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## Cookbooks as Sources of Scottish-Canadian Identity, 1845 – 1934

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## Cookbooks as Sources of Scottish-Canadian Identity, 1845 – 1934

### Cover Page Footnote

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**“FEASTS OF IMAGINED COMMUNITIES”:  
COOKBOOKS AS SOURCES OF  
SCOTTISH-CANADIAN IDENTITY, 1845-1934**

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**ABSTRACT**

Building on Benedict Anderson’s theory of “imagined communities,” Markies’ study explores nineteenth and early twentieth century Scottish-Canadian cookbooks and argues that they were part of a complex process of immigrant identity signification. She attests that two cookbooks in particular, *The Modern Practical Cookery* and *The Waverly Cook Book*, reveal how new immigrants utilized food as a way to demarcate boundaries between cultures. This study coalesces themes often found in the history of food and consumption, and the history of the book. Ultimately, Merkies argues that Scottish-Canadian identity was disseminated not only through structural institutions, such as education, but emplaced by cookbooks and over dinner tables, too.

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*Ye Pow'rs wha mak mankind your care,  
 And dish them out their bill o' fare,  
 Auld Scotland wants nae skinkin ware,  
 That jaups in luggies;  
 But, if ye wish her gratefu' prayer,  
 Gie her a haggis!*

"Address to a Haggis," Robert Burns

Penned in 1786, Robert Burns' poem can be credited with popularizing the haggis as Scotland's national dish. Deeply entrenched within Scottish culture, haggis has achieved a near-mythic status and acts as representative of the mother country beyond Scotland's borders. In Canada, recipes for haggis make an appearance in two early Scottish-Canadian cookbooks, *Modern Practical Cookery* (1845) and *The Waverley Cook Book* (c.1934). The inclusion of these recipes reflects the far-reaching influence of Scottish cuisine and culture. Scottish culture, including haggis, has had an undeniable impact on Canadian history and culture. If nothing else, the plethora of publications on the subject are a testament to Scottish influence in Canada. However, while Scottish contributions to Canadian politics, history, religion, literature, and even music have all been examined, cuisine has thus far been largely neglected. But cookbooks are more than just a collection of recipes – they serve as historical sources and records of cultural identity. Examining *Modern Practical Cookery* and *The Waverley Cook Book* reveals the interplay between Scottish-Canadian and Canadian identities and how the Scots in Canada differentiated themselves in their new home by creating boundaries between themselves and others. These two cookbooks, although different in content and purpose, are evidence of an amalgamation of Scottish and Canadian culture.

Despite recent attempts to remedy the situation, scholarly work on Canadian food history remains sparse.<sup>1</sup> There is even less published on the food history of specific ethnic groups in Canada, such as the Scots. This is largely in part due to a historical bias against food's connection with women's history and its reputation as something "too common"

<sup>1</sup> Notable works to date include Elizabeth Driver, *Culinary Landmarks: A Bibliography of Canadian Cookbooks, 1825-1949* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2008); Nathalie Cooke, editor, *What's to Eat?: Entrées in Canadian Food History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009); Hersch Jacobs, "Structural Elements in Canadian Cuisine," *Cuisine: The Journal of Canadian Food Cultures* 2.1 (2009); Franca Iacovetta, Valerie Korinek, and Marlene Epp, editors, *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

for scholarly pursuit.<sup>2</sup> But food's commonality has determined its true importance, and scholars are beginning to recognize the untapped potential of food history and the use of cookbooks as sources. In her 1986 book, *Much Depends on Dinner*, Margaret Visser declared that, "the extent to which we take everyday objects for granted is the precise extent to which they govern and inform our lives."<sup>3</sup> In this case, Visser was speaking specifically of food, the everyday object that is consumed multiple times a day by the majority of humankind. Canadian culinary historian Elizabeth Driver has a similar belief regarding cookbooks, stating that, "no other category of book evokes such an emotional response across generations and genders and is freighted with so much cultural and historical meaning."<sup>4</sup> Driver insists that "food is at the very heart of living" – reiterating that food and cookbooks act as critical conveyors of a culture's identity.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the duality of food as a necessity and a source of pleasure has enabled it to root itself in all aspects of life. Likewise, cookbooks such as *Modern Practical Cookery* and *The Waverley Cook Book* can offer extensive information, for example, about the role of women in the home, the history of charitable associations, how new technology and inventions affected food production and creation, what foods were native to the area or easily accessible.

