<u>Plate to Print: Cookbooks and the Evolution of the Domestic Sphere</u>

Frozen food and meal prep services; #FoodTok and cooking blogs; diet fads and "Make America Healthy Again"—the social and cultural politics of cooking has come a long way. The ritual of preparing and consuming a meal has played a unique role in human history. It's simultaneously art and science, process and product, delight and responsibility. It allows for individual expression while still reflecting the customs of broader communities and geographies. Culinary practices are often close to the heart, as food frequently connects and defines families. Dishes become traditions that are coveted, altered, and passed down. Recipes are heirlooms; the taste and smells of cooking as powerful forces for nostalgia and memory, reminders of legacy and affiliation.

However, it is only in the past two centuries that this cardinal skill has gained widespread respect in Western culture, which is the central focus of this exhibit. For generations, cooking was an "invisible labor"—a term coined in the 1980s by sociologist Arlene Kaplan Daniels to describe work often performed by women, typically outside the market economy. These repetitive, unpaid tasks essential to maintaining households were—and in some cases, still are—unacknowledged and undervalued.

Cookbooks helped legitimate this labor and, consequently, usher in precursors to feminist thought. Early volumes, offering guidance on a wide array of domestic duties, read like manuals for womanhood. Written recipes, advice, and remedies made visible the endless drone of responsibilities that fell primarily to wives, mothers, and sisters. Since printed materials are disseminated and valued, these volumes gradually earned "women's" duties—and, naturally, women themselves—greater respect. Importantly, these books also expanded the cultural and social significance of cooking, ultimately shaping it into the respected discipline, political battleground, and personal joy it is today.

This exhibit was curated by Kira Parrish-Penny, the 2024-2025 Edward Connery Lathem '51 Special Collections Fellow, and will be on display in the Class of 1965 Galleries in Rauner Library from March 17th through June 13th, 2025. The poster was designed by Joshua Shaw, Library Web and Application Developer.

Case 1: History of the Cookbook: Manual and Textbook

Cookbooks' genealogy can be traced back to oral instruction—for instance, a mother teaching a daughter to cook and maintain a home or an employed cook directing an apprentice in the kitchens of palaces, monasteries, or hospitals. Some recipes from ancient civilizations have survived into the modern day, but for millennia, widespread illiteracy hindered the proliferation of written instruction.

This changed after the invention of the printing press in 1440, which enabled the mass-production of books and sparked a surge in literacy among the middle classes. However, it wasn't until the 1700s that the recipe or "cookery" book earned a spot in the Western literary canon. Early authors were women housewives or housekeepers, and their books served as broad guides for home and family management. Culinary instruction was most common, but books also frequently included medical remedies, cleaning solutions, and guidance for managing servants and raising children.

In successive years, the genre both broadened and narrowed as authors adopted increasingly niche focuses and audiences. Some appealed to wealthier readers; others touted thrift. Books might offer instruction for regional cuisines or adapt their recipes for new ingredients introduced with trade and migration.

Early recipes served as memory aids to knowledgeable cooks. They lacked titles and ran on in narrative style. As these books gained popularity, culinary terminology was systematized, formalizing a previously informal skillset. The recipe structure dominant today—a list of ingredients, with quantities, followed by a description of steps—emerged after this codification, in the mid-1800s.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the emerging "Culture of Domesticity" ideology took hold among the middle and upper classes in Europe and the United States, asserting that a woman's "sphere" was within the home. There, she had the authority to run the household and care for its inhabitants. This delineation of responsibilities gave rise to new ideas about household education, paving the way for professional subjects such as home economics and domestic science. Cookbooks reflected and encouraged this new pedagogy, gaining popularity and serving as detailed guides for a readership burdened with the moral obligation to maintain a functional and happy home.

Recipes and Home Remedies, [undated]. (Call Number: H. Frances Parmelee Papers, MS-1343 Box 2 Folder 16).

Repurposed Ledger. (Call Number: Ray Nash Papers, MS-1076 Box 58 Folder 5).

The owner of this ledger repurposed it as a makeshift home aid book, pasting several years' (1885-1887) worth of columns of "The Household" over old entries. Advice includes recipes, cleaning solutions, and guidance on temperament, religious faith, child rearing, and physical health. This scrap-book solution suggests a need for more formal, published home remedy books and reveals the vast range of responsibilities encompassed by the 19th century ideology of the Cult of Domesticity.

