Home Economics Education in British Columbia 1913 – 1936: Through Postcolonial Eyes

by

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Abstract

My study examines white cultural practices in home economics education in British Columbia between 1913 and 1936 through two home economics manuals developed in the province for the express purpose of educating young women. My methodology is informed by postcolonial constructs, social feminism, and white studies. My experiences as a classroom teacher and as a volunteer teacher in Malawi are interwoven with my findings.

I use the metaphor of white sauce, a recipe frequently made in traditional classrooms, in describing the current close alignment of home economics with white culture. To see home economics through postcolonial eyes means to examine the aftermath of practices that developed from colonial times. While the argument has been made that Canada is not postcolonial, for the purposes of my discussion, I consider it to be a settler colony. I examine three fundamental aspects of postcolonial analysis, gender, class, and race from the perspective that home economics is a gendered subject dominated by white cultural practices and practical rather than academic in focus.

In conclusion I argue that no grand narrative is available for re-imagining home economics as a vital force in education. The voices of young professionals and examples of atypical home economics teachers demonstrate that change in home economics is possible. The recognition that home economics education of the past has reflected white cultural values will allow a re-envisioning of a more ethical, meaningful and responsive home economics education of the future. Other curriculum areas can also benefit from re-examining the roots of their practice.

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CHAPTER ONE

Preparation for Thinking

"White flour, white sugar, white sauce, white table manners, why is it that everything we do is *white*?" A student teacher asked me this question two years ago. The question may seem casual enough, but it has become the basis for a transformation in my entire way of thinking. The province of British Columbia [B.C.] has undergone a massive transformation in ethnic origin since it became part of Canada in 1871 (Mackie, 2003), but the *British* part remains; home economics education is still closely associated with the reproduction of white imperial practices. The student teacher's question has directed my own search for meaning in home economics beyond its traditional white, European, North American stance. What is an appropriate metaphor for home economics education? Is it white sauce, blanketing everything with white culture; or is it chop suey, composed of delectable tidbits and as authentic as possible for a multi-ethnic dish? What evidence is there to show how the white, imperial centre of home economics education grew and maintained itself? What is the prognosis for home economics education for the future?

For the past twenty-five years, home economics education in Canada and North America has been examined by a number of home economists and home economics educators (Brown, 1985, 1993; Peterat, 1983, 1989, 1995; Thomas & Smith, 1994; Vaines, 1980, 1981, 1984). Historical research on home economics curriculum in British Columbia was conducted by Wilson (1985) and Thomas

(1986). One aspect largely disregarded in the foregoing research is the relationship of home economics knowledge to white imperial culture. My quest is to deconstruct the early years of home economics education in British Columbia in order to understand the origins of some of the taken-for-granted practices and assumptions that have confounded student teachers and me alike. How did home economics become so closely aligned with white cultural practices? How can home economics be re-imagined into an inclusive, equitable subject area that values all cultures, while achieving its mission of improving the lives of individuals and families?

The metaphor I have chosen to describe the present state of home economics education is white sauce (*Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual*, 1931), a product frequently made in home economics classrooms. It is bland and textureless; it covers up many sins, culinary and otherwise. The *white* part is important. I contend that home economics has closely aligned itself with conveying white culture. I do not mean to imply that the knowledge, mission, or aims of home economics education are in any way inferior or substandard. Rather, this alignment demonstrates a form of unreflective enculturation (Stage & Vincenti, 1997) that has been to the detriment of the profession and school subject, and that needs to be redressed.

Home economics, the subject that is completely concerned with daily life, is often redundant in real life. I spent the summers of 2000 and 2001 in the small African nation of Malawi, teaching in an intensive upgrading program for teachers who wanted to write their Malawi State Certificate Examinations in several different

subjects including home economics. At that time the Malawi home economics curriculum was heavily based on a British curriculum from the 1960s. (It is subsequently undergoing *Malawianization*, although what that means is not clear). In order to receive a credit for Home Economics 12, students had to pass three examinations – one theory, one planning and one practical. My Malawian co-tutor asked me to demonstrate how to make cakes and pastry although wheat flour is unaffordable for most Malawians and few people have ovens, cake tins or measuring utensils. She also asked me to teach about laundry, despite the fact that the real soap flakes suggested by the curriculum are available only in expatriate stores, and most people do their wash at the village pump or by the riverbank. The students were expected to memorize formal table-setting diagrams, multiple forks and all, although the Malawi tradition involves eating tidily with one's hands. Home economics, which purports to improve the well being of individuals and families was fundamentally irrelevant to real life in Malawi. Instead it was intended to replicate the lifestyle of the colonizers, the British, even though colonialism ended with independence in 1964. I had encountered the basic contradiction in home economics: the promotion of ideas that we do not believe in, the wrong ideas for the right reasons. By teaching the questions that would be on the examinations, I would be helping the teachers improve their level of education and possibly their standards of living. I would also be replicating archaic, meaningless information. Pratt (1992) suggested that redundancy, discontinuity, and unreality are major facets of European imperialistic power, and she advocates scrutiny of this power in order to decolonize

knowledge. I find Pratt's statement germane to my study of historical home economics education in British Columbia, a subject area with much promise, distanced from the real life understanding it claims to promote.

Objects of Inquiry

In my study I examine the contents of home economics manuals that were written and used in home economics education in British Columbia (B.C.). The manuals, *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) written by Annie Juniper, *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) and *The Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* (1931), (the latter two both compiled by Jessie McLenaghen) serve as archaeologies of information presented as home economics content knowledge in B.C. The ideology of each manual will be analyzed in the archaeological sense: "a collection of statements concerning a particular idea or set of ideas" (Ninnes, 2000, p. 605). To fill in the gap between 1913 and 1927 (when no new B.C. manuals were issued), I analyze two additional manuals, written by Fannie Twiss, first Director of Home Economics for the province of Saskatchewan; *The Rural School Luncheon* (1916), and *Recipes for Household Science Classes* (1923). These two manuals provide effective counterpoints to and confirmation of the B.C. textbooks because they occupy the same time period and indicate cross-provincial influence. McLenaghen was a home economics teacher and supervisor in Saskatchewan under the direction of Fannie Twiss at the time that the Saskatchewan manuals were written (de Zwart, 1999). She presumably was familiar with them, and possibly helped write them.

Domestic manuals have had a larger function in historical inquiry than one might suspect: an Internet site entitled *Martha 101* claimed the following position for them:

> [Domestic manuals] are not only advice books for those uninitiated in the art of the home, the table and decoration; they're prescriptive texts about social distance. They map out cultural distinctions but they also mark class, gender, and, very importantly, racial differences. (Fox, 1998)

The use of the word *manual* instead of *textbook* was common to several areas of practical education. For example, an art book used in British Columbia schools about the same time as the domestic manuals, is titled *A Teacher's Manual of Drawing* (Weston, n.d.). Its author, W.P. Weston, Art Master at the Provincial Normal School, stated that the book was intended for the regular teacher who had to deal with drawing, not the art specialist: "The aim throughout has been to avoid the use of technical language and to make the method as clear and straightforward as possible" (p. v). The approach was hands-on and instructional, rather than scientific in this instance. As will be seen, the distinction between manual and textbook produced a contradiction in home economics manuals where the scientific and the practical vied for dominance. Early proponents of home economics wanted the domestic sphere to receive recognition as a legitimate area of study, and relating it to science gave it more status. The labeling of the textbooks as manuals was part of the aim to achieve a balance between practical and scientific goals.

Previous Curriculum Inquiry in British Columbia

The study of home economics education in British Columbia fits into a steadily enlarging body of inquiry into curriculum in the province (Barman, Sutherland, & Wilson, 1995; Dunn, 1980; Johnson, 1964; Stanley, 1991, 1995; Sutherland, 1976; Wilson & Jones, 1980). Johnson (1964) presented a chronological view of the development of B.C. schools and was critiqued by Wilson (1980) for his "overly simple, linear interpretation" (p. 8). Wilson and Jones (1980) added considerably more evidence of the conflicts and tensions in education, with the aim of increasing knowledge of British Columbia educational history. The study of history became more broadly defined with recognition of the blurring of distinctions between educational historians and other historians and the essential relationship between social processes and education. Dunn (1980) focused on the rise of mass public schooling between 1900 and 1929 and noted the expansion of schooling as part of a drive to prepare the youth of the province for socially efficient citizenship. This aligns with the research of Thomson (1999) who provided fresh insight into the role of eugenics in the development of curriculum in British Columbia with his study of special education classes in the Vancouver school system 1910-1969. In an exhaustive study of documents, Thomson argued that educational adjustments necessary to educate the less-than-able and, by definition, less socially efficient pupils brought "the terminology of eugenic classification and the rhetoric of the fear of the feebleminded" into the public school classroom (p. 346). He concluded that "eugenic thinking during the early twentieth century could be found in the

intellectual mainstream of Canadian society and was not confined to its eccentric fringes" (p. 347). As will be seen, home economics had its part to play in the eugenics discussion, which incorporates race and class.

Sutherland (1976) and Tomkins (1986) included substantial British Columbia content in their comprehensive overviews of Canadian education. Sutherland discussed extensive social issues in *Children in England-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus.* He explained how New Education (as the progressive movement was known in Canada) drew together practical schooling and child-centred schooling, manifested in subjects such as manual training and home economics. Tomkins described specific curriculum innovations in his influential work *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum. Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia,* a collection of essays by Barman, Sutherland and Wilson (1995), indicated the richness and variety of perspectives on education that are characteristic of British Columbia education from the mid 1850s to the Sullivan Royal Commission in 1988.

Analyzing textbooks to describe and understand curriculum change historically in British Columbia is a familiar and effective strategy (Clark, 1996; Stanley, 1991; Van Brummelen, 1986). Van Brummelen (1986) studied the role that textbooks authorized by the Department of Education played in determining B.C.'s official school curriculum. He claimed that a relatively small number of texts shaped children's views of their society with the dominant societal group being Canadian Anglophones. Initially the textbooks had a large number of Christian moral

injunctions, but by 1925, morality was "severed from religious roots but virtue was still held to be a keystone of good citizenship" (p. 21). Van Brummelen noted the influence of imperial attitudes in a discussion of literary textbooks: "Anything British was not, of course, considered foreign. In fact there were suspicions that anything Canadian could not quite live up to the standards set in Britain" (p. 29).

Stanley (1991, 1995) argued that British Columbia had been made into a white supremacist society by 1925, supported by state-controlled schooling. He analyzed social studies textbooks and noted that the creation of the Free Text Book Branch of the Department of Education in 1908 was an effective means to disseminate imperialist and racist ideology in B.C. In agreement with Van Brummelen, Stanley wrote: "In order to instill patriotic feelings for the Empire, British Columbia textbooks portrayed imperialism as a fundamentally moral enterprise" (1995, p. 44). Stanley moved the educational argument from textbooks as imperial tropes to textbooks as indoctrination of students in the ideologies of dominance. Stanley documented the ways in which white dominance was constructed over non-white groups in the school system through the worldview presented in textbooks. Students were expected to exhibit character, modeled after British male upper-class ideals: a few female heroes were included such as Florence Nightingale and Edith Cavell. Stanley explained how the concept of character was used to Other non-British people:

> If the superior "character" of the British explained their control of the largest empire in history, it followed that the objects of imperial rule – subject

> people, and the groups to which they belonged – must have had "characters" which were inherently deficient in important ways. (1995, p. 46)

Stanley used the race theories that prevailed in social studies textbooks of the 1900-1925 time period to demonstrate how race became socially constructed and made it difficult for B.C. students to "question the idea of innate differences between Whites, Indians and Chinese" (1995, p. 50). He conceded that schools alone could not be held responsible for the indoctrination of the population of B.C. into white supremacist concepts that spilled over into Asiatic exclusionism and eventually the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. Contiguous societal factors in addition to schooling were in force.

Clark's (1996) study focused on the development of Canadian identity over a considerably longer time period than Stanley or Van Brummelen. She set out to examine the conception of the ideal Canadian in textbooks between 1925 and 1989. While this study is somewhat beyond the time period in which I am interested, it is relevant for its hopeful optimism on the development of Canadian identity:

> What has changed is the degree to which the concept of Canadian identity has become one of inclusion rather than exclusion and the way in which citizenship education is interpreted in the textbooks. (Clark, 1996, p. 272)

Pedagogical Challenge of Home Economics

The foregoing researchers examined the relevance of core subjects such as social studies to the development of the Canadian identity. My subject of interest, home economics, is marginal, not central: it has been and still is a basic challenge to

traditional pedagogical practices and forms of knowledge in schools and higher education (Peterat, 1983, 1989). By exposing and analyzing the white cultural traditions taken for granted in home economics, I hope to clear the way for a new, more ethical, less hegemonic view of home economics that will achieve its overstated and underachieved goal of helping individuals and families improve their daily lives. Home economics in an ideal world would include advocacy for the basic necessities of life for all human beings, not for a select group. The current mission statement of the Canadian Home Economics Association lays out the generic content:

> Home economics is concerned with all aspects of daily living including human development and relationships, financial and resource management, consumerism, foods and nutrition, clothing and textiles, housing and shelter and aesthetics. Home economics brings together knowledge from its own research, the sciences and the arts and uses this knowledge to assist people in enhancing their daily lives. ("Home economics profession," 2001, p. 2)

What the foregoing statement leaves out is the mechanics of what ought to be of home economics. Explicating the origins of the white normative values that have dominated home economics will enable re-imagining of a subject area that should be central, not peripheral to the education of the nation. Discussion of race alone cannot explain the predicament of home economics education; class is an equal partner and gender is assumed; white middle-class women set the course for home economics. As will be seen in the next section, whiteness needs to be introduced as a

fundamental hierarchy. Historically, home economics has been a female-dominated subject area, with the avowed mission to improve the lives of individuals and families; to this point, the taken-for-granted whiteness of home economics has not been examined. Discussion of class and gender are incorporated into my discussion because they cannot be easily separated from race, or whiteness, as an issue in home economics education.

Locating Myself in Inquiry

When I started thinking about the development of the philosophy of home economics, I recalled my own early years of study. In 1968, I graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Household Economics from the University of Alberta. In my three years of study I took, among other courses, one chemistry course, one economics course, three textiles/ textiles art courses, four foods and nutrition courses, five family studies / management courses and five sociology / psychology courses. I studied nothing with even a remote resemblance to the history and philosophy of home economics. Was home economics so much of a taken-for-granted field of study that its epistemological origins were never questioned? My graduation was perched on the cusp of women's liberation, the Viet Nam war protests, Robert F. Kennedy's murder, Students for a Democratic Society and the October Crisis. I never gave a thought to the *why*, obsessed as I was with the *how.*

After graduating from university, I started work as a district home economist in a rural community in Ontario. I began to question the validity of my book

knowledge over the knowledge of women who had managed households for their entire adult lives. How could I have anything to say to the 4-H leader with six children who managed on a single income, me whose credit card quickly became overdrawn with my excitement of actually having money to spend? I doubted everything that I had learned, or that I had learned anything of use.

I did not learn much more when I took teacher training in 1974. I was woefully undereducated about the possible purposes of what I was expected to know. As the school population became more multi-racial and multi-ethnic, I was faced repeatedly with teaching concepts that were out of place or irrelevant. Initially I noticed the prevalence of white sauce and the impracticality of making cocoa from scratch in ten basic steps that required a double boiler and left a sink full of dishes. My observations then moved to questioning why foods courses that were not 100% British in origin were labeled *foreign*. The concept of foreign even extended to First Nations students to whom I demonstrated how to make bannock. I noticed another teacher's problems when she showed how to make Vietnamese spring rolls to a room full of Vietnamese-Canadian students who revolted against her supposed correct method. My concern became not just the consistency required in teaching – it was also about the authenticity of knowledge and the inability of home economics educators to transcend the idea that imperial white knowledge is the normative form of home economics content.

Past Historical Inquiry into Home Economics

Home economics writers started to deconstruct the philosophy and knowledge content of the field in the late 1970s, when a number of prominent home economics practitioners joined the endeavour to re-conceptualize home economics. Eleanore Vaines (1981, 1984) analyzed the proceedings of the Lake Placid Conferences, held between 1899 and 1908 that set the direction for home economics for the twentieth century. Marjorie Brown (1985, 1993) was called upon to reveal the philosophical-moral-ethical epistemology of home economics. Others like Linda Peterat (1983,1989) have elucidated the relationship of home economics to feminism, with Linda Eyre (1992; 1995) taking the discussion a step further to classroom analysis of sexism in home economics. Mildred Griggs (1988) and Gloria Williams (1988) discussed their observations about being black and in home economics in the United States. Gale Smith (1990) made a crucial link between home economics and global education. She and Jane Thomas (1994) followed this with a critique of Marjorie Brown in an examination of the ideal of a person educated in home economics.

Generally speaking, home economics professionals have been more concerned with the definition of the (white) field of home economics than with the ramifications of whiteness as the unspoken standard for home economics, at least in Canada. Continual reassessment has been necessitated by the closing of home economics programs at many Canadian and American universities (de Zwart, 2001; Nerad, 1999), and the accompanying feeling that the subject was unimportant and

easily dismissed. From the very beginnings, home economics appeared to be a field that, like the Seinfeld television show, was about everything and about nothing (R.E. Cummings, personal communication, October 24, 1999). Edith Rowles (1964) noted the forces that conspired to initiate the domestic reform movement of the 1860s in Great Britain and the United States that became the domestic science movement of the 1900s in Canada:

> The formal teaching of sewing, cooking and housewifery to girls and women in Europe and in the United States; the home economics programs in the Land Grant Colleges of the mid-western United States; the activities of women's organizations with reference to the formal teaching of home economics; these were the developments which led to the introduction of home economics into higher education in Canada. (p. 7)

Blakestad (1997) examined the beginnings of King's College of Household and Social Science in London, England where Alice Ravenhill, a prominent home economist who moved to British Columbia in 1911, obtained her credentials. In a cogent summary, Blakestad outlined the intentions of home economics that are as relevant to Canada as they are to Great Britain:

> The idea of 'household science' was to bring together the relevant scientific disciplines (biology, physiology, chemistry, physics), combining them with elements of economics, ethics and other social sciences, and to teach them with special emphasis on their domestic application: food and nutrition, personal and domestic hygiene, housing, and social and civic life. (p. 84)

Lake Placid Conferences

Blakestad (1997) argued that home economics failed miserably at its mission to create a new discipline for the domestic sphere. Although she wrote from a British standpoint, her points are applicable to home economics in Canada because collaboration was extensive among early home economists. International delegates were present at the ten conferences on home economics at Lake Placid, New York between 1899 and 1908, chaired by Ellen Richards and Annie and Melvil Dewey. The latter, the inventor of the Dewey Decimal system, considered home economics to be so unique that he awarded it its own place in the Dewey catalogue (Thompson, 1999). Canadians were present at all but one of the conferences and made their presence known through various program and discussion contributions (Vaines, 1984).

From the beginning, home economics had conflicting purposes. Was it a science or a philosophy? Was it intended to create a public role for women in the expanding field of science, or provide an ethical basis for their contributions to the private sphere of the family? Vaines (1984) conducted an extensive content analysis of the published Lake Placid Conference proceedings and found that the problem area most frequently addressed at the conferences was: "What home economics is or ought to be, which included the problem of how the subject matter can be translated into some form of professional practice or human service" (p. 32). Vaines found various implicit mission statements – for example, the goal of home economics was

to prepare homemakers; women need to be taught to use their brains and reasoning faculties in connection with their hands; high school home economics courses should include a progressive development in reasoning power. More directive statements involved the naming of this new field; in 1899 "home economics" was chosen as the desired name for the general subject, as opposed to previous uses of the labels "domestic science" and "household arts". Vaines concluded that the proceedings of the conferences did not provide a precise conceptualization of the field or an agreement by those in attendance about the nature of the problems or the nature and boundaries of professional practice. She maintained that the proceedings were valuable because they formed a historical baseline from which to work, offering some suggestions regarding the intellectual directions to be taken, some statements of sought-after goals, and some information on activities and areas of service for home economics. Vaines ended her review of the Lake Placid Conferences with a call for clarifying the historical dimensions of the field.

Philosophical Issues of Definition

A concerted attempt to define home economics occurred in 1979 when the American Home Economics Association commissioned Marjorie Brown and Beatrice Paolucci to write *Home Economics: A Definition.* The use of a philosophical model of analysis was new for the field, diverging from previous definitions, reports, and studies. Brown and Paolucci argued first of all that home economics needed a definition:

> Without a definition that is understood and, in large measure, agreed upon by the profession, society is confused and skeptical about what we offer. There is not a rational basis for creating knowledge or offering services. Making intelligent judgments about the preparation of professionals and about research direction and priorities becomes difficult. Professionals end up understanding neither who they are nor what they should do. (p. 4)

Subsequently Brown (1985) proposed a reorientation of the home economics curriculum from the traditional emphasis on the technical / vocational skills of homemaking (cooking, sewing, etc.) toward a critical sciences approach. She argued first that the technical-rational way of thinking has prevailed in society and has been harmful to society because it separates people's beliefs and concepts from what they do: "Political questions of what is right for the general good of members of society are changed to technical questions of how to achieve certain ends (social events)" (p. 15). Brown labeled a second way of thinking as analytical-empirical science. She conceded that this mode had promising features of prediction and technical control, but objected to bringing areas of life other than economic production under the same form of rationality. For example, school curriculum models holding science, math and technical training as the ultimates in education were criticized by Brown as being "logically inappropriate and threatening to the rationality of communication and to reflective processes in the examination and revision of beliefs, concepts and norms" (p. 17). Brown suggested that home economists should aim for a third way of thinking, emancipatory action, in which rules are developed through discourse and

participants have the "will to reason and to judge rationality on the basis of the reasons offered" (p. 21).

Brown wrote of the importance of social inquiry in investigating the meaning of individual practices, in particular "the sources of distorted concepts, beliefs, social rules in the existing social structure" (p. 17). Schools reproduce society and, in doing so, may hamper students' development of reflective capacities: "School personnel intend to educate but they 'prepare' students to fit into the existing society without recognizing or questioning its contradictions" (p. 17). Brown brought the topic to the home economics classroom by asking whose interests do home economists serve in "upholding a consumption-oriented society" (p. 18).

Brown demonstrated how corrective and reflective revisions of concepts in home economics could change its structural dimensions by examining the work of Ellen Richards, previously mentioned as a main organizer of the Lake Placid Conferences on Home Economics. Richards considered her rules of "right living" to be ethical in nature, but Brown argued that they were highly technical, involving how to choose food, how to dress, how to furnish the house, etc. Brown analyzed Richards' prior beliefs to explain how technical rules could have been viewed as ethical. First, Richards had a commonly held elitist view of society; she considered it was necessary for the scientifically educated to "manipulate people for their own good because of their presumed lack of cognitive and moral capacities" (1985, p. 19). Secondly, Richards reflected the values of the early 1900s in considering empirical science to be the only rational way of knowing. Brown's analysis offered

hope that by using the context of those times to understand Richards' beliefs, it is possible to develop a modern concept of home economics that better reflects current thought.

In her 1993 philosophical study of the origins of home economics, Brown further refined alternative ways of thinking and acting in considering the future of home economics. She identified two basic approaches to home economics from her 1985 work, labeling the one of the past "dogmatic" or false, and the one of the future "rational restructuring". The dogmatic approach involved "forming a plan for the future of home economics through thought and action in which beliefs, concepts, and values explicit or implicit in the planning were accepted or rejected *without being reflectively tested"* (italics in original, p. 4).

A rational restructuring approach, on the other hand, involves a change in understanding and a practice that develops through insight gained in the use of reason and evidence. Brown characterized home economists who practiced rational restructuring as "potentially competent in knowing and validating what is claimed to be true, right, truthful, or comprehensible" (p. 39). The old dogmatic approach would consider differences in viewpoint to be professional disloyalty.

Various standard ideas about home economics education are deconstructed in Brown's work. For example, the well being of individuals and families is a commonly held precept in home economics education. Brown suggested that this thought embodies a certain naïveté about the economics, power, and the capitalist culture from which home economics emerged at the end of the nineteenth century.

While commending home economists for their good intentions, Brown observed that no economy is based on individual choice. Ignoring the hierarchical structure of social relationships and power in the economy places unrealistic expectations on middle- and low-income individuals and families. Families are not self-sufficient economically independent entities, but rather part of an economic system that is not based on free choice. Rational restructuring of home economics does not change the basic intentions of home economics, but rather frames it in a broader picture. Brown spoke favourably of using historical research to achieve reconceptualization:

> We cannot intelligently consider a course for the future without understanding where we are now – nor can we realize where we are now without understanding the course we have come, i.e. our history. Understanding the course we have come helps us to see not only where we have stayed "on course" but also where we went astray, thereby making it possible for us both to comprehend where past actions have led us and to correct our mistakes as we consider the future. (1993, p. 41)

Thomas and Smith (1994) outlined their view of the person educated in home economics, starting from the following definition of education: "the development of knowledge (having beliefs which are justified by good reasons and evidence) and understanding (having the ability to explain, to reason, and to arrive at conclusions on the basis on adequate and accurate evidence)" (p. 22). Brown made some general statements about the dispositions and attributes of the person who has been educated, and Thomas and Smith made Brown's words more specific. They suggested that

Brown's language was patriarchal, and made changes that they considered to be more gender-inclusive. In their view a person educated in home economics is someone who:

> 1. Has a global perspective vis-à-vis everyday life and the family
>
> 2. Is able to define problems of the family, including those resulting from biases and inequities such as sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, and other forms of structural violence
>
> 3. Has developed *connected knowledge* [italics in original] and the ability to recognize relationships vis-à-vis everyday life in families
>
> 4. Endorses the use of [instrumental, communicative and emancipatory] systems of action as essential in addressing the perennial practical problems of the family
>
> 5. Has developed an *ethic of caring* [italics in original] which includes concern, commitment, nurturance, and a sense of community
>
> 6. Listens to and knows that there are a variety of voices and perspectives within families and among families, and includes those that are marginalized and excluded. (Thomas & Smith, 1994, p. 23)

Thomas and Smith created new openings for discussion by asking practitioners to consider what it is that is most desired for students in home economics "to know, to understand, to do and ultimately to be in relation to the world" (1994, p. 24). Thomas and Smith made reference to racism and classism as

family problems in the form of structural violence, although they did not specifically address these topics.

Identity Struggles

Home economics has long had an identity struggle. It was first introduced in the late nineteenth century as scientific housekeeping. The first mission statement for home economics was developed from the proceedings of the fourth annual Lake Placid Conference on Home Economics and included the following:

> Home economics in its most comprehensive sense is the study of laws, conditions, principles and ideals which are concerned on the one hand with man's immediate physical environment and on the other hand with his nature as a social being, and is the study specifically of the relation between those two factors. In a narrow sense the term is given to the study of the empirical sciences with special reference to the practical problems of housework, cooking, etc. (de Zwart, 1999)

Gender, class and race have preoccupied home economists and home economics educators in the identity struggle. The creation of a subject specifically for matters of the home inevitably focused more on women than on men. The idea of teaching about domestic subjects had values connotations – whose standards were being promoted? The proponents of home economics were middle-class white women who assumed that the lower classes aspired to middle-class status. Race has been an arbitrary and mutable category that intermingled with class. For example Gunew (1994) noted that Ukrainians in Canada and Greeks and Italians in Australia

were considered *black* at certain points in history. If race can change depending on economic situations, it has more to do with class and status than with skin pigmentation.

Feminism and Home Economics

Feminism and home economics have historically had an uneasy association (Peterat, 1983; Saidak, 1987), and the history of domestic subjects is frequently dismissed by feminist historians (Blakestad, 1997). Saidak situated home economics as a social movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that developed in response to industrialization with the domestic sphere as its focus. This focus put it in opposition to feminists who concentrated on how women could become successful in the public sphere of the male world. Saidak suggested that both approaches were too narrow:

> The celebration of the difference of women, based on their experience in the home, is yet another necessary step in the feminist process but encounters the danger of being as simplistic an analysis as earlier accounts which dismissed the validity of domestic experience. (1987, p. 6)

Powers (1992) studied the role of home economics education in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century as part of the Progressive era of education (equivalent to the New Education in Canada). She argued that the drive to put home economics in school programs coincided with "perceived revolutionary changes in women's roles: public demonstrations for suffrage; alarming increases in the percentage of women employed outside the home; a disturbing female

dominance in high school enrollments, success in higher education, and elevated divorce rates" (p. 12). In Powers' view, the girls were perceived as doing too well: through home economics education, women would want to stay home and care for their men and in turn:

> Men would be lured from saloons by good food cooked by cheerful wives. Farm wives would stay in the country and thus farm conditions would improve. Middle class women's lives would take on new meaning through scientific homemaking and municipal housekeeping. Girls destined for domestic service would be properly trained and the high standards of American homes maintained. Moreover, racial uplift could be achieved for black people. Home economics was a progressive-era panacea for the reform of American society that engaged the attention of a remarkable range of interest groups and personalities. (p. 13)

Powers' view of home economics coincided with feminist views that suspected home economics educators of being ultra-conservative helpmates to men. Peterat (1983) made a historical connection between home economics and feminism, referring to Ellen Richards and Annie Dewey as social feminists who "believed in the need for broad, social reform, reform which would bring the family and domestic values into the public sphere"(p. 69). The problem according to Peterat is that home economics was never central, always marginal, and therefore devalued in favour of core or basic subjects such as science, mathematics, language arts and social studies.

Some feminists disowned home economics on the basis of classism, suspecting its proponents of "stress[ing] the role of domestic science in training working-class girls, particularly those from racial and ethnic minorities both to ensure 'better-run' working class households and to provide a supply of trained servants for middle- and upper-class households" (Prentice et al., 1996, p. 281). Other topics aligned with home economics that were (and are) uncomfortable for contemporary feminism included eugenics or selective birth control, temperance, and imperialism (Bird, 1998).

This is no reason to discredit home economics so readily. Peterat made the case for having an education for daily living valued equally with an education for employment (1995). She also saw the marginality of home economics as a strength, standing for alternate meanings of knowing, learning and being educated:

> [Viewing family studies as a different knowledge system] is important for parents, administrators, educators and students to understand if educating for daily and family living is to be valued in our schools, and if family studies is ever to surpass the constraints it endures when viewed and evaluated according to the White middle-class, patriarchal values of schooling. (p. 185)

While Peterat focused on gender analysis, she considered it to be only one part of transforming the home economics curriculum into a force for transforming families:

> Attending to issues of gender equity in the curriculum requires a move beyond attending only to gender. Concerns with equity also raise concerns

> with racism, classism, heterosexism, and sensitivities to other identity categories of age, ethnicity, physical handicaps, and so on. (1995, p. 185)

Home economics is truly the Other in the school system, in the way described by Bhabha (1994), *almost but not quite* a fully recognized school subject: Peterat suggested that the oppressions of marginalization could be overcome through recognizing, debating and strategizing about the politics of home economics (1995). She provided an opening to carry the discussion into an analysis of the origins of home economics knowledge and confrontation of the question about whose knowledge is being represented. In my opinion, the traditional route of working within the system has not served home economics well. It has been put in the unconscionable position of promoting white, mostly male cultural values of theory and science. Audre Lorde described the boundaries circumscribed by racism and sexism in her explanation of "using the master's tools to dismantle the master's house":

> What does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy? It means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable. (Lorde, 1984, p. 111)

Racism / Racialism and Home Economics

Mildred Griggs and Gloria Williams, two African-American home economists, considered the question of whiteness. Griggs (1988) commented on the irony of home economics; while home economics is marginalized in society as a

whole, its predominantly white female members are gatekeepers for the profession in " a role traditionally played by white men" (p. 88). She related her early experiences in home economics:

> I can remember lying about the food we ate when I was asked to do a dietary recall in a nutrition class, because our food, collards, turnip greens, butterbeans, teacakes, molasses, catfish, sweet potato pie, etc. were never mentioned in our books. I wrote some of the textbook type foods on my list. (Griggs, 1988, p. 91)

Griggs noted differences between the supposed reformist and mission orientation of home economics on the one hand, and its conformity to white middle-class societal practices on the other hand. Drawing from Brown (1980), she described types of action that enable home economics educators to achieve their educational aims to help people behave in rational, morally defensible ways. Griggs also pointed out the existence of a hidden curriculum that affects how teachers treat students, with specific reference to race, ethnicity, gender and culture. According to Griggs, unwitting but otherwise well-intended teachers may well use one or more of the following five paradigms based on false assumptions about minority youth:

> 1. Additive and self-concept development paradigm....Lessons based on this paradigm sometimes treat minority life and culture as novelties or aberrations.
>
> 2. Cultural deprivation paradigm....Some minority groups collectively have intellectual and cultural deficits....Minority learners, not teachers, are often

expected to make major changes in their behavior, divest themselves of their minority culture and proclaim the dominant culture as their own.

3. Racism paradigm....Discrimination may either be direct or indirect....In social and leadership activities in schools, there is a tendency to think the ideal person to fill a role is the type who filled it in the past. The role models are not minority, hence minorities tend not to be viewed as viable people for positions like class president.

4. Radical paradigm...is based on the assumption that schools can have only a very limited role in providing equality for minorities.

5. Genetic paradigm...assumes genetic inferiority of minorities. The educational practice that goes along with this paradigm is neglect. (Griggs, 1988, p. 95-96)

Teachers may think they are doing their students a favour, when in fact they are making racial judgments. Griggs asked home economics teachers to confront their own thoughts, beliefs, priorities and values, and to both be aware of and act on knowledge of the impact that race, culture and gender can have on learners' needs.

According to Williams (1988), any discussion on future directions in home economics must scrutinize past research for its emphasis on majority white-culture standards. Her examination of research reports with racial and / or ethnic components between 1970 and 1987 showed that research knowledge about culturally diverse families should be questioned. Williams analyzed forty-four articles in two home economics journals on three grounds; limited research focus,

atheoretical and fragmented knowledge, and pervading ideologies about racial and ethnic diversity. Williams provided evidence that the home economics research reports in her analysis reinforced stereotypes and misrepresentations about African Americans. She described the findings of a study on clothing buying habits based on race / ethnicity:

> In each research study, Blacks are deficient and can be shown to improve if given characteristics of White wives. *Is the knowledge created through this research defensible on intellectual and moral grounds?* [italics in original] Haven't the conceptualizations of Blacks as pathological and deficient been refuted in research on Afro-American populations and families? ....Are these researchers unaware or non-caring about their search for truth, about honest representation of the human condition? (p. 75)

The narrowness of the epistemology about race and ethnicity was connected to overemphasis on empirical analysis, providing no new information but "merely reinforc[ing] the status quo; it is a reproduction of the culture – a continuation of myths through omission and misrepresentation" (Williams, 1988, p. 76). Williams made two suggestions to improve practice: first, to engage students in self-reflection and empowering strategies, and second to reflect on one's own practices as an educator and to engage in critical and/or action science. She did not extend her analysis to power relationships or to the reasons why researchers might use white cultural values as the status quo for examining other racial groups.