The affiliation between recipes and nationalism represents a "feast of imagined community," that is, an edible version of Benedict Anderson's famed concept of a nation as an "imagined community."<sup>6</sup> Anderson describes a nation's community as; "*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their communion."<sup>7</sup> Once established, a nation's cuisine is continuously reinforced through national culture. However, "imagined communities" exist not just as nations – for example, a group of immigrant Scots would have their own community within that of Canada's, and food is a perfect method of reinforcing such a sub-community. In this case, the popular phrase "you are what you eat" can be considered as representing a kind of edible nationalism. But even if not all Scots eat haggis, the idea that they do has

<sup>2</sup> Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, "Introduction" in Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (eds.) *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 3rd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2013), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Visser, *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos, of an Ordinary Meal*, (New York: Grove, 2010), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Driver, *Culinary Landmarks: A Bibliography of Canadian Cookbooks, 1825-1949* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2008), xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Driver, *Culinary Landmarks*, xvii.

<sup>6</sup> Rhona Richman Kenneally, "The Cuisine of the Tundra: Towards a Canadian Food Culture at Expo 67," *Food, Culture and Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 11.3 (2008): 292 – 294.

<sup>7</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6. Italics emphasis in the original.

been spread across the globe. For example, as Canada is known worldwide for its maple syrup, Scotland is known for its haggis. These foods are so bound up in ideas of national identity that they have become symbolic representations of their countries. They connote ideas of belonging and otherness. The commonplace aspect of food has made it the perfect ingredient for the making of such a nationalistic "feast". While there are plenty of notable works on Scottish food history in general, there are significant gaps in Canadian historiography's treatment of the subject. Scholarly works are few and far between, and are usually brief in length.

One of these works is Marie Nightingale's 1970 monograph, *Out of Old Nova Scotia Kitchens*. Nightingale begins with several short histories of regional communities, most notably one focused on "the Scots". She perpetuates the myth of the destitute Scot, stating that they were so poor that they "were forced to subsist on the most meagre fare, digging shellfish and gathering wild fruit and berries. In the spring they picked the young tops of the common nettle and boiled them for greens."<sup>8</sup> Despite this, she states, Scots thrived in their new home, planting potatoes, ice fishing, and hunting wild game. Once grist mills became common-place, so too did the old Scottish staple of oatmeal and oatcakes were the specialty of Scottish women. Nightingale remarks on those holidays which are important to Scots and their respective foods, for example, shortbread on New Year's Eve and haggis on St. Andrew's Day.<sup>9</sup> The importance of such foods (especially holiday foods) is reinforced through their inclusion in *The Waverley Cookbook* and *Modern Practical Cookery*. More recently, Margaret Bennett's 2004 book, *Oatmeal and the Catechism: Scottish Gaelic Settlers in Quebec* includes a chapter on foodways. Bennett notes how Scots continued to prepare their food based on Scottish traditions, even when they had to adapt to a new climate and agriculture in Canada.<sup>10</sup> Another notable work is Dorothy Duncan's *Feasting and Fasting: Canada's Heritage Celebrations* (2010). Duncan notes plenty of Scottish influences in Canadian celebrations, including an entire chapter dedicated to St. Andrew's Day and Robert Burns Suppers (where haggis makes a star appearance). In terms of Canadian cookbooks sometimes touch on Scottish cuisine, for example, by including Scottish recipes, but most books are neither about Scottish food in particular nor written by people proclaiming themselves as harbingers of Scottish culture. *The Waverley Cookbook* and *Modern Practical Cookery* are standouts in that they are very clearly made to be public records of Scottish culture. By examining these cookbooks, perhaps this gap in scholarship can begin to be

<sup>8</sup> Marie Nightingale, *Out of Old Nova Scotia Kitchens*, 12th edition (n.p.: H.H. Marshall, Limited, 1981), 19 – 21.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 19 – 21.

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Bennett, *Oatmeal and the Catechism: Scottish Gaelic Settlers in Quebec*, Revised edition (Edinburgh: John Donald Limited, 2004), 161.

remedied. It is a pity that the food ways of a group of people who made such an impact on Canadian history and culture have yet to be thoroughly explored.

