psychological Society (APA). 2017. "The Science of Psychology." Accessed July 23. http://www.apa.org/about/index.aspx

Aronson, Elliot. 1999. "The Power of Self-Persuasion." *American Psychologist* November: 875-884.

Assael, Brenda. 2013. "Gastro-cosmopolitanism and the Edwardian Restaurant in Late Victorian and Edwardian London." *The Historical Journal* 56: 681-706.

Awbrey, Jon A, and Susan Awbrey. 1995. "Interpretation as Action: The Risk of Inquiry". *Inquiry: Critical Thinking Across the Disciplines* 15,1: 40- 52.

Avieson, Bunty. 2008. "Writing—a methodology for the new millennium." *Text* 12 (October). http://www.textjournal.com.au

Baer, John. 2012. "Domain specificity and the limits of creativity theory." *The Journal of Creative Behavior* 46: 16–29.

———. 1998 a. "Gender differences in the Effects of Intrinsic Motivation on Creativity." *Journal of Creative Behaviour* 32: 18-37.

Baer, John, and Sharon S. McKool. 2009. "How rewards and evaluations can undermine creativity (and How To Prevent This)." In *The Psychology of Creative Writing*, edited by S. B. Kaufman and J. C. Kaufman, 277-86. New York: Cambridge UP.

Baldwin, Clare, and Genevieve Chandler. 2002. "Improving Faculty Publication Output: The Role of a Writing Coach." *Journal of Professional Nursing* 18: 8-15.

Bandura, Albert. 1977. “Self-efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavioural Change.” *Psychological Review* 84: 191-215.

Bannerman, Colin. 2001. “Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c.1850 to c.1920.” PhD thesis., University of Canberra, 2001.

———. 2011. “Making Australian Food History.” *Australian Humanities Review* 51: 49-63.

Barbot, Baptiste, Mei Tan. Judi Randi, Gabrielle Santa-Donato, and Elena.l Grigorenko. 2012. “Essential Skills for Creative Writing: Integrating multiple domain-specific perspectives.” *Thinking Skills and Creativity* 7: 209-223.

Barron, Frank. 1988. “Putting Creativity to Work.” In The Nature *of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 76-98. Cambridge,U.K: Cambridge University Press.

———.1996. “The psychology of the creative writer.” *Theory Into Practice*, 5: 157-159.

Barron, Frank, and David Harrington. 1981. “Creativity, Intelligence, and Personality.” *Annual Review of Psychology* 32: 439-76.

Boden, Margaret. 1994. “Précis of the creative mind: Myths and mechanisms.” *Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 17: 519-570.

———.1988. “Computer Models of Creativity”. In *The Nature of Creativity: Contemporary Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 351-372. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.

Borrello, Eliza, and Francis Keany. 2016. “Innovation statement: PM Malcolm Turnball calls for ‘ideas boom’ as he unveils $1b vision for Australia’s future.” *ABC News*. Accessed April 7, 2017. http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-12-07/pm-malcolm-turnbull-unveils-$1-billion-innovation-program/7006952

Boyd, Nicola. 2009. “A Creative Writing Research Methodology: New Directions, Strange Loops and Tornados.” Paper presented at the 14th Annual Australian Association of Writing Programs Conference.

Brand, Alice. 1991.“Social Cognition, Emotions, and the Psychology of Writing.” *Journal of Advanced Composition* 11: 395- 407.

Brien, Donna. 2000. “The Place Where The Real And The Imagined Coincides: An Introduction to Australian Creative Non-Fiction.” *TEXT Special Issue Website Intro*.. http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue1/intro.htm

Butz, David, and Kathryn Besio. 2009. “Autoethnography.” *Geograpjy Compass* 3/5: 1660-1674.

Cavanagh, Michael. 2006. “Coaching from a Systemic Perspective: A Complex Adaptive Conversation.” In *Evidence Based Coaching Handbook: Putting Best Practices to Work*, edited by Diane Stober and Anthony Grant, 313-354. Hoboken: Wiley.

Chan, Janet. 2013. “Researching creativity and creativity research.” In *Handbook of Research on Creativity*, edited by Kerry Thomas and Janet Chan, 21-32. United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Chan-Sue, Christina, and Gary P. Latham. 2004. "The Relative Effectiveness of External, Peer, and Self-Coaches." *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 53: 260-278.

