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TRADITIONAL NEWFOUNDLAND FOODWAYS: ORIGIN, ADAPTATION AND CHANGE

by

Pamela Jane Gray, B.A.

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Folklore
Memorial University of Newfoundland

June 1977

St. John's Newfoundland

The Kelligrews' Soiree

You may talk of Clara Nolan's ball,
  Or anything you choose
But it couldn't hold a snuff-box
  To the spree in Kelligrews.
If you want your eye-balls straightened
  Just come out next week with me,
And you'd have to wear your glasses
  At the Kelligrews' Soiree.

Chorus: There was birch wine, tar wine,
    Sherry wine and turpentine,
  Jowls and calavances,
    Ginger beer and tea;
  Pig's feet and cat's teeth,
    Dumplin's boiled in a sheet,
  Dandelion and crackie's meat,
    At the Kelligrews' Soiree.

I borrowed Cluney's old beaver,
  As I squared my yards to sail,
And a swallow tail from Hogan,
  That was foxy on the tail,
Paddy Hagerty's spring bottom pants,
  And Billy Nowlan's shoes,
And an old white vest from Fogarty,
  To sport in Kelligrews.

Chorus: We had cold ham, boiled ham,
    And whiskers of Chinese ram,
  Taters in their shirt sleeves,
    The ones that suited me.
  We had pork fat and stuffed rat,
    And pricklies in a beaver hat,
  Thrown upon a nice hooked mat
    At the Kelligrews' Soiree.

Oh, when I arrived at Betsy Snooks,
  That night at half past eight,
The place was black with carriages,
  Stood waiting at the gate.
With Cluney's dicer on my pate,
  The first words Betsy said,
Here comes a local preacher,
  With the pulpit on his head.

Chorus: We had baked owl, boiled owl,
    Parrots tongues, Plymouth fowl,
  Tarts and Rielly's buttons
    'Twould raise your hearts to see,

Raw goat and stewed goat,
And pockets of a fan-tail coat,
And kerosene to clear your throat,
At the Kelligrews' Soiree.

The Saratoga Lancers first,
Miss Betsy kindly said,
Sure I danced with Mrs. Kielley
And her grannie, on the head.
And Hogan danced with Betsy,
You should have seen his shoes,
As he lashed the muskets from the wall
That night in Kelligrews.

Chorus: We had boiled duffs, cold duffs,
And sugar boiled in knitted cuffs,
Lemonade and ginger ale,
Soup and sweetened tea;
Scotch stew, Honey dew,
Bumble bees and cariboo,
Apple jam served in a shoe,
At the Kelligrews' Soiree.

One-eyed Flavin struck the fiddler,
And a hand I then took in,
You should see George Cluney's beaver
And it flattened to the rim;
And Hogan's coat was like a vest,
The tail was gone you see,
Oh! says I, the devil haul ye
And your Kelligrews' Soiree.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of traditional Newfoundland foodways. Using a combination functional and modified historic-geographic method, I have attempted to trace through time the historical diffusion of ethnic patterns from the British Isles to Newfoundland, and ultimately the adaptation of these patterns to the particular circumstances of the island.

Chapter one, the introduction, is a discussion of the major historical factors that determine patterns in any food system, and in this case their relevance to Newfoundland. These factors include: settlement history and ethnic demography, environment and climate, economic history, religion, sociological factors, and changes due to urbanization and innovations in technology. There is also a discussion about local Newfoundland cookbooks.

Chapter two, methodology, is concerned with the techniques used to gather the data for this thesis, from both primary and secondary sources: printed sources, observation, the manuscript collection of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, a questionnaire, and interviews. The third chapter is a review of foodways literature, particularly that which has proven useful for this thesis.

The raw data that is the core of this thesis is contained in chapter four. Beginning with a discussion of the traditional Newfoundland kitchen and a general description of food patterns, the chapter's other materials include such subjects

as preservation, social and ceremonial role of food, and food preferences.

The concluding chapter contains some general observations about the research that has been presented. There is some discussion of the changing roles of both women and men in light of food traditions, and also of older versus newer traditions. There is information about the few nutritional surveys that have been conducted in Newfoundland and their relation to the work of folklorists. Finally, there are suggestions for further research.

Acknowledgments

There are many people whom I must thank for helping make this thesis a reality. First, and foremost, I extend my gratitude to the respondents of my questionnaire and to those whom I interviewed for sharing their time and knowledge. I am grateful to my neighbors who particularly assisted the progress of this thesis by supplying contextual information and also by feeding me traditional foods and even some not so traditional foods. Special appreciation to Lenora and Mike Fagan for their encouragement, explanations and seal pie.

My teachers and fellow students in the folklore department have offered numerous helpful references and suggestions. I thank Herbert Halpert for his advice and help in polishing my scholarly skills.

Several other persons outside of the folklore department have graciously offered assistance, particularly Keith Matthews of the Maritime History Group and W.J. Kirwin of the Newfoundland Dictionary Centre. Thanks to Frederick Aldrich, Dean of the Graduate School, for a lesson on scientific terminology and the facts of squid. And, I am indebted to the librarians and staff of the Henrietta Harvey Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, for their support, particularly those persons in information and reference, interlibrary loan, and the Centre for Newfoundland Studies. They are a staff of boundless energies!

Special thanks to my adviser, Peter Narváez, who has

kindly and conscientiously supported me in all stages of the thesis preparation. He has offered comments and constructive criticism, notably in moments when I became muddled in developing theories and patterns.

Besides those here in Newfoundland, my appreciation to Bill Ferris of Yale University for having initially shown me the way of the folklorist, and for his friendship and support from afar. Finally, but very specially, I gratefully acknowledge the encouragement from my family and friends back home in the States.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is a traditional saying that claims the way to a man's heart is through his stomach. In the late eighteenth century, French gastronomer Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin postulated his own theory:"Tell me what you eat:I will tell you what you are."[1]

Every human being must eat in order to survive. Members of a society, whether they belong to large or small groups, usually develop a system of beliefs, concepts and customs associated with their food usage. The procurement, preservation, distribution, preparation and consumption of foods comprise the study of folk cookery. According to Don Yoder, distinguished American folklife scholar,

> Folk cookery can be readily defined as traditional domestic cookery marked by regional variation. The study of folk cookery includes the study of the foods themselves, their morphology, their preparation, their preservation, their social and psychological functions, and their ramifications into all other aspects of folk culture. For the total cookery complex, including attitudes, taboos, and meal systems--the whole range of cookery and food habits in a society--Honigman's term 'foodways' has become useful.[2]

Newfoundland foodways derive from the traditions that the original settlers brought with them from England, Ireland, Scotland and France. Owing to the particular, and

[1] The Physiology of Taste, or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy, trans. Peter Smith (New York:Dover, 1960), p. 3.

[2] "Folk Cookery," in Folklore and Folklife:An Introduction, Richard Dorson, ed. (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 325.

sometimes peculiar circumstances of the island, the colonists adapted their old habits to their new environment, making necessary changes to insure survival. Thus, during the past 400 years, Newfoundlanders have developed a unique food system.[3]

As with most other foodways systems, major historical factors determine foodways patterns in Newfoundland. They include the following: settlement history and ethnic demography, environment and climate, economic history, religion, sociological factors, and changes due to urbanization and innovations in technology.[4] While one factor may be the most influential at a particular time, it is the interaction of the parts that determines the whole of the foodways complex. All of the above factors have been visibly influential in the definition of Newfoundland food traditions. It is one of the purposes of this thesis to demonstrate the importance of each of these factors on the development of traditional Newfoundland foodways. A brief introductory overview of each of these historical factors in terms of their relevance to the island of Newfoundland is appropriate here.

[3]For a comprehensive pre-twentieth century history of Newfoundland, see, D.W. Prowse, Q.C., A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records (London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1895). Unfortunately, there is no comparable comprehensive history for post-1895.

[4]Yoder, p. 328.

1. Settlement History and Ethnic Demography

Newfoundland, 42,734 square miles and the tenth largest island in the world,[5] lies between parallels 46 and 52 north latitude and between the meridians 52 and 60 west longitude.[6] The topography in the west is mountainous while the interior is characterized by low hills alternating with rolling plains, marshy tracts and wooded areas with numerous lakes and rivers.[7]

John Cabot discovered the island in 1492, but it was Sir Humphrey Gilbert who finally claimed Newfoundland for the British Crown in 1583.[8] At about the same time, Frenchmen landed on the south coast of the island, and by 1664 had established a small colony of some 200 persons between Cape Race and Cape Ray.[9] Britain defended her claim to Newfoundland, yet made no attempt to pursue colonization.

Eventually, the English West Country merchants saw settlement as a threat to the migratory summer fishery which they carried on in Newfoundland waters, and convinced the British government to protect their monopoly by enacting harsh laws

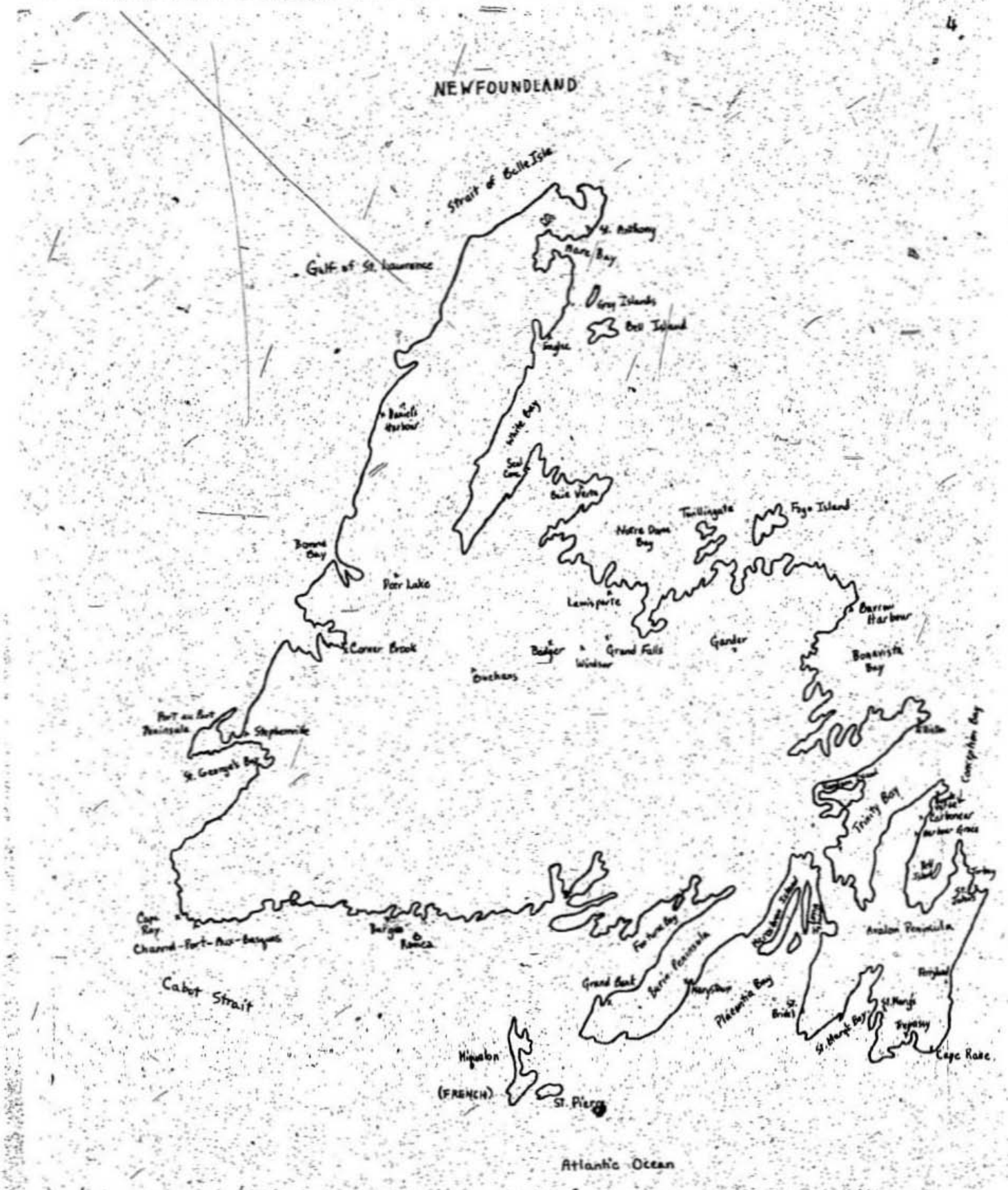
[5]Harold S. Peters and Thomas D. Burleigh, The Birds of Newfoundland (St. John's:Department of Natural Resources, 1951), p. 1.

[6]Joseph R. Smallwood, ed., The Book of Newfoundland, I(St. John's:Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1937), p. 47.

[7]Peters and Burleigh, p. 1.

[8]Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography (London:Oxford University Press, VII, 1950, c.a. 1882), pp. 1207-8.

[9]Keith Matthews, "A History of the West of England Newfoundland Fishery," Diss. University of Oxford 1968, p. 193.


NEWFOUNDLAND
Strait of Belle Isle
St. Anthony
Hare Bay
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Groy Islands
Bell Island
Eagle
Daniel's Harbour
White Bay
Baie Verte
Notre Dame Bay
Twillingate
Fogo Island
Bonne Bay
Deer Lake
Lamisparte
Barrow Harbour
Corner Brook
Badger
Windsor
Grand Falls
Gander
Bonavista Bay
Buchans
Port au Port Peninsula
Stephenville
St. George's Bay
Conception Bay
Trinity Bay
Carbonear
Harbour Grace
Cape Ray
Channel-Port-Aux-Basques
Bargeo
Ramea
Fortune Bay
Avalon Peninsula
Cabot Strait
Grand Bank
Burin Peninsula
Harrisburg
Placentia Bay
St. Bride's
St. Mary's Bay
St. Mary's
Trepassy
Cape Race
Miquelon
(FRENCH)
St. Pierre
Atlantic Ocean

against settlement in Newfoundland. These laws, called the Western Charters, were in effect until 1824.[10] Before repeal of the charters, however, settlement did occur on the island. In 1676 the 'English Shore' of Newfoundland supported some 1490 persons scattered among thirty communities which extended from Trepassy to Barrow Harbour. The inhabitants earned their living off of a short summer cod fishery.[11] Some people came to Newfoundland to find a new life, but the majority came to the new world to carry on the work of the fisheries.[12]

Until 1800, most of the Englishmen who arrived in Newfoundland came from the West Country--Devon, Dorset and Somerset.[13] The English, however, were not the only adventurers to settle in Newfoundland. Irishmen and Scotsmen also came. The Irish began substantial seasonal migrations in the mid-1700s and the Scots migrated in the late 1700s.[14] In these early years the number of Scotsmen did not amount to more than a couple of hundred; but, by 1800, Irish immigrants comprised about fifty percent of the population. The last great waves of Irish immigration to Newfoundland occurred

[10] Ibid.

[11] Keith Matthews, "Lectures on the History of Newfoundland 1500-1830," St. John's, Maritime History Group, 1973, p. 111.

[12] For an excellent description of fishing technology, see, James C. Faris, Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Community (St. John's: The Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), pp. 215-35.

[13] Matthews, "Lectures...," p. 216.

[14] John Mannion, "The Irish Migrations to Newfoundland," 1973, pp. 1-2; and, Matthews, "Lectures...," p. 225.

between 1811 and 1831. Keith Matthews, member of the Memorial University Maritime History Group, describes what happened as follows:

> By 1820 a pattern of settlement was firmly established on the Island. The vast majority of the outports were populated by fishermen from the West of England. In the largest commercial centres there were indeed plenty of West Countrymen, especially at Trinity and Fogo, but the majority of the population consisted of quite recent arrivals from Ireland and of a small but economically very important group of highly skilled and educated emigrants from Scotland or other parts of England.[15]

By the turn of the nineteenth century, some 1,300 settlements, locally known as outports, were scattered along the coast of Newfoundland and across the interior of the island. The interior settlements sprang up along the coast to coast railroad built between 1881 and 1898.[16] Today, the ancestry of most Newfoundlanders remains strongly English, Irish and Scottish, aside from the Acadian French settlements on the south and west coasts and the Micmac Indian settlements on the south coast (see, Table 1, Ethnic Groups in Newfoundland, 1971 Census). These groups will not be dealt with in this thesis for lack of time and access. Newfoundland had a native Indian population, the Beothucks or "Red Indians," but they became extinct when Shananditti, the last member of

[15] Matthews, "Lectures...," p. 220. The Scots were mostly merchants, clerks, shopkeepers, mechanics or tradesmen.

[16] Frank Cramm, "The Construction of the Newfoundland Railway 1875-1898," Master's Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1961.

her race, died in 1829.[17] Preliminary estimates from the 1976 Census report that the total population of Newfoundland is now 548,789 persons.[18]

2. Environment and Climate

Newfoundland's natural environment is characterized as one of long winters and short summers. Although the growing season is short, it is moist and allows for an abundance of wildlife on the island. In terms of edible flora, Newfoundland has many herbs and shrubs and more than thirty varieties of berries. Some of the herbs include the following: curled dock Rumex crispus L., which "has traditionally been collected, boiled, and given to girls in the spring in some parts of Newfoundland";[19] dandelion Taraxacum officinale Weber, local names are dumbledor, faceclock and piss-a-beds, used as a fresh salad green and in wines; Labrador tea Ledum groenlandicum Oeder, also known as Indian tea; sheep sorrel Rumex acetosella L., known as sweet leaf, laddie suckers or Sally suckers; and, sweet gale Myrica gale L., also called goldwithy, the dried leaves can be used as tea and the fruits can be eaten.

[17]Keith Winter, Shananditti: The Last of the Beothucks (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1975), p. 142.

[18]Phone conversation of 21 April 1977 with Statistics Canada, St. John's office. This is the only figure available from the 1976 Census returns.

[19]John Peter Scott, Edible Fruits and Herbs of Newfoundland (St. John's: Memorial University, Oxen Pond Botanic Park, Department of Biology, 1975), p. 15.

Table 1

Ethnic Groups in Newfoundland, 1971 Census[20]

Total Population: 522,100

	Persons		Persons
Austrian	80	Lithuanian	25
Belgian	50	Native Indian	1225
British Isles	489565	Negro	70
Byelorussian	5	Netherlands	665
Chinese	610	Norwegian	745
Czechoslovakian	35	Polish	280
Danish	170	Portuguese	340
East Indian	460	Romanian	10
Indo Pakistani	310	Russian	40
Other	145	Slovak	15
Eskimo	1055	Spanish	110
Estonian	15	Swedish	260
Finnish	45	Syrian-Lebanese	405
French	15410	Ukranian	175
German	2375	West Indian	60
Greek	100	Yugoslavian	10
Hungarian	105	Croatian	-
Icelandic	5	Serbian	-
Italian	495	Slovenian	-
Japanese	20	N.O.S.	10
Jewish	360	Other and Unknown	6655
Latvian	60		

[20]Statistics Canada, comp., Population: Census Subdivisions (Historical) (Ottawa: The Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, July 1973).

The following are the most common berries in Newfoundland: bakeapple Rubus chamaemorus L., known elsewhere as the cloudberry; blackberry Rubus canadensis L.; Rubus elangantulus Blanch., Rubus kennedyanus Fern., Rubus pensylvanicus Poir., Rubus recurvicaulus Blanch., Rubus vermontanus Blanch.; blueberry Vaccinium angustifolium Ait., Vaccinium myrtilloides Michx.; cranberry Vaccinium macrocarpon Ait.; gooseberry Ribes hirtellum Michx.; marshberry Vaccinium oxycoccus L.; partridgeberry Vaccinium vitis-idaea L., known elsewhere as the lingonberry; red raspberry Rubus idaeus L.; squashberry Viburnum edule (Michx.) Raf.; and, wild strawberry Fragaris vesca L.[21]

Aaron Thomas, in his Newfoundland Journal of 1794, made the following observations about the island's natural flora:

> I have had occasion before, in more than one place, to mention how plentifull this Country is stored with Berrys. Nature has been abundantly gracious to this Country in that particular. All Countrys has something to recommend them, China has its Teas, Lapland has its Reindeer, Ireland has its Linnens and Italy has its delicious Fruits. Newfoundland has its Fish, and to that I may add it has its Berrys, which are gratefull to the taste and so abounding that Horses and Cows and Goats live upon them when they are ripe. The Berry which is to be found in the greatest quantitys is Hurts, they are called Whimberrys in England. They grow in surprizing plenty under the Spruce Trees and Brambles. Partridge Berrys are form'd like a large Pea and coloured like the finest Vermillion when ripe. They make good Tarts.

[21]Besides Scott, see also, A Glen Ryan, Shrubs of Newfoundland (St. John's: Parks Division, Department of Tourism, Province of Newfoundland, 1974).

> These are in great abundance. Here also are Stone Berrys, Gooseberrys, Raspberrys, Currants and Branberrys, with a great number of other Berrys which produce excellent food. The whole Country abounds with them in the month of August and quantitys of Cranberrys are sent to England.[22]

Newfoundland's fauna consists of fourteen species of native land animals and eleven species which have been introduced either intentionally or accidentally. There are nineteen species of marine mammals native to the island's coastal waters. The following are Newfoundland's land mammals:[23]

Native	
bat, little brown	Myotis lucifugus (LeConte)
bat, long-eared	Myotis keenii (Merriam)
bear, black	Ursus americanus Pallas
beaver	Castor canadensis Kuhl
caribou	Rangifer caribou (L.)
fox, red	Vulpes fulva (L.)
hare, arctic	Lepus arcticus Ross
lynx	Lynx canadensis Kerr
marten	Martes americana (Turton)
muskrat	Ondatra zibethicus (L.)
otter	Lutra canadensis (Schreber)
vole, meadow	Microtus pennsylvanicus (Ord)
weasel, short-tailed	Mustela erminea L.
wolf (extinct)	Canis lupus L.

[22]Jean M. Murray, The Newfoundland Journal of Aaron Thomas (Canada:Longmans, 1968), p. 140.

[23]Stuart Peters, "Our Land and Sea Mammals" in The Book of Newfoundland, III, Joseph R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's:Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967), p. 317.

Native (accidental--cross the ice packs from Labrador to Newfoundland)

bear, polar	Thalarcotos maritimus Phipps
fox, arctic	Alopex lagopus (L.)

Introduced (intentional)

buffalo	Bison bison (L.)
chipmunk, eastern	Tasias striatus (L.)
hare, snowshoe (varying)	Lepus americanus Erxleben
moose	Alces alces (L.)
reindeer (did not survive)	Rangifer tarandus (L.)
shrew, common	Sorex cinereus Kerr
squirrel	Tamiasciurus hudsonicus (Erxleben)
vole, red-backed	Clethrionomys gapperi (Vigors)

Introduced (accidental)

mink	Mustela vison Schreber
mouse, house	Mus musculus L.
rat, Norway	Rattus norvegicus (Berkenhout)

The caribou, arctic hare, moose and snowshoe rabbit deserve particular attention because these four mammals have shared the burden of providing the major game animal supply throughout Newfoundland's history. The caribou and the arctic hare figure mostly in Newfoundland's history before 1900 and the moose and the snowshoe hare after 1900. Before introduction of the moose,

> the indigenous caribou, Rangifer caribou, was the only large wild herbivorous mammal in insular Newfoundland...especially where arctic or snowshoe hares were not abundant, the caribou was probably the principal source of fresh meat for many inhabitants over a large part of the island.[24]

[24] Stuart Peters and John King, Newfoundland Caribou Disease Investigation, 1958 (St. John's: Wildlife Division, Department of Mines and Resources, 1959), p. 3.

Now, however, the burden of the big game harvest is borne by the moose, introduced to Newfoundland on two occasions: in 1878 a bull and a cow were released at Gander Bay; and, in 1904 two bulls and two cows were released in the Grand Lake area. The population of 30,000-40,000 moose in 1973 was approximately seven times the size of the caribou population which is now a much sought trophy by native and foreign sportsmen.[25]

The decline of the arctic hare, Newfoundland's original rabbit, began when the snowshoe hare was brought to Newfoundland between 1864 and 1876 from Nova Scotia.[26] A smaller rabbit than the arctic hare, the snowshoe hare took over the island's lowlands and pushed the arctic hare into the higher topographical areas. Today the arctic hare is an endangered species, and when rabbits are hunted the term is always used in reference to the snowshoe hare.

The species of birds, fish and mammals indigenous to insular Newfoundland and its coastal waters are too numerous to list in detail here, but suffice it to say that many of the species supplied settlers with nourishing food, particularly the whale and the seal. Without their inclusion in the traditional diet, many Newfoundlanders would not have survived. Some of the game birds commonly hunted include:

[25]"Life History of Alces alces americana (Moose)," St. John's, n.p., n.d., pp. 7, 9.

[26]The Snowshoe and Arctic Hares in "Way of Life Series," No. 9, n.p., n.d., p. 4.

black duck Anas rubripes Brewster; Canada goose Branta canadensis canadensis L.; common puffin Fratercula arctica arctica (L.); common snipe Capella gallinago delicata (Ord); arctic owl Nyctea scandiaca L., known elsewhere as the snowy owl; turr Uria lomvia lomvia (L.), known elsewhere as the thick-billed murre; and, willow ptarmigan Lagopus lagopus alleni Stejneger, known in Newfoundland as partridge. Some of the fish that are found in the Newfoundland diet include: brook trout Salvelinus fontinalus Mitchill; caplin Mallotus villosus Muller; cod Gadus callarius L; halibut Hippoglossus hippoglossus L.; herring Clupea harengus L.; lobster Homarus Americanus Milne-Edwards; salmon Salmo salar L.; and, white hake Urophycis tenuis Mitchell.

It is important to realize in discussing historical factors influencing the foodways of a folk group that environment and climate determine what are called seasonal foods--items which appear in a diet at specific times of the year. For example, in Newfoundland most berries ripen from mid-summer through mid-autumn, each berry on its own section of the time line. Strawberries begin to ripen at the end of June, raspberries in July, blueberries in August and partridge-berries in September. The bakeapple season is very short; general agreement defines the season as the last week in July and the first week in August. The hunting season for many animals such as rabbit, moose and caribou is the fall of the year. Fish, too, mature and run in individual seasons--cod in April through August, lobster in April through August,

fresh water trout in May, and caplin in June and July.

There are only certain times of the year that seasonal foods can be freshly obtained for the diet. Modern preservational techniques offer the possibility of keeping many items in almost their natural state for use all year round. But, most foodstuffs cannot be freshly supplied all year unless they are imported from other provinces or countries.

3. Economic History

Newfoundland's economic history has been intricately linked to the sea apart from some smaller ventures of Newfoundlanders into mining and lumbering. In fact, as fish in Newfoundland is synonymous with cod unless otherwise specifically stated, economics in Newfoundland has been almost synonymous with the fishing industry.[27] A man either fished purely for his own survival or worked for the fisheries. As fish was a prime economic resource it was inevitable that fish would also acquire the status of a major local food source.

Until the eighteenth century most food was imported to Newfoundland. The major suppliers were England, Ireland and America. England and America just about equally provided breadstuffs to the island, and Ireland specialized in and provided most of the salt pork. America and the West Indies

[27] Although now, in terms of net profit, mining and lumbering provide a greater source of wealth for the province than fishing does.

provided rum and molasses.[28]

It is interesting to look at a specific list of the food supplies imported by Newfoundland during this period for it comprised a rather small base of provisions--provisions that would not spoil during travel (see, Tables 2 and 3 for lists of provisions). One can surmise from this meagre list that the settlers had to be mostly dependent on their natural resources. There really was not even time to benefit from the potential agricultural resources for during the growing season the men, and many women, were busy with the work of the fisheries.

In terms of the island's history of providing supplies for its own population, Newfoundland's agricultural history officially dates back to only 1813 when "grants of land for agricultural purposes were made..."[29] As mentioned previously, under the Western Charters permanent settlement was illegal in Newfoundland. But, again, despite the Western Charters, cultivation of the land supplied at least some return for the Newfoundlander after the mid-eighteenth century. Until that time,

> the natural resources of the woods and sea did provide considerable quantities of meat and fish, as well as dietary supplements such as berries and the heavily-used spruce beer.
>
> The food and sustenance for the men is beef, fish, pease and other provisions, what they can

[28]C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 131-2.

[29]Smallwood, I, p. 63.

Table 2

"Severall sorts of wynes & Provisions imported this yeare only in St. John's Harbr."[30]
1677

	England	France	America	West Indies	Islands
Bread (lb.)	50,000	20,000	6,000		
Flour (lb.)	25,000	8,000	4,000		5,000
Pork (bbl.)	162	42	20		21
Beef (cwt.)	30				
Peas (hhd.)	150		50		
Oil (small jars)					500
Sugar	120 cwt.			20 hhd.	20 cwt.
Molasses (tuns)				14	
Rum (tuns)	16			16	
Salt (hhd.)	50				
Hops (lb.)	2,000				
Wines (tuns)	110	15			94
Brandy (tuns)		18			
Salt (tuns)		7,500			

[30]Head, p. 101.

Table 3

Cargoes imported by "Ships Entred in the Harbour of St. John's" from 24th March, 1741/2 to 30th October, 1742[31]

	England	Ireland	America	West Indies	Islands
Bread (lb.)	452,000	22,400	422,000		
Flour (lb.)	8,000		121,400		
Bacon (cwt.)			2,200		
Pork (bbl.)	227	1,181	91		
Beef (bbl.)	128	970			
Peas (hhd.)	141		62		
Butter (firkins)	20	798			
Sugar (bbl.)			6	188	
Molasses (hhd.)			109	71	
Rum (hhd.)			126	238	
Beer (hhd.)	66		5		
Salt (hhd.)	1,680	250			9,170

[31] Ibid., p. 102.

> gett, their beer is brewed with molasses and spruce.
>
> They feed their men in the summer season mostly with fresh codds, with some salt pork and a little beefe and biskett.
>
> In the winter, the planters both to the northward and southward of St. John's hunt for deer, otter, bear, martin, fox and seales, on whose flesh they feed for the greatest part of that season...[32]

After the embargos on settlement and trade were rescinded by the British government in 1824, Newfoundland began to prosper in her own right as a colony. Although domestic agriculture was still at a low level in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, by the beginning of the 1800s Newfoundlanders were cultivating some peas, beans and roots on their land. The impetus for this activity stemmed from the period of the American Revolution when Newfoundland's source of supply was cut to trade with Great Britain and Ireland.[33] The islanders were thus encouraged to become more independent with respect to providing their food supply.

Tables 4 and 5 of "1840 Food Imports to St. John's" and "Items for Sale in St. John's, 1842" show that the variety of imports had greatly expanded by the mid-nineteenth century. Many of the items on these lists could be categorized as luxuries rather than necessities. This was an important step in transition for the population to attain for its food system; it indicates a certain measure of prosperity. However, note that most of these luxury items were probably purchased by the St. John's residents rather than by the outport residents.

[32] Ibid., p. 129.

[33] Ibid., p. 142.

Table 4

1840 Food Imports to St. John's[34]

ale and porter
apples
bacon and hams
beef, salted
brandy
bran
bread
butter
chocolate
cheese
cider
coffee
cocoa
cordial
flour
fruit
herrings
Indian corn
lard
meat, fresh
meal, oat
meal, Indian
molasses
oats and barley
olive oil
pease and beans
pimento
potatoes and other vegetables
pork
rice
rum
salt, fine
sugar, Muscovado
sugar, refined
tea
vinegar
whisky
wheat
wine

[34]Richard Henry Bonnycastle, Newfoundland in 1842 (London: Henry Colburn Pub., 1842), II, pp. 200-1.

Table 5

Items for Sale in St. John's, 1842[35]

4-lb. loaves of wheaten bread
barrels of potato
sugar, Muscovado
white or loaf sugar
Flour, American, fine
Sea Biscuit
Irish pork (prime)
Beef, best mess
Mutton (winter-summer)
Veal (winter-summer)
wine
sherry
champagne
Porter
Tea, souchong
Hyson
Vinegar, best
molasses
cod
salt herrings
salt, fine
salmon
lobsters
oysters (from Prince Edward Island)
herring
brace of ptarmigan or grouse (autumn or winter)
venison
oats
milk
butter, fresh
eggs
geese
poultry
turkey
ducks
brandy
Whisky, Irish
pearl barley
mustard
pepper
pine-apple (from West Indies)
apples (from America)
oranges
pears and plums (not often)
West India preserves
Raisins (best muscatel)
Currants
White grapes (from Portugal and Spain)
Onions
Ham (Westphalia, Ireland, America)
Cheese (best English, American)
Hare

[35]Ibid., pp. 188-91.

Table 5 of items for sale in St. John's lists game found in Newfoundland, e.g., hare, venison, cod and salmon. Presumably, these items were not imported but were the indigenous stock and simply up for sale in St. John's.

Richard Henry Bonnycastle made some interesting notes in Newfoundland in 1842 about the origin of various imports which were primarily from Great Britain, the United States, British North America, the West Indies, Spain, Portugal and Hamburgh (Westphalia):

> United States: beef(salted), biscuit, coffee, fruit, molasses, pork, rum, salt, Muscovado sugar.
>
> West Indies: molasses, rum, Muscovado sugar, meal(oat), farina, peas, beans, pork, salt.
>
> British North America: ale, porter; bread and butter from Prince Edward's Island, flour from Canada, molasses, potatoes, vegetables, pork, rum, Muscovado sugar, tea.
>
> Hamburgh: bread, butter.
>
> Spain and Portugal: coffee, flour, fruit.
>
> Great Britain: ale, porter (chiefly from Ireland); brandy, bread, butter (Ireland); cheese, flour, pork, salt, refined sugar, tea.[36]

C. Grant Head makes similar observations about Newfoundland's food supply in the early nineteenth century:

> Despite an increasing use of the soil in Newfoundland, the island remained strongly tied to outside sources of supply for most of her major foodstuffs. Fish, some of the potato needs,[37] and salad greens were, essentially, the few home-grown goods. The source of food for the island

[36] Ibid., p. 203.

[37] The potato was introduced to Newfoundland around 1750. Head, p. 142.

> was the traditional triad of Great Britain, the West Indies, and especially, the North American continent. In 1807...half the bread and flour were coming from the United States and the other half...from British America...and Great Britain. Beef and pork were supplied from Great Britain, while rum and molasses now came directly from the West Indies rather than from or via the American continental area.[38]

Although the agricultural productivity of Newfoundland has greatly developed since the mid-nineteenth century, according to a 1971 report Food and Agriculture Potentials in Newfoundland,

> agriculture in Newfoundland constitutes a relatively small portion of the Gross Provincial Product. The rural sector shows lack of development.[39]

The report continues to say that although Newfoundland has a short, cool and relatively moist summer with a frost-free season of 110 days in the south to eighty-five days in the north, in 1966 only 50,000 of ninety-one million acres on the whole island was in farms.[40] Mostly the "hardy vegetables" are cultivated--potatoes, cabbage, turnips, beets and carrots. However, Newfoundland is not self-sufficient in the production of these vegetables.