Before beginning an analysis of these two cookbooks, it is important to understand the difference between a cookbook that is published in Canada and one that is compiled in Canada. The first two cookbooks published in Canada, *La cuisinière bourgeoise* (1825) and *The Cook Not Mad* (1831) were actually compiled in France and the United States, respectively. Many other cookbooks published in Canada were either originally written in foreign countries or included parts of foreign cookbooks, which were often plagiarized.<sup>11</sup> Prior to 1825, all cookbooks were imported, especially from Europe or the United States. Cooks also would have used brochures, pamphlets, and almanacs, as well as relied heavily on family or community networks and oral traditions when preparing meals.<sup>12</sup> In this case, *Modern Practical Cookery* follows the tradition of importing books: while it was published in Canada, it was originally written in Scotland. It was the seventh cookbook published in the country and the fourth to be published in what is now Quebec.<sup>13</sup> Conversely, *The Waverley Cook Book* was both compiled and published in Canada. It was the seventy-eighth cookbook published in Manitoba.<sup>14</sup> While both cookbooks were written and published by Scots, the purposes of the books differ. *Modern Practical Cookery* was used by the publishers as a method of counteracting English and American culture, while *The Waverley Cookbook* was likely used more directly by Scots, for fundraising and community involvement.

Additionally an awareness of the basic history of Scots in Canada and the historical context in which the cookbooks were published can enable a deeper understanding of the author or compiler's motivation and the book's purpose. The settlement of Scots in Canada more or less began with Sir William Alexander, a member of the Scottish Privy Council. He attained the charter for the colony of Nova Scotia ("New Scotland" in Latin) in 1621, but only a small number of Scots actually made the voyage abroad.<sup>15</sup> With the first settlement a failure, it was not until the eighteenth century that emigration of Scots to Canada began to increase. Scots tended to settle most heavily in Nova Scotia and Ontario, but they were also drawn to Quebec, where the land was good. In addition, there remained a relationship between the Scots and the French, which was still supported through the Auld Alliance, a medieval bond between Scotland and France,

<sup>11</sup>. Driver, *Culinary Landmarks*, 276.

<sup>12</sup>. *Ibid.*, xxi.

<sup>13</sup>. *Ibid.*, 90 – 92.

<sup>14</sup>. *Ibid.*, 967.

<sup>15</sup>. D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975), 35.

based largely on their mutual conflict with England. Over time the settlement of Scots moved gradually westward across the nation. Certainly, wherever they went, Scottish settlers tended to make an impact.

Despite the longstanding relationship between France and Scotland, tensions between France and Britain in the Seven Years War led to few Scots settling in modern day Quebec prior to 1763.<sup>16</sup> The beginning of increased Scottish migration to the province was largely an effect of the Napoleonic Wars from 1803 to 1815, which led to an increase in the timber trade between Canada and Britain. This in turn stimulated Scottish emigration to Canada, including modern day Quebec, well into the rest of the century. In 1803, Lord Selkirk visited Montreal and remarked that many of the city's "mercantile people" were "Scotch."<sup>17</sup> Many immigrants settled near Montreal, where land was appealing for those who wanted to farm.<sup>18</sup> However, after the mid-nineteenth century, Scots in Lower Canada were increasingly drawn to opportunities in the western provinces and in the United States. Lower Canada became a less attractive destination for Scottish settlers due to the increase in French cultural dominance, the decline of the timber trade, and the better land and climate in other regions. By 1861, Lower Canada had developed into Canada East and just twenty per cent of the population had British ancestry. Furthermore, only six per cent were first generation Scots.<sup>19</sup> While it is still possible to find reminders of Scottish culture in Quebec, the province is generally not considered as "Scottish" as other parts of Canada, especially Ontario and Nova Scotia.<sup>20</sup>

*Modern Practical Cookery* was published in Montreal in 1845. Although published in Francophone Canada East, it was written and first published in Scotland and was an English-language publication. This is not unusual. Between the "beginnings" years of Canadian cookbooks (1825 – 1875), thirty cookbooks were published in Canada, twelve of which were in modern-day Quebec.<sup>21</sup> Of those twelve, eight were English language. *Modern Practical Cookery* was written by Mrs. Nourse, a culinary arts teacher in Edinburgh, Scotland.<sup>22</sup> A good match for the author is listed in Edinburgh and Scottish directories: Elizabeth Nourse, who appears to have

<sup>16</sup> Lucille H. Campey, *Les Écossais: The Pioneer Scots of Lower Canada, 1763-1855* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., 2006), 3, 6.

