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You Are What You Eat:
Contemplations on Civilizing the Palate With Gourmet

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
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Abstract

This thesis explores how food communicates. In particular, it considers the historical context from which the gourmet rises and how "good taste" is communicated through the history of the gourmet. This finds particular expression in mass mediated society, specifically print culture, and reaches its apex in Gourmet: The magazine of good living. By disciplining base instincts such as civilizing the appetite, making distinctions from the masses, the everyday and the ordinary, "good taste" is standardized through the palate and acts as an index of the aesthetic quality of bourgeois sensibility. Gastronomic history, notions of restraint and delicacy from the French courts, and the development of the modern restaurant, are food for thought in the examination of contemporary associations between "good taste" and "good living." The discourse surrounding the cultivation of the self through eating, manners, food and lifestyle figures predominantly.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine comment la nourriture communique. Particulièrement, elle porte sur les conditions historiques d'émergence du gourmet, et sur le rôle central de ce dernier dans la diffusion du «bon goût» à travers l'histoire. Cette fonction s'exprimera particulièrement dans le société de communication de masse, notamment dans les imprimés, et atteindra son apogée dans Gourmet: The magazine of good living. Par une discipline des instincts primitifs, quant à la civilité de l'appétit, et à la distinction des masses - du quotidien et du commun, le «bon goût» se standardise par le palais, et agit comme un index de la qualité esthétique de la sensibilité bourgeoise. L'histoire de la gastronomie, les notions de convenance et de délicatesse à la cour de France, et le développement du restaurant moderne constituent une nourriture de l'esprit pour examiner les associations contemporaines entre le «bon goût» et «l'art de vivre.» De cette thèse émergera principalement un discours sur la culture de soi par le manger et les aliments les manières, et le mode de vie.

Preface

My interest in food has been growing for some time and is not limited solely to Gourmet: The magazine of good living. Cooking, that very exciting element of food translation or transference into the edible, that which will become blood, cells, then self, is somewhat foreign to the western epistemological tradition, too ordinary for articulation unless it is somehow special, unique and discriminating like Gourmet. It is interesting to note where the place of the ordinary stands in our language. Ordinary, Cynthia Ozick (1983) argues, always seems to be contrasted with something better. The ordinary is inferior, non eventful, non exciting. This sort of description describes something through what it is not, something lacking. Deane Curtin (1992a, 1992b) is correct in stating that understanding what it is to be a person implies an understanding of human life pervaded by conflict: my self against my body, my reasons against my emotions and desires, my moral rights against the rights of others. I add to his list the ordinary versus the spectacular, "good" living versus "bad" living.

There is no one reason why people experience things in the kitchen and thus the premise for my enthusiasm in this area. Knowing often retains the separation between inquirer and inquired while doing can bridge this separation. In the kitchen you do and you know. Knowing may aim at producing timeless truths about unchanging realities whereas doing concerns itself with the transitory the perishable, the changeable and the present.

John Lanchaster, a retired food columnist from the London Observer, has just published his first novel, The Debt to Pleasure. In a radio interview (CBC 940, 15 April 1996), he claims that he taught himself to cook while attending graduate school. Like him, most of my gastronomic practises fell into place while attending university. It became a vehicle of communication with my mother, a matriarchal circle of activity with my aunt who related the recipes of my grandmother, carrying on the oral tradition. Cooking was a way to share with friends, to be independent and self-sufficient, not to mention an immense stress reliever, a kind of degustatory therapy. I learned that order, comfort, stimulation, activity, and results often co-exist.

I have participated on a regular food panel on public radio while writing this thesis. The live radio format required a different communication about food ideas than those I came across in Gourmet, different again than sitting around my family's kitchen table. Indeed what has given me pause from all these experiences are the countless approaches to such a massive subject. What is exciting about this arena of food potential, the cornucopia so to speak, are the many settings, courses, flatware that it can be spoken through and around.

The inspiration for this project and the first academic motivation to write a thesis on my interests in food occurred by chance one day in the New York Public Library's bookstore. I was struggling with the relevance of my ideas, attempting to incorporate the human and "real" inside the academic. I wanted something that would also be rigorous enough to fall into the critical category; one which would ultimately allow for change, superseding and adding betterment to the project of intellectual work. A postcard in the shape of a large celery with a Delmonico's menu on it caught my attention for food kitsch, a favoured collection hobby. The celery opened up revealing the day's menu from 1898. Wow! With little knowledge of Delmonico's or any restaurants in New York from the 1940's, I flipped the card and saw that this particular menu came from the Library's own menu collection!! With only time and not money to burn in Manhattan I immersed myself in boxes of the menu collection. Many were originals, complete with grease spots, coffee spatters and red wine stains, donated by different people dating back to the last century. It was from this profound and powerful week of thumbing through these cards that once graced the hands of those about to eat a meal, that the thirst and belief in the academic potential for researching a food related area boiled over. The menu card project is on hold for a while, but one I will definitely get to soon. For now however, I point my energies and fill much of my spare time cooking from various areas and thinking about Gourmet, thinking and doing. So have a seat at the table and let us move on to the first course...

Table of Contents

Introduction

This thesis is divided into two parts, but for purposes of clarity, the chapters are identified in increments in numerical order. Part one may be read as the historical context from which part two arises. Both sections are unified by the notion of the gourmet and the communication of "good taste." Because of the independent research contained in the interviews, and a concentrated study on Gourmet, the literature review is woven throughout the text and footnotes as opposed to standing formally in its own section. The culinary history and manners of France and England are useful due to the traditions of North America, the primary audience of Gourmet, my case study of the communication of "good taste."

Chapter one, looks at how the definition of gourmet shifts from a person - the server of princes - to an adjective, something done to food to make it gourmet. This transformation is linked to what Norbert Elias (1996) refers to as the "civilizing process." Elias's theory of how we are civilized, with direct reference to food and culinary examples, demonstrates that both being civilized, and a gourmet, are derived from a tradition which involves more than manners or food. Issues of control and self-restraint, seen initially through courtly food and food behaviour, have laid a foundation for the communication of "good taste." The concepts of "courtesy" and "civility," equally impact on food in "good society" while literary examples, from the seventeenth and eighteenth-century cookbooks, lead up to the central argument that food is a communication artifact, a cultural process, a class mannerism, and significantly intertwined with the heavily codified concept of lifestyle.

Chapter two, "The Geographies of Dining Out," focuses on the physical spaces of eating, namely the birth of the restaurant. This development is traced first through a legal case that allowed a soup seller, Boulanger, to sell pigs feet in white sauce thus breaking the previous monopoly held by the *traiteurs*, and secondly, through the growth of restauration by the exiled *cordon bleus* in the mid-eighteenth century. New meaning is ascribed to the word restaurant, itself an invention of the French Revolution period - *Je demandai à me restaurer*. I will examine general movements, innovations, and influences from the eighteenth century to the present, including both the British and French traditions, to look at the symbolic import of food. These provide the necessary context to illustrate the concept of lifestyle that emerges in the twentieth century and finds particular expression in Gourmet magazine.

Chapter three, "The Social Geographies of Dining Out: The Human Landscape," focuses on the performative elements in the growth of the restaurant. The development of

the modern restaurant echoed an aristocratic model based on style, artifice and extravagance, all signs of social status. This is seen particularly in the culinary works of Antonin Carême, the pomp and ceremony of *grande cuisine*, and Georges Auguste Escoffier. Interpersonal observation, seeing and being seen, magnifies at the turn of the century in France fusing fashionabilty and dining out for the bourgeoisie in the popular grand, international hotels. Escoffier, an important player in the development of the international hotel, recognized the new needs of the travelling and theatre-going bourgeoisie by re-organizing the hotel kitchen. Speed and efficiency, in *Service à la Russe* for example, were important variables in the newly developing forms of sociality seen in dining out. The success of the general impulse for social display marked by gastronomic, culinary, and cultural advances were by no means limited solely to Northern Europe. The export to the U.S. of the French restaurant style and the corresponding snobbery are evidence of the growing link between ostentatious food display as a qualitative marker of social status.

Chapter four introduces Gourmet: The magazine of good living to the thesis as a contemporary example of the civilized palate. This chapter traces the history of the magazine. Particular attention is devoted to the first decade in the 1940s to give the reader the original flavour of Gourmet. As shall be demonstrated in the proceeding chapters, the flavour has not significantly altered. Circulation statistics, interviews with the magazine's staff, examples from the articles and the "travel/food bond," highlight what it means to be a contemporary gourmet in Gourmet. The contemplative figures primarily in the analysis of Gourmet seen through an emphasis on thinking about food rather than doing, entertaining as opposed to eating. This results effectively in the control of excessive pleasure and undisciplined taste, a continuation of the refinement and delicacy seen previously in the civilizing processes of courtly behaviour and attention to observation witnessed in the early restaurant.

Chapter five furthers the examination of Gourmet through a review of its anniversary editorials in 1941, 1951, 1961, 1981, 1991. Arguably, editorials map the ideological direction of the magazine, what I have called "The Bourgeois Body Doctrine." Walter Benjamin's (1986) concept of the "aura" and Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) ideas of distinction and cultural taste prove useful in this review. The bourgeois body doctrine of Gourmet traces the various disciplinary and distanciation characteristics via the discourse of food. Where taste is expressed as a register of the aesthetic quality of the bourgeoisie, food is seen as a communication artifact, a cultural process, a particular expression of class, manner and lifestyle.

In keeping with the contemplative theme in Gourmet, the final chapter stresses the visual elements seen through food and travel photography. "Seeing is Believing: Gourmet Porn and the Humanless World," explores how the magazine communicates "good taste" through a ready-made reality which privileges the primacy of vision over the other senses. Roland Barthes (1973) and Rosalind Coward (1985) aid in identifying what makes the bourgeois body palate unattainable. Gourmet's culinary consciousness develops the civilized appetite by disciplining taste that overthrows its "proper" boundaries.

I conclude with some thoughts on the experience of reading Gourmet and how that has inspired other directions for research. Food is no less an item of fashion than art or clothing (Finkelstein 1989). Through the communication of "good taste" seen in Gourmet, the social and human geographies of dining and eating are linked alongside the bourgeois notions of the self-disciplined body, and the cultivation of a distinctive appetite. How the gourmet shifts from a person to something done to food is solidified in Gourmet by a bourgeois sensibility with roots not uncommon to the civilizing process seen in the French courts. Although privileging the intellectual processes over the manual, head work versus hand work, thinking as opposed to doing, may be traced back to Plato, it is by restructuring the contemporary appetite into a distinctive Gourmet lifestyle that forms the basis of this discussion.

Part One: Chapter One
"What is a "Gourmet"?

The notion of "gourmet" has not always been directly related to food as it may be understood today in terms of "gourmet food" or even Gourmet magazine. Historically the "gourmet" was a server of princes. In the Oxford English Dictionary we learn that the gourmet is a wine-merchant's assistant, a wine-taster; a connoisseur in the delicacies of the table. The first reference occurred in the 1820s from the Tabella Cibariaby by A.D. Macquin: "The 'gourmand' unites theory with practice, and may be denominated 'Gastronomer'. The 'gourmet' is merely **theoretical**, cares little about practising, and deserves the higher application of 'gastrologer'." The "gourmet" could also be a chef, although this is not essential. The most revealing part of the O.E.D. definition is that the "gourmet" is first a person, and second, engaged solely in the theoretical practise of food rather than the practical. From the onset, the gourmet is the thinker, not the doer. Strictly enforced by this meaning is what Richard Bernstein refers to as the "Cartesian Anxiety," the heart/head dichotomy.[1] The more embodied, the more concrete and practical experiences are denigrated and waylaid in this definition of the gourmet.

Exactly how the definition of gourmet shifts from a person - the server of princes - to an adjective, something done to food to make it gourmet, is linked to what Norbert Elias (1996[1939]) designates as the "Civilizing Process."[2] In this chapter I explore Elias's theory of how we are civilized, making direct reference to food and culinary examples. Section one looks at the "Civilized Gourmet" and argues that both being civilized, and a gourmet, are derived from a tradition which involves more than manners or food. Section two, "The Civilizing Process and the Inward Turn," looks at Norbert Elias's argument surrounding issues of control and self-restraint. Section three, "French Courts and the Manufacturing of Good Taste," documents how courtly food and food behaviour laid a foundation, still with us today, concerning the relationship between "good taste," notions

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[1] For more on Bernstein's notion of Cartesian Anxiety and the need to develop of epistemological frameworks that avoid the dichotomies of realism/antirealism and foundationalism/relativism see Lisa M. Heldke, "Recipes for Theory Making," in Cooking, Eating, Thinking: Transformative Philosophies of Food, ed. Deane W. Curtin and Lisa M. Heldke (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indian University Press, 1992), 252.

[2] Norbert Elias factually and systematically illustrates how standards of behaviour and psychological make-up have changed in European society since the Middle Ages in The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners & State Formation, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996). His breadth of research spans several centuries in The History of Manners and concludes with the process of nation state formation in State Formation and Civilization. For the purposes of this thesis, and for a bridge to the review of Gourmet: The Magazine of Good Living, I mainly access his examples of food and eating manners in The History of Manners.

of bodily control and refinement. Section four, "The Social Connotations of Food: A Shift in Culinary Consciousness through Courtesy and Civility," examines the concepts of "courtesy" and "civility," and how they impact on food in the "good society." Section five, "Cookbooks and Instructions in Refinement and Delicacy," further probes this issue of "good taste" through literary examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Section (i): The Civilized Gourmet

Both the "civilized" and the "gourmet" come from a tradition that involves more than mere manners or food. What I have called the "civilized gourmet" is part of the larger argument in this thesis that regards food as a communication artifact, a cultural process, a class mannerism, and significantly intertwined with the heavily codified concept of lifestyle.