Classism and Home Economics

In 1900, an interesting dialogue took place between Ellen Richards, the undisputed founder of home economics in the United States and Adelaide Hoodless, who claimed the same role in Canada. The occasion was the twenty-second annual meeting of the Ontario Agricultural and Experimental Union at Guelph, Ontario, the first year that home economics had been included as a discussion group. Ellen Richards first spoke on her views of scientific housekeeping:

> The greatest need in the education of the 20th Century housekeeper is in values - whether of textiles, of woods, of food. No one will study these, however, until the place of the home in the social life is re-settled, until the new product of the home is seen in the men and women developed in them, in the character and ability which is for the world's service of greater value than can be obtained in any other way.... To have the new ideal house and home, we must have the real new woman with scientific knowledge and training in the use of power.... Scientific housekeeping is what is good for us; a systematic division of the income between the different departments of expenditure; a careful balancing of the claims of each side of our nature. It is only possible in perfection in the house which the new architect shall build for us. (Richards, 1900, p. 61)

A discussion followed in which Hoodless asked Richards how scientific housekeeping could be instituted:

> **Mrs. Hoodless: [O]**ur first movement was in the direction of instituting Cooking Schools, and we found that those who came were the good

housekeepers and those who really required such teaching would not come within a mile of it. We found the women themselves were the greatest obstructionists. This worried us for some time, and we finally decided that the only way by which a new state of things could be brought about, was to begin in the public schools and teach the children these first principles. And I would like to ask Mrs. Richards if she does not think this is the only way we can overcome the old habits.

Mrs. Richards: A professor of psychology said the other day at the closing of my college that we would never get any light on it until we made it part of the pupils' religion; that in many of these things we had been apt to consider them of not much importance. I agree with you. I don't know of any place to begin except in the Public Schools; not to put it in as an extra thing, but as part of the Natural Science education, just as much as anything else educational.... I think we may have to possibly consider a little modification at first. I do not believe that [it] is possible to put fully equipped kitchens in all your schools in Canada. The people we want to influence are the ignorant ones. Here you are more fortunate than we are in some of our foreign population. The thing to do is to give the children in school the general principles, and then have them practise at home. With us many times they could not have a place to practise, but my observation as I have been through Canada is that in a great many places you could introduce the thing. (p. 62)

Mrs. Hoodless: That thought of Mrs. Richards' this afternoon is, I think the keynote of the whole work – creative interest. When it is taught that our body is composed of certain elements, and that the food must go to keep that body in repair, and that when they go to prepare food they must consider the essential qualities of that meal, there is an intelligent interest in it which is otherwise impossible. It is just that haphazard way of doing work that is driving our intelligent girls out of the kitchen. Let me give an instance of one experiment tried in Glasgow. In the mill district there were, perhaps three generations, and all sorts of vice prevailed in that district. A lady, who was interested in Domestic Science, thought she would like to have it introduced into the school there, and out of 600 children who went through her hands she reported 350, who instead of going to the mill to work, had gone out to domestic service. That she gave as the effect of scientific teaching. What is the use, as Herbert Spencer says, of being able to quote Dante in the original when standing by the death bed of a sick child if you cannot make a proper poultice. We find that our university girls are not the more practical and many of them say that if they had their lives to live over they would take it differently, as their education has not brought to them their highest good. (p. 62-63)

The rationale for early home economics education thus became entwined with influencing the ignorant and providing domestic servants. Home economics

pioneers such as Ellen Richards and Adelaide Hoodless believed that home economics education would cure all of society's ills. Horsfield (1997), in a study of housework, argued that, although Richards and her fellow domestic scientists set out with idealistic beliefs about educating women to a more intelligent understanding of households, the end result was quite different:

> The role [the twentieth-century housewife] was required to play, the standards she was expected to achieve, were impossible, stultifying and imprisoning. In the end, the women who crusaded for a scientific and efficient approach to housework only succeeded in creating a more complex domestic trap for women. (p. 122)

Just as someone from India could be anglicized but never English (Bhabha, 1994), so the homemaker could be professionalized, but never professional. Matters of the household became problematized in the form of *scientific housekeeping*, where exacting standards were impossible to attain, given circumstances of poverty and deprivation. Distressing examples of how such an ordinary subject as housekeeping came to be an indicator of character can be found in writings about the early years of Ukrainian immigration on the Prairies (Kostash, 1977; Rauser, 1991). A large influx of Eastern European immigrants between 1896 and the First World War produced consternation in the resident English-speaking immigrants:

> The general attitude was that the "Russians" or "Galicians" were undoubtedly good workers, but that they were not "white" and were certainly very inferior to English-speaking people. One might condescendingly speak to "John" or

> "Mike" in bastard English which the Canadian fancied was "Russian". But any other form of social intercourse was unthinkable.... Stories were circulated about his under-ventilated house, which, quite often, sheltered pigs and chickens as well as human beings. The prevailing opinion, right or wrong, was that the Galician was an untrustworthy and vindictive person. (Kostash, 1977, p. 38-39)

The general feeling among the Anglo-Canadian population was that the Ukrainians were content with their poverty and would consider *white* requirements an extravagant luxury. Kostash pointed out the untruth of this presumption by describing the orderly whitewashed homes and possessions left behind in the Ukraine. The real issues in Canada were crushing poverty, broken Government promises of support and impossibly hard living conditions.

Although the Ukrainians were practicing Roman Catholics or Greek Orthodox, a Methodist mission was established in East Central Alberta where many Ukrainians settled in the early 1900s. Rauser (1991) studied this phenomenon and noted that the religious conversion efforts, while unsuccessful, had an intervention motive: "The [task of the female English-Canadian missionaries] was to uplift the immigrant to Anglo-Canadian standards of personal hygiene, home economics and religious practice. Only then could their assimilation into white, middle-class Canadian society be accomplished" (Rauser, 1991, p. 58). The ruling society, being the power holder, could "do violence with [its] discourse" (Jones & Ball, 1995, p. 46), by running rough-shod over other people's customs and values, even with what

was considered the best of motives, religious grounds. Kostash labeled the discourse about the inferiority of Ukrainian culture as "the bogus logic of the smug" (1977, p. 38).

Although the situation was not identical in England, Turnbull (1994) succinctly captured the paradoxical situation of home economics in the British school system between 1870 and 1914:

> By embodying all the skills of domesticity in her work, the domestic subjects teacher presents a curiously contradictory figure. On the one hand she is the intrepid explorer treading new paths, building a new curriculum subject, organizing with her peers and developing a new profession. On the other hand she is a blinkered and isolated missionary preaching outmoded ideas, preventing the development of new social roles for the sexes and discouraging women's search for new horizons. (p. 96)

The imperial attitude to home economics can be traced to the *cult of domesticity*, explained by Hall (1992) as developing from the anti-slavery movement in England between 1780 and 1820, when "a new view of the nation, of political power and of family life was forged" (p. 75). Despite an early plea for equality with men from Mary Wollstonecroft, the Victorians saw women as either workers or organizers, whose sanctified place in the home justified low pay and poor conditions for women working outside the home. Hall notes:

> It was typical of Victorian hypocrisy that they should combine the exploitation of women as factory workers, domestic servants, needlewomen and agricultural workers, with lectures and homilies on the disgraceful way in which these women were neglecting the care of their families. (p. 66)

Attitudes about the roles of women were thus culturally created, and had repercussions in education and employment. Training in household matters, such as would occur in home economics was seen as a panacea for society's problems. The colonialists transferred their ideas to the new lands, complicated by interactions with cultures that had different values and priorities.

Home economics, therefore, is seen as an undefined and contradictory field with competing interests. In the next chapter, I begin my chosen task of analyzing home economics textbooks and curriculum documents through a postcolonial lens by explaining the relevance and suitability of some aspects of postcolonial analysis to a historical inquiry into home economics in British Columbia.

CHAPTER TWO

Postcolonial (un) Defined

> *Many Ruthenian schools are engaging in [home economics instruction] and others will follow as soon as Miss Hiltz has visited them. Wonderful possibilities lie before those engaged in this work. These children must be taught how to sew and cook as well as how to read and cipher. They must be taught concerning our home life – our modes of housekeeping. Politeness, table etiquette, cleanliness, hygiene, et. [sic], must be inculcated in these schools. The work being done by Miss Hiltz will assist materially in accomplishing this desired end.* (Anderson, 1918, pp. 1002-1003)

> *At the home economics in-service in Malawi, I taught the students memorized definitions of kwashiorkor and marasmus, but I did not talk about adding nutrient-rich pumpkin leaves to nsima, the nutrient-deficient corn porridge that is fed to weaned babies and contributes to a mortality rate of 250 per one thousand children under the age of five.* (de Zwart, 2001)

In the foregoing excerpts, the first is colonial (1918) and the second is postcolonial (2001) – what is the relationship of one to the other? I understand the classroom of Saskatchewan as one in which the teacher believed she had the duty to inform her immigrant students about the imperial way of life. I see my class in Malawi as dealing with the repercussions of colonialism, previous economic initiatives that caused agriculture to turn to corn as a staple food instead of

indigenous crops. Neither example, on either a moral or a pedagogical base, assisted in achieving the aim of home economics to improve daily life. In this section I situate home economics within a postcolonial framework in preparation for the examination of whiteness through race, class and gender hierarchies in early home economics textbooks in British Columbia. The reasons for using postcolonial analysis as a framework are ethical in nature. One reason is to correct imbalances in the world that can be attributed to colonialism (Quayson, 2000), especially when the definition of colonization is accepted as "exploitative economic exchange" (Mohanty, 1997, p. 256). The second reason is to achieve a degree of educational accountability: "We owe it to our students to give them some account of how we have taught them about the world. The burden extends across educational experiences" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 16).

Definitions of Postcolonialism and Imperialism

In this section, I do not intend to conflate the definitions of postcolonialism and imperialism, and I recognize that much time could be spent distinguishing each term. Without entering into the debate any more than necessary, the terms are used in my research as follows: postcolonial denotes relationships in general between countries, and imperial denotes the idiosyncratic relationship between Great Britain and her settler colonies and later Commonwealth members such as Canada and Australia.

Postcolonial is a slippery concept, a contentious term (Hall, 2000) and the subject of considerable ongoing debate (Loomba, 1998). The most basic interpretation of postcolonial is the aftermath of colonialism, which itself is difficult to generalize. Loomba points out that colonialism has been a feature of the whole history of the world and defines it as "the conquest and control of other people's land and goods" (1998, p. 2). Thomas (1994) comments that colonialism is typically understood as monolithic (it is not), uncontested (it was, and is) and efficacious (again, debatable). In addition, religion is implicated:

> Some models of inequality between peoples, that set colonizers above colonized and licensed the former to enslave or wage war on the latter, were not based on notions of racial difference at all, but (for instance) on religious distinctions and ideas about the appropriate conduct of Christians towards those who rejected the faith. (p. 14)

The time period for modern colonization is generally agreed to be the late eighteenth century when European powers, particularly the British and French, expanded economic and political control to other parts of the world (Said, 1978). Colonialism took different forms in settler colonies such as Canada and Australia than it did in colonies of occupation such as India and Nigeria. South Africa is an example of a colony within a colony, while the claim is made that colonialism has never ended for certain parts of the world, namely British-occupied Northern Ireland and Palestine (McClintock, 1995).

One of the more succinct definitions of postcolonial is the following: "Postcolonial is a condition or state of having been or presently being colonized, as well as the problem of how best to think of or live with that condition" (Lopez, 2001, p. 3). Postcolonial study began with Edward Said's canonical work *Orientalism* in which he made the powerful assertion that the *West* or Occident cannot exist except in comparison to its mythological Other, the *East* or Orient: "The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said, 1978, p. 5). Said contends that the power of the West was achieved through positional strategy that gained the relative upper hand over the Orient. He puts colonizer/ colonized into binary positions, saying that the one cannot exist without the other, and that the development of the West or the Occident, depended on the mythological existence of the East or Orient. Culture and race, according to Said, are largely products of the nineteenth century, engendering both theory and practice of human inequality. The white *race* can only be known by distinguishing its difference from other *races*.

Home economics, with its origins in nineteenth century thought, disseminated hegemonic notions of superior white culture. While the whole of Said's orientalist perspective is not applicable to settler postcolonialism, the binary relationships of colonizer / colonized can be applied to class distinctions. How better to know one's own status and / or class except in contrast to those considered to be of lower status in race or class? Bhabha (1994) refers to this as *Othering.* When someone is Othered, it is as if that person is less than human. Bhabha extends this concept to

describe colonial mimicry: "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same but not quite* [italics in original]" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). Both Said and Bhabha concentrate on the view from the East, and Said in particular makes no mention of the influences of gender.

Since *Orientalism* was published, much more has been written about including other aspects of power in a definition of postcolonialism that includes the fundamental hierarchies of race, class and gender (Carr, 1996). Two broad categories seem to exist in postcolonialism, one from a Third World / First World exploitative perspective and the second more in terms of the maintenance of power within a colony or colonizing project, as outlined by Nicholas Thomas (1994). According to Thomas, colonial culture is not a single discourse, but rather a "series of projects that incorporate representations, narratives and practical efforts" (p. 171). Therefore home economics can logically be included in a postcolonial analysis because it is a colonizing project.

One commonality of a definition of postcolonialism is the notion of European cultural dominance (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998). Imperialism is an important feature of postcolonial studies because it allows examination of white Anglo-European hegemony that binary colonialism may exclude (Strongman, 1996). As Loomba (1998) explains: "Imperialism can function without formal colonies (as in United States imperialism today) but colonialism cannot" (p. 7).

Postcolonial theory is informed by the work of Gramsci who developed the concept of hegemony to explain some of the failures of Marxism in predicting

revolution in capitalist societies (Sardar & Van Loon, 1998). Hegemony, the ideological and cultural domination of one class by another is achieved through controlling the content of cultural forms and major institutions (Jary & Jary, 2000). To explain why the so-called exploited classes of capitalist society acquiesce to ruling ideology even when it is not in their best interest, Gramsci proposes that through hegemony, the whole of society is persuaded that the ideology protecting the dominant class is the natural and normal way of thinking. This concept has major implications in postcolonial theory because it explains how colonialism can maintain its power hold in postcolonial societies.

The working definition for postcolonial research, from my perspective, includes a multiplicity of representations; it addresses issues of power and inequities in race, gender and class; and it examines what knowledge is considered of most worth and who possesses that knowledge. A postcolonial discussion analyzes the virtues of the ruling group vis-à-vis so-called inferior qualities of less powerful groups in society.

Gender, Race and Class Issues in Imperialism / Colonialism

Postcolonial analysis is based on exploration of power relationships between colonizer and colonized, males and females, whites and non-whites, and the many combinations thereof. Home economics issues are at the intersection of race, class and gender and therefore postcolonial analysis is appropriate for the examination of the historical development of home economics. In Canada, for the most part, the

indigenous population was crudely and efficiently dealt with and then the white settler society could proceed with their imperial chore of reproducing British society (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1995). Johnston and Lawson (2000) comment on the ambiguity of the settler position, representing the imperial enterprise, but not being the same as it: "The settler subject represents, but also mimics, the authentic imperial culture from which he (and more problematically, she) is separated" (p. 369). This *almost but not quite* state of being resulted in situations where the first wave of white colonialists quickly started to consider themselves natives, and then began to colonize the waves of immigrants after themselves (Johnston & Lawson, 2000). This chapter began with an example of such a situation, the Ruthenian classes in Saskatchewan, where the immigrants had to be taught about the British way of life. Whitlock (2000) notes the ways in which domestic subjects were used to train new immigrants about the imperial role: the colonies were key sites for the development of supposedly civilized attitudes about parenting, servants, hygiene and civility among white middle-class European subjects.

McClintock (1995) argues for a theory of gender power within postcolonial analysis, asserting that male theorists have insufficiently explored its gendered dynamics. She finds the binaries of colonizer / colonized to be too constricting and calls for postcolonialism to denote multiplicity. McClintock asks for Westerners to confront imperialism, not as "something that happened elsewhere - a disagreeable fact of history external to Western identity [but] rather, imperialism and the invention of race [as] fundamental aspects of Western, industrial modernity" (p. 5).

Midgley (1995), writing about the anti-slavery movement of the 1820s and 1830s, notes links between imperialism and feminism:

> Both abolitionists and feminists represented colonized women as passive victims who were unable to defend themselves. They saw themselves as having responsibility for speaking for these silenced and helpless women and for protecting them: this however, shifted from being the duty of privileged British women – the language of nation – to being also the 'white woman's burden' – the language of race. (p. 165)

A strong relationship exists between imperialism and patriarchy, viewed by Ashcroft et al. (1998) as analogous forms of domination. Gandhi (1998) proposes that postcolonial studies follow feminism "in its critique of seemingly foundational discourses" (p. 44), but differ from feminism in its attempt to reassert the value and agency of the non-European world. Some feminist writers argue that feminism needs postcolonialism, rather than the reverse, going so far as to declare that Western feminism cannot "reach a point of maturity in this age of global, transnational and diasporic ventures unless it openly adopts a postcolonial perspective" (Schutte, 2000, p. 63). To make the matter more complicated, Western feminism is considered by many feminist critics to have a middle class Eurocentric bias. Mohanty provides various examples of what she considers to be ethnocentric universality and ends with a declaration that mirrors Edward Said (1978):

> Only from the vantage point of the West is it possible to define the third world as underdeveloped and economically dependent. Without the over

> determined discourse that creates the *third* [italics in original] world, there would be no (singular and privileged) First World. (Mohanty, 1997, p. 273)

White women were clearly excluded from most forms of power in settler colonies, but an unexplored issue is whether home economics was one way for white women to use their [limited] power in influencing others. The problem with giving voice to white European women is that it risks further silencing non-white, non-European women (Midgley, 1995). At the same time, the interrogation of home economics, a gendered and racialized subject, is made more imperative. Labeling home economics a racialized subject may incite controversy. In a discussion of feminisms and nationalisms in English Canada, Vickers (2000) describes Canada as a white settler society created by British colonialism within a federated state with women active and willing participants in the "loyal imposition of anglo-conformism," working to establish and preserve British institutions (para. 7).

To support the case of home economics as a racialized subject requires looking at Canada as a racial state:

> Racial states...are states that historically become engaged in the constitution, maintenance, and management of whiteness, whether in the form of European domination, colonialism, segregation, white supremacy, herrenvolk democracy, Aryanism, or ultimately colorblind – or racelessness. These are all states of white rule, where white governance and norms of white being and being white historically prevail. They are states...where whiteness

> increasingly becomes the norm. Racial states, in short, are states where whiteness rules. (Goldberg, 2002, p. 195)

Such a discussion matters if we acknowledge the extent to which whiteness has been unmarked and absent from discussion:

> As long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they / we function as a human norm. Other people are raced, we are just people. (Dyer, 1997, p. 1)

Racialism, therefore differs from racism in its applicability to observations or decisions where race is a factor. A *racist* school would be where discriminatory decisions are made on an unfair basis, and a *racialized* school, where the teachers and administrators are mostly white Europeans and the students, non-whites from a variety of backgrounds. A recent personal teaching experience in a Vancouver secondary school indicates the problematics of racialism. In one of the commercially-available tourism programs, an introductory activity asks the students to find someone who speaks a second language. My tourism class of thirty students puzzled over the significance of this question, and finally one student asked "Who here doesn't speak another language?" The only hand that went up was mine, the teacher's. Everyone else spoke one, two or even three languages other than English. It was an eye-opening experience, and one that leads to a discussion of white supremacy, not as a neo-Nazi movement, but as a genuine constriction on education. English unilingualism was the unnamed and unmarked assumption in the class; the

richness and diversity of other languages was denied, just as white as a colour or ethnicity is denied.

In postcolonial analysis, white supremacy is part of the power hierarchy that pervades the postcolonial world. It is sometimes disguised as European dominance or Eurocentrism, but the deciding factor is the colour of one's skin. To make whiteness visible requires awareness and effort, as explained by Peggy McIntosh in her introspective list of the multiple ways she benefited unknowingly from her white skin. White privilege for McIntosh means being able to arrange to be in the company of people of her race most of the time; being reasonably sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which she could afford and in which she would want to live; seeing people of her race widely and positively represented in the media; being sure that her children would be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race; going into a supermarket and finding the staple foods that fit with her cultural traditions; doing well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to her race; and never being asked to speak for all the people of her racial group (McIntosh, 1989).

Lüpez (2001) suggests that white people suffer from colonial unconsciousness, which he defines as "suppression on either an individual or collective level, of traumatic or otherwise unwelcome knowledges associated with colonialism and its legacy" (p. 86). In a study of his students, he found two basic ways in which students dissociated themselves from whiteness; either epistemologically "Whiteness is a lie" or in a state of naïveté "I wasn't here, it's

nothing to do with me". Whiteness, argues Lüpez, requires interrogation, but not through abolishing it, but rather moving to a "new script that can enter into a relation of mutual recognition with its other without admonitions, without fear, without shame" (p. 119).

The argument has been made that class is as arbitrary a distinction as race, and that one cannot be separated from the other. Cohen argues that the whiteness of the old imperial racism was modeled on an aristocratic aversion to labour. He cites a poignant (and pointedly applicable) quotation alleged to have been made by Lord Milner, a British general during the Battle of the Somme in World War I: when observing some of his troops washing in a stream, Milner is supposed to have said "I never knew the working class had such white skins"(Cohen,. 1997, p. 256). In home economics education, the case can be made for considering it to be substantially class-based, whether from the assumption that young girls were to be trained as domestic servants, or from the notion that they were to be trained to run their own homes with or without servants. At the same time, race is implicated.

To summarize the applicability of the preceding to home economics education; the production of the knowledge uniquely known as home economics is dominated by white, European cultural practices. A social studies critique using postcolonial analysis might look at citizenship or character education; a home economics critique looks at domestic knowledge. It can be applied during colonization and after colonialism is supposedly over. The concept of internal

colonialism is useful for countries such as Canada with a resident population of British origin that considered itself to be "native" in its search for a national identity.

Method: Going About Postcolonially

How does one go about doing postcolonial analysis? My project is an investigation into the sustaining power of white cultural practices in home economics education in British Columbia, using as the epistemological basis, the premise that knowledge is a form of social control and power, and not ascribing to any grand narrative or central method of analysis. Kaomea (2003) explained her rationale for using an eclectic postcolonial theoretical framework in her study of elders in Hawaiian education: "If we are to meet the demands of postcolonial studies for both a revision of the past and an analysis of our ever-changing present, we cannot work within closed paradigms" (p. 16). The same applies to my study: dealing with a marginalized field such as home economics education through a postcolonial framework requires flexibility and innovation and in Kaomea's word, playfulness or a willingness to try on new ideas.

The home economics manuals of relevance to my project are interpreted "against the grain". This expression is used to describe creative reading that turns back against the author's project and helps negotiate meanings in text through critical questions (Bartholomae & Petrosky, 2002). In the case of home economics education, the critique is against the normative understandings of race, class, and

gender that have developed as a result of colonial education. It is important to read beyond the denotative level, to look at the connotations or implied ideas.

Strategies of Analysis

In describing strategies of analysis that I have used in my study, I wish to caution that these have been integrated into discussions, rather than used in isolation.

Food categories.

Douglas (1997) encourages analysis of food categories, by asking (initially) why some categories and not others are used. She suggests food be examined dynamically in its syntagmatic (or unit) relationships, for example, breakfast to dinner, Monday to Sunday, holiday, fast, feast and celebratory days. Douglas uses the example of Jewish dietary laws to conclude:

> Whenever a people are aware of encroachment and danger, [e.g. marrying non-Jews] dietary rules controlling what goes into the body would serve as a vivid analogy of the corpus of their cultural categories at risk....The ordered system which is a meal represents all the ordered systems associated with it. (Douglas, 1997, p. 53)

Douglas' conclusions lend credibility to the maintenance of British meal patterns was part of cultural reproduction in the colonies. The indigenous peoples of the colonies had met their food needs for countless generations but the colonists assumed an automatic separation of food from its agricultural basis of land and geography. The indigenous food sources were important in the very early fur-trading years, such as the cedar tea made by the First Nations people that saved Jacques

Cartier and his crew from scurvy in 1536 (Canada's Digital Collections, , 2003), but the importance diminished as the number of colonialists increased.

With the overwhelming tendency of white people to view white cultural practices as the norm, white people often object to seeing their activities as only one of many accepted practices . I think of a teacher who reported that she always had difficulty deciding what to take to the international dinner at her child's school. She said she always thought she had no culture to draw from, until one day she realized that her white cultural foods had become the invisible standard. This pivotal understanding enabled her to participate in the dinners as one cultural group among many, rather than the unnamed, unmarked centre (Frankenberg, 1993). Tatum (1997) also remarks on the effectiveness of breaking the silence about race in white communities: "When the silence is broken, a process of racial identity development for Whites begins to unfold" (p. 94).

Schooling as a colonizing strategy.

A strategy in addition to reading beyond the connotative level is to site schooling as a colonizing strategy. Carnoy examines three historical case studies in education and argues that schooling in any time period consists of cultural imperialism:

> Schools must help convince or reinforce children in believing that the system is basically sound and the role they are allocated is the *proper* [italics in original] one for them to play. Through such 'colonization', the society

> avoids having to redistribute the increases in national product and reduces the necessity for direct repression of the populace. (Carnoy, 1974, p. 13)

While not declaring education outright as a form of hegemony, Carnoy concludes that "formal schooling has helped a few to control more effectively the lives of many rather than the many to understand the nature of progress and changes in their own lives" (p. 25). Starting with the premise that colonialism is economic in nature, it is possible to see that schooling can be the means of controlling the population to maintain the economic structure and the status quo. While Carnoy's perspective may seem radical, it provides an oppositional position to counteract one hundred years of home economics in support of the status quo of European-dominated knowledge.

Multiple voices.

Another strategy in postcolonial analysis is to use multiple voices. One of the outstanding features of colonialism in Canada was its attempt to make everyone more or less the same type of upstanding citizen of the Empire. Bhabha (1994) claims that colonial subjects are perennially in a state of being almost but not quite British. This has some relevance to my project because it indicates the presence of a colony within a colony, and the emerging desire of the Canadian British-by-birth-or-ancestry to develop and maintain imperialism. The discourse of home economics education in my discussion is broadened to include other domestic information of the times available to the general public as well as the two textbooks of interest. This information includes B.C. Department of Education annual reports and *programmes*

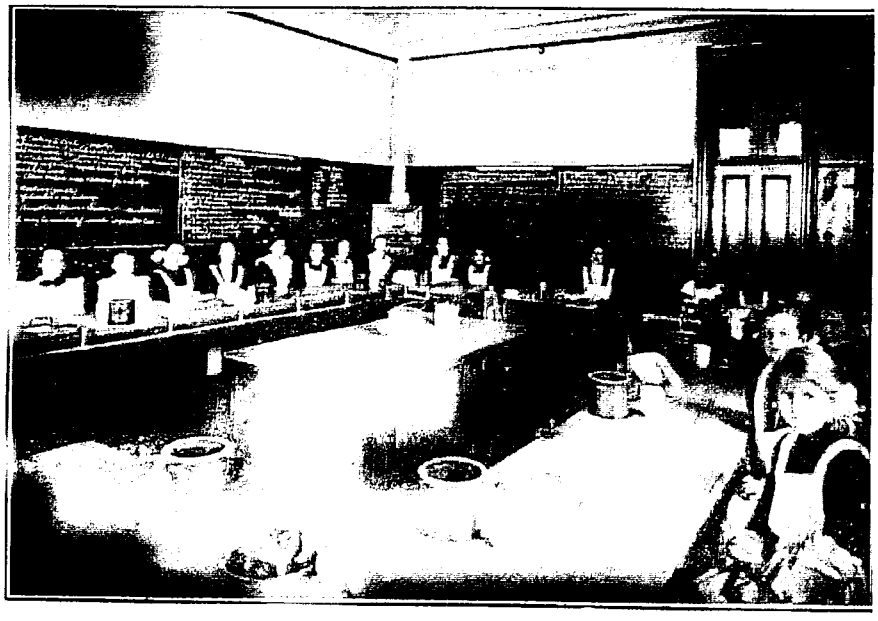
of study, newspaper clippings, contemporary domestic advice manuals, images and voices of the participants in the colonial project.

Problematizing Home Economics

Part of the goal of this section is to problematize home economics education or in other words, to use the struggles of the present to frame the past. The difficulties, conflicts, controversies and unresolved dilemmas that exist in the present day for home economics education have their roots in the past.

Stereotypes of class, order and cleanliness in home economics were apparent from the early years in British Columbia (figure 1). One perennial view of home economics was of mass perfection, as evinced by a 1912 newspaper reporter's view of a "class in omelets". After detailing the immaculate kitchen order and procedure in an elementary school home economics class, the reporter described a choreography of skill:

> 'Now, put the whites to test' directed the teacher and to my astonishment, every girl in the class turned her bowl up side down and held it in that position for several seconds. I was still looking for a splash when the bowls were replaced on the table, all contents intact, and the process of folding the whites into the yokes [sic] was begun. ("Casual comment on women's activities and interests [cookery]," 1912, p. 9)



DOMESTIC SCIENCE ROOM.

Figure 1: Domestic Science Room. The hollow square permitted easy supervision by the teacher. Source: Third annual report. *Vancouver Board of School Trustees Annual Report.* (1905). Vancouver, B.C. p. 65.

Figure 2: The caption reads "Sewing Class, Model School". Sewing was taught in the elementary grades, usually by regular teachers. Eleventh annual report. *Vancouver Board of School Trustees Annual Report.* (1913). Vancouver, B.C. p. 64.

Sewing Class, Model School.

A second visit to the same school a week later (figure 2) demonstrated the rapid construction of the Other in home economics education. This time the class was engaged in sewing a doll's undergarments:

> All had been white to start with, but some had fallen so far below the standard of whiteness as to be described only as grimy. This called forth from the supervisor a little talk on the necessity of bringing clean hands to the sewing class, and several little girls were openly complimented on the neatness and cleanliness of their appearance. 'Certain it is,' said the supervisor, 'that one must keep continually harping on the subject of neatness in the hope that the 'constant drop' may some day have its proper effect. Some children are so untidy and unclean that it is an unpleasant duty to have to bend over them and one wonders what sort of homes and mothers they must have. ("Casual comment on women's activities and interests [sewing]," 1912, p. 9)

What lay between the two extremes of a class in omelets and a grimy set of doll's undergarments? What are the implications and assumptions of power relationships in gender, race and class in home economics education?

Gender is the most obvious example of power. Although both boys and girls might take sewing in elementary grades, only girls took domestic science. According to Wilson (1985), domestic science might have been modeled on manual training, but it was intended as a way of teaching girls about duties to their families and

society. She quotes Adelaide Hoodless as saying, "The ethical considerations of domestic science far outweighed its practical component" (p. 33).

Class was implied through standards of cleanliness and attention to orderliness. "One must keep harping on the standards" said the supervisor, and the overt assumption was that everyone should aspire to the achievement of these standards. Failure to do so was a mark of indigence and neglect. No mention of race was made; it was the most basic assumption of the trio. The white imperial standard was the assumed goal. Axelrod (1997) reminds us that vocational education never attained the status of academic learning because middle-class parents wanted their children to aspire higher than manual or physical labour: "Rather than facilitating interaction and harmony between the middle and working classes, 'reformed' schooling in the early twentieth century both mirrored and perpetuated the problem of social inequality as characteristic of emerging industrial capitalism" (p. 112). Vocational training, of which domestic science was a part, helped maintain the class system exported from the imperial empire.

Such accounts as the foregoing provide outsider rhetoric, but the accuracy of the descriptions of class work can be questioned. The one available and ostensibly dependable window to the past is through textbooks. In the next chapter, I provide background to the establishment of practical education in British Columbia as context, and then examine two home economics manuals, one from 1913 and one from 1931, for the perspective they can offer on how colonialism was lived domestically. How did home economics become part of the British Columbia school

system, and how were the manuals developed? What was included and excluded from the manuals and what assumptions can be made about practice from the content?

CHAPTER THREE

Background to the Introduction of Home Economics in British Columbia

The introduction of home economics education in British Columbia is entwined with an educational phenomenon known as the Macdonald-Robertson education movement. This movement, linked to the New Education, began in 1899 as a seed-growing contest concocted by James W. Robertson, the National Dairy Commissioner for Canada, and Sir William Macdonald, the tobacco merchant and philanthropist (Sutherland, 1976). Robertson was keenly interested in preserving the quality of rural life and convinced Macdonald to fund manual training schools for a period of three years, after which the schools would potentially carry on under their own steam. After a visit from Robertson to B.C. in November of 1900, manual training programs were set up in Vancouver and Victoria. In some parts of Canada, domestic science was funded by the Macdonald Schools, but in British Columbia, Sir William Macdonald did not provide any support. The first domestic science classroom was lobbied for and completely furnished by the Victoria Local Council of Women in 1903. The Local Councils of Women constituted a powerful force for change across Canada starting in 1893 with the attendance of Adelaide Hoodless at the International Council of Women meeting at the Chicago World's Fair (Griffiths, 1993). Hoodless worked with other philanthropic-minded women to organize the first meeting of the National Council of Women of Canada in Toronto later that year. Prestige was added with the election of Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Governor-General of Canada, as first President of the National Council of Women.

Adelaide Hoodless was Ontario-born and married to a wealthy Hamilton merchant when her infant son died from drinking contaminated milk in 1889 (Crowley, 1986). This tragedy led her to found the Women's Institute of Canada and later, to charm (or so it's said) Sir William Macdonald into funding Macdonald Institute in Guelph, the training site for many of Canada's first home economics teachers. Hoodless convinced the National Council of Women to pass a motion in support of manual training for girls "believing that such training will greatly conduce to the general welfare of Canadian homes" (Griffiths, 1993, p. 42). Local Councils of Women across Canada took up the cause of domestic science with a passion. After much lobbying, the Victoria School Board agreed to pay for maintenance costs and half a year's salary. The outfitting of the room cost four hundred dollars, largely provided through personal donations. Winnifred McKeand, the first domestic science teacher, was a graduate of the Boston Cooking School and had previously taught in a Macdonald school in Nova Scotia (Lightfoot & Maynard, 1971). The entry of home economics into the B. C. school system differed from most other subjects because its introduction depended almost entirely on independent promotion by women's groups followed by the goodwill of the school boards. Enrolment expanded rapidly, and women's groups continued their ceaseless pressure until home economics was accepted as a junior matriculation subject in 1928. Its position was not truly secure in the curriculum until a change in the School Act in 1935 made it compulsory along with manual training, where facilities were available. As Table 1 shows, around eleven per cent of the school population was enrolled in home economics in 1937.

In the 1937 statistics, one half of all junior high students were enrolled in home economics, ninety-five of them boys out of a total of 3,806.

Table I Total School Enrolment and Domestic Science / Home Economics Enrolment in British Columbia Schools

	Total School Population	Average Actual Attendance	Number of Domestic Science Centres	Elementary Pupil enrolment in domestic science	High School Pupil Enrolment in domestic science	Notes
1904	25,787	17,060	1	200	0	Victoria only: sewing in grades taught by regular teacher
1906	28,522	20, 017	3	400 (est.)	0	Victoria and Vancouver only
1915	64,624	52,821.72	39	5,967	801	180 pupils in sewing only
1918	65,118	52,577.12	45	4986	1263	
1927	105,008	88,306	57	9298	2131	McLenaghen's first year
1931	113,914	99,375	86	7238	3070 (Jr.) 2170 (Sr.) 48 (Boys)	Junior and senior high totals are separated out
1937	116,722 (84,834-elementary, 7,965-junior high, 22,338-high school)	104,044	103	5885	3806 (Jr.) 2839 (Sr.) 95 (Boys)	About 11% of the total school population was enrolled in home economics.

Table 1: The increase in numbers reflects the appointment of Jessie McLenaghen as the first supervisor of home economics in British Columbia in 1926 and the subsequent greater attention paid to opening home economics centres. Source: *Annual Reports of the Public Schools of British*

Columbia. (1903-04, p. A7, 1905-06, p. A7, 1914-15, p. A7, 1917-1918, p. D9), 1926-1927, p. M9 1930-1931, p. L9, 1936-1937 pp. I7, I49). Victoria, BC: King's Printer.

