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The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000: an Oral History

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The Emergence, Development and Influence of French *Haute Cuisine* on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000: An Oral History

(Volume 1/3)

From Ancient Greece and Rome
to 21ˢᵗ Century Europe

Submitted by

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to School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology Dublin Institute of Technology for the Award of PhD.

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Abstract

The words Dublin or Ireland do not immediately come to mind when *haute cuisine* is mentioned. However, two leading French chefs, the brothers Francois and Michel Jammet, opened a restaurant in Dublin in 1901 which, up until its closure in 1967, remained one of the best restaurants serving *haute cuisine* in the world (Mac Con Iomaire 2005a; Mac Con Iomaire 2006). *Haute cuisine* was served in many Dublin hotels, clubs and restaurants during the twentieth century and came under similar influences as London and other European cities, moving from the Escoffier orthodoxy to the influence of *nouvelle cuisine*. This research reveals that French *haute cuisine* was widely available in Dublin hotels and restaurants from the late nineteenth century. German and Austrian chefs and waiters were widely employed in Dublin until the First World War, after which, Swiss chefs became more prevalent. Dublin restaurants enjoyed increased business during the 'Emergency' as gastro-tourists and army officers came to Dublin from England and Northern Ireland to dine. Restaurant Jammet during the years of WWII was reported to produce 'the finest French cooking from the fall of France to the liberation of Paris' (Ryan 1987).

In 1949, another French chef, Pierre Rolland, arrived in Dublin as *chef de cuisine* of the Russell Hotel and the restaurant under his leadership also became world renowned for *haute cuisine* (Mac Con Iomaire 2004b). Dublin restaurants serving *haute cuisine* enjoyed a 'golden age' in the two decades that followed the Second World War. The kitchens and dining rooms of the Russell and Royal Hibernian Hotels became nurseries for young Irish chefs and waiters who gradually replaced the Continental head chefs and waiters and became the culinary leaders in the 1970s. When the *Egon Ronay Guide* covered Ireland for the first time in 1963, the Russell was awarded three stars – the highest possible accolade. It was described as 'one of the best restaurants in Europe' in the 1964 guide and by 1965 the entry for the Russell Hotel Restaurant read 'words fail us in describing the brilliance of the cuisine at this elegant and luxurious restaurant which must rank amongst the best in the world' (Egon-Ronay 1965:464). The *Michelin Guide to Great Britain and Ireland* was first published in 1974, awarding one star to the Russell

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Hotel which also closed in 1974. *Haute cuisine* moved from the restaurants of Dublin to the country house hotels during the 1970s and 1980s. The next Michelin star was not awarded in Dublin until 1989, to another French chef / restaurateur, Patrick Guilbaud. By 2001 there were two Dublin restaurants awarded two Michelin stars each, Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, and Thornton's, run by an Irish chef Kevin Thornton. Another Irish chef, Conrad Gallagher, was awarded one Michelin star in his restaurant Peacock Alley in 2001, and seven other Dublin restaurants were also awarded Red 'M's in 2001, symbolising good food and a reasonable price.

This thesis is presented in three volumes. Volume I presents a broad review of the literature concerning the emergence of *haute cuisine* in a European context from Ancient Greece and Rome up to 21st century England and France, which acts as a historic backcloth against which the developments in Ireland can be seen.

Ireland's culinary history is reviewed in part one of Volume II, focusing particularly on the growth of public urban dining locations from taverns, coffee houses, clubs, chop houses to the emergence of the first French restaurant in Dublin in 1860. The main body of Volume II offers a chronology of how restaurants developed in Dublin from 1900 to 2000. Using a combination of documentary evidence, archival sources, material culture and oral histories, this volume attempts to establish the influence French *haute cuisine* had on this development. Sources will be critically analysed and compared with the findings of Volume I. Finally, the findings are assessed, conclusions are drawn and results are offered for consideration.

The growth of restaurants in Dublin during the twentieth century is divided into four phases:
Phase One: Dublin Restaurants (1900-1922) The Last Years of Imperial Rule
Phase Two: Dublin Restaurants (1922-1946) From Independence to post-Emergency
Phase Three: Dublin Restaurants (1947-1974) The Golden Age of *Haute Cuisine*
Phase Four: Dublin Restaurants (1974-2002) Decline, Stagnation and Resurgence

Volume III presents over 40 transcribed life history interviews with chefs, waiters, restaurateurs and discerning diners, from which much of the information for this research derives. This volume acts both as a reference to the themes discussed in Volume II and as a repository of life histories and material culture as a resource to future scholars of culinary history, social history and folklore.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of Ph.D. is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any Institute.

The work reported in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the Institute's guidelines for ethics in research.

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Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Glossary of Terms

À la carte	According to a menu that prices items separately.
Aislinge Meic Con Glinne	A 12th century satirical vision written by a Roscommon man who goes to Cork and is treated with meaness.
Alehouse	A public house which sold ale 'alcoholic drink made from fermented malt'.
Anglo-Irish	The inhabitants of Irelands of English birth or descent.
Aristocracy	A privileged class of people usually of high birth; the nobility.
Bain-marie	A vessel for holding hot water, in which sauces or other dishes are gently cooked or kept warm.
Bistro	Originally dating to late 19th century, meaning a small establishment serving food and drink, where one can eat simple rustic dishes that are not expensive without having to wait to long. By the end of the 20th century the word was annexed by more pretentious premises.
Bóaire	Strong farmer.
Bourgeoisie	The middle classes.
Brasserie	A 'cafe-restaurant' where beer would certainly be available but in which the serving of meals might be the dominant activity.
Brehon	The individual who formulated laws which safeguarded society – hence the term 'brehon laws'
Briugu / brughaidh	Food providers in Medieval Ireland which maintained guest houses for the general public.
Café	This has different meanings in both England and France both originating with the coffee houses c.

17th century. In England it tends to mean a place that sells light meals, snacks and no alcohol; in France it has a more social function than just the provision of food and also sold other beverages. Many famous restaurants have café in the title.

CDVEC	City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee.
CERT	Council for Education, Recruitment and Training.
Chef de cuisine	Head chef.
Chef de partie	Chef responsible for one of the various sections of a professional kitchen.
City & Guilds	An examining body in Britain for technical and craft skills.
Club	Group of people with common aims or interests or building where such a group go to meet, dine or read.
Coarb	Overseer or keeper of Church lands – who was more often a layman rather than priest.
Coffeehouse	A place where coffee is served, especially one that was fashionable in 18th century London.
Commis	An apprentice waiter or chef.
Consommé	Clarified soup made from meat or chicken stock.
Críth Gablach	An early 7th century legal poem.
Cuisine Bourgeoise	Like the bourgeoisie itself, *cuisine bourgeoise* was far from uniform. The *grande cuisine bourgeoise* was inspired by the *haute cuisine* of the aristocracy and at its best was on par with that. *Cuisine bourgeoise* was generally the province of women and included dishes that were slow cooked over a long period and left to simmer. *Cuisine bourgeoise* ranged from *grande cuisine bourgoise* prepared by female cooks to *cuisine ménagère* prepared by the

	housewife who had no cooks or *cordon blues* to help her.
DIT	Dublin Institute of Technology.
Duxelles	Culinary French for a mixture of chopped mushrooms sautéed in butter with onions used as a garnish with many dishes.
Egon Ronay	Hungarian restaurateur who founded renowned travel guide for Great Britain and Ireland. The Egon Ronay Guide awards one, two, and three stars to restaurants it considers to produce excellent cuisine.
Entrée	On a classical French menu, the *entrée* follows the *relevé* or intermediate course which follows the fish course etc. Usually a dish served with white or brown sauce but can also be a cold dish. Today the term has different meanings in various countries.
Entremetier	Vegetable chef.
Fricassee	Stewed meat, esp. chicken or veal, and vegetables, served in a thick white sauce.
Gaelic	Relating to the native people of Ireland and their culture.
Gastronome	Less common word for a gourmet.
Gastronomy	The art of good eating, or the type or cooking of a particular region: the gastronomy of Provence.
Gastrosopher	A person with professional expertise in gastronomy and hospitality.
Gentry	Persons just below the nobility in social rank.
Gnomic	Consisiting of, relating to or associated with gnomes or aphorisms (short pithy sayings or maxims expressing a general truth or principle).

Good Food Guide	Restaurant guide founded by Raymond Postgate in 1950 which the public contribute reports on their dining experiences.
Gourmand	French term originally meaning a glutton, but generally used to mean someone who loves good food.
Gourmet	Somebody who takes a discriminating and informed interest in food, more recently used as an adjective; a 'gourmet food' is one which will supposedly appeal to such a person.
Gridiron	A utensil of parallel metal bars used to grill meat, fish etc.
Guild	An association of men sharing the same interest, such as merchants or artisans: formed for mutual aid and protection and to maintain craft standards.
Haute cuisine	High class cooking; the first home of *haute cuisine* was the court but with the passage of time *haute cuisine* became a part of a much broader elite culture. Its rules and practices changed over the years as they were refined and codified by successive culinarians from Ancient Greece to modern times. After La Varenne, sauce rather than spices would be the central element of most European *haute cuisine*. *Haute cuisine* classified by Carême and redefined by Escoffier was luxurious, sumptious and decorative, and combined in complex ways the rarest and most expensive produce for the delectation of a wealthy and privileged clientele all eager to become gastronomes. *Haute cuisine* was the province of men while *cuisine bourgeoise* was for women.

Hors d'œuvres	Light delicate snacks that are additional to the menu. Literally means 'outside of the work'.
Krater	Ancient Greek vessel for diluting wine with water.
Levee	A formal reception held by a sovereign just after rising from bed, or a public court reception for men, held in the early afternoon.
Maître d'Hôtel	Person in charge of dining room in a hotel or restaurant.
Mess	A place where service personel eat or take recreation: an officer's mess.
Michelin Guide	Restaurant and travel guide that is autonomous, impartial and considered the most respected among culinary professionals. The Michelin Guide awards one, two and three star ratings to restaurants annually, with a lesser award of a Bib Gourmand for a restaurant providing 'good food at moderate rates'. Three Michelin stars is considered the most prestigious award attainable in the world of *haute cuisine* – the culinary equivalent of the film industry's 'Oscars'. Three stars indicate 'exceptional cuisine, worth a special journey', two stars represent 'excellent cooking, worth a detour', and one star symbolises 'a very good restaurant in its category' (Michelin-Guide 2000:33).
Molecular Gastronomy	Term coined by Nicolas Kurti and Hervé This to note the application of scientific knowledge to culinary problems, or the new discipline within food science to investigate the processes in regular cooking.

Nobility	The class of people holding the titles of dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, or barons and their feminine equivalents collectively; peerage.
Nouvelle cuisine	A style of preparing and presenting food, often only lightly cooked, with light sauces and interesting combinations of flavours, based on the seasons and market availability; became the *haute cuisine* of the 1970s and 1980s.
Pale	Fortified lowland region around Dublin that was subject to English rule.
Partie **system**	System of kitchen organization developed by Escoffier in which the kitchen is divided into sections called with a *chef de partie* in charge of each section.
Patissier	Pastry chef.
Pièces Montées	Decorative pieces, sometimes inedible often monumental affairs, used in ancient cuisine, favoured by Carême.
Plongeur	Dish washer or kitchen porter.
Poissonier	Fish chef.
Propriety Club	Club ran in a building owned by a proprietor.
Psalter	Book of psalms.
Pub	A building with a bar and one or more public rooms licenced for the sale and consumption of alcoholic drink, also often providing light meals.
Recherché	Known only to connoisseurs; choice or rare.
Relevé	The course that relieves the soup or the fish and precedes the entrée.
Restaurant	A public establishment where food is served. Differentiated from earlier establishments by

	individual tables, individually priced menus, and flexibility in time of dining.
Roast	A course on a menu which includes roasted meat.
Roux	An equal mix of fat and flour used to thicken sauce.
Salon Culinaire	Culinary competition.
Service à la Francaise	Method of service practiced in the aristocratic upper end of French and other European cuisine from medieval times until the mid-19th century in which food was served not in courses as we know now, but in services. Each service could comprise a choice of dishes from which each guest could select what appealed to him or her most. The service substituted flavour and the enjoyment of food for making an impression of wealth and power.
Service à la Russe	Replaced *service à la Francaise* in Britain and elsewhere in Europe in the course of the 19th century. This new style of table service provided for dishes being served to guests at their seats by servants who handed them round. The meal was served in courses starting with *hors d'oeuvres*, soup, fish, entrée etc. and required more servants and also table decorations to take up the spaces which the dishes themselves would have occupied under the old system.
Socle	A pedestal made from edible ingredients, a socle raises a dish to provide a better view but declined in popularity with the greater use of *service à la Russe.*
Sous chef	Second chef.
Statutes of Kilkenny	Legislation passed in parliament in 1366 remembered chiefly for their attempt to preserve the Englishness of the Anglo-Normans but excluding

	all Irish influence that appeared to threaten their seperateness.
Table d'Hôte	Fixed price menu or establishment that provided food at a fixed time for a fixed price at a communal table.
Táin	*Táin Bó Cualinge* 'Battle Raid of Cooley' mythological tale from the Ulster Cycle centred on the youthful Ulster warrior *Cú Chulainn*.
Tanist	The heir apparent of a Celtic chieftain chosen by election during the chief's lifetime: literally means the second person from the Gaelic *tánaiste*.
Tavern	A less common word for pub, originally meant a public house that sold wine, and often provided meals.
Taylorism	System of scientific management advocated by Frederick Winslow Taylor.
The Irish Free State	Established under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty (6 Dec 1921), name given to the twenty six counties of Ireland until the Republic of Ireland Act (1948), although the name Éire was also used to signify the territory following the 1937 Constitution of Ireland.
The Republic of Ireland	Name given to the twenty six counties of Ireand following the Republic of Ireland Act (1948), which declared Ireland a republic and formally recognised its withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.
Thom's Directory	*Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* first appeared in 1844 and is still published annually. It stopped listing restaurants in 1958.

Traiteur	A *traiteur* is someone who provides meals for payment and was the predecessor of the restaurateur – caterer.
Verjuice	The acid juice of unripe grapes, apples and crab apples, formally much used in making sauces.
Viceregal Lodge	Residence of the Viceroy in the Phoenix Park – now *Áras an Uachtarán.*
Viceroy	Governor of a colony; British government representative in Ireland until formation of Irish Free State.

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 - La Chapelle (1735), Marin (1739), Menon (1739).

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Coffeehouses (c.1650s), Taverns with Food, Paris Restaurants (c.1760s), Gentlemen's Clubs

Post Revolution Period Classical (Professional) French Cuisine
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*Service à la Russe***; Escoffier (1846-1935)** published *Le Guide Culinaire*, organised the kitchen into partie system influenced by Taylorism

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Introduction

The impetus for this research project stems from the researcher's interest in the development of restaurants in Dublin between 1900 and 2000, particularly in regards to the influence French *haute cuisine* had on this development. It is generally acknowledged that France towards the end of the eighteenth century was the 'birthplace' of what is now called the restaurant, which gradually replaced an older variety of eating establishment (Mennell 1996:139; Pitte 1999:472; Spang 2000:2; Trubek 2000:35). A number of factors differentiated a restaurant from the earlier tavern or a *table d'hôte*. Firstly the restaurant provided private tables for customers. Secondly the restaurant offered a choice of individually priced dishes in the form of a *carte* or bill of fare; and thirdly it offered food at times that suited the customer, not at one fixed time as in the case of the *table d'hôte* (Brillat-Savarin 1994:267).

There has been a growing interest in culinary history and gastronomy in the last three decades (Messer, Haber et al. 2000). The sociology of eating and drinking as represented by the example of the *grande cuisine* of France was the subject of Barlösius's (1988) Ph.D.. The emergence of Paris restaurant culture has been investigated at Ph.D. level by Spang (1993), while Trubek's (1995) Ph.D. studied the rise of the modern culinary profession. Research on the origins of French *haute cuisine* is presented in Wheaton (1983) and a comparative study of eating and taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present is available in Mennell (1996). A more recent phenomenon is the growing number of edited books on culinary history (Teuteberg 1992; Davidson 1999; Flandrin and Montanari 1999; Kiple and Ornelas 2000; Jacobs and Scholliers 2003; Katz 2003; Freedman 2007), and the sociology and anthropology of food (Mennell, Murcott et al. 1992; Scapp and Seitz 1998; Sloan 2004; Watson and Caldwell 2005; Beriss and Sutton 2007; Counihan and Van Esterik 2008) which has introduced international scholarship on the experience of public dining. On an academic level, despite recent research on hospitality in medieval Ireland (O' Sullivan 2004), and both the lives of domestic servants in Dublin 1880-1920 (Hearn 1984; Hearn 1993), and the women of the house 1921-1961 (Clear 1997; Clear 2000), it is surprising to note that no comprehensive study of the development of restaurants in Dublin is currently available.

This project seeks to redress this gap by presenting a review of Dublin restaurants between 1900 and 2000, particularly in regards to the influence French *haute cuisine* had on the development of these restaurants.

Aims

This project is framed within the theory that French *haute cuisine* influenced the development of restaurants in Dublin as it did in London. The aim of the research is therefore to investigate whether the development of *haute cuisine* in Dublin restaurants followed the London example being strongly influenced by French culinary practices as well as French or French trained individuals. In order to investigate the validity of this, the following operational goals and objectives are presented:

- To investigate the history of public dining from the Ancient world to the present day and identify when and how French *haute cuisine* became the dominant model in the development of public dining in Europe.

- To investigate the history of Irish food and public dining from pre-Norman times to the present day.

- To investigate the chronology and genealogy of restaurants producing *haute cuisine* or *cuisine bourgeoise* in Dublin between 1900 and 2000.

There is a current dearth of research on Dublin restaurants and this 'history from below' study is in keeping with the post-modern historiography of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, particularly through the technique of oral history. Iggers (1997) discusses how history's subject matter has recently shifted from social structures and processes to culture in the broad sense of everyday life, 'history has assumed a human face as attention is given to individuals, common folks not just the high and mighty' (Iggers 1997:14). Appadurai (1991) suggests that performing 'genealogies of the present' can create a more historical picture of present situations. One of the reasons for using oral history in this project is the lack of written material available, but this is compensated by the fund of outstanding personal experience provided in the oral testimonies. This approach to cultural history, like the hermeneutics of classical historicism, is concerned not with the explanation but with the "explication", the attempt to reconstruct the

significance of the social expressions that serve as its texts. The oral historical approach according to Tosh (1991:227) gives social history 'a human face' and recovers 'lost areas of human experience'. Evans (1957:xiii) contends that to capture the 'living past' one cannot rely on traditional historical archival methodology. It can only be gathered and preserved through the oral historical approach before it perishes with the informants. The methodology of this study has been motivated by the pioneering work of Kearns (1991; 1994; 2001) in Dublin's urban folklore and oral folk history.

The academic fields of food studies and culinary history span many academic disciplines (Duran and MacDonald 2006:234). Therefore, an interdisciplinary approach to the identification and analyses of research material has been adopted in this study. The main primary research methodology employed in this project is in-depth life history interviews with chefs, waiters, restaurateurs and discerning diners who have lived experiences of Dublin restaurants during the twentieth century. Other primary sources employed include artefacts, such as old menus, photographs, and advertisements. Traditional secondary documentary and archival evidence are examined and compared with primary sources to provide an academic background and a robust account of the history of Dublin restaurants between 1900 and 2000. Strauss and Corbin (1998:33) suggest that to build dense, well-developed, integrated and comprehensive theory, a researcher should make use of any or every method at his or her disposal, keeping in mind that a true interplay of methods is necessary. As research into this specific field has, to date, been virtually nil, it is hoped that the fruits of this investigation will make a significant contribution to the understanding of how restaurants developed in Dublin in general, and the influence of *haute cuisine* on this development process in particular. This research is both descriptive and analytical in nature due to the quantity of primary data, in the form of oral histories, being recorded for the first time.

Limitations of the Research

The 1901 census report listed 286 cooks (not domestic) and 253 hotel keepers as living in the greater Dublin region. By 1991, the last year the census reports gave a breakdown of chefs and cooks by county, there were 3,878 chefs and cooks, 5,679 waiters and

waitresses, and 3,351 proprietors or managers of hotels and restaurants listed in the census report as living in the greater Dublin region. The story of every Dublin restaurant or of each individual restaurant worker is outside of the scope of this dissertation. Instead the thesis focuses on the influences and events that produced French *haute cuisine* or *cuisine bourgeoise* and on the key individuals and circumstances responsible for the 'golden age' of *haute cuisine* in Dublin during the twentieth century.

Structure and Scope of Thesis

In terms of delivery, the dissertation is presented in three volumes. Volume I presents the conceptual framework which contextualises the research question, by discussing how food and *haute cuisine* developed from Ancient Greece and Rome up to the end of the twentieth century, particularly in France and England. This phase of the study critically reviews the current state of knowledge – principally using secondary sources – of the main development and trends in the history of European cuisine. Changing habits of eating and dining are charted from the Ancient world through the Middle Ages, the early modern period, with individual chapters outlining the origins of the restaurant, and the development of public dining in both France and England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the emergence of French *haute cuisine*. Volume I, in effect, establishes the general and historical back-cloth against which the main thrust of the investigation must be seen. Certain themes emerged in Volume I that proved particularly important in understanding the social / cultural place of the Irish experience. These include:

- The introduction of New World foods and beverage.
- The rise of coffee houses.
- The pattern throughout Europe of employing French or French trained male chefs in aristocratic household.
- The transfer of catering staff (chefs, managers, restaurateurs) from working in private aristocratic houses to the public sphere in hotels and restaurants.
- The growth of tourism facilitated by the onset of the 'steam age' with trains and ocean liners making travel quicker and more accessible.

- The influence of American visitors on the emergence of grill rooms and cocktail bars in restaurants and hotels.
- The attempted professionalisation of the culinary sphere in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the emergence of cookery exhibitions, trade journals, and professional cookery schools.
- The influence of immigration on the growth of restaurants.
- The manner in which both World Wars affected the restaurant industry.
- Gender issues and social status of both restaurant clientele and employees.
- The rise of *nouvelle cuisine* and later trends such as 'fusion' cookery and molecular gastronomy.

Volume II focuses on Ireland and can be separated into two parts. The first part (Chapters 10, 11 and 12) provides an overview of parallel developments in Ireland from pre-Norman times to the end of the nineteenth century. This first part explores how the food culture of Ireland has changed since pre-Norman times, focusing particularly on the rise of public dining locations ranging from early inns and taverns, through to coffee houses and chocolate houses, chop houses, gentlemen's clubs, hotels, to the emergence of the social phenomenon known as the 'restaurant'. These chapters also identify the main influences and the catalysts for change, including the introduction of New World foods and beverages, the influence of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy on the dining habits in Ireland, and emerging legislation that influenced the growth of restaurants from the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the emergence and development of *haute cuisine*.

Chapter 13, Volume II, is the beginning of the central study of the thesis in which the methodology, literature survey, and the cardinal importance of oral history in the writing of the thesis are laid out. The main body of the work is presented in Chapters 14 to 17 where the study is divided chronologically into four Phases as follows:

Phase One (Chapter 14): Dublin Restaurants 1900-1922: The Last Years of Imperial Rule

Phase Two (Chapter 15): Dublin 1922-1946: From Independence to Post-Emergency

Phase Three (Chapter 16): Dublin 1947-1974: The Golden Age of *Haute Cuisine*

Phase Four (Chapter 17): Dublin 1974-2002: Decline, Stagnation and Resurgence.

These four chapters provide an overview of social, political and cultural life in Dublin during the twentieth century and also present case studies of the leading restaurants and hotels in Dublin during the period in question. The research uncovers a 'hidden Ireland' of aristocratic and bourgeois life in Dublin which has been hitherto under-researched, compared to what is available on French society and culture in the twentieth century (Zeldin 1993). Also uncovered are the lives of the various actors (chefs, waiters, restaurateurs) who facilitated the operation of Dublin restaurants, particularly during the twentieth century. Some of the factors that will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters include:

- The growth of bourgeois Dublin.
- The influence of legislation on the proliferation of restaurants.
- The influence of foreign workers in the hospitality business.
- Analysis of Census reports relating to hospitality workers.
- Analysis of data on restaurants from Thom's Directories (1850-1958).
- The phenomenon of vegetarian restaurants in Dublin from the late nineteenth century.
- The transfer of knowledge of French classical cuisine from French or French trained chefs to indigenous Irish chefs, waiters, and restaurateurs and also to the general dining public through gastronomic literature.
- The shift from German and Austrian workers to Swiss and French staff in the hospitality industry in Dublin following the First World War.
- Gender issues within the public dining sector.
- Attempts at professionalisation of culinary workers (Competitions, Journals, Education Provision, Professional bodies / trade associations / Unions).
- The Irish branch of André L. Simon's Food and Wine Society.
- The influence of particular individuals and dynastic catering families (particularly the Jammet and Besson families).
- The phenomenon of 'gastro-tourists' in Dublin during the 'Emergency'.
- The gradual appearance of ethnic restaurants in Dublin (Italian, Indian, Chinese).
- Analysis of guide books on Dublin restaurants (Egon Ronay, Michelin).

- The decline of Escoffier style *haute cuisine* in the 1970s.
- Movement of fine dining from Dublin to country house hotels.
- The rise in restaurants ran by chef / proprietors.
- The emergence of some restaurants ran by enthusiastic amateurs.
- The rise and influence of *nouvelle cuisine* in the 1980s.
- The influence of America on Dublin restaurants (from Grill rooms in the 1890s to cocktail bars in the 1930s, Fast food in the 1970s to Fusion food in the 1990s).
- The Rebirth of *haute cuisine* with Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, The Commons, Thornton's, and Peacock Alley awarded Michelin stars in 1990s.
- The direct and indirect lineage between Dublin's *haute cuisine* restaurants with those of London and Paris.

In Chapter 18, the findings of the thesis, which are wide ranging, will be assessed and analysed. These findings are compared to general theoretical perspectives outlined in Volume I, where the Irish experience – particularly that of Dublin – is compared and contrasted with the experience of particularly London and Paris. Conclusions are drawn on how well the aims of the thesis have been achieved and areas for potential further research are suggested.

Volume III consists of the transcribed oral histories and copies of material culture that have underpinned the research. Volume III, effectively acts as a repository of information for future scholars within this field or the broader field of social and cultural history. The transcribed interviews describe a rich tapestry of 'hidden Ireland' which makes fascinating reading. Some of the themes that are discussed in the interviews are:
- Immigrant culinary families (Jammet, Opperman, Geldof, Besson, Gygax, Rolland etc.).
- Lived experiences of family life, education and employment in Ireland during the twentieth century.
- Chef's life experience at sea with Cunard lines and P&O lines.

- Irish culinary workers' experiences working in London, France, Switzerland and America.
- Social history: closed trades, patterns of unionisation, alcoholism, anti-social hours, changing social status of catering workers, religious influences, and anti-Semitism.
- History of entertainment in Dublin from diplomatic dining, cinemas, theatres, dress dances to dining at differing levels of sophistication in the public sphere.
- Memories of aristocratic, royal and famous diners in Dublin restaurants ranging from the Prince of Hydrabad, Gaekwad of Baroda, Princess Grace, John F. Kennedy, Cary Grant and Audrey Hepburn.
- Behind the scenes insights into the workings of hotels, restaurants, professional kitchens, educational institutions and professional bodies.

Chapter 1 – The Classical World: Ancient Greece and Rome

Historic Outline

The development of Western European gastronomy extends over a long period of time between the Classical period of Greece and Rome to the present day. Stevenson (2002:14-90) subdivides ancient Greece into early Greece (2500-750 BC), the archaic and classical periods (750-336 BC), and the Hellenistic period (336-146 BC). He subdivides ancient Rome into the Roman Republic (509-44 BC), and the Roman Empire (44 BC-AD 476). The archaic period reveals the origins of the most prominent form of Greek civilisation in the Classical period, the city-state (*polis*). The city-state was closely identified with its citizen community, which shared privileges of participation, and a form of government (Stevenson 2002:25-27). From the eighth century BC, residents of these city-states of mainland Greece formed communities in Southern Italy and Sicily, and later in areas to the east of Greece. Colonies arose in areas of commercial value as illustrated in Figure 1.0, but Stevenson (2002:26) notes that Greek 'colonisation' represented a different phenomenon from the modern European process. He suggests that Greek identity became more consciously defined following the Persian Wars (490-479 BC), as differences between Greek and non-Greek 'barbarian' were emphasised. Athens became the focus of innovation, architecture and theatre throughout the fifth century BC, but this was also a time of conflict particularly the Peloponnesian War.

Figure 1.0: Greek Colonisation 8th – 6th Century BC
Source: (Stevenson 2002:27)

By the fifth century BC, Dalby (1999b:189) states that Athens had become a large city, depending on imports even for staple foods. Stevenson (2002:52) points out that Greek civilisation underwent considerable development in technology, sculpture, religion, poetry, libraries and philosophy from 336-146 BC (the Hellenistic period). Alexander the Great was proclaimed king in 336 BC. He built and expanded an empire stretching, at the time of his death in 323 BC from Egypt to the Indus Valley (Fig. 1.1). Dalby (1999b:189) has written that after Alexander's conquests a material civilization with many Greek features, now known as 'Hellenistic', spread through the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East. The upper classes entertained lavishly in a new style influenced by Macedonian, Persian and other cuisines and cultures. Stevenson (2002:48-50) suggests that Alexander's campaigns curtailed the importance of Greek city-states in politics resulting in instability. Roman colonisation of Greece, he writes, happened in stages, by means of both diplomacy and warfare.
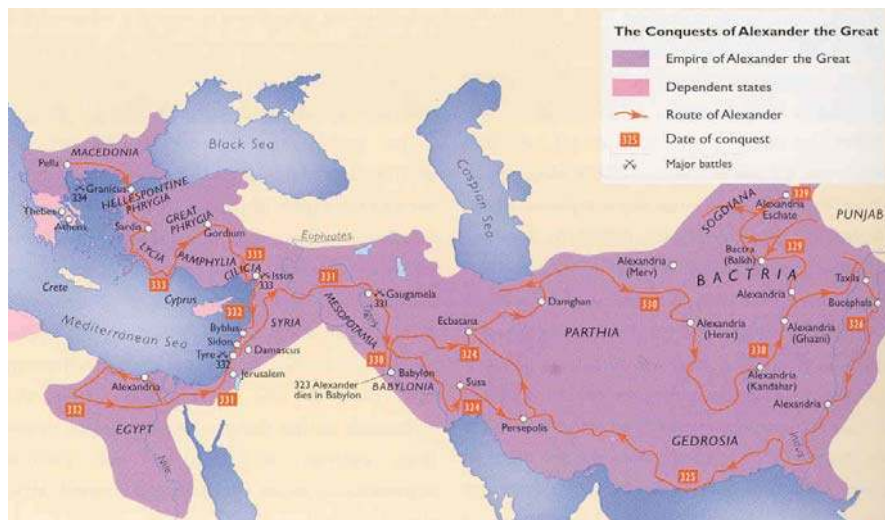
Figure 1.1: The Conquests of Alexander the Great
Source: (Stevenson 2002:46)

Rome grew from a country town to become the centre of a world empire. Rome's defeat of the Carthaginians of North Africa in the third and second centuries BC opened the way for the domination of the whole Western Mediterranean, and victories in Greece and the East, in the second and first centuries ensured that a single political entity was governing

the entire Mediterranean and its hinterland by the time of Christ (Dalby 1999a:191). The expansion of the Roman Empire 200 to 100 BC is illustrated in Figure 1.2. The new Empire brought great riches to Rome, but it also brought dissent and suffering. Disputes between the wealthy, the lower classes and Rome's allies in Italy dominated the last century of the Republic. Although Rome conquered Greece militarily, the Greeks conquered Rome culturally. The poet Horace cited in Stevenson (2002:72) described the appeal of all things Hellenic to the Romans of the later Republic thus: 'Captive Greece took her savage conqueror captive, and brought the arts into rustic Latium'. Faas (2003:26) argues that when Rome expanded, it exported this culture and government, but imported food produced by the colonies for the Roman market.

Figure 1.2: The Expansion of the Roman Empire 200-100 BC
Source: (Stevenson 2002:68)

Rome moved from a Republic to an Empire about the time of Augustus (27 BC-AD 14). It was under the rule of Emperor Claudius that the first significant territorial gains since the Augustan period took place with the conquest of Southern Britain in AD 43. Faas (2003:26) mentions that some historians have concluded that Roman expansion ceased in the north because it was too cold for grapes, and that conquering land that could not support Roman farms was futile. Renfrew (1985:6-7), however, suggests it was resistance and rebellion from the Scots that led Hadrian to build his artificial line of defence

between Solway and the Tyne, and the existence of the earlier more northerly 'Antoinine Wall' indicates Roman northerly expansion was curtailed for security reasons. The Roman Empire was at its height during the second century AD as illustrated in Figure 1.3, but despite the extension of citizenship to the entire Empire in AD 212, Stevenson (2002:75) suggests the Roman Empire never achieved true stability. Whatever peace and security there was, he writes, came at the price of tyranny which, by the fifth century left the entire Western Empire vulnerable to the Goths and Vandals.

Figure 1.3: Roman Provinces at the Height of the Empire, 2nd Century AD
Source: (Stevenson 2002:80)

Classical Cuisine – Sources of Evidence

Dalby (1999b:189) suggests that our knowledge of ancient Greek cuisine is tantalizingly incomplete, since subjects other than food have preoccupied classical scholars. Amouretti (1999:79) concedes that less is known of the Greek diet than that of the Romans, but notes that scholars have a fairly good idea of what was eaten in the cities of classical Greece. Archaeological evidence in the form of bones, seeds, middens, pottery and cooking vessels, food residues, stomach contents in mummies and bog bodies, and coprolites provide a clearer picture of ancient diets (Renfrew 1985:5; Brothwell and

Brothwell 1998:18; Kiple and Ornelas 2000:11-74). Written evidence comes from various sources. Much of what is known of Greek gastronomy is based on the writings of the fourth century BC poet Archestratus (Tannahill 1975:81; Dalby 1999b:190). Epicurus, the philosopher (342-270 BC) told his fellow Greek countrymen to 'Eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die' (Cracknell and Nobis 1985:46). The writings of Marcus Gavius Apicius (circa 42 BC to AD 37) provides much of what is known about Roman cooking (Page and Kingsford 1971:13). Cato, Galen, Pliny, Athenaeus, Varro, Columella, Palladius and Petronius also wrote food related texts. Pliny's great work on Natural History and Petronius's descriptions of 'Trimalchio's Feast' are of particular value (Renfrew 1985:5). She also mentions letters preserved at Vindolanda, written by Roman soldiers serving on Hadrian's Wall to their families, as providing evidence of what was eaten in Roman Britain. Artistic representations of plants, animals, foods and dining scenes both as wall paintings, on mosaics, and depicted on pottery also provide a source of evidence. One of the most reliable sources of evidence of everyday life in Roman times is to be found in Pompeii, preserved by volcanic ash following the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 (Stevenson 2002:57). Faas (2003:41) records that 118 bars and 20 hotels have been excavated in Pompeii.

The cuisine of Rome is the direct ancestor of most of the cuisines of Western Europe. Roman cookery came under strong Hellenistic influence, and Greek cuisine during the Hellenistic period was influenced by Macedonian and Persian cuisine (Dalby 1999a:191; Dalby 1999b:189). There is little evidence of any elaborate methods of cookery in the early Greek civilization (eighth century BC) depicted in the Homeric epics, according to Dalby (1999b:189), but, by the fifth and fourth centuries BC, he suggests a highly developed cuisine was practiced in many Greek towns, influenced by Greek overseas colonies in Sicily and Asia Minor. Strong (2003:9) notes that Greek cuisine was based on the sea, with meat highly valued but relatively scarce. He notes that domesticated animals, in early society, were needed far more for their milk and wool, and to work the land than for consumption. Tannahill (1975:64) suggests that because a slaughtered animal had to be eaten almost immediately in hot weather, that meat was probably eaten

more often in cities than in the countryside, as the number of potential customers in the towns was large.

Tannahill (1975:88) notes that many Romans regarded a costly and ostentatious table as proof of status. Apicius, the first century gourmet whose name is attached to the only surviving Roman 'cookbook', is reported to have poisoned himself when he realised that he had no more than ten million sestereces left (equivalent to three quarter a ton of gold bullion), on which he estimated what it would be impossible to maintain his standard of living (Page and Kingsford 1971:13; Tannahill 1975:89). As the Roman Empire expanded, new ingredients were brought back to Rome. Lucullus (110-57 BC), one of the conquerors, brought back so many rare and unusual foodstuffs that his prominence as 'the greatest gourmet of all time' surpassed his reputation as a general (Gillespie 2001:39). Scully and Scully (2002:2) suggest that the Roman province of Gaul benefited from the civilization that the conquerors brought with them from the first century BC on, as Roman food habits persisted in Gaul during the five centuries that the Empire lasted.

Faas (2003:148) highlights suggestions by some writers that the Roman Empire collapsed due to lead poisoning from the cooking pans or water pipes, a symptom of which is a declining sense of taste, perhaps explaining the Roman use of strong flavourings. From the third and fourth centuries onwards, it is evident that the food model established by the Greek and Romans began to crumble, attacked on the one hand, by Christianity and, on the other by the newly dominant Germanic culture. The biggest change came with the gradual erosion of the Mediterranean triad – grain, wine and oil – and the increasing acceptability and availability of meat (Montanari 1999a:77).

Urban and Rural

Montanari (1999a:69) is of the opinion that, the desire to be seen as belonging to 'civilisation' defined food culture in the Classical world. Diet played an essential role in this attempt at defining a model of civilised life, which was deeply rooted in the concept of the city. He argues that three aspects of the food model were stressed in order to differentiate the civilized citizen from the uncivilized non-citizen - or savage barbarian:

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'conviviality; the kind of food consumed; the art of cooking, and dietary regime'. Amouretti (1999:83-87) contrasts the diet of both urban and rural, and notes that although imported wine benefited city dwellers, that it was more difficult for people of limited means to live in the city than in the countryside. Tannahill (1975:79) states that peasants in Classical Greece ate not only barley pastes, but barley gruel and barley bread, a few olives and figs, some goats milk cheese and occasionally salt fish as a relish. Amouretti (1999:83-87) notes that professional cooks appeared in Athens by the fifth century BC, who 'maintained a vigilant watch on the quality of foodstuffs and condiments'. She points out that the Greeks were particularly fond of vinegar and that they appreciated a variety of costly foreign items, but suggests they never developed tastes as sophisticated as those of wealthy Romans.

Meat at table was associated with status, with affluent Romans consuming large quantities: with pork especially considered a delicacy (Gillespie 2001:39). Tannahill (1975:87) writes that the basic diet of the Roman poor consisted of grain-pastes, and a polenta-like porridge made from millet. Water was the usual drink. She notes that cooking was primitive because equipment was primitive. Dalby (2000:218-20) suggests the more convivial side of Rome's night life was represented by the taverns and hot food stalls. He states that these establishments were more than a nocturnal luxury but a daily necessary, as poor Romans avoided cooking whenever possible because of the high risk of fire in the tall narrow tenement houses in which they lived. Tannahill suggests that 'they might buy a slice of roast pork or some salt fish from one of the 'grimy cookshops' whose wares were spread half across the public streets' (1975:87). Dalby (2000:218-20) proposes that everybody ate street food, even emperors, and that the bars and taverns in and around the great baths were the nearest thing that Rome had to restaurants. Food in the taverns, according to Fass (2003:41-2), was less spectacular than in wealthy houses, but was freshly prepared by the proprietors. He writes that larger taverns had separate kitchens and a cellar, and if space was large enough customers could sit at tables rather than stand. Separate rooms with benches and tables only existed in more luxurious restaurants, and in some cases, there were places where customers could even recline (Faas 2003:42).

Pitte (1999:471) argues that there have been inns and way stations along major roads, even in the Roman Empire where travellers could exchange horses, rest and restore their strength by eating and drinking while keeping company with the staff and other guests. In Greece and Rome, according to Peyer (1999:289), commercial inns and taverns were regarded as disreputable, seen as thieves' dens and brothels, frequented primarily by the lower classes. He notes that the upper classes relied mostly on the hospitality of their social equals, and that only on longer journeys did the aristocracy occasionally have to stay at an inn. Peyer (1999:289) argues that the unfavourable reputation of the taverns and inns led to the construction of religious and monastic inns for Christian travellers, pilgrims and especially the poor. Milliken (1967:78) writes that hospitality was always a feature of monastic life (in England), and quoting the Barnwell Observances states 'by showing cheerful hospitality to guests, the reputation of the monastery is increased, friendships multiplied, animosities blunted, God is honoured, charity increased and a plenteous reward in heaven is promised'. Gillespie (2001:40) notes that 'wherever the Roman Legions marched, they brought Roman civilisation as well'.

Food and Sources

Bread, oil and wine became the symbols of a civilised society, which was able to create its own plants by farming the land and raising livestock - 'those people who did not farm, eat bread, or drink wine were therefore savages or barbarians' (Montanari 1999a:71). Both the Greek and Roman civilisations were eminently urban; the countryside was considered and annex of the *polis* or *civitas*, which supplied the city with food (Montanari 1999a:76). Dalby (1999b:189-90) writes that the staple food of Greeks were wheat and barley. Poor people, he suggests, supplemented their diet with little more than fruit, mushrooms, and vegetables gathered from the wild. Many added olive oil and flavourings such as cheese, onion, garlic and salt fish. The variety of meat and fish dishes and the many savoury and sweet confections on the tables of the wealthy, he observes, were still typically preceded with wheat and barley loaves. By the third century BC, Tannahill (1975:81) writes, 'Athens had developed the original *hors d'oeuvre* trolley, an innovation which other Greeks stigmatised as evidence of a miserly disposition'. The

trolley or tray would contain various dishes including garlic, sea urchins, sweet wine sop, cockles, or a piece of sturgeon.

Faas (2003:134) argues that the culinary uses of herbs and spices cannot be separated from their medicinal functions. He notes that Roman medicine was based on Greek traditions, particularly the teachings of Hippocrates in the fifth century BC. According to Hippocrates, four fluids (yellow gall, black gall, blood and mucus), each having a certain quality or 'humour', flowed through the body. The cook and the pharmacist could influence the humours with food and herbs. The taste of food, he writes, was also important. Sweetness was nourishing and phlegmatic; salt was good for the blood and recovering wounds; sourness was cold, dry and melancholic; spices and toxins like wine were 'bitter' and could increase energy (Faas 2003:138).

Fass (2003:139-172) gives a detailed description of the foodstuffs used in the Roman kitchen, listed using the sweet, salt, sour and bitter classifications. For sourness they used citrus (juice and leaves), and vinegar made from both figs and wine. Salt flavours were achieved using sea-salt, mined salt, brine (used in salting cheese, olives and ham), saltwater for cooking, fish sauce (*garum* also called *liquamen* made from fermented fish), *alec* (a by-product of *garum* resembling anchovy sauce) and *salsamentum* (originally whole salted fishes eaten as a starter, but gradually all salted foods became known as *salsa,* which is also the root for the word sauce). Sweet flavours were achieved using honey, *defrutum* (syrup made from must), *caroenum* (two third reduced wine syrup), *sapa* (one third reduced wine syrup), dried fruit, and occasionally sugar which came from Arabia and India, but was mostly used for medicinal purposes. The Romans used sweet tastes to counter overpowering saltiness. Apicius writes: 'If it is too sweet, add *garum*. If is too salty, add syrup' (Faas 2003:146). The Latin word for bitterness '*amaritudo*', also meant the 'sharpness' or 'heat' of spices. Apicius noted the following herbs and spices that a Roman larder should contain. Spices included saffron, pepper, ginger, laser, aromatic leaves, myrtle berries, costmary, chervil, lemon grass, cardamom, and spikenard. Seeds included poppy, rue, rue berries, laurel berries, aniseed, celery, fennel lovage, rocket, coriander, cumin, dill, parsley, caraway, and sesame. Dry herbs included

laser root, mint, catmint, sage, cypress, oregano, juniper leaves, shallots, thyme, coriander, Spanish camomile, lemon leaf, parsnip, Ascalonian shallots, dill, garlic, elderberry, Cyprian rush, and silphium. Fass (2003:151) points out that the list is incomplete, since savory, mustard and fenugreek are not mentioned, despite appearing regularly in recipes. He also notes the absence of herbs, which would be used fresh (i.e. marjoram, oregano), that would therefore not be kept in the larder.

Olive oil, according to Faas (2003:166), was available in different qualities. It was used in cooking, for baking, roasting and frying; it was added to sauces, poured over vegetables, and used in almost every dish. Dairy products did not predominate but Romans ate plenty of cheese. Being the primary way to preserve milk, cheese was made from the milk of all kinds of animals. According to Pliny, cheese made from animals with two nipples – goats and sheep – was best. Milk from animals with more than four nipples – like cats and dogs – was unsuitable (Faas 2003:168). Cheese, he writes, was made from the milk of goats, sheep, cows, horses, donkeys, hares, deer, and rabbit milk cheese was supposed to cure diarrhoea. Cheese came to Rome from all the provinces, with Pliny declaring that those from Gaul (France) were the most delicious.

Faas (2003:188) states that Romans primarily used flour made out of spelt, wheat (*triticum*) and rye (*secale*). Millet (*millium*), he notes was used in Southern Italy, and he writes that barley (*hordeum*) inherited from the Greeks was ground and known as *polenta*. Oats (*avena*) grew well in colder climates, popular among the Germans and the Celts, but was considered a weed by the Romans, according to Fass. The second century BC historian Fronto said that the population of Rome was 'absorbed by two things above all others, its *annona* and its public spectacles' (Tannahill 1975:83). The *annona* was the distribution of free grain, intended to relieve poverty, but grew into a mass general subsidy with grain replaced by readymade bread, and later to include a ration of pork fat and even wine.

Tannahill (1975:88) describes the remarkable range of ingredients used in preparing the food of the rich. They include local ingredients like wild asparagus, milk-fed kid, pike

from the Tiber, pears, apples and grapes, but also included are exotic foreign foodstuffs: pickles from Spain, ham from Gaul, Oysters from Britain, wine from the Jura, pomegranates from Libya, and spices from Indonesia. She mentions the elaborate presentation of food in Trimalchio's Feast: 'a hare tricked out with wings to look like a Pegasus, a wild sow with its belly full of live thrushes, quinces stuck with thorns to look like sea urchins, roast pork carved into models of fish, songbirds and geese', but warns that Petronius is satirising the exhibitionism of the *nouveau riche* in his descriptions, and caution is needed in considering the work (Tannahill 1975:88). Fletcher (2004:47-49) argues that fish was not highly regarded by early Romans because fish were wild and not controlled, but she notes that wealthy Romans constructed salt water ponds as symbols of status and that the taming of fish became fashionable. The service of whole enormous fish, elaborately decorated and displayed on a costly platter, she suggests, became an object of admiration at a Roman banquet.