Gourmet in the 1990s brings to mind something that is done to food but is more complicated than which brand of osetra caviar is going on a shrimp chip. Preparation, presentation and quality alone no longer ensure gourmet status. In this section I argue that the gourmet, (hence Gourmet magazine which draws its title from the same word but occupies the second part of this thesis), signifies a way of thinking, born out of a "civilizing process" with distinct ties to what is now loosely called lifestyle.

Lifestyle is associated with consumption, where consumption defines the self. Consumption in Gourmet magazine is associated with wealth, ease and a highly mannered, disciplined, civilized behaviour. The Gourmet lifestyle does not represent an anxiety associated with modern life. On the contrary, the appropriation and control of modern life through disciplined consumption and the contemplation of a cultivated self with tastes that do not overthrow their "proper" boundaries are the pillars of the Gourmet lifestyle.

Gourmet living is "good living," based on tradition, and makes ample reference to nostalgia, the "good old days," and to the practices of entertaining, dining and leisure as the "summum bonum" of life itself. In American Dreams Gail Zweigenthal, Editor-in-Chief of Gourmet magazine, writes:

> The American Dream is an idea that resonates throughout our country's history. When Gourmet's editors decided on this theme for our annual all-American issue, we thought first of our leisure-time longings - the dining experiences we find most satisfying, the pastimes we most enjoy, and the places we love to go (May 1995, 8).

In this dream world of Gourmet, one never sees the "real" side of life acknowledged, that of labour, the toil and monotony of kitchen work, the burdensome elements of cooking. The working kitchen is significantly absent from Gourmet, and is replaced by the professional chef who is there to serve.[1] Gourmet transfers the everyday food reality of needing to eat into (a) leisure sites with a spatial dimension that includes various areas in which to have a meal, ones which are public, as in the case of the restaurant, and performance bound, in terms of acting in an "appropriate" fashion in them, or (b) "tasteful" or thematic domestic dining that is differentiated from the everyday. The former (a) is examined in the following chapters two and three, while the latter (b), is reviewed in part two with a closer inspection of Gourmet magazine and the divide imposed between thinking and doing, product orientation versus process.

Lifestyle does not work for the hermit. It requires the observations of others, of the individual in his or her social context, being seen and compared in relation to others. The lifestyle put forth in Gourmet is inherently part of the social order. To understand the Gourmet magazine lifestyle more fully, one first has to understand the significance of the historical contexts in which the civilizing of manners are based and the bourgeois sensibility emerges. This investigation necessitates surveying courtly society and the behavioral models erected during that time.

Elias makes no mention of lifestyle[2] but it is my contention that lifestyle is today's thinner, consumer equivalent of the "civilizing process." I suggest that our notion of gourmet, and what is evoked in Gourmet magazine, has a history of servitude based in the courtly currency of social prestige but with a "higher" value formulated through the distinction of "good living."[3] Gourmet magazine brings the courtly behaviour of distinction and "good taste" up to date through "lifestyle" in a popular magazine that appears at first glance to be dealing with food subjects but is involved in much more, just as the "civilizing

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[1] The chef is a favourite topic in Gourmet magazine as seen in the same American Dreams edition with the article - "Chefs Across America: Ten Dreams Come True." The author, Richard Sax, suggests: "Each member of our exceptional group, while pursuing his or her own goal, is making this country the most exciting place in the world to eat - right now...Let them entertain you" (May 1995, 120).

[2] "Lifestyle," while commonly used today, has not always been. An article written by Zablocki and Kanter (1976) acts as proof of this. The concept of "lifestyle," has quotations around it suggesting the unfamiliarity it had with common academic discourse. Because The Civilizing Process was initially written in 1939, it is highly probable that Elias would not yet have been accustomed to the uses of the term "lifestyle."

[3] One of the commonalities Gourmet magazine has with this idea is the never ending striving for the self-proclaimed best, the "summum bonum" as stated in the first editorial. This will be evaluated in part two, chapter five.

process" refers to more than a mere shift in manners. It is to these processes which I now turn.

Section (ii): The Civilizing Process and the Inward Turn

The "civilizing process," Elias argues, is just that, a process, not the result of calculated long term planning. Societal changes happened by and large unplanned but standards of human behaviour and psychical make-up shift in a specific direction after the Middle Ages, toward civilization and the civilizing process. Such changes in what society demands and prohibits as seen in behaviour at the table, happen by and large unplanned but with a specific type of order. Elias argues that the "ordering of interweaving human impulses and strivings" comprises a social order which determines the course of historical change underlying the civilizing process. The civilizing process itself is no more and no less than the general problem of historical change.

Manner books, a literary genre in their own right, Elias concedes, provide the data to see individual aspects of human behaviour, particularly eating habits, as a large segment of the whole of the civilizing process. One of the most cited manner books is by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1503) entitled De Civilitate Morum Puerilium (on the civility of boys). Elias makes ample use of this example because of its widespread translations throughout Europe and because the book, dedicated in general to all boys but to a prince's son in particular, uses "civility" in its title. Poems, paintings, and treatises are further employed in Elias's research and seen as direct instruments of "conditioning" or "fashioning," through what they censure as well as what they praise.[1]

Over the centuries there is a clear tendency in the ways in which these standards of "good living" and "good taste" come to be naturalized. This is achieved through a phase of "colonization" or "assimilation" in which the lower and larger outsider class is still clearly inferior to and governed by the example of the established upper group which, intentionally or unintentionally, permeates it with its own pattern of conduct (Elias 1996, 507). This passage of models from one social unit to another, for example how the use of the fork is gradually picked up by groups other than the aristocracy, is among the most important individual movements in the whole civilizing process (Ibid., 88).

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[1] This argument is particularly instructive when one surmises that what goes into Gourmet magazine is as important as what never appears on the pages. One does not see the dirty kitchen after the preparation of a gourmet meal, or the dinner guests around the table in the "Gourmet's Menus" centrefold, or how much the items of food may cost. Preparation time is given in a minority of recipes but more often, Gourmet focuses on a particular approach to food preparation assuming the imaginary gourmet has all the correct tools, and no hesitation with regards to money or time.

Eating habits are part of the civilizing process. Through such detailed habits, the movement towards the policing of behaviour and the emotions to fit changing social codes of acceptability are made more visible. Eating habits, often learned from childhood, are socially instilled forms of conduct. Up to the fifteenth century, the way in which most people ate, the basic stock of what was socially prohibited and permitted, the behaviour of people toward one another and toward themselves, remain fairly constant in their essential features. People who ate together took meat with their fingers from the same plate, wine from the same goblet, soup from the same bowl or plate. People stood in a different relationship to one another, their behaviour conditioned to forms of relationships and conduct, which, by today's standard of conditioning, are unthinkable and nothing short of uncivilized or embarrassing (Elias 1996). What changed? How did we arrive from slurping out of the same goblet to the heightened sense of delicacy and hygiene as seen through the use of individual utensils and vessels that we use so commonly today?[1]

Elias's example in explaining this shift was that of constraints imposed from different angles: initially first by others, like the King, and then later converted into self-restraints. After the sixteenth century the question of uniform good behaviour becomes more acute, and gradually the code of behaviour becomes subtler and the social imperative not to offend becomes more binding. For example, in the upper class of medieval society, the dead animal or large parts of it were often brought whole to the table: whole fish, entire birds (often with their feathers), undivided rabbits, lambs, and quarters of veal, larger venison, pigs and oxen roasted on the spit appear on the table where the animal is carved.[2] People helped themselves to food from communal dishes. Solids were taken by hand, liquids with spoons or ladles. Soups and sauces were frequently drunk which necessitated raising plates and dishes to the mouth. The same knife or spoon was used, the

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[1] Hygiene, Elias is quick to point out, was not the initial reason for such changes. This rationalization came later, after the changes were sealed in the direction of the civilizing process.

[2] According to Courtin (1672), the well-bred man (to which we may include the server of princes/gourmet), had to be good at carving meat: "..if a person of rank asks you for something that is in front of you, it is important to know how to cut meat with propriety and method, and to know the best portions, in order to be able to serve them with civility" (in Elias 1996, 97).

The carving, once an important part of social life in the upper class distributed with particular honours, becomes more and more distasteful as a spectacle. This segregation of what is distasteful and the threshold of repugnance at the sight of dead animals is typical of what Elias labels as the "civilization-curve." The sight and carving of a dead animal on the table are pleasurable, or at least not unpleasant at first. Then, what Elias refers to as the "standard of feeling," shifts. Reminders that the meat dish had something to do with the killing of an animal are subtly avoided. Carving does not disappear, it merely retreats behind the scenes of social life where animals are cut up in factories where the animal form becomes steadily more concealed. Nick Fiddes illustrates this in that we buy pork not pig, beef not cow, fillets not flesh (1991, 88).

With regard to the relationship humans have with animals see "Vegetarianism and the Meaning of Meat" by Julia Twigg (1983, 18-30) and Peter Singer, "Becoming Vegetarian" (1992, 172-193).

same glasses drunk from, and frequently diners ate from the same board (which acted as a plate).

By the Renaissance these table habits (what we today would call lack of manners) were no longer in place. The more feudal, "uncivilized" human activities are suppressed, the carving of the animal is removed to "behind the scenes." This is symptomatic of the civilizing process itself. Other human activities such as spitting, farting, and appearing naked were also progressively thrust behind the scenes of communal social life and invested with feelings, shame. This allowed the regulation of instinctual, sensual, and affective life, through steady self-control, to become more stable and all embracing (Elias 1996, 98-9).

Something "inward" was implanted in the individual Elias argues. By "inward" he refers to the conditioning which makes it appear as if socially desirable behaviour is voluntarily produced by the individual, on their **own initiative**. He maintains that such conditioning, such an inward watch, applies to how drives are modeled, restrained and controlled in bourgeois industrial societies. The standard of what is felt to be shameful and offensive is slowly raised, and reenacted in abbreviated form in the life of the individual human being. This is first done in the name of "courtesy" reserved to those in the courts, then in the name of "civility" which gradually extends its sweep to include people from all aspects of "civilized" life, and finally, in the name of civilization which comes to stand in for the West in general.

Understanding the court, Elias decrees, is imperative to comprehending the "civilizing process." The gourmet as a server of princes dates back to medieval Europe when the notion of the "court" was the centre of society.[1] It is the movement from server of princes to server of the public, serving up what's fashionable and what's not, what's "good" and what's not, with trend telling power defining "good taste," that I focus on in the following section. True to the francophilia implied by the word gourmet, replete with a certain flair not unlike *cuisine*, *chef*, *bon vivant*, *restaurant*, *à la carte*, *hors d'oeuvre*, *maitre'd*, *élite*, *hôtel*, *apéritif*, *digestif*, *bouillon*, *rôtissier*, *champagne*, *sauté*, *café*, *cuisinart*, *à la mode*, *table d'hôte*, *digestion*, *bouquet*, *banquet*, *omelette*, *fondue*, *courtesy*, *civility* to name just a few, it is appropriate that an examination of the gourmet begins in France. The transition period between the *Ancien Regime* and the Revolution reveals ripe details of these moments in culinary history, such as the notions of "refinement" and "delicacy" coupled with the disciplining tendency of self-restraint. Medieval examples continue to be utilized for their comparative value. I turn now to the

[1] Elias makes reference to servers of princes in The Civilizing Process but does not refer to them as gourmets. It is my argument, based on the O.E.D. definition, that the two are related.

courts, with the gourmet as the server of princes, and to courtly food and cookbooks. Civilized behaviour in terms of bodily control, refinement and delicacy of dishes, are courtly models emulated as "good taste." This analysis provides the framework to comprehend today's gourmet as represented in Gourmet magazine.

Section (iii): The French Courts and the Manufacturing of "Good Taste"

In France, a new sphere of life for the nobleman at the semiurban courts of princes and kings in the sixteenth century (the same time as Erasmus's treatise), reveals increased constraints as more extensive control and regulation of behaviour is now demanded of him in the service of a prince. The nobleman is no longer the relatively free man, the master in his own castle. Nor is his virtue and perfection achieved through actions such as:

> ...correctly spurring a horse, handling a lance, sitting straight in one's armor, (or) using every kind of weapon. There is, in addition, service at table before kings and princes, the manner of adjusting one's language toward people according to their rank and quality, their glances, gestures, and even the smallest signs or winks they might give (Della Casa, in Elias 1996, 177).

These table references by Della Casa provide a healthy example of how food is a shell with many fillings. In this case, the nobleman lives and serves the prince, waits on him at table, carves his meat, and learns to adjust his gestures to the different ranks and standing of those he is now surrounded by. As Elias states: "It is a new self-discipline, an incomparably stronger reserve that is imposed on people by this new social space and new ties of interdependence" (1996, 177). Roles, scripts, patterns, class, and position, to name a few, are wrapped up in the table and consequently food. Since the fifteenth century, behaviour at the table, and the changes in prepared foods to smaller more delicate portions, represented fashionability, good manners, prestige and refinement.[1]

The links between table manners and culinary activity from within the French courtly kitchens must not be underestimated. At the close of the sixteenth century, the display of "good taste," versus the display of quantity, marked a departure from the previous medieval period. Preoccupations with rule-making, order and balance in foodstuffs are seen in Montaigne's conversation with Cardinal Caraffa's chef:

> I made him give an account of his responsibilities. He gave me a discourse on this science of supping and with a grave and

[1] Arguably this tendency is still with us today. A buffet hardly carries the same prestige, or what Bourdieu (1984) refers to as "cultural capital," as a French meal served slowly through many courses by a waiter.