Examination of Home Economics Manuals

British Columbia is unique in Canada for having two locally developed home economics manuals, the *Girls' Home Manual,* published in 1913, and *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) which was revised into the *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual*, published in varying editions starting in 1930. The B.C. home economics textbooks fall into an interstitial space between domestic advice manuals and textbooks. They were supposedly aimed at students, but were as much intended to influence parents and families. Unlike typical public school textbooks, home economics textbooks were intended for use after school leaving with a mandate to improve daily life and living standards. In this section, the basic formats of *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) and *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931) are described in detail. What was considered important for young girls to learn in home economics? What cultural practices were emphasized over other ones? What sources of information were used and what significance do they have? These questions will be explored in order to provide context for further discussion and specific analysis that includes two similar manuals from the Saskatchewan Department of Education, *The Rural School Luncheon* (1916) and *Recipes for Household Science Classes* (1923). The Saskatchewan home economics manuals are relevant because they date from the same time period, and yet show alternative approaches to the same subject. A British Columbia home economics

manual *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) is also included because it was a forerunner to *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931).

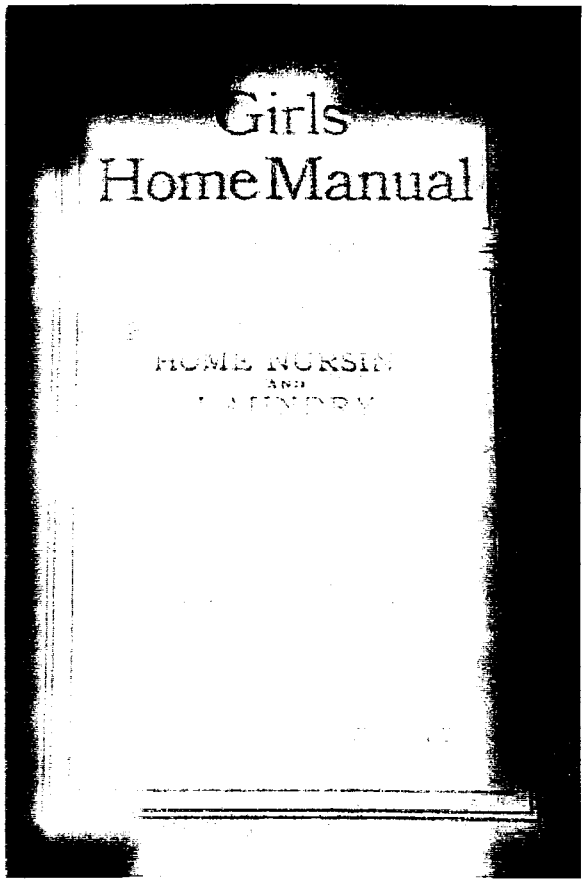


Figure 3: Although upwards of 5,000 copies of *Girls' Home Manual of Cookery, Home Management, Home Nursing and Laundry* were distributed in British Columbia by the Free Text-book Branch, the Provincial Archives of British Columbia does not have a copy. Source: personal copy owned by Beverley Anderson, Coquitlam, B.C.

Girls' Home Manual

The 187-page *Girls' Home Manual of Cookery, Home Management, Home Nursing and Laundry* (figure 3) was the first home economics textbook in British Columbia and was published in 1913. Although Annie Bessie Juniper was listed as author, the book was dedicated to Margaret Jenkins, a Victoria politician and mother

of a blended family of sixteen children, "whose interest, sympathy and help have done so much to further the Home Economic [sic] Movement in British Columbia" (Juniper, 1913, p. 2).

Margaret Jenkins (1843-1923) was a founding member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Victoria and one of the first women to be elected to the Victoria School Board (Hale, 1980). She was also a member of the Local Council of Women and had collaborated in setting up the classroom in Victoria in 1903-1904 (Lightfoot & Maynard, 1971). Annie Juniper was the Supervisor of Household Science for the Victoria School Board; she had been appointed to that position in 1911, after previously serving as Dean of Household Science at Macdonald College in Quebec and Professor of Household Science at the Manitoba Agricultural College in Winnipeg. Juniper had received her initial training at the Norfolk and Norwich School of Household Science in England and began her Canadian career in 1904 at one of the Macdonald Schools in Middleton, Nova Scotia (de Zwart, 1998).

David Wilson, Officer in Charge of the Free Text-Book Branch of the Department of Education proudly announced the addition of *Girls' Home Manual* to the free textbooks list:

> Domestic or Household Science now justly holds a place in nearly every modern school curriculum. Last year the Education Department issued a manual outlining a three years' course in this important subject....Over 3,000 copies of *Girls' Home Manual* were supplied in 1913-14 by the Free Text-book Branch to the various districts where Domestic Science is included in

> the Public School Course of Study, viz.: Chilliwack, New Westminster, Vancouver, South Vancouver, and Victoria. (1914, p. A74)

Copies of *Girls' Home Manual* continued to be distributed for a few more years by the Free Text-Book Branch, with the number dropping abruptly from 1294 copies in 1914-15 to 2 copies in 1917-18 (Wilson, 1918, p. D71). Perhaps only a small run was printed; or perhaps John Kyle, the Organizer of Technical Education first appointed in 1914, had some influence. Although Kyle strongly supported practical subjects, he had a negative view of bookwork and frequently criticized home economics and manual training for not being sufficiently practical and task-oriented. Kyle noted a tendency to teach too much theory in the first year of domestic science instruction:

> It is not to be inferred from [the foregoing] statement that no reasons should be given while practicing the art of cookery, but merely that theory should follow the practice, emphasis being placed on the latter during the early lessons and attention gradually increased on the former as the girls grow older. The Courses of Study in Domestic Science are frequently scrappy and poorly graded, a lack of attention being given to judicious repetition and a building of the unknown on that which is already known and understood. Care should also be taken to develop habits in domestic-science centres, which are above reproach, and no girls should be found cooking without aprons and caps nor sewing without thimbles. (Kyle, 1919, p. A79)

Home economics was thus put in the predicament of being not practical

enough on the one hand and not regulated sufficiently on the other. *Girls' Home Manual* was not mentioned in Kyle's reports. It was, however, part of Juniper's legacy, remarked upon in a vacation visit made by Juniper to Victoria in 1926, ten years after she had left her teaching position in that city:

> Another instance of the attraction which Victoria holds for her adopted as well as her native-born citizens is found in the return here this Summer of Miss A.B. Juniper, for several years teacher or supervisor of domestic science in the Victoria city schools....Miss Juniper's splendid work in the Victoria schools is too well known to require recalling to the minds of any who were associated with the organization of this branch of education in pre-war days. An enduring souvenir of her connection with [the] department may still be found in many Victoria homes in the form of a cookbook which is regarded by its owners as a standard and invaluable work. ("Former Victoria teacher now English principal," 1926, p. 1)

This popularity did not ensure widespread distribution of *Girls' Home Manual.* In 1924-25, the Putman-Weir *Survey of the School System*, while lauding home economics for its practical non-bookishness, attacked its methods of presentation:

> In home economics, we have seen girls wasting hours of precious time in scribbling notes from a teacher's dictation on cooking, sewing, or textiles. A gramophone could do the work done by the teacher, and a rotary duplicator with one operator that done by the twenty girls. There is no possible excuse

> for such practices. They waste public money, bore the pupils, and discredit the subject of study. (Putman & Weir, 1925, pp. 98-99)

This comment puts in doubt the wide spread use of *Girls' Home Manual*, and reinforces the idea that the mere existence of a textbook can in no way be equated with influence. The Putman-Weir *Survey* made it clear that setting down home economics information on paper was deemed mandatory for efficiency and promulgation of information. As early as 1905 motions had been made toward this end, with the request of Elizabeth Berry, the first home economics teacher in Vancouver, to her instructor and mentor, Mary Urie Watson, at Macdonald Institute in Guelph, Ontario, for directions on how to prepare 300 copies of recipes for her students. Watson replied with hectograph instructions:

> You should inquire whether the School Board of Vancouver owns one of the duplicators which will give you 300 copies from one original. If they have, they would probably permit you to use it. If you have no access to such a machine, then there is nothing to do but make the hectograph by hand, or having the children copy the recipes in their note books, and I prefer spending the time in making hectograph copies than correcting individual books which is necessary when the children are allowed to copy their own recipes. (Watson, 1905, October 3)

Contents of Girls' Home Manual.

In the introduction to *Girls' Home Manual*, Annie Juniper indicated that the book covered a three-year course in Household Science with the following intent:

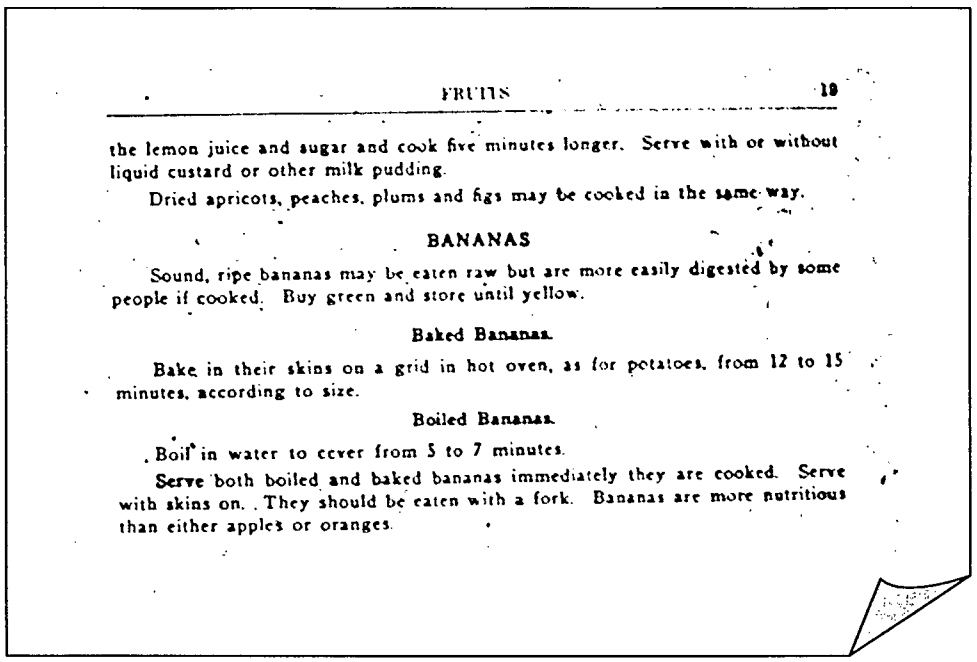
> All subjects worth study have had books written upon them. It is only of late years that 'home-making,' upon which the health of the individual, the family, and the nation depends, has apparently been thought worthy of scientific study. On investigation, it was found that only a small percentage of housekeepers possess any library bearing on their work, with the exception of an occasional cook-book and manufacturers' sample cook-books. This Manual was prepared in the hope that girls, not only at school, but in after life also, may find it helpful in making them more efficient in the noble art of 'home-making'. (Juniper, 1913, p. 2)

The first piece of essential information was a list of directions for measuring ingredients, that emphasized level measures and the use of a standard cup: "a 10 cent tin cup with straight sides, divided into thirds and quarters". A table of weights and measures for butter, flour, breadcrumbs, raisins and different types of sugars was given. Juniper included a list of necessary kitchen equipment and cautioned that while costs might seem high, the pay off would be considerable in efficiency of work and health.

Nutrition received four pages and the prevention of scurvy was mentioned. Milk was recommended for babies, with the caveat that a doctor be consulted as to the feeding of a baby. The digestive process was explained in considerable written detail, and although the manual did not include a diagram, the teacher was clearly expected to provide such information, as indicated by the diagram on the blackboard (figure 4).

Figure 4: Two home economics pupils with domestic science equipment. Note digestive tract diagram on blackboard behind students. Source: Eighth annual report. *Vancouver Board of School Trustees Annual Report*. (1910). Vancouver, B.C.: Clark and Stuart. p. 35.

The largest part (almost one-half of the textbook or 90 pages) was devoted to recipes divided into separate chapters, everything from beverages to jelly, jams and pickles. Almost one-quarter of the recipes were candies and desserts (twenty-four pages), and meat, fish and poultry received fifteen pages of attention. White sauce took up two pages and flour, yeasts and breads, six pages. Specific cooking instructions were included for relatively new foods such as bananas (figure 5).



FRUITS 19

the lemon juice and sugar and cook five minutes longer. Serve with or without liquid custard or other milk pudding.

Dried apricots, peaches, plums and figs may be cooked in the same way.

BANANAS

Sound, ripe bananas may be eaten raw but are more easily digested by some people if cooked. Buy green and store until yellow.

Baked Bananas.

Bake in their skins on a grid in hot oven, as for potatoes, from 12 to 15 minutes, according to size.

Boiled Bananas.

Boil in water to cover from 5 to 7 minutes.

Serve both boiled and baked bananas immediately they are cooked. Serve with skins on. They should be eaten with a fork. Bananas are more nutritious than either apples or oranges.

Figure 5: Imported foods such as bananas were considered to be more nutritious than apples, although the appearance of boiled bananas might not encourage appetite. Source: *Girls' Home Manual.* (1913). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 19.

Equipment received four pages devoted to the combustion and management of the kitchen range, the fireless cooker and paper-bag cookery. For the last, specially prepared paper bags had to be procured, and could only be used once. Foods suitable for paper bag cookery included fish, meats, vegetables and pudding, although the latter had to be made in a dish first. The advantages of using paper bags in cookery were listed; this method apparently resulted in the use of fewer dishes, a cleaner oven and no cooking odours. Juniper (1913) pointed out that food cooked in a fireless cooker (basically a thermos with heated soapstones around it) was cooked at a lower heat than on a stove and might not keep as well. This last skill was not for the amateur: "A person needs to know how to cook before they can use a 'fireless' "

(p. 109). Both paper bag cookery and fireless cookery were intended to encourage thrift on the part of the poor who might not have proper cooking ranges.

Further knowledge that was considered essential for the home economics students included a chapter on table setting and etiquette, with duties of the waitress, how to clear a table, table etiquette and how to wash up after a meal single-handed. Particular mention was made of how to keep kitchen garbage in a sanitary way. A list of "first-class kitchen equipment" (to which Juniper had referred in the first chapter) included bread tins, pepper dredger, tin steamer, potato ricer, toasting fork, preserving jars, hammer, screw driver and wrench, refrigerator, ice cream freezer, roller towels, meat saw, table, milk can and fish kettle.

A section was given over to house plans and furniture: according to Juniper, each girl, before starting housekeeping, should possess clear and definite ideas as to the points of a good house as contrasted with a poor one. Hygienic forms of floor and wall coverings were indicated, and a lift from the basement through the kitchen to the top floor of the house was recommended to save steps for the housewife. Cheap lace curtains should be avoided; one should buy the best linen possible, as it would prove to be cheapest in the end.

The cookery uniform received one full page of directions and included a pinafore, cap, pot holder, hand towel and tape (for supporting the holder and hand towel). House management included cleaning materials, and instructions were given for the choice, cleaning and care of everything that could possibly need cleaning in a house, from the kitchen sink to care of copper and brass. Instructions for cleaning

three types of ranges (coal, gas and electric) were included as was laying and lighting a kitchen fire. Would a person who did not know how to light a fire turn to page 128 of *Girls' Home Manual* to read the instructions? In all, twenty-two pages were devoted to house cleaning.

Home nursing received eight pages, reflecting the extent to which nursing took place at home rather than in hospitals. Instructions were given for personal cleanliness, care of the sick room, how to stop hemorrhage, and the treatment of common ailments. Detailed instructions were given for poultices and fomentations, both used to reduce inflammations and pain. One page covered emergencies: croup, convulsions, a faint, sunstroke, burns, scalds and bruises. Juniper's cure for death by drowning included laying the patient flat on his/her back, securing the tongue with a rubber band or handkerchief, baring the body to the waist and using artificial respiration until the patient started to breathe (p. 152).

Laundry, Strathcona School

Figure 6: Laundry, Strathcona School. The pupils appear to be about twelve years old, and are using a wringer washer. Eighth Annual Report. *Vancouver Board of School Trustees Annual Report.* (1910). Vancouver, B.C.: Clark and Stuart. p. 35.

Laundry work (figure 6) had its own section. "Suitable equipment" wrote Juniper, "is a great aid to this work" (p. 153). The starch recipes were the same as the ones I used for a home economics in-service course in Malawi in 2000. Tuesday was suggested as the best day for washing because it left Monday for preparation: "A housekeeper has to settle the matter of time for herself, and has also to take into consideration the amount of washing and the weather" (p. 168). Laundering of white cotton clothes, woolens, silk and coloured cottons received separate chapters. Seven

steps were listed regarding how to iron and fold a handkerchief (p. 177). A dress or pinafore required only six steps (p. 179).

Diagrams in the book included the cuts of beef from an ox (Figure 7) with notations in what appears to be Juniper's handwriting, and cuts of mutton from a sheep.

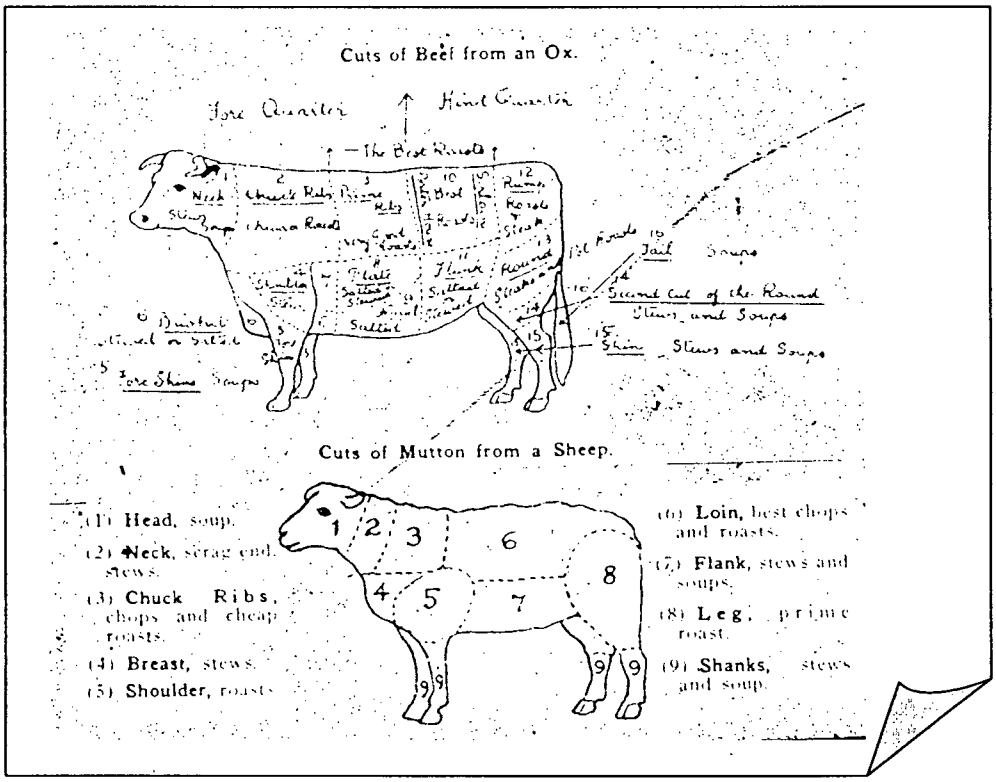


Figure 7: The prime rib section of the ox (probably a cow) was marked "very good roasts" and the tail was indicated for "soups". Source: *Girls' Home Manual.* (1913). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 52.

Nine blank pages for memoranda followed an extensive six-page index. A number of recipes were written in by hand: nut bread, beef loaf, Mrs. Goggin's mayonnaise, Madeira cake, raison [sic] cake, pineapple pie, date bar, date cake, Belgian paste, pineapple layer cake (again credited to Mrs. Goggin, obviously a cook

of merit), nut loaf and Delicious Lemon Pie. An untitled recipe for squares listed two tea cups of sugar under ingredients (figure 8).

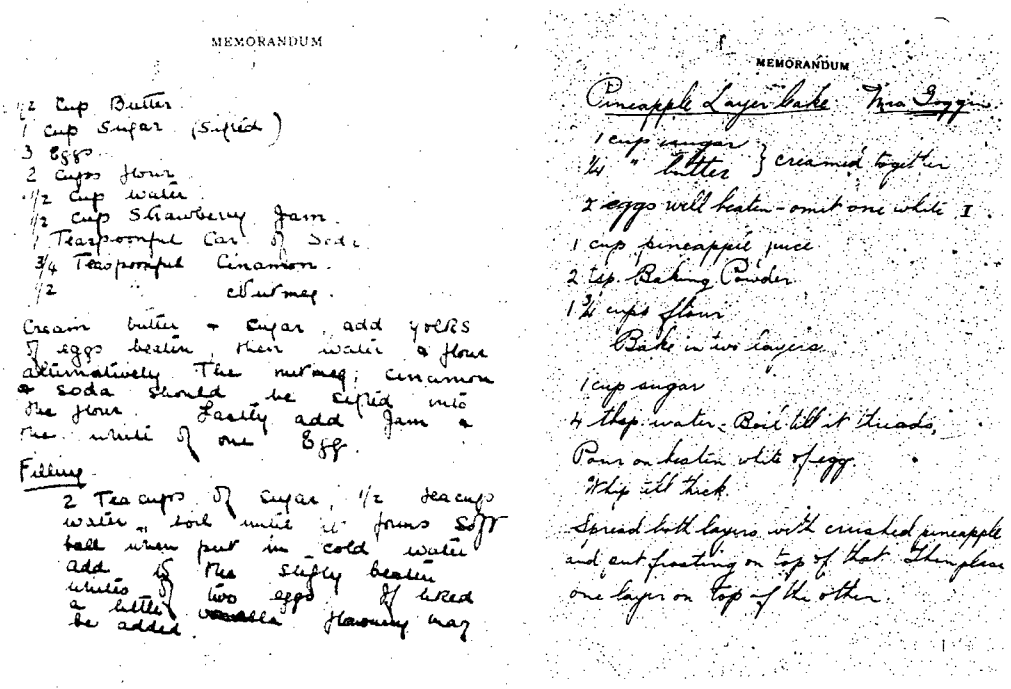


Figure 8: These handwritten recipes from the memorandum section of *Girls' Home Manual* assumed prior experience in the kitchen, with advanced knowledge of sugar cookery ("Boil until it forms Soft ball" and "Boil until it threads"). The recipes are also in two different handwritings, indicating a cumulative effect over years of use. Source: *Girls' Home Manual.* (1913). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. (n.p.).

The final two pages of *Girls' Home Manual* were entitled "Books and Magazines on Home Problems" and listed six magazines, sixty-five books and a twelve-volume set of Library of Home Economics. The author list reads like a "Who's Who" of early home economists. A number of books written by Ellen Richards, co-organizer of the Lake Placid Conferences, are included: *The Art of Right Living, Cost of Cleanliness, Cost of Food, Cost of Living, Cost of Shelter, Euthenics, Food Materials and Their Adulterations, Good Luncheons for Rural*

Schools, and *Sanitation in Daily Life. House Sanitation* co-authored by Richards and Marion Talbot (later Dean of Women at the University of Chicago) is listed, as is *Home Economics* by Maria Parloa, founder of the Boston Cooking School. Juniper's eclectic sources included the *Boston Cooking School Cook Book* by Fannie Farmer, *Cakes, Icings and Fillings* by Sarah Tyson Rorer, *Paper Bag Cookery* by the French chef Alexis Soyer, *Practical Hygiene* by Alice Ravenhill and *Women and Economics,* credited to C. Perkins Stetson, (better known as Charlotte Perkins Gilman). Any mention of the Lake Placid Proceedings was noticeably absent.

Reflections on Juniper's view of education.

Although Wilson (1985) argued that *Girls' Home Manual* demonstrated customary practice, with emphasis on conventional wisdom and personal expertise, examination of Juniper's reference list verifies support of the more radical elements of home economics that sought to achieve domestic reform. By including personages such as Alexis Soyer, Alice Ravenhill and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a more philosophical and social as well as scientific bent on Juniper's part is apparent.

Alexis Soyer (1810-1858) was known as the greatest chef of the nineteenth century. On his own initiative, Soyer set up soup kitchens in Dublin during the 1847 Potato Famine after watching the "gross inefficiency and mismanagement of...well-meaning charitable organizations" to make soup for the poor (Strang & Toomre, 1999). Soyer also worked with Florence Nightingale and invented field kitchens during the Crimean War (Clement-Lorford, n.d.). His inclusion lends a humanitarian air to Juniper's references, although later criticisms have emerged about Soyer's

elitism. For example he put on a public display of the Dublin soup kitchens to which the Lord Lieutenant of Dublin and other notables were brought to taste the soup, pay tribute to Soyer and watch as the poor came for their share. According to Strang and Toomre, the papers called this "a public parade of wretchedness" (p. 70). Soyer was the inventor of paper bag cookery, intended as a way for the poor to cook food without much equipment. The inclusion of *Paper Bag Cookery* in Juniper's reference list is puzzling. Was it a remnant from her home economics training in England? Did Juniper make an unfounded lower-class assumption about the pupils targeted by *Girls' Home Manual*? Paper bag cookery never became standard technique in British Columbia home economics classrooms.

The inclusion of *Practical Hygiene* by Alice Ravenhill (1859-1954) is also significant. Much has been written about Ravenhill and her life as a Fellow of the Sanitary Institute of London and early home economist (Converse, 1998; Daniels & Bayliss, 1985; Smith, 1989). *Practical Hygiene* was written by Ravenhill in 1907 and revised in 1908, two years before she immigrated from England to Vancouver Island with her brother, sister and nephew. The 590-page book was intended for teacher training colleges and was accompanied by a set of ten lectures on the health of the community. Ravenhill justified the place of hygiene in education as the "lens through which the experience of the human race can be focused upon the conduct of healthy existence" (Ravenhill, 1908, p. 1). Knowledge of hygiene would have economic advantages from which both home and community would profit. One of the references in the lectures was to C.W. Saleeby, the outstanding propagandist for

eugenics in England (Haller, 1963). The following statement in the introductory rationale is not surprising:

> Every *healthy* [italics in original] child can be made capable, though all children, like all materials, will not take an equal polish. But so long as man remains 'the sickest beast alive,' a large percentage of human beings will be burdens, and not blessings, to the community. (Ravenhill, 1908, p. 3)

In 1913, the same year that *Girls' Home Manual* was published, Ravenhill published a book entitled *The Art of Right Living*, after a publication of the same name by Ellen Richards. This book, more than any other, seemed to promote a new racially-oriented and classist imperialism. The art of right living involved living up to the "highest level of efficiency of which each person is capable" (Ravenhill, 1913, p. 3) . Ravenhill promoted many ways of improving health, one of the more impractical being (for any place in Canada other than Vancouver Island) to obtain more fresh air by cutting a hole in the wall close to the ceiling and installing mosquito netting.

A thin, but tenacious thread connected home economics to eugenics and it is not surprising that selective breeding had cachet in home economics. As Stage and Vincenti (1997) explain, home economics was located in the progressive movement and early home economists were among the reformers who worked to improve living standards for new urban immigrants. Poverty, crime, illegitimacy and drunkenness were considered to be inheritable characteristics, and reformers believed that they could control these characteristics through eugenics to ensure a better class of

people. With the onset of World War I, Ravenhill made her position about the role of domestic science obvious in a 1915 article written for the *B.C. Women's Institute Quarterly* (cited in McLaren, 1990):

> The next enemies of the Empire will need to be even better prepared than the Germans, for the women are leaving nothing undone. Their soldiers are to be well-born, for they are making a study of eugenics. They are to be well-bred, for they have their domestic science and they are solving moral problems. (p. 26)

According to Stoler (1995), domestic discourses such as the preceding did more than prescribe proper behaviour: "They locate how fundamentally bourgeois identity has been tied to notions of being 'European' and being 'white'"(p. 11). Domestic texts also helped create a collective identity for the newly emerging middle class, "defining its members as distinct from working people" (Fox, 1998, n.p.). Thus race and class were inextricably entwined in the teaching of domestic science.

Juniper's inclusion of Charlotte Perkins Gilman was an unusual and perhaps significant reference. Gilman (1860 – 1935) was best known as a feminist and novelist, who had been a volunteer at Hull House in Chicago and who "waged a lifelong battle against the restrictive patriarchal social codes for women in late nineteenth-century America" (De Simone, 1995, n.p.). Gilman advocated for the professionalization of homemaking: she spoke against women's economic dependence. The reference to Gilman's book reflects the social reform side of home economics. One of the better-known Canadian domestic reformers was Alice Chown

(1866-1949) who had a passion for social justice and a focus on ideals that she contributed to the Lake Placid Conferences (Peterat, 1998). Chown's views were in sharp contrast to Adelaide Hoodless, who is credited with writing the first home economics textbook in Canada, *Public School Domestic Science* (1898). Hoodless believed in the home as the workshop of men and the social foundation of the nation (Crowley, 1986). Axelrod (1997) describes how Hoodless sought to have the employment of young women in clerical and factory work reversed, by promoting domestic science: "Schools could enhance the respectability of home making by giving the subject academic and scientific credibility" (p. 108). Young women would want to be homemakers, if introduced to domestic science. The home would be a respected place, and women's unique role in it would be preserved.

The textbook is the curriculum.

The curriculum for domestic science developed slowly, and at first consisted of a simple list of regulations in the 1908 Department of Education Annual Report of the Public Schools by Harry Dunnell, the Inspector of Manual Training. He recommended that all manual training and domestic science instructors should also be qualified public school teachers; each boy or girl should receive at least two hours of instruction per week; class size should not exceed 24 pupils per lesson and plans of all new work-rooms should be submitted for approval to the Education Department (Dunnell, 1908). In 1912 the B.C. Department of Education published *Courses of study for the public, high, technical and normal schools of British Columbia,* with a three-page list of content requirements for home economics

education. It required that all courses of work in domestic science were to be submitted to the Education Department. This course of study, reprinted in 1919 and 1922 included dress requirements: students were expected to complete the cookery uniform in grade six or seven before proceeding to further sewing. Practical and theoretical cookery had as its cornerstone the following admonition: "As 'practical application' is the only mordant which will set things in the memory, principles should be taught in conjunction with the practice of cookery" (*Courses of study for the public, high and normal schools of British Columbia*, 1919, p. 30). Teachers were cautioned to keep the lessons active, "giving the child an ability to do" (p. 30).

The brevity of this curriculum supports the argument that in the early years of Canadian education, the textbook was the curriculum (Tomkins, 1986). For the high school courses, specific reference was made to "Household problems that require a girl's attention" (1919, p. 45-46). The curriculum decreed that, among other problems, girls who completed home economics should be able to do the following: recognize quantities referred to in avoirdupois, liquids, dry and linear tables; quickly change fractions; know the capacity of hot-water bottles and other household appliances as well as capacity and areas of rooms; compare different fuel costs; understand insurance; compare foods, meats and their substitutes; answer questions relating to floors, walls and roofing; understand household budgets and apportionment of income; be aware of city problems such as the cost of street-cleaning and lighting; and understand the metric system (p. 45-46). Wilson (1985) critiqued the curriculum for being chiefly concerned with making and doing, not

sequencing of knowledge. From a class perspective, the topics were upwardly mobile and indicated an urban setting with modern conveniences and the time to do comparison shopping. *Girls' Home Manual* was markedly free from admonitions and moral posturing. Practical knowledge was considered to be of most worth. Other than Ravenhill's adjunct advice, mothers, homes and the imperial race were not mentioned and the student was treated in a matter-of-fact way.

Simple reading of the textbook does not give the personal insights that the words of Juniper's former students offer. In a time space of seventy or eighty years, memories fade and amplify and not everyone had fond memories of Juniper, who was known for her strictness and insistence on household standards. A member of her 1910 class in Winnipeg reported the extent to which Juniper stressed the practical application of management:

> I remember [Annie Juniper] saying in one of her lectures that if she could visit the girls in their own homes in later years and inspect their garbage cans, she would be able to tell what type of homemakers they were. (J. Wilson, 1966, p. 41)

One of Juniper's students at South Park School in Victoria in 1916 recalled her as a very strict teacher from England: the class didn't learn a great deal because they didn't like her. In an interview recorded sixty-seven years after taking domestic science, the student recited "High heat hardens protein" when asked what she remembered from her class (Iversón, 1983). This anecdote illustrates the difficulty of

figuring out what actually went on in classrooms, and the assumptions that this study cannot make about the degree to which curriculum was implemented.

Further domestic advice.

Girls' Home Manual was intended to provide future domestic advice. How did this relate to contemporary living conditions? An interesting comparison can be made between it and *Modern Household Cookery Book,* a 170-page domestic advice manual put out by the Victoria Gas Company in 1910.

In the preface to *Modern Household Cookery*, the unnamed writers referred to the importance of the knowledge of cookery, the increasing number of public schools teaching cookery by theory and practice, and the acceptance of cookery as both a science and an art: "The work of cooking can not be successfully carried on in a haphazard or in a "hit-or-miss" fashion. The interests imperiled are too serious and the results of failures too grave" (*Modern Household Cookery Book*, 1910, p. 9). Recipes used in the book were touted as "the very best and thoroughly tested", drawn from a series of practical lessons given at the south Kensington National Training School of Cookery, London; the previously mentioned Alexis Soyer and other recipes handed down in families from the "Mother Country", France, India and Spain, and the School of Cookery, Dundee, Scotland (p. 9). As would be expected, the advantages of cooking with gas were prominently featured, and included testimonial letters from prominent Victoria residents reporting their satisfaction with gas cookers. The old way of cooking produced flues to clean, ashes to rake, coals to

carry, and cinders to sift. The new way avoided all these troubles and saved money as well. A three-frame cartoon on the back inside cover provided a lively approach to using gas for cooking (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Cartoons in a domestic manual intended for adults promoted the use of gas as convenient and intelligent. The school textbook was dull in comparison. It gave information on how to lay a fire. Source: *Modern Household Cookery Book.* (1910). Victoria, B.C.: Victoria Gas Company. [inside back cover].

Considerable basic information was given as well; basic measuring, a table of weights and measures, 130 pages of recipes, four pages on "The Baby", two pages on "Personal Hints' (including a cure for stout people) and the remaining seven pages on household cleaning tips.

Soups, fish, shellfish, meats, savories and entrees, vegetables and food for invalids or children all received their own sections. Pastry and pies, puddings and *dainty sweets and creams* were emphasized, with nineteen recipes for puddings alone. Bread, rolls and breakfast cakes were considered important for future

homemakers: "To make good bread and scones is one of the most valuable accomplishments a girl who has any idea of becoming a housekeeper can acquire" (p. 85). The "Hot Drinks for Cold Weather" chapter included an Indian planter's recipe for coffee.

Chinese cookery received its own section: ingredients such as soy sauce were carefully explained, as was the Chinese method of boiling rice. The "celebrated Chinese chop suey" was included and the Chinese method of cooking vegetables was extolled: "In this department of kitchen lore, the Chinese excel all other peoples" (p. 127). The authors took a promotional stance toward unusual ingredients: in the recipe for pork with lily buds, they caution:

> Pork with lily buds may seem as queer a combination as any brain could devise, but the result is not to be despised, if one is near enough to a Chinese colony to procure the lily buds or golden needles, as they are known in the trade.(*Modern Household Cookery Book*, 1910, p. 126)

In "The Baby" section, the authors waxed more than poetically for "the dear little clinging mites with dewy lips and often sticky fat fingers, rosy-cheeked and big wondering eyes, the rulers of the nursery, and our rulers in a rising generation" (p. 134). Some tips on family life were given; husband and wife were admonished to live healthy, well-conducted, sober, cheerful, intelligent lives if they wanted their offspring to be healthy and good-looking.

