

Mixed Messages:
*Making and Shaping Culinary
Culture in Canada*

Exhibition and Catalogue by Nathalie Cooke,
Irina D. Mihalache and Elizabeth Ridolfo

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Chatelaine:

Contents page March 1928.

"Chinese Dishes for Canadian Tables" by Elizabeth W. Smith, November 1929.

"Fish as our New Canadians cook it" by Helen G. Campbell, January 1940.

"50 Favourite Family", January 1953.

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Recipe for Curried Chutney Potato Salad, October 1958.

"\$1000 Family Favourites Winners" by Elaine Collett, March 1964.

"Food Indians Gave the World" by Elaine Collett, November 1968.

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Introduction:

Unmixing Messages: an Exhibition about Culinary Culture in Canada

This exhibition, which highlights the numerous women (and some men) who made and shaped culinary culture in Canada is the product of a rich collaboration between library professionals, academics, and students. In the making for more than two years, it relied on a team model, which created numerous moments of self-reflection on the part of its curators, cautioning us about our own biases. We aimed to avoid an authoritative curatorial tone by favouring the many voices that reside in culinary artefacts. The varied perspectives and expertise of the team members produced what we hope is an interactive, engaging, and critical take on the diverse factors that combine to make up what is one of the most popular topics of conversation in Canada: its culinary culture.

The Mixed Messages: Topics, Themes, and Threads

Rather than asking ‘what is Canadian culinary culture’, we approached this topic from a different perspective, with a focus on the makers and users of culinary knowledge – housewives, home cooks, cookbook authors, home economists, nutritionists, food writers, radio hosts, brand endorsers (fictional and real), and readers of women’s magazines. Their voices and actions speak loudly through the culinary objects in the exhibition – objects ranging from early 1800s culinary manuscripts to 1960s issues of *Chatelaine*. As women negotiated a role in the Canadian public space, they impacted taste and nutrition at local, regional and national levels, exercising varying degrees of power. While we make some broader arguments about Canadian culinary culture, the primary focus of the exhibition is on Toronto and surrounding areas, supported by key examples drawn from other parts of Canada, such as Montreal, Winnipeg or

Vancouver. Curatorial decisions for object selections were informed by the collection of culinary materials at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto. This growing collection is rich in Canadian materials, many of which were produced and consumed by women, including manuscripts, community cookbooks, commercial cookbooklets, women’s magazines, and household science manuals.

One of our main goals in this exhibition is to show the complex and complicated network of professional and informal exchanges that shaped Canadian culinary culture before the 1970s. Women from many parts of Canada found avenues for public participation by writing cookbooks, developing cooking demonstrations, running home economics departments, endorsing food products, and reading magazines. All these participatory initiatives produced forms of knowledge – how to write recipes, how to cook, how to manage a home, how to ration food, how to work with new ingredients and kitchen gadgets, how to entertain, and how to economize – which were constantly negotiated through the social, political, and cultural perspectives of their times. Communities of women emerged from the production of culinary texts, advocating for specific agendas, often informed by local, regional, or national interests.

What we emphasize by bringing together such diverse objects is their real significance to the everyday lives of women, which included acts of negotiation and resistance. For example, housewives did not follow cookbooks’ instructions precisely, but rather they ‘spoke back’ to these texts by making adaptations and annotations. Consumers did not blindly accept new products, such as gelatine and baking powder, despite promotional messaging; and women’s magazine readers did not shy away from sending critical letters to food editors. From a curatorial perspective, such instances of resistance meant that we had to embrace the ‘messiness’ of our objects and their stories and make that ‘messiness’ part of the exhibition.

Of particular importance to the interpretation of this exhibition were the multiple moments of exclusion, marginalization, and appropriation that marked the shaping of culinary culture as Canada was becoming a diverse and multicultural nation. From the first sites of contact in the 1550s, migrants from France and, later, Great Britain depended on Indigenous knowledge for survival. Relations between settlers and Indigenous communities deteriorated as Canada became a 'new' nation in 1867 and proceeded to engage in oppressive politics against Indigenous nations. As a result, many Indigenous foodways were lost and crops such as corn, squash, and beans entered recipes as 'Canadian' ingredients. Several objects in the exhibition, such as the *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation* cookbook (1916) and a 1967 article from *Chatelaine* about 'Indian' foods, problematize the hierarchies of power that made Indigenous culinary knowledge invisible.

Other forms of marginalization, vis-à-vis migrant communities, are evident in many of the selected objects. The presence of 'foreign' ingredients and dishes in cookbooks and other publications is common as early as the 1850s. For example, a popular dish that could be found in many community cookbooks from the turn of last century is curry, the presence of which can be explained through the contacts made possible by the British colonial empire. Many British settlers would have been familiar with the curry spices and the dish before migrating to Canada. Dishes labeled as Chinese – chop suey, chow mein, or the mysterious Chinese chews – were frequent, especially in women's magazines – as early as the 1900s. Encounters with Chinese communities would have happened during the time of Western Imperialism, but also through waves of labour migration to Canada in the 1870s. In the early 1900s, migrants from Poland, Germany, Iceland, and Denmark settled in the Western Canada. Prior to this, Italian, Irish, and Portuguese immigrants had already

arrived, bringing with them their foods and foodways.

Just as the first white explorers observed Indigenous foodways with mixed feelings (Champlain, for example, observed the tendency to eat food unsalted,¹ and others that food was only gently warmed), so too as new migrant groups met more established Canadians in the nineteenth century, various modes of discrimination marked these culinary encounters. Despite such moments, the encounters between different cultural groups in Canada through food have been generally very productive, showing the adaptability of Canadian culinary practices and traditions, as well as the power and agency of new migrant communities.

The exhibition connects seemingly disparate histories: British women who settled in rural Canada; home economists who advocated for efficient household management strategies; community cookbook contributors who influenced local cuisines; readers of women's magazines who submitted recipes for culinary competitions; and members of new migrant communities who struggled to use food as a vehicle for inserting themselves into the fabric of the larger community. While the nature and location of the collection means that we included many local stories about the University of Toronto or the Canadian National Exhibition, which will resonate with Torontonians, these stories also speak to those who hail from other areas in Canada.

Organizing *Mixed Messages*: Exhibition Layout

The exhibition is located on two floors of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. The gallery in the main exhibition area contains eight display cases, which set up the context and main themes of the exhibition. Each display case is organized around one category of culinary material culture, and the exhibition follows a thematic rather than chronological pathways, namely: 1) Manuscript Recipe Books; 2) Milestone and Beloved Cook-

books; 3) Community Cookbooks; 4) Corporate Cookbooks and the Spokespersonality Phenomenon; 5) Domestic Science; 6) Canadian Women's Magazines; 7) Cooking Schools of the Stage, Radio, and Television; and 8) Recipes in Competition. Chapters in this catalogue further contextualize each of these groupings of objects, reflecting on the themes tackled in the exhibition.

The Maclean Hunter Gallery on the lower level houses the other component of the exhibition, which was developed by Curatorial Assistants Cassandra Curtis and Sadie MacDonald (Master of Museum Studies Candidates at the Faculty of Information) as part of their final year exhibition project. The content in this gallery builds on the themes of the exhibition outlined in the upstairs gallery and provides numerous examples of how culinary knowledge was practically applied in women's everyday lives. This gallery includes artifacts from the Fisher culinary collections and from the collection of Mary Williamson, and features printed materials, cooking gadgets, including a rotary hand mixer and Gem Chopper, a collection of 'culinary essences' and a c.1901 curry bottle.

Planning for *Mixed Messages*: A Glance behind the Scenes

Exhibitions are, borrowing Henrietta Lidchi's² phrase, 'discrete events' that 'articulate objects, texts, visual representations, reconstructions and sounds to create an intricate and bounded representational system.' By constructing representations of specific cultures, practices and histories, exhibitions direct visitors towards certain preferred readings, or interpretations. Lidchi calls this process of selection 'repressive.' As curators, we had to make many decisions as we were developing *Mixed Messages*. Selecting the objects was probably the most difficult task, as we wanted to feature more objects than the space would allow. Narrowing down our arguments and themes was equally challenging, because there were so

many stories we wanted to tell. Inevitably, we had to be 'discriminate' and leave objects and stories out, but our aim in doing so was to include as many voices and perspectives as possible in a small space. As such, *Mixed Messages* is only one way for us to look at, and to listen to stories of, Canada's culinary history. Giving voice to those who spoke for the formation of a culinary culture in Canada and making space to hear from some of those previously left without a voice was our collective and conscious choice.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks are due to many colleagues and supporters who worked alongside us to make this exhibition and accompanying programming possible.

We wish to thank Mary F. Williamson for donating her wonderful collection of cookbooks and culinary ephemera, and for her support. Mary has written an introduction to *The Practice of Cookery* by little-known early Canadian cookbook author Catherine Dalgairns, which appears at the end of this catalogue.

We are grateful to: our colleagues at the Fisher Library and the University of Toronto Archives for their support, as well as to the staff of McGill's Rare Books and Special Collections and McGill Liaison Librarian Lonnie Weatherby; Julian Armstrong, Margaret Casson, and Margaret Dean for graciously sharing their material and their personal experiences with us; all of the wonderful people who reached out to donate material when they heard about this project; the staff and culinary historians at the Fort York National Historic Site for their programming support; the Jackman Humanities Institute's Scholars-in-Residence program and the Faculty of Information, both at the University of Toronto, for funding used to hire research assistants; and graduate students at the Faculty of Information for contributing "Object Stories" for the digital displays in the main exhibition area.

We are most grateful to research assistants and interns who helped with research, planning, programming, and selection: the 'fantastic five' Jordan Huffman, Jessica Hutchinson, Sheila Mulrooney, Bennett Steinburg, and Ethelle White, some of whom continued as research assistants; Emily Williams; interns Samuel Kantor and Margarita Vachenkova. Nicole Gauvreau's assistance during the writing of catalogue copy was invaluable.

We would especially like to highlight the tireless and impeccable work of our Research Assistant Samantha Eadie and the two Curatorial Assistants Cassandra Curtis and Sadie MacDonald.

Case 1 : Manuscript Recipe Books – Elizabeth Ridolfo

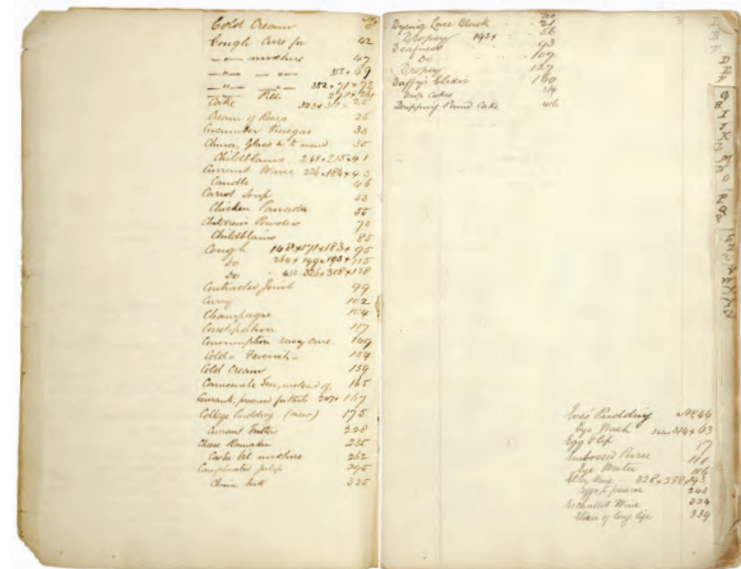
Manuscript or handwritten recipe books were prized possessions, carefully prepared before marriage, inherited from a beloved relative or brought by women with their other valuables to a new country during immigration. Although manuscript recipe books are not autobiographies, their authors reveal stories of individuals and groups in the process of recording their food tastes and the details of their daily labours.³

Descended from medieval books of secrets and influenced by the reading and writing practices of the Renaissance,⁴ these collections were usually the result of a collaboration between many members of a family or community, sometimes over multiple generations. The texts vary wildly, from neatly written and indexed collections of recipes and advice to bursting scrapbooks of clippings, letters, diaries, and family histories. Manuscript cookbooks can seem charming and accessible when compared to printed cookbooks, but they were still exclusive documents whose production and circulation was reserved for those who could read and write, and who had the leisure time necessary to compile and consult these texts. Like printed cookbooks, manuscripts contain markers of class, suggest standards and values, and describe networks of relationships that can be decoded by the reader. Unlike many printed cookbooks, they are dynamic texts, added to, amended, and recopied according to individual or collective preferences, situations, and personal experiences. They may contain original recipes so local in character that they may not have appeared in printed sources, or so popular that their development and influence can be charted by analyzing their movement back and forth between manuscript and print sources. Recipes with influences from other cultures, imported or expensive ingredients, and even units of measurement can be clues to trends, family status, and patterns of migration.

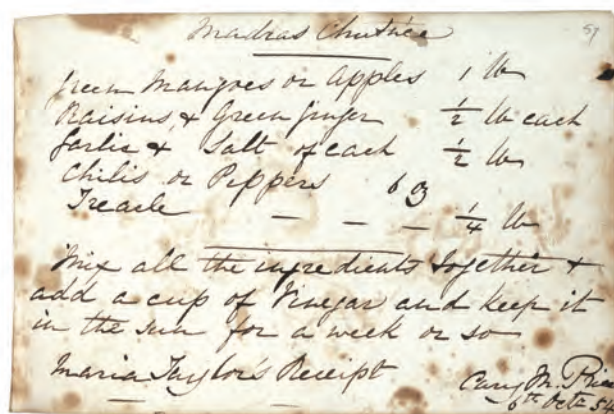
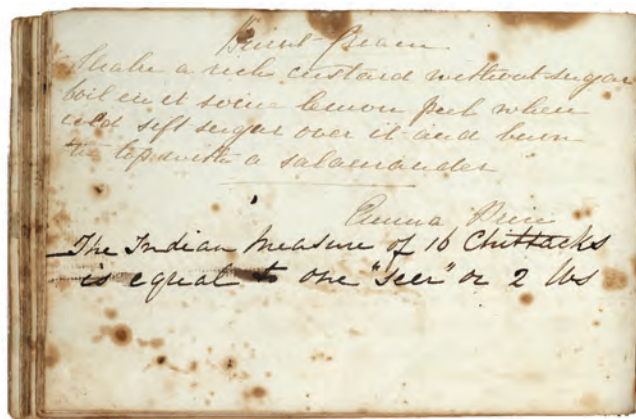
Victorian Kitchen, Household and Medical recipes. [London, 18—].

As paper was sometimes in short supply, the books used by women for their recipes were often second hand, beginning their lives as ledgers, arithmetic books, or in the case of this manuscript, as an account book. The original handwritten title of ‘Bridewell & Bethlem cash account (1791)’ has been struck out, and a second inscription reads ‘Catalogue of books sent to the treasurer’s new house in Bridewell Hospital – 1800.’ The inside title ‘Copies of old family receipts, 17—’ as well as the neat numbering of the 436 recipes and the homemade alphabetical thumb-index indicate that this is an accretive manuscript – it would have been carefully copied from an older volume, with new recipes added at the end by the copier.

Some hands in manuscripts can be difficult to decipher, and in several places the copyist of this volume has made the best possible guess at what the word is, and has left a question mark nearby. Although the recipes are

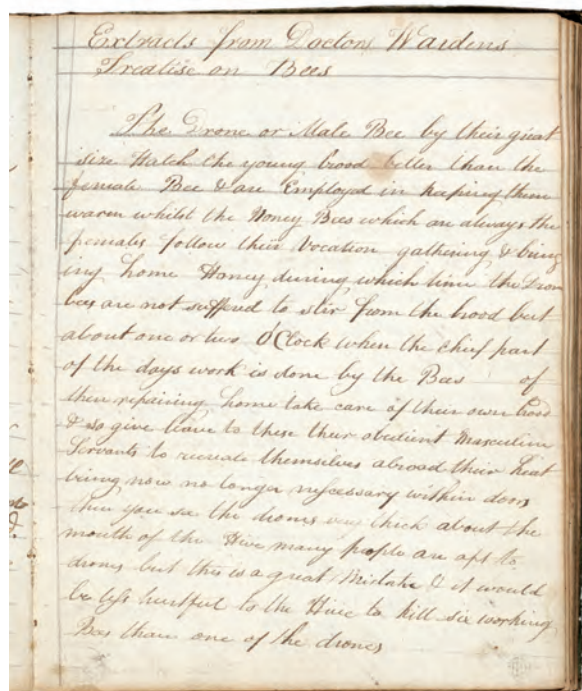


neatly numbered and well indexed, they are not in any clear order, and medical recipes and household recipes are interspersed, which is not unusual. This might reflect the author's collecting practice or be a holdover from the tradition in earlier manuscripts of medical, household, and culinary recipes mixed together, reflecting a belief in the Galenic theory that health depended on a balance of the humours that could be achieved by regulating the diet.⁵



Maria Ann Banner Price (-1883). Culinary Recipe Book. [Montreal, 183-?].

The volume belonging to Mrs. Price of Beaver Hall Hill bears the arms of Montreal stamped on its binding and has had a number of pages excised, both of which tell us that this volume might have had another use before becoming a recipe book. Maria Ann Jones married John Banner Price, Assistant Commissary General, in Montreal in 1834. As with many manuscript recipe books, there are blank pages in the middle and the book was inverted and restarted from the other side in a new hand, possibly the hand of the person who owned this book before or after Maria. Recipes appear in at least four different hands in no particular order, and are also pasted in from newspapers and letters. Manuscript cookbooks often served as a way to demonstrate a woman's status and the prominence of her social connections.⁶ Mrs. Price's circle could be partially reconstructed as she has named contributors, sometimes including location and date, for most of the recipes. Although the gift of a recipe indicates a relationship, there is often little to show what the nature of that relationship was.⁷ The frequency with which certain names appear in the text, and personal touches such as the recipe sent to Mrs. Price 'with Sarah Thomas' love', might help determine what these relationships were. Family connections in India are hinted at in several of the recipes contributed by family members, which would have been an indication that parts of this family had lived or worked in British Colonial India. Facing an 1854 recipe for Madras Chutney by Cary M. Price is a note on measurement that states 'The Indian measure of 16 chittacks is equal to one seer or 2 pounds.' Mr. Price's work took him to Mauritius and the Caribbean, and he eventually died of yellow fever on the way from St. Kitts to Barbados in 1849. The recipes in the book continue after this date, and closer reading might reveal if his travels had any influence on the family recipe book.



Mary Shackleton Leadbeater (1758-1826). Manuscript recipe book. [Ireland? 1781].

Mary Leadbeater was a Quaker author of English descent who lived in Ballitore, County Kildare, Ireland. Unlike many contributors to manuscript recipe books whose personal details are scant or unknown, Mary was a diarist from an early age and left an extensive record of her life in manuscript and print. Some of her most popular writings described Irish life and customs, but she also wrote poetry which was shared by private subscription. A preferred method of 'publishing' recipe collections was to circulate a manuscript to a select group of readers in a similar manner⁸, although it would be difficult to prove that any of the manuscript cook-

books in the collection were ever circulated. *The Annals of Ballitore*, based on her diaries, recorded details from the life of the residents of Ballitore from 1766-1823, and contains references to many of the people and families whose names appear as contributors in her beautifully written recipe book. Paired with the diaries and written works, her manuscript recipe book provides a rich look into the life of a community.

In the *Annals*, she describes her experiments with keeping bees⁹, and the manuscript includes copied extracts from 'Doctor Warden's treatise on bees', which give the reader the opportunity to study both where she got her advice and how much success she may have had with it. Her manuscript includes many potato recipes, which likely came in handy when she found herself feeding her husband's workers from their stores of potatoes during a famine in 1800.¹⁰

Culinary and medicinal domestic recipe book. [Circa 1826-1889].

