

# **Keeping the “British” in British Columbia: A Case Study of Using a Cookbook for Historical Research**

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## **General Introduction**

In this article, I investigate a British Columbia community cookbook from Victoria, British Columbia published in 1941. Community cookbooks are compilations of recipes created by organizations, such as church groups or women’s clubs, who seek to share practical culinary knowledge often for a specific purpose or cause or to celebrate an event. Green (2010) suggests that vintage community cookbooks are “infused with a sense of time, place and character that commercial cookbooks seldom offer” (p. 1) making them ideal artifacts for researching the quotidian, everyday life. As van Rosendaal (2018) says, “older texts have as much to do with history as cookery, documenting the challenges and solutions of everyday life”. Women traditionally did most of the home’s cooking, so historical cookbooks often shed light on the ordinary lives of women and provide unique insights into communities and households not found in commercial cookbooks (Rabinovitch 2011). Theophano (2002) suggests that they can be viewed much like quilts and other domestic artifacts as sources to view women’s lives when there are few other textual sources.

I classify this as historical research (McDowell, 2002). Historical research involves studying, understanding and interpreting past events. In home economics, historical research provides yet another layer of context for understanding everyday life by locating them in specific times and places (Burke, 2001). Vincenti (1989) argues that historical research is important for home economics “to obtain a historical perspective on particular problems in the work of the profession” (p. 92). Data for historical research is usually categorized into primary and secondary sources. Driver (2009) contends that cookbooks are primary sources, first hand information such as eye witness accounts or original records that have survived from the past. They are sources of original, uninterpreted information. She also notes that pre-1950 community cookbooks in Canada were compiled outside the conventional publishing realm and therefore they reflect the tastes and cooking practices of the home cooks who contribute the recipes as opposed to professional cookbook authors.

## **Introducing the Case: The Navy League Chapter IODE Victory Cook Book**

The Navy League Chapter IODE Victory Cook Book (see Fig. 1) was published in 1941 by the Victoria Navy League Chapter of the Imperial Organization of the Daughters of the Empire in order to raise funds for the war effort. I located it on

the Wartime Canada Website. It is a 92 page document that includes:

- 36 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> pages of advertising
- 7 pages of informational material, e.g., introduction, list of patrons, a word of appreciation, table of measurements, what to serve with meats, fish, etc., a plan of a week of meals, kitchen hints, how to remove stains, special menus (e.g., Thanksgiving, bridge), about cakes.
- 49 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> pages of recipes [Soups (5), Vegetable Dishes (14), Seafood and Fish Dishes (15), Meat Dishes (27), Salads (15), Cakes (45), Pies (6), Desserts (9), Biscuits and Bread (5), Cookies and Small Cakes (12), Luncheon Dishes (12), Candy (5), Jam (5) Pickles (9)]

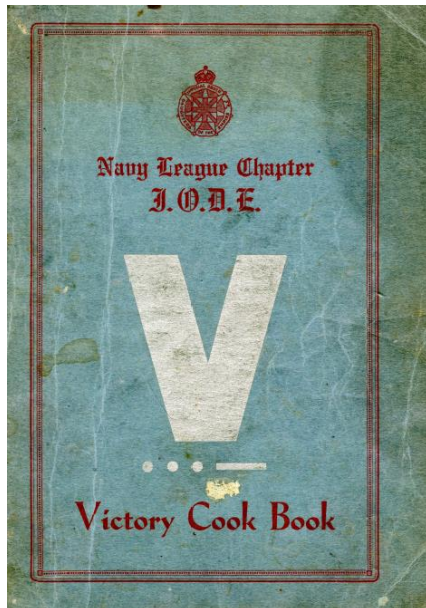


Figure 1. Front Cover of the Navy League Chapter IODE Victory Cook Book

This cookbook was published by a women's organization, and I analyzed each section of the cookbook using a structured approach that involves breaking the text into different groupings (Wheaton, 2006; Mac Con lomaire, 2013). I discuss two themes that struck me as I read and re-read this cookbook: a) although this cookbook was written during World War II with the intent of raising money for the war effort and has been described as a "wartime cookbook", it appears to be more about "keeping up appearances," British appearance, that is, than coping with war time food shortages and rationing; and b) how it is an example of how women's organizations existed in the liminal space between the public and private sphere and involvement in a women's organization and its activities, had the potential to introduce women to public participation.