Modern Household Cookery differed from *Girls' Home Manual* most obviously in its inclusion of Chinese cookery and a wider range of subjects, and its

exclusion of laundry. More emphasis was also placed on appearance and "dainty" food: the salad section was the most prominent source of unusual food combinations. Should friends who expected to stay for tea catch one with short rations on a Sunday evening, the reader was advised to "fall back on [her] nasturtium bed for aid, and a box of sardines":

> Take two sardines with a spoonful of prepared dressing, wrap in a leaf from the nasturtium vine, and skewer with a little wooden toothpick. Thrust a blossom into each end of the little rolls and then lay on a fresh bed of lettuce leaves. The result will be very satisfactory and fill the space on your menu. (*Modern Household Cookery Book*, 1910, p. 76)

Juniper did not embrace any such unusual foods in *Girls' Home Manual* (1913), although she did include a section on sandwiches that involved removing crusts and cutting into "small dainty shapes such as squares, fingers, diamonds, triangles, circles and half moons" (p. 94).. Everything that she included was staunchly British in origin. The point of this discussion is that if a commercial manual such as *Modern Cookery* could include a section on Chinese foods, then such a section could also have been included in *The Girls Home Manual.* The fact that this was not done seems to indicate that it was not considered important. The exclusion has its positive aspects. If a Chinese foods section had been included in Juniper's book, the foods would probably have been seen as exotic, contributing to the view of anything outside the Imperial experience as Other. If more food that could be construed as dainty had been included, home economics could have been

further criticized for being unrealistic and unrelated to real life. This was one of the conclusions of Riley (1984) who undertook a study of the introduction of labour-saving devices into British Columbia homes between 1900-1930, and digressed into determining if home economics was a suitable school subject. While some of Riley's conclusions can be queried, she did provide some evidence that home economics was often viewed as unnecessary in the school system. Its uncertain position might have been worsened with solid evidence such as a salad based on sardines and nasturtiums.

The racialization of the province.

Between the publication of the first and second home economics textbooks in British Columbia, the population had greatly increased and the racial dimensions had institutionalized. A school law in 1891 had forbidden voting by Chinese and Indians in school board elections; by 1921, the prohibited list included "Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos [sic] and Indians" (*Manual of the school law and school regulations of British Columbia*, 1921). However, white women (in addition to white men) had been able to vote in school board elections. According to Stanley (1995), the textbooks in general use fixed notions of difference into a "scientifically proscribed division of humanity in a hierarchy of 'race'" (p. 42). British Columbia bought the ideas of inborn difference and imperial superiority, and thus in 1924, Rosalinde Esson Young, wife of Henry Esson Young, sometime Minister of Education could, with impunity, make the following presentation to the Home Economics Section of the Provincial Teachers' Institute:

> When the teaching of domestic science was inaugurated in this province twenty years ago, sewing, cooking and cleaning were the whole thing. These are but means to an end. The subject has expanded to mean Good Home Membership and is treated from an economic and scientific aspect....To put homes on a proper basis is fundamental....The only hope for our race is in imbueing the young with high ideals of home life. This is what a domestic science course should do. Have you no pride of race? Do you want the Anglo-Saxon to survive? Statisticians tell us that to keep the proportion of Anglo-Saxon to foreign born just as it is now every woman must bear four children. Each living individual should feel this responsibility toward the betterment of the race. (Young, 1924, p. 21)

Along with their ABCs, Vancouver schoolchildren inhaled imperialist propaganda through a Vancouver School Board monthly bulletin entitled *School Days*, distributed widely to pupils and parents. An article written in *School Days* for Empire Day explained the imperial burden:

> Think of any ocean or continent, and there you will find some part, small yet valuable, which flies the Union Jack. The British nation has spread all over the world, thus making the Empire – the greatest the world has ever known – rich and powerful. England has made herself the guardians of millions and millions of people who were unskilled, uneducated and lacking courage. Think of the difficulty of governing so many people so that they may receive a merciful, just, peaceful and free rule. Now, that is the great duty which

every boy and girl in the British Empire must share in, but remember that national spirit cannot be produced whenever you want it, it must grow and develop little by little. (Crake, 1924, p. 21)

Roy (1990) contended that British Columbia in the 1920s had the "most virulent examples of racial intolerance in twentieth-century Canadian history" (p. 285). *School Days* frequently provided jokes, cartoons and raw evidence of benignity to European groups and hostility to others. In one of the *School Days* issues, a line drawing portrayed a man of Chinese origin (figure 11) racing down the street on roller skates with a pole basket full of geese seizing his long braid. The accompanying doggerel poem was intended to amuse, but what would students who themselves were of Chinese origin think of being a source of comedy?

Ah Ping Pold was a Chinaman bold
With a queue that hung to his knee
But Ah Ping Pold on skates that rolled
Was the funniest thing to see.
Two geese, within the basket wide,
Did quack with glee to view
The Chinaman sneeze and the gander seize
The tail that upward flew.
(Reid, 1920, p. 3)

Figure 11: Almost every issue of *School Days* had a joke or poem on one or another stereotype of non-white, non-British people. Source: Reid, E. W. (1920, April). Ah Ping Pold. *School days. A magazine published monthly for the pupils of the public schools of Vancouver,* 3.

While geese were made to look more intelligent than *Chinamen,* the *Scotch* were shown as intelligent, prescient people in the following anecdote in the same issue:

> We are told that the Scotch adopted the thistle as their emblematic flower because once the Danes were planning to take them by surprise, when they found themselves in a bed of thistles. This caused some of their men to yell and thus the Scotch were warned of their danger. (Reid, 1920, p. 15)

A school publication with supposed educational value was thereby used to reinforce what Stanley (1991) referred to as "the ideologies of dominance, racism and imperialism" (p. 209). Government publications provide further evidence of the extent to which racialization, if not racism, was accepted without question. A report on immigration in the *1922-23 Canada Year Book* made mention of a favourable reception in the British press to the comments of the Canadian Minister of Immigration and Colonization who pointed out: "[T]here are would-be immigrants into Canada who are not suited for the Dominion...because they belong to races that cannot be assimilated without social or economic loss to Canada" (*Canada Year Book*, 1922-23, p. 215). If the identity of the guilty "race" was not clear in that year, it was spelled out in the *1936 Canada Year Book*:

> Canadians prefer that settlers should be of a readily assimilable type....The great bulk of the preferable settlers are those who speak the English language – those coming from the United Kingdom or the United States. Next in order of readiness of assimilation are the Scandinavians, Dutch and Germans, who readily learn English and are already acquainted with the working of democratic institutions. Settlers from Southern and Eastern Europe, however desirable from a purely economic point of view, are less readily assimilated,

> and the Canadianizing of the people from these regions in the present century is a problem....Less assimilable still, are those who come to Canada from the Orient. (*Canada Year Book*, 1936, p. 188)

In this way, the stage was set for the publication of the next domestic manual in British Columbia home economics education, *The Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* (1931), which appeared in its first form as *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* in 1927. Jessie McLenaghen, the woman who molded British Columbia home economics into a rigorous subject, was about to burst onto the educational scene.

The Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual

In 1926 Jessie McLenaghen was appointed Director of Home Economics for the British Columbia Department of Education. McLenaghen was an experienced home economics teacher and supervisor who had taught grade school in Ontario and Manitoba and worked as an itinerant home economics teacher in Saskatchewan and at the Saskatoon Normal School and the New York State Teachers College (de Zwart, 1991).

The appointment was brought about on the recommendation of the Putman-Weir Survey of the B.C. school system in 1924-25. The authors of the *Survey of the School System*, J. Harold Putman and George M. Weir, were strong supporters of home economics as part of their conception of the New Education. They saw in it the opportunity to incorporate practical and cultural values that would lead to a

more-educated citizenry and practical efficiency as a desired outcome of school education:

> Home economics is not on the school program merely or mainly to train [girls] to be housemaids or cooks or seamstresses or laundresses, but because while doing these things, in some degree, it also gives the girl a sane attitude toward life by requiring her to solve life problems and deal with real projects. (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 337)

Wood (1985) argues that Putman and Weir reflected an underlying eugenicism in their report. They quoted the submission of the Victoria Local Council of Women as evidence of the need for homemaking education for girls: "[L]et us never forget that upon the physical stamina, the mental and moral fibre of the mothers-to-be, depends the character of the life, yea, the very life of tomorrow" (p. 339).

The School Survey had criticized home economics for its lack of standardization and wasting of time doing such tasks as copying recipes. One of McLenaghen's first actions was to put together a home economics recipe manual, sold to pupils for twenty-five cents each. *Recipes for Home Economics Classes: Circular No. 1* was included in the Free Textbooks Branch list in 1928-29 and over 5000 copies were distributed in the next two years.

McLenaghen implied that *Recipes for Home Economics Classes: Circular No. 1* was uniquely developed for British Columbia, but such was not the case. *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* was based on a publication in Saskatchewan

with a similar name, *Recipes for Household Science Classes: Circular No.* 5 (1923). Fannie Twiss, the author of the Saskatchewan publication, was the first provincial Home Economics supervisor in Canada and an influential home economics educator who pioneered the hot school lunch concept (de Zwart, 1999). The B.C. 1927 edition of *Recipes for Home Economics Classes: Circular No. 1* was accompanied by a new fourteen-page curriculum. The recipe manual was revised in 1930 and renamed *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual, Circular One (Revised),* later known colloquially as the Red Book (figure 11). Although numerous editions were published, *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* remained largely unchanged until the 1957 edition, including the preface, eleven years after McLenaghen retired. A completely new textbook was not written until 1975. [For the purposes of this paper, the 1931 B.C. edition is the major reference].

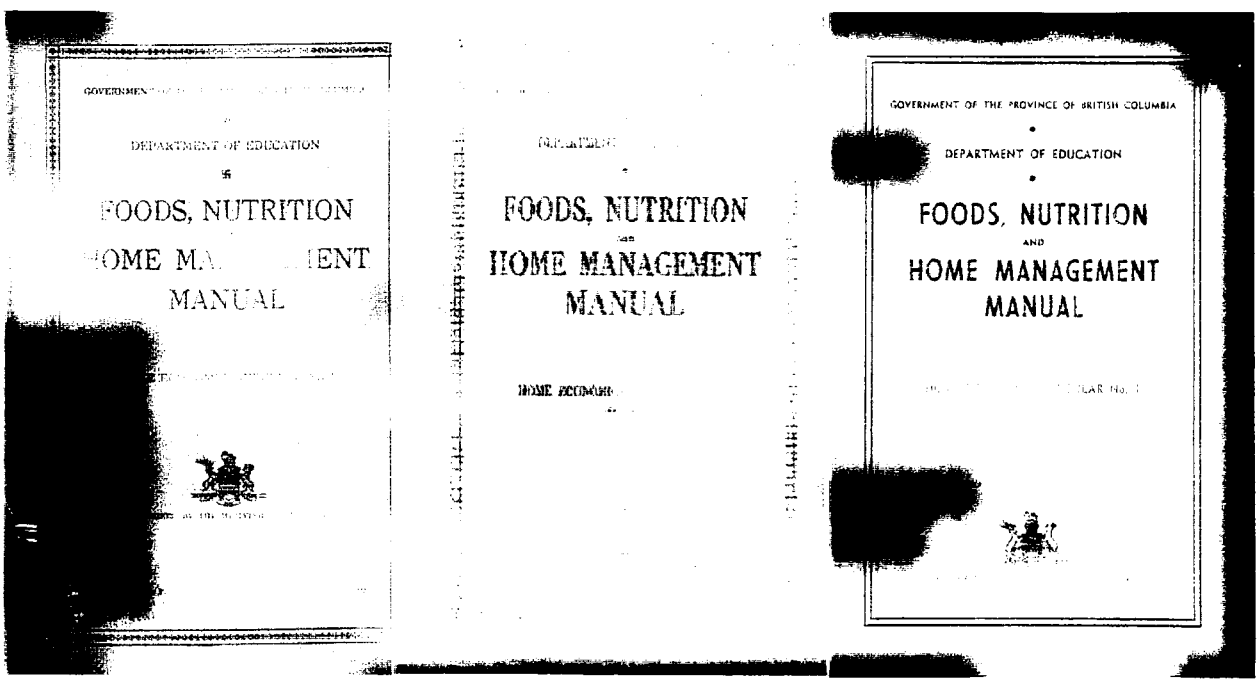


Figure 11: Every edition of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* was identified as Home Economics Circular No. 1, from 1930 to 1975. Initially it was not red in colour, but

it became known as the "red Book" to countless home economics students after about 1950. The books pictured date from 1931, 1946 and 1956 respectively. Source: personal collection of author.

Contents of Foods, Nutrition and Home Management.

In the foreword to *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management,* McLenaghen claimed that it would "prove that Home Economics is not an 'unprepared' subject" (1931, p. 3) because students would be able to get information from the printed page instead of copying out notes and recipes. Ensuring that the book was family-oriented was also essential; McLenaghen pointed out that the portions in the recipes were sufficient for the average family of six and could be used satisfactorily in the home.

The move to family-sized recipes, accompanied by unit kitchens in which four students approximated family roles was part of a major shift in home economics that corresponded to an increased tightening of women's roles as homemakers with responsibility for family happiness (McFeely, 2000). It seemed to portend a shift to a more business-like approach to household matters. Christine Frederick, an American home economist, greatly influenced the regimentation of home economics in the 1920s. Frederick believed that the application of science and business principles to home management would "revitalize homemaking as a profession and influence daughters to avoid the 'unnatural craving for careers' which was taking women away from their essential responsibilities" (Powers, 1992, p. 15). Rutherford (2003) details how Frederick observed labor-saving devices in industry and then applied this knowledge to housework. For example, dishwashing was standardized by breaking the task into three separate parts: scraping and stacking, washing, and

drying and putting away. (Echoes of Frederick's influence can be found in the division of housekeeping duties in home economics classrooms today.)

McLenaghen intended that the 156-page manual should be put in the hands of the student in order to promote interest in what she called "Home Practice Work". The manual was divided into five units: Home Management (19 pages), Nutrition (16 pages), Meal-planning and Table Service (7 pages), Food Preparation (105 pages and 19 subsections) and Sources of Food Products (20 pages). Unit I, Home Management, began with an entreaty to spend one's self, strength, time and money wisely. Housekeeping procedures were painstakingly elaborated, from efficient kitchen arrangement to reasons for not slamming the refrigerator door. Care of the garbage can, gas, electric and coal stoves, the detection of draughts, and care of milk bottles – no housekeeping detail was too minor to be omitted. Laundering was described as one of the oldest arts in existence. General rules for washing included the suggestion that all tears should be mended before washing (except for those in stockings or underwear). With the overwhelming amount of detail, it appeared that nothing was going to be left to chance or home teaching. "The good housekeeper does her marketing with intelligent care" (p. 21), declared the manual, and followed up the claim with sixteen rules for marketing. The questions at the end of the unit included the following question: "If you were hungry and had only 10 cents, would you buy a loaf of bread or candy? Why? " (p. 22). This question is more complex than it appears. Teachers were obviously supposed to convince pupils to answer "bread", as if they were adult women who were responsible for family welfare,

instead of being young students. On the other hand, perhaps the very asking of the question implied that some adults, those who were not intelligent or wise, would choose to buy candy instead of bread. Therefore children had to be warned about such people who might be their own parents.

Unit II began with twelve rules for healthy, happy B.C. schoolchildren (p. 24), continued with height and weight charts for ages five to eighteen years, and ended with classification and uses of foods and food requirements. The questions at the end of this unit included the following: "Explain why a very expensive meal may not contain the right food to meet the body needs" and "If dinner is served in the evening, should it be a light or substantial meal? Give reasons for having dinner at noon"(p. 38).

Unit III, Meal-planning and Table Service, was fraught with entreaties and rejoinders to improve living standards. Fifteen suggestions were given to aid in meal planning. Some of these recommendations would not be out of place today, such as including some of each food group in each meal and choosing whole grain over refined cereals. Other suggestions had moral and colonial elements. Foods should be selected because they contributed most to the health of the family, rather than if they were cheap, were liked by the family or required the least amount of preparation. Three compelling reasons for food choice were therefore cast out in favour of the Calvinistic approach to eat only what was good for you, regardless of cost, convenience and enjoyment. Food courses should be set up so that they contrasted in

flavour, a mild course being followed by one more pronounced: "Strong seasonings which destroy natural food flavours are harmful"(p. 39). This recommendation eliminated any number of foods such as goulash, borscht or garlic, or anything that might be vaguely ethnic other than British. Two foods of pronounced flavour should never be served in the same meal. "The combination of salmon, onions and prunes is an unpardonable error"(p. 39). A final indication that the meal-planning ideal was bland, English food was number twelve: "Variety is of great importance in meal planning. Secure this through methods of cooking and serving rather than by the use of a great number of foods at the same meal" (p. 39). What about traditional foods such as Ukrainian Christmas Eve dinner featuring twelve meatless dishes? It wouldn't matter to the meal-planning experts since there appeared to be only one correct Eurocentric way to plan meals. Harvey Levenstein examined the transformation of the American diet in his book *Revolution at the Table* and suggested that "food tastes of British origin have always rested at the core of middle-class food habits" (p. 170). The same would appear to be true of Canadian middle-class food habits.

The table setting section of Unit III cautioned that: "No amount of lavishness and perfection in the preparation of the food will compensate for poor arrangement and service in the dining-room....*Paper flowers are not in good taste* [italics in original]"(p. 40). There were, according to the manual, three ways of serving meals – the Russian style, the English style, and the Compromise style. Rules were given for right-hand service, left-hand service and serving without a maid. Questions

followed the information: "Which is preferable, coarse table-linen which is well laundered, or fine table-linen poorly laundered?" (p. 46). This question drew obvious class lines; was it intended to discriminate between the supposed pretentiousness of newcomers and the poor but honest Canadian?

Unit IV, Food Preparation, was over one hundred pages long. Recipes and preparation tips were included for beverages, fruits, cereals, soups, vegetables, salads, eggs, flour mixtures, stiff doughs, desserts, candy, meat, fish, poultry, canning, jelly-making, sandwiches, lunch-box requirements, invalid cookery and infant-feeding. The recipes used traditional British ingredients: Matrimonial cake, bread and butter pudding, blanc mange, Welsh rarebit, shepherd's pie and kippered herring. No foods considered indigenous to British Columbia were included; no huckleberries, no salmonberries, no raspberries, no Saskatoon berries, no wild game or small game such as rabbit or quail. Salmon, a staple food to large numbers of British Columbians, was mentioned in passing as one of a number of available types of fish. The manual advised serving meat only once a day: "Too much meat is apt to cause digestive disturbances, causing a 'dark-brown taste' in the mouth" (p. 116).

White sauce received a fair amount of press with three pages devoted to its variations as well as a whole series of procedural questions. In *Perfection Salad,* Laura Shapiro credited white sauce with the ability to transubstantiate food. While this would probably come as a surprise to celebrants of the Eucharist, Shapiro intended her use of the word to describe how the promoters of domestic science, in

her opinion, aimed at reducing food to its simplest components as well as meeting unwritten standards for propriety:

> One of the major civilizing influences in the American kitchen was recognized to be white sauce. In most cooking schools the making of white sauce out of flour, butter and milk, especially to pour over boiled potatoes, comprised an early lesson, in part because both potatoes and sauce illustrated with obvious drama the action of heat upon starch, and in part because white sauce was as basic to cooking-school cookery as the stove itself. There was virtually no cooked food that at one time or another was not hidden, purified, enriched or ennobled with white sauce – among scientific cooks it became the most popular solution to the discomfiting problem of undressed food. (Shapiro, 1986, p. 91)

Dressed and undressed food was somehow related to the Victorian conflations of food, sex and race. Chicken was a problematic food, with body parts, breasts and thighs, as well as colour, white and brown, implicated. The propriety of the Victorians extended through several generations: witness this contemporary exchange of opinions in a conversation about what to call chicken, between Hilda, age 89, daughter of British immigrants who came to Canada in 1901 and Patty, age 33, her granddaughter (P. Milligan, personal communication, December 27, 2001).

Patty: Grandma, would you like white or brown meat?
Hilda: You mean light or dark meat?
Patty: I mean white or brown meat. It's the same thing.
Hilda: It's not what they say.
Patty: Who's they?
Hilda: The English people.
Patty: I'm not English.
Hilda: Well, you are English. You're of English stock.
Patty: I'm one quarter German.
Hilda: Well, all the English were originally German.
Patty: I doubt whether German people say light or dark.
Hilda: Oh, and what would the German people say?
Patty: (faking quickly) They would say, uh, essenfirk and hopeskula.

The preceding exchange is more than a family joke; it is an example of embedded attitudes about the right, imperial way to conduct oneself that extended to home economics. Although the grandmother would not have sat at her English mother's table for eighty years, she carried the attitudes in her head.

The textbook is not the curriculum.

Compared to the *Girls' Home Manual,* the textbook was not the only source of curricular instruction. The new and extensive curriculum for home economics, although aligned with the *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* (1931) included 245 detailed pages. [Note that the curriculum was developed over 1936 and 1937 and two identical versions were published, one in 1936 and one in 1937]. The aim of home economics education was to give the student "a well-rounded conception of the many responsibilities contributing to worthy home membership" (Department of Education, 1936, p. 461) with the emphasis upon students meeting their present needs, interests and home responsibilities and gaining some knowledge of the "profession of home-making". "Worthy home membership" was one of the

seven cardinal precepts of education that had originated with progressive education in the United States and taken hold in British Columbia. Norman Fergus Black, a Vancouver high school principal and influential educator, described worthy home membership in the *B.C. Teacher* magazine:

> [G]reater emphasis should…be laid upon such teaching as will foster proper ideals and attitudes in relation to home life…..That will be accomplished best by making the children's present life more happy and normal, through training them to maximum lovableness, happiness and usefulness in the homes of which they are now a part. (Black, 1935, p. 28)

A team of home economics teachers worked with Jessie McLenaghen to revamp the home economics curriculum. The courses were laid out for junior and high school, and the units to be covered varied in each year. As an example, the grade seven topics were personal appearance (four 40-minute periods) construction of the cookery uniform (sixty-five 40-minute periods), study of foods (sixty-five 40-minute periods) and either child care or caring for the sick in the home in any remaining time. Teachers were cautioned about being so directive that the students would be unable to make decisions for themselves; the problem-solving method was suggested "whereby the girls learn through active participation" (p. 463).

The entire curriculum was set out in table format with seven headings: project; topical outline; suggested approaches and procedure; enrichment; illustrative material and references; and assignments. Unit III – The study of foods in relation to the health of a grade VII girl indicated the extreme detail of the document. The first

project was preparing breakfast for the family, and on the second day the students were supposed to make cocoa "to satisfy the urge to cook" (p. 471). Teachers were asked to demonstrate the advisability of careful measurements, emphasize the use of the utility tray, demonstrate the making of cocoa and toast, allow the students to add cold milk to the cocoa mixture and then heat in a double boiler, call attention to dainty service (cups ¾ full) and the position of the teaspoon, and finally demonstrate the system of dishwashing as needed by the lesson. Nothing was left to chance and no innovation was allowed, at least on paper.

References for the 1936 curriculum were included in every lesson, with *The Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* most frequently cited. *Foods and Home Making* (1933) by Carlotta Greer was a recommended teacher reference. Greer, an American home economics teacher, focused on "suggestions and devices to stimulate pupils to participate in *home* [italics in original] activities and to do their share in making their homes attractive and happy" (p. iv). One of the more fascinating activities in the Greer textbook was a chapter entitled "A Dishwashing Contest" (p. 160). In the game of dishwashing students were to try to win as many points as possible, by doing nine steps including scraping (worth 10 points out of a possible 100). A home score card was constructed and students were supposed to record the amount of time it took before and after rearranging equipment according to the text. Surely, housework could not be taken as drudgery if it could incorporate a contest. The influence of Christine Frederick's labour-saving studies was apparent.

Detractors as early as a 1911 writer in *Atlantic Monthly* had declared the entire intellectual basis of housework to be faulty because it glorified manual labor, hated by all who had to do it:

> [T]here is absolutely nothing in domestic duties themselves, or in any form of manual labor, which develops the mind or elevates or broadens the character; ...the idea that every woman needs practical instruction in housekeeping as a part of her education is as absurd as would be the claim that every man needs to be taught in school to plant corn or milk a cow. (Harkness, 1911, n.p.)

Such opinions had not stopped Annie Juniper in 1913, and they did not stop Jessie McLenaghen in 1936. Both Juniper and McLenaghen promoted good housekeeping as a noble endeavour and one that would elevate the status of the women who did it. This would seem to be the epitome of home economics as a classist type of education that moved beyond the intentions of the early manual training leaders such as J.W. Robertson who saw educational value in handwork

References used in the 1936 curriculum provide an interesting point of comparison to *Girls' Home Manual* (1913). No references were given with *The Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* except for one nutrition reference. The curriculum document included a number of references but they were all home economics education textbooks, written by American home economists and reflective of the extent to which home economics knowledge had become normative. Whereas Annie Juniper drew from a wide range of sources, Jessie McLenaghen and

her committee used information that had been already distilled by professional home economists into the status quo.

To her credit, McLenaghen encouraged a wide range of activities and projects. Similar to *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management*, a number of aphorisms were included: "A guest always adds zest" appeared on page 62 under Unit III – Kitchen Efficiency and Charm. Buying B.C. products was strongly encouraged and government bulletins available from the Department of Agriculture at Victoria and Ottawa were suggested resource materials. With home economics included as a junior matriculation subject in 1928 and receiving full matriculation status in 1934 (Lightfoot & Maynard, 1971), the inclusion of more advanced materials was required. The curriculum reflected current events; under child development, discussion questions included comparison of the pupil's birth weight to that of the Dionne quintuplets (p. 125).

Jessie McLenaghen controlled curriculum, quantities and behaviours (if not attitudes) in home economics education from 1926 to 1946. It was said that a home economics teacher in Nelson could telephone her colleague in Vancouver on a given Tuesday in November and ask "How did your tea biscuits turn out today?" (B. Cousens, personal communication, July 3, 1993). The story of the Pemberton potato, as told by McLenaghen's cousin, a young home economics teacher in the 1930s, serves as another example. Pemberton, B.C. was a major potato-growing centre during that time, particularly famous for its large potatoes:

> In 1936 I was teaching foods in a 40-minute period. You had three periods to prepare, execute and clean up. Miss McLenaghen has issued an edict. Baked potatoes were not to be cut up but were to be whole. Butter was not to be served with the potato. It doesn't enter into my head that anyone would have a baked potato without butter. Miss McLenaghen has also forgotten that some people really can't eat a whole potato, especially a Pemberton potato. (M. Gibbon, personal communication, November 7, 1989)

The young teacher was reprimanded for serving cut up Pemberton potatoes, an act that apparently contravened the standards of good taste that McLenaghen had set. The rigidity of the supposedly student-centred curriculum was puzzling, since the lesson plans were so detailed that they could have been executed by anyone who could read. At the same time, home economics teachers and women's groups were engaged in an ongoing battle to have a Chair of Home Economics at the University of British Columbia restored after it had been abruptly discontinued in 1931 (Stewart, 1990). If teacher training was required, why was the curriculum so prescriptive? McLenaghen cannot be accused of direct promotion of imperial values, but she certainly espoused white middle-class values as expressed in the curriculum and *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.*

In the next section I compare the British Columbia domestic manuals and manuals from the Saskatchewan Department of Education from the same time period. What information was considered essential for young girls (not boys) to learn? What knowledge was assumed to be already held by the students? How did

the role of the family change, and especially, how did the power of the teacher change in terms of access to knowledge? To what extent can race, gender and class be factored in or sifted out?

CHAPTER FOUR

Interpretation of Manuals

In this section I undertake an analysis and interpretation of *The Girls' Home Manual* and *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.* I add the voice of Fannie Twiss, the Director of Home Economics for the Saskatchewan Department of Education between 1915 and 1924, via two manuals she wrote in the same time period in Saskatchewan, *The Rural School Luncheon* (1916) and *Recipes for Household Science Classes* (1923). The Saskatchewan books are pertinent because they offer an alternative rural perspective and also contribute evidence of the progression of ideas that is missing in a leap from 1913 to 1927. In addition to the connection between Jessie McLenaghen and the Saskatchewan Department of Education between 1917 and 1924, Fannie Twiss had some peripheral influence in British Columbia, teaching several home economics courses at the Victoria Summer School for teachers, and in 1922, showing the first film on household science there as well (de Zwart, 1999). The first version of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931), *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927), is also included because it shows the progression of McLenaghen's influence over cultural practices in home economics. Each manual will be referred to by full name and date in order to avoid confusion and a reference table has been included (table 2).

Table II *Reference Statistics for Manuals*

Title	Girls' Home Manual	The School Luncheon: Circular No. 1	Recipes for Household Science Classes: Circular No. 5	Recipes for Home Economics Classes: Circular No. 1	Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual: Circular No. 1 (revised)
Date of publication	1913	1916	1923	1927	1931
Province of origin	British Columbia	Saskatchewan	Saskatchewan	British Columbia	British Columbia
Number of pages	187	40	47	90	156
Number of illustrations	2 - diagram of stove, parts of ox and sheep	0	1	2	3
Number of photographs	0	10 – 9 of schools, 1 of fireless cooker	1	0	3
Table Setting and Etiquette pages	3	1	2	5	7
Number of recipe pages	96	12	30	62	105
Number of laundry pages	27	0	0	0	8
Number of household management pages	22	1	1	3	19

Table II: Reference statistics for each manual indicate that *Girls' Home Manual* and *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* were intended for school use in a more prescribed manner than the middle three manuals, both by length and emphasis.

Aims of Each Manual and the Saskatchewan Voice

In this section, each manual is examined for its intentions, explicit or implied. In addition, brief outlines are given for the two Saskatchewan manuals, *The Rural School Luncheon, Household Science Circular No. 1* (1916) and *Recipes for Household Economics Classes, Household Science Circular No. 5* (1923). A later version, *Recipes for Home Economics Classes, Home Economics Bulletin No. 5* (1928) is identical in all but name to the 1923 edition.

In the preface to *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) Annie Juniper proclaimed that the intent was to make girls more efficient in "the noble art of 'homemaking'", "not only at school but in after life also" (p. 2). She employed a type of false logic as proof of the value of the manual: all subjects worth studying have books about them; home economics has a book about it; therefore it is worth studying. Only a small percentage of housekeepers, according to the preface, possessed books that had to do with housekeeping. Juniper alluded to experiments in cookery that she considered necessary in teaching cookery but were not included in the book, as "girls were would not be likely to perform such experiments except at school". The book was to cover a three-years' course in Household Science, but as Wilson (1985) noted, no scope and sequence was provided.

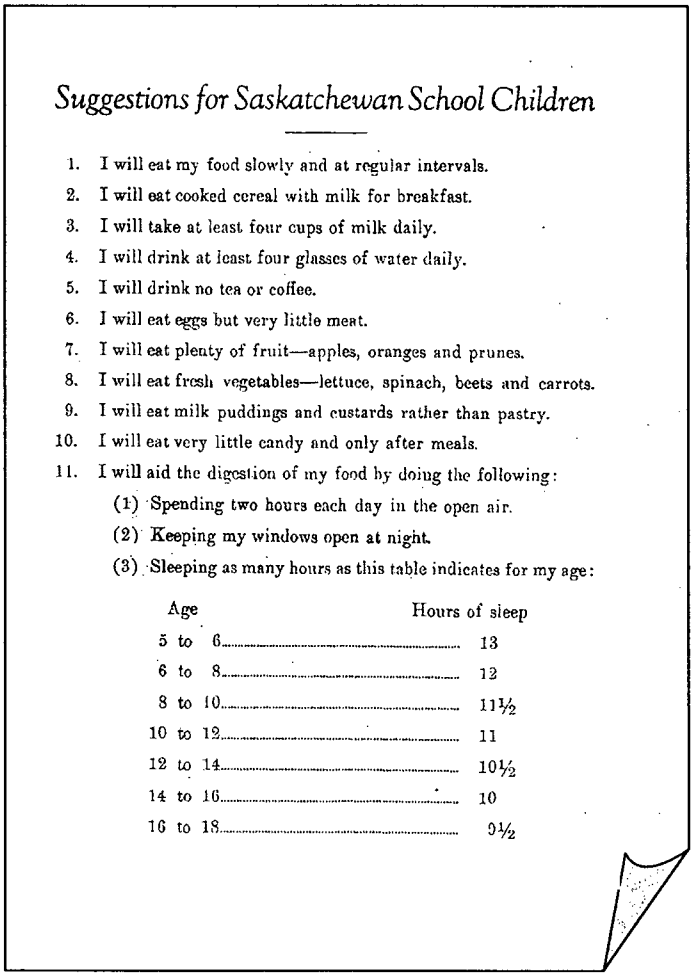
The Rural School Luncheon (1916) was a 40-page manual published by the Saskatchewan Department of Education. Fannie Twiss started the introduction to *The Rural School Luncheon* (1916) on a high plane with a quote by Herbert Spencer:

> Nothing will so much hasten the time when the body and mind will both be adequately cared for as a diffusion of the belief that preservation of health through proper feeding is a duty. Few are conscious of a physical morality, but when it is seen, then will the physical care of the young receive all the attention it deserves. (p. 7)

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was frequently quoted in home economics publications. He was a British philosopher and sociologist and a principal proponent of evolutionary theory in the mid nineteenth century, with a reputation equal to that of Charles Darwin (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2003). In the introductory section, Twiss argued that children did not eat a proper lunch and this resulted in many illnesses including tuberculosis. The school lunch would provide proper nutrition and pupils would develop their social sides, learning about neatness, cleanliness and good manners. Cocoa was suggested as the first *dish,* a somewhat elevated term for a beverage. *The School Luncheon* included sections on the agencies concerned with the problem of the school lunch, the duty of the school board, teacher and mothers, required equipment, utensils and recipes, the benefit derived by the child, a schedule of menus, suitable recipes, directions for work, instructions for building a hectograph and fireless cooker, and finally a bibliography of helpful books and pamphlets. Photographs of school lunches in progress at a number of rural Saskatchewan schools were included. The use of the word *luncheon* in the title, rather than the more grammatically correct *lunch* invoked ideas of improving one's social standards. In the final section, Twiss wrote the noon

luncheon "is the best means whereby may be taught the necessity of thorough mastication and the care of the teeth; the danger of flies and the importance of good drinking water....Table etiquette cannot be properly taught in any other way" (p. 38).

The later Saskatchewan manual, *Recipes for Household Science Classes* (1923), consisted of 47 pages and an index. It began with a photograph of a pupil in her cookery uniform. No formal statement of aims was included, but page three listed eleven suggestions for Saskatchewan school children (figure 12):



Suggestions for Saskatchewan School Children

1. I will eat my food slowly and at regular intervals.
2. I will eat cooked cereal with milk for breakfast.
3. I will take at least four cups of milk daily.
4. I will drink at least four glasses of water daily.
5. I will drink no tea or coffee.
6. I will eat eggs but very little meat.
7. I will eat plenty of fruit—apples, oranges and prunes.
8. I will eat fresh vegetables—lettuce, spinach, beets and carrots.
9. I will eat milk puddings and custards rather than pastry.
10. I will eat very little candy and only after meals.
11. I will aid the digestion of my food by doing the following:
    (1) Spending two hours each day in the open air.
    (2) Keeping my windows open at night.
    (3) Sleeping as many hours as this table indicates for my age:

Age	Hours of sleep
5 to 6	13
6 to 8	12
8 to 10	11½
10 to 12	11
12 to 14	10½
14 to 16	10
16 to 18	9½

Figure 12: The eleven suggestions for healthy school children were comprehensive, and very similar to the suggestions for healthy B.C. school children. Source: *Recipes for Household Science Classes.* (1923). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 3.