> magisterial countenance, as if he were speaking of some grand point of theology. He unravelled the differences in appetite for me...the means of appealing to it in simple ways, sometimes reawakening and stimulating it; the rules regarding sauces, first in general and then particularising the qualities of ingredients and their effects; the different salads according to their season...and the ways of decorating and embellishing them to make them even more pleasing in appearance...And all this bloated with grand and magnificent words, such as one might use in describing the government of an empire (Montaigne 1595b, Book I, Essay 51, in Mennell 1996, 70-1).

Literary evidence of a new distinctively French style of cooking is found in La Varenne's (1651) Le Cuisinier François. La Varenne's technique, like Scappi's, favoured slow cooking in liquid of single pieces of meats, and the enormous array of delicately prepared dishes.[1] Other cookbooks at the time, Nicholas de Bonnefons's (1654) Le Délices de la Campagne, Pierre de Lune's (1656) Le Cuisinier, Jean Ribou's (1662) L'Escole parfaite des officiers de bouche and L'Art de Bien Traiter by L.S.R. (1674) also indicate a shift away from the styles and presentation of medieval cooking.[2] These cooks, most of whom worked for the aristocracy, essentially forged in the court a style which was later upheld as the model for French cuisine in general. This style is broadly known as "*nouvelle cuisine*."[3]

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[1] It has been presupposed that the Italian cooks in the courts, such as Scappi, anticipated the later work of the French courts in forming an elegant courtly cuisine in a marked national style. Scappi, in 1570, with his new methods of braising, poaching, and retaining the meat juices in stews, blending flavours by gentle cooking (rather than through a rough boil or roasting over coals) offered what was to be considered as a more sophisticated approach to cooking (Mennell 1996).

[2] Cookery books of the later sixteenth century show more varied dishes with increasing attention to vegetables, fruit, pastries, charcuterie (deli foods), soups and minestre (a thick soup), smaller sections/cuts of meat rather than entire joints barbecued or boiled rapidly in a single caldron. Butter and other dairy-based products uncommon to aristocratic cooking of the Middle Ages were gradually making an impression. Fat-based sauces were displacing the acidic ones based on vinegar or verjuice (the juice of unripe grapes). Similarly, the movement away from strongly flavoured exotic spices increased the reliance on common herbs like parsley and thyme (Mennell 1996, 70).

[3] *Nouvelle cuisine* means literally new cooking and new directions in food preparation. While there have been several incarnations of *nouvelle cuisine*, each involved, among other things, the pursuit of simplicity, using fewer ingredients with more discrimination, and enhancing the "natural" flavours of principal ingredients. In the process, a wider range of dishes more differentiated in flavour because they were less masked by the use of a common cocktail of spices, or the same basic sauces, were produced. Each new spurt of development has involved not just the overthrow of some aspects of the previous one, but also the pursuit of refinement, simplicity, restraint, and an increasingly conscious calculation of precisely how innovations will be received by an audience (Mennell 1996, 165).

The idea of *nouvelle cuisine*, also called *cuisine moderne*, appears to have taken a firm hold in the public mind by the late 1730s. In 1739, two cookery books purporting to represent the new style appeared. The first was Nouveau Traite de la Cuisine by Menon, the second, Les Dons de Comus by Marin. The later, in its original one-volume form, was not so much a cookery book as a textbook on how to serve food in the latest fashion. One of the main hallmarks of the *nouvelle cuisine* seen in the main

What went on the tables at the French courts, the civilizing process (and by extension lifestyle and Gourmet magazine), are all ways of seeing and monitoring the self in society and aid in the discussion of the communication of "good taste." "*Courtoisie*," "*civilité*," the behaviour of the French courts, and the coinciding food changes exemplify this.

Section (iv): The Social Connotations of Food: A Shift in Culinary Consciousness through "Courtesy" and "Civility"

The root of the word "courteous" or "courtoisie" originally referred to the forms of behaviour that developed at the courts of the great feudal lords. The first reference, according to the O.E.D, occurred in 1275. "Courteous" refers to:

> ...having such manners as befit the court of a prince; having the bearing of a courtly gentleman in the intercourse with others; graciously polite and respectful of the position and feelings of others; kind and complaisant in conduct to others. Courtesy by extension refers to courtly behaviour, courtly elegance, and politeness of manners (Ibid.).

The concept of "*civilité*," or civility, gradually takes over from the more medieval definition of "*courtoise*," or courtesy and is closely bound up with the courtly manner of seeing. In order to be courteous or obliged by the standards of civility, one is to some extent obliged to observe, to look about oneself and pay attention to others. The increasing tendency of people to observe themselves and others is one sign not only of how behaviour takes on a different character, but the fortification of vision, what Lisa Heldke (1992a) claims is the "sense that acts at a distance," or what Roland Barthes (1973) refers to as the "genteel sense." [1]

As the idea and use of the word "civility" replaces "courtesy," so too were the social connotations of food made more explicit. The emerging aesthetic preoccupation with bringing order into the old, a sense of the correct and incorrect, the delicate and the vulgar may be seen as a shift in culinary consciousness. Cookbook authors vitriolically denounced their predecessors and rivals proclaiming the superior elegance and modishness of their own recipes. Anything reminiscent of rusticity was avoided while the foods of the

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cookery books of the movement, was the great variety of made dishes. This was especially evident in the realm of the *hors d'oeuvres*. *Nouvelle cuisine* had a tendency of increasing the courses and services (Ibid., 78-9).

For *nouvelle cuisine* of the 1970s see Mennell (1996, 163-4).

[1] In part two, chapter six, this topic is dealt with more fully.

"best" circles were models to be copied. The growing sense of "good taste" with deference to the courts melted together the ideas of delicacy and refinement.

In L'Art de bien traiter, L.S.R. (1674) denounces La Varenne, for his rustic ways proclaiming his superiority:

> I don't believe you will find here the absurdities and the revolting instructions which M. de Varenne dares to give, and with which he has for so long deluded and bemused the foolish populace, passing off his concoctions as if they were eternal verities and his teachings in matters of cuisine as the most approved in the world. Doesn't it already make you shudder to think of teal soup a l'hypocras, or larks in sweet sauce? Can you contemplate without horror this pottage of shin of beef au tailadin, or that vulgar broth? That fried calve's head - doesn't it make you laugh, or rather cry with compassion?....Look at his shin of veal fried in breadcrumbs, his stuffed turkey with raspberries....and any number of other villainies that one would more willingly endure among Arabs than in a gentler climate like ours, where refinement, delicacy, and good taste are our most zealous concern (Mennell 1996, 74).

The newly civilized appetite expressed by L.S.R. (1674), the manners and etiquette which function around it in the courts, act both as means of distinction from below, and as instruments in the competition for royal favour. Such were not only the private pleasures of individuals, but demanded of them due to their social position; control and self-constraint were not as developed in the lower classes (Elias 1996, 502-3). Fear of damage to, or the reduction of, social prestige was one of the most powerful motive forces in the transformation of constraints through others into self-restraints.

It is first of all small circles of courtly society which listen with growing sensitivity to nuances of rhythm, tone and significance, to the spoken and written word. This sensitivity, this "good taste," also represents a prestige value for such circles. The courtly art of human observation was never concerned with the individual in isolation. The individual was always seen in a social context - as a human being in relation to others, an individual in a social situation.[1]

While the courts were championed as examples of "civilized" behaviour and "good taste," France itself was the pillar and a leader for all nations, seen through its food and manners. Massialot's (1691) preface of Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois boasts the following:

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[1] Joanne Finkelstein's (1989) study of restaurants and restaurant behaviour indicate a similar method of measuring oneself through others. See chapter three.

> Only in Europe prevail the sense of what is proper, good taste and flair in the dressing of foods found there; only there is justice done at the same time to the marvellous gifts provided by the bounty of other climates; and only there, and especially in France, can one take pride in our excelling over all other nations in these matters, as we do in manners and in a thousand other ways already familiar to us.
>
> This book can bear good witness of this. It is a cookery book which we are bold enough to describe as Royal, and not without reason, since the meals it describes for the different times of the year have all been served not long ago at the Court, or at the tables of the Princes or persons of the first rank1 (in Mennell 1996, 74-5).

The eurocentrism and francocentrism of Massialot's (1691) particular conception of what is proper and in good taste describes a key point in the civilizing process. The general concept of civilization indicates what the West is proud of: the level of its technology, the development of its scientific knowledge or world view, its manners, its food, and much more. Civilization, Elias emphasises, manifests what is common to all peoples, or should be, and expresses the self-assurance of peoples whose national boundaries and national identity have for centuries been fully established.

The characteristics of "good taste" and "good society," particularly highly developed in the courtly aristocracy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are seen in the mark of the courtier, the server of princes, the gourmet. His knowledge and sense of delicacy in such matters as the table imply a degree of restraint involving discrimination, selection, and rejection, what Gourmet writer Birsh (1981) refers to as the "elegance of refusal." The acceptance of certain food or combinations of foods was guided as much by social proprieties as individual fancies. Louis-Sebastien Mercier (1783) noted how the fashions changed:

> In the last century, they used to serve huge pieces of meat, and pile them up in pyramids. These little dishes, costing ten times as much as one of those big ones, were not yet known. Delicate eating has been known for only half a century. The delicious cuisine of the reign of Louis XV was unknown even to Louis XIV (in Mennell 1996, 33-4).

Membership in courtly society meant, to those belonging to it, more than wealth. Money was indispensable, and wealth desirable, as a means of living but was not the basis of prestige as well. The nobility could live with relatively little money in courts yet they were entirely and inescapably bound to the court, the prince or the king. Consequently, the

[1] There were eighty pages of model meals provided. Many of these indicated the dates which the meals in the book were served to the particular members of the high nobility. Pull-out diagrams showed the distribution of major and minor dishes.

pressure of courtly life shaping their conduct was strong for there was no other place they could live without loss of status.

The same may be said for the chef employed by the aristocracy whose labours were not yet available to the public. Familiar culinary terms, some still around today, indicate the professional dependency. Names such as *bechamel*, *mayonnaise* and *soubise* point not to the aristocracy that had invented the dishes (it would rarely be the case that royalty would find themselves in the kitchen), but rather the chef who named them in honour of their aristocratic patrons (or hoped-for patrons). Similarly, titles such as Menon's (1755) Les Soupers de la Cour, and the extravagant dedications to members of nobility which frequently prefaced the cookbooks further indicates the social circles that set examples for "good taste" and stylish living. Later still, the role of the chef as a celebrity would escalate as in the case of Antonin Carême and Georges Auguste Escoffier.

Anything with a bourgeois aroma was socially inferior. It was necessary for the courtiers to distinguish themselves from the bourgeoisie. This was achieved not through professional competence, nor the possession of money, but polished social conduct, the main instrument in the competition for prestige and favour.[1] The nobility were completely free to spend their time elaborating the distinguishing social conduct of good manners and "good taste".[2] The rising bourgeois strata, while less free to embellish their conduct and taste because they had professions, nevertheless emulated the nobility. It is at first the bourgeois ideal to live exclusively, like the aristocracy, on annuities, and to gain admittance to the courtly circle, to copy the nobility and its manners.

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[1] The tendency to eliminate anything with a bourgeois aroma, witnessed also in the disdain for butchers' meat in the grand banquets at the close of the Middle Ages, represents a sign of the nobility's pressure from "below." Butchers' meat was in abundance for all classes. One aristocratic response, in keeping with the ideas of distinction and refinement, was to displace it from their tables and replace it with the less easily obtained game. Such signs indicate the place of princely courts as style-setting centres in matters of food, serving up what was fashionable and what was not. Similarly, the social prestige of white, wheaten bread, at first eaten only by the upper classes (the lower classes ate a dense, black bread), was also a sign of distinction in the Middle Ages in both France and England (Mennell 1996, 61).

[2] It is interesting to note how similar Martha Stewart is to these courtiers. Like them, she appears to have all the time to refine her household affairs to such "complex" levels as making Christmas wreaths from cranberries stuck onto styrofoam with toothpicks. Beginning with her magazine Living, she has built an industry out of giving lifestyle advice based on a more modern approach to good manners and "good taste." Martha is not talking about daily living, but "*Haute*" living. Her cable television program offers more of the same ideas on the "bourgeoisification" of the household through entertaining and cooking as a demonstration of social prestige and manner in which to impress others. To "live" with Martha is to be linked so closely to versions of the pastoral that kitchen and garden must be in a constant harmonious union rather than mediated by the freezer and can opener.

Section (v): Cookbooks and Instructions in Refinement and Delicacy

The tendency to mimic the nobility is documented in the cookbooks of the period. Cookbook writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may have looked to the courtly nobility for their standards but it is evident from the works of Massialot (1691), and Menon (1746), that they also found readership among the bourgeoisie and adapted their recipes to them. This effort was done somewhat begrudgingly and with lack of enthusiasm.