Up to at least the early 1900s, most manuscript recipe books contained some medical receipts¹¹ and household recipes, showing the diversity of types of knowledge expected of the lady of the house. Depending on their circumstances and location, women often did not have access to whatever medical knowledge was available at the time¹² but were expected to be able to take care of many of the health and household needs of their families. Recipes for dyes, inks and homemade cleaning products, sewing patterns, instructions on the care of plants, livestock, and pets are often found in these texts.

This manuscript is full of interactions, corrections, and notes such as 'too much spice', 'not approved', 'approved by all', and even a warning that a receipt was 'not fit for use on account of the arsenic.' The author cites *Warne's Model Cookery* and *The Englishwoman's Cookery Book* by Isabella Beeton and these references allow the reader to begin to under-

stand how the author acquired her culinary knowledge and also to look for evidence of the back and forth exchange of recipes that shows the fluid dynamic between manuscript and print¹³. Included are some German-, West Indian-, and French-influenced recipes like West Indian Pudding and Peas a L'Italienne, along with a great number of medical receipts. Among the medical receipts, one finds a cure for cancer and gout, cholera and paralytic stroke, as well as recipes for 'coffee for indigestion' and 'mutton custard to stop violent sickness.'

A note in manuscript calling this a 'Galley's Book' in addition to several recipes for dressing sails suggest that it might have spent some time being used on a ship. A series of lists at the end indicate that it was eventually used in a manor house. Listed are different types of candles needed for rooms in the home and the Servant's Hall, traditional foods for Christmas, Whitsunday, and Ash Wednesday, and special instructions for Valentine's day, that 'children belonging to Morton & Ringland that come up before or by 8 o'clock to receive each a ha'penny; none to be given for those at home.' Another indication that this book was used in a gentry home are the lists of items borrowed from the laundry, when and by whom they were borrowed, and lists including quantities of items given out for Christmas and New Year's.

Mary Elizabeth Lucy Ronalds Harris (1845-1901). Cookery and medical receipt book. [London, Ontario, 18—?].

Many of the women who wrote these manuscript recipe books also kept diaries. Lucy Ronalds Harris, pictured above with her daughter Amelia, kept a diary for twenty-seven years, which was edited by her descendants and published along with the diaries of four other members of the Harris family as *The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views of the 19th Century*. These diaries as well as family archival documents held at the University of



Western Ontario enhance the reading of Lucy's cookbook. Born in Chatham, Canada West in 1845, Lucy Ronalds married Lawyer George Becher Harris in 1867. Together, they settled in London, Ontario. The autograph of Lucy's great-uncle John Ronalds (1792-1850) on the paste-down might indicate that this book was reused or inherited from other members of the Ronalds family, since John passed away when Lucy was only five.

Besides describing making jelly and Charlotte for a men's whist party¹⁴, Lucy rarely mentions in her journals what she was cooking, but she describes several times her trouble retaining household staff, a common problem in Canada during this time. She hired and lost four cooks

between 1873 and 1876 even though the salary she offered rose by three dollars during this time. She complains that one cook ‘is not willing and is so slow’¹⁵ and tells of another threatening to quit within months of arriving if Lucy did not agree to hire a washerwoman¹⁶.

The medical receipts in this manuscript are mostly grouped together at the beginning, with kitchen recipes starting after a note that says ‘cookery’ above page seven. After reading in her diaries stories of protecting her children from the sometimes-deadly outbreaks of scarlet fever and typhoid in children in the neighbourhood,¹⁷ and learning that one of her four children, Charlotte, was an epileptic, one can imagine how important some of these medical receipts might have been to her. She includes a recipe for a mixture of anvil dust, turmeric, saffron, nutmeg, and treacle to be taken before breakfast, and a receipt ‘to preserve vessels during the night in the chamber of the sick from emitting any disagreeable smell’ from ‘foetid effluvia’ which could provide insight into home-based medical practices and beliefs at the time.¹⁸ The family home where Lucy would have prepared these receipts later in her life was donated by the family to the city of London in 1960. In 1961, Eldon House opened as a museum.¹⁹

Amy Boulton (1870-1934). Recipe books. [Toronto? 1889-1900].

Amy Madeline Boulton lived at 15 Grange Road in Toronto. Born in 1870, Amy was the granddaughter of D’Arcy Boulton Jr., the eldest son of Attorney General D’Arcy Boulton. In 1808, her grandfather bought thirteen acres of land in the Town of York, and ten years later he designed and built a residence on the property and called it The Grange. The first home of the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario), The Grange still stands on the property and formerly operated as a historic house.

Amy started the first of her two volumes of recipes around 1889. When viewed together, the two volumes along with the loose material inside

show the evolution of her personal collection. One of the loose recipes is written on pages pulled from the *Boston Cook Book*, giving us an indication of one of the texts to which she had access. Many of the loose recipes are in a different hand, possibly her mother’s, and it appears that she copied many of these in her first book, written in a juvenile hand in a hardcover children’s exercise book. The bulk of the recipes in the first book are attributed to her mother, and many of the recipes in the second volume are identical, with Amy appearing to have simply recopied the recipes from the deteriorating book into the newer in a neater hand. The second volume with a later date also contains recipes in other hands, showing a widening of her social group and a broadening of her interests as she matured.

Elizabeth Berwick (1795-1878?). Domestic Recipes. [Leeds, 1823-1850?].

Although it is possible that manuscripts present more evidence of what people actually cooked than printed cookbooks, there is still no guarantee that the recipes written, pasted, and laid in these volumes were family favourites, or that they were ever used at all. It is possible that they were suggestions from friends, accepted as gifts, or novel recipes found in printed sources, never tried, or tested at home. Elizabeth Berwick’s manuscript gives the reader a clearer indication than any of the others of what was on the table for each course for several meals. There is no indication whether she planned these meals herself, simply served them, or perhaps recorded the meals she was served as a guest in someone else’s home. Her drawings of table settings sometimes include guests’ names and dates, and these details provide additional information about seasonal eating habits, which foods would be served in what order with which accompaniments, and how they would be laid out. While this is evidence

of the eating habits of a comfortable household, and these menus could have been only for special occasions, they provide clear evidence of how Elizabeth Berwick or her friends arranged their table.

The Home Cook Book, compiled by the Ladies of Toronto, and Chief Cities and Towns in Canada. Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1877.

Women's collecting and creative habits, as recorded in their personal or family recipe books, or preserved through their interactions with recipes in published cookery manuals, ultimately had an impact on the content and format of printed cookbooks. From the late 1800s, printed cookbooks were published with extra blank pages at the end or between sections to encourage interaction with the text and to accommodate the existing

practice of personalizing their books by the inclusion of additional material.²⁰

This copy of *The Home Cook Book*, one of the most popular early Canadian cookbooks as evidenced by its multiple editions, is swollen to almost twice its size by the number of manuscript recipes, advertisements, notes, and receipts between its pages. Material is laid, pasted and even pinned in with straight pins, and it has exploded completely free of its binding. This kind of collecting behaviour is still popular today in different communities, with social bookmarking and digital pinboards allowing people to form relationships around sharing their favourite recipes with a new, wider audience. It would be very difficult to consult this item as a cookbook now, but it was obviously a household favourite, and could be a very rich source of information about the life and habits of its owners.



Case 2: Milestone and Beloved Cookbooks – Nathalie Cooke

Certain cookbooks have withstood the test of time to become treasured as much for the reliable information and recipes they offered to cooks of their day as for the practical tips about cooking and homemaking they offer today's cooks. For many of us in the twenty-first century who read cookbooks but don't always cook from them, historical cookbooks offer windows into a distant time, through which readers can discover historical foods and preparation techniques. Looking back through historical cookbooks is fascinating because within their pages we can recognize moments of pivotal change as well as a desire for the continuity of certain food traditions, moments when the possibility of new foodways are welcomed as well as others when they seem to be ignored or even rejected.

There are other specific traits that turn a good cookbook into a treasured classic. In her influential article, Susan Leonardi points out that '[a] recipe needs a recommendation, a context, a point, a reason-to-be.'²¹ For Leonardi, recipes evoke a persona for the recipe giver, ideally one with whom readers can 'identify and trust.' They offer the promise that recipes can successfully be used for food preparation or as she puts it, 'the possibility of literalization outside the text.' And they typically engage their readers by addressing them in the second person, or as 'you', in other words.²² For example, Anne Mendelson makes a compelling argument that *The Joy of Cooking* quickly stood out from the larger crop of cookbooks when it was first published in 1931²³ essentially because it checked all of Leonardi's boxes.²⁴ Not only did its recipes come with delicious recommendations or envoys, but also emerging between the lines was a lively narrative about the mother and daughter team behind the collection.²⁵

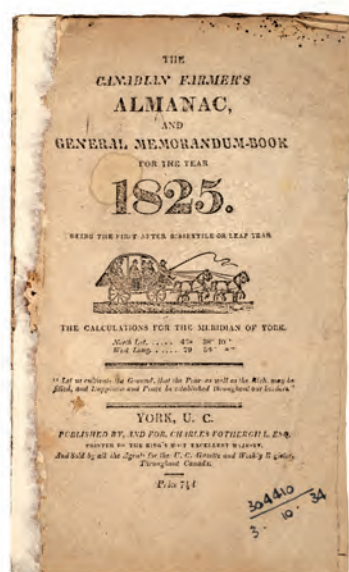
Both Leonardi and Mendelson refer to American cookbooks con-

taining recipes written in a modern format – that is, with a clear list of ingredients, specified and accurate measurements along with cooking temperature and times, and detailed preparation instruction. This format so familiar to twenty-first century cooks was largely introduced only in the late nineteenth century by Fannie Farmer (1857-1915), who taught at the Boston Cooking School and published her well-known cookbook, *The Boston Cooking-School Cookbook*, in 1896.²⁶

The Canadian Farmer's Almanac, and General Memorandum Book.
York, U.C.: C. Fothergill, Printer to the King, 1825.

Prior to Fannie Farmer's introduction of accurate measurements to recipes in the 1890s, and prior even to the publication of cookbooks in Canada, recipes were made available through a few pages included in almanacs and newspapers. An almanac was generally understood to be

not only a calendar and list of astronomical phenomena, but also a source for other useful or entertaining information.²⁷ Hence almanacs then as now include such contents as dates for 'Moveable Feasts', such as Lent and Easter, as well as 'Solar and Lunar Eclipses.' Almanacs also contained contributions that would be of varied and general interest to readers and enable them to strike up lively conversation. This particular almanac has short essays towards the middle, on 'English Intrepidity,' 'A Crystal Summer House' belonging to the King of Siam, and such broad topics as 'The Way to be Happy', and 'On Conversation.' 'Useful Receipts' are given on four pages, beginning only on page 29. In the following pages, readers first learn a 'Method of Tempering Edge Tools When of Too Brittle a Quality' and a way 'To Make Soap.' Instructions for curing hams or beef, for making and preserving yeast, or curing a toothache suggest a time when Canadian men and women had to be self-sufficient. Further, the lack of specific directions signals an expectation on the part of the authors



of these receipts about a baseline of common knowledge about domestic and culinary tasks, and a shared assumption that everyone had to be his or her own doctor.

A.B. *The Frugal Housewife's Manual, Containing a Number of Useful Receipts Carefully Selected, and Well Adapted to the Use of Families in General*. Toronto: Guardian Office, 1840.

Early cookbooks printed in Canada reproduced material published earlier in American or British cookbooks. Copyright laws were not yet in place and consequently it was possible to reproduce material without formal permission or attribution. Technically the first cookbook printed in Canada, *The Cook not Mad, Or, Rational Cookery*, published in Kingston in 1831, was an edition of an American work from Watertown, New York. Its publisher, James Macfarlane, however goes to pains in his preface to suggest the book is suited to the Canadian context in large part because it is suitable to the American one. He states that 'A Work on Cookery should be adapted to the meridian in which it is intended to circulate' and affirms that 'Good republican dishes and garnishing, proper to fill an every day bill of fare, from the condition of the poorest to the richest individual, have been principally aimed at.'²⁸ The book does contain some attempt to specify units of measurement – a gill here and a teaspoon there, or slices of lemon cut 'twice as thick as half a dollar'.²⁹

The Frugal Housewife's Manual is a small and slim little volume comprised of only sixty-six pages together with an index. It was one of two cookery books released in 1840 and compiled in Canada. We use the word 'compiled' for the task of the unknown A.B. of Grimsby in relation to *The Frugal Housewife's Manual*, rather than 'written', because, as detailed by Fiona Lucas and Mary Williamson, much of its culinary material was

I N D E X.	
1. To make a rich Plum Cake.	52. To preserve Eggs.
2. Icing for Cakes.	53. To pickle Onions.
3. A plain Pound Cake.	54. Cucumbers.
4. Sponge Cake.	55. Beets.
5. Ginger Cake.	56. Cabbage.
6. Short Ginger Cake.	57. To use Cabbage cold.
7. Ginger Bread.	58. Red Currant Wine.
8. Cup Cake.	59. Elder Berry Syrup.
9. Sugar Cake.	60. Blackberry Syrup.
10. Shrewsbury Cake.	61. Boiled Meats, with sauces.
11. Cider Cake.	62. Baked Meats, with sauces.
12. Albany Cake.	63. To regulate time in cooking.
13. Election Cake.	64. Mutton, &c.
14. Black Cake.	65. A Pig.
15. Common Buns.	66. Poultry.
16. Rusks.	67. Broiling Meat.
17. Puff Paste.	68. Veal Cutlets.
18. A Short Crust.	69. To fry Fish.
19. Paste for Tarts.	70. To cook Codfish.
20. Waffles.	71. Pricasse Pie.
21. Fritters.	72. A minced dish.
22. Sauce for Puddings.	<i>Cultivation of Vegetables.</i>
23. A rich Baked Custard.	73. Asparagus.
24. A Floating Island.	74. Beans.
25. Snowballs.	75. Beets.
26. Rice Custard.	76. Bene Plant.
27. Rennet Pudding.	77. Cabbage.
28. Rice Pudding.	78. Cauliflower.
29. Another, much approved.	79. Carrot.
30. Bird's Nest Pudding.	80. Celery.
31. Any kind of Jam Pudding.	81. Corn.
32. Apple Pudding.	82. Cucumber.
33. Bread Pudding.	83. Egg Plant.
34. Hasty Pudding.	84. Lettuce.
35. Boiled Indian Pudding.	85. Melon.
36. Batter Pudding.	86. Nasturtium.
37. Baked Indian Pudding.	87. Onion.
38. Fashionable Pie for Dinner.	88. Parsley.
39. Mince Pies.	89. Parsnip.
40. Indian Cake.	90. Peas.
41. Common Ginger Bread.	91. Peppers.
42. Currant Jelly.	92. Peppergrass.
43. Another Method.	93. Radish.
44. Apple Jelly.	94. Sage.
45. To Preserve Quinces.	95. Salsify or Vegetable Oyster.
46. Peaches.	96. Summer Savory.
47. Pears.	97. Spinach, or Spinage.
48. Plums.	98. Squash.
49. Cherries.	99. Tomato, or Love Apple.
50. Currants, red, white, black.	100. Turnip.
51. Dried Fruit.	

taken from two sources: Colin Mackenzie's (1795-1854) *Five Thousand Receipts* (1823), which was reissued in an enlarged version many times from 1829 to 1860, especially in Philadelphia, and Lydia Maria Child's (1802-1880) well-known *American Frugal Housewife* (1832). The vegetable garden section was drawn from Charles Crosman (1802-1865), *The Gardener's Manual* (1835).³⁰

More than a decade after this little book's first printing, Catharine Parr Traill (1802-1899) will call Canada 'the land of cakes', an observation well supported by the fact that the first fifteen pages here are entirely devoted to cakes and puddings.³¹ That the place of honour of first recipe falls to instructions about how to 'make a Rich Plum Cake' suggests the strong influence of British foodways on food practices in Canada at that time. Attention to the cultivation and management of the most useful culinary vegetables, takes up the bulk of the volume (pages 33-66), and attests to the compiler's aspiration that readers set their sights on a wide variety of fare, from asparagus to 'egg-plant,' herbs to melons, despite a relatively short growing season in Grimsby. A number of cookbooks offer substitutes for familiar foods that are difficult to source in the Americas. Here, for example, the author suggests that Nasturtium berries, which 'if gathered while green, and pickled in vinegar, make a good substitute for capers,'³² which are themselves the berries of the caper plant more specifically. Indigenous vegetables, including beans,³³ corn,³⁴ sage,³⁵ and squash³⁶, are among the most useful culinary vegetables. The book includes a small section on tomatoes.³⁷

La cuisinière canadienne: contenant tout ce qu'il est nécessaire de savoir dans un ménage. Montreal: L. Perrault, 1840.

Another milestone cookbook appears in the same year as *The Frugal Housewife's Manual*, this one the first cookbook to be published in Canada in French: *La Cuisinière canadienne*. This book starts by telling readers about the importance of cleanliness in food preparation, and the selection of fresh ingredients: to avoid using a knife that has cut onion or garlic to slice bread; to use only the best butter and flour, fresh eggs, and sweet cream. This sensible book goes on to see multiple editions over the course

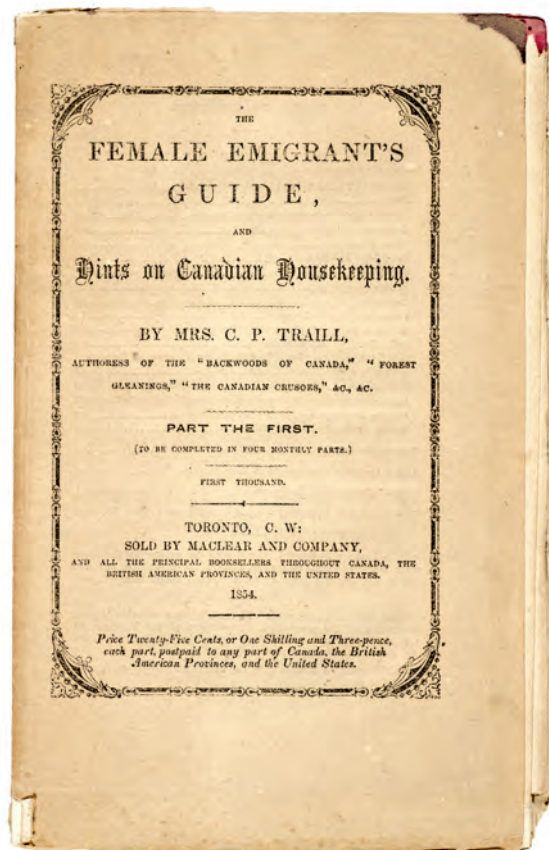
of the century, titled *Nouvelle cuisinière canadienne* as of 1850.

The bilingual nature of the city of Montreal in which this book was compiled is evident in the number of English words (for example, barley rather than orge). There are also several words that the author(s) endeavoured to Gallicize: saspane (sauce pan) and pouding (pudding), among others. Most interestingly, this cookbook reveals a world in flux. More than thirty different measurement units are included here. Yannick Portebois argues that one reads in this cookbook a francophone bourgeoisie wanting to write itself into the record and to document the birth of a cuisine belonging properly to Quebec.³⁸ A section on doughnuts or 'beignes' reminds us not only that French Canada was, like English Canada, a land of cakes, but also that the doughnut was a Canadian favourite long before the introduction of commercial doughnut chains.

Catharine Parr Strickland Traill (1802-1899). *The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping*. Toronto, C.W.: Sold by Maclear and Company, 1854.