Chua, R, Y Roth, and J Lemoine. 2014. "The Impact of Culture on Creativity: How Cultural Tightness and Cultural Distance Affect Global Innovation Crowdsourcing Work." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 60: 189-227.

Coutu, D, and Carol Kauffman. 2009. "What can coaches do for you?" *Harvard Business Review* January. https://hbr.org/2009/01/what-can-coaches-do-for-you?cm_sp=Article-_-Links-_-Comment

Crits-Christoph, Paul, Mary Beth Connolly Gibbons, Jessica Hamilton, sarah Ring-Kurtz Sarah, and Robert Gallop. 2011. "The Dependability of Alliance Assessments: The Alliance-Outcome Correlation Is Larger Than You Might Think." *Journal of Counselling and Clinical Psychology* 79, 5: 267-278.

Cropley, Arthur, 2016. "The Myths of Heaven-Sent Creativity: Toward a Perhaps Less Democratic But More Down-to-Earth Understanding." *Creativity Research Journal* 28: 238-246.

Czikszentmihalyi, Mihály 1996a. *Creativity.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

———.1996b. "The Creative Personality." *Psychology Today*. https://www.psychologytoday.com/articles/199607/the-creative-personality

——.1996c. *Creativity: Flow and the psychology of discovery and invention*. New York: Harper Collins.

———. 1999. "Implications of a Systems Perspective for the Study of Creativity." In *Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert. J. Sternberg, 313–335. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

———.2006. "A Systems Perspective on Creativity." In *Creative Management and Development,* edited by Jane Henry, 3-17. Sage Publications. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446213704

Dietrich, Arne. 2004. "The cognitive neuroscience of creativity." *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 11: 1011-1026.

Dowling, H.F. 1985. "Teaching 'Creative' Non-Fiction Writing." *College Composition and Communication* 36: 454-464.

Dweck, Carol. 1996. *Mindset*. New York: Random House.

Ecker, Ulrich, Stephan Lewandowsky, Briony, Swire, and Darren Chang. 2011. "Correcting false information in memory: Manipulating the strength of misinformation encoding and its retraction." Psychonomic Bulletin & Review 18, 3: 570-578.

Egan, Gerard. 2014. *The Skilled Helper*. Cengage Learning: United States.

Ellis, Carolyn, Tony E. Adams, and Arthur P. Bochner. 2011. "Autoethnography: An Overview." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12, 1. http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1589/3095

Enko, Jolanta. 2014. “Creative Writers’ Experience of Self-Determination: An Examination Within the Grounded Theory Framework.” *Thinking Skills and Creativity* 14:1-10.

Eschleman, Kevin .J, Jamie Madsen, Gene Alarcon, and Alex Barkela. 2014. “Benefiting from creative activity: The positive relationships between creative activity, recovery experiences, and performance-related outcomes.” *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 87: 579-598.

Farnakis, Epaminondas. 2014. “Fostering the Creative Economy.” *Standford Social Innovation Review* November 24. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/fostering_the_creative_economy

Feldman, David Henry.1999. “The Development of Creativity.” In *Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 169-186: Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Fiest, Gregory. J. 1998. “A Meta-Analysis of Personality in Scientific and Artistic Creativity.” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 2: 290-309.

Fitzpatrick, Laurie. 2014. “The Cycle of Creativity: Gestalt Coaching and the Creative Process.” *Gestalt Review* 18: 161-171.

Forbes, Elizabeth. 2009. “Travelling Together: What does Coaching Offer Creative Writers?” *International Journal of Evidence Based Coaching and Mentoring* 12: 14-26.

Forgeard, Marie. J.C, Scott Barry Kaufman, and James C. Kaufman. 2013. “The Psychology of Creative Writing.” In *A Companion to Creative Writing*, edited by Graeme Harper, 320-333. United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Fredrickson, Barbara. 2001. “The role of positive emotions in positive psychology.” *American Psychologist* March: 218-226.

Freud, Sigmund. 1908. “Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming.” In *Art and Literature*, edited by Albert Dickson, 129-141. London: Penguin Books.

Gash, Jen. 2017. *Coaching Creativity*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Gardner, Howard. 1988. “Creativity: An interdisciplinary perspective.” *Creativity Research Journal* 1: 8-26.

———. 1993. *Creating Minds*. An anatomy of creativity seen through the eyes of Freud, Enistein, Picasson, Stravinsky, Eliot, Graham, and Gandhi. New York: Basic Books.