Massialot (1691), in Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois, makes clear that while the bourgeoisie may be forced to economize, it should be aware of the standards by which such efforts will be judged:

> Place and circumstance do not always permit the attainment of the very highest standards; one often has less than everything one needs, but nevertheless attempts to do the best one can. It is in this context that this book will be found not without utility in bourgeois households, where one is forced to limit oneself to a relatively few things. But even there occasions arise when one can afford - and is sometimes obliged - to give dinners of far from modest expense, when a cook can have everything he needs, and then he must know how to use it with flair so as to do it full honour. Moreover, this book shows thousands of ways with quite ordinary things like chicken, pigeons, and even butcher's meat, which can give much satisfaction in everyday meals, especially in the country and in the provinces (in Mennell 1996, 76).

Menon (1746), in La Cuisinière Bourgeoisie, suggests in the very title that only the less well-to-do members of the middle class would make do with a female cook. He also recommends the availability of "portable bouillon" from a shop in the Boulevard St. Germain, intended for use by soldiers in the field, unthinkable for the aristocratic kitchen, but for the bourgeoisie, a useful short cut as the modern stock cube is today (Mennell 1996, 81-3).

It is significant to note that by the latter half of the eighteenth century, cookbook writers were writing explicitly for a bourgeois audience, but continuing the courtly tradition. The disciplining of taste through notions of refinement and delicacy reflected in the quality or variety of food served, and more subtly, through the styles of cooking and serving, indicated differences in social standing. Massialot (1691) instructs the bourgeoisie aspiring to live *à la mode* and in fashion of the courts, to follow a prescription:

> When you want to give a dinner according to the rules, you must pay attention to the character of the dishes in order to arrange

> them well, avoiding having two dishes of a similar kind together without one of a different sort in between; for otherwise the thing will be done with bad grace, and could limit the choice of some of those at table, not everyone liking the same thing (in Mennell 1996, 75).

It is expressly this emulation of courtly manners that forced the courtiers to elaborate their conduct still further. Over and again customs that were once "refined" became "vulgar."[1] The example of the serviette in La Salle's (1729) Les Règles de la Bienséance et de la civilité chrétienne illustrates this elaboration of courtly conduct: "It is for the person of highest rank in the company to unfold his serviette first, and the others should wait until he has done so before unfolding theirs" (in Elias 1996, 77). By contrast, Erasmus (1530), two centuries prior, instructs those at the table to: "...lay the serviette on your left shoulder or arm" (Ibid., 78). This constant shifting of what was good manners and what was not may be one of the reasons food books which set out fashion were essentially more important than cookbooks with recipes.[2] Marin (1739) provides only one recipe (for bouillon) claiming that: "...it is basically only a matter of simplifying certain things and perfecting others, to conform with the new taste" (in Mennell 1996, 76).[3]

The motor force in the courtly phase which drives the civilizing transformation of the nobility (and hence the bourgeoisie) is what Elias coins, the "shame and repugnance frontier." This is propelled both by the increased competition for the favour of the most powerful within the courtly stratum itself, and by the constant pressure from "below." Manners were further polished and the embarrassment-threshold constantly advanced,

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[1] It is relevant to note that the etymology of the word vulgar stems from "of the people."

[2] In keeping with the hallmarks of the *nouvelle cuisine* of the 1730s and 1740s, was the great variety and delicacy of made dishes. Called *hors d'oeuvres*, *entrées*, or *entremets*, the little dishes that preceded the meal were as important, if not more, than the larger part of the meal, the roasts (Mennell 1996).

In Gourmet magazine as well, how to make *hors d'oeuvres* are popular articles, more so than how to roast a chicken or rack of lamb.

[3] His recipe for bouillon, the "soul of sauces," starts out with the following: "...four to six pounds of beef, a big shoulder of veal, a hen, and an old partridge with a strong savour, stewed with celery, onions and parsley root. Having made the stock, one is instructed to further stew more beef, veal, ham to produce an extremely concentrated quintessence ou restaurant, which can then be used to make numerous other sauces" (1739, 148ff in Mennell 1996, 78).

It is interesting to note that bouillon was first consumed by the King. The clear liquid reduced from the water meat was cooked in was set aside for him, while the servants ate the boiled meat. For more on the popular history of food and eating habits see Margaret Visser, Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos, of an Ordinary Meal, (Toronto: McCelland and Stewart, 1987).

Also on the popular level of alimentary history see the rich and appetizing anthology Here Let Us Feast: A Book of Banquets, ed. M.F.K. Fisher, (San Francisco: North Point, 1986).

until finally, with the downfall of absolutist-courtly society in the French Revolution, this spiral movement comes to an end or at least loses its force.[1]

After the French Revolution much of what had originally been the specific and distinctive character of the courtly aristocracy and the courtly-bourgeois groups became the national character. Because the French bourgeois intelligentsia and the leading groups of the middle classes were drawn into court society as early as the eighteenth century, there was, as Elias's research documents, little considerable difference of manners between the leading bourgeois groups and the courtly aristocracy. They spoke the same language, read the same books, and had, with particular gradations, the same manners.

Section (vi): Conclusion

To conclude, courtly influence standardized a new behaviour, one that is still with us today, seen through the extent in which there is obligation to observe, to look about oneself and pay attention to others. This new urban based group of courtiers who served the prince were dependent on social positions they had to work for through their good manners and etiquette. Life paralleled style, and inversely, such style gave them security in life, their currency, social power and economy.

In the process of civilization the less visible modes of social interdependence such as the division of labour, the market, and competition, restrain and control the individual's impulses and emotions. Money becomes the main indicator or social prestige and allows membership to "good society." In the process of civilization the social standard to which the individual was first made to conform by external restraint is finally reproduced more or less smoothly within the individual through a self-restraint. This may operate, more or less automatically, even against the individual's conscious wishes (Elias 1996, 114). This is evident in the restaurants, to which I now turn.

[1] To compare, manners in the Middle Ages, for all the regional and social differences, did not undergo any decisive change. Over the centuries the same good and bad manners are mentioned in most manner books. It was customary in the Middle Ages to take meat with the fingers from the same dish, wine from the same goblet, soup from the same pot or the same plate. People stood in a different relationship to one another than in the courts. The relation between one human body and another did not manifest the "invisible wall of affects" or, put otherwise, the repelling, separating, and the manifesting of embarrassment at the mere sight of bodily functions of others, or even their mention (Elias 1996, 55-66).

Part One: Chapter Two
"The Geographies of Dining Out: Laying the Terrain"

The geographies of dining out are concerned with the physical spaces of eating, namely the restaurant. Dining out pertains to people eating outside of the home. This investigation picks up where the "Civilized Gourmet" left off, and looks at the time period between the end of the eighteenth century and the present. I am interested in general movements, innovations, historical epochs and large sweeps that deal with the symbolic import of food. A discussion of the preceding historical stages will show how Gourmet magazine and its illustration of lifestyle emerged in the twentieth century.

I begin in Section (i) by first drawing from some early British examples which, as Hayward (1899) argues, were inspirations for the French. Cookhouses, the public houses and the eating facilities provided by the tavern and the inn, are seen as precursors to later developments in France. I then turn to the birth of restaurants as a phenomenon occurring in France prior to the Revolution and highlight two themes. The first is the Boulanger case. This incident was a pivotal moment in restaurant development challenging the historic guild monopolies and comprises Section (ii). Section (iii) looks at how the development of the restaurant was advanced by the growth of restauration and the exiled *cordon bleus* around the mid-eighteenth century.[1] The Revolution which would follow a few decades after the Boulanger case swept the *traiteur*'s monopoly away, along with many other guilds and their privileges. What is interesting about Boulanger is how it was an impetus to the growth of restauration in pre-Revolutionary France. It was at this time that many *cordon bleus* joined the profession after their masters had been driven into exile leaving their household staff behind. The very word restaurant was an invention of the century: "*Je demandai à me restaurer*" (MacDonogh 1987). Those *cordon bleus* who had received the initial thrust from the emigration of the grandees were forced to find some other means of surviving.

This historical analysis is important when considering the definitions, the examples of eating places, and the traditions from which the geographies of dining out arise. I remind the reader that a focus on general movements provides a base from which to link ideas of culture, cultivation, and "good taste" alongside the emerging bourgeois notions of

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[1] I refer to the *cordon bleus* here in terms of a first-rate cook who worked for the nobility in the French courts. This naturalized definition may trace its etymology to the sky-blue ribbon worn like a scarf by the Knights-grand-cross of the French order of the Holy Ghost. The *cordon bleu* was the highest order of chivalry under the Bourbon Kings according to the O.E.D.

It is interesting to note the uniform of chefs in large hotels today. Often they wear a type of scarf around their neck similar to the style of the Knights-grand-cross.

the self-disciplined body as witnessed in chapter one, with Gourmet magazine's idea of "good living" and lifestyle which shall be examined in part two. This present chapter may be read as the foundation for Chapter Three - "The Social Geographies of Dining Out: The Human Landscape." The latter takes from this present chapter the historical foundations of the restaurant to examine "*grande cuisine*," and the importance of the chef, in this case Carême and Escoffier. Both chapters highlight the communication of "good taste" in the early restaurants and international hotels and serve as examples to show how the dining experience is simultaneously being inculcated in a variety of attitudes that often have little to do with eating and more to do with the presentation of lifestyle.

Section (i): The Rage for English Fashions

Abraham Hayward, Q.C. (1899), in The Art of Dining, reflects on several reasons for the production and multiplication of the restaurant establishment:

> First, the rage for English fashions which prevailed among the French during the ten or fifteen years immediately preceding the Revolution. Secondly, the sudden inundation of undomiciled legislators, who drew by their example all Paris to the cabaret. Thirdly, the breaking up of the domestic establishments of the rich secular and clerical nobility, whose cooks were thus driven to the public for support. It has been thought that the new patriotic millionaires, who had enriched themselves by the plunder of the Church and the nobility, were fearful, in those ticklish times, of letting the full extent of their opulence be known; and thus, instead of setting up an establishment, preferred gratifying their Epicurean inclinations at an eating-house. Be this as it may, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the culinary genius of France had become permanently fixed in the restaurants (Ibid., 27-8)

It is notable that what arises foremost on this list of the evolution of dining out in restaurants is "the rage for English fashions." If the Revolution was cataclysmic in many spheres why did the impetus for restaurant development come beforehand? How could Hayward think the French, whose culinary hegemony is still felt to this day, be influenced by the English whose reputation, as we understand it today, is so pitiful in areas of gastronomy?[1] Let us turn to some English culinary history for clues.

[1] I refer to Mennell "The Decapitation of English Cookery," Chapter 8: "...it does not seem unfair to describe the food of the nineteenth-century English domestic cookery books as rather monotonous, and above all lacking in any sense of the enjoyment of food" (1996, 214).

Cookshops

The restaurant can trace its ancestry back to several types of institutions, including the cookshop, but none of these matched the restaurant's particular combination of style and type of food, social milieu and social function. Cookshops have existed since the medieval times in many European cities as a place to purchase cooked hot foodstuffs such as pies, puddings or joints of meat. They also functioned as a communal roasting place, supplying the energy or coals for meats that were brought to them by those who had no means to cook at home. The cookshop was not an exclusive gathering place as men of all social ranks could find themselves having a meal or snack together. Monsieur Misson (1698) describes a London cookshop:

> Generally four spits, one over another, carry round each five or six pieces of butcher-meat, beef, mutton, veal, pork, and lamb; you have what quantity you please cut off, fat, lean, much or little done; with this, a little salt and mustard upon the side of a plate, a bottle of beer and a roll; and there is your whole feast (in Mennell 1996, 136).

One imagines people from many levels of society satiating their appetites sitting all together on barrels or some rudimentary form of table. Quality and price depended upon which cut of meat was requested at the cookshop. Whether it was a filet or shoulder, rich and poor could eat the same style of roasted foods, and do so side by side.

Inspirations from the "Public" House

The current term "Pub," stems from the words "public house." Unlike the cookshop, the pub brings to mind a drinking establishment first and foremost. But they were not merely places to drink. The English pub has a long history of providing activities and meeting community needs over and above providing beverages. As such it differs from the restaurant but may in fact be one of the inspirations for the anglomania prior to the Revolution that Hayward had suggested.

Brian Harrison (1971) presents a very dense, detailed examination of alcohol in British public life leading up to and including the Victorian period.[1] The pub was a recreation centre as well as a meeting place in an era where domestic dwellings were cold, cramped, and noisy. In the eighteenth century, social groups drank together; landlords drank with tenants, parsons with parishioners etc. The drink-seller responded to genuine

[1] See Harrison, Drink and the Victorians (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), Chapter 1.

human needs. Alcoholic drinks were primarily thirst quenchers as drinking water could be both scarce and unsafe, especially in the burgeoning and rapidly industrializing city of London. Even hospitals distributed beverages with alcohol in them to patients. Refreshment places aside from the public houses were virtually nonexistent. Beer was not only cheaper than coffee, but was believed to impart physical stamina, dull fatigue, increase virility, act as an aphrodisiac (a favourite for this being oysters with stout). Home brew was essential to hospitality, health, and good relations. It was believed that alcohol fought disease, soothed babies, protected one against bad air, unsanitary conditions, indigestion, and infection. In many drinking places customers had their own special seat reserved for them which demonstrated the loyalty and regularity of those who attended. The drinkseller was often entrusted with funds. They provided banking facilities, cashed paychecks, gave small loans, made small change, and provided cheap facilities for meetings. Pubs provided social life, cooking facilities and were equipped with light, heat, toilets and newspapers, to which not all people had access in their domestic dwellings. Drinking in pubs, Harrison surmises, remained popular until consumer goods and a new style of living could be created.[1]

The Tavern

Taverns, unlike the pubs or ale-houses, served wine[2] as well as food and for this reason originally served a socially superior clientele.[3] They were frequently divided

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[1] By the eighteenth century the household had changed in much of Northern Europe. Witold Rybczynski (1986) argues, particularly the Netherlands, England, France, and the German states. The home had become a place for personal, intimate behaviour with the family as the new compact social unit. Privacy and domesticity were the two great discoveries of the Bourgeois Age. Comfort was becoming a commodity. The previous public behaviour as seen in British pubs may not have moved fully indoors, but a fashionable interest in domestic interiors shifted the emphasis:

"...the sedentary eighteenth-century English bourgeoisie spent most of their time at home. Those who lived in the country - without the theatres, concerts, and balls of the city - visited each other. It was the age of conversation - and of gossip. The novel became popular. So did indoor games; men played billiards, women embroidered, and together they played cards. They organized dances, dinner parties, and amateur theatricals. They turned tee from a Dutch word (and a foreign beverage; it was also known as a China drink), into a national ritual. They went on placid walks and admired one of their great accomplishments, the English garden. Since all these activities took place in and around the house, the result was that the home acquired a position of social importance that it had never had before, or since. No longer a place of work as it had been in the Middle Ages, the house now became a place of leisure" (Ibid., 107).