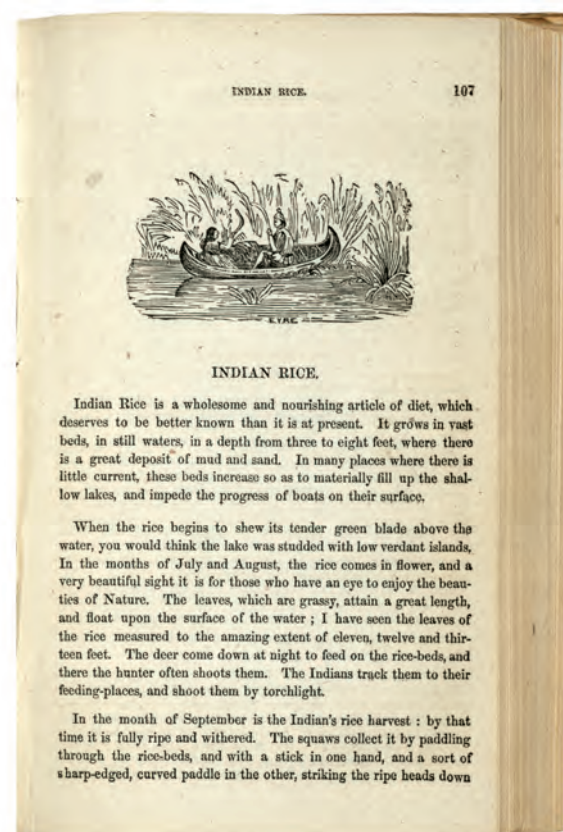
Arguably the first authentically Canadian cookbook, written by a female immigrant to Canada and specifically about Canadian foodways, was Catharine Parr Traill's *The Female Emigrant's Guide*. An affordable and practical domestic guide, it appeared in various different editions and in rapid succession, evidence of its popularity and usefulness. We focus on three different editions in particular here.

Traill's *Guide* gained considerable currency precisely because of the quality of information it provided to female emigrants from the British Isles coming to Canada's backwoods in the mid-nineteenth century and the lively voice of its author, the latter being the primary quality of an engaging cookbook by both Leonardi and Mendelson. Catharine Parr Traill's *The Female Emigrant's Guide*, first published in installments as of



1854, in order for Traill's publisher to accrue the necessary funding to publish the volume in its entirety, is a Canadian classic. 'Part the First' is the first instalment of the very first edition of Traill's guide.

Catharine Parr Strickland Traill (1802-1899). *The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping*. Toronto, C.W.: Sold by Maclear and Company, 1854.



Although the publication date of this first edition of the full volume is listed as 1854, the full book was actually only released in 1855. It was to be a particularly significant publication. Until that time, cookbooks printed in Canada described the basic cookery of the middle classes in the countries from which their authors had emigrated – primarily America and the British Isles. Traill's *Guide*, by contrast, is careful to describe in detail, and specifically from a woman's point of view, the daily life and seasonal rou-

tines of settler life in Canada's backwoods during the 1850s. Whereas most guidebooks of the period were addressed to male immigrants to the Americas, Traill was particularly interested in addressing an audience of female settlers, in order to provide them with precisely the sort of information that might have eased her own journey and acclimatization to Canada's backwoods. In addition to recipes using locally sourced ingredients, Traill offers gardening advice, recommendations of what should be brought from Britain and what might be better obtained after arrival, as well as local customs. Settling in the Rice Lake plains of what is now Ontario, Traill's careful observations of her Anishinaabeg neighbours and their methods of food harvesting, fishing, and hunting, makes for interesting reading for twenty-first century audiences just as they would have intrigued her nineteenth-century British readers unfamiliar with such foods as wild rice and maple syrup. Reading closely, today's readers can also glimpse moments of communication and miscommunication, instances of comfortable and some less comfortable interactions, between Traill and her Indigenous neighbours.

Catharine Parr Strickland Traill (1802-1899). *The Emigrant Housekeepers Guide to the Backwoods of Canada*. Toronto, 1857. Seventh Edition. Part the Second.

Traill's *Guide* was published in multiple subsequent editions. Because copyright laws were not yet in place, Traill not only saw no profit from these subsequent editions, but she also lost her authorial control. In this 1857 edition, she is credited as the author, but the title has already been changed. Taken from the original text, this little paperback is still intended as a useful and affordable publication. Very little time and expense is spared on the fineries of prefatory remarks, the publisher assuming that

readers come to this volume after reading Part the First. Part the Second begins *in media res*, on page fifty-nine. From the point of view of the settler housewife, its starting point with tips on gardening, and a sequential logic that then moves to information about foods available to and methods of harvesting for new settlers had a certain coherency. However, those who had not purchased 'Part the First' would have been frustrated without a clear index. By contrast, *The Canadian Emigrant Housekeeper's Guide*, by Mrs. C.P. Traill (1862) is essentially a full-length version of *The Female Emigrant's Guide*.

Mère Caron (1808-1888). *Directions diverses données en 1878 par la Révérende mère Caron alors supérieure générale des Soeurs de charité de la Providence pour aider ses soeurs à former de bonnes cuisinières*. Montreal, 1891.

This beloved cookbook is one of a number of books written by sisters in religious orders to be used in the classroom. Note the large number of recipes for fish to ensure variety on the meatless days of the religious calendar, and the extensive recipes for a wide variety of game and fowl. Only two recipes are for chicken specifically, for example, 'Poulet au champignon'³⁹ and 'Poulets en béatilles.'⁴⁰ We especially like the recipe for 'Café au Lait,'⁴¹ which suggests that French Canadians have long been fastidious about the preparation of what was a prized (then as now) and expensive commodity.

The content of *Directions diverses* was inspired and influenced by *La cuisinière canadienne*, consequently readers moving between these volumes will notice a sense of continuity, and a growing understanding of an emerging and distinctly French Canadian set of food traditions. However, the section on 'Puddings' especially 'Plum pudding' and Bread Pudding or 'Pudding au pain' is evidence of a foodways in transition more than a

258		259	
Poulet au champignon.	72	Escargot.	<i>ib</i>
Panades aux huîtres.	<i>ib</i>	Morue fraîche rôtie.	<i>ib</i>
Plat de fromage.	73	Morue fraîche bouillie.	84
Panade au pain.	<i>ib</i>	Morue sèche.	<i>ib</i>
Sauce aux tomates.	74	Morue en fricassée.	85
Civets au lièvre.	75—76	Morue salée bouillie.	<i>ib</i>
Perdrix aux choux.	76	Saumon frais.	<i>ib</i>
Perdrix rôties.	77	Saumon mariné.	86
Canard maigre aux épices.	78	Achigan et autres poissons.	<i>ib</i>
Vieille tourte à la daube.	<i>ib</i>	Barre et Maskinongé.	87
Jeune tourte à la crapaudine.	79	Grosse truite au court bouillon.	<i>ib</i>
Bécasses et bécassines.	<i>ib</i>	Poissons blancs.	<i>ib</i>
Des pluviers.	80	Da hareng.	88
Des pigeons.	<i>ib</i>	Homards à la remoulade.	<i>ib</i>
Pigeons soufflés.	<i>ib</i>	Salade de homards.	89
Oiseaux blancs.	81	Macaroni de fromage.	<i>ib</i>
DU POISSON.		DES PUDDINGS.	
Doré rôti.	81	Plumpudding.	90
Doré bouilli.	82	Padding au raisin.	91—92
Esturgeon en ragoût.	<i>ib</i>	Padding aux pommes.	93—94
Esturgeon en boulettes.	83	Padding au pain.	94—95—86

century after the arrival of the British to Quebec in 1760.

This particular volume was owned by Mlle. Fernande Renaud, as indicated within the front cover, and contains a number of treasures. In particular, one iconic French Canadian food is described in a small handwritten recipe tucked between pages 240 and 241, for ‘Tarte au sucre.’ The handwriting and condition of the index card on which this is written suggest

that it was constructed in the mid-twentieth century. This inserted recipe, as well as a newspaper clipping with a method ‘Pour guérir la surdité et les bourdonnements dans la tête,’ possibly an April 1914 ad from *Le Devoir*, both suggests that this little book was used, and also suggests the twinned responsibilities of mothers as home food providers and caregivers over time.

Onoto Watanna (1879-1954) and Sarah Bosse (1868-1938). *Chinese-Japanese Cook Book*. Chicago: Rand McNally, [1919?], c1914.

Although published in the United States, this is a remarkably early example of a cookbook containing Asian recipes, authored by two Chinese-British sisters who actually hailed from Montreal. Winnifred Eaton (1875-1954) writes under the Japanese-inflected pseudonym, Onoto Watanna, and her sister Sarah Eaton (1868-1838) uses her married name, Bosse. Published in 1914, this is regarded as the first Asian cookbook published in North America. Part one is devoted to Chinese recipes and tips on preparation while Part two is devoted to Japanese recipes and a list of

Asian groceries. The Preface, in addition to including cultural notes on serving food, also notes that all the recipes in the book were selected to suit the Western palate and kitchen. The Preface also asserts the authority of the Chinese recipes by providing details of their origin: 'The recipes included in this book (the Chinese ones, that is) have been handed down from Vo Ling, a worthy descendant of a long line of noted Chinese cooks, and himself head cook to Gow Gai, one time highest mandarin of Shanghai. They are all genuine, and were given as an especial expression of respect by a near relative of the famous family of Chinese cooks.'⁴²

Frederick Wilkerson Waugh (1872-1924). *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation*. Ottawa: Canada Dept. of Mines, Geological Survey, 1916.

To our knowledge, the first cookbook written by a member of the First Nations was not published by a mainstream publisher until 1972 (Bernard Assiniwi's *Recettes typiques des Indiens*, from Leméac) although the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre of Winnipeg, Manitoba does release a community cookbook entitled *Old Time Recipes of Manitoba Indians* at some point in the 1960s – still more than forty years after *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparation*.⁴³

While early Canadian cookbooks offer observations of Indigenous food sourcing, such as Traill's descriptions of wild rice or maple syrup for example, this 1916 publication provides a thorough description of Indigenous farming techniques and recipes with observations of the author from time spent during the years 1912-15 among the Iroquois of Ontario, Quebec, and New York state, totaling approximately twelve months of

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Meat was said not to be used in that locality at all, the idea being to prepare foods which a bear is supposed to like.

The services of the Bear Society may be indicated by a dream or by some other circumstance which may be interpreted by the local "fortune-teller" to mean that a meeting of the society is required as a medical procedure.

The person requiring the ceremony must prepare the corn soup, also some sweetened juice or wine of huckleberries or blackberries. When the society meets, tobacco is burned and speeches are made asking the bear to relieve the patient. The leader then takes a drink of the blackberry juice, and also gives a little to the patient. They then sing to the accompaniment of horn rattles and the water drum. The leader begins the dancing, the others falling in. If the sick person can dance, it is so much the better. At the end of the ceremony there is a distribution of the soup.

Buffalo Dance Pudding—deyuna'gai'anta' (On.).

The buffalo dance pudding is used by members of the Buffalo Society or Company. A meal is made of bread corn and is used in the preparation of a thick pudding sweetened with maple or other sugar. It is intended to represent the mud in which the buffalo wallows. The necessity for the ceremony is indicated in a similar manner to that for the Bear Dance ceremony. An Oneidatown recipe includes the addition of beef to the pudding.

Ball Players' Pudding—gadji'gwae' (On.).

When a person has been suffering from some ailment such as rheumatism, lame back, fever, or headache, it may be decided, as before, that a game of lacrosse is required. The leader of the players is notified. The sick person then prepares a quantity of white bread or Tuscarora corn. This is parched or roasted, pounded, and sifted to a fine meal. A large potful of water is brought to a boil, the meal stirred in, and some maple or other sugar added, also some fried pork and gravy, the whole being boiled to form a mush.

field research. Published by the federal government, this is contribution twelve to what is called the 'Anthropological Series.' Although in many ways a problematic publication because of the power relations at play between government-subsidized observers and the Iroquois people, one outcome of the book's anthropological method is the inclusion of details about the ceremonies surrounding particular dishes, such as those for 'Buffalo Dance Pudding' and 'Ball Players' Pudding.' Another reason why this book is of particular interest lies in the extensive photography included.

La cuisinière Five Roses. Montreal: Lake of the Woods Milling Company Ltd., 1915.

First published by Lake of the Woods Milling Company in 1913 and compiled by an unnamed editor, this cookbook gathers recipes from a variety of sources, including some chosen from 'contributions of over two thousand successful users of *Five Roses* flour throughout Canada' and intersperses between them testimonials about the quality of the flour and advertising copy. In some cases, individual contributors are named.⁴⁴ It was published in French and in English by the flour company to promote its products providing about six hundred recipes for all manner of baked goods, including multiple varieties for items of particular popularity such as Jumbles and Johnny Cake and a whole section on boiled puddings. The cover of one 1915 edition explains that '*The Five Roses Cook Book* was in daily use in nearly 650,000 Canadian kitchens — practically one copy for every second Canadian home.' If Traill called Canada 'the land of cakes' in the nineteenth century, then this cookbook's reach meant it both reflected and shaped the direction of Canadian baking in the twentieth century. The cookbook was identified as the preferred cookbook by a corporation in *La Presse's* 2004 survey of Quebecker's favourite cookbooks,



showing the cookbook's longstanding popularity. Caroline Coulombe argues that reprints of historical mainstays keep them alive in the public consciousness,⁴⁵ and this book has been issued in more than twenty six editions during the twentieth century.

Although the company sold its flour based on the quality of the

product and the quality control of its processes, the book's subtitle itself speaks of 1001 recettes 'éprouvées et autorisées par l'emploi que'en ont fait au delà de 2,000 ménagères canadiennes,' in addition to saying that those recipes were again verified and approved ('le tout vérifié et approuvé'), presumably by the Lake of the Woods Milling Company Limited itself.

Manuel de cuisine raisonnée : Adapté aux élèves des cours élémentaires de l'école normale classico-ménagère de Saint-Pascal. Québec: Imprimerie l'Action Sociale Ltée, 1919.

Although conceived as a textbook, this became a very popular kitchen standby in family homes in French Canada. By the third edition, this book was simply entitled *La cuisine raisonnée*. Numerous new editions kept this book in circulation and alive in the public imagination. In 2004, responding to a survey run by *La Presse* newspaper about favourite cookbooks, one admirer chose this book as her favourite because of its simple and economical recipes, showing that it was being used in kitchens close to a century after its initial publication.

The philosophical foundations of the cookbook are evident even in the preface, which signals the book's banishment of alcoholic beverages from its recipes. At a time when the scientific cookery movement was gaining force in North America, this book also makes a claim that art rather than 'just' science was central to the domestic arts. The Introduction argues on page eight that, '[s]i la cuisine est une science elle est aussi un art, puisqu'elle suppose de l'étude, et un art qui ne manque pas de poésie.' In his preface, L'abbé Beaudet (principal of the École Normale in Saint-Pascal) explains on page five that the book 'est destiné aux maîtresses de maison et aux jeunes filles, futures maîtresses de maison, comme l'indique le premier chapitre ou sont énumérées les qualités de la bonne ménagère'.

By the 1960s in Quebec, it became increasingly difficult to identify a single ideal for 'la bonne ménagère' and the Normal School system would fade away with the dawning of a secular age ushered in by the Quiet Revolution.

Although consistent in approach, this book is the result of collaborative effort and does show variance of writing styles. A comprehensive alphabetical index where one finds, for example, 'Tourtières' near to 'Tuberculose' makes the book particularly useful. Clear directions about food conservation and hygiene speak to a time when the germ theories of disease have gained widespread acceptance. This book also warns against too many pastries for the young or those with arthritis,⁴⁶ making sensible use of emergent knowledge surrounding vitamins and nutrition. A number of Gallicisms—as, for example, 'cossetarde', which in our day might be known as custard or, ironically by the French phrase, 'crème anglaise'—suggest the influence of English settlers on French Canadian foodways into the twentieth century.

Nellie Lyle Pattinson. (1878-1953). *Canadian Cook Book*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1924, c1923, 2nd ed.

Advertising posters for Nellie Lyle Pattinson's 'Canadian Cook Book.' [Toronto : 1949?].

The *Canadian Cook Book* was a mass-produced textbook emerging in the early decades of home economics education, first written as a study guide by Nellie Lyle Pattinson (1878-1953) who was Director of Domestic Science at the Central Technical Institute in Toronto, and as a cash cow for Ryerson Press then undergoing severe financial difficulties. Susan Goldenberg argues that the book's twenty printings between 1923 and 1951 'saved the press from insolvency.'⁴⁷ Published in many editions, the book was soon adopted by other schools for their home economics programs across

CHAPTER I

FOOD AND ITS USE.

A.—THE ESSENTIALS OF AN ADEQUATE DIET.

The well-being and success in life of every individual bear a closer relation to food than to any other single factor known. Sleep, fresh air and exercise are absolute essentials to health, but these are not capable, singly or combined, of outweighing for any time the ill-effects which eventually follow a wrong use of food.

Many diseases known to medical science are directly traceable to an inadequate or faulty diet; a low physical condition, not amounting to actual disease, but sufficient to seriously endanger the health of the individual, is too often the direct result of a lack of knowledge or a disregard of the importance of food. As living conditions become greatly changed and the strain of modern life grows more intense, those factors which contribute to health should expand in importance and value. Unfortunately, in many instances, such is not the case, and a tremendous loss of valuable time and energy goes hand in hand with a discouraging struggle against ill-health.

A misguided appetite, an unsound fad or a colorful advertisement should have no part in determining so vital a problem.

The term "Food" applies to any substance which contains one or more of the essentials for the maintenance of the functions of the body—for the growth and repair of tissues, the regulation of temperature, the performance of work by the various organs and tissues. These essential

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cans.⁷⁴⁸ Although the book speaks to our very contemporary and acute sense that diet is intimately linked to 'well-being and success' on page one, an indication that little has changed in terms of our fundamental belief in the importance of mindfulness around food selection and preparation, the various editions of this cookbook speak to dramatic and specific changes over the decades of the twentieth century, especially with regard to emergent knowledge about vitamins (which are described in earlier editions as 'protective foods'). *Nellie Lyle Pattinson's Canadian Cook Book* was a new edition of the book prepared by Helen Wattie (1911-2009) and Elinor Donaldson (born 1926) and published in 1953, later in the same year in which Pattinson died.

Canada. It contained thoroughly Canadian fare: recipes customized for Canadian flour, with a higher ratio of liquid and fat and baking powder to flour than American recipe counterparts because Canadian flour contained more gluten than American varieties due to the wheat's exposure to harsh winter conditions. Also recipes with less sugar since, as Jill Snider (born 1947) explains, Canadians 'had less of a sweet tooth than Ameri-

Case 3: Community Cookbooks – Elizabeth Ridolfo

Motivated by women's charitable and social interests, community or fundraising cookbooks are some of the most common types of cookbook published in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century⁴⁹. While they function primarily as fundraisers, they were also used to build community, educate, and spread values. Typically created outside of the realm of mainstream publishing, these collections are easily identifiable, as many of them follow the same conventions: they usually include the names of individual recipe contributors and sometimes have the same recipes contributed multiple times by different people; they incorporate prayers, poetry, or decorations by members of the community; and they may include images of local landmarks or snippets of community history in addition to the recipes. While there is a uniformity to community cookbooks, these seemingly similar texts can have more to reveal about their creators and their context than commercial or mainstream printed cookbooks. Depending on how they are read, what appears to be duplication can give insight into the popularity of certain dishes, and the lists of community members can fill in holes in the story of genealogical and ethnographic research in communities.

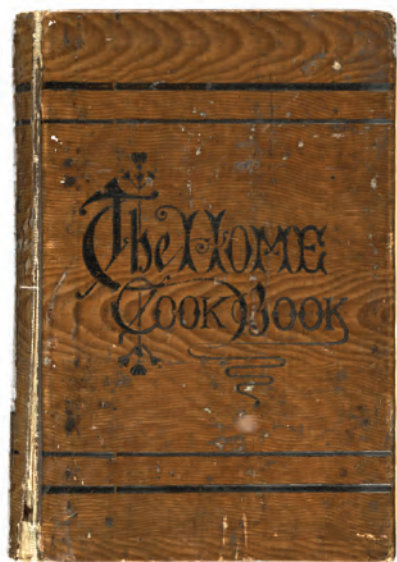
The genre began in the United States during the Civil War, when Ladies' Aid Societies sold their recipe collections at events called Sanitary Fairs in order to improve conditions for soldiers and their families⁵⁰. The community cookbook quickly gained popularity as a means to raise funds, and at the same time it provided an avenue for women to have their expertise recognized⁵¹ and to participate in community-shaping activities that extended out from their families and social groups and into the public sphere. Through their volunteer efforts, women could establish or define their community while supporting a cause and collectively organize while

learning from and forming relationships with others. These diverse relationships mean that what can be learned from community cookbooks read out of their context may be very different from what the authors intended: they can be read as unpretentious collections, potentially containing more 'authentic' expressions of local taste, habit, and practice than other printed cookbooks; as aspirational texts, sharing carefully crafted images of an ideal group; as collective autobiographies⁵², expressing the common identity, values, or goals of their community; or as alternative types of literature, with complex dynamics existing between the writers, readers, and those who were excluded from these groups⁵³.