### **Structured Analysis**

Wheaton (2006) recommends five different groupings for a structured analysis: ingredients; equipment or facilities; the meal; the book as a whole; and its worldview. She argues that systematically examining the book under these

headings, extracts much more from the cookbook than is apparent at first. Other researchers have used slightly different categories but continue to use a structured approach to the analysis of cookbooks in which the researcher applies critical reading skills in order to “break down” a text. For example, Inness (2006) includes categories of identity (e.g., gender, race, class, etc.) while Staub (2012) looks specifically at what cookbooks say about citizenship. For my structured approach I selected the following categories: the cover; the introduction page; the recipes; the menus; the recipe submitters; the patrons; and the advertising.

### The Cover

At the top of the cover is the IODE emblem (see Fig. 2).



Figure 2. IODE Emblem

The crown represents the British monarchy, the flag in the center is Union Jack which stands for Britain and the Empire, and the seven-pointed outward-radiating star, represents all of the major territories of the British Empire (Pickles, 2002) or the seven provinces in Confederation when the organization was created. The IODE's motto was "One Flag, One Throne, One Empire".

Directly under the emblem was the name of the organization:



Figure 3. Cookbook Creators

The creators of this cookbook were members of the Navy League Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) (See Fig. 3). Both are volunteer organizations. The Navy League of Canada was founded in 1918 and its origins can be traced to branches of the British Empire Navy League established in

Canada from 1895. The league's central function is the promotion of Canada's maritime interests, and it consistently supported expansion of the merchant marine. The league provided seamen's comforts during wartime and was active in youth training (Tucker, 1962).

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) is a Canadian Women's organization founded in Montreal in 1900 to promote ties with Britain and the Commonwealth (Sheenhan, 2013). It was incorporated as a Canadian women's organization by a special act of the Parliament of Canada. During the early years of its existence, the IODE concentrated its efforts on the advancement of British imperialism—namely, promoting Britain and British institutions through education. According to the IODE Constitution, the organization's primary objectives were to "promote in the Motherland and in the Colonies the study of the History of the Empire and of current Imperial questions" and to "stimulate, and give expression to the sentiment of patriotism which binds the women and children of the Empire around the Throne" (Small, 1995, p. 81). A woman's "imperial service" or "imperialism" usually means "of or pertaining to an empire" but in Great Britain it has the added significance of "designating the principles and aims of the Imperial Federation Committee established in 1893, which invited the colonies to take a share in the cost of imperial defense" (Webster's International Dictionary, second edition, 1935).

During the Second World War the IODE in Canada, had 35,000 members and participated in war effort relief drives, such as sock drives and scrap drives (Pickles, 2002). This women's organization was originally open only to women of British background. It was considered to be the voice of Empire, Canadian identity within Empire, military action in support of Empire, and commemoration of wartime heroism (Pickles, 2002).

The two organizations were closely linked. The Dominion Counsel of the Navy League consisted of provincial presidents of that organization and the national presidents of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and of the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada who served as ex-officio members (Tucker, 1962).

The IODE and the Navy League were associated with the woman's club movement that became part of the Progressive era of social reform. By 1912 it was estimated that one out of every 8 adult women in Canada belonged to a women's group, making the women's organizational movement a significant force in Canadian society. Those who joined were mainly middle-aged, middle class, English-speaking and Protestant (Middleton, et al. 2014).

In the center of the page is a large "V" followed by the Morse Code for V (short-short-short-long is the letter "V") (see Fig. 4).