See also Rybczynski's ideas on privacy and domesticity (Ibid., 77-100).

[2] Confusingly, as Pillsbury points out, the word "tavern" was used in colonial America to mean the same as the "inn" in England. However, in England "tavern" originally referred to an establishment where men went to drink wine (in Mennell 1996, 136).

internally into "best rooms" for private societies and discussion groups. The pub was open to all but the taverns were more limited to the travelling upper classes and society types who were affiliated with groups and clubs. By the eighteenth century, many taverns in London were noted eating-places and social centres patronised by aristocracy and gentry as well as merchants and intellectuals. They were able to accommodate exclusive dining clubs like the "Sublime Society of Beef-Steaks," established in 1735 by Henry Rich of Beggar's Opera fame, who met for many years at Covent Gardens and then in various taverns. Taverns could also provide vast banquets (favourites with the alderman of the City of London) at which a thousand or more might sit down at once (Mennell 1996, 232n15).

Clubs

English clubs, not to be confused with societies like the Sublime Beef-Steaks, also provided places for food and socializing. Private membership was confined to shareholders. For a few pounds a year a man could enjoy facilities, comfort and food otherwise unavailable to all but the very wealthy. Hayward (1899) refers to one Mr. Walker who describes the Athenaeum club in London:

> ...the Athenaeum consists of a large proportion of the most eminent persons in the land, in every line, as well as the distinguished who do not belong to any particular class. Many of these are to be met with every day living with the same freedom as in their own houses. For six guineas a year every member has the command of an excellent library, with maps, of the daily papers, English and foreign, the principal periodicals, and every material for writing...The building is a sort of palace, and is kept with the same exactness and comfort as a private dwelling. Every member is a master without any of the trouble of a

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[3] The reason for this may be intertwined with wine having a more sophisticated reputation over beer. Clearly, the cultural capital associated with wine in the tavern is attributed to the access one had to such venues; but one wonders how this came to be? Could it be that the wine industry has always and continues to rely on nontechnical testing - the "nose" of an experienced taster - rather than by objective standards alone, fetishizing the role of the expert in such matters?

However, it is interesting to note the extent today that beer, whatever its passing symbolic value, has taken on some of the aura of wine, and can no longer be considered merely a low-class beverage. Supermarkets and liquor stores carry a wide range of imported beers and micro brewery beer. Ads and labels describe the taste using a lexicon comparable to the rich vocabulary used to describe wine (Lehrer 1990, 228).

A final note on beer indicates how the gourmet status of it rises at the same time as the "micro" quality of it increases in popularity. Micro-beer is associated with higher quality and a more refined taste not only because of its natural ingredients (or rather lack of chemical process used to enhance shelf life), but because of its smaller (thus more select) market reach. The micro-brewery takes the fizz out of large corporations like Labatt and Molson and promotes the local and the natural. So persuasive are these metaphors that the large beer companies are now including the word "natural" on their products.

> master. He can come when he pleases and stay away as long as he pleases, without anything going wrong. He has the command of regular servants without having to pay or to manage them. He can have whatever meal or refreshment he wants, at all hours, and served up with the cleanliness and comfort of his own home. He orders just what he pleases, having no interest to think of but his own. In short, it is impossible to suppose a greater degree of liberty in living (Ibid., 163-4).

There was little equivalent to this facility in Paris. Ultimately, the stratum of moderately well-to-do bachelors and periodic visitors to town, who in Paris played a big part in building up the restaurants, were in London siphoned off to a considerable extent into the clubs, and thus into private venues.[1]

Hotels

Private hotels in London also provided eating places out of the home. Hotels were different from inns and taverns in that they had no common dining area. A resident took a suite and ordered meals to be served in a private sitting-room. Food was unavailable to nonresidents.

Initially, London preceded Paris in the establishment of public houses and eating places and eating was better established among the English upper classes than among the French (Mennell, Murcott, and van Otterloo 1992, 82). In London, the development of places to eat was partly due to the connection between a parliamentary life and the need to provide public services to the members of parliament living away from their homes during the sessions.[2] Such public services housed at the same time meetings or transactions between politicians, writers and traders. However, the British House of Commons, by the time the Lieutenant Colonel Newnham-Davis (1901) wrote Dinners and Diners, had provided an eating establishment inside the building. The Lieutenant supped with a Rising

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[1] Restaurant development and travel in Europe, most notably between France and England, also assisted in generating the development of many Parisian restaurants. Bachelors in England are a case in point, as was movement across the channel in modern shipping liners (Mennell 1996).

Arguably, interest in Parisian restaurant development was due to the French culinary hegemony in England among the social elite. Domestic cooking knowledge that was not French in its cooking style and technique was considered vulgar.

[2] The annual meeting of Parliament in the winter and spring of each year was associated from the seventeenth century with the annual migration of the 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. There was no counterpart to this in France until after the Revolution (Mennell, Murcott, and van Otterloo 1992, 82).

Legislator and provides details of the event in a review of The Commons dining experience.[1]

Of course Parliament was not the type of establishment to which just anyone had free access, but neither were the hotels, taverns and inns. The former required residency prior to ordering a meal. Taverns were geared to a higher class of people or special societies who made prior reservations. The inns accommodated mainly travellers and provided only one choice of dish for each meal. London's eating-places and best dining rooms remained private or semi-private well into the nineteenth century. When common dining rooms appeared they were not fully open to the public (Mennell 1996, 156).

These restrictions may account for why the British lost the upper hand in terms of the advantages London enjoyed over Paris in the eighteenth century for places in which to dine out (Mennell, Murcott, and Van Otteloo 1992, 82). By the following century Paris was championed for its dining and the growing development of restaurants. It is time to turn to Paris and trace some of these developments alongside the rolling boil of the French Revolution.

Section (ii): Restaurants and the Revolution: The Boulanger Case

The word restaurant itself has a history prior to the Revolution. The O.E.D. defines "restaurant" as "...an establishment where refreshments or meals may be obtained. It makes substantive use of the presence of people, of restaurer, to restore." The O.E.D. notes that the first use of French restaurant originated in Paris in 1765: "*Restaurate*, *restaurateur*, *restauration* all were used to indicated a place where nourishment could be found."

Le Restaurant existed for some time in France as a place where broth, said to have restorative powers, could be purchased. Such stock was thought to be healthy, good for

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[1] Dinners and Diners: Where and How to Dine in London, a collection of restaurant and hotel dining reviews from the turn of the twentieth century, written by Lieutenant Colonel Newnham-Davis for the Paul Mall Gazette and later compiled into book form provides an indication of how the dining experience was put into print.

Newnham-Davis (1901) describes his dining experience in the House of Commons in the following way: "It is a fine room, this Strangers' dining-Room. The ceiling is nobly ornamented, and the clusters of electric lights dropping from it illumine the room cheerfully. The whitebait was excellent, the duck in life must have been a bird of aldermanic figure, the noisettes in size would have satisfied a hungry man and in tenderness have pleased a gourmet, and we had come to the strawberry-ice stage when again there was a loud mumble, and the Rising Legislator told me that the Speaker was in the chair" (230-1).

The Colonel goes on to describe the walls, his reaction when seeing the Speaker of the House ("due awe"), the windows, the view, the chairs, other diners, someone's hair, another person's spectacles, the staircase, people's clothing, the panelling (of "napkin pattern"), the lights ("the great hospital across the dark flood") and concludes: "It is in most things like the dining-room of some big club" (Ibid.).

the stomach, a pick-me-up in a restorative sense. One of the best known broth or bouillon sellers was Boulanger whose legal case in 1765 has been attributed with changing the course of French culinary history (Mennell 1996, 138). The success of this case sheds light on why the English model did not develop in France earlier. *Traiteurs*, a cross between a caterer and a higher quality "take-away," had the monopoly on selling cooked meat dishes or *ragoûts*. These were not sold in individual portions but in quantities which contained a whole cut of raw meat. Boulanger sold stock, a clear soup or *consommé*, outside the *traiters'* exclusive guild. He pushed his product line with a new dish - sheep's feet in white sauce. The *traiteurs* rose up in revolt claiming such a dish fell under their *ragoût* monopoly. Boulanger was taken to court. Parliament discussed this issue and changed the law, ruling that sheep's feet in white sauce did not constitute a *ragoût*.

Two decades prior to the Revolution there were restaurants springing up in Paris and becoming part of the fashionable scene the decade before Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1837) published his Almanach des Gourmands.[1] The first restaurant in Paris was the Champ d'Oiseau, on Rue des Poulies, which commenced business in 1770. In 1789 the number of restauranteurs, supplementing the *traiteurs* in prestige had increased to a

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[1] Grimod's Almanach des Gourmands represented the sum of his views on the table of the times. The birth of the Almanach des Gourmands in 1803 was the result of previous outlawed writings by Grimod which were critical of the new governing body in France after the Revolution.

The Almanach des Gourmands was the product of table-talk with a publisher over the failure of literature to interest the "materialism" and "sensuality" of the modern age. A guide was needed to give the public "the most solid part of their affections." The Almanach was an overnight success and effectively sparked a whole genre of the gastronomic essay (Mennell 1996, 267). Grimod's book was different than his predecessors in its aim to be educative but not directed purely at a professional core. Eight volumes appeared between 1803 and 1812. A "nutritive calendar" provided the reader with a useful guide to the best way to enjoy each month and each season. Each volume contained articles on the subject of different foods or furnishings for the table, gourmand literature and a guide to restaurants and food shops of the capital,in short, an old fashioned magazine of "good living."

The Almanach des Gourmands was intended to inspire the *Amphitryon* (host) rather than the *cordon bleu*. As Brillat-Savarin was later to do, Grimod encouraged readers to send him examples of their work, both literary and culinary. There was a highly enthusiastic response which suggests the social and cultural interest this type of gastronomic activity held during that time. Based on this, Grimod founded a "Jury Degustateur" to deal with the offerings which met a total of 465 times. Meetings lasted five hours, beginning at seven and continuing until midnight, and were very serious affairs. Fines and punishments were imposed on those summoned but who shirked their attendance duties.

The Almanach took flight from Grimod's grand dinner parties, his letters, convivial talk and the Juries of degustation. All were part of preserving a courtly way of interacting, including puns and jokes in the face of mobilizing social change under the new Directory.

Hayward (1899) credits the Almanach des Gourmands as the "...first serious and sustained attempt to invest gastronomy with the air of an intellectual and refined pursuit" (Ibid., 59).

For more on the life of Grimod see Giles MacDonogh's bibliography, A Palate in Revolution (London and New York: Robin Clark, 1987).

hundred, in 1804 to five or six hundred and by the late 1800s the numbers exceeded one thousand (Hayward 1899, 27).[1]

Section (iii): The Political Demand: "Let's do Lunch"

The arrival in Paris by the deputies of the Estates General and their legislative successors from 1789 onward encouraged restauration. Having left their households behind in the provinces the deputies were forced to eat out. Their numbers were so significant that the times of meals were altered. Two *déjeuners* (breakfast) were created where one existed before. The *souper* or main meal of the day, was necessarily delayed until the close of business. The need for sustenance in the middle of the day led to the serving of *déjeuners à la fourchette* in the restaurants and houses of the Empire. Here one chose cutlets and kidneys from the display in the window.[2] The meat was then put on a fork and grilled.

Politicians under the Directory[3] were also obliged to eat out further prompting places to eat to service their needs. Restaurant-going achieved a respectability by virtue of the fact it resembled the British habit of eating at the tavern (MacDonogh 1987, 111). It may be assumed that the anglomania Grimod refers to prior to the Revolution was not based on free access to the British eating places, for the hotels and clubs were not public, nor could it be based on the quantity of options, because many, like the inn, offered only one choice of dish. We may therefore assume that the example of English "respectability" received its honours based on the sole factor that places to go and dine even existed.

Chartier (1991), in The Cultural Roots of the Revolution, provides insight into the social climate of France after 1750: "...authority had been cut off from power, politics had been separated from administration, and public discussion took place outside governmental institutions" (11). The demand for restaurants by politicians may shed light on our common day term the "business lunch," but it was not only in restaurants that public opinion was exercised. Chartier brings up the growing importance of literary salons

[1] This is not to say that there was a sudden and total switch from great chefs working in private households to working in restaurants for a public. In 1814 a reactionary movement took place. Many of the best cooks were again formed and retained in private establishments (Hayward 1899; Mennell 1996). The movement of chefs into the public sphere was more gradual. The process of restauration involved colonizing the social geography as well as the physical.