While the causes supported by community cookbooks range from church groups and schools, to unions and co-operatives, to sports clubs and political organizations, during the period covered by this exhibition this kind of benevolent activity was still mostly limited to white, Protestant, middle-to-upper-middle class women⁵⁴, who had access to the funds and support networks needed to create and consume these texts. The participants, their organizations and mandates, and the advertisers demonstrated what community they belonged to or wished to belong to through their support of specific causes.

The Home Cook Book, Compiled by the Ladies of Toronto, and Chief Cities and Towns in Canada. Toronto: Rose-Belford Publishing Company, 1881.

This first example of a community cookbook in Canada and one of the best-selling early Canadian titles, was originally published 'for the benefit of the Hospital for Sick Children' in 1877, although the association with the hospital does not appear in this and other later editions. In addition to the claim that these were "Tried! Tested! Proven!" recipes, an individual's name would often act as a kind of guarantee of the quality of the



recipe.⁵⁵ The recipes in this volume are credited to women whose names would have been familiar to many Torontonians at the time. Among the contributors are a number of people connected with the hospital, the publisher, and other members of middle/upper-middle class Toronto society⁵⁶. With over 100,000 copies sold by 1885⁵⁷, and editions published into the 1920s, *The Home Cook Book* reached a large audience and served as a model for the wave of Canadian fundraising cookbooks to follow.

The genre eventually became so popular that beginning in the late 1880s, ready-made community cookbooks (where only the organization name was changed) were available in the United States⁵⁸, and several publishers sprang up in North America devoted solely to publishing this type of cookbook. Research by Elizabeth Driver and others has established that much of the text of Toronto's *Home Cook Book* was plagiarized from the American community cookbook *The Home Cook Book of Chicago*, although

some local recipes were added (perhaps the recipe for Toronto Pie by 'Mrs. D' is one of these), but this was not straying far from the tradition of both authorized and unauthorized reprints of British and American titles appearing on the market in Canada.

The Spartan Cook Book: a Selection of Tested Recipes Compiled by the Ladies of the Sparta W.T.A. St. Thomas, Ont.: The Journal Book and Job Dept., 1904.

Groups represented in the community genre range from small, local groups associated with single churches, clubs, or neighbourhoods, to large and easily recognizable organizations like the Federated Women's Institutes (W.I.), the International Order Daughters of Empire (I.O.D.E.) and local branches of the Red Cross. All of these groups worked towards different fundraising goals. When the Canadian branch of the W.C.T.U. (Women's Christian Temperance Union) was founded in 1872, it helped open up new opportunities for women to play a political role⁵⁹ and became an important player in advancing the Canadian Suffrage movement. Temperance groups included those who promoted temperance, abstinence, and full prohibition, and the goal of the Sparta Women's Temperance Auxiliary was to help stop the sale of alcohol in their community altogether. After a petition was circulated against the granting of a liquor licence to the Sparta Hotel, one of the last places in the town serving alcohol, the ladies' organization committed five hundred dollars towards purchasing the hotel in order to help create a 'centre of social and educational interest'⁶⁰ for the community without the influence of alcohol.

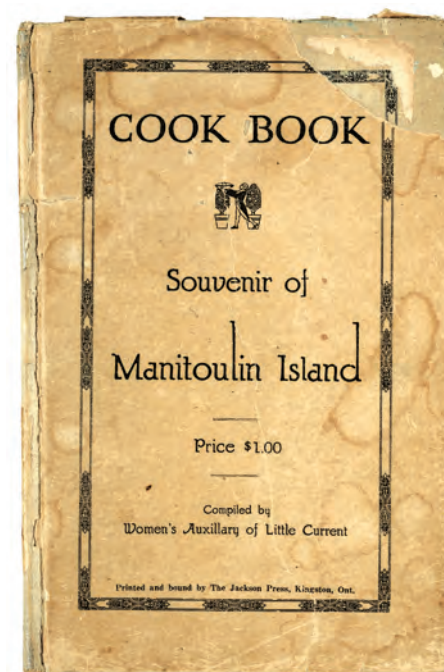
They included a description of their plight at the beginning of the book in order to be 'inspirational for action against our common foe - the licensed liquor traffic'⁶¹. They met with considerable success: the hotel was bought out and became the Temperance House, and this third edition of



the cookbook is described in the preface as ‘published at the demand of the unsupplied public, previous editions having met with unlimited favour.’⁶² It also includes information on their new goals, which included purchasing furniture and other accessories for the house.

***Cook Book Souvenir of Manitoulin Island.* Little Current, Ontario: Women’s Auxiliary of Holy Trinity Church, [1925-1929?].**

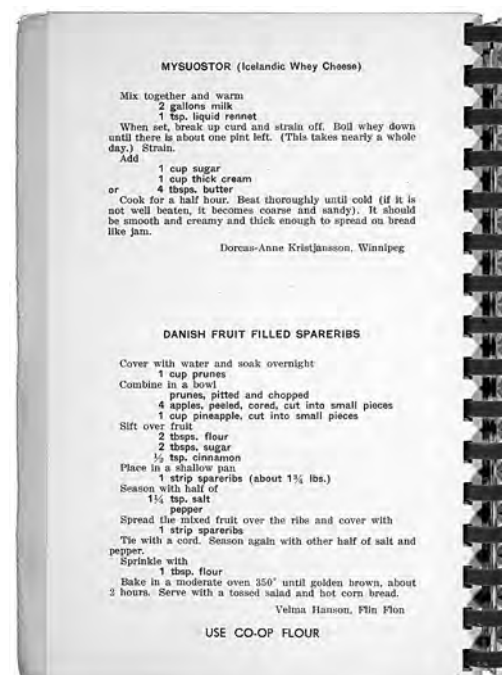
Many community cookbooks offered very little in the way of text beyond recipes, helpful hints, and decorative embellishment, and included minimal information on who the authors were and the details of their purpose in writing. Other texts, such as the *Cobalt Souvenir Cookbook* and the *Man-*



itoulin Island Cookbook devoted large amounts of space to proudly sharing their community, describing its features and attributes. Although it still contains mostly recipes, *Cook Book Souvenir of Manitoulin Island* includes so many photographs and advertisements that at first it seems more like a tourist guide to the community than a cookbook. Some of the advertisements address tourists directly, while the preface states the hope that visitors might have a ‘pleasant recollection of beautiful scenes, good highways, splendid fishing and boating, courteous merchant service, good accommodation and well prepared food’.⁶³ There are many photographs of the area and its attractions, including a foldout panoramic view of Gore Bay. Although they did not state for what exactly what they were raising funds, rectory renovations and other additions and improve-

ments on the 1886 church took place from 1923-1930.⁶⁴ Thus, the Woman's Auxiliary would conceivably have had many reasons to raise funds through the creation of this cookbook.

Community cookbooks present a number of challenges when read from the present. The creators of these texts often assumed a certain type of reader (or cook) with a particular skill level with easy access to and understanding of certain ingredients.⁶⁵ The appearance of the same recipes multiple times gives a possible indication of the popularity of a dish, but does not help to determine which is the best or most definitive tart or cake recipe for community members. Even after the mid-1800s, when recipes moved towards a standard format with a list of ingredients followed by instructions, recipes in community cookbooks were often made up of only a few sentences and contained scant direction. What instructions were present might include subjective or cultural measures, confusing to readers outside the community or time period: instead of a temperature measurement or crack/ball description that might be familiar to contemporary confectioners, the instruction in *My Favorite Recipes* (1912), compiled by the Ladies of the autumn booth of the Peterborough Summer Fair was to boil the sugar 'until hairy'; the author of the dessert recipe on page fifty-one of the 1909 *Tombola Cookbook* by the Cornwall Friends of the Lacrosse Club tells the reader to use ten cents worth of marshmallows; in an almost conspiratorial postscript, a woman in the Creston and District Women's Institute cookbook recommends using a fruit jar ring and thimble to cut doughnuts in a pinch. While they might make reproducing the recipes in a contemporary kitchen more challenging, these instructions give the texts a feeling of familiarity and trustworthiness, and can enhance the experience for the casual reader.



For Taste-Full Living. Altona, Manitoba: Manitoba Women's Co-op Guild, [195-?]

Advances in agriculture and food knowledge, increases in use of modern appliances or processed foods, and patterns of human movement are some of the many societal changes that can be mapped through analysis of the content of community cookbooks.⁶⁶ More than half of the Manitoba community cookbooks in the Fisher collections contain a recipe of Scandinavian origin. A period of heavy emigration from Iceland saw one-fifth of the population fleeing from volcanic eruptions to settle in North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries⁶⁷, and many of these emigrants founded or settled in communities in Manitoba. A common Icelandic dish found in the Canadian Icelandic community is

Vínarterta, a celebratory cake that was still consumed in Canada long after it had lost popularity and significance in Iceland⁶⁸. Along with several Danish, Swedish and Mennonite recipes, *Taste-full Living*, includes a recipe for vínarterta from Margaret Johnson in Baldur, Manitoba, a community with a large Icelandic population and named after the Norse God Baldr. Other Icelandic recipes in this collection include one for Mysuostor (Icelandic whey cheese) and Ponnukokur (Icelandic pancakes) from Dorcas-Anne Kristjansson of Winnipeg.

Culinary treasures, by St. Basil's Ukrainian Catholic Women's League. South Edmonton, 1959.

Information gained from the survey of the genre in Elizabeth Driver's *Culinary Landmarks* indicated that the community cookbook tradition during this period was a mostly Protestant and Ontarian one. The sole example of a Catholic community cookbook in the collection produced during this period was put out by the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League. It includes many Ukrainian and international dishes, alongside information on the meaning and history of the recipes supplied to create a traditional Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper on pages 71 and 72. The same Women's League also prepared and released *Culinary Treasures* part two for the Centennial in 1967.

Augusta Leonora Rosenthal. *The Economical Cook Book*. (Ottawa: Ottawa Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, 1915.

Jewish women's groups are among those that were early participants in the genre as they began publishing their own community cookbooks at the dawn of the twentieth century, beginning with *The Economical Cook Book* in 1915. This first collection of Jewish recipes published in Canada was put together by Augusta Leonora Rosenthal, daughter-in-law of

Bertha and Aaron Rosenthal, who appears to have been connected to both the Men's and Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society¹. Based on the recipe selection for 1915, this book shows the community's desire to integrate with the Canadian mainstream. Although there are no recipes containing lard or pork, there are recipes for shellfish, which was forbidden by Jewish dietary law, no prohibitions against trayf (a colloquial term meaning food not satisfying the requirements of Jewish law) or details of kashrut (Jewish dietary laws), and recipes for Christmas dishes were included, all of which suggest a community that was not strictly kosher. Rules against consuming pork are not broken, but they are also very carefully not stated: the meat section contains no recipes for ham, bacon, or pork, but the recipe on page 88 for 'Plain Pie Dough' calls for 'butter, or other fat', and mentions no prohibition against lard. The collection includes two recipes for matzo balls and bread recipes, but none for 'egg bread' or 'challah', the traditional bread for the Sabbath meal.

***The Naomi Cook Book*. Toronto: Naomi Chapter Hadassah, 1928**

Anna Strick's foreword to the first edition states: 'Here are Strudle and, in the same breath, ice box cakes. Here, the homely dishes that Sarah must have prepared for angels, and here, too, the things that angels upon earth may prepare for modern and critical husbands.'

Several community cookbooks became so important that they were issued in multiple editions over several decades, were influential locally for a long period and remain well-known, often used and cherished by multiple generations of a family. One of the best-known Jewish community cookbooks in Canada is the *Naomi Cook Book* by the Naomi chapter of Hadassah, the Women's International Zionist Organization. The cookbook mentions that profits from the first edition went to continuing the work of the organization in Palestine. In contrast to the *Economical Cook*

Book, there is explicit mention of distinctive Jewish culinary tradition, including a section on Passover, an ad for matzo, and some noting of dietary laws. There are some interesting developments over subsequent editions: the second edition has no mention of Jewish dietary laws, but rather a strong focus on vitamins and nutrition. By the third edition, the mention of Jewish dietary traditions returned, and by the fourth edition in 1960, the community appeared more at ease signposting its distinctive food traditions in the foreword and content. They were also comfortable identifying individuals affiliated with the Jewish community, even including information on their city of residence. One of the names in front of book is 'Mrs Samuel J. Godfrey', who was grandmother-in-law to Nathalie Cooke, one of the curators of this exhibition!

Canadian Favourites Cook Book Compiled by a Committee of CCF Women. Ottawa: CCF National Council, 1947.

This cookbook was created by the women of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Founded in 1932 to help Canadians affected by the Great Depression, the CCF was a political coalition of progressive, socialist and labour groups that worked for economic reform. Lucy L. Woodsworth, wife of the party's first president, states with pride in her foreword that this is the first time women members of the party had undertaken a project on a national scale, and that one of their immediate aims was to develop a high standard of health.⁶⁹ Although the preface states that the book makes no claim to be a scientific one, they acknowledge the assistance of dieticians in its preparation, and include two pages on nutrition and Canada's Food Rules before the recipes in both the first edition and this second edition. These decisions show the increasing importance of scientific information on health and diet and the growing role of the dietician and the government in the kitchen preferences of the



nation. In contrast to many other early community cookbooks, the British, Scandinavian, Eastern European, Chinese, and Mediterranean recipes in this volume are credited to contributors whose names imply that they were actually members of these communities, and not, as in some cases, interpretations or adaptations contributed by members of other communities. The Book Committee also admits in the preface that a number of the recipes may not be feasible during the war, owing to shortages and rationing, but that in a country the size of Canada, the shortages are not uniform, and they hope for peace soon.⁷⁰

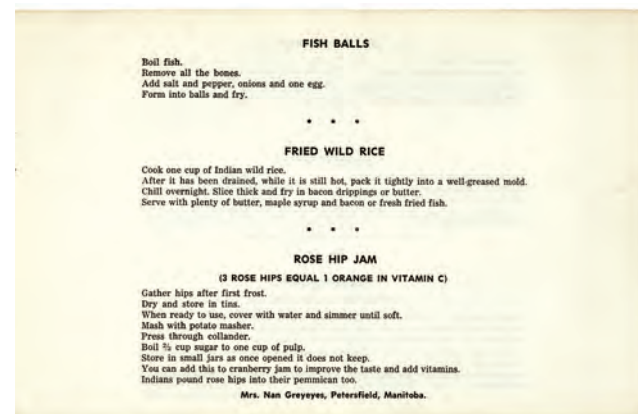
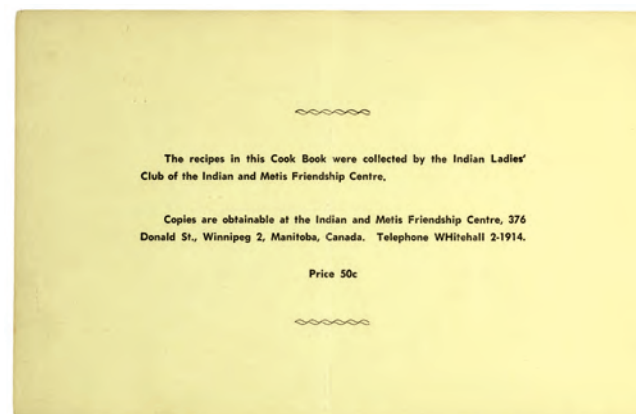
Old Time Recipes of Manitoba Indians. Winnipeg: Indian Ladies' Club of the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre, [1959-1967?]

The printed culinary record of the Indigenous people of North America has significant gaps when compared to the history of some of the settler

groups represented by other texts in this chapter. These settler groups had a stronger tradition of print, had more access to the means of publication, and were not subjected to the same aggressive policies of cultural destruction and assimilation as members of Indigenous communities⁷¹. Often, recipes and collections in early published sources in North America were 'Indian' in name or ingredient only, but not directly authored by members of the Indigenous community, or provided without context. There are a few early examples of cookbooks by Indigenous people in the United States such as the Indian Women's Club of Tulsa's *Indian Cook Book* (1933), but few Canadian items appear in library collections and online cooperative catalogues, and all that do were produced in the second half of the twentieth century. *Old Time Recipes of Manitoba Indians* was produced at the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre of Winnipeg, the oldest Friendship Centre in Canada, serving the community and helping Indigenous people in their transition to city life. Activities and initiatives at the Centre included a healthy eating and weight loss group, as well as a restaurant staffed by Indigenous servers and cooks along with other community outreach programs.⁷²

Old Time Recipes consists of eight pages of recipes 'collected by the Indian Ladies' Club', with some recipes attributed with thanks to their 'neighbours to the South', including the Acoma, the Choctaw, the Chippewa, and the Navajo people. The only individually named contributor is Nan (Nancy) Greyeyes (1907-1990), who was a member of the Peguis First Nation, a nation of people of Ojibway and Cree descent and the largest First Nations community in Manitoba⁷³. Indigenous populations are often disproportionately affected by changing diet and lifestyle patterns, while there is evidence that maintaining traditional diets and habits can actually protect them against Western diseases⁷⁴. Throughout *Old Time Recipes* there is an emphasis on wild foods like moss berries, acorns, wild rice, fish

and game, and there are few recipes using non-traditional ingredients like milk and refined sugar. Clearly present is an understanding of the relationship between diet and health, and food as medicine: after the recipe for baked skunk the author notes that skunk fat is 'very good for whooping cough', and a recipe for rose hip jam states that '3 rose hips equal 1 orange in vitamin C'⁷⁵.



Case 4: Corporate Cookbooks and the Spokespersonality Phenomenon – Nathalie Cooke

Technological innovations can be identified in the pages of corporate cookbooklets, which seem to tell the story of an increasingly rapid rate of change, and of rising expectations for the home food producer. The dawn of the consumer age in the twentieth century saw trends that included a call for higher cakes, lighter bread, and expectations for increasingly rapid food preparation. But there is another story at the heart of many corporate outreach campaigns. During the early to mid-twentieth century, companies in North America began developing recognizable but fictional personalities to sell their products, to put a human face on the company and its innovative products, and to reassure housewives in the face of rising expectations placed on them, ironically, by the same companies whose products are advertised as ways to meet those expectations. For the most part, these spokespersons were white, heterosexual, middle-class women of middle age. In reality, Canadian housewives, who were their audience members and consumers of their products, were a remarkably and increasingly diverse community. The diversity of Canadian women and their foodways gradually gained wider representation in culinary literature towards the end of the twentieth century.

Brenda York. *Margene Recipe Book*. [1948?-195-?].

If spices were pivotal to the earliest centuries of Western civilization, then another food substance proved to be focus of culinary (or perhaps, more accurately, chemical) creativity, contrivance, and competition during the past two centuries. Margarine, invented in 1869 in response to a challenge issued at the Paris World Exhibition of 1866, addressed the problem of rising costs of animal fats during rapid urbanization. Already



by 1886, however, there were laws prohibiting its production and sale in seven American states, followed soon after by taxation (in Russia and the United States) and various regulations concerning its identification (in Sweden, Holland, England and Norway), colouration (Russia, Denmark, France, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa, and thirty American states), and storage (Russia, Denmark, Germany, Holland).⁷⁶ In Canada, restrictions were tougher still. With the exception of a temporary reprieve between 1917 and 1922, margarine was banned entirely between 1886 and 1948. Ontario has allowed colouration only since 1995⁷⁷; Quebec lifted its ban on colouration as recently as 2008.