Faas (2003:208-209) remarks that Roman intellectuals took agriculture and horticulture seriously, accumulating considerable knowledge on the subjects, becoming masters of irrigation, manure, grafting, pruning and crop rotation. Romans took wild, sometimes unpalatable plants and developed them into vegetables that are now common: cabbage and other brassicas like kale, cauliflower, sprouts, broccoli, as well as lettuce endive, onion, leek, asparagus, French beans, courgettes, artichoke, radishes and cucumber (Faas 2003:209). He suggests that Romans did not think of vegetables as side dishes, but merited them with a place of honour at table. Renfrew (1985:5-6) lists a number of sources of food the Romans were responsible for importing into England. Game introduced included pheasants, peacocks, guinea fowl and fallow deer. Fruit and nut bearing trees included vines, fig, walnut, medlar, mulberry, sweet chestnut. Among the foodstuff mentioned in the letters written by Roman soldiers serving on Hadrian's Wall are 'spice, goat's milk, salt, young pig, ham, corn, venison, flour, vintage wine, Celtic beer, fish sauce and pork fat' (Renfrew 1985:5).

Preparation and Cooking

In Classical Greece, according to Dalby (1999b:190), cooking such as grilling, roasting, frying, boiling over a fire, baking in hot ashes was probably done out of doors. Faas (2003:125-128) points out that although a woman's place was in the kitchen in the provinces and in other countries, the Roman matron didn't cook. In Rome, he notes, cooking was a slave's job, although he mentions that famous epicures like Lucullus and Apicius, and emperors like Vitellius and Heliogabalus were able cooks and often found cooking too important to leave to their slaves. In classical Athens, Dalby (1999b:190-191) writes that there clearly was a body of knowledge that professional cooks learnt and transmitted by word of mouth and by example. He suggests that professional (male) cooks, whose work was linked with religious observances, possessed relatively high status and hired out their services and that of their slaves. D'Arms (1991:173) notes, in Roman times, that culinary specialists (cooks, bakers and carvers), although slaves, occupied privileged positions on the dining room staff.

Renfrew (1985:29) suggests the Romans developed and used more sophisticated cooking equipment, since the complex Roman recipes required more careful cooking than the simpler stews, roasts and pottages of the preceding prehistoric cooking tradition. Dalby (1999b:189) states that the Greek staples of wheat and barley were baked into loaves in clay ovens or under ashes at home, or boiled as gruel or porridge by travellers or soldiers.

Faas (2003:128) points out that two opposites were required for cooking, water and fire, and that both were to be found in the atrium. Originally rainwater was used but following the building of aqueducts, running water was available to most Roman kitchens. Fire, he notes, was considered sacred in Rome, and the lady of the house was responsible for the hearth (Faas 2003:129). Much of the Roman cooking, according to Renfrew (1985:29), was done on a raised brick hearth, on top of which was a charcoal fire above which cooking vessels stood on tripods or gridirons. She writes that fish or meat could be directly grilled over burning charcoal on the gridiron. Renfrew also notes the discovery in Pompeii of ornamental water heaters that may have been used for keeping food warm, or for cooking using the *bain-marie* method. Faas (2003:131) holds the view that hot ash

from Roman stoves was used in many ways. Many dishes were buried in it to cook slowly, it could be used to smother fire when it was burning too fiercely, and eggs and vegetables were sometimes cooked in ashes. Tannahill (1975:85-86) cites Galen, the Greek physician (AD 129-199), as saying that bread cooked in ashes was heavy and hard to digest, but that bread baked in large ovens 'excels in all good qualities, for it is well flavoured, good for the stomach, easily digested, and very readily assimilated'. Tannahill argues that the Roman miller-baker became one of the first mass producers in the food industry. Bakeries were quite sophisticated as can be seen from the remains of the bakery at Pompeii (Fig. 1.4).

Figure 1.4: The Bakery at Pompeii
Source: (Page and Kingsford 1971)

Renfrew (1985:30) writes that smaller pieces of meat could be roasted over a low fire, either on a gridiron or in a portable oven. Larger joints, she suggests, were either cooked in a baker's oven or grilled on spits over an open fire. The spit (*veru*), according to Faas (2003:131), came in all sizes, from small skewers on which pieces of meat, vegetables or a chicken were impaled to poles for full-grown pigs. Metal vessels became much more widespread, with small cauldrons being mass-produced and more affordable. Meat could be stewed in a cauldron suspended over an open hearth. Animals such as stuffed suckling pig were sometimes suspended in a basket within the cauldron while cooking (Renfrew

1985:30). Roman kitchen equipment, including a jar, pot, mortarium, amphora, bronze paterna (saucepan) and strainer, found in London are shown in Figure 1.5.

Food Service and Dining

Montanari (1999a:70) suggests that conviviality was conceived as the cornerstone of Greek civilisation. The *convivium*, or banquet, was the very image of life together (*cum vivere*). The banquet, he suggests, also represented hierarchy and power relationships within a group. Different foods were served at the same meal according to the status of the participant. In Classical times 'cultural identity' was considered more important than 'social identity' and he writes that the differentiation at table (seating position, food served) was not as marked or formal as it became in the Middle Ages. Vetta (1999:98) suggests that symposium was a symbol of Greek hospitality, the banquet being a moment for memory, knowledge and truth. He points out that each guest brought his own story, his family history, and often his poetry as a gift, and also committed himself to welcoming in his own house at a later date all those who had listened to him around the '*krater*'. The furnishings of a table and the interior design of the dining room were signs by which Romans judged social standing. Romans went to some trouble to serve their food as elegantly and imaginatively as possible (Renfrew 1985:33).

**Figure 1.5: Selection of Roman kitchen equipment found in London
Source: (Page and Kingsford 1971)**

Mealtimes in ancient times varied. Greeks commonly ate two meals a day, a lighter *ariston* at the end of the morning and a heavier *deipnon* in the early evening (Dalby 1999b:190). The Roman breakfast (*Ientaculum*), often taken before dawn, was a light meal of bread or cheese. *Prandium* was the mid morning snack, and dinner (*Coena*) was usually eaten at midday, until the last century of the Empire when it was eaten at the end of the day after a bath (Page and Kingsford 1971:20; Dalby 1999a:192). Faas (2003:76-77) suggests that it is to the Romans that we owe the custom of dividing a meal into starter (*gustatio* or hors d'oeuvres), main course (*mensa prima*) and dessert (*mensa secunda*). He notes that a new table was brought in for each course. He also notes that around the time of the reign of Emperor Tiberius, aperitifs and snacks (like tapas) were served called *promulsis*. After the meal came the drinking or *comissatio* which included snacks, and all night drinking was often interrupted with a meal, the *epula vespertina* or *vesperna*. In this way three basic courses were extended into a feast that lasted from dusk to dawn (Faas 2003:76-77).

The Greeks and Romans ate their feasts from a reclining position, a custom that persisted for centuries (Slater 1991:1; Flandrin and Montanari 1999:3). Reclining in wealthy houses usually took place on a *triclinium*, meaning three beds, arranged in horseshoe shape, each large enough for three or four people (Faas 2003:45). Booth (1991:106) suggests that the ability to imbibe while reclining distinguished man from brute, it being also a right that set gentleman apart from slave. Romans had cutlery in the form of knives and spoons but they did not have forks. Much of their food was eaten using their fingers, hence their use of napkins. Faas (2003:75) points out that it was the fingertips of the right hand that were used and that whole hand grabbing was considered barbarous. Renfrew (1985:32-33) writes that spoons were used for soft foods and sauces, and notes that a small spoon known as a *cocleare* was used at the bowl end for eating eggs and the pointed handle end for picking shellfish out of their shells. Larger spoons or ladles of bronze or iron, she argues, may have been used for serving food. Among the other eating and serving utensils mentioned are elaborate equipment for serving wine including strainers, dishes, cups and goblets, enamelled wine ladles, and finger bowls; plates made from pewter, silver or bright red Samian ware imported from France; glass (less common

than pottery) bowls, beakers, bottles and jugs; metal jugs made from pewter or bronze; and she observes that tables were sometimes equipped with elaborate lamps, candelabra and sets of heated dishes (Renfrew 1985:32-33).

Slater (1991:2) notes that lying down for formal meals appealed to aristocracies and was impossible without slaves. D'Arms (1991:171-3) discusses the role of dining room slaves in the houses and villas of the Roman rich. He suggests a hierarchy among slaves, and notes that food waiters were normally male, with prestige attached particularly to wine waiters, who were expected to be well groomed, young, smooth shaven (but long haired), and sexually attractive. Taverns, on the other hand, according to Booth (1991:106), had stools for the less dignified denizens.

Summary

The cuisine of Rome, the direct ancestor of most of the cuisines of Western Europe, came under strong Hellenistic influence, and Greek cuisine during the Hellenistic period was influenced by Macedonian and Persian cuisine (Dalby 1999a:191; Dalby 1999b:189). Feasting was a central feature of Classical society. The desire to be seen as belonging to 'civilisation' defined food culture in the Classical world, which was deeply rooted in the concept of the city. Three aspects of the food model were stressed 'conviviality; the kind of food consumed; the art of cooking, and dietary regime' (Montanari 1999a:69). Expansion, colonialism, wars and travel influenced the diets of the Classical Greeks and Romans. The cook and the pharmacist, following the teachings of Hippocrates, and later writings of Galen, could influence the humours with food and herbs (Faas 2003:134). In classical Athens, there was a body of knowledge that professional cooks learnt and transmitted by word of mouth and by example (Dalby 1999b:190-191). In Rome cooking was a slave's job, although specialist cooks could be hired for special occasions.

The Greeks and Romans ate their feasts from a reclining position, and Booth (1991:106) suggests that the ability to imbibe while reclining distinguished man from brute. Romans had cutlery in the form of knives and spoons but they did not have forks. Much of their food was eaten using fingers, hence the use of napkins. Romans developed and used more

sophisticated cooking equipment than their pre-historic ancestors (Renfrew 1985:29). Bars and taverns were the nearest thing that Rome had to restaurants, but food in the taverns was less spectacular than in wealthy houses. The Roman miller-baker became one of the first mass producers in the food industry (Tannahill 1975:85).

Chapter 2 – The Middle Ages

Introduction

The Medieval Period or Middle Ages forms the middle period in a traditional division of European history into three 'ages': the classical civilization of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times. The Middle Ages are commonly dated from the end of the Western Roman Empire (5th century) until the rise of national monarchies, the start of European overseas exploration, the humanist revival, and the Protestant Reformation starting in 1517. The period is often subdivided into early Middle Ages or 'Dark Ages' (c.5th-10th centuries), and late Middle Ages (c.11th-14th centuries) (Flandrin and Montanari 1999:ix-x).

Historic Outline

The fall of the Western Roman Empire led to a breakdown in society and government. Stevenson (2002:95) writes that Byzantium – the eastern half of the Roman Empire – entered a new era of renewed prosperity in the sixth century, that would last until the end of the seventh century when it became an unwilling satellite of the Islamic world. Tierney (1970:4) notes that for a short period Charlemagne, crowned Holy Roman Emperor on Christmas Day 800, provided strong government in Europe, but following his death there were further waves of invasion by Vikings, Magyars, and Saracens. It was under these stresses that feudalism emerged (c.1080-1280), with its manorial system of farming. Reira-Melis (1999:251) suggests that, despite being based on juridical and economic inequality, the seigniorial order proved to be effective, dynamic and innovative.

Following the decline of the Roman Empire, Gallo-Roman culinary traditions intermingled with contributions from the barbarian invaders whether Goths, Franks or Vandals, and were remodelled into what is generally termed medieval cuisine (Gillespie 2001:40). Elaborate forms of cookery were abandoned in the fifth century with the decay of the towns and the disappearance of the Roman villa life (Wilson 1973:235). Albala (2000:1203) argues that three rival systems – Christianity, humoral physiology, and the courtly aesthetic – have influenced the culture of food in Southern Europe since late antiquity, shaping eating patterns at all levels of society. Spencer (2004:15) is of the

opinion that the most important cultural change and the most long-lasting in its effect on the peasants and their diet was the advent of Christianity and the rule of the Church. The geographical spread of Christianity across Europe can be observed in Figure 2.0. The dates mark the formal conversion of the elite, the conversion of all strata of the population occurred over time. The most radical manner in which the Church changed the people was in dietary rules, which proliferated over the centuries. For example, it was St Isadore of Seville (c.560-636) who, influenced by Galen's theory, considered that eating meat incited lust (Spencer 2004:15-16).
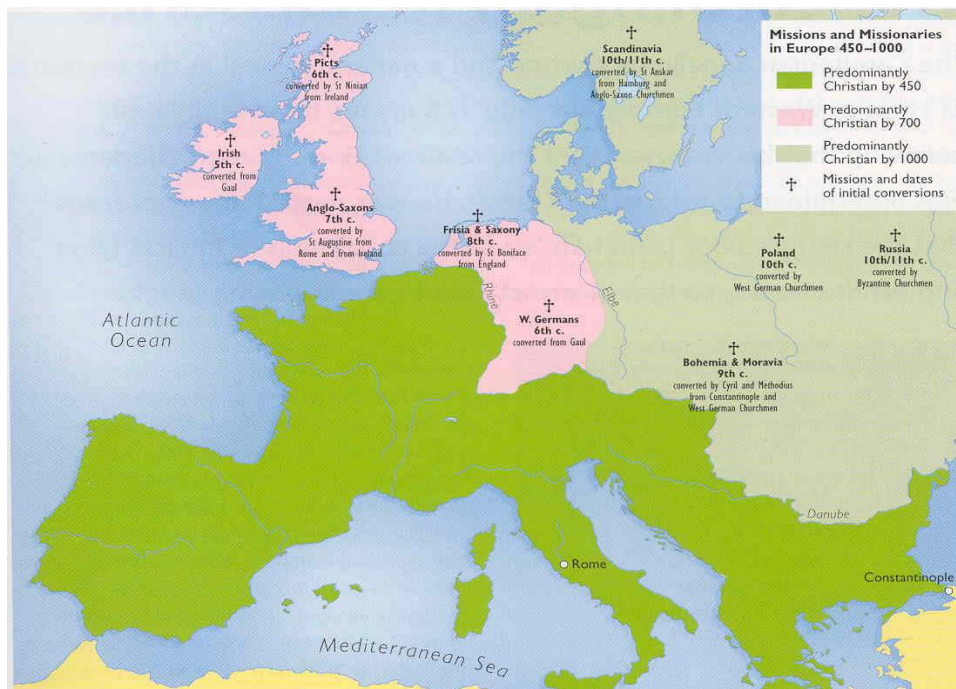
Figure 2.0: The Christianization of Europe 450-1000
Source: (Stevenson 2002:129)

Source of Evidence

Mennell (1996:40) states that evidence of what was eaten in Europe and particularly how it was cooked in the medieval period is scanty, particularly at the lower levels of the social scale. More recent publications, Flandrin and Montanari (1999:165-339), Woolgar (1999), Kiple and Ornelas (2000) and Adamson (2004), have provided new sources of evidence. Adamson (2004:xvii,90-1) points out that nearly all the medieval cookbooks that have survived come from the late medieval period, and that scholars needs to look at

a number of other sources such as literary, religious, dietary, and household accounts to discover medieval food habits. Literary sources for England in the late Middle Ages include Chaucer's '*The Canterbury Tales'* and Langland's '*Piers the Ploughman'*. Grieco (1999:304) outlines how literary texts allow the researcher to penetrate the social code with which foodstuffs and meals were invested, since they are sensitive indicators of the social value attributed to different foods. The Domesday Book of 1086, contains a detailed study of the English town and countryside. The annual income of each unit of production was valued in monetary terms, and many assets such as labour force or ploughs, were individually listed (Stevenson 2002:122). Nestle (2000:1194) points out that information on Southern European diets is abundant thanks to the archaeological record of food debris, and a large quantity of food-related art.

Urban and Rural

During the early Middle Ages the production and consumption of food was closely linked to products eaten directly by the producer, up until the eight or ninth century (Montanari 1999:168). Most rural dwellers, both freemen and serfs, were relatively self sufficient in matters of food. Adamson (2004:55) has argued that an individual's social standing determined not only what foodstuffs they could afford to eat, but also how it was prepared. The urban poor, particularly, had no means of cooking food. Fuel and cooking utensils were expensive and, as in the cities of ancient Greece and Rome, there was a high risk of fire in the tenement houses. Grieco (1999:303) argues that the lower a person's rank in society, the greater a percentage of income spent on bread. The guild of bakers was among the first food guilds to be founded (Clarke and Refaussé 1993:18). Medieval towns had cookshops where hot pre-prepared food could be purchased, or where meat or poultry could be wrapped in pastry and cooked for a fee. Spencer (2004:61) lists flan-makers, cheesemongers, sauce-makers - the favourite being garlic or ginger, waferers making griddle cakes, mustard sellers and pie bakers among the specialist street cooks in London by the late thirteenth century. Spencer (2004:63) suggests that the number of cookshops in a town was an indication of how numerous the urban poor were. He writes that in 1301, only 3% of the taxpaying households in Colchester had a kitchen. Spencer explains that the diet of the urban poor at home was

maslin bread eaten with curds, onions, leeks and garlic washed down with whey. Brothwell and Brothwell (1998:195) suggest that dietary changes were inevitable with the development of urbanism, noting specifically that the exploitation of wild food resources by urban individuals must have been curtailed. The development of trade and towns led to the gradual shift from self-sufficiency to a money-based economy, and the rise of the urban bourgeoisie. Heal (1990:300) suggests that hospitality in early modern English towns appears,

> 'superficially very different from that of the nobility, gentry, or clergy. While the nobility and gentry subscribed to a value-system in which ideas of individual honour predominated, and the clergy were supposedly motivated by charitable concerns, the towns were corporatist and economic units in which social duties were conceived rather narrowly and the profit motive legitimized'.

She suggests that even the most prosperous city merchants lacked the resources - both physical and material - for entertainment that were readily available in the countryside. She argues that the role of the town as foci of economic and social activity ensured the early growth of inns and alehouses, thus providing public provision of care for the outsider, which she suggests was well developed in most English towns by the fifteenth century. Tierney (1970:31) contrasts the medieval manor, which was an inward looking self-sufficient, farming community with the medieval town, which was outward looking, commercial community dependent on the countryside for food. As Montanari (1999a:77) discussed in Greek and Roman civilisations, during times of difficulty country dwellers enjoyed greater food security due to their links with productive land.

Mennell (1996:40-44) suggests that differences between strata of society in manners of food in medieval times were more striking than differences between countries. He cites the work of Duby (1961) on the Knights Hospitaller at the *Commanderie de Saliers* in 1338, where the food budget of the ranks of preceptor, brother and ploughman differed dramatically. Tannahill (1975:180) suggests the cooking of Northern Europe in the Middle Ages - where most people lived on salted or dried food for much of the year – was specifically designed to make something interesting out of materials which, in unimaginative hands, would have been monotonous. Black (1985a:16) suggests that spices helped liven up salted or dried foods but notes that due to their cost, they were

unlikely to be used overgenerously. She also notes that spices would have been more expensive in England than in mainland Europe. Spencer (2004:7) suggests that the subtly spiced Anglo-Norman cuisine reached the heights of gastronomy, shared internationally with the other courts of Europe. He is of the opinion that this cooking was influenced more by Persia, as were the countries of the Mediterranean, than by Paris. Both Spencer (2004:7) and Mennell (1996:51-2) bring a considerable less 'ethnocentric and hodieccentric' approach to studying medieval recipes than earlier food historians. Mead (1931:60) considered medieval recipes to be utterly unpleasant, and condemned both the eaters and cooks of the highly spiced 'doctored and disguised' meat and fruit dishes. Having not worked out the amount of spices per person, he was of the opinion that the 'excessive' amount used was to mask rotting food, a view that has since been revised (Spencer 2004:7). Willan (1992:10) suggests that medieval cookery was not dissimilar to modern Indian cookery, in that 'highly spiced meat dishes were served with bland porridges, or with purées of grains and legumes'.

Spencer (2004:32) argues that the Anglo-Saxons possessed a formidable awareness of the power of herbs on human and animal metabolism. He suggests *The Leech Book of Bald,* (c.900-950) contained much wider herbal knowledge than the doctors of Salerno. Much of this knowledge, he suggests was lost following the dissolution of the monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII. Montanari (1999:176) suggests an awareness of plants and animals in medieval Europe, that was exploited in every possible way to ensure daily survival. He also notes that this era offered far more food security than has generally been accepted. Spencer (2004:75-6) puts forward the idea that the Black Death (c.1348) ironically, by drastically reducing the peasant population, improved the material rewards of those left. Land was now plentiful and labour scarce, leading to a move from tillage to pasture. This change would result in increased meat consumption in general.

The Monasteries

Gastronomy survived in the monasteries after the fall of the Western Roman Empire (Gillespie 2001:42). Church policy was to erase the pagan tradition by substituting a Christian interpretation. Fast days took up two thirds of the year, so now fish was to be

eaten on a Friday in memory of Good Friday instead of Frigga, the Norse goddess (Spencer 2004:15). Milliken (1967:72-80) notes the organisational structure of a monastery (Fig. 2.1) and outlines the duties of the various obedientiaries. The cellarer was responsible for the running of the material side of monastic life, overseeing the kitchens, butteries, cellar, slaughterhouse, brew-house, bake-house, flour mill and vegetable garden. The kitchener had to possess many virtues in addition to skill at the culinary art, 'keeping a happy mean in satisfying the needs of his fellow brethren'. He was assisted by servers, and in large communities, he was allowed a trustworthy servant called his *Emptor* (buyer). The fraterer, or *refectorian*, had charge of the monastic dining hall. The almoner distributed alms to the poor, including 'broken meats, clothing and footwear'. The hosteller, acting in the capacity of guest-master, ensured the comfort of the guests or pilgrims and also of their horses.
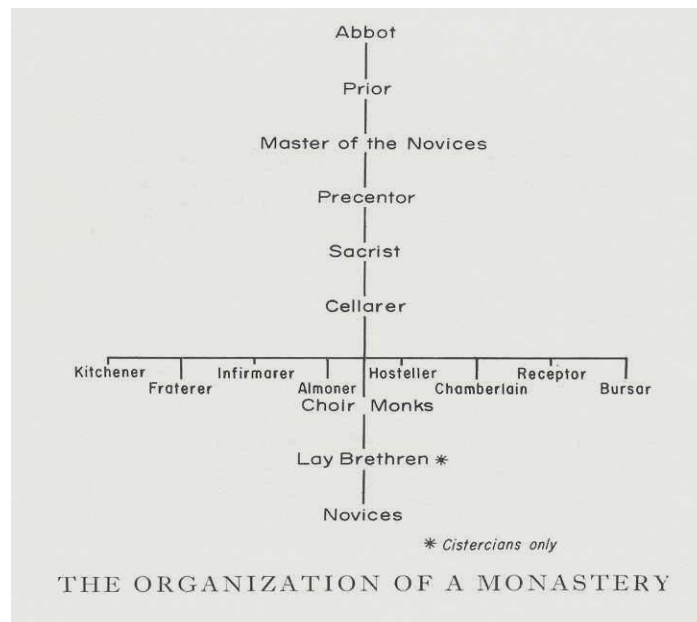
Figure 2.1: The Organisation of a Monastery
Source: (Milliken 1967:76)

Food and Sources

The invention of the 'mouldboard plough' in the Middle Ages (c.550-650), which could plough deep into the soil, resulted in both increased food production and increased population (Tannahill 1975:166; Adamson 2004:ix). Tannahill (1975:167) explains that

soon after this invention, Northern Europeans moved from a two field rotation system to the more productive three field rotation earlier described by Roman agronomists like Cato the Elder. The culinary development of the post – 1000 period must be seen in context with the growth of towns and the increase in trade which occurred, especially after the First Crusade of 1099 (Santich 1999:491). Mintz (1996:25) suggests that war is probably the most powerful instrument of dietary change. The experience of the Crusaders at the eastern end of the Mediterranean was to have considerable impact on the diet of Western Europe (Wilson 2002:109). Figure 2.2 shows the spread of Christianity and Islam around the time of the first Crusades. Spencer (2004:69) points out that civil wars and revolutions are 'ideal battleground for the mixing of regions, bringing ideas from north to south and from west to east, showing populations new ideas and flavours and influencing them'. Montanari (1999:169) states that the diets of the Northern Europeans and the Southern Europeans varied based on regional differences, connected to both cultural factors and specific environmental situation. Olive oil as well as both sheep and goats cheese were predominantly used in the south: whereas butter and pig meat predominated the northern countries. Mennell (1996:47) suggests that the predominance of vegetables such as cabbages, onions and leeks in both England and Provence is striking to the modern observer, but points out that the range of vegetables available was smaller in the pre-Columbian age, as many of today's vegetables originated in the new world.

Adamson (2004:1-52), surveying everyday life in Great Britain and Continental Europe, suggests that a wide variety of foodstuffs were available to consumers in the Middle Ages, with Arab merchants bringing exotic fruits and spices into the Mediterranean markets. Staple foods like bread, dairy products, cheap cuts of meat and preserved fish were usually available to the general population, although bad harvests, wars, famines and disease occurred periodically. It should be noted however that many of the vegetables listed only became popular towards that close of the medieval period. Adamson divides the various foodstuffs into twelve different categories and provides information on each items origin, history, preparation, social significance and medicinal use.
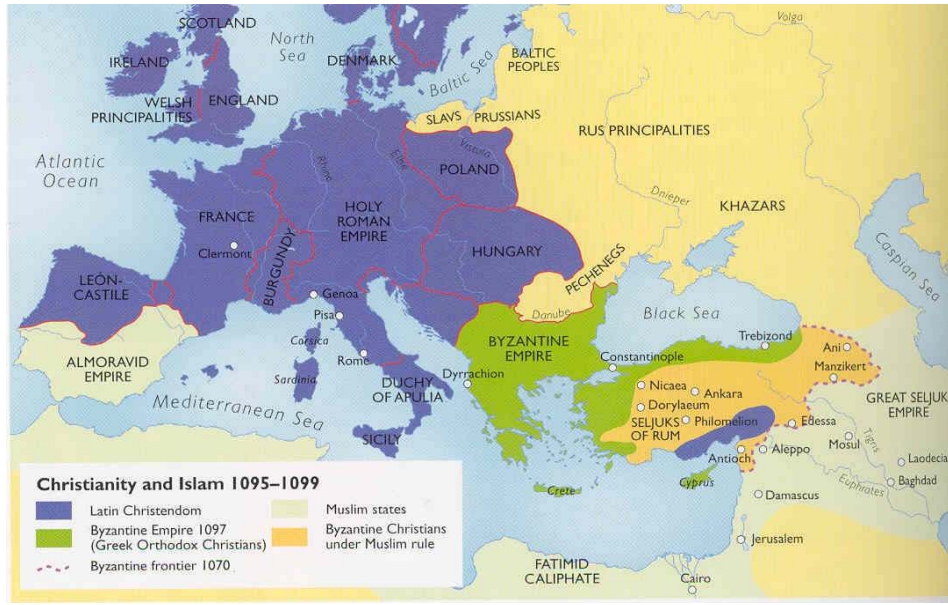
Figure 2.2: Christianity and Islam 1095-1099
Source: (Stevenson 2002:180)

The grains included wheat, barley, rye, oats, millet and rice. Legumes included beans, peas and chickpeas. Vegetables included garlic, onions, leeks, cabbage, kale, lettuce, turnips, parsnips, carrots, beets, radishes, gourds, melons, cucumbers, asparagus, eggplant, spinach, and mushrooms. Herbs included parsley, anise, sage, dill, fennel, mint, caraway, mustard, elder-flowers, hawthorn-flowers, roses, and violets (Adamson 2004:4-15). Spices include saffron, pepper, long pepper, cubeb, grains of paradise, galingale, ginger, cinnamon, cassia, cloves, nutmeg and mace. Fruits include apples, pears, quinces, plums, peaches, cherries, strawberries, grapes, pomegranates, citrons, lemons and limes, oranges, figs and dates. Nuts mentioned include almonds, walnuts, hazelnuts, filberts, pine nuts, pistachios and chestnuts. Condiments included salt, honey, sugar, vinegar, verjuice, rose water, olives and olive oil. Domestic and wild animals included pig, suckling pig, beef, veal, mutton, lamb, goat, kid, chicken, capon, goose, duck, peacock, wild boar, venison, hare, rabbit, pheasant, partridge, pigeon, dove, quail, crane, herons and swan (Adamson 2004:16-39).

Fish was particularly important in medieval times. Since the Christian Church forbade the eating of meat on fast days. Many Christians who could afford it chose fish as an

alternative. Fish included both freshwater and saltwater varieties and both finfish and shellfish. They were eaten fresh but mostly preserved by salting or drying, although they were also pickled in vinegar. Fish included herring, cod, stockfish, salmon, sturgeon, caviar, bream, carp, perch, pike, trout, crayfish, eel, lamprey, porpoise, whale, oysters, mussels, cockles, scallops, frogs and snails. Dairy products included milk, mainly cows' milk but also the milk of sheep and goats, butter, cheese and eggs. Beverages included water, ale, beer, wine, mead, cider, perry, aqua vitae and other distillates (Adamson 2004:39-52).

Medieval Europeans, like the Romans, were fond of extravagant looking food – not only when cooked, but before it was killed - preferring, for example, peacocks, swans, herons and decorative ducks to plainer but undoubtedly more tender birds (Blake and Crewe 1978:11). Adamson (2004:75) notes that medieval cooking included stuffing the plumage of a peacock with a goose, or inventing new imaginary animals, like the *Cokagyrs*, half cock, half piglet, found in the English cookbook known as the *Forme of Cury* (Hieatt and Butler 1985:139). Medieval food was not only spiced, it was also scented and coloured. Saffron, sandlewood, parsley juice and turnsole provided yellow, red, green and purple respectively (Black 1985a:16; Willan 1992:9). Black (1985a:10) writes that hunting animals remained a aristocratic privilege, and that poachers were mutilated or executed if caught. Both falconry and bird catchers were employed to provide game birds. Hares and rabbits, she suggests, were made poor mans prey and considered free meat at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Illustrating how food symbolised rank, she points out that roasting cuts of venison and pasties were 'top table' fare, but 'umbles' (liver and lights) made pies for the huntsmen and the lower tables at the household feast. Woolgar (1999:133) suggests that peasant diet followed a general cultural pattern, mimicking that of the lesser gentry, and the lesser gentry copying what they saw in the households of the nobility. Peasant diet moved from a largely cereal base, with dairy products and some pork, in the thirteenth century, to the use of wheat for bread, a much larger proportion of meat, especially fresh meat, and a diminishing proportion of fish in the fifteenth century.

Preparation and Cooking

The most basic form of cooking food was on an open fire. Most of the lower classes lived in a one room dwelling with a fireplace in the centre that provided heat, light and a cooking facility (Adamson 2004:55). An illustration from the Luttrell Psalter (c.1320-45) shows three steaming cauldrons, resting directly on a log fire (Fig.2.3). The cook has a skimmer and a flesh-hook. Another servant is chopping green vegetables or herbs with two knives, whilst another servant uses a long pestle.

Figure 2.3: Medieval Cookery and Preparation from Luttrell Psalter (c.1320-45)
Source: (Woolgar 1999:139)

Spencer (2004:28) has written that during the summer months much cooking would have taken place outdoors, with iron tripods made for large cooking pots standing in the midst of the fire. He suggests that the cauldron was capable of producing far more than just soups, noting that boiled suet sausage was a Saxon favourite. This theme is shared by Hartley (1954:36) who is of the opinion that by immersing strong earthenware jars, and suspending puddings wrapped in linen, 'an entire dinner could be cooked in one pot'. Montanari (1999:174) suggests that roasting, and the other direct cooking techniques that did not make use of stock or water, belonged to the different cultural and dietary sphere of the warrior nobility. Figure 2.4, taken from the Luttrell Psalter, shows two birds and a piglet spit roasted in front of a fire. Techniques for turning the spit became more sophisticated over time, to eventually include the use of animals, steam and mechanics.

Wilson (1973:236-7) states that bread eaten by the poor was made from wheat or rye that was coarsely sieved whole grain, and differed from the finely sifted 'clean' bread of the

more wealthy. Watermills, she suggests, were developed on the Continent in the fifth century and reached Britain before AD 762. Bread ovens were to be found in the monastery or the manor but seldom in the home of the peasant. Mills and ovens were linked with the manorial system, requiring a toll for the privilege of using either. Mennell (1996:48) points out that bread was established as a staple in the South of England much earlier than in the North or in Scotland where consumption of cereals in the form of porridges and as an ingredient in broths remained until recent times. He also highlights that in certain regions of France bread consumption was not widespread until, in some cases, the nineteenth century. This anomaly is explained by Bloch (1970) cited in Mennell (1996:48) in that by making porridge, by grinding cereals in primitive mortars and cooking it over the fire at home, the peasant was able to escape the double seigneurial monopoly of the mill and the communal oven. Spencer (2004:76) suggests that the Black Death actually prompted rural cooking, the beginning of a peasant cuisine based on home baking.

Figure 2.4: Medieval Cookery – Spit Roating from Luttrell Psalter (c.1320-45)
Source: (Woolgar 1999:139)

Peasant cookery differed greatly from that of the manor. Woolgar (1999:136) suggests that 'to receive, prepare and deliver the substantial quantities of food demanded by the great household was a major exercise of logistics, requiring skilled – and sensitive – personnel'. He points out that in late medieval England, the kitchen, like the rest of the household, was a male preserve and that it was not until the fifteenth century that women began to appear. Cooks were well rewarded, according to Woolgar (1999:137), positioned at the top of the scale of household servants, but despite their standing, he

notes that few English cooks of this period – or their cooking – are now well known. He states that five principle methods of cooking practiced at this time were frying, roasting, grilling, boiling and baking. He also highlights how distinctions in method reflected status, frying employed fat, an expensive commodity whether lard or butter, or as oil: a prerogative of the rich. Black (1985a:17-19) has recorded that cooking tools ranged from cauldrons, earthenware pots, fire dogs, querns, ladle or spurtle (wooden stick) in a peasant or artisan household, to more sophisticated long handled pans and frying pans, heavy wooden table, chopping block for meat, roasting spits, baking ovens and wooden peels, metal bar broiler and two sided waffle irons, cleavers, knives, mallets, tongs, and pestle and mortars of all sizes in larger households.

Adamson (2004:58) argues that food was regarded as the primary means of keeping the four humours in the human body in balance and therefore the cooks worked closely with the court physicians. A good cook was expected to possess artistic talent, mastery of the various cooking methods, and scientific knowledge. Scully (1995:40) points out that Master Chiquart, chief cook to the duke of Savoy (c.1420), considered himself an artist and a scientist. Adamson (2004:58) suggests that the office of the cook was one of trust, given the real or perceived danger of poison in medieval upper-class households.

Taillevent

Kings and nobles employed chefs and, with the emergence of cities, many kept town houses as well as country estates. Taillevent (Guillaume Tirel), the French master chef in medieval times (1312-1395) is the first culinarian whose name is recorded (Willan 1992:9). He began his career in 1326, aged 14, as *happelapin* (kitchen boy) to Queen Jeanne of France and by 1346 he was cook to King Philip VI (Willan 1992:9). In 1373 he became chief cook to Charles V and eventually '*premier écuter de cuisine'* to Charles VI (Mennell 1996:50). He achieved enduring fame when an important collection of recipes attributed to him - although many have come from an earlier manuscript source, was published titled *Le Viandier* (Davidson 1999:779). Mennell argues that the *Le Viandier* is by no means a collection of original dishes invented by Taillevent, and cites Mulon (1970:238) in suggesting that the whole book may have been taken from a previous

source. This is not uncommon, as Mennell (1996:49) has written that the four best known cookery manuscripts from late medieval Northern Italy probably stem from a common source. He suggests the oldest French manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, the *Liber de cocquina* and the *Tracatus de modo preparandi et condiendi omnia cibaria*, are both based on the same Italian sources. Mulan (1970) describes the *Liber* as 'a sort of treaty of union between the French and Italian craftsmen. . . an edition of the ultramontane culinary literature revised and corrected to facilitate its use by the French'. She states that even the earliest culinary text actually written in French are not distinctly French in content (Mulon 1970:238). Willan (1992:13) has observed many parallels between the recipes in *Le Viandier* and those of the only Roman cookbook, attributed to Apicius. She argues that these similarities are less to do with direct influence than with oral traditions going back as far as the Roman occupation of France, combined with the rudimentary technology of both eras.

Le Viandier was the first printed French cookery book (Davidson 1999:779). Hyman and Hyman (1999:395) write that by the time it was first printed, at the end of the fifteenth century, only 80 of the 230 preparations described came from medieval manuscripts; all the rest were new - updated by the editor. Willan (1992:13) suggests that *Le Viandier* stands apart from other medieval writings on cookery in having been continuously recopied and reprinted from Taillevent's death in 1395 until the final edition in 1604. She argues that it remained the most successful French expression of the culinary art up until the 1650s when a rich harvest of French cookbooks appeared. Davidson (1999:779) reminds us that their have been modern editions of *Le Viandier,* the most recent example of which is by Scully and Scully (2002). Between 1486 and 1615 *Le Viandier* was reprinted twenty three times by thirteen different publishers in Paris, Lyons and Toulouse (Hyman and Hyman 1999:394).

The Forme of Cury
The first English cookery book, *The Forme of Cury*, dates from the end of the fourteenth century and was compiled by the master cooks of Richard II, although their names are unknown. Spencer (2004:76) describes the 200 or so recipes as 'practical, efficient and

craftsmanlike', and notes that many dishes bear the names of their North African origin even though the Crusades had long ended. Spencer also points out the sheer range of ingredients cooked in the royal kitchen, and the techniques of cookery used - birds boiled then spit-roasted, basted with saffron, egg and flour to give a gilded appearance; alternatively stewed in a spicy sweet and sour sauce; roast meat carved and served with pungent vinegar based sauces; minced boiled pork spiced and encased in pastry shells. Adamson (2004:62) notes that multiple cooking – boiling then roasting - was one of the characteristics of medieval food preparation. This was done to cleanse and firm the flesh, as well as to ensure it would be cooked through on the roasting spit.

Willan (1992:12-13) writes that Richard II is reputed to have entertained up to 10,000 of his subjects daily, requiring an army of cooks employed with military precision - he employed 2,000 cooks and 300 servitors. The catering in large households, like the monasteries, were organised into separate departments including the pantry, cellar, buttery, spicery, acatery, larder, saucery, pultery, confectionary, pastry, scullery and wafery. The importance of the master cook, who oversaw these departments, is seen by his rank, which was often that of squire with a right to a coat of arms (Willan 1992:13).

Another publication from this time which gives remarkable insights into the organisation of noble households is *Le Menagier de Paris*, a fourteenth century treatise by de Montigny, who had residences in both his native Champagne and in Paris (Mennell 1996:50; Davidson 1999:496). Written for his young bride (a 15-year old orphan), the book is intended as a brief on manners and deportment, morals and attitudes to marriage, plus a great deal of practical advice on household management including organising the purchase and preparation of food.

Guilds

Guilds played a large part in medieval cooking. Trubek (2000:32) points out that organised trades, usually involved in craft production and organised around guilds, developed alongside the growth of towns and the expanding use of money as a medium of exchange in Europe from the tenth century on. Clough (1952:27) suggests that:

'The two forces which joined to create the guilds in the Middle Ages were the tendency towards voluntary association for mutual benefit among craftsmen engaged in the same line of work, and the tendency of governing authorities to encourage association among the craftsmen for purposes of regulation, control and taxation'.

The guilds, according to Albala (2003:109), were essentially a closed club that regulated the number of people allowed to practice a craft in a city, thus preventing competition and securing the jobs and salaries of their members. Entrance to a guild was by way of apprenticeship, usually seven years, after which the candidate would work as a journeyman in another establishment to perfect their skills. Only after a number of years as journeyman, and having produced a 'masterpiece' to the satisfaction of the guild members, would a candidate, now a master craftsman, be allowed open a business of their own. Many guild regulations were written to prevent a single merchant from getting a disproportionate share of either raw materials, the labour force, or of the market. A cook could only have one apprentice at a time (Wheaton 1983:72).

There were four different types of guilds: merchant guilds, craft guilds, religious guilds and military guilds (Clarke and Refaussé 1993:7). Among the early craft guilds, also known as trade guilds, were the Butchers, Bakers and Cooks. London's Worshipful Company of Cooks became a recognised organisation in 1311 (Herbage 1982:1). According to Trubek (2000:33), a similar system of trade guilds existed in France, regulated in Paris by both the municipal and royal governments. She writes that from the thirteenth century businesses related to food including *boulangers* (bakers), *cuiniers-traiters* (cook-caterers), *rôtisiers*, *charcutiers* (pork butchers), and *pâtisseurs de pain d'épices* could be found in Paris. No guild existed for domestic service (Wheaton 1983:72). Albala (2003:110) notes that professional cooks had to belong to one of the many cooking guilds, unless they were directly employed by a noble household. The guild of cook caterer, the *cuisiniers*, was matched by a parallel, non-guild hierarchy, that of the court kitchens. The Paris cook's guild regulations allowed for the lateral movement of a cook from those kitchens to enter the city guild at his own level of proficiency, as attested to by letters from the court kitchen (Wheaton 1983:73).

Food Service and Dining

During the Middle Ages, people usually ate two meals a day: a substantial dinner around noon and a light supper in the evening (Adamson 2004:155). Adamson states that breakfast was common among peasants and craftsmen, and also among children, the elderly and the infirm. Workmen also received little snacks, known as *nuncheons*, during the day from their employers. Spencer (2004:75) is of the view that working men and women would have been familiar with the cooking of the nobility from their attendance at harvest suppers, Christmas and Easter celebrations in the lord's manor. Although they would not have been given the delicate complex dishes reserved for the elite, he argues that they would have smelt the aromas, seen the colours and presentation and may have attempted to replicate them in a more modest manner at home. Black (1985a:21) suggests that more is known about medieval feasts, especially grand ones, than normal dinners, since seating plans and menus were recorded for the former, but she suggests that the latter were similar but with simplified procedures. The layout of tables was hierarchical with the top table, where the lord, his family or frequent guests were seated, situated on a raised platform or a 'dais'. The table nearest the 'dais', to the lord's right was most senior, and was called the 'Rewarde' since it was served dishes from the lords own table. The table opposite it was known as the 'Second Messe', and other tables were graded similarly. A fifteenth century illustration of King Edward IV at table (Fig. 2.5), shows the space between the King and other members of his household, the King has a chair of state, his almoner, a bishop, is seated to his right. Trenchers, covered cups, and a knife are clearly visible in the drawing (Woolgar 1999:163).

Tannahill (1975:189) suggests the medieval menu bore little relation to that of modern times, and it was not until the sixteenth century that a 'course' began to imply some degree of unity. Woolgar (1999:158) suggests that there were attempts to control the amount of food eaten in households, in total and by rank. He writes that, in England under the statute of 1336, no meal might be served of more than two courses, with each course having no more than two types of food, be it fish or meat, with soups. Feast days were an exception, when three courses could be served. Citing Harriss (1975:231-52), he suggests that the statute was an attempt by Edward III to restrict consumption, leaving

funds available for taxation to finance his claim to the French throne. The sumptuary legislation of 1363, according to Woolgar (1999:159), restricted grooms to one meal of fish or meat a day with other foods, milk, cheese, butter, according to their estate, and 'those worth less than 40s. were not to eat and drink excessively, in a manner above their station'.
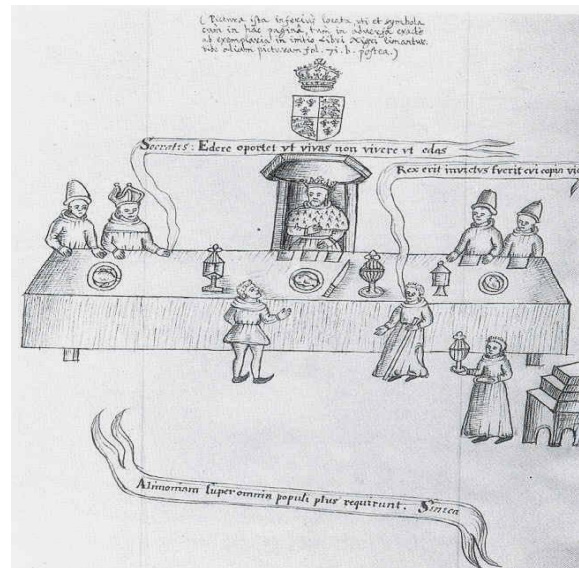
Figure 2.5: Drawing of King at Table (c.15th century)
From The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV
Source: (Woolgar 1999:163)

By the fifteenth century Woolgar (1999:159) writes that the normal service of a meal, lunch or supper, was three courses (excluding *entremets*), with fruit, followed by spices to conclude. The menu from the feast to mark the enthronement of John Chandler as Bishop of Salisbury (c. 1417), illustrates the pattern of meals with each course beginning with a soup and courses progressing from boiled, to roast, and then to delicate meats (Fig. 2.6). According to Harvey (1993:48-9,216-30) food was served in messes. The messe was considered the most convenient way to prepare food. He suggests that many messes were designed for a number of people, often four, to share, with smaller dishes sometimes prepared on an individual basis. Messes, or individual dishes, were grouped together to form courses.

Woolgar (1999:159) suggests that courses were arranged in a fashion that combined elements of the sequence in which food is now eaten, *service à la russe* (one dish at a time), and of bringing together many dishes to table, the pattern that prevailed in France from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (*service à la française*). Woolgar (1999:160) records a second development in the regime of food courses in that *entremets* – which became known as subtleties, initially edible delicacies, they became more elaborate confections as time progressed. Eventually they ceased to be edible, and took on allegorical or political character, subsequently including live performances. By 1501, at the marriage of Prince Arthur to Katherine of Aragon, subtleties had developed into separate dramatic productions (Lafortune-Martel 1992:121-9).

Each course begins with its soups. There is a progression from boiled, to roast, to delicate meats. Subtleties (formerly *entremets*) conclude each course.