The manual then moved on to five pages of table setting and service and rules for working, and concluded with forty pages of recipes.

The 1927 edition of the B.C. manual *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* was thicker (90 pages) and more prescriptive. In the introduction, Jessie McLenaghen stated that the aim was to stimulate greater interest in better food standards and show the close relationship between health and careful food preparation. Through family-size quantities, home practice would be encouraged. The 1931 revision, *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual,* expanded the aims to include efficiency (students would no longer have to copy notes and recipes), increase home practice work, and to show that home economics was "not 'unprepared'". Juniper and McLenaghen both emphasized efficiency and worthiness of the study of home economics. One critical difference was the extent to which family was used as a trope in 1931 that it had not been in 1913. The Saskatchewan manuals were notable for their lack of injunctions about efficiency and moral worth. They did emphasize table setting and proper conduct.

Home Management

While foods and nutrition received the most attention in the home economics manuals, home management was also included. *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) had a total of nineteen pages on kitchen equipment, food costs, house plans and household cleaning. The kitchen range was assumed to use wood or coal. Although gas would have been available in Vancouver and Victoria in 1913, it was likely considered a

luxury item. Juniper did not use the word "family"; rather she referred to the necessity of being efficient in the kitchen for the health of the "inmates". She used an industrial model as her example: "No workman can do good work without proper tools" (p. 5). A chart for pricing local food materials included fresh apples, bananas, oranges and onions and dried currants, dates, figs, prunes, beans, peas, raisins and Sultanas. With the exception of apples and onions, all the foods would have to be imported. The meaning of "local" did not mean "native": it meant foods of accustomed British usage. Blueberries or raspberries, two very common fruits in the Victoria area, were not included.

Spices considered by *Girls' Home Manual* to be essential for the kitchen were curry powder, cloves, mace, cinnamon and celery salt. Of these, the most colonially interesting one is curry powder, described in an essay by Uma Narayan as "an example of assimilating Others on the Self's term" (1995, n.p.). In discussing the perplexing history of curry powder, Narayan noted that the word *curry* was derived from the Tamil word *kari* and referred to spicy vegetable dishes served with rice. The concept of curry powder was invented by the British colonialists who imposed the word onto a specific mixture of spices, which then became a fixture in British cooking. Narayan saw sharp contrast between the exotic image of India that spices evoked in Britain, and the actual attitudes of the British in India itself: "Making curry part of native British cuisine in England did not expose British curry eaters to the risk of 'going native'" (1995, n.p.). The inclusion of curry powder as a kitchen staple in Victoria, B.C. added a third dimension, that of importing a

supposedly British product to yet another colony, where British beliefs of superiority were reinforced. Curry powder might have been a standard condiment in Victoria, but only five persons of East Indian origin were allowed to immigrate to Canada in 1913 (*Canada Year Book*, 1922-23, p. 207).

The house plan chapter of *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) assumed that the future choices of the young homemakers would be urban. The conveniences listed were more likely to be found in the city than the country: a cloakroom with washing accommodations on the ground floor, a living room that was the brightest and most comfortable room of the house, cupboards in every room and indoor plumbing. Simplicity and sanitation in all respects was emphasized; furniture should have straight lines rather than curves and tawdry decorations, since "the latter harbour dust and dirt" (p. 120). The best ornaments for a room, according to Juniper, were living plants, cut flowers and books. This perspective assumed that home economics pupils aspired to the middle-class urban life, or at least that the teachers assumed that they did. Such an assumption is colonial in nature; the colonizers, who by now considered themselves to be native, set the standards for good taste and social mobility.

Housekeeping was briefly mentioned by Twiss in *The Rural School Luncheon* (1916). In the introduction to the home project work section, she asked the rhetorical question "Why cannot the training the children get in the noonday lunch be made of some value in the home?" (p. 36). A home projects card was outlined, whereby both boys and girls were to be marked by their parents for

housekeeping contributions. Suggested duties included making any of the various dishes made for the school noonday lunch, sweeping the floor and dusting the pupil's bedroom, making the bed, laying the table for breakfast or lunch, doing outside chores as designated, and "tidiness of appearance – clothes, shoes, hair, finger nails while at these tasks" (p. 36). The cards were to be handed to the teacher upon completion, and credit would be given for work done. Twiss expressed high hopes for the value of such a project:

> If the school elevates home duties in this way, the child's attitude toward them will change. He [sic] will consider them commonplace tasks no longer and will approach them with keen interest. The development of this interest instilled in early years will help to keep the youth from leaving the rural districts. (p. 37)

Was it unlikely that pupils were not already doing their share of chores and more on the rural Saskatchewan farms? Twiss' words reflected the prevailing educational thought that had begun with the Macdonald-Robertson school movement around 1900 which held that rural life was deteriorating and had to be encouraged (Sutherland, 1976). The naïve optimism expressed by Twiss seemed to be related to an industrial model whereby record-keeping was a form of incentive or payment.

The 1923 Saskatchewan edition of *Recipes for Household Science Classes* had one single page on housekeeping and household management (figure 13). A table of measurements was given, followed by the statement "Use level

measurements" (p. 6). Instead of a lengthy description of the values of personal cleanliness, the rules for working were succinct:

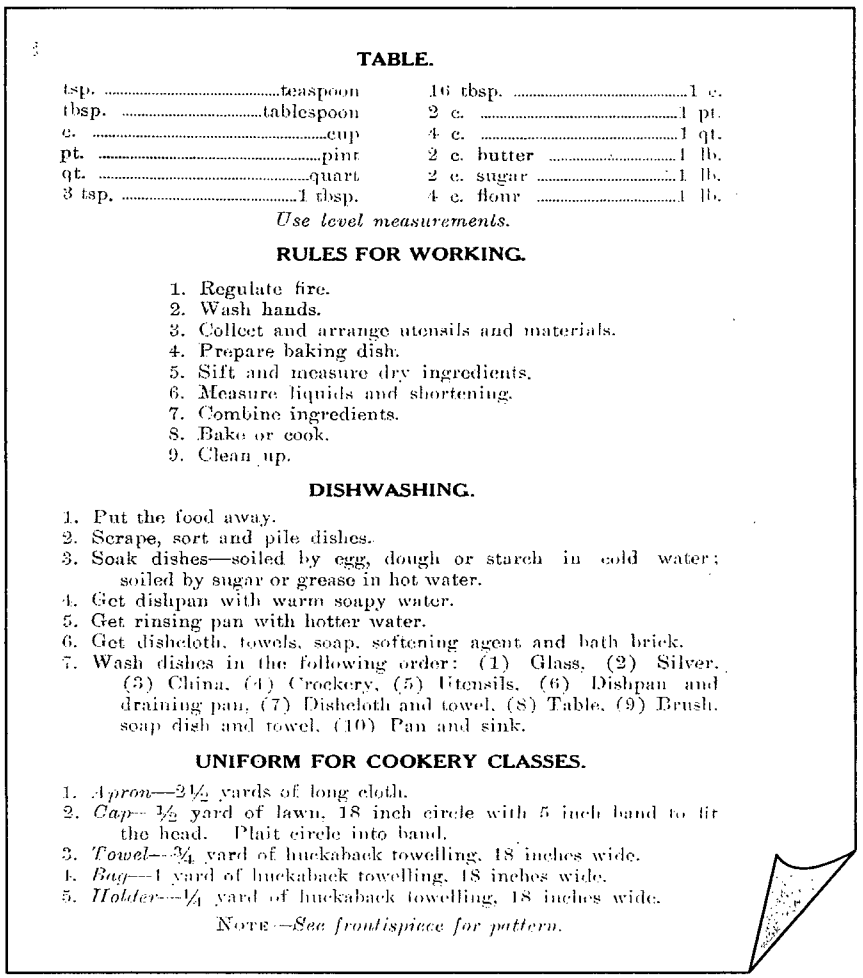


TABLE.

tsp.	teaspoon	16 tbsp.	1 c.
tbsp.	tablespoon	2 c.	1 pt.
c.	cup	4 c.	1 qt.
pt.	pint	2 c. butter	1 lb.
qt.	quart	2 c. sugar	1 lb.
3 tsp.	1 tbsp.	4 c. flour	1 lb.

Use level measurements.

RULES FOR WORKING.

1. Regulate fire.
2. Wash hands.
3. Collect and arrange utensils and materials.
4. Prepare baking dish.
5. Sift and measure dry ingredients.
6. Measure liquids and shortening.
7. Combine ingredients.
8. Bake or cook.
9. Clean up.

DISHWASHING.

1. Put the food away.
2. Scrape, sort and pile dishes.
3. Soak dishes—soiled by egg, dough or starch in cold water; soiled by sugar or grease in hot water.
4. Get dishpan with warm soapy water.
5. Get rinsing pan with hotter water.
6. Get dishcloth, towels, soap, softening agent and bath brick.
7. Wash dishes in the following order: (1) Glass, (2) Silver, (3) China, (4) Crockery, (5) Utensils, (6) Dishpan and draining pan, (7) Dishcloth and towel, (8) Table, (9) Brush, soap dish and towel, (10) Pan and sink.

UNIFORM FOR COOKERY CLASSES.

1. *Apron*—2½ yards of long cloth.
2. *Cap*—½ yard of lawn, 18 inch circle with 5 inch band to fit the head. Plait circle into band.
3. *Towel*—¾ yard of huckaback towelling, 18 inches wide.
4. *Bag*—1 yard of huckaback towelling, 18 inches wide.
5. *Holder*—¼ yard of huckaback towelling, 18 inches wide.

NOTE—*See frontispiece for pattern.*

Figure 13: In one page, *Recipes for Household Science Classes* covered similar information in one tenth of the space allotted in *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931). Source: *Recipes for Household Science Classes.* (1923). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 6.

The B.C. version of *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) had two pages devoted to housekeeping and began with the statement: "The best type of housekeeper feels that every part of her work is worth doing well. The kitchen is her

workshop for the care and preparation of food for the family's use" (p. 7). Exactness in measuring was specifically mentioned. Personal cleanliness included rules for clothing, hair covering, and hand washing. Dishwashing was outlined in eleven steps. The 1931 edition of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* expanded the two pages on housekeeping to eight pages, with an additional ten pages on home laundry. This was considerably less emphasis on laundry than Juniper had included in 1913, where laundry took up over twenty pages. One reason for less attention to laundry was the developing concept of social efficiency as promoted by the efficiency expert, Christine Frederick, who advocated the use of labour-saving devices such as washing machines, rather than the purchase of personal service (J. Rutherford, 2000). In 1913, laundry might more likely have been sent out than done at home, and would provide a future means of income for some students, and a management issue for others who could afford to pay for laundry services.

Questions at the end of each chapter were a unique addition to *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931). McLenaghen had indicated in the foreword that the questions had been added in order to make it easier for the teacher to make home or class-room assignments. Not all of the questions could be answered from the content pages, and thus presumed some prior knowledge of the teacher. For example, additional information about chemistry and sanitation not included in the housekeeping content section would be needed to answer these questions:

10. Why should an oiled cloth that is used to clean stoves be kept in a covered metal container?

20. Why is the common housefly so dangerous? (p. 13)

While McLenaghen could most often be accused of being stuffy and tedious, she could also provide the occasional glimpse of a different kind of home economics that was not so insular. The questions following the marketing section included ones that resonate of twenty-first century sustainability concerns:

5. List the countries supplying us with food.
6. List the foods that you had for three meals yesterday. Where were they raised? Do they come from the same place the year around, or are they shipped from different places at different seasons?
7. How many of these foods had been stored? Could you have done this storing in your own home?
8. What is the cost per acre of farm land in your locality? How does this affect the price of crops suitable for your district?
23. Name two brands of B.C. canned fruit, B.C. canned vegetables, B.C. canned soup, B.C. canned milk. (p. 22-23)

The Cookery Uniform

The cookery uniform was an important feature of the home economics program. A home economics pupil in Victoria in the 1920s recalled the spring sewing project:

> We had to make the most hideous costume. It was for cooking in. I've often thought no self-respecting housewife would ever greet her family in it. It was very impractical. The headband we wore was shaped like [a triangle] and it snapped at the back so it completely covered our forehead and our hair. The apron was like a tunic with short sleeves and we had a towel at our waist.... As I think of it now, even the most honourable chef would never be seen in it. But that doesn't matter, it was good training. (Butler, 1983)

From the earliest days in Canadian home economics education, standardized dress was a compulsory component for home economics teachers-in-training. A letter written by Mary Urie Watson, Principal of Macdonald Institute, the first home economics training institution in Canada, outlined the requirements: students were expected to have two cotton dresses from a specific Butterick pattern to be worn in class; several pairs of sleevelets were recommended and at least one sweeping cap (Watson, 1903, August 20).

While specific home economics dress codes for pupils were outlined in a 1916 textbook, the cookery uniform was not without enforcement problems:

> In the school kitchen pupils are expected to wear aprons and often caps and cuffs. This is one of the most difficult details for a teacher to control. It is almost impossible to have the aprons, caps and cuffs uniform unless they are provided by the school, and it is quite difficult to have fresh aprons always on hand. Efforts should be made at the beginning of the year to impress upon

> the children the importance of having the proper outfit and of having it properly cared for. (Kinne, 1916, p. 45)

A cap was recommended, but only if it was made like a dusting cap and completely covered the hair. "A small cap is useless and therefore an unnecessary article" (p. 46).

Girls' Home Manual (1913) gave directions for the cookery uniform of pinafore, cap, potholder, towel and tape. A Ladies' Home Journal nightgown pattern was recommended, cut all in one piece with kimono sleeves. It was described as easy to make and easy to launder. The cap was made of white cheesecloth, and the potholder was padded with clean old stockings cut open and folded to make the size of a large saucer. The tape was supposed to hang around the neck or waist to support the buttoned-on potholder and hand towel. Annie Juniper's directions stressed comfort and low cost.

The Rural School Luncheon (1916) made no special requirements for dress. This was understandable since the manual was directed toward multi-grade rural classrooms. In the 1923 *Recipes for Household Science Classes* the cookery uniform appeared on the frontispiece, and was labeled "A Youthful Homemaker" (figure 14). The young girl in the photograph looked like she was actually enjoying her costume of floppy chef's cap, buttoned on potholder, matching bag and over-the-shoulder apron resembling that of a upstairs British domestic servant. She wore a pair of dressy shoes and a frilly blouse beneath the pinafore, and the occasion was not solemn or weighty.

Figure 14: No instructions were apparently given for the Saskatchewan cookery uniform, although yardages were provided. Source: *Recipes for Household Science Classes.*(1923). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 1.

The first B.C. manual, *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) did not include the cookery uniform. *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931) included a picture of a somewhat dour student trapped in her cookery uniform (Figure 15), consisting of a buttoned-on towel, potholder, apron with French seams, pocket and buttonholes, and a hair-band.

Figure 15: A girl with complete uniform for class-room work in Home Economics. *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.* (1931). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 45.

The directions in the 1936 curriculum bulletin suggested 65 lessons of 45 minutes each to construct the uniform. The teacher was asked to "develop in the girls an appreciation of the value of a uniform and to create a desire to be suitable dressed

in a Foods laboratory" (p. 466). This would be achieved by discussing the attractiveness of uniforms for nurses, waitresses, policemen, firemen, and soldiers. If the cookery uniform was made in grade six, then pajamas were to be made in grade seven. Machine-sewing was permitted, but a daily thimble drill of five minutes, using paper, was considered essential to form the habit of using a thimble: "A habit is most quickly formed when *no* [italics in original] exception is allowed" (p. 467).

What was the meaning of the cookery uniform? What were the motives behind its existence? The first thing that the uniform did was to eliminate the possibility that boys would take home economics. A 1926 article in the Vancouver School Board publication *School Days* poked fun at a boy's adventures in home economics class, thereby opening the possibility that boys might take the subject, but no mention was made of a uniform (Reid, 1926). Special clothes for special classes were not unusual, but the cookery uniform seemed to isolate and dramatize the differences between home and school. Home economics was intended to be taken by females, and the wearing of a uniform elevated its status beyond the daily duties of keeping a house. The implication in the curriculum was that someone who wore a uniform would have more status than someone who did not wear one. However, women in charge of their own households did not have to wear uniforms. The cookery outfit gave conflicting messages about home economics and related back to the earlier controversy expressed by feminists and others – was home economics intended to train servants? Why was a uniform necessary? The question was not

openly debated, but the photograph of the cookery uniform was not included in editions of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* after 1942. The wearing of white uniforms carried over into dietetics work where the uniform worn by dieticians was more nurse-like and scientific than home-like.

Recipes as Mini-Histories

On one level recipes may seem mundane, but on other levels, they are mini-representations of food preparation and consumption and as such are "intricately connected to many other central processes of social life" (Warde, 1997, p. 22). Recipes are not socially neutral; to the contrary, they "make assumptions about socioeconomic circumstances, about levels of culinary skill, about equipment and resources, and about the tastes and preferences of to whom they are directed" (McKie & Wood, 1992, p. 12).

In all of the domestic manuals, the written recipe was the assumed starting point from which to teach order and organization in addition to specific skills. This concurs with the Foucauldian notion of knowledge as a form of social control, rather than a means to liberation and freedom. Measurements are the most obvious form of control: McDougall (1997) points out that precise measurements and cooking instructions "credit[ed] all creativity to the writer of the recipe and lock[ed] the cook into a preset pattern" (p. 115) . At any rate, as noted by Barthes (1972), recipes set standards that are often impossible for the ordinary cook to achieve.

According to McFeely (2000), cookbooks had a racial role. In addition to setting standards of uniformity for the white middle-class, they "implicitly set white middle-class... culture as the standard to which other[s] should aspire"(p. 50). McFeely observes that the goal of standardized recipes was assimilation, but it was not entirely successful: "Somehow ethnic cooking traditions were transmitted and people remembered at least the taste and smell of a grandmother's cooking" (p. 66).

Food has class implications as noted by Beardsworth and Keil (1997) who suggested close examination of the "connotative meaning of daily practices":

> When we eat, we are not merely consuming nutrients, we are also consuming gustatory (i.e. taste-related) experiences and, in a very real sense, we are also 'consuming' *meanings* [italics in original] and *symbols* [italics in original]....Food can be used to *express* [italics in original] social differentiation and reflect inequality inherent in such differentiation. (Beardsworth & Keil, 1997, p. 51, 53)

Through nutritional socialization, Beardsworth and Keil claim that a person learns how to distinguish foods from non-foods, those "fit only for animals or foreigners" (p. 55). Foods have power in their classifications; for example the following scheme of food cultures seems reminiscent of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs: "cultural superfoods, prestige foods, body-image foods, sympathetic magic foods and psychologic [sic] foods" (Jelliffe, 1967, pp. 279-281). Even suitable table manners can be used to indicate how adequately a person meets the prevailing definition of civilization. The kitchen was an intriguing place to elevate the ordinary

and make it become the extraordinary (Busch, 1999), and to promote white, middle-class culture.

A recipe is not a simple matter of listing ingredients and procedure. Cotter (1997) argues that the ways in which recipes are written and structured enables them to be viewed as cultural narratives: "The way language is used in the context of recipe discourse shapes our interpretation of many aspects of the cookbook, not only concerning things culinary but also how we view a particular community and its values" (p. 52).

How did the home economics community construct the recipe manuals deemed to be appropriate for girls in school? The answer to this question begins with investigation of the origin of cookbooks. Mennell (1985) attributes the original development of cookbooks to the desire for better-nourished workers in the industrialization of Europe and America. He examined books of recipes used in English cookery classes in the latter part of the nineteenth century and argued that they represented lower-middle class foods: "very English, with almost no sign of the French influence prevalent in the higher reaches of society" (p. 231). Mennell observed that the recipes were utilitarian and required little skill. At the same time they required more utensils and better cooking facilities than poorer working-class households had, and more variation in ingredients than they could afford. From Mennell, the conclusion can be drawn that analysis of ingredients, equipment and facility requirements of given recipes permits assumptions to be made about the economic status and aspirations of the target group.

While it is difficult to state an exact date for the origination of the modern recipe, with its list of ingredients at the start and precise measurements, *The Boston Cookbook* was one of the most influential cookbooks, first published in 1887 (Cotter, 1997). Even though *The Boston Cookbook* was American, many Canadian home economics teachers such as Winnifred McKeand, first home economics teacher in Victoria, had received their early training at the Boston Cooking School. *The Canadian Home Cook Book* was published a decade earlier than *The Boston Cookbook*, in 1877, but its recipes were written in the older narrative style. *The Canadian Cookbook* by Nellie Lyle Pattinson, used as a reference in *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* (1931) was not published until 1923.

Sheldon (2002) adds a contemporary interpretation of the relationship of food to class. His example is *American chop suey*, a food consisting of macaroni and ground beef that his working-class family ate the day before every payday, when money for groceries was scarce. He claims that the naming of the humble casserole created an illusion that was central to the diet of the lower class: "By calling [the food] 'chop suey', exoticization of a humble meal made our plates seem fuller than their offerings or actual nutrition" (Sheldon, 2002). In the same vein, calling a date cookie "Chinese chews", as was done in *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931, p. 102) contributed the only aspect of Other to that particular manual.

Cotter (1997) proposes a linguistic analysis of recipes: the presence or absence of certain phrases or clauses could be used to indicate whether the recipes were intended for community practice or enhanced for scholarly purposes. The

linguistic relationships within recipes, in Cotter's view, imply cultural assumptions and practices that can be confirmed by the differences between recipes. Cotter analyzes the structure of the recipe in terms of directions and intentions. The title is the abstract, giving indication of what is to come. After the listing of ingredients, usually grouped together and in order of use, orientation clauses may appear that locate the actions in context and clue the reader in to the reason for the recipe (for example, a reference to nutritional content, low cost or low fat). Instructional actions are next, with each action dependent on what precedes and follows it (experienced and inexperienced cooks alike would concur with Cotter's annoyance with recipes that omit crucial actions and therefore upset the timing). Cotter considers the evaluation clauses as the most important in a recipe because they show how to compare and interpret the recipe in its social and historical context (often written as "Looks like.... when done", etc.) Finally, the coda or conclusion referring to the end result appears. It may be in the form of garnishes or serving sizes.

The information included and excluded in recipes is indicative of attitudes towards the acquiring of knowledge. Wording indicates the amount of direction that the recipe-maker is supposed to require, operating from a state of ignorance or inexperience. Ingredients are obvious indicators of social and economic status; the variety of utensils required and the amount of dishes generated indicate time and money resources. If the recipe is intended to provide upward status (from working-class to lower middle, for example) then it might include serving suggestions, garnishes or menu additions. In this way, recipes reflect the power that is held by the

possessors of the knowledge that is being promoted. In the next section, selected recipes will be examined from each of the manuals for their directions, intentions, inclusions and absences, with the aims of uncovering the extent and content of imperial knowledge. White sauce, baking powder biscuits, one-egg cakes and hamburg steak represent standard fare in a home economics classroom. The specific content area of table setting and etiquette will also be deconstructed for its relevance to class reproduction.

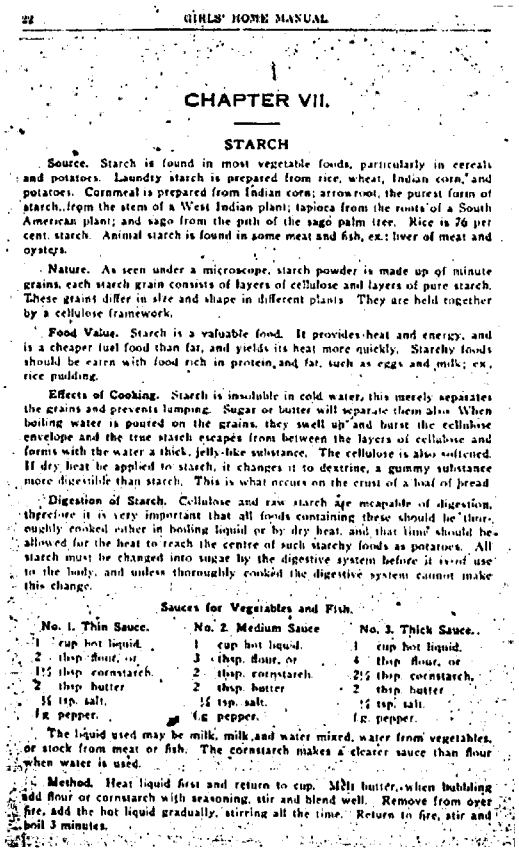
White sauce.

How likely would it be that a grade seven home economics student in the mid 1920s would remember a cooking demonstration fifty years later? The drama of the white sauce demonstration was sufficiently gripping for at least one student to recall:

> In cooking the first thing we learned to make was white sauce. And it was astonishing for me to watch the teacher make white sauce because she dissolved the fat over heat at a low temperature, stirred the flour in, and then added the heated milk and the salt and pepper, and of course you stirred this slowly until the whole thing thickened. (Butler, 1983)

Girls' Home Manual (1913) included white sauce under the heading of Starches (p. 22). The process by which thickeners work was explained in five paragraphs before the actual recipe and included the sources of starches, their microscopic appearance, food value ("a cheaper fuel food than fat"), the effects of cooking (how the grains swell and capture water) and why thorough cooking was

required for complete digestion. The recipe was titled "Sauces for Vegetables and Fish" (figure 16) and the ingredients were listed in columns for No. 1 Thin Sauce, No. 2 Medium Sauce and No. 3 Thick Sauce. Alternatives were given for types of hot liquids and thickeners that could be used. A cheaper version that omitted butter was given along with two simple variations, a brown sauce and a sweet sauce. *Girls' Home Manual* placed the recipe in the context of nutritional value, digestibility and thrift. In analytical terms as outlined by Cotter (1997), the recipe was oriented to action (all verbs used were imperatives: "heat", "melt", "add") but did not have evaluative clauses that would be needed for deciding when the product was done. Although the textbook indicated the importance of proper and sufficient cooking, it gave the students only a timing clue, rather than one of appearance, to figure out when the sauce was ready. A teacher would therefore be required to explain the cues for doneness, but once the students had seen the procedure, they would be able to repeat the recipe on their own. It did not include tedious details. The coda suggested flavourings that could be added specifically for fish sauces, and recommended a hot sauce boat or jug as a serving container for the sweet sauce, as opposed to a saucepan on the table.



22 GIRLS' HOME MANUAL

CHAPTER VII.

STARCH

Source. Starch is found in most vegetable foods, particularly in cereals and potatoes. Laundry starch is prepared from rice, wheat, Indian corn, and potatoes. Cornmeal is prepared from Indian corn; arrowroot, the purest form of starch, from the stem of a West Indian plant; tapioca from the roots of a South American plant; and sago from the pith of the sago palm tree. Rice is 76 per cent. starch. Animal starch is found in some meat and fish, ex.: liver of meat and oysters.

Nature. As seen under a microscope, starch powder is made up of minute grains, each starch grain consists of layers of cellulose and layers of pure starch. These grains differ in size and shape in different plants. They are held together by a cellulose framework.

Food Value. Starch is a valuable food. It provides heat and energy, and is a cheaper fuel food than fat, and yields its heat more quickly. Starchy foods should be eaten with food rich in protein, and fat, such as eggs and milk; ex., rice pudding.

Effects of Cooking. Starch is insoluble in cold water, this merely separates the grains and prevents lumping. Sugar or butter will separate them also. When boiling water is poured on the grains, they swell up and burst the cellulose envelope and the true starch escapes from between the layers of cellulose and forms with the water a thick, jelly-like substance. The cellulose is also softened. If dry heat be applied to starch, it changes it to dextrine, a gummy substance more digestible than starch. This is what occurs on the crust of a loaf of bread.

Digestion of Starch. Cellulose and raw starch are incapable of digestion, therefore it is very important that all foods containing these should be thoroughly cooked either in boiling liquid or by dry heat, and that time should be allowed for the heat to reach the centre of such starchy foods as potatoes. All starch must be changed into sugar by the digestive system before it is of use to the body, and unless thoroughly cooked the digestive system cannot make this change.

Sauces for Vegetables and Fish.

No. 1. Thin Sauce.	No. 2. Medium Sauce	No. 3. Thick Sauce.
1 cup hot liquid.	1 cup hot liquid.	1 cup hot liquid.
2 tbsp. flour, or	3 tbsp. flour, or	4 tbsp. flour, or
1½ tbsp. cornstarch.	2 tbsp. cornstarch.	2½ tbsp. cornstarch.
2 tbsp. butter.	2 tbsp. butter.	2 tbsp. butter.
½ tsp. salt.	½ tsp. salt.	½ tsp. salt.
⅛ pepper.	⅛ pepper.	⅛ pepper.

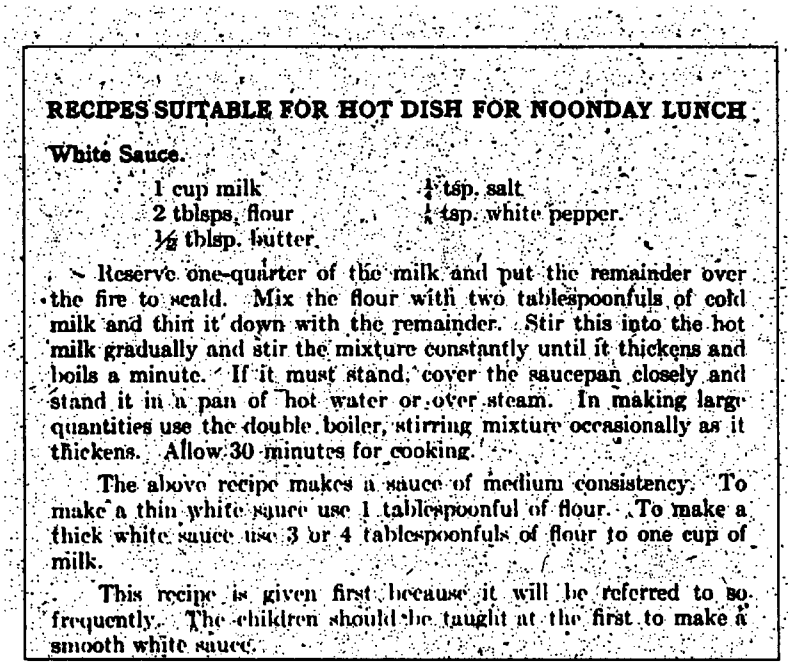
The liquid used may be milk, milk and water mixed, water from vegetables, or stock from meat or fish. The cornstarch makes a clearer sauce than flour when water is used.

Method. Heat liquid first and return to cup. Melt butter, when bubbling add flour or cornstarch with seasoning, stir and blend well. Remove from over fire, add the hot liquid gradually, stirring all the time. Return to fire, stir and boil 3 minutes.

Figure 16: Scientific, technical and serving information was included with the white sauce recipes. Source: *Girls' Home Manual.* (1913). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. pp. 22-23.

The 1916 *Rural School Luncheon* recipe for white sauce (figure 17) was the first one in the recipe section, confirming Twiss' declaration that it would be used the most often. The recipe was the "cheaper" version referred to by Juniper in *Girls' Home Manual*, omitting butter except to finish the sauce if desired. (This would make the sauce the equivalent of glue). An evaluative clause was given for determining readiness: "Stir the mixture constantly until it thickens and boils a minute" (p. 23). Procedural cautions were given in the event that the sauce had to

stand for a length of time, and a double boiler was suggested for larger quantities. Would a double boiler be standard equipment for rural Saskatchewan schools in 1916? Creamed potatoes, creamed macaroni, vegetable soup, cream of corn soup, cream of tomato soup, and creamed vegetables all required white sauce in one quantity or another. Each recipe included a variation or two, thus allowing some creativity on the part of the cook or tailoring to the available ingredients. The recipe was flexible, accommodating to unique circumstances, with the expectation that students would be making the recipes without direct supervision of the teacher.



RECIPES SUITABLE FOR HOT DISH FOR NOONDAY LUNCH

White Sauce.

1 cup milk — ½ tsp. salt
2 tblsps. flour — ⅛ tsp. white pepper.
½ tblsp. butter.

Reserve one-quarter of the milk and put the remainder over the fire to scald. Mix the flour with two tablespoonfuls of cold milk and thin it down with the remainder. Stir this into the hot milk gradually and stir the mixture constantly until it thickens and boils a minute. If it must stand, cover the saucepan closely and stand it in a pan of hot water or over steam. In making large quantities use the double boiler, stirring mixture occasionally as it thickens. Allow 30 minutes for cooking.

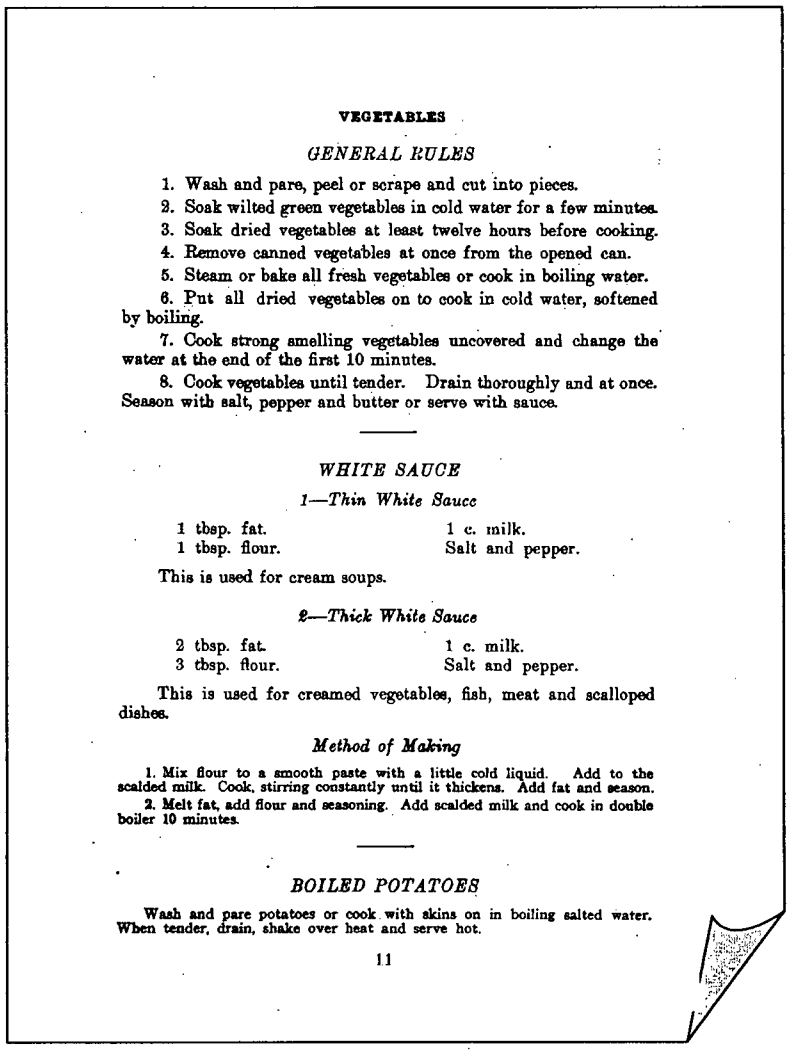
The above recipe makes a sauce of medium consistency. To make a thin white sauce use 1 tablespoonful of flour. To make a thick white sauce use 3 or 4 tablespoonfuls of flour to one cup of milk.

This recipe is given first because it will be referred to so frequently. The children should be taught at the first to make a smooth white sauce.

Figure 17: White sauce was used in creamed potatoes, potato soup, creamed macaroni, four types of cream soups and creamed vegetables. Source: *The Rural School Luncheon.* (1916). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 22.