A similar situation exists with respect to the meat and

[38] Ibid., p. 233.

[39] S.M.H. Rizvi and A. Davidson, M.L. Lerohl, W.W. Graham and G.A. MacEachern, Food and Agriculture Potentials in Newfoundland (Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada in Cooperation with Laurentian Institute for Social and Economic Development, 1971), p. i.

[40] Ibid., p. 34.

poultry supply in Newfoundland. The majority of these items is imported. Since joining Canadian confederation on 1 April 1949, Newfoundland has received more of its import items from the mainland than she did as an independent country.[41] For example, whereas once most of Newfoundland's salt pork came from Ireland and the salt beef from the United States, these salt meats are now prepared specially in Canada, solely for the Newfoundland market.

Newfoundlanders pay a greater percentage of their net income for food than most of the rest of their countrymen because of their long history of importation of major quantities of foodstuffs.[42] Thus, it is understandable why much of the Newfoundland diet has remained so traditional and stable. This traditional diet depends on the less expensive food imports. Although great changes have occurred within the Newfoundlander's diet during the past thirty years, monetary scarcity has traditionally held a tight rein on what Newfoundlanders have been able to afford to eat. This is why many foods which are now common were luxury items within the traditional diet and appeared perhaps only once a week at the Sunday dinner, or maybe only once a year during the Christmas season. These ideas will be developed in later chapters.

[41] Alec G. Stacey, "1000 Days That Changed Our Destiny" in The Book of Newfoundland, III, J.R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967), p. 138.

[42] In Newfoundland the proportion of disposable income spent on food appears to approach twenty-five percent. For the rest of Canada the figure is twenty percent. Rizvi et al., p. 5.

4. Religion

The religious affiliations of Newfoundlanders are naturally closely linked to their ethnic backgrounds. The major ones are, as previously stated, English, Irish and Scottish. The principal English denominations are Anglican and Salvation Army. People of Irish ancestry are generally Roman Catholic. People of Scottish ancestry are generally Presbyterian. Included among the religions practiced on a major scale in Newfoundland today are the North American based denominations such as the United Church of Canada and the Pentecostal Church (see, Table 6, Religious Affiliations in Newfoundland, 1971 Census).

Religion has played an important role in the lives of Newfoundlanders since the beginning of their history. Even today in 1977 all schools in Newfoundland maintain religious affiliations. No civil marriages were performed in Newfoundland prior to 1976.[43] Food patterns as well, have been influenced by religious law. For example, until the Church law was revised, Roman Catholics did not eat meat on Friday. In terms of their weekly meal pattern, many Newfoundlanders did not eat meat on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent and this pattern of abstinence was often followed throughout the rest of the year. Many Newfoundlanders not of the Roman Catholic persuasion also faithfully ate fish on Wednesdays and Fridays.

[43] "Solemnization of Marriage Act" 1 November 1976, Department of Justice, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Table 6

Religious Affiliations in Newfoundland, 1971 Census[45]

Adventist	525	Roman Catholic	190,960
Anglican	144,445	Salvation Army	41,280
Baptist	1,095	Ukranian Catholic	65
Bretheren in Christ	415	Unitarian	65
Buddhist	20	United Church	101,805
Christian and Missionary Alliance	5	Other	4,410
Christian Reformed	5	No Religion	2,280
Churches of Christ, Disciples	45		
Church of the Nazarene	45		
Confucian	5		
Doukhobor	-		
Free Methodist	25		
Greek Orthodox	110		
Hutterite	-		
Jehovah's Witness	1,860		
Jewish	220		
Lutheran	515		
Mennonite	45		
Mormon	30		
Pentecostal	28,785		
Plymouth Brethren	5		
Presbyterian	3,055		

[45]Statistics Canada, comp., Population.

The strongest influence of the Church, however, might be seen in terms of the dictation of feast and fast days during the year. For example, Good Friday, Christmas Eve, and the weeks of Lent are fast days. Certain foods must not be eaten on fast days, usually meats. Indulgence in special foods is encouraged for feast days, such as St. Patrick's Day.

5. Sociological Factors

The sociological factors that affect the food system of a folk group are generally those associated with the behavioral aspects of a society. In particular this includes the community belief system of food avoidances. Frederick Simoons in his book Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances in the Old World recognizes that

> the foods used by a group are chosen in accordance with cultural attitudes and patterns of behavior... In one case an avoidance may be associated with mere indifference; in another it may involve strong prejudice and the imposition of severe sanctions, even death, for violations.[45]

Food avoidances are obvious within the Newfoundland foodways system, although I have found no evidence of the imposition of severe sanctions as suggested by Simoons. But, as Simoons notes, "it is interesting that animal and not plant foods should be the frequent objects of disgust."[46] Simoons is fairly successful in tracing the historical

[45] Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances in the Old World (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 5, 106.

[46] Ibid., p. 107.

origins of the flesh avoidances that he discusses (pig and pork, beef, chicken and eggs, horseflesh, camel flesh, and dogflesh), but it appears that the origins of at least some food avoidances here in Newfoundland are relative to the island's singular history and are not derivations of English, Irish or Scottish customs.

Newfoundlanders have traditionally avoided eating inshore invertebrates and flatfish.[47] I have been unable to ascertain the origin of this practice, however, it has been suggested by several informants to be due to the fact that raw sewage was dumped directly into Newfoundland's immediate coastal waters. The inshore shellfish and flatfish, scavengers dining along the ocean floor, were therefore unfit for human consumption. Conversely, it was sanctioned to eat most fish caught offshore unless it was a particularly bony species.

According to Frederick Aldrich, professor of biology at Memorial University, there is evidence that on the east coast of Newfoundland during the Depression, lobster Homarus Americanus Milne-Edwards was thrown away because it was considered to be "trash." The fact that there was no market for lobster at this time in this area has been corroborated by Wilfred Templeman, O.B.E., now retired professor and holder of

[47] The halibut, turbot, dabs and flounders are generally known as the flatfishes. For further details see, Nancy Frost, Newfoundland Flat-Fishes. A Popular Account of Their Life Histories (St. John's: Department of Natural Resources, Service Bulletin 14, 1940). For details of Newfoundland invertebrates see, Wilfred Templeman, Marine Resources of Newfoundland (Ottawa: Fisheries Research Board of Canada, 1966).

the John Lewis Paton Chair of Marine Biology and Fisheries at Memorial University. However, there is no definitive explanation for the origin of this practice.

The bait squid Illex illecebrosus (Lesueur), in abundance along much of the Newfoundland coast, is also avoided. Some Newfoundlanders eat the bait squid, but many more refuse to indulge in them as food. Aldrich explains this to be because of their status as "bait," and the most valuable bait at that. There are less important bait, such as herring and caplin, and these are not avoided in the same manner as are the squid. However, herring and caplin are often used for purposes other than as bait and for human consumption, e.g., ground into fish meal for pet foods or for fertilizer.

Aldrich has found that there are people who eat the bait squid but publicly refuse to admit that they do so. According to a Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) manuscript on "Newfoundland Squid Lore" by Jennifer Snow,

> There seems to be a certain prejudice against the squid for food here. Squid are considered to be bait and people don't want to eat bait....Dr. Aldrich tells of a person he knows who said he would never eat squid and then had a dozen for dinner, not knowing what he was eating. The whole affair was rather embarrassing for him because he was prejudiced against eating squid. Nevertheless, many Newfoundlanders eat many pounds of squid a year.[48]

Finally, the dogfish Squalus acanthias L. is not eaten although it, too, abundantly inhabits Newfoundland's coastal

[48]MUNFLA (Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive), 72-126, p. 19.

waters. The dogfish is a nuisance to the fisherman because it gets onto the trawls and tangles them up before the cod and other valuable species can get on. As an elasmobranch, a fish with a cartilaginous skeleton, platelike scales and lack of air bladders, the dogfish is not marketable.[49] Therefore it is an enemy to the fisherman and is not eaten by him either.

The previous examples show that peer group pressure is influential in determining the rules of tradition. Such peer group pressure manifests itself in another way in Newfoundland, in dictating what is proper to serve to guests as opposed to members of the family or close friends. Within the traditional food system in Newfoundland it is generally accepted that fish is not a festive food, and, fish is usually not served to company, especially to strangers. Bonnycastle noted this practice in 1842 when he described his visits to Newfoundland homes:

> The good wife puts some tea in the pot...boils some eggs, produces a pat of fresh butter, and a large jug of milk, with a loaf of home-made bread; or, if that is wanting, white biscuit...
> They never offer fish...of course fresh meat is seldom seen, but on rare festive occasions...They have usually...a store of flour and of salt beef or pork...with their poultry.[50]

The effects of sociological factors on the determination of food habits was the thesis of Renée Valeri's study

[49] Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (Springfield, Mass.: G & C Merriam Co., 1966, c.a. 1909), pp. 397, 729.

[50] Bonnycastle, pp. 127-8.

of the traditional food supply in the southwest of France.[51] As I have noted with respect to the use of fish in the Newfoundland diet, Valeri maintains that traditional habits in Landes in southwest France sharply distinguish food eaten inside the family unit and food given outside to distant parents or foreigners.

> It is confirmed that variations in economy produce variations in food not only as to its quality and value but also in the social categorization. As a means of providing offerings food has a privileged place in the representation of social bonds and a concrete symbolic meaning.[52]

Peer groups define the traditionally accepted means of cooking and serving of food, for example, the preparation of the traditional Newfoundland dish fish and brewis. Briefly, this is boiled salt fish and hard bread (ship's biscuit) that have been soaked overnight and brought to a boil, usually served with scrunchions (fried out pork bits). There are about a dozen different ways to prepare fish and brewis, depending on geographical location and the social situation. Significant differences in the recipes are also determined by the one factor of whether the meal is being prepared in a home or on a fishing boat.

6. Changes Due to Urbanization and Innovations in Technology

Two aspects of folk cookery tend to be most affected by changes due to urbanization and innovations in technology:

[51] "Study of Traditional Food Supply in the South-West of France," Ethnologia Scandinavica (1971), 86-96.

[52] Ibid., p. 94.

preparation and preservation of food. In 1809 Nicholas Appert, a Frenchman, received a prize from the French government for inventing the process of hermetical sealing. For the next half-century what came to be called "the canning industry" operated mostly by hand labor; but, by the 1890s, canning in America was a mechanized industry.[53] This meant a tremendous growth of available foodstuffs, for now items were accessible to the public on a scale not possible before and particularly at times other than during their natural growing season.

For Newfoundland with its short growing season, the invention of the canning process meant a drastic change in peoples' food expectations. The critical position of having to survive the winter on a minimal supply of ingredients was reduced. Although for a long time there was a certain percentage of the population that obviously could not afford to buy the canned goods, at least the possibility of using them became a practical reality.

Once they could afford the canned goods Newfoundlanders came to depend upon them for a substantial part of their diet. As electricity became available to most of the Newfoundland outports only since the 1950s, the benefits and convenience of household refrigeration are relatively new.[54] Therefore,

[53]James Collins, The Story of Canned Foods (New York: n.p., 1924), pp. 6, 28.

[54]George P. Hobbs, "Newfoundland's Revolution in Electricity" in The Book of Newfoundland, III, Joseph R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967), p. 386.

as food habits are slow to die, even today traditional foods such as salt fish and salt meat play an obvious role in the Newfoundland diet.

7. The Preservation of Tradition

As the title of this thesis suggests this is an attempt to define Newfoundland's traditional foodways in terms of origin, adaptation and change. The origin of Newfoundlanders' foodways must primarily be traced back to their ancestral heritage, again, for the majority of the population, English, Irish and Scottish. Original patterns are easily identified because the traditional folkloric processes of variation and adaptation on basic themes have been successfully carried out. Another main purpose of this thesis is to isolate these patterns and to show that they still survive, even in this era of convenience and fast foods.

There is physical evidence of Newfoundlanders' desire to preserve their food traditions, illustrated by the history of the publication of local cookbooks, especially during the past twenty years. There have been local printers in St. John's and elsewhere in Newfoundland since the early nineteenth century, but unless it was in the form of ephemeral material such as pamphlets and chapbooks, there is little evidence of printed Newfoundland recipes before the twentieth century.[55] The use of cookbooks in Newfoundland

[55]E.J. Devereux, "Early Printing in Newfoundland," Dalhousie Review, 43(1963), 57-66.

foodways is definitely a modern phenomenon, with the major emphasis on baked goods. The processes of oral tradition are still the major means of passing on foodways between successive generations.

Persons in outports almost certainly did not indulge in the use of cookbooks, especially due to a lack of reading ability. Therefore, oral tradition had to be the only way. Although the first known attempt at formal schooling in Newfoundland took place in 1723,

> ...up to 1950 and indeed even later, the majority of Newfoundland pupils, for financial, geographical or psychological reasons, were denied the opportunity to obtain a satisfactory high school education. In hundreds of settlements where there were only one-room schools....large numbers of boys and girls reached adulthood either completely or partly illiterate, and the records show that a child forced to attend a one-room school had something like one chance out of 700 of ever attaining a Grade XI Matriculation.
>
> For most of the nineteenth century average attendance was probably no higher than 50 percent, and for a good deal of the twentieth century prior to 1949 it was under 70 percent.[56]

It was probably the townspeople of St. John's who first used cookbooks as reference materials, or were simply able to afford them whether or not ever used them. As I have found no extant evidence of Newfoundland cookbooks before the twentieth century, it must be assumed that those people who did have cookbooks used the standard British or American publications, in particular, Isabella Beeton's Victorian cookbook, The Book of Household Management, 1861.

[56]Frederick W. Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto:The Ryerson Press, 1952), p. 21, and Education and Culture in Newfoundland (Toronto:McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), pp. 24, 27.

Publication of Newfoundland cookbooks has been undertaken by two types of groups: local food distributors who use the cookbooks as a means of advertisement; and, local religious and civic organizations all across the island. Before individual food distributors began publishing their own materials, there was at least one cookbook published and paid for by the collective advertising effort of most of the major food distributors in St. John's. Long Brothers Printers on Water Street in St. John's printed An Up-to-Date Recipe Book: Containing One Hundred Pages of the most Up-to-date Recipes by the celebrated chefs from abroad, Chas. A. Prince, comp. The book has no date of publication, but as Long Brothers was established in 1912, it was some time after that date but probably before 1935.[57] None of the men now at Long Brothers remembers the book and two fires have destroyed their older files. The advertisers listed in the recipe book are familiar to many Newfoundlanders' memories from pre-Confederation times:

Golden Leaf Tea
Windsor Patent Flour
Native Flour(Manitoba Wheat)
Victor Flour
Swans Down Cake Flour
Snow-Flake Icing Sugar--Purity Biscuits
"Avalon Creamery" Butterine
"Sunshine" Butterine
"Home Pride" Butterine
"Crown" Butterine
Bennett Brewing Co.

There is even an advertisement in the Prince book for arctic steak, the name by which whale meat has been sold in Newfoundland. Butterine is the pre-Confederation word for margarine.

[57] It is not listed in either the British Museum or Library of Congress catalogues.

The individual food distributors who have published local cookbooks are the flour mills:Maple Leaf Mills--The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, 1958 and Newfoundland Commemorative Recipe Book:1949-74, 1974; and, Robin Hood Flour Mills--Handbook for Agricultural and Homecraft Exhibitions in Newfoundland, n.d.[58]

The community religious and civic organizations have been even more prolific in the publication of Newfoundland cookbooks than the food distributors. I have compiled a bibliography of thirty-three local cookbooks using the resources of the St. John's libraries and references from interviews (see, Bibliography of Newfoundland Cookbooks). Indications are that this is only a small fraction of the local cookbooks that have been published in Newfoundland. Among the earliest of these are:Ladies College Aid Society [Methodist Church] Cook Book:Arranged From Tried and Proven Recipes, 1905; The [St. Andrews] Presbyterian Church Ladies Aid Society Cookbook:Arranged from Tried and Proven Recipies, 1925; and, the Bentley Unit First United Church Women of Corner Brook Cook Book, 1941. Unfortunately, many of these cookbooks do not include dates of publication. There has been a spurt of these locally published community Newfoundland cookbooks during the 1970s, along with the increased general interest in Newfoundland traditions and literature.

[58]Complete references for these and subsequently noted cookbooks are in the Bibliography of Newfoundland Cookbooks.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this thesis is based on two classic approaches to folklore: functional and historic-geographic. The functional approach has dominated the research literature of foodways as written by folklorists. Such a concentration is "on the role played by folklore in a given culture."[1] This approach has derived from methodologies developed by anthropologists. As Frederick Simoons notes, functionalism is

> typified by Audrey Richard's admirable Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe. This involves analysis of the interrelations between the foodways and other aspects of a particular society and culture.[2]

William R. Bascom outlines four functions of folklore in terms of defining social context, validating culture, educating, and maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behavior. "Viewed thus, folklore operates within a society to insure conformity to the accepted cultural norms, and continuity from generation to generation through its role in education and the extent to which it mirrors culture."[3] The scope of foodways is broad enough to reflect all of these functions.

[1]Richard Dorson, ed., Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 20.

[2]Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances in the Old World (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), p. 4.

[3]"Four Functions of Folklore" in The Study of Folklore, Alan Dundes, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 297.

The historic-geographic method, although it has been used most prominently to reconstruct the history of a folktale or a folksong,[4] can be used effectively to reconstruct the history of almost any folklore item, especially food traditions. Using the historic-geographic method, one reconstructs the basic form (ur-form) of an item of folklore, and then attempts to determine its origin through diffusion of variants.[5]

This is the method that Simoons has used even though he simply calls it "the approach of the cultural geographer."[6] He has succinctly stated his purpose in the following terms:

> foodways behave like other culture traits. They have origins. They may be diffused. They may develop independently in different places. And they may be modified through time by various means.[7]

For this thesis, I employed a combination functional and modified historic-geographic method, on the basis of having completed research for two foodways projects since January 1976. The modified historic-geographic method has been used to trace through time the historical diffusion of ethnic patterns from the British Isles to Newfoundland rather than attempting to reconstruct ur-forms.

[4]Dorson, p. 7.

[5]Kaarle Krohn, Folklore Methodology Formulated by Julias Krohn and Expanded by Nordic Researchers, trans. Roger L. Welsch (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971). Originally published in German as Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode (Oslo, Norway: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1926).

[6]Simoons, p. 4.

[7]Ibid., p. 4.

The first of these foodways projects resulted in a paper entitled "The Role of the Berry in Traditional Newfoundland Foodways."[8] This was my initial exposure to the study of food traditions, and I managed to closely follow the functional method. The titles of the major sections of the paper clearly reflect this: "The Berrying Occasion," "Storage and Specific Use of the Berry in Newfoundland Cookery," "Factors Influencing the Use of Berries," and "The Influence of Berries Outside of the Food Context." The results of this work successfully placed this one item, the berry, in the context of its cultural milieu. I presented an abbreviated version of this research as a paper for the Traditional Foodways Panel at the Annual Meetings of the American Folklore Society, 11 November 1976.

After completing my research on the berry in Newfoundland, I next went to Sheffield, England to study English food traditions.[9] The initial concept of the research was to define some of the daily traditional habits of the Englishman within the food complex. I narrowed my folk group to the county of Yorkshire, specifically to the area of south Yorkshire where I was located in Sheffield. As I was this time attempting an historically oriented study, I moved away from my previously purely functional perspective. This was helpful

[8]Memorial University of Newfoundland, April 1976.

[9]"Traditional English Foodways," Sheffield University, July 1976.

in trying to analyze the data that I had collected, but was not as successful as I had hoped, partially because of lack of time to effectively deal with the material. However, from this experience I was able to see the utility of this method, and felt that functionalism would combine well with a modified historic-geographic approach.

It is necessary to note that as I am an American this study of Newfoundland foodways has been made from the viewpoint of a foreigner. Although many of my own food traditions can be traced to the same origins as those of Newfoundland, these influences appear to manifest themselves mostly in terms of recipes rather than daily food habits.

There have been both advantages and disadvantages to my position of studying traditional Newfoundland foodways as an outsider to the culture--in Newfoundland a foreigner is a "C.F.A.: Come From Away." An advantage is that things seemingly ordinary or mundane in the eyes of the members of a folk group often appear to be glaringly unusual to the outsider. This way, many traditional elements can be easily isolated. The main disadvantage of being an outsider is that sometimes it is difficult to achieve the depth of communication and understanding that the insider possesses.

The folklore literature pertinent to field methodology is limited, both in terms of guides to actual fieldwork and accounts of personal experiences in the field. The most useful source book has been Kenneth S. Goldstein's A Guide For Field Workers in Folklore. The book offers a framework

of possible approaches to the field experience from which one can successfully devise a personal plan.[10]

In conjunction with Goldstein's guide, the following materials have also been useful, the latter two written by anthropologists: Alexanter Fenton, "An Approach to Folklife Studies"; John P. Dean, Robert L. Eichhorn and Lois R. Dean, "Establishing Field Relations"; and, Rosalie Wax, Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice.[11] Wax's book is particularly valuable for its accounts of personal experience in the field.

Five basic sources for data collection have been employed here. They include the following: printed sources; observation; the manuscript collection of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA); a questionnaire entitled "Newfoundland Food Traditions"; and, interviews.

1. Printed Sources

The use of existing printed source materials on the status of foodways was my first research step, as it usually is for any research that one undertakes. Although I had already read much of the material in conjunction with my previous forays into foodways, I reviewed this material and

[10] A Guide For Field Workers in Folklore (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, Inc., 1964).

[11] "An Approach to Folklife Studies," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 12:1(1967), 5-21; "Establishing Field Relations" in Issues in Participant Observation: A Text and Reader, George McCall and J.L. Simmons, eds. (Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969); and, Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

then continued to seek out new information which I thought might be pertinent to this thesis. This has been an on-going activity, even during the period of thesis writing. See chapter three of this thesis, A Review of Foodways Literature, for a comprehensive discussion of such material.

Folklorists have done relatively little research in foodways in Newfoundland, and to date there is no published material available to the public in this field.[12] Therefore, for printed sources of materials on Newfoundland foods, I have perused history books, cookbooks, travellers' journals, diaries, nutrition reports and assorted materials from the Newfoundland Department of Health. These have revealed valuable information, although not nearly as much as I had hoped. Most of these materials are available in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at the Henrietta Harvey Library, Memorial University in St. John's.

One book is worthy of mention for its historical perspective on food within a given culture. This is C. Grant Head's book Eighteenth Century Newfoundland.[13] There is an entire chapter on the acquisition of supplies for the island, among them of course, food. Particularly interesting are the lists of Newfoundland's imports and exports, some of which

[12] See, Hilda Murray, "The Traditional Role of Women in a Newfoundland Fishing Community," Master's Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1972. The chapter "Feeding the Family and Health Practices" contains valuable information about food traditions in Elliston, Trinity Bay.

[13] Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

appear in chapter one, the introduction to this thesis. Perhaps the reason why I found this book so valuable is that Head is a geographer; it is clear that he has taken a functional view of history. His orientation to his work is thus akin to what I have been searching for. Purely descriptive literature has its value, and this is what most of the Newfoundland printed material provides. However, this viewpoint lacks a certain measure of depth and the necessary context that is so important to the work of the folklorist.

2. Observation

The process of simple observation of food habits is again one that has been on-going during the entire project. Since food is an omnipresent aspect of people's daily lives, it is often possible to observe food habits without necessarily making pre-arrangements. For example, every time I go shopping there are new things that I notice in the grocery store, whether these be the supermarkets , the corner stores or shops which are ubiquitous, especially in the older downtown section of St. John's.

Although I am now familiar with where to find desired food items in these stores, I am often surprised by the appearance on the shelf or in a case of an item that I had not previously noted, e.g., as of March 1977 the stores in Newfoundland were authorized to sell packaged fresh seal meat. To a certain extent the rate of turnover of the items stocked by the grocers reflects something about people's tastes, which is worthy of consideration.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of this observation method has been noting the advertisements connected with food, particularly at the shops. Using whitewash on the windows, the shopkeepers advertise their specials, many of which appear to be the local produce, e.g., rabbit, berries and cod tongues, sounds and cheeks. It was very noticeable when I first arrived in Newfoundland that these items are significant to the Newfoundlander, even though on initial contact they meant little to me.

It is important to note at this point that my observation of Newfoundland food habits has been restricted to St. John's. This has been necessary due to lack of transportation and easy access to travelling frequently to other communities. However, from infrequent travels and personal testimony, except for the larger communities such as Corner Brook, Grand Falls, Gander, Carbonear and Harbour Grace, most of the outport communities do not have supermarket facilities. These people must travel some distance to get to a supermarket and they may therefore retain a greater dependence on natural resources than do the people of metropolitan St. John's.

An interesting observation about the possibilities for food shopping in St. John's is that there are obvious things missing. First, there has never been a market place in the traditional European or Asian sense where individual businessmen gather to sell their produce, such as exists in larger North American cities, e.g., Kensington Market in Toronto.

Instead, the tradition was for men to bring their goods into town and peddle them from door to door via horse and cart. The automobile replaced the horse and cart, but eventually this tradition died. Now there is only the occasional peddler such as the man who came to my door in April 1976 with a pick-up truck of fresh herrings.

Much of the local produce is now sold through the supermarkets, and also in the past few years small trucks with produce have been coming to the peripheral areas of St. John's to sell their goods along the roadsides of major traffic arteries. Fresh fish and seal flippers and carcasses can be bought in season from peddlers along Water Street, the main street in St. John's down by the harbor, or along several side alleys and on the docks. It is possible to buy fresh seal meat from the sealing boats when they return to port in March and April. And, all along the country roads, again in season, there are people of all ages manning small stands at which they sell vegetables and berries and perhaps a brace of rabbit or other game.

3. <u>The Manuscript Collection of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA)</u>

For this thesis I have had the good fortune to be able to use the MUNFLA manuscript file, in which there is a comparatively small but useful amount of data concerned with foodways. Using the subject index to the manuscripts, I found forty-two manuscripts which have provided pertinent data for this thesis. They include the following accession

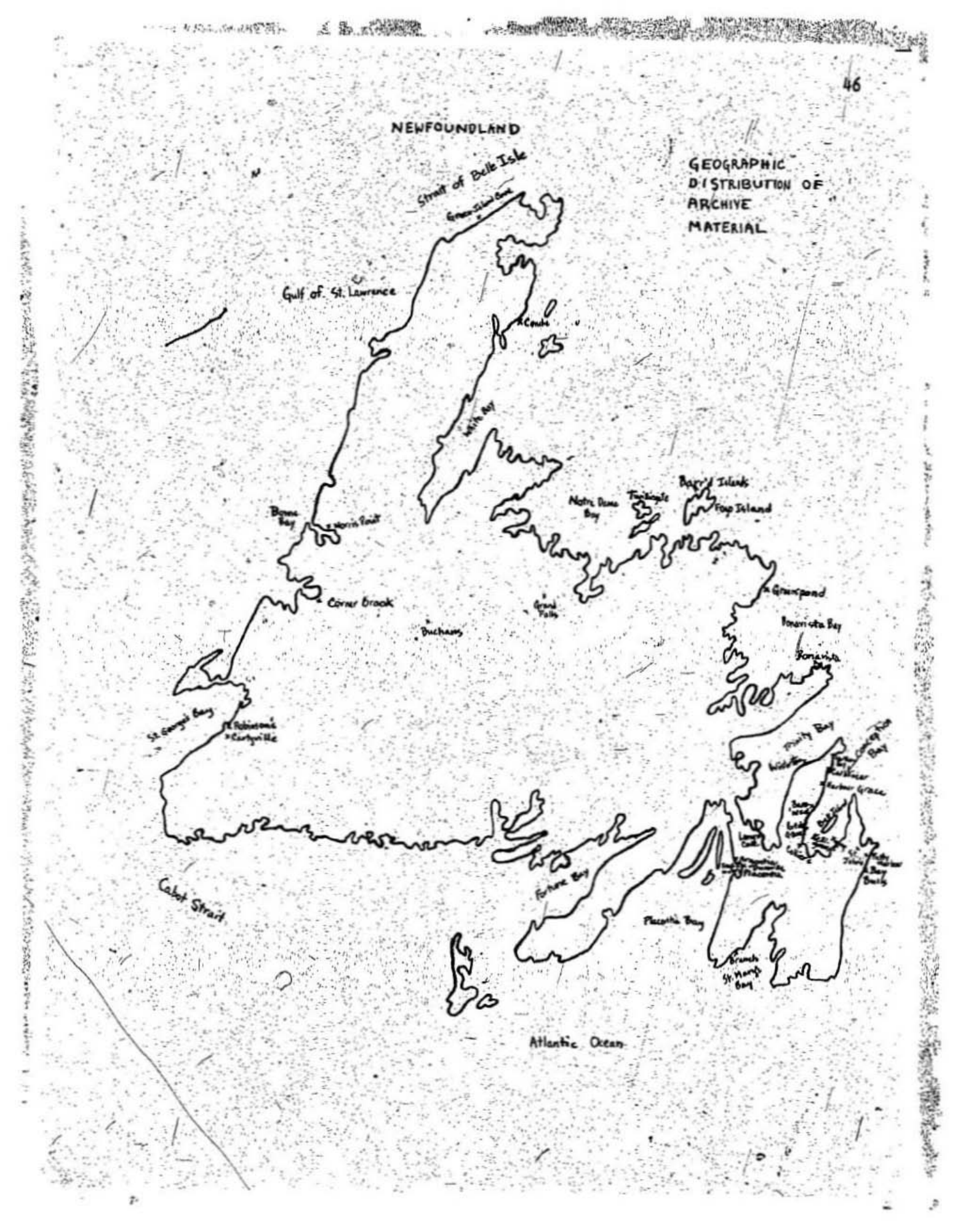
numbers: 66-16; 69-7, 11, 18, 20, 42; 70-14, 20; 71-36, 40; 72-55, 119, 126, 159, 247, 249, 250, 260, 275; 73-11, 22, 62-4, 66, 67, 77, 96-101, 103, 105, 154; 76-87, 88, 109, 178, 240, 321. This archive material has been useful mostly as confirmation of the collecting that I have personally done, rather than as new primary sources. Much of the information has been repetitious, but it has substantially increased my data base (see, map of distribution of archive material).

4. A Questionnaire Entitled "Newfoundland Food Traditions"

When I decided to write my thesis on the subject of Newfoundland foodways, I undertook the project knowing that it would be necessary to gather a broad base of data from which some conclusions could be drawn. Therefore I chose to approach part of the problem by implementing a questionnaire under the auspices of the folklore archive.

For the interviews I had conducted during my research in Sheffield I had used an informal set of questions; subsequently I decided to use these questions as the basis for my thesis research. In January 1977 I wrote several drafts of the questionnaire under the supervision of my adviser. After receiving additional comments from the Folklore Department Archivist, Neil V. Rosenberg, the archive paid for the printing of 200 copies of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire poses thirty-three questions, many with multiple parts. It was designed so that respondents have adequate space to write all answers on the questionnaire


NEWFOUNDLAND
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF ARCHIVE MATERIAL
Strait of Belle Isle
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Bonne Bay
Corner Brook
Buchans
Notre Dame Bay
Twillingate
Fogo Island
Grandpond
Bonavista Bay
Bonavista
St. George's Bay
Port aux Basques
Cabot Strait
Fortune Bay
Placentia Bay
Atlantic Ocean

itself, with the back of each page being blank to provide additional writing space. The questionnaire is eight pages long, the first of which is an introduction to the purpose of the questionnaire, plus questions seeking biographical data. The final page is a contract for depositing the material in the archive and gives permission for use of the material at the discretion of the Archivist or Assistant Archivist of MUNFLA.

Following are the questions that appear in the questionnaire. There is a copy of the original questionnaire in Appendix A.

1. What are the terms you use to designate meal times? At what times do you eat these meals?

2. How many meals do you usually eat per day? Do you ever skip a meal? Give details.

3. What do you usually eat for your first meal of the day? At what time do you eat this meal?

4. What is your largest meal of the day? At what time do you eat it?

5. Do you take coffee breaks or snack between meals? When and what do you have? (for example, coffee at 11:00 a.m.)

6. How often do you eat dessert at the conclusion of dinner? supper? Have you always followed this pattern? Please name some typical desserts.

7. Do your meals vary according to the day of the week? (like fish on Fridays) If yes, please give details. If no, did you or your family ever follow such a pattern? Give details.

8. Do you usually eat a 'Sunday dinner?' Please describe a typical Sunday dinner.

9. Write down every food that you usually find on your Christmas dinner table.

10. Write down every food that you usually find on your Thanksgiving dinner table.

11. What other special holiday foods can you think of? Please name food and holiday. (for example, Shrove Tuesday, St. Patrick's Day, Easter, Regatta Day, All Hallow's Eve, Bonfire Night)

12. Within each of the following food groups, what do you prefer? vegetables, fruits, meats, fish, dairy, synthetic or man-made.

13. What foods do you like best?

14. What foods do you like least?

15. What do you prefer to drink?

16. Do you buy your bread from the store, bake your own, or have someone else home-bake it? What kind of bread do you prefer?

17. How often do you eat out? At what kinds of places, restaurant or take-out?

18. What foods do you eat that you do not buy in the store? (for example, berries) Do you or any of your friends/relatives hunt or fish for any specific foods?

19. Do any men in your family cook or prepare food? If so, what do they make?

20. Are there any foods that only adults eat? or only children? Please give details.

21. Name everything that you ate yesterday, even if you ate in the University Dining Hall. Be honest! Please include meal names.

22. Please name what you consider to be traditional Newfoundland foods (for example, fish 'n brewis).

23. What traditional foods do you or your family eat regularly?

24. Are there foods that you ate when you were a child that you no longer eat? If so, why has this happened?

For Cooks

25. Do you use a cookbook? If so, what is your favorite one?

26. Do you keep a scrapbook of recipe clippings, card file of recipes, or written manuscript of recipes?

27. What spices and herbs do you use when you cook? Give examples.

28. Which do you use more of? fresh or salt cod? fresh or salt beef? fresh or salt pork?

29. What kinds of convenience foods do you use? (for example, canned, frozen, pre-cooked) How often do you use them? At any particular times of the year for certain things?