First course (including boiled meats)	Second course (including roasted meats)	Third course (including fried meats and delicacies)
Furmenty with venison	*Vyaund ryal* (sweetened and spiced wine, thickened with rice flour)	*Mammenye ryal* (probably minced poultry in almond milk and/or spiced wine)
Vyaund cyprys (wine, with sugar and spices, thickened with flour, and ground chicken or pork)	*Blandyssorye* (a white soup, with almond milk and ground poultry)	*Vyand* (probably a soup)
Boiled capons	Piglets	Bittern
Swan	Kid	Curlew
Pheasant	Crane	Pigeon
Peacock	Roast venison	Young rabbits
Pomys en gele (minced meat-balls in jelly)	Heronsews	Plovers
Un lechemete (a sliced meat)	Stuffed poussins	Quails
Tart royal	Partridge	Larks
A subtlety: Agnus dei	*Un leche* (possibly a tart)	*Vyaunt ardant* (with spirits)
	Crustade ryal (a sort of quiche, with an egg-based filling)	*Un lechemete*
	A subtlety: a leopard	*Frytourys lumbard* (fritters or filled pastries)
		Payn puffe (a filled pastry)
		Jelly
		A subtlety: Aquila

Figure 2.6: The Structure of the Menu c.1417
Feast to mark the Enthronement of John Chandler as Bishop of Salisbury
Source: (Woolgar 1999:160)

Black (1985a:23) outlines the hierarchy of staff at the feast of a high ranking noble. The steward, she suggests, ran the household and under him was the marshal, the chief official at dinner. Next in rank was the sewer (head waiter and taster), the pantler or

panter (head of the pantry), the butler (in charge of drinks), the ewerer (in charge of hand-washing and linen), the chief cook, the carver and the lord's cup bearer. All these, she suggests, had several grooms (trained staff) and underlings to help them.

Medieval writers have left us an abundance of information on what was considered socially acceptable behaviour. Within these, rules relating to eating had a special importance. 'Courtesy' books containing such information became prevalent. Elias (1983:60) suggests that eating and drinking occupied a far more central position in social life then, than they do today, where they frequently provide a framework and introduction for conversation and conviviality. Elias suggests that alongside the great epic poems such as *Courtesies* by Bonvicino da Riva or John Russells *Boke of Nurture,* there were a series of poems designed as mnemonics to inculcate table manners, *Tischzuchten*, or table disciplines, of varying length and in the most diverse languages (1983:61).

During Medieval times the absence of the table fork influenced how the service of food was organised. Tannahill (1975:192-3) suggests that normally, only men of the very highest rank had their own dishes, plates and drinking cups. Other people ate in pairs, one 'cover' meaning a serving for two. Each diner however had his own trencher, which originally was a thick slice of bread acting as an absorbent plate. Forsyth (2002:42) citing Russell's *Boke of Nurture* (c1460) states that the sovereign was to be served with a trencher of new bread whilst other guests received trenchers of day old bread, all of which were distributed to the poor at the end of the meal. By the fifteenth century the trencher began to be superseded by a square of wood with a circular depression in the middle, a sample of which can be seen along with a 'trencher' salt in Figure 2.7. Wooden trenchers finally vanished in the 1670s when the ceramic industry started to produce dinner plates on a massive scale.

When roast meat or game was served, the carver would place the best pieces on the important guest's trenchers, the rest on platters on the table. Willan (1992:11) points out that with the use of trenchers, sauces or gravies had to be thickened with breadcrumbs or egg yolks to stop them from running. It is worth noting that flour was not widely used as

a binding agent until the sixteenth century. Some diners might use their knives for eating, but fingers were the most customary and most efficient tools. Recipes, therefore, called for food to be served no larger than a 'gobbet', the size of a finger (Willan 1992:10). Figure 2.8 illustrates a cook chopping a piglet and poultry for table, drink being poured from a flagon into cups, and food being brought to table.

A rare survival of an individual 'trencher' salt of the early 17th century; the shape harks back to the triangles cut from bread trenchers that once served in place of plates.

Above: This much-used 16th-century trencher has a knife-scored central depression with a smaller hollow for salt or mustard.

John Lone Vintner at ỹ mermaide neare Chearing crosse

Figure 2.7: Wooden Trencher (16th century) and 'Trencher' Salt (17th century)
Source: Glanville and Young (2002:42)

Tannahill (1975:192-3) argues that the cleanliness of fingers was a matter of some concern. The art of dining was further refined by the invention of new types of furniture and eating utensils (Flandrin 1999:368). An elegant feature on royal tables was knives and spoons keyed to the Church calendar. Lent was marked by ebony-handled utensils, Easter by ivory, and Pentecost by a combination of the two (Wheaton 1983:5). Flandrin and Montanari (1999:3) suggest that it is no accident that the fork did not become a regular table utensil until after the Black Plague, between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, when the use of plates, drinking glasses and individual place settings tended to increase the space between diners. According to Flandrin (1999:369) 'a sort of invisible screen now separated each diner from his neighbours, and the new utensils enhanced this

isolation'. Use of the fork, according to Rebora (2001:16), accompanied the spread of pasta. The phenomenon of fork use, he argues, seems limited, from the Middle Ages until at least the end of the second half of the sixteenth century, to those areas where pasta was eaten. He cites as evidence inventories of well known castles, such as the castle of Challant in the Val D'Aosta, from just outside the Mediterranean cultural sphere as having gold and silver knives and spoons but no forks. A few gold forks appear in the royal French inventories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, according to Wheaton (1983:5) where they are described as being for mulberries. Ducal fingers, she presumes, could be greasy but not stained.
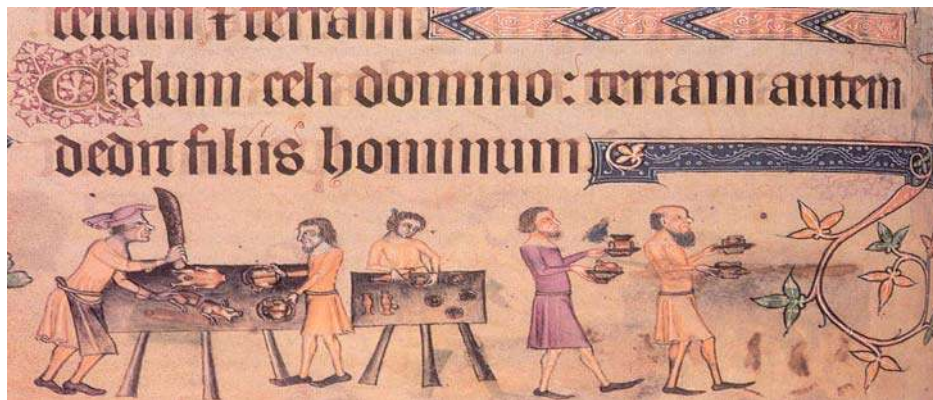
Figure 2.8: Preparing Medieval Foods from Luttrell Psalter c.1320-45
Source: (Woolgar 1999:138)

There is much debate over the origin of the fork with Braudel (1974) suggesting it originated in sixteenth century Venice. Romagnoli (1999:332) on the other hand position its invention in Byzantium from which it is introduced to Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Use of the fork could be either cultural or utilitarian. The reason for using a fork according to good Byzantine manners was not to touch food with the hands (Rebora 2001:17). St. Peter Damian (1007-71) cited a fork wielding Byzantine princess married to the Doge of Venice as an example of wanton depravity, a story repeated two centuries later by St. Bonaventure (1221-74) (Young 2006:448). The Ligurian, Tuscan and Venetian burghers in the fourteenth century, in contrast, adopted the fork to avoid scalding themselves from excessively hot dishes / food (Rebora 2001:17).

Summary

Beginning with the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the early medieval period experienced a decline in elaborate forms of cookery. The population declined at first and then increased with agricultural improvements. Invasions and insecurity fuelled the birth of feudalism. The Christian Church and the writings of Galen strongly influenced what was eaten. The simple peasant diet did not change dramatically over the centuries. The Crusades and the development of towns brought a market for new foods and spices from the Middle East which came to symbolise upper class medieval cuisine. Spencer (2004:66) notes that all the cuisines, Italian, Spanish, English and French, were influenced by ancient Persia in some way or other. Mennell (1996:40-44) suggests that differences between strata of society in manners of food were more striking during this period than differences between countries. Spencer (2004:75-6) holds the view that increased prosperity among peasants following the Black Death led to the birth of peasant cookery. Taillevent (c.1312-1395), the first culinary master, whose name is still recorded, practiced in many of France's medieval royal households. Skill and imagination, along with increased use of sugar, become more evident in French cooking in the second half of the fourteenth century, as shown in the versions of *Le Viander* that date from the lifetime of the historical Taillevent (Wheaton 1983:20). There is evidence, particularly during the late medieval period of the emergence of more sophisticated cookery. The place of princely courts as style-setting centres in matters of food, as of much else, was firmly established, but would be expanded during the early modern period (Mennell 1996:61).

Chapter 3 – The Early Modern Period (1400-1800): From the Renaissance to the French Revolution

Introduction

The Renaissance marks the end of the Middle Ages, but Tierney (1970:57) suggests 'the thirst for honour and glory proper to the men of the Renaissance is essentially the same as the chivalrous ambition of earlier times. Only it has shaken off the feudal form and assumed an antique garb'. The Renaissance, one of the most significant movements in European history, effected a change in man's attitude towards the problem of human existence (Green 1970:29). In 1453 the once great Byzantine city of Constantinople, capital of the Greek or Eastern Empire, was captured by the Ottoman Turks (Tannahill 1975:199). One of the results of this, was the fleeing of learned Greeks to Italy, France and other countries with precious manuscripts containing the masterpieces of classical antiquity (Montgomery 1903:123). Green (1970:29) argues that this flight of scholars did not start the Renaissance, for its roots 'lay deep in the soil of the Middle Ages'. The study of Greek became known as the 'New Learning'.

Throughout Europe the new educational agenda was powerfully enhanced by the spreading influence of humanism. Humanists were firmly convinced of the relevance of classical learning to modern life, and sought to recover the achievements of that age (Stevenson 2002:195). The influence of Italian humanism on Northern Europe is now regarded as much narrower in scope than previously believed; the continuity between medieval and early modern civilisations now receives greater emphasis within historical research (Wheaton 1983:43). The Renaissance, although technically never more than a minority movement of a few scholars and artists, patronised by princes and rich merchants, whose ideas were circulated throughout Europe by means of the recently-invented printing press, became ultimately to mean a new venture in living which helped shape the modern world (Green 1970:29). The Influence of Italian culture spread though the Continent; by the end of the sixteenth century, German, French and Dutch artists, such as Dürer and Holbein, could equal the best Italy had to offer (Stevenson 2002:220).

Food and cookery in Europe was influenced during this period by a number of major developments. They included the European conquest of the Seven Seas, the invention of the printing press, and the Reformation which put an end to ecclesiastical regulation of what many Europeans ate (Flandrin 1999:349). According to Flandrin, the relative uniformity of the medieval regime gave way following the Reformation, food and cuisine diversified along national lines. During the early modern era, increasing emphasis on a community of manners and tastes greatly altered the nature of the pleasure that people took in eating and drinking in company (Flandrin 1989:265).

Renaissance Italy

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Italy had been the focal point of the cultural movement known as the Renaissance. In the early Renaissance, Italy had no rival as the cultural centre of Europe (Stevenson 2002:220). The Italians of the period claimed that this revival constituted nothing less than a rebirth of civilization – particularly in the high arts and in the conduct of cultivated persons. The Renaissance came to be identified with a broad range of changes in elite culture, in particular with a greater refinement in tastes and manners (Wheaton 1983:43). In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the most eminent and distinguished approach to eating came from wealthy families like the Borgias and the Medicis of Italy (Tannahill 1975:193). Italy was not a united country. To the north were the city states of Pisa, Florence, Milan and Venice. The Papal States, in the centre, stretched from Rome to Ravenna. In the south was the kingdom of the two Sicilies (Tierney 1970:58). Tierney is of the view that since the Italians were great town dwellers, a sea-conscious country of great travellers, with a large middle class, a large number of well educated professional men – lawyers and clergymen especially: the atmosphere was right for the Renaissance to take root and flourish. Rome had decayed following the absence of the papal court at Avignon (1305-1378) and the Black Death (1348-50). Nicholas V (1447-55), the first of the Renaissance popes, founded the Vatican library and set about restoring Rome to its former architectural splendour.

The hypothesis of Italy's culinary leadership of Europe in the sixteenth century is based on the influence of the cook Martino's collection of recipes, which first appeared as an appendix to Platina's *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine* - 'Of Honest Indulgence and Good Health - published in 1475 (Willan 1992:23; Mennell 1996:69). Platina was a humanist and is best remembered as the first librarian of the Vatican Library (Albala 2002:27). Platina served as a model of the educated gentleman who took food seriously. His extensive use of classical sources helped to legitimize the table as a subject of literate conversation. Wheaton (1983:37) has suggested that this treatise is a model of how a liking for good food could be combined with an interest in health, antiquity, and pleasure, and that this attitude, not specific recipes, is what the French learned from Platina and other Italian writers. Mennell (1996:69) argues that the case for Italian culinary leadership in the sixteenth century is weak, suggesting that evidence of further development in culinary practice is not apparent until the works of di Messisbugo's *Banchetti* (1549), and particularly Scappi's *Opera* (1570).

According to Willan (1992:37) Bartolomeo Scappi influenced cooking to the same extent that Michelangelo influenced the fine arts. No comparatively authoritative work appeared again until the mid-eighteenth century in France, and none has ever matched *Opera* for its series of drawings depicting the perfect kitchen. Scappi worked as private cook to Cardinals Campeggio and Carpi and later for Pope Pius IV. The cooking in Opera moves far beyond the tentative steps of Martino. Scappi is also the first European cook to explore the Arab art of pastry-making (Willan 1992:39). The development of confectionary and the related craft of pastry cooking, according to Wheaton (1983:20) require above average skill and precision and thus serve as an index of technical proficiency, and the plastic qualities of their products supply an outlet for the imaginations of cooks and patrons.

Figure 3.0, taken from *Opera*, exemplifies innovations in the Renaissance kitchen. A chimney hood catches the smoke of the fire, the cauldron hangs from a hinged crane, and the turnspit is sheltered by a fire screen. On the right stretches a row of stoves with simmering pots, and above them is a hatch for calling orders to the market boys.
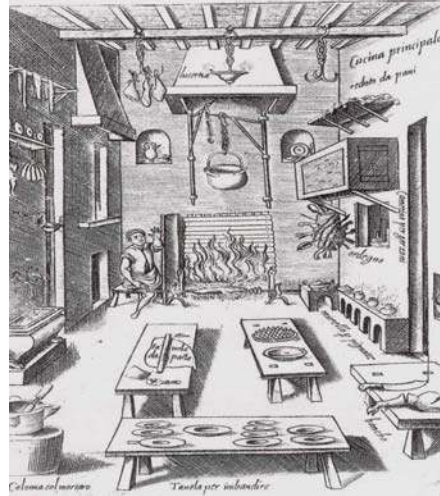
Figure 3.0: Illustration from *Opera* – Renaissance Inventions applied to Kitchen
Source: (Willan 1992:38)

Willan (1992:37) writes that Leonardo da Vinci invented a spit with a propeller that turned in the heat of the fire. The Renaissance genius for mechanics was utilised in the culinary arts, as illustrated in the two drawings in Figure 3.1. The mechanised multiple spit, on the right, keeps meat that require slower cooking further from the fire, and small tender game birds closer to the fire: and on the left, mechanics allowed for the easy movement of a vast cauldron on and off the fire.
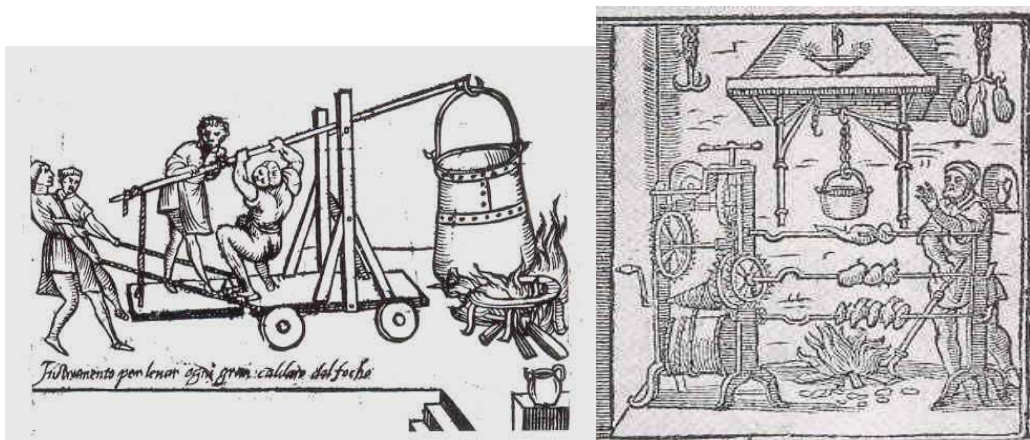
Figure 3.1: Renaissance Mechanics applied to the Culinary Arts
Source: (Willan 1992:44,46)

Scappi and his Italian contemporaries represent not only the most elegant cuisine in Europe at the time, but one that is recognisably Italian in style, even before the tomato achieved its dominance. Figure 3.2 features Scappi's kitchen equipment including a dozen knives with riveted handles, two pronged fork, bellows and waffle irons. This illustrates the developing technology utilised in kitchens of the time. Italian cooks working in Italian courts anticipated in some sense the work of French cooks working in French courts in forming an elegant courtly cuisine in a marked national style (Mennell 1996:70). Scappi describes the thirteen course banquet given in 1536, on a fast day; in honour of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Included are soups, fish, pastries, vegetables, and sweet dishes lightening towards the end of the meal. One course offered fried baby squid with lemon, prune pastries, fried lobster tails, fried spinach with vinegar and must, caviar pie, and broccoli cooked in hot oil *alla napolitana* and sprinkled with orange juice (Willan 1992:37-8).

Figure 3.2: Knives and other Kitchen utensils from Scappi's Opera
Source: (Willan 1992:43)

It is generally supposed that the French adopted and improved Italian culinary practices and assumed for themselves culinary hegemony in Europe. Mennell (1996:63) states that evidence for this analysis is both fairly slender and rather complex, the process of culinary development being more gradual than often supposed. The organisation of kitchen and staff that produced modern French cuisine had not yet come into being. The slow growth of rational working methods began in the seventeenth century; the sixteenth was, in most respects, a carry-over of the medieval style of cooking (Wheaton 1983:26). Young (2006:441) writes:

> 'The myth that Catherine de' Medici (1519-89), with a fleet of Italian chefs and a dinner fork, sparked a culinary revolution when she arrived in France to marry the future Henri II (r.1547-59) in 1533 is one of the most oft-repeated in culinary history'.

Young citing Wheaton (1983), debunks the myth, outlining that Catherine, who married at fourteen, exerted little influence on the court until her husband died. Until then her husband's mistress Diane de Potiers dictated everything from politics to Henri's visits to his wife's bed. Wheaton (1983:46) identifies the origin of this myth as Diderot's *Encyclopédie* of 1754, but asserts that the theory is wrong on two fronts: French *haute cuisine*, she points out, did not appear until a century later and then showed little Italian influence; and there is no evidence that Catherine's cooks had any impact on French cooking in the early sixteenth century (Wheaton 1983:43). Catherine de Medici's influence on dining in France came later, after the death of Henry II, and involved court festivals, not actual cookery (Wheaton 1983:49). Girard (1982) cited in Mennell (1996) states that 'the culinary impact of Italy in sixteenth-century France was limited to importing the transalpine cooks into the service of a narrow élite of the nobility and courtly circles'. Italian Renaissance artefacts appeared on sixteenth-century French tables as elsewhere in aristocratic French life, but their use was superficial. They ornamented the table without changing the basic structures of dining. Consequently the overall effect remained more late medieval than Renaissance (Wheaton 1983:42). Willan (1992:113) holds the view that the first Italian cook of any importance since the Renaissance did not appear until the arrival of Francesco Leonardi, who flourished from 1750-1790, working

in both Italy, France and Russia. Both Catherine de Medici's influence on French cuisine and the work of Leonardi are discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

The Reformation

Ironically, it was an aspect of the remodelling of Rome as a capital fit for the Church in the new age of the Renaissance, indulgences, that sparked what would become the Protestant Reformation (Stevenson 2002:203). The main leaders were Martin Luther in Germany and John Calvin in France and their ideas managed to take hold swiftly across Europe thanks to the new printing press. Northern and Western Europe were plunged into forty years of turmoil in the second half of the sixteenth century, when the rise of Calvinism and the emergence of Counter-Reformation Catholicism came into conflict, culminating in the infamous massacres of Paris and Antwerp, before peace was restored (Stevenson 2002:216). Stevenson (2002:207) argues that although Henry VIII of England repudiated the authority of the pope, and an obedient Parliament enacted legislation that both confirmed English independence from Rome and established the king's royal supremacy over the Church, this was not Protestantism – Henry never shifted from the theological orthodoxy of his youth. He suggests, however, that the changes introduced in Henry's new Church differed little from the reforms of Continental Protestant princes.

With the advent of Protestantism there were fewer holidays celebrated simultaneously across Europe, and Calvinists were especially hostile to 'the superstitious observations of dates' (Flandrin 1999:372). Spencer (2004:103) writes 'the Protestants took over the idea of fasting but made it spartan when it had been sensual …this is where the link between Puritanism and bleak and tasteless food began'. Flandrin (1999:372) notes that fish consumption in England reduced dramatically after the break with the Catholic Church, but Spencer (2004:108) suggests that the link between fish and both fast days and lent was kept, based on pragmatism rather than religion, and strengthened by royal proclamations under Elizabeth I, because it bolstered the fishing industry, since her fleet partly depended on the availability of fishermen and their craft. Another change noted by Flandrin (1999:372-3) was the geographical divide that occurred between countries that cooked with butter (mostly Northern Europe) and those that cooked with oil (primarily

Mediterranean). During the Middle Ages, based on cookbooks of the time, people everywhere cooked with lard on meat days and oil on lean days. Flandrin suggests that not all butter using countries were Protestant, because in the wake of the Reformation the Catholic Church had authorised any number of dispensations.

Guttenberg and the Printing Press

The end of the Middle Ages coincided with the invention of the printed book. The first book printed in Germany was the Guttenberg Bible in 1456, but by 1490 printing was introduced into almost every European country (Tierney 1970:70). The spread of literacy between 1500 and 1800, and the rise in silent reading, helped to create a new private sphere into which the individual could retreat, seeking refuge from the community (Chartier 1989:111). This new technology had its effects in the world of cookery as in so many spheres of culture (Mennell 1996:64). The literature of antiquity began to appear in print, giving wider access to the culinary, dietary and agricultural writers of Greece and Rome (Wheaton 1983:27; Albala 2002:25). The potential culinary audience broadened immeasurably (Parkhurst Ferguson 2004:152). Mennell (1996:64) notes that printing did not lead to cultural homogenisation. In early modern Europe, he writes, printing reduced certain social divisions but enhanced others. He cites Burke (1978:270), who argues that printing was one powerful force promoting the 'withdrawal' of the upper classes from popular culture. Trubek (2000:147) notes that cookbooks are the texts most often used by culinary historians, since they usually contain all the requisite materials for analysing a cuisine: ingredients, method, technique and presentation. Printed cookbooks, beginning in the early modern period, provide culinary historians with sources of evidence of the culinary past.

In 1498, two first editions of Apicius's work that were textually identical were issued by different publishers titled as *Apicius de re Quoquinaria* and *Appicius Culinarius* respectively. The second edition was published as *De Re Coquinaria*, under a Venice imprint about 1500 (Quayle 1978:11). It is argued that fixing a text in written form makes it available for discussion and criticism in a way that oral traditions are not (Eisenstein 1968; Goody 1968; Goody 1977; Mennell 1996). Trubek (2000:147) suggests that the

written word aided the movement of chefs from anonymous domestics in the homes of the nobility to public experts because now their knowledge could go anywhere. Cooking practices in the sixteenth century Western world, she argues, was ultimately defined when culinary discourse became a transnational and transhistorical discourse.

Albala (2002:25-47) provides an overview of the immense outpouring of dietary literature from the printing presses from the 1470s. He divides the Renaissance into three periods: Period I (1470-1530) Courtly Dietaries – targeted at the courtiers with advice to those attending banquets with many courses and lots of wine, Period II (1530-1570) The Galenic Revival – where a deeper appreciation and sometimes adulation of Galen, where scholarship took centre stage over practical use. Finally Period III (1570-1650) The Breakdown of Orthodoxy – where due to the ambiguities and disagreements within and between authoritative texts meant that authors were freer to pick the ideas that best suited their own. Nutrition guides were consistent bestsellers, and ranged from small handbooks written in the vernacular for lay audiences to massive Latin tomes intended for practicing physicians. 'Anyone with an interest in food appears to have felt qualified to pen his own nutritional guide' (Albala 2002:1).

The New World
During the fifteenth century the spice trade became somewhat chaotic. The capture of Constantinople and the closing of the Dardanelles by the Turks convinced Western Europeans to get their food supplies via alternative routes (Rebora 2001:111). The discovery of America, along with the opening of routes to the East Indies by the Portuguese, made a major contribution to the change in customs and the tendency towards new ways of eating (Rebora 2001:14). Figure 3.3 charts the first main Spanish and Portuguese expeditions. Some new foods discovered during these voyages, such as the potatoes, tomatoes, corn (maize) were slowly assimilated into Europe, whilst others such as pimiento and turkey were immediately accepted in some countries.

Despite wars, famines, epidemics and plague, the population of Europe grew from 80 to 180 million between 1500 and 1800. The majority of the population (80-90%) lived in

the countryside and shortage of food was a constant worry (Morineau 1999:374). Morineau (1999:376) suggests that each new planting after a period of famine was a humble expression of the resilient population's will to live. So was the adoption of new crops. Buckwheat was introduced to Brittany in the fifteenth century, rice to the Po valley in the early sixteenth century; maize was grown from Portugal to the Basque country in the late sixteenth century. Potatoes were planted in Ireland, Netherlands, Lorraine, Alsace and elsewhere at the beginning of the seventeenth century, spreading eastwards as war and crop failure ravaged Eastern Europe and the Balkans in the middle of that century (Morineau 1999:377). Montanari (1996:137) notes that the potato had the added benefit of being a crop that grew below the ground, and was far less exposed to the devastation of war, an 'artificial famine' to which rural populations were periodically subjected. The availability of new crops saved lives as they lessened the impact of bread shortages.
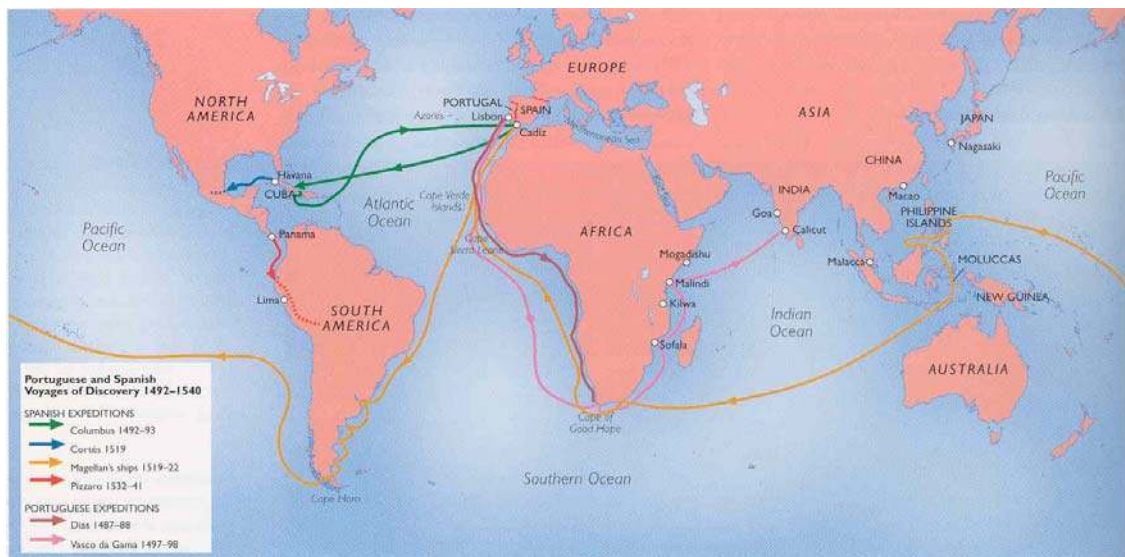
Figure 3.3: Portuguese and Spanish Voyages of Discovery 1492-1540
Source: (Stevenson 2002:196)

Three new beverages: tea, coffee and chocolate, soon accounted for a substantial portion of global trade. Sugar, also, began to be produced in vastly greater quantities in the Americas under European control (Mintz 1986; Flandrin 1999:349). De Saint-Pierre (1773) cited in (Mintz 1986) observes:

'I do not know if coffee and sugar are essential to the happiness of Europe, but I know well that these two products have accounted for the unhappiness of two great regions of the world: America has been depopulated so as to have land on which to plant them; Africa has been depopulated so as to have the people to cultivate them'.

Chocolate was first 'discovered' by Cortés in King Montezumas banquets in 1519. When the original chilli was replaced with sugar, it became popular in Europe, beginning in Spain as an early morning or afternoon drink particularly among aristocratic women (Huetz de Lemps 1999:385). In France chocolate became popular among the aristocracy under the reign of Louis XIV, particularly after his marriage in 1660 to Maria Theresa, who had acquired the habit of drinking chocolate in Spain. In the eighteenth century its popularity grew across Europe (Wheaton 1983:87; Huetz de Lemps 1999:386).

Coffee originated in Ethiopia, and the growths of coffee houses were precursors of future centres for the development of culinary arts. The first coffee house was established in Constantinople in 1554 (Tannahill 1975:252; Huetz de Lemps 1999:387). The first English coffee houses opened in Oxford in 1650 and in London in 1652 (Mason 2004:35). Coffee houses multiplied thereafter, but in 1676, when some London coffee houses became hotbeds for political protest, the city prosecutor decided to close them down. The ban was soon lifted and between 1680 and 1730 Londoners discovered the pleasure of drinking coffee (Huetz de Lemps 1999:388). Figure 3.4 shows a London coffee house with its all male clientele, the serving girl is the only woman present.

British coffee houses also sold tea which quickly displaced coffee in popularity (Taylor 1976:142). Pettigrew (2001:48) suggests two reasons why Great Britain became a tea-drinking nation while most of the rest of Europe took to coffee. The first was the power of the East India Company, chartered by Elizabeth I in 1600, who controlled the world's biggest tea monopoly, and promoted the beverage enthusiastically. Second was the difficulty England had in securing coffee from the Levant while at war with France at the end of the seventeenth century and again during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13). Pettigrew (2001:19) notes that the government soon realised that these new imports were desired by the fashionable and passed two Acts of Parliament in 1660 levied a tax on coffee, tea, chocolate and sherbert.
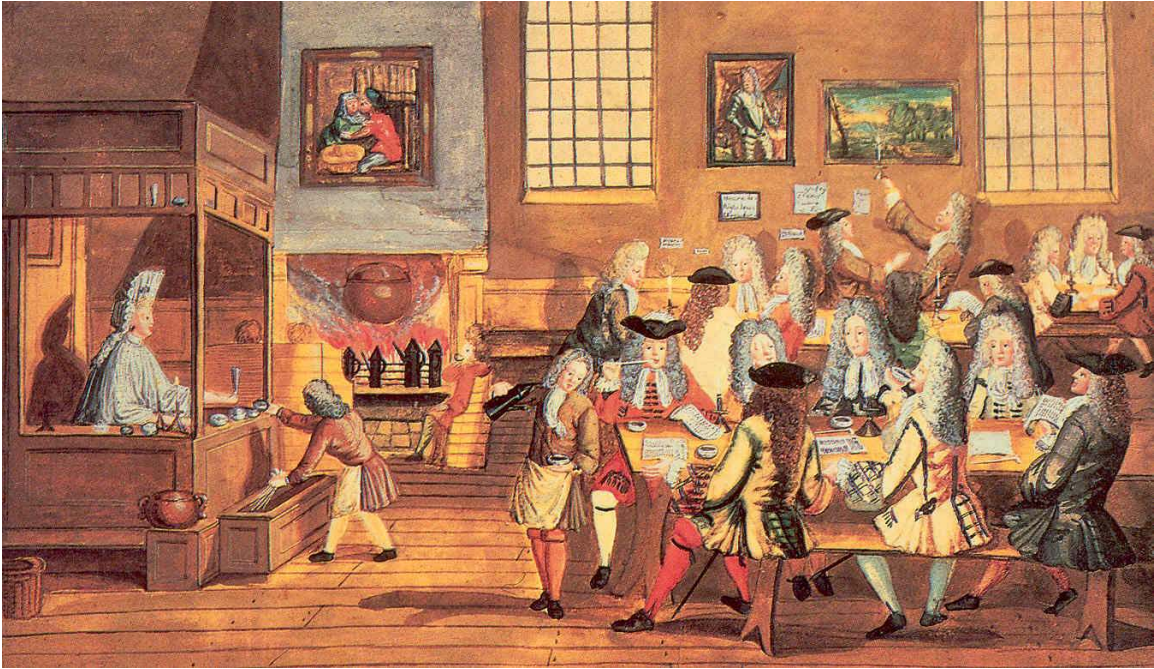
Figure 3.4: A London Coffee House
Source: (Willan 1992:71)

The first French coffee houses opened in Marseille in 1671 and in Paris the following year. Coffee houses proliferated during the eighteenth century: by 1720 there were 380 public cafes in Paris, an by the end of the century there were 600 (Huetz de Lemps 1999:387). Café Procope opened in Paris in 1674, and in the eighteenth century it became a veritable literary salon with regular customers like Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and Condorcet (Huetz de Lemps 1999:387; Pitte 1999:472). In England the coffee house developed into the exclusive clubs, such as Crockford's and the Reform, whilst elsewhere in Europe it became the ordinary café, similar to the tea shops that would open in England in the late nineteenth century (Tannahill 1975:252-3). Mason (2004:35) suggests that coffee and chocolate houses, being important places for men to meet and exchange information, played a part in the development of the stock exchange and Lloyds of London insurance brokers.

The notion that these new non-alcoholic drinks were responsible for the Enlightenment because people could now gather socially without getting drunk is rejected by Wheaton

(1983:91) as frivolous, since 'there had always been alternatives to strong drink', and European civilisation had achieved much in the previous centuries. She comments that cafés, becoming gathering places for dissenters, took over the role that taverns had long played. It is also argued that by offering a choice of drinks, and often sweets, at a fixed price and in a more civilized setting than most taverns provided, that coffee houses and cafés had a share in the making of the modern restaurant.

Summary

The Renaissance marked the end of the Middle Ages. The rise of humanism, the invention of the printing press, the discovery of the new world, and the reformation and counter-reformation Catholicism all occurred during the early modern period, and helped shape the modern world. From a culinary perspective change was more gradual. Italian cooks like Martino and Scappi produced the most sophisticated food in Europe at that time, but scholars believe their influence on modern French cuisine has been exaggerated (Wheaton 1983; Mennell 1996; Young 2006). The relative uniformity of the medieval regime gave way following the Reformation, food and cuisine diversified along national lines. The printing press provided gastronomic and agricultural writings from antiquity, printed medieval and early modern cookbooks, and a growing range of 'courtesy' books. Growing emphasis on a community of manners and tastes profoundly transformed the nature of the pleasure that people took in eating and drinking in company in the early modern era (Flandrin 1989:265). New world foods and beverages transformed the diet of Europe, the rise of coffee houses eventually led to the birth of private clubs and in mid eighteenth century Paris, the social institution that became known as the restaurant.

Chapter 4 – France (1400-1800)

Introduction

Every period of French history has a characteristic meal type. In the Middle Ages it was the feast; in the sixteenth century, the collation; in the seventeenth century, the fête; and in the eighteenth, the intimate supper (Wheaton 1983:1). French cuisine developed gradually during the first half of this period and went on to become the dominant cuisine in Europe. In France modernity of taste revealed itself in both the choice of ingredients and how it was prepared (Flandrin 1999b:404). The 'strong' – vinegary and spicy – sauces that had been in vogue during the Middle Ages gave way, in France, to fat-based or sugar-based sauces that were believed to be more 'delicate' and more respectful of the intrinsic flavours of other ingredients (Flandrin 1999:362). Three developments between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the seventeenth centuries led to modifications in styles and practices that refined the art of cooking. First was the introduction of printing into France, second was the beginning of an interest in diet by the educated classes, and third was the elaboration of dining as part of court ceremonies (Wheaton 1983:27). From La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François,* in the seventeenth century, to the writings of La Chapelle, Marin, and Menon in the eighteenth century, the culinary fundamentals, techniques and practices of classical French cuisine developed and were continuously refined. The French Revolution disrupted culinary and gastronomic institutions, the guilds were abolished, and some cooks went abroad, whilst others went to work for the newly important restaurants and the 'notables' at the top of the reshaped social structure. The idea of gastronomy 'survived to be embraced by a larger and more diverse clientele' (Wheaton 1983:232).

Historic Outline

Inspired and united by Joan of Ark, France emerged triumphant from the tribulations of the Hundred Year's War (1337-1453). Following the war, the organisation of a standing army restored and enhanced the power of the crown (Montgomery 1903:116; Stevenson 2002:191). Under the reign of Louis XI (1461-1483) the French monarchy became, temporarily at least, the foremost power on the continent of Europe. His reign is also

marked by the revival of learning and the introduction of printing. Under his successor, Charles VIII, the Italian war commenced as did the rise of the *Tiers État*. With Francis I came further national unity, the formation of the royal court, French exploration and colonisation in America, the beginning of the Reformation and the rise in French literature (Montgomery 1903:117-143). Stevenson (2002:200) suggests that the French fared less well as colonists as their plans to settle in Brazil and Florida were repulsed easily by the Portuguese and Spanish respectively. Stevenson holds the view that French preoccupation with the Wars of Religion in the second half of the century opened the way for English encroachment in the Americas. Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in 1494 initiated six decades of intense French military involvement in Italy. Italian influence was strengthened by the constant diplomatic and military intercourse of this period (Wheaton 1983:43). Following the Italian war, Louis XII and Francis I continued to look to Italy for cultural models, and many of Italy's leading artists, including Andrea del Sartro and Benvenuto Cellini, were tempted north by the offer of salaries and lucrative commissions (Stevenson 2002:221). Isakovics (1976) cited in Mennell (1996:70) shows that members of Italian 'cultural elites' migrated in significant numbers to early modern France. Many Florentine merchants settled in Lyons, bringing their chefs with them. Lyons was the diplomatic and commercial crossroads in France's relations with Italy, where Rabelais lived whilst writing *Gargantua et Pantagruel,* with their emphasis on the joys of elaborate eating and feasting (Blake and Crewe 1978:12).

The period from 1559-1610 is taken up by the civil and religious wars of the Catholics and the Huguenots. France at the second half of the sixteenth-century was a fractured nation, pitted into factions. Catherine de Medici's progeny were the last of the Valois, Henri IV (r.1589-1610) was the first of the Bourbons (Young 2006:447). Boucher (1986:99-101) cited in Young (2006) points out that Italian domestic staff steadily increased in the Queen mother's residence between 1570-1589, and between 1574-1589 in that of Henri III. During this period Italians, in France, rose to new levels of prominence and wealth (Young 2006:446). During the regency of Catherine de Medici, gradual changes occurred. New vegetable were introduce to France, and court festivals began to include collations featuring fruit and sugar confectionary (Wheaton 1983:231).

Figure 4.0 shows a collation given at Chantilly by the Prince de Condé in the Labyrinth, on the 29th August 1688. Catherine de Medici's influence on dining in France involved these court festivals, not actual cookery. The public festival became a weak government's way of expressing aspirations, of urging courses of action, of demonstrating wealth and power, and above all, of concentrating attention on the head of state and his family. There were different types of festivals but the 'masquerades' which combined drama, dance and the serving of food were Catherine de Medici's specialities (Wheaton 1983:49). Catherine brought leaders of hostile factions together at court, where the rules of etiquette were maintained between assassinations and massacres. She could oblige all factions to sit down and break bread together and to join in ceremonies of order (Wheaton 1983:50). In 1564 she toured France for two years with her second son Charles IX (aged fourteen), in an effort to secure the loyalty of the people by showing their monarch to them. Wheaton (1983:50) suggests 'The queen's motive in making this trip was political, not gastronomic, but it probably showed more people how the court dined than a lifetime of giving banquets'. The king had a master chef, one Guilaume Verger, a staff of five cooks and an unknown number of kitchen boys in his entourage. Local cooks must have been temporarily employed in the kitchens that were set up along the way, thus the opportunity to observe the techniques used by court cooks (Wheaton 1983:50-51).

Figure 4.0: Collation at Chantilly 1688
Source: (Wheaton 1983:144)

The period from 1610-1774 saw the long reigns of three kings: Louis XIII (1610-1643), Louis XIV (1643-1715), and Louis XV (1715-1774). During the seventeenth century Italian influence continued but was gradually consumed by French self identity. With the death of Henri IV, his second wife Marie de Medici, who was related to the Pope, became ruler as Henri's son Louis XIII was not yet nine years old (Montgomery 1903:170). Marie fell under the influence of fellow Italian Concini, and their selfish actions led to the States General of 1614. Richelieu disposed of the Concini's, supplanted them, and from 1624 till his death eighteen years later, effectively ruled France. Figure 4.1 shows Louis XIII sitting alone, eating a separate meal at a banquet at *Fontaineblue* in 1633. Six months after the death of Richelieu in 1642, the king died leaving his five year old son Louis XIV, as his successor. The queen mother, Anne of Austria, became regent and chose Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian by birth and friend of Richelieu, as her chief counsellor from 1643-1661.
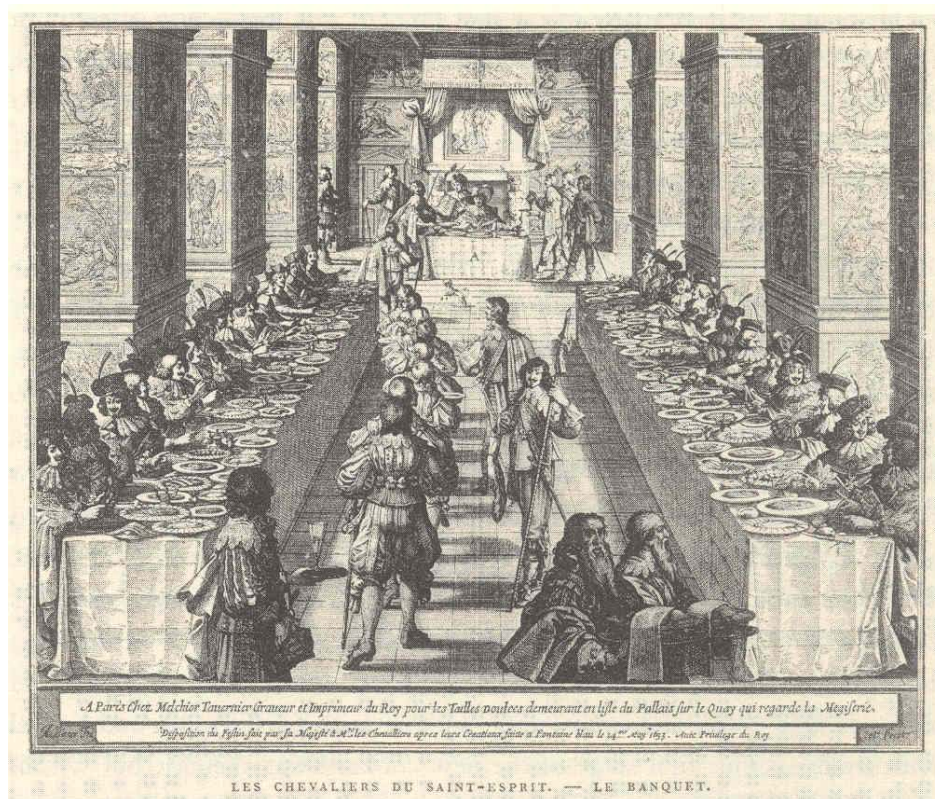
Figure 4.1: Banquet of the Order of the Holy Spirit at *Fontaineblue* 1633
Source: (Wheaton 1983:115)

Colbert succeeded Mazarin as Louis XIV's chief advisor and during this period France was reformed, developing economically, agriculturally, militarily and artistically. The king's marriage to Marie Theresa put an end to hostilities with Spain, the palace of Versailles was built and French cultural life flourished. Montgomery (1903:193-4) argues that Louis liked to feel that he led the civilisation of Europe, being the patron of all that was noble in art, literature, or science. French, he suggests, was the language used at this time by the diplomats and sovereigns of every civilised court: Frederick the Great in Germany, Catherine II of Russia, Gustavus III of Sweden, and even Georges II of England used French in both conversation and in correspondence. This was the age of Rousseau, Voltaire, Descartes and Montesquieu who fraternised the Parisian café Procope. Montgomery (1903:194) writes

> 'From this time throughout the eighteenth century French educators, men of science, architects, and artists may be fairly said to have done more for the advance of civilization than those of any other nation. So that, at the very time when France was declining politically, she was at the height of her power intellectually'.

He also suggests that there was another side to this royal patronage of eminent men. Those who opposed Louis's prejudices or forgot to flatter his greatness, like Pascal, Corneille and Fénelon were shunned. In 1685 with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Louis' persecution of the Huguenots drove a host of his most thrifty, intelligent and loyal subjects out of France, carrying with them the knowledge of trades and manufactures, such as silk weaving and watch making, which France had nearly or wholly monopolized (Montgomery 1903:202).

Under Louis XV, the political and financial system ossified. During the Seven Year War (1756-1763) France gained nothing in Europe and lost most of its overseas possessions to Great Britain. The wars were costly and the cost of a standing army drained the treasury. Many of the wealthiest in society were exempt from tax, resulting in a crushing burden on the rest of society (Stevenson 2002:278-9). Louis XVI, who succeeded in 1774, was scarcely the determined monarch, and following attempts at financial and political reform, he decided to convoke the Estates General which had not met for 173 years. On the 17th June 1789, when the Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly of France, the French Revolution had begun.

Sources of Evidence

A number of new literary sources appear during this period, such as Rablais's *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, and the essays of Michel de Montaigne. When these are analysed alongside the records of monasteries, household receipt books, and the growing number of cookbooks that started to proliferate following the introduction of the printing press, a clearer picture of what was eaten appears than was available during the Middle Ages. Wheaton (1983:30) suggests that the extreme longevity of *Le Viandier* recipes attests to a stagnant, or at least a very static, period in the history of French cooking. Most cooks were illiterate but the development of a number of literary genres would inspire their employers to raise standards of both kitchen and table. The literature of antiquity appearing in print, gave wider access to the culinary and agricultural writers of Greece and Rome (Wheaton 1983:27). Doctors and diners reading books about ingredients and diet and discussing these subjects among themselves preceded an interest in gastronomy as such – an interest, that is, in delicious food agreeably presented. The growing belief in the importance of diet in establishing and maintaining health led the French upper classes to give serious attention to their food and the manner in which it was eaten. Food began to be a fit subject for literature. Diarists, themselves a new phenomenon, were recording what they ate and occasionally how they felt about it (Wheaton 1983:28).