Garvey Berger, Jennifer. 2006. “Adult Development Theory and Executive Coaching Practice.” In *Evidence Based Coaching Handbook: Putting Best Practices to Work*, edited by Dianne Stober and Anthony Grant, 77-102. Hoboken: Wiley.

———.2004. “Dancing on the Threshold of Meaning: Recognizing and Understanding the Growing Edge.” *Journal of Transformative Education* 2: 336-351.

Gláveanu,Vlad-Petre. 2010. “Principles for a Cultural Psychology of Creativity.” *Culture & Psychology* 16: 147-163.

Goepel, Monique, Katharine Hölzle, and Dodo zu Knyphausen-Aufseß. 2012. "Individuals' Innovation Response Behaviour: A Framework of Antecedents and Opportunities for Future Research." *Creativity and Innovation Management* 4: 412-426.

Grant, Anthony M, and Jane Greene. 2004. *Coach Yourself*. Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited.

Grant, Anthony M, Jackie Passmore, Michael J. Cavanagh, and H.M Parker. 2010. "The state of play in coaching today: A comprehensive review of the field." *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psycholog, 25*: 125-167.

Grant, Anthony M, and Michael J. Cavanagh. 2007. "Evidence-based coaching: Flourishing or languishing?" *Australian Psychologist* 42: 239-254.

Gruber, Howard E. 1988. "The evolving systems approach to creative work." *Creativity Research Journal*: 27-51.

Gruber, Howard E., and Doris B. Wallace. 1999. "The Case Study Method and Evolving Systems Approach for Understanding Unique Creative People at Work." In *Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 93-115. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Guilford, Joy Paul. 1950. "Creativity." *The American Psychologist* 9:444- 454.

———. 1958. "Can Creativity Be Developed?" *Art Education* 11: 3-7 + 14-18.

———. 1973. *Characteristics of Creativity*. Illinois State Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield. Gifted Children Section. US Department of Health, Education & Welfare National Institute of Education.

Hall, Wallace. B, and Donald W MacKinnon. 1969. "Personality Inventory Correlates of Creativity Among Architects." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 53: 322-326.

Harris, Mike. 2009. "Escaping the tractor beam of literary theory: notes towards appropriate theories of creative writing - and some arguments against the inappropriate ones." *TEXT* 13. http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct09/harris.htm

Helson, Ravenna. 1999. "A Longitudinal Study of Creative Personality in Women." *Creativity Research Journal* 12: 89-101.

Hycner, Richard, H. 1985. "Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data." *Human Studies* 8: 279-303.

Igweonu, Kene, Brian Fagence, Melaine Petch, and Gareth Davies. 2011. "Revealing the Elusive Obvious: Making Sense of Creative Practice Through Reflection and Writing Out." *Journal of Writing in Creative Practice* 4: 225–238.

Jagiello, Jolanta. 2006. "Coaching for Creativity, Imagination and Innovation". In: 3rd Art of Management and Organisation Conference, 5-8 September 2006, Krakow, Poland.

Jaussi, Kimberley S, Amy E. Randel, and Shelley D. Dionne. 2007. "I Am, I Think I Can, and I Do: The Role of Personal Identity, Self-Efficacy, and Cross-Application of Experiences in Creativity at Work." *Creativity Research Journal* 19: 247-258.

Kashdan, Todd, B, Matthew W. Gallagher, Paul J. Silvia, Beate P. Winterstein, William E. Breen, D. Terhar, and Michael F. Steger. 2009. "The Curiosity and Exploration Inventory-II: Development, Factor Structure and Psychometrics." *Journal of Research in Personality* 43: 987-998.

Kegan, Robert. 1994. *In Over Our Heads*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kellogg, Ronald. 1999.*The Psychology of Writing*. New York: Oxford University Press.

King, Laura. A, Lori McKee, and Sheri J. Broyles. 1996."Creativity and the Five-Factor Model". *Journal of Research In Personality* 30: 189-203.

Kopp, Sheldon B. 1976. *If You Meet the Buddha on the Road, Kill Him*. New York: Bantam Books.

Krauth, Nigel, Donna Lee Brien Ross Watkins, and Anthony Lawrence. 2014. "Creative Writing as Research." *TEXT Special Issue 27: Creative Writing as Research III*, edited by Nigel Krauth, Donna Lee Brien, Ross Watkins and Anthony Lawrence. http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue27/KrauthBrienWatkins&Lawrence.pdf

Lather, Anu Singh, Shilpa Jain, and Anju Dwivedi Shukla. 2014. "Components of Creativity in Relation to Locus of Control: A Study of Students from Mysore University, India." *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science* 2: 48-61.