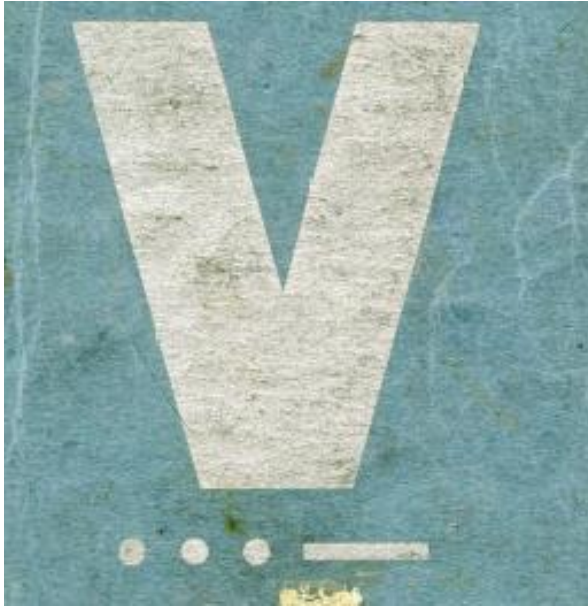


Figure 4. Victory Symbols on the Front Cover

Both are symbols for “victory”. Winston Churchill's V For Victory campaign began 1941 and was considered one of the most influential propaganda stunts of World War II. In a BBC broadcast he called the V sign “the symbol of the unconquerable will of the people of the occupied territories” and he encouraged his compatriots to show their defiance to the Germans by painting Vs wherever they could. The V For Victory campaign spread quickly throughout the United Kingdom and became a rallying cry for the Allies. The letter V in Morse code is three dots and a dash – da-da-da DAHH – also mimics the opening notes of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony became the sound for the BBC European services that broadcast to occupied areas (BBC World Service).

These symbols were followed by the title (See Fig. 5):



Figure 5. Title

Since “victory” was included in the title one question that arises is, “in what ways did this cookbook contribute to victory”? According to Wartime Canada, this book was released “to raise money towards war work” and it could be used to “find out what women on the homefront cooked for their families” (Wartime Canada).

### **The First Page**

The first page is dated October 1941 appears to be an introduction written by the convener of the project although no author is noted and there is no title. Community cookbook authors often used the cookbook to explain the mission of the organization and/or their purpose for writing the cookbook. Staub (2012) claims "this information is some of the most revealing material in the book in regard to women's beliefs" (p. 70). The Victory Cookbook begins with a little background on the organization.

The Navy League Chapter was organized on September 24, 1912, in Victoria, B.C., with the hero of Trafalgar's great watchword "Closer Action" chosen as its motto ... the interests of the Navy foremost in its work...The Chapter has always made the interests of the Navy foremost in its work. During the first Great War a \$100.00 Life Membership in the Navy League of Canada was purchased in the Chapter's name, also a Life Membership in the Red Cross. (p. 1)

Trafalgar refers to the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, where the HMS *Victory* was the flagship to the British Fleet captained by Lord Nelson. Nelson's final rallying call was "closer action" which won the day but cost him his life. This victory established British naval supremacy for more than 100 years. The use of this motto could indicate that their mission was to do anything that would "win the day" and ensure British supremacy. According to Pickles (2002) it was not unusual for chapters to adopt imperial heroes in order to promote a British Canada. IODE members frequently joined others women's groups such as the Navy League and the Red Cross.

The rationale for the cookbook is explained this way:

Since the outbreak of the second World War, the Chapter has raised and spent an average of \$100.00 a month on war work and it is for this purpose that the members have collected these tested recipes in an endeavour to raise more money. (p.1)

They don't describe their "war work" but during World War II the Navy League worked to improve the welfare and relief to sailors ashore in Canadian ports. It is reasonable to assume that they supported the men at the Esquimalt Naval Base, a military installation established by the Royal Navy in 1855 and then home to Royal Canadian Navy Maritime Forces since 1910.

Also included is a description of their main fund raising activities:

In 1917 a Children's Fancy Dress Ball was organized during the Christmas season at the Empress Hotel and has been successfully carried on every year since, netting the Chapter approximately \$7,000,00 in the twenty-four years. Other activities, such as garden parties, card parties, raffles, etc., have enabled the Chapter to generously contribute to secondary

Educational work and maintain its share in all the Order's philanthropic work. (p.1)

With previous fund-raising events clearly linked to Victorian England, a cookbook appears to be a departure from their traditional imperial focus.