[2] The *déjeuners à la fourchette* method is not uncommon to the style of self-service, selection, and time of eating in the Chinese Dim Sum.

[3] The Directory was a group of five men that governed from 1795-1799. Clearly, it was more than these five men who sought out restauration. There would have been many more officials involved with the Directory.

and cafes as new arenas in which people could associate, free from restrictive traditions. Restaurants, like salons, offered new public spaces, but it was more than restauration and conviviality that came with them, and that the new customers sought.

The emergence of a clientele in Paris points not only to the willingness or need for people to go out of their homes and eat, but to a new geography of dining. This geography owes its mobilizing potential to many facets, some of which include: people (star chefs and the common restaurateur); places - new international hotels; new applications - simplified foodstuffs; means - different service methods; a new will for civility and an escape from domesticity.

Section (iv): The New Restaurateur: Jobs for the *Cordon Bleu*

With the majority of aristocrats driven from their country *châteaux* and city mansions in which they lived so lavishly, their servants were left behind to find work on their own.[1] Paris was the unchallenged capital for such potential, especially the modern French restaurant. But the competition was intense as jewellers, embroiderers, goldsmiths, and other old purveyors of the aristocratic lifestyle trade also were elbowing their way into food preparation (Aron 1975, 24).[2]

The Revolution was important in that it accelerated and consolidated the bourgeoisie as a client base and greatly increased the number of highly-skilled cooks, chefs, *rotisseurs*, *sauciers*, *patissiers*, etc. working in the new public domains. From its modern beginnings the restaurant has been a business. Chefs and the like no longer employed by private persons had to make their way in a new, unfettered market and service economy. The new demands by the bourgeoisie prompted the serving of prepared foods to clients who now required such a convenience because their lives were conducted more regularly in the public domain. The modern restaurant emerged largely in response to conditions of both demand and supply. Finkelstein (1989) makes the point but she never determines which came first. She stipulates instead a number of reasons which include:

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[1] The Revolution bade farewell not only to the aristocracy but also to the pre-existing races of "*amphitryons*" or "*financiers*" (hosts of dinner parties) and their diners-out. Hayward (1899) alludes not only to the nobility but to: "...their appendages, the chevaliers, abbes, the financiers who employed their ill-got fortunes so gloriously" (23).

The origin of this term "*Amphitryon*" as seen in Grimod's Almanach and another of his projects (Manuel des Amphitryons 1808) comes from a play by Moliere. In this play Jupiter descends to earth to seduce Alcmene, taking the form of *Amphitryon*. He gives a dinner where ultimately the real *Amphitryon* takes his rightful place. *Amphitryon* is used by Moliere and Grimod to denote the person giving the dinner (MacDonogh 1987, 163).

[2] Such ex-professionals were also elbowing their way across the ocean to the U.S. for work, and for shelter from the Reign of Terror (Levenstein 1989, 66-89).

economic changes, the development of new social and economic classes, and the occupation of the restauranteur (Ibid., 37-8). The cook, as an independent self-employed chef and new professional was now a servant of the people rather than the aristocratic households. This less hierarchical relationship is seen in the word "patron" (as in the defense and protection of his client's interests) applied now to the restaurateur himself.

As the public became interested in going out, the more the restauranteurs had to compete for customers and become increasingly entrepreneurial. Supply led to the manufacturing of "good taste" fresh from the ovens of the exiled aristocracy. The chefs schooled in the tradition of the court took such skills into the public realm. It is not so much that the public wanted to mimic the aristocracy as to be exactly like them. It was rather that the notions of delicacy and refinement housed in the food itself provided a means by which to experience the exclusivity of "good taste" that had not previously been available to them. Because the French bourgeoisie already shared many of the same cultural interests as the aristocracy, engaging in public displays of their own sophisticated tastes was a "natural" progression.

Competition to attract clients led to development of other features of dining out apart from the consumption of foods, as will be seen in the next section. One tactic was to employ an interest in the theatricality of gastronomy and the drama of the restaurant. The use of gimmicks in the food, decor, service were all employed to secure business, as shall be seen with *grande cuisine* in the following chapter.

Unlike the *table d'hôte* system of eating where the comestibles were all that mattered, new restaurant environments offered choice like never before yet were designed in such a way to detract attention from what tastes good towards "good tastes."[1] Lush environments, the role of the *maître d'* who imitated the mannerisms of the rich, also found their way into dining out. The new theatre of the public showcased fashionable eating and behaviour on the stages provided by the new restauranteur. In short, it was a kind of lifestyle that nurtured the body by feeding at the same time that it demanded emulation.

[1] Indeed Grimod despised the *table d'hôte* method and places of eating for this very reason. Customers had no choice in the selection of their menu and once they had finished eating the client was obliged to leave his place for the next person.

Part One: Chapter Three
"The Social Geographies of Dining Out: The Human Landscape"

The social geographies of dining out, seen through the dining process and restaurant-made foods, are appetizers with which to study the human landscape. The human landscape of dining out includes the performative qualities of social display, concern with social status, and emulation of courtly patterns. At the same time that restaurants were most closely associated with the French Revolution and emancipation of cooks from aristocratic households, the courts and the "best circles" were offered as models to be copied (Finkelstein 1989; Levenstein 1989; Mennell 1996). The new bourgeoisie successfully emulated the extravagant tastes and styles of those whom they had recently opposed. Hayward argues that the growing bourgeoisie in France turned to restaurant dining instead of lavish dinner parties given by their predecessors because they feared others would discover their opulence and take it away.[1] It was quite the opposite.

The early restaurant was a mimicry of the aristocratic manner with its devotion to style, artifice, and extravagance. Diners were not solely interested in fine foods but in the imitation of a style of living associated with a declining aristocracy. Finkelstein (1989) argues:

> The need for constantly exerting one's superiority over others through extravagant and opulent displays, embedded the element of novelty in the lifestyle of the court society and gave impetus to fashion and the incessant need to replenish objects. Food was no less an item of fashion than were clothing, art and sports. The constant need to purchase new commodities, ostensibly for the sake of amusement, was characteristic of the aristocracy, and as the restaurant grew in popularity it carried these practises to the new bourgeois class in much the same way that other tastes and styles of the aristocracy were being disseminated (42).

Post Revolutionary influences reflected the feelings about "good taste" and eating from the upper strata of society. However, the exclusiveness now derived solely from expense not association with a particular group. The "democratizing" potential of capital ensured that if there was money, there could be activity (Mennell 1996). Parallel to these developments was the emergence of the bourgeois gastronome. He was not simply a cook,

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[1] I refer to Hayward's reflections on the production and multiplication of restaurants in Paris in part one, chapter two, section (i).

but an expert who contemplated the "art" of eating. The gastronome was also leader of public opinion in matters of the cultivation of "good taste."[1]

The refinement of "good taste" favours a contemplative, self-disciplined cultivation of the palate and appetite. This is in keeping with the bourgeois body where personal control is seen as a measure of prestige. Increased interest in observation (of others and to see oneself as others might see one), and the concern for respectability coach the bourgeois body. Dining out is an aspect of public life that is fully regulated. In the restaurant the diner is forced to act in a certain way, to compose and control the body.[2]

Restaurants were, and arguably still are, a meeting place to engage in the social agenda and participate in a spectacular social event. Restaurants and international hotels were, at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century in France, new palaces of the people where conviviality and ostentation cheerfully co-existed. Fashion was fused with dining out. Restaurants served as places that "...traded in tastes as well as ideas" (Finkelstein 1989, 38). The restaurant served as a platform which new ideas of social gathering and leisure practises could gain social currency. It is not only increased interest in mutual interpersonal observation that magnifies with the development of the restaurant, but items and arrangements within the design and architecture of the restaurant itself become of paramount importance. Culinary creations further exemplified the general impulse for social display.

The development of a restaurant-going public involves many elements of which I access four in general. *Grande cuisine* and Carême occupies section (i) as examples of the competitive heights chefs used to demonstrate their skills and vie for customers. Section (ii) looks at the fusion of fashion and dining out in the international hotel. Escoffier, and the emerging social patterns of the bourgeois public, is examined as a new form of sociality that open up the confines of a meal to a whole new way of being. Section (iii)

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[1] The masculine is used here for the gastronome and the gourmand before him were invariably men.

It is my belief that the restaurant review critic is the modern day equivalent of this gastronome, a leader in the communication of "good taste." There is not the ample space here to do justice to this subject, but arguably from both Grimod and Lieutenant Colonel Newnham-Davis introduced in the last section, the line of development is there.

The role of the gastronome had generally been the preserve of the elite in laying down canons of "correct" taste. However, since their writings were distributed outside elite circles (i.e., every newspaper has a restaurant column) it is possible to view the role of the gastronome as performing a democratising function in terms of the shaping of "good taste." For more on this see Mennell (1996, 1992) where the democratizing links to print communication and gastronomy are examined.

[2] The diner cannot throw food on the flood, spit behind the chair or wipe her face on the tablecloth. One must accept the limitations of the menu and select according to the choices offered. The kitchen may or may not make small alterations to one's meal (i.e., dressing on the side), but it will not create a brand new dish according to your selections (unless it is a pizza and even then choice is restricted to what is on the list toppings).

looks to the particular use of *Service à la Russe* as an example of the shifting priorities in dining out. Section (iv) examines the export value of snobbery seen in French food in the U.S.

Section (i): La Crème du Carême: *Grande Cuisine* and Gilding the Lily

Grande cuisine which followed after the French Revolution, refers to elaborately designed and displayed food. Chefs, no longer secured by their aristocratic patrons, shifted the more general competitive demonstrations of social display to the new clientele of the public. The notion of "star" cooks was introduced. Previously, knowledge of chefs by name, or their careers (regardless of whether or not they wrote) had never been an area of interest (Mennell 1996, 143). *Grande cuisine* has also been associated with developments in kitchen technology. The range (as opposed to an open fire) allowed for greater control over temperatures, permitting the proliferation of sauces and dishes which required sauces, such as *soufflés*.[1] Manuals codified procedures for a distinctive and growing professional culinary population. Previous preparation of *purées*, essences, sauces, trimmings, decorations, inedible and edible architectural fantasies, the use of sieves, cheesecloth, methods such as straining, extracting, concentrating, and reducing were employed by the new professionals. "Good taste" was being shaped more towards discrimination, choice and delicacy seen through the detail and precision chefs gave to preparing food. The kernels of this tendency may be seen in Carême.

Straddling the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Carême helped forge for the growing bourgeoisie the courtly importance of social display as exercised through the notion of "good taste." The visual delicacies of his carvings and his improvements in sauces, were pleasing not only to the palate, but to the eye as well.[2] His masterpieces of picturesque ruins made of lard, and Greek temples in sugar and marzipan, earned him much fame amongst the wealthy families he worked for, especially his confectionery inspired by classical architecture and reproduced in the kitchen as elaborate set pieces.[3]

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[1] For fascinating examination of the evolution of the domestic stove in nineteenth century America see Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work For Mother: The Ironies of Household Technologies from the Open Hearth to the Microwave (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1983) 54-62.

[2] The locus of Carême's simplification was in his sauces, particularly the *sauce du font* or *fumet*, simpler essences of juices of fish, meats or vegetables. His sauce-making methods departed from the heavier *bechamels*, *espagnoles* or *veloute* sauces and could be prepared in large amounts. The *fumets* were employed to intensify rather than conceal the natural tastes of the dishes. A proliferation of dishes related to sauces - soups and souffles - accompanied this move towards the *fumet*.

[3] See appendix 1.

Carême claimed that his art supplied food for the mind and heart, instilling the contemplative quality into food and his audience.

Both Jean François Revel (1979) and Mennell (1996) use artistic metaphors to describe Carême. Revel claims that Carême introduced into cookery what in paintings would be designated as values. "He made it understood for the first time that flavours and aromas must be judged not in isolation, but in their mutual relations" (Ibid., 300). What is significant here is not merely Revel's artistic metaphors but the idea of judgement through originality and refinement, one still with us today, especially in the role of the chef.

Carême's culinary aesthetic was made possible by what Mennell (1996) refers to as a "rationalization in the kitchen." This new "rationalization" is summed up in the following journal entry written by Lady Morgan (1831) in France 1829-30, after having attended a dinner at Baron de Rothschild's:

> To do justice to the science and research of a dinner so served would require a knowledge of the art equal to that which produced it; its character, was that it was in season, - that it was up to its time, - that it was in the spirit of the age, - that there was no perruque[1] in its composition, no trace of the wisdom of our ancestors in a single dish - no high-spiced sauces, no dark-brown gravies, no flavour of cayenne and allspice, no tincture of catsup and walnut pickle, no visible agency of those vulgar elements of cooking of the good old times, fire and water. Distillations of the most delicate viands, extracted in silver dews, with chemical precision - on tepid clouds of rising steam - formed the fond of all. Every meat presented its own natural aroma - every vegetable its own shade of verdure[2]... (in Mennell 1985, 147).