30. Where do you usually shop for groceries, at a supermarket or corner store? Do you prefer one over the other? Why?

31. Do you buy food in bulk or in small quantities? How often do you shop?

32. Does your family have special family recipes? Are any secret? Please give details that you can.

33. Please give your favorite recipe(s). If possible, include origin.

Approximately 100 questionnaires were distributed throughout the months of January and February. Fifty-seven of them have been returned, but only fifty-five have been used for this thesis as two were completed by non-Newfoundlanders. At first I was not sure how to approach distributing the questionnaire in order to guarantee an adequate rate of return. I passed out several questionnaires to the Newfoundland women who work in the Folklore Department, and these were all quickly returned. Then I guest lectured two introductory folklore classes about traditional foodways, in particular with respect to Newfoundland, and passed out questionnaires. Because this was a voluntary survey, it was necessary to inform the students that it was not required to return the form.

From the smaller class about twelve questionnaires were returned, which is nearly three-quarters of the class. In the larger class I distributed about twenty-five question-

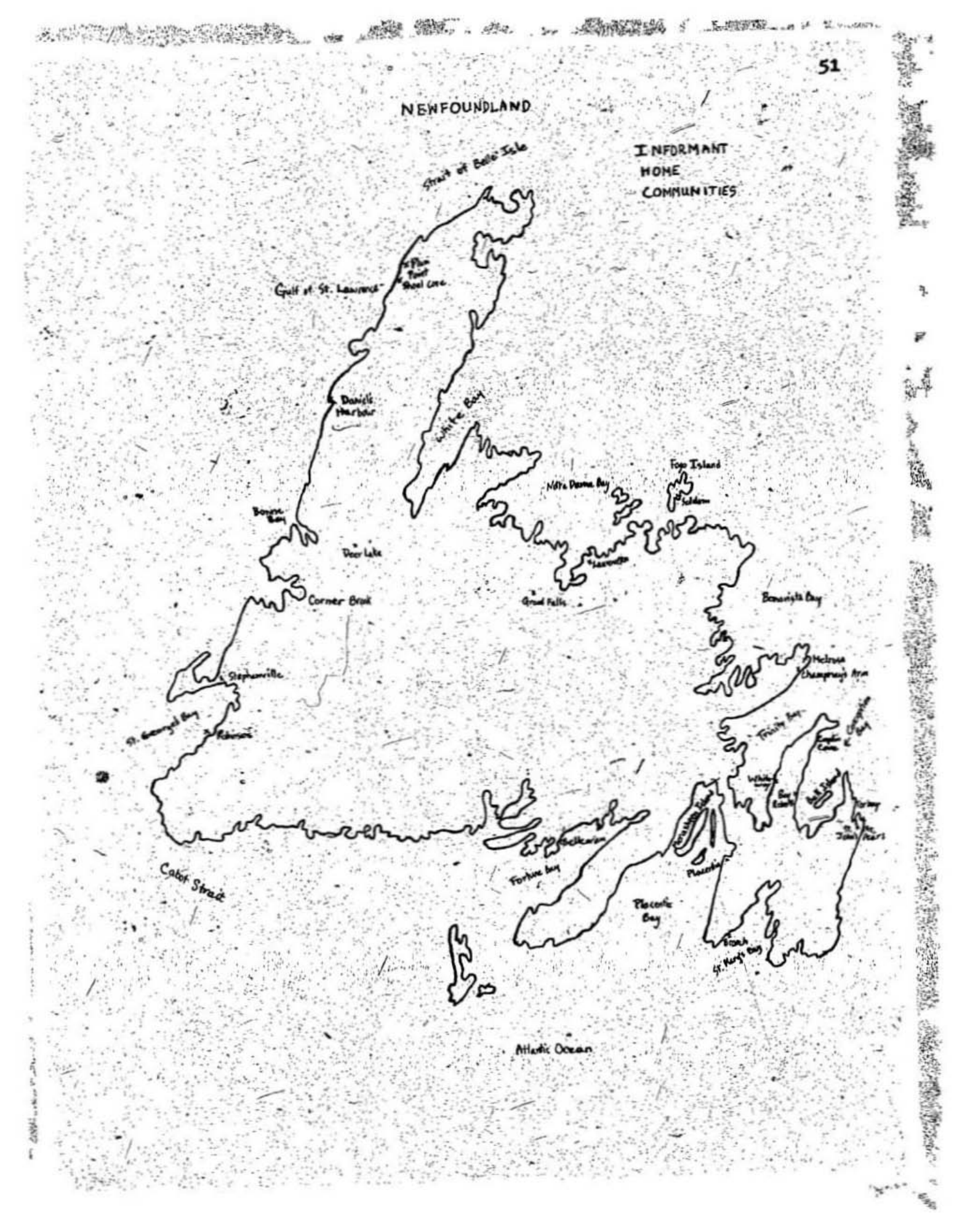
naires; only eight were completed, all of them during the class lecture that I gave on foodways.

Since there could be little pressure on the students to return the questionnaires because of heavy course requirements, I decided that using the classroom situation alone would not insure an adequate return. Therefore, I decided to be more selective in the questionnaire distribution. I gave it to a number of secretaries in the building where my office was located and also to a number of personal friends who are Newfoundlanders. Several of these persons passed questionnaires to their friends; in this way I controlled the flow and knew basically who had copies. I found that return of the questionnaire depended on the respondent's interest rather than required knowledge. Reports from respondents indicate that they completed the questionnaire in an average of one-half to one hour's time.

Although the questionnaire responses represent a convenience sample, it should be stressed that the vast majority of the respondents have lived their entire lives in Newfoundland. They represent varied ethnic and religious backgrounds and middle to upper middle class economic groups (see map of informant home communities and Appendix B for informant biographical data).

5. Interviews

I conducted the interview portion of the fieldwork for this thesis on a full-time basis for six weeks from mid-January through February 1977. Considering that I was not


NEWFOUNDLAND
INFORMANT HOME COMMUNITIES
Strait of Belle Isle
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Daniels Harbour
White Bay
Fogo Island
Notre Dame Bay
Deer Lake
Corner Brook
Grand Falls
Bonavista Bay
Stephenville
Cabot Strait
Fortune Bay
Placentia
Placentia Bay
Atlantic Ocean

relying solely upon the results of the interviews for my fieldwork data, this six week period allowed sufficient time to collect more than enough data for my thesis.

In pre-planning the interviews, I felt that it would be wise to try to insure that I would waste as little time as possible in traveling to and from my informants' homes. Therefore, I decided to undertake a study of food traditions in my own neighborhood. As I had had previous success with interviewing Newfoundlanders, I felt confident that this was worth the effort. If it did not turn out to be feasible, it was possible to resort to traveling again and interviewing former informants and using the previous contacts that I had made.

Although I had lived in my neighborhood for four months prior to the time of my fieldwork, I did not know any of the families except for the one in the adjacent house. In order to carry out my proposed study I was forced to knock on doors without the aid of introductions. I was somewhat apprehensive for fear of skepticism on the part of my neighbors, but gained confidence after being received very politely and openly by most people. Only two out of sixteen persons said that they preferred not to be involved.

In all cases my initial approaches were simply introductory and I arranged interviews for later dates. When possible I tried to elicit input from male members of the household as well as from females in order to obtain a picture of family food traditions rather than only the preferences

and habits of individual persons. Input from children was always welcome.

The main objective of this interviewing process was to gather context along with the pure data about the food traditions. To ease the stress of the interviews, I attempted to conduct them in the kitchen, the center of food activity. About one-third of the interviews began in the 'living room,' but these, too, eventually moved to the kitchen, in part because most informants offered me a cup of tea and also because I was collecting diagrams of kitchen layouts (see Appendix C). In some cases people seemed initially reticent, but once the interview was in progress and the informants discovered that they did have information to offer, there was no strain at all.

When I did the directed interviewing, I used the questionnaire but also discussed additional subjects. These included the following questions:

1. Do you use a pressure cooker? Do any of your friends or relatives use one?
2. Do you ever serve rice with your meals? Is rice used as a substitute for potato?
3. How do you serve your food? Is it dished onto plates directly from the stove or is it put into serving dishes which are then passed around the table?
4. Where do you eat your meals? At a kitchen table or at a dining room table?
5. Do you maintain an emergency larder of food?
6. Do you own and use a deep freeze?
7. Do you ever shop at Mary Jane's World Foods in St. John's? (This is a health and specialty foods store.)

8. What do you consider to be food treats?

9. What condiments do you use, and with what foods?

10. Do you ever barbeque food outdoors?

11. What do you do with your knife and fork when you are finished with a meal? Have you ever heard any sort of saying about "crossed knives?"

12. Do you make boiled puddings? Have you ever heard of figgy duff? What are figs?

The nature of the subject matter of research is of significant consideration in the ultimate outcome of a fieldwork effort. Suspicion about the reasons for collecting material can lead people to withhold information no matter how polite or approachable a fieldworker tries to be. I feel quite fortunate that food traditions seem to fall within a category of neutral, non-controversial material. No one has ever exhibited offense or defensiveness by my approaching them about the subject. More often, the problem in collecting food traditions is that people think that they know nothing about the subject or that they do not have food traditions. The problem here is really a lack of communication between the folklorist and the informant as to the informant's understanding of what the folklorist means by the word "traditional." Therefore, it becomes the task of the folklorist to define what he is labeling as traditional; this is not the duty of the informant.

CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF FOODWAYS LITERATURE

The specific body of literature pertinent to the study of foodways within the discipline of folklore is at this time select. This chapter will briefly survey selected printed materials which have proven useful for this thesis and which are valuable references for the study of foodways.

I have divided foodways literature into eight categories. Although many of the materials in these categories invariably overlap, each category reflects one central theme. The categories are: definition of the study of foodways with particular reference to its meaning as defined by folklorists; the study of food from an historical perspective; theoretical approaches to analyzing a food system; folkloristic treatments of foodways--food in the context of culture; descriptive item-oriented ethnic food studies; bibliographic material; foreign literature; and, cookbooks and other printed and oral media.

1. Definition of the Study of Foodways with Particular Reference to Its Meaning as Defined by Folklorists

If a person knows little about foodways, the best overall introduction to the subject is Don Yoder's article "Folk Cookery."[1] The article is replete with basic definitions and examples of what is meant by these definitions. There is also

[1]Complete references for all articles, periodicals and books mentioned in this chapter are found in the Bibliography of Cited References of this thesis.

a cursory review of the development of foodways study by Europe's folklife scholars and an introduction to the foodways research that has become especially noticeable in North America during the past decade.

One of the most important contributions that Yoder makes through this essay is a definition of what he calls the historical determinants of cookery and foods. These categories are the same ones that I have used for the framework of my introduction to this thesis. In the latter part of this essay Yoder is specific about possible directions in the study of American folk cookery, particularly with reference to regional groupings: New England, Southern, Appalachian, Pennsylvania German and Southwest Spanish.[2] Yoder raises many more questions than he presents answers for, but this is a valuable aspect of his discussion.

In conjunction with the Yoder article, statements of a similar vein can be found in Jay Anderson's "The Study of Contemporary Foodways in American Folklife Research" and in Robert Freedman's "Directions in Food Habits Research." Anderson's article defines "the folk cultural region," with particular reference to America, and then posits a definition of foodways: "the whole interrelated system of food conceptualization and evaluation, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation, consumption and nutrition shared by the

[2] "Folk Cookery" in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, Richard Dorson, ed. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 329.

members of a particular society."[3] Anderson also mentions the vast amounts of government sponsored foodways research that occurred in the United States during the 1930s. Freedman's discussion is essentially a plea to "alleviate hunger and improve dietary conditions throughout the globe," that was made at the 1973 International Ethnological Food Conference in Helsinki, Finland.[4] On that occasion he also suggested the banding together of the different disciplines in their foodways research for this effort.

Frederick Simoons defines the concept of food avoidances, mentioned earlier, and offers a detailed study of the subject in Eat Not This Flesh:Food Avoidances in the Old World. Simoon's work is specific to flesh avoidances yet its definitions are basic to foodways study in general.

As for comparative European literature available in English there is the work of John D.A. Widdowson of the University of Sheffield, England. In an article entitled "The Things They Say About Food:A Survey of Traditional English Foodways," Widdowson defines the study of foodways for the folklorist as one which

> In its broadest sense...includes the gamut of the use and function of food and drink within a culture, from the foods themselves to the various diets, meal systems, methods of preparing and serving food, along with the associated beliefs and material culture. In some ways the term is too restricting, as is also the more formal

[3]"The Study of Contemporary Foodways in American Folklife Research," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 16:4(1971), 156.

[4]"Directions in Food Habits Research," Ethnologia Scandinavica (1971), p. 39.

> designation 'ethnological food research.' The study of food in its widest context demands a designation which will, for example, include the crucial contribution of nutritionists, agriculturalists, and of relevant sciences such as biochemistry and botany, among many others. A fully interdisciplinary approach of this kind...is, in the end, the only satisfactory method of studying food in culture.[5]

Widdowson's article is an enthusiastic discussion, particularly in terms of food and dialect and food and folk-belief studies. Also, it suggests numerous possibilities for research.

Nils Arvid-Bringéus, distinguished Swedish folklife scholar, discusses aspects of foodways study in his book Mat och Miljö. Ideas excerpted from this book are presented in "Man, Food and Milieu." Bringéus is essentially concerned with cultural factors which determine food patterns. He says that there has been a loss of feeling for the realtionship between food and the seasons (mainly due to technological advancements in preservation techniques), and notes that there has been a leveling out of the food habits of persons of different social strata.

2. The Study of Food from An Historical Perspective

The study of food from an historical perspective can take the form of any number of approaches. There are four distinct types of food histories with which I have been working. The first category is the regional and/or ethnic historical food study. Among the most well known standard works

[5]John D.A. Widdowson, "The Things They Say About Food: A Survey of Traditional English Foodways," Folklife, 13 (1975), 5.

in this area are two studies of British food history: John Burnett, Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day, and J.D. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, The Englishman's Food: A History of Five Centuries of English Diet. Both books contain a wealth of detail and are very valuable resources. Esther Aresty's The Delectable Past is a much less substantial approach to the subject than the previous two books; she presents a comparative overview of cookery book history, with emphasis on the English and the French, interspersing historical data with recipes. Her material appears to be authentic and is well documented.

The corner stone of American food history was for a long time Richard Osborn Cummings' The American and His Food: A History of Food Habits in the United States. Cummings covers a lot of material, but it is advisable to supplement this with more detailed accounts such as Sally Booth's Hung, Strung and Potted: A History of Eating Habits in Colonial America, or Robert Tristram Coffin's Mainstays of Maine. Coffin's book is written in a nostalgic yet entertaining style, and if it is possible for the reader to contend with this, it contains valuable material. Mainstays of Maine is replete with contextual descriptions and it was a surprise to find that a fair percentage of Coffin's information is pertinent to my own research of the food traditions here in Newfoundland. There are numerous other materials of a similar nature, including Elborg and Robert Foster's European Diet From Pre-

Industrial to Modern Times, A.T. Lucas' "Irish Food Before the Potato," and Reay Tannahill's Food in History.

A second category of food histories is the historical discussion of an individual food item or a specific group of items. Gerald Carson's Cornflake Crusade is as much a history of the dry cereal industry in the United States as it is the story of the specific cereal type corn flakes. A similar book covering the basic history of the soft drink industry is Soda Pop. The History, Advertising, Art and Memorablia of Soft Drinks in America, by Lawrence Dietz. An important point discussed by both Carson and Dietz is the overwhelming impact that modern food industries have had on world-wide food traditions. For example, as part of the traditional British cooked breakfast, usually a selection of eggs, ham, toast, fried bread, beans, sausage and fried tomato, many people have incorporated a bowl of cornflakes. Or, in France, the wine traditionally served with meals, even to children, has been supplanted to an extent by Coke and Pepsi. Even sake in Japan is no longer as traditionally sacred as before the soft drink revolution.

Other examples of similar historical literature include: W.R. Aykroyed, The Story of Sugar; Stanley Baron, Brewed in America: A History of Beer and Ale in the United States; Redcliffe Salaman, The History and Social Influence of the Potato; Arnold Spicer, Bread: Social, Nutritional and Agricultural Aspects of Wheaten Bread; and, C. Anne Wilson, "Burnt Wine and Cordial Waters: The Early Days of Distilling."

Analysis of a food event from an historical perspective is another approach to writing foodways literature. This is what Pamela James has done in her article "The American Breakfast Circa 1873-1973." Most of this study refers to material from the Pennsylvania area, for which she provides some actual breakfast menus.

Although "the kitchen" itself is not a food event it is where food events occur. Therefore, I have included Molly Harrison's The Kitchen in History in this category. Harrison's book is mostly about the development of the British kitchen, but it is useful in terms of any foodways study. In particular, she includes some interesting sketches, engravings, and pictures of kitchens and kitchen equipment.

A fourth historical approach to an aspect of foodways is a study of methods of food technology and food preservation. This is exemplified by James Collins' The Story of Canned Foods, a book good for its factual data even though the material is couched in grandiloquent prose. The following articles offer a similar historical approach to an aspect of food technology: Amos Long, Jr., "Bakeovens in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture" and "Outdoor Bakeovens in Berkshire" and Iowerthe C. Peate, "The Pot Oven in Wales."

3. Theoretical Approaches to Analyzing a Food System

One aspect of foodways literature which seems to offer a lesser quantity of source material is the purely theoretical approach to foodways. Claude Lévi-Strauss, a prominent French theoretician in many matters, offers his contri-

bution to foodways with his article "The Culinary Triangle." He contends that there are three states in which food exists: raw, cooked and rotted. He defines the two principal modes of cooking as roasting and boiling and analyzes them in terms of their cultural significance. Briefly, Lévi-Strauss posits that roasting exhibits the following characteristics: the method is accompanied by destruction and loss; it is representative of exo-cuisine--that which one offers to guests; it connotes prodigal and aristocratic tendencies. Boiling, on the other hand, exhibits the following characteristics: the method conserves most of the meat and juices; it is representative of endo-cuisine--for domestic use by a small, closed group; it connotes economy and plebian attitudes. Ultimately, according to Lévi-Strauss' theory, food which is boiled represents life while food which is roasted represents death and "the cauldron of immortality."[6]

Eighteenth century French gastronomer Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin postulated his theories about food in his famous treatise The Physiology of Taste, or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy, 1824. Brillat-Savarin's gastronomic theories are definitely not of the same weighty philosophical quality as are those of Lévi-Strauss.

4. Folkloristic Treatments of Foodways--Food in the Context of Culture

During the past ten to fifteen years folklorists in

[6]Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Culinary Triangle," Partisan Review, 33(Fall 1966).

North America have become increasingly conscious of the benefits of studying items of folklore within a contextual framework. This approach has been seen to be especially important in terms of studying aspects of material culture. Of the eleven articles considered here that take this approach, ten have been published since 1970.

Among the persons at the forefront of this contextual oriented approach to foodways literature are Scandinavian scholars. Nils Arvid-Bringéus' "Food and Folk-Beliefs. On Prophylactic Measures Connected with the Boiling of Blood-Sausage" is a fine contextual study of a singular food process. Bringéus is particularly adept at drawing analogies between diverse folklore patterns. For example, he writes:

> That folk beliefs concerning the boiling of sausage can...follow a paradigm is also demonstrated by the idea that blood-sausage should...be boiled ...while the moon is on the wane. This belief applied to slaughtering in general.[7]

There are two Finns who have been working with food lore in a similar contextual vein: Grith Lerche, "The Finnish 'Hulbröd.' An Example of the Discontinuation of its Rational Function?"; and, Kerttu Suuronen, "Finnish Drinking Patterns in Everyday Life, in Festivities and in Merrymaking." Lerche's discussion is poignant in its attempt to show how a traditional bread type still exists, but in a new context. The work "shows the power of tradition on the one hand, with resistance to innovation within the context of a culture element

[7]"Food and Folk-Beliefs. On Prophylactic Measures Connected with the Boiling of Blood Sausage," Ethnological Food Research (Helsinki:Kansatieteellinen Arkisto 26, 1975), p. 174.

carried over from a traditional to a more sophisticated environment..."[8] Suuronen's article demonstrates clear differences in the alcoholic content of beverages that are deemed proper according to the particular social situation at hand.

Renée Valeri, a Frenchwoman working under the tutelage of Bringéus in Lund, Sweden, developed her doctoral thesis using this contextual approach. Her article "Study of Traditional Food Supply in the South-West of France" is the core of her thesis. Like Bringéus she is concerned with defining traditional food habits in terms of the peoples' entire belief system.

From the British Isles there are also articles which discuss foodways in the context of culture: Frank Atkinson, "Oatbread of Northern England"; Walter Minchinton, "Cider and Folklore"; and, Eunice Schofield, "Working Class Food and Cooking in 1900." The Atkinson article is especially good for detail, diagrams and pictures.

Finally, there have been important contributions by American folklorists and others interested in American foodways with a cultural contextual orientation: Jay Anderson, "Thanksgiving in the USA--the Meal as Medium and Message"; Margaret Arnott, "Thanksgiving Dinner. A Study in Cultural Heritage"; Gregory Gizalis, "Foodways Acculturation in the Greek Community of Philadelphia"; David Hufford, "Organic

[8] "The Finnish 'Hulbröd.' An Example of the Discontinuation of its Rational Function?" Ethnological Food Research (Helsinki: Kansatieteellinen Arkisto 26, 1975), p. 174.

Food People:Nutrition, Health and World View"; Marjorie Sackett, "Folk Recipes as a Measure of Intercultural Penetration"; and, Roger Welsch, "American Plains Indian Ethnogastronomy." Gizalis' closing remarks demonstrate some satisfactory results of this type of contextual methodology:

> /In a Greek rural community, everything concerning foodways has its designated function. The woman by virtue of her responsibilities for feeding the family familiarizes herself, mainly through imitation, observation, and participation, with the traditional ways of utilizing everything edible in the environment. What she prepares is determined by what is available...She does not need a recipe to prepare the customary seasonal food. In the American city, it is just the opposite. Greek foodstuffs are available any time...they can be prepared far more easily than in the old country. Amazingly, Greek women will prepare specialties they never could in rural Greece, and begin collecting recipes from books and friends for these dishes. These are the end products of urbanization, not "Americanization."[9]

5. Descriptive Item Oriented Ethnic Food Studies

Descriptive item oriented ethnic food studies provide much more specific detail than the general foodways studies. Many of them successfully employ a functional approach in tandem with the descriptive one.

Included in this category of foodways literature are Don Yoder's three articles, "Pennsylvanians Call it Mush," "Sauerkraut in the Pennsylvania Folk Culture" and "Schnitz in the Pennsylvania Folk Culture." In each case, Yoder is careful to define all terms and is profuse in his supportive examples. Particularly in the latter article Yoder demon-

[9]"Foodways Acculturation in the Greek Community of Philadelphia," Pennsylvania Folklife, 20:2(1970-71), 13.

strates the subtleties of language and dialect with respect to foodways. He provides specific texts, which are of prime concern to the folklorist. For example, the following is a rhyme which has utilized a traditional food item as its focal point:

> She sliced the apples that fell down,
> And spread them out to dry;
> These were 'schnitz' when they turned brown
> And made delicious pie.[10]

Also among the item oriented American foodways literature are such articles as Margaret Arnott, "The Breads of Philadelphia"; Charles Joyner, "Soul Food and the Sambo Stereotype: Foodlore from the Slave Narrative Collection," and two sociological writings, Stanley Regelson, "The Bagel: Symbol and Ritual at the Breakfast Table" and Lawrence Taylor, "Coffee: The Bottomless Cup." The inclusion of these latter two articles emphasizes the need to maintain an interdisciplinary approach to the study of foodways. Equally important European contributions to this item oriented approach are: Kate Mason, "Yorkshire Cheese-Making"; Odd Nordland, "Traditional Beer in Scandinavia and Some Reflections on Taste"; and, D.M. Thacker, "Country Cider" [English].

There are also some broader ethnic specific foodways studies which fit well within the item oriented context. Jay Anderson's "The Early Development of French Canadian Foodways" is a particularly good example of this. Some of the other

[10] "Schnitz in the Pennsylvania Folk-Culture," Pennsylvania Folklife, 12:3(1961), 52.

literature includes: S.M. Tibbott, "Traditional Foods in Wales at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century with a Particular Emphasis on the Diet of the Farming Community"; and, Ofelia Văduva, "People's Food in the Iron Gate Zone." None of these articles are complete studies, but all of them suggest possibilities for further research.

6. Bibliographic Material

While there exist extensive genre and regional folklore bibliographies, there is a dearth of bibliographic source materials for the folklorist interested in foodways. Therefore, it has been necessary to compile my own extensive foodways bibliography. A comprehensive foodways bibliography would be of tremendous value because as of now each folklorist must repeat the same basic groundwork.

There are two food-specific bibliographies of major importance to the folklorist, although both were published more than fifteen years ago and include many references not necessarily pertinent to folklorists' interests. However, they are useful reference tools. The first of these, A Bibliography and Bibliographic Review of Food and Food Habit Research, by Gottlieb and Rossi, 1961, is perhaps the best comprehensive food-specific bibliography. It consists of material based on three types of descriptive investigatory field studies of food consumption patterns: 1) normative studies of nutritional adequacy, undertaken primarily by nutritionists and public health agencies; 2) descriptive studies by social or cultural anthropologists in which food behavior is ana-

lyzed as all other cultural behavior; and, 3)advertising firm and marketing research studies whose goal is to motivate the consumer to accept an item.[11] The descriptive studies are the most immediately useful for the folklorist. The bibliography itself contains ten sections:

I. General
II. Speculative and Theoretical Discussions of Food Preferences and Food Habits
III. Methodology and Techniques:Food Habits and Food Preference Research
IV. Descriptive Studies:Normative Nutrition Surveys
V. Descriptive Studies:Cultural Patterns of Food Consumption
VI. Descriptive Studies:Food Tastes and Preferences
VII. Descriptive Studies:Military Tastes and Preferences
VIII. Analytical Studies:Food and Physiological Functioning
IX. Analytical Studies:Food and Personality
X. Analytical Studies:Induced Changes in Food Habits

The bibliographic review provides some useful discussion about various approaches to foodways research. There is a "topical outline to research on food habits" and the ideas are all useful. I have used the following outline considerably in arranging my own research:

A. General description of food pattern
B. Type of production
C. Preservation
D. Distribution
E. Preparation
F. Consumption

[11] A Bibliography and Bibliographic Review of Food and Food Habit Research (Chicago:Quartermaster Food and Container Institute, 1961).

G. Post-food consumption
H. How food is patterned in relation to social class, status, caste, etc.
I. How food is patterned in relation to physical status, age, sex
J. Social and ceremonial role of food
K. Food etiquette
L. General attitude toward food
M. Regional and other variations
N. Cultural classification of foods
O. Symbolism of food

The second major food-specific bibliography is the Bibliography of Food--A Select International Bibliography of Nutrition, Food and Beverage Technology and Distribution, 1936-56, by E. Alan Baker and D.J. Foskett. This compilation is heavily nutrition oriented and provides references under the following categories:

World Food Supplies
Distribution, Marketing and Retailing
Prices and Statistics
Food Control and Rationing
Nutrition
Food Manufacture and Technology
Food Preservation
Food Storage
Packaging
Transport
Food Analysis
Food Hygiene and Food Poisoning
Food Legislation and Inspection
Milk and Milk Products
Sugar
Sugar Confectionery, Cocoa and Chocolate
Tea and Coffee
Cereals and Cereal Products
Bakery Products
Edible Oils and Fats
Fruit and Vegetables
Nuts
Meat and Meat Products
Fish
Eggs and Poultry

Flavour and Taste
Beverages and Fermentation Industries
Soft Drinks
Brewing
Wines and Spirits

The reference sources in this bibliography include citations of books, bibliographies, periodicals, directories, abstracting journals and organizations. It is an international bibliography, although the major orientation is to English language publications. A particularly valuable aspect of the bibliography is its comprehensive author and subject indexes.

The rest of the foodways bibliographic references are contained in the more general folklore bibliographies. The most comprehensive of these is the International Folklore Bibliography. The foodways references are listed in section IX, "Speise und Getränk/Food and Drink/Nourriture et boisson."

The folklore bibliographies published as separate issues of the Southern Folklore Quarterly until 1973 contain foodways references specific mostly to North and South American scholarship. They are found in section N, "Food--Drink," through the 1961 issue, and in section M, "Material Culture," through the 1973 issue.

Folklore Bibliography for 1973 by Merle E. Simmons continues from where the Southern Folklore Quarterly bibliographies stop. Published by the Indiana University Folklore Institute, this bibliography is in the same format as the Southern Folklore Quarterly bibliographies; foodways references are included in the section on material culture. The years covered by this work are 1971-73.

Abstracts of Folklore Studies, published by the American Folklore Society since 1963 include a limited number of references found in the indexes under "food" or "recipes." There are also foodways references in the folklore section of the Modern Language Association International Bibliography of Books and Articles on the Modern Languages and Literatures.

Charles Haywood's A Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong, vol. one, the American people north of Mexico, including Canada, contains scattered foodways references. However, there is no index by which one can easily locate the references, and when one does find them, there appears to be little consistency as to when and why they do appear. But, they are usually listed under "foods" or "customs." The bibliography is obviously not comprehensive and was hardly updated in its 1961 reprinting. Also, the accuracy of the citations is not to be trusted.

For a final bibliographical note, in Folklore Theses and Dissertations in the United States, 1976, compiled by Alan Dundes, there are about a dozen theses listed whose contents are pertinent to the study of foodways. Interestingly, none of them were prepared by persons within the folklore discipline. However, the theses included in this index are from the period prior to 1968, and since that time there have been foodways dissertations within the folklore discipline, e.g., Jay Anderson, "Yeoman Foodways in Stuart England," University of Pennsylvania, 1971.

7. Foreign Literature

As folklorists in Europe were seriously concerned with the study of foodways before their North American colleagues, it is not surprising that there is a body of foodways literature inaccessible to those who speak only English as their native language. Fortunately, some of the literature has been translated into English; but, there is much that has not been translated.

Many important recent contributions to European foodways literature appear in the issues of the Swedish publication Ethnologia Scandinavica. The 1971 and 1974 issues are devoted almost entirely to proceedings and papers of the International Symposia for Ethnological Food Research of 1970 and 1973.[12] It is advisable for serious students of foodways to have a reading knowledge of German because the articles in Ethnologia Scandinavica are printed in either English or German. There are English abstracts of the German articles, but obviously these do not offer the detail that the articles offer. Using German as the international language among scholars seems to be typical of other publications in which foodways articles appear, such as Ethnologia Europaea. Two other collections of articles concerning foodways research contain final versions of the papers offered at the 1970 and 1973 symposia: Ethnological Food Research in Europe and USA; 1971, and Ethnological Food Research, 1975.

[12] The third symposium will take place August 1977 in Cardiff, Wales.

Besides the collections of articles just noted, a fine collection of foodways articles has recently been published as a volume in the World Anthropology Series (The Hague: Mouton), entitled Gastronomy. The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits, Margaret Arnott, ed. The impetus for this collection is described in the editor's preface:

> Under the aegis of the International Committee for the Anthropology of Food and Food Habits, this collection of papers, both invited and volunteered, was presented at a session of the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences when it met in Chicago in 1973. The title, Gastronomy, defined as the intelligent examination of whatever concerns man's nourishment...[13]

The book contains twenty-two articles which are divided into six sections: "Ethnobotanic Change," "Dietary Change," "Tropical Foods," "Cooking Utensils," "American Indian Foods," and "Food in Tradition." The seven articles that appear in the "Food in Tradition" section are of particular interest to the folklorist. It is unfortunate that there is only one article in the section "Cooking Utensils." Clearly there is a need for more collections such as this as these articles cover many diverse materials and there are increasingly more scholars studying food systems, especially folklorists.

A particularly significant work by German scholar GÜnter Wiegelmann, Alltags-und Festspeisen: Wandel und gegenwartige (Daily and Festival Foods: Migration and Present Situation), 1967, appears only in German. But, one can appreciate the

[13] Gastronomy: The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. ix, x.

core of Wiegelmann's thesis from Roger Welsch's review.[14] In the review Welsch writes that Wiegelmann has made an important contribution to foodways research by mapping food patterns. Wiegelmann is especially interested in the lines of contact as shown by the maps. Welsch writes that Wiegelmann contends and shows evidence that significant conclusions regarding the economic and social evolution and conditions of a culture can be made on the bases of foodways alone. Another important concept that Wiegelmann proposes is that

> food has a special position among daily cultural events because it's extremely ephemeral. The preservation of tradition lies totally with the carrier and depends therefore on the strengths and weaknesses of the human memory. Forgetting, misunderstanding, reinterpretation, improvisation during performance are vital with food.[15]

8. Cookbooks and Other Printed and Oral Media

The use of cookbooks as foodways literature may at first appear to be of dubious value, however, if the cookbook is perceived in proper context it can be a very valuable resource. For this thesis I have familiarized myself with regional cookbooks from the United States, Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland and Newfoundland. The purpose has been to use the foreign material comparatively with the Newfoundland material.

It would not be a useful exercise for me to simply list

[14] "Review of Günter Wiegelmann's Alltags-und Festspeisen:Wandel und gegenwartige," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 16:4(1971), 189-212.

[15] Ibid., 190.

cookbooks; instead, I note here one particular series which I found helpful: Theodora Fitzgibbon, A Taste of England: The West Country; A Taste of Ireland; and, A Taste of Scotland. From annotative commentary it would appear that the majority of the recipes in these books are traditional. Fitzgibbon has included many anecdotes and explanations along with the recipes in order to place them in a contextual framework. For example, in A Taste of England, she writes of "Sally Lunn Cakes":

> Was there a pretty, buxom, West Country Lass called Sally Lunn who sold hot, golden cakes in the streets of Bath in the eighteenth century? Many people think so....It is undoubtedly true that such a girl 'cried' these cakes, but what she called was West Country French, 'Solet Lune' (Sun and Moon) which is descriptive of a golden-topped cake.[16]

When providing recipes for gingerbread and spiced ale in the same volume, Fitzgibbon writes that

> All over the West Country fairs are popular, the most famous being Widecombe Fair, which is possibly the oldest in England. Spiced ale and gingerbread are traditional.[17]

Such annotation is rare in most cookbooks. Fitzgibbon includes many fine 'antique' photographs along with the recipes. These also help provide the context of the recipes.

Local cookbooks are perhaps the best printed sources for providing possible clues to a foodways sytem. As noted in the introduction, this is the case for the Newfoundland material. Many of the local Newfoundland cookbooks identify

[16] A Taste of England: The West Country (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1972), p. 18.