### **The Recipes And How They Were Organized**

In total, there were 49 ¼ pages of recipes comprising about 60 percent of the content of the book.

#### **Classification according to Types**

The recipes were organized according to various types of foods. That was a typical fashion of cookbooks at that time and still in use today.

**Soups.** There are 5 soup recipes: French Onion, Cheese, Duchess (Cheese Based), Borscht, and Spit Pea. There is some ethnic diversity here with only “Duchess” having a clear connection to the empire. The Borscht recipe is interesting in that it has four beaten eggs added before serving and the result is described as “like a soft custard” which is quite a departure from the traditional Ukrainian Borscht.

**Vegetable Dishes.** There are 14 recipes in this section, featuring vegetables that could easily be grown in the mild climate of Vancouver Island, for example, potatoes, corn, carrots, tomatoes, pepper, asparagus, beets, eggplant and cabbage.

**Seafood and Fish Dishes.** There are 15 recipes with all but Lobster Newburg calling for fish, clams, shrimp and crab that are readily available in BC waters. The Lobster Newburg may have been included for its status value.

**Meat Dishes.** This is the second largest category with 27 recipes. Beef and veal dominate the menu with 3 pork recipes, 1 lamb, 1 chicken. Perhaps this is not surprising. According to Mosby (n.d.) Canadians did quite well in terms of meat consumption during the War as the ration allotment was two pounds per person per week. In fact, in combination with access to off-ration meats in restaurants and elsewhere the level of meat consumption from legal sources was in excess of what most Canadians were eating during the Depression.

**Salads.** There are 15 recipes in this section with 3 recipes for dressings, 10 for jelly salads, and 3 others (Hot Cheese Salad, Pear Salad and Frozen Pineapple Salad). The predominance of gelatin based salads during this time period was explored by Shapiro (2006) who explains that, around the turn of the century in America, many women in the emerging middle class began linking the changes brought into their homes by industrialization and scientific advances to their

cooking. Refrigerators were quite expensive, and gelatin needs refrigeration in order to set. So in a way, preparing a molded salad or dessert was something of a status symbol. "Nothing so quickly identified a meal as upscale, glamorous and artistic as a magnificent salad" (Grey, 2015), Gelatin salads were considered dainty and refined but they were also affordable so they became a way for ordinary women to aspire to a higher social status. As World War II began, they were a way to "prove to you and your friends that you can still do luscious entertaining in spite of shortages and rations" (Grey, 2015)

**Cakes (45), Cookies and Small Cakes (12), Pies (6), Biscuits and Bread (5)**

These four sections make baking the most prevalent category in this cookbook (38%). This is an indication of how much women of the day prized making baked goods, especially sweets. There is one page of information for avoiding failures when making cakes emphasizing the "reasons for failure" and how to avoid them.

**Desserts (9)**, There are two steamed puddings, four gelatine based desserts and three requiring marshmallows. Five of the recipes are described as "pudding" which may indicate British culinary heritage as "pudding may be claimed as a British invention" (Davidson, 2006, p. 638). While earlier puddings were meat based, by the later half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century they were mostly sweet and the two steamed puddings can be considered descendants of this tradition. Marshmallows rose in popularity hand in hand with gelatine salads once the recipe shifted from using the sap of the marshmallow plant to using gelatine making them more affordable ("Marshmallow", n.d.).

**Luncheon Dishes.** There are 12 recipes in this section. Three-quarters of the recipes are deemed to be casseroles because they combine vegetables and starches (pasta or rice) with meat and sauce and are baked in the oven. The other four include one sandwich, one muffin, one omelette and Spanish Rice which is cooked on top of the stove. Although some trace casseroles back to back to prehistoric times and different cultures have a variety of baked, one-pot dishes that could be considered casseroles, the English are claimed to have adopted it in the early 18th century, and the dish really gained popularity during the Depression and World Wars. (Smith, 2007). The starches helped to pad a meal so that a small portion of meat could become a more filling dish during times of hardship. The IODE relegated casseroles to a luncheon dish which in some ways indicates that they didn't consider it necessary to limit meat. In addition only one of the twelve recipes is labelled as a "casserole".