Source of heated controversy, this edible product serves as a lens through which to address the theme of mindful eating and such specific issues as: the fine balance between interests of food producers and consumers; the shaping of consumer taste; the impact of distinctive national and provincial food policies on agricultural, corporate, and consumer behaviour; and the remarkable flexibility of a processed food product.

Brenda York was the corporate spokesperson created in 1947 for Canada Packers to spread the word about its products, including its margarine product, Margene. Kathleen Hodgins (1923-2016), assisted by Gwen Johns and Jane Shoemaker, first portrayed her. As explained by the woman who personified her, 'Brenda York was created as an advertising personality' in 1947 by Canada Packers, upon the urging of Grant Advertising Agency. 'The goal was to increase brand awareness and product identification, although I never actually saw this in any document.'⁷⁸ Certainly, there was a close affiliation between the product and the spokesper-

sonality. A portrait of Brenda York appeared on the Margene packaging such that a consumer would quickly associate one with the other.

Grant Advertising led a strategic campaign to introduce Brenda York to the Canadian public. Kay Hodgins remembers ‘they ran a series of teaser billboards’ with ‘Brenda’s coming’ and then ‘Brenda Who?’ and finally ‘Who is Brenda York?’ Once on the scene, Brenda and her assistants led cooking classes for women’s groups, classes serving both as fundraisers for the groups themselves and as a wonderful advertising venue for the company.

Because of the heavy regulation of margarine colouration, for a time Margene was sold along with small packets of colouring that, when blended with the uncoloured margarine, could make it look more like butter.

Jean Fewster on the Film Set

Marie Fraser. *Marie Fraser’s Casserole Cuisine with Canadian Cheese*. Toronto: Dairy Foods Service Bureau, [196-?].

Marie Fraser. *Marie Fraser’s Salads Dips and Dressings made with Dairy Sour Cream*. Toronto: Dairy Foods Service Bureau, [196-?].

Marie Fraser. *Marie Fraser’s Salad Sensations Made with Cottage Cheese*. Toronto: Dairy Foods Service Bureau, [196-?].

Marie Fraser. *Marie Fraser’s Dandy Desserts with Evaporated Milk*. Toronto: Dairy Foods Service Bureau, [196-?].

In the years when Kathleen Hodgins was modeling the marvels of margarine under the corporate pseudonym Brenda York, Jean Fewster (1924-2015) was extolling the virtues of dairy products in general under the pseudonym of Marie Fraser. Fewster believed she was the first home economist with a trade name to be hired by a farm organization when, in December 1950, she was hired by the Dairy Farmers of Canada to serve as

Food Editor for the Dairy Food Service Bureau, a new venture for the Dairy Farmers of Canada, launched because of the policy ruling in favour of margarine distribution in Canada in December 1948.

The Dairy Farmers of Canada desired a more prominent, recognizable image and to educate the public about how to use their products. These aims were motivated also by the fact that margarine was being introduced to the Canadian market and dairy producers across Canada feared what this might do to their market for butter. However, explained Jean Fewster very diplomatically, ‘the focus of the DFSB was on all dairy foods, including the great flavour of butter. And since margarine was not a dairy food, it was of course never mentioned.’⁷⁹

In her role, Marie Fraser wrote copy for newspapers, appeared regularly on the radio and television, especially on such programs as the CBC’s ‘Down Dairy Lane,’ gave multiple cooking demonstrations, and authored recipe books. This selection of her cookbooklets illustrates her use of alliteration to make the titles engaging. Surprisingly, clear distinctions between processed food products (like margarine) and unprocessed dairy products are blurred in these recipe booklets that call for packaged ingredients – for example, butterscotch instant pudding mix – alongside cans of evaporated milk.

Power companies also developed spokespersons to demonstrate how to cook with new appliances or technologies such as gas, electricity, and subsequently, microwave. Three such power personalities were Penny Powers, Sally Spark, and Betty Bright, this last one representing Consumers’ Gas Company of Toronto. Manitoba’s ‘Elizabeth’ was a less engaging name without the alliterative surname, though presumably ‘Electric’ was implied since the Home Service Department at Manitoba Hydro’s Demonstration Center displayed ‘the most recent developments in electrical living’; see *Taste of Christmas*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Hydro.

[195-?]. While the spokespersons introduced new technologies, and their cookbooks provided some timely food preparation suggestions (see, for example, cheese snacks with bacon and pimiento cheese spread on finger rolls), for the most part fare depicted in their cookbooks was familiar and remarkably traditional (see, for example, recipes for mince meat), all the better to tempt early adopters and reassure consumers that new cooking methods did not mean the disappearance of beloved foods and food traditions.

Rita Martin. *Recettes choisies Robin Hood par Rita Martin*. Robin Hood Flour Mills Limited, c1947.

Rita Martin. *Robin Hood Prize Winning Recipes Selected by Rita Martin*. Robin Hood Flour Mills Limited, 1950, c.1947.

Robin Hood Flour Mills used the elegant spokesperson Rita Martin, who was usually depicted both wearing green and in front of a green background to signal her alignment with the iconography of Robin Hood of Nottingham. Rita Martin's name was particularly useful because it



worked in both French and English.

Although these recipe books look remarkably similar, there are more differences between them than the language in which the recipes are provided. For example, the section on 'Puddings' in the English edition is not identical to the section on 'Poudings' in its French counterpart, suggesting ways in which Rita Martin understood herself to be addressing two distinct culinary cultures.



Anna Lee Scott. *51 Ways to a Man's Heart*. Toronto: Maple Leaf Milling Co., c.1939.

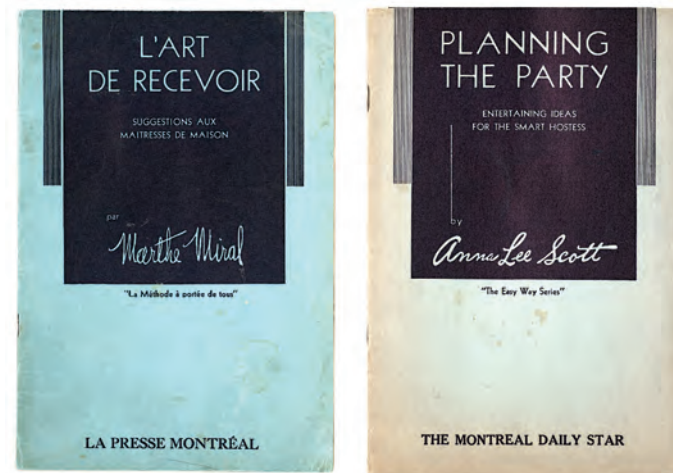
Despite the many changes introduced by the corporate cookbooks and their spokespersons, one theme that changes very little over time is good food's ability to please. At a time when most of the cooking was done by women, and before the exodus of women from the home to the corporate workplace, cookbooks suggested that for a woman to become a good cook was a sure-fire way to win her man.

This book is ostensibly written by Anna Lee Scott, the spokesperson for Maple Leaf Milling, and its recipes additionally suggest that women could please their men by using the company's flour. 'Way No. 28' of the book's 51 ways to win a man's heart is entitled 'Superb Christmas Cake' with an additional tip in its subtitle: 'Or use as wedding cake and marry the man!'⁸⁰ Way No. 29 is 'Fluffy Jelly Frosting,' which the subtitle claims 'Brings a new gleam to the masculine eye.'

Marthe Miral. *L'Art de recevoir*. [Montreal: La Presse, 1934].

Anna Lee Scott. *Planning the Party*. [Montreal: Montreal Daily Star, 193-?].

Although spokesperson Anna Lee Scott was identified as author of some French-language as well as English-language publications, another pseudonym and signature was used for French audiences since the name Anna Lee Scott did not work well in French: Marthe Miral. *L'Art de recevoir: suggestions aux maîtresses de maison* is a French translation of Scott's *Planning the Party*, which had been published and widely disseminated across Canada by 1932 to support Anna Lee Scott's Maple Leaf Cooking School. Various versions of *Planning the Party* were published across Canada in association with local papers. This particular publication is dated 1934 and associated with the newspaper *La Presse*. Other versions would have indicated Maple Leaf Milling as the publisher, making it absolutely clear that Marthe Miral was Anna Lee Scott's French-Canadian counterpart.



Ann Adam. *New Ideas for Praise Winning Meals and Parties*. Ingersoll, Ont.: Ingersoll Cream Cheese Co., [1937-1946].

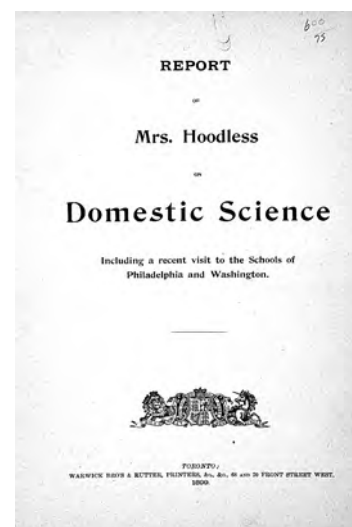
Although this booklet suggests that Ann Adam was spokesperson for the 'Ingersoll Family of Delicious Cheeses,' Ann Adam of Ann Adam Homecrafters was also the first entrepreneurial pseudonym in Canada. She was portrayed by Katherine Caldwell Bayley (1889-1976), assisted by her sister, Lois Caldwell, and husband, Walter S. Bayley (1886-1959), and in later years by Mary Adams and Helen Gagen (who later went on to portray Anna Lee Scott). The business was run out of the Bayley's home at 48 Roselawn Avenue in Toronto. Ann Adam was one busy lady: she wrote columns as Ann Adam for the *Mail and Empire*, and for *Globe and Mail* as of the 1920s; consulted and produced cookbooks for companies such as Maple Leaf Milling; hosted cooking schools including the 'Ann Adam Cooking School of the Air' on the CFRB radio for thirty years. Using her own name, she was also Food Editor of *Canadian Home Journal*.

Case 5: Domestic Science –Elizabeth Ridolfo

When domestic science education began in Ontario in the last decade of the nineteenth century, social and educational options for women were still limited. The study of household skills such as cooking or sewing in a classroom setting initiated a major change in Canadian society which quickened the spread of culinary knowledge and sparked increased interest in family nutrition. The growth and elevation of the field and eventual inclusion of domestic science in the university curriculum at the University of Toronto made it more acceptable for women to attend university. Also, higher-level academic positions and new career paths began to open for female graduates. Canadian women could participate in the formation of culinary culture by becoming part of a formalized tradition of teaching and learning. However, the professionalization of women's domestic activities and the opening of this field also had a limiting effect for some, and it was both feminist and contrary to some of the goals of women's liberation. This brief look at the history of Domestic Science in the Toronto area is focused around the rich collections held at the University of Toronto Archives.

Adelaide Hoodless (1857-1910). *Report of Mrs. Hoodless on Domestic Science: Including a Recent Visit to the Schools of Philadelphia and Washington*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1899.

“There is no greater factor in promoting the welfare of a nation than its home life”⁸¹. Born in 1857, Adelaide Hoodless (née Hunter) is one of the most important early figures in the development of Domestic Science in Canada. Prominent socialite and wife to furniture manufacturer John Hoodless, Adelaide directed her considerable energy into many women's causes and organizations after her fourteen-month-old baby John Harold



died in 1889 of an intestinal ailment believed to be caused by drinking contaminated milk. Hoodless was central to the founding of the Women's Institutes, was second president of the Hamilton Young Women's Christian Association, and an early or founding member of the National Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses. Convinced that educating young women in the basics of domestic science was essential to the Canadian home, she fought against tremendous pushback to establish Household Science programs at the YWCA, in Hamilton Public Schools and later through the Macdonald Institute, which still operates at the University of Guelph.

Hoodless believed that domestic science education was not only good for the family and society at large, but for the individual. In her *Report*, Hoodless described the positive impact of domestic science education in Philadelphia, England, and other parts of Europe, which included improved health, and increased willpower, industry and interest, especially in those who were not interested in 'book learning'⁸². She also stated



her belief that the teaching of cooking should be based not on pleasing the palate, but ‘upon scientific, hygienic and health principles’⁸³.

At the Ministry of Education’s request, Hoodless wrote a domestic science textbook for use in classrooms throughout Canada called *Public School Domestic Science*. Commonly known as the ‘little red book’, this text featured evidence-based practice and a focus on cleanliness and germ prevention which helped define the new discipline of Domestic Science as it entered Canadian schools⁸⁴. While she sought to improve the state of the Canadian household through domestic science education, her hopes for women did not extend to the cause of female Suffrage, and Hoodless openly opposed votes for women⁸⁵. Her students were expected to apply the skill they learned to the care of their homes and family.

Girls at the Lillian Massey School of Domestic Science, [189-?]

While Adelaide Hoodless was championing Domestic Science education in Hamilton, Lillian Massey (1854-1915) was using her status as the daughter of one of the city’s most prominent philanthropic families to further the cause in Toronto. Lillian’s father, Hart Massey, had opened the Fred Victor Mission, named after Lillian’s deceased brother, at Queen and Jarvis with the aim of providing services to the impoverished residents in the area. Convinced that some of the problems of poverty could be solved with better management of the household⁸⁶, Lillian Massey started the Fred Victor Mission School of Domestic Science in 1896 in the basement of the Mission. With the part-time help of an American teacher from the YWCA⁸⁷, she offered sewing and cooking classes for young mothers and children. By some accounts, she had difficulty gaining the trust and acceptance of her students. After a brief closure, the school reopened in 1900 and, in addition to the mission classes, it offered public classes and Ladies’ classes, which helped to draw more middle and upper-middle class women from Massey’s circle into the field⁸⁸.

Lillian Massey, Annie Lewisa Laird and Normal School group, with Good Housekeeping on chair. [1902?] UTARMS 75-008/14

Lillian Massey approached the Ontario Department of Education to start a program for teacher training connected with her school. The two-year normal school course was first offered in 1902. At around the same time, Massey was approached by Nathanael Burwash with an offer to help introduce Household Science into the University curriculum if she would pay for a new building to house the department⁸⁹. She agreed, and while they began planning the building, classes continued to be held at the Lillian Massey School, the Women’s Medical College, and other buildings on campus.



Women's alumnae associations in Toronto wondered if it was in the best interests of women's higher education to offer Household Science as a university course;⁹⁰ would a program specifically designed for women draw them away from their efforts to be accepted in other more 'serious' areas of study, or would a 'woman's department' perhaps become a neglected and segregated appendage? Defenders of the department would spend years before and after the introduction of the course battling these competing perceptions: that they were trying to turn the University into a cooking school⁹¹, that women were entering the university to meet husbands, or that domestic science was unable to provide serious training for intelligent women⁹². Since these courses were gaining popularity at the same time as wider female enrolment in university programs, their introduction drove some women into these 'acceptable' courses of study, putting them into an 'occupational ghetto'⁹³ for the foreseeable future.



Laying the Cornerstone for the Household Sciences Building [1908?].

'We are influenced to a considerable extent by our surroundings and Mrs. Treble has put a great deal of careful thought into this building to make it such that it will have an elevating effect upon those who from year to year study within its walls'⁹⁴. Toronto Banker and philanthropist Sir Edmund Walker attended both the laying of the cornerstone in 1908 and the formal opening of the Household Science building in 1913. The impressive new building of terrazzo, tile, and cement boasted a library, a museum, and a South wing devoted to food chemistry with numerous well-equipped labs, including one for advanced students to do research work and two private laboratories for staff.

Food Chemistry Honour Laboratory Household Science Building [1913?]

It also housed a two-storey gymnasium with a small swimming pool the use of all women students. Women were barred from Hart House, where



the men's facilities were located, and prior to the opening of the Lillian Massey building they had no facilities on campus for physical training. The small swimming pool was often referred to as the 'bathtub', and within fifteen years there would be a push for a better-equipped women's building.

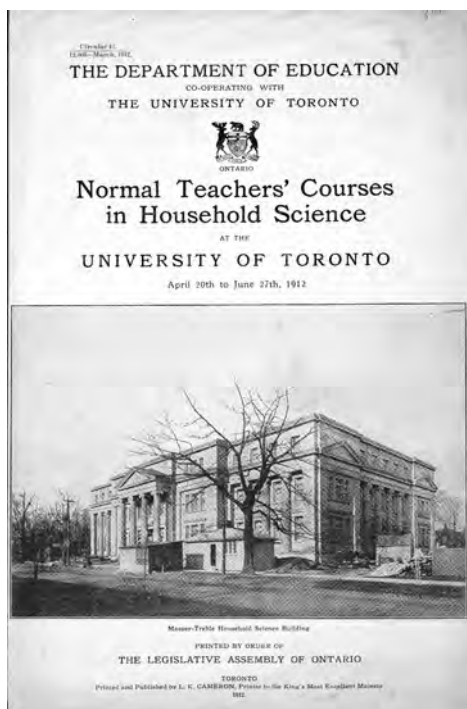
Students Look at the Swimming Pool ('the Bathtub') in the Lillian Massey Building [19-?]

In the early days of the program, the goal was to create a curriculum equal to that of the Honours Arts program at the University, so the students took languages, literature, history, economics, and science courses. While the Faculty of Household Science created a great deal of new, positive space for women to teach, research, and pursue their academic and career goals, the Department's focus on traditional 'women's subjects' was seen by some as supporting deeply ingrained gender stereotypes and



preventing true equality⁹⁵. Balancing societal expectations and personal career goals was a challenge for women graduates of the program. Women who went on to teach might be expected to leave their teaching careers when they got married, and so a career in teaching often meant either giving up the family life or keeping one's personal life a secret.

Annie Lewisa Laird (1871-1939) seen above in the group photo with Lillian Massey, became Principal soon after accepting a position at the Lillian Massey School following her graduation from Bryn Mawr in 1902. After the proposal to establish the degree course in Household Science at the University of Toronto, Laird corresponded with her American colleagues in universities with already-established programs and learned how they distinguished themselves from home economics courses by having a high entry bar and science-focused programs. Laird was the only woman to sit on the committee drafting the degree course, and she worked together with President of Victoria College Nathanael Burwash to help establish



the program. As Faculty Head from 1906-1939, she oversaw numerous programs and initiatives, including some free public instruction and a basic ten-week teacher's course in Household Science, which was free to students of the Normal School who agreed to teach in the Public or Separate Schools of Ontario for three years after graduation.

Ontario Department of Education. *Normal Teacher's Courses in Household Science at the University of Toronto*. Toronto: Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1912.

Laird heavily promoted a nutrition science focus and looked beyond a career in teaching to develop other employment options for graduates of the course. She was founder and life member of the American Dietetics

Association and a strong proponent of the field, and many of her students went on to become dietitians in hospitals, department stores, and for the war effort. Laird and her colleague Clara Cynthia Benson were the first women to become associate professors and later full professors at the University of Toronto. The Annie L. Laird Prize in Nutrition and Food Science is still given out today to undergraduates who achieve academic excellence in nutritional sciences.

Clara Benson Unveiling Plaque at the opening ceremonies for the Women's Athletic Centre, 30 October, 1959

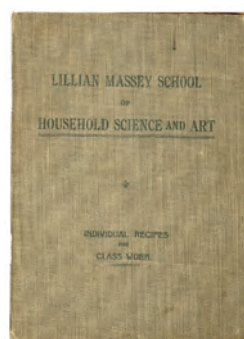
Clara Cynthia Benson (1875-1964) was the first woman to graduate in Chemistry from the University of Toronto, and one of the first two women awarded a PhD by the University in 1903. She went on to teach bacteriology, physiology, and food chemistry to Household Science students, first in the medical building, and then later in the new Faculty of Household Science. A member of numerous international scientific institutions, Benson was among a group of women who earned degrees in chemistry



and eventually found a welcoming academic environment in Domestic Science. Lillian Massey Treble's new building included ample laboratory space, where Benson continued her research while teaching, and became an expert on the blood and tissues of fish with the Department of Fisheries. Here, she applied techniques used in the analysis of food chemistry to the chemistry of explosives for the war effort. She was also personally interested in women's athletics. She was president of University of Toronto Athletic club for nearly twenty-five years, and along with a committee of women faculty she advocated for a women's athletic building, as the facilities at the Household Science building were deemed unsatisfactory. It was not until 1959 that the faculty and students got their wish with the opening of the Benson Building, where Benson is pictured above. Though this was a partial victory, female students continued the fight until they were finally granted access to Hart house in 1972.