The development of French cooking lagged behind that of England, Germany and Italy; these other countries had already begun to produce a steady stream of cookbooks, though after the sixteenth century the Italian production fell off. Lancelot de Casteau's *Ouverture de cuisine* (Liege 1604) is the first cookbook in French that is not a reworking of medieval recipes; containing an international collection of recipes both for cookery and for confectionary, including partridge 'in the Catalan manner', and a leg of mutton 'roasted the Irish way' (Wheaton 1983:31-33).

French Cookery Books (17ᵗʰ Century)

The mid-seventeenth century saw an extensive output of culinary books including La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651) and *Le Parfaict Confiturier* (1667), de Lune's *La Cuisinier* (1656) and *Le Nouveau et Parfait Maistre d'hostel* (1662), L.S.R.'s *L'Art de*

bien traiter (1674) and Massialot's *Le Cuisinier roïal et bourgeois* (1691) and *Nouvelle Instructions pour faire les confiture* (1692) (Hyman and Hyman 1999:401). However, prior to this, France had lagged behind its neighbours in the production of such books (Parkhurst Ferguson 2004:38). Wheaton (1983:113) suggests that the dearth of French cookbooks ended, as chefs overcame their reluctance to commit their ideas to paper. Wheaton citing Eisenstein (1968) suggests that perhaps the same reluctance to commit to paper felt by the professional and academic elites when formerly secret information was published, may have operated in the kitchen. Trade secrets have always been part of the stock-in-trade in the culinary crafts, as in others, a fact that remains even today. Wheaton (1983:113-4) suggests that the balance may have shifted when secrecy became less valuable than fame, or, that cooks trained in the oral tradition could not keep up the accelerated pace of innovation, thus creating the market for cookbooks. As a court cook, Lancelot de Casteau was not obliged to belong to a guild and therefore would not have been bound by oath to withhold its secrets from the public. He was in Liege for some years before joining a guild (Wheaton 1983:33). In Italy however Francesco Leonardi, who flourished 1750-1790, cited in Willan (1992:117) writes 'Pride has been a reason why Italian cooking has deteriorated in the last two centuries; cooks are afraid people would think them ignorant if they were caught consulting a cookbook'. Trubek (2000:147) argues that French *haute cuisine* became a transportable good, capable of tremendous impact. The printed word, whether as cookbooks or journals, was one form by which French *haute cuisine* was transported; the other form of transport was via French chefs, which shall be discussed later.

French Cookery Books (18th Century)

Willan (1992:85) remarks that the age of Louis XV was a high point for cultural life in France and that cooking was no exception She suggests that more cookbooks were written by 'great cooks' between 1735 and 1755 than in any comparable period before or since. These included La Chapelle's *Le Cuisinier moderne* (1735), Marin's *Les Dons de Comus* (1739), Menon's *Le Nouveau Traité de Cuisine* (1739), *La Cuisinière bourgeoise* (1746), *La science du maître d'hotel cuisinier* (1749), *Les Soupers de la Cour* (1755),

Cuisine et Office de santé (1758), *Le Manuel des officiers de bouche* (1759), *Almanch de cuisine* (1761), and *Almanach d'office* (1761) (Hyman and Hyman 1999:401).

French Classical Cuisine

Court cuisine all over Europe, before the seventeenth century, was characterised by the use of a wide range of spices - though not indiscriminately - in both sweet and savoury dishes (Bagnall 2001:v). During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, French cooking was shaped by the organisation of the kitchens that produced it. French *haute cuisine* developed in the large kitchens of the aristocracy, during the seventeenth century, from where it was subsequently practiced in the kitchens of wealthy households, in restaurant and clubs and on ocean liners (Wheaton 1983:95). La Varenne (1615-1678), whose book *Le Cuisinier François* appeared in 1651, is the founder of French classical cookery (Willan 1992:53; Mennell 1996:71). In his cookbook, French cooking breaks decisively with the Middle Ages, described by Wheaton (1983:115) as the 'first great French cookbook' that set the tone for 'the *grand siècle* of cooking that followed'. His great contribution to French cuisine, according to Phillip and Mary Hyman, is to have been the first to set down in writing 'how to make meats ready neatly and daintily' (Bagnall 2001:vii). Aged thirty five at the time of publication, he had already been master cook for ten years to Louis Chaalon du Bled, the Marquis d'Uxelles, to whom he dedicates the book, and for whom Willan (1992:57) suggests he named his famous creation – the duxelles of mushrooms, although this has been the subject of much conjecture (Davidson 1999:264).

Published in English in 1653, *Le Cuisinier François* was the first French cookbook to be translated. Willan (1992:113) notes that it was still being reprinted in Italian as late as 1815. La Varenne's book recorded the immense advance French cooking had made under the civilising influence of Renaissance values and court styles. Technical innovations were popularised for the first time, including the use of roux (fat and flour) to thicken sauces, and the use of egg whites in clarify consommé (Mennell 1996:72). Traditions, however, change slowly and incrementally. The 1707 French feast, illustrated in Figure 4.2, using a horseshoe table, and *pièce montées,* shows medieval habits lingering with

those of a more sophisticated age. With each course the table was covered with a variety of dishes among which the guests were free to choose.

Figure 4.2: Banquet Given in Paris by the Duke of Alba (1707)
Source: (Flandrin 1989:293)

La Varenne was not an isolated revolutionary since his writings were immediately followed by those of de Bonnefons, de Lune, Ribou, and Massialot. These books, when taken together, show the rise in butter-based cookery, fat based sauces displacing acidic sauces based on vinegars or verjuice, the increased reliance of common herbs (parsley and thyme) and a gradual trend away from strongly flavoured exotic spices (Mennell 1996:73). Nicolas de Bonnefons stressed 'the true taste to be given to each food' as a general culinary and gastronomic principle (Flandrin 1989:296). Wheaton (1983:232) argues that the importance of the works of La Varenne and Bonnefons lies not in their individual recipes but how they are conceived using a 'repertory of infinitely adjustable basic mixtures, both liquid and solid, that can be combined with the many primary

ingredients that come into the French kitchen'. The range of fruit and vegetables was also transformed during the seventeenth century, not only by the imports from the Far East and the Americas, but also by the more extensive cultivation of native plants (Willan 1992:57). Fine cooking had gained a new public importance as meals became more prominent in the court festivals of Louis XIV (Wheaton 1983:232).

Louis XV preferred to eat in private, disdaining his great-grandfather's habit of admitting the public to watch the royal meals. In Figure 4.3 he is the guest of Prince de Conti, patron of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, enjoying some light music as they dine. Cooking during this period came to be valued as a peculiarly French art (Willan 1992:85). The little supper, that exquisite version of *haute cuisine*, was enthusiastically adopted by all polite society. Sparkling champagne became the essential drink to accompany meals (Pitte 2002:101).
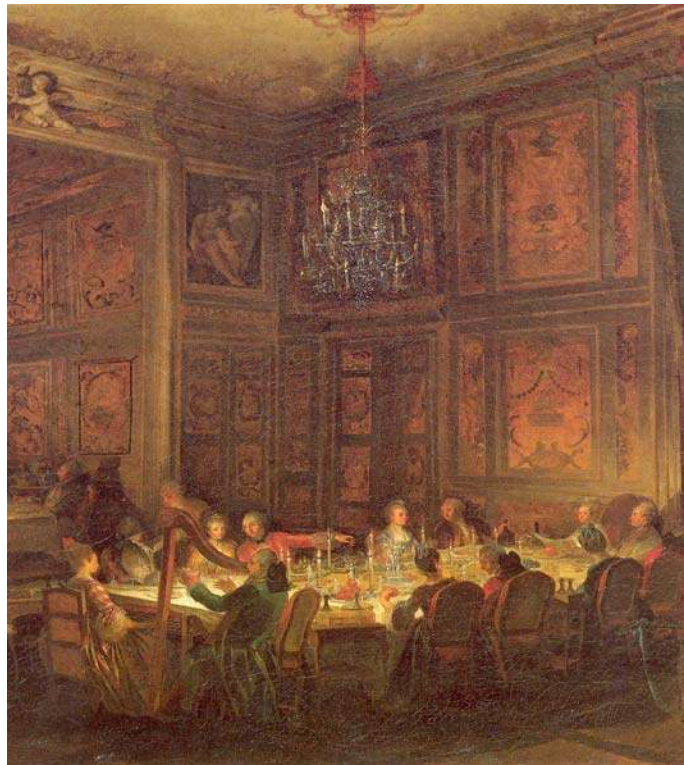
Figure 4.3: Louis XV at an Intimate Supper with Prince de Conti
Source: (Willan 1992:84)

Menon, mentioned earlier, was the most successful member of a prolific generation of published cooks. During the one hundred years that separate Menon from La Varenne, French cooking developed dramatically. The division grew between the large and small kitchen (Wheaton 1983:194). During the 1740s a *nouvelle cuisine* developed moving away from the cumbersome cuisine of the past. Food became more expensive, albeit under the banner of simplicity, and modern cookery was considered a kind of chemistry. An introductory essay in Marin's 1740 *Les Dons de Comus ou les délice de la table* cited in Wheaton (1983:197) contains the following:

> 'The cook's science consists today of analyzing, digesting, and extracting the quintessence of foods, drawing out the light and nourishing juices, mingling and blending them together, so that nothing dominates and everything is perceived, producing a kind of union which painters give to their colours, and making them homogenous, so that from their different flavours result only a fine piquant taste, and, if I dare say it, a harmony of all tastes joined together'.

Wheaton suggests that the rising status of cooks is reflected by - and perhaps contributed to by - the use of scientific language in describing the work of the kitchen. Mennell, however, points out that we know little of Marin, May, La Chappelle, La Varenne, Massialot and in the case of Menon not even his forename. This anonymity, he argues, is silent witness to the low status of cooks (Mennell 1996:143).

Despite the supreme importance of food in France throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, chefs were underprivileged people, only remembered if they wrote cookbooks (Blake and Crewe 1978:14). Cooking was a difficult and rewarding *métier*, but Wheaton (1983:111-2) proposes 'the opportunity to experiment with an abundance of ingredients would have had the quality of fantasy in a society where starvation was an omnipresent threat to most people'. She suggests that kitchen workers were mostly guaranteed a full stomach, a warm place to sleep, and the opportunity of pilfering food for hungry mouths at home (Wheaton 1983:110). Crespin (1641:14-16) cited in Wheaton (1983:110-11) describes the lively social life in kitchens: full of love affairs, good dining – at their masters expense - and camaraderie where the staff covered for one another. Some culinary professionals, however, took their positions very seriously. Vatel, *maître d'hôtel* to the Prince de Condé, described as 'the epitome of the organisational skills

required of chefs and the romantic model of the perfectionism which drives them' took his own life when he thought the shipment of seafood had not arrived whilst entertaining Louis XIV in 1671. The fish arrived just after he had thrown himself on his sword (Wheaton 1983:145). Blake and Crewe (1978:13) argue that the story of Vatel, which is usually thought to typify the dedication of chefs can equally be seen as a story of the disdain of princes for their employees. Vatel's corpse was buried hastily in an un-marked grave, because there was a tradition that the king did not stay where there was death in a house.

Food and Sources

Rablais's *Gargantua et Pantagruel* contains a four page list of foods the 'Gastrolators' gave as offerings to their god, Manduce. The list shows how faithful to the medieval kitchen France was as late as 1547, when this book appeared (Wheaton 1983:38). In France and other European countries, one of the principal distinctive features of aristocratic cuisine in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries was the use of Oriental spices. In the seventeenth century, however, French travellers began to criticise the spicy dishes that were still being served in the rest of Europe. In France, meanwhile, cooks were actually using pepper, clove, and nutmeg more often than in the past but in smaller quantities, and they almost stopped using spices such as saffron, ginger, cinnamon, malaguetta pepper, hot pepper, galingale, and mace (Flandrin 1989:272).

Flandrin (1999b:404-409) discusses the 'important and complex changes that were taking place' in French cuisine. He identifies a new taste for vegetables during this period, with three families of vegetables showing particular prominence: mushrooms, artichokes and cardoons, and asparagus and other tender shoots. Using cookbooks of the time, Flandrin charts the rise of both the percentage of vegetable dishes, and the number of species mentioned. There is a sharp increase between the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the following century as illustrated in Figure 4.4. Despite a slight drop in the percentage in the eighteenth century the number of species mentioned continued to increase. Flandrin (1999b:404) suggests a decline in starchy vegetables and a rise in less

nourishing ones among the social elites 'as if their goal were no longer to survive but rather to introduce greater diversity into cooking and indulge their appetites'.
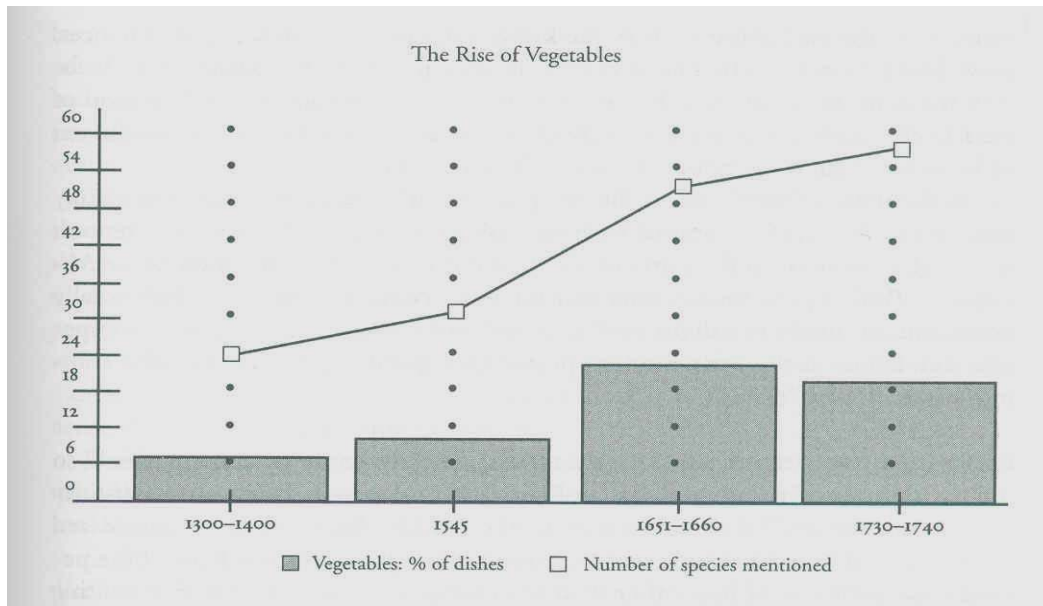
**Figure 4.4: The Rise of Vegetable Consumption
Source: (Flandrin and Montanari 1999:405)**

Native herbs and spices, not widely used in aristocratic kitchens in the Middle Ages, became much more prevalent in seventeenth – and eighteenth – century cooking: mint, and hyssop lost favour to chervil, tarragon, basil, and especially thyme, laurel and chive. Parsley, frequently mentioned in the Middle Ages, became even more popular. Shallots, scallions, and Spanish garlic were added to the medieval onion. Garlic, always regarded as a vulgar herb, was rejected by some cooks such as L.S.R., but prized by others such as Menon. Even more characteristic of French cooking of this period was the use of truffles and mushrooms of every variety. Such Provençal condiments as capers, anchovies, olives, lemons, and bitter oranges come into favour. All of these ingredients were far more accessible to the common folk – in their native provinces at any rate – than were the exotic spices of the Orient. Thus class distinctions were apparently diminished (Flandrin 1989:272).

Whilst the number of plant species increased on the better tables, the number of animal species decreased. The immediate acceptance of the turkey at table seems to have replaced the larger birds of the medieval period. The cormorant, stork, swan, crane, bittern, spoonbill, heron, and peacock vanished from the cookbooks and markets between 1500 and 1650 (Wheaton 1983:103; Flandrin 1999b:405). A wide variety of smaller birds, many of which are prized by gastronomes today: snipe, bunting, the warbler of Provence, replaced the larger wildfowl (Flandrin 1989:283). Marine mammals and their by-products, and a wide variety of fish disappeared from the cookbooks, and archaeological investigations of animal remains, according the Flandrin, confirm the narrowing of the range of both fish and birds during this period. The status of beef rose in the early modern period, but much more emphasis was paid to the particular cut of meat. The location of an important social dividing line changed: the key distinction was no longer between aristocrats, who ate game and fowl, and the bourgeoisie, who ate gross meats, but between the nobility and bourgeoisie, which ate the good cuts of meat, and the common people, who ate the *bas morceaux*, the low-grade cuts (Flandrin 1989:273). The use of lamb also increased, although mutton was still preferred due to its stronger flavour. From 1661 cockscombs and *foie gras* appeared, and salt cod from the New World and tuna preserved in oil or brine were increasingly used (Wheaton 1983:103-4).

The growing emphasis on sweetness was probably the most important single development in sixteenth-century cooking (Wheaton 1983:28). In the sixteenth century the sugar-refining industry grew substantially over much of Europe. Apothecaries and physicians were the first to gain experience in dealing with this technically demanding ingredient. Since literacy in this class was normal, the first really new recipes to be printed were for confectionary (Wheaton 1983:39). Around 1600, Wheaton (1983:53) reports, a new luxury makes its appearance: cold, whether in the form of ice or snow. There was little change in the dessert offerings during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which consisted mainly of liquid or dry preserves. Around 1700, however, frozen desserts, little cakes, and coffee and chocolate became fashionable (Wheaton 1983:108).

Olivier de Serres's *Le Theatre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs*, (1600) is the first French book on agriculture and horticulture in which a working knowledge of the subject predominates over the enumerations of advice cribbed from classical authors. The classical agricultural writings were not suited to the different climate, soils, and products of early modern France (Wheaton 1983:64). The increase since the Middle Ages in the variety of garden produce reflected in the *Theatre* is remarkable. De Serres sets forth the principal of operating four kinds of garden; the orchard, the kitchen garden (potager), the medicinal garden, and the flower garden. He grew artichokes, the most esteemed vegetable in sixteenth-century France, and cardoons, various kinds of peas, cabbages and cauliflowers, and all sorts of root vegetables, including horseradish, carrots, turnips and parsnips, as well as cucumbers, melons, and pumpkins (Wheaton 1983:66).

Preparation and Cooking

Both medieval and modern cooks were concerned about the visual appearance of food, but the relation between gastronomy and aesthetics changed. From the seventeenth century on, the aesthetics of food became inextricably linked with its gastronomic qualities. Signs of freshness were more enticing than realistic replicas of living animals (Flandrin 1989:287-8). In late sixteenth century France, the qualities of foods praised were rarity and refinement, whereas in the fifteenth century abundance had been the most desired characteristic (Wheaton 1983:52). Most cooks were illiterate, holding their knowledge in their heads, hands and palates. When the rare literate cook wrote down – or the illiterate cook dictated – what he knew, he drew on traditional knowledge (Wheaton 1983:18). In La Varenne's *Le Cuisine François*, the first recipe given is for *bouillon* or stock. This stock was developed by later cooks into the *fonds de cuisine,* the foundation on which an array of soups, sauces and stews are produced in classical French cuisine (Mennell 1996:71). Along with the use of roux to thicken sauces, egg whites to clarify consommés, La Varenne uses a bouquet garni to flavour a sauce, reduction of liquor to concentrate flavour, the slow cooking of butcher's meat in liquid, and presents an enormous array of prepared French 'made dishes' that the English often referred to as 'kickshaws' - a corruption of *quelque chose* (Mennell 1996:72).

In 1733 La Chapelle's *The Modern Cook* a roux made with flour is used to thicken cullis – *coulis* – and by using sauce *espagnole* as a flexible fond for many other sauces, La Chapelle anticipates later practice (Mennell 1996:77). In the fifth volume (1742) he includes recipes from German, Italian, Russian, English and Indian sources – all adapted to French taste. Marin spells out in great detail the recipe for *bouillon* or stock in his 1739 *Les Dons de Camus,* which he describes as 'the soul of the sauce' and presents as the foundation of *nouvelle cuisine* (Mennell 1996:78).

The replacement of the porous bread trenchers by ceramic plates facilitated the service of more liquid mixtures and firmer ones requiring the use of knives and forks. Small pies, turnovers, pastries, little fried crusts, meatballs all became immensely popular during the eighteenth century (Wheaton 1983:117). Whether called *hors d'oeuvres, entrées* or *entremets*, one of the main hallmarks of the 1730s and 1740s were the great variety of made dishes, which became as important a part of a fashionable meal as the roast (Mennell 1996:78). Flandrin (1999b:406-7) points out that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century French cooks often subjected meat to two successive types of cooking – like their medieval predecessors – but tried, however, to preserve the natural flavour of the ingredients.

Food Service and Dining

Sophistication in taste is somewhat indulged in early modern texts on gourmet dining, while gluttony is severely denounced. The word 'gourmet' is simply a synonym for 'glutton' in the best known seventeenth and eighteenth century dictionaries. Gourmandise was one of the seven deadly sins but '*friandise*' was the French word for sophisticated enjoyment of food (Flandrin 1989:289). A *friand* was one who 'likes delicate or well seasoned morsels', and could also mean a connoisseur of wine. It is argued by Flandrin (1989:292) that the existence of two words with such similar meanings is a sign of heightened interest in sophisticated taste. By the seventeenth century, according to Wheaton (1983:70), the pleasures and ritual forms of dining had been integrated into the social life of both the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. Setting a good table was a recognized way of exhibiting one's cultivated tastes. Meals were integrated into the

repertory of court life. Those who followed fashion had begun to expect innovation and finesse, as well as abundance, from their cooks.

The addition of the fork reflects half of an important change that was coming to Northern European tables from Italy in the late sixteenth century. The necessary other half was the replacement of the bread trencher by pewter, silver, or glazed ceramic plates, whose firm and impermeable surface made it possible to serve thinner sauces and to serve preparations most conveniently cut with knife and fork by individual diners (Wheaton 1983:54). The eating process was to become tidier as people learned to use forks. The expense of individual preparations and the belief that foods affect health for good or ill encouraged the diners to notice and think about what they were eating. Dining was regulated by rules which changed frequently and traps awaited the unwary. Wheaton (1983:141) advises that licking one's fingers was the ultimate impropriety, olives were to be taken with a spoon, never with a fork, but walnuts could be taken with the bare hand. Fish, she suggests, should never be touched with a knife unless it was in a pie. Table manners, then as now, served both practical and symbolic functions, arbitrary rules signalling whether the diner was a member of the social elite.

A hierarchy of privilege marked where one sat a banquet. Brocher (1934:28) cited in Wheaton (1983:138) worked out a diagram indicating who was allowed to sit on what kind of chair or stool, and in whose presence. Despite the many changes that occurred in dining during the early modern period, the method of service remained little changed from the classical period. The setting of the table and serving of a meal was closely regulated in a manner known all over Europe as *service à la française*, where the table was covered with dishes; everyone could reach some things and not others. A typical meal consisted of three courses, the first two prepared in the kitchen and the third in the *office*. As the cook presented dishes neatly arranged onto platters, so did the *maître d'hôtel* arrange the platters into a pattern on the table. Figure 4.5 shows an elaborate table plan from 1751 where the spirit of geometry has run wild.

Wheaton (1983:139) notes that diagrams with appended menus were a regular feature of cookbooks from the end of the seventeenth century onwards. She also writes:

'As in the Middle Ages, the diners ate primarily what they could reach, but (with the exception of royalty, who were often served special dishes) the practice of arranging food in declining order of social rank down the table had ceased. If a diner wished for something out of reach, a servant was summoned to fetch it, though it was not good manners to do this too often' (Wheaton 1983:139-40).
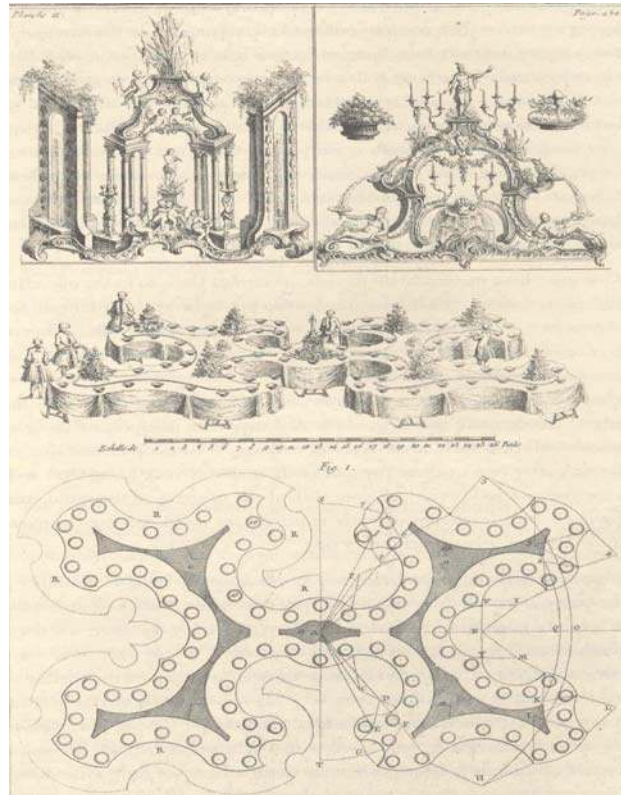
Figure 4.5: Elaborate Table Plan from 1751
Source: (Wheaton 1983:187)

Summary

French cuisine and the attitudes of its patrons went through many changes during this period. Quality and finesse became the attributes valued rather than the abundance and extravagance of the Middle Ages. The advent of the printing press facilitated the spread of cookery books, although France was slower than neighbouring countries in this form of publishing. French classical cuisine was born with the publication of La Varenne's *Le*

Cuisinier François in 1651, and was refined further by the *nouvelle cuisine* writers of the eighteenth century. The increased use of sugar, vegetables, new world foods and beverages, and the fashion for ices all occurred during this period. Two types of cuisine, never completely distinct or interchangeable, developed side by side: *haute cuisine* in the larger kitchens, and *cuisine bourgeoise* in the small kitchens of the prosperous classes (Wheaton 1983:231). The use of new ingredients and flavour combinations and the development of new cooking techniques interacted to give birth to *haute cuisine* in France, and above all, in Paris. These new developments required the institutions that provided the ingredients, as well as the private kitchens and the people who prepared the developing cuisine. During the sixteenth century Catherine de Medici used the court festival to concentrate attention on the head of state and his family. In the seventeenth century fine cooking gained public importance in the court festivals of Louis XIV. The craft of cooking reached new heights during the eighteenth century as refinement supplanted abundance and the divergence between the tables of the aristocracy and those of the merely prosperous increased. During the *ancient regime*, Paris was the central meeting place of France's culinary life, as for so much else of her culture (Wheaton 1983:71). The French Revolution led to the abolition of the guilds, and although the beginning of restaurants in Paris antedate the Revolution, Mennell (1996:139) argues 'the Revolution itself had effects both on the demand for restaurants and in making it possible for supply to respond to that demand'. The origin of the restaurant will be discussed separately in a later chapter.

Chapter 5 – England (1400-1800)

Introduction

England is discussed as an example of how French cuisine influenced its neighbours but principally because during this period Ireland was under English rule. England acted as a land bridge for French cuisine and chefs into Ireland who first appeared in the employ of the Anglo-Irish nobility.

Both the discovery of the New World, and the decline in religious influence on food following the breaking of the power of the Church strongly effected the food habits of England in the early modern period (Mason 2004:21). Willan (1992:72) suggests that during medieval times there was little to distinguish English cooking from French. She suggests that there can be no closer parallel to Taillevent's *Le Viandier* than the contemporary *Forme of Cury* compiled by the cooks of the English king Richard II in the 1380s. Both books share similar language, techniques, and the same emphasis on spices, with sugar used as a seasoning, like salt. Spencer (2004:121) holds the view that following the 'War of the Roses' food loses 'its esoteric glamour, the touch of strangeness that in the medieval world both entices and alienates'. The reason for this, he explains, is that the new landed elite, who replaced the old aristocracy, 'are not estranged from the sources of food as was the medieval elite, they are hard at work producing the food they cook and eat'. Willan (1992:69) suggests the refinements of the Renaissance were slow to cross the Channel, and that in 1600 to turn from French to English cooking was to step back a hundred years.

Robert May (1588-c.1665) was a professional cook, trained in Paris, apprenticed in London and worked in thirteen different Roman Catholic or royalist households (Davidson 1999:485). He is the author of 'the first full-scale English cookery book' *The Accomplisht Cook* (1660). In contrasting the works of May with La Varenne, Willan (1992:73) suggests a discernable distinction between French and English cooking, with the English taking a strictly functional approach in contrast to the French, 'who were happy to spend hours perfecting the smallest detail and developed a special cooking

vocabulary to describe their new art'. English cooking at this time experienced some foreign influence, Henrietta Maria of Spain married Charles I in 1625, and introduced *olla podrida* (a Spanish stew), known to the English as '*olio*', to the court. Charles II made France his home for a decade but was restored as king in 1660. Patrick Lamb, royal chef from the reign of King Charles II to Queen Anne displays strong French influence in his receipts.

The emergence of British sugar-eating and tea-drinking took place against a background of overseas expansion and colonial conquest (Mintz 1996:19). The East India Company was established in 1600. There was a population boom, a middle class emerged that wished to follow aristocratic fashion, and 'by the mid-eighteenth century anyone with pretensions of fashion spent part of the year in London' (Mason 2004:21).

The exchange of culinary ideas across the Channel was not all one-way. Following England's Agricultural Revolution, where yields had been increased by a combination of land enclosures and new technology like Jethro Tull's famous seed drill, there was a wave of Anglophilia. Many French chefs worked in the great English houses and brought back to France various techniques which were added to the French repertoire. The words *à l'anglaise* became both common and respected on menus (Blake and Crewe 1978:15). MacDonogh (1987:111) suggests that in the initial stages of the French Revolution at least, anglomania retained its grip on the French intelligentsia and certain members of the liberal nobility. He further notes that Grimod de la Reynière suggested that restaurant dining – in Paris – achieved respectability by virtue of the fact that it resembled the British habit of eating at the tavern, which had become fashionable in London towards the end of the eighteenth century. Trubek (2000:63) comments on the ironic element to the passive, almost slavish attitudes of the British towards French cuisine during a period when Britain was it the peak of its imperial power. Cooking, she suggests, 'seems to have been one area of British culture where its citizens' sense of power dissipated'.

Not all Britons were enamoured with France, for example Glasse (1745:4) cited in Trubek (2000:60) asserts 'if gentlemen will have French cooks, they must pay for French

tricks', and, 'So much is the blind folly of this age, that they would rather be imposed on by a French Booby, than give encouragement to an good English cook'. Spencer (2004:219) contextualises Glasse's culinary Francophobia, explaining that whilst she was writing the book, the Jacobite army were only a few days' march from London, threatening to cut short the Hanoverian lineage. However, Lehmann (1999:278) points out that whilst Glasse was overtly hostile to French cuisine, she simultaneously plagiarized its receipts. Based on this trickling down of French influences, Mennell (1996:98) argues that 'there is really no such thing as a pure-bred English cookery book', but that within the assimilation and simplification, a recognisable English style was discernable. Mennell (2001:36) asserts that Glasse and her fellow women writers had an enormous role in the social history of cooking despite their lack of technical originality.

Historical Outline

England was struck by the Black Plague in the fourteenth century and did not regain its former population until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Following a dramatic seventy two percent rise in population between 1541 and 1620, growth remained around thirty percent per annum up until 1700, slowing to fourteen percent in the eighteenth century (Morineau 1999:374). Henry VI was the last English King to also term himself King of France. In the years following the Hundred Years War, between 1453-1558, England developed a new national identity and became an island separate from Europe (Spencer 2004:100). The end of 'The War of the Roses' in 1485 inaugurated a period of growth that proved durable, but there were only remnants of the old aristocracy left. The great families who had opposed the Tudors had all died out in the struggle. The minor gentry and bourgeois moved to take their place (Spencer 2004:100). Henry VIII ruled from 1509 to 1547, secured both domestic and international peace by arranging careful marriages for both himself and his children (Albala 2003:164). Following his break with Rome, Church lands and wealth were transferred to the crown, much of which was later sold off to the peerage or gentry (Spencer 2004:102). Following Henry's death, his sickly nine year old son Edward VI became king – but died in 1553 aged only sixteen. During Edward's reign his advisors initiated a full and thorough Protestant reform, unleashing a puritanical spirit, taking a harsh attitude towards food and the pleasures of the body.

England reverted to full obedience to the Pope and the Catholic Church in Rome under Mary I, who ruled from 1553-58. Elizabeth I succeeded Mary and quickly reversed both her sister's Spanish friendship and religious priorities. Protestantism was once more the established religion of England (Stevenson 2002:207). Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) coincided with a golden age for English culture, and would be long remembered for the dazzling court festivities and sugar-laden banquets over which she presided, and which reputedly made her teeth black (Albala 2003:168). The English ruling class, under the first two Stuart Kings, James I (1603-25) and Charles I (1625-49), emulated Spanish, French and Italian fashions and ideas, including cooking (Spencer 2004:134). Mennell (1996:118) suggests that by the 1620s and 1630s, 'England seemed to be moving steadily nearer to a system of government modelled on that of Richelieu, with absolute authority and aristocratic privilege centred on a glittering court'. Spencer (2004:135) argues that the Civil War (1642-48) was about trade and commerce, not religion, noting that in 1621 there were seven hundred different monopolies, affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen. Issues of land and the monopoly system were at the centre of social unrest and discontent under the first two Stuart Kings, keeping power, patronage and commercial wealth within the monarchy and the immediate court circle. Control of capital was wrestled from the crown and the entrepreneur was given a free hand. The abolition of feudal tenures meant that lands could now be bought, sold and mortgaged, making long-term investment in agriculture possible for the first time – a decisive change in English history differentiating it from the Continent (Spencer 2004:135).

During the commonwealth, theatres were closed, Christmas abolished, and village festivals banned. Despite this, Albala (2003:172-3) suggests that Cromwell maintained a lavish court which only became more magnificent with the restoration of Charles II in 1660. James II, who wanted England to revert to Catholicism, took the throne following his brother's death in 1685 but in 1688 Parliament sent him into exile. Food in the English court during this period was strongly influenced by French cuisine. Figure 5.0 shows the coronation feast of James II in Westminster hall in 1685, in which almost the entire surface of the table is covered with food arranged in geometric pattern, so much so that there is little room left for serving plates and none for glasses, which were passed by

the servers (Willan 1992:73). James II's Protestant daughter Mary II and her husband William of Orange were appointed joint monarchs in 1689. During the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), who was the youngest sister of Marry II, England and Scotland were united and a law introduced banning anyone but a Protestant from being king or queen.

Figure 5.0: The Coronation Feast of James II in Westminster Hall in 1685
Source: (Willan 1992:73)

George I (1714-27), the first of the Hanoverian kings, preferred to live in Germany. During George II's reign (1727-1760), England opened new lands in Canada and India. George III (1760-1820) reigned during the Agricultural Revolution – when farmers were experimenting with new crops, techniques and machinery. His son George IV became Prince Regent from 1811-1820.

Printed Sources

The English preceded the French in the publication of cookbooks and other food related texts. Mennell (1996:66) citing Stone (1964) and Furet and Ozouf (1983) explains that an 'educational revolution' occurred in England between 1540 and 1640, but that the

comparable increase in literacy did not take place in France until later, between 1650-1800. Mennell suggests that 'it may therefore not be entirely coincidental that many more new cookery books were published in Italy and England than in France before 1650'. Diaries, traveller's accounts and novels from the seventeenth and eighteenth century also provide documentary evidence of what was eaten, the most famous being Samuel Pepys, Parson Woodforde, Celia Fiennes, Daniel Dafoe, and Tobias Smollet (Mason 2004:23). Both Mason (2004:22-23) and Albala (2003:164-184) outline the most significant cookery publications of this period, but a more comprehensive approach is found in Mennell (1996:83-101), Hunter (1999) and Lehmann (1999).

A Noble Boke of Cokery, probably the first English cookery book, appeared in 1500 and was followed in 1508 by the *Boke of Kervynge*, describing the rituals and vocabulary of carving (Hunter 1999:276). Later in the century Dawson's *The Good Huswifes Jewell* (1585) and Markham's *The English Hus-wife* (1615) are representative of the English cookbook aimed at the 'gentlewoman' housewife rather than the court nobility. There is both a national prejudice in favour of plain food and persistence of medieval ingredients and techniques evident in Markham's book. However Mennell (1996:85) suggests the use of the word '*fricassee*' implies 'that French culinary influence was already evident in England'. The use of the words '*quelquechose*' and '*fricassee*' in early seventeenth century England indicates influences of developments in French cuisine not yet recorded in French books (Mennell 1996:86). Digby's *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelm Digby, Kt, Opened* (1669) provides convincing evidence of the gentry and nobility taking an active interest in cookery, albeit using quite ordinary ingredients, abundant on a county estate (Fig. 5.1a). There is little sign of *haute cuisine* in either Markham or Digby, such as was developing in France, yet 'from the Restoration to the death of Queen Anne, there were signs of an awareness of the emerging French courtly style co-existing with the lastingly vigorous native tradition (Mennell 1996:89). Spencer (2004-6) suggests Evelyn's *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets* (1699) to be one of the finest books ever written on vegetables. He describes Evelyn (Fig. 5.1c) as a scientist and sensitive cook, who wanted a salad to be 'composed harmoniously like music, counterbalancing natural flavours with judicious seasoning'.

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Fig. 5.1a: Sir Kenelm Digby   Fig. 5.1b: Robert May   Fig. 5.1c: John Evelyn

Source: (Willan 1992:69; Spencer 2004:256-7)

English translations of French cookery books appeared, La Varenne's *The French Cook* in 1653 and Massialot's *The Court and Country Cook* in 1702 (Mason 2004:23). Books by English cooks who had received French training – France being the home of the exiled royalists – were also published: May's *The Accomplished Cook* (1660) (Fig. 5.1b), and Rabisha's *The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected* (1661). Professional cooks who worked for the nobility (and in Patrick Lamb's case the royalty) dominated the first thirty years of the eighteenth century: Howard's *England's Newest Way* (1703), Lamb's *Royal Cookery* (1710), Nott's *The Cook and Confectioner's Dictionary* (1723) and Carter's *The Complete Practical Cook* (1730) being the most important (Lehmann 1999:277). These books differ from those of their French counterparts, according to Mennell (1996:91), by expressing 'much more a sense of handing down the highest skills of a traditional and relatively unchanging craft than of conveying the latest advances in technique and fashions in service'. Male cooks were in the minority among English cookery book authors after 1730, partly due to the decline in court cookery. It was replaced among elite circles by the *nouvelle cuisine*, as exemplified by the works of La Chapelle – The Modern Cook (1733) – Marin and Menon (Lehmann 1999:278), but more significantly by the rise of *cuisine bourgeois* among the growing middle classes, influenced and facilitated by the increasing number of female cookery book writers.

This genre of cookbooks written mainly by women representing country cooking at its best, and aimed at the middle class, was a peculiarly English development – unknown in France at that period. Many of the authors describe themselves as 'housekeeper and cook' to members of the gentry, and include Smith's *The Compleat Housewife* (1727), Moxon's *English Housewifery* (1749), Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (1769) and most famous of all, Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747) (Mennell 1996:95). The traditional English areas of excellence, pies and tarts and cakes was promoted vigorously in these books, but they also offered 'a bastardized version of French dishes, using short cut ingredients such as gravy browning and lemon pickle as substitutes for well reduced broths and wines' (Lehmann 1999:278).

The popularity and prestige of large London taverns during the late eighteenth century is reflected in the publication of a number of cookery books – mostly plagiarisms of earlier works – by their chefs, most notably Farley's *The London Art of Cookery* (1738), Briggs's *The English Art of Cookery* (1788), and *The Universal Cook, and City and Country Housekeeper* (1792) by Collingwood and Woolams – which was translated into French (Mennell 1996:99; Lehmann 1999:278; Mason 2004:23).

Food and Sources

Normans not only introduced new foods, but Fuller (1977:2) argues that the blunt Anglo-Saxon approach to food was influenced by Gallic civilisation. Whilst some Anglo-Saxon words remained attached to cheaper and courser parts of meat like pigs feet and ox tail, more delicate expressions of French derivation such as veal (*veau*), beef (*boeuf*), and pork (*porc*) masked, for table purposes, the brasher designations: of calf, ox and pig. Spencer (2004:7) has argued that the subtly spiced Anglo-Norman cuisine reached the heights of gastronomy, shared internationally with the other courts of Europe. Spencer (2004:121) also indicates the 'War of the Roses' transformed the nature of the aristocracy, influencing changes that led to simplicity in English cuisine. A detailed outline of food eaten and their sources is provided in Wilson (1973), Mason (2004), and Spencer (2004). The changes that occurred during this period mirror much of what happened concurrently in France, with the introduction of New World foods and

beverages, and the reduction in use of elaborate birds – swans, herons – and of sea mammals – porpoises and whales. There was a reduction in varieties of spice used, but the consumption of sugar, vegetables and fruit increased, as did the fashion for ice cream and frozen desserts. Every country house had a kitchen garden on which they relied for their produce, the variety of which was considerable by the eighteenth century (Spencer 2004:236).

A number of factors, however, differentiated the food customs of England and France. English cuisine centred on country houses rather than aristocratic courts. Game in England was highly valued and solely the prerogative of the nobility, with heavy penalties imposed on poachers (Mason 2004:25). Wilson (1973:97) points out that foreign visitors considered the amount of flesh meat consumed in Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth century as quite remarkable. Following improvements to winter feed and breeding stock in the seventeenth century, farm animals replaced much of the game and wildfowl that had been a large part of the meat diet of the Middle Ages among the well-to-do. The food eaten by the new landed elite following the 'War of the Roses', described by William Harrison, in his *Descriptions of England* in 1577 – boiled beef, roasted beef, baked leg of mutton, rabbits and partridges – has a much more familiar ring to it than that eaten by Richard II or the medieval elite (Spencer 2004:121). Wilson also notes that although Elizabethan laws maintained fast days to bolster the fishing fleet, 'fish days were never successfully re-established after the Commonwealth' (Wilson 1973:96). Cod and salmon remained common, oysters were enormously popular among all classes, and turtle dinners, in which the flesh of the animal was used to make a number of dishes, including soup, became an extravagant form of entertainment in the eighteenth century (Mason 2004:29). Large West Indian green turtles, weighing up to one hundred pounds each, were shipped alive in freshwater tanks to England. Their popularity soon led to exploitation resulting in the depletion of the natural stocks. For those who could not aspire to turtle dinners, recipes for mock turtle – using calf's head – particularly common in soups, appeared in cookbooks almost as soon as the genuine article (Wilson 1973:225).

Another development during this period which would characterise English cuisine was the rise in sausages, puddings and pies. Black puddings and sausages were traditionally made following the killing of pigs, but an innovation of dividing the sausages into links reached cookery books by the 1630s (Wilson 1973:312). Pork was the main sausage meat but mutton and oyster sausages were popular in the eighteenth century and beef and veal were also used occasionally. The skinless sausage appeared about the time that potted meat and fish were coming into fashion – early seventeenth century, and several versions of meatless white puddings were developed (Wilson 1973:315). The invention of the pudding cloth or bag severed the connection between puddings and animal guts, making puddings available year round and becoming a part of the diet of almost all classes. Boiled suet puddings, which became a representative English dish, first appear around 1617, ranging from 'Cambridge puddings' or 'college puddings' to 'plum puddings' and 'roly-poly' puddings. The enormous variety of puddings developed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, indicate that they filled a need in the British diet. Wilson (1973:321) suggests that being rich in fat and carbohydrates, puddings kept out the cold, and in sugar and fruit, built up energy, thus replacing the role played by the thick pottages of earlier days. Rice and sago were also used to make puddings – with the addition of milk and sugar. Plain boiled rice became an accompaniment for the curries which began appearing in the mid eighteenth century. Macaroni was also considered highly fashionable at this time (Mason 2004:30).

Preparation and Cooking

Page and Kingsford (1971:48) list the cauldron as the most important item next to the mortar and pestle, and spit. They also include the following items among the equipment used in the early modern English kitchen: dressing knife and board, brass pot, frying pan, grid iron, spit, pot hook, pepper quern, saucer for making sauce, mire for making breadcrumbs, meat hook, scummer, ladle, pot stick, slice for turning things in the frying pan, and a platter. The cauldron suspended over the fire, according to Wilson (1973:317), was still the principal method of cookery regularly used by the poorer housewife through the seventeenth, eighteenth and even into the nineteenth century. This mirrors French peasant cooking habits described in Zeldin (1993:725). Wilson writes that the advantage

of puddings is they could be simmered in the cauldron, alongside the meat, thus preparing a two course meal in one container.

There is only slight evidence in England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of the 'courtly' style of cuisine being developed contemporaneously in Italy and France (Mennell 1996:84). Roasting, boiling, grilling, baking, frying and stewing were the basic cooking methods, but spit roasting was a favoured method for cooking meat (Mason 2004:25). In Tudor times, the turnspit boy was replaced by the turnspit dog placed inside a wheel that mechanically turned the spit, the working of which is illustrated in Figure 5.2. An alternative device was the gravity spit and both varieties were still in use all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Wilson 1973:98; Spencer 2004:214). During the seventeenth century the roasted meats were served with a wide range of pungent sauces, but as the quality of the meat improved, sauces became simpler.

Figure 5.2: Turnspit Dog at work in an Alehouse Kitchen
Source: (Page and Kingsford 1971:57)

Mennell (1996:18) points out that French and English cookery are not entirely separate, since they have influenced each other over long periods of time. Patrick Lamb was

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master cook for nearly fifty years to the royal family from King Charles II to Queen Anne. His *Royal Cookery* (1710) provides recipes served at court, testifying to the impact French culinary tastes and influence had on England (Albala 2003:178). Spencer (2004:162-6) provides a detailed description of his cuisine, including the coronation of James II, and suggests that Lamb's influence on English cookery was huge. By this time Spencer suggests that the idea that French food – and chefs – were better than English food – and chefs – had taken hold. Ironically, even when France was the traditional enemy, Fuller (1977:3) reports, discerning diners in the United Kingdom drank French wine and extolled French cooks. Excellent cuisine, according to Mason (2004:21), centred around country houses, particularly those of the Whig aristocracy.