<sup>17</sup> Campey, *Les Écossais*, 13 – 14.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 12

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Driver, "Canadian Cookbooks (1825-1949): In the Heart of the Home," (Savoir Faire Lecture Series, National Library of Canada, Ottawa, 2002), 27.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth Nourse, *Modern Practical Cookery, Pastry, Confectionary, Pickling, and Preserving; with a Great Variety of Useful and Economical Receipts, by Mrs. Nourse, Teacher of These Arts, Edinburgh. A New Edition, Corrected and Improved* (Montreal, Kingston, and Hamilton: Armour & Ramsay, 1845), v.

owned a “pastry school and furnished lodgings.”<sup>23</sup> In the eighteenth century, cookery schools enjoyed great success, and many of the women who owned these schools wrote cookbooks, often as manuals for their classes.<sup>24</sup>

Mrs. Nourse’s cookbook had been in publication long before it reached Canada. The first edition was published in Edinburgh in 1809. In Scotland, new editions were published fairly regularly in the years leading up to the Canadian edition. The 1809 edition was published by George Ramsay and Co., who may have a connection to Armour & Ramsay, the publisher of the Canadian edition, although this link is purely speculative.<sup>25</sup> Armour & Ramsay was a publishing company owned by Andrew Harvie and Hew Ramsay, two Scottish-Canadians. In addition to *Modern Practical Cookery*, Armour & Ramsay published a number of Scottish titles in Canada in an attempt to distinguish themselves from invading American works. American publications were published in large numbers, cheap, and often plagiarized.<sup>26</sup> During the 1840s, Armour & Ramsay was one of the leading printers and booksellers in Canada. Through the publication of distinctly Scottish works such as *Modern Practical Cookery*, Armour & Ramsay curated a very specific culture of differentiation in the burgeoning colonies.<sup>27</sup> Harvie and Ramsay were both influential Scottish businessmen who challenged the dominance of American culture in Canada, a controversial issue which still affects Canada today. They represent the push and pull of emigrants to assimilate but also segregate themselves in their new homes.

Despite being published in Canada, the 1845 edition of *Modern Practical Cookery* holds many hints to its Scottish origins. Many of the recipes use traditional Scottish units of measurement – gills, mutchkins, chopins, Scotch pints, and pecks.<sup>28</sup> The preservation of Scottish units makes it clear that this book is meant for use by Scots. Some particularly Scottish colloquial terms also make an appearance, such as gigot (leg) and collop (sliced meat). However, these terms were adopted by Scots from the French language, and indicate impact the Auld Alliance between France and Scotland had on Scottish cuisine. *Modern Practical Cookery* is one of the most varied of the early cookbooks published in Canada. Aside from Scotland, there are recipes connected with Ireland, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and India.<sup>29</sup> Scottish folklorist Florence Marian McNeill explains that

<sup>23</sup> Driver, *Culinary Landmarks*, 90 – 91.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> “Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online: Armour, Robert,” George L. Parker, accessed April 3, 2013, [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?bioId=37870](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?bioId=37870).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Florence Marian McNeill, *The Scots Kitchen: Its Tradition and Lore with Old-time Recipes*, 2nd Edition, Revised (London: Blackie & Son, 1953), 246.

<sup>29</sup> For example, Irish Stew, Balnamoon Skink, “Bubble and Squeak”, Mullegetawny Soup, A Dutch Sandwich, Spanish Fritters, French Omelet, Italian Puffs, Italian Soup, and Spanish Flummery.

this should not be surprising, as during Medieval times, "poverty and love of adventure drove many young men of family or 'parts' abroad as soldiers of fortune or as scholars, as now they go to London, India, and the Dominions, so that we had a cosmopolitan instead of, as today, an anglicised aristocracy." In particular, McNeill also noted Dutch, Polish, and Italian influences on Scottish cuisine.<sup>30</sup> Although McNeill conveniently leaves English influences out of her description – and, in fact, seems to despise the influence of Anglicisation – it is likely that Scotland and England share at least some similarities in their cuisines. Regardless, *Modern Practical Cookery* is quite obviously a Scottish work, identifiable not only by its Scottish characteristics, but by its international ones as well.