L.M.S. Book of Recipes: Individual and Large Amounts for Home and School, Lillian Massey School of Household Science and Art. Toronto: A.L. Laird, c1917.

Nellie Lyle Pattinson (1878-1953) graduated from the University of Toronto's Household Science course in 1907. She was a Physiological

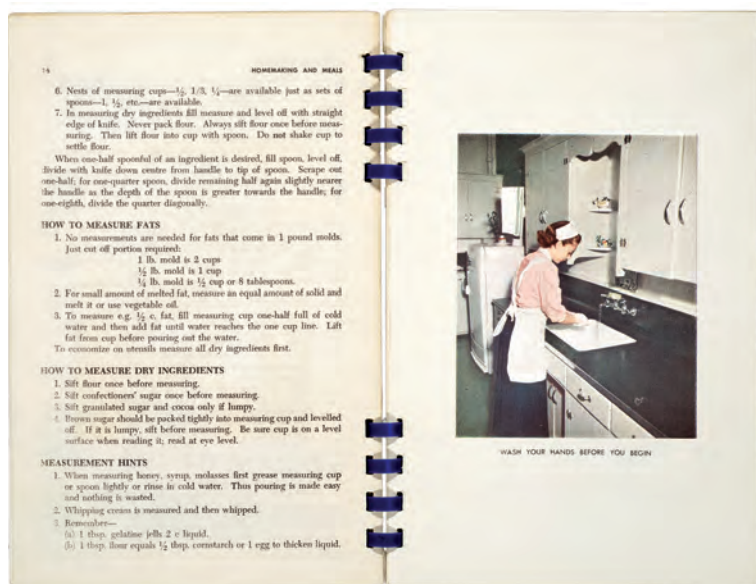


Chemistry instructor there until 1915, when she was hired to teach at, and later direct the Domestic Science School at Toronto's new Central Technical School. At around this time she helped Annie L. Laird prepare this teaching manual, and possibly several others in the series, meant for use by students at the Lillian Massey School. Although a recipe that calls for 'one teaspoon of egg' or 'three sticks of macaroni' might seem strange, in this and many other manuals for domestic science courses, recipes are divided into individual and large amounts: individual amounts were enough for the student to prepare for a small exercise in the classroom, and large amounts were family-sized portions for use at home. Not long after this, Pattinson went on to write the successful *Canadian Cook Book* for Ryerson Press.

Domestic Science Students Learn to Work on Demonstration Gas Burners at Earl Grey School, [1923?].

Companies like Consumers' Gas would furnish and update cooking equipment in Toronto schools like Earl Grey, and even occasionally send their representatives, called 'Betty Brights', to instruct the students.⁹⁶





***Handbook of Practical Cookery for the Use of Household Science Classes in the Public Schools of Toronto.* Toronto: Toronto Board of Education.**

Later editions name Miss Margaret Davidson, director of Household Arts for Toronto Public Schools as the compiler of this book.⁹⁷ Like earlier classroom manuals, it includes information on the care and cleaning of the kitchen and household, and charts identifying the different cuts of meats. It also shows the increasing focus on nutrition, including calorie requirements and breakdown of the nutritional value of common foods. Editions of this textbook were used in Toronto Public Schools to at least 1950.

Elsbeth Middleton (189?-1962), Muriel Ransom (1912-) and Albert Vierin (-1976). *The Cook's Recipe Manual for Navy, Army, Air Force, Munitions Plants, Camps and Schools.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1943.

Career options for women entering the department gradually expanded beyond teaching. In a 1927 address on the state of the program, Annie Laird listed dietitian, commercial work, laboratory work and demonstrating, journalism (and marriage) among the options for graduates from the faculty⁹⁸. Many graduates went on to use their knowledge of the principles of domestic science to work outside of the traditional school environment, trying to shape the dining habits of the population by improving the selection and nutritional value of what was on offer at dining halls, cafeterias, and canteens all over the country. Elspeth Middleton and Muriel Ransom were both graduates of the Faculty of Household Science; Ransom managed food services in the Great Hall at the University of Toronto and spent some time as both a hospital and department store dietitian. Middleton taught at Central Technical School before teaching at the cooking school at the H.M.C.S. Cornwallis. The acknowledgements also mention Miss J. Lambden, who was director of the Royal Canadian Air Force School of Cookery in Guelph. Some of the recipes in this volume came from a project run by the Toronto Home Economics Association.

Carol Kerr Demonstrating

As the century wore on, the department experienced a decline in enrolment and in later years struggled to attract students. In November 1962, the Department's name was changed to the Faculty of Food Sciences to reflect the predominantly science-oriented courses offered at the time. Students in the Faculty of Food Sciences could specialize in nutrition and dietetics, food chemistry, community development, and textiles. In the early 1970s a reorganization of the Faculty of Medicine, Food Sciences, and the School of Hygiene lead to the threat of closure for Food Sciences. There were strong sentiments from alumnae: an undated, unsigned note



in the Edna Park collection contains comments returned as a result of a worldwide mailing informing graduates of the proposed phasing out of the Faculty.⁹⁹ One graduate said that the ‘Nation’s health will suffer if the Faculty of Food Science is deleted’, another expressed shock that ‘in the interests of economy, such worthwhile studies should be phased out’ and one person asked of Vice-Provost Dr. John Hamilton: ‘Does he only see girls in a science lab, or can he envisage community life?’ Despite the protests of the alumnae association, the Household Sciences building was closed and the Faculty of Food Sciences was officially dissolved on 30 June, 1975.

Case 6: Canadian Women’s Magazines - Irina D. Mihalache

Women’s magazines are shaped by a multiplicity of voices – the editors, the contributors, the readers, the advertisers – which often communicated divergent narratives and mixed messages. Since the late 1890s, when magazines targeting women emerged in the Canadian media landscape, many communities of women found a space to speak up on matters of politics, romance, household management, and cooking. These publications were abundant in culinary content, either in the form of advice, opinion-pieces, promotion of food products and kitchen tools, or recipes. The participatory culture of women’s magazines¹⁰⁰ – readers wrote letters to the editor that often critiqued the content, contributed with articles, were interviewed about their household practices and sent in recipes for various competitions – produced rich texts which suggest that the road to the making of culinary culture is complicated, non-linear, plentiful in moments of negotiation, and marked by exclusions and forms of discrimination.

Aiming to catch up to the United States¹⁰¹, Canadian press at the turn of last century expanded to include magazines targeted specifically at women. Barbara Freeman wrote that ‘Canadian periodicals..., in the nineteenth century, were essentially platforms for masculine intellectual inquiry’.¹⁰² The development of women’s magazines did not exactly correct this problem, as many women’s magazines in the 1890s and early 1900s were run by men.¹⁰³ However, women’s magazines opened up a space for women to be in the public in ways which had not been possible before. As both subjects – women as consumers¹⁰⁴ – and producers of content, Canadian women experienced a new type of visibility. In the context of culinary culture in Canada, this visibility translated into various forms of agency for many women, but not for all.

The audiences that women’s magazines were constructing, as they

attempted to reach out to Canadian women, were based on an idealized ‘white, middle-class, urban’ housewife.¹⁰⁵ Many communities of women – working class, aging, sexually diverse, migrant, Indigenous, geographically remote – did not identify with this representation. Despite many omissions and blatant exclusions, women’s magazines are productive sites for engaging with Canada’s ever-changing identity. And, more specifically, with the culinary dimensions of this desired identity.

In the exhibition, we highlight several women’s magazines with heavy culinary content published since the 1890s that had a national circulation and were therefore the most popular Canadian publications in this genre. However, it is important to acknowledge that women’s periodicals existed in Canada since the 1850s. Some examples are *The Mayflower of Ladies’ Acadian Newspaper*, Halifax, 1851-1852; *The Young Ladies Journal* (Canadian Edition), New York, 1864-1920; *La Mère et l’enfant*, Montreal, 1890-1891; or *The Ladies’ Bazaar*, Toronto, [1888? – 1910?]. A look at these early Canadian periodicals reveals little content related to cooking and several articles that addressed household management rather than specific culinary chores. A series of articles about maids in *The Ladies’ Bazaar* suggests that the women reading these magazines would employ cooks and therefore would not require cooking skills themselves. It is not until the turn of the century that publications with a mass circulation challenge this exclusive and class-based view of the female audience.

***Western Home Monthly* (1899-1932)/*National Home Monthly*. Winnipeg: Home Publishing Co. (1932 – 1960).**

Originating in Winnipeg, *Western Home Monthly* was first published in 1899 under the tagline ‘A Family Journal devoted to all that Appeals to the Home’ and it started as a modest local agricultural publication.¹⁰⁶ In its early years, food content was visible throughout the magazine but not

grouped under one single section. For example, in the December 1904 issue, readers could find untitled recipes for meat dishes and desserts, alongside tips for preparing tea, making beef steak, and for how ‘to keep bread and butter fresh’.¹⁰⁷ A recipe for ‘Plum Pudding a la David Harum’ was included in a section on ‘Christmas in the Country’ by A. M. M.¹⁰⁸ Interestingly enough, as the magazine evolved towards a more structured content, with distinct sections, the ‘Household Suggestions’ section, which included recipes, was ‘supervised by the Chef of the Mariaggi, Winnipeg’.¹⁰⁹ It is only after September 1909 that the cooking section was written by women who shared both advice (for example: ‘when cooking beets’) and recipes (for example: ‘milk soup’ or ‘eggless salad dressing’). Their knowledge was legitimized by the experience gained by being housewives, and, later on, towards the 1920s, by the domestic science education that many women authors had.

In February 1920, Gertrude Dutton joined the editorial team of the publication as cookery expert¹¹⁰ and continued to run the culinary sections of the magazine as the publication grew in scope and readership¹¹¹, and changed its name to *National Home Monthly* to acknowledge its new reach. Under Dutton’s leadership, the food column changed its name to ‘Better Cookery’ and was re-focused primarily on recipes, which reflected the changing traditions in Canadian culinary culture. One such change was the increasing presence of recipes which nodded towards cultural encounters between established Canadians (British settlers) and other cultural groups, newer to Canada. For example, the February 1920 issue featured ‘Hungarian Goulash’, ‘Cuban Pie’, and ‘Creole Rice’.¹¹² The December 1937 article ‘Christmas around the World’ further demonstrated the attempts to normalize the presence of newcomers into Canada through an acceptance of their foods, or at least through curiosity towards other cultural communities.



Gertrude Dutton. 'Better Cookery: Christmas Around the World.'

December 1937, p. 62

Everywoman's World. Toronto: Continental Publishing Co. (1914 – 192?).

A short lived yet very popular publication, *Everywoman's World* was the first women's magazine to surpass the 100,000 subscriptions¹¹³ threshold. Several scholars have analyzed this magazine as the first straightforward example of a publication that was entirely focused on marketing to women.¹¹⁴ If *Western Home Monthly* was slower at incorporating advertisements and had a larger male audience than *Everywoman's World*, the latter combined women's issues with commercial interests. With women entering the workforce during the First World War, and therefore with less

time for household chores, new products entered the Canadian markets to support women's new needs. Brands such as Del Monte, Clark's, Royal Baking Powder, Purity Flour and Carnation Milk promised relief from the chores of the kitchen through 'clever' shortcuts. But much would be missed about the cultural significance of this magazine if one focuses only on its commercial allegiances, and in fact, it would be impossible to find a women's magazine during this period that was not full of advertisements. Articles such as Caldwell's 'Back to Sugars of Yesterday' suggest that other narratives co-existed with those promoted by marketers. During the First World War, this magazine advocated for women's active contribution to the war effort at home through regulated consumption. With white sugar being shipped to Europe, housewives had to be creative and adapt to these changes. Women's magazines provided a space for Canadian women to exchange culinary ideas within a context of food control, without losing taste and creativity.

The Home Journal: Canada's Leading Home Magazine. Toronto: Consolidated Press (1905 – 1958).

Another magazine that made claims to a national readership was *The Home Journal*, first published in 1905. Much like *Everywoman's World* a few years later, *The Journal* opted for a heavily commercial format, with advertisements targeting a female audience, while promising to address matters relevant to Canadian women, from politics, to health and household suggestions. In June 1910, the magazine changed its name to *Canadian Home Journal*, which was explained by the editorial board as 'the attempt to give you articles and stories representative of your own country... 'Made in Canada' has become a popular label, no less for publishing than for pianos'.¹¹⁵ This magazine was the first to make such bold claims about its role in representing (and therefore constructing) a Cana-

dian identity. Beyond a marketing decision, the renaming of the magazine was an attempt to create a community of readership which identified as Canadians. The 'Culinary Conceits' column was a manifestation of the call to build up Canada through recipes that showed Canada's British heritage. The May 1909 issue, which is featured in the exhibition, included recipes for 'Mocha Cake' and 'Oysters and Chicken.' If, in the magazine's first years, 'Culinary Conceits' had an anonymous author, starting with 1910, the column received the expert stamp of the Macdonald Institute in Guelph, co-founded by Adelaide Hoodless, the famous Canadian educational reformer. In the following years, the magazine hired celebrated cookbook author and home economist Marion Harris Neil to run its culinary section.

The Home Journal. May 1909, p. 26

With new food sections added to the magazine's content after 1910, (for example: 'Matters of Menu' grouped culinary articles into one single section) expressing a cohesive culinary Canadian identity was more and more difficult. As early as June 1912, American writer and photographer Mary H. Northend (1850 – 1926) contributed a piece about 'Dishes of Many Lands.'¹¹⁶ In the same issue, the 'Culinary Conceits' column presented recipes for 'Kedgeree', 'Spanish Rice', and 'Vegetable Chop Suey'.¹¹⁷ In August 1915, Neil wrote an entire article on 'How to Make Good Curry Dishes'.¹¹⁸ The co-existence of more traditional Canadian dishes inherited from British settlers with foods encountered through contact with new migrant communities or via British colonial routes shows that culinary culture is a process rather than a prescribed set of practices. Reflection on the power relations that brought these foods in conversation were missing from the magazine, and therefore the food sections can be seen as texts thaappropriate without including voices of the producers of such foods.



Indigenous ingredients such as corn, pumpkins and beans were very popular in recipes at the time, but their histories were not acknowledged when integrated into dishes labeled as Canadian. In fact, one of the first instances in a women's magazine when Indigenous food was recognized as such – through the incorrect label 'Indian' – does not happen until the 1960s, in the pages of another women's magazine, *Chatelaine*.

Chatelaine. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Pub. Co., (1928 – present)

Launched in March 1928, *The Chatelaine: A Magazine for Canadian Women* rapidly became the most popular women's magazine in Canada. The magazine distinguished itself from others by hiring female editors, including Anne Elizabeth Wilson, Byrne Hope Sanders, Mary Etta



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Elaine Collett. (d. 2002). 'Indians 1968: Food Indians Gave the World in Recipes for Today' November 1968 p. 58-59,



Mona Cleaver Purser (1885-1954). *The Homemaker's Guide Book*. Toronto: Globe & Mail, 1937.

Other voices shaped culinary culture in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century: food writers for popular newspapers. Mona Cleaver Purser was a Toronto writer who edited the 'Homemaker' column in *The Globe and Mail* (previously two separate publications, *The Globe* and *The Mail*) from 1925 until 1954. The column relied on letters from readers, who sent in advice about all aspects of housekeeping, including cooking. In 1937, Purser published *The Homemaker's Guide Book*, which was a compilation of advice received from her readers, which gives the book a dialogic tone. The book was divided into several sections, including 'Chiefly Culinary', 'Laundry and Stains', and 'Insect Pests' and reflected the structure of household manuals and cookbooks at the time.



Jessie Read (1905-1940). *Three Meals a Day*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1949.

A trained home economist and food editor for *The Toronto Telegram* starting in 1934, Jessie Read was already well known for her cooking demonstrations with Consumers' Gas Company and weekly radio broadcasts through the company's radio station.¹²² Her column, 'Three Meals a Day', one of three columns included in the Woman's Department section, featured recipes that she authored and collected throughout her career. Compared to Purser, Read relied entirely on her expertise and education rather than on contributions from readers. Nonetheless, she was a public figure and many women in Toronto and Ontario would have met her during cooking demonstrations, which explains the popularity of her column and of her cookbooks.

The culinary content in women's magazines and food columns in popular newspapers are products of many voices, communities, and contexts. Reading these texts in conversation with each other depicts the making of culinary culture in Canada as unstructured, non-linear, and rather chaotic. Moments of negotiation, forms of exclusion, and constant change trouble the narratives of national or regional coherence.



Case 7: Cooking Schools of the Stage, Radio and Television – Nathalie Cooke

Before the Food Network, Canadians demonstrated an appetite for learning about how to cook from culinary authorities who gave presentations to large crowds or came into their homes via radio and television in programs styled as cooking schools of the air. Canadians, like their neighbours to the south, tuned in frequently to hear from American spokespersons like Betty Crocker. While there were Canadian culinary authorities who were much beloved for their trusted recipes and wise counsel, two are particularly memorable: Mrs. A and Mme. B, otherwise known as Kate Aitken (1891-1971) and Jéhane Benoît (1904-1987).

The Modern Household Cookery Book with Numerous Recipes. Toronto: Consumers' Gas. Co., [1910?].

During the early decades of the twentieth century, the dawn of the consumer age and also a time of rapid technological innovation, housewives found that their mothers might not have all the answers when it came to cooking with new appliances and energy sources. Cookbooks and the domestic authorities who authored them filled an important information gap and became valued and trusted resources. Realizing this, corporations encouraged loyal consumers by offering, in addition to their products, cookbooks that were a blend of useful information and advertising. *The Modern Household Cookery Book* is a particularly interesting example because of the many ways it engages its readers, in addition to offering comprehensive and detailed recipes.

It is strategic in its use of two words that were very much in vogue during the period. The term 'modern' in the book's title positions it as providing particularly timely advice. And the adjective 'dainty,' such as in

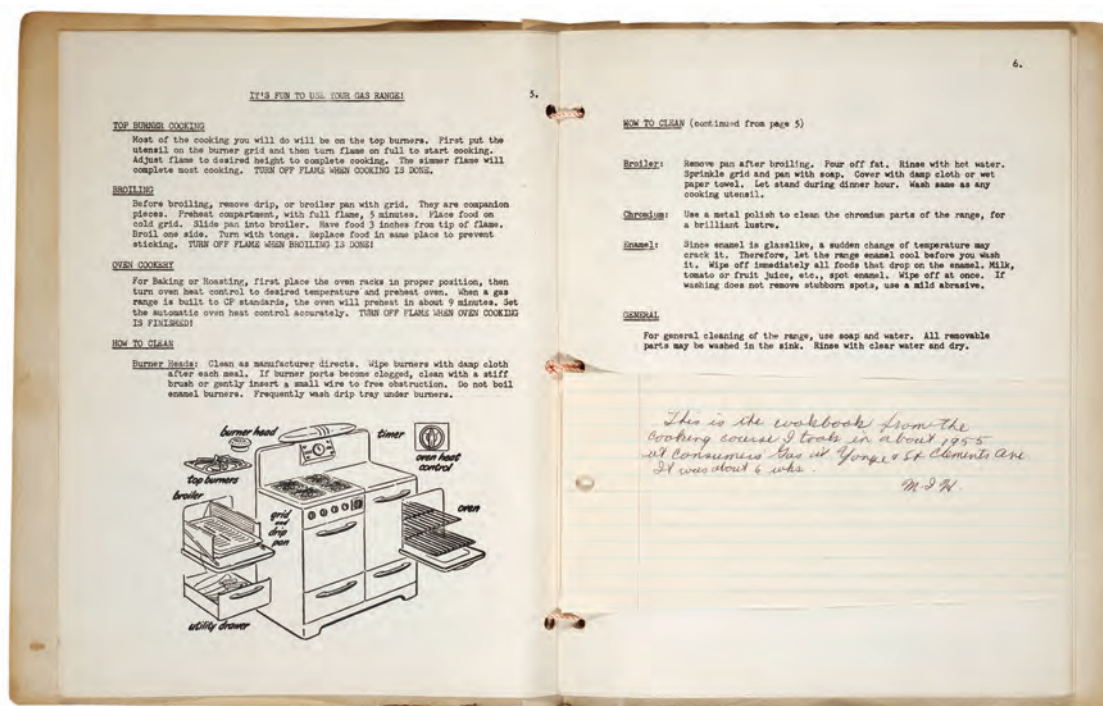
the section entitled 'Dainty Sweets and Creams' (p. 66), targets an aspirational readership. However, the book also engages readers on a variety of different levels. For example, its opening pages amuse readers by providing a particularly humorous visual narrative about the benefits of switching to gas for cooking, accompanied by a catchy verse. The narrative is careful to position the housewife in the role of wise counsellor, one that the book's largely female readership would have appreciated.