**Candy.** There are five recipes or sweets. Four are sugar based and Marshmallow Delight is made with marshmallows. This supports the idea that the recipe contributors were not too worried about sugar rationing at a time when the Consumer Section of the Department of Agriculture (n.d.) was producing pamphlets like "Sugar Savers."



**Jam and Pickles.** The five jam and nine pickle recipes are the only preservation recipes. This is somewhat surprising as national studies indicated there was high level of canning across the country in response to conservation efforts and Dominion Department of Agriculture had distributed a brochure stressing the importance of Home Canning in the war effort (Mosby, n.d.; 2014).

Aside from a recipe for Wartime Butter (p. 15) that describes how to make one pound of butter into 2 pounds of butter spread, there is no indication that Canadians, or at least British Columbians ate any differently during the war years.

### Recipe Styles

The majority of the recipes were written with a list of ingredients followed by directions, a style attributed by Lieffers (2012) to Mrs. Isabella Beeton whose 1866 publication, *The Book of Household Management*, has been described as the most extensive guide to running a household in Victorian Britain and a forerunner to home economics (Snodgrass, 2004). Mrs. Beeton touted this logical format:

It will be seen, by reference to the following Recipes, that an entirely original and most intelligible system has been pursued in explaining the preparation of each dish. We would recommend the young housekeeper, cook, or whoever may be engaged in the important task of “getting ready” the dinner, or other meal, to follow precisely the order in which the recipes are given. Thus, let them first place on their table all the INGREDIENTS necessary; then the *modus operandi*, or MODE of preparation, will be easily managed. By a careful reading, too, of the recipes, there will not be the slightest difficulty in arranging a repast for any number of persons, and an accurate notion will be gained of the TIME the cooking of each dish will occupy, of the periods at which it is SEASONABLE, and also of its AVERAGE COST. [*italics and capitals in original*] (Beeton & Beeton, 2000, p. 77)

Using this format then could be indicative of the imperial roots and mission of this chapter of the Victoria IODE.

Thirty recipes (17%) were written in narrative style, narrative where the recipe reads like an essay as the explanation, ingredients, and preparation are in text form, for example, Peppers Stuffed with Asparagus ( p. 19), Hot Cheese Salad (p. 45), Turkish Delight (p. 85) and Date Bread (p. 55).

#### PEPPERS STUFFED WITH ASPARAGUS

Cut slices from stem ends of 6 med. sized green peppers. Remove seeds and white portions. Parboil in boiling salted water for ten minute. Drain and fill with creamed

asparagus cut in half-inch pieces, cover with bread crumbs. Dot with butter and bake in moderate oven for 10 minutes. Serve on buttered toast.

#### HOT CHEESE SALAD

Make a thick white sauce with butter, flour, milk, salt and pepper, and grated cheese. Then add crab meat and sliced hard-boiled eggs and serve on lettuce leaves.

#### TURKISH DELIGHT

1 box gelatine (Cox or Knox) soaked in 1 cup cold water. Then take 4 cups sugar, 1 cup boiling water, salt and boil until it threads. Stand for a few minutes, then add the gelatine, and stir until dissolved. Add juice of 2 lemons and 1 large or 2 small oranges - colour. (Put cold water into mould before mixture and rinse.) When set, cut into squares and roll in powdered sugar.

-Mrs. D. H. Green.

#### DATE BREAD

1 lb. dates chopped, cover with 1 teaspoon of soda in 1/4 cup boiling water. Let stand until cool. Cream 1 tablespoon of butter with 1/4 cup white sugar. Add dates, etc. 1 egg, 2 cups flour, pinch salt, 1 teaspoon baking powder, vanilla. Cook slowly one hour.

- -Mrs. T. McGimpsey.