Lady Morgan indicates how the preoccupation with bringing a new order into the old, ushering forth a sense of the correct and incorrect, the delicate and the vulgar in the serving of dishes were all part of Carême's policy. Anything reminiscent of rusticity or peasant fare was avoided. His food required costly ingredients and costly preparation.[3] Such flair generally carried over to his cooking with dishes displayed on decorative bases. Carême's efforts to place culinary matters in the hands of experts was realized in *grande*

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[1] Perruque means literally a wig and perhaps in this context means to disguise.

[2] Verdure refers to greenness and reflects the emerging importance of nouvelle cuisine seen in the use of fresh, not too overly cooked vegetables.

[3] Prosper Montagne, author of Larousse Gastronomique, heralds Antonin Carême 1784-1833 as the most important trumpeter of the food profession. Montagne (1939), in his dedication to Carême reveals the role of star cooks in changing the culinary map of Northern Europe: "Money meant nothing: his art alone was important, and he prized nothing but the glory of his profession" (212).

cuisine. During his short lifetime and based on his books,[1] Carême set an ideological pattern as well as a culinary model for French cooks in the nineteenth-century. His methods and techniques survived long after his death.

While there were many author-chefs during this time, Carême succeeded in codifying the field and mapping the points of reference for the proceeding profession to emulate, especially for George Auguste Escoffier who followed closely in his tracks.

Section (ii): Escoffier and the International Hotel

Escoffier (1847-1935), schooled under Carême, lived in an age of newly developing travel, steam liners and rail. Large international hotels were built to respond to the mobility and demands of the railway age. The hotels were not private so one did not have to be a resident to access their facilities, most importantly the dining area.

Escoffier, known for the popularity of the Guide Culinaire and Livres des Menus, ensured his celebrity status long after his life. These books point not only to Escoffier's influence in the expansion and prolification of professional cooking and journals but to his largest area of influence - the reorganization and re-rationalization of the international hotel kitchen.[2]

Escoffier's new kitchen ended an earlier pattern of independence.[3] By reorganizing the kitchen into five interdependent operations, traditional craft demarcations were broken down.[4] The kitchen itself had a number of independent sections, including an area specifically for roasting and another for making sauces. A division of labour and weaving staff together under one chef made speed and efficiency the bottom line. Plates or dishes were made utilizing all five sections of the kitchen as opposed to one section producing a dish in its entirety.[5]

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[1] The most important of Careme's (1833-1835) accomplishments was a five volume series L'Art de la Cuisine Francaise au Dix-Neuvieme Siecle.

[2] Others like him connecting kitchens of leading hotels and restaurants in all major cities of the Western world, include Phileas Gilbert, Prosper Montagne, and Prosper Salles (Mennell 1996, 157-8).

[3] Previously, in aristocratic households, the wealthy who could afford such luxuries had an "office" responsible for sweets, desserts and *hors d'oeuvres*. These were all separate from the *cuisine*.

[4] These sections were the *garde manger* (the cold storage of fridge); *entremettier* (responsible for soups, vegetables and desserts); *rotisseur* (roasting section); *saucier* (sauces); and *patissier* (Mennell 1996, 158).

[5] Herbodeau and Thalamas (1955) illustrate this with the case of *oeufs a la plat Meyerbeer*. In the old system, it would have taken a single cook about fifteen minutes to prepare this dish in its entirety. In Escoffier's newly rationalized kitchen, the eggs would be cooked by the *entremettier*, kidney grilled by the

The public's theatre-going activities and rail travel which had blossomed in popularity during this time brought the hotel dining circuit to attention. Restaurant and hotel kitchens had to modify their menus so the new clientele could eat before going to the theatre.[1] The days of ordering one's evening meal at a restaurant in the morning or early in the afternoon as seen with Lieutenant Colonel Newnham-Davis were long gone.[2]

The dining process developed into something new, stylish, fashionable; a trend to keep up. Previous heavy and elaborate styles were ill-suited to the atmosphere of restaurants with brisk waiters, lighter dishes and rapid service. The older methods of eating were passed over as too "...formal and complicated (and) unwelcome to the hypercritical appetites" which Escoffier claims were so common: "Novelty is the universal cry - novelty by hook or by crook!" Escoffier apparently "...ceased counting the nights spent in the attempt to discover new combinations," complaining that when "...completely broken with the fatigue of the heavy day, my body ought to have been at rest" (in Mennell 1996, 161).

Women had a key role to play in the transformation of public eating places into terrains of fashion. Prior to the nineteenth century the "gentle women" did not commonly eat out in public.[3] Public eating places had more commonly been male preserves in both Paris, and London. It was, however, only women of the more esteemed social classes who found themselves dining in the big hotels like the Ritz Carlton or the Savoy; those alone were understood to be prostitutes.[4] Escoffier himself noted the importance women's presence had: "...the one reason for the hotels becoming so much part of fashionable life was that they allow of being observed, since they are eminently adapted to the exhibiting of magnificent dresses" (in Mennell 1996, 156).

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rotisseur, and truffle sauce prepared by the *saucier*. The whole dish could be assembled in a matter of minutes (in Mennell 1996, 159).

[1] "Along the Boulevards" is a column in Gourmet magazine that has featured, since 1946, dining in and around theatre shows, operas, and plays. The symbiosis between the theatre and dining out is also visible in the architecture of cities where a large group of restaurants envelop the theatre district.

[2] We know that dinners were ordered the afternoon or day before by the Colonel's reference to this practise in "The Difficulties of Dining" (1901, xii).

[3] In England, it has been noted by Mennell (1996) that women would dine out by eating their meals in private rooms hired in the hotels.

[4] It is not new to say that women were defined through their relations to men. However, in the case of dining out this rang a particularly true note in the international hotels of the eighteenth century. This piece of patriarchy remains with us today when the waiter gives the man the wine first to taste, or when women are given menus (as done in some restaurants still in France) that have no prices, and finally, when it is the man who gets the bill which assumes he is the financial provider.

The restaurant assisted in the democratization of luxury by acting as a conduit in bringing the privileges of the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie. Of greater importance, Finkelstein (1989) argues, was the role restaurants played in bringing about new social relations largely based on imitation, fashion, and increased mutual observation in interpersonal communication. As soon as restaurants began competing amongst themselves for clients, elements of fashionability and sociality were introduced to the restaurant.

The architecture of the dining rooms further inspired the sociality of dining out. The dining areas were often colossal spaces to see and be seen, a shift from the crowded noisy *table d'hôte* establishments. The international hotels altered the very nature of the dining room. Clientele were allowed to sit and slowly enjoy a meal, heavy or light. Waiters were unknown to them and behaved in a distant yet informed manner. The customers did not have to share tables with strangers which further enhanced the intimacy of the meal. Late suppers at the hotels after the theatre became fashionable, and, as Mennell (1996) points out, the well-to-do flocked to them on Sundays in order to give their servants the required weekly rest.

Influential contributions to menu simplification were expounded in the professional journals which grew during this period. Escoffier's menus acted as models of this new simplicity. His contributions were most influential when published as columns in the growing number of professional journals read by his peers.[1] Such models played an important role in the simplification of the menus. Escoffier's model menus shaped the now familiar form of the meals served in restaurants and at formal dinners. This is visible through the sequence of courses: *hors d'oeuvres* (soups, appetizers, etc.) *entrées* anywhere from fish (served first) up to and including meat with vegetables, to the desert.[2]

Simplicity was garnered in the very production of foodstuffs. Each dish would arrive independently and was given the same attention in the servicing whether it contained sliced cucumbers with butter, or a meat dish with sauce. Prosper Montagne, a trumpeter for greater simplicity, also campaigned against fanciful and over-elaborate dishes and garnishes that camouflaged, covered, hid the flavour, taste or consistency (Mennell 1996, 160).

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[1] See Escoffier's Livres des menus (1912) in particular, or Mennell (1996, 157-65). An interesting study could be done on these professional journals as a precursor to popular food magazines.

[2] An example from The Escoffier Cookbook (1964) includes, as a menu suggestion, the following: *Hors d'oeuvre. Consommé Leopold. Bisque d'Écrevisses. Turbotin au Volnay. Whitebait Diablé. Poularde à la Diva. Concombres au beurre. Selle d'agneau Portugaise. Haricots verts à l'Anglaise. Faisan Périgourdine. Salade d'Endives. Pâté de foie gras. Biscuit glacé aux marrons. Savarin aux fruits. Friandises.*

Lady Morgan (1831), in another journal entry, wrote of her meal prepared by Carême at the Baron Rothschild's. Her insistence on Carême's skill points to how his efforts set the standards for what was considered fashionable and in "good taste":

> Every meat presented its own natural aroma, every vegetable its own shade of verdure. With less genius than went to the composition of this dinner, men have written epic poems; and if crowns were distributed to cooks, as to actors, the wreaths of Pasta or Sontag (divine as they are) were never more fairly won than the laurel which should have graced the brow of Carême for this specimen of the intellectual perfection of an art, the standard and gauge of modern civilization (in Mennell 1996, 147).

Such crusades for simplicity were peppered with the audience's demand for novelty, the chef's desire to break from the past and stamp his mark onto the future, and increased competition for clientele. The idea of originality in a recipe is itself an invention of the bourgeois age (Mennell 1996, 143). However, such novelty and originality of the new simplified foodstuffs required a different delivery, presentation and service to further heighten the importance of the items and their arrangements.

Section (iii): <u>The Service Revolution: From Reformed Kitchen to Table</u>

Service à la Russe refers to a modern method of delivering food whereby each dish is cut up in the kitchen and helpings served to each guest. As seen with Escoffier, meals were composed of fewer dishes offering more courses in sequence. *A la Russe* is associated with Felix Urbain Dubois, sometime chef to the King of Prussia. *Service à la Russe* displays how transformations in foodstuffs can lead to other changes. Its presentation in its delicate downsizing was a shift from the previously popular *Service à la Française*. The latter, rooted in the Middle Ages, was characterised by the large number of dishes presented simultaneously in each course. Mennell (1996) likens the *Service à la Française* to today's buffet. The shift in the style of serving meals in grand hotels like those developing along the Côte D'Azur favoured dining which no longer required a large meal that took the greater part of a day or evening to eat, never mind cook. The emphasis and pleasure of dining out was slowly being diverted from the comestibles or merely feeding the body to the social art of dining out. *Service à la Russe* allowed dining out to be an event that included the pursuit of other social activities popular with the new classes and the socially mobile. Smaller meals could be ordered in parts as a kind of late night

snack versus the full five course dinner. Moreover, *Service à la Russe* was the progenitor for the contemporary practise of "grazing."[1]

Section (iv): Importing the Snub: French Restaurants in the U.S.

Finkelstein's (1989) study of dining out shows how eating is simultaneously being instructed in an assortment of postures, tastes and interests which have relatively little to do with eating. The attention dedicated to decor, lighting and tableware in dining rooms exemplify this. But it is the strength in the metaphor of food as a status symbol, particularly French *haute* or *grande cuisine*, that has the ability to colonize food in other parts of the world. French food, and the status brought along with it, persuasively made its way across the ocean to the U.S.

By the later 1870s a wholesale invasion of French dishes and French terminology was under way in the U.S. The glories and excesses of what later gourmets would look back on as the golden age of American dining are well documented: *haute cuisine* marathons consisted of separate courses of fresh oysters, turtle *consommé*, *hors d'oeuvres*, fish, *relevées*, *entrées*, *gibiers*, *sorbets*, roasts, desserts, *petit fours*, and coffee all washed down with enormous amounts of Champagne and Burgundy wine, topped off with Port or Cognac. Popular restaurants at that time which served French food include: Delmonico's; The Fifth Avenue Hotel; The Brunswick House; The Hoffman House, and later still La Pavillon (Levenstein 1989, 71-2).

Along with the French food invasion came snobbery. Henri Soule, who set up La Pavillon on Manhattan's East 55th street across from the St. Regis Hotel and around the corner from the expensive 5th Avenue shops, was a favourite with the social elite which still regarded French *haute cuisine* as a mark of distinction. For Soule, it was only "...good taste, manners and breeding that counted." He was famous for his "Siberia" section of La Pavillon where clients who presumably did not live up to his credo were seated (Levenstein 1989, 78).

As shall be argued in the examination of Gourmet in the following section, "good taste" is not concerned solely with what tastes good. People do derive inordinate pleasure from the consumption of foodstuffs in the public domain for reasons other than nourishing the body and satisfying hunger. Weaving acts of the personal with the practises of the social domain, Finkelstein argues, is characteristic of a bourgeois sensibility. Such a

[1] "Grazing" refers to partaking of drinks in one venue, meals in another, and finally desserts and coffee somewhere else again giving individuals an outlook onto the spectacle of the public domain (Finkelstein 1989, 41).

sensibility, loosely called modernity, includes concern with the presentation of self, the opinion of others, and the appearance of wealth as a sign of being in control of the material world.[1]

The view of desire Finkelstein uses in her study of the modern restaurant is that desires are made visible through material pursuits. In Gourmet desire is wrapped up with a certain picture of lifestyle. Commodities are seen as manifestations of the individual's desires, tastes and achievements. Consumerism, a "motif of modernity," produces an ethic which quantifies human sociality and gives it a material and measurable dimension. It becomes commonplace for individuals to evaluate and make sense of one another through possessions and lifestyle. Continuous consumption and the pursuit of fashion are accepted as respectable preoccupations in western society. Fashionability is not only attached to purchasing power but it includes the daily recasting of the ordinary into the extraordinary irrespective of class and status. And nothing can be more ordinary than needing to eat.