Mary Kettilby and others, A Collection of above Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery; for the Use of All Good Wives, Tender Mothers, and Careful Nurses, 1728. (Call Number: Rare TX151 .K48 1728)

The oldest remedy book in this exhibit serves as a guide for "young and inexperienced dames." The author touts her work as far better than the "strangely odd and fantastical" recipes presented by other texts.

The *Collection's* combination of cookery recipes—including Britain's first printed recipe for orange marmalade—and medicinal remedies was not unusual at the time. However, Kettilby is careful to emphasize that her text does not infringe on the expertise of male physicians and surgeons. (Perhaps unsurprising, since the listed cure for "deafness and noise in the head" involves putting your own urine in a pewter-dish, covering it with another dish, heating it until clear water forms on the upper dish, brushing that water with a feather and dropping it in the ailing ear).

Amelia Simmons, American Cookery, 1808. (Call Number: Rare TX703 .S5 1808)

The first American cookbook published in the United States, *American Cookery* proclaims itself "adapted to this country." While it acknowledges British heritage and offers some British recipes, it also introduced indigenous American recipes with native American ingredients like cornmeal, pumpkin, and molasses. Beyond simply presenting a collection of recipes, this cookbook reflected and shaped the culinary habits of the colonists. In so doing, it helped define an important cultural facet—a gustatory identity—of this budding nation. Indeed, the U.S. Library of Congress considers this one of the 88 "Books that Shaped America." In her preface, Amelia Simmons draws a connection between her cookbook and the strength of American project. Her book was intended for the "rising generation of FEMALES in America" to have access to a more "general and universal knowledge" so that women of all circumstances may "[do] those things which are really essential to the perfecting them as good wives, and useful members to society."

This guide would have been particularly useful to Simmons herself, who identifies as an "American orphan." For women in America, particularly recent emigrants lacking strong female supports, this cookbook would serve as a useful textbook for becoming a "good [wife]" or a knowledgeable servant—roles she deemed important to the overall success of a young and fragile country.

Elizabeth Raffald, The Experienced English Housekeeper, for the Use and Ease of Ladies, Housekeepers, Cooks, &c., 1796. (Call Number: Rare TX 705. R33 1796)

Before publishing the first edition of *The Experienced English Housekeeper* in 1769, Elizabeth Raffald worked for fifteen years as a servant and housekeeper for Lady Elizabeth Warburton, to whom this book is dedicated. Raffald eventually married Lady Elizabeth's head gardener, and the couple moved to Manchester, where she started a business selling select dishes and confectionaries. As her business grew, she began offering cooking classes; her cookery book was born out of those lessons.

Intended for the "use and ease of ladies, housekeepers, cooks, &c." this book focuses less on thrift and accessibility than on the culinary customs of a wealthy household (Note the pullout offering "Directions for a Grand Table.") Roughly sixty blank pages at the start and end of the book allow ample room for readers to add their own recipes, remedies, and other notes. *The Experienced English Housekeeper* provided an early reference to barbecuing, as well as what is likely the first published recipe for crumpets.

Susan Anna Brown, Mrs. Gilpin's Frugalities: Remnants and 200 Ways of Using Them, 1883. (Call Number: DC Hist TX715. B888)

This 1883 text explicitly advertises thrift, appealing more directly to the middle- and lower-classes. In her preface, Susan Anna Brown makes a moral, almost patriotic case for frugality, deriding the "real ignorance of that principle of economy which utilizes everything" and suggesting that "Americans are more wasteful of food than any other people." One should not disdain thrift, she argues; rather, frugality is an essential component of care in the kitchen: "No table is so expensive as the one to which little thought and less personal oversight is given."

Maria Rundell ("A Lady"), A New System of Domestic Cookery, 1808. (Call Number: N.H. Exeter 1808)

Throughout her marriage and widowhood, Maria Rundell compiled recipes and advice to pass along to her daughters. After sharing her informal collection with a publisher friend, it was formally published and swiftly became the most popular English cookbook of its time. Hailed as "a publishing sensation," it evolved over 67 editions and sold more than 500,000 copies worldwide.