Lawrence, Susan. 2001. "Foodways on Two Colonial Whaling Stations: Archaeological and Historical Evidence for Diet in Nineteenth Century Tasmania." *Journal of the Royal Historical Society* 87: 209-229.

Lee, Seon-Young, and Jiyeon Min. 2016. "The Profile of Creative Potential and Personality Characteristics of Adult Professionals." *Creativity Research Journal*: 298-309.

Leung, A. K, WW. Maddux, AD. Galinsky, and C. Chiu. 2008. "Multicultural Experience Enhances Creativity: The When and How." *American Psychologist* 63:169-181.

Lester, Stan. 1999. "An Introduction to Phenomenological Research." https://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/F50603E0-41AF-4B15-9C84-BA7E4DE8CB4F/0/Seaweedphenomenologyresearch.pdf

Liang, Chaoyun, Yuling Hsu, and Chi-Cheng Chang. 2013. "Intrinsic Motivation as a Mediator on Imaginative Capability Development." *Thinking Skills and Creativity* 8: 109-119.

Lindauer, Martin.S. 1993. "The Span of Creativity Among Long-lived Historical Artists." *Creativity Research Journal* 6: 221-239.

Little, Brian. 2014. *Me, Myself and Us. The Science of Personality and the Art of Well-Being.* Public Affairs: New York.

Losch, Sabine, Eva Mattausch-Traut, Maximillian Muhlberger, and Eva Jinas. 2016. "Comparing the Effectiveness of Individual Coaching, Self-Coaching, and Group Training: How leadership makes the difference.".*Frontiers in Psychology*: 1-17.

Lubart, Todd. 2010. “In Search of the Writer’s Creative Process.” In *The Psychology of Creative* Writing, edited by Scott Barry Kaufman, 149-165. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Lubinski, David, and Camilla B. Benbow. 2001. “Choosing Excellence”. *American Psychologist* 56: 76.

McLoughlin, Nigel. 2016. “Emergences: Toward a Cognitive-Affective Model for Creativity in the Arts.” In *The Cognitive Humanities*, edited by Peter Garratt, 169-189. Palgrave Macmillan. DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-59329-0_10

Martindale, Colin. 1999. “Biological Bases of Creativity.” In *Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg , 137-154. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Matthews, Judy. 2012. “Developing Creative Capital: What Can We Learn From the Workplace?” In Proceedings Creating Value: Between Commerce and Commons, Brisbane. Accessed February 12. http://eprints.qut.edu.au/15772/1/15772.pdf

Marwick, Arthur. “The fundamentals of history.” The Open University. http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/marwick1.html

Mezirow, Jack. 2000. *Learning as transformation: critical perspectives on a theory in progress.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

McIntyre, Phillip. 2013. “Creativity as a system in action.” In *Handbook of Research on Creativity,* edited by Kerry Thomas and Janet Chan, 98- 111. United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Miechenbaum, Donald. 1975. “Enhancing Creativity by Modifying What Subjects Say to Themselves.” *American Educational Research Journal* 12, 2: 129-145.

Moorhouse, Frank. 2017. “Is Writing A Way Of Life.”*Meanjin* 76: 44-61.

Mumford, Michael, and Sigrid B.Gustafson. 1988. “Creativity Syndrome: Integration, Application, and Innovation.” *Psychological Bulletin* 103: 27-43.

Nelson, Camilla. 2008. “Research through practice: a reply to Paul Dawson”. *TEXT* 12,. http://www.textjournal.com.au

Nelson-Jones. 2006. *Human Relationship Skills: Coaching and Self-Coaching*. London: Routledge.

NHS. 2005. *Literature review: coaching effectiveness – a summary*. NHS Leadership Centre: London.

Nickerson, Raymond S. 1999. “Enhancing Creativity.” In *Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 392-430. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Onarheim, Balder, and Morten Friis-Olivarius. 2013. “Applying the neuroscience of creativity to creativity training.” *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 7: 1-10.

Orwell, George. 1946. *Why I Write*. http://orwell.ru/library/essays/wiw/english/e_wiw

Piirto, Jane. 2010. “The Personalities of Creative Writers.” In *The Psychology of Creative Writing*, edited by Scott Barry Kaufman, 3-22. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Plucker, Jonathan A , and Jacob J. Levy. 2001. “The Downside of Being Talented.” *American Psychologist* 56: 75-76.