[17] Ibid., p. 106.

the contributors of the recipes and some even provide notes on the history, origin and age of the recipes. Ivan Jesperson's collection Fat-Back & Molasses is a good example of this sort of annotated cookbook.

It is interesting to note the types of recipes that are included in the local cookbooks because one would think that this would be representative of the peoples' food system. But, this is not necessarily so, especially in Newfoundland. The printed tradition is not an accurate reflection of the oral tradition. The overwhelming portion of a typical Newfoundland cookbook is concerned with recipes for desserts and baked goods. This is significant because these items are not as prominent a part of the traditional diet as the cookbooks would lead one to believe. Actually, quite the opposite is the case.

One reason for the abundance of baked goods recipes is that many of the cookbooks have been sponsored by the local flour mills; they are obviously in the market to sell their product, therefore, they provide recipes which call for the product. This is quite clear when in a recipe that calls for "two cups flour" it actually reads "two cups Cream of the West" or "two cups Five Roses" or whatever particular brand is sponsoring the cookbook.[18]

Another possible reason for the proliferation of baked goods and dessert recipes is that they have not been a major

[18] Cream of the West and Five Roses are two popular brands of flour sold in Newfoundland.

aspect of the traditional Newfoundland diet. There would hardly be a need to write down traditional recipes as they are always in circulation and easily available for recall because of their constant use. Non-traditional recipes are used less frequently and, therefore, it is logical to write them down and circulate them via the printed medium. All communications media are excellent ways to spread traditions, and this is quite evident with respect to cookery.

There is one remaining type of cookbook literature important to consider: the handwritten manuscript. However, such manuscripts are not easily accessible for they generally remain private property. Usually the only way to acquire them is to ask informants if they have a family manuscript cookbook. Of the families interviewed for this thesis, several persons remembered having seen their mother or grandmothers use such a notebook, but only one family had a manuscript in its possession.

This one manuscript, entitled "Recipe Book of Good Things," is a black, hard covered notebook about seven by twelve inches in size. It was begun by Frances G. Channing of St. John's in the late 1800s and was written in a very fine handwriting. Mrs. Channing's daughter, Genevieve O'Mara of St. John's, inherited the book and continued to add recipes to it. The book is now the property of John and Diane O'Mara of St. John's (John O'Mara is Genevieve O'Mara's son). Although the O'Maras frequently refer to this manuscript they do not write in the book because the pages are old and

worn and there is little space for additions.

The contents of this family recipe book reveal many interesting facts. There are exactly one hundred recipes, and eighty-nine of them are for baked goods, e.g., yeast and quick breads, cookies and cakes, or for desserts, e.g., pies or Spanish cream. There is only one recipe for a main dinner dish, beef or veal loaf; the remaining ten recipes are for various pickles, jellies, wines and brandies.

The majority of the baked goods and dessert recipes are for items which have not been daily fare in the traditional Newfoundland diet, but rather which have appeared at special or festive occasions. Interestingly, there are no recipes for steamed or boiled puddings, the traditional finishing touch to a Newfoundland dinner, especially Sunday dinner. There is a recipe for "Sally Lunn," the same as noted previously from the cookbook A Taste of England. Several of the recipes specify the use of Swansdown flour; Swansdown was a popular brand of flour used in Newfoundland during the early 1900s.[19] Other recipes require potato flour, an ingredient not commonly used today.

Some of the recipes bear names which indicate the recipe's origin: Mrs. Winter's Cake, Mrs. Cahill's Cake and Mrs. Walker's Fruit Cake. Perhaps these women were friends of either Frances Channing or Genevieve O'Mara. It is possible that the identification of a recipe with a specific person

[19]Swansdown cake flour is still available, however, many people now use the all-purpose flours.

represents the same significance in repertoire categorization of one cook's relationship with other cooks as is the case in song tradition and repertoire categorization dealing with the singer's relationship with other singers.

In "Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships:Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples," George J. Casey, Neil V. Rosenberg and Wilfred W. Wareham point out that

> ...when a song is referred to as 'Jack's song,' it means that the song has been learned from Jack or that the song is an active one in Jack's repertoire. In either case it indicates the awareness that every singer is possessive about his repertoire. In at least some Newfoundland communities there is a very competitive attitude about the uniqueness and size of one's repertoire.[20]

From the work that I have done in foodways, it would appear that the above statement is applicable in terms of recipe naming. Although it is not necessarily true that every cook is possessive about her/his recipe repertoire, it is significant that there exist some people who are. Use of a specifically named recipe might also indicate a certain amount of status desired by the cook. For example, in Fat-Back & Molasses, "Mrs. Smallwood's Fruit Cake" is a recipe contributed by Mrs. Joseph R. Smallwood, wife of Newfoundland's first post-Confederation premier.[21]

Finally, there are some other details which help date the O'Mara manuscript. One of these is the specification

[20]"Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships:Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples," Ethnomusicology, 16(1972), 401.

[21]Ivan Jesperson, Fat-Back & Molasses (St. John's:The Author, 1974), p. 80.

for baking in an iron bake pot, an old traditional method used in Newfoundland. Also, there are assorted recipes for "eggless cakes," e.g., eggless fruitcake and eggless chocolate cake, all written in Mrs. O'Mara's handwriting. Perhaps these were written in the manuscript during the Depression or the period of World War II when there was food rationing. It became very much a fashion besides a necessity to invent eggless recipes during those hard times. Such recipes appear in most of the war-time cookbooks that I have seen.

Although the numbers of handwritten family manuscript notebooks do not appear to be substantial among my respondents, there seems to have developed another version of the family recipe book. This is the hand-written recipe card file or scrapbook, usually combined with a collection of recipe clippings from magazines and newspapers.

Newfoundland cooks have had ample resources on food preparation from local newspapers and other publications, such as the monthly calendar, What's Happening in St. John's?, to refer to for recipes. Many cooks read the column "Mary Moore" which appears daily in The Evening Telegram, even though it is a national rather than a local column. Hilda Murray reported that during 1900-50 women in Elliston, Trinity Bay "tried out recipes given on the "Homemaker's Page" in the Family Herald (a weekly newspaper)."[22]

[22]Hilda Murray, "The Traditional Role of Women in a Newfoundland Fishing Community," Master's Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1972, p. 229.

Newfoundlanders have also been exposed to foodways materials via oral and visual media, some of it nationwide and some of it local. The Newfoundland Department of Health sponsored a weekly radio program, "The Kitchen Corner" on local Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio. The show ran for twenty-one years beginning 3 January 1947 and was aimed at improving nutrition in Newfoundland. For the six years 1968-74 the Department of Health produced a weekly television show on the local CBC station. Called "Food, Health and You" it was later re-named "Pot Luck." The first twenty-one programs were about weight control and the remainder included cooking demonstrations, films and discussions about food.[23]

The results of the questionnaire indicate that most cooks maintain or at one time maintained an interest in such materials. Women seem to have been most actively interested during their early years of marriage, when they were effectively developing what would become their family's basic food repertoire. As cooks become more proficient they appear less intent on clipping recipes and more concerned with using the ones that they have already tested. It is the exceptional woman who remains truely experimental in her cooking, particularly here in Newfoundland. In many cases it is a matter of family pressure which accounts for conservative cookery rather than the personal interests of the cook. Of course,

[23] Interview with Olga Anderson, St. John's, Newfoundland Department of Health, 2 March 1977.

the situation can reverse itself and a family may become dependent on the tastes of the cook unless they make an effort to assist in the preparation process.

CHAPTER IV

COLLECTED DATA AND ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyze the data that I have collected in my fieldwork. This data represents the results of my convenience sample of 1977 food traditions in metropolitan St. John's, population 140,000.[1] As an urban center St. John's is in the forefront of change in Newfoundland foodways. While much of the data reflects 1977 traditions, much of it also reflects the older traditions as remembered by the informants from personal experience and oral tradition. Thus, the information in this chapter contains concrete examples of this thesis' attempt to illustrate the origin, adaptation and change that have defined Newfoundland foodways.

In order to offer this information in an orderly fashion, I have modified the topical outline for the study of a food system that Gottlieb and Rossi have suggested in A Bibliography and Bibliographic Review of Food and Food Habit Research. This work and its topical outline have been discussed in the preceeding chapter. Most of the information collected fits logically into the pattern of this outline which is suitable for descriptive, functional and historical studies of foodways--approaches that have all been partially utilized here.

I have divided the material into two time periods:pre-

[1] Statistics Canada, comp., Population. Census Subdivisions (Historical) (Ottawa:The Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, 1971 Census, July 1973).

and post-Confederation. As a result of Newfoundland joining Canadian Confederation on 1 April 1949, radical changes were effected upon Newfoundlanders' lives. Former Premier Joseph R. Smallwood described some of these controversial changes in an article called "Happy Province":

> With the coming of Confederation, over 4,000 miles of roads have been built or rebuilt, 1,000 miles of them paved. Six hundred settlements have been connected by road to the main road system of the Island, and 200 more of them have closed down as the people were encouraged and helped to move to larger places.
>
> Disease, which racked our people, has been brought under normal control....
>
> Hospitals have sprung up....
>
> We have built a thousand new schools, a new University, a new College of Fisheries, a new Technical College, and eleven magnificent new vocational training schools....
>
> In municipal development, in public housing, in rural electrification, the same explosive forward rush.[2]

Joining Confederation signalled the beginning of an end to the long depression that had racked Newfoundland for the 1930s and 40s. One of the most significant post-Confederation events that affected foodways was the installation of electricity to the Newfoundland outports, although the extensive Rural Electrification program did not begin until 1958.

> As of March 1966 the rural electrification programme had provided electrical service to approximately 100,000 Newfoundlanders. The policy of the Government of the Province was to complete the electrification of all communities having a population of fifteen or more customers. This task was

[2]"Happy Province" in The Book of Newfoundland, III, Joseph R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967), pp. 2-3.

accomplished by 1972 with perhaps one or two small exceptions.[3]

Another significant post-Confederation event was the increased flow of cash within the province. Newfoundlanders received their first Family Allowance checks in April 1949 and Old Age Pension checks in May 1949.[4] According to The Newfoundland Record, as a result of Confederation Newfoundlanders had "new standards of comparison as they looked outward for the first time and saw the differences between their own way of life and that of the population of the Canadian mainland."[5]

The informants who have supplied the data for this thesis represent a broad geographical distribution. Of the fifty-five questionnaire responses, fifty-three persons are presently residents of the St. John's metropolitan area. Twenty-nine informants were born outside of St. John's, but two of them spent their childhoods in the city. Two women who were born in St. John's spent part of their childhoods in the Maritime provinces but returned to Newfoundland as adolescents. All of the informants have spent the majority of their lives in Newfoundland.

Of the twenty-five persons who grew up outside of St.

[3]George P. Hobbs, "Newfoundland's Astonishing Revolution in Electricity" in The Book of Newfoundland, VI, Joseph R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967), p. 388.

[4]Alec G. Stacey, "1000 Days That Changed Our Destiny" in The Book of Newfoundland, III, Joseph R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967), p. 139.

[5]A.B. Perlin, Newfoundland in 1964 (St. John's: The Newfoundland Record, [1965]), p. 7.

John's but now make their homes in the city, twelve are students whose residence in St. John's is only during the school term; several others of this group have moved to the city only within the past five years. Therefore, about fifty percent of the questionnaire respondents have provided first hand information about outport food habits. The majority of the remaining respondents also provided great detail about older traditional habits as most of them have relatives still out around the island or have parents who came from the outports before they settled in St. John's.

The archive material represents an even broader geographical range of data. These manuscripts are materials which were collected by forty-two students; ninety percent of them deal with food traditions specifically outside of the St. John's metropolitan area. Several of these archive manuscripts have supplied particularly detailed information about the older traditional patterns and customs.

The Traditional Newfoundland Kitchen

Traditionally, the kitchen was the major center of activity for Newfoundland home life. The kitchen door was the most often used entrance to the house. Here, in the kitchen, stood the central heat source for most homes--the cook-stove, which burned oil, wood and/or coal. The kitchen, "the heart of the home,"[6] was the place where one rushed once out of bed on a cold Newfoundland morning.

[6]Hilda Murray, "The Traditional Role of Women in a Newfoundland Fishing Community," Master's Thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1972, p. 186.

The kitchen served numerous other functions besides that of a place of warmth and a place to cook and eat meals: guests were entertained over a cup of tea around the kitchen table, songs were sung, card games played, tales told, and people danced traditional step dances to the music of the accordian. According to Hilda Murray, "although the kitchen was public, in that you did not knock but walked right into the room, the rest of the house was very private."[7]

When electric and gas ranges came to the Newfoundland home and the heat source was no longer necessarily the old cook-stove, the function and importance of the Newfoundland kitchen altered. For many people the kitchen lost its multi-functional role. These functions were then portioned out to other rooms in the house.

This traditional kitchen, although no longer in the vast number of homes that it used to be in, can still be found in many outport homes and especially in summer cottages. For example, Winnie Green lives in a typical outport home in Winterton, Trinity Bay as described by Judith Peckham:

> The centre of activity...the kitchen...contains sink, cupboard, table and chairs, wood and oil range, fridge, television, rocking chair and day-bed. There is a small clothesline over the stove and hooks behind the stove for drying clothes. On the walls are calendars and there are birthday cards and pictures of her grandchildren on top of the television.[8]

Of course, the refrigerator and television are anomalies in

[7]Ibid., p. 193.

[8]MUNFLA (Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive), 76-109, p. 4.

terms of the older traditional kitchen.

Besides the oil-coal-wood cook-stove which imparted its own special flavor to baked goods and roasts and allowed for the kettle to be at a constant boil, there are other physical characteristics which defined the traditional Newfoundland kitchen. One of these was the clothesline strung over the stove. Another was the couch or daybed for lounging on or used by an elderly grandparent or a sick child; at night it often served as a bed for company. Also, there was usually a rocking chair or some other large, comfortable easy chair. Of course, there was the kitchen table, which became the standard chrome set. Most women scattered homemade hooked mats on the kitchen floor to keep away some of the chill. And, usually somewhere just off of the kitchen there was a cool pantry for storage of foodstuffs.

Hilda Murray writes of Elliston, Trinity Bay, kitchens:

> The kitchen was simply furnished, often with home-made pieces. A large table, frequently the type with two leaves which could be let down when the table was not in use, was usually located by one of the two windows. A long and wide "settle" or "couch" as it was sometimes called, was placed along one wall. The "settle" had a back and a covered "head" at one end. Sometimes it was uncovered, but more often than not, it had a long feather-filled cushion stretching the length of it, or else there were several small feather cushions scattered along its length. Enough ordinary chairs for the family were positioned around the room. One of these might be a high-backed rocking chair. Besides, some housewives liked to have one or two "barrel-chairs." These were made from a barrel with a section cut out, the remaining section forming the back. A hinged seat was placed about halfway up the barrel, so that there was a place for storage under the seat....barrel-chairs were valuable storage areas for items used every day--mittens, "vamps" (the short, ankle-length socks

worn over longer stockings), scarves, etc. Some housewives found them a good place to store the week's supply of potatoes on winter nights, for, unless well covered, things could and did freeze inside the house on a frosty night, as there was no fire on during the hours of sleeping.

Many homes had long benches or stools in the kitchen. These fitted into convenient corners under windows or shelves or in the chimney corner. Most kitchens had a "dresser" or "sideboard" which usually occupied the space between the chimney and outer wall. Sometimes it was free-standing; other times it was a "built-in." The wide counter-like top was open and here most of the dishes were stored. Often there were higher, narrow shelves which held special dishes or "nicknacks."...

Since all stoves were wood burning in early days, the wood box, situated in the corner near the stove, was an important feature of all kitchens....The cooking utensils, nearly all of iron or tin, were stored either in the closet under the stairs, or in the "linney."

The kitchen walls in every home were decorated with calendars supplied by the various businesses in the community. Dr. Chase's and Dodd's almanacs usually shared a nail or small hook in a corner. Often there was a small mirror and several pictures of varying types....Nearly every home had a "mantel piece" in kitchen and parlour, the shelf, placed three-quarters up the wall above the stove....Here small ornaments and "treasures" were placed.

In some of the larger, older houses, there was in addition to the regular kitchen, a "back kitchen" for summer use only. The hurried housewife looked upon this room as a time saver, for her regualr kitchen stayed spick and span, the "dirty" work being confined to the summer kitchen.[9]

Several informants noted that the traditional Newfoundland kitchen was a large living space, unlike the tiny kitchens found in many St. John's apartments and homes today (Geraldine Ezekiel, Q77B-17; Lenora Fagan, Q77B-18; and, Ellie Lynch, Q77B-31). When people have resettled from the

[9]Murray, pp. 190-2.

outport communities into "growth centers," they have often found difficulty in functioning in the new arrangement, possibly due to having lost this traditional aspect of their lives and being unable to recognize the problem as such.

Ultra-modern kitchens in Newfoundland have effectively abolished most of the aspects of the traditional Newfoundland kitchen. This has occurred particularly in the larger population centers such as St. John's, Corner Brook, Gander, Stephenville, Carbonear and Harbour Grace. However, it is not unusual to find kitchens which have compromised between the new and the traditional. For example, the house next door to mine in downtown St. John's has a kitchen with an oil-wood-coal cook-stove and a clothesline hanging above it. The housewife (Alisha Farrel, Q77B-57), her mother and her daughters spend much of their day sitting around the kitchen table, either sipping cups of tea and coffee, reading or knitting (traditional kitchen activities). Another woman (Irene O'Reilly, Q77B-40) from Torbay, which is about six miles from St. John's, maintains an even more complete traditional Newfoundland kitchen (see, Appendix C).

1. General Description of Food Patterns

In order to discuss food patterns it is first necessary to offer a few definitions of use in presenting the data. These definitions, by Mary Douglas, appear in her article "The Sociology of Bread" in Bread: Social, Nutritional and Agricultural Aspects of Wheaten Bread, Arnold Spicer, ed.:

> Food Event--An occasion when food is taken, without prejudice as to whether it constitutes a meal or not.

Structured Food Event--A social occasion which is organised according to rules prescribing time, place and sequence of actions. If food is taken as part of a structured event, then we have a meal.

Unstructured Food Event--There are no rules to prescribe which items (one or more) should appear together and there is no strict order of sequence when more than one item appears. Snacks may be sweet or savoury, separable from but capable of accompanying a drink.[10]

Keeping in mind the above definitions, in answer to "What are the terms you use to designate meal times?" (structured food events), the following responses were elicited:

Table 7

Terms Used to Designate Meal Times

			Number of Responses
Breakfast	Dinner	Supper	27
Breakfast	Dinner	Supper Lunch	1
Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner	15
Breakfast	Lunch	Supper	8
Breakfast	Lunch or Dinner	Supper	1
Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner or Supper	1
Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	1
No answer			2
		Total	55

The results of this questionnaire indicate that the most common sequence of names for the three-meal pattern is "breakfast, dinner and supper." These meals are defined according to their standard usage as appears in Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language:

[10]"The Sociology of Bread" in Bread: Social, Nutritional and Agricultural Aspects of Wheaten Bread, Arnold Spicer, ed. (Barking, Essex: Applied Science Pub., 1975), p. 16.

breakfast: the first meal of the day.

dinner: the principal meal of the day eaten about midday or in the evening.

supper: a meal taken at the close of the day, especially the evening meal when dinner is taken at midday.[11]

The word "lunch," defined in Webster's as "a light meal usually in the middle of the day," is used to refer to the midday meal when the evening meal is called dinner and is the largest meal of the day.[12] There is an interesting note in the Oxford English Dictionary which suggests that now the "professional and fashionable classes" have come to partake of dinner in the evening.[13] Thus, the word "lunch," a colloquial synonym of luncheon, "denotes a meal (understood to be less substantial and less ceremonious than dinner) taken usually in the early afternoon."[14]

The use of the word "tea" for the evening meal is a reflection of the British Isles tradition in Newfoundland. "Tea" is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as:

[11] Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (Springfield, Mass.: G & C Merriam Co., 1966, c.a. 1909), pp. 272, 635, 2296.

[12] Ibid., p. 1346. In Newfoundland, the older usage of "evening" designated the period of time after dinner, the midday meal. Webster's reports this usage in the dialect of the South and Midlands of England: "Evening" is the time extending roughly from noon to twilight. Use of the word "evening" in this thesis connotes the standard modern definition, "the latter part and close of the day and early part of darkness or night." (p. 787)

[13] Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961, c.a. 1933), III, p. 377.

[14] Ibid., VI, p. 505.

> A meal or social entertainment at which tea is served; esp. and ordinary afternoon or evening meal, at which the usual beverage is tea (but sometimes cocoa, chocolate, coffee, or other substitute.[15]

A "high tea" is simply a tea at which meat is served.[16]

It is somewhat surprising that this survey does not provide more evidence of the designation of the evening meal as tea. However, this may possibly be attributed to the fact that this is a convenience sample and the majority of the respondents are urban rather than outport residents.

Here is one final note about use of the word "supper" to refer to the third meal in the three-meal pattern:

> 1859 Gosse Lett. Alabama 68 The meal which we are accustomed to call 'tea,' is by Americans, universally, I believe, called 'supper,' and it is the final meal; there being but three in the day![17]

Meal times fall within a very general range. On an average respondents eat their morning meal between 7:30 and 9:00 a.m., the midday meal between 12:00 and 1:30 p.m., and the evening meal between 5:00 and 7:00 p.m. The mean times for meals are:

Morning meal: 8:00-8:30 a.m. (twenty-eight persons)
Midday meal: 12:30-1:00 p.m. (forty persons)
Evening meal: 5:30-6:00 p.m. (forty-two persons)

Breakfast hours are usually varied for individuals within each household. None of the surveyed families requires that all members of the household eat breakfast at the same time.

[15]Ibid., V, p. 227.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., X. p. 198.

The prime factor determining meal times is a person's work schedule. For example, fishermen rise at 4:00 or 5:00 a.m. during the fishing season, and according to Hilda Murray, "the men would boil their own kettle and make their own tea for this early meal."[18] William Reid of Bell Island reports that

> since Bell Island was a mining town, meal patterns were based on the shift schedule that the man from each household worked....The big meal in our home was supper, at 4:30 p.m. (for day shift men). Supper was also the main meal for the graveyard shift 12-8 a.m. Noon dinner was the main meal for the 4-12 p.m. shift.[19]

Evidence of the influence of one's work schedule in the determination of meal times is also revealed by the fact that on weekends (Saturday and Sunday) fourteen persons shift their meal times. When not working they tend to sleep later in the mornings; therefore, the breakfast hour and consequently all meals shift to between one-half and one hour later than the schedule followed on weekdays. Another means of compensating for sleeping later is to maintain the normal dinner and supper hours on weekends and to either eat less for the weekend breakfast or to skip the meal entirely. It is a common North American custom to combine the morning and midday meal on a weekend into a mid-morning meal called "brunch." However, no one in this survey mentioned such a meal. One woman specified her breakfast hour simply as "at what time I gets up" (Ethel Humphries, Q77B-26).

[18] Murray, p. 220.

[19] MUNFLA, 73-99, pp. 106-7.

The designation of meal times as "breakfast, dinner, supper and lunch" is evidence of the existence of the four-meal system that used to be standard in many Newfoundland homes.[20] For those persons directly connected with the fishing industry, however, many followed a seven-meal system during the busy trapping season. Hilda Murray describes the system as it existed for the inhabitants of Elliston, Trinity Bay:

> ...there would often be seven meals--the men's light snack in the early morning, breakfast around 7:30-8:00 a.m., mug-up at 10:30-11:00 a.m., dinner at 12:30-1:00 p.m., mug-up at 3:30-4:00 p.m., tea at 5:30-6:00 p.m., and a mug-up before bedtime at 10:30-11:00 p.m. or earlier.[21]

A complex daily meal system of more than three meals per day is typical of rural persons whose lives are closely tied to the land and/or sea. Yoder notes in "Folk Cookery" that it was a rural American custom to consume

> five meals per day, at least in the summer, when men were working in the fields. Between early breakfast on the farm (6:00 or 7:00 a.m.) and 'dinner' announced by bell, horn, or voice (at 12:00 M.), there was usually a mid-morning snack, around 9:00 or 10:00--carried to the men working in the harvest fields....An afternoon snack... balanced the morning snack, thus accounting for five meals a day.[22]

Furthermore, Yoder writes that the "urban American office 'coffee-break' is restoring a five-meals-a-day rhythm to our

[20] Murray, p. 215; MUNFLA, 73-63, p. 49; 73-69, p. 111.

[21] Murray, p. 215.

[22] "Folk Cookery" in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, Richard Dorson, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 336-7.

eating habits.[23] A similar pattern is now true for many working persons in Newfoundland, although I do not believe that this is as pervasive in Newfoundland as it is in the United States.

Although informants have indicated that the three-meal pattern is the general scheme in Newfoundland, not all of them strictly adhere to this schedule. Forty persons report that they eat three meals per day; thirty do not usually skip any meals whereas ten occasionally skip one meal for various reasons, e.g., sleeping late, sickness, lack of time, or dieting restrictions. Fourteen respondents consume two meals per day because they do not eat breakfast. One woman eats one meal per day, getting by the rest of the day on tea and tomato juice and perhaps some other small snack (Bonnie Breen, Q77B-5).

In general, most persons eat at least one large meal during the day. If at all possible or affordable this is a cooked meal. When Newfoundlanders in this survey speak of "dinner" they are referring to a cooked meal. Traditionally, this was the midday meal as was typical of the traditional pattern in the British Isles. In Newfoundland today, all dinners are still cooked meals, however, all cooked meals are not necessarily labelled as dinners. There is also evidence that the time for eating the largest meal of the day has shifted from midday to evening. The results of this questionnaire indicate that only five persons eat their largest

[23] Ibid., p. 337.

meal of the day at midday; all of them refer to this meal as "dinner." Forty-nine persons eat their largest meal in the evening; ten call the meal "dinner," thirty-three call it "supper,"and one calls the meal either "dinner" or "supper." One other person eats her largest meal at either midday or evening, depending on her husband's shift-work schedule (Linda Farrel, Q77B-19).

One must be careful not to forget the importance of the unstructured food event in relation to the structured food event, for snacks fill in gaps between meals. In response to the question "Do you take coffee breaks or snack between meals?" the following answers were elicited:

Table 8

Persons Who Take Coffee Breaks or Snack Between Meals

	Number of Responses
Yes	42
No	7
Infrequently	3
No Answer	3
Total	55

Approximately one-half of the questionnaire respondents who snack during the course of a day named specific times for this ritual; the remaining persons gave general time periods during which they are prone to snacking. If they snack at all, most often they snack two or more times per day rather than on just one occasion. The general range of times during which these respondents snack are the following: mid-morning

(10:30-11:30 a.m.), mid- to late-afternoon (3:00-4:30 p.m.), and before bed in the nighttime (8:00-11:00 p.m.). There is no widespread ritual in Newfoundland such as appears in the British Isles of "elevenses" and [afternoon] "tea" (sometimes called "fours").[24]

The ritual of the coffee break is clearly associated with working habits in Newfoundland. Many employers provide their employees with time for either or both morning and afternoon breaks, some by law. Use of the word "coffee," however, does not necessarily mean that persons drink coffee at this appointed time. In fact, in Newfoundland tea is much more popular than coffee and soft drinks such as Coke and Pepsi are also consumed.

Approximately fifty percent of the snackers eat a nighttime or bedtime snack. Following such a ritual seems to be remaindered from the older traditional four-meal pattern in Newfoundland. Just as the fourth meal was called a "lunch" or a "mug-up," so do several respondents refer specifically to their nighttime snack as a "lunch" or a "mug-up."[25] The terminology is somewhat complicated by the fact that some

[24]Yoder, p. 336. From fieldwork in Sheffield, England, I found that afternoon tea is also known as "fours" in places such as Yorkshire County.

[25]Mug-up: [fr. E dial.] mug-up, v., to have a snack, a cup of coffee or tea and sometimes a snack between meals. Webster's, p. 1483. Also, in Harold W. Thompson, Body, Boots & Britches, Folktales, Ballads and Speech from Country New York there is mention that "the authors of Whale Off have preserved part of the whaling vocabulary--a mug-up is a snack to eat." (New York:Dover Pub., 1966, c.a. 1939), p. 199.

persons refer to any light or quick food event as a "lunch" or "mug-up." They are invariably among the group who call their midday meal "dinner."

A person's snack consists most often of a drink plus an additional small item of food, such as a piece of cake, crackers or cookies (biscuits) or a packet of potato chips. Some informants occasionally eat a piece of fruit; however, fruit is not among the more common snack items in Newfoundland since it is not as readily available as in many other places. The limited variety of fruit that is commonly available in the province affects the item's desirability as a snack item. Generally, most of the snack foods are not of a particularly nourishing value; many of them are confections.

Before Confederation though, cookies and cakes were not the common fare that they are today. Desserts and baked goods appeared usually as holiday items, particularly at Christmas, and otherwise once a week at the most, at Sunday supper. Although confections now comprise a large portion of snack fare, their previous scarcity is not an indication that people did not snack. Quite simply, the snack item was not in the same form as it is today.

When sugar was an expensive commodity Newfoundlanders adjusted their sweet tastes to accepting a substitute in the form of molasses. A brief glance at any Newfoundland cookbook reflects the popularity of this item even today. Molasses was widely used as a sweetener in tea, a custom still observed by some elderly Newfoundlanders. The traditional

snack for the hungry person with a sweet tooth was molasses bread, commonly known as "lassie bread." Lassie bread is still a traditional Newfoundland snack, although perhaps not particularly well-known by persons under the age of fifteen. It is generally eaten in one's home rather than at one's place of work or study.

Lassie bread is a combination of molasses and bread, just as the name implies. But, even though the ingredients are basic--bread, butter and molasses--there are abundant variations in how it is prepared and eaten as noted by Sheila Browne in her paper "Methods of Making Molasses Bread in Buchans, and Lance Cove, Bell Island and St. John's." Note the following sample of recipes:

> Fresh homemade bread is a definite necessity for molasses bread. A little margarine is spread on the bread and then cold molasses is spread on top. The bread is folded over and eaten that way. (woman, 18 years of age, Lance Cove, Bell Island)
>
> Molasses bread must be made with hot homemade white bread. Butter is spread on the bread. This melts and then room temperature molasses is spread on top. The bread is never cut with a knife. (woman, 72 years of age, Harbour Grace, Conception Bay)
>
> Spread a lot of butter on homemade bread. Mix molasses with the butter and eat the slice folded over. (woman, 41 years of age, Lower Island Cove)
>
> Brown, homemade bread is dunked into a bowl of molasses. The bread is not broken into small pieces, but bites are taken out of the bread slice when it has been dunked into the molasses. (man, 51 years of age, St. John's)
>
> Use toasted homemade white bread spread with butter and molasses, and eat open face. (woman, 19 years of age, St. John's)

> Use a thick slice of homemade bread, spread with molasses and then the butter and eat it open face. (woman, 18 years of age, St. John's)
>
> Using two slices of any kind of bread, spread butter on both. Put molasses on one slice of buttered bread only, and put the two slices of bread together to form a sandwich. (man, 20 years of age, St. John's)[26]

From these few recipes it is not possible to ascertain whether or not any types of lassie bread are specifically regional variants. However, it is significant that there are so many variants using only three basic ingredients. This is a typical characteristic of folk traditions. Sheila Browne's observations of the molasses bread tradition are perceptive:

> ...for all my informants molasses bread was a snack. It was not a standard dessert or part of a regular meal. My informants ate molasses bread between meals, when they were hungry, after school, bed-time, etc.--all snack times....the things which all agreed about molasses bread--1)it is very good 2)it's used for a snack 3)bread is used (no agreement as to type) 4)use store bought molasses.[27]

There is one other Newfoundland term for a food event which it is important to mention. This is a "scoff," which exhibits the characteristics of a structured food event, except for the fact that it is usually spontaneous. James C. Faris in Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement writes of a scoff as a meal whose ingredients are traditionally plundered from someone else's garden or cellar, invariably consisting of potatoes, turnips, cabbage, salt beef,

[26] MUNFLA, 71-36, pp. 57, 58, 61-3.

[27] Ibid., p. 68.

salt pork, and fresh meat such as moose or duck. The traditional scoff is literally a "stolen feast."[28]

Now, however, for the many Newfoundlanders who are urban dwellers a scoff is a big feed which takes place late at night and is for a sizeable gathering of persons.[29] One or two persons would not normally cook up a scoff for themselves. The scoff retains the characteristic of spontaneity, e.g., when friends drop by unexpectedly, which heightens the excitement of the event. However, the stealing of the ingredients is less frequently practiced. A typical feed for a scoff remains the traditional one-pot boiled dinner of salt meat, cabbage, potatoes, carrots, turnips and pease pudding.

Concerning the origin of the term "scoff," the following definition appears in Webster's Dictionary:

> scoff /"/vb -ed/-ing/-s [alter. of earlier scaff, of unknown origin] vt 1:to eat greedily: EAT 2:PLUNDER, STEAL~vi:to eat greedily:EAT[30]

[28]James C. Faris, Cat Harbour:A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement (St. John's:Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University, 1966), p. 207. For a contextual discussion of scoffs, see same, pp. 207-8. For a discussion of the scoff as a "stolen feast" used as a traditional narrative theme in Newfoundland, see, Michael Taft, "Of Scoffs, Mounties, and Mainlanders:The Popularity of a Sheep Stealing Ballad in Newfoundland" paper to be published in Southern Folklore Quarterly. This paper is an expanded version of one read at the American Folklore Society Meetings, New Orleans, 23 October 1975.

[29]Feed--Again, a word prominent in the Newfoundland vocabulary, meaning the same as the definition in Webster's: MEAL; esp. a sumptuous meal (p. 834).

[30]Webster's, p. 2034.

Also, the following definition appears in the Oxford English Dictionary:

> scoff 1. to eat voraciously, devour; also, scorf, skoff, app. orig. a variant of SCAFF, taken into slang from dialectical use
>
> 2. to seize, plunder[31]

The scoff remains a traditional food event in Newfoundland. The ingredients and the occasion are still well-defined even though they have been adapted to newer circumstances.

The dessert item is an important part of many of the structured food events previously mentioned. The Oxford English Dictionary defines dessert as:

> a. a course of fruit, sweetmeats, etc. served after a dinner or supper
>
> b. in the United States often used to include pies, puddings, and other sweet dishes.[32]

Such a course is easily identified in an event such as the French dinner in which each course is served separately. One knows that the dessert (often sweet) always follows the cheese (savoury). When dessert is eaten in Newfoundland, it is usually served with coffee or tea which almost always signal the completion of a meal even when dessert is not served.