Rundell, considered the "original domestic goddess," adopted a relatively new approach in *The New Domestic Cookery*. Intended for the middle class, her recipes explicitly avoid "all excessive luxury." Unlike earlier English cookbooks such as *the Experienced English Housekeeper* (also featured in this exhibit), her text is subdivided into dish types, carving advice, guidance on utensils, managing servants, etc. Her recipe book also focuses primarily on cooking and largely omits medicinal receipts.

"A Lady," *The New Domestic Cookery*, 1830. (Call Number: Rare TX717 .L34 1830x)

The New Domestic Cookery was published twenty-three years after the first printing of Maria Rundell's wildly successful A New System of Domestic Cookery (also featured in this exhibit). While the two books share no apparent connection, it is likely that the publishers opted for a near-identical title and similar content to play off Rundell's fame.

Bemjamin Count of Rumford, *Essays Political, Economical, and Philosophical*, 1802. (Call Number: Rumford Q113 .R92a 1800.)

Benjamin Count of Rumford's essays on nutrition and culinary preparation represent some of the earliest considerations of the *scientific* aspects of food and food preparation. Rumford's work emerged from his observations of indigent populations in Bavaria and his experiments and technological innovations were initially aimed at alleviating poverty.

"As providing sustenance is, and ever must be, an object of the first concern in all countries, any discovery or improvement by which the procuring of good and wholesome food can be facilitated, must contribute very powerfully to increase the comforts, and promote the happiness of society."

Rumford writes that he was "struck...very forcibly" by the effect that certain ingredients

and proper cooking methods had on the "apparent goodness" and "apparent nutritiousness" of prepared food. The cook's talent, he surmised, matters far more than the price or quantity of nutritious ingredients. His emphasis on taste and food quality, with careful consideration given to the "art and skill of the cook," was unusual at the time—especially for a man, especially of a member of the upper-class.

In other essays, Rumford focuses his attention on waste and inefficiencies in the *process* of cooking. He observes that an "enormous" amount of fuel is wasted to "[make] liquids boil unnecessarily," asserting his belief that more than half the fuel used in private and public kitchens across the world is similarly squandered. "The evil does not stop here": Cooking, he notes, is "much more laborious and troublesome" than it could be if the process weren't so "unscientific and slovenly."

Consequently, he provides a litany of recommendations to enhance cooking techniques and technology. He offers improvements for kitchen fireplaces, kitchen layouts, ovens, and kitchen boilers, among others.

His work highlights the value of domestic duties, especially cooking. He writes that his intention in publishing these essays is to "awaken the curiosity of my readers" and to fix their attention on a subject previously considered "low and vulgar" but which is, "in fact, highly interesting, and deserving of the most serious consideration." He adds his wish to "inspire cooks with a just idea of the importance of their art." He recommends a "scientific investigation" into the art of cookery to "increase the comforts of enjoyment of mankind." His elevation of domestic practices, and his urging of a scientific perspective, laid the groundwork for ideologies emphasizing the value of household management, such as Catherine Beecher's perspective on the Domestic Economy (also featured in this exhibit) in the following decades and the Home Economics movement of the early twentieth century.

Catherine Beecher, A Treatise on Domestic Economy: for the Use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School, 1842. (Call Number: 1926 collection B39)

Could proper cooking, washing, and gardening be critical to the maintenance of a healthy democracy?

Yes, argues Catherine Beecher in her *Treatise*. For the sake of American society, women guardians of the "domestic economy" must be properly prepared for their essential domestic duties. She follows a careful logic. She explains that the success of democratic institutions "depends upon the intellectual and moral character of the mass of people." If the citizenry is intelligent and virtuous, democracy can thrive; but if they are ignorant and immoral, democracy is a "curse."

Who is responsible for the moral and intellectual education of the American citizenry? Women, she argues: "The mother forms the character of the future man; the sister bends the fibers that are hereafter to be the forest tree; the wife sways the heart, whose energies may turn for good or for evil the destinies of a nation. Let the women of a country made virtuous and intelligent, and the men will certainly be the same." It follows that, "as a matter of public concern," women be educated for their "most responsible of all duties." While men have access to colleges and educational institutions, women receive little formal preparation for their lifelong careers.