The second Saskatchewan manual, *Recipes for Household Science Classes* (1923) includes white sauce under vegetables and gives two variations, thin and thick

(figure 18). The instructions are elegant in their simplicity, much less detailed than the 1916 Saskatchewan manual. Several variations for soups and sauces are given, and each one states "Follow general rule".



VEGETABLES

GENERAL RULES

1. Wash and pare, peel or scrape and cut into pieces.
2. Soak wilted green vegetables in cold water for a few minutes.
3. Soak dried vegetables at least twelve hours before cooking.
4. Remove canned vegetables at once from the opened can.
5. Steam or bake all fresh vegetables or cook in boiling water.
6. Put all dried vegetables on to cook in cold water, softened by boiling.
7. Cook strong smelling vegetables uncovered and change the water at the end of the first 10 minutes.
8. Cook vegetables until tender. Drain thoroughly and at once. Season with salt, pepper and butter or serve with sauce.

WHITE SAUCE

1—Thin White Sauce

1 tbsp. fat.	1 c. milk.
1 tbsp. flour.	Salt and pepper.

This is used for cream soups.

2—Thick White Sauce

2 tbsp. fat.	1 c. milk.
3 tbsp. flour.	Salt and pepper.

This is used for creamed vegetables, fish, meat and scalloped dishes.

Method of Making

1. Mix flour to a smooth paste with a little cold liquid. Add to the scalded milk. Cook, stirring constantly until it thickens. Add fat and season.
2. Melt fat, add flour and seasoning. Add scalded milk and cook in double boiler 10 minutes.

BOILED POTATOES

Wash and pare potatoes or cook with skins on in boiling salted water. When tender, drain, shake over heat and serve hot.

11

Figure 18: The white sauce recipe was used in several cream soup recipes in the recipe manual. Source: *Recipes for Household Science Classes.* (1923). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 11.

The B.C. version of *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) and the *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* (1931) had very similar information. White sauce was listed under the product heading of soups, rather than

with a food group as in either of the Saskatchewan manuals (vegetables) or *Girls' Home Manual* (starches). Initial orienting information was given about nutritional value and digestibility. The three main types (thin, medium and thick) were expanded to include "very thick" in 1931 (figure 19). While the 1927 version did not suggest alternatives to milk, the 1931 version suggested several other liquids that could be used. More evaluative instructions were given: for example, step one cautioned not to brown the fat. (It did not say why, however). Use of a double boiler was ordered. Seven soup variations were given, but only one version of creamed vegetables. White sauce was used in several egg and cheese recipes, covering up everything from macaroni to toast.

SOUPS.

Soups without stock have a higher food value than soups with stock. The milk or cream of the white sauce furnishes the protein, and the vegetables contain starch and mineral salts. Soups are easily digested. Cream soups may be used as the main dish for luncheon or supper, while stock soups are served as an appetizer.

STANDARD PROPORTIONS FOR WHITE SAUCE.

Sauce.	Liquid.	Thickening.	Fat.	Seasoning.	Uses.
No. 1, thin	1 c.	1 tbsp.	1 tbsp.	½ tsp. salt.	Cream soup, toast.
No. 2, medium	1 c.	2 tbsp.	2 tbsp.	½ tsp. salt.	Creamed vegetables, pudding sauces.
No. 3, thick	1 c.	3 tbsp.	2 tbsp.	½ tsp. salt.	Salad dressing.
No. 4, very thick	1 c.	4 tbsp.	2½–3 tbsp.	½ tsp. salt.	Croquettes, soufflés.

NOTE.—The amount of fat may be reduced by one-half if desired. With a limited amount of fat Method II. gives the best results. The *fat* may be butter or any butter substitute. The *liquid* may be milk, vegetable stock, or a mixture of both. Tomato Sauce may be similarly made, using tomato-juice or a mixture of tomato and meat stock as liquid. To make *gravy*, follow the same method as for a medium sauce.

Method I.

1. Melt fat, being careful not to brown.
2. Remove from the fire and add flour and seasonings; stir until smooth.
3. Add heated milk slowly. (Milk should be heated in a double boiler.)
4. Bring to a boil, stirring constantly, and cook 10 min. in the double boiler.

Method II.

1. Mix flour with enough cold milk to make a smooth paste.
2. Add enough milk to make mixture pour.
3. Add to heated milk.

Figure 19: The white sauce recipe continued on to the next page in the 1931 manual, and variations included cream of tomato soup, cream of pea soup, and cream of potato soup. Source: *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.* (1931). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 64.

The cumulative effect of the white sauce recipes was of increasing complexity of recipe construction, accompanied by more precision. The B.C. white sauce recipes were more sophisticated, with more variety, and the Saskatchewan ones simpler and plainer. This might be a reflection of rural versus urban, or the increased contact with women's magazines that promoted dressing up food. In B.C., students (and possibly teachers as well) were assumed to know less and therefore the instructions were more detailed. Quantities were larger and intended for families. Another interesting point is the category within the manuals in which the recipes were located. In the first three cases (Juniper and Twiss), the recipes were grouped according to nutritional classification; but in the last two B.C. recipes originated by McLenaghen, the product was the orienting factor. Grouping according to nutrition is more expansive and less rigid than grouping according to product. Nutritional grouping indicates a fundamental philosophical orientation to education that allows experimentation. The simple replication of a product (i.e. "white sauce") is less educative and more directive. This mirrors the progression between 1913 and 1936 to a more rigid home economics, constantly under duress to prove its worth as an academic subject.

Baking powder biscuits.

From fruit rolls to orange tea biscuits, all were included as necessary baking skills for beginning home economics pupils in the 1920s. A grade seven pupil

recalled her baking powder biscuit failure in an interview taped sixty-odd years after the event:

> We made hot biscuits, we worked in pairs. My partner and I forgot to put the shortening in, they came out like rubber balls. The teacher was very annoyed. I don't think she thought I'd ever make it through her class. (Butler, 1983)

Both baking powder biscuits and muffins were included in *The Girls Home Manual* (1913). As in the white sauce recipe from *Girls' Home Manual,* the ingredient information was scientific with the exact differences between bicarbonate of soda and cream of tartar delineated. Although a brand name baking powder was listed under essential food purchases, *Girls' Home Manual* gave complete instructions for making one's own baking powder. The title of the recipe was "Biscuits and Scones" and a raisin variation followed (figure 20). No special equipment such as a pastry blender was listed; the cook was simply advised to "chop shortening into flour". Instructions were concise and assumed some prior knowledge; for example the dough was to be turned onto a floured board, thus assuming that the cook had a concept of how much flour was required to flour a board. "Roll lightly" was one evaluative caution.

Biscuits and Scones

1 scant cup sifted flour
2 tsp. baking powder, or 1 tsp. cream of tartar and ½ tsp. soda
½ tsp. salt
1 tbsp. shortening, lard or butter, or half of each
1/3 cup (about) milk, or a mixture of half milk and half water

Method: Mix flour, salt and lightening agent together and sift twice. Chop shortening into flour and finish by rubbing it in with tips of fingers. Mix with a knife from the centre, gradually adding the liquid by degrees. Turn onto a floured board, make the dough smooth on top. Roll lightly to half an inch in thickness, cut out with a round cutter. Place on an ungreased tin fairly close together. Bake at once in a very hot oven 12 to 15 minutes. Serve hot on a doiley or cold. One cup of flour makes five biscuits of average size.
Note: If sour milk or buttermilk is used instead of sweet milk, lighten with ½ tsp. cream of tartar and ½ tsp. soda, as the lactic acid in sour milk takes the place of half of the cream of tartar.

Figure 20: Variations included were Sultana scones, nutloaf and muffins. Source: *Girls' Home Manual.* (1913). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 50.

The *Rural School Luncheon* (1916) gave a realistic recipe entitled "Emergency Biscuits" (figure 21) for its mixed audience of boys and girls. The ingredients were listed and once again the steps were shortened and concise. Fingertips were considered adequate equipment for combining shortening and flour (which only had to be sifted once). The optional raisins in the recipe were to be "dredged" with flour, but no explanation was given for the meaning of "dredge". The recipe assumed prior knowledge of the determinants of a stiff dough and a hot oven. The practicality of this recipe for rural Saskatchewan was obvious, where a biscuit emergency (such as running out of bread) was quite possible.

Emergency Biscuits

4 cups flour
8 tsps. baking powder
1 tsp. salt
4 tbslps. sugar
4 tblsps. shortening
1 ½ cups chopped raisins
1 ½ cups milk or more if necessary

Mix and sift flour, salt and baking powder together. Add the sugar. With the tips of the fingers rub in the shortening. Dredge the raisins with a little of the flour and add to the flour mixture. Gradually add the milk, cutting it in with a knife to make a stiff batter. Drop on a baking sheet, bake 5 minutes in a hot oven.

Figure 21: With store bought bread unavailable in rural Saskatchewan, a recipe entitled "emergency biscuits" was needed for the days when there was no time to bake. Source: *The Rural School Luncheon.* (1916). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 26.

The 1923 Saskatchewan edition of *Recipes for Household Science Classes* included baking powder biscuits under the muffin heading (figure 22). Three variations were listed for a larger recipe of two cups versus the usual one cup; shortening is to be cut in with a knife or tips of fingers with the evaluative clause "until fine like meal" (p. 30). An orienting time-saving clause was provided by including the same emergency biscuits recipe from the 1916 Saskatchewan manual. Prior knowledge was assumed; the dough was to be tossed on a floured board, but no evaluative clauses were given for how much flour or what tossing would look like. "Tossing" could potentially be an unknown concept, or one that was so well known that it did not need explanation.

Baking Powder Biscuits

2 c. flour
4 tsp. baking powder
½ tsp. salt
2-4 tbsp. fat
2/3 c. milk or water

Mix and sift dry ingredients. Cut shortening in with a knife or work in with tips of fingers until mixture is fine like meal. Add milk gradually, cutting it with a knife. Turn on to floured board. Toss until coated with flour, then pat or roll to a thickness of three-quarters of an inch. Cut with floured biscuit cutter. Bake in a hot oven 12 to 15 minutes.
Note: To make Emergency Biscuit, add sufficient liquid that mixture may be dropped from spoon without spreading on greased pan. (p. 30)

Figure 22: Fingertips alone were no longer satisfactory for mixing; a knife was suggested for chopping in the fat. Source: *Recipes for Household Science Classes.* (1923). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 30.

The B.C. version of *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) demonstrated use of several evaluative clauses in its Baking Powder Biscuit recipe (Figure 23): cut shortening in until "fine"; "turn out on *slightly* [italics in original] floured board". Five variations with specific instructions for each one were given. All of the variations required increasing amounts of skill, but some minor details were included (place fruit rolls "cut side up") while other major details were excluded (how to cook an apple filling). Perhaps the assumption was that the students would only do the basics in school, and the fancier versions would be for home practice, where a mother would know how to prepare cooking apples for a filling. Of course, if one's mother were around to demonstrate this part of the recipe, why not have her teach the whole thing?

SOFT DOUGHS
GENERAL RULES

Sift flour once before measuring; add baking-powder, salt and sugar, if used.
Cut shortening in with a knife, or work in with tips of fingers until mixture is fine.
Add milk gradually. This should be done with as little mixing as possible.
Turn out on *slightly* floured board; roll ¾ inch thick.
Cut with floured biscuit cutter; place on greased or floured pan; bake in a hot oven, 400° - 425° F., for 15-20 min.

Baking-Powder Biscuits

2 c. flour	2-4 tbsp. fat
4 tsp. baking powder	2/3 c. milk or water
½ tsp. salt	

Follow the general rule.
Variations.
To make Emergency Biscuit add sufficient liquid that mixture may be dropped off spoon without spreading on greased pan.

Figure 23: Emergency biscuits were still featured in the 1927 biscuit recipe. Source: *Recipes for Home Economics Classes.* (1927). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 42.

In the 1931 version of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management*, the recipe was basically the same, but the flour was now to be sifted two to three times (figure 24). How likely would this be to happen in a typical household? The entire perspective of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* was scientific; but it was not practical, despite McLenaghen's claims to the contrary. The goal for home economics was to prove that it was a prepared subject and worthy of study. I am left with an image of a roomful of girls in white costumes, all scrambling to sift their flour two to three times, being careful to do exactly what the teacher said. How could one justify such impractical and extravagant use of time in a 40-minute period?

SOFT DOUGHS

GENERAL RULES

Sift flour once before measuring; add baking-powder, salt and sugar, if used.
Sift two or three times.
Cut shortening in with a knife, or work in with tips of fingers until mixture is fine.
Add milk gradually. This should be done with as little mixing as possible.
Turn out on *slightly* floured board; roll ¾ inch thick.
Cut with floured biscuit cutter; place on greased or floured pan; bake in a hot oven, 400° - 425° F., for 15-20 min.

Baking-Powder Biscuits

2 c. flour
4 tsp. baking powder
½ tsp. salt
2-4 tbsp. fat
2/3 c. milk or water
Follow the general rule.

Variations.
To make Emergency Biscuit add sufficient liquid that mixture may be dropped off spoon without spreading on greased pan.

Figure 24: Baking powder biscuits had become a scientific endeavour. *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.* (1931). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 83.

Wilson (1985) contends that the content of *Girls' Home Manual* was simply "a recitation of tasks to be done" (p. 87). She noted a distinct change in *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* away from the expertise of the instructor and more towards control of cooking procedures by knowledge of principles and rules. From my observation, an increase in organization and sequencing of activities is clear, but is more reflective of other happenings in the industrial world such as the influence of time and motion studies.

Hamburg steak.

Meat recipes such as hamburg steak would seem to be the least prescribed and precise, simply because they had less chance of failure than cake or biscuit recipes which depended on the proper proportions of liquid, flour and leavener. *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) outlined the procedure for pan-broiling before starting from the basics of using tough steak and putting it through the meat chopper. No

knowledge on the part of the cook was assumed; even the type of fire was specified ("hot and clear"). No indication of doneness was given, but the cook was warned not to put the fork into the meat as it would "let out the juices."

The recipe did not feature in *The Rural School Luncheon* (aimed as it was for the rural classroom) but was included in the 1923 Saskatchewan manual, *Recipes for Household Science Classes*. This recipe was very brief and only a general rule for pan-broiling was given, to make the pan sizzling hot and then turn the meat every ten seconds for one minute. The directions were unrealistic for cooking hamburger that would certainly crumble apart if turned over six times in a minute. The directions were copied from a general description of how to cook meat. Perhaps they were not intended to be followed. Who, after all, would need a recipe of how to fry hamburger? It was probably assumed knowledge.

The 1927 B.C. manual *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* very briefly mentions pan-broiling and provides evidence that home economics had finally caught up with the twentieth century – the beef was now to be bought "minced", and then shaped into "firm, fat cakes ¾ inch thick". The description of the cakes was the only real detail of the recipe. No evaluation of doneness was given. In the 1931 edition of *Foods Nutrition and Home Management*, the description of the recipe was the most scientific of all, mentioning searing, extractive juices and detailed description of coagulation, clearly written for a higher reading level, or for a different purpose, such as proving that home economics was an academic subject. The added touch was chopped parsley, which might have been unavailable for many pupils and their families. The inclusion of the word *steak* in the title had echoes of aspiration to a higher status than would be possible by cooking mere *hamburg*.

One egg cake.

Recipes for cakes and desserts formed major portions of the manuals. Their function has often been described as morale-building (McFeely, 2000), particularly

among the British who were (and are still) noted for their love of sweets. *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) featured four pastry recipes, nine pie fillings, twenty-three puddings, and twenty-five cakes, cookies and icing recipes. *One egg cake* was one of the plainer and cheaper recipes, in contrast to t*wo egg cake* or *chocolate sponge layer cake*. A full page of general information was included on preparation, materials, mixing, baking, timing, and how to tell if a cake was baked. This set the context for a beginner's introduction to the scientific business of cake-making, someone who would not know that an earthen bowl and wooden spoon was best for mixing; or that the time stated for the cake should be divided into four:

> First quarter, cake should rise.
>
> Second quarter, cake should continue to rise and begin to brown.
>
> Third quarter, cake should continue to brown.
>
> Last quarter, cake should finish cooking and shrink from the sides of the pan.
>
> (Juniper, 1913, p. 86)

The *Girls' Home Manual* recipe was fairly complicated because it used a homemade type of baking powder, concocted from soda and cream of tartar that had to be handled in a specific manner, dissolving the soda in the milk and sifting the cream of tartar with the flour (figure 25). Considering that the recipe was meant to be low-cost by using only one egg, the inclusion of five variations using more expensive ingredients – nuts, cocoa, dried fruits, spices and cocoanut – gave the cook more options.

One Egg Cake

¼ cup butter
7/ 8 cup sugar
1 egg
1 cup milk
1 tsp. soda
2 tsp. cream of tartar
2 cups flour
1 tsp. lemon extract

Instead of the soda and tartar, 4 tsp. baking powder may be substituted. Cream butter, add sugar by degrees, whisk egg and add to butter mixture, beat well. Dissolve the soda in the milk. Sift the tartar with the flour, add milk and flour alternately to the butter mixture, then beat the whole for five minutes and add the flavouring. Bake in a greased flat tin in a moderately hot oven about thirty minutes.
Variations
By adding the following to the above, different cakes result:
Nut Cake. Add ½ cup chopped nuts after the flour. Use only half amount of butter.
Chocolate Cake. Add 1/ 3 cup cocoa, or 2 oz. melted chocolate to the butter mixture. The cocoa should be mixed to a liquid with ¼ cup of the milk. Flavour this cake with vanilla.
Fruit Cake. Add ½ cup prepared raisings, currants or sultanas and one piece of candied peel finely shredded and chopped, with the last of the flour. Flavour with grated nutmeg. Use a little less sugar and milk for this cake.
Spice Cake. Add 1 tsp. cinnamon, ½ tsp. cloves, ½ tsp. mixed spice to the flour.
Cocoanut Cake. Add ½ cup cocoanut to the flour.

Figure 25: A one egg cake was less prestigious than a two-egg cake. Source: *Girls' Home Manual.* (1913). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 87.

The typical location for any recipes made from *The Rural School Luncheon* (1916) was a regular classroom, and therefore no cake recipes were included. The manual did include a recipe for Baked Bananas, a fruit of doubtful availability in rural Saskatchewan. The subsequent Saskatchewan publication, *Recipes for Household Science Classes* (1923) included an exceedingly easy and brief recipe for One Egg Cake (figure 26). Six general rules for cake-making were given and the recipe presumed previous experience and understanding of basic terms.

CAKE

General Rules

Cream the butter.
Add sugar gradually, beating until dissolved.
Add well beaten egg.
Add liquid alternately with the mixed and sifted dry ingredients.
Beat well.
Bake in greased pans in a moderate oven from ½ to ¾ of an hour.

ONE EGG CAKE

¼ c. butter	1 ½ c. flour
½ c. sugar	2 ½ tsp. baking powder
1 egg	1 tsp. spice or
½ c. milk	½ tsp. flavouring

Note – For Walnut Cake add ½ c. chopped nuts. For Chocolate Cake add 2 ½ oz. melted chocolate or ¼ c. cocoa. For Cocoanut Cake add ½ c, shredded cocoanut. (p. 31)

Figure 26: One egg cake variations did not include any locally available ingredients such as wild berries. Walnuts, chocolate and coconut were imported drygoods. Source: *Recipes for Household Science Classes*. 1923. Regina. SK: King's Printer. p. 31.

The one egg cake recipe in the 1927 *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (figure 27) combined aspects of the 1913 B.C. manual and the 1923 Saskatchewan publication. Eight general rules for "cakes with fat" were given that included very specific directions: where the Saskatchewan recipe said to add sugar "gradually"(p. 31), the B.C. one said to "add sugar one-quarter at a time, beating until dissolved"(p. 47). No tests for doneness were given in the 1923 Saskatchewan recipe, but the 1927 B.C. recipe (figure 27) gave four tests including placing a toothpick or knitting needle in the centre of the cake to see if it came out dry. Is there significance to this? It shows the mounting belief that young girls who came into the home economics classroom knew less and less about homemaking.

GENERAL RULES FOR CAKES WITH FAT

Cream the fat.
Add sugar one-quarter at a time, beating until dissolved.
Add well-beaten egg and beat well, about 2 min.
Add milk alternately with the mixed and sifted dry ingredients one-third at a time. Beat well after each addition.
When all ingredients have been added, beat for 2 min.
Bake in greased pans in a moderate oven (350° -360°)
Time for baking: Cup cakes, 12-15 min., layer cakes, 20-30 min., Loaf cakes, 45-60 min.
Tests to show that cake is done: (1) It is nicely browned (2) It shrinks from the edge of the pan (3) When pressed with finger it springs back (4) When a toothpick or knitting needle is placed in the centre it comes out dry.

One Egg Cake

¼ c. fat
½ c. sugar
1 egg
¼ tsp. salt
½ c. milk
1 ½ c. flour (pastry)
2 ½ tsp. baking powder
Follow general rules.

Variations:
For *Walnut Cake* add ½ c. chopped nuts; add 1-2 tbsp. more flour.
For *Chocolate Cake* substitute brown for white sugar, and add 2 ½ oz. melted chocolate (use 2 ½ tsp. less flour). or 7 ½ tbsp. cocoa (use 5 tsp. less flour).
For *Cocoanut Cake* add ½ c. shredded cocoanut and 1-2 tbsp. more flour.
For *Spice Cake* add ½ tsp. cinnamon; ½ tsp. mixed allspice, nutmeg, and cloves.
For *Fruit Cake* add ½ c. raisings, ¼ c. currants, ¼ c. citron, mixed together and floured.

Figure 27: Variations again included imported ingredients, although spices were easily available. Source: *Recipes for Home Economics Classes*. 1927. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 47.

Foods, Nutrition and Home Management (1931) did not disappoint in its detail (figure 28). The general rules for cakes with fat now included sifting flour, measuring, then sifting again two or three times with the baking powder and salt. The eight general rules had grown into nine with a separate section for causes of cake failures. The oven temperatures reflected the availability of more accurate calibration, whether coal, gas or wood – now the temperature was supposed to be 350° F. or 360° F., considerably more accurate than Juniper in 1913 who only recommended a "moderately hot" oven.

GENERAL RULES FOR CAKES WITH FAT

Sift flour, then measure it. Add baking powder and salt and sift two or three times.
Cream the fat.
Add sugar one-quarter at a time, beating until dissolved. (If a small amount of fat is used, part of the sugar may be added to the beaten egg to assist in combining it more readily.)
Add well-beaten egg and beat well, about 2 min.
Add milk alternately with the mixed and sifted dry ingredients one-third at a time. Beat well after each addition.
When all ingredients have been added, beat for 2 min.
Bake in greased pans in a moderate oven (350° -360°). It is best to line the bottom of the pan with greased paper.
Time for baking: Cup cakes, 12-15 min., layer cakes, 20-30 min., Loaf cakes, 45-60 min.
Tests to show that cake is done: (1) It is nicely browned (2) It shrinks from the edge of the pan (3) When pressed with finger it springs back (4) When a toothpick or knitting needle is placed in the centre it comes out dry.

CAUSES OF CAKE FAILURES

Outside Appearance.
Cracked crust – Too hot an oven or too much flour
Hard and Coarse Crust – Too much sugar
Uneven Thickness – oven of uneven temperature or cake placed too close to one side of the oven
Inside or Crumb of Cake
Coarse Grain – Too much moisture or sugar or baking powder
Dry – Too much flour or too hot an oven
Tough – Too little fat
Heavy – Too little baking-powder or falling during baking or after removing from oven
Falling of cake may be due to:
Too much fat or sugar or baking-powder
Too little flour
Jarring during baking

One Egg Cake

1 ½ c. pastry flour
2 ½ tsp. baking-powder
¼ tsp. salt
½ c. sugar
¼ c. fat or shortening
1 egg
½ c. milk
½ tsp. vanilla or other flavouring

Follow general rules.

Variations:
For *Walnut Cake* add ½ c. chopped nuts; add 1-2 tbsp. more flour.
For *Chocolate Cake* substitute brown for white sugar, and add 2 ½ oz. melted chocolate (use 2 ½ tsp. less flour). Or 7 ½ tbsp. cocoa (use 5 tsp. less flour).
For *Cocoanut Cake* add ½ c. shredded cocoanut and 1-2 tbsp. more flour.
For *Spice Cake* add ½ tsp. cinnamon; ½ tsp. Mixed allspice, nutmeg, and cloves.
For *Fruit Cake* add ½ c. raisings, ¼ c. currants, ¼ c. citron, mixed together and sprinkled with a little flour.

Figure 28: Baking was no longer an intuitive effort based on skill. The cook was a technician. Source: *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.* (1931). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 89.

Cooking involved interesting chemical reactions in *Girls' Home Manual* (1913), but by the time of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931), it had become a precise, dry topic. The link between home economics and scientific housekeeping had grown steadily as home economics educators struggled to prove the academic worth of the subject. Conflicting intentions regarding home economics as a science or as an art were becoming clear. In 1913 the *hollow square* (figure 29) was standard in all home economics classrooms. The hollow square was so labeled because all of the students were spread around the outside of the square, facing in to the centre. It resembled a chemistry laboratory much more than a home kitchen, and each student had her own station and little stove.

Domestic Science Class

Figure 29: This Vancouver domestic science class demonstrates how the hollow square emphasized individual work. Source: Eighth annual report. *Vancouver Board of School Trustees Annual Report.* (1910). Vancouver, B.C.: Clark and Stuart. p. 13.

In 1926 the *family unit* (figure 30) was the recommended organization for classrooms, reflecting the New Education belief that the school was an appropriate place to teach social efficiency. Classrooms were set up in units of four students, and recipes were in family-size quantities of six. At the same time teachers were urged to stimulate inquiry and encourage investigation by experimenting in food study, and moves were afoot to make home economics an elective science in high school (McLenaghen, 1927).

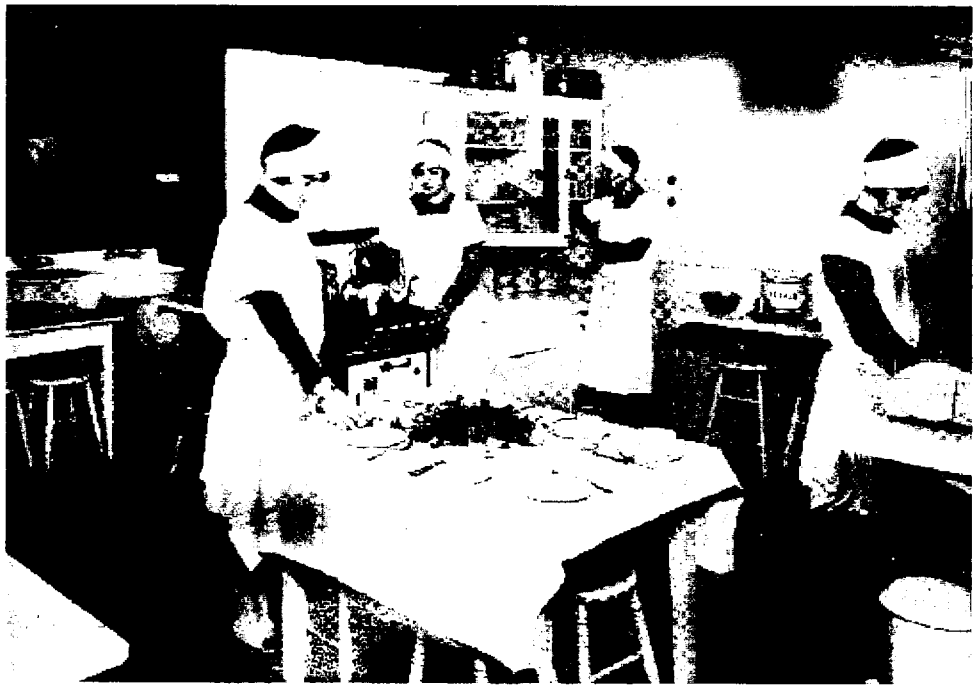


Figure 30: Templeton Junior High School was the first junior high in British Columbia, opened in 1927. *Fifty-seventh annual report of the public schools of British Columbia.* (1927-28). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. V57.

The Table

Table setting and rules of etiquette featured heavily in the manuals. If the underlying motive was to improve living standards and status, table manners were a singular way to achieve upward mobility. (Even in 2003, it is reported under good authority that Toronto law firms take prospective articling candidates out to dinner in a fancy restaurant, perhaps trying to make a connection between tarts and torts.) *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) had three pages on "The Table", including how to lay, wait and clear a dinner table, table etiquette, how to wash up after a meal single-handed and, somewhat incongruously, how to care for kitchen garbage. The rules were oriented to domestic service rather than family style, with specific directions given for serving a large group and clearing a table using a trolley or tray.

The Rural School Luncheon (1916) had minimal table setting directions, given that the rural school meal was a cooperative affair, with each child looking after his or her own table setting requirements. Still, the students were all required to be ready to eat at the same time, with the cooks for the day also expected to do the serving. All students were supposed to remain seated until everyone had finished – the meal time was allotted twenty minutes to allow the children to "eat their food slowly and masticate it sufficiently" (p. 15). The occasion was supposed to be cheerful, with laughter and conversation encouraged.

The Saskatchewan edition of *Recipes for Household Science Classes* (1923) put table setting and service at the very start of the manual in two concise pages.

Neatness, order and convenience were to be observed in serving all meals. Very basic serving instructions were given (serve from the right, remove from the left) but no admonitions were made about table manners. A neat, although elaborate diagram of one individual place setting completed the section (figure 31). The table setting presumed at least four courses would be served (soup, salad, entrée and dessert) in addition to a beverage.

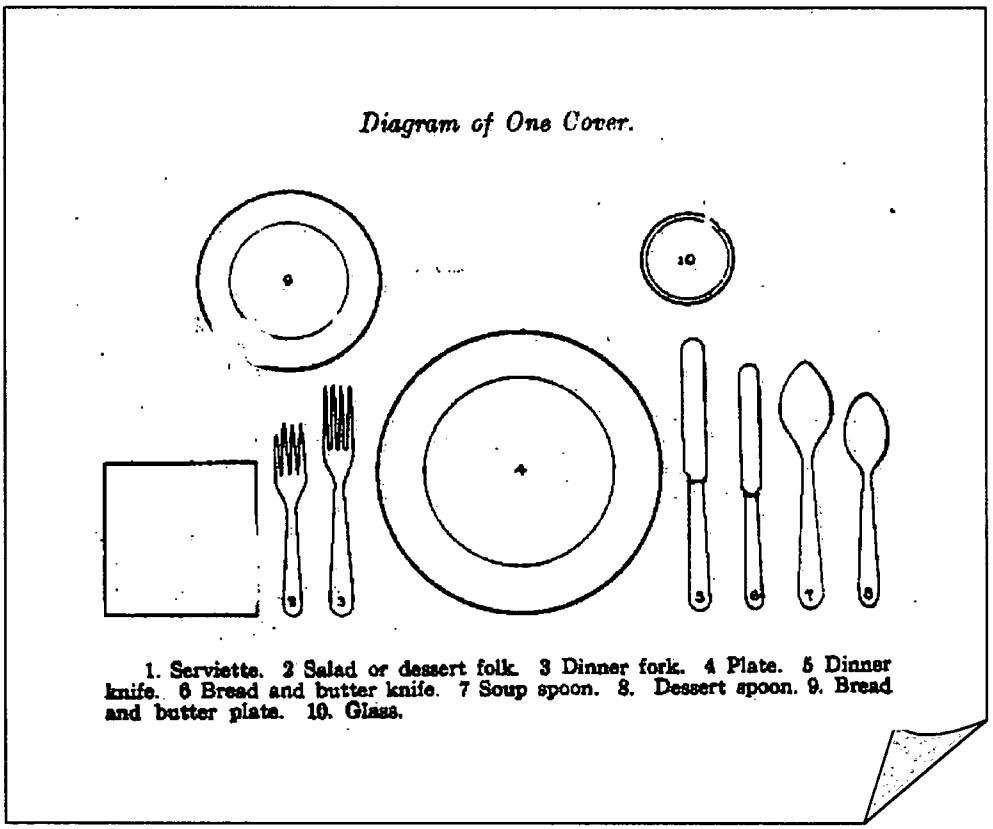


Figure 31: Diagram of one cover that included four courses. *Recipes for Household Science Classes.* (1923). Regina, SK: King's Printer. p. 5

The B.C. version of *Recipes for Home Economics Classes* (1927) had five pages of table setting and etiquette, substantially formalized in comparison to the

1923 Saskatchewan manual. The table setting included traditional British fare: leg of lamb, mint jelly, potatoes, spinach and bread. A butter dish and butter pick was included and at least three courses were indicated. The caption at the bottom of the diagram indicated that it was for a home dinner without the service of a maid (figure 32).

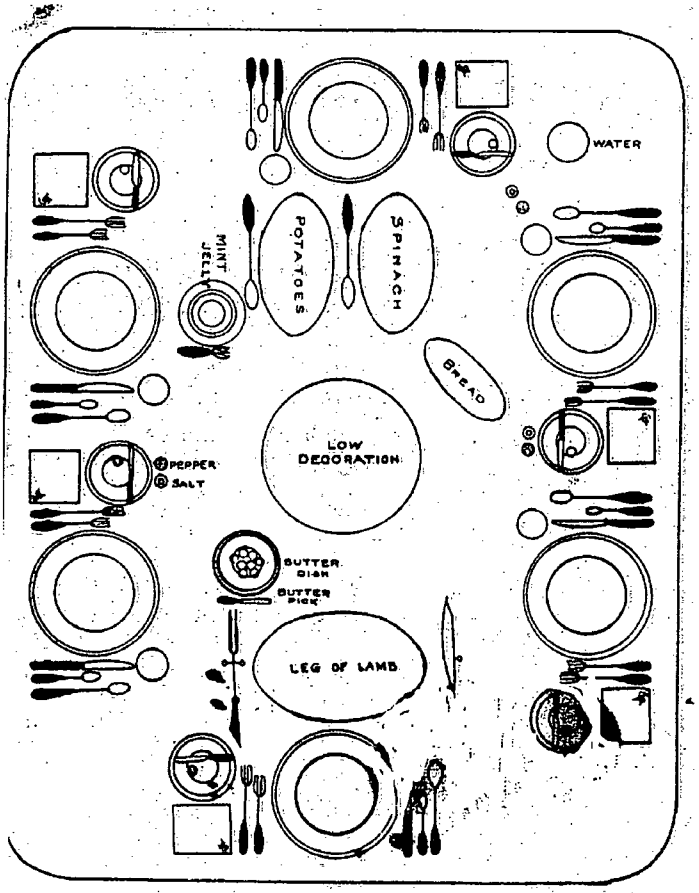
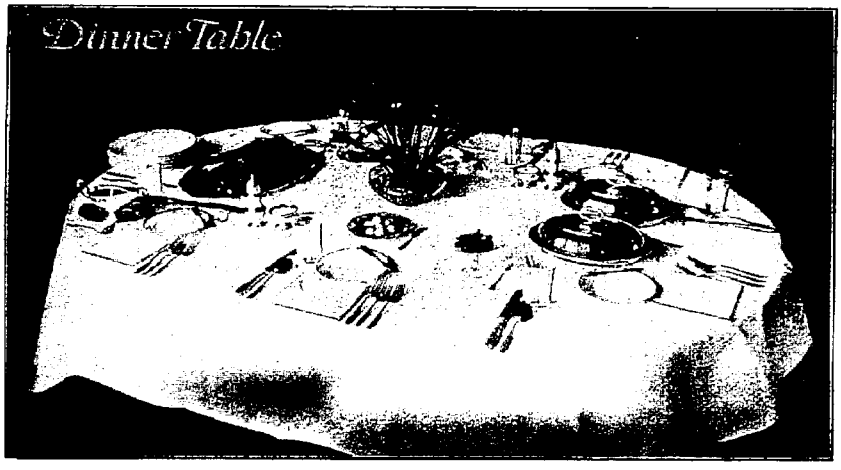


Diagram of table laid for home dinner (without service of maid).