This book can be understood as a pioneering or 'modern' text in another way as well. Published around 1910, it also contains a full section on 'Chinese Cookery' (p. 125-127). The only section devoted to ethnically inflected cuisine in the book, it was published five years before *The Japanese-Canadian Cook Book*, understood to be the first book about

Asian cuisine published in North America. Not only does this section outline specifically Chinese cooking methods, but it also extols their virtues. Describing Chinese vegetables, for example, the book explains that the 'Chinese excel all other peoples' in this 'kitchen department.' 'Those vegetables which other cooks generally boil, the Chinese steam in steam-tight utensils,' the result being that '[a]sparagus, broccoli, cauliflower, green peas, all keep color, form and flavor; they come to table as nature sent them out at first hand – absolutely perfect' (127).

Cooking Can be Fun. [Toronto: Consumers' Gas, 195-?].

There were many cooking schools available to Canadian housewives, some of them offering live demonstrations. One such cooking school was



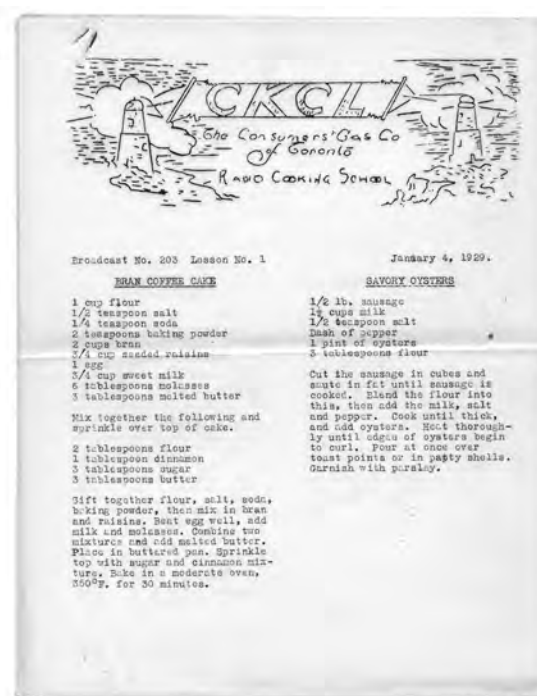
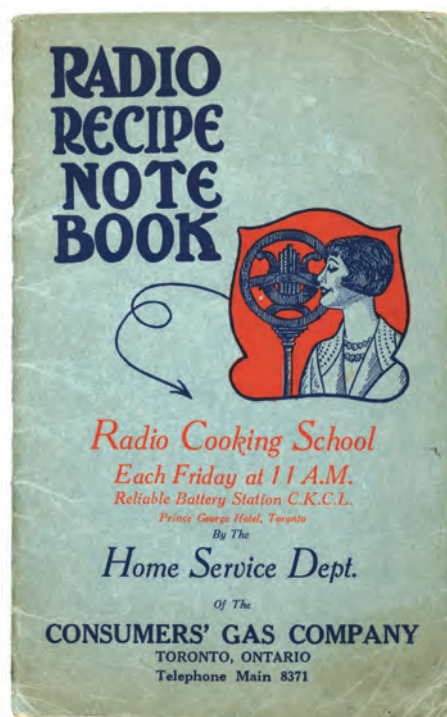
run by Consumers' Gas Company Ltd. In the Fisher Library Collections one can find various traces of the culinary program's impact. *Cooking Can be Fun*, for example, is a workbook filled by someone who chose to attend classes regularly for six weeks at Consumers' Gas at the corner of Yonge and St Clements Avenue in Toronto in 1955.

Radio recipe notebook. Toronto: Consumers Gas Co., [1925?].

Consumers' Gas also ran a radio cooking school, with classes broadcast over the air on CKCL radio and recorded at the Prince George hotel, beginning on 22 May 1925. The Radio Cooking School was broadcast each Friday at 11 a.m. and listeners, such as the owner of this notebook, followed along and jotted down what they learned in a book produced specif-

ically for the task. While the radio cooking school was intended to showcase Consumers' Gas, and more generally, as seen above, that 'Gas is the best fuel,' there was significant cross-advertisement involved. Hand-written recipes in this notebook predominantly qualify the ingredient flour with the brand name 'Monarch.' Ironically, on the page indicating the name of the spokesperson for Maple Leaf Mills at the top of the page ('Mrs. Anna Lee Scott'), the recipe for 'Loaf Cakes' dated 8 Apr 1927 is one of the only ones that just says 'flour,' without a particular brand name.

Radio Cooking School. Toronto: The Consumers' Gas Company of Toronto, 1929.



When the radio cooking school began, the instructor or Director of the Home Service Department was Miss Gladys Eaton. Miss Helen Wilson would take over the role between 1926 and 1928. These lesson handouts are from 1929, when Jessie Read (1905-1940) was the instructor. Read proved to be a very popular instructor. By 1934 the Toronto *Evening Telegram* launched a daily column by this culinary authority, and less than two years later she starred in *Kitchen Talks*, the first 'cooking-school movie' filmed in Canada.¹²³

Mrs. S. R. Fletcher's Completed Examination Form for the Betty Crocker's Cooking School, 1935.

Jan. 5, 1936

Mrs. S. R. Fletcher
401 Allen Ave.
Hopewell, Va.

Dear Mrs. Fletcher:

Thank you so much for taking the time from your busy days to answer the examination questionnaire in connection with the Fall Term of the Gold Medal Flour Radio Cooking School. I was so interested in looking it over and noticing the comments on the different questions.

Did you receive your copy of the "Trick A Day" booklet I mailed to you a few days ago? I do hope it has arrived safely and you are enjoying it.

As you noted at the end of the questionnaire why pie crust rises up in the pan, I am offering these few suggestions hoping they might help you. Pie crust always shrinks some when it is baked but so prevent undue shrinkage it is always better to be careful not to stretch it as you put it into the pie pan. When you build up the fluted edge—finish it so that tiny ridges of the pastry hook themselves over the edge of the pan, as this helps to "tie" it in place. I not only prick my pastry thoroughly before baking it but within about 5 minutes of baking I prick it down again. I stand at the oven door and reach in and prick it where it has risen. Some women find that baking their pastry on the outside of inverted pie pans works nicely—pricking a pan inside the one the holds the pastry will help to hold the shell in place. You may care to try these methods too—but I am sure that giving it a second pricking when it is in the oven will solve the problem—and there is so much satisfaction in achieving a well shaped shell!

With best wishes for the New Year!

Cordially,

BC:AG

Letter from Betty Crocker (typed by Agnes Quamme Higgins) to Mrs. S. R. Fletcher (3 January, 1936).

Canadian listeners also enjoyed such popular American radio shows as Betty Crocker's Cooking School of the Air. Indeed Canadians, like Montrealer Agnes Quamme Higgins (1911-1985), were among those who personified Betty Crocker on the air, in correspondence, and in stage demonstrations. We also have detailed information about Betty Crocker because she was portrayed by a Canadian whose papers contain carbon copies of letters she wrote on behalf of Betty Crocker, and radio scripts she typed for Betty Crocker's Radio Program.¹²⁴ An unpublished document from General Mills notes that in 1932 there were ten members of the Betty Crocker staff, forty-five radio stations, 46,148 cooking school registra-

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS FOR FALL TERM (1935) 1935
BETTY CROCKER'S COOKING SCHOOL

WTAR
Return for File

- Do you use GOLD MEDAL "Kitchen-tested" Flour? *yes*
Cake Flour BISQUICK CRACKERS
Are these products easy to get at your local stores? *yes*
If not, what do you do about it?
- Do you have standard measuring cup and spoons in your kitchen? *yes*
Do you always use them in your baking? *yes*
- How do you measure flour and why? *Light before measuring. Not sifted. Sift & measure with 2 cups separate.*
- What type of oven do you use—gas, electric, wood, coal, oil? *Gas*
- Do you have an oven regulator? *yes*
Do you use an oven thermometer?
- Do you use the recipes packed in the sacks of GOLD MEDAL "Kitchen-tested" Flour? Please make comments! *yes - they are a big help for novices.*
- How many eggs and how much shortening (butter or butter substitute) are you willing to use in an every-day cake for family use? *2 eggs. 1/2 cup butter.*
How much in a cake for a special occasion? *4 eggs. 1 1/2 cups butter.*
- Which recipes in the Fall Term did you and your family enjoy most? Why? *Caramel nut chip pie - It was delicious and very good.*
- Did you consider the pie recipe given in the Fall Lessons practical for your family? Explain. *yes - it is not expensive and is easy to make.*
- What foods should a complete one-dish meal include? Give an example. *potatoes, vegetables, meat - Beef, Apple Dinner.*
- What rules for meal planning did you get out of the middle-of-the-week menu talks? *make a menu for the week - choose a main dish - make a sandwich - make a salad - make a drink - make a dessert.*
- Do you feel after listening to the Cooking School lessons that you understand fully the technique of cake-making, pastry-cooking, handling cookies, quick breads, etc.? Or do you still have questions you would like to have cleared up? (Answer fully.)
I would like to know why pie crust raises from pan. I prick with fork & still it raises.

Mrs. S. R. Fletcher - 401 Allen Ave. Hopewell, Va.

tions, and ‘135,819 mail volume.’ Between 1939 and 1940, when the show discussed pioneer covered wagon days, ‘which were a good background for discussions of thrift,’ there were sixty-five radio stations hosting the cooking school and 35,389 cooking school registrations, even though a ‘fee was charged for registration. Mail volume for that period reached 151,952” (Crocker 1940?).¹²⁵ Betty Crocker’s ‘classroom of the air’ involved both a formal registration process and a written examination at the end of the course. In turn, Crocker’s students benefitted both through receiving a packet of recipes produced on recipe cards, and from the opportunity to ask Betty Crocker directly about any particular issue of concern. What distinguished Betty Crocker from the other corporate spokespersons and loyalty mechanisms was the clever innovation of a radio talk show that fashioned itself as a cooking ‘school’ and the elaborate execution of its ‘course development.’

For General Mills, the value of Betty Crocker’s Classroom of the Air lay less in tuition fees (although there was a nominal fee charged in some of the later years) than in the wealth of demographic information that students provided about their cooking practices, food tastes, and particular culinary anxieties that might one day be remedied by product innovations.

Interestingly, the value of this information to the company is articulated very explicitly in the correspondence. For example, ‘Betty’ (that is, someone who worked for General Mills’ Home Service Director and signed her name as ‘Betty Crocker’) writes quite openly of this to one of her students. Note, however, that she positions the information as valuable to her lesson plans rather than to the product development and marketing strategies of her parent company. In other words, she positions herself as teacher rather than as corporate spokesperson:

Perhaps by this time the little relish dish has reached you, so you

know that we received the questionnaire all carefully filled out. I was very glad to have these personal comments as they help me so much when making plans for future lessons etc. (Crocker, 4 January 1936)

That Crocker here positions herself as a teacher is significant for another reason as well. Women who portrayed Crocker, in addition to the Crocker persona herself, were focused on serving their community. The sheer volume of correspondence, often providing advice that went well beyond the specific parameters of product marketing, suggests there was a genuine willingness on the part of the individual and the company to provide a service. The reality, however, was also that these women were working in a corporate setting and served as vehicles of a remarkably strategic marketing strategy. Women portraying corporate spokespersons in the early decades of radio’s golden age were typically very well educated and articulate, ironically straddling the separate spheres by working in the corporate sector yet mentoring best practices of and for the home food provider.

Letter typed by Agnes Quamme for Betty Crocker to Celia Leades, 8 October 1936.

Letter from Mrs. Leades to Betty Crocker on 10 September 1936.

Of particular significance in these letters is that ‘Betty Crocker’ has gone to the trouble of researching information about potato flour produced by another company in order to be helpful to Mrs. Leades, whose family member had a particular food allergy. This very genuine commitment to serving customers is perhaps the most surprising of three themes generally emerging from Agnes Quamme Higgins’ papers relating to the time she spent in her corporate role representing Betty Crocker. The other two involve Crocker’s primary role as teacher and mentor and her responsi-

bility to effectively introduce new products to consumers.

Script for Betty Crocker's Radio Program on 31 December 1935.

Betty Crocker's Radio Program was a mix of entertainment and cooking advice. The program always began with a musical interlude and an announcer summarizing some of the contents of upcoming program. This special New Year's Eve program promised to contain a recipe for a 'New Year Cookie' and a special message from Betty Crocker for the coming year. The script reveals that the program also includes a poem that Betty Crocker hopes listeners will adopt as a 'Song of Home' for 1936 and upbeat advice about how 'modern' women with 'luxurious equipment of all kinds' can 'look ahead to another year in our profession of home-making with all the enthusiasm in the world.' (p. 1) Her suggestions include exercise in the outdoors every day, planning two to three days of meals at one time, entertaining with gracious hospitality and, of course, lots of baking made with Gold Medal Flour!

Kate Aitken (1891-1971). *Kate Aitken's Canadian Cook Book*. Montreal: The Standard. 1950.

Despite limited air space and a much smaller population relative to the United States, Canadian broadcasters succeeded in casting a very wide net of influence. Perhaps the best example of this is Canadian home authority Kate Aitken, who made herself available to housewives through personal appearances and correspondence, print media and radio programming. Aitken was women's director of the CNE in 1927. In 1941, the *Montreal Standard* hired her to become women's editor of its magazine supplement. Kate Aitken used to describe a variety of Canadian foodways in her wildly popular radio shows from 1934 to 1957, and her broadcasting career eventually moved her from the realm of culinary reporting to policy work



for the government and even to one memorable interview with Mussolini. From Mrs. A., housewives learned about cooking techniques, and also about what was going on in the larger world around them. Reporter Gordon Sinclair notes that by 1950 Aitken received five thousand letters per day (that is 260,000 per year) and, each year, gave 'about 600 broadcasts and 150 speeches.'¹²⁶ Sinclair goes on to marvel that, '[a]lthough she's helped somewhat in the above chores by a corps of 21 secretaries Mrs. A. writes her own scripts, hires her radio casts, selects the music and produces the show.'¹²⁷



Jéhane Benoît. *Secrets et recettes: du cahier de ma grand'mère*. Montreal: Editions Beauchemin, 1959.

If Aitken's medium for offering culinary advice was print and radio, then the long career of another beloved Canadian culinary authority, Jéhane Benoît, brought this latter into the television era. In many ways, Benoît was the Julia Child of Canada. But while Child rendered transparent the longstanding culinary influence and intricacies of France's *cuisine bourgeoise*, Jéhane Benoît, cookbook writer and television star of the 1970s and 1980s, demystified both the history and the future of Canadian cuisine in French and English for North American audiences.

Jéhane Benoît was author of thirty cookbooks, including the *Encyclo-*

pedia of Canadian Cuisine, which appeared in English in 1963. She publicized Quebec cuisine across Canada with appearances on *Take 30*, a CBC talk show hosted by Adrienne Clarkson from Toronto.

After studying at the Sorbonne and the *Cordon bleu* cooking school in Paris, she started her own cooking school in Montreal, 'Fumet de la vieille France.' She also opened one of Canada's first vegetarian restaurants, 'The Salad Bar,' in 1935. She was dedicated to writing down the family recipes of Quebec cooks and Quebec food writer Julian Armstrong remembers that she regularly urged food writers to do so too, thereby preserving the cuisine. Latterly, she ran a lamb farm with her husband Bernard in Sutton, Quebec, and worked for Panasonic promoting microwave cooking.

Writing *Secrets et recettes* in 1959, Benoît explained that the time has come to better understand our own cuisine and that every mother needed to take up that responsibility. ('Je suis convaincue que le temps est arrivé de connaître la cuisine de chez-nous – et chaque mère de famille peut faire son brin de travail'(8)). Does this make the cuisine 'de chez nous' a Canadian rather than a Quebec cuisine? The recipes for the large part suggest otherwise ('Les pommes de la confirmation' or two recipes for 'sucre à la crème,' for example), as does the language of the book itself.

As illustrated by this selection of books, during her long career the fully bilingual Benoît signed her name in a variety of ways – as Jéhane Pate-naude (her maiden name), Jéhane Benoit (primarily for English-language publications) and Jéhane Benoît.

Case 8: Recipes in Competition - Irina D. Mihalache

Recipe competitions have a long history and go back to the early days of Canadian women's magazines. In December 1915, Marjory Dale, writing for *Everywoman's World*, invited submissions for 'Miss Dale's Recipe Page Contest.' Besides a small financial compensation for winners, the promise to be published in the pages of the magazine seemed like the real reward. Dale informed readers that the winning recipes would appear in her column, alongside her own contributions. In the early days of recipe competitions, such as the case of the *Everywoman's World*, the authors of the recipes were not named, so it was difficult to distinguish between recipes submitted by readers and those of the column's author. However, this practice changed in subsequent years, as more women's magazines and popular newspapers adopted the recipe competition as a mode to communicate with their readers. Including the name of the author, alongside the city, province, and in some cases, the author's photo, was both a strategic move to attract more readers and a form of community making. In addition, food brands, such as Magic Baking Powder and Maple Leaf, entered the recipe competition game by inviting consumers to send in recipes. To personalize these competitions, food companies 'employed' fictional food experts such as Brenda York or partnered up with revered home economists such as Gertrude Dutton or Lilian Loughton. The most popular and elaborate recipe competition in Canada, '50 Favorite Recipes' was developed by the Chatelaine Institute and ran from 1951 until 1968.¹²⁸

The recipe competition was a rare opportunity for Canadian housewives to become part of a community of culinary experts recognized as authors. In contemporary times, modes of expression through food are as numerous as the media and social media platforms available to users.

However, the first half of the twentieth century was less generous to women in terms of communicative platforms where they could be valued for their culinary expertise. In that context, recipe competitions empowered women from different regions in Canada to communicate their recipes not only to other women, but also to groups of culinary experts, who tested and judged their recipes. Recipe sharing and publication contributed to the making of an 'imagined community'¹²⁹ throughout Canada as women from New Westminster (British Columbia), Deloro (Ontario), or Brownsburg (Quebec), and many other towns and cities, were piecing together the culinary landscapes of their regions. As it is evident in the recipes sent in by readers, these landscapes were marked by British and French culinary traditions at the same time as they were impacted by contacts with other cultural communities with different culinary practices, particularly newer migrants and Indigenous groups. In recipe competitions, the degree to which new Canadians participated depended on their familiarity with 'Western' culinary norms. For example, recipe writers of Ukrainian, Icelandic, or German heritage were common in the pages of *Chatelaine*, but one would rarely see contributions from Chinese, Japanese, or Indian women.