Brown Soup	Venison Pasty
Friars Chicken	Ginger tablet
Hare Soup	Neat's]Foot Pie
Lamb's Head Stove	To Dress Veal Olives
Leek Soup (More Commonly Called Cock-a-Leeky)	To Make Buns
Oyster Soup	Cinnamon Tablet
Soup Maigre	To Make a Haggis
To Boil a Leg (Gigot) of Mutton	To Make Black Puddings
To Broil Kipper Salmon	Eggs in Quenelles
To Dress a Cod's Head and Shoulders	Chartreaux of Veal Olives, &c.
To Dress Haddocks With Brown sauce	Scotch Collops
To Make a Rich Hotchpotch	To Make Oatmeal Puddings
To Make Barley Broth	To Dress a Lamb's Head
To Make Hotchpotch	To Make Shortbread
Veal Soup	Minced Pie
White Soup	Peppermint Tablet
White Soup Another Way	Lemon Tablet
White Soup Another Way	To Make Barley Sugar
To Make Orange Marmalade	Ginger Wine

*Modern Practical Cookery* also includes plenty of recipes which typify the time period and which would have appealed to people living in Britain as well as North America.<sup>31</sup> The large number of editions of the cookbook are a testament to how well Mrs. Nourse's recipes were received. Additionally, even though this cookbook was published in two large cities – Edin-

<sup>30</sup> McNeill, *The Scots Kitchen*, 30 – 31.

<sup>31</sup> For example, turkey, cranberries, apples, pigeons, fish, and puddings.

burgh and Montreal – it speaks to the technology of the time period by including recipes for preparing many ingredients at home, such as rennet, butter, bread, jam, pickles, preserves, and alcoholic beverages. As time went on, the need for making many of these foods at home became unnecessary. In this way, *Modern Practical Cookery* provides a great contrast to *The Waverley Cook Book*, as the latter does not include these kinds of basic recipes.

Interestingly, *Modern Practical Cookery* contains at least 985 entries, with only a few of them being identifiably Scottish by their title.<sup>32</sup> There are several reasons why the proportion of Scottish recipes is so low. The first is that a large part of the book is made up of entries which are not recipes. This includes information on markets, butchering, and cuts of meat. Additionally, many of the recipes are for basic processes such as roasting, boiling, bread making, and dairy production, which are likely similar in many countries. It is possible that some of the recipes were commonly eaten and prepared in Scotland, but did not necessarily utilize traditional Scottish ingredients or methods. For example, the recipes for puff pastry and pie crust are very simple and unremarkable in this context. Furthermore, one could not be expected to dine on haggis and hotch-potch every night, mostly due to lack of variety, but in some cases also due to cost. Another reason is that a fair number of recipes are foreign to Scotland. However, as discussed above, this could really be considered a mark of Scottish cuisine, as Scots easily adopted foreign culinary influences. Furthermore, through tradition and community, Scottish cooks probably already knew how to make the staples of their diets without needing to consult a cookbook. Therefore, in order to be useful, a cookbook would have to include many difficult, costly, lesser-known, or foreign recipes. Lastly, while *Modern Practical Cookery* undeniably features marks of Scottish culture, it is more so a pillar of Scottish-Canadian food history through its use by the publisher, rather than entirely through its contents. In other words, this cookbook well suited towards an examination of the ways in which Scots pursued the differentiation of Canadian and Scottish-Canadian culture from that of the United States.

The Scottish recipes which stand out the most are for haggis, shortbread, cock-a-leeky soup, scotch collops, and tablet (a hard fudge-like candy).<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, some of the other recipes are similar to those listed as specifically Scottish in other books. The recipes sometimes have different names, but when the ingredients and methods remain the same, the recipe can be identified as Scottish. Around thirty-eight recipes from *Modern Practical Cookery* can be traced to Scotland. These recipes were identified

<sup>32</sup> The microfilm I examined was very poor quality, with some pages cut off, blurry, or missing altogether, so this number is my best estimate.

<sup>33</sup> Nourse, *Modern Practical Cookery*, 123, 281, 35, 160, 307 – 308.

through comparison with *The Scots Kitchen* (1953 edition) by Florence Marian McNeill, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1847 edition) by Margaret Dods, and *Feasting and Fasting: Canada's Heritage Celebrations* (2010) by Dorothy Duncan. While some recipes might not be considered distinctly Scottish, they still hint to a Scottish readership. For example, the recipe "To Force and Roast a Leg of Mutton" is not particularly laden with Scottish symbolism as haggis or shortbread might be, but the recipe uses the term "gigot," a Scottish term for a leg of mutton.<sup>34</sup> Another instance is the section on marketing, which lists cuts of meat. In *The Scots Kitchen*, McNeill recognizes many of these as "Old Scottish Cuts," although some seem quite generic (for example, sirloin, tongue, spare rib).<sup>35</sup> At any rate, none of the recipes begin by proclaiming their lengthy and glorious Scottish history, so it is a tricky business for the historian to accurately distinguish which recipes are Scottish.