The dessert course is more of a rarity in the Newfoundland meal than in the French or American meal. It has already been noted that sweet baked goods and other items which we now define as desserts traditionally appeared in Newfound-

[31] Oxford, IX, p. 230.

[32] Ibid., III, p. 257.

land homes on festive occasions and usually only once a week, on Sunday. Newfoundlanders did not typically have what they considered to be dessert items at every meal, or even once a day. Perhaps this was because of the scarcity of dessert ingredients and items; therefore, the courses in the meal had to be defined in terms of readily available items.

Indications are that there has been a dramatic increase in the consumption of dessert items in Newfoundland during the past thirty years. This is partially confirmed by the presence of the vast quantities and varieties of dessert foodstuffs in the food stores. There is further evidence of change from the traditional dessert eating pattern to a newer one by the responses to my query, "How often do you eat dessert at the conclusion of dinner? supper? Have you always followed this pattern? Please name some typical desserts." Note the following answers:

Table 9

Dessert Patterns

	Number of Responses
Usually eat dessert after the largest meal of the day	13
Nearly always eat dessert after both mid-day and evening meals	4
Occasionally eat dessert--no pattern	7
Eat dessert once or twice a week	3
Seldom eat dessert	23
Never eat dessert	4
No response	1
Total	55

Typical desserts include the following: apple crisp, baked apples, berries (with sugar or cream), cake, cookies, custard, fruit (canned or fresh), ice cream, jelly (jello), pie (e.g., apple, berry, lemon and rhubarb), pudding, rice pudding, trifle and yogurt.

Respondents made some interesting comments about their dessert eating habits. When the group of persons who seldom eat dessert do eat dessert, it is usually with the largest meal of the day. Many of them indicated that they always make a special point of offering dessert when entertaining company. And, when offering dessert to company, cooks make a special effort to prepare at least a partially homemade dessert. When fruit is served for dessert, it is often canned and accompanied by canned cream. Again, fresh dairy products and fruit are both expensive and not readily available in Newfoundland.

Since respondents indicate that dessert is eaten with a large meal, one would have thought that in the older traditional pattern dessert would have accompanied Sunday dinner rather than supper--Sunday dinner being the best cooked meal of the week and supper being a cold plate. However, since all of Sunday was a special day to the religious Newfoundland population, perhaps the inclusion of dessert with supper helped to give supper status so that in contrast to dinner supper did not appear to be a meagre meal. It is evident that many Newfoundlanders looked forward to the Sunday supper desserts, when it was time to eat some of the baked goods

that had been made on Saturday.[33]

One of the outstanding characteristics of the entire traditional Newfoundland foodways system is the existence of a weekly dinner pattern. Most Newfoundlanders can still recall a pattern similar to this composite:

Sunday --fresh roast or fowl and salt meat dinner with duff (boiled pudding)
Monday --stew or hash made from Sunday's leftovers
Tuesday --salt meat dinner
Wednesday--fish
Thursday --cooked meat and vegetables or salt meat dinner
Friday --fish (often fish and brewis or salt fish and potatoes)
Saturday --pea soup and doughboys (or dumplings) or baked beans[34]

In addition, the following were also traditional on Sunday: breakfast--fish and brewis; supper--cold plate and the weekly dessert.

Naturally there were many variations on this pattern, and whatever pattern one used it was flexible and depended on the available food items. The following more detailed meal pattern was typical of a family in Conception Harbour, Conception Bay, fifty years ago:

(Note:breakfast depended on the season)

Sunday --Breakfast:fish and brewis
Dinner:pork and cabbage, potatoes, turnip and a duff (molasses pudding)
Supper:leftover pork sliced

[33]MUNFLA, 73-63, p. 49; 73-96, p. 15.

[34]Baked beans have also been traditional for Saturday supper in Maine. Robert P.T. Coffin, Mainstays of Maine (New York:Macmillan Co., 1944), p. 103 and Ellenore W. Doudiet, "Coastal Maine Cooking:Food and Equipment from 1760" in Gastronomy:The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits (The Hague:Mouton, 1975), p. 226.

Monday --Breakfast: oatmeal served with molasses, tea, bread
Dinner: pot of brewis
Supper: hash of leftover vegetables

Tuesday --Breakfast: same as Monday
Dinner: pork and cabbage
Supper: black pudding (blood pudding)

Wednesday --Breakfast: toutons (since Wednesday was bread making day)
Dinner: fish with vegetables
Supper: beans (baked or boiled)

Thursday --Breakfast: ham or bacon and eggs
Dinner: fresh meat soup and vegetables with doughboys
Supper: mashed potatoes and turnips with fried fat pork

Friday --Breakfast: eggs or boiled fish
Dinner: boiled fish, vegetables, drawn butter
Supper: pancakes

Saturday --Breakfast: roasted caplin or fish, tea and bread
Dinner: pea soup and doughboys
Supper: corn meal cake or pork cake[35]

Responses from the questionnaire indicate that twenty-three persons observe at least a partial weekly meal pattern, twenty-two do not now observe a weekly meal pattern but did as children, eight do not now observe a weekly meal pattern and did not do so as children, and two (John and Diane O'Mara, Q77B-38, 39) observe a monthly schedule although there is no pattern from month to month.

In its simplest form, the weekly meal pattern consists of the ritual of Sunday dinner, which will be discussed in further detail in section nine. The weekly pattern that most persons observe today is more differentiated than the traditional pattern because of the greater variety of available foodstuffs. Sometimes definition of a weekly meal pattern

[35]MUNFLA, 73-64, pp. 10-3.

is only a general statement such as "a roast on Sunday," "boiled dinner one day," or "fish once or twice." There is evidence, though, that especially outside of St. John's, the older traditional pattern remains intact. The following are two patterns observed by persons whom I interviewed; they are both typical of the older traditional pattern.

Pattern 1. Geraldine Ezekiel (Q77B-17), St. John's

Sunday	--roast
Monday	--leftovers; perhaps a soup made from the Sunday chicken
Tuesday	--pork and cabbage and potatoes; or, a pork roast
Wednesday	--fish, usually fried
Thursday	--corned beef and cabbage
Friday	--fish, boiled or fish cakes, and potatoes
Saturday	--open, perhaps pork chops and potatoes

Pattern 2. Ethel B. Humphries (Q77B-26), St. John's

Sunday	--roast and vegetables
Monday	--sausages, green peas and potatoes; or, Sunday's leftovers
Tuesday	--corned beef or fried steak and pease pudding
Wednesday	--fish or fried bologna
Thursday	--meat dinner
Friday	--fish
Saturday	--fried steak, or something else that does not demand too much effort to cook

A final note about the general pattern of Newfoundland foodways is that food is traditionally associated with the home. The best meals in Newfoundland are not in the restaurants but in Newfoundlanders' homes. Since Newfoundland communities were small and isolated for most of their history, there was never a need to build up a restaurant trade on the

island. Even today in the city of St. John's, quality public eating places are limited and there are many take-outs such as Kentucky Fried Chicken, Mary Brown's Virginia Fried Chicken, Dairy Queen and Brazier Burger. One informant explained that traditionally

> eating out was something that strangers did. People were very proud of serving meals at home. To take someone out to a meal was an offense.[36]

Although at least for the inhabitants of St. John's it is not now considered offensive to dine in a public place, the questionnaire respondents indicate that most of their meals are home-cooked. The answers to the question of "How often and at what kinds of places do you eat out?" are averages rather than exact answers because informants' schedules and budgets vary. There is no indication of the frequency with which persons dine at the homes of relatives or friends, but from my own observation indications are that this is a much more traditional custom than dining in public places.

Table 10

Frequency of Dining Outside of the Home

	Number of Responses
Never eat out	3
Seldom eat out	11
Eat out only when on holiday	2
Eat out one to five times a year (restaurant)	7
Eat out one to five times a month (restaurant)	4

[36]Leslie McGrath, interview 17 January 1977.

Table 10, cont'd.

	Number of Responses
Eat out one or two times a week (restaurant)	5
Eat out special occasions (restaurant)	4
Eat out one to five times a year (take-out)	2
Eat out several times a month (take-out)	4
Eat out special occasions (restaurant); occasional take-out	5
Eat out once a month (restaurant); one to two times a week (take-out)	1
Eat out one to two times a week (restaurant); twice a week (late night take-out)	1
Eat out occasionally (restaurant or take-out)	5
Survive on take-outs	1
Total	55

2. Production of Foodstuffs

The supply of foodstuffs available in Newfoundland today is much more dependent on imported goods than in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, mainly because so many more goods are now available in trade and because Newfoundlanders depend less on their natural resources than previously. Imports comprised a greater portion of the provincial food supply than local production in 1965, and in 1977 the situation remains the same.[37] Even of the hardy vegetables grown in Newfoundland--potatoes, cabbages, turnips, beets and carrots--Newfoundland is far from self-sufficient in relation to demand. The same holds true for other food products for which there is agricultural potential

[37] S.M. Rizvi and A. Davidson, M.L. Lerohl, W.W. Graham and G.A. MacEachern, Food and Agriculture Potentials in Newfoundland (Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada in Cooperation with Laurentian Institute for Social and Economic Development, 1971), p. 36.

in the province: dairy, poultry (including eggs), and meats (especially pork).

As imported items are varied and readily available it is understandable that Newfoundlanders have become increasingly dependent on these items as incomes have risen and the flow of cash increased accordingly.[38] With the surge of convenience foods onto the market, many of the traditional foods have been cast aside for the newer foodstuffs. Convenience foods are "processed foods in which a considerable amount of the preparation has already been carried out by the manufacturer, e.g., cooked meats, canned foods, baked foods, breakfast cereals, frozen foods."[39]

Newfoundlanders are also abandoning the once vital kitchen garden which has traditionally included vegetables and animals, such as cows, pigs, goats and chickens. This has happened especially as the population has become increasingly urban oriented. The ties with the land and sea have been slightly severed. Another important factor in necessi-

[38]For families and unattached individuals in Newfoundland, preliminary estimates in 1975 were the following:

Average Income:	$11,633
Median Income:	$10,078
Sample Size:	1,119 persons

From, Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Families and Unattached Individuals by Income Groups, Statistics Canada, comp., Income Distributions by Size in Canada. Preliminary Estimates 1975 (Ottawa: 1971 Census of Canada, October 1976), p. 12.

[39]Arnold E. Bender, Dictionary of Nutrition and Food Technology (London: Newnes-Butterworths, 1975, c.a. 1960), p. 63.

tating a greater dependence on convenience foods is that there are more instances where both husband and wife work outside of the home; thus, there is little time for a lot of cooking.

It is noticeable that the traditional foods have remained more of a steady diet for Newfoundlanders of lesser economic means since the convenience foods are in a higher price range than the traditional ingredients. As the prices of foodstuffs continue to spiral it is possible, however, that people may revert back to more of the traditional diet.

3. Preservation

With the introduction of electricity to most of Newfoundland since Confederation, the preservation of foodstuffs is nowdependent on the use of the refrigerator; the refrigerator is a standard item of modern kitchen equipment. Also, the mass-produced foodstuffs which come packaged and sealed in assorted bottles, tins, paper and plastic containers and bags are bought in abundance by Newfoundlanders. However, before the existence of electric refrigerators and the wide variety and availability of store-bought preserved goods, Newfoundlanders used other methods of preservation.

Bottling was one of the most common methods of preserving foods and is still widely used. This has been particularly important for putting up items such as berries, turnip and dandelion greens, pickles, e.g., beet root and cabbage, salmon, rabbit, moose, turr and chicken. The food is placed in jars or crocks, boiled, and then cooled and vacuum sealed, usually with wax.

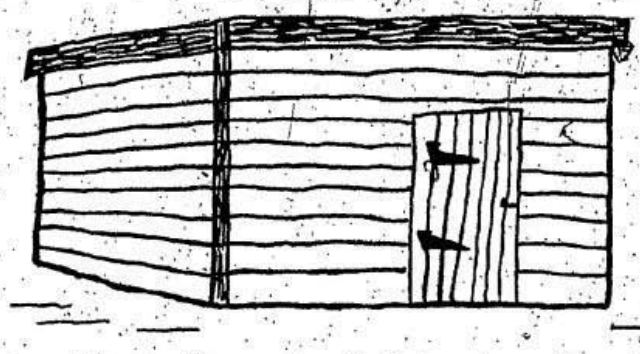
Vegetables, an important part of the Newfoundland diet, were traditionally kept in a "cellar" or "root cellar," according to William Reid of Bell Island, Conception Bay. The cellar not only kept the vegetables in an eatable and/or marketable condition throughout the winter, but also provided sufficient space for the sometimes large quantities involved. Some cellars have been built underneath the house, and some separate. Lenora Fagan (Q77B-18) reports that in her home in Daniel's Harbour the cellar is underneath the house and is reached via an inside entrance.

The cellars built separate from the house were usually built in the spring of the year or in early summer because the first step in construction was to dig a square hole in the ground or into the side of a hill or bank. It had to be deep enough to keep out the frost, and then flat rocks were set in to line the hole.

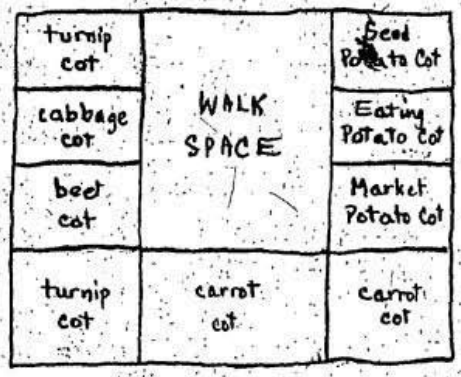
> The hole, itself, was the actual cellar, because it was here that all the vegetables would be stored in bins or places called 'cots.' Any cellar contained a number of potato cots, turnip cots, carrot cots, and cots for any other vegetables that were to be placed in the cellar.
>
> Over the cellar hole was built a flat platform or floor (made of wood). This floor always contained an opening or a 'hatch' and from it a stairs or steps were built which led to the bottom of the cellar hole, which could easily be six to nine feet deep.
>
> A housing structure or shack was built over this cellar hole and floor and one side always contained the door or entrance way to the cellar. The roof of the cellar was usually peaked or sloping in some way.[40]

[40]MUNFLA, 73-99, pp. 72-3, 79-81, 82-3.

Fig. 1 Typical Root Cellar Construction [41]



Floor Plan



For their meat, Newfoundlanders often ate small game immediately after killing it. However, it was necessary to deal with quantity for long periods of time. There were several solutions to this problem: some meats were bottled; some were dried and smoked; some were pickled in brine; and, some were hung fresh from the rafters of a cool

[41] Ibid., p. 97. Sketch made from Bill Reid photo.

barn or cellar.[42] These traditional methods are still practiced today. The meat that was hung fresh was usually killed in November or December and this kept especially well in a state of natural refrigeration during the cold winter months. Because of the lack of refrigeration fresh meat was more the exception rather than the rule, thus the dominant appearance of salt meats and fish in the Newfoundland diet.

Eggs were preserved by buying them in either flour or salt, taking care that none of the eggs touched each other.[43] This was often done in the fall of the year when the eggs were needed in quantity for the holiday baking.

Berries have often been preserved by freezing. The traditional method of keeping firm berries, such as the partridgeberry, was to clean them and put them in cold water in barrels. John Hollett of St. John's says that "we'd put the partridgeberries in sterilized water and if the water froze, we just chopped away the ice to get at the berries."[44] The popular modern method of storage, owing in part to lack of both space and barrels, is to put the cleaned berries into

[42] "Smokehouses were a common site in the community (of Twillingate)...Many meats, such as pork, were smoked, and also fish, such as, herring, caplin and salmon. The smoking method of preservation has changed from commonplace to rare, and most smokehouses now [1976] are used for storing tools." MUNFLA, 76-87, p. 29.

[43] MUNFLA, 76-87, p. 32.

[44] Interview, February 1976.

plastic bags and toss them into the deep freeze.[45]

The storage of soft berries is somewhat different. They must be handled with special care. For example, one technique for storing bakeapples is to put them in mason jars, pour cold sterile water over them just enough to cover, and cap the jars air tight, e.g., with wax. John Hollett says that "they keep for months this way, just like you picked them."[46]

Eleven of the families interviewed own a deep freeze for keeping quantities of items such as supermarket specials, berries and game meats. It is not unusual to find a side of beef from the butcher or a half of a moose or caribou in the freezer. Most of these eleven families keep their freezers between one-half and three-quarters full.

In the traditional Newfoundland house, off of the kitchen, there was usually a pantry for keeping things cool. This was a necessity because the kitchen was usually very warm from the heat constantly generated by the cook-stove. As described by William Reid of Bell Island,

> This little room or alcove adjacent to the kitchen contained such items as the bread barrel, flour barrel and the cupboards where all the tin foods

[45]The coopering industry flourished in Newfoundland particularly in the several decades after 1897 when the independent coopers incorporated. Barrels were needed for many products, including cod and pork, seal skins, and cod and seal oil. The materials of modern technology have effectively diminished the need for wooden barrels. Bert Harvey of St. John's, whose grandfather and father were coopers, entered the trade in 1927. In a taped interview in March 1973, Harvey reported that he was the last of the coopers in his family and that there were only half a dozen coopers left in St. John's. (MUNFLA T-C1513 73-127)

[46]Interview, February 1976.

> as well as the nonperishable 'grub' was stored. All the dishes used during meals were stored here also....Another feature of the pantry was the hand pump.[47]

A pantry was also necessary because there were no built-in cupboards or cabinets in the kitchen as there are today.

4. Distribution

The distribution or marketing of food goods is accomplished in different ways in different societies. In Newfoundland there are now two major distributors of food goods, "the shop" and "the supermarket." "Shop" is the traditional word for the small local store; "supermarket" is the popular word for the newer phenomenon of the large store with a wide selection of goods, found in urban centers.

Traditionally, a store is where merchandise is put away, where equipment is stored, e.g., a shed for fishing gear.[48] This place might also serve as a workshop. For example, Lenora Fagan (Q77B-18) explained that in Daniel's Harbour every man had a "store(s)," but only a few had a "shop." The word "market" does not appear in the vocabulary of the Newfoundland food system.

One usually speaks of going to the shop to get a few groceries, but there are assorted names printed on the fronts of the shops, among them, groceteria, groceteria and confectionery (often shortened to 'groc. and conf.'), cash and carry, and foodeteria.

[47]MUNFLA, 73-99, p. 108.

[48]Newfoundland Dictionary Center, W. Kirwin and G. Story.

According to a March 1977 Statistics Canada Bulletin based on the results of the 1971 Census, the following is a breakdown of the types of food related businesses in Newfoundland:[49]

Table 11

Retail Trade, by Kind of Business, 1971
Total Locations--Newfoundland

	Number of Locations
Bakery Products Stores	17
Candy and Nut Stores	56
Dairy Products Stores	5
Egg and Poultry Stores	nil or zero
Fruit and Vegetable Stores	3
Grocery, Confectionery and Sundries Stores	1,334
Grocery Stores (including supermarkets)	787
Combination Stores	168
Meat Markets	30
Fish Markets	4
Delicatessen Stores	9
Health and Dietary Food Stores	1
Other Food Stores	7
Total	2,421

The above terms are analytical rather than folk terms. The specialty shops are not common and appear only in the larger urban centers. The supermarkets are also only in the urban centers (population 1,000+). Since the 1971 Census

[49]Statistics Canada, comp., Retail Trade Business Location Statistics. Size of Business (Ottawa: 1971 Census of Canada Merchandising and Services Division, March 1977).

revealed that out of a total population of 522,100 persons, 298,800 were "urban dwellers" and 223,305 were "rural dwellers," this indicates that a large percentage of the population still has limited access to foodstuffs.[50] Although the results of the 1976 Census are not yet available, it is likely that the numbers of rural dwellers will have declined to some extent.

Particularly striking is the fact that there is no widespread tradition of either bakers or green grocers (vegetables and fruits) in Newfoundland as there is in Europe and parts of North America. Alcoholic beverages are sold in government owned and operated "liquor stores."

The people in the small communities have little choice but to shop in the local store or travel to a larger community to find a supermarket. In metropolitan St. John's, where there are ample numbers of supermarkets and small shops, a total of 434 of them in 1971, the supermarkets are now claiming the major percentage of the retail business.[51] This fact became evident in the fall of 1976 through cries of protest from about 150 shop owners who formed the Newfoundland Association of Convenience Stores. According to their president Noel Parsley, competition with the lower supermarket prices is forcing many small shops out of business.[52]

[50]Statistics Canada, comp., Population.

[51]Statistics Canada, comp., Business Location Statistics. Metropolitan Areas by Census Tracts (Ottawa: 1971 Census of Canada Merchandising and Services Division, April 1977), p. 38.

[52]Phone conversation of 27 April 1977.

Of the forty-six St. John's residents who answered the question "Where do you usually shop for groceries, at a supermarket or corner store?", forty-two persons reported that the bulk of their shopping is done at the supermarket. Most of them supplement their supermarket shopping with occasional visits to the general corner shop or to specialty shops.

Several reasons determine the preference for shopping in the supermarket: the large variety of food items, the convenience of shopping all at one time in one place, cheaper foodstuffs because the supermarket buys in bulk, and special sale prices every week. The advantages of buying in the small shops are their convenience in emergencies, their long business hours, personal attention, and fewer long lines at the check-out counter. Two of the four persons who always shop at the corner store say that they are forced to do so because of lack of transportation and that they would prefer to shop at the supermarket (Margaret McCarthy, Q77B-33, and Frances Powell, Q77B-44).

In St. John's it is not always necessary to physically go to the shop because one can phone in an order to many local stores and have the groceries delivered. Of course one pays a certain price for this privilege. Some businesses operate a substantial portion of their trade by delivering directly to the consumer. For example, Eva Murphy (Q77B-36) of St. John's utilizes the services of a meat man who delivers not only fresh meats but also fish and vegetables

to her home once a week. Every Friday morning the meat man parks his truck in front of Eva Murphy's house and she selects what she wants according to a basic standing order. If she wants a special cut of meat, she phones the butcher earlier in the week. She has been shopping for meats, fish and vegetables this way for the past twenty-five years and has found it to be a suitable arrangement for her needs.

Forty persons answered the question "How often do you shop?" and of this group, twenty-six shop once a week, ten shop once every two weeks, three shop two or three times a week, and one shops twice in three weeks. Equal numbers of the respondents buy some items in bulk as opposed to buying only in small quantities. They often buy in bulk when items are on sale in the supermarkets. A major limiting factor in bulk buying is space, especially for frozen goods. Among the foodstuffs most often bought in bulk by this questionnaire's respondents are the following: cases of canned milk, meat, potatoes, flour, powdered milk, and items on special sale, particularly packaged dry goods such as Kraft family dinners.

Before the advent of supermarkets and dependable frequent deliveryof foodstuffs, a limited list of goods was delivered in bulk in the fall of the year to the Newfoundland family. Elizabeth Moore, writing about "Food and Meals in Conception Harbour, Conception Bay, Fifty Years Ago" says that the following supplies were bought for the winter: flour by the barrel, tea by the chest, molasses by

the gallon, butter by the tub, beans by the pound, beef by the barrel, and onions, rice and coffee by the pound.[53] Here is another account of the same ritual provision making from a person in Bonavista, Bonavista Bay:

> In the fall, when the fisherman settled his account with the local merchant, he received a credit note, and with this he bought...his winter's supply of so called 'rough grub.' This included salt beef and pork, molasses, butter, sugar, flour and peas and beans.[54]

Everything was bought in bulk because there was no other choice.

During the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries when imports to Newfoundland were a limited and modest fare, the use of Newfoundland's natural food resources was a requisite for survival. Today, one can survive perfectly well by buying all foodstuffs from stores. However, the typical Newfoundland family still takes advantage of the available natural wildlife to supplement its diet. In many cases, however, these items have become classified as luxury foods or food treats because of their now less frequent appearance in the diet.

Of the questionnaire respondents, only five persons out of fifty-five obtain all of their foodstuffs exclusively from the store. The remaining respondents supplement their store-supplied diets with the island's natural resources. These foods are acquired by various means: the food is hunted or gathered; the food is cultivated in a kitchen garden; the

[53] MUNFLA, 73-64, p. 3.

[54] MUNFLA, 72-275, p. 115.

food is a gift from friends or relatives (usually relatives); or, the food is bought from occasional sellers, such as children who sell berries at roadside stands. Most persons acquire these foods through a combination of the above sources.

Seemingly the most popular and readily available island resources are the berries, particularly the blueberry. Fish, moose, caribou, rabbit, turr and homegrown vegetables follow next in popular consumption. Note the following list of items named by the questionnaire respondents when asked "What foods do you eat that you do not buy in the store?" Remember that they have invariably forgotten to include many items.

Table 12

Foods Not Store-Bought

Item	Number of respondents who named this food item
Berries	39
Blueberries	20
Fish	32
Trout	6
Salmon	5
Caplin	2
Squid	2
Moose	22
Rabbit	16
Vegetables (potato, carrot, cabbage, turnip, onion, beets, rhubarb, chives)	12
Partridge	10
Seabird	9
Seal	7
Caribou	4
Duck	3
Eggs	2
Grouse	1
Mushrooms	1
Mint	1
Yarrow	1
Dandelion	1

The figures in the previous table do not indicate the extent of the game kill that does occur in Newfoundland. The following statistics which are adjusted estimates by the Wildlife Division, Department of Tourism, help define a more accurate picture. During these past three years each qualified person has been allowed one licence for moose and one for caribou, for one animal of each species. Quota kill estimates during the 1960s had allowed a hunter to purchase up to three licences. The small game licence returns are unfortunately not divided into resident and non-resident categories. These estimates of course do not include poached animals.[55]

Table 13

Newfoundland Moose Kill Estimates: 1974, 1975, 1976

Licence Sales	1974	1975	1976
Resident	9,762	10,428	10,065
Non-resident	787	397	456
Total	10,549	10,825	10,521
Successful Kills			
Resident	4,468	4,582	5,253
Non-resident	399	181	242
Total	4,867	4.763	5,495

[55] Wildlife Division, Department of Tourism (moose and caribou statistics). Also, James G. Inder and Douglas I. Gillespie, Estimates of the Kill of Migratory Game in the Province of Newfoundland 1959-1965: An Analysis of Small Game Licence Returns, Technical Bulletin No. 1 (St. John's: Wildlife Division, Department of Tourism, 1974).

Table 13, cont'd.

Newfoundland Caribou Kill Estimates: 1974, 1975, 1976

Licence Sales	1974	1975	1976
Resident	895	1,388	1,365
Non-resident	102	44	53
Total	997	1,432	1,418
Successful Kills			
Resident	447	724	844
Non-resident	72	20	32
Total	519	744	876

Newfoundland Small Game Kill Estimates: 1959-1965

	Total	Mean
Licence Sales	87,319	14,555
Usable Licence Returns	13,727	2,288
Established Number of Successful Migratory Game Bird Hunters (ducks, geese, snipe)	40,018	6,670

Reported Kill	Total
Canada goose	2,289
Black duck	13,323
Green-winged teal	5,977
Eiders	3,971
Scoters	1,755
Oldsquaw	3,485
All sea ducks	9,191
Snipe	5,917
Murre	11,623

5. Preparation

Preparation of food in the home was always part of the traditional role played by women in Newfoundland.[56] Unless

[56]See, Murray thesis.

there was an emergency or the woman of the household was disabled, cooking in the house was not considered to be a man's job. Of course there have been exceptions to this. Also, the men cooked quite adequately for themselves when out in the woods or fishing. These special out-of-the-home cooking traditions will not be examined here.

The traditional patterns of those involved in food preparation have changed rapidly during the past couple of decades, particularly in response to the increasing numbers of women now working outside of the home.[57] Thirty-nine of the fifty-five questionnaire respondents report that some men in their immediate family prepare or cook food. Sixteen families do not have men who participate in food preparation in the home.

The thirty-nine men who cook prepare meals occasionally, several times a week at the most. Of all the male cooks, only fifteen of the thirty-nine prepare a broad range of foods. The remaining twenty-four are limited in their cookery repertoires, either to very plain meat and potato meals or to one or several specialties such as bread and stew. In several households it has actually been delegated to be a man's job to prepara the game and any outdoor barbeques. Most men use cookbooks except for the basic traditional Newfound-

[57] Statistics Canada, comp., Labour Force Survey (Ottawa: 1971 Census of Canada, January 1977). Table 12, Estimates by Age, Sex and Province.

Total Population of Women:	185,000
Women in the Labour Force:	55,000
Women Actually Employed:	47,000
Women Unemployed:	8,000

land dishes. This is understandable because in most cases the men did not grow up constantly exposed to food preparation as have most women.

Respondents' overall dependence on the use of cookbooks is less than might be expected, reflecting the strength of the oral tradition. Out of forty-three persons who cook, the following answers were elicited:

Table 14

Use of Cookbooks

	Number of Responses
Do not ever use a cookbook	17
Yes, occasionally use a cookbook	11
Yes, often use a cookbook	11
Yes, use a cookbook (no indication of frequency of use)	4
Total	43

The cookbooks used by Newfoundlanders in this survey reflect a wide range of titles, including some of the more popular North American standards such as Joy of Cooking and The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book.[58] Sixteen cooks indicated that they have at least one local Newfoundland cookbook; sometimes this is the only one. Cookbooks are reported to be most often used for non-traditional or less ordinary meals, desserts and baked items. The "old standards" are in most persons' memories and cookbooks are not referred

[58]Irma S. Rombauer and Marion Rombauer Becker, Joy of Cooking (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1963, c.a. 1931). And, Fannie Farmer, The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1941, c.a. 1896).

to for their preparation. Choice of the cookbook that is used depends upon the desired recipe; some cookbooks are particularly useful for certain items, e.g., the Cream of the West Cook Book for baked goods.[59]

A percentage of cooks maintain recipe collections in addition to their cookbooks. In response to "Do you keep a scrapbook of recipe clippings, card file of recipes or written manuscript of recipes?" thirty-one persons answered "yes" and twelve "no." In the group of positive answers, four persons maintain a written manuscript book of recipes, eighteen persons collect recipe clippings from magazines and newspapers, three persons maintain a card file of written recipes, and six persons were not specific about their miscellaneous collecting habits. Of these collectors, several report that their activity has declined over the years and that they were more faithful to this practice when they were beginning to put together their cookery repertoire, that is, when they were less experienced cooks. Also, one woman reported that her husband did not cook (he is deceased) but faithfully clipped recipes for her (Ethel Humphries, Q77B-26).

An important consideration in terms of modern food preparation is the role of convenience foods. Newfoundlanders indulge in the whole gamut of convenience foods found in North American food stores, ranging from canned and frozen foods to TV-dinners and instant cake and pizza mixes. Of the

[59]Sally West, ed., Cream of the West Cook Book (St. John's: Maple Leaf Mills, n.d.).

fifty-five questionnaire respondents, only five use very little in the way of convenience foods. The remainder use a wide variety of convenience foods in their daily meal patterns. The infiltration of convenience foods into traditional food habits is often as subtle as serving frozen or canned green peas and cauliflower with the Sunday roast. Traditionally, the vegetables that would have most likely been served were potatoes, turnips, carrots and cabbage.

A very noticeable convenience food item in the Newfoundland diet is canned milk. Olga Anderson of the Newfoundland Department of Health reports that Newfoundland is the largest per capita market in the world for canned milk.[60] Even milk powder has been unable to significantly intrude on the canned milk market.

Another fact of food consumption in Newfoundland, also determined by the Department of Health, is that approximatley thirteen percent of all meat that is presently purhased is processed bologna.[61] Fried bologna and chips (French or pan-fried potatoes) is a common supper meal. Kraft dinners are another staple, quick and easy item in the modern Newfoundland diet. They are useful as fillers because most of them are pasta-based and provide the starch usually provided by the potato in Newfoundland.

One other point about convenience foods which is important in the consideration of traditional food patterns is

[60]Interview with Olga Anderson, St. John's Department of Health, 2 March 1977.

[61]Ibid.

whether or not people eat store-bought or home-baked bread. Traditionally, most families made their own bread; only a few purchased what little bread was imported. Olga Anderson recalls that when she first came to Newfoundland in 1952 she was impressed by the fact that a large percentage of the population made its own bread, although she was not able to provide any figures.[62] With the opening of the roads during the 1950s and 60s and increased truck transport greater amounts of store-bought bread made in St. John's factories have been incorporated into the diet. Newfoundlanders call this "baker's bread" or more affectionately, "baker's fog." The following questionnaire results show that Newfoundlanders in this survey still eat a substantial amount of home-made bread.

Table 15

Bread Consumed by Informants

	Number of Responses
Home-baked (self)	18
Home-baked (by a relative)	4
Store-bought	22
Store-bought frozen and then home-baked	1
Home-baked and store-bought	10
Total	55

As for the type of bread, the majority of respondents prefer white bread, especially home-made. They vary this

[62] Ibid.

with mostly raisin bread and brown bread. Raisin bread, also commonly known as "sweet loaf" or "sweet bread," is a white yeast bread with the addition of raisins, milk, butter and sugar. "Brown bread" can mean one of two things in Newfoundland. Either it is a white loaf enriched with molasses and sometimes sugar, or it is bread made with whole wheat flour. Whole wheat bread, however, is not very popular in Newfoundland, particularly among the generations of Newfoundlanders that remember the Depression of the 1930s and 40s and the brown flour that was distributed as dole. Informants who remember the Depression suggested that brown flour became associated with the Depression, and that the unfavorable connotation still lingers. There is confirmation of these suspicions in Report on Nutrition in Newfoundland by D.P. Cuthbertson which says that the dole flour was brown after 1933 and "that there was strong objection to anything but white flour."[63]

Since traditional Newfoundland cookery is basically dependent on boiling, roasting and baking foods, I was curious to see whether Newfoundlanders in my survey have incorporated any of the newer styles of cooking into their traditional patterns. For example, although Newfoundlanders have been "boiling up" in the woods and on the barrens for centuries, backyard barbequing has not gained the status that it has acquired in other parts of North America and even

[63] Report On Nutrition in Newfoundland (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947), p. 14.

Europe. Interviewees report that they barbeque a few steaks or hotdogs and hamburgers only a couple of times during the summer. Persons that they know do not barbeque to any great extent, either.