An examination of the above examples indicates commonalities no matter the recipe style:

- Directions are frequently very brief and they assume a common understanding of basic cookery. For example directions for the Hot Cheese Salad assume that cooks know how to make a white sauce, in the Stuffed Asparagus how to make creamed asparagus, in the Turkish Delight what a sugar syrup would look like when it "threads" and in the Date Bread, how to cream, and how much to mix when the other ingredients are added, what baking pan to use and hot to prepare and the oven temperature.
- Seldom was any equipment mentioned. In examining all the recipes the only equipment mentioned were: double boiler; roasting pan, baking dish, casserole, baking tin, loaf pan, frying pan. No mention of mixing bowls, knives or chopping boards, wooden spoons, or other common kitchen utensils. It appears that most cooks would have the necessary tools or be able to use what is on hand to complete the directions.
- Only 25 of the 181 recipes (14%) gave exact temperatures for cooking or baking. It was assumed that most cooks were experienced enough to know at what temperature cakes, cookies, casseroles should be baked. Similarly the temperature for top of the stove cooking (e.g., high, medium, low) was never given. The recipes that give an exact oven temperature would give an indication that the submitter had a calibrated oven (gas or electric).

It seems that the women who submitted these recipes, assumed they were writing recipes for other experienced women, demonstrating their belief that those who might purchase the cookbook would have similar levels of domestic

knowledge and skills (Bowers, 1997).

### The Menus

There is one full page titled *A Modern Kitchen Helps to Plan A Week of Meals* (see Fig. 6) with Breakfast, Lunch, and Dinner for each day of the week (p. 5). The recipes for these menus are not in the cookbook. As an example, here are the first two days of the week:

<b>SUNDAY—</b>		
<b>Breakfast</b>	<b>Luncheon</b>	<b>Dinner</b>
Grapefruit halves	Toasted Cheese and	Tomato Juice
Waffles	Bacon Sandwich	Rolled Rib of Beef
Sausage Red Currant Jelly	Pears with Custard Sauce	New Potatoes Har. Beets
Toast Coffee	Milk and Tea	Jellied Vegetable Salad
		Ice Cream Strawberries
<b>MONDAY—</b>		
<b>Breakfast</b>	<b>Luncheon</b>	<b>Dinner</b>
Orange Juice	Imperial Macaroni	Lamb Chops
Bran Flakes	Beet and Celery Salad	Hashed Brown Potatoes
Bacon and Eggs	Peaches Cookies	Green Peas
Toast Coffee	Milk and Tea	Lime Marshmallow Whip
		Coffee

Figure 6 Sample of Daily Menus

There is no indication in these menus of wartime food shortages or rationing.

Another full page has three Bridge Menus with three accompanying recipes:

<b>AFTERNOON BRIDGE MENU</b>	<b>BRIDGE MENU</b>
Cheese and Bacon Sandwiches	Tuna Fish Salad
Ripe Olives and Sweet Gherkins	Brown and White Bread and Butter
Nut Bread and Hot Tea Biscuits	Olives
White Cake and Drop Cookies	Celery Sticks Filled with Cheese
Tea and Coffee	Almonds and Cluster Raisins
	Iced Walnut Cake
<b>BRIDGE LUNCHEON</b>	
Celery	Olives
Consomme	Salted Crackers
Tomato Stuffed with Creamed Chicken	
Saratoga Chips	
Hot Finger Rolls	
Ice Cream in Meringue Baskets	
Coffee	

Figure 7. Bridge Menus

For the Bridge Menu, the accompanying recipe is Tuna Fish Salad; for Afternoon Bridge Menu, Drop Cookies; for Bridge Luncheon, Tomato Stuffed with Cream Chicken. The Tuna Fish Salad is a gelatine salad (see above), the Drop Cookies recipe has only a list of ingredients assuming that most “ladies” would know how to make cookies, the Tomato Stuffed with Cream Chicken does not explain how to make the Cream Chicken assuming that most cooks would know how to make a white sauce and add cooked chicken.

Inness (2001) explains that bridge luncheons and tea parties menus were common in American women’s magazine in the first decades of the twentieth century. The American influence might account for the predominance of olives and the reference to Saratoga Chips. Inness (2006) suggests that the dominant theme was daintiness and simplicity, giving a lot of attention to appearance with decorating and garnishing to create proper foods for women. These social events were based on the Victorian ideal of womanhood where femininity and being lady-like were held up as desirable characteristics.