Thirty three years before the publication of *Modern Practical Cookery*, Scottish settlement of Manitoba began with Lord Selkirk's Red River Settlement in 1812. At that time, Manitoba was part of Rupert's Land, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. By 1821, half of the inhabitants of Red River were of Scottish origin, but with the union of the formerly feuding Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company, social unrest decreased and immigration to the area increased. As a result the number of Scots dropped to a mere five per cent.<sup>36</sup> By the early twentieth century, thousands of emigrants (especially from Europe) had settled in the prairie provinces. Despite an increase in Scottish settlement in the Prairies in the 1920s, their communities did not stand out as much as those in the eastern provinces and the prairies have since been dominated by other ethnic groups.<sup>37</sup> However, prairie Scots still sought to distinguish themselves in their new home, in part through the publication of their own community cookbook.

Published around 1934, *The Waverley Cook Book* appears to have been written or compiled by a woman named May McMillan. However, no information is known about the author, except that the image of a woman beside May McMillan's opening letter was also used in a mid-1930s cookbook for Waskeisu Mills Ltd. in Saskatchewan.<sup>38</sup> One advertisement in *The Waverley Cook Book* features "Thos. McMillan," a member of the Sons of Scotland and an agent for "Canadian Pacific Steamships."<sup>39</sup> However, it

<sup>34</sup> Nourse, *Modern Practical Cookery*, 80.

<sup>35</sup> McNeill, *The Scots Kitchen*, 247.

<sup>36</sup> Fernec Morton Szasz, *Scots in the North American West, 1790 – 1917* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 188 – 189.

<sup>37</sup> Szasz, *Scots in the North American West*, 132 – 133.

<sup>38</sup> Driver, *Culinary Landmarks*, 967.

<sup>39</sup> May McMillan, *The Waverley Cook Book and Housewife's Purchasing Guide* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association, c. 1934), 2.

unknown whether he was of some relation to May McMillan. Regardless of authorship, the Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association published it, making them an important factor in the book's history, use, and purpose. Established in 1876, the Sons of Scotland is self-described in the cookbook as an association with the purpose of fostering "a feeling of kinship among Scots in Canada, with the further object of cultivating a taste for things typically Scottish, and a love for its music, poetry, literature, history, costume and sports."<sup>40</sup> Apparently the "taste for things typically Scottish" was interpreted literally. Thus, as a result of its publisher, *The Waverley Cook Book* inextricably links food with cultural, social, and recreational aspects of Scottish life in Canada for early immigrants.

The title for *The Waverley Cook Book* almost certainly comes from Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Waverley*. It is not surprising that the Sons of Scotland would choose to honour this famous Scotsman, especially in light of the Scottish Renaissance, a twentieth century literary movement which occurred around the same time that the book was published. Furthermore, *Waverley* is rich in references to food, which makes it a perfect namesake for a Scottish cookbook. In one instance, Scott describes a Scottish breakfast:

He found Miss Bradwardine presiding over the tea and coffee, the table loaded with warm bread, both of flour, oatmeal, and barley meal, in the shape of loaves, cakes, biscuits, and other varieties, together with eggs, reindeer ham, mutton and beef ditto, smoked salmon, marmalade, and all the other delicacies which induced even Johnson himself to extol the luxury of a Scotch breakfast above that of all other countries.<sup>41</sup>

Unlike *Modern Practical Cookery*, it was a simple matter to find the Scottish recipes in *The Waverley Cook Book*, as they almost all began with the identifier "Scotch". The book contains 479 recipes, and approximately twenty-three of those recipes are distinctly Scottish. Three recipes for potatoes, bread, and clam chowder also reference Nova Scotia, which is interesting, as no other provinces are mentioned in recipe names.<sup>42</sup> Given that Nova Scotia is renowned for its Scottish population, it is possible that these recipes reflect a connection between the Scots there and the Scots in Manitoba. The reasons for the small proportion of Scottish recipes are the same as in *Modern Practical Cookery*. That is, they focus on basic processes, exclude day to day fare, and include foreign or contemporary Canadian recipes. However, with the new context of the *Waverley Cook Book*,

<sup>40</sup> McMillan, *The Waverley Cook Book*, 72.

<sup>41</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Novel and Tales of the Author of Waverley*, Volume 1: *Waverley* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1819), 119.