In the line of cooking utensils, interviewed informants were asked whether or not they use a pressure cooker to prepare food. None of them does, and only three of the fourteen know friends or relatives who own and use pressure cookers. Boiling is still the traditional method of cooking vegetables, and a piece of salt meat is usually thrown into the pot to add the same flavor that has been traditional throughout the past four centuries in Newfoundland.[64]

6. Post-Food Consumption

For anyone to survive on a diet of limited foodstuffs, one must plan carefully to avoid unnecessary waste. The traditional weekly dinner pattern in Newfoundland reflects consideration of this factor. With the largest meal at midday, the evening meal often consisted of leftover vegetables and meat or fish. In particular, there are numerous reports of utilizing leftovers from the Sunday dinner for Monday's dinner. Besides the fact that it is frugal planning to make good use of leftovers, Monday has been the traditional wash day in Newfoundland; thus, there was little time to devote to complicated cookery.

[64]Coffin, in Mainstays of Maine, wrote of the importance of salt pork in the traditional New England diet: salt pork is "...the basic secret of all fine New England cookery of the old-fashioned kind...the substructure for baked beans, eggs, all meats, all vegetables." (p. 26)

Leftover vegetables mashed or chopped and fried together become Monday's "hash." Sometimes leftover meat, especially roast beef, is fried with the vegetables; this combination is called "Bubble and Squeak" or "Bublem Squeak," of British origin.[65] Leftover boiled fish, flaked and mixed with potato and savoury is fried as fish cakes. Turkey or chicken bones are used to make hearty soups. And, stale bread is used for bread puddings and poultry stuffings.

Newfoundlanders still pay particular attention to utilizing leftovers to create tasty meals. This is noticeable in the Newfoundland cookbooks which display much creativity in the use of leftover foods, for example, the "fish fritters" in the Newfoundland Commemorative Recipe Cookbook, 1949-74 and the "meat and biscuit roll" and "tasty baked hash" in the Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes.[66]

7. Food Patterned in Relation to Social Status and Religion

In this survey I have found only scattered evidence of food in Newfoundland reflecting social status. In chapter one I discussed the older social taboo against eating inshore flatfish and shellfish. And, in section five of this chapter I noted the association of brown flour with the dole.

[65] "A nineteenth century recipe for bubble and squeak (the name is onomatopoeic, from the noise it makes when frying) calls for pieces of cold beef, covered with chopped cabbage and onion and then fried." Adrian Bailey, The Cooking of the British Isles (New York:Time-Life Books, 1969), p. 65.

[66] Maple Leaf Mills, comp., Newfoundland Commemorative Recipe Cook Book:1949-1974 (St. John's:Maple Leaf Mills, 1974), p. 37. And, Sally West, ed., The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes ([St. John's]:Maple Leaf Mills, 1971, c.a. 1958), pp. 77, 89.

Today, with people consuming such a wide variety of foods there is clearly a category of luxury foods, although not necessarily meant only for the wealthiest people. Among these foods are the expensive and exotic imports from Europe and the Far East, for example, French cheeses and Chinese mushrooms.

Perhaps one of the most interesting reversals in the status of foods has occurred in terms of Newfoundland's own natural resources. Within the past decade items that were considered to be the most common foods, if eaten at all, have come to reflect fashionable tastes. In particular, these include crab, lobster, scallop, and cod tongues. Of these four foods, only the cod tongues previously had a measure of popularity, although it is questionable whether eating them reflected social class.

Food patterned in relation to religion is somewhat clearer to discern than food patterned in relation to social class. Evidence of this is seen in the traditionally strict observance of fast days, particularly by members of the Roman Catholic faith. Even those Newfoundlanders who were not Roman Catholics ate fish on Fridays and often on Wednesdays, too. The foods eaten on other relgious occasions reflect observance of similar religious doctrines (see, section nine). Since the apostolic constitution Paenitemini of 17 February 1966 and the "total reorganization of ecclesiastical discipline with regard to fasting and abstinence," this has encouraged the development of a more varied food tradition

and disposal of parts of the older pattern.[67]

8. Food Patterned in Relation to Age

There is little evidence of food in Newfoundland patterned in relation to age except for one report by Peter Scott in Edible Fruits and Herbs of Newfoundland about eating the crackerberry Cornus Canadensis L.:

> The Crackerberry, Crackers, or Bunchberry is familiar to everyone throughout the island. Its bright red-orange fruit add a gaiety to many woods in the autumn....Very few adults seem to eat Crackerberries but children certainly do. The fruit are eaten by the handful in the autumn. They are juicy but quite lacking in flavour.[68]

Discernable patterns appear to be in terms of individual family traditions. From the interviews I learned that these boundaries are usually drawn on occasions when there is a limited amount of a food item in a household. Sometimes it is the elders who have preference over the young and sometimes the situation is reversed. There does not seem to be a standard rule.

The question "Are there any foods that only adults eat?" did not elicit much information. Several persons noted that they do not allow their children to drink coffee or tea.[69]

[67] New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), V, pp. 847-50.

[68] Edible Fruits and Herbs of Newfoundland (St. John's: Memorial University, Oxen Pond Botanic Park, Department of Biology, 1975), p. 57.

[69] Lawrence Taylor writes that in America children do not generally drink coffee and that the coffee drinking child is suspect. "Coffee: The Bottomless Cup" in The American Dimension: Cultural Myths and Social Realities (Port Washington, N.Y.: Alfred Pub. Co., 1976), pp. 144-5.

Also, some persons attempt to limit their children's intake of confections. The most common reason for children not eating the same food as adults is dislike rather than forbiddance, a dislike developed perhaps due to the fact that they are full of foods that have status in children's culture in Newfoundland, like "Half Moons," "Mae Wests," and "Wagon Wheels."

In response to the question "Are there foods you ate when you were a child that you no longer eat?", twenty-nine of fifty-four persons said "yes," eighteen "no," and eight did not answer. Among the varied and numerous answers to this question are many of the traditional Newfoundland foods, for example, fish and brewis, figgy duff, baked beans, moose, seal and rabbit.[70] Among the reasons for no longer eating such foods are: that the person never really liked the food; that the ingredients are difficult to obtain; and, that the person's diet has changed drastically, such as from an omnivorous to a vegetarian diet or from an outport to a St. John's diet (rural to urban).

One other possibility responsible for a change in diet occurs as a result of marriage and the merging of food habits. Persons may partially or even totally abandon their childhood food habits in favor of those of their spouse.[71] Con-

[70]Figgy duff is a boiled pudding made with raisins and spices, traditionally served with a salt meat dinner. See, Appendix D for recipe.

[71]Marjorie Sackett, "Folk Recipes as a Measure of Intercultural Penetration," Journal of American Folklore, 85 (1972), 77-81.

versely, persons may acquire food habits from their spouse. It is also true that many persons revise their food habits according to their children's tastes. In Newfoundland, the crossing of food traditions and recipes over ethnic lines would occur mainly in the intermarriages between the English, Irish and Scots. For example, a woman of Irish ancestry may incorporate her English husband's Yorkshire pudding tradition into her repertoire.

9. Social and Ceremonial Role of Food

The social and ceremonial role of food in Newfoundland has operated on two distinct levels, that of the community group and that of the family. At the community group level most of the social occasions have been religiously oriented, usually to raise money for the parish church. One such traditional occasion has been the Garden Party, usually taking place in July or August and always with plenty of food, called a "tea." The tea would be a joint effort by the women of the community. According to Leslie McGrath, really good teas had rabbit pie, venison stew, cold game, various salads, homemade pies, cakes and tea.[72] Today, most teas usually have ham and turkey, plus salads and cakes. Communities are known for putting on good or bad teas, and people have been known to decide a year in advance which Garden Parties to attend.

A specific example of the Garden Party was the Strawberry Festival that took place in Harbour Grace, Conception

[72]Interview, 17 January 1977.

Bay in the late 1800s and early 1900s. When the strawberries were ripe in late July or early August, the Strawberry Festival was held either in a hall or outdoors in a garden with the tables under long tents.

> The Strawberry Festival is apparently the forerunner of the Garden Party (a church organized event). The functions described were held under the auspices of the Church of England...at St. Paul's, Christ Church in the West End and St. Peter's on the South Side.
>
> For days before the social took place, the people of the parish collected strawberries, either wild strawberries which were picked on the side of the hill and in the gardens and/or cultivated ones which were bought from the people who grew them. The ladies spent much time baking cakes and cookies and the children looked forward to the day with great eagerness.
>
> On the day of the Festival, fires were lit outdoors and great containers of water boiled from which it was dipped out and poured into the tea pots to make the tea. Long tables were set out and tents or tarpaulines erected over them. Teas of cold meats, salads, cakes and cookies were sold for about 20 cents a serving. The cream was scalded cream donated by the parishoners, many of whom owned cows.[73]

There are other social occasions with religious affiliations, for example, turkey teas, soup suppers and bean suppers. Of course there have always been large private social occasions involving food, among them weddings--with a sit-down dinner and traditional dark fruit wedding cake (British Isles origin)--and lobster parties.[74] Big feeds

[73]MUNFLA, 72-119.

[74]Apparently the bride's cake and the custom of sharing it with relatives and friends date back to early Roman times. "The panis farreus, the round cake of salted meal...was baked by vestal virgins...(and) was broken over the Roman bride's head in symbol of plentifulness." In early England small hard wafers were baked for weddings; these were replaced by small spiced buns, and eventually the fruit cake. Dorothy Spicer, From An English Oven (New York:The Women's Press, 1948), pp. 59-61.

typically occur at the peaks of seasonal food abundance, such as is the case with lobster parties.

At the family level, ceremonial foods are associated with the weekly Sunday dinner and with both religious and civic holiday events. The tradition of the Sunday dinner as the focal meal of the week is still strong in Newfoundland. There are indications of this by the fact that forty-seven informants of the fifty-five in this survey prepare a special Sunday dinner. Many of these persons normally eat their largest meal of the day in the evening but eat Sunday dinner at the older traditional midday time.

The most typical Sunday dinner in Newfoundland consists of variations on the following menu: chicken with savoury dressing or a roast, gravy, salt meat, cabbage, potato, carrot, turnip, pease pudding, pickles, boiled or steamed pudding, and tea. Substitutions are often made for the vegetables, e.g., green peas and broccoli instead of cabbage and turnip, and for the boiled or steamed pudding, e.g., pie or cake. Salt meat invariably appears with the chicken or roast because, as noted previously, it is boiled with the vegetables to add flavor.

Another Sunday dinner, clearly of British origin, is eaten by a lesser number of informants. This menu includes roast beef or turkey with sage and onion or savoury dressing, gravy, Yorkshire pudding, baked potato, green and

yellow vegetables, salad, rolls and perhaps dessert.[75]

Holiday Foods--Christmas

The major holiday for Newfoundlanders is the celebration of Christmas. Special foods are associated with the entire holiday season and not only Christmas day, particularly the traditional dark Christmas fruit cake.[76] Maureen Murphy of Bay Bulls on the Southern Shore describes the dark fruit cake as having the usual ingredients--molasses, flour, raisins, peel, etc.--but,

> It distinguished itself...by the inclusion of a pound of pork 'for relish,' as well as a cup of rum for flavouring and to keep it moist. The cake, which was frosted with white icing, was cut into very small pieces called 'grog-bits,' that served to take away the taste of a small portion of rum called 'grog' previously swallowed.[77]

During the Christmas season Newfoundlanders have been partial to having plentiful supplies of cherry cake, cookies, fresh fruits--usually oranges and apples--and cheeses and nuts, for snacking on and for offering to visitors. Homemade blueberry and dandelion wines are the traditional seasonal drinks.[78] Also, supper on Christmas Eve was traditionally a fast meal, celebrated by eating fish and raisin bread.

[75]The following is an example of a typical British Sunday dinner: roast beef, Yorkshire pudding, roast potatoes, mustard, horseradish, brown gravy, green vegetables, plum pie with cream. Bailey, pp. 59-60.

[76]Ibid., pp. 190-1, 197.

[77]MUNFLA, 70-20, p. 55.

[78]MUNFLA, 76-87, p. 62; and, Scott, p. 39.

> The old custom in Newfoundland, Christmas celebrations, began on Christmas eve with a Thanksgiving meal of salt fish followed by sweet raisin bread. Fishing was the means of livelihood, and so fish had its place in Thanksgiving, before the day of feasting.[79]

The most important meal of the Christmas season is dinner on Christmas day, a celebration often lasting several hours during the afternoon. One hundred percent of the questionnaire respondents answered that they eat a meal which they call "Christmas dinner," a dinner consisting of turkey and "all the trimmings," a selection from the following list:

tomato juice (a starter to the meal and a relatively new item)
turkey
savoury dressing (bread crumbs, savoury, salt, pepper, butter, onion, and sometimes sage)
brown gravy
salt meat
potato, carrot, turnip, cabbage, pease pudding (yellow split peas) or green peas
condiments (pickles, beet root, relishes)
cranberry sauce
homemade bread or rolls, crackers and cheese
wine (red or white), milk or tea
plum pudding with hard sauce
Christmas fruit cake (dark)
mince meat pie[80]

Perhaps fifty to seventy-five percent of the above list would appear at the average Christmas feast, as indicated by the questionnaire responses. Naturally, there are variations

[79] MUNFLA, 71-42, p. 70; and, Roxy Hudson, St. Georges, in Ivan Jesperson, Fat-Back & Molasses (St. John's: The Author, 1974), p. 35.

[80] For a discussion of and recipe for English "rich steamed plum pudding cake" see, Spicer, pp. 40-2. For the origins of mince meat pie, see, Christine Chaundler, Everyman's Book of Ancient Customs (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1968), p. 191.

and substitutions made on the previous list. Although turkey is the focal point of the modern traditional Christmas dinner, not long ago duck or goose was the traditional Christmas bird in Newfoundland, as in the British Isles. Coffin writes that for nearby Maine, goose also was the traditional Christmas bird: "He [the goose] is...more traditional, having come down from our ancestral Europe and centuries when the turkey was a wild dream on the other side of the world."[81]

Although fish does not usually appear in the Christmas menu, Bonnie Breen (Q77B-5) of St. John's reports a family tradition of having whole stuffed salmon with a mushroom and cashew nut dressing instead of turkey.

Other variants on the Christmas dinner are as follows:

ham with cloves and currant glaze (in addition to or instead of turkey)
prune and bread stuffing (instead of savoury dressing)
vegetables--broccoli, creamed carrots, scalloped potatoes, rice, corn, green beans, parsnip
desserts--blackberry steamed pudding, date and nut bread
Christmas punch--fruit juices with alcohol or soft drinks

Also, note that Newfoundlanders sometimes roast the turkey covered with strips of fat back pork to hold in the juices and to add flavor.

New Year's Day

Nineteen of the fifty-five questionnaire respondents celebrate New Year's day with a special dinner. The meal includes the basic trimmings of the Christmas dinner, although a roast, ham or goose is often substituted for the

[81] Coffin, p. 171.

Christmas turkey. One family always has a large buffet instead of a sit-down meal (Mary and Robert Kent, Q77B-29).

Shrove Tuesday

In Newfoundland, Shrove Tuesday is commonly known as "Pancake Day" or "Pancake Night" as it is in England.[82] On the day preceding Lent, Shrove Tuesday supper is the last meal to use up all of the butter and eggs in the house before beginning the six weeks of abstinence. Pancake Night is still widely celebrated in Newfoundland, and by forty-two of fifty-five questionnaire respondents.

The interest in celebrating Pancake Night is perhaps maintained here because it is also a divination holiday. Small objects are mixed into the pancake batter to divine the recipient's future. Among the small household objects put into the pancakes are:

Object	Fortune or Predicted Occupation
button	bachelor or spinster
gold ring	the next to marry
money (small piece)	poor
(large piece)	rich
nail	carpenter
religious medal	priest or nun
safety pin	expect a baby
straw	farmer
string	fisherman

The traditional sauce poured over the pancakes was called "coady"--molasses and butter boiled to a golden color.[83] Now,

[82]For English Shrove Tuesday pancake customs, see, A.R. Wright and T.E. Lones, British Calendar Customs (London: Published for the Folk-lore Society by William Glaisher, 1936), I, pp. 8-16, and Spicer, pp. 6-10.

[83]"Coady. Sauce, usually of boiled molasses to spread over puddings or dumplings." P.K. Devine, comp., Devine's Folk Lore of Newfoundland in Old Words, Phrases and Expressions, Their Origin and Meaning (St. John's: Robinson & Co., 1937), p. 14.

however, the pancakes are more often eaten with margarine and corn syrup (table syrup) or maple syrup, an import from mainland Canada and the United States. Ethel Humphries (Q77B-26) makes a homemade sauce of sugar, butter, nutmeg and wine. These sauces are an interesting contrast to what the English in Yorkshire County (the midlands) put on their Shrove Tuesday pancakes: powdered (confectioner's) sugar and orange or lemon sauce or Golden Sirop, similar to the corn syrup but sweeter.[84] The pancakes are now usually eaten as dessert with the evening meal, although formerly they often constituted the entire evening meal.

St. Patrick's Day

For those who strictly observe the rules of abstinence during Lent, St. Patrick's Day is a feast day when the rules of fasting and abstinence are suspended. According to reports in MUNFLA, persons looked forward to the holiday as a feast day and the main meal was the same as a Sunday dinner. For many communities, St. Patrick's Day was an occasion for a dance and feast. Tom Moore reports that in Avondale, Conception Bay, St. Patrick's Day was once a big feast day and holiday. There was a community dance and,

> At eleven o'clock a meal was served: there was a boiler of soup; plenty of green jelly; homemade bread and cakes; but there was said to be no meat.[85]

[84] Fieldwork, Sheffield, England, 1976.

[85] MUNFLA, 71-42, p. 56; 71-24, p. 10.

In Calvert on the Southern Shore, children were treated with a liquorish candy made from molasses.[86]

Today, however, few of the questionnaire respondents report any special food traditions associated with St. Patrick's Day. Only three persons make an effort to color some food green for the occasion, such as a cake or jelly(o).

Good Friday

Good Friday also falls within the Lenten period of abstinence and special foods have traditionally been eaten in Newfoundland: hot-cross buns for breakfast, and fish, usually salt cod or herring, and potatoes with raisin bread for dinner.[87] One abstains from eating or cooking with fat or butter on Good Friday. This is almost exactly the same as described by Wright and Lones in British Calendar Customs:

> In many English counties, fish, especially salt fish, was and is an important customary diet on Good Friday....hot-cross buns at breakfast and fish for dinner form the regular diet, with a fig-pudding in some cases.[88]

Only four questionnaire respondents still observe these Good Friday food traditions.

Easter

The questionnaire respondents celebrate Easter with either the usual Sunday dinner or a ham, goose or turkey instead of the regular roast. Thirty-two persons make it a special occasion. The tradition of eating boiled eggs for

[86] MUNFLA, 70-27, p. 137, Karl Sullivan.

[87] MUNFLA, 70-12, p. 68; 70-25, p. 65.

[88] Wright and Lones, pp. 73-4.

Easter Sunday breakfast to break the Lenten fast is observed by few respondents. The symbol of the egg is now represented by the commercial chocolate Easter eggs. In this form, they date only from the later years of the nineteenth century.[89]

Only Ruta Balodis (Q77B-3), whose parents are Latvian, reports that her family has a special dessert, called pashka, with Easter dinner. This is an Easter cheese of pot cheese, candied fruits and nuts.[90] There is no evidence of "the custard tarts sprinkled with currants and the flat, round, rather thick biscuits, known as Easter cakes," in England, that Christina Hole writes of in her book Easter and Its Customs.[91] However, there is an interesting report in MUNFLA of a family tradition handed down at least three generations--the baking of vinegar tarts at Easter:

> The tarts were filled with a sauce of sugar, vinegar and molasses. This lady still bakes them at Easter....Years ago, the vinegar for these tarts was obtained from a vinegar plant, which was passed on from family to family. The plant grew in water in a jar which made the water a source of vinegar.[92]

There is another report in MUNFLA, though not connected with Easter, about the vinegar tart being "quite popular both for eating at home and for carrying woodcutting in the grub bag":

[89]Christina Hole, Easter and Its Customs (New York: M. Barrows and Co., 1961), p. 61.

[90]Helen and George Papashvily, Russian Cooking (New York: Time-Life Books, 1969), p. 59.

[91]Hole, p. 54; and, Spicer, pp. 10-26.

[92]MUNFLA, 76-87, pp. 68-8.

It is said that it would not freeze and consequently was more convenient for carrying in the woods in the winter. This vinegar tart filling was made by combining two cups of vinegar, one-half cup of sugar, flour thickening (mixed in cold water), bread crumbs (if desired), in a saucepan and bringing it to a boil until it thickened. This was then poured into the pie shell.[93]

Regatta Day

In Newfoundland's capital city St. John's, Regatta Day is the first Wednesday in August, weather permitting. It is both a civic and business holiday. Thousands of spectators watch the races between rowing crews on Quidi Vidi Lake in the east end of the city. As far as I can ascertain, there are no widespread food traditions associated with the holiday even though it has been an official annual event since 1844.[94] But, some informants do report family traditions for Regatta Day, such as having a barbeque, stew, boiled dinner or pot luck dinner. Regatta is typically a day for a picnic rather than for a heavy sit-down dinner.

Thanksgiving

Thanksgiving is a holiday that has come to Newfoundland only since the island joined Canadian Confederation. It was celebrated for the first time as a provincial civic holiday on 12 October 1976. However, the celebration seems to have been readily accepted; the questionnaire results indicate that thirty-nine persons now observe Thanksgiving while only sixteen

[93] MUNFLA, 76088, pp. 26-9.

[94] James D. Higgins, "Our Annual Regatta" in The Book of Newfoundland, II, Joseph R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1937), p. 162.

do not. Like the chocolate eggs at Easter, Thanksgiving has been sold as a commercial holiday in Newfoundland. Interviewees report eating a similar meal to the one for Christmas dinner, but with fewer trimmings and pie for dessert. Three persons specify having pumpkin pie with the meal; two of them acquired this tradition while living on the mainland (Lenora Fagan, Q77B-18, and Carol Hubley, Q77B-25).

Halloween

Halloween is celebrated by children going door to door dressed in costume and being treated with gifts of sweets. But, some families make a special effort to eat pumpkin on that day, or to have Caulcannon, a vegetable hash of Irish and Scottish origin. William Walsh wrote of this Halloween celebration custom:

> A custom that prevails in Ireland and Scotland, and that is religiously followed in the United States by the people of those countries, has to do with the character of the evening meal. A dish, largely made up of mashed parsnips and potatoes and chopped onions, is served as the principal item on the bill of fare. It is called "call-cannon," though why it is thus designated only these people understand. A deep bowl filled to the brim with the food is placed in the middle of the table. Somewhere in the bowl is a gold ring, and in the centre is a deep well filled with melted butter. Portions are distributed to each person, and the one who finds the ring is certain to be married within a year, unless already married, in which event good luck will follow the finder.[95]

[95] Curiosities of Popular Customs and of Rites, Ceremonies, Observances, and Miscellaneous Antiquities (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott Co., 1897), pp. 510-11.

The Newfoundland Caulcannon usually contains more vegetables than the above example and is also eaten at times other than Halloween.

Birthdays

Birthdays are principally family traditions. Sometimes informants living in St. John's go out to dinner to celebrate, but since dining out is not a strong tradition in Newfoundland, most persons celebrate with a family dinner. Usually the birthday person chooses the meal and then there is a birthday cake. Some still prefer to have the traditional dark fruit cake, while others have a cherry cake or perhaps a cake made from the packaged mixes which have become popular since the influx of convenience foods to the island.

10. Food Preferences

There was one compound question in this survey designed to elicit information about food preferences: "Within each of the following food groups, what do you prefer? for vegetables, fruits, meats, fish, dairy, and synthetic or man-made." The answers clearly reflect the availability of food items in Newfoundland.

For vegetables, informants prefer potato, carrot, turnip, peas and cabbage, all used in making the traditional Newfoundland boiled dinner. There are adequate fresh supplies of these vegetables, except for the peas which are varieties of dried, frozen or canned. All other vegetables are more expensive and normally available either frozen or canned rather than fresh. The questionnaire responses given

here are listed according to preference. Also, note that each informant named several items.

Table 16

Preferred Vegetables

	Number of Responses		Number of Responses
potato	37	lettuce	3
carrot	36	beans	2
turnip	30	cauliflower	2
peas	15	onion	2
cabbage	15	radish	2
broccoli	12	celery	1
corn	11	cucumber	1
brussel sprouts	5	mushroom	1
parsnip	4	spinach	1
tomato	4	sweet potato	1
beet	3		

For fruit, informants prefer apples, oranges and bananas, the three most available and least expensive fruits in Newfoundland. Pears and peaches are next in preference, usually the canned variety rather than fresh.

Table 17

Preferred Fruits

	Number of Responses		Number of Responses
apples	30	pineapple	4
oranges	30	canteloupe	3
bananas	20	cherries	3
pears	13	honey dew melon	3
peaches	11	berries	2
grapes	8	strawberries	2
plums	7	raisins	1
grapefruit	5	watermelon	1

Although berries make a poor showing on the above list, the information in section four indicates that Newfoundlanders

are very fond of this natural resource and incorporate quantities of the item in their traditional cookery. Perhaps in answering the questionnaire informants did not remember that berries are a fruit, especially since most of them pick their own berries rather than buy them in the shop or supermarket.

The favored meats as reported by these questionnaire respondents are beef, pork and poultry. Within this category persons listed not only types of meats but also cuts of meats. The preferences are grouped according to type.

Table 18

Preferred Meats

	Number of Responses		Number of Responses
beef	22	duck	2
steak	15	rabbit	2
roast	11	whale	2
pork	15	wieners	2
ham	6	sausage	2
turkey	19	caribou	1
chicken	17	goat	1
lamb	7	partridge	1
moose	3	seal	1
bologna	3	turr	1
salt meat	3		
spare ribs	1		
heart	1		

Among the group of forty persons who answered the question "Do you use more fresh or salt beef or pork?" the following answers were elicited:

Table 19

Preferred Meats--Salt or Fresh

	Number of Responses		Number of Responses
fresh beef	23	fresh pork	29
salt beef	5	salt pork	5
equal amounts of fresh and salt	12	equal amounts of fresh and salt	4
no answer	1	no answer	3

Indications are that the importance of the salt meats in Newfoundland is changing, and I expect that this trend will continue as people grow accustomed to having fresh meats which store well in their refrigerators and freezers.

For fish, cod is by far the most favored and also the most abundant. Salmon is well liked, too. Salmon fishing is a popular sport in Newfoundland and an important part of the fishing economy.

Table 20

Preferred Fish

	Number of Responses		Number of Responses
cod	36	mackeral	2
salmon	24	sardines	2
halibut	14	sole	2
lobster	14	tuna	2
shrimp	10	mussels	1
trout	6	plaice	1
herring	5	sea snails (wrinkles)	1
caplin	4	smelts	1
crab	4	squid	1
scallop	4	turbot	1
flounder	3		
red fish	3		

Among the group of forty persons who answered the question "Do you use more fresh (including frozen) or salt cod?"

the following answers were elicited:

Table 21

Preferred Fish--Salt or Fresh

	Number of Responses
fresh cod	22
salt cod	6
equal amounts of fresh and salt	12
no answer	4

As with the salt meats, the amount of salt fish in the Newfoundland diet has been declining during the past three decades. Informants say that this has partially resulted from the fact that it is increasingly difficult to obtain good quality salt fish; therefore, they have been eating less of it.

Dairy products are among the least available and most expensive items in the Newfoundland diet. Although a preference is expressed for fresh milk, it is well known that fresh milk is not widely consumed in Newfoundland. The most popular cheese is the basic Canadian cheddar, yellow or white, known as "bulk cheese" or "rat trap cheese." Ice cream has of course become more popular only since the introduction of refrigeration.

Table 22

Preferred Dairy Products

	Number of Responses
milk	40
cheese	36
ice cream	12
eggs	7
butter	6
cream	5
yogurt	5
cottage cheese	2
sour cream	1

Preferences for synthetic or man-made foods is a category for which many of the questionnaire respondents did not supply answers. Among the scattered answers were: jelly(o), instant pudding, and soup. This group of foods appears to be the least popular of the food groups.

Drinking preferences depend upon the occasion, particularly whether or not one is eating a meal or snack or is just drinking. There are occasions when hot drinks are preferred over cold drinks, and vice versa. Respondents indicated that they prefer to drink cold beverages with a meal and hot beverages after a meal, and either hot or cold beverages at other times.

The most popular cold beverages are milk, fruit juices (particularly imitation fruit juices such as Tang and Freshie), soft drinks (e.g., Pepsi, Coke, Ginger Ale), beer and water. The preferred hot beverages are tea and coffee. Interestingly, many Newfoundlanders prefer canned evaporated milk to lighten their tea or coffee. Some persons do take fresh milk in

their tea or coffee, but there is a definite preference for the canned milk. From personal experience, most of the quality restaurants in St. John's place a creamer of canned milk on the table rather than one of fresh milk. It is not common for Newfoundlanders to drink wine with their meals except at special occasions, such as Christmas dinner.

Foods that are disliked include almost every available food item, even the most popular. What Newfoundlanders tend to avoid most are spicy foods and foods from other ethnic traditions.

Newfoundlanders in this survey described their traditional foods as plain cooking. The most commonly used herb is savoury, specifically summer savoury Satureja hortensis L. Apparently it is difficult to obtain fresh quantities of this spice in other parts of North America, according to the reports of informants sending savoury to their relatives on the mainland (Margaret Mahoney, Q77B-32, Eva Murphy, Q77B-36, and Carol Hubley, Q77B-25).

The questionnaire respondents named a variety of about forty herbs and spices that they use, but most are used in limited quantities. Generally, the least strong are preferred. Newfoundlanders in this survey are occasional rather than regular users of spices and herbs.

Concerning the non-Newfoundland ethnic foods, Chinese cooking and Italian pizzas have gained some popularity in the larger Newfoundland communities within the past ten years,

particularly in St. John's, Gander, Grand Falls, Corner Brook and Stephenville. However, the food is a mild version of Chinese and Italian cookery. The majority of the population still has not incorporated much in the way of foreign foods into their diet. People who have travelled outside of the province are the most likely to experiment with such foods.

A final concern in this section on food preferences is the question of what people consider to be food treats. Answers are only from the interviews, but these persons clearly indicate that food treats are those items which are highly desired but not always available, usually because of seasonal restrictions or prohibitive costs. For example, wild game such as caribou and partridge is a treat for many Newfoundlanders, particularly those in the urban communities. Among the Newfoundland berries, bakeapples are very much a treat, the same as they are in other parts of the world where they grow, such as Finland.[96]

11. Variations in Tradition

One of the purposes of this thesis has been to come to some understanding of what is meant by the term "traditional foods." This has been done from two points of view: that of the folk (Newfoundlanders); and, my own, as both a non-Newfoundlander and a folklorist. In response to the question

[96] I ascertained this when I lived in Finland in 1973. Upon returning to Finland in August 1976, I noted that the price of bakeapples, lakka in Finnish, was 40 markka/kg., or about $8/kg., about five times the price of other fruits.

"Please name what you consider to be traditional Newfoundland foods (for example, fish 'n brewis)" respondents named the following wide variety of items, including both raw ingredients and prepared dishes. They have been listed according to frequency of naming.

Table 23

Traditional Foods Named by Respondents

	Number of Responses		Number of Responses
boiled dinner	41	blueberry pie	2
fish and brewis	32	fish cakes	2
seal (flipper, pie)	18	pie	2
pea soup with dumplings or doughboys	10	caulcannon	2
salt cod with scrunchions	10	partridge	2
rabbit	10	bakeapple jam	2
baked beans	8	partridgeberry jam	2
fish and potatoes	7	damper dogs	2
turr	7	bread pudding	1
toutons	6	baked custard	1
moose	4	rice pudding	1
pease pudding	4	gingerbread	1
bottled salmon	4	berries	1
cod tongues	4	chicken	1
figgy duff	4	salt cod with drawn butter	1
boiled beans	4	bang-bellies	1
salt cod	4	orange pekoe tea	1
boiled (cottage) pudding	3	Purity lemon cream biscuits	1
salt beef	3	scallops	1
stewed fish	3	herring	1
salmon	3	scalded cream	1
pork cake	3	caplin	1
bologna	3		
dark fruit cake	3		
blueberry duff	3		
stuffed squid	2		

In analyzing this list of foods, there are several points to consider. When respondents answered this question about "traditional foods," they first had to think what the

term "traditional" means, and then, how this applies to food, specifically their own. Most of these persons were not thinking in terms of the academic's definitions. Some patterns emerge from the answers.

First, certain foods can be traced to specific ethnic origins; these are "traditional." Some of these have already been discussed: Caulcannon (Irish and Scottish), dark fruit cake (British), and Bublem Squeak (British). These items still appear in the diets of these countries' peoples. Then there are the foods derived from the older ethnic patterns but which through adaptation in Newfoundland have become distinctly associated with the island, for example, fish and brewis, salt meat dinner, and figgy pudding. Both of these groups of foods are the ones that the local Newfoundland cookbooks generally define as traditional. These foods have been around a long time and belong distinctively, though not exclusively, to the Newfoundland food system.

These descriptions of traditional Newfoundland foods are challenged, however, by the respondents' inclusion of foods such as Purity Lemon Cream biscuits and bologna. These items are mass-consumption foods, reflecting popular culture, but from the point of view of these informants are traditional. Perhaps such a viewpoint can now be applied to even the more obvious convenience foods which have been available for some time, such as Kraft dinners and frozen TV dinners. Certainly canned evaporated milk, used for about

100 years and in large quantities, may be considered to be traditional in Newfoundland.[97]

In this thesis I have tended to isolate traditional Newfoundland foods in terms of the older patterns rather than considering the newer mass-consumption foods.[98] This is in part a result of the fact that there has not yet been enough "time and space" to see if these newer items actually do have lasting qualities which may define them as traditional.

Of all the items on this list of traditional foods, the most outstanding is the one-pot boiled dinner of salt meat, cabbage, carrot, potato and pease pudding. Forty-one respondents noted this dinner by referring to any one and sometimes several of the following ten names:

boiled dinner	Jiggs dinner
cooked dinner	pork and cabbage
corned beef and cabbage	salt beef dinner
hot dinner	salt meat and cabbage
hot Sunday dinner	spare ribs and cabbage

[97]Gail Borden received a patent for canning milk in 1856. Unsweetened condensed milk was canned in the 1880s. James Collins, The Story of Canned Foods (New York:n.p., 1924), pp. 94-6.