Food Service and Dining

Heal (1990:202-5) notes that the inn or alehouse was accepted by all social groups as the primary grid of accommodation for travellers in England by the late fifteenth century, offering an alternative to private hospitality almost everywhere by the end of the sixteenth century. The inn replaced the monastery as a place for the better off traveller to stay; and in towns, taverns, once places where wine was sold by the jug, now developed as places to eat. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries some taverns, particularly in London, gained considerable reputations for good food (Mason 2004:38). Timbs (1866:II,274) notes that the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street, opened in 1768, was renowned for its vast dining room and for its live turtles swimming in vats. It survived until the late twentieth century. He also notes that the Albion in Aldersgate Street was noted for *recherché cuisine*, and hosted by tradition the farewell diners for Governer-Generals of India (Timbs 1866:II,283). Coffeehouses laid the foundations for gentlemen's clubs, and eighteenth century confectioners served high-class ready-prepared food, ices and cool drinks at their counters. There was a rise in confectionary in the seventeenth century, and sugar-preserved fruit were important particularly for a subsidiary meal known as a 'banquet', sugary feasts much like the collations of Catherine de Medici's France. By the 1680s dessert had become the favoured term, with changing tastes leaning towards more fresh fruit and less confectionary, served at the dining table, or in an adjacent room (Mason 2004:32).

Meal times in England, according to Mason (2004:36-8), changed gradually over this period. Breakfast was at half past nine or ten, changing from bread, cold meat and ale to the fashion for coffee or chocolate taken with bread rolls or toast during the eighteenth century. Dinner, originally taken at midday, slipped during the eighteenth century, to two or three in the afternoon among the wealthy and fashionable – and to about five o' clock by the end of the century (Mason 2004:36). Two courses and dessert was the norm, served *á la Française*. After the dessert had been served at dinner the ladies would retire for tea or coffee in the drawing room whilst the men remained to drink port and smoke. Supper was served later in the evening (Mason 2004:37).

By Elizabethan time, a small intimate room where master and family dined alone, replaced the old dining hall where master, servants, guests and travellers had previously dined together (Spencer 2004:131). Dining tables remained portable until the 1780s when tables with removable leaves were devised. The bread trencher had been replaced by a wooden one, or a plate of pewter or precious metal in wealthier households. Hosts began providing knives and spoons for their guests by the seventeenth century, with forks also appearing but not fully accepted until the eighteenth century (Mason 2004:38). These silver utensils were usually marked with their owners initials to prevent servants and ungrateful guests making off with them (Flandrin 1989:269). When the New World made gold and silver cheap, the gentility spurned them. Expensive fine ceramic tableware was imported from the Far East. Spencer (2004:131) points out that the Venetian glass-maker Giacomo Verzellini arrived in England in 1574 and obtained a patent for making *Murano* drinking glasses, which became a fashionable necessity. By the end of the sixteenth century there were glassworks producing drinking vessels in Surrey, Sussex and Kent.

Summary

England began this period by losing the Hundred Years War, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century it emerged as one of the most influential forces in the world. The impact of the Civil War in England was similar to the French Revolution in France in as much as it led to a rise in the middle classes and ended the monopolies of the guilds. The two economies differed, 'the English already down the road to liberalism and *laissez-*

faire' (Mennell 1996:138). Similar changes in food habits occurred on both sides of the Channel but England was slower in developing a sophisticated court cuisine than the rest of Europe. England led Europe in agricultural improvements and also in meat consumption, preferring 'plainer' food than her neighbours, with a particular penchant for boiled puddings. English cuisine centred on country houses rather than aristocratic courts, producing a genre of female cookbook writers, unparalleled elsewhere in Europe. A parallel genre of professional cook authors working for the nobility existed in the works of May, Rabisha and Lamb, and towards the end of the period, cookbooks – albeit mostly plagiarised from earlier works – appeared from male tavern cooks, reflecting the growing importance of taverns as venues for good food. This trend is reflected in the name of Beauvillier's famous Paris restaurant '*Le Grand Tavern des Londres*' which is discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter 6 – The Origin of the Restaurant

Introduction

It is widely agreed that France, towards the end of the eighteenth century, was the birthplace of what we now call the '*restaurant*', which gradually replaced an older variety of eating establishment (Mennell 1996:139; Pitte 1999:472; Spang 2000:2; Trubek 2000:35). Glanville and Young (2002:123) propose that, up until this time people had essentially three choices: to go to an 'ordinary' where a dish of the day was provided for a set price, along with bread and a drink; to buy ready prepared food from a cook shop or *traiteur*; or seek and invitation from an acquaintance. The word *restaurant* was originally applied to a group of fortifying meat broths, mentioned in the early sixteenth century by the poet Clement Marot (Wheaton 1983:77). She also notes that a recipe for a *restaurant* appears in Massialot's *Cuisinier roïal et bourgeiose* (1691). Brillat-Savarin (1994:267) describes what differentiated the modern restaurant from other eating establishments:

> 'A restaurateur is a person whose trade consists in offering to the public an ever-ready feast, the dishes of which are served in separate portions, at fixed prices, at the request of each consumer. The establishment is called a *restaurant*, and the person in charge of it the *restaurateur*. The list of dishes, bearing the name and price of each, is called the *carte* or bill of fare, while the record of the dishes served to the customer, together with the relevant prices, is called the *carte à payer* or bill'.

Restaurants, with their private tables, flexible eating times and choice of dishes on the menu, provided a haven for travellers as opposed to the *table d'hôte* of the tavern or inn that often proved inhospitable to newcomers. Brillat-Savarin (1994:267-8) suggests that around 1770, a visitor to Paris had a choice of 'generally bad fare provided by his innkeeper', a few hotels offering a *table d'hote,* 'but with few exceptions they offered only the barest necessities', or fall back on caterers, but they only supplied complete meals and had to be ordered in advance. He remarks that 'the stranger who had not the good fortune to be invited to dine at some rich house could leave our capital in total ignorance of the resources and delights of French cookery'. The *table d'hôte* offered a limited range of dishes to be eaten communally at large tables. The *table d'hôte*, a caricature of which is illustrated in Figure 6.0, would begin at a set time, normally to suit

the *traiteur's* or innkeeper's local clientele. Arthur Young, the British agronomist liked the opportunity *tables d'hôte* offered 'to see something of the manners of the people', but he complained that the French were rude, the food was insufficient, and 'the ducks were swept clean so quickly that I moved from table without half a dinner' (Young 1793) cited in (Spang 2000:69). Trubek notes:

> 'The invention of the restaurant, and later clubs and hotels, had inestimable impact on the production and consumption of food because this new institution combined two hitherto separate phenomena in European society: *commercial* food production and *public* food consumption' (2000:35).

Spang (1993:130-133) cited in Trubek (2000:36) suggests the beginnings of the modern restaurant can be found in the shops of the *traiteurs* or caterers. The average *traiteur* would have prepared food at hand in his shop, but would also fill special orders, for example patés and savoury pies, and would also cater for large special events.

Figure 6.0: Caricature of *Table d'hôte*
Source: (Blake and Crewe 1978)

Mennell (1996:141-2) suggests that the advent of the restaurant, accelerated by the Revolution, marked a new stage for the cookery profession. He points out that there was now an alternative route to the top of the profession; 'ambitious cooks could proudly compete with each other for the custom of a much larger body of diners-out'. Mennell

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cites Hayward (1852:22) and Elias in comparing chefs to writers and musicians who moved from dependence on a rich patron in the eighteenth century, to the nineteenth century when they depended 'almost exclusively on the public for patronage, to the manifest advantages of all parties'. La Varenne and Haydn belong to the former while Carême and Beethoven belong to the latter. Mozart's misfortune was to be a transitional figure, 'a *bourgeois* artist in a court society'. The crucial thing for the culinary profession was that it now had its own public (Mennell 1996:142). Wheaton (1983:232) proposes that despite the Revolution disrupting gastronomic institutions, particularly the aristocratic households which were the centre of *haute cuisine* until this time, that more survived than was lost. She points out that although some cooks went abroad 'others went to work for the newly important restaurants and the notables at the top of the reshaped social structure'. Jerrold (1868:145) cited in Trubek (2000:41) writes:

> 'If the princely kitchens have decayed, the number of people who know how to eat has vastly increased. Clubs (and restaurants) have spread among men knowledge of refined cookery, The Revolution has democratized the kitchen'.

Mennell (1996:143) notes that the new restaurant going public also meant that in matters of culinary taste, there was now such a thing as public opinion. He wrote:

> 'A restaurateur could now establish a reputation which carried through the new public by word of mouth, by the new gastronomic press, and by the influence of opinion leaders'.

The development of *grande cuisine*, he suggests, can be understood in this new situation, more in terms of competition between restaurateurs for clientele than the more general competitive social display between rich patrons. Some of the principal chefs and restaurateurs will be profiled in Chapter Seven.

Inns, Ale-Houses and Taverns

The function of inns, ale-houses and taverns changed over time. Inns were primarily places to sleep, where food was available. They were never places of fashionable resort, although some London inns in the eighteenth century were reputed for their daily 'ordinary' or fixed price menu or *table d'hôte* dinner (Mennell 1996:136). Kümin (2003:79) writing about early-modern inns particularly in Germany and Switzerland

suggests that comparative analysis between the new restaurants and early inns 'yields a rather more complex picture of continuity and change'. Bendiner (2004:146-7) questions whether the distinctions between traditional eating places and the modern restaurant were as great as Spang (2000) proclaims. Paintings, he argues, indicate that earlier inns and taverns included small tables and individual service, embracing private conversations. Bendiner proposes Caravaggio's (1601) *Supper at Emmaus* as an example, suggesting it depicts the 'public privacy' Spang considered essential to the modern restaurant. Accepting that the painting, illustrated in figure 6.1, primarily presents a religious message, Bendiner (2004:147) maintains that Carravagio would not have conceived the small restaurant-like group in a vacuum, reasoning that the scene he describes would have been understood by a seventeenth century audience. This argument is negated by Albala (2008) who points out the painting depicts a private rather than a public space.

Figure 6.1: Michelangelo da Caraggio, *Supper at Emmaus* (1601)
Source: (Bendiner 2004:147)

English taverns were the closest approximations in the eighteenth century to the later restaurants, both in social function and in the food they served (Mennell 1996:137). Taverns differed from ale-houses in that they sold wine rather than beer and were likely to cater for a socially superior clientele. Brennan (1988) suggests that taverns were not only heavily stratified by class but, as male enclaves, reflected the gendered structure of

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society, increasing gender-based solidarity. Trubek (2000:40) writes that women were welcome in Parisian restaurants from early on, but Mennell (1996:136) stipulates that 'respectable gentlewomen, of course, did not eat out in public until well on into the next century'. In England, new urban 'pleasure gardens' such as Vauxhall offered menus where refined women could be entertained without losing their reputations (Glanville and Young 2002:123). Otherwise, women would have to wait until Caesar Ritz and Auguste Escoffier made mixed public dining both acceptable and fashionable during the late nineteenth century. Williams (1992) provides an overview of historical attitudes to women eating in restaurants in England.

By the mid-eighteenth century eating out was better established among the English upper classes than among the French – partly influenced by political patterns. The annual meeting of Parliament in the winter and a spring each year was associated from the seventeenth century with the migration of leading families from their country homes to London for the 'Season', and apart from the grandest who had their own large London houses, many would stay in lodgings and often 'eat out' (Mennell 2003:249-50). A number of London taverns began to develop a reputation for good food in the mid to late eighteenth century, some of which could house both exclusive dining clubs like the Sublime Society of Beef-Steaks, and banquets where a thousand or more could sit down at once. Mennell (1996:137) suggests there was little equivalent to this in Paris prior to the Revolution, a fact noted by Boswell (1791:I, 650). Samuel Johnson extolled the virtues of the tavern and along with many of his companions frequented them by choice not merely necessity as suggested by the Marquis Caraccioli quoted in Baudrillart (1878-80:IV, 426) who writing in 1777, says of the English:

> 'Badly housed, except at their county residences, they can eat no better than at a tavern. It is there they often take a visiting friend   .   .   .Is that how a gentleman should live?'

England differed from France also in the development of coffee-houses. Although coffee-houses in both countries began as meeting places for intellectuals and businessmen, the London coffee-houses transformed into dining rooms serving 'ordinaries' almost to the exclusion of coffee, a path the Parisian cafés did not take (Mennell 1996:137).

Cook Shops, *Traiteurs* and the Guild System

Cook shops have existed for centuries and their importance, particularly to the urban poor who had no other means of cooking, has been previously discussed. Mennell (1996:138) argues that the main obstacle of the French cook shops developing into coffee-houses, chop houses and taverns, as happened in England, were the rules of the guild of *traiteurs* who had the exclusive right to sell dishes of cooked meat. Visser (2000) credits Spang (2000) with exploding 'a culinary myth that has lasted nearly two hundred years'. The myth claims that the first restaurant appeared when a Parisian tavern keeper, a Monsieur Boulanger, hung a sign offering his special restorative, a dish of sheep feet in white sauce, leading to a famous court case brought by a guild whose members claimed Boulanger was infringing on their exclusive rights to sell prepared products. This story is found in nearly every discussion on restaurant history and mostly paraphrases the account published by Le Grand D'Aussy (1782:II, 213-4). Spang (2000:9) states that despite exhaustive research 'no evidence in the judicial, police, or corporate archives substantiates the story of Boulanger's defeat at the hands of the litigious caterers'. She suggests that Mathurin Roze de Chantoiseau was the first restaurateur opening his door in 1766 offering a cup of restorative *bouillon* or some other 'dainty or salutary dish' to ladies and gentlemen at all hours of the day (Spang 2000:33). His idea was soon copied and in time more substantial fare were sold in restaurants. Spang (2000:2) notes that as a space for urban sociability, the restaurant emerged from the *consommé*, since during the last twenty years of the Old Regime, one went to a restaurant to drink restorative *bouillons* as one went to a café to drink coffee. There were over one hundred restaurants in Paris before the Revolution, according to Pitte (1999:476), rising to around six hundred under the Empire and to about three thousand during the Restoration.

The reality of pre-Revolutionary Paris is that, although the trade guilds were strong and controlled their privilege, the retail food trades were notoriously difficult to delimit. Many caterers belonged to more than one guild, reinforced by a 1760 decision of Parliament to prevent monopolies. In 1776 the three trades of Caterers – Roast cooks – and Pastry cooks amalgamated into one guild (Spang 2000:251). Jaques Minet, one of the first restaurateurs, opening his establishment in 1767 was elected to a position of charge

in the cooks – caterer's guild that very same year. Would this appointment have been possible if there was a conflict of interest? To explore the birth of restaurants Spang (2000:11) suggests one needs 'to shift the focus from corporate contestation to cultural innovation'.

The French Revolution and Professional Cookery

The French Revolution saw the abolition of the guilds, the demise of some aristocratic households and the rise in the number of Parisian restaurants. However, many of what were to become the famous names among Parisian restaurateurs, such as Beauvilliers, Robert, Meot, Bancelin and the 'Trois Frère Provençeaux', all opened their doors prior to the Revolution (Mennell 1996:139). Mennell suggests that both the supply of cooks previously employed in aristocratic kitchens and the demand from the large numbers of Revolutionary deputies from the provinces, for the most part lodged in boarding houses, coalesced resulting in the rapid growth in restaurants. Mennell (1996:141-2) summarises:

> 'Whether the Revolution 'caused' the rise of the restaurant or whether, as is more plausible, it merely accelerated a trend that was already under way, there is no doubt that the advent of the restaurant marks a new stage for the culinary profession and for cookery itself. The balance of power between the chef-restaurateur and his clientele is somewhat different from that between the cook and his aristocratic patron'.

French Culinary Hegemony – *Haute Cuisine* **and** *Cuisine Bourgeoise*

The fundamentals of French *haute cuisine* include the production of stocks and sauces, basic preparations such as duxelles, concassé, farces and cuts of vegetables, the mastery of various culinary techniques – including larder and pastry work – and the application of the various methods of cookery. A break from the spiced cuisine of medieval cuisine occurred when, following the discovery of the New World, the bourgeoisie began making extensive use of the less expensive spices in their cookery. The aristocracy turned away from spices and took an interest in the natural taste of food. Stocks or '*fonds*' now became the foundation of French *haute cuisine* as they helped enhance the taste of food (Poulain 2005:160). Poulain argues that de Bonnefons' (1654) revolutionary concept that

'cabbage soup must taste of cabbage, leek soup of leek, turnip soup of turnip and so on
….' laid down the basic principle of French gastronomy (2005:160).

Trubek (2000:4) repeats Mintz (1989) assertion that 'not every society has a cuisine, but a society must have a cuisine in order to have a *haute cuisine*'. Trubek continues to define *haute cuisine* as always having 'some relationship to an elite population, the cooks who are employed to make their food, and the ingredients and methods of preparation used'. Mennell (2005:475-6) states that *haute cuisines* have tended to emerge in court societies from Ancient Egypt onwards. *Haute cuisines*, he suggests, can be defined by their costliness since their typical dishes required complex sequences of stages of preparation and considerable division of labour among kitchen staff. Trubek (2000:4-10) discusses the development of *haute cuisine* from medieval times to the modern day, concluding that the preoccupation of *haute cuisine* is 'the transformation of nature into culture'. Clark (1975:32) has stated that 'cuisine is not food, it is food transcended, nature transformed into a social product, an aesthetic artefact, a linguistic creation, a cultural tradition'.

It has been outlined that French classical cuisine or French *haute cuisine* emerged around the beginning of the seventeenth century and was first codified by La Varenne. It is generally supposed that the French adopted and improved Italian culinary practices during the sixteenth century and assumed for themselves culinary hegemony in Europe. Evidence for this analysis, however, is both slender and complex, the process of culinary development being more gradual than often supposed (Mennell 1996:63). The sixteenth century was, in most respects, a carry-over of the medieval style of cooking. It was not until the seventeenth century, with the slow growth of rational working methods, that the organisation of kitchen and staff that produced modern French cuisine came into being (Wheaton 1983:26). The establishment of the French court at Versailles in the late seventeenth century marked the beginning of a number of key social changes. When the provincial aristocracy moved to Versailles, their role in the provinces were filled by the *bourgeoisie* who began to copy their mannerisms in both clothing and dining (Poulain 2005:159). This imitation spurred the nobility to invent new social practices to denote

their differences leading to the 'civilising process' described by Elias (1983). Poulain (2005:159) states that:

> 'Fashion in clothing, the art of perfume-making and gastronomy thus became distinctive systems, means of asserting social differences and of recognition. The "French way of life", rapidly imitated by Europe's elites, was based on the growing sophistication of these practices, which ensured that the up-and-coming classes were kept out of touch and guaranteed the superiority of the elites. It was from these games of recognition and differentiation, from this hiatus between the true followers and those who merely copied, that fashion derived its vitality'.

From La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François,* in the seventeenth century, to the writings of La Chapelle, Marin, and Menon in the eighteenth century, the culinary fundamentals, techniques and practices of classical French cuisine developed and were continuously refined. Culinary literature began to fulfil the social role of educating the *bourgeoisie* in the culinary practices of the nobility as early as 1691 with Massialot's book *Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois* (Poulain 2005:159). As Mintz (1996:96) has argued, both *grande cuisine* and *haute cuisine* arose out of political and social change. A phenomenon which occurred historically in capital cities and courts was that regional cuisines contributed to the appearance of a national cuisine since ingredients, cooking methods and specific dishes formed the repertory of chefs who cooked for persons whose knowledge, taste and means transcended locality. The appearance of restaurants in Paris in the late eighteenth century brought *haute cuisine* into the public sphere, where it proliferated in the years following the French Revolution. Freeman (1977:145) writes 'the appearance of a (*haute*) *cuisine*, then, involves the availability of ingredients, many sophisticated consumers, and cooks and diners free from conventions of region or ritual'. This is exactly what occurred in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century. The food critic emerged in the years following the Revolution and acted as a mediator between the two worlds of the aristocracy and the *bourgeoisie* – taking on the role of educator previously performed by cookbook authors (Mennell 1996:266; Poulain 2005:164).

Haute cuisine in the public sphere was slower to evolve in London due to the abundance of gentlemen's' clubs, and since royal absolutism was cut short in the mid-seventeenth century, virtuoso consumption among the English gentry and nobility was less essential

to their social identity compared with their French counterparts (Mennell 2005:476). Another possible reason is the Reformation. The reformed Church was synonymous with an anxious asceticism, in the hope of spending an eternity in paradise. Poulain (2005:160-1) puts forward the idea that for the sensuality peculiar to French gastronomy to emerge, there had to be a religious context in which pleasure was seen in a positive light. This context, he suggests, was provided by Catholicism, which 'glorified God in an aesthetic perception of life on earth and in the company of others'. The Catholic's Communion, based on the tangible act of eating and drinking, became the prototype of man's relationship with God – where worshipers literally became what they ate. The idea that by consuming a food valued by a social group and sharing the act of eating with that group, the individual becomes part of the community was not restricted to religious practice. Poulain (2005:164) argues that the bourgeoisie metaphorically cannibalised the aristocracy, following the French Revolution, by aping their culinary habits in order to incorporate one of its characteristics – class – literally becoming what they ate.

French *haute cuisine* moves from the original form of La Varenne in 1651 – where roux is used to thicken sauces rather than the breadcrumbs or ground almonds of medieval cookery – to the *nouvelle cuisine* of Menon, Marin and La Chapelle in the eighteenth century where food is simplified under a scientific banner with particular attention paid to stocks (*bouillon*) – described by Menon as 'the soul of sauces' (Mennell 1996:78). Further codification and complication is evident in the work of Carême and Dubois in the nineteenth century. Carême's vision of French cuisine depended upon prodigality of invention, provisions and funds – the extravagance of his cuisine may explain why he never worked in a commercial enterprise (Parkhurst Ferguson 2006:89). The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witness further development of French *haute cuisine* with the introduction of *service a la russe*, professional journals for chefs, the acceptance of women diners in restaurants, and the influence of 'Taylorism'. Escoffier, a contemporary of F.W. Taylor, streamlined the professional kitchen into the *partie* system, simplified much of the work of Carême, and working with the leading chefs of his day published *Le Guide Culinaire* in 1903, which has continued to be influential in the training of professional cooks up until the end of the twentieth century (Kraig 2006:156).

From the mid nineteenth century, Trubek (2000:10) argues, chefs adopted *haute cuisine* as a marker of their own status as elite culinary professionals, making it more than a sign of social status for European elites. Escoffier's orthodoxy held up until World War Two in most of Europe, and much later in many places, particularly in international hotels. The next paradigm shift came in the form of *nouvelle cuisine*, which although not officially named until 1973 by Henri Gault, had its origins in the Lyonaise influenced *'cuisine de marché'* of Point and his contemporaries during the 1930s. *Nouvelle cuisine* became the *haute cuisine* of the 1970s and 1980s and Gault (1996:127) asserts that most modern chefs – in France and elsewhere – still work in accordance with the essentials of his 'ten commandments'. *Haute cuisine*, by representing more than one region, by adding expensive substitutions in the foods themselves, and by acquiring international status, concludes Mintz, is, 'like it or not, "restaurant food" of the sort that turns up in restaurants abroad, and in capital cities' (1996:104). Restaurants, hotels and private clubs are where professionals cook, professional cuisine is the *haute cuisine* of the nobility brought into the public sphere, a trend that increased dramatically following the Revolution.

Mennell (2005:479) points out that professional cookery has been male dominated since medieval times, a phenomenon best understood by viewing the courts as military establishments rather than domestic households. The appearance of the '*mére Lyonaise*', Alice Waters (Chez Panisse, California), Sally Clarke (Clarke's, London), Jeanne Rankin (Roscoff's, Belfast), Angela Hartnett (Connaught Hotel, London), or Anne-Sophie Pic (*Maison Pic,* Valence) show some signs of weakening of the male monopoly of *haute cuisine*, although it is far from broken.

Teuteberg (2003:292) proposes that a real innovation was the fact that the restaurant, in a very close symbiosis with theatres and other modern leisure life, made 'going out' a fashionable phenomenon. Technological improvements also facilitated the phenomenon of mass-scale eating out. Prior to the 'modern lighting' in Europe and America from 1790 to 1900 activities outside the home took place mainly during daylight as walking in the evening was dangerous (den Hartog 2003:264-5). International cuisine or 'Continental

French cuisine' was found all over Europe – and further a field – by the mid to late nineteenth century. Many of the first European restaurateurs were French cooks (Amilien 2003:183; Teuteberg 2003:283). The growth of restaurants cannot be separated from the growth of towns in the late nineteenth century, and the increased national and international mobility that followed the new railway network (Teuteberg 2003:287). Within one hundred years following the Revolution, the typical chef moved from cooking for his master to cooking for a primarily anonymous public (Trubek 2000:40-1).

Professionalisation of Cookery – Journals, Education and Exhibitions
The late nineteenth century saw many occupations try to improve their social ranking and pecuniary rewards in a process known as 'professionalisation' – emulating the liberal professions of law and medicine (Gispen 1988; Mennell 1996:169; Trubek 2000:88). Three factors required for professionalisation, according to both Wilensky (1964) and Goode (1969), are laying claim to a systemised body of knowledge acquired through specialised training, an ethic of disinterested service to the public, and a measure of autonomous authority in their specific field. The ability to organise a closed protected market for its services decides the success or failure of the professionalising process, writes Larson (1990), who argues that higher education is the primary means of attaining and maintaining the closure necessary for long term professional success. Trubek (2000:88) suggests that 'the history of nineteenth-century chef-organisers can be seen as a valiant but ultimately failed attempt to become a profession'. Mennell (1996:168) points out that restaurant workers were never the easiest of food trades to organise, and that nothing comparable to the Parisian bakers' strikes of 1903 and 1907 ever took place in restaurants. The attempts of chefs to professionalise from 1870 to 1910, although unsuccessful, had long term effects on societal ideas about their practice (Trubek 2000:90).

France
There was a sudden proliferation of journals about food and for cooks in Paris during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, of which *L'Art Culinaire* had the largest

circulation and influence (Mennell 1996:166). Trubek (2000:81, 157) points out that over ten new associations and ten new journals involved with food were founded in Paris alone between 1860 and 1900. First published on the 28 January 1883, *L'Art Culinaire* was described as the official organ of the *Union Universelle pour le Progrès de l'Art Culinaire*. The journal's three main objectives in the early days were to create an international network of French cooks that would share the latest ideas and achievements; the establishment of a 'professional school of cookery' in Paris; and the promotion of cookery competitions or *concours culinaires*.

By the 1890s *L'Art Culinaire* had become the leading professional culinary journal in the world with the most famous chefs in Europe and North America contributing regularly, thus achieving its first objective (Mennell 1996:171-2). *L'Art Culinaire* could claim '1,000 collaborators, 3,000 correspondents, and 10,000 readers internationally' by 1914. Through the network of associations and journals which resembled an octopus with Paris as its head, Trubek (2000:81-2) suggests that French chefs could control the dissemination of professional knowledge and keep French *haute cuisine* at the forefront. *L'Art Culinaire* was published fortnightly until the First World War when its publication became sporadic until resuming regular publication in the 1920s. Its position as the principal trade journal of Parisian cooks was inherited in the 1920s by *La Revue Culinaire* (Mennell 1996:166-7).

The second objective of *L'Art Culinaire* was achieved when the *Ecole Professionelle de Cuisine* (Fig. 6.2) was opened on *rue Bonaparte* in 1891 but lasted only thirteen months. Mennell (1996:172) suggests that the school closed when the Paris city council refused to renew its grant, apparently in part because, as Châtillon-Plessis (1894:243) wrote, 'discontented spirits undermined its success'. Trubek (2000:107) points out that the school had three thousand *francs* in the bank on the day it was dissolved, but that the real problem lay in the ambivalence of many restaurant and hotel owners about the school and its new model of chefs education. If this new model of training took precedence over the traditional apprenticeship system, these owners would lose a tremendous opportunity for unpaid labour in their establishments. It is interesting to note that despite the emergence

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of some catering colleges in France during the twentieth century, the majority of French chefs still continued to be trained by apprenticeship in kitchens, in marked contrast to England (Mennell 1996:172). The development of culinary education in England is discussed later.
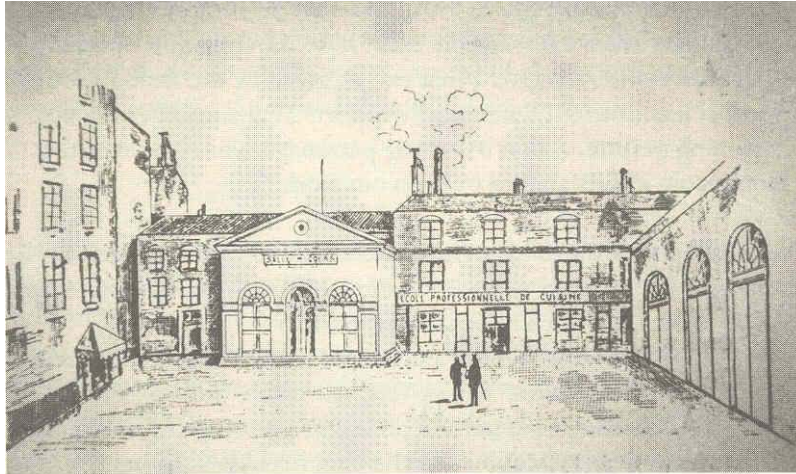
Figure 6.2: *L'Ecole Professionelle de Cuisine*, **Paris**
Source: (Trubek 2000:106)

The third objective of the journal, to promote culinary competitions, was achieved one month prior to the journal's launch. The formation of the *Union Universelle*, under the leadership of Thomas Genin, occurred in late 1882 and the first *concours* was held on 14 December of the same year (Châtillon-Plessis 1894:214). Its success led to another *concours* being held in November 1883 and thereafter becoming an annual event every January. The idea of culinary competitions spread abroad rapidly with the first competitions run along the Parisian lines in Vienna (1884), London (1885), Brussels (1887) and New York sometime before 1892 (Mennell 1996:172). The first culinary competition was held in Dublin in 1909, and will be discussed in Chapter Fourteen.

England
Despite dating from around the same time as in France, the trade press in England was 'strikingly different in flavour and emphasis', with the words 'catering' and 'hotel'

predominating titles; with overtones of supplying food to the masses 'rather than the artistic response of élite cooks to the sophisticated tastes of the social élite' (Mennell 1996:182-3). *The Chef*, founded in 1895 but retitled *The Chef and Connoisseur* in December 1896, was the journal closest to *L'Art Culinaire* in intention. The origins of the Universal Cookery and Food Association (UCFA) were linked with those of *L'Art Culinaire* in that it grew from the group calling itself 'The Culinary Society', under the leadership of Eugène Pouard, who organised the first Cookery Competition in London in 1885. On the 5 December 1887 the Culinary Society became the UCFA, with the word 'Universal' signifying its links with the *Union Universelle pour le Progrès de l'Art Culinaire*. The UCFA first management committee was dominated by French chefs working in London, including Queen Victoria's chef, Monsieur J. Ménager, but also included some English names including Charles Hermann Senn (1864-1934) who would became the dominating figure of the organisation almost from its inception up until his death. Membership peaked at about 1200 in 1902 and included Irish restaurateurs and French or French trained chefs working in Ireland. The UCFA was not elitist and rather than focusing predominantly on *haute cuisine*, its objective was 'to promote and encourage the advancement of cookery in every grade among all classes of the community' (Senn 1908:56). There is a direct lineage from the first cookery exhibition in London in 1885 through the annual cookery demonstrations organised by the UCFA to the biennial Hotelympia events of the present day, which still feature a *salon culinaire* (Mennell 1996:185). The UCFA attracted an extraordinary list of patrons including in 1908, Queen Alexandra as Chief Patroness, 11 other members of the royal family, 13 ordinary dukes and duchesses, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and over two pages of other nobility and gentry in strict order of precedence. Vice chairman of the association in 1908 was Isidore Salmon, the managing director of the J. Lyons catering chain (Mennell 1996:187).

The UCFA was also instrumental in convincing London County Council in 1910 to open the Cookery Technical School for Boys at the Westminster Technical Institute, a forerunner of the Westminster Hotel School, which became the most important training centres for professional cooks in Britain. The training kitchens in Westminster in 1913

are illustrated in Figure 6.3. Ivan Kries, a UCFA member, was the chief instructor, and Senn was on its Consultative Committee (Mennell 1996:186). There were private cookery schools and schools of cookery and domestic science in England, aimed principally at girls, before the opening of Westminster Technical School which can be seen as the first school for professional cookery. The UCFA Cookery Annual 1903 lists twenty one training schools in Great Britain including the Dublin School of Cookery, in Dublin. In the 1905 UCFA Cookery Annual there is an article on Cookery Lectures in Ireland, given by G.F. Macro in Cork but noting that the Association hoped to organise further lectures in Dublin and in other cities during the year. Members of the UCFA Provincial Committee during the first decade of the twentieth century included Mr. E. Everest, chef in the Princess Restaurant Belfast (1902) and Ulster Club Belfast (1905), Mr A. Powolny, chef at The Shelbourne Hotel Dublin (1902), and W.H. Huish, chef at Nelson Café, Dublin (1905). The *1931 UCFA Cookery Annual* lists Otto Wuest, chef of The Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, J.W. Manning of Jury's Hotel, College Green, Dublin, Miss L. Dixon of Islandbridge, Dublin, and J. Crosskey of Belfast as members.
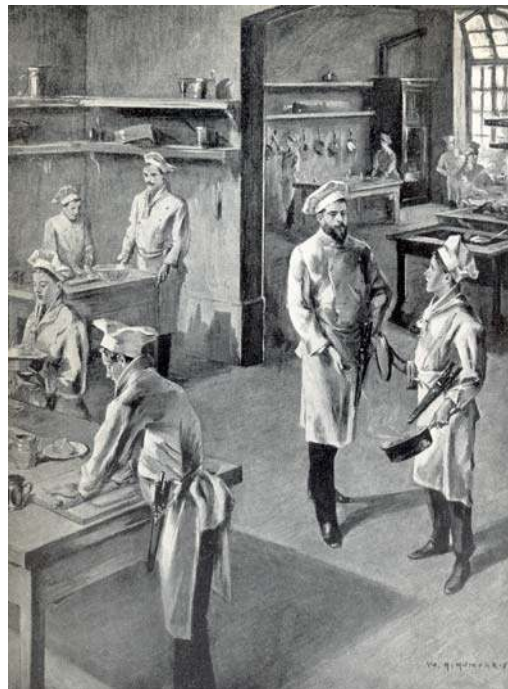
Figure 6.3: Kitchens in Westminster Technical Institute (1913)
Source: (Page and Kingsford 1971:125)

Chapter 7 –France (19th Century)

Introduction

The nineteenth century saw the growth of the public restaurant in Paris on which were patterned millions of lesser restaurants all over the world (Page and Kingsford 1971:169). This century began with the 'Regency Days' (1800-1850) and finished with a period 1871-1914 also known as '*La Belle Époque*', when France led Europe in painting, sculpture, music, literature, science and philosophy (Ackerman 1988:89-132; Stevenson 2002:329). The French Revolution shook the structure of European society for ever. The chief permanent results of the Revolution were the establishment of civil and religious liberty, and the equality of all citizens before the law (Montgomery 1903:257). It brought with it a profound change in domestic and social habits, including table manners and diet (Toussaint-Samat 2001:731). One immediate result of the Revolution which had a lasting effect on the eating habits of France, according to Blake and Crew (1978:16), was the break up of many of the great houses of the nobility resulting in the dispersal of scores of great chefs and their assistants. They suggest that a large number of these chefs went to England but note also that many others opened restaurants in Paris. Mennell (1996:139) notes that despite the beginnings of the restaurant antedating the Revolution, the Revolution itself effected both the demand for restaurants and the supply of trained personnel to respond to that demand. He also suggests that the influx of provincial deputies to Paris introduced many provincial dishes, such as *Brandade de Morue* and *Bouillabaisse*, into the repertoire of Parisian restaurateurs. Parkhurst-Ferguson (2004:122) argues that the culinary offered nineteenth-century France a model for national unity. Understanding nation as a state plus culture, cuisine along with other cultural phenomena translated people, places and practices into traditions impelling belief. Parkhurst-Ferguson argues that:

> 'Gastronomy belonged to an evolving sense of nation. That cuisine could become such a privileged vehicle of Frenchness lay in its ability to reconcile centre and a periphery, to harmonise the exigencies of the countryside with the demands of the city, and do it without manifest conflict' (2004:122).

A number of significant French culinary texts were written in the nineteenth century by authors such as de la Reynière, Beauvilliers, Carême, Brillat-Savarin, Dumas and Dubois.

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The nationalisation of French cuisine in short, according to Parkhurst-Ferguson (2004:34) came through its textualisation, since even as late as 1870 French was not the first language of over half the population. She suggests that it is not unreasonable to suppose that culinary texts contributed to the spread of French linguistic and cultural norms.

Historic Outline

The first half of the nineteenth century is described historically as 'the age of revolution' beginning in 1789 to 1848, whereas the second half is a time of 'nation-state and empire' from 1849 to 1914 (Stevenson 2002:282-386). This period bore witness to many military revolutions but also to the never-ending Industrial Revolution which led to a rural exodus coupled with incredible urban growth, the triumph of market economy over subsistence economy, and the development of international transportation and commerce (Flandrin and Montanari 1999:435). The discovery of sterilization of food by Nicolas Appert which later led to the development of the canning industry aided the increased importation of foreign food to Europe (Péhaut 1999:463).

The French Revolution precipitated more than two decades of war and political upheaval, with peace finally achieved following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815. At the Congress of Vienna that year, a lasting solution to the consequences of years of war was attempted. Further revolutions followed in France in 1830 and 1848. The Crimean War saw France unite with its old enemy England to curb Russian encroachment of the Turkish Empire. Napoleon III played a pivotal role in the unification of Italy but his capture in the Franco-Prussian War showed the world that the real force was now Germany. The Third Republic was racked by crisis and scandal, having sixty governments between 1871 and 1914 (Stevenson 2002:329).

The Great Chefs

Blake and Crewe (1978:15) argue that daily life, particularly outside Paris did not change that drastically following the Revolution. There were still grand houses, in which grand food was served, by Talleyrand, Murat, d'Orsay etc. The cast, they suggest, may have

changed but the style had not. They note that the Imperial kitchen in 1804, under Napoleon's chef Dunant, was every bit as spectacular as those of the decapitated king and queen.

Revel (1982:209) argues that restaurants saved *haute cuisine* after the upheavals of the Revolution and the demise of the aristocracy. The shift of the *chefs de cuisine* into public restaurants guaranteed the survival of this previously exclusive cuisine. Aron (1975:19) notes that the two of the three brothers in law who opened '*les Trois Frère provençaux*' in 1786, worked for the Prince de Conti, and after his emigration they moved their business to the *Galerie de Beaujolais* and prospered. Most of the top restaurateurs learned their trade in noble households. Among the earliest Parisian restaurants, according to Aron (1975:20-1) were *Robert, Beauvillier, Méot, les Provençaux, and Boeuf à la mode* (Fig. 7.0). The new characteristics of individual tables and private rooms – available upstairs – that distinguished restaurants from taverns or inns are discernable in the illustration below of *Boeuf à la mode*.
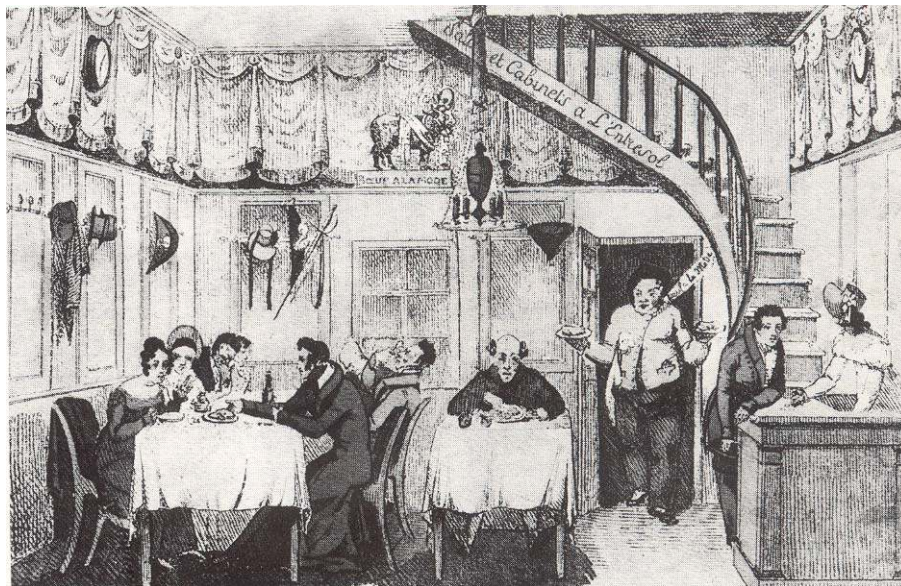
Figure 7.0: '*Boeuf à la mode*' – one of Paris's First Restaurants
Source: (Blake and Crewe 1978:22)

Aron notes that the real revolutionaries met at *Méot* and that the Constitution of 1793 was worked out in a private room there. The *Boeuf à la mode* opened in 1792 in the *rue de Valois*, lasted until 1936 when it was owned by the Jammet family which shall be profiled later in relation to their role in promoting *haute cuisine* in Dublin. Restaurants and food shops proliferated following the Revolution, to such and extent that it was not unusual to find a whole street occupied by the shops of *traiteurs, restaurateurs* and *limonadiers* (bar-keepers) (Aron 1975:24-5). A chronicler of the Second Empire cited in Aron (1975:9-10) writes:

> 'When the revolution came, changing the laws of our cuisine and dispersing, abroad and elsewhere, those superb artist-chefs who had hitherto worked exclusively for the great noblemen, one saw gastronomy descend into the Third Estate and even in the *petite bourgeoisie*. It was, in fact, the spearhead of that aristo-democratic order of things which began to establish itself day by day without one's being aware of it'.

Trubek (2000:37) suggest that the restaurant was one of a variety of spaces in which *haute cuisine* could flourish. She notes that French *haute cuisine* was being served in all the fancy places both public and private. At this time, the champion of private *haute cuisine*, described by Willan (1992:143) as 'probably the greatest cook of all time' was Antoinin Carême (1783-1833), whilst the champion of public *haute cuisine*, described by Blake and Crewe (1978:16) as 'the father of all restaurateurs' was Antoine Beauvilliers. Both men differed in their philosophy of food. Mennell (1996:145-7) notes:

> 'Carême claimed that his art supplied food for mind and heart, and pleasurably filled the gastronome's leisure. To which Beauvilliers retorted that the cook's job was not to please the eye but the palate; not to fill one's pleasure but one's belly pleasurably'.

Citing Hayward (1852:25) Mennell notes that Beauvilliers was the leader of the 'classical' school of thought in cookery, and Carême was leader of the 'romantics'. These first great chefs of the post-revolutionary period, according to Mennell (1996:140), developed and 'even more elaborate cuisine out of the courtly food which had already established its prestige as a model to be emulated further down the social scale', an advance which happened to a greater extent in France than in England. Despite a posthumous publication in 1848 titled '*La Cuisine ordinaire*', where both men are shown as its authors, Arndt (2006:54) asserts that neither Beauvilliers or Carême ever

collaborated on this work and that statements published in *Larousse Gastronomique* and other sources are 'entirely erroneous'.

Between 1800-1830, according to Page and Kingsford (1971:169), people treated restaurants as places for an evening's amusement, appreciating the food for its own sake. They suggest that one's social standing was marked by the amount one spent on food. Food took second place to theatre from 1830 to 1860 but then gradually reclaimed first place, with meals becoming more and more elaborate and splendid. Jerrold (1868:114) suggests that the ease with which undiscriminating diners visiting Parisian restaurants were pleased – particularly the English – often corrupted the cooks. Standards had dropped in Paris restaurants by mid-century, so much so that Hayward (1852) cited in Mennell (1996:156) endorses the Comte D'Orsay's conclusion that 'the pretended French gastronomy…has emigrated to England'. The post-1860 era, where restaurants and hotels vied with each other for the custom of the kings, princes, tycoons, and stars of the opera and theatre, continued through the turn of the century until the early nineteen twenties (Page and Kingsford 1971:169). The one exception was the siege of Paris in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War, when food became so scarce that good restaurants resorted to serving the flesh of horses, donkeys, cats, dogs and rats. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 offer two examples of food shortage during the Paris siege, with denizens queuing to purchase rat's and dog's meat, or catch rats.

Figure 7.1: Selling dogs and rats in Paris   Figure 7.2: Queuing for rats in Paris
Source: (Page and Kingsford 1971:152)

At one stage the animals in the zoo were sold which made for some exotic sounding dishes including the famed 'elephant trunk chasseur' allegedly served at *Voisins* restaurant. Paris lost many of its finest restaurants during the siege, and those that did survive struggled for quite a while (Page and Kingsford 1971:176).

Beauvilliers

Antoine Beauvilliers, according to Trubek (2000:39), was one of the earliest culinary figures to make the transition from an employee in a royal household to running his own restaurant in the public sphere. Little is known about Beauvilliers' early life. He was formerly employed by a number of royal houses including that of the Count of Provence (later Louis XVIII), escaped the Terror, and opened the first great modern restaurant in Paris (Mennell 1996:141; Toussaint-Samat 2001:731). Beauvilliers's decision to open a fine-dining establishment in 1782 for the elite public was an unprecedented step according to Arndt (2006:53), who argues that the naming of the establishment '*La Grande Taverne de Londres*' was in accord with the fashion for all things English. Symons (1998:315-8) suggests that when Beauvilliers opened the *Grande Tavern de Londres*, a new trade, deriving partly from English taverns, had broken from the *traiteurs*.

Beauvilliers (1814) cited in Trubek (2000:67) states 'The French are honoured to have their taste and cuisine reign, in the same imperial manner as their language and their fashion, among all the opulent states of Europe, from North to South'. Brillat-Savarin (1994:273) credits Beauvilliers as the most famous restaurateur in Paris for more than fifteen years. He suggests Beauvilliers 'was the first to combine an elegant dining room, smart waiters, and a choice cellar with superior cooking'. Arndt (2006:56) maintains that Beauvilliers's establishment remained pre-eminent for more than half a century, despite his temporary closure for a few years following the Revolution. Mennell (1996:150) points out that he worked in England during this period when 'his previous royal connections made it prudent to close his restaurant in Paris'.

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Beauvilliers published *L'Art du cuisinier* (The Art of Cookery) in 1814, and Brillat-Savarin (1994:273) suggests that 'never before had the culinary art been expounded with such method and accuracy. He also notes that Beauvilliers had a prodigious memory for faces, a valuable trait in a host. Beauvilliers died in 1820 before competition between himself and Carême had the opportunity of becoming bitter (Willan 1992:144).

Marie-Antoine Carême (1783-1833)

Born in 1783 into a poor family, Carême was abandoned at the age of eleven in the streets of Paris by his father to seek his fortune (Page and Kingsford 1971:80; Parkhurst Ferguson 2006:89). Parental neglect was a feature of the eighteenth century, according to Cooper (1949:11-12), who points out that Rousseau abandoned all his children, and Talleyrand never spent one week under the same roof as his mother and father in his entire life.