<sup>42</sup> McMillan, *The Waverley Cook Book*, 8, 50.

additional possibilities arise. If the cookbook was used as a fundraiser, it is possible that the compiler specifically included a larger variety of recipes in order to appeal to a wider audience. Furthermore, by the 1930s, Canada was far more established as a nation than it was in 1845. The passage of time and the change in ethnic composition of the prairie population would have had an effect on cookery. Thus we see recipes which might be considered Canadian, such as "Maple Syrup Nut Bread" as well as recipes influenced by technology and contemporary tastes, like Hawaiian Cream Pie using canned pineapple. Recipes utilizing Canadian ingredients indicate a sense of adaptation and perhaps even integration. In any case, by the mid-1930s many of the Scots in Manitoba were likely not first generation immigrants, and therefore would have been more likely to have ties to their new home.

Butterscotch Pie	Scotch Haggis
Chocolate Tablet	Scotch Oat Cakes
Dundee Biscuits	Scotch Pork Cake
Edinburgh Raisin Buns	Scotch Pork Sandwich
Oatmeal and Potato Soup	Scotch Pork Stew
Oatmeal Cookies	Scotch Pot Roast
Paisley Pancakes	Scotch Shortbread
Scotch Bread	Scotch Trifle
Scotch Broth	Scotch Wheaten Loaf
Scotch Buttery Rowies	Tomato Oatmeal Soup
Scotch Fancies	Treacle Scone
Scotch Fruit Cake	

By the time *The Waverley Cook Book* was published there had been a long-standing tradition of selling cookbooks in order to benefit charities, churches, companies which sold baking products, and community associations, such as the Sons of Scotland.<sup>43</sup> While this cookbook was a great way for the association to work towards its goal of keeping Scottish culture alive in Canada, it was also likely used as a fundraiser. In the opening pages, the author "strongly urge[s]" the readers to patronize the businesses advertised

<sup>43</sup> Driver, *Culinary Landmarks*, xxii – xxiii.

throughout the book, which suggests a certain emphasis on economic goals.<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Driver noted that Roy A. MacLeod, a member of the Sons of Scotland, found references to the cookbook in letters, minute books, receipts, and sales reports in the association's Winnipeg archives.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, women had only been allowed to join the association in 1917, so by the 1930s, a cookbook would have appealed to the female members of the group.<sup>46</sup> Certainly, a cookbook would have been an ideal avenue for female involvement, to reinforce their place in their community and culture. The role of women in the Sons of Scotland is also indicative of a larger trend at the time. During the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl, female membership in social organizations increased, as women banded together.<sup>47</sup> Creating and selling a cookbook might have been a form of comfort for some women, something to take their minds off things as they waited out those hard years.

When *The Waverley Cook Book* was published, North America was experiencing some of the toughest years of the Great Depression. Furthermore, the western provinces were also in the midst of the Dust Bowl, a period of severe dust storms which peaked around 1934 and 1936.<sup>48</sup> This period of hardship led to public health scares and nutritional reports.<sup>49</sup> The peoples' worries about inadequate nutrition are manifested in *The Waverley Cook Book*, which features the essay "The Food the Human Body Requires," by John Ferguson. Furthermore, in the introduction, McMillan also notes that the recipes have been tested and are high in nutrients.<sup>50</sup> This sort of emphasis was absent from earlier cookbooks, such as *Modern Practical Cookery*, and reflects the changing attitudes about food and health. However, aside from the interest in nutrition, there are not many tell-tale signs of hardship in *The Waverley Cook Book*. There are some recipes for casseroles, soups, and stews which hint at economical cookery, as do recipes which utilize the bounty of local fruits and vegetables. McMillan does briefly indicate that the recipes included are apparently low in cost.<sup>51</sup> However, the recipes still feature expensive ingredients such as sugar, candied fruits, nuts,

<sup>44</sup>. McMillan, *The Waverley Cook Book*, 3.

<sup>45</sup>. Driver, *Culinary Landmarks*, 967.

<sup>46</sup>. "History of Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association," Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association, January 20, 2010, [www.sonsofscotland.com/our\\_history/History\\_of\\_Sons\\_of\\_Scotland\\_Benevolent\\_Association.shtml.ns\\_of\\_Scotland\\_Benevolent\\_Association.shtml](http://www.sonsofscotland.com/our_history/History_of_Sowwww.sonsofscotland.com/our_history/History_of_Sons_of_Scotland_Benevolent_Association.shtml.ns_of_Scotland_Benevolent_Association.shtml).