Plucker, Jonathan .A, Ronald Beghetto, and Gayle Dow. 2004. “Why Isn’t Creativity More Important to Educational Psychologists? Potential, Pitfalls, and Future Directions in Creativity Research.” *Educational Psychologist* 39: 83-96.

PMSEIC. 2005. *Imagine Australia: The Role of Creativity in the Innovation Economy*. A Paper prepared by an independent Working Group for the Prime Minister’s ScienceEngineering and Innovation Council Prime Minister. http://www.industry.gov.au/science/PMSEIC/Documents/TheRoleOfCreativityInTheInnovationEconomy.pdf

Policastro, Emma, and Howard Gardner. 1999. “From Case Studies to Robust Generalisations: An Approach to the Study of Creativity.” In *Handbook of Creativity* edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 213-225. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Pourjalali, Samaneh, E.M. Skrzyneck., and James C. Kaufman 2010. “The Creative Writer, Dysphonic Rumination, and Locus of Control.” In *The Psychology of Creative Writing*, edited by Scott Barry Kaufman, 23-40. Cambridge, UK:

Cambridge University Press.

Radford, Mark. 2004. “Emotion and Creativity.” *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 38: 53-64.

Rathunde, Kevin. 2000. “Broadening and Narrowing in the Creative Process: A Commentary on Fredrickson’s ‘Broaden-and-Build’ Model”. *Prevention and Treatment* 3: 1-6.

Rogers, Carl. 1954. “Toward a Theory of Creativity.” *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 11: 249-260.

Rogers, Carl. 1969. *A Therapist’s View of Psychotherapy: On Becoming a Person*. Constable & Co: London.

Roussin, Christopher J. 2008. “Increasing Trust, Psychological Safety, and Team Performance Through Dyadic Leadership Discovery.” *Small Group Research* 39: 224-248.

Runco, Mark A. 2015. “Meta-creativity: Being Creative About Creativity.” *Creativity Research Journal* 27: 295-298.

———. 2010. “Writing as an Interaction with Ideas.” In *The Psychology of Creative Writing*, edited by Scott Barry Kaufman, 180- 195.: Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

———. 2004.”Creativity.”*Annual Review of Psychology* 55: 657- 687.

———. 2002. “Creative and Critical Thought.” *Inquiry* 22: 31-37.

Runco, Mark, and Ahmed Abdullah. 2014. “Why Isn’t Creativity Being Supported? Distressing Analyses of Grants and Awards for Creativity Research–or Lack Thereof.” *Creativity Research Journal* 26: 248–250.

Runco, Mark, and Jaeger, Garrett. 2012. “The Standard Definition of Creativity.” *Creativity Research Journal* 24: 92–96.

Runco, Mark. A, and Steven R. Pritzker. 1999. *Encyclopaedia of Creativity, Volume 2, Ae-H*. Academic Press: California

Ryan, Richard M, and Edward L. Deci. 2000b. “Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation: Classic Definitions and New Directions.” *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 25: 54-67.

Scott Ginamarle, Lyle E. Leritz, and Michael Mumford D. 2004. “The effectiveness of creativity training: A quantitative review.” *Creativity Research Journal*: 361-388.

Shaw, Melvin P. “On the role of Affect in Scientific Discovery.” In *Affect, Creative Experience and Psychological Adjustment,* edited by Sandra Walker Russ, 147-164. Routledge: United Kingdom.

Sliter, Katherine A.and Neil D. Christiansen. 2012. “Effects of targeted self-coaching on applicant distortion of personality measures.” Journal of Personnel Psychology 11,4: 169-175

Sonesh, Shirley C, Chris W. Coultas, Christina N. Lacerenza, Shannon L. Marlow, Lauren E. Benishek, and Eduardo Salas. 2015. “The power of coaching: a meta-analytic investigation.” Coaching: An International Journal of Theory, Research and Practice 8,2: 73-95.

Sparrow, Stephanie. 2008. “Coaching for creativity.” *Training & Coaching Today*, February 22.

Seel Norbet.M. 2012. Schema(s). In: Seel N.M. (eds) *Encyclopedia of the Sciences of Learning*. Boston, MA Springer. https://doi-org.ezproxy2.acu.edu.au/10.1007/978-1-4419-1428-6_3

Stelter, Reinhard. 2012. *A Guide to Third Generation Coaching*. Springer: New York.