She adds that, while knowledge and practice in home management is important, young ladies may find it "vulgar and ungenteel." In response, Beecher retorts, "This is one of the relics of an aristocratic society, which is rapidly fading away." With remarkable foresight, she observes that the nation is moving toward the "equalization of labor." "Indolence is disreputable," asserts Beecher.

Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home: or, Principles of Domestic Science: Being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful, and Christian Homes,* 1869. (Call Number: WVal 816 St78 O3.)

Twenty-eight years after the publication of Catherine Beecher's *Treatise*, she and her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, revised and republished that work to produce *The American Woman's Home*.

The ideas the sisters espouse in the book are both revolutionary and traditional. On the one hand, they emphasize the moral and political importance of domestic duties—responsibilities that had previously been overlooked. They argue that the chief cause of the "evils" of women's "disabilities and sufferings" is that women's work is underappreciated, women are not educated, and, as a result, "family labor is poorly done, poorly paid, and regarded as menial and disgraceful."

Indeed, they seem to view the management of the home as a kind of science, with *The American Woman's Home* serving as a central textbook. They offer clear instruction on human anatomy and health, nutrition, maintaining a healthy mind, and more. They argue that home decoration is essential for "moral sensibility," that good food fosters health and happiness, and that a housekeeper's balanced temper influences the entire family's mood. In fact, their design recommendations introduced one of the first ideas for optimizing work in the kitchen.

At the same time, their text clearly and proudly promotes the Cult of Domesticity—the idea that a woman's place is solely within the home. It reinforces domestic values, limiting women's influence on American society to the confines of the domestic sphere. Even though the women of America "often exhibit a masculine strength of understanding, and a manly energy," they argue that "Americans have applied to the sexes the great principle of political economy, which governs the manufactories of our age, by carefully dividing the duties of man from those of woman, in order that the great work of society may be more effectively carried on."

Case 2: Cookbooks, Community, and Connection

The ritual of cooking and sharing a meal is deeply tied to social connection. For families, dinner often serves as a daily touchpoint—a moment to savor and reflect on the day. Beyond the family unit, communities such as religious congregations, school groups, and social clubs frequently gather around food, sharing recipes as they share stories and offer support. As a result, an individual's personal collection of recipes is inherently connected to their social context. Their food preferences are often shaped by culture, trends, family, and friends. Community cookbooks gained popularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century and remained widely enjoyed through the end of the twentieth century. Recipes were compiled from members of a social organization and were often published to raise money for causes important to that group. These books held value beyond the quality of their recipes; they embodied and reinforced the communities that created them.

A Kick in the Kitchen, 1988. (Call Number: D.C. Hist TX 715 .K48 1988)

A cookbook can represent more than just utility or a common theme. The collection of recipes in *A Kick in the Kitchen* symbolizes a community—the Hanover High School Girls' Soccer team—and commemorates a shared achievement—the school's first victory in the 1987

New Hampshire State Championship. The cookbook is dedicated to the players, coaches, administrators, parents, friends, and fans who "collectively make up the Hanover Girls' Soccer Family." Each recipe is tagged with the name of the person who contributed it, giving the sense that each dish represents a member of the "team." Recipes like "Peter's Mother's Blueberry Muffins" and "Aunt Gladys' Bran Muffins" evoke the warmth and intimacy of a family cookbook.

Country Recipes from the Women's Fellowship of the Hanover Center Church, 1961. (Call Number: D.C. Hist 715 .H36).

This collection of recipes comes from the Women's Fellowship at the Hanover Center United Church of Christ and is dedicated to "our husbands and families who are most patient during all of our activities..."

Note the two "recipes" shown on the page above. Here, recipe structure is used as saccharine metaphor: *follow these steps for a strong marriage, a happy home, and domestic bliss!* These are joke recipes, but their humor is grounded in traditional gender roles and notions of certain "wifely duties" popular in the mid-twentieth century.

New Hampshire Youth Orchestra Presents Culinary Concerto, Opus No. 1: Favorite Masterpieces, 1982. (Call Number: D.C. History TX715 .N484 1982)

Favorite dishes of the members of the 1982 New Hampshire Youth Orchestra. Many recipes in this collection are handwritten by their creators, giving the impression of a true community collaboration.