Figure 32: The manual included thirteen rules for serving without a maid, in addition to the diagram of a table laid for home dinner without maid service. Source: *Recipes for Home Economics Classes.* (1927). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 20.

The 1931 edition of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* included identical information with the addition of two murky photographs of a dinner table setting (figure 33) and a reception table (figure 34) from the *Canadian Cook Book,* first published in 1923 and written by Nellie Lyle Pattinson, an early home economist. The white damask tablecloths, flower centerpieces and elegant china suggested a sophisticated way of life beyond most people's means. Bessie Dickinson, a home economics teacher at Templeton Junior High School in the 1920s reported that the china in the home economics room, to her astonishment, was "real Limoges" (1983).

The manual suggested that boys as well as girls be taught to wait on the table correctly and take their turn at serving "so that mother is relieved of the duty. Mother is the hostess and her place is at the table" (1931, p. 42). Only one additional rule was added between 1927 and 1931: "If cream and sugar are passed on a tray, the handle of the cream pitcher should face the guest" (p. 42). Would such rigid rules be a tough sell for the grade seven girls or would they delight in the intricacies of so-called proper behaviour?



Taken from "The Canadian Cook Book" through the courtesy of The Ryerson Press.

Figure 33: Dinner included three forks and the plates were set for the English style of serving mentioned in the manual, where the host carved and served the meat and the hostess served the vegetables. Source: *Food, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.*(1931). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 46.

Taken from "The Canadian Cook Book" through the courtesy of The Ryerson Press.

Figure 34: The reception table included a silver tea service, dainty cookies and squares, on a lace tablecloth. Source: *Food, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.* (1931). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 47.

"Why study home economics", a story written by Jessie McLenaghen (for an undisclosed purpose) provides an earnest, if idealistic look at the image that was being promoted for home economics in 1937. Although the story appeared to be aimed at publicizing home economics to future students, it ended up promoting an imperialistic national view. The story begins with two little visitors sighing happily as they finish their last crumb of cake, at a tea prepared by Elizabeth, a home economics student. The visitors are informed of the various topics covered in Elizabeth's grade seven home economics course such as learning about good health habits and personal appearance, and the making of the cookery uniform. Finally the discussion turns to why Elizabeth is studying home economics, with one of the visitors saying: "I suppose you are really taking Home Economics so that you will know how to run your own home when you are grown up." To this statement, Elizabeth replies:

> Partly of course... but we don't have to wait until we are grown up to put into practice what we are being taught. We are trying to be mothers' helpers, now [emphasis in original]. Most mothers have pretty much to do, and girls who take Home Economics are able to help out and lighten the load. Running a home isn't so very easy, and when you study how it is done, you begin to understand that you need training besides common sense to make things go smoothly. Our teacher told us that a good homemaker is a little bit of everything – cook, dressmaker, book-keeper, housemaid, nursemaid, laundress, artist, nurse, and ever so many other things, and she said, too, that

the kind of homes and home-life that we build up has something to do with the kind of nation we have, so we ought to know how to make a good job of it.(McLenaghen, n.d.)

Wilson (1985) argues that the description of students as *mother's helpers* indicated that teachers still controlled knowledge, because the students were only referred to in terms of their preparation for adulthood. McLenaghen's play reinforces the idea of domestic motherhood as a hallowed role. The *cult of domesticity* referred to by Hall (2000) was perpetuated in home economics education.

The curriculum that accompanied *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* textbook provides evidence of activities deemed suitable for classroom discussion. In Unit V, Family and Social Relationships of the 1937 Senior High School Home Economics curriculum, the topic of securing a happy home was pursued through three case studies (figure 35).

Topical Outline	Suggested Approaches and Procedures
II. Means of Securing a Happy Home: 1. Selection of a life companion: (a) Common interests (b) Similar educational advantages (c) Similar environment and early training (d) Common religious ideals (e) Common racial background (f) Good heredity (g) Congenial temperaments (h) Similar level of intelligence	Discuss: Jerry Smith and Helen Jergesen are in their early twenties. After graduating from High School, Helen became a clerk in a store. Jerry attended business college for a year after he left High School. He now has a position in an insurance office at $125 a month. Helen and Jerry want to be married. Have they a reasonable hope of being happy? What are some of the things that should be considered before one gets married? What should one expect from marriage? What points should one consider in choosing a life companion? Discuss: Pete was raised on a farm in Alberta. His parents were Swedish and the customs and language of Sweden prevailed in his home. It had been a hard struggle on the farm. In Calgary, he met Virginia, whose father was a prominent doctor. She had been brought up in luxury. Would it be wise for Pete and Virginia

	to marry? Discuss: Frank and Kate were married immediately after finishing school. Frank had got a job driving a truck at $80 per month. Kate spent money freely for food and clothing and seldom said "no" to salesmen who offered her attractive easy payment plans. The bills piled higher and higher. Finally Frank deserted her. Was Frank justified in his action? Why was this marriage not a success? How could this situation have been avoided?

Figure 35: Who would be happiest? Occupation, and by default, class, seemed to be the determining factor. Source: Department of Education. (1937). Programme of studies for the senior high schools of British Columbia. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. pp. 140-141.

In the first case study the couple seemed to be suited to each other by virtue of background and education. In the second case, a poor farm boy seemed doomed to unhappiness with a doctor's daughter, and in the third case, a truck driver abandoned his wife for overspending her husband's meager salary. While the case studies seem innocent, the underlying class assumptions were less so: women should not marry down; financial problems were the wife's responsibility and a woman's weakness in this area justified desertion.

Race was mostly invisible in home economics education: the one exception occurred in the laundry section of the new curriculum where it seemed to be a racial matter (figure 36). The following excerpt provides abrupt evidence of racialized treatment.

Project	Topical Outline	Suggested Approaches and Procedure	Student Activity	Illustrative Material and References
1. The laundering of personal clothing and household linens (8-10 periods)	*Introductory:* History of laundry: 1. When need first arose 2. Early equipment 3. Methods used	Discuss such questions as: In your summer holidays, have you seen Indians doing laundry work?	Bring to class all information gained from books, magazines, or from travelled friends	Pictures from "National Geographic" magazines. Cuts of modern equipment. Manual

	4. Effects on textiles 5. Inventions and improvements in methods of equipment 6. Modern equipment 7. Modern methods	What stories of laundering do some missionaries tell? If possible, take class to see modern electric laundry equipment in the shop		

Figure 36. Why would missionaries tell stories of laundering? Source: Department of Education. (1937). Programme of studies for the senior high schools of British Columbia. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 177.

The laundry examples showed who was considered capable of doing laundry properly and by association, who would be able to judge capability. What stories would missionaries tell that could be used as lessons, if not imperial ones? What would be observed about Indians doing laundry work? First Nations people were present in British Columbia, but they seemed to be inferior curiosities. The questions implied observation of unsatisfactory methods, compared to British scrubbing, starching and ironing.

A Brief Digression into Chinese Chews

While most of this section has been focused on the time period of 1913 to 1931, one recipe stands out because it can be played forward to the twenty-first century. A recipe for Chinese Chews, a sweet bar-type cookie made of white sugar, flour, dates, walnuts and eggs appeared only in *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931) (figure 37). The title was one of two concessions to "ethnicity" other than white British in the entire manual (the other one being "Swiss Steak"). The ten steps included sifting the flour twice, once before and once after measuring.

Bakers were informed that it was "advisable" to mix the crust into the softer centre portion with a fork after about fifteen minutes of baking, and then baking an additional fifteen minutes, lifting out the batter in spoonfuls "when cooked" and rolling in the palm of the hand. Perhaps this complicated procedure added to the exotic nature of the recipe.

Chinese Chews

¾ cup flour
1 tsp. baking powder
¼ tsp. salt
2 eggs
1 c. white sugar
1 c. walnuts
1 c. dates

1. Sift flour and measure. Add baking powder and salt and sift again.
2. Beat eggs until light.
3. Add sugar and dry ingredients
4. Add walnuts and dates, chopped.
5. Press into a greased pan (8 by 8 inches)
6. Cook in a slow oven (300'F – 325'F.) for 20-25 min.
7. When a crust forms (after about 15 min.) it is advisable to mix the crust into the softer centre portion with a fork.
8. Replace in oven and cook 10-15 min. longer; then repeat No. 7
9. When cooked, lift out in spoonfuls and roll in the palm of the hand.
10. Roll in powdered sugar and store in a covered tin box.

Figure 37: What was Chinese about Chinese Chews? Source: *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual.* (1931). Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. p. 94.

Chinese Chews appeared in several other cookbooks around the same time. The recipe (figure 38) in the *Purity Cook Book*, originally published in 1932, reflected the advent of commercial advertising: the foreword suggested that homemakers build their "masterpieces round Purity Flour", for they could depend on its "uniform goodness" (Chinese Chews, 1945, p. 4). Accordingly, the recipe specified Purity Flour over any other brand. The procedure was shortened to six steps and 59 words and simplified to cutting into squares before rolling into balls. No baking time was given: the mixture was supposed to remain in the oven "until baked". The absence of an evaluative clause indicates that the recipe book was directed towards cooks with a certain amount of baking experience, but not so much

experience that the cook didn't need to be reminded to use Purity Flour. Cooking was "no longer a democratic, feminine discourse" (McFeely, 2000, p. 50), but a complicated, standardized, commercialized procedure.

Chinese Chews

¾ cup sifted Purity Flour
1 teaspoon baking powder
1 cup white sugar
¼ teaspoon salt
1 cup stoned dates, chopped
1 cup walnuts, chopped
2 eggs

Sift flour with baking powder, sugar and salt. Add dates and nuts. To this mixture add the eggs, which have been beaten until light. Spread as thinly as possible in well greased shallow pan, and bake in moderate oven (350'F) for 20 minutes. When baked, cut into small squares and roll into balls. Then roll in fine granulated sugar. (p. 67)

Figure 38: Some knowledge of baking was expected on the part of the cook. *Purity Cook Book.* (1945). Toronto, Canada: Purity Flour Mills Limited.

Recipes for Chinese Chews have continued to turn up in surprising places and under curious circumstances. The recipe was included in *A Treasury of Jewish Holiday Baking* (figure 39), described as a wonderful recipe from an exceptional baker, one that tasted rich, but wasn't, tasted buttery, but was kosher, seemed fancy, but was easy to make (Kerman, 2002). The directions for the Jewish Chinese Chews were concise and direct; three main steps with clear indications of what the batter would look like when cooked enough. Sifting of dry ingredients was eliminated, as was rolling the cooked batter into balls before dipping into powdered sugar. Use of a food processor was suggested, and the final product had become convenient squares rather than tedious hand-rolled balls.

Jewish Chinese Chews

3/4 cup all-purpose flour
1 teaspoon baking powder
1/4 teaspoon salt
1 cup granulated sugar
1 cup coarsely chopped walnuts
1 cup coarsely chopped dates
2 eggs, beaten
Confectioners' sugar, for topping

Preheat the oven to 325 degrees°F. Lightly grease an 8" square pan. In a mixing bowl, stir together the flour, baking powder, and salt. Stir in the sugar, walnuts, and dates. Mix well, then add the beaten eggs to bind the mixture. Spread the batter in the pan. Bake for about 25 minutes, or until the batter is set and dry-looking. Cool very slightly, then cut into squares and dip the tops in confectioners' sugar. [Can be made entirely in food processor].

Figure 39: Chinese chews are also sold at classy bakeries in Edmonton. Source: M.S. Kerman. (2002). Retrieved June 10, 2002 from http://www.jewishfood-list.com/recipes/cookies/bars_brownies/barschinesechews1.htm

In a strange bit of self-fulfilling prophecy, Chinese Chews were included in a Chinese New Year website as an example of the sweets that Chinese parents expected their children to eat "to get their bodies prepared for the sweetness that the New Year will bring"(Allrecipes, 2002).

The ultimate alteration of Chinese Chews occurred in a newspaper advice column devoted to quick cooking tips; a mother requested a treat for her son who had a sweet tooth but only a hot plate to cook on in his university room ("No Bake Chinese Chews [Electronic version]," 2002). In this recipe (figure 40), the original ingredients of dates, walnuts, sugar, flour, baking powder and eggs, devolved to a no-bake combination of chocolate chips, butterscotch chips, salted peanuts and Chinese dry noodles. Preparation time was cut from 10 minutes of fiddling with

dough and 30 minutes of baking to one minute of popping open packages and 5 minutes in a double boiler, the results plopped onto wax paper. The only odd assumption was that a student who had only a hot plate to cook on would somehow possess a double boiler.

No Bake Chinese Chews

1 (6-oz) package semi-sweet chocolate chips * 1 (6-oz) package butterscotch chips * 1 cup salted peanuts * 1 can (3 1/2 oz) Chinese dry noodles. In top of double boiler combine chocolate and butterscotch chips. In bottom of double boiler put hot (not boiling) water (don't let it touch bottom of top part of double boiler). Heat the chips, stirring occasionally, until smooth. Stir in the peanuts and noodles. Drop by teaspoonfuls onto waxed paper and let cool until set.

Figure 40: The only Chinese part of this recipe might be the noodles. Source: No bake Chinese chews [Electronic version]. (2002, February 27). *Hamilton Spectator*.

Ingredients reflect history. Dates were a common ingredient in pioneer cooking, imported from North Africa and the Middle East. They usually came in enormous barrels to the local dry goods store and were the one fruit other than home canning available during the winter. They come in several incarnations: matrimonial cake, matrimonial squares, date filling – but only in Chinese Chews did they reach their exotic potential. How can Chinese Chews be an acceptable kosher food? How did Chinese Chews become Chinese? Is it stretching the point too far to say that the word "Chinese" made the recipe in the Red Book seem more special? Would Edward Said consider the labeling of the recipe as "Chinese" as a small example of the need of white people to have an Other from which to gain their own identity? The ingredient choice demonstrates what Narayan (1995) has called "food parochialisms" or "culinary imperialism":

> Seemingly simple acts of eating are flavoured with complicated and sometimes contradictory cultural meanings. Thinking about food can help to reveal the rich and messy textures of our attempts at self-understanding, as well as our interesting and problematic understandings of our relationship to social Others. (n.p.).

The recipes from the five manuals demonstrate changing values and beliefs in important skills. Where *Girls' Home Manual* (1913) emphasized scientific understanding of the chemical reactions in cake-making, *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* (1931) concentrated on producing a perfect product according to a specific formula, both in ingredients and techniques. Home economics education became more technical and moved further away from the customary practice as characterized by Wilson (1985). Thrift and efficiency maintained their importance. The recipes still reflected primarily British ingredients, despite some changes in immigration.

Reflections on the Manuals

One critical element in the manuals was the way in which home learning had been pushed aside by school learning, at least superficially, by home economists. The days of the Canadian pioneer, when skills gained from experience and observation were valued in the home, had been quickly dismissed in favour of sifting flour two or three times. The standardized measurements of home economics would have been unable to duplicate the attainment of my grandmother, Edith Milligan (1875-1960), a pioneer woman of Bon Accord, Alberta, who could:

> ...look at a crowd of twenty-five, and being out of bread estimate how many five-cup scoops of flour, how may heaping tablespoons of baking powder and how much drippings and milk to put in a bread pan and come up with literally hundreds of delicious baking powder biscuits. (Chubb & Milligan, 1967, p. 81)

Nor did home economics education allow room for "vibration cooking", the joyous description given to intuitive cooking by Verta Mae Smart-Grosvenor, an African-American writer from the legendary Gullahs of Sea Island, South Carolina, who proclaims:

> White folks act like they invented food and like there is some weird mystique surrounding it – something that only Julia [Child] and Jim [James Beard] can get to. There is no mystique. Food is food. Everybody eats! (1992, p. 294)

The growth of the knowledge system of home economics, in postcolonial terms, can be seen to be "embedded within and shaped by colonial discourse" (Loomba, 1998, p. 64). Home economics was a colonial discourse because it promoted white imperial practices that would improve the lives and standards of the under classes (but not too much). The perception of food as pleasure was missing from the recipes in the home economics manuals. Intuitive cooking skills and knowledge learned within one's community were displaced by standardized measurements and procedures in the home economics classroom. Knowledge about the home became hegemonic, a means of supposedly making information about the home inaccessible except through teaching about it in a formal setting. Home economics education was trapped in the double bind of wanting to be relevant but

having to appeal to a wide range of interest, fighting against the messiness and unpredictability of home influence. The home recipes could not by definition be scientific and able to be replicated. The school projects were too fussy and demanding for everyday life. The Saskatchewan manuals seemed to be related more to real life, perhaps because their users were closer to rural living, which is by definition, more real and messy; no time for detailed, tedious explanations on the farm or ranch.

All of the manuals left space for recipes to be written in. In several copies that I purchased for the course of my research, I found recipes added in, and one copy of the *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* (the *Red Book*) had almost one hundred extra randomly inserted recipes, conveniently covering up the foreword, nutrition, home management and table etiquette sections. Romines (1997) calls such endeavours "intertextuality", "telling intersections of private and public domestic culture, between the collectivity of domestic work and the specificity of particular women's work and lives" (p. 79).

A young student named Irene Brown, whose name is written in the flyleaf of my copy of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management Manual* (1931) penciled in an evaluation of every recipe she tried in home economics class; the ratings ranged from "terrible" (cream of pea soup), "poor" (junket), "fair" (blanc mange), "not so hot" (brown betty), "quite rich" (carrot pudding), "O.K." (blushing apples, cream of tomato soup, muffins, fruit rolls, two-egg cake) and "good" (Welsh rarebit). In this way, the bombastic curriculum was circumvented. The dry text of *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* was transformed into an object of meaning for the owner.

In my first job as a home economist, I was expected to have mysterious home economics knowledge about which end of a sheet was up; how to remove wax from tablecloths; how to work any number of household appliances. Barthes has deconstructed myth in a way that seems applicable to home economics:

> Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact. (Barthes, 1972, p. 143)

Statements made in home economics textbooks were portrayed as fact when in actuality they could have been myths based on hierarchies of class, race and gender that became viewed as facts. How could the success of home economics education be judged? One reference used by McLenaghen in *The Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* Manual set out criteria for this:

> [H]ome economics, which has always claimed for itself outstanding social value, has been called upon to justify its claims and examine its methods. Teachers and supervisors have been stimulated to ask to what extent the work taught in school actually functions in the child's life. Are practices which affect her health actually modified? Does she enjoy household activities that might otherwise seem dull? Is there any sign of growing good taste in her dress? Does she know the things that are of most use at home? (Brown & Haley, 1928, p. v)

The questions asked in the preceding quotation were superficially sensible. An underlying concern of education in general has long been its relative effectiveness in forming habits that result in positive change. The problem with the domestic manual style of home economics was the unreconcilable blend of moral imperative with mundane household chores. This, paired with an increasing hierarchy of access to knowledge, seemed to further promote marginalization and removal of the relevance to real life. It seemed unlikely then, and is even more unlikely now, that young women could be convinced of the pleasure in living vicariously by serving others, scrubbing, cleaning, picking up after their families? What would a home economics look like in a world unpopulated by white sauce and baking powder biscuits, where the recipe does not rule, and where one's character is not determined by one's cleaning ability or laundry skills? In the final section I review the main points that I have covered, and make suggestions for a home economics in which the mission of improving daily life seems possible.

CHAPTER FIVE

Palimpsest in Progress: Imagining the Future

> *Palimpsest n. 1. a piece of writing-material or manuscript on which the original writing has been effaced to make room for other writing.* (Allen, 1990, p. 857)

What is home economics education? It is a palimpsest. Its former self peeks through to the present, a fading image of white sleevelets on a cookery uniform, baking powder biscuits every third Tuesday in November from Castlegar to Kelowna, Penticton to Prince George. It's tied with the thread of eugenics, measured at eye level, stirred only 17 times, baked until it's done or springs back when lightly touched with the finger. Home economics education of the present tries to be all things to all people, decorating with Martha Stewart, making fleece toques for the women's shelters, doing the costumes for the school play, battling against the school vending machines, insisting that students in the cafeteria take a salad with their fries.

Home economics education is also an imbrication, an overlapping of women, education and the home. Somewhere in the gaps between these words, a home economics exists that is morally and ethically responsible, that achieves its mission of improving the daily lives of people and families without indoctrination of white cultural practices or dismissal of individuals.

A lot of good people are involved in, and care deeply about home economics. It is for them that this is a worthwhile project to do, to find a morally sound, ethically

responsible place from which to work. Home economics *is* a worthwhile subject of study.

What would a liberated home economics education curriculum look, taste and feel like? How would this relate to the liberation of curriculum in general? In this section I use six major headings to put home economics of the past into perspective with the home economics of the future.

The Educational Value of Skills

In 1901, a presentation on the educational value of sewing was made to the Ontario Agricultural and Experimental Union by Mary Urie Watson, then Principal of the Hamilton Ladies College:

> We want sewing in our public schools, not so much because it will help to make our girls more handy and practical for domestic life, and better skilled for certain trades, but because it will help us to cultivate their intellectual powers. Properly taught, it engenders a habit of observation, a knowledge of the difference between accuracy and vagueness, which wrought into the mind remain there as a life-long possession. It conveys precision, because, if you are doing a thing, you must do it definitely right or definitely wrong. It gives honesty, for when you express yourself by making things, and not by using words, it becomes impossible to dissimulate your vagueness or ignorance by ambiguity. (Watson, 1901, p. 63)

Watson's promotion of the skill of sewing illuminates the ongoing struggle in schooling between practical and academic subjects that has been highlighted in other places in this paper. Although Watson proclaimed sewing as "honest", its teaching

became technical and tedious, in the same way that food-related skills became bland and scientific. In an exploration of the traditional theory / practice hierarchy, Lisa Heldke, a philosopher turned "foodie", speculates on what might have happened if the early Greek philosophers had taken skills more seriously: "[Had] Plato considered foodmaking seriously, he simply would have inverted his philosophical system, placing those activities labeled crafts on the top, and relegating those he called arts to the basement" (Heldke, 1992a, p. 203). Heldke argued that Western thought emphasized knowing over doing, resulting in a gender, class, and race bias against physical labour. The knowing involved in making a cake, according to Heldke, is contained, not just in one's head but in one's hands, wrists, eyes and nose: "The phrase 'bodily knowledge' is not a metaphor" (p. 218).

Heldke's comments about the separation of mind and body pinpoint a basic fault that I observed in the home economics manuals:

> The 'Cartesian' cooking methods which presume a kind of separation and hierarchy between mind and body, which treat bodily service as being in the service of mental activity, and which consequently require mathematical measurements and scientific technique – are inauthentic and pretentious. (Heldke, 1992a, p. 219)

The home economics manuals increasingly standardized instructions and products. Food as culture was separated from land and geography as nature. The creation of recipes was a form of de-skilling and increased technicalization that occurred in concert with the intentions to make home economics fit into academic study. Theory and the scientific side of home economics took precedence over resourcefulness,

innovation and improvisation. A legitimate academic subject was created, but what was lost?

One part that was submerged, if not lost, was the emphasis on skills, which are important for many reasons in addition to their being educationally sound. Taira Teemu, a researcher at the University of Turku, Finland, connects identity construction, empowerment and spiritual meaning to skills in food-making. He said that commodities must be used in specific ways to mean something:

> You can consume cars, clothes and television without the requirement of any special skills. Food and especially cooking resonate with other rhythms. It requires skills....Food and cooking represent an area where identity and pleasure do not follow directly from buying and consuming. (Teemu, 1999, n.p.)

Warde notes the relationship between skills and satisfaction, an idea that is critical to home economics education:

> Cooking skills, aesthetic appreciation and sense of design, and a capacity to organize items for display, are all important in food preparation. The impression that satisfaction, not to mention self-identity, is gained directly from astute shopping is a gross oversimplification. (Warde, 1997, p. 200)

What all of this means to me is that home economics got it right – and wrong. The right part has been in the emphasis on developing and teaching hands-on practical skills. The wrong part has been on whose knowledge is considered of most worth. By concentrating on the academics of home economics, an ecological

perspective on the value of individuals who live in and of the earth community has been lost.

No More Foreign Foods: Eating Back

It may seem incongruous to critique the home economics manuals for not including any other recipe sources than traditional British ones, and then include this section on why *foreign foods* should be a forbidden term. The current trend in the home economics classrooms of British Columbia is to include a range of foods from many different nationalities and ethnic groups. I argue that the inclusion of foods based on their unfamiliarity is a shallow, token way of Othering, in the same sense that the previous exclusion of these foods was narrow and Othering. White domination is still present but invisible, in the sense of the taken-for-granted inclusion of the muffin recipe in grade eight foods classes. For many students in B.C. schools, muffins are a foreign food, one that they are unlikely to make again. How can knowledge of muffin-making contribute to good health, the ultimate goal of foods and nutrition education?

Heldke (2001) candidly admits to discomfort with the way in which she formerly approached ethnic foods, referring to it as "culture hopping in the kitchen":

> I found that the attitude with which I approached such activities bore an uncomfortable resemblance to the attitude of various nineteenth- and twentieth-century European painters, anthropologists, and explorers who set out in search of ever 'newer', ever more 'remote' cultures they could co-opt, borrow from freely and out of context, and use as the raw materials for their own efforts at creation and discovery. (p. 177)

The one solution that Heldke proposed is to learn how to participate in anticolonialist exchanges of food, perhaps by engaging in genuine collaborations. She cited the community fund-raising cookbook, as one in which multiple copies of a recipe are often found, each credited to a different cook: "Such repetition may seem ridiculous to someone who wants to know how to make a dish, but when it is considered as a record of how a community cooks, it becomes a valuable source of information" (p. 192). (One has only to search the new community of cooks found on Internet sites such as Allrecipes.com to see how Heldke's idea played out in tens of varieties of any given recipe).

Narayan (1995) urges white Westerners to learn more about the cultural and historical contexts of their foods, but to be wary of adding another element of food colonialism in which "eating ethnic foods further contribute[s] to Westerners' prestige and sophistication" (n.p.). One can research the origins of sugar, coffee, bananas, and other foods that are no longer ethnically marked, but knowledge alone is not sufficient. Narayan suggests that eaters reflect on the race and class structures of the workers who prepare and serve the food. Relationships between minority groups are just as important as the one between Westerners and the monolithic Other. "In short", Narayan writes, "attention to and reflectiveness about the material and political realities of food production and consumption would help counter the passive and unthinking of 'ethnic foods' that partially constitutes 'food colonialism'" (1995, n.p.).

Proponents of global home economics education, starting in British Columbia with Gale Smith (1990), have moved practitioners towards a better understanding of

the ethical commitment inherent in home economics to build a world moral community. Many educators still interpret the relationship in a tourist manner, including or appropriating certain cultures and not others. Smart-Grosvenor (1992) comments on the absence of Black cooking in ethnic food culture:

> In reading lots and lots of cookbooks written by white folks it occurred to me that people very casually say Spanish rice, French fries, Italian spaghetti, Chinese cabbage, Mexican beans, Swedish meatballs, Danish pastry, English muffins and Swiss cheese. And with the exception of black bottom pie and niggertoes, there is no reference to black people's contribution to the culinary arts. (p. 294)

The same query could be made about the absence of First Nations contributions to culinary arts in Canada. A study of foods indigenous to Canada would not only honour indigenous peoples, but also reconnect land to human beings. The role of indigenous foods in health and medicine is a multifaceted area that leads us to deep links between food consumption and agricultural practices. When I consider the criticisms that have been directed against Malawi, for example, for encouraging its people to grow corn instead of indigenous crops, and the resulting nutritional problems, I cannot help but think of North America and the current *crop* of supersized obesity problems that food chains serve up. A relationship exists, and it needs to be explored.

Duruz (2001) notes how quickly white people assume others' ethnic dishes as their own, and used the phrase "eating back" to suggest playfulness with the hybridization of ethnic food cultures. The following is Duruz' example of eating

back, or how to work within ethnicity without being stuffy or patronizing, taken from a history of 180 years of Chinese cooking in Australia (Shun Wah & Aitkin, 1999). The example describes how Annette Shun Wah's mother was given sackfuls of potatoes and turned them into chips that were partly cooked, frozen and then formed part of the family's menus for the next few months. The most popular recipe was "Mum's Red Bean Pork with Bitter Melon... and Chips":

> Naam Yeu Jue Yuk....toong Chips!.... For traditional Chinese home-style food, just pour into a dish and serve. However for that unique 'Shun Wah' touch, fry up some fresh chips, spread out on a plate, and pour the pork and bitter melon mixture, along with the delicious gravy, over the top! (p. 41)

How bold to incorporate English-style chips with bitter melon sauce; how impudent to admit that it tasted delicious. How many other examples of eating back can be found? Perhaps vegetarian eating is an example, not to mention veganism or similar efforts to control one's food environment in a positive manner.

My own example of eating back comes from four months that a young woman from Indonesia spent with me as a Canada World Youth participant. One evening we had take-out fried chicken for supper; the next morning she ate one of the leftover pieces for breakfast. This was not unusual, except she cut the chicken into pieces and ate it in the same bowl as her corn flakes. This culinary combination was surprising to me. From the distance of time, I see that I experienced food fusion long before I ever thought about it. Narayan (1995) describes this as "eating more than we understand". The goal is, of course, to try to understand what we eat. One thing that can be said in defense of the early home economics manuals is that they

did not appropriate culture. Which is worse in the long run, being ignored or being absorbed or being invisible? Is appropriation of white food customs by non-white groups different or equitable, or an advancement? Perhaps the critical awareness of possibilities is the most worthwhile knowledge to have.

White Supremacy / White Privilege

The topic of home economics as a racialized subject has been difficult to discuss with people who have wanted to know what I was writing about. White people and non-white people alike are uneasy about a discussion of racism, and I have begun to use the term "racialism" to explain what I am doing. Part of the problem is that the term "white supremacy" has been assigned to the neo-Nazi hate crime movement without thought of its being relevant to other whites. White supremacy could also be called white privilege, at the risk of softening the effects of the words too much. Russo (1991) argues that it is more helpful to acknowledge white supremacy instead of singling out racism:

> White supremacy correctly places the responsibility on white women and men, rather than focusing on people of color simply as victims of an amorphous racism....White supremacy as a concept forces us to look power directly in the face, and when we do that, there is less room for denial, guilt, and paternalism in trying to change it, since it shifts the focus from people of color to white people. (p. 299)

Stanley, describing white supremacy in B.C. before 1923, comments that previous studies in racism for the most part focused on white people, but his focus was the groups that were targets of racism, in particular Asians in B.C.:

> While it is true that most immigrants entering as cheap labour encountered some hostility from those already established in Canada, the treatment Asians experienced was different in quality and ferocity. Italians were not barred from citizenship or naturalization. Norwegians were not forced into segregated schools within the public school system....As far as British Columbia's dominant society was concerned, the Chinese were permanent outsiders. (Stanley, 1991, p. 161)

Steyn (1999) speaks from her early experiences as a white South African in the United States, and how white Americans, generally speaking, were oblivious to their own racialization, whereas in South Africa, "one lived close to one's imperialism" (p. 266). She asks that whites become conscious of the narratives that inform white identities, and thus "empower ourselves not to continue acting them out" (p. 266). Shome (1999) argues that whiteness is not just about bodies and skin colours, but rather about the way that colonialism and neocolonialism "privilege and sustain the global dominance of white imperial subjects and Eurocentric worldviews" (p. 109).

The obverse of racism is white cultural practices: discrimination against Asians is white privilege, and for many white people, it seemed, (and seems) self-evident and natural to essentialize members of visible minorities. Sleeter (1993) studied white teachers over a two year period and contends that " a predominantly white teaching force in a racist and multicultural society is not good for anyone, if we wish to have schools reverse rather than reproduce racism" (p. 157). She

observed the mechanisms by which white people denied racism, whether it was through "colour-blindness" or denial.

McIntyre notes that feminist theorizing of the past has left out what it means to be white. White teachers should problematize race in such a way "that it breaks open the dialogue about white privilege, white advantage, and the white ways of thinking and knowing that dominate education in the United States" (McIntyre, 1997, p. 15).

So far, the references I have used have been white women and white men, thus participating myself in the invisibility of white dominance. At the same time, inclusion of non-white perspectives risks being viewed as tokenism or paternalism. Audre Lorde spoke as a black, as a feminist and as a lesbian in her complaint that women were first called upon to educate men about women's existence and needs, and then, that women of colour were given the task to educate white women "as to our existence, our differences, our relative roles in our joint survival. This is a diversion of energies and a tragic repetition of racist patriarchal thought" (1984, p. 113). Midgley (1995) also refers to the problem of giving (white) women voice and thereby silencing non-white women.

What is to be done? Merely quoting Lorde makes me wonder if I might be appropriating her voice. At the same time, a point must be made about the necessity for white people to discuss whiteness. Flagg (1997) labels reluctance to do so the "transparency phenomenon": whites who do not think they believe in white superiority still may be participating in its maintenance by not acknowledging

whiteness. She recommends that so-called race neutrality be replaced by a skeptical stance:

> Any serious effort to dismantle white supremacy must include measures to dilute the effect of whites' dominant status, which carries with it the power to define as well as to decide. Because the skeptical stance prevents the unthinking imposition of white norms, it encourages....adopting nonwhite ways of doing business, so that the formerly unquestioned white-specific criterion of decision becomes just one option among many. (Flagg, 1997, p. 222)

Frankenberg (1993), in a canonical work about white women and race, proclaims first of all the need to name whiteness: "To speak of whiteness...is to assign *everyone* [italics in original] a place in the relations of racism....White people, as much as people of colour, are racialized" (p. 12). She describes three distinct modes of thinking about race; essentialist racism, power evasiveness (also called colour blindness) and race cognizance. Of these three types, essentialist racism is the most blatant, emphasizing race differences in intelligence, work habits, or any attribute that totalizes the Other.

Power evasiveness is the most insidious type, taking the perspective that "we're all the same under the skin" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 14). Just as gender-blindness ostensibly treats males and females the same, colour-blindness does not concede differences or different treatments. Viewing everyone the same denies what Sleeter has called "the significance of visible, physiological marks of ancestry and of

the history of colonization and harsh subjugation that Europeans and Euroamericans extended over other people" (1993, p. 161).

The third way of thinking, race cognizance, considers that difference among people "signals autonomy of culture, values, [and] aesthetic standards" (p. 15). Like gender awareness, race cognizance is accepting of equitable, not necessarily equal, treatment of people. Frankenberg stresses that "Whiteness and Westernness have not, for the most part, been conceived as 'the problem' in the eyes of White / Western people, whether in research or elsewhere" (p. 18).

Racialism is applicable to home economics in any instance where decisions are made based on race. This could be as simple as choosing British-style flour mixtures, or as complicated as a former colleague who refuses to attend any First Nations awareness seminars or events held at her school. When asked why, she refers to the internment of her Japanese-Canadian grandparents during the Second World War. She sees the First Nations seminars, while benignly intended, as racialist, and racialism led to her grandparents' internment. One way to further explain racialism is to compare it to racism, which is considered an individual action, located in "biased individual actions which in turn are assumed to stem from ideas and assumptions in people's heads" (Sleeter, 1993, p. 157). Racialism is embedded in society, not necessarily discriminatory in the way of unequal treatment, but deeply ingrained in the educational system.