There is one menu for a special occasion. The menu for Thanksgiving Dinner (see Fig. 9) is very elaborate and not unlike typical Thanksgiving dinners across Canada (BC Food History Network) in non-war years. Thanksgiving began to be observed in some areas of Canada during the mid to late 1800s. Some suggest that it harkens back to English explorer, Martin Frobisher’s arrival on Baffin Island in 1578. Others note that first Thanksgiving Day after Confederation was observed as a civic holiday on April 5, 1872, to celebrate the recovery of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) from a serious illness (Mills, McIntosh & Bonikowsky, 2011). Stevens (1999), suggests that Canada’s thanksgiving tradition was shaped by Ontario’s protestant clergy. All three suggest British roots.



**The Recipe Submitters**

Forty three women are named as submitters. There were 41 recipes with no names attached. It was not clear why the names were not attached but in many instances it appears to be in the interest of saving space and it is quite possible that when two or three recipes were submitted by the same person for the same section that the name was only placed at the end of the list. Most of the women submitted less than four recipes but Mrs. Birchall submitted nine, Mrs. T. McGimpsey 25 and Mrs. T. A. Johnston 31. All but a few used coverture-based cognomens (Ferguson, 2012) which was common at the time as women were considered to be under a husband's protection and authority.

Two used "Miss" – Miss E. M. Kittle and Miss Kathleen Johnston - the latter was Mrs. T. A. Johnston's daughter. Three submitters used their given names, Olive Richards (who could possibly be Mrs. B.C. Richards' daughter), Lottie Goreman, and Edna Kerr. One was listed as M. McGimpsey who possibly was Mrs. T. McGimpsey or her daughter. They could be unmarried women or perhaps early feminists who wanted to assert their own identity. Daughters were often encourage to become IODE members and this intergenerational family membership contributed to the longevity of the organization (Pickles, 2002).

The location of the submitters who lived outside of Victoria were noted (Vancouver, Seattle, Ottawa, Honolulu, Albert Head, 10 Mile Point). Only two full addresses were given; Mrs. A. Kent lived at 228 Douglas Street, and Mrs. J.A. McDonald from Vancouver, lived at 1622 1<sup>st</sup> Ave. E. Both would be considered quite prestigious addresses at the time.

Including the names of the contributors was one way to build a sense of trust as it is typically assumed that a submitter would only share her best or most successful recipes (Fleitz, 2009 ; Ferguson, 2012). Middle and upper class women often used the opportunity to have their name in print as a way celebrate their status in society and promote their values to their community and future generations (Bower, 1997).

### **The Patrons and Advertisers**

There are 66 entries under the title Patrons – 19 individuals (14 men, 4 doctors, and 1 woman, Mrs. W. Lee); 47 businesses which include grocery, bakery and confectionary stores, services such as electricians and welding, cafes and hotels, manufacturing and professional services e.g., barristers. In cross - referencing the names on the list with the recipe submitters I could find only one possible connection - Green Bros. Contractors is on the list and there is a Mrs. D. H. Green who 3 recipes.

There are four different types of ads based on size: half page; one-quarter of a page; one-eighth of a page; 1/10<sup>th</sup> of a page; and then a few lines in the Classified pages. There is one half page ad from the provincial Department of Trade and Industry encouraging people to buy local food products. There are

fourteen ¼ page ads from a diversity of businesses ranging from creameries and bakeries, to clothing stores, to car and real estate sales, to pile driving and funeral services (56 advertisers). There are eleven pages of 1/8 page ads with 88 ads and 18 pages of 1/10<sup>th</sup> page ads with 180 advertisers. The Classified Page listed 61 business under these headings: auto camps; bakeries; beauty parlors; bicycles; cleaners; children's wear; druggists; florists; glass; grocers and confectioners; Hotels; meat markets; music; plumbers; real estate and insurance; schools; shoe repairs; service stations, tailors; and miscellaneous. There were 6 additional ads filling space on recipes pages and four more on the inside of the back cover. In total there were 335 advertisers. Obviously the women involved were able to garner a very broad range of support.