The Tuck-Thayer Wives Club Cookbook, 1967. (Call Number: D.C. Hist TX 715.T83)

A collection of recipes from the wives of all the graduate students at Dartmouth College. This cookbook highlights an often-overlooked segment of the Dartmouth community, offering a platform for them to informally share culinary traditions. Proceeds from the cookbook's sales helped fund Wives' Club activities, making both the content and the book itself a source of support for this group of women.

Grandmother Smith's Cookies, [1845-1941]. (Call Number: Lord Family Papers, MS-510 Box 6 Folder 8).

These recipes were found in the archival collection for the family of the sixth president of Dartmouth, Nathan Lord. They were included alongside other family information such as family trees, histories, and research on Lord's ancestors, descendants, and affiliated families. Clearly this recipe was passed around--note how the genealogy of the recipe highlights the women in the extended family.

The handwritten section at the bottom of the typed recipe reads:

Written out by ^aunt^ Lizzie Condit for cousin Lucy Maynard who sends [unintelligible] to Jeanne. Amelia Strong (b. 1793) invented it from her mother Abigail White wife of Cyperian Strong. Farmington Conn.

(on back)

Might be among others her daughter Rebecca who m. [married] Giddeon Smith.

River Bank Recipes, 1980. Call Number: (D.C. His TX 715 .R594)

In 1980, the schools in Supervisory Union 22 had a problem: the district serving select Upper Valley schools needed a multi-purpose room without placing added burdens on taxpayers. The solution? An idea that the then-principal of Hanover High School called "one of the most imaginative and ambitious community school projects": they would sell a cookbook and use the funds to furnish and equip a new community facility. The resulting cookbook both represents a community as well as actively helped to strengthen it.

An \$8 donation to the project would give readers access to a collection of recipes from the district's teachers, administrators, school board, support staff, and community members. The book also features select recipes from "Special People," including the then-governors of New Hampshire and Vermont, as well as Jean Kemeny, wife of the thirteenth president of Dartmouth (she submitted Hungarian Pork Goulash, page 5). Local restaurants like the Hanover Inn, Jesse's, and Lou's also offered select recipes for the book.

Indian River Nursery School, *More Than A Cookbook*, 1990. (Call Number: D.C. Hist TX 715.2 .N48 M67 1990).

"This is more than a cookbook, it is a book of ideas from the parents, teachers and students of the Indian River Nursery School in Canaan, New Hampshire."

In addition to culinary recipes, this book features hand-drawn student art, titles of children's books recommended by parents and kids, and advice for other kid-friendly miscellany like birthday party ideas, yard games, directions for making play dough and bubble solution, and must-visit Upper Valley spots.

Case 3: Cookbook as Aesthetic

Once cookbooks were established in the literary canon, their styles and significance began to evolve and expand. A cultural shift was underway in the world of cooking: where cookbooks had once primarily focused on instructing readers in the *design* and *creation* of a culinary aesthetic, they had now become an aesthetic craft *in their own right*.

Informative, utilitarian cookbooks were soon joined by works that not only provided culinary instruction but also used the cookbook format to convey broader messages and themes. In these books, recipes often took a backseat to other intentions—whether to tell a story, offer a culinary perspective on a particular elite group, or reveal a gustatory side of history.

Letters to Erskine Caldwell, 1965. (Call Number: MS-1046, Erskine Caldwell Papers, Box 9, Folder 34.)

Letters to acclaimed writer Erskine Caldwell, imploring him to provide a recipe for inclusion in an upcoming cookbook, *Favorite Recipes of Famous People*. It seems that Caldwell sent in recipes for Italian Hunter's Stew and Fresh Spinach Salad, which would have been featured alongside dishes by Jackie Kennedy and President Johnson, among others.

This recipe collection, especially when paired with biographical sketches, offers a unique gustatory insight into enigmatic figures of celebrity. The recipes' affiliation to their "famous people," rather than to the dishes themselves, might attract a broader readership. Departing

from traditional, utilitarian cookbooks, this collection highlights the dish as one aspect of a person, rather than presenting the person as merely the byline of a compelling dish.