———. 2015. “A single case study on coaching for weight loss.” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being* 10: 1-13.

Shonstrom, Erik. 2014. “How Can Teachers Foster Curiosity?” *Education Week*. http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2014/06/04/33shonstrom.h33.html

Sternberg, Robert J. 1988. “A three-facet model of creativity.” In *The Nature of Creativity: Contemporary Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 124-147. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

——. 2006. “The Nature of Creativity.” *Creativity Research Journal* 18: 87-98.

Sternberg, Robert J, and Todd I. Lubart. 1999. “The Concepts of Creativity: Prospects and Paradigms.” In *Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 3-15. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sternberg Robert J, and LA. O'Hara. 1999. “Creativity and intelligence.” In: *Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert Sternberg, 251-272. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Simonton, Dean Keith. 2017. “The Science of Genius.” *Scientific American Mind*, Spring: 20-27.

———. 2013. “What is a Creative Idea? Little-c Versus Big-C Creativity.” In *Handbook of Research on Creativity*, edited by Kerry Thomas and Janet Chan, 69-83. United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

———. 2012 “Taking the U.S. Patent Office Criteria Seriously: A Quantitative Three-Criterion Creativity Definition and Its Implications.” *Creativity Research Journal* 24:97-106.

———. 2000. “Creativity, Personal, Developmental and Social Aspects.” *American Psychologist* 55:151-158.

———. 1999. “Creativity from a Historiometric Perspective.” In *The Handbook of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 116-136. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Ken. 2014.“Innovation and the knowledge economy in Australia.” Australian Policy Online. http://apo.org.au/research/innovation-and-knowledge-economy-australia

Snyder, Allan, Sophie Ellwood, and Richard P. Chi. 2017. “Switching on Creativity”. *Scientific American Mind* Spring: 107-112.

Thomas, Kerry. 2013. “The ‘Illusio’ of the Creative Life: Case Studies of Emerging Artists.” In *Handbook of Research on Creativity*, edited by Kerry Thomas and Janet Chan, 364-379. United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Throsby, David, and Virginia Hollister. 2003. “Don’ Give Up Your Day Job: an Economic Study of Professional Artists in Australia.” Australia Council. http://www.australiacouncil.gov.au/workspace/uploads/files/research/entire_document-54325d2a023c8.pdf

Tokumitsu, Miya. 2014. “In the Name of Love.” *Jacobin*. https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/01/in-the-name-of-love/

Torrance, Paul E. 1988. “The Nature of Creativity as Manifest in its Testing.” In *The Nature of Creativity:Contemporary Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Robert. J Sternberg, 43-75. Cambridge ,UK: Cambridge University Press..

Wahba, MA, and LG. Bridwell. 1976. “Maslow Reconsidered: A Review of Research on the Need Hierarchy Theory.” *Organizational Behaviour and Human Performance* 15: 212-240.

Wallace, Doris B. 1989. “Studying the Individual.” In *Creative People at Work*, edited by Howard Gruber and Doris Wallace, 147-169. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Wallace, Doris. B, and Howard E. Gruber. 1989. *Creative People at Work*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ward, Thomas, B, Steve M. Smith., and Ronald A. Finke. 1999. “Creative Cognition.” In Handbook *of Creativity*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 189-212. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press..

Webb, Jen, and Donna Lee Brien. 2006 "Strategic directions for research in writing: a wish list." *TEXT* 10. http://www.textjournal.com.au/april06/webbbrien.htm

Webb, Jen, and Donna Lee Brien. 2011. "Addressing the 'Ancient Quarrel': Creative Writing as Research." In *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts*, edited by Michael Biggs and Henrik Karlsson, 186-204. Routledge: London.

Weiner, Bernard, Richard Nierenberg, and Mark Goldstein.1976. "Social Learning (Locus of Control) Versus Attributional (Causal Stability) Interpretations of Expectancy of Success." *Journal of Personality* 44: 52-68.

Weisberg, Robert. W. 2009. "On 'Out-of-the-Box' Thinking in Creativity." In *Tools for Innovation,* edited by Arthur Markman and Kirstin Wood, 23-47. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1988. "*Problem Solving and creativity.*" In *The Nature of Creativity: Contemporary Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg, 148-176. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

White, Patrick. 1961. *The Tree of Man*. Great Britain: Penguin.