Carême was apprenticed in a cook-shop for six years and at the age of seventeen went on to work for Bailly, one of the most famous *pâtissiers* of the day. Following two years with Bailly, he went to work for one of the most famous statesmen of the time, the Prince de Talleyrand, who achieved the unusual distinction of acting as foreign minister both to Napoleon and to the restored monarch, Louis XVIII (Willan 1992:144). He spent twelve years working as *pâtissier* under the Prince's chef Boucher, broadening his experience by working as an 'extra' on many grand occasions under the top chefs of the day, and finally outclassing his master Boucher (Willan 1992:144; Mennell 1996:145). Talleyrand was a consummate gastronome, whom Carême cited as the ideal patron 'a full collaborator in the realization of culinary greatness' (Parkhurst Ferguson 2006:89). Carême's vision of French cuisine depended on prodigality which explains why he never had any involvement with restaurants. He assiduously frequented the royal library, studying the history of food and the ancient classics. Of the five fine arts, he proclaimed, the fifth was architecture, 'whose main branch was confectionary'. Carême was proud to be known as the Palladio of French cuisine (Parkhurst Ferguson 2006:90). He received many offers of a *chef de cuisine* role but refused them all, preferring instead to work 'extras' and expand his already vast knowledge of cookery. In 1812 the chef Laguipière, who Carême

worshiped and considered 'the best the world ever did or would see', died along with about fifty of the top French chefs in Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Despite his grief, Carême was forced to direct the royal banquet for Alexander, the emperor of Russia when he reviewed the troops on the Plain of Vertus, some seventy miles east of Paris in September 1814 (Page and Kingsford 1971:88-9). He worked for the Austrian court during the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Willan (1992:145) remarks that 'like Talleyrand, he was a veteran of the celebrity-studded international gatherings that determined the political fate of Europe after the Napoleonic Wars'.

In 1816 he crossed the Channel to work for the Prince Regent. Figure 7.3 shows the spacious, well equipped kitchen of the Brighton Pavilion where he worked during this time. He only worked every second week in England which gave him time to write (Page and Kingsford 1971:94). The cuisine and taste of the English was too bourgeois for him so after two years in England he returned to Paris only to be asked to join the staff of Czar Alexandra in Russia. The climate of Russia did not agree with him, and the fact that fresh produce was available only four months of the year – restricted his talents – and influenced him to return to France. In 1820 he worked for the British ambassador in Vienna. He returned to Paris in 1823 and in this last phase of his career, working for seven years for M. de Rothschild, he published cookbooks that established him as the doyen of his profession.

Mennell (1996:144-9) notes that Carême died relatively young in 1833 but that his fame outlived him, resting on his books: *Le Pâtissier royal parisien* (1815); *Le Pâtissier pittoresque* (1815); *Le Maître d'hôtel français* (1822); *Le Cuisinier parisien* (1828); and finally *L'Art de la cuisine française au dix-neuvième siècle* (1833-5) which was finished posthumously by his student Pluméry. Mennell suggests that these books embody the first paradigm, more or less in Kuhn's (1962) sense of the word, of professional French cuisine. He argues that 'no previous work had so comprehensively codified the field nor established its dominance as a point of reference for the whole profession in the way that Carême's did', noting that Carême laid foundations on which others could build. He suggests that until the end of the nineteenth century, the greatest chefs like Jules Gouffé,

Urbain Dubois and Joseph Favre, were working within a framework established by Carême.
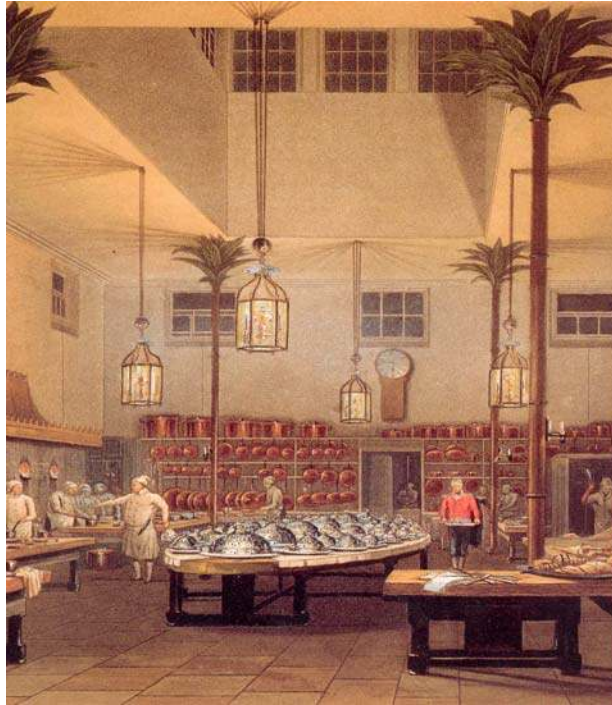
Figure 7.3: Carême's kitchen at the Brighton Pavillion
Source: Willan (1992:142)

Wheaton (1996:291) notes that neither Gouffé or Dubois, both students of Carême, ever worked in a restaurant. Parkhurst-Ferguson (2006:90) writes that 'where previous chefs had offered collections of recipes, Carême proposed a total culinary system'. He was an extraordinary cultural entrepreneur who conceived French cuisine as a body of knowledge and a repertory of techniques that could be practiced by anyone who had mastered the principles, anywhere in the world. Mennell (1996:149) makes another parallel likening the story of professional French cookery to the succession of schools in the history of art, 'beginning with the vigorous working out of new ideas, followed by their routinisation and exhaustion, and eventually the resurgence of yet another new aesthetic'. Carême died before reaching the age of fifty 'burnt out by the flame of his genius and the fuel of his ovens' (Ackerman 1988:90).

Wheaton (1996:290, 294) writes that 'only Alexis Soyer among nineteenth century French chefs approached his ability to attract attention', and suggests that Carême's exaggerated self-importance carried him further than modesty would have done, and helped fuel the ambitions of generations of chefs, in France and abroad. The next 'paradigm shift' was the work of Auguste Escoffier (Fig. 7.4) towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Figure 7.4: Georges Auguste Escoffier
Source: (Page and Kingsford 1971)

Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935)

'Of all the famous chefs in modern western history, none has had greater impact or been more emulated than Auguste Escoffier. Resounding down the years, his name has come to represent *haute cuisine*, specifically a now classic French style' (Kraig 2006:153). Born October 1846 in Villeneuve, near Antibes on the French Mediterranean coast, Escoffier began work aged 13 in his uncle's *Restaurant Français* at Nice which was renowned for good food. At the age of nineteen he moved to Paris to work at the *Petit*

Moulin Rouge as *commis rôtisseur*, where he worked, save his military duty, for five years under chef M. Ulysse Rohan, 'a man whose cruelty was exceeded only by his vulgarity, but whose unquestionable skill gained Escoffier's confidence and admiration' (Page and Kingsford 1971:172). In 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War he was made head chef at the Rhine Army Headquarters at Metz. In 1872 he returned to the *Petit Moulin Rouge* as head chef, remaining there for six years prior to moving to *Maison Chevet* which specialised in larger banquets and then to *Maison Maire* where he worked for M. Paillard. At this time the Cote d'Azur was becoming popular with the wealthy thanks to the widening railway network and Escoffier divided his time between Paris and *Le Faison Doré* in Cannes. During this period he also entered some catering exhibitions with great success and along with the founder, journalist Maurice Dancourt – pseudonym Chatillon-Plessis, and Philéas Gilbert, he contributed regularly to the journal *L'Art Culinaire* (Mennell 1996:169-170). When César Ritz's head chef, Giroix, was poached by the rival *Hotel de Paris*, Escoffier replaced him as head chef at the *Grand Hotel* in Monte Carlo, thus beginning the legendary partnership that transformed hotels and restaurants worldwide. Escoffier would head the finest kitchens in London, Paris, Cannes, Monte Carlo, Nice and Lucerne at one time or another between 1880 and the First World War (Willan 1992:199).

For over two decades the Ritz–Escoffier partnership dictated what was stylish in food, dining and entertainment around Europe. Their loyal followers included the Prince of Wales – later King Edward VII, the stars of theatre and opera – including Bernhart and Melba – new made millionaires like the Neumanns, the Beits and a cast of exiled princes and professional beauties (Page and Kingsford 1971:219). From the outset, Escoffier and Ritz embraced and popularised a new trend in service: *à la russe*, one dish per course served in sequence (Kraig 2006:154). Escoffier devoted himself entirely to his profession and his most lasting influence was in changing the workings of the professional kitchen by introducing the 'partie system' which suited the new style of service. Previous chefs such as Soyer had revolutionised the kitchen by designing separate cooler areas where the pasty and cold larder sections were housed away from the intense heat of the ranges. However, Escoffier took this a step further and rationalised the production of food,

eliminating duplication of labour. A contemporary of Fredrick Winslow Taylor, Herbodeau and Thalamas (1955:79) suggest that Escoffier was a promoter of 'Taylorism' in the kitchen. His kitchens were organised into five interdependent parties: *garde-manger* responsible for cold dishes and supplies for the whole kitchen; *entremetier*, for soups, vegetables and desserts; the *rôtisseur*, for roasts, grilled and fried dishes; the *saucier* who made sauces, and the *pâtissier* who made pastry for the whole kitchen (Mennell 1996:159). Whereas previously each section dealt exclusively with its own orders and contributed nothing to those the other parties received, under the new system a dish such as eggs Florentine could be produced in a fifth of the time without reducing quality. The egg chef poached the egg, the vegetable chef cooked the spinach, the sauce chef supplied the mornay sauce and the pastry chef supplied the tartlet case in which the whole dish was served (Page and Kingsford 1971:191). The dish was assembled, checked by the chef and sent to the table. Kraig (2006:155) reminds us that these methods remain the standards for restaurants and hotel dining rooms today.

Escoffier cut down on the cumbersome garnishes that had survived from the eighteenth century, insisting that all garnishes should be edible and that food should look like food. Out went the *hâtelets* (skewers) and decorative *socles* that were so favoured by Câreme (Willan 1992:200). Davidson (1999:282) argues that although Escoffier is credited with simplifying the worst excesses of the nineteenth century, his work can seem extravagant and extremely old-fashioned to late twentieth century eyes. Another development in the kitchens for which Escoffier is responsible was the elimination of smoking and drinking alcohol in kitchens. Having suffered from bullying and verbal obscenities during his apprenticeship he vowed to professionalize the kitchen, making it a better environment in which to work. New standards of cleanliness were effected – kitchens were scrupulously cleaned daily and kept spotless (Kraig 2006:155). Escoffier replaced alcohol with a barley drink prescribed by a famous physician, and would not tolerate shouting in his kitchens. He detested vulgarity and reminded his staff that everybody was expected to be polite. He preferred to leave the kitchen if he felt he was losing his temper and return when he had calmed down to deal with the culprit (Page and Kingsford 1971:189).

The Ritz-Escoffier team took over the Savoy Hotel, London in 1889. Their reputation was unrivalled and 'they were followed at once by the Rothschilds, the Vanderbilts, the Morgans, the Crespis and the rest of the *beau monde'* (Willan 1992:200). Ladies were encouraged to dine in public for the first time. Prior to their arrival at the Savoy, the English culinary scene had nowhere of real outstanding quality. Men ate at their clubs and women, who disliked to be seen in public restaurants, stayed at home (Page and Kingsford 1971:180). The novelty of ladies dining in public was matched by the invention of new dishes dedicated to famous ladies such as Peach Melba for Dame Nellie Melba, and *Poularde Sarah Bernhard* for the famous actress. The Ritz-Escoffier connection with the Savoy came to a sudden end in 1897 following what we now know was fraudulent activity. The truth about the affair only came to light in 1985 with Paul Levy's discovery of a secret archive at the Savoy which showed that Escoffier was taking a 5% 'cut' on all supplies to the kitchen. Over £3,400 of wine and spirits disappeared in the first half of 1897, according to the Savoy company records, and they also contain written confessions dated January 1900 signed by Ritz, Escoffier and two other former employees admitting to the larceny. They would have faced prison but the Savoy never brought charges against them, probably because they knew too much delicate information particularly about the Prince of Wales nocturnal escapades, so their silence was effectively bought (Willan 1992:200; Davidson 1999:282).

The break with the Savoy was only a temporary setback in Escoffier's career. He opened the Paris Ritz in Place Vendôme, and in 1898 he joined Ritz in London again for the opening of the Carlton Hotel where he would remain for the following twenty years. The publication of his classic book '*Le Guide Culinaire*' did not occur until 1903 (Willan 1992:200). Although the book features the name Escoffier as author, it is really a collective work mainly written by him in collaboration with the top chefs of the day, namely Phileas Gilbert, Emil Fetu, Apollon Caillart, Jean Baptiste Reboul, Alfred Suzanne and Charles Dietrich. The book is also dedicated to the work of Urbain Dubois, Emile Bernard and Câreme (Page and Kingsford 1971:198; Willan 1992:204; Mennell 1996:160). *Le Guide Culinaire*, Mennell (1996:160) proposes, 'represents not the views of one man, but an aesthetic shared by most of he leading names among French

professional chefs of the period'. This was the beginning of international restaurant and hotel cooking which lasted through the following century. Further publications include *Le Livre des menus*, published in 1912 and *Ma Cuisine*, published in 1934. Escoffier was also involved in designing kitchens and catering systems for cruise ships, developing new food products, charitable work, and he helped found England's first culinary school in 1910, at the Westminster Technical College (Kraig 2006:155).

Gastronomic Writing

The sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave rise to a wide range of books, poems and songs dealing with the pleasure of food and drink, which in the nineteenth century 'provided the fertile soil in which gastronomic literature proper took root and flourished' (Flandrin 1999:368). Mennell (1996:266-7) notes that the word 'gastronomy', a term that was rapidly adopted in both France and England to designate 'the art and science of delicate eating', seems to have been invented by Joseph Berchoux in 1801. He suggests that gastronomic writing as a distinct genre, and the gastronome as a distinct and recognisable figure, emerged after the French Revolution. Two writers, Alexandre-Balthazar-Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1838) and Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826) effectively founded the whole genre of the gastronomic essay. Blake and Crewe (1978:16) suggest that the gourmet-writer, as opposed to the producer of cookery books was a singularly French phenomenon, who differed from the latter by being descriptive and encouraging as opposed to being dictatorial; 'not trampling on the imagination but, by intelligent speculation, prompting it to soar'. Mennell (2003:252) observes a striking parallel between the exhibitionist lifestyle of Grimod and his circle with dandyism, differing in its use of food rather than dress as a means of display.

France's international renown as the home of good food was acquired at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Zeldin 1993:725). The population of Paris doubled in size between 1800 and 1850. The hundred or so restaurants found in Paris in the late eighteenth century increased six-fold in the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century, and by the 1820s there were over three thousand restaurants of various types ranging across the social as well as the culinary spectrum (Parkhurst Ferguson 2004:87).

From Carême and Grimod de la Reynière to Brillat-Savarin, gastronomy progressed from a practice and a technique to a topic of general interest in polite society (Parkhurst Ferguson 2004:96). Conceived as an intellectual activity dealing with the senses, gastronomy, according to Brillat-Savarin (1994:13), relied on refined sensuality but even more on intelligence: 'Animals fill themselves; people eat; the intelligent person alone knows how to eat' (Aphorism II).

As the growth of Paris provided Grimod de la Reynière with a public for his Almanacs, the growth of travel and tourism generated a market for guidebooks, the most popular and enduring of these being Baedeker (Holloway 1985:33). These guides codified the rules for taking in local sights. The rhetoric of the guides included culinary specialities along with other stereotypical representations of the local, whether dishes, sights, landscape, architecture, or celebrities (Csergo 1999:509). In France the *Guides Joanne* first appeared in 1840, but devoted only a small amount of space to food. It was replaced in 1910 by the *Guides Blues* which alerted their readers to the specialities of the various regions. By 1922 there was a separate 'dishes' section outlining the specific dishes or speciality cheeses of the locality (Csergo 1999:509-10).

The Baedeker Hanbook(s) for Travellers series began publication in 1828 and has been used by generations of European and American travellers. Libraries have long recognised the value of maintaining collections of rare and out-of-print guidebooks. Not only are they considerable value to geographers, anthropologists, and historians, but they are now also being used by demographers and economists, and students of folk culture (Anon 1975:preface). Guidebooks dealing principally with food from this time include Newnham-Davis and Bastard (1903) and Strong (1900). As gastronomic writers, Grimod and Brillat-Savarin have had a constant line of successors in France, the most important of which include Briffault, Monselet, Brisse, Dumas, and Chatillon-Plessis. Charles Monselet revived the *Almanach des Gourmand* from 1860-64 whilst Baron Brisse is claimed to have written the first newspaper cookery column (Mennell 1996:269).

A new phenomenon in gastronomic writing in the form of journals about cooking and for cooks appeared in Paris, the most influential of which was *'L'Art Culinaire'*, discussed in Chapter Six. Parkhurst Ferguson (2004:124) notes that over ten culinary associations were founded in Paris alone between 1860 and 1900, along with twelve journals in France and another ten in England and the United States between 1870 and 1900. A detailed account of the journals progress, and other trade press is presented in Mennell (1996:166-199) and Trubek (2000:87-122).

Technological Changes

Figure 7.5 outlines den Hartog's (2003:265) conceptual framework of how technological innovations sustained and encouraged the development of eating out as a mass phenomenon. Modern light, as previously mentioned, prolonged the day and facilitated evening entertainment in towns and cities. The nineteenth century saw many scientific and technological changes which affected the pattern of food consumption. Discoveries by Louis Pasteur (1822-1895) led to a reduction in bacterial infection of foodstuffs, his 'pasteurisation' techniques first used on wine, milk and beer are widespread today and often legally required (Arndt 2006:285). Nicolas-François Appert (1750-1841) took an important step towards the establishment of the modern canning industry when he discovered a method of safely preserving fruits, meats, and vegetables in glass bottles (Laudan 2006:25). Canning provided summer fruits such as tomatoes to be available year round in professional kitchens, an idea Escoffier reports to have first considered in 1874, although not widely available until the end of the century (Page and Kingsford 1971:193).

Count von Rumford (born Benjamin Thompson 1753-1814) produced a host of useful inventions, including the kitchen range, double boiler, baking oven, pressure-cooker and drip coffee maker (Blake and Crewe 1978:21; Kurti 1996:170). From the point of view of culinary history, the most important of Rumford's invention was the kitchen range, which he proposed as the remedy for the waste of fuel and singeing of chefs that resulted from cooking on blazing open hearths. Rumford's inventions advanced both kitchen science and architecture (Kurti 1996:184; Snodgrass 2006:321). His kitchen range concentrated

heat where it was needed, reduced fuel waste, made the chef's work more bearable and together with the baking oven, was mainly responsible for the modern methods of cooking and baking (Blake and Crewe 1978:21). The development of steam travel both by rail and sea not only increased the mobility of the wealthy but also facilitated the quicker movement of foodstuffs to the main centres of population.

Processes	Period of general acceptance	
Immediate technological processes	New sources of energy	
	• Gas	(1910–20)
	• Electricity	(1930)
	New cooking equipment	Enclosure of fire (1860–1910)
Underlying technological processes	Modern light	
	• Making the day longer	1790–1900
	Food technology	
	• Canning	1860
	• Cooling, freezing	1880
	• Freeze drying	1950s
	• Microwave	1947–70
	• Food packaging freshness	1990
	Transport, logistics	
	• Motorized delivery van with cooling	1920–50

Figure 7.5: Technological Innovations influencing Eating Out
Source: (den Hartog 2003:265)

Food Service and Dining (Service *à la Russe*)
One of the main changes that occurred during the nineteenth century was the slow but gradual transfer from service *à la française* to service *à la russe*. The table settings for both services are illustrated in Figures 7.6 and 7.7 respectively. From medieval times to the middle of the 19th century the structure of a formal meal was not by 'courses' – as the term is now understood – but by 'services'. Each service could comprise of a choice of dishes from which each guest could select what appealed to him or her most (Davidson 1999:713). This system was cumbrous and not conducive to the enjoyment of the foods, appropriate only for state banquets and other occasions where making an impression of wealth and power was the primary purpose. This service sacrificed everything to

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ostentation and extravagance, since guests could not enjoy their food hot despite hot plates and covers which appeared during the eighteenth century (Courtine 1996:1162). Also known as *le grand couvert*, the *à la française* method made it impossible for the diners to eat anything that was beyond arm's length (Blake and Crewe 1978:24).

Figure 7.6: Table Setting for Service *à la Francaise*
Source: Glanville and Young (2002:49)

Félix Urbain Dubois, who was chef to the King of Prussia, is credited with doing something for the cause of hot food by being the prime mover in replacing service *à la française* with service *à la russe* (Mennell 1996:150). This new service required more servants as dishes were served to guests in their seats. There was also the need for table decorations to take up the place the dishes would have occupied under the old system (Davidson 1999:713). Smooth service was the key to an effective *à la russe* dinner since servants controlled the flow of food (Eatwell 2002:51).

Summary
The nineteenth century in France witnessed some major upheavals and changes brought on by various wars, and technological advancement stemming from the Industrial Revolution. Restaurants flourished and by mid-century a change in style of service began to slowly appear influenced by Urbain Dubois and then embraced by the legendary

pairing of César Ritz and Auguste Escoffier. The nineteenth century also saw the emergence of gastronomic writing as a distinct genre and the gastronome as a distinct and recognisable figure. The final thirty years of the century witnessed the growth of an international 'jet set' that moved from London to Paris to Monte Carlo and Switzerland following the seasons. Beauvilliers, Careme, Dubois and Escoffier all had books published and Escoffier particularly encouraged the professionalisation of the kitchen, banning smoking, drinking alcohol, and vulgarity, and insisting that all chefs dress well outside of the kitchen.

Figure 7.7: Table Setting for Service *à la Russe*
Source: Glanville and Young (2002:50-51)

Chapter 8 – England (19th Century)

Introduction

There was a gradual decline in eighteenth century cuisine in England during the first half of the nineteenth century as the society that produced it changed, becoming more urban, losing contact with the soil, although the rich retained their country estates as symbols of status (Mason 2004:45). Competition and social imitation among all classes was encouraged by the growth of urban life, which ultimately led to far more sophisticated tastes and eating habits (Burnett 1994:4). French *haute cuisine* was found in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century in some aristocratic households and a small number of London clubs and private hotels, but by the mid-century it had become *de rigueur* among the fashionable (Trubek 2000:42).

The Epicure's Almanack of 1815, cited in Williams (1992:312), concerned about the respectability of a place, drew distinctions between the public house (low class), a chop house (middling), and a tavern (the best grade). With the growth of new public dining venues – clubs and restaurants for the wealthy – pubs and taverns reverted to the working classes. By 1888 the *Licensed Victualler's Gazette* states 'in these days when taverns are voted vulgar, it would be almost the ruin of a barrister's reputation to be seen entering a public house unless it were called a restaurant' (Girouard 1984:6). In London society by the 1880s the credentials necessary for membership had moved from land ownership to include the possession of some power over people. For these new entrants into society (factory owners, merchants etc.), the role of cultivated consumer became a vital part of class identity (Trubek 2000:60).

Burnett (1994:83) writes that the greatest chefs of the day, like the greatest singers and dancers were attracted to England by the wealth of the richest country in the world. He suggests that 'probably no civilisation since the Roman ate as well as they did'. French *haute cuisine* as a commodity in the public sphere encapsulated, according the Trubek (2000:50), the *bourgeois* concept of elite culture. Britain was at war with France from 1791 to 1802 and from 1803 to 1815 and despite military victories at Trafalgar and Waterloo, Trubek (2000:63) comments on the irony of the British passive, almost slavish

attitudes towards French cuisine during a period when Britain was at the peak of its imperial power. 'Cooking seems to have been one area of British culture were its citizens' sense of power dissipated'.

Historic Outline

England changed during the first half of the nineteenth century from a small mainly agricultural nation to a large, industrial population living and working in towns rather than villages (Burnett 1994:3). The century opened with George III on the throne with his son becoming Prince Regent in 1811. The Regency period was a time of high fashion where elegant new buildings and parks were built. The prince became King George IV in 1820 and ruled until 1830. Neither George IV nor his successor William IV took their roles too seriously and by the time Victoria became queen in 1837 the monarchy was disliked by many of the British people. From 1837 to 1901 Queen Victoria ruled through a new age of industrialisation and empire where Britain became the most powerful nation in the world. At first she re-established popularity for the monarchy by espousing a settled family life matching the middle-class ideals of many of their subjects, but her long mourning and seclusion following the death of Albert in 1861 was unpopular (Stevenson 2002:337). During Victoria's reign the rich became richer whilst the poor faced unbearable poverty (MacDonald, Smith et al. 2004:134). Within a stable constitutional democracy, liberals, conservatives and radicals fought for the allegiance of an expanding electorate. Only Ireland's poverty and discontent marred the political and social advance (Stevenson 2002:336). Drummond and Wilbraham (1939:483) argue that despite the building up of vast national wealth and the consolidation of a great Empire, the close of Victoria's reign 'saw malnutrition more rife in England than it had been since the great dearths of medieval and Tudor times'.

The English population accelerated dramatically (80%) from 1820 to 1870, and by the mid nineteenth century slightly more people lived in the towns than in the countryside (Golby and Purdue 1984:88; Morineau 1999:375). Quennell and Quennell (1934:40) note that England in the early nineteenth century was still governed by gentlemen for gentlemen. The Reform Bill of 1832 gave the vote to the householder of the £10 a year

household, the artisan, however, did not get the vote until 1867 and the agricultural labourer until 1884. After the Napoleonic Wars, the 1815 Corn Law was passed to safeguard agriculture, but caused great distress among the poor. The repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) was part influenced by the failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1845, and by the Anti-Corn Law League's campaign for free trade. The principles of free trade based on the economist Adam Smith grew into a religion in Britain and to disagree was considered heresy (Stevenson 2002:337). Quennell and Quennell (1934:40) suggest that the repeal of the Corn Laws is one of the most important dates in the history of England. England was to be a workshop not a farm. Foodstuff would be imported from the colonies paid for by exporting manufactured goods. This trend sparked scientific developments in canning, refrigeration and extending shelf-life by controlling the atmosphere (reducing CO_2), along with technological developments in ship building and the milling industry. The importation of grain and other foodstuff from America, Argentina and Australia resulted in land going out of cultivation. Labourers were given notice, and drifted to the towns. Gradually rural life, which had been healthy and vigorous, went into decline (Quennell and Quennell 1934:62).

Technological change was rapid during the Industrial Revolution. Passenger trains appeared in the 1830s, the electric telegraph in 1837, photography and the electric light bulb were also Victorian inventions. Prince Albert was so impressed with the inventiveness of Victorian Britain that he organised the Great Exhibition in 1851 to display goods made in 'the workshop of the world' (MacDonald, Smith et al. 2004:213). This set a pattern for similar exhibitions in Paris, Dublin and around the world. The coming together of different developments such as the railroads, food preservation technologies, and the exploitation of public events to promote national glory and as a showcase for manufacturing industries made these events possible. These exhibitions provided visitors with a tremendous variety of dining experiences (Wheaton 1992:301). Driver (1983:3) points out that the origin of British industrial decline has been traced to the period of high confidence and complacency that followed the 1851 Exhibition.

Food and Dining – Urban versus Rural

There was a coarsening and decline of the English 'farmhouse' culinary tradition of the eighteenth century during the nineteenth, due to a combination of industrialisation, urbanisation and the growing influence of the French *haute cuisine* among the wealthy (Mennell 1996:135). Life in the countryside was fairly self-sufficient. Quennell and Quennell describe the diet of an average English farmer towards the later half of the nineteenth century:

> 'Beef and Mutton, which had been 6 ¾ d. a pound in 1858, had advanced in 1872 to 8 ¾ d., but pigs produced all the things which a pig does produce, from pork to sausages, hams to bacon, black pudding to chitterlings. Then there were rabbits, hares, pheasants and plump partridges and pigeons. Good fresh milk from the dairy with clotted cream by scalding to eat with the fruit tarts, and butter and eggs. A good fowl could always be obtained, and a goose for Michaelmas, and a turkey for Christmas. The farmer brewed about 10 or 12 hogsheads of cider' (1934:46).

The traditional rural skills of baking and brewing decayed and ultimately disappeared in the new urban environment. The eating of white bread and the drinking of tea moved from the occasional luxury, but mere adjuncts to the tables, of the wealthy in the early eighteenth century, to become virtually the total diet of the urban poor in the nineteenth century (Burnett 1994:4).

The hours of meals altered in the nineteenth century. Dinner was now served at seven o'clock rather than five or six o' clock, as had been the fashion in the late eighteenth century. This change led to the disappearance of the old 'supper' and to the custom of eating luncheon in the middle of the day, gradually becoming the meal we know today. Supper was replaced with late tea or coffee with cakes served at about nine thirty or ten o' clock (Drummond and Wilbraham 1939:398). The French fashion in the arrangement of courses remained popular during the new century. The 1824 *The Family Oracle of Health* cited in Drummond and Wilbraham (1939:400) suggests:

> 'It is a bad dinner when there are not at least five varieties: a substantial dish of fish, one of meat, one of game, one of poultry and, above all a ragout with truffles… They form the absolute minimum and *sine qua non* of dinner for one person'.

Figure 8.0 shows the menu from a banquet given in honour of General Garibaldi at London's Fishmonger's Hall, in 1864, which is quiet staggering, even by the standards of the day. There were forty dishes, including seven fish dishes and thirteen desserts, served in three services in the '*a la francaise*' fashion. Note the turtle soup which was highly fashionable at this time, and that the menu is printed on delicate paper lace (Lane 2004:56-7).

Figure 8.0: Menu from 1864 Banquet for General Garibaldi in London
Source: (Lane 2004:56)

Apart from The Jockey Club under Gouffé, Paris had little equivalent to the clubs of London, a few of which had great reputations as eating places. Mennell (1996:155) suggests that clubs generally provided 'good average rather than excellent food' and that London clubs siphoned off the strata of rich bachelors and visitors that played such a big part in building up the restaurants in Paris. The best cooking at the beginning of the nineteenth century was to be found, according to Mennell (1996:155), in the private hotels around St James's Street and Piccadilly, mostly resembling what later became known as serviced flats. Gronow (1862-6:I, 53-4) cited in Mennell (1996:354) names the Clarendon, whose chef Jacquiers had served Louis XVIII in exile, as the only public hotel in London in 1814 'where you could get a genuine French diner'. Senn (1900:42) adds that the cost of diner at the Clarendon was as much as three or four pounds a head. Senn (1900:41-2) citing Gronow records an English diner of this period to include:

> 'Mulligatawny and turtle soups; salmon at one end of the table, boiled turbot and fried smelts at the other; saddle of mutton and roast beef, boiled fowls and tongue with what were called French dishes – a very mild but very abortive attempt at Continental Cooking, which always met with the neglect and contempt they merited'.

A marked feature of early Victorian social life was the growth of entertaining. For ladies this meant the dinner party, for even in mid-century the anonymous author of a guide to dine in London complains of the difficulty of 'finding an Hotel or Restaurant where strangers of the gentler sex may be taken to dine', and continues that 'to give a private dinner with ladies it is necessary to go to the Albion or London Taverns' (Burnett 1994:83). By the end of the century hotels were plentiful and the Ritz-Escoffier partnership had made it fashionable for ladies to dine in public. Newnham-Davis (1914:86) proposes that the East Room at the Criterion, opened in 1873, was one of the first restaurant rooms designed specifically 'that mankind should bring beautiful womankind there to eat things delicate'. Figure 8.1 illustrates a menu from the Criterion in 1883, reflecting *à la russe* service. The Criterion contained luncheon and dining rooms, a theatre and a music hall, all decorated in sumptuous neo-Byzantine style (Lane 2004:142). Change, however, was not immediate or universal. Stone's Chop House did not admit women until 1921, and there was a men only dining room in Simpson's in the Strand until the sex equality legislation of the 1970s (Mennell 1996:355). Williams

(1992:313) notes that in 1894 Baedecker lists a women-only restaurant, The Dorothy, at 448 Oxford Street, which was becoming a popular shopping area at the time. Bringing women to restaurants, however, seems to have affected consumption patterns. Newnham-Davis complains that 'until we …give up taking ladies out to dinner, champagne will be practically the only wine drunk at restaurants' (Williams 1992:313).
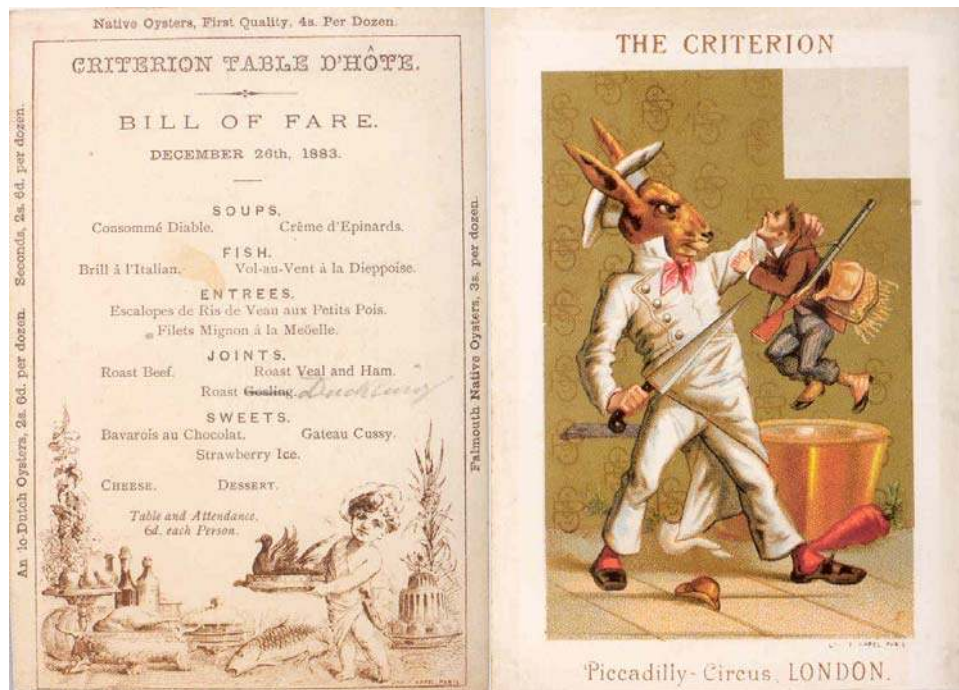
Figure 8.1: Menu from The Criterion – 26th December 1883
Source: (Lane 2004:142)

Restaurants, Clubs and Hotels

Bowden (1975:19) suggests that Rule's Oysteria founded in 1798 by Thomas Rule, has a strong claim to be London's first restaurant. Restaurants, however, were slow to appear in England. Even by the 1860s, Newnham-Davis (1914:86) writes 'restaurants were few and far between, and were mostly places where men dined without their feminine belongings'. The novelties of French cookery had been available to the London public from at least 1670, when the M. Pontack, son of the President of Bordeaux, established a tavern 'Pontack's Head' in Abchurch Lane which became among the most celebrated in London (Timbs 1866:II, 130-131; Pitte 1999:473). Among the offerings of Pontack's

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'guinea ordinary' in 1731 were 'ragout of fatted snails' and 'chickens not two hours from the shell' (Timbs 1866:II, 131). The Royal Society Club had their anniversary dinner at 'Pontack's celebrated French eating-house' from before 1694 to 1746 when they moved to the Devil Tavern, then the Mitre Tavern and in 1780 moved to the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. They dined at the Crown and Anchor Tavern for sixty eight years until the Tavern was converted into a Club House in 1848 (Timbs 1866:I,68).

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, London had a shortage of hotels providing comfortable accommodation apart from a few expensive first-class hotels in the West End like the Clarendon, the Bedford, Clunn's, and Mivart's – later Claridges, and the new railway hotels (Williams 1992:311; Burnett 1994:82). The railway companies pioneered the modern hotel industry in England. Taylor (1977:1,27) notes that, before the Companies Act of 1862, they were the exception to the rule that no commercial organisation could have more than a few shareholders. Taylor suggests that a number of rich investors built hotels, seeing them as more than a business, but also as long term appreciating assets. Richard D'Oyly Carte, an Irishman, built the Savoy Hotel with the fortune he made as Gilbert & Sullivan's impresario. Hotels appeared not only in large cities, but also at seaside resorts and at inland spa sites like Bath, Droitwich, Buxton and Matlock with the growing popularity of Spas and Hydro Hotels for healing (Medlick 1987:37).

The restaurant had hardly arrived by 1850, according to Burnett, and there was a serious gap (outside of the clubs) between the dear hotels or inns and the cheap chop house. A few chop houses – Simpsons in the Strand, The Ship and Turtle, and Dolly's Chop House – had a good reputation for good first-class traditionally cooked roasts and steaks. Soyer is reputed to have opened the first Parisian style restaurant in London in 1851 on the eve of the Great Exhibition, although other restaurants, mostly French, – *Rouget's*, *Grillon's*, Howchin's, Ellis's, and Fenton's – were recommended in the first 'good food guide' to London eating houses also in 1851 (Burnett 1994:82). Ackerman (1988:114-7) suggests that the opening of *Gatti's* and the *Café Royal* in 1863, Kettner's in 1867, and *Paganini's* in 1871 helped to entice ladies to dine in public. Figure 8.2 illustrates a rich heavy 'St.

Patrick's Day' dinner, typical of the period, enjoyed by the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick in the *Café Royal* in 1895.
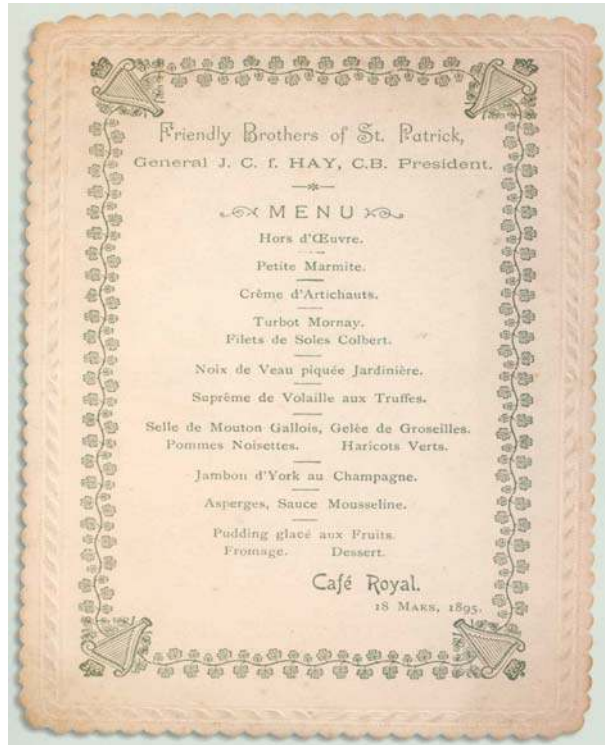
Figure 8.2: St. Patrick's Day Dinner, Café Royal London, 18 March 1895
Source: (Lane 2004:131)

Ackerman notes however that the success of the high-class restaurant was gradual and was the result of a number of developments including the introduction of '*service à la russe'*, new legislation allowing restaurants to open on Sundays and remain open after 11 o' clock at night, and particularly the creation of restaurant dining rooms superior to those in the homes of the wealthy where lighting was arranged to flatter the ladies dresses and jewels. Ritz was the leader in this new development and specialised in washable fabrics and painted walls. He had made attending balls respectable in his European hotels, 'accustoming ladies of rank to dining out in public' (Ackerman 1988:115). Quennell and Quennell (1934:76) note an enormous extension in the catering trade from 1851 to 1934. At the beginning of this period, they suggest, there were chop houses and a few restaurants for the well-to-do people but the poor only had the public house, 'which

was beastly'. They credit the Aerated Bread Company, who started as bakers in 1862, with developing the A.B.C. tea shops in the early 1880s where customers could be served cups of tea and cakes. Joseph Lyons opened his first tea shop in 1894, and they suggest that out of these shops developed the Palace Hotels and palatial Corner Houses, where people of the most moderate means can live and feed in surroundings of splendour. They note the trend for shops to have their own restaurants and of the more affluent to entertain in hotels instead of their own homes. Keane and Portnoy (1992) provide a history of the English Tearoom and suggest that a combination of the Bank Holiday Act 1871 giving working people a little more leisure time, and the growth of the temperance movement gave impetus for the setting up of tearooms. The popularity of afternoon tea in public department stores and hotels would peak in the first decade of the twentieth century (Keane and Portnoy 1992:161).

Timbs (1866) provides anecdotes and an outline of clubs, coffeehouses and taverns in London during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries in two volumes. Volume One 'presents sketches of one hundred clubs from the Mermaid, in Bread Street, to the Garrick in Covent Garden' (Timbs 1866:I,vii). Volume Two is devoted to coffee-houses and tavern life. Clubs, both public and private, had taken the place once filled by the coffee houses as places for gentlemen to meet, socialise and do business. Figure 8.3 illustrates the male dominated, sumptuous dining room of the Thatched House Club in London. Clubs attracted much of the clientele which had sparked the growth in Parisian restaurants. Many clubs also offered accommodation, Henry James lived at the Reform Club for a while (Trubek 2000:45). The Reform Club was formed by liberals and radicals – previous members of Brookes' club – in Pall Mall 'to promote the social intercourse of the Reformers of the United Kingdom' (Page and Kingsford 1971:119). Daniel O' Connell was one of the founding members and Soyer once produced *soufflés a la Clontarf* for a dinner in his honour, which Timbs (1866:I, 269) notes 'were considered by gastronomes to be a rich bit of satire'. The enrolment of over 1,000 members necessitated the building of a new clubhouse, the kitchen of which was designed by Soyer in close collaboration with the architect Sir Charles Barry. Apart from the Reform, the clubs with the highest gastronomic reputations, according to Burnett (1994:81), were the Garrick, Boodle's, and

the Royal Thames Yacht Club. He fails to mention Crockford's Club which was renowned for its fine cooking under such noted chefs as Ude and Francatelli, or Brookes's and the Carlton clubs under Pelanque and Comte.
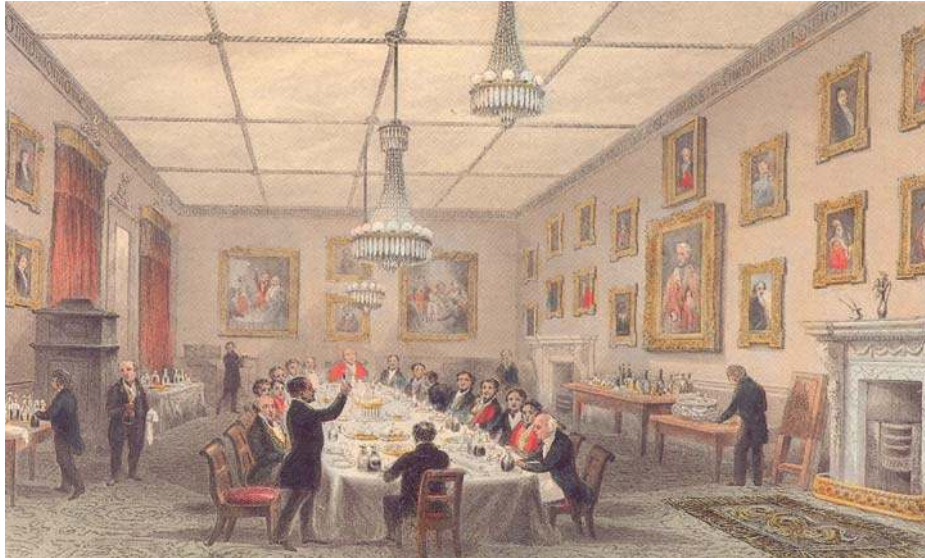
Figure 8.3: Dinner at the Thatched House Club in London
Source: (Willan 1992:163)

Many French restaurants were opened in London at the turn of the nineteenth century by French cooks fleeing the Revolution, but their success was hampered by the growth of the club which 'robbed the keepers of the best Eating Houses of their most appreciative patrons' (Senn 1900:42). In 1800 only White's, Boodle's and Brookes's of the London Clubs had their own club house. By 1840 there were twenty West End Clubs, but by the end of the century roles had reversed and it was the restaurateur who was emptying the club dining rooms (Senn 1900:42-3). One possible reason for the growth of restaurants in the United Kingdom from the 1860s onwards was The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences Act (1860), that had the stated principal objective to 'reunite the business of eating and drinking', thereby encouraging public sobriety. Prior to this, wine licences would only be granted to someone who already had a spirits licence, like tavern-keepers (McDonald 1992:203). Wine licences now became available to 'eating house keepers'

encouraging wider distribution of better wines and promoting the consumption of weaker liquors than spirits through the unification of eating and drinking.

The Great Chefs

French chefs continued to be employed by the upper classes in England in the nineteenth century. Louis Eustache Ude, Louis XVI's former cook, worked for the Earl of Sefton for twenty years and later in Crockford's Club; Carême worked for the Prince Regent in 1816 and 1817; Alexis Soyer was chef at the Reform Club during the 1830s and 1840s; and Charles Elmé Francatelli, an English born pupil of Carême, worked at Chesterfield House, Crockford's, *maître d'hôtel* for Queen Victoria during the 1850s prior to the Reform Club and finally the Freemason's Tavern (Burnett 1994:73; Mennell 1996:153; Mason 2004:45). The noted gourmet, Abraham Hayward, writing in 1835 lists the most eminent cooks of the time in England as:

> 'Pierre Moret of the Royal Household; Aberlin, chef to the Duke of Devonshire; Crépin of the Duchess of Sutherland's household; Durand, Paraire, Gérin, Mesmer; Labalme, cook to the Duke of Beaufort; Bory, cook to the Duke of Buccleuch; Auguste Halinger, cook to Baron de Rothschild; the brothers Mailliez; Brûnet, cook to the Duke of Montrose; Lambert, to Mr. Charles Townley; Valentine, to Lord Poltimore; Hopwood, to Lord Foley; George Perkins, to the Marquis of Bristol; Louis Besnard, to Mr. Maxse; Frottier, to the Duke of Cambridge; Perren, to the Marquis of Londonderry; Bernard to Lord Willoughby d'Eresby; Geurault, to Mr. H.T. Hope; Chaudeau, to the Marquis of Lansdowne; Rotival, to Lord Wilton; Douetil, to the Duke of Cleveland; Palanque to the Carlton Club; and Comte to Brookes's' (Burnett 1994:73-4).