Also, recipe competitions represented a form of visibility for the often unnamed Canadian homemakers. Recipes that competed publicly become evidence of women's skills in the kitchen as well as their creativity and agency within different restrictive historical contexts, such as food control during the First World War, rationing during the Second World War, or scarcity caused by the Great Depression. These recipes were constantly altered and modified to adapt to important moments of change in women's history: entrance into the workforce, shifts in gender roles within the household, pressures to embrace new kitchen tools. Recipe



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National Home Monthly. Winnipeg: Home Publishing Co. (1932-1960). Next to Gertrude Dutton's 'Better Cookery' column, readers were able to engage with a full page advertisement for the 'Magic Mystery Cake' contest. An advertisement with multiple goals, it no doubt promoted the product: 'for Magic never varies. The last spoonful in the tin gives you the same high leavening power as the first. No wonder the majority of cookery experts throughout the Dominion use Magic *exclusively*.'¹³⁸ At the same time, it featured Miss Lillian Loughton's culinary work, 'a typically English cake'¹³⁹, and her profile – 'well-known Dietician and Cookery

Expert of the Canadian Magazine.’¹⁴⁰ Loughton endorsed the brand, which was a strategy decided in collaboration with the company, but her intentions did not have to be unidimensional. The culinary expert was part of a community of professionals who advocated for women’s embracing of scientific methods in their kitchens to aid in their daily chores. At the same time, the partnerships between Loughton and the readers who named her recipe solidified social bonds between women which were made visible in the cookbook. The mystery cake recipe was mysterious no longer, as it was named ‘Mosaic Loaf Cake’ by Mrs. Wm. Harmer, from Drumbo, Ontario.

Brenda York. *Recipes from Canada Packers Cooking School at the CNE.* [194?].

Another partnership between a food company and a culinary expert was developing through the means of yet another recipe competition. Canada Packers was Canada’s largest food processor, which since the 1930s had used the brand Maple Leaf for its meat products and a series of other brands – York, New Domestic, and Margene – for canned goods, shortening and margarine. To humanize these abstract brands, the company made use of Brenda York, a ‘live trademark’¹⁴¹ launched in 1947 who was portrayed by several home economists¹⁴². Brenda York gave cooking demonstrations using Canada Packers products at the Canada National Exhibition and she also wrote columns in *Chatelaine*, *Canadian Home Journal* and *National Home Monthly*. One of Brenda York’s favorite means of engaging her audience was through a monthly recipe competition. In her own words, ‘each month, in my column, I offer a first prize of \$100.00 for the best recipe or idea for serving some particular ‘York’ Brand or ‘Maple Leaf’ food.’¹⁴³ Each participant received a voucher for the products which were included in the recipes.

Chatelaine. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Publishing Co. (1928 – present)

Chatelaine launched ‘50 Favorite Recipes from Chatelaine Councillors’ in January 1951 inviting contributions from its team of Councillors across Canada. At first, ‘50 Favorite’ was not a contest but a collection of recipes provided by the magazine’s councillors and therefore reflective of home-makers’ culinary knowledge in different regions of the country. The magazine received more than fifteen hundred submissions, all which had to be tested and consolidated into a list of fifty. Some of the highlights from the first set of submission included ‘Chicken Tetrazzini, perfect hot casserole for a buffet supper’ (Mrs. K. M. Denis, Sudbury, Ontario)¹⁴⁴, ‘Hot Potato Salad’, which ‘uses up bits and scraps and is delicious’ (Mrs. H. J. Hunt, Washago, Ontario),¹⁴⁵ and ‘Cherry Cake’ (Mrs. Daphne Alcock, Cornerbrook, Newfoundland). The rationale for selecting the recipes was family approval, the ‘test of repetition’, and reducing women’s labour in the kitchen by ‘coast[ing] along for a few months on someone else’s discoveries.’¹⁴⁶

‘50 Favorite’ became so popular after its first three years that the magazine opened it up to all Canadians, women and men. The first man to enter the competition and be featured in the magazine was Jim Lally from Revelstoke, British Columbia.

Chatelaine. January 1954, p. 26

In January 1954, The Seven Layer Dinner was the first grand winner of the one hundred dollar prize, while the other forty-nine dishes brought their authors five dollars each and a copy of *Chatelaine*’s cookbook, *363 Home Tested Recipes*¹⁴⁷. In this issue, readers were invited to submit recipes for the categories Supper Dishes, Meat and Fish, Desserts, Cakes and Cookies, and Bread. A Miscellaneous category was dedicated to recipes



that were worthy of publication but did not fit the contests' official categories. These categories were reconfigured over time, reflecting changes in the broader culinary culture. For example, in 1959, the Supper Dishes section became Supper Dishes and Casseroles, and a new section, TV and Party Dinners, was added.

The contest dropped 'Fifty' from its title in 1960 so that it could reduce the number of recipes. Changes to the structure of the contest seemed to happen almost every year. In 1963, Casseroles were allotted their own sec-

tion. In 1964, an All-Canadian section was added, followed by Regional Canadian and International Favorites in 1965.

Chatelaine, March 1964.

The last edition of the contest included twelve recipes in the categories Party Dish, Yeast and Quick Breads, Quick and Easy, and Supper Recipes, Casseroles and Soups and the grand prize winner was awarded five hundred dollars. In the 1960s, the contest was receiving more than seven

thousand recipes each year, which made it impossible for the Institute professionals to test all the recipes, so the decision was made to end the contest on a high note rather than let its quality decrease¹⁴⁸.

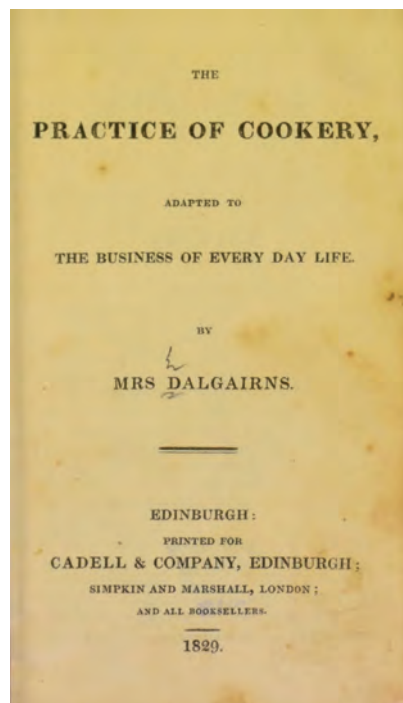
Chatelaine Centennial Collection of Home-Tested Recipes. Compiled and indexed by Chatelaine Institute. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company Limited, 1967.

The legacy of the recipe competition was visible in *Chatelaine's* culinary publications. The magazine has published various cookbooks throughout its history. One of the best known was *Chatelaine Centennial Collection of Home-Tested Recipes*, which was published 'to celebrate Canadian identity in different ways than such public spectacles as Expo 67'.¹⁴⁹ This cookbook was one amongst many published to honour Canada's centennial celebration and this might explain its strong ideological undertone evident even in its introduction '[A]s a memento of Canada's centennial we have published this new and expanded edition of our most popular book of recipes. Tracing Canada cooking customs back one hundred years or more, the cookbooks included authentic heirloom favorites from pioneer Canadian kitchens as well as up-to-the-minute recipes with step-saving methods using more and more of today's already prepared ingredients.'¹⁵⁰

To 'trace Canada's cooking customs'¹⁵¹, the editors had to make choices as to what constituted Canada's cuisine. In this process of selection, Canada's diversity did not quite make the cut, as culturally diverse recipes and ingredients that had been included in past issues of *Chatelaine's* 'Fifty Favorite' were nowhere to be found in the cookbook's pages. Even if the recipes which were sent in for the recipe competition were borrowed, sometimes without asking, from migrant communities and appropriated from Indigenous traditions, they at least told a story of a young nation

negotiating its complicated identity through food. By eliminating evidence of these moments of difficult negotiation, the cookbook opted for an image of Canadian culinary culture which failed to account for its complicated history. Even Chop Suey had to become 'Canadian' to make it into this publication.

Recipe competitions in women's magazines are rare opportunities to take the pulse of 'the nation', as they rely on texts sent in by Canadian women from numerous rural and urban areas.



Special contribution by Mary F. Williamson

Mrs. Dalgairns' Cookery and her Take on Curries

When *The Practice of Cookery* by 'Scottish' author Mrs. Dalgairns was published in Edinburgh and London in 1829 it was greeted with applause in at least a dozen British literary and 'ladies' magazines. It should be stated, without further ado, that the full title of the cookbook is *The Practice of Cookery Adapted to the Business of Every Day Life* although it quickly became known as *Mrs. Dalgairns' Cookery*. In the *Spectator* of 13 June 1829, reviewer Charles Rintoul indicated that he was familiar with best-selling cookbook authors Mrs. Rundell and William Kitchiner, but 'We think that we shall put away Rundell and Kitchiner for Mrs. Dalgairns. She

is far more copious than they are (528 pages!), far more various, and to us more novel; - though the novelty may arise from our ignorance of the culinary processes on the other side of the Tweed.' Of course by 'on the other side of the Tweed' he meant Scotland. He could not have known that Mrs. Dalgairns had lived fewer than seven years in Scotland when Robert Cadell of Edinburgh first issued her cookbook which in the course of sixteen editions up until 1861 experienced rewarding commercial and critical success.

The Scots side of the story actually begins in 1808 in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, when a twenty-one year-old Miss Catherine Emily Callbeck married Peter Dalgairns in a double wedding ceremony with her sister Sophia.

Who was the newly wed Mrs. Dalgairns? Miss Callbeck was the daughter of Phillips Callbeck who had been Attorney General of the Island, and during the American War of Independence, its Deputy Governor. Peter Dalgairns was an immigrant with roots in a family of Scottish gentlefolk.

It is a long sad story, but like other women cookbook authors before her who suffered domestic challenges, over the next forty-plus years Catherine Dalgairns just barely survived the serial bankruptcies of her husband. The first compelled the couple to leave the Island in 1810, making their way at first to London for twelve years and later to Dundee, Scotland. Putting together a cookbook that would stand out against the stand-bys Mrs. Glasse, Mrs. Rundell, and Dr. William Kitchiner was one way that Mrs. Dalgairns coped with serious depression. Her publisher's archives, her own letters, and documents found in a wide array of national depositories, reveal insights into family and business dramas that stretched over four decades.¹⁵²

The novelty that Mr. Rintoul detected in *The Practice of Cookery* derives

in part from Catherine Dalgairns' until then brief residency in Dundee. She was 'a quick study.' In the 1820s the city was a major trading port which attracted shipping from countries farther south such as France, Italy, and Spain. Every kind of food was available to residents of the east coast of Scotland. An overview of the just over fourteen hundred recipes and their ingredients defies any suggestion that a world-view in Scotland was a problem. But surely it was the diversity of her background and varying residencies that contributed more than a little to variety in her recipes. Her mother Ann Coffin came from a leading Boston Loyalist family which may account for recipes termed 'American' or calling for 'Indian' meal. Others are French or have a distinct English provenance.

But the category that interests me here is curries, a topic to which she devotes a whole chapter of fifteen recipes. In addition, the cookbook boasts other highly spiced dishes bearing East Asian names. In the 'Curries' chapter three recipes address ways of concocting 'currie' powders, each employing a different combination of spices, totally her own. Her flavouring repertoire employs fourteen different spices.

By the third edition in 1830 at the end of the curry chapter she oddly undertakes a modern branding technique when she recommends a particular currie paste: 'Cooke's Currie Paste will be found an excellent preparation for all the varieties of currie. Directions for using it are given with each pot — 99, Hatton Garden.' In subsequent editions of *The Practice of Cookery* readers are told that the currie paste purveyor has moved to Standish Square; and yet Mrs. D. herself never calls for currie paste!

Mrs. Dalgairns was not the first cookbook author to be partial to curries. The first, Mrs. Glasse, in 1770 offered readers 'To Make Currey the Indian Way.' Mrs. Rundell was next in 1807, and then William Kitchiner in 1816 and Meg Dods in 1826. They drew on foods that were familiar to 'old India hands' who delighted in recreating the spiced dishes enjoyed when

they lived in that distant outpost of Empire. The 1845 edition of *The Practice of Cookery* now owned by the University of Guelph Library is inscribed by a Mrs. McLean, the wife of a surgeon who was attached to the Hyderabad Residency in India.

All of these cookbooks were known to a tiny population of readers and cooks in British North America, that is Canada. Catharine Parr Traill was familiar with *The Practice of Cookery* which would have been offered for sale in at least one of the Toronto bookshops that had won her praise. In *The Backwoods of Canada* she offered her readers an anecdote about a rough carriage ride from the town to her bush home near Peterborough. It seems that newly purchased groceries were thrown about, the resulting jumble suggesting to Traill an original recipe for a 'bush pudding that would cut quite a figure in Mrs. Dalgairns' *The Practice of Cookery*.¹⁵³

At that time curries and curry powder were well known and employed in Canadian towns and in the backwoods because of their ability to brighten up the pickled, dried, and salted meats and fish which were everyday fare. But also the curative and antiseptic powers of many spices were able to mask the unpleasant taste and appearance of tainted foods. We would also like to think that spices were valued for adding zest and variety to everyday meals. Anne Langton, an Upper Canadian gentlewoman, wrote on 3 August, 1839, about curry powder being a staple of her household.¹⁵⁴ Our country's pioneers had ready access at local pharmacies to most of the spices taken for granted today. In *The Farmers' Journal* of 1826 William C. Chace of St. Catharines advertised nutmegs, allspice, ginger, cloves, pepper, and cinnamon for sale.

It is useful now to draw attention to the 1830 American edition of *The Practice of Cookery*. Robert Cadell's diaries suggest that he was unaware of a package deal that brought Sir Walter Scott's latest novel to New York along with other Scottish titles on his list. In no time *The Practice of*

Cookery was published in Boston and New York by Munroe & Francis with a few editorial changes, and shorn of seven chapters that omitted recipes. The curry chapter is intact! Advertisements for this cookbook that appealed to its emphasis on practicality, clarity, and economy appeared in numerous American newspapers. It would be this edition that Mrs. Traill and other cookbook readers in the Canadas could have found in local bookstores.

The moment has arrived to introduce Basil Hall, son of Sir James Hall of Dunglass, Baronet of Nova Scotia. As a teenaged midshipman, and then captain, Hall travelled widely, maintaining detailed diaries, which publisher Robert Cadell issued in book form over almost thirty years beginning in 1815. We know from unpublished family correspondence that Hall was acquainted with — and the suggestion is more than a little enamoured with — young Miss Catherine Callbeck, making forays to Prince Edward Island from Halifax where he had been stationed. When Miss Callbeck, now Mrs. Dalgairns, arrived in Scotland about 1822, Hall almost immediately championed publication with his publisher of her cookbook which clearly had been percolating in her mind for some time. He offered numerous suggestions to Cadell in an effort to ensure publication of a cookbook that would find ready buyers. He chose the title. He insisted on a copious index, and he rejected the customary section on medical remedies which she had compiled. Cadell was already making a hefty profit on the works of Sir Walter Scott. Then, as now, cookbooks were viewed as almost a ‘sure thing’ and he was willing to add this one to his list, promoted, as it was, by an internationally celebrated travel writer.

Captain Hall deserves our notice here in the context of curry, given that as a result of his Asian travels he considered himself to be an authority. ‘I have so often watched the palankeen-bearers and other natives preparing their supper, which, after the fashion of the Romans, is their great meal,

that I think, upon a pinch, I could make a tolerable curry myself. I would set about it thus : I would first pound together twelve parts of coriander seed, two of black pepper, one of cayenne, three of cummin, and five of pale turmeric ; then add a few cloves, a bit of cinnamon, half a nutmeg, and two or three onions.’ He continued with a discussion of the use of ghee in India, or cream or milk in the northern Indian provinces. A Malay version, he wrote, contains coconut instead of ghee.¹⁵⁵

We have seen that Catherine Dalgairns collected recipes wherever she found herself, much as others seek souvenirs. It is surely relevant that two of her husband’s brothers were posted to India. Colonel James Dalgairns in fact fathered two daughters by a local woman there, leading one to speculate on the possibility of curry lore being shared.

In the years 1827 and 1828 Cadell’s team would have been editing the cookbook, compiling the detailed index, and setting type. They were lucky, as the good Captain was far away and unable to meddle in these close to final stages. Basil Hall and his wife Margaret and daughter Eliza were travelling in North America, being received by all the top people including the American President. The tour concluded with several weeks in Upper and Lower Canada where for six weeks the Halls were based in York (Toronto) to embark on various excursions. Dozens of pages in his published diaries are devoted to the setting up and well-being of Peter Robinson’s mostly Irish immigrant community near Peterborough. Simpler pleasures were enjoyed in York at ‘a dinner laid out under the fly of a tent on the rich green-sward of a dressed piece of land sloping gently towards the lake.’ Alas, no indication in his or Mrs. Hall’s diaries that curry dishes were on the menu!¹⁵⁶

In the 1830s at the insistence of his impatient author, Mrs. Dalgairns, Robert Cadell agreed to insert a further clutch of recipes, distancing them in an appendix. On 1 March 1844, Catherine Emily Dalgairns died in

Dundee. Nine posthumous editions of *The Practice of Cookery* were issued by Cadell and by subsequent publishers with two further appendices added. Happily for us, Appendix II offers readers yet ‘Another way to Make Currie Powder’!

In her preface Mrs. Dalgairns writes ‘A perfectly original book of Cookery would neither meet with, nor deserve, much attention: because what is wanted in this matter, is not receipts for new dishes, but clear instructions how to make those already established in public favour.’ It goes on to say that the author consulted the best authorities, comparing different receipts ‘with care and impartiality.’ Looking into the Cadell archives we know that she requested copies from him of three cookbooks for her own use, and yet this writer defies anyone to identify a source for any of her recipes. Both the tone and style are her own throughout. In part the discrepancy comes down to the authorship of the preface. We know that Basil Hall prevailed with Cadell in writing the Preface after his return from North America. Whether Mrs. Dalgairns felt that her book had been hijacked by Hall we cannot know, but then it is unlikely that *The Practice of Cookery* would have seen the light of day without her old friend’s persistent advocacy with his own publisher.

Catherine Emily Dalgairns is a true original whose culinary diversity in the world of curries and beyond deserves recognition on Canadian, American, English, and Scottish tables today. Below are two recipes from the ‘Curries’ chapter.

CURRIE POWDER.

Pound extremely fine, in a mortar, six ounces of coriander seed, three ounces of black pepper, one ounce and a half of fennigreck seed, one ounce of cummin seed, three ounces of turmeric, and three quarters of an ounce of cayenne; sift it through muslin, and put it before the fire for four

or five hours, stirring it very now and then. Keep it in a bottle with a glass stopper.

KEBOBBED CURRIE.

Cut into small bits, veal, or the meat of fowl, and pickled pork, and, with slices of onion, fasten them alternately upon small skewers, three or four inches long. Pound in a mortar a couple of onions, a small apple, a head of garlic, a large table-spoonful of currie powder, with some gravy; press it through a sieve. Fry in butter a finely-minced onion; dust the meat with turmeric; fry it, and add the strained liquor, with two bay leaves, a little salt and pepper. Let it stew till the liquor be nearly wasted, and the flavour be very rich. Before serving, squeeze in the juice of half a lemon, and take out the bay leaves.



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James Beard's \$30 cooking course. 23 March, 1963.

The following three items are on loan from the Art Gallery of Ontario:

James A. Beard. The Art of Cooking, Monday afternoon, January 28, 2:00 pm. With ticket design mock-up.
Gallery Gifts: Culinary Corner. January 28th to February 1st 1963.
The Women's Committee of the Art Gallery of Toronto presents James A. Beard in 'The Art of Cooking'. Application form (tickets \$5), schedule and menus.