White, Terri-Ann. 2017. "The Marketing Was Crap." *Sydney Review of Books*.. http://sydneyreviewofbooks.com/the-marketing-was-crap/

Wilcox, Ruth. A, Stacey L. Bridges, and Diane Montgomery. 2010. "The Role of Coaching by Teaching Artists for Arts-Infused Social Studies: What Project CREATES Has to Offer." *Journal for Learning through the Arts* 6: 1-13.

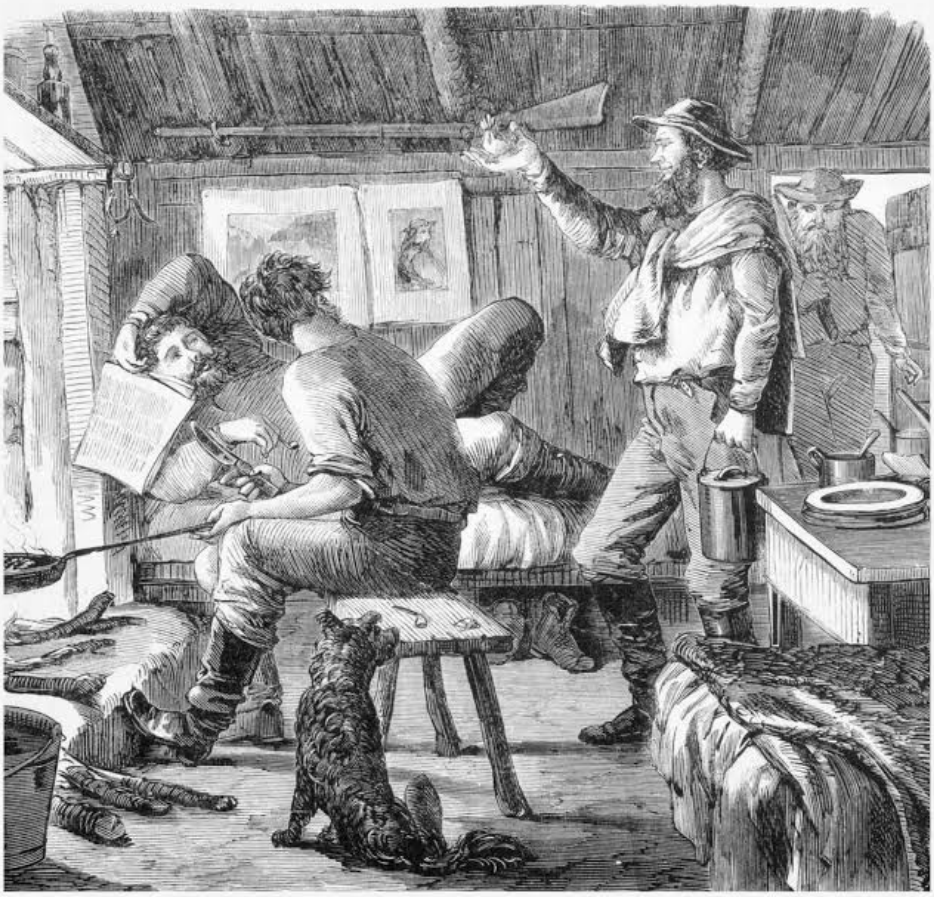
Williams, Rich, Mark Runco, and Eric Berlow. 2016. "Mapping the Themes, Impact and Cohesion of Creativity Research over the Last 25 Years." *Creativity Research Journal*: 385-394.

University of California. 2006. *The History Project: The Process of Historical Investigation*. http://historyproject.ucdavis.edu/pdfs/Process_of_Historical_Investigation.pdf

Zainal, Zaidah. 2007. "Case Study as a research method." *Journal Kemanusiaan bil* 9:1-5.

Zimmerman, Barry. J, and Rafael Risemberg.1997. "Becoming a Self-Regulated Writer: A Social Cognitive Perspective." *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 22, 73-101.

Appendix A



THE COLONIAL KITCHEN

Australia 1788-1901

CHARMAINE O'BRIEN

[1] I have used ‘schema’ as a descriptor for mental sets or constructed ‘schemes’ (no capitalisation) of information filing and interpretation. Schema Theory can works with such constructed schema, but this is a complex and specialised area of psychology in of itself, and is outside the scope of this thesis. I understand the process of changing mental sets, or schema, through a psychological coaching approach, which has been informed by many other psychological theories and approaches.