The names are predominantly French, although the omission of Soyer is of interest, although Hayward (1852:76-7) suggested that Soyer, 'a very clever man, of inventive genius and inexhaustible resource' was more likely to 'earn his immortality by his soup-kitchen than his soup'. Mennell (1996:151) points out that when speaking of 'French culinary hegemony' in England, one is speaking of hegemony among a social élite, since most of the above were employed among the peerage. Willan (1992:144) suggests that Carême only remained in the employ of the Prince Regent for two years because 'he was depressed by the climate and the attitude of his fellow cooks, who resented the attention paid to this foreign interloper'. She also suggests that Carême found the English generally

ignorant of the finer parts of good cooking, and that he felt that the recent influx of French chefs into England had had little effect. Sturgeon (1822:192-4) cited in Mennell (1996:144) contrasts the recognition given cooks in England and France as follows:

> 'Whatever may be the praises bestowed on a dinner, the host never thinks of declaring the name of the artist who produced it; and while half the great men in London owe their estimation in society solely to the excellence of their tables, the cooks on whose talents they have risen languish 'unknown to fame' in those subterranean dungeons of the metropolis termed kitchens. In France, on the contrary, a man's cook is his pride; he glories in his feats beyond all of his ancestors…. To this it is that the French are indebted for those professors of the art who have raised the national glory to that pitch which is their greatest boast; and until we imitate them in this respect we must either be content to be dependent on them for all our tolerable artists, or put up with the plain roast and boiled, and the meagre catalogue of made-dishes of our own fat kitchen-wenches'.

Hayward (1852:16-7) notes that changes in the status of cooks were soon apparent in England with the Duke of Cumberland printing the names of the cooks responsible against each dish on the menus. The resignation of Wellington's chef, according to Hayward, because the Duke showed total indifference to the quality of the food he produced, illustrates that some cooks came to require appreciation.

By the 1880s food in the public sphere, when Frenchness became attached to it, became a class marker and cultural icon. In Britain to have a fine meal was to have a French meal: 'civilisation' and 'culture' coalesced around this cuisine (Trubek 2000:60). By the end of the nineteenth century the dinner-party of the Victorian upper classes developed into a unique institution (Burnett 1994:192). Above all, the dinner party provided a magnificent opportunity for the host to show off his material possessions – ornate silver tableware and cutlery and solid furniture – and to demonstrate his good taste in the selection of expensive wines and food dressed according to fashionable *haute cuisine*. To be smart the menu had to be French and *recherché*. According to Burnett (1994:193) 'the acquisition of a French chef, or at the very least of a cook 'professed' in French practice, was essential for the family with serious social aspirations'. By 1890 there were up to five thousand French chefs living and working in Britain (Trubek 2000:52).

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Professional associations, journals, and culinary competitions appeared in London as in Paris towards the last decades of the century. Eugène Pouard, along with several other French chefs, organised London's first culinary exhibition in 1885 (Mennell 1996:172). Out of these first exhibitions and competitions emerged the Universal Cookery and Food Association (UFCA), formed in 1887, as a professional body to promote improvements in the culinary arts, organise classes, apprenticeships and 'to defend and protect its members from undue interference on the part of the legislature' (Senn 1900:17).

Carême and Escoffier, both profiled in a previous chapter, were the most influential chefs at the beginning and the end of the century respectively, but the most influential in mid-century was Alexis Soyer.

Alexis Soyer (1809-1858)
Soyer's life and works have been well documented both in his own writings and those of his former secretaries Volant and Warren (1859), his biographer Morris (1938), Page and Kingsford (1971), Willan (1992), and most recently Brandon (2004). Born in 1809, he began his apprenticeship – aged 12 – with his older brother at *Chez Grignon* in Paris. In 1825 he became second chef at *Maison Douix* on *Boulevard des Italiennes*, and was made head chef a year later aged only 17. In 1830 he was employed for a short time as second chef in the French Foreign Office and was lucky to escape with his life when insurgents entered the kitchen and shot two of the cooks during the 1830 Revolution which overthrew the Bourbon monarchy. He followed his brother to England in 1831, working for the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Sutherland, the Marquis of Waterford, prior to accepting the position of head chef to Mr. Lloyd of Aston Hall, near Oswestry, where he remained for four years. He spent a year working for the Marquis of Ailsa at Isleworth and in 1837 he married the artist Emma Jones – whose portrait of him is shown in Figure 8.4, and accepted the position of head chef at the Reform Club.

The scale of the new kitchen at the Reform Club, illustrated in Figure 8.5, is outlined by Page and Kingsford (1971:120-125). It opened in 1841 with Soyer in charge of a staff of seventy. During his twelve years at the Reform Club he was responsible for a number of

outstanding banquets, most notably the banquet held for Ibrahim Pasha, or the banquet given in York for Prince Albert in 1850 which featured the infamous 'Hundred Guinea Dish'. Soyer devoted much of his time catering for the poor. He opened soup kitchens in Leicester Square, designed a soup boiler, and in 1847 was invited by the Irish government to submit plans for soup kitchens. He travelled to Dublin where he fed up to 8,000 people a day with his soup. Public banquets were given in honour of his services in both Dublin and London.

Figure 8.4: Portrait of Alexis Soyer by Emma Jones
Source: (Brandon 2004)

He opened a high-class restaurant – The Gastronomic Symposium of all Nations – in Gore House just outside the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851 which ran for six months, where he proposed to serve the national dish of any foreigner who visited the Symposium (except New Zealanders). The Symposium was a success but when the drinks licence renewal was refused he closed it at a loss. He devoted more time to his soup kitchens and writings. His books include *Délassements Culinaire, The Gastronomic Regenerator, The Modern Housewife, The Pantropheon, Soyer's Shilling Cookery*, and *A*

Culinary Campaign which outlines his experiences in the Crimea where he did as much for prolonging soldiers' lives by improving their diets as Florence Nightingale did with her nursing. He designed an army field stove for the Crimea which was still in use during the Second World War.
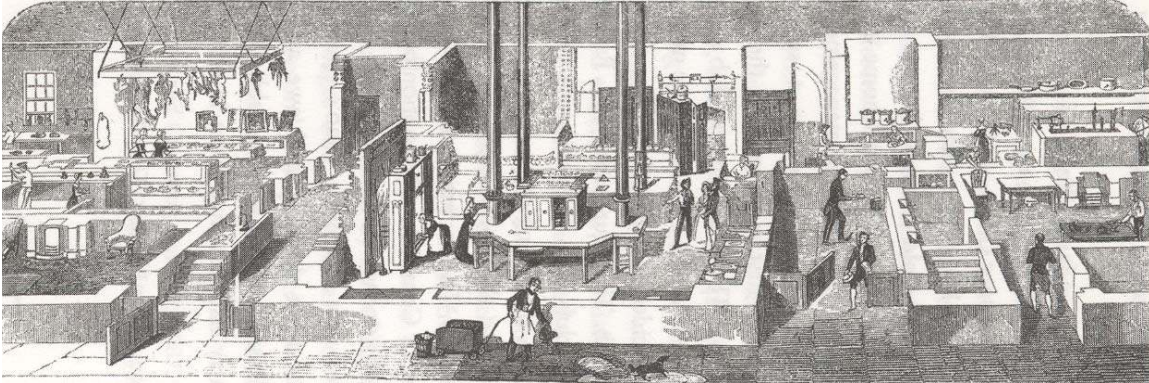
Figure 8.5: The Reform Club Kitchen
Source: (Brandon 2004)

During his life, Soyer invented numerous kitchen tools and dishes, and his sauces were so successful he sold the patents to Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell. The patents of many of his inventions were sold for much less than their worth. He died in 1858 from the prolonged effects of Crimean fever. Trubek (2000:46) suggests that Soyer's books and humanitarian deeds made him, above all the many French chefs working in London during the mid 1800s, 'the representative French chef of the time' among the English public. Soyer became one of the great characters of Victorian England, and is caricatured as the French chef Microbolant in William Makepeace Thackeray's (1848-50) *Pendennis* (Mennell 1996:151).

Gastronomic Writing
Gastronomic writing appeared in England in the first two decades of the new century but apart from the work of Thomas Walker, English gastronomes such as Kitchener, Hayward, Jerrold, Dallas, and Strauss 'were mainly French orientated', taking their standards from France and adding 'commentary on English food, cookery and eating

places' (Mennell 1996:269). Walker (1784-1836) wrote a weekly paper called *The Original* in 1835, in which he championed simplicity and anticipated later trends such as the use of carefully cooked vegetables, and the importance of getting to know your tradesmen, since that was how one obtained the best quality raw materials (Mennell 1996:278).

French chefs, working in England, such as Ude, Soyer, Suzanne, and English chefs working in the French tradition, notably Francatelli, published cookbooks. The 1894 *La Cuisine anglaise,* published by Alfred Suzanne (1829-1916) is quite unique, being a book on English cookery written by a Frenchman for a French audience. Mennell (1996:176) suggests it was aimed at French chefs working in England 'who often lost their jobs through their inability to adapt to English tastes'. Among the many excellent English dishes outlined by Suzanne are turtle soup, fried whitebait, beefsteak, lark pudding, Wiltshire bacon and York ham. The best known English cookery books of this century, Acton (1845) and Beeton (1861), were written by women exclusively for domestic kitchens.

Professional Journals for the hotel and catering industry appeared in England in the last decades of the century, and although some were short lived, they provide an insight into the industry at that time. *The Chef* (1895-6) later renamed *The Chef and Connoisseur* (1896-98) ran a series of biographical pieces on leading chefs and later hotel managers. Also included are copies of menus from meals in clubs, hotels and restaurants from all over England and further a field. An outline of the principle publications in the catering trade press is given in Mennell (1996:181).

Summary
The proliferation of restaurants in Paris after the French Revolution was not immediately matched in London or elsewhere in England. It would take the best part of a century for London restaurants to become anywhere near as popular or as numerous as their Parisian counterparts. One of the main suggested reasons for this is that clubs 'siphoned off' the strata of rich bachelors and visitors that played such a big part in building up the

restaurants in Paris. French chefs were attracted in vast numbers to booming England, and worked for the gentry in their private houses, but also in the numerous clubs and private hotels. By 1890 there were up to five thousand French chefs living and working in Britain (Trubek 2000:52). There were a number of peculiarly English dishes fashionable at this time – namely turtle soup, whitebait – so much so that Alfred Suzanne produced a book in French on English cooking for French cooks.

The growth of the railways led to the pioneering of the modern hotel industry (Taylor 1977:1). Carême was lured to England by the Prince of Wales at the beginning of the century but only remained for two years. Towards the end of the century it was a private businessman D'Oyly Carte who enticed Escoffier to come to London, where he would remain and influence for decades. The adoption of *service à la russe*, Taylorism of the kitchen, introduction of new technology, and the changing laws regarding opening hours of restaurants transformed public consumption of food in England. By the end of the century eating out in restaurants for both sexes had been popularised.

Chapter 9 – History of Food: The 20th Century

Introduction

The twentieth century has been the most dramatic to date concerning changes in regards to food as much as in other aspects of life. Rampant industrialisation, rationalisation and functionalisation are apparent in the changes that have transformed our relation with food since the nineteenth century, affecting the entire food system – from production and distribution to consumption (Fischler 1999:533). The century opened with the glamour of '*La Belle Époque'* where both sexes dined and danced in elaborately decorated hotel dining rooms and restaurants, and enjoyed the cuisine of Escoffier and his contemporaries. The rise of the automobile, and the 'holy alliance' between tourism and gastronomy, 'consecrated' by Curnonsky and his associates, led to the rediscovery of French provincial cuisine (Mennell 1996:276). The Michelin tyre company inaugurated its first guide in 1900, but it was not until the 1920 edition that the first gourmet advice appeared (Csergo 1999:510). Gastronomic writing remained as important in the twentieth century as it had been in the days of Grimod and Brillat-Savarin. The power of the guide book became particularly apparent in the twentieth century when Michelin, Kléber-Colombes and Gault & Millau dominated France, and Egon Ronay and the Good Food Guide dominated England until the entrance of Michelin in 1974 (Barlösius 2000:1213).

The female dominated, market orientated cuisine of Lyon became a force in French food culture following World War I. Fernand Point, the most influential chef working within this *Lyonnais* tradition, trained a new generation of chefs who became chef-proprietors and developed what became known as '*nouvelle cuisine'*. Chefs became more visible to the public in this century and the advent of television helped to introduce many of them to stardom (Drouard 2003:223).

A dichotomy existed within the work of certain 'super-chefs' like Bocuse and Guérard. In their restaurants they cooked exclusively for the wealthy – using the freshest ingredients and labour intensive techniques. Simultaneously, whilst working as consultants to agribusiness, they lent their names to affordable ready-meals and convenience foods for

the less well off. Drouard (2003:224) proposes this link with agribusiness was 'either through a wish to democratise *haute cuisine*, or out of a concern to improve the quality of industrial products'. Towards the end of the twentieth century, the patterns of daily life was profoundly altered by urbanisation, industrialisation, the absorption of women into the work force, raised standards of living and education; in addition with the ubiquity of the automobile and the growth of leisure activities, holidays and travel. Eating was no longer associated with domesticity (Fischler 1999:537).

Vitamins were discovered in 1906 by F. G. Hopkins, an English biochemist (Barr and Levy 1984:10). Between the First and Second World War, people became increasingly disposed to foods that could claim some special 'health' property, especially when the now fashionable 'vitamins' were invoked. Health shops began to appear in large cities from 1923 onwards, but the English public never became as nutrition-conscious as the American (Burnett 1994:261). This new knowledge of nutrition, combined with the accelerating pace of life, affected the wealthier classes taste in food. The endless repasts of Victorian days were replaced with shorter lighter meals (Burnett 1994:264). One of the principles guiding the *nouvelle cuisine* movement later on in the century was that chefs would have an understanding of dietetics, best illustrated in the work of Michel Guérard. In the late 1980s a new movement called 'molecular gastronomy' emerged, where leading chefs and scientists collaborated to explore the science of cookery. Many culinary myths were debunked by McGee (1988), whose writings influenced a new breed of chefs, constructively critical of the past and working in a quasi-scientific manner. 'Fusion cuisine', which is discussed later in this chapter, became fashionable in the 1990s, and by the end of the twentieth century the most influential chefs were Alain Ducasse in France, and Marco Pierre-White in England (Revel 2000:34; Carberry 2001:50).

Technology
Canned food had been viewed with suspicion at the beginning of the twentieth century due to poisoning scares, but soldiers' experiences during the war helped to popularise tinned food, particularly canned peas (Spencer 2004:305). The range of canned goods introduced by Heinz, Crosse & Blackwell, and others expanded enormously (Burnett

1994:261). The cooling and freezing of food had been accepted since 1880, but it was the discovery by Clarence Birdseye in 1929 of a method of 'quick freezing', which he successfully applied to all sorts of food at a commercial level, that led to its widespread application. His methods were adapted by Unilever which by 1943 had majority control of the Birdseye company (den Hartog 2003:272). The use of frozen food was linked to the availability of refrigerators and freezers. The introduction of small size microwave ovens in the 1960s was also a factor. Despite the introduction of the first domestic refrigerator by Kelvinator in 1925 America, research in France showed that in 1989 less than 20% of households had either a freezer or a microwave oven. This had risen to just over 50% by 1995 (Fischler 1999:536; den Hartog 2003:273). In Britain, by 1948, only 2% of the public had a refrigerator, by 1939 three quarters of all families had a gas cooker, but by 1980 over half the population were cooking using an electric cooker (Spencer 2004:312). For many of the poorer classes in society, their first cookbook would have come with their cooker from the gas or electricity company, as illustrated in Figures 9.0a and 9.0b.
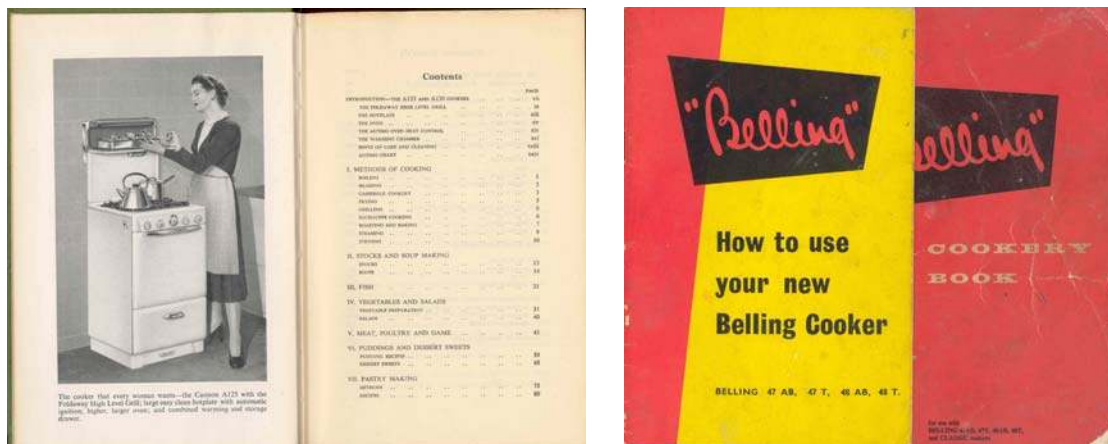
Figure 9.0a: The Cannon Cookery Book   Figure 9.0b: Belling Cookery Book

The use of processed foods – first, canned foods and then frozen and powdered products – have been increasing in both commercial and industrial restaurants from 1970 onwards. Readymade sauces and sauce bases were introduced in the 1980s and more recently the use of vacuum-packed foods or '*sous-vide*' food has led to cooks increasingly becoming what Fischler (1999:542) describes as 'a food distributor rather than a service supplier'.

In the 1970s, using frozen food in restaurants or at home was seen as 'utterly fraudulent' but over time and with improved technology the French have come to see it as a superlative method of delivering fresh food to the table (Fischler 1999:536-7).

Many of the first and second generations of '*nouvelle cuisine*' chefs acted as consultants to agribusiness. Drouard (2003:224) identifies Michel Guérard as the pioneer in this phenomenon when in 1976 he collaborated with the Findus (Nestlé) group. Paul Bocuse endorsed products are sold by William Saurin, and ready-meals by Alain Senderens are available in the supermarket Carrefour and those by Joël Robuchon in Fleury Michon. Gillespie (1994:23) draws the analogy between these leading chefs and fashion designers. Their *haute cuisine* like *haute couture* is found in their flagship restaurants, whereas their links with agribusiness or their less expensive restaurants and bistros produce the culinary equivalent of *prêt a porter*. Alain Ducasse, the first man to win six Michelin stars – three in Paris and three in Monte Carlo – has diversified so much in the global world of business, merchandising and franchising, that Chelminski (2005:188) describes him as the Ray Kroc of *haute cuisine,* at the expensive upper end of eating, the 'McDonalds of gastronomy'. Ducasse can trace both a direct and indirect lineage to Fernand Point and also to the legendary *Tour d'Argent*, as he trained with Guérard, Lenôtre, Vergé, and most notably Chapel, enabling him to discover his own style (Revel 2000:14).

Industrialisation and Fast Food
The industrialisation of food processing and large scale modern food distribution system in Europe originated in the 1960s compared with much earlier origins in America. In Europe various types of self service style restaurants appeared in the 1950s, and the Wimpy hamburger chain led the introduction of the 'chain restaurant' from the United States to the Continent via England. Self-service restaurants eliminated the role of waiters and became popular in department stores like Woolworths. Chain restaurants provided a formula where semi-skilled workers provided consistency of product to the public. Each restaurant in the chain had the same menu and much of the food was produced in a central industrial kitchen, requiring limited re-heating or finishing in the restaurant. Fast food – mainly in the guise of McDonald's, Burger King, Kentucky Fried Chicken or

Pizza Hut – did not become a significant force in Europe until the late 1970s and early 1980s (Fischler 1999:538). The proposed opening of a McDonald's on the *Piazza di Spagna* in Rome attracted large demonstrations which led to the founding of the 'Slow Food' movement in 1986 by Carlo Petrini, aimed at defending local culinary traditions and foodstuffs (Honoré 2005:52). Slow Food, as the name suggests was aimed at countering the fast food culture, and the homogenisation of food around the world (Petrini 2003).

Globalisation

The sixteenth century chef Bartolomeo Stefani wrote that a nobleman need not worry about seasonal food or regional food, because with 'a substantial purse' and a 'good charger' he could eat whatever he wanted all year round (Flandrin and Montanari 1999:552). The growth of aviation in the latter half of the twentieth century facilitated the supply of perishable foods from all over the world. Transport across the hemispheres has made seasonal food available all year round. Fischler (1999:543) argues that the globalisation of agriculture, food processing, and distribution has produced extensive culinary syncretism, similar to the cultural syncretism described by Morin (1975:85) which 'transforms natural raw materials into homogenized culture products suitable for mass consumption'. Global agribusiness, writes Fischler, borrows from the traditional cuisines it helps to destroy in order to expand the world wide market for its' standardised, homogenised product offerings. Swiss muesli, for example, is now a popular breakfast item in England and France, and Nestlé were reportedly surprised by the brisk sales of their frozen moussaka in France (Fischler 1999).

Flandrin and Montanari (1999:548-51) point out that despite globalisation, diversity still exist. The Swiss chocolate eaten in France differs from the same brand Swiss chocolate eaten in Switzerland. McDonald's is a cheap place to eat in America and Europe, but in Moscow or Beijing it is considered a deluxe restaurant. The authors in Watson (1997) suggest that McDonald's is transformed from fast food to slow food in Asia. Ireland is still the largest per capita consumer of potatoes, and buckwheat still plays an important

role in Brittany and Poland. Local traditions, it seems, still exert a powerful influence (Flandrin and Montanari 1999:551).

Gastronomic Writing and other Media

Mennell (2003:253) citing the work of Habermas (1989:164) discusses the apparent decline in the '*bourgeois*' public sphere through its widening to include many more competing interest groups. Gentlemen's clubs and societies declined as forums for discussion as society moved from a 'culture debating to a culture consuming public' (Habermas 1989:159). Clubs were more a British than a French tradition, but Csergo (1999:507-8) discusses the regional gastronomic societies that emerged in Paris in the latter part of the nineteenth century, founded by members of the provincial elite, but later included the regional *bourgeoisie*. These clubs celebrated and helped preserve the regional culinary specialities of, among others, Lyon, Alsace, Anjou, Bourguignon, and Limousin – and might be seen as the forerunners of Curnonsky's 'gastro-nomads'. The *Académie des Gastronomes* founded in 1928 by Curnonsky, and the Wine and Food Society founded in London in 1933 by André L. Simon were among a number of new organisations in the twentieth century which acted as counter-currents to the decline of clubs and associations depicted by Habermas (Mennell 2003:254).

A paper given at one of the early meetings – mid 1934 – of the Wine and Food Society on 'The Present State of Gastronomy in England' described the chief characteristic of food in English hotels and restaurants as 'pretentious dullness', and blamed it on the indifference and apathy of English diners and the indifference and laziness of English cooks (Mennell 1996:279; Mennell 2003:254). Raymond Postgate's founding of the Good Food Club in 1950 encouraged its members to complain and demand higher standards of food. Postgate had the demotic touch, compared with Simon who was perceived as the symbol of gourmandise in his adopted country through his presidency of the Wine and Food Society (Driver 1983:53). Simon's society was more international in scope and carried reports in its newsletter of gastronomic events from around the world, including events in Ireland. The Wine and Food Society's Irish branch and activities will be discussed in Volume Two of this dissertation.

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Both the radio and the newspapers were used quite effectively in England to educate the public during World War II on how to 'substitute potatoes for meat, turn surplus bread into rusks, use peapods for soup, make dried eggs behave like shell ones, and above all how to cook or make salads out of green vegetables' (Driver 1983:22). Television, which began in the late 1930s, proved to be the most powerful medium, as it familiarised the viewer – visually as well as aurally – with new foods, cooking methods and the personalities that presented the programmes. In England, Michel Boulestin, Philip Harben, Fanny Craddock, Robert Carrier, Delia Smith, Raymond Blanc and Marco Pierre White, among others, all became household names thanks to the power of television. In France, beginning with Raymond Olivier, there were numerous chefs who achieved stardom though the media, the most famous arguably being Bernard Loiseau, who tragically committed suicide in 2003, fearing the removal of his third Michelin star (Chelminski 2005:2).

The Rise of World Food

There was a growth of ethnic restaurants in England following World War Two. In the 1951 *Good Food Guide* there were nine Oriental restaurants listed in London and four outside. By 1989 the number of Chinese restaurants was over 5,000 (Burnett 1994:312). The growth of modest Chinese, Indian, Cypriot and other restaurants in the 1950s and 1960s brought a knowledge and appreciation of new foods to less wealthy groups who in the past had rarely eaten a meal outside the home. By the mid 1970s even the remotest English towns boasted a Chinese restaurant or at least a take-away (Mason 2004:163). Mason (2004:163) citing a *2002 Restaurant Association report* suggests that Chinese is more popular than Italian or Indian food when eating out. Research carried out in 1995 by Warde and Martens (2000:76) show Indian food slightly more popular but less than four percentage points between it and both Chinese / Thai or Italian cuisine. Fast food / burger bar, pizza houses, café / teashop, and pubs were the most popular eating out venues.

Spencer (2004:327) points out that Britain's embracing of cuisines from around the world was in fact an embracing of flavours which had once been part of British tradition and, not as many observers have alluded, based on the paucity of British cuisine. This

argument is based on the similarity of medieval Anglo-Norman cuisine to modern Indian cuisine, and the similarities of the sweet-sour flavours favoured in Cantonese cuisine and that of the Middle Ages.

Fusion Cuisine

There has been a fusion of cuisine since the development of the earliest civilisations, but in the 1980s and 1990s the term 'fusion', often labelled 'con-fusion' gained acceptance to describe the fusion of two or more cuisines (Senepaty 2000; Crowley 2003:184). An early forerunner of this may be 'Tex-Mex', or the 'French-Japanese' fusion of some of the *nouvelle cuisine* practitioners. The fusing of Californian and Italian became 'Cal-Ital' – influenced by Alice Waters who opened Chez Panisse in 1971 and Café Chez Panisse in 1980 – who along with Larry Forgione in New York was responsible for founding *nouvelle* American cuisine in late 1970s and early 1980s (Parkhurst Ferguson and Zukin 1998:94). The fusion of Australian with Asian cuisine became known as 'Pacific-Rim' cuisine popularised in England by Peter Gordon (Barr and Levy 1984:143; Waters 1999). Senepaty (2000) points out that no cuisine today can be classified or understood by looking at the boarders of a modern map. Modern French, Italian, Spanish and Irish cuisine would be dramatically different if explorers had not liked the strange food they brought back from their voyages of discovery. Increasing air travel to exotic parts of the world, as Senepaty argues, results in more people experiencing the 'global store cupboard' and they enjoy savouring these flavours again on their return home. Mennell (1996:345) recalls observing how many Australian food writers in the early 1990s regarded it 'politically incorrect' to serve traditional European dishes without adding some Asian influence. A venomous restaurant review of Peter Gordon's 'Pacific-Rim' cooking at The Sugar Club by Jonathan Meades led Mullan (1998:10) to interview eighteen English based chefs about the influence of critics.

Molecular Gastronomy

Roudot (2004:45) defines molecular gastronomy as a field that 'attempts to link chemistry to culinary science, to explain transformations that occur during cooking, and

to improve culinary methods through a better understanding of the underlying chemical composition of food'. The term 'molecular gastronomy' was coined by British physicist Nicholas Kurti and French food scientist Hervé This in the late 1980s, who felt that empirical knowledge and tradition were as important in cooking as rational understanding (Ankeny 2006:44). In 1990 they co-founded the 'International Molecular and Physical Gastronomy workshop' held annually at Erica, Sicily. These workshops attracted leading scientists and experimental chefs from around the world, most notably, Pierre Gagnaire in France, Ferran Adria in Spain and Heston Blumenthal in England (Bravo-Maza 2005:35). Many of these chefs were influenced by Harold McGee's *On Food and Cooking: the Science and Lore of the Kitchen* first published in 1984, but significantly revised for its 2004 reissue. Some of the traits of the molecular gastronomy movement include smaller servings but more courses – to avoid tiring the palate, cooking meats for long periods at low temperatures to achieve maximum tenderness and flavour, and the use of gels and foams to enhance flavour sensation. Another trait is the combining of unlikely ingredients like chocolate and blue cheese. Adria only opens his restaurant 'El Bulli' for six months of the year, spending the remaining time researching the next year's menu in his laboratory in Barcelona.

France (20th Century)

'Paris is the culinary centre of the world. All the great missionaries of good cookery have gone forth from it, and its cuisine was, is, and ever will be the supreme expression of one of the greatest arts in the world. Most of the good cooks come from the south of France, most of the good food comes from the north. They meet at Paris, and thus the Paris cuisine, which is that of the nation and that of the civilised world, is created' (Newnham-Davis and Bastard 1903:1).

Introduction

Paris, around 1900, boasted 1,500 restaurants, 2,900 hotels, 2,000 cafés and brasseries and 12,000 wine merchants – three quarter of which served food (Drouard 2003:216). A snapshot of French *haute cuisine* at the beginning of the twentieth century is available from the 1903 menu from a banquet given for King Edward VII by President Loubet of France in the Élysée Palace, Paris, illustrated in Figure 9.1. Apart from the soups, which are very English, the rest of the menu is pure French *haute cuisine*, including suckling lamb from Poulliac, hazel grouse, Rouen duckling, Argenteuil asparagus and *foie gras* served with brandy and truffles (Lane 2004:43). This meal, as part of a state visit, helped to create the atmosphere for the *Entente Cordiale*, signed in 1904 marking the end of centuries of Anglo-French rivalry and Britain's 'splendid isolation' from Continental affairs (Lane 2004:42). Paris was still 'the culinary capital of the world' with great restaurants like *Maxim's*, *Le Tour d'Argent*, *Lapérouse*, *Foyot*, *Lucas Carton*, *Grande Véfour*, and the *Café de Paris*. The First World War put an end to '*La Belle Époque*'. Ackerman (1988:120) argues that displays of wealth became offensive in England following the war, but that in France, differences between rich and poor were simply accepted. The turn of the century saw the rise of the motorcar, which combined with the writings of Maurice Edmund Sailland (1872-1956) – better known as Curnonsky – helped popularise the regional cooking of France. Curnonsky coined the term 'gastro-nomads' for the growing number of gastronomic tourists who began to discover the flavours of regional France by car following the First World War (Blake and Crewe 1978:30; Mennell 1996:276). By 1935, the Michelin Guide revealed what a powerhouse of restaurants Lyon had become. Nineteen restaurants in Lyon shared thirty one stars (Smith 1990:50).
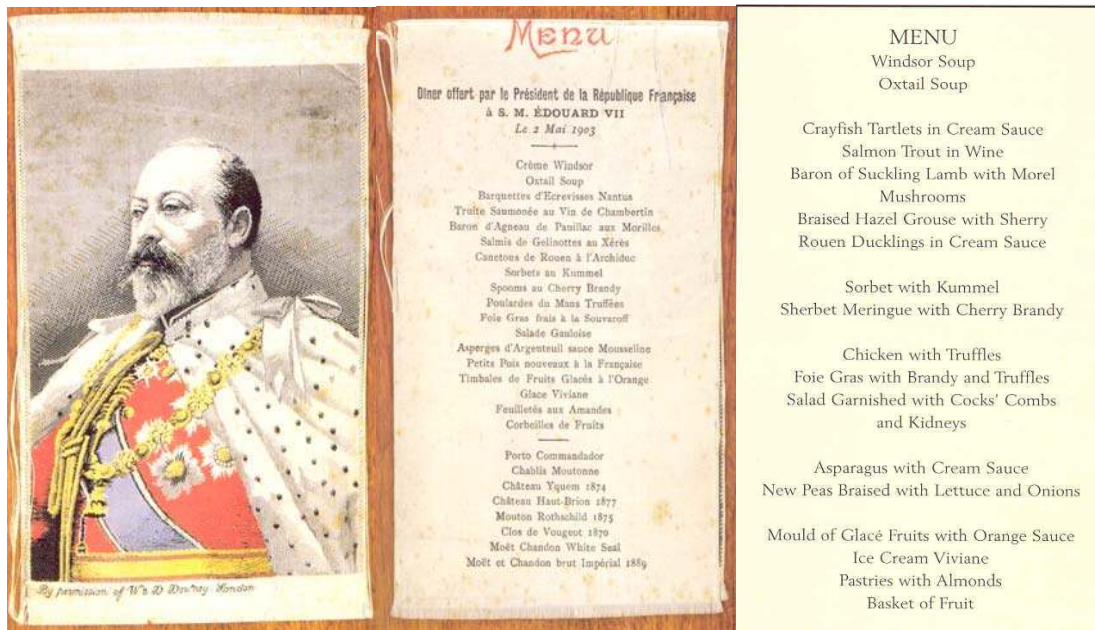
**Figure 9.1: Menu of the 1903 Banquet given for King Edward VII
by President Loubet of France at the Élysée Palace – along with translation
Source: (Lane 2004:42-43)**

It is suggested that cooking stagnated and became dull following the war as many chefs tended to substitute the writ of Escoffier for their own imaginations. Taylor (1977:88-89) suggests that after Escoffier there was little need to be inventive, since mastering even a portion of his *Guide Culinaire* would make one an excellent chef. Taylor, however, qualifies his comments by noting that many of the hotels and restaurants that tried to emulate Escoffier did not have the facilities or the expertise of the Carlton in its culinary heyday. In Escoffier's time food was a loss leader, the profit was made on wine and bedrooms (Taylor 1977:89). Blake and Crewe (1978:31) offer Édouard Nignon as one of the few post-war chefs not conforming to Escoffier's orthodoxy. Nignon (1865-35) agreed with Escoffier that culinary art required strict observance with certain well established principles, but emphasised that respect for these principles should never hamstring chefs. Csergo (1999:507) writes that Nignon deplored an age that no longer had any use for the 'meditation and patience' that went into cooking in the past centuries. Three chefs working in the spirit of Nignon between the wars were André Pic of Valence, Alexandre Dumaine of Saulieu, and Fernand Point of *La Pyramide* in Vienne (Blake and

Crewe 1978:31). Other renowned cooks who set up their own restaurants include Bise at Tallories, and Eugénie Brazier, Marie Bourgeois, *La Mère Guy* and *La Mère Filloux* in Lyon, known collectively as the *mère lyonaise* – the mothers of Lyon (Drouard 2003:221).

Fernand Point – The Father of Nouvelle Cuisine

Fernand Point, born in 1897 into a family that ran the hotel-buffet at Louhans station, started his training aged eighteen in the Hotel Bristol in Paris. Further experience was gained in the Hotel Majestic in Paris, *Hotel Imperial* in Menton, and the *Hotel Royal* in Evian-les-Bains prior to returning home in 1922, to run the kitchen of the restaurant '*La Pyramide*' his father had just purchased in Vienne (Blake and Crewe 1978:32). His father died in 1925 and Point's marriage in 1930 was a catalyst for change. His wife convinced him to rebuild the restaurant, and brought him to Paris to eat at *Maxim's*. With the newly built restaurant, his cooking became more individualistic, and within three years he had won three Michelin stars – meaning that his food merited making a special journey (Chelminski 2005:65). The Michelin Guide first began to rank French restaurants using its one, two and three stars in 1933, and due to the disruption during, and rationing after World War II, it waited until 1951 to crown its first batch of post-war three-star restaurants. The seven restaurants awarded three-stars were, the *Café de Paris*, *Lapérouse* and the *Tour d'Argent* in Paris; *Le Père Bise* in Talloires; *La Mère Brazier* in Lyon; *La Côte d'Or* in Saulieu; and *La Pyramide* in Vienne (Chelminski 2005:6, 82-3). Curnonsky called *La Pyramide* the summit of culinary art, naming it among the great restaurants of the world (Blake and Crewe 1978:38). *La Pyramide* became as well known for its friendliness as for the quality of its food, an informality which appealed to actors and writers particularly.

Point made his greatest contribution to cuisine in the ten years following the war by training a generation of young chefs. He believed in sharing knowledge, rejecting the tradition of secrecy among cooks. Point typified to the gastronomic world the ideal of the chef and of the high class French restaurant. He had few interests other than his cuisine, and was regarded by his peers as a genius and brilliant teacher (Gillespie 1994:21).

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Through his teaching, his philosophy came to dominate post-war cooking. He died in 1955, but the restaurant uncharacteristically held on to the three stars under the capable guidance of Madame Point until her death in 1984.

Post World War Two

After World War Two, more chefs, such as Raymond Olivier, Andre Guillot and Charles Barrier, began to open their own restaurants and in 1949 the *Association des Maîtres cuisiniers de France* was established, wishing to associate all chef proprietors (Blake and Crewe 1978:48; Drouard 2003:222). Pitte (1999:479) argues that French cuisine changed after World War II in response to both the demise of the grand hotels and the rise of automotive tourism. Pitte suggests that wealthy Parisians' habit of breaking their journey from Paris to the Cote d'Azur by sampling the gastronomic delights of the regions through which they were travelling explains the success of Point, Dumaine, Thullier and their contemporaries. Barrier cited in Blake and Crewe (1978:46) proposes that among chefs there have only been two geniuses – Carême and Escoffier. He suggests Nignon was a poet rather than a chef and Point was a purveyor of happiness.

Despite Barrier's assertions, Point is widely considered the most influential chef of this period because many past students of *La Pyramide* – the Troisgros brothers (Jean and Pierre), Paul Bocuse, Louis Outhier, François Bise, and Alain Chapel – were among the leaders of what became known as the *nouvelle cuisine* movement. Others, like Loiseau, Giradet, Ladenis worked with or were inspired by the next generations (Smith 1990:43). This '*nouvelle cuisine*' movement was rooted in the '*cuisine de marché*' – composing the menu from that morning's market availability – of Point and his likeminded associates in the 1930s, which originated as a rebellion against the Escoffier orthodoxy, particularly as stultified in international hotel cuisine (Blake and Crewe 1978:40; Mennell 1996:164). Smith (1990:55) points out that the classical hotel chef had the buying done for them and viewed produce as something to be dominated, not something that guided you how to cook, 'that was something women did, in the domestic sphere'. Smith (1990:45) suggests that the cuisine of Lyon, dominated by women, was born out of the market, and centred 'not on the luxuries of the classical kitchen, but on the inexpensive trimmings from the

butcher's table'. A second characteristic of the new movement in cooking was smaller menus. Guillot recalls making his food lighter and reducing the menus to a small original starter, only one large dish, followed by light dessert as early as 1947 (Drouard 2003:224). Bocuse cited in Smith (1990:54) states:

> 'My definition of *nouvelle cuisine* comes from Fernand Point. He was the first to give the table a new look. He was the detonator. He gave cooking and the dining-room the atmosphere of the festival. It was a time after the war, when everyone was hungry for rich and filling foods. No one knew of calories. Butter, cream, wine were our credo, used without restraint'.

Gillespie (1994) defines the term 'gastrosophy'- from the Greek *sophos* meaning wise – as a specialism for professional expertise in gastronomy and hospitality. He identifies Point as the father of contemporary gastrosophy and presents a historiographical route of descent from acknowledged leaders of *ancienne cuisine* to contemporary cuisine, illustrated below in Figure 9.2. The indirect beneficiaries of his gastrosophy, are included based on their acceptance of Point's work practices, or those of his protégés.
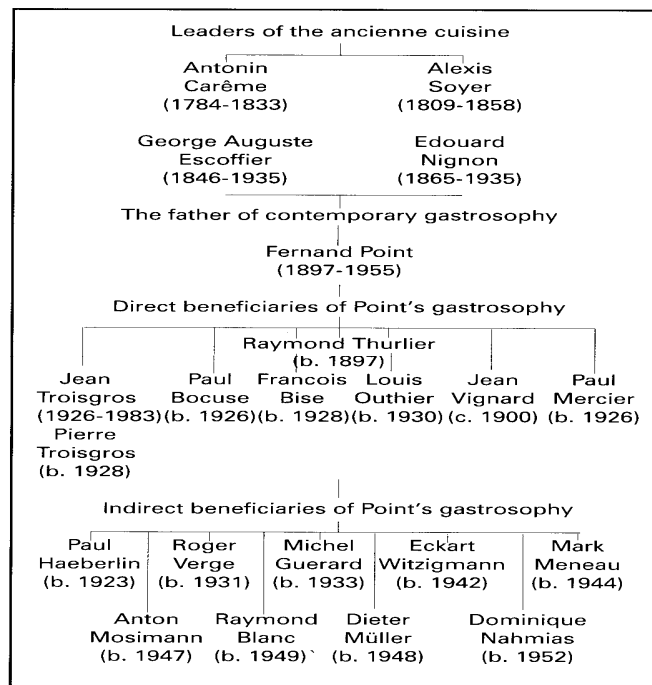
Figure 9.2: Genealogy from *Ancienne Cuisine* to Contemporary Cuisine
Source: (Gillespie 1994)

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Gault (1996:123-7) describes how it was his manifesto published in October 1973 in the *Gault-Millau* magazine that unleashed the movement called '*La Nouvelle Cuisine Française*'. A synopsis of Gault's 'ten commandments' of *nouvelle cuisine* includes:

1. Reduced cooking time for most fish, all shellfish, poultry with brown meat and game, for roasts, veal, some green vegetables and pasta.

2. Utilise '*cuisine de marché*' – buying the freshest ingredients available at the market everyday, and rejecting foods that had been polluted by food technology and overproduction.

3. Reduce the amount of choice on the menu. Elimination of old habits of large menus which necessitated huge stocks of food in cold storage.

4. Use of refrigeration with discrimination.

5. Embracing advanced technology in controlling temperature of stoves, air conditioning, ice cream machines, mixers, and careful use of freezers.

6. Serve game hung but fresh, not 'high' or highly spiced with marinades.

7. Rejection of roux based sauces in favour of fumets, cream, butter, pure jus, eggs, truffles, fresh herbs, lemons, fine peppers – 'sauces that blend, that exalt and sing and leave the spirit clear and the stomach light'.

8. Knowledge of dietetics – discovering the pleasure of a well made salad, simply cooked fresh vegetables, or rare meat. Guérard's *La Grande Cuisine Minceur* (1976) was extremely influential and was translated to English.

9. The aesthetics of simplicity – avoiding the danger of deceitful presentations as popularised by Carême.

10. Invent new dishes, combinations of flavours; reintroduce forgotten dishes adjusting them to make them popular. The Troisgros brothers' combination of salmon with sorrel soon became an international classic.

Mennell (1996:164) points out that Gault and Millau forgot to include one characteristic common to most of the '*nouveaux cuisiniers*', that they were mostly chef-proprietors of their own restaurants, in the tradition of Beauvilliers, Very, and Legacque. The first band of enterprising new cooks, who owned their own businesses and were freer in their work than their predecessors, included Bocuse, Troisgros, Barrier, Chapel, Haberlin and Vergé

in the provinces and Denis, Delaveyne, Manière, Peyrot and Minchelli in Paris. They were soon followed by a new group that included Loiseau, Senderens, Guérard, Robuchon, Savoy (Paris), Outhier (La Napoule), Boyer (Reims), the Swiss Giradet and the Belgian Wynants (Gault 1996:123). Many of the chef-proprietors named the restaurant after themselves, thus, *L'auberge de Collonges au Mont d'Or* simply became *Paul Bocuse*, *Chez la Mère Blanc* in Vonnas was transformed into a 'luxurious caravansary' now called *Georges Blanc* (Chelminski 2005:239). *Nouvelle cuisine,* according to Gillespie (1994:21) became the modern form of *haute cuisine*. He argues that unlike Escoffier′s classical French cuisine, systemization of *nouvelle cuisine* went against everything it stood for, namely innovation and experimentation. The lack of a codified repertoire for the new cuisine led, in the view of some, to its dilution.

Gault (1996:126-7) reflecting on his 1973 manifesto highlights three errors. Firstly he regretted using the form of the 'ten commandments', without including the eleventh commandment of friendship. Secondly, he regrets not highlighting the need to preserve the achievements of the past and of keep traditional country cooking alive. Finally, he regrets how his manifesto was hijacked by 'mountebanks, antiquarians, society women, fantasists and tricksters who did not give the developing movement a good reputation'. Gault (1996:127) suggests that in 1973, French gastronomy recovered its prestige, its pre-eminence (and its tyranny). He asserts that most modern chefs – in France and elsewhere – still work in accordance with the essentials of his 'ten commandments'.

The superiority of the kitchen *vis-à-vis* the dining room (and its staff) was affirmed with the introduction of plate service, where the dish was arranged on the plate in the kitchen. This was a change from the traditional silver service, and reduced waiters from practitioners of the 'table arts' to that of 'plate carriers' (Drouard 2003:223). Chefs not only appeared in the open in their restaurants – uncommon in the nineteenth century, but the 1953 appearance of Raymond Olivier on television was the beginning of the process of stardom for some chefs which peaked with the *nouvelle cuisine* of the 1970s. The social status of chefs and cooks was rising, and the new social target was to become a cook executive or 'executive chef'. Drouard (2003:222-4) observes that partly because of

the stardom of some, the gap between cooks in restaurants and those working in *bourgeois* houses increased, the latter feeling forgotten. Bocuse cited in Smith (1990:55) describes the transformation in chefs thus:

> 'Previously, famous chefs had always been employed in the big houses where the patron was a banker, or a businessman, or a hotelier. These chefs headed brigades, often impressively large brigades, but they lived their lives in the basement, rarely seeing the sun. This is where the real revolution took place. Chefs took it on themselves to run their profession by opening their own restaurants. A new politic arose. The chef did his own shopping, became responsible for the well-being of his own business, but above all he came into direct contact with his customers'.

Japanese Influence

Japan was not immune to the spread of French cuisine and Hosking (1996:149) tells the story of Manyoken, Japan's first French restaurant which opened in 1910 in Kyoto. Japanese cuisine, in turn, influenced the development of French cooking. Several of the leading French chefs saw Japanese cooking first-hand at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, and it is widely believed that this experience influenced the *nouvelle cuisine* movement in emphasising the visual presentation of food 'sometimes to the cost of sustenance' (Mennell 1996:345). M.F.K. Fisher cited in Driver (1983:87) wrote:

> 'The long-time association between the refinements of French and Chinese cooking seems to have shifted to one that is more applicable to our current life-style, so that we now think easily in terms of French and Japanese similarities. We want to make less seem like more . . . In a Japanese rather than a Chinese way we shun many starches, fats and sugar'.

Anton Mossiman received his Japanese inspiration in 1970 when he was given the job of head chef at the Swiss Pavilion for 'Expo 70' in Osaka, wining the gold medal at the fair and also meeting his future wife on the plane (Crewe 1983:5). The influence of Japan on the aesthetics of Mosimann's dishes is illustrated in Figures 9.3 and 9.4.