Ruth E. Adomeit, The Little Cookie Book, 1960. (Call Number: Presses E48ad)

Ruth E. Adomeit was a true "minibibliophile"—devoted to writing, editing, and collecting miniature books. Over her lifetime, she built one of the world's largest collections of these tiny tomes. *The Little Cookie Book* marries Adomeit's culinary taste with her small-book obsession. As such, it's less a functional cookbook than a pocket-sized preservation of Adomeit herself. Adomeit's emphasis on aesthetics over utility is underscored by the book's limited printing; only 2,000 copies were produced.

Ruth Anne Beebe, Sallets, Humbles, & Shrewsbery Cakes: A Collection of Elizabethan Recipes, 1976. (Call Number: Presses G555be)

"A glance at the cluttered shelves of most cookbook sections reveals an abundance of material on contemporary cuisines and an unfortunate neglect of gastronomy. Here is the deliberate exception."

This cookbook presents a collection of real Elizabethan recipes, both transcribed in their original forms and adapted for use in the modern kitchen. It serves a dual purpose: to offer useful recipes as well as to serve as a kind of textbook for gustatory history.

Recipes reveal what ingredients—and, consequently, tastes—were available to the average Elizabethan eater. The book's extensive foreword also clarifies how culinary trends reflected their historical moments. For instance, the fork was likely introduced in the seventeenth century; before that, common dishes like "spoonbread" and "spoonmeat," had been adapted to the available utensils.

Ruth Anne Beebe thus expands the traditional scope and aim of her cookbooks. She writes that such works should do more than offer recipes: "they should reflect the culture which produces them, its preconceptions and prejudices."

Vera Ricci, Vera Ricci's Special Recipes for Special People, 1976. (Call Number: Presses W378ri).

Unadorned but tasteful, Special Recipes for Special People lives up to its title.

"The Recipes in this book have been arranged for easy reading," writes the author, suggesting her intention that this book be <u>used</u> by its readers. However, it's almost *too* special to be dirtied—its neat, sophisticated design, produced by a printer and press known for elegance, almost undermines its functionality. Indeed, the kitchen, writes Ricci, is "a place where the culinary *arts* are practiced, performed, and enjoyed" (italics mine). Ricci's cookbook appears as a work of art, on par with the craft of cooking itself.

Pilaff Bey (a pseudonym for Normal Douglas and G. Orioli), *Venus in the Kitchen: Or Love's Cookery Book*, 1953. (Call Number: Douglas 72.)

This aphrodisiac cookbook presents an eccentric collection of recipes intended to help preserve a youthful libido. Compiled by Norman Douglas and his friends in the later stages of their lives, Venus in the Kitchen adopts a cookbook's style and tone to offer practical and humorous "solutions" to very real complications of aging. Light italicized "annotations" on select recipes give the reader the impression of bearing witness to a wry inside joke. Dishes range from

the more traditional to the undeniably absurd: crayfish soup and black risotto is listed alongside pie of bull testicles and "hysterical water."

Ellin Greene, Clever Cooks: A Ready-Mix of Stories, Recipes, and Riddles, 1973. (Call Number: Illus H997gr.)

"Start with the base of clever cooks... stir in a few recipes... sprinkle in some riddles and a charm or two, and you end up with a most delightful concoction."

Afternoon tea served as one of Ellen Greene's inspirations for this unusual book. Throughout her childhood, this ritual was a delight in which food and storytelling daily converged. Unlike most cookbooks, *Clever Cooks* is not purely instructive; rather, its pairing of recipes and prose reflects the real-world relationship between food and storytelling.

Greene's compilation of content mirrors the curation of dishes and themes in a more traditional cookbook. As the quote above punnily suggests, the book itself is a "concoction" intended to satisfy a particular literary palate.

Frances S. Daugherty and Aileen C. Brothers (editors), *Gridiron Cookery*, 1960. (Call Number: D.C. Hist TX 740 D33).

"Wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and sweethearts would do well to arise and unite behind this new cookbook..."

The recipes compiled in this book come from nearly 200 wives of America's most famous football coaches in the mid-twentieth century.

The premise of this cookbook makes explicit the era's dominant gender roles surrounding cooking and hosting. The jacket description assures the reader that these dishes "constitute a thruway to any man's heart." This very specific niche offers both a gustatory perspective on one of America's favorite pastimes as well as an insight into an elite group of wives. As the editors write, "In collecting their recipes, football coaches' wives have done what the average housewife does—only more so."