Myth Making and Subversion

Barthes (1972) writes that "Myth organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes a blissful clarity; things appear to mean something by themselves" (p. 143) . In home economics, standard measures are a myth; the most careful demonstration to a grade eight foods class will still produce ten to twelve variations in product. Yet the idea of standards seems to mean something to home economics teachers, who want them maintained. Shapiro (1986) is an unrepentant critic of home economics, but she may not have been completely wrong when she points out the inconsistencies of an invention from the American Maize Products test kitchen. The trained laboratory technicians had the task of creating a new pudding, yellow in colour but with no named flavour. The product was to be high quality with uniform results and foolproof methods of preparation at home: "The Amaizo team had no particular vision of nutritional or moral splendor to guide them. A yellow pudding was its own reward" (p. 221).

In home economics, order and cleanliness seem to be their own reward too. In an article entitled "Housework is obsolescent", the social critic, Barbara Ehrenreich, analyzes housework and blames its invention on:

> ...the domestic science experts, a group of ladies who, if ever there is a feminist hell, will be tortured eternally with feather dusters. These were women who made careers out of telling other women that they couldn't have careers because housework was a big enough job in itself. (p. 92)

Ehrenreich, while likely wrong about feminist hell, is accurate in her observation that housekeeping became problematized through home economics. Health and sanitation were critical problems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but contaminated water, not dust in the curves of furniture, was the most likely source of infant deaths or cholera epidemics. I think of the carved wooden plaque on the wall of my sister's kitchen: "My house is clean enough to be healthy and dirty enough to be happy". Did the scientific housekeeping aspect of home economics squeeze out happiness at the expense of cleanliness – make food numb and bloodless, make it trivial and over decorated, make it into a form of status rather than enjoyment? Standardizing food products paved the way for the food industries to replicate recipes and transnationalize food, but did it improve nutrition or food enjoyment fork-by-fork?

One way to understand home economics is to examine its subversives. Pendergast (2001), claiming that the monolithic approach of home economics education of "seeking legitimation within grand narratives" has been stifling, reconfigures home economics in postmodern terms. Pendergast outlines a typical view of a home economics teacher that is congruent with some of my experiences: the school caterer and costume maker, the sewing and cooking teacher who is almost but not quite academic. She describes standard home economics teachers as too compliant, and labeled them "skilled" and "suffering". Casting about for alternate visions, Pendergast presents case studies of four atypical home economics teachers who are skilled and not suffering, and who represent extreme images of home economics: "fat", "sexy", "male" and "touchy":

> The atypical bodies do not conform to the expectations that home economics teachers must *suffer* [italics in original] and must be *moderate* {italics in original], defying prescriptions of normality. These bodies show that home economics pedagogy has its own space for carnival, for fun, parody and perversion, and above all, pleasure - but those who claim both pleasure and professional status know the boundaries of ethical pedagogy-as- performance. (2001, p. 12)

In an article with McWilliam, Pendergast promotes the idea of having fun in the classroom, "releasing students from the mundane predictability of the recipes, formula and patterns of 'proper' home economics classrooms" (1999, p. 11). It is an appealing thought, offering what Pendergast and McWilliam call "the potential for subversion through irony and parody"(p. 10). While I prefer to explore home economics of the past as a colonial subject, rather than from a postmodern perspective, I agree with Pendergast that home economists have failed to understand the dangers of working from within the system.

Peterat (1999), in a case study of clothing and textiles programs across Western Canada, does not have to go to the carnivalesque extremes reported by Pendergast, in order to find successful, innovative home economics programs and teachers. Peterat studied one fashion and design teacher during high school orientation week; the teacher "bubbled with life" (p. 124) as she promoted her home economics program to fifty different groups of grade nine students:

> Each day JoAnna is costumed in a different unforgettable outfit. One day she wears a western costume of long white gloves with red tassels, a red cowboy

> hat with red ribbon around the brim, a white dress with long overskirt slashed to reveal white undershorts, high (above the knee) red suede boots, red and pink painted fingernails and long rhinestone earrings with gold and rhinestone necklaces. On another day she wears full Elizabethan dress, on another a military costume, and so on. The message [to the students] begins...."Wild One" plays loudly from a boom box and accompanies slides which flash across the screen at the front of the room, offering glimpses of various activities in the fashion studies program. (Peterat, 1999, pp. 113-114)

Both Peterat and Pendergast found teachers supported by their students who engaged in being "different", succeeded, and in consequence, confounded the monolithic approach to home economics education that has been a standard in curriculum writing.

The views of teachers new to the profession provide insight into a re-imagined home economics. One young home economics teacher relates how she began to question her ideas and beliefs about education and teaching after five years of teaching, through interactions with her students, colleagues and the general public. An important moment occurred when she studied the history of home economics and encountered the viewpoint that home economics courses were originally intended to raise the Imperial race:

> I was stunned. I had always believed that the role of home economics was to help families to become stronger and to improve their lives. I believed that

> students, for a variety of reasons, did not know about proper nutrition, food preparation, clothing care, and sexuality. It was my role as the home economics teacher to impart this information to students so that they would then bring [it] home to their family. When students would offer alternate methods that their families used to create a product, I would offer a polite, cursory reply. That method may work in their family, but it was not as good as mine. After all, I was the expert, I had gone to university to learn this information....I realized that I still followed the tenet of the early home economics classes: I was the expert and the students (and their families) needed to learn from me. (Nembhard, 2002)

After this awakening, the teacher started to ask herself whether she did enough to honour and include the backgrounds of her students, even though she did not think she was trying to assimilate them to Canadian culture. Such self-questioning helped her to change her ways of assessment and continues to guide her struggles and progress as a reflective teacher.

A young hockey-playing home economics teacher questioned whether or not students would take her seriously if she followed her instincts to share personal details and stories. She worried that she might be too friendly or too approachable. She relates how having a conversation with students about early morning hockey practice enabled her to make learning more authentic:

> Days or even weeks later I [could] bring back this conversation. While preparing chili, for example, I could mention what a great meal it is to make ahead of time and reheat later. I would suggest that when students get up

> early in the morning for hockey practice, they can easily take some chili with them to heat up at lunch time. I have come to realize that there are a couple of important reasons to come back to previous conversations. The first being that it helps make the lesson and the learning real for students. They can more easily connect it to their past experiences and they are a lot more likely to pay attention to my demonstration if I have their interest. And secondly, students appreciate that a teacher remembers, or even cares to remember, a conversation they had about something important to the student. (Leikermoser, 2002)

The interesting, and critical point drawn from these two teachers, is that they reflect what teachers have known for a long time, that the relationship counts equally with the curriculum. Over sixty years ago, Jessie McLenaghen wrote that "the teacher, not the programme, is the cornerstone of the education arch" (1941, p. 750). The problem, of course was, that McLenaghen did not really believe it, or was not willing to give up curricular control. The relationship between home economics teachers and students has sustained the subject area, not the curriculum. Imagine if theory (curriculum) and practice (teacher-student) were aligned?

Ethical Initiatives

Class and gender are two factors that marginalize home economics: practical or hands-on is of less value than academic or theoretical; female or domestic is of less consequence than male or public. The one hierarchy that could be said to elevate home economics is race, or specifically white cultural practices. If you erase white, what is home economics left with? My response is to re-imagine the entire

field, beginning with a discussion of ethical initiatives. In a conversation with Enrique Dussel, the originator of liberation philosophy, Karl-Otto Apel provides direction for an ethical future: "At the most minimum, the equal co-existence of different cultures, whose particularities have to be preserved, requires a universalist macro-ethics of humanity" (Dussel, 1996, p. 185). In other words, individual actions must be accounted for; my use of global resources has to be seen as diminishing others' access to resources. In *The Underside of Morality* (1996) Dussel explains further his perspective that human persons and the Earth have been exploited and destroyed by capitalism and productivist Stalinism (as opposed to Communism). Dussel calls for ecological responsibility to future generations, an area to which home economics can make unique contributions. Peterat (2001) envisions a new home economics in which:

> Philosophies of everyday life and theories of family and community economics would ground our unique professional perspectives. Understanding everyday life, its significance and sacredness for individuals, families, and communities would be a central concern. Practices would focus on community building, mediation, and negotiating skills....Our practices of human services, research, and leadership would be rich in multi-disciplinary perspectives attuned to self-understanding and social and cultural critique". (pp. 32-33)

The European-American Collaborative Challenging Whiteness, originating out of the California Institute of Integral Studies, declares cooperative learning as the

one way in which white cultural dominance could be challenged (2002). The group describes an empirical study in which whites used cooperative inquiry to change their consciousness and behaviour. Mezirow (1991) and Sleeter (1993) both agree with cooperative inquiry but place it in a much more active context, through transformative learning, in a triggering event or a major disorienting dilemma. Sleeter suggests structured immersion experiences in which a white person spends at least a month in a minority community; this combined with instruction about racism and the history and culture of the group would result in emotional bonding and "force white people to examine white privilege" (p. 161). The following story shows that the suggestion is easier to make than to implement:

> On my second Project Overseas to Malawi, we had a person on the team who was consistently described as having her heart in the right place, but the rest of her body mostly in the wrong place. "Emily" created great scenes by her actions. One day we went to the lake and she commissioned twenty wooden key chains (apparently for her entire extended family) from a beach vendor. The names had to be hand carved on the key tags in a time period of two hours, and arrived with a few spelling mistakes. "Well", Emily said, "How am I going to give Sheila her key chain when it's spelled wrong and Susan's is spelled right?" She refused to pay the vendor and came close to starting a riot – our minivan surrounded by shouting (black) vendors until the driver (also black) got out and paid off the vendor himself. Emily was not the least bit contrite, but she spent the next few days in bed away from the program. (de Zwart, 2001)

This event was traumatic for all concerned, and a triggering event for some. How could it have been better resolved? Mezirow might suggest a cooperative inquiry group that would foster trust, vulnerability and a sense of community, obviously before the group ventured out shopping. The example is relevant to home economics because it is concerned with the maintenance of standards and the knowledge of when to concede or question one's values.

Home economics education is at a fork in the road; do we maintain the status quo or move to social action? My study covered the early years in British Columbia during which the policies and practices of home economics were instilled and embedded in the community discourse about the subject. While not denying that a few specific individuals have worked very hard to create an ethically responsible subject, the fundamental basis of home economics as a white cultural subject has not changed since the publication of *Girls' Home Manual.* The question is how to participate in a new home economics that does not promote white cultural practices, in which the goal is not to improve the lives of others / Others while failing to admit our own fallibility.

Manji (1997) discusses ways to assert individuality while building community in a discussion of the utopia of complexity:

> Rather than pursue perfection or imagine the fantastic, this Utopia [of complexity] makes the best of what we already have – flux, mystery and diversity. To squeeze the most from these attributes of pluralism, the Utopia of Complexity pushes democracy to be one giant bazaar where we may all bargain for belonging. Here, citizens shed the protective armor of prejudice

> and brace for the unanticipated lessons of engaging each other as compatriots and thus as civil equals. (Manji, 1997, p. 5)

Manji's words are reminiscent of Nembhard (2002) and Leikermoser (2002) who, as new professionals, strive to find a place in which they can be authentic and provide instruction for their students. In the metaphor of the bazaar versus the grocery store, Manji compares the concept of set prices and chain store practices to a unregulated place "where people are expected – as citizens, not as consumers or producers – to hang around and haggle for a fairer deal on what it takes to belong" (1997, p. 146).

Reading Manji clarifies for me the difference between moral and ethical behaviour, a distinction that I have wrestled with for a number of years. Moral home economics is absolute, and resounds with telling other people what to do; ethical home economics responds to changing situations and involves people in the decision-making. Manji describes a video on "The Street Youth's Guide to Fun and Safe Drug Use" where users were advised to: never use the same needle twice; build trust with a single needle supplier; switch from heroin to methadone; be polite to police if you want them to leave you alone; and go to a shelter when you overdose. Her comment about the suggestions: "Morally bankrupt? Perhaps. But ethically stocked to the hilt"(Manji, 1997, p. 171).

I began with the metaphor of white sauce to describe home economics: bland, textureless and capable of concealing many assumptions about women, men, families and daily life. Chop suey, a recipe that did not appear in any of the five manuals I examined, is the metaphor with which I conclude my study. It is

analogous to Manji's bazaar as white sauce is analogous to the grocery store, messy, unregulated, and diverse.

A cursory Internet search about "chop suey" reveals representations as a movie, a cake recipe, a restaurant, a night club and the source of the much maligned song "I enjoy being a girl". Explanations about its origin abound, with the most probable that it originated with Chinese laborers working on the U.S. transcontinental railroad, or Chinese immigrants in San Francisco in the late 1800s. The name is based on a Chinese (Cantonese) term for "odds and ends" or "miscellany"(Ehler, 2003). The most usual ingredients are small pieces of meat, chicken or shrimp stir-fried with celery, onions, bean sprouts, water chestnuts, mushrooms and/or other vegetables, and served over rice, usually with soy sauce. In Australia, "chop suey cuisine" refers to early Chinese restaurants where "less than authentic concoctions [are]...served up to diners who really didn't know any better" (Shun Wah & Aitkin, 1999, p. 14). The earliest Canadian version of chop suey that I located was entitled "The Celebrated Chinese Chop Suey" (figure 41) in the Victoria Gas Company's *Modern Household Cookery Book* (1910).

The Celebrated Chinese Chop Suey

Ingredients: 2 chicken livers, 2 chicken gizzards, 1 lb. Young clean pork, 1 teaspoonful Worcestershire sauce, ½ teaspoon salt, black and red pepper to tasate, small can mushrooms, see ye sauce, ½ ounce green root ginger, 2 stalks celery, 4 tablespoonfuls olive oil, 1 tablespoonful vinegar, ½ cupful boiling water, dash of cloves and cinnamon, bean sprouts, French green peas or stringed beans chopped fine or asparagus tips. For four persons, take two chicken livers, two chicken gizzards, one pound of young clean pork cut into small pieces, half an ounce of green root ginger and two stalks of celery sauté; put these in a frying pan over a hot gas, adding olive oil, vinegar, boiling water, Worcestershire sauce, salt, black and red pepper to taste, and a dash of cloves and cinnamon. When nearly done, add a small can of mushrooms, half a cupful of either bean sprouts, French green peas or string beans chopped fine, or asparagus tips. The "see yu" sauce, which is eaten with this delectable dish, can be procured at any Chinese grocery.

Figure 41: Chop suey as a mythical, but mythically authentic dish. Source: *Modern Household Cookery Book.* (1910). Victoria, B.C.: Victoria Gas Company. p. 127.

An unlikely site for a chop suey recipe was the Presto Cooker Recipe Book (1945) with three versions, American Chop Suey, Fancy Chop Suey, and Plain Chop Suey (figure 42). The American version used round steak, Spanish onion, green onions, green beans, celery, molasses and soy sauce, pressure-cooked for 1 to 2 minutes after the meat had browned. The difference between fancy and plain chop suey was in the use of convenience foods; the fancy used round steak, lean pork, veal, onions, celery and canned Chinese bean sprouts and Chinese vegetables. Plain belied its name with bacon, green peppers, onions, round steak, shredded cabbage, molasses, tomatoes and rice, all pressure-cooked together for a frighteningly long eight minutes. Economics, not authenticity, dictated the ingredients.

Chop Suey, Fancy

1 tbsp. fat
1 lb. rnd. steak, diced
½ lb. lean pork, diced
½ lb. lean veal
Salt and pepper
2 large onions, diced
2 tbsp. chop suey sauce
1 bunch celery, diced
Butter
1 can Chinese veg.
1 can bean sprouts

METHOD: Heat Cooker; add fat and brown meat. Season with salt, pepper, onions, and chop suey sauce. Place vent on Cooker. Allow steam to flow from vent pipe to release all air from Cooker. Place indicator weight on vent pipe and cook 10 minutes with stem at COOK position. Let stem return to DOWN position. Simer celery in butter. Drain liquid from canned vegetables. Add celery and vegetables to meat. Heat in open Cooker. Serve with steamed rice.

Chop Suey, Plain

2 strips bacon, diced
4 green peppers, diced
2 large onions, diced
Salt and pepper
1 lb. rnd. steak, cubed
1 small shredded cabbage
1 bunch celery, diced
2 tbsp. soy sauce
2 tbsp. molasses
4 cups tomatoes
½ cup rice, washed

METHOD: Heat Cooker; add bacon and sear. Lightly brown peppers and onions; then add meat and brown lightly. Season with salt ad pepper. Add cabbage, celery, soy sauce, molasses, tomatoes, and rice. Place cover on Cooker. Allow steam to flow from vent pipe to release all air from Cooker. Place indicator weight on vent pipe and cook 8 minutes with stem at COOK position. Let stem return to DOWN position.

Presto cooker recipe book. (1945). Wallaceburg, ON: National Pressure Cooker Co. (Canada). (p. 80)

Figure 42: Pressure cookers seemed to defeat the quick-cooking qualities of chop suey. Source: *Presto cooker recipe book.* (1945). Wallaceburg, ON: National Pressure Cooker Co. (Canada). (p. 80)

A website entitled "What you need to know about Chinese food" included variations of chop suey such as Woolworth's Lunch Counter chop suey, crock pot chop suey, and chop suey made from tuna and bean sprouts (Parkinson, 2003). The most gourmet-like recipe for chop suey included snow peas, bok choy, pork tenderloin, mung beans, water chestnuts and bamboo shoots, with 1 ¼ hours allotted

to cut the ingredients into exact sizes and shapes (*Gourmet chop suey*, 2002). In circular fashion, the potentially most authentic chop suey recipe came from a Chinese cookbook, and included ingredients such as shredded chicken, Chinese rice wine, cornflour, and monosodium glutamate [M.S.G.] (figure 43).

Shredded Chicken with Vegetables (American Chicken Chop Suey)

Serves 4

Ingredients
4 - 6 ounces (115 - 175 grams) chicken meat, thinly shredded
1 teaspoon salt
1/ 4 egg white
1 tablespoon thick cornflour/ cornstarch paste - (1 part cornflour with 1.2 parts cold water)
about 1/ 2 pint (300 ml) seasoned oil (see below)
1/ 2 teaspoon finely chopped garlic (optional)
1 tablespoon thinly shredded fresh ginger root
3 - 4 spring onions, thinly shredded
4 - 6 ounces (115 - 175 grams) bean sprouts
1 small green pepper, cored and seeded, thinly shredded
1/ 2 teaspoon caster (superfine) sugar
1 tablespoon light soy sauce
1/ 2 tablespoon Chinese rice wine
2 tablespoons stock
pinch of MSG (optional)
a few drops sesame oil

Directions:
Mix the chicken shreds with a pinch of the salt, the egg white and about 1 teaspoon cornflour/ cornstarch paste. Blanch them in warm oil, stir to separate, then remove and drain them.
Pour off the excess oil, leaving about 2 tablespoons in the wok, stir-fry all the vegetables for about 1 minute, add the remaining salt and sugar, blend well, then add the chicken with the soy sauce and wine, stir-fry for another minute, and add the stock and MSG, if using; finally thicken the gravy with the remaining cornflour paste, garnish with the sesame oil and serve hot.

Figure 43: This recipe has the most authentic ingredients, or would have, if chop suey were an authentic Chinese dish. Source: Hsiung, D.-T. (1997). *Chinese cookery secrets: How to cook Chinese restaurant food at home.* U.K.: Elliott Right Way Books. (n.p.)

What is the nature of the connection between inauthentic Chinese Chews, made by white Westerners, and inauthentic chop suey, made by Chinese cooks in an attempt to appeal to white European tastes? Chop suey both is, and is not authentic.

It is more fun and playful than Chinese Chews because everyone "knows" it is not Chinese. Chop suey is curiously appropriate to a discussion of colonialism, both as a way of "eating back" or "refusing essentialist identity attributions" (Duruz, 2001, p. 12), and of colonial mimicry (Bhabha, 1994), almost but not quite...authentic. We can understand chop suey as a recipe, and as a metaphor for re-imagined home economics. Given that all metaphors eventually break down, home economics can bring home issues into focus much like all chop suey recipes use similar ingredients; but to prescribe one recipe for all individuals will not take individual circumstances into account. To consider white Euro-centric practices as the standard for home economics would be like having one recipe for chop suey. It won't take into account the items or resources you already have on hand. It will be unrealistic and inauthentic, imposing inappropriate standards and expectations.

Mission Possible

Peterat (2001) examines the root word of home economics, *oikonomia,* from which developed two concepts pertaining to home economics, economics and ecology. She proposes that "the space for a renewed home economics may be between these two concepts – a space of considerable tension and vitality" (p. 30). She presents five discourses to inform home economics in this period of renewal: community or grassroots economics, feminist economics, eco-feminism, everyday life, and health and well-being. Each discourse deserves further discussion in the re-envisioning of home economics. Frequent consideration has been given to the relationships between domestic and public space, most frequently in feminist

economics. The fundamental basis for home economics rests on this relationship: Thompson (1999) argues that "an effective public sphere is impossible without the functioning of the collectivity of private spheres"(p. 41).

Vincenti (1997), in a critique of home economics practices, admits that the field had not been as inclusive as desired. She comments on a specific success story in home economics that related to race, the Black Home Extension Service in South Carolina:

> These women have found ways to fulfill their goals, not by playing the game according to the rules of those in power, but by finding alternative means of achieving success. A clear positive vision for the future, based on critical self-reflection, sound reason, ethical principles, commitment and the ability of the [home economics] profession to implement its vision is extremely powerful in changing reality. (Vincenti, 1997, p. 318)

Vincenti claims that most of the problems in home economics stem from the "marginalization of women, their ideas and values" (p. 319). While not discrediting this opinion, I argue that an additional and equally important issue in home economics education is the extent to which white cultural practices have determined the course of the curriculum.

A link needs to be made between examination of practices and transformative learning, outlined by Mezirow (1991) as "a process of making visible perspectives that have been invisible, engaging people in a process whereby they come to recognize the distortions and limitations in their current meaning perspectives and are thus able to create and integrate more appropriate ones"(p. 155). Making white

cultural practices visible in home economics education is one way of achieving a change in the profession that will enable it to reach its full potential. The underlying assumption of home economics education is that behaviour change is possible and desirable, and occurs through knowledge. The proper home economics teacher: skilled, sober, bobbin-counter. What is the alternative?

The field has been moribund for too long; we need to create more triggering events to open postcolonial eyes. No earth-shattering conclusions: no radical reformation. Home economics is a palimpsest; the past remains part of the present. Home economics is a gendered subject; but it does not have to be a racialized one. Further areas of study that would be productive to the understanding of home economics education and to the imagining of its future include examination of the ecological aspects of home economics. How can home economics contribute to global issues in a more meaningful way? All home economics educators can become aware of white cultural practices that have been embedded in home economics, but are not necessarily integral to it.

No grand narrative or single recipe exists for home economics or my intention to re-imagine home economics in a more ethical way. The white cultural practices of home economics cannot be erased, but do not have to dominate. They can provide direction but not answers; examples but not pedantry; guidelines but not prescriptions for reasoned decisions about the issues that confront human beings every day. Home economics educators who want to teach in a non-racialized manner will find small ways, not large ones, to confront the white taken-for-granted practices in the classroom. Perhaps muffins will not be the traditional food product

made in Life Skills 8; perhaps teachers will teach from their authentic selves in their aim to prepare youth for healthy, ecologically sound futures. Perhaps more time will be spent on understanding food systems than on consumption; more time on reusing and recycling than on setting in sleeves.

One part of re-imagining home economics is through curriculum revision, and when I began this study, I had in mind ending up with potential guidelines for such revision. Home economics specialists in general have neglected to consult all stakeholder groups in curriculum revision; the starting point that I suggest is to communicate with students, families and the general public. What kind of education about daily life would enable them to make better use of their available resources and live more fulfilling lives, assuming that is an option? How can curriculum based on resource management and understanding of global systems speak to the average person? The discourse of home economics frequently refers to the survival of the profession; for example two professional organizations of home economists, the Canadian Home Economics Association and the British Columbia Home Economics Association, are now struggling to retain members and viability. Survival on the old terms may not be possible. We must invent new terms, and one of these is to become more ethical and less moral. A moral home economics implies one white western solution; an ethical home economics implies making the best use of the resources available, without character judgment.

The words of two writers from outside the sphere of home economics speak to my concerns. Audre Lorde managed to combine ecology, women, and in my perspective, home economics, in her admonition for change:

> The future of our earth may depend upon the ability of all women to identify and develop new definitions of power and new patterns of relating across differences. The old definitions have not served us, or the earth that supports us. (Lorde, 1984, p. 123)

Irshad Manji wrote that the fate of the marginalized is "welded to that of the mainstream, making mainstream solidarity with the marginalized a matter of pragmatism, not finite altruism" (1997, p. 143). In home economics terms, this means replacing the idea of "us" helping "them" with a cooperative inquiry into the many best ways of living our lives. Manji suggests that democratizing the culture of an institution requires us to "embrace the values of empathy, agency and accountability" (p. 157). These words apply equally well to curriculum democratization. All teachers, not just home economics teachers need to consider how much time they devote to controlling students and curriculum and consider replacing that control with teaching students about empathy, agency and accountability. The teaching must also include the modeling of these values by teachers.

Summary of Findings

The title of this dissertation, *Through Postcolonial Eyes* is significant to my conclusion. I began my study by reviewing curriculum history in British Columbia, noting that new work is lightly represented. The work of home economists over the past twenty-five to thirty years was reviewed, with the conclusion that home economics has warring factors within it – is it a science or is it a philosophy? The basic pedagogical challenge of home economics – that it is marginal, not central –

was related to the identity struggles of this field of study. The distrust of feminism about home economics was explored, as were the mutable categories of race and class and their relationship to home economics.

I located home economics within postcolonial constructs, but I did not adopt wholesale a postcolonial perspective. By definition, there is no grand narrative in home economics. I referred to my experiences in B.C. classrooms and also as a volunteer teacher in Africa to provide examples of how home economics has colonial aspects to it. I argued that home economics education started out as a colonizing strategy, intended to impart the values and beliefs of the dominant white society. It was inherently gendered, by virtue of the domestic sphere firmly attached to women's role; it was intended to raise the standards of the lower classes to make them almost but not quite middle class, in the same sense that Bhabha (1994) used the term *almost but not quite*. The perfect muffin or lumpless white sauce was unattainable; the housekeeping standards an unlikely means to avoid the drudgery of housework. Home economics is premised on mimicry. As Bhabha (1994) has pointed out, the distance is not far between mimicry and mockery, and some detractors have moved over to mockery of home economics. Feminists, for example have a long history of distrusting home economics, although the two groups are far more similar than different.

Home economics education has been a partial example of hegemonic control, with the general public in a state of believing that it was appropriate for some women to instruct other women in household matters. I use the word *partial* because the

situation is complicated by women's general lack of power in society, and the silencing of non-white women by whatever power white women could obtain.

I reviewed the establishment of home economics as a school subject in British Columbia schools largely through the efforts of women's groups. I examined uniquely British Columbian domestic manuals used as textbooks for their promotion of imperialism through race and class suppositions. The familiar analytical trio of race, class, and gender is problematic in home economics. The direction of home economics education between 1913 and 1937 was assumed to be females. Males were occasionally in positions of power in which they controlled the outcome of home economics initiatives, but with less than one hundred boys in a total home economics enrolment of 11,000, male classroom participation was practically invisible. Not so with race and class; an argument could be made that home economics education has been entirely class-based, and that race is one expression of class. Two domestic manuals were used from Saskatchewan because they provided counterpoints to information in the B.C. manuals. In most cases the Saskatchewan manuals verified the gradual solidification and reification of home economics education in British Columbia. They also offered a glimpse of slightly different rural interests that showed the extent to which home economics education in British Columbia is urban-based.

Through postcolonial eyes, I examined how power of knowledge was used to shape the desired imperial outcomes in items as ordinary as baking powder biscuits and tables set for service without a maid. I sited schooling as a colonizing strategy, and reading against the normative understanding of recipes, examined how foods and

recipes were colonially based; chosen based on their resemblance to British fare, not indigenous North American foods. Recipes were quantified and written as scientific formulae, assisting with distinguishing class, economic status and ability; intuitive knowledge was discounted. Power accrued to the teacher as the creative aspects of cookery were taken away. The special uniform and special types of equipment required for scientific housekeeping provided exterior evidence of the white Eurocentric dominance of home economics.

What does the future hold for home economics? The predominately white teaching force has to come to terms with its white values, and begin to question taken-for-granted practices. *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* continued to influence home economics in British Columbia until 1975, and can be held responsible for many current attitudes to home economics. The very presence of the manual cemented beliefs and stereotypes about the subject area that are very difficult to counteract. During my research, I could guarantee a strong reaction at the least mention of the Red Book and high school home economics in British Columbia. What would home economics have looked like if it had not had a manual? Would its customary practice be so deeply ingrained? Once recipes and practices are reified, can they ever be retracted? We may speak of a new Home Economics, but we can erase the past only with great difficulty. At the same time, we must change home economics if we wish to continue as a unique, responsive subject area. Power in marginal communities such as home economics is hard won and hard lost. An ecological view of home economics means moving beyond the old views of

standardization and order that have trapped home economics in a stereotyped vision of cooking and sewing with little redeeming value.

The implications for pedagogical change are numerous. Any curriculum that seeks to change must deal with its past either expeditiously or cautiously. In a discussion of new ways to ask questions in home economics pedagogy, Rosemary Jones (1992) aimed her discussion squarely at the white, middle-class home economics teacher. After studying Marjorie Brown's writings, she commented:

> [Brown's book] put into language many of my own concerns about the triviality of much of what is being taught under the rubric of home economics, when the problems families face have less to do with the ways a pie-crust can be decorated, than with coping with the traumas of living in a rapidly changing society. It makes so much sense to move beyond traditional / convention / technical ways of going about teaching home economics. (p. 127)

Jones called for curriculum that was less restrictive, more responsive, and more what she terms "transposive" (p. 137), meaning that the teacher is not the guide on the side but an engaged participant. Jones' work gives hope that curriculum change could actually occur in home economics education. Its relevance to a postcolonial analysis of home economics education is in its willingness to reframe a traditional subject.

Eyes Wide Open

My research has been conducted through postcolonial eyes: now, with those eyes wide open, I propose areas of further study and continuing perplexity. In

positioning my self in the broad field of curriculum inquiry, I observed that other British Columbia researchers have examined textbooks as a point of entry to schooling of the past. Textbooks do not give us more than a glimpse of the past, but they are better than the unreflective state in which home economics education sometimes finds itself. Many of the points I have made in my inquiry have been previously made by others, and I did not understand their meaning until I commenced my own study. As an example, I cite the work of Eleanore Vaines (1980, 1981, 1984). Her previous work remained a mysterious collection of diagrams and thought until I had done enough self-study to understand what she meant by an ecological framework that is needed in home economics. Until I had enough of my own experiences in three systems of action I was unable to understand the limitations of the arguments of Marjorie Brown (1993). Like many home economics practitioners I have dismissed the transformative in favour of the practical and reasoned. The transformative is life-changing and it is frightening. To understand how home economics, a field that I have worked in for many years, is based on the reproduction of white middle-class values, shakes my resolve. On the other hand, this is only right for me to find out. What is the point of studying, inquiring, contrasting, comparing, if change is not the desired end? Curriculum inquiry that aims at reaffirming the known is of dubious value. My inquiries into home economics education can be applied to other areas of education too. Art history takes on an entirely different persona when it is viewed as visual culture, and when the first undergraduate course does not consist of a series of slides of the Old Masters. Technology education in the high schools is an example; while some

curriculum analysis has been undertaken, for the most part it, too is constrained by product orientation and the failure of educators in general to recognize the importance of learning skills. What other past and current practices need to be critically examined in order to improve present and future education?

The first task is to seek partnerships with other subject areas, and a suitable starting place is with home economics' first home, science (figure 44).

CHEMISTRY ROOM.

Figure 44: The early chemistry and home economics classrooms were very similar. Each concentrated on individual achievement. Source: *Seventh annual report.* (1909). Vancouver Board of School Trustees. Vancouver, B.C.: Clark and Stuart. p. 41.

The 1909 British Columbia chemistry classroom bears a close resemblance to the hollow square arrangements of home economics that prevailed when Annie Juniper wrote *Girls' Home Manual* in 1913. Each student has his or her own workstation, and group cooperation is not possible, nor perhaps desirable. Facilities

for teaching chemistry have not changed at all in almost one hundred years. The layout of home economics classrooms changed from the individual setup of the hollow square to unit kitchens when junior high schools were introduced to British Columbia in 1926, as part of the reforms of the Putman Weir *Survey of the School System* (Dickinson, 1983). Home economics adopted the ideology of the nuclear family through the unit kitchens, changing from the hollow square, where each student had her own workspace, to units of four that simulated a family unit. The unit kitchen (figure 45), dating from 1949 is identical to any one of hundreds in current use in the province of British Columbia. Home economics facilities have not fundamentally changed since 1926, despite monumental changes in society.

Figure 45: The students may be wearing saddle shoes that date from fifty years ago, but otherwise they are leaning over the unit kitchen counters just like students in 2003. Source: New Westminster Secondary School. (1949). Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Call number: I-00342.

Home economics unit kitchens are models of cooperation, but the subject area continues to be marginalized. When home economics education changed its façade in 1926, did this also signify an ideological change to further promote white middle-class practices? Are home economics teachers today still promoting white cultural values in the name of a misunderstood philosophical belief about standards and propriety that are antiquarian in nature?

An area for further research is to study how available facilities have influenced curriculum. Does room set up have the same effects as textbooks such as *Foods, Nutrition and Home Management* which retained its influence far beyond its usefulness? One of the few references in my research to make active suggestions about ending white dominance was the European -American Collaborative Challenging Whiteness (2002), which promoted cooperative learning. The layout of chemistry classrooms encourages individuality and competition; it makes group work and team building difficult to achieve. Can a facility be constructed that emphasizes the working together of students? How do we move beyond the classroom to occupy the space between families and schools? What are the political implications of home economics as a means of promoting certain ideologies (i.e. the ideal of the nuclear family)?

A second potential area of investigation is to fill in the missing years of home economics education in British Columbia between 1937 and the present. How has home economics been conceptualized in these years? What is its potential? What will it take for home economics to join the twenty-first century? Some of my words are old saws; they have been said before (sometimes to me) and had little effect. I

think however of change as occurring one person at a time; one insight at a time that filters down to a classroom where learning transforms individuals. We carry the past with us, but it is a palimpsest, not a prescription. Throughout my inquiry, I intended to use a critical theory perspective to examine how home economics education at its most basic level, the domestic manual, constructed middle-class white values as the social standard. The next step is up to individual to experience their own twinges of recognition, as I have. Some hope is offered through teachers who are aware of the multiple pressures on home economics, and who do not want to settle for the Cartesian split of theory and practice. Having begun with a story from a student teacher, I wish to end with a story from a teacher who attended a panel where she heard the essence of this paper on a Sunday morning, and sent me the following message on the Monday:

> Thanks a lot for your presentation. Thanks to you, the same student presentation that I thought was hilarious and a great idea on Friday, I now can't watch. Basically, the students have to create cultures for a Tourism class (as an introduction to SuperHost Across Cultures). They need to create a language, explain the significance of the cultural items that they have been given, and explain the customs of their "tribe" (including a dance). The class is presenting right now, and I can't watch-it makes me uncomfortable. To me, the students seem to be focusing on aspects of primitive "tribes" (e.g. referring to one object as their "god", talking about being primitives, and focusing on the more stereotypical aspects of other cultures). Thanks so much (not) for opening my eyes this weekend. Most importantly, I know what I

> would do differently if I were to teach this assignment to the class (the least of which is not referring to the cultures as "tribes!") (D. Nembhard, personal communication, March 31, 2003).

Once our eyes are opened, they cannot be shut again. When the white is erased from home economics, a subject area remains that has potential for transformative action in the schools.

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