In cross-referencing with the list of submitters I could only make a few possible links. The ad for Carter-Halls-Aldger Company of Engineers and Builders might be connected to Mrs. D. W. Carter, Harte-Andrews Paints, Ltd to Mrs. W. H. Harte; Johnston & Co. real estate and insurance to Miss Kathleen Johnston and Mrs. T. A. Johnston; Harry Webb, haberdashery to Mrs. Webb; and Cameron Motors to Mrs. D. O. Cameron. At a time when almost all women were financially and politically dependent on men, I wondered whether it was common to seek support from their spouses for various projects but there were only limited indications of this.

The ability to generate so many ads can imply that the women had significant support in the community. According to Ferguson (2012) this helps to validate the women's work as worthwhile and useful. The money raised supports their cause and possibly was necessary for publication as this cookbook was professionally printed (see Fig. 8). This contrasts with the often mimeographed reproduction of community cookbooks.



Figure 8. Publisher

## Discussion

Two themes struck me as I read and re-read this cookbook. The first relates to what I didn't find. I thought I would find information related to what women cooked for their families in wartime and examples of how they dealt with food shortages and rationing. There were over 200 cookbooks produced during the war that generally focused on ration-stretching on themes such as sacrifice, thrift, and conservation (Driver, 2008; Mosbey 2014). Women were encouraged to become "house soldiers" (Canadian Starch, n.d.). There were campaigns to

promote certain 'patriotic' foods such as the provincial Department of Trade and Industry ad in this cookbook. People were growing victory gardens, Canada's Food Rules were introduced and there were meatless Tuesdays (Mosbey, 2014). Yet aside from one recipe on Wartime Butter, none of this was mentioned in this "wartime cookbook."

It seems to me that "keeping up appearances" or "keeping the 'British' in British Columbia" might be more apt descriptions of how these women approached life in wartime. Their goal appears to be to keep things as normal as possible during disturbing times. Between 1891 and 1921, 175,000 British immigrants settled in British Columbia. Victoria was a settler colonial city and in 1908 was described as the most "English" of all towns in Canada and where the English element was most conspicuous in clubs (Barman, 2011). According to Inness (2006) cookbooks "pass down a group's beliefs, even if not stated explicitly" (p. 5). Publishing cookbooks was an important way for women's groups to promote their causes and raise money at the same time (Driver, 2008). Leger-Anderson (2005) claims that the philanthropic and educational efforts of the IODE were "within a framework that apotheosized British/English" (p. 2). Pickles (2002) refers to this as their imperialist agenda. So while the intent of the cookbook was to produce to raise funds for the war effort, the hidden, perhaps hegemonic, agenda was a patriotic defence of the Empire and promotion of Britain and British institutions.

Pickles (2002) contends that the IODE did not fit neatly in the public-private dualism frequently referred to in historical work. Zukin (1991) has called this blurring of boundaries between public and private space a state of "liminality." The liminal space between public and private is somewhat sheltered from the wider public gaze and therefore can be used strategically by women to develop capacities and resources whether it be private, communal and public depending on the motivation of people using it. (Buckingham, 2006; et al. Newman, 2012). It occurs to me that the work of creating this cookbook could be considered negotiating the liminal space between public and private lives. I based this on the ability of the women of the Navy League of IODE in Victoria were able to garner the support of sixty-six patrons and 335 advertisers. In order to curry such favour, creating the cookbook could be seen as a form of public participation and a way to enter into, and be accepted in the public sphere and seek public validation of their work. In getting the cookbook professionally published and selling it, they entered the economic public sphere and this positions the book as a public text (Ferguson, 2012). It also gave IODE members a unique venue in which to learn and exercise new skills which may enable them to move beyond to broader political projects which could be an area for further research.

To sum up, this exploration of Navy League Chapter IODE Victory Cook Book (1941) exemplifies how cookbooks can reveal a great deal about society. In this case: the cookery knowledge of the women of the time; how a cookbook is imbued with the values of the association; and how involvement in a women's organization and creating a cookbook is a form of public participation.

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