[98]The older traditional Newfoundland foods are very similar to the older traditional foods of New England, particularly those of Maine kitchens where the traditional economy has been dependent on fishing. Ellenore Doudiet writes that among the old-time foods of Maine are "tea, coffee, rum, molasses, baked beans and brown bread, salt fish, New England boiled dinner, fried potatoes, fish, clam chowder (made with milk, salt pork, and potatoes), saleratus biscuits, pie and doughnuts." (p. 229)

This variety in language reflects the diversity of dialect so typical of the speech of the Newfoundlander.[99] The derivation of the name "Jiggs dinner" is explained to have come from the popular comic strip "Maggie Jiggs" which ran in at least one local newspaper, The Evening Telegram, after 1913.[100] Corned beef and cabbage was well known to be Jiggs' favorite meal. The addition of the name "Jiggs dinner" to the other names by which the boiled dinner is known is a clear example of the diffusion of popular culture into folk tradition.[101]

[99]For an introductory discussion of Newfoundland dialect, see, George M. Story, "The Dialects of Newfoundland" in The Book of Newfoundland, III, J. R. Smallwood, ed. (St. John's:Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967), pp. 559-63. Also, Dictionary of Newfoundland English, G. Story and W. Kirwin, eds., is forthcoming.

[100]"Bringing up Father" or "Maggie Jiggs" was created by George McManus and first published in Hearst newspapers in 1913. Maurice Horn, ed., The World Encyclopedia of Comics (New York:Chelsea House, 1976), p. 132.

[101]Folklore "involves creativity and esthetic response, both of which converge in the art forms themselves. Folklore in that sense is a social interaction via the art media." See, Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context" in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, eds. (Austin and London:University of Texas Press for the American Folklore Society, 1972), p. 10.

The concept of the folklore-popular culture continuum was the subject of Peter Narváez, "Country and Western in Diffusion:Juxtaposition and Syncretism in the Popular Music of Newfoundland," paper read at the "Diffusion of Popular Culture Panel" of the Seventh National Convention of the Popular Culture Association, 30 April 1977, and to be published in Culture and Tradition, II, Memorial and Laval Universities, 1977.

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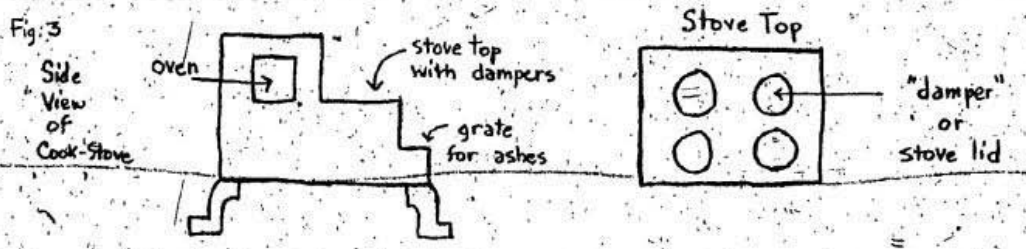
FROM THE EVENING TELEGRAM
10 DECEMBER, 1954

Newfoundlanders in this survey cook their foods in the following traditional manner: vegetables boiled with salt meats, and meats fried, often with salt pork (fat back). According to the respondents' answers, many of the older traditional foods are no longer eaten as frequently as they used to be eaten in part due to the increased availability of varied foodstuffs that has occurred during the past thirty years. Some recipes are no longer made except by those who still have the cook-stoves. For example, an item such as the damper dog (damper devil or damper cake) was cooked right on the "damper," the local Newfoundland word for the stove lid on the cook-stove.[102]

Fig. 3



The old stoves are preferred for cooking foods slowly for long periods of time, such as baked beans.[103] Also, Newfoundlanders questioned in this survey say that many foods simply taste better when cooked in the old stove, especially breads and roasted game.

[102] W.J. Kirwin of the Newfoundland Dictionary Centre says that the word "damper" for "stove lid" is apparently singular to Newfoundland. He has collected numberous reports of the custom of making damper dogs. Being able to cook right on the damper also probably reflected the cook's pride in the cleanliness of her stove, as suggested by Dr. Kirwin.

[103] This concept is now employed by the modern electric "slow cooker."

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

> It appears that Newfoundlanders, as well as people in other parts of the world, do not change their long established food habits as quickly as other modes of living. The national dish of Newfoundland is a nourishing one-pot meal known as a boiled dinner comprised of salt beef or pork with potatoes, turnips, carrots and cabbage...Most... seasonal foods are still available and are considered special treats by Newfoundlanders. Today, when fresh meat may be purchased in most stores, the boiled dinner is still the preferred meal.[1]

In the fifteen years that have elapsed since the above quote appeared in Canadian Hospital, the patterns of food traditions in Newfoundland have undergone some startling changes. Electrification has reached most of the island's communities, and methods of food acquisition, preservation and preparation are those of modern technology. Convenience and mass produced foods are a substantial part of the Newfoundland foodways system. Of particular significance is that the role of women in Newfoundland society has shifted away from its homebound focus since Confederation. The role of men has been modified accordingly, although perhaps less noticeably. This change has been most rapid and visible in the larger urban communities, but it is also occurring in the outports as most of them are no longer isolated.

The older traditional Newfoundland diet is viable and functioning, although admittedly not with the same vitality

[1] Olga H. Anderson, "Boiled Dinner Still Preferred," Canadian Hospital (February 1962), 61.

of previous centuries. In 1977 it is unfair to suggest that the diet should have retained more of the older traditions than it has as times have changed and Newfoundland, too, has changed with the times. However, what makes Newfoundland an outstanding example in the study of traditional foodways is that so much tradition has survived for so long. It is possible that in another twenty-five years' time many of the traditions that have been recorded in this study will be much more difficult to document. What has made this work exciting is that the majority of my respondents still remember at least some of "the old ways" from personal experience and not solely from oral tradition. It has been gratifying to participate in the documentation of such material.

In comparison to other traditional aspects of life, food traditions are strikingly individual and family determined (small group). Even though the general pattern of materials and events is community centered (large group), it is within the family unit that the variations and adaptations occur on a daily basis.

In terms of the execution of traditional recipes, the performance is more individual oriented than group oriented. Even when there is a community food event, the preparations are generally made in individual homes. As performers, cooks have a choice of two sources for reference, oral tradition or print. With increased literacy across the island during the past thirty years, the possibilities for dependence on cookbooks have multiplied.

formerly were not barriers. The phone is liberally used as an instrument in the transmission of tradition, even when a long distance call is involved.[2]

When cooks do use cookbooks they rarely follow recipes word for word; there is much adaptation and alteration that goes into each performance. In fact, because of the variation that takes place "on the printed word" due to individual taste and actual available ingredients, one might consider that the recipe re-enters oral tradition once the information is lifted from the page and executed in the cooking process. This is true particularly in terms of situations when a recipe is learned from a cookbook, becomes part of the cook's repertoire, and is then passed on orally and kinesically. The shift is from oral tradition to print and then back to oral tradition, each process supporting the other. Here the printed source possesses a secondary function.

There were few responses from the questionnaire concerning the existence of special or secret family recipes. My impression from interviewing, however, is that every family has family recipes, but they are basically for the same items and the informants do not consider them to be special. For example, many women have passed along a family gingerbread or fruitcake recipe to their children. The only report of a secret recipe from my sample was for fudge candy (Ellie

[2]The first telephone exchange in Newfoundland was set up in 1885. In 1920 there were 800 phones and in 1957, 23,600 phones. A.B. Perlin, The Story of Newfoundland (St. John's, n.p., 1952), pp. 91-2. In December 1976, there were 205,302 phones. (Phone call of 2 May 1977 to Newfoundland Telephone Company and Canadian National)

Printed recipes are particularly valuable for those persons who grew up without being exposed to the active bearers of traditional foodways. For example, one informant's mother died when the informant was only nine years of age (Alice Buckingham, Q77B-9). Therefore, she needed to rely on cookbooks for assistance. Also, men who now cook but who did not spend their childhoods in the kitchen, and Newfoundlanders who grew up outside of the province, tend to rely on the local Newfoundland cookbooks as sources of material for their cookery repertoires. But, many Newfoundlanders consider cookbooks to be inadequate sources of information since it is impossible to ask a cookbook for further detail, explanation or illustration. This is one important reason for maintaining oral and kinesic traditions. It appears that particularly the older traditional recipes are passed on by word of mouth and performance rather than are learned from a cookbook. Many of these recipes are passed on purely in terms of the performance aspect, e.g., a daughter's imitation of her mother's actions without the verbal explanation.

Several of the women interviewed in this survey expressed a preference for asking a relative or friend for advice or a recipe rather than looking in a cookbook, even when the cookbook is available right in the house. The convenience of the telephone has actually encouraged the maintenance of oral tradition, especially since family members are now more often physically separated by distances that

Lynch, Q77B-31). From the archive materials there are several reports of secret recipes for homebrew and homemade wines.[3]

Food traditions sometimes exist in a period of abeyance and then are revived for various reasons; passive tradition bearers become active tradition bearers.[4] For example, several informants report that when they were first married they became slack in their observance of some of the lesser holidays. However, with the addition of children to the family, they have revived food traditions for the sake of the children. This is especially true in the observance of Shrove Tuesday and Easter foods. The survival of food traditions in Newfoundland may be partially assisted by the recent surge of printed local Newfoundland cookbooks mentioned in chapter one. However, though the recipes are finally in print simply the presence of such material does not insure the activity of the tradition.

In chapters two and three there is brief mention of the existence of limited materials specifically concerned with the study of Newfoundland foods, among them the reports of nutritionists. In light of the existence of these reports, it has become vividly apparent from my study that it would be

[3]MUNFLA, 69-7; 69-9; 72-55; 72-250; and, 73-105. Also, see, John Vivien, "Report on Homebrew in Western Newfoundland," part of "Project Homebrew" from the Alcohol and Drug Information Center, St. John's, 1 September 1974.

[4]See, Kenneth Goldstein, "On The Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory" in Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, eds. (Austin:University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 62-7.

beneficial for the nutritionist to work together with the folklorist to better understand existing conditions and plan for change where deemed necessary. Some of the results of these nutrition studies follow.

The first important printed observations about nutrition in Newfoundland appeared in 1912 when J.M. Little stated of Newfoundland that

> a great many people here live from hand to mouth, being always on the verge of poverty. There are many who are well satisfied if they have enough flour, tea and molasses to see them through the winter.[5]

Then, in 1944 and 1948 two nutrition studies were conducted in Newfoundland.[6] As a result of the 1944 study, in 1947 D.P. Cuthbertson issued a formal Report on Nutrition of Newfoundland which recommended improvements for the Newfoundland diet. The impetus for these recommendations was the discovery of the high incidence of beri-beri, a vitamin B deficiency, associated "with a diet which contained little fresh meat or vegetables, and in which bread made of white flour bulked largely."[7] Cuthbertson reported that this was due to several reasons:

[5]D.P. Cuthbertson, Report on Nutrition of Newfoundland (London:His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947), p. 5.

[6]J.D. Adamson, N. Jolliffe, H.D. Kruse, O.H. Lowry, P.E. Moore, B.S. Platt, W.H. Sebrell, J.W. Tice, F.F. Tisdal, R.M. Wilder, and P.C. Zamecnik, "Medical Survey of Nutrition in Newfoundland," Canadian Medical Association Journal, 52 (1945), 227. And, W.R. Aykroyd, N.Jolliffe, O.H. Lowry, P.E. Moore, W.H. Sebrell, R.E. Shank, F.F. Tisdall, R.M. Wilder, and P.C. Zamecnik, "Medical Resurvey of Nutrition in Newfoundland, 1948," Canadian Medical Association Journal, 60 (April 1949).

[7]Cuthbertson, p. 5.

(a)Cod-fishing is the main industry, with the bulk of people living in 1,200 communities along the coastline.

(b)In most outlying parts of Newfoundland, food supplies and other stores for winter and spring are by custom and necessity laid in during November and December, and they are supposed to last till May or June. The amount and variety...usually depend on the success of the summer fishing season.

(c)Supplies for winter and spring consist mainly of imported food. The Newfoundlander is primarily a fisherman, and a farmer only in his spare time. It is possible to raise potatoes, cabbages and other vegetables in all parts of the island, but often the amount...is insufficient to last through the six lean months....cows, sheep, or goats, with poultry, are kept by many families, but there may be considerable difficulty in cutting enough hay ...and few of these give much milk during the spring....In Newfoundland and Labrador food shortage is most pressing during the late spring months. In the summer, fresh fish is plentiful; usually there is game to be had in the autumn, while supplies are freshly bought for the winter.[8]

A food enrichment program was begun in Newfoundland, however, before Cuthbertson's report appeared in print. Bread flour was enriched with thiamine, riboflavin, niacin and iron in 1944, and with calcium in the form of edible bone meal in 1947.[9] Margarine was fortified with vitamin A in 1945. At the same time, margarine and evaporated milk were enriched with vitamin D, and after 1964 they were enriched with vitamin C.[10]

Since the 1948 nutrition survey, there has been only one

[8]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[9]"Enrichment of Flour Regulations," Newfoundland Gazette (24 July 1956), 30.

[10]Olga H. Anderson, "Study of Adult Eating Habits in Four Newfoundland Communities," unpublished, St. John's, Department of Health, 1973.

major nutrition survey specific to Newfoundland. In 1967 and 1968 the Newfoundland Department of Health conducted a study of adult eating habits in the four communities of Badger, Bay de Verde, Fogo and Ramea. Based on seven-day food records of ninety-three men and 116 women, the summary of the report's results included the following comments:

> The dietary intakes of ninety-three men and 116 women in four Newfoundland communities were calculated from seven-day records by computer. After comparing these intakes with those recommended for Canadians, their riboflavin intake for both men and women and the women's intake of iron were less than recommended. The enrichment of flour, margarine and evaporated milk was significant since most of the calcium, thiamine and niacin as well as large amounts of iron and riboflavin were obtained from enriched flour used in bread and other baked products.
>
> Fish was not a prominent item in the diet since only 9% of the protein was obtained from this food. Most of the Vitamin C was obtained from potatoes. Very little seasonal variation was noted when two seven-day seasonal records for 121 people were compared....This may be due to their food customs which are somewhat static since these people tended to eat the same kinds of food from week to week. Their food habits also reflected the isolation which these communities experienced for many years. The widespread use of salt beef and salt fat pork probably dated back to the time when no refrigeration facilities were available and when this method of preservation was the main one known. Fresh and frozen food were available in these communities but evidently food habits are slow to change.[11]

Finally, results of the study of Newfoundland nutrition have been included in the national Nutrition Canada reports. Most recently, in February 1977 Nutrition Canada released a Food Consumption Patterns Report as part of the analysis of

[11] Ibid., pp. 17-8.

the national survey of nutritional status carried out between 1970-72. The statistics are presented according to region rather than province; Newfoundland is included in the Atlantic region. The following data include the most outstanding characteristics of the Atlantic region food habits for the seven age groups studied. All of the data support observations that I have made with respect to Newfoundland foodways, particularly the low consumption of fruits and dairy products and the high consumption of canned milk and potatoes.

Infants (0-11 months)

Table 2.2 Percentage of Infant Sample Consuming Different Types of Milk

Less than six months of age. Sample size 27.

Evaporated (canned)	40.7%	
Whole fluid	7.4%	
2% and skim fluid	7.4%	
Commercial formula	37.0%	(e.g., Similac)

More than six months of age. Sample size 39.

Evaporated (canned)	42.3%
Whole fluid	42.3%
2% and skim fluid	12.8%
Commercial formula	2.6%

The Atlantic provinces consume by far the most canned milk.

Children (1-4 years). National sample size 1,031.

The children in the Atlantic region had the lowest mean intake of fruit and the highest mean intake of nuts and dried legumes....the mean consumption of margarine in the Pacific and Atlantic regions was approximately twice that of other regions....a lower percentage of children consumed cheese in the Atlantic region than in other regions.

Children (5-11 years). National sample size 1,995.

In the Atlantic region this age group had the highest consumption of nuts and dried legumes and foods primarily sugar....the lower intake of vitamin C from fruit in the Atlantic region was compensated for by a higher intake from evaporated milk and potatoes.

Adolescents (12-19 years). National sample size: Males 1,070
Females 1,162

In the Atlantic region both sexes of this age group had the highest mean daily consumption of potatoes. The males had a higher consumption of nuts and dried legumes than those in any other region but not the highest percentage eating them.

...in the Atlantic region a lower percentage of adolescents consumed cheese, a lower percentage of these males consumed fruit and fruit products and a higher percentage of these females consumed potatoes than those in other regions.

Adults (20-39 years). National sample size: Males 999
Females 1,347

In the Atlantic region both sexes had a lower mean consumption of fruit than in the other regions and also a lower percentage of those consuming this food group....the mean intake of potatoes by the females in both Quebec and the Atlantic region was double that of the Pacific region and the percentage eating them was also greater.

Adults (40-64 years). National sample size: Males 1,222
Females 1,500

In the Atlantic region both sexes had a lower mean consumption of fruit than other regions. The males had a higher mean intake of nuts and dried legumes than those in some of the other regions.... in the mean consumption of vegetables...for the females...the lowest intake in the Atlantic region... for the consumption of potatoes, particularly by the males, whose mean consumption in the Atlantic region was twice that of Ontario and the Pacific region.

Adults (65+ years). National sample size: Males 881
Females 818

> In the Atlantic region both sexes had a higher mean consumption of potatoes than in the other regions and also a higher percentage of those consuming them....The total mean consumption of dairy products was lowest...for the males in the Atlantic region.[12]

These Newfoundland nutrition studies are basically descriptive reports of the diet, and recommendations for dietary change have been made separate from the reports themselves. Analysis of the material is conspicuously absent, particularly in the Nutrition Canada reports.

There is no consideration of why the local eating habits are the way they are, except very briefly in Olga Anderson's 1967-8 report. These nutritionists would do well to integrate folkloristic data with their nutritional data. As local traditional preferences, taboos and available foodstuffs are all aspects of the food system, any nutritional changes that need to be made must be done with sensitivity to these factors. Certainly this has not always been true of past history. Nutritionists need to understand exactly how difficult it is to alter patterns which have been viable and stable for perhaps centuries and to approach their data with this in mind.

The questionnaire devised for this thesis yielded an abundance of data, some of which has not been reported here. However, the completed questionnaires are on permanent file

[12] Nutrition Canada, Food Consumption Patterns Report ([Ottawa]:Bureau of Nutritional Sciences, Health Protection Branch, Department of National Health and Welfare, [1977]), pp. 23, 30, 47, 49, 64, 93, 123, 153.

in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive for use by further researchers.

The information in this thesis only begins to approach the study of traditional foodways in Newfoundland. The possibilities for further research are almost infinite. One can study an aspect of the food system from any of the approaches described in chapter three, e.g., historically, theoretically, functionally or descriptively. There is a need for individual detailed studies of: food customs and beliefs; the dialect of food; food etiquette; food patterned in relation to sex; food taboos; ceremonial and festive foods; regional variations in food; variations in recipes; food and social status; cookery and performance-audience relationships; community food events; and, preservation techniques. Every outport is a possible subject for a study of local tradition. I, myself, have only begun to investigate the role of one ingredient, the berry, in the Newfoundland food system.

This thesis has been an attempt to delineate the most general patterns of Newfoundland food traditions. Hopefully it will inspire other scholars to proceed from here.

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APPENDIX A

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Department of Folklore

NEWFOUNDLAND FOOD TRADITIONS

77B

"Tell me what you eat: I will tell you what you are."
—Brillat-Savarin

Every culture has developed its own unique food system, including the procurement of ingredients to the preservation, preparation and serving of the food. Please help us better understand why we eat what we eat by answering the following questions in the space provided and on the back of the page if necessary. Return the form to:

The Department of Folklore
Memorial University
St. John's, Newfoundland
A1C 5S7

Thank you, and please add any other details which you would like to share.

Name_____ Date_____

Birthdate_____ Birthplace_____

Present Address_____ Telephone_____

Home Community_____ Bay_____

Religion_____ Ancestry_____
(for example, English, Irish)

Occupation_____

If you are a student, do you eat in the dining hall _____, prepare your own food _____, or have a relative prepare it for you _____?

Note: For University students, please describe normal eating habits, not University dining hall food.

1/77

Q77B-2

1. What are the terms you use to designate meal times? At what times do you eat these meals ?

2. How many meals do you usually eat per day? Do you ever skip a meal? Give details.

3. What do you usually eat for your first meal of the day? At what time do you eat this meal?

4. What is your largest meal of the day? At what time do you eat it?

5. Do you take coffee breaks or snack between meals? When and what do you have? (for example, coffee at 11:00 a.m.)

6. How often do you eat dessert at the conclusion of dinner? supper? Have you always followed this pattern? Please name some typical desserts.

Q77B-3

7. Do your meals vary according to the day of the week? (like fish on Fridays) If yes, please give details. If no, did you or your family ever follow such a pattern. Give details.

8. Do you usually eat a 'Sunday dinner?' Please describe a typical Sunday dinner.

9. Write down every food that you usually find on your Christmas dinner table.

10. Write down every food that you usually find on your Thanksgiving dinner table.

11. What other special holiday foods can you think of? Please name food and holiday. (for example, Shrove Tuesday, St. Patrick's Day, Easter, Regatta Day, All Hallow's Eve, Bonfire Night)

Q77B-4

12. Within each of the following food groups, what do you prefer?

vegetables _____

fruits _____

meats _____

fish _____

dairy _____

synthetic or man-made _____

13. What foods do you like best?

14. What foods do you like least?

15. What do you prefer to drink?

16. Do you buy your bread from the store, bake your own, or have someone else home-bake it? What kind of bread do you prefer?

17. How often do you eat out? At what kinds of places, restaurant or take-out?

18. What foods do you eat that you do not buy in the store? (for example, berries) Do you or any of your friends/relatives hunt or fish for any specific foods?

19. Do any men in your family cook or prepare food? If so, what do they make?

20. Are there any foods that only adults eat? or only children? Please give details.

21. Name <u>everything</u> that you ate yesterday, even if you ate in the University Dining Hall. Be honest! Please include meal names.

22. Please name what you consider to be traditional Newfoundland foods (for example, fish 'n brewis).

Q77B-6

23. What traditional foods do you or your family eat regularly?

24. Are there foods that you ate when you were a child that you no longer eat? If so, why has this happened?

For Cooks

25. Do you use a cookbook? If so, what is your favorite one?

26. Do you keep a scrapbook of recipe clippings, card file of recipes, or written manuscript of recipes?

27. What spices and herbs do you use when you cook? Give examples.

28. Which do you use more of? Check both if you use equal amounts.

fresh cod		or, salt cod	
fresh beef		or, salt beef	
fresh pork		or, salt pork	

29. What kinds of convenience foods do you use? (for example, canned, frozen, pre-cooked) How often do you use them? At any particular times of the year for certain things.

30. Where do you usually shop for groceries, at a supermarket or corner store? Do you prefer one over the other? Why?

31. Do you buy food in bulk or in small quantities? How often do you shop?

32. Does your family have special family recipes? Are any secret? Please give details that you can.

33. Please give your favorite recipe(s). If possible, include origin.

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND FOLKLORE AND LANGUAGE ARCHIVE

CONTRACT FOR DEPOSITS

I, _____, do hereby deposit this questionnaire in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive in order to help preserve the folklore, language and oral history of Newfoundland, Labrador and Canada. It is understood that the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive will, at the discretion of the Archivist or Assistant Archivist, allow qualified persons to use these materials in connection with their researches but that no publication of such collectanea will be made without the written permission of the Archivist.

Signed:

_____

Depositor Date

_____

Depositor's Permanent Address

_____

Archivist Date

Newfoundland Food Traditions

Q77B- _____

APPENDIX B

INFORMANT BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Name: Cassie Applin Q77B-1
Birthdate: 21 December 1947
Birthplace: Reef's Harbour
Home Community: Shoal Cove West, St. Barbe District
Present Address: Paton College, MUN, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Teacher

Name: Linda Babstock Q77B-2
Birthdate: 23 September 1951
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 58A Amherst Heights, St. John's
Religion: United Church
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Senior Secretary, MUN

Name: Ruta Balodis Q77B-3
Birthdate: 7 November 1953
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 4 Dartmouth Place, St. John's
Religion: Lutheran
Ancestry: Latvian
Occupation: Travel Agent

Name: Darciene Biggin - Q77B-4
Birthdate: 23 May 1959
Birthplace: Daniel's Harbour, Northwest Coast
Home Community: Daniel's Harbour
Present Address: 60 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: -----
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Student

Name: Bonnie E. Breen Q77B-5
Birthdate: 28 August 1951
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 39 Waterfordbridge Road, St. John's
Religion: -----
Ancestry: Scottish
Occupation: Student

Name: Jason Brisbois Q77B-6
Birthdate: 18 May 1957
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: Rothesay, New Brunswick
Present Address: Paton College, MUN, St. John's
Religion: United Church
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Student

Name: Doreen Browne Q77B-7
Birthdate: 27 November 1953
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: Mount Pearl, St. John's District
Present Address: 13 Firgreen Avenue, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Secretary

Name: John A. Bruce Q77B-8
Birthdate: 27 September 1952
Birthplace: Stephenville, St. Georges Bay
Home Community: Stephenville
Present Address: 21 Steer Street, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: French and Scottish?
Occupation: Student

Name: Alice Buckingham Q77B-9
Birthdate: 1930
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 58 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish and French
Occupation: Accountant and Instructor

Name: Pauline Byrd Q77B-10
Birthdate: 15 September 1955
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 132 Forest Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish?
Occupation: Student

Name: Sharon P. Cochrane Q77B-11
Birthdate: 2 April 1954
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 19A Pinsent Place, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: -----
Occupation: Secretary

Name: Debbie Collins Q77B-12
Birthdate: 7 October 1955
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 22 Weymouth Street, St. John's
Religion: Pentecostal
Ancestry: English and Irish
Occupation: Student

Name: Dennis Dawe Q77B-14
Birthdate: 12 December 1953
Birthplace: Fogo Island
Home Community: Seldom, Notre Dame Bay
Present Address: 202 Guy Court, MUN, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Student

Name: Marie Dunne Q77B-15
Birthdate: 10 December 1931
Birthplace: Heart's Content, Trinity Bay
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 147 Newtown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English and Irish
Occupation: Secretary

Name: Geraldine Ezekiel Q77B-17
Birthdate: 12 September 1950
Birthplace: Torbay
Home Community: Torbay
Present Address: 4 Maxse Street, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish?
Occupation: Housewife

Name: Lenora Fagan Q77B-18
Birthdate: 21 October 1946
Birthplace: Daniel's Harbour, Northwest Coast
Home Community: Daniel's Harbour
Present Address: 60 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: Scottish and Eskimo
Occupation: Teacher

Name: Alisha Farrel Q77B-57
Birthdate: 1929
Birthplace: Merasheen Island, South Coast
Home Community: Merasheen Island
Present Address: 89 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: -----
Occupation: Housewife

Name: Linda Farrel Q77B-19
Birthdate: 3 April 1949
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 108 Barnes Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: French?
Occupation: Hairdresser

Name: Lionel Craig Gale Q77B-20
Birthdate: 29 January 1959
Birthplace: Robinsons, Bay St. George
Home Community: Robinsons
Present Address: Box 46, Field Hall, MUN, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Student

Name: Rose E. Gibbons Q77B-21
Birthdate: 8 March 1955
Birthplace: Plum Point, Straits of Belle Isle
Home Community: Plum Point
Present Address: 221 Burke House, MUN, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: -----
Occupation: Student

Name: Gerard Greene Q77B-22
Birthdate: 8 December 1950
Birthplace: Placentia, Placentia Bay
Home Community: Placentia
Present Address: Freshwater Plaza, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Carpenter and Student

Name: Eileen Gronich Q77B-23
Birthdate: 26 January 1934
Birthplace: Brooklyn, New York
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 176 Higgins Lane, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Typist

Name: Sarah Howe Q77B-24
Birthdate: 5 October 1954
Birthplace: Corner Brook, West Coast
Home Community: Corner Brook
Present Address: 21 Steer Street, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Accounting Clerk

Name: Carol Hubley Q77B-25
Birthdate: 23 May 1946
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: Halifax, Nova Scotia
Present Address: 32 McNeily Street, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Teacher

Name: Ethel Bridgett Humphries Q77B-26
Birthdate: 26 February 1903
Birthplace: Cambridge, Massachusetts
Home Community: Melrose, Trinity Bay
Present Address: 1 Maxse Street, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English and Irish
Occupation: Housewife

Name: George Jefferies Q77B-27
Birthdate: 12 January 1954
Birthplace: Twillingate, Notre Dame Bay
Home Community: Lawrenceton, Notre Dame Bay
Present Address: Valley View Apartments, St. John's
Religion: Salvation Army
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Student

Name: Joan Kearley Q77B-28
Birthdate: 28 May 1934
Birthplace: White Way, Trinity Bay
Home Community: White Way
Present Address: 24 Belfast Street, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Stenographer

Name: Mary Kent Q77B-29
Birthdate: 26 July 1926
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 95 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Office Work

Name: Wanda Léger Q77B-30
Birthdate: 17 March 1957
Birthplace: Corner Brook, West Coast
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 555 Topsail Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: French and Irish
Occupation: Key Punch Operator

Name: Ellie Lynch Q77B-31
Birthdate: October 1944
Birthplace: Norris Point, Bonavista Bay
Home Community: St. John's (winters) and Norris Point (summers)
Present Address: 8 Katherine Street, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English or Irish?
Occupation: Secretary

Name: Margaret Mahoney Q77B-32
Birthdate: 14 September 1918
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 93 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Sales Clerk

Name: Margaret McCarthy Q77B-33
Birthdate: October 1927
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: Shay Heights, St. John's
Religion: Salvation Army
Ancestry: -----
Occupation: Domestic Help

Name: Leslie McGrath
Birthdate: 15 January 1943
Birthplace: Harbour Grace, Conception Bay
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: Box 82, R.R.1, St. Thomas
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Student

Name: Calvin Mercer Q77B-34
Birthdate: 19 September 1956
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: Bay Roberts, Conception Bay
Present Address: 108 Guy Court, MUN, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Student

Name: H. Paul Mercer Q77B-35
Birthdate: 9 August 1950
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 11 Campbell Avenue, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Librarian and Part-time Student

Name: Eva Murphy Q77B-36
Birthdate: 27 April 1927
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 16 Fleming Street, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Housewife

Name: A. Gerard Nash Q77B-37
Birthdate: 14 September 1958
Birthplace: Branch, St. Mary's Bay
Home Community: Branch
Present Address: 54 LeMarchant Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Student

Name: Diane O'Mara Q77B-38
Birthdate: 28 October 1949
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 62 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English, Irish and French
Occupation: Secretary

Name: John O'Mara Q77B-39
Birthdate: 2 December 1943
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 62 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Broadcaster

Name: Irene O'Reilly Q77B-40
Birthdate: 1913
Birthplace: Torbay
Home Community: Torbay
Present Address: Torbay
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish?
Occupation: Housewife

Name: Thomas Perry Q77B-41
Birthdate: 17 October 1957
Birthplace: Norris Point, Bonavista Bay
Home Community: Daniel's Harbour, Northwest Coast
Present Address: Daniel's Harbour
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: CR2 Clerk

Name: Cathy Pitt Q77B-42
Birthdate: 24 July 1956
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 124 University Avenue, St. John's
Religion: United Church
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Intermediate Clerk and Stenographer

Name: Sandra Pottle Q77B-43
Birthdate: 17 October 1951
Birthplace: Carbonear, Conception Bay
Home Community: Stephenville, St. Georges Bay
Present Address: 122A Waterfordbridge Road, St. John's
Religion: United Church
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Laboratory Technologist

Name: Frances Powell Q77B-44
Birthdate: 15 August 1934
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 66 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: -----
Occupation: Stenographer

Name: Garry Purcell Q77B-45
Birthdate: 14 October 1950
Birthplace: Bell Island, Conception Bay
Home Community: Bell Island
Present Address: 122 Waterfordbridge Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Computer Engineering Research Assistant

Name: Gary Ross Pynn Q77B-46
Birthdate: 13 March 1958
Birthplace: Grand Falls
Home Community: Grand Falls
Present Address: 37 Birch Street, Grand Falls
Religion: United Church
Ancestry: Welsh
Occupation: Student

Name: Neil P. Riggs Q77B-47
Birthdate: 15 October 1948
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 12 Hoyles Avenue, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Graduate Student

Name: Pamela Roberts Q77B-48
Birthdate: 5 November 1935
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: Appledone Place, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Typist

Name: Marg Ryan Q77B-49
Birthdate: 8 March 1915
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: 70 Monkstown Road, St. John's
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Accountant

Name: Sheila Ryan Q77B-50
Birthdate: 8 December 1957
Birthplace: Champney's Arm, Trinity Bay
Home Community: Champney's Arm
Present Address: 208 Cartier Court, MUN, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Student

Name: Daisy Saunders Q77B-51
Birthdate: 19 December 1927
Birthplace: Plum Point, Straits of Belle Isle
Home Community: Deer Lake
Present Address: Deer Lake
Religion: Roman Catholic
Ancestry: English and French
Occupation: Housewife

Name: Vernon Savoury Q77B-52
Birthdate: 16 January 1952
Birthplace: Belleoram, Fortune Bay
Home Community: Belleoram
Present Address: St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Student

Name: Della Squires Q77B-53
Birthdate: 27 March 1947
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: Thorburn Road, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: English
Occupation: Secretary

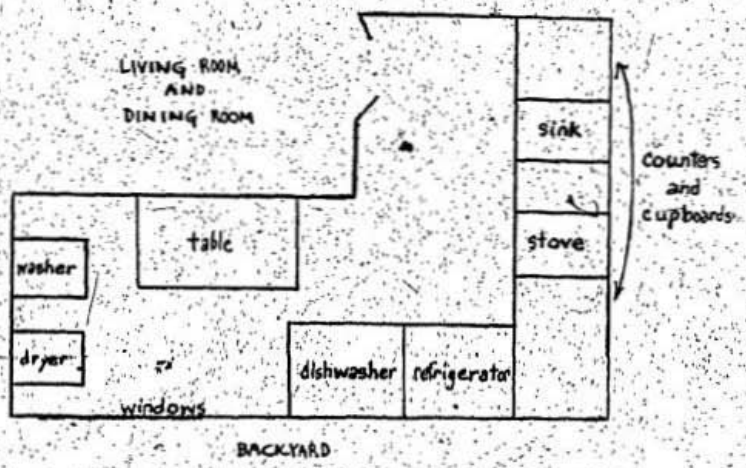
Name: Mary Lou Stoodley Q77B-54
Birthdate: 28 September 1957
Birthplace: Grand Falls
Home Community: Grand Falls
Present Address: 102 Cartier Court, MUN, St. John's
Religion: United Church
Ancestry: English and Scottish
Occupation: Student