<sup>47</sup>. Dorothy Duncan, *Canadians at Table: Food, Fellowship, and Folklore: A Culinary History of Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2006) 101.

<sup>48</sup>. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 386.

<sup>49</sup>. Julie Guard, "The Politics of Milk: Canadian Housewives Organize in the 1930s," in *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, edited by Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, and Marlene Epp (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 278.

<sup>50</sup>. McMillan, *The Waverley Cook Book*, 3.

<sup>51</sup>. *Ibid.*, 3.

butter, meat, and fruits.<sup>52</sup> As a whole, the book does not seem to particularly endorse cheap, simple cooking, especially when compared to recipes from World War I and World War II.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, recent studies have shown that the situation during the Great Depression was not necessarily as dire as we remember it to be, and that the only people who truly suffered were the poor or the unemployed.<sup>54</sup> This suggests that the compilers and readers of *The Waverley Cook Book* were likely not penniless and were able to afford to make recipes which could be appetizing and interesting rather than the bare minimum for survival. It is interesting to note the correlation between the Great Depression and Scottish immigration – often the Scottish emigrant is stereotyped as a poor, destitute Highlander, but many Scots of significant means also came to Canada.<sup>55</sup> This also speaks to the membership of the Sons of Scotland. If there were poverty-stricken Scots in the area, they might not have been involved in the association, or perhaps the funds raised by the cookbook were used for their aid. Nevertheless, while it is often asserted that the Great Depression and the Dustbowl led to severe agricultural and nutritional hardships, as demonstrated by *The Waverley Cook Book*, this was not always the case.

In his book, *The Scots in Canada*, J.M. Bumsted wrote that, "What the newcomers had in common was a tendency to settle among, and to fraternize with, their fellow Scots – whether in town or countryside – combined with a strong commitment to the creation of Scottish institutions within their community."<sup>56</sup> One of the most significant, but often overlooked, institutions is that of food. Recipes in Scottish cookbooks act as encoded messages of national identity. When a recipe is prepared and eaten, it allows Scots to participate in and preserve their culture and heritage. The inclusion of specifically Scottish recipes in *Modern Practical Cookery* and *The Waverley Cook Book* acknowledges that the authors existed in an imagined community, where they imagined that, like themselves, other Scots were consuming foods like haggis, blood pudding, shortbread, and tablet. Additional recipes, such as those representing other nations, do not necessarily contradict this community. After all, as published books, the primary purpose was likely economical.

<sup>52</sup> For example, Apricot Peanut Cookies, Marzipan Balls, Scotch Trifle, Butterscotch Pie, Hawaiian Cream Pie, Banana Graham Pudding: McMillan, 48 – 49, 57, 59.

<sup>53</sup> Recipes from the World Wars are often marked by an extreme emphasis on simple and cheap cooking (due to rationing, but also as a form of patriotic support), such as eggless and sugarless cakes.

<sup>54</sup> Aleck Samuel Ostry, *Nutrition Policy in Canada, 1870 – 1939* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 2006), 119.

<sup>55</sup> T.C. Smout, N.C. Landsman and T.M. Devine, "Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Nicholas Canny (ed.) *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500 – 1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 91.

<sup>56</sup> J.M. Bumsted quoted in Nancy Marrelli and Simon Dardick, *The Scots of Montreal: A Pictorial Album* (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 2005), 19.

In order to gain the largest financial benefit, a cookbook would have done well to appeal to a variety of people and present new and interesting information. Furthermore, the two cookbooks had both similar and different relationships with Scottish-Canadian identity. Perhaps the greatest point to be made for Scottish food is that it can be found during cultural events celebrated in Canada, such as Robert Burns Day or at the Highland Games – or even just in an average grocery store. This demonstrates how Scots were able to differentiate themselves and reaffirm what it means to be not just Scottish-Canadian, but Canadian in general. Although the two cookbooks examined were written for a past audience, the recipes they contain are still relevant today, due to the nature of Scottish emigrant communities. Acknowledging the contributions Scots have made to Canadian cuisine allows modern Canadians to “not only trade, but also forge lines of continuity and identification between themselves and...the early settlers.”<sup>57</sup> By acknowledging and consuming the same foods as these early settlers, the lines forged between us contribute to the creation of an imagined community, influenced by both Scottish and Canadian heritage.

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<sup>57</sup>. Nathalie Cooke, “Introduction” in Nathalie Cooke (ed.) *What’s to Eat?: Entrées in Canadian Food History*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), 11.

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