Hotel Restaurants

Certain French hotels, mainly in Paris, have been renowned for their cuisine and have a strong pedigree as both temples of gastronomy and their kitchens famed as 'nurseries' for future culinary talent. Lucas-Carton, Hotel Bristol, The Ritz and The Crillon have all been training grounds for such chefs as Point, Bocuse, Troisgros, Guérard, and Senderens

(Barr and Levy 1984:60-61). The quality of much hotel food stagnated following the war years, and even the top hotels lost fashion to the individually owned restaurants of the *nouvelle cuisine* chefs of the 1970s.
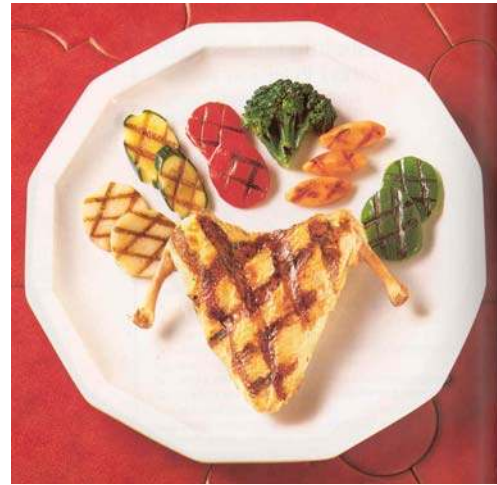
Figures 9.3 and 9.4: Japanese Influence reflected in Mosimann's Dishes
Source: (Mosimann 1983:180, 228)

Towards the end of the century, however, some luxury hotels reclaimed their reputation for *haute cuisine* by housing the restaurants of leading chefs such as Ducasse, Robuchon, Gagnaire and Senderens. In 2000 the Michelin Guide awarded 22 three-star awards in its French guide, seven of which were in Paris. A number of these three-star establishments are housed in hotels (Michelin-Guide 2000:1064). The list of Paris restaurants awarded stars in 2000 is shown below in Figure 9.5, and includes restaurants like *Lucas Carton*, *Grand Vefour*, *Tour d'Argent*, *Hotel Bristol*, and *Beauvilliers* that featured at the turn of the twentieth century and have held their place as temples of gastronomy at the turn of the twenty-first century. Lyon shares thirteen stars among nine of its restaurants, with *Paul Bocuse* as the only three-star (Michelin-Guide 2000:818-824). Restaurants worth noting in Figure 9.5 because of their links with *haute cuisine* in Dublin are *Ledoyen*, *La Marée,* and *Pré Catelan* where both Patrick Guilbaud, who opened *Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud*, Dublin in 1981, and his chef Guillaume Lebrun trained. Michael Clifford who became *chef de cuisine* in Whites on the Green, Dublin in 1985, had worked in *Michel Rostang,* also listed in Fig.9.5.

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Restaurants de Paris et de la banlieue

Les bonnes tables... à étoiles

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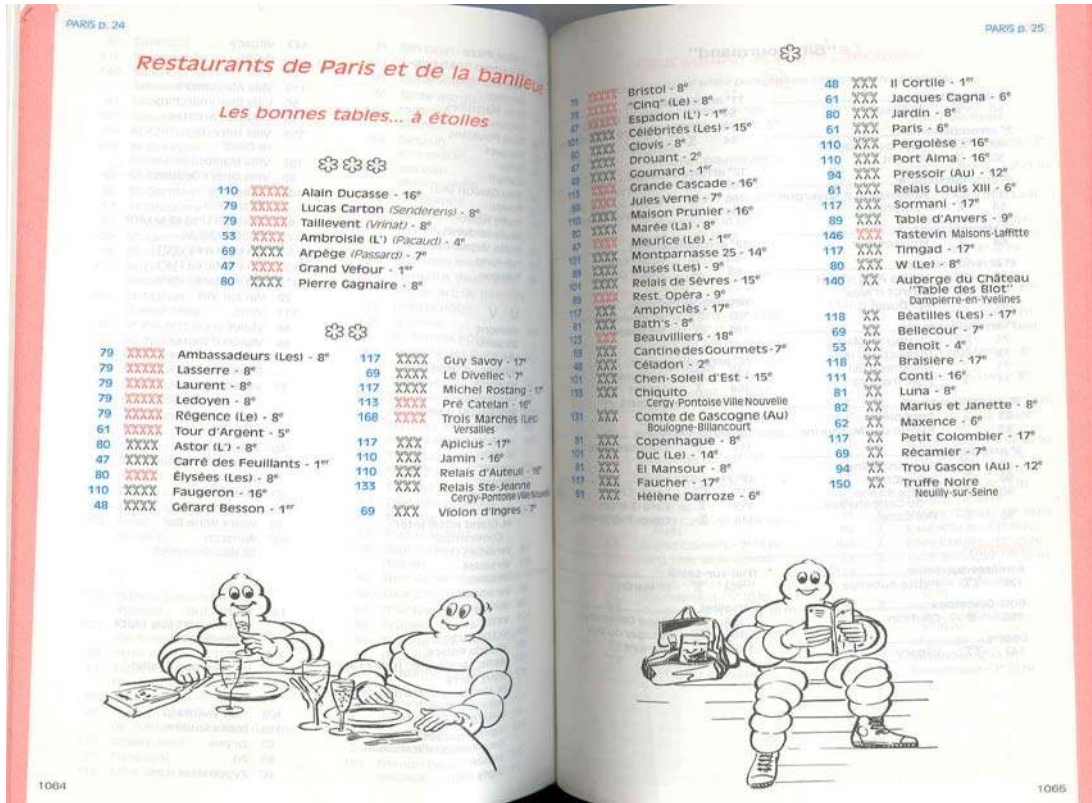|		
110	XXXXX	Alain Ducasse · 16ᵉ
79	XXXXX	Lucas Carton (Senderens) · 8ᵉ
79	XXXXX	Taillevent (Vrinat) · 8ᵉ
53	XXXX	Ambroisie (L') (Pacaud) · 4ᵉ
69	XXXX	Arpège (Passard) · 7ᵉ
47	XXXX	Grand Vefour · 1ᵉʳ
80	XXXX	Pierre Gagnaire · 8ᵉ

❀ ❀

79	XXXXX	Ambassadeurs (Les) · 8ᵉ	117	XXXX	Guy Savoy · 17ᵉ
79	XXXXX	Lasserre · 8ᵉ	69	XXXX	Le Divellec · 7ᵉ
79	XXXXX	Laurent · 8ᵉ	117	XXXX	Michel Rostang · 1ᵉʳ
79	XXXXX	Ledoyen · 8ᵉ	113	XXXX	Pré Catelan · 16ᵉ
79	XXXXX	Régence (Le) · 8ᵉ	168	XXXX	Trois Marches (Les) Versailles
61	XXXXX	Tour d'Argent · 5ᵉ			
80	XXXX	Astor (L') · 8ᵉ	117	XXX	Apicius · 17ᵉ
47	XXXX	Carré des Feuillants · 1ᵉʳ	110	XXX	Jamin · 16ᵉ
80	XXXX	Élysées (Les) · 8ᵉ	110	XXX	Relais d'Auteuil · 16ᵉ
110	XXXX	Faugeron · 16ᵉ	133	XXX	Relais Ste-Jeanne Cergy-Pontoise Ville Nouvelle
48	XXXX	Gérard Besson · 1ᵉʳ	69	XXX	Violon d'Ingres · 7ᵉ

❀

79	XXXX	Bristol · 8ᵉ	48	XXX	Il Cortile · 1ᵉʳ
79	XXXX	"Cinq" (Le) · 8ᵉ	61	XXX	Jacques Cagna · 6ᵉ
79	XXXX	Espadon (L') · 1ᵉʳ	80	XXX	Jardin · 8ᵉ
47	XXXX	Célébrités (Les) · 15ᵉ	61	XXX	Paris · 6ᵉ
101	XXXX	Clovis · 8ᵉ	110	XXX	Pergolèse · 16ᵉ
47	XXXX	Drouant · 2ᵉ	110	XXX	Port Alma · 16ᵉ
94	XXXX	Goumard · 1ᵉʳ	94	XXX	Pressoir (Au) · 12ᵉ
113	XXXX	Grande Cascade · 16ᵉ	61	XXX	Relais Louis XIII · 6ᵉ
79	XXXX	Jules Verne · 7ᵉ	117	XXX	Sormani · 17ᵉ
110	XXXX	Maison Prunier · 16ᵉ	89	XXX	Table d'Anvers · 9ᵉ
80	XXXX	Marée (La) · 8ᵉ	146	XXX	Tastevin Maisons-Laffitte
47	XXXX	Meurice (Le) · 1ᵉʳ	117	XXX	Timgad · 17ᵉ
101	XXXX	Montparnasse 25 · 14ᵉ	80	XXX	W (Le) · 8ᵉ
89	XXXX	Muses (Les) · 9ᵉ	140	XX	Auberge du Château "Table des Blot" Dampierre-en-Yvelines
101	XXXX	Relais de Sèvres · 15ᵉ			
89	XXXX	Rest. Opéra · 9ᵉ	118	XX	Béatilles (Les) · 17ᵉ
117	XXXX	Amphyclès · 17ᵉ	69	XX	Bellecour · 7ᵉ
81	XXXX	Bath's · 8ᵉ	53	XX	Benoît · 4ᵉ
123	XXXX	Beauvilliers · 18ᵉ	118	XX	Braisière · 17ᵉ
69	XXXX	Cantine des Gourmets · 7ᵉ	111	XX	Conti · 16ᵉ
48	XXXX	Céladon · 2ᵉ	81	XX	Luna · 8ᵉ
101	XXXX	Chen-Soleil d'Est · 15ᵉ	82	XX	Marius et Janette · 8ᵉ
133	XXXX	Chiquito Cergy-Pontoise Ville Nouvelle	62	XX	Maxence · 6ᵉ
131	XXX	Comte de Gascogne (Au) Boulogne-Billancourt	117	XX	Petit Colombier · 17ᵉ
81	XXX	Copenhague · 8ᵉ	69	XX	Récamier · 7ᵉ
101	XXX	Duc (Le) · 14ᵉ	94	XX	Trou Gascon (Au) · 12ᵉ
81	XXX	El Mansour · 8ᵉ	150	XX	Truffe Noire Neuilly-sur-Seine
117	XXX	Faucher · 17ᵉ			
91	XXX	Hélène Darroze · 6ᵉ			

Figure 9.5: List of Michelin-starred Restaurants in Paris 2000
Source: (Michelin-Guide 2000:1064-5)

England (20th Century)

Introduction

In England the '*Belle Époque'* blended into the Edwardian era – the Prince of Wales being crowned King in 1902 – but its whole way of life ended with the Great War (Ackerman 1988:120). Edward VII had turned to the social life of Paris as relief from the stuffiness of his mother's Court, during his long minority as Prince of Wales (Montgomery-Massingberd and Watkin 1989:31). The Prince had patronised the Hotel Bristol for forty years until transferring his allegiance on the opening of the Paris *Hôtel Ritz*. His patronage of César Ritz's many hotels made them fashionable and acceptable even to the stuffiest of society ladies, who believed 'an hotel was by definition vulgar' (Montgomery-Massingberd and Watkin 1989:24, 69). Pitte (1999:478) notes that following Escoffier and his contemporaries, the profession of cook became known as one of the most 'potentially' remunerative if difficult of the manual trades, which required its practitioners to move wherever their work might take them. The attendance of the French President, Armand Fallière, at a Jubilee Dinner – 23 October 1909 – held in London in honour of Escoffier, illustrates the esteem in which he was held internationally. This dinner celebrated the peak of Escoffier's professional career which lasted sixty-two years. The menu (Fig. 9.6) was quite simple, but no doubt perfectly cooked. Escoffier, although a tireless creator of new dishes, preferred simpler food himself (Lane 2004:96-7). The Great War disrupted the world of professional cooking. Many young people turned away from what Drouard (2003:221) describes as 'a painful and poorly paid job' and found employment in industry or administration.

By 1913 the 'servant problem' as Bowden (1975:32) calls it was affecting the middle classes. Many of those in domestic service found alternative employment in factories shops and offices. The rising cost of keeping a cook-general, and the difficulty in obtaining staff following the First World War led to increased numbers of the middle classes frequenting restaurants. It also forced the mistress of the house to learn how to cook (Mason 2004:55). Another factor influencing the growth of eating out among the lower middle classes was the development of 'popular' catering by Lyons, the ABC, and

others where a well cooked meal in comfortable surroundings, often accompanied by an orchestra, cost little more than a shilling (Burnett 1994:264). Milk bars and snack bars, cafeterias, cinema restaurants and dance-hall buffets all contributed to the rise of eating outside the home. Lyons & Co served seventeen-and-a-half million customers in its three London Corner Houses in 1929, declaring a record profit of £909,000 (Burnett 1994:264).
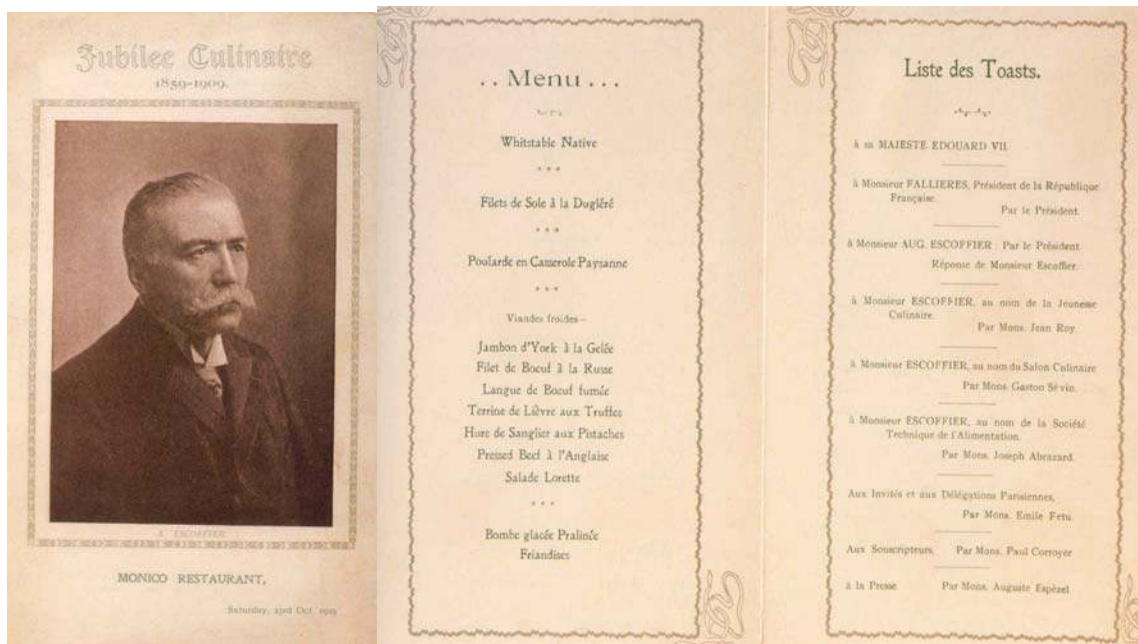

Figure 9.6: Jubilee Dinner for Escoffier at Monico Restaurant London 1909
Source: (Lane 2004:96-7)

Grand Restaurants and Grill Rooms

Bowden (1975) charts the rise of the great restaurants in England, which up until the 1960s are located almost exclusively in London. The Edwardian era with the reputation of hotel restaurants like the Savoy, Carlton, Cecil, Cavendish, Ritz and other grand restaurants like *Verrey's*, the Criterion and the *Café Royal*, is portrayed as the zenith of British gastronomy. Mason (2004:54) points out that the Trocadero – opened on Piccadilly in 1896 – was especially well known. The Edwardian era, Bowden suggests, is not equalled until the arrival of the Roux brothers – Albert and Michel – at *La Gavroche*,

Richard Shepherd at the Capital, Malcolm Reid and Colin Long at the Box Tree in Ilkley during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Egon Ronay declared in his 1971 *Guide* that 'London has clearly established itself as the world's gastronomic centre'.

American visitors had begun influencing dining habits in Europe from the late nineteenth century. César Ritz was the first to recognise that the future for restaurateurs lay with the Americans and had adapted the American custom of providing iced water at their tables without having them ask for it (Ackerman 1988:115). The grill rooms, arguably the forerunner of the modern steak-house, were established to facilitate the large number of American visitors to London who were often unwilling to change into white tie and tails for dinner, yet, did not wish to impose themselves in informal dress upon the diners in smart restaurants. The grill room provided simpler food to informally dressed patrons, where food could be speedily served for those in a hurry (Bowden 1975:31; Medlick 1987:38). Before long, grill rooms had a substantial following, particularly among businessmen who wanted to eat well but with a minimum of fuss. Bowden points out that the décor in the grill rooms were usually simpler than their sister restaurants and that the speed of service suited theatregoers.

Bowden mentions Lartry of the Savoy, and Herbodeau of the Ritz and the Carlton as potential successors to Câreme, Soyer, and Escoffier, but concludes that the person most influential in the post-war revival of gastronomy was Marcel Boulestin. Driver (1983:8) concurs that Boulestin represented the most influential style of the 1930s. Originally a theatre critic, interior designer, and food writer, Boulestin was persuaded to open a French restaurant following the success of his book *Simple French Cooking for English Homes*. 'Restaurant Boulestin' became one of the few genuine French restaurants in London, as many others had become 'Italianized'. There were many Italian restaurants at the time such as the Florence, *Pagani's*, *Pinoli's*, *Bertorelli's*, and the *Restaurant d'Italie*, but some French dishes were always offered in these establishments along with their native specialities. Boulestin made a series of culinary films for the gas board which were shown in cinemas nationwide, gave cookery lessons to a wide number of people

over the years, and became the first television chef appearing twice a month for fifteen minute sessions between 1937 and 1939 (Bowden 1975:47).

Ocean Liners

Prior to the age of aviation, the rich Americans who ate in London's grill rooms traversed the Atlantic in the great ocean liners whose heyday was the first half of the twentieth century. The sinking of the Titanic in 1912, and later the Great Depression affected the numbers travelling, but confidence was rebuilt again with the launch by Cunard of the Queen Mary in 1936 (Lane 2004:75, 86). The Queen Mary boasted 'the largest *à la carte* restaurant' (Fig. 9.7), which could sit nearly eight hundred diners. The dinner menu celebrating the arrival of the Queen Mary in New York on her maiden voyage, shown in Figure 9.8, was suitably luxurious, including beluga caviar, turtle soup, asparagus, and chestnut ice cream pudding (Lane 2004:87). A number of Irish chefs worked on the Queen Mary, and other luxury liners (Kavanagh 2003; Geldof 2004; Ryan 2004; Kinsella 2008).
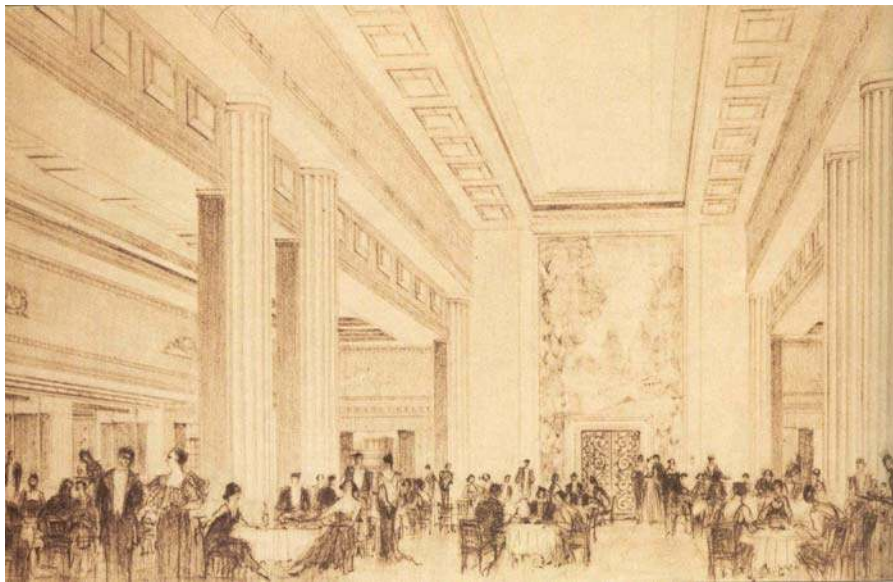

Figure 9. 7: Dining Room of the Queen Mary
Source: (Lane 2004:88)

Industrial catering or canteens originated during the First World War, more as a recognition of the workers' need for adequate nourishment than as revival of the

medieval responsibility (Medlick 1987:40). Another institution appeared during the Second World War, called 'British Restaurants' which were originally to be called 'communal feeding centres'. These were large industrial style canteens where mass catering was practiced. Churchill wrote in a minute to Lord Woolton (21st March 1941) 'everybody associates the word "restaurant" with a good meal, and they may as well have the name if they cannot get anything else' (Driver 1983:33). A similar style of restaurant was opened in Dublin in 1941 which shall be discussed in Chapter Fifteen. The period between the Great War and the late 1960s, however, was not void of gastronomic innovators. Bowden (1975:38-71) notes that a number of cheaper Continental-style restaurants opened in Soho during the 1920s and 1930s and that more upmarket establishments like the Ivy, Prunier's, Quaglino's, and the Berkley also originated at this time. Ethnic restaurants also appeared like the *Cathay* (Chinese), *Troika* (Russian), *Martinez* (Spanish), *Kempinski's* (German), Mrs Cook's American Restaurant, and the *Hungaria* (Hungarian) which Bowden (1975:40) suggests pioneered the 'first-class, smart restaurant that did not specialise in French, English of Italian cuisine'.
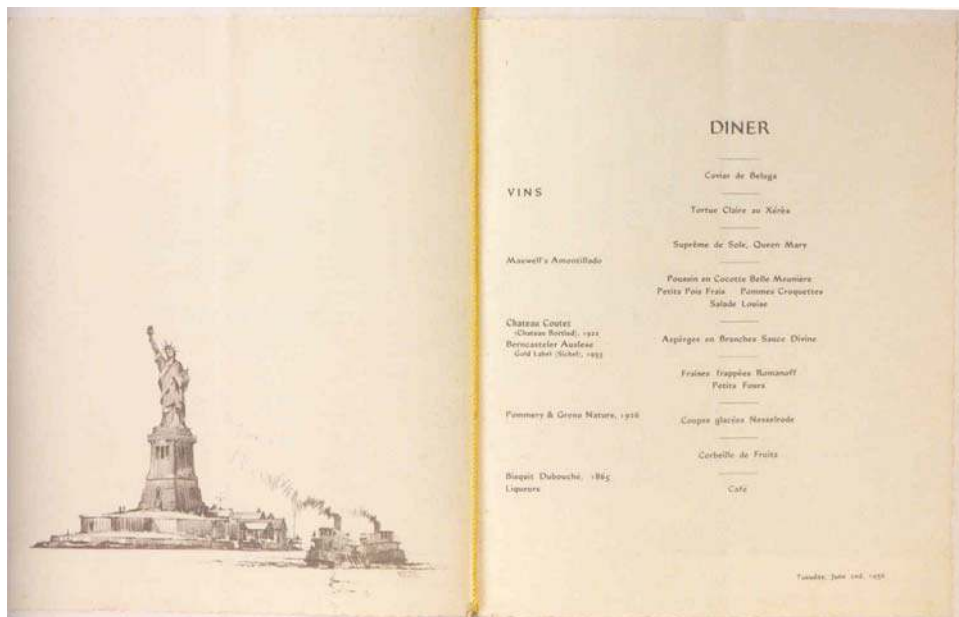

Figure 9.8: Menu from Queen Mary's Maiden Voyage to New York
Source: (Lane 2004:87)

World War II

During the Second World War, as in the Great War, Britain suffered food shortages resulting from the 1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws. Seven-eights of Britain's wheat and flour, and two-third of her total calories originated overseas. Ironically, food rationing and the price restrictions imposed on restaurants during World War Two meant that more people than ever before were in a position to eat in restaurants, which became a popular way of saving food coupons which were issued as part of the rationing programme (Bowden 1975:72). Restaurants made up for the enforced price restriction on food by significantly increasing the price of wines and spirits (Spencer 2004:316). The message 'May 1940 bring Victory and Peace' inscribed on the inside of Quaglino's New Year's Eve supper menu, illustrated in Figure 9.9, is particularly poignant, showing that the diners had no inclination the war would rage for another five years (Lane 2004:105). A toast is raised on the patriotic front of the menu to the three services – Army, Navy and Air Force.
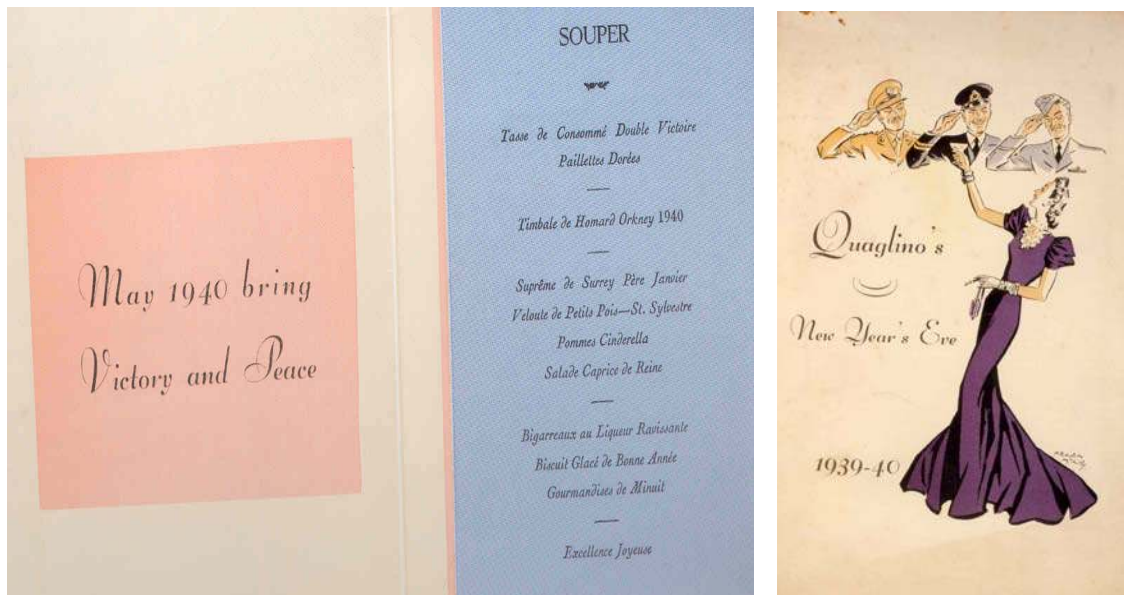

Figure 9.9: New Years Eve 1939-40 Menu from Quaglino's London
Source: (Lane 2004:104-5)

Much of the ingenuity shown during the 1870 Siege of Paris was practiced during the rationing. Prunier's pigeon pie was made of rooks, and chickens were replaced by pigeon,

rabbit and guinea fowl which were not rationed. Fitzgibbon (1982:124) recalls making rook pie, horse liver pâtés and jellied tongues – thanks to the horseflesh shop which opened in Chelsea. Mario Gallati, manager of the Ivy restaurant recalls making an kind of 'ersatz' mayonnaise from flour, water, vinegar, mustard and some powdered egg (Driver 1983:34; Spencer 2004:316). Mason (2004:55) notes that application of the research carried out between 1895 and 1935 on vitamin's role in preventing disease helped make the best of limited food rations during the war. Staff shortages were also experienced in restaurants as German (and later Italian) chefs, waiters and managers were interned, and many other staff enlisted in their respective defence forces. Older cooks came out of retirement, and English waitresses began replacing the traditional male waiters (Bowden 1975:78).

Post-War Cuisine

The post-1945 diet was, in some ways, more frugal than the wartime ration. The price restrictions on meals was not lifted until 1950 and Mme. Prunier is reported to have marked 1952 as the year her restaurant returned to normality. Other notable restaurants also recovered, but Bowden (1975:83) proposes that a new kind of cooking and restaurant emerged in the 1950s with the entry of some food loving amateurs into the business, breaking all the established rules with new combinations and fresh ideas. Most of these ventures failed but among the leaders of this movement were Bill Stoughton from Australia at the Watergate Theatre Club and later *La Popote*, Dr. Hillary James at *La Matelot* and *La Bicyclette*, Walter Baxter and Ray Parkes at the *Chantrelle*. Francis Coulson who reputedly opened Britain's first county house hotel in the Lake District is also an influential figure in developing gastronomy in England (Blanc 1990:10; Mason 2004:160).

In 1952 Egon Ronay, a restaurateur of Hungarian origin, opened a small 'cosy' restaurant called the *Marquee* where he offered the highest standard of French cuisine, previously found in only larger London restaurants such as *Caprice*, the *Coq d'Or* and the *Ecu de France*. He had brought an outstanding French chef to London, who had previously been head chef in the *Metropole Hotel* in Beaulieu. Ronay was ahead of his time and although

critically acclaimed the *Marquee* was financially unrewarding. He sold it in 1955 (Bowden 1975:87). Ronay started working on the *Egon Ronay Guide* which was first published in 1957 (Mason 2004:160). Ronay first covers Ireland in his 1963 *Guide* which will be discussed in a separate chapter, but it is interesting to note that in the 1963 *Egon Ronay Guide*, despite the growth of ethnic restaurants, nine out of the top twelve London restaurants were French. There were four 'three star' restaurants – *Coq d'Or*, *Mirabelle*, Parkes, and the Savoy. Parkes, an individualist restaurant opened by Ray Parkes, was unique among the four in not following Escoffier's codes. The eight 'two stars' included *Au Jardin des Gourmets*, *Hostaria Romana*, *Prunier's*, *Caprice*, *Jamshid*, Young's Chinese Restaurant, *Chez Ciccio*, and *Le Provençal* (Smith 1990:103). Ronay sold his guide to the Automobile Association in 1985, who subsequently sold it on after three years (Frewin 2002:6).

One thing most of the above individuals, and later Nick Clarke and George Perry Smith, had in common was that they were strongly influenced by the writings of Elizabeth David whose *A Book of Mediterranean Food* was first published in 1950. George Perry Smith's Hole in the Wall restaurant in Bath became the training ground for a whole generation of chefs. Dwyer (2008) describes him as 'the Gordon Ramsay of his day without the histrionics'. Elizabeth David's writings created a public demand for ingredients used in Mediterranean cuisine and not generally available in England at the time. Fitzgibbon (1982:54) writes that during the war, olive oil was only available at a chemist on a doctor's prescription. Norman (2006:128) proposes that David's articles for *Vogue* on the markets of Europe were the first examples of food-travel journalism, and that her eleven books and numerous other writings made millions of people want to cook. David was the first of a line of food writers that included Robert Carrier, Claudia Roden, Jane Grigson and finally, Delia Smith whose popularity Spencer (2004:342) argues 'placed her in the position of a Mrs Beeton of our age'. The introduction of paid holidays in 1939 and the growth of aviation combined to introduce many of the middle-classes to the cuisines and cultural centres of Europe, an experience previously the prerogative of the upper-classes on their grand tours (Medlick 1987:41).

Another important catalyst to improving standards and generating gastronomic debate was the foundation of the *Good Food Guide* by Raymond Postgate in 1950, which encouraged the public to correspond with him on where they found 'good food, good drink and courtesy'. Postgate edited and published the responses in his new *Guide* (Mennell 1996:282). Postgate wrote an article in 1949 in the *Leader Magazine* titled 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Food' where he outlined his founding of the society as a result of the horrifying things he has seen himself in restaurants (Driver 1983:48). Postgate, cited in Bowden (1975:81), wrote in his first *Guide*:

> 'British food, indeed, is sometimes said to be the worst in the world bar American. Yet there is no reason why British cooking should be worse than, say, French . . . it remains worse only because public discontent is unorganised and (it must be admitted) sometimes also ignorant'.

In the preface of the 1959-60 *Good Food Guide*, Postgate reviews the progress made after a decade of operation, and mourns that the law would not allow him publish 'The Bad Food Guide', material for which was plentiful from the numerous reports he received of food spoiled by being overcooked, ill seasoned, poorly butchered, stale, preserved or adulterated (Driver 1983:159). The Guide was published every second year until 1963 when, under it auspices of the Consumer's Association, it appeared annually. Warde (2003:242) discusses the influence of *The Good Food Guide* and concludes that despite starting as a campaigning social movement based on genuine public opinion, it transformed over the years, becoming 'the orchestrator of an annual aesthetic contest', ceding control as its identity changed.

Another factor in promoting gastronomy in England was the gastronomic festivals and weekends that became popular in the 1960s. Michael Chapman organised his first such weekends at the Imperial Hotel in Torquay during the 1961-2 season. Leading chefs would come from different regions of France and working alongside the hotel's brigade, produce a number of banquets based around the cuisine of their specific region. The 1965 Gastronomic Weekend season ended with a visit by the '*Troisgros*' restaurant from Roanne (Denes 1982:102). The Imperial Hotel, along with Gleneagles and The Carlton in Bournemouth were the only three hotels outside London to be awarded five-star classification by the three motoring organisations in 1965.

Rebirth of Gastronomy in England

A number of restaurants opened in and around London in the 1960s and 1970s where food and dining were treated seriously. The key individuals were Rudolph Richards and his chef Daniel Dunas at the Connaught Hotel, Albert Roux at *Le Gavroche* and *Le Poulpot*, and Michel Roux at the Waterside Inn, Robert Carrier at Carrier's and Hintlesham Hall, David Levin and later Brian Turner at the Capital Hotel, Malcolm Reid and Colin Long at the Box Tree in Ilkley, Anton Mossiman at the Dorchester, Pierre Koffman at *La Tante Claire*, Raymond Blanc at *Les Quat'Saison* in Oxford, and Nico Ladenis at *Chez Nico* (Bowden 1975:105-133; Ackerman 1988:11, 77; Aris 1988:101; Mason 2004:161). Both Ladenis and Blanc were unusual in that they were self taught, yet they both reached the ultimate top accolade of three Michelin stars, and have trained many of the next generation of top chefs and restaurateurs (Mullan 1998:15). The first *Michelin Red Guide to Great Britain and Ireland* was published in 1974 and, along with the work previously done by *Egon Ronay* and the *Good Food Guide*, helped to raise the profile of eating out and restaurants, also increasing the status of the individual chefs who ran them (Mason 2004:160).

The Roux brothers, Albert and Michel, born in France, were instrumental in reviving England's culinary reputation. Their training resembled that of Carême or Soyer, more than that of the disciples of Point, in that they both worked in private service – Michel for Mlle Cecile de Rothschild and Albert for Lady Astor, Sir Charles Clore and Peter Cazelet (Johnson 1997:8). Financial backing from some of their former employers allowed then to open *Le Gavroche* in 1967, where they introduced a lasting version of French *haute cuisine* to London. In 1972, Michel opened the Waterside Inn at Bray in Berkshire. Both Albert and Michel in turn became the benefactors of numerous chefs, including Pierre Koffman, Jean-Louis Taillbaud, Christian Germain and Peter Chandler (Barr and Levy 1984:140). The Roux brothers can be seen as the fathers of modern *haute cuisine* in Great Britain, as the genealogical table in Figure 9.10 illustrates. Between them they have trained over 800 young chefs, many of whom have gone on to become equally well known and respected.
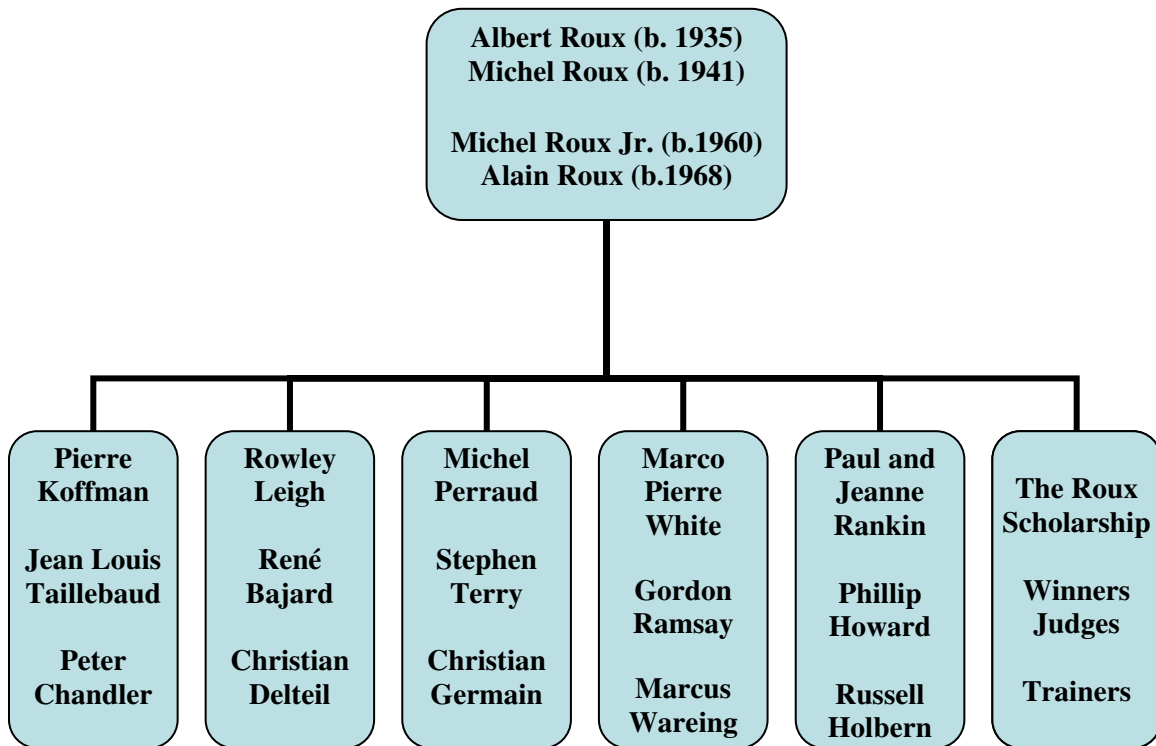
Figure 9.10: Roux Brothers' Influence on *Haute cuisine* in Great Britain
Sources: (Barr and Levy 1984; Smith 1990; Mullan 1998)

Albert and Michel founded the Roux Scholarship in 1984, providing opportunities for young UK chefs to spend three months training with the world's top chefs, mostly in France. Figure 9.11 illustrates the link between the Roux Scholarship and the leaders of French *haute cuisine*. Six of the scholarship winners have since been awarded Michelin stars. The first recipient of the scholarship in 1984, Andrew Farlie – trained with Michel Guérard, now holds two Michelin stars in his restaurant 'Andrew Farlie @ Gleneagles'. The scholarship was opened to Irish entrants in the early 1990s, to coincide with the growth of Diner's Club, one of the main sponsors, in the Irish market. The scholarship was won by three Irish chefs, Eugene Callaghan in 1991 – trained with Jacques Lameloise, James Carberry in 1992 – trained with Georges Blanc, and Mercy Fenton in 1994 who trained with Bernard Loiseau (Roux-Scholarship 2006). Lack of publicity in the British press for Irish based winners led to the entrance reverting to the UK only.
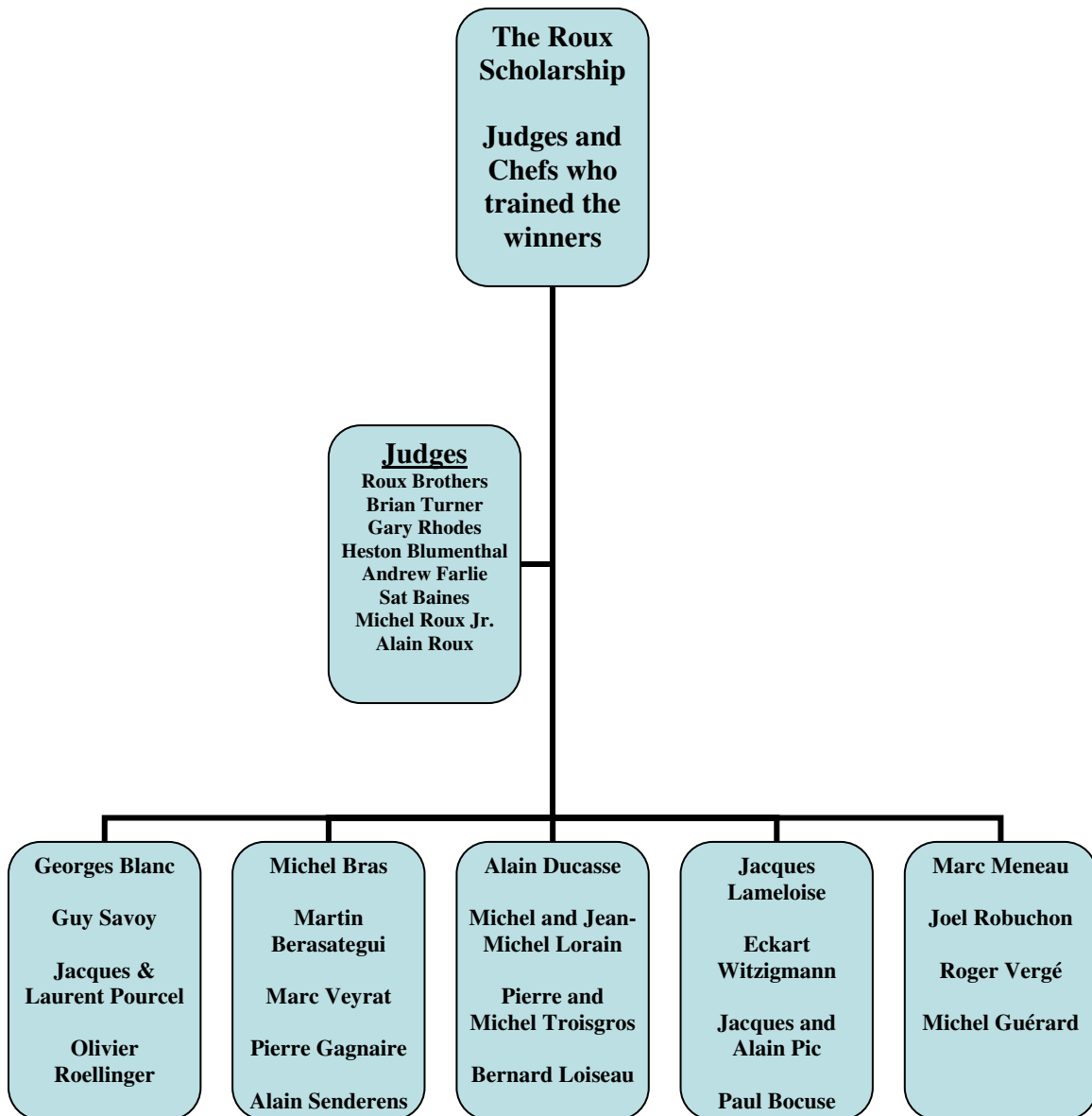
Figure 9.11: Link between Roux Scholarship and leaders of French *Haute Cuisine*
Sources: (Barr and Levy 1984; Smith 1990; Mullan 1998)

A new generation of chefs, like Marco Pierre-White, John Burton-Race, Simon Hopkinson, Shaun Hill, Gary Rhodes, Bruno Loubet, Sally Clarke, Peter Gordon, Alastair Little, Paul and Jeanne Rankin, Tom Aikens, Giorgio Locatelli and Jean-Christophe Novelli appeared during the 1980s and 1990s, many of who had been trained in the aforementioned kitchens, although some came from catering colleges and others started restaurants having had no professional training whatsoever (Aris 1988:97;

Whittington 1995:26; Johnson 1997:6-9; Mullan 1998). Another entrant to the restaurant scene at this time was Terence Conran who built up a portfolio of over fifteen restaurants and bars between 1987 and 1998, including Bibendum, Mezzo, Bluebird, and Quaglino's (Mullan 1998:334).

The most influential of the new generation of chefs, as far as *haute cuisine* is concerned, was Pierre-White who opened Harvey's restaurant in 1986 in south-west London where he became the youngest man ever to win two Michelin stars in 1988 (Carberry 2001:50). Pierre-White spent the five years prior to opening Harvey's working and learning from Albert Roux, Nico Ladenis, Pierre Koffman and Raymond Blanc (Huddard 2002:22). In 1995, three years following the move of his restaurant to the Hyde Park Hotel renamed Restaurant Marco Pierre White, he became the first Briton ever to be awarded three Michelin stars (Huddard 2002:22). Pierre-White (1994:9) describes the *Guide Michelin* as 'reliable, objective and in my opinion has done more for gastronomy in this country (England) than anything or anybody else'. He describes his kitchens as packed with potential talent, 'a "nursery" for the future, just as those of chefs like Albert Roux and Raymond Blanc have been'. In 1999 Pierre White famously swapped his chef's jacket for a pinstripe suit, considering himself a restaurateur / entrepreneur rather than a chef. By 2002 his portfolio included nine London restaurants – including the Criterion – and partnerships in a number of other food franchises.

Pierre-White's *sous* chef of two and a half years in Harvey's was Gordon Ramsay who, following eighteen months working at *La Gavroche*, and two and half years under Guy Savoy and Joël Robuchon in Paris, went on to open his own restaurant, Aubergine, in 1993 (Johnson 1997:8). Ramsay's first Michelin star came in 1995, his second came in 1997. In 1998 he quit Aubergine and opened Restaurant Gordon Ramsay in Chelsea and financed his protégé Marcus Wareing's new restaurant Pétrus. Pétrus was awarded its first star in 2000 and Gordon Ramsay was awarded the top accolade – three stars – in 2001 (Harris 2002:4). Ramsay, like Ducasse, now controls a world-wide business empire.

Summary

England and France followed different paths during the twentieth century. Both London and Paris, however, were quite similar gastronomically in the years 1900 and 2000. Both World Wars interrupted *haute cuisine*, but England was slower to return to normality gastronomically than her French neighbour. Technological and social changes transformed peoples' diets during the twentieth century. The female orientated *cuisine de marché* of Lyon became influential between the wars and Fernand Point is widely considered to be the most influential figure post-Escoffier. His protégés became the leaders of the *nouvelle cuisine* movement. Nearly all successful gastrosophers of the latter half of the twentieth century can trace either a direct or indirect lineage to Point – see Figures 9.2, 9.10, and 9.11.

The first half of the twentieth century saw a rise in the number of ethnic restaurants in London, with Italians particularly prominent in the catering industry. Catalysts for change in England included the publication of the *Good Food Guide* by Raymond Postgate, and the influential writings of Elizabeth David, and the launch of the *Egon Ronay Guide*. English gastronomy experienced a rebirth from the late 1960s onwards, thanks to the work of the Roux Brothers, Raymond Blanc and a number of other key individuals. Marco Pierre White became the first Briton to be awarded Michelin's highest accolade – three stars – in 1995. By the year 2000 the world of *haute cuisine* knew no borders and the leaders were like a large extended family, with branches all over the world. Like many families, there was often jealousy, but by eating in each others restaurants and exchanging staff members, the whole family was constantly learning from each other.

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