Name: Cynthia Turpin Q77B-55
Birthdate: 8 March 1953
Birthplace: Caplin Cove, Conception Bay
Home Community: Caplin Cove
Present Address: 9A Mount Carson Place, St. John's
Religion: United Church
Ancestry: Irish
Occupation: Secretary

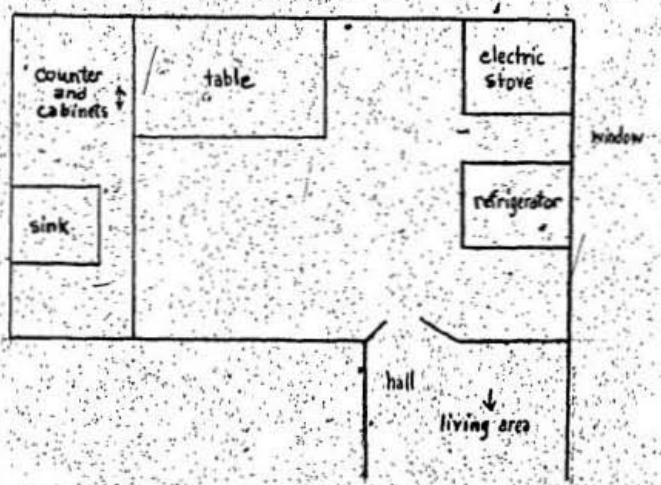
Name: Don Vavasour . Q77B-56
Birthdate: 7 August 1957
Birthplace: St. John's
Home Community: St. John's
Present Address: Topsail Road, St. John's
Religion: Anglican
Ancestry: -----
Occupation: Student

APPENDIX C

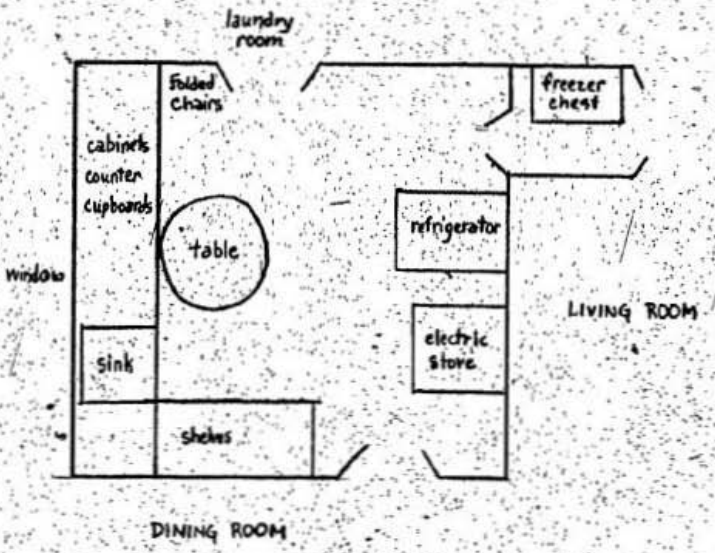
KITCHEN LAYOUTS



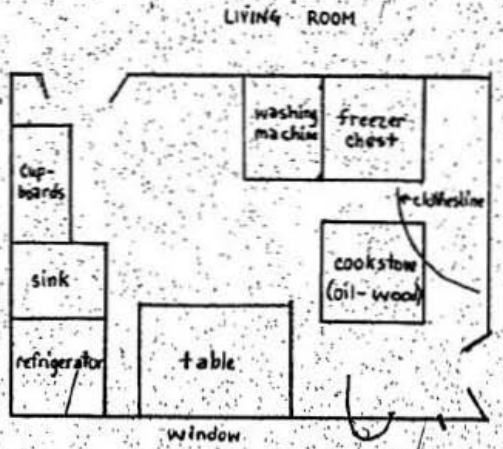
Alice Buckingham
St. John's



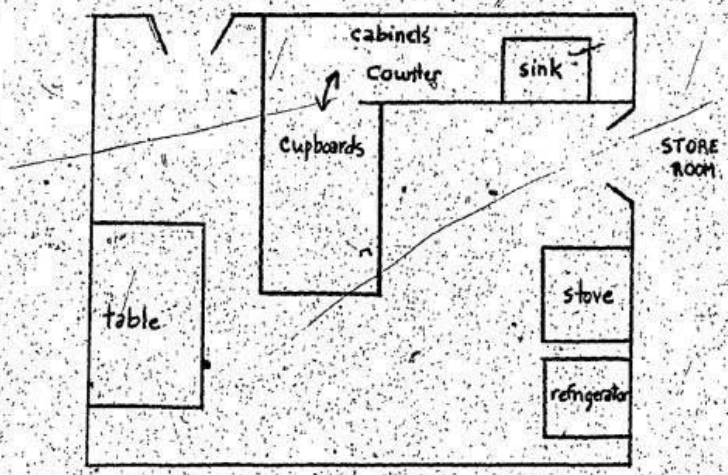
Geraldine Ezekiel
St. John's



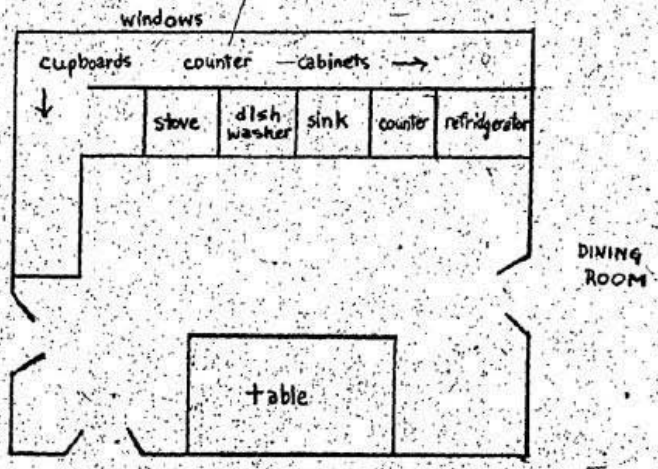
Lenora Fagan
St. John's



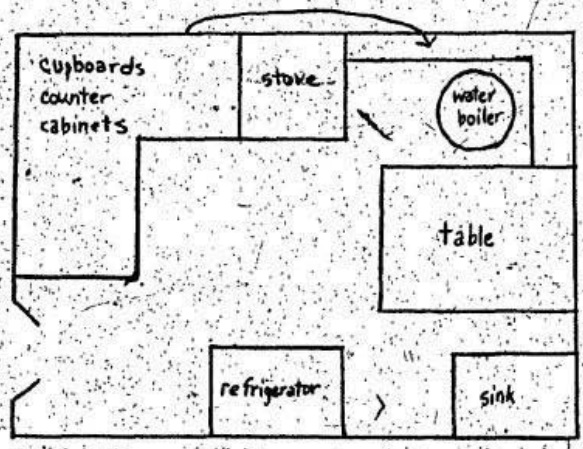
Alisha Farrel
St. John's



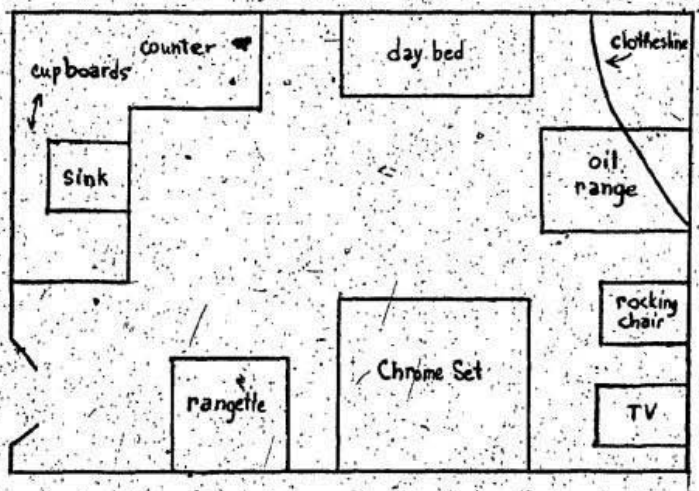
Linda Farrel
St. John's



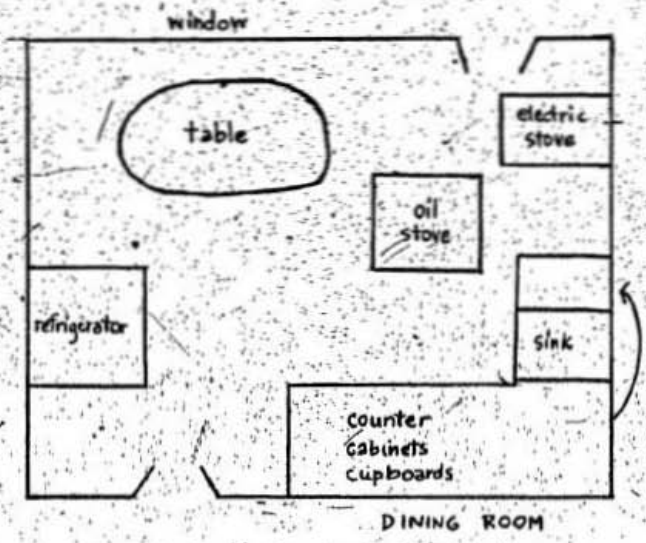
Carol Hubley
St. John's



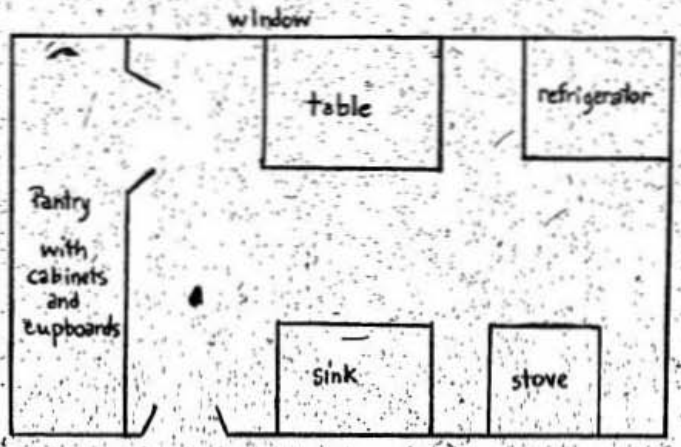
Ethel Humphries
St. John's



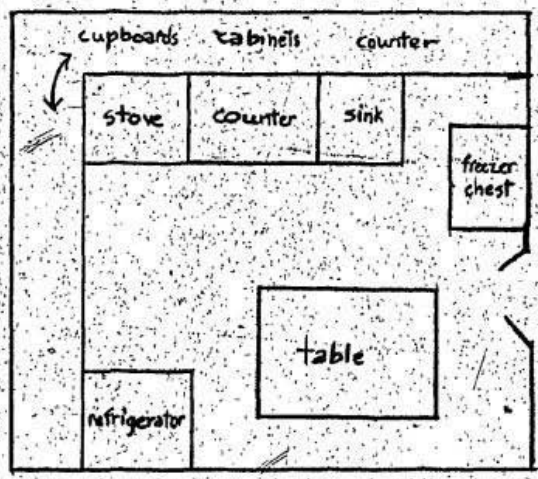
Ethel Humphries
Melrose, Trinity Bay



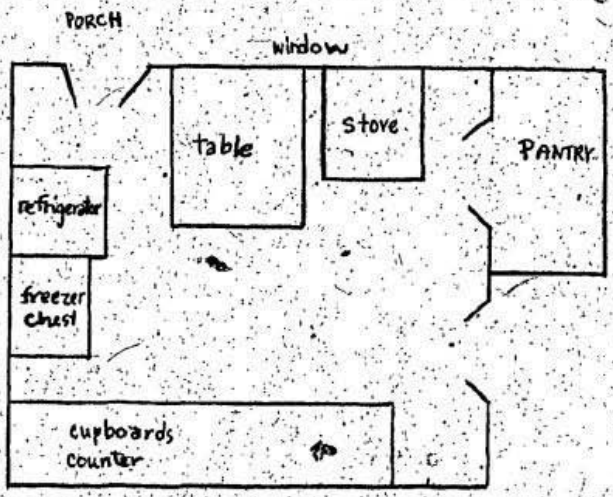
Mary Kent
St. John's



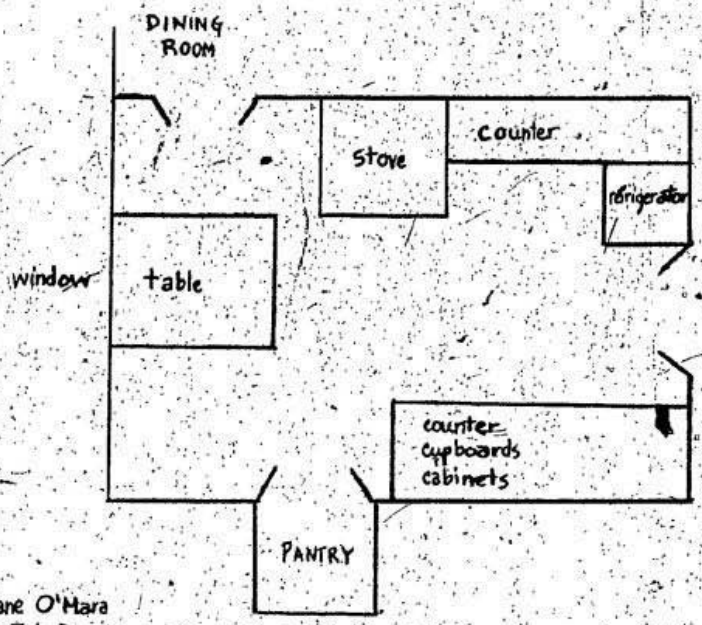
Ellie Lynch
St. John's



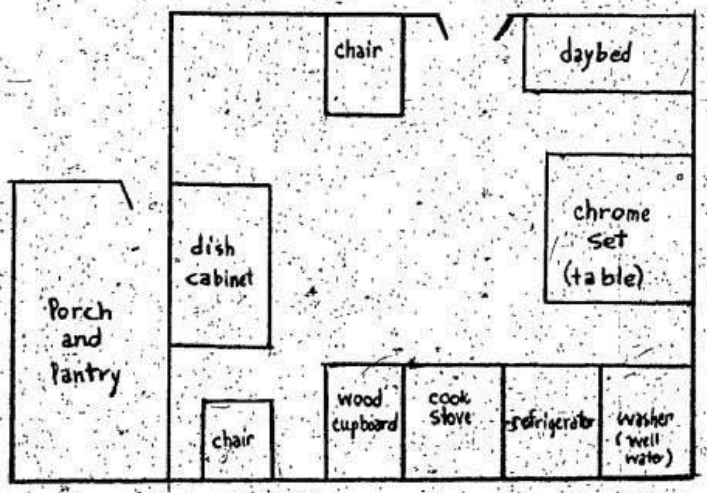
Margaret Mahoney
St. John's



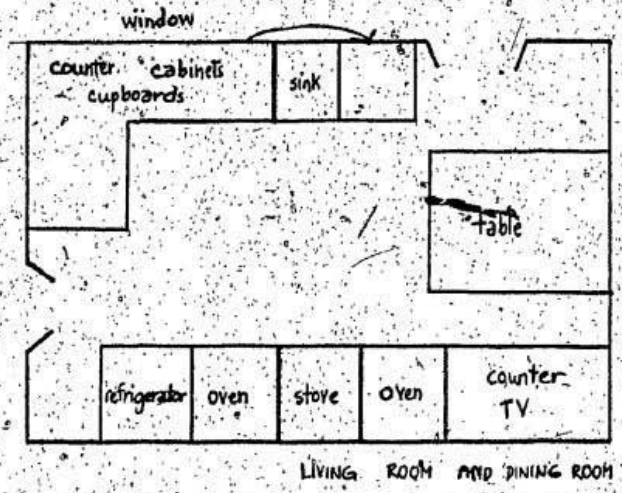
Eva Murphy
St. John's



Diane O'Mara
St. John's

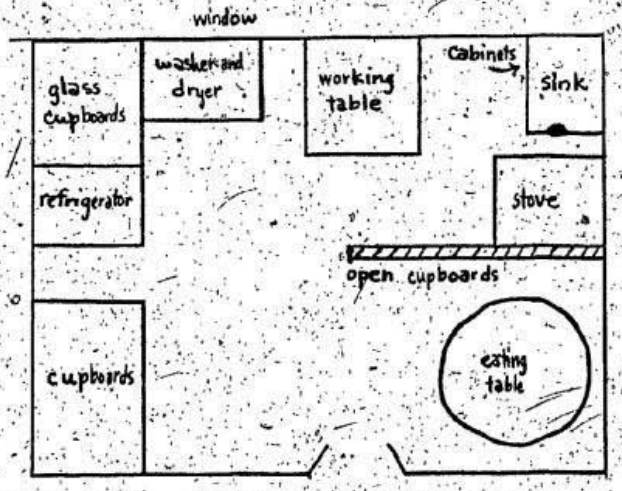


Irene O'Reilly
Torbay



LIVING ROOM AND DINING ROOM

Frances Powell
St. John's



DINING ROOM

Marg Ryan
St. John's

APPENDIX D

RECIPES FOR OLDER TRADITIONAL DISHES

Boiled Dinner or Jiggs Dinner

The following recipe is designed either for a large family or for a public occasion:

Take a large piece of salt meat and soak in cold water over night. Next, place fresh water in the pot and boil salt meat on the stove with a small amount of salt pork for 45 minutes or longer. While that is boiling, prepare your vegetables. Cut your turnip in small pieces, peel carrots, potatoes and prepare cabbage. Add vegetables to the boiling pot, beginning with turnips, then carrots, cabbage and lastly the potatoes, allowing 15 minutes between each vegetable. Cook until the potatoes are done.

If cooking for your own family, a cup of peas placed in a cloth and tied with a string may be hung in the pot to cook with your salt meat dinner before the vegetables are placed in. They should be soaked in cold water first though.

Mrs. Norah Leyte, Fogo in Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 22

Flipper Pie

Do not parboil the flippers as this makes a disagreeable odour and permeates the meat. Take the flippers and soak in cold water with 1 tablespoon soda for ½ hour. The soda makes the fat snow white. Remove the fat. Render out fat pork, dip flippers lightly in salted flour and fry until brown in the pork fat. Take from frying pan when brown and put in a covered roasting pan in a medium oven. Add onions if desired. Make gravy, pour over flippers and allow to cook until tender. They may then be put in pastry as a pie or served as they are, garnish with parsley and lemon.

Mrs. Tom Best in Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 20

Moose Stew

3 pounds moose, cut in small pieces
½ pound butter
6 cups water
salt and pepper

Brown moose meat in hot butter; add water, salt and pepper. Let simmer, adding a chopped onion after about an hour of cooking. Cook for another hour. Then cut up and add:

2 carrots
2 parsnips
1 small turnip
10 potatoes

Cook for another 30 minutes or until vegetables are tender. Make dumplings if you wish.

The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, p. 85

Rabbit Stew

Skin and clean a rabbit of any size. Cut into sections, that is, 4 legs and body in 3 sections. Wash and dry thoroughly; then flour. Fry out 4 or 5 medium slices of fat pork in a frying pan. Fry rabbit in this fat until it is golden brown.

Place browned rabbit in a large stew pot. Add water to the frying pan to remove all browning, then add this to the stew pot. Add enough water to just cover the rabbit. Add a medium onion which has been cut into pieces and salt to taste. Simmer for 2 to 2½ hours (do not boil).

Then add 2 carrots which have been cut into ½-inch slices and a small turnip which has been cubed. Now bring the stew to a slow boil until vegetables are cooked. Make flour thickening and add it to the stew to make gravy.

Potatoes may be added if desired, but they are better if boiled in a separate pot; drained and placed on plates and the stew poured over them. Newfoundland Dumplings may be added.

The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, p. 82

Fish & Brewis

Dinner for two:

Break up and soak in cold water overnight two cakes of hard bread. If all the water is absorbed by morning add a little more to keep it from burning. Place to boil and add ½ tsp. salt. When water boils up all through it, strain and chop into small pieces with a fork.

Boil about 1 lb. of well watered salt fish for 20 minutes. Strain. Flake it into small pieces and remove bones.

Add to the hard bread mixture and drip pork fat & scrunchions over it.

Take a piece of fat back pork (about ½ lb.) and cut in thin slices and fry until crisp and brown. Break up pork in small bits with fork and knife. Drip over fish & brewis on a dinner plate.

Mrs. Florence Wilkinson--Moores, Topsail
in Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 1

Fried Cod Tongues

Carefully wash fresh cod tongues and dry in a paper towel. Allow 7 or 8 per person. Put 1½ cups flour, 1 teaspoon salt, ½ teaspoon pepper together in a plastic bag. Put tongues in and shake them until evenly floured. Cut up ½ pound salt pork and fry until golden brown. Remove pork cubes and fry tongues until golden brown on both sides. Serve with mashed potatoes and green peas.

Margaret Freake, Joe Batt's Arm in Fat-Back & Molasses, p.10

Roast Caplin

Put 6 or 7 dozen fresh caplin in 1½ gallons water. Sprinkle with 1 cup of coarse salt or 1½ cups fine salt. Soak over night. Then spread out doors in sunshine for 2 or 3 days. Roast in hot oven about 15 minutes. Good with hot homemade bread and partridge berry jam.

United Church Women, Fogo Island in Fat-Back & Molasses, p.17

Baked Squid

To prepare squid for cooking remove the head thereby removing the inside of the fish. Wash well. Remove tail, peel off reddish skin , pull out the one bone and turn the cone-shaped fish inside out to remove the fat. Wash well. Boil for 45 minutes. Remove from water, drain and let cool.

Stuffing for 1 dozen squid:

3 cups bread crumbs
½ cup soft butter
1½ tablespoons savory
½ teaspoon salt
2 medium onions
dash of pepper

Combine all ingredients and fill squid. Place squid in a baking pan with a little fat (from fried salt pork). Sprinkle with salt, cover, and bake in a moderate oven 1 to 1½ hours. A little water may be added to prevent burning.

The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, p. 69

Old Fashioned Baked Beans

2 lb. dried beans
1 med. onion sliced
¼ cup tomato catsup
¼ cup brown sugar
3/4 lb. salt pork sliced
1/16 tspn. pepper
½ cup molasses
1 tspn. mustard

Wash beans and add enough water to come two inches above beans. Boil until tender. Put in deep casserole mixed with other ingredients and bake until crisp and brown. Serve piping hot.

Claris Vey, Hillview in Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 25

Irish Caulcannon

Caulcannon can be made from any vegetables. Prepare those of your choice (potatoes, onions, parsnips and cabbage are good, plus carrots, turnip and leeks for colour), and boil in the usual way. Mash all of the cooked vegetables through a ricer while they are still hot. Next, mix the riced vegetables together and put them in a saucepan. Add 1 tablespoon of butter for every cup of vegetables. Heat until piping hot; stir constantly to prevent sticking. Press the hot vegetables into a well buttered mould. Bake at 400 degrees for 20 minutes.

The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, p. 91

Peas Pudding

Soak peas in pudding bag with salt meat over night. Cook same amount of time as meat. When mashing pudding add ½ lb. butter, tablespoon pepper and salt to taste. (Serves 6)

College of Fisheries, St. John's in Fat-Back & Molasses, p.26

Newfie Pea Soup

Soak piece of salt beef or ham bone overnight. Soak dried peas overnight as well. In morning cook both together in fresh water. Add chopped carrots, turnips, and onions. Boil together 20 minutes. Before serving put in whole potatoes. Serve with dumplings.

Happy Valley & Goose Bay, Labrador in Fat-Back & Molasses, p.23

Pork Bang Belly

2 cups molasses
1 tsp. baking soda
1 lb. salt pork
1 tsp. allspice
4 cups flour
1 tsp. nutmeg

Heat molasses on stove. Cut pork in small cubes and fry. Add to molasses while hot. Dissolve soda in boiling water. Add spices to flour. Mix all together and bake. Grease pan and lay rind of pork in bottom. Eat while warm. Bake one hour in shallow pan.

Annie Hodder, Burin-Collins Cove in Fat-Back & Molasses, p.60

Damper Dogs

For Damper Dogs we used to get some little pieces of bread dough when mother made her regular batch of homemade bread and flatten them out. After wiping off the top of the old 'Waterloo' with a clean cloth or paper, we would then put the pieces of dough on the edge of the stove and let them brown to a lovely crust on both sides. They would always rise up or swell in size about double the original piece of dough. Sometimes when the stove was not too hot, we would move the bread dough farther in on the damper, hence the name Damper Dogs.

Mrs. Lewis Hollett, Garden Cove, Placentia Bay
Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 7

Dough Boys

Blend 2½ cups flour, 4½ tsp. baking powder and 1 tsp. salt. Stir in water until mixture is moistened. Shape mixture into small balls and drip into liquid with meat and vegetables. Cover pan tightly and cook for 15 minutes. Do not lift cover during cooking.

Labrador Cook Book in Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 24

Duff

Any kind of pudding, usually of flour, fat pork and molasses. Pork and duff was the fisherman's favorite meal.

The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, p. 81

Figgidy Duff with Molasses Coady.

2 cups bread crumbs
1 cup raisins
½ cup molasses
1 tsp. ginger
1 tsp. allspice
1 tsp. cinnamon
¼ cup melted butter
1 tbsp. hot water
¼ tsp. salt
½ cup flour
1 tsp. baking soda

Soak stale bread in water for a few minutes. Squeeze out water and measure. Combine crumbs, raisins and molasses, salt, spices and mix with a fork. Add melted butter and baking soda which has been dissolved in hot water. Add flour and mix well. Pour into a pudding bag or greased mould and steam for 2 hours. Serve with molasses coady.

For Molasses Coady--boil for 10 minutes: 1 cup molasses, ¼ cup water, 3 tbsp. butter and 1 tbsp. vinegar. Spoon over figgidy duff.

Mrs. Helen Sheppard, Carbonear, South.
Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 61

Old Fashion Pork Cake

1 lb. mince pork
2 cups sugar
2 oz. cinnamon
1 pint boiling water
1 cup molasses
1 oz. nutmeg
1 lb. raisins
2 tsp. soda
about 2½ cups flour

Mince pork. Pour boiling water over pork. Add raisins, nutmeg and cinnamon. Put soda in molasses. Add the flour. Bake in moderate oven for 2 hours.

Charlotte Osborne, Little Bay East in Fat-Back & Molasses, p.36

Scrunchions

Small cubes of fat pork or fat back fried to a golden brown.

The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, p. 64

Toutons

In the old days bread was put to rise overnight. When white bread had risen ready to go in pans, small pieces the size of an egg were broken off and flattened ½ inch thick in the palms of hands and dropped in the frying pan where fat-back cut up had been fried out until pork was crisp. It was browned on both sides and served for a hot breakfast to children leaving for school on a cold winter morning. Hot molasses with a knob of butter melted in it was the choice sauce, but of course, golden syrup or marmalade could be used as desired.

Florence Wilkinson-Moores, Topsail
Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 44

Blueberry Grunt

1 cup butter
3 eggs
2½ cups flour
3 tbs. baking powder
1 tsp. vanilla
1 cup sugar
blueberries

Cream butter; add sugar gradually. Add eggs one at a time. Add vanilla and dry ingredients. Bake in hot oven.

Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 90

Fresh Blueberry Pie

pastry
¼ cup flour
1/8 tsp. salt
1 cup granulated sugar
4 cups fresh blueberries
1 tsp. lemon juice
1 tbl. butter or margarine

Line 9-inch pie plate with pastry. Sift flour, sugar and salt together and sprinkle ¼ of it over uncooked botton crust. Add the blueberries and remaining sugar mixture. Sprinkle with lemon juice and dot with butter or margarine. Add top crust--seal edges and flute. Bake at 450°F. for 15 minutes and reduce heat to 350°F. and continue baking until berries are tender (30 min.).

The Treasury of Newfoundland Dishes, p. 59

Dark Fruit Cake

1 lb. brown sugar
1 lb. raisins
1 pkg. cherries
3½ cups flour
1 tbsp. mace
3/4 cup milk
½ lb. butter
1 lb. currants
1 pkg. mixed peel
1 tsp. allspice
½ tsp. soda
1 tsp. vanilla (or other flavor)
3 eggs
1 pkg. dates
¼ lb. walnuts
1 tsp. cinnamon
½ tsp. salt

Cream butter and sugar. Add one egg at a time. Beat thoroughly until fluffy. The more you beat it the finer the cake will be. Sift flour, spices, salt and soda together. Sift flour and then measure. Take some of the flour and dredge your fruit before the spices are added. To the remaining flour add the spices, salt and soda. Sift 3 times. Bake 3 to 3½ hours in moderate oven 350 F. If preferred, you can add a drop of spirits of any kind which will help keep the cake moist for a long time.

Mrs. Brendon McKenna, Island Harbour
Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 76

Great Grandmother's Ginger Bread

½ cup butter or lard
½ cup sugar
1 egg, beaten
1 cup molasses
2½ cups sifted flour
1½ tsp. baking soda
½ tsp. salt
1 tsp. cinnamon
1 tsp. ginger
½ tsp. cloves
1 cup hot water

Cream butter and sugar. Add beaten egg and molasses; beat well. Blend in sifted dry ingredients. Add hot water last and beat until smooth. Bake in a 9 inch square pan for 45 minutes. Use a 350 F. oven.

Mrs. Clara Temple of Sunnyside and Mary Frost of Hillview
Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 91

Vinegar Pie

1 cup vinegar
½ tsp. cream
1½ cups water
½ tsp. spice
½ cup sugar

Boil above ingredients together for 10 minutes, then thicken with corn starch. Then make any ordinary pastry and put filling in pie.

Mrs. Frank Boyd, Summerford in Fat-Back & Molasses, p. 75

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE DAILY DIETS

Ruta Balodis

Breakfast: orange juice, milk, bread and butter, sausages
Dinner: fish and chips, O-Henry bar for dessert
4 p.m.: cake
Supper: egg sandwich, ham and cheese and salad sandwich, glass of milk

Darciene Biggin

Breakfast: bacon, egg, slice of bread, cup of tea
Dinner: bowl of soup, two slices of bread, pudding
Supper: plate of beans, two pancakes, two slices of bread

Jason Brisbois

Breakfast: omelette, milk, bacon, apple
Lunch: shrimp, french fries, peas and carrots, milk
Snack: ham sandwich, glass of milk

Alice Buckingham

Breakfast: orange juice, toast
At Office: tea
Lunch: cheese and crackers, cold meat, tea
Dinner: baked chicken, baked potato, broccoli, apple pie, tea

Pauline Byrd

Breakfast: toast, tea
Dinner: turkey, turnip, peas, carrots, coffee
Supper: salad, roast, turkey, trifle, coffee

Sharon Cochrane

Breakfast: tea, toast

Lunch: ham sandwich, milk

Dinner: meat loaf, potatoes, green peas, milk

Dennis Dawe

Dinner: chicken and chips, pop

Supper: pork chops, potatoes, corn

Snack at 1 a.m.: two cups of tea, two slices of toast, one slice of bologna

Geraldine Ezekiel

Breakfast: bacon, eggs, toast, juice, tea

Dinner: salt fish and potatoes

Supper: boiled beans with salt meat, cookies

Lenora Fagan

Breakfast: juice, oatmeal, toast with marmelade, coffee

Lunch: Kraft macaroni and cheese with bacon, chocolate cake, tea

Supper: soup (meat, vegetables, rice, dumplings), cookies

Snack: toast and cocoa

Linda Farrel

Breakfast: eggs, toast, tea

Dinner: fried steak with potatoes and onions

Supper: baked beans with bread, tea

Lionel Gale

Breakfast: coffee, toasted bacon sandwich

Dinner: fish and chips, pie, milk

Supper: meat, potato, carrot, cabbage, bread, gravy, cake, milk

Lunch: pizza

Gerard Greene

Breakfast: toast, tea, cheese

Supper: chicken, potatoes, cabbage, turnip, carrots, gravy, flour pudding

Carol Hubley

Breakfast: slice of toast, tea

Lunch: spaghetti with tinned sauce, milk

Dinner: dressed pork hearts, potato, carrot, tossed salad, cupcake

Joan Kearley

Breakfast: juice, egg, toast, coffee

Lunch: slice of cold meat, salad, apple, tea

Dinner: chicken, carrot, turnip, broccoli, potato, tea

Wanda Léger

Morning Break: toast and cheese

Lunch: sandwich

Dinner: roast chicken, potatoes, turnip, carrot

Margaret Mahoney

Breakfast: juice, tea

Lunch: none

Supper: broiled lamb chop, baked potato, cherry cake

Paul Mercer

Breakfast: coffee, toast with butter, a fresh orange

Lunch: chicken sandwich

Supper: French onion soup au gratin, tossed salad, chips

Eva Murphy

Breakfast: tea

10:00 a.m.: two slices of toast with apricot jam

Dinner: hamburger on a bun, milk

4:00 p.m.: dish of ice cream

Supper: roast beef, onion, turnip, carrot, potato, tea

Cathy Pitt

Breakfast: egg, toast, tea, juice

Coffee break: coffee

Lunch: potato salad, corn salad, corned beef, toast, jam, mustard pickles, beets, ice cream, tea

Supper: meat cakes, cole slaw, cookies, tea

Snack: chips, tea

Sandra Pottle

Breakfast: bacon, eggs, toast, tea

Snack: two oranges, four fudge cookies

Snack: hot chocolate, orange drink, bar (chocolate), chips

Dinner: chicken heart stew, dumplings, soda biscuits, Pepsi

Garry Purcell

Breakfast: tea, toast, egg, orange

Lunch: hamburger, french fries, yoghurt

Dinner: steak, salad, potatoes

Pamela Roberts

Breakfast: egg, toast, juice, tea

Lunch: chicken sandwiches, creamed tomato soup, apple

Dinner: barbequed ribs, creamed potatoes, green vegetables, pears

Sheila Ryan

Breakfast: coffee, toast
Dinner: chicken, salt beef, cabbage, turnip, carrot, potato, dressing, pudding
Supper: fried ham, french fries

Daisy Saunders

Breakfast: toast
Dinner: turkey, dressing, turnip, carrot, raisin bread
Supper: cold turkey, tomato, bread, cookies

Vernon Savoury

Breakfast: eggs, toast
Supper: rabbit, mashed potatoes, turnips, carrots, gravy

Cindy Turpin

Breakfast: apple juice, toast, cheese, coffee
Coffee break: milk
Lunch: tuna sandwich, milk, banana
Supper: corn, french fries, chicken pies, jelly(o)

Don Vavasour

Breakfast: cereal, tea
Snack: tea
Dinner: sandwich, apple, pop
Supper: liver, potato, tea