Yet the ordinary and the mundane, two characteristics that may be applied to an activity that human beings are forced to do on a daily basis, have the opposite social value of the festive or the socially distinct. Within Western culture there are rituals experienced through food that demarcate special occasions; Christmas and Thanksgiving come first to mind. However, a monthly magazine, like Gourmet, instills into the everyday an extra layer of distinction, or what Cynthia Ozick (1983) refers to as the "Extraordinary." She argues:

> The Extraordinary is so powerful that it commands from us a redundancy, a repetition itself: it seizes us so undividedly, it declares itself so dazzlingly or killingly, it is so deafening with its LOOK! SEE! NOTICE! PAY ATTENTION!, that the only answer we can give is to look, see, notice, and pay attention. The Extraordinary sets its own terms for its reception, and its terms are inescapable (Ibid., 201 author's emphasis).

It is with these terms in mind, and the tenacity of the disciplined bourgeois palate, that I turn to the communication of "good taste" via Gourmet: The Magazine of Good Living.

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[1] For more on this see Mike Featherstone "The Body in Consumer Society" in Theory, Culture, and Society, 1982, vol.1 (2), pg.18-33.

Part Two: Chapter Four

"Introducing Gourmet: The Magazine of Good Living"

Gourmet is a food and lifestyle magazine, but tucked within its pages are more juicy details than pertains to the edible. Food, we learn from the symbolic anthropologists such as Lévi-Strauss[1], is one of society's "symbolic idioms" (Hanke 1989). Appealing to all the senses through differences in visual appearance, taste, texture, aroma[2], and sound, food conveys impressions and associations that words are often incapable of expressing.

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[1] Lévi-Strauss is recognized foremost in the discipline of anthropology for his structural analysis of food systems based on practices and mythologies. The structuralist approach clearly recognizes that 'taste' is culturally shaped and socially controlled. Structuralism has been widely criticized for extreme cultural relativism that overlooks any possibility of explaining differing food habits, particularly their origins, in terms of purpose, function or utility.

For Lévi-Strauss, the cuisine of a society is a language into which that society unconsciously translates its structure. It is the locale where hidden contradictions can be uncovered which are peculiar to each society.

The works which deal with food include the following: "The Culinary Triangle" (1965) which looks at how the three poles of the raw, the cooked and the rotten relate to human thinking about "nature" versus "culture." He includes a variety of cooking operations whereby food is alternately naturally or culturally transformed. Lévi-Strauss notes that every known society processes at least some of its food by cooking, which, he emphasises, is like language, a universal form of activity; The Raw and The Cooked (1969) demonstrates, amongst other things, how fire universally transforms food from a natural state to a cultural state demarcating the emergence of humanity; From Honey to Ashes (1973) where he distinguishes human civilization from the natural world based on the importance of routine cooking as a human universal; and finally, The Origin of Table Manners (1979) in which eating behaviour in South American tribes, France and England are examined.

It is his idea of a universal message, valid for all humankind, encoded in the language of food that leads to much criticism of Lévi-Strauss' work (see Goody 1982; Mennell 1996; Murcott 1988a; Fischler 1989). Critics see his pan-human work as ethnocentric, overworked popular stereotypes that point to a one-sided mentalistic approach.

Among such critics is Mary Douglas (1972, 1974) who does not decode any universal messages for all of human kind. In "Deciphering A Meal," she states: "...if food is treated as a code, the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries" (1972, 249).

Accordingly, food has a social component, as well as a biological one. Douglas (1972) analyzes the main food categories used in her own home and among a number of working class families in London and discovers that food meanings encode social boundaries. The meal structure serves to maintain external boundaries. Douglas seeks to decipher not just a meal but whole sequences of meals using an approach which values the binary pairs according to their position in a series. Between breakfast and the last snack of the day she argues, food comes in an ordered pattern.

A final note on the anthropology of food must include the work of Peter Farb and George Armelagos, Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Food, (New York: Washington Square Press, 1980). This volume examines eating customs from a general perspective emphasizing how the evolutionary aspects of eating and the biological aspects of eating impact on behaviour.

[2] The anthropology of the senses is a developing field as witnessed in the last decade with compilations by David Howes, The Varieties of the Sensory Experiences: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

More specific work on the olfactory may be found in Aroma: A Cultural History of Smell, ed. Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott (New York: Routledge, 1994). The editors argue

The communication of "good taste" and "refinement," which percolates through Gourmet's pages, is geared towards a particular movement, a movement which promotes "good taste" through discipline and the art of moderation in order to enjoy all that is the "best" in the world. In the second part which follows, this movement will be unfolded and strained in three sections: 1) "Introducing Gourmet: The Magazine of Good Living"; 2) "The Bourgeois Body Doctrine" examines various editorials from Gourmet; 3) "Seeing Is Believing: Gourmet Porn And The Humanless World" looks at pictures from two regular articles in the magazine. With these three sections in mind, I argue that what goes into "good taste" is disciplining the pleasures of the palate in a specific direction. This direction is also concentrated in what is commonly referred to as lifestyle.

Gourmet gives a voice to "good living" and typifies the bourgeois palate. The magazine moves in the direction of refinement and control, deleting the excessive, upholding the discrete, the distinguished, expensive, delicate, and contemplative. Gourmet is more about thinking, than feeling. By raising the emphasis on food to the levels of the intellectual and the contemplative, Gourmet removes the sensational (connected to the senses), and instead encourages contemplation, be it of recipes, table settings, or social events and places or status. Most importantly, Gourmet separates itself from other magazines through its "travel/food bond," as shall soon be discussed.

It is my conclusion that Gourmet is based more on vision than on sense of taste - or that which is ultimately experienced inside the mouth. Gourmet, among other things, directs the reader in a pedantic fashion, disciplining consumption. Gourmet does not address food for harried working bodies (for example, those who eat from the freezer to the pan with children waiting to be fed). Gourmet embodies the world without children. They, simply put, represent needs and such care-giving roles are presumed to be already taken care of. Gourmet positions itself against such roles and elevates the aloof status of the bourgeois individual to a "higher" contemplative realm, freed from the necessities of daily life and obligation with the privilege to refuse. A letter to the editor compiled by Andy Birsh (1991), the New York restaurant reviewer for Gourmet in the fiftieth anniversary special edition, supports this: "Elegance is refusal" he claims. By "elegance," Birsh is relating the merits of Gourmet in which he includes: "Stories are never hyped. We don't run the foolish, short-lived material about "The New Power Breakfast!!" (January 1991, 28).

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that smell is a social phenomenon. They break the "olfactory silence" of modernity by engaging in a range of topics from the Middle Ages, to tribal people's relations to smell in South America and Africa, to the role of smell in postmodern culture. The role of the "flavourists," and "flavour engineers," who set out to recreate a whole spectrum of food flavours in the 1960s, is particularly interesting (see pages 197-203).

From its inception, Gourmet has valued elegance over realism. One can't help but wonder why Gourmet, and why did it begin publishing in 1941? Even the editors admit in the fortieth anniversary edition that "1941 hardly the most propitious of years for a magazine so conceived" (January 1981, 11) The social context in which Gourmet was conceived was not conducive to the average person's lifestyle.[1]

Like the civilizing process itself (where all that is civilized is cast against that which is barbaric), so too can Gourmet "refuse" and elevate the "elegant" against that which represents the non-bourgeois lifestyle - fast food, junk food, or fads like "The New Power Breakfast." "Junk" food is the antithesis of Gourmet, everything it is not. This bifurcating tendency, so inherent in the "sophisticate" world of bourgeois "good taste" and "good living," is reflected in Gourmet, and takes on a firmer form, becoming increasingly apparent as we carve the text itself into smaller pieces for observation.

To expedite an understanding of Gourmet and thus as an introduction to the analysis itself, it is necessary to examine the different meanings and evaluations assigned to the concept of "gourmet" in Gourmet and in the bourgeois body. This shall follow in the next section entitled "The Meat" where pieces, quotes, articles and advertising in the magazine are employed to better understand just what's cooking at Gourmet. Arguably much attention is devoted to the first 1941 issue as the base for what will follow in subsequent years.

Section (i): The Meat: 1941

Gourmet magazine was published monthly by Earle R. MacAusland who remained its publisher through the first four decades. The reins were handed over to his wife Jean until Condé Nast purchased Gourmet Inc, in 1983.

The total circulation of Gourmet in 1994 was 921,301 per issue with approximately 280-350 pages continued in each edition (Magazine's Publisher's Statement, 31 December 1994). However, when Gourmet was first introduced to the public in January of 1941 it was a slim forty-eight pages with little colour between its covers, and a

[1] The U.S. was at war in all but name by September 1940 as Washington was swept by an all-out drive to mobilize. France had fallen to the Nazis, and the rest of Western Europe was rapidly following. In January 1941 an alarmed President Roosevelt told the head of the new federal security agency, Paul McNutt, to coordinate efforts to beef up the nations's nutritional status as reports indicated more than one-third of Americans were malnourished. By May of 1941, the very same month the new table of recommended daily allowances (RDSS) was made public at a national nutrition conference, almost four million people in America were reliant on the food stamp plan. Three out of ten urban Americans did not earn enough to provide an adequate diet (Levenstein 1993, 62-6).

hand-painted front cover.[1] The first cover featured the head of a wild boar on a silver plate garnished with holly. The eyes and horns were still intact. The volatile hostility of the beast tamed through human hands was demonstrated with an apple in mouth and wheat sheaf tucked into the nostril and ear cavities, adorned with a crown of holly. Only a polite and petite glass of red wine accompanies the pig's head against a knotty, pine background.

The story behind such a cover, and there will always be an explanation of the covers somewhere inside the magazine, reveals itself in the text of "This Little Pig Went to Table." This chatty article provides a leisurely approach (complete with historical anecdotes), to the cooking of a suckling pig for the holiday festivities. Even though no references are made to the cover, we may assume the connection from the following:

> The boar's head is the antecedent of the suckling pig and was an important part of the Christmas feast. It started hundreds of years ago, when a student of Queens College at Oxford was attacked by a wild boar on Christmas Day. He saved himself by choking the beast with a copy of Aristotle he happened to be studying. Triumphantly, he brought back the head, had it served by the college chef for Christmas dinner, and ever since Queens College commemorates the event by starting Christmas dinner with a mighty boar's head (January 1941, 14).

The details of how the student could choke a wild beast with a book are not elaborated. Such tales of educated English bravery speak to the "adventurous" spirit that Gourmet fancies in itself. In keeping with this pioneering, man vs. nature tenacity, many subsequent covers would display signs of outdoor activity. These include: fishing (April 1941); hunting wild turkey (November 1941); large joints or big roasts with tall, sweating glasses of beer (July 1941); lobster, shrimp and clams with the active fisherman's sign of the dock's rope in the background (May 1941); a cantankerous looking turtle peering at the reader beside a big copper pot it is about to be cooked in (March 1941).

The theme of these covers is not only man against the elements, but the more universal topic of abundance. Although America was finding its way out of the Depression and the war was to cause limitation, and even deprivation, as rations of meat, butter, and

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[1] The covers were hand-painted by Henry Stahlhut until August 1959. The last one was that of a shrimp in a shining aspic on a silver platter underneath a starry sky with a glistening glass of white wine and utensils. The following month blazed the trail for new photographic covers. September 1959 featured a printed tablecloth as a back-drop displaying a fruit bowl, four sword handled brassy shish kebabs stabbing large cubes of beef alternating with vegetables lying on a bed of ultra white rice.

In the twentieth anniversary issue (1961) colour plates were interspersed for the first time among black and white photographs and drawings. The March 1964 issue featured the first colour centrefold in "Gourmet's Meal of the Month."

By the early 1970s, "...the pages of Gourmet would glow with reproductions of a technical brilliance worthy of the finest art books" (January 1981, 1). Many of these cover shots would include travel in their subject matter, or food with some indication of the country's scenery.

fuel would be under way by 1942, the theme remained that of abundance. Indeed, in the very first editorial amidst the political and social realities of the time, the founder and publisher Earle R. MacAusland claims:

> Never has there been a more fitting time for a magazine like Gourmet to come into being...Good food and good living have always been a great American tradition. At our fingertips lie an abundance and variety of foods unequalled anywhere (January 1941, 4).

The American "thirst for discovery" would lead Gourmet to "new and exciting channels of exploration in the realm of fine foods and drink." Such "discoveries" and broadening of the American horizon had previously belonged solely to the upper-class. Air travel opened up the possibilities for the middle classes. Presumably this New England founder and brainchild of Gourmet came from such a background even though the magazine professed repeatedly that being a gourmet had nothing to do with money, status and where one lived. Yet in 1945, Gourmet moved its editorial and advertising offices into the Plaza Hotel's penthouse, an exclusive New York institution. The many rooms were divided between the magazine offices and the apartment of the MacAuslands and their assortment of poodles and terriers. Jane Montant, editor-in-chief of Gourmet during the 1980s, refers to this period: "We also shared the hotel with author Kay Thompson and her irrepressible Éloise, as well as with a host of world celebrities" (January 1991, 73).

Gourmet's credo is that the loving preparation of food and the eating of it in congenial company is central to a happy life, and that the pleasures of food and wine can be enjoyed by everyone. Access to such pleasures are presupposed. This philosophy remains with Gourmet to this day, evidenced not by excesses, but through the omissions, such as the absence of hunger, lack of financial freedom or domestic security, and the lifestyles of those who cannot travel while on vacation, never mind have a vacation, come to mind.

Gourmet was initially written to appeal to men. This was demonstrated not only by the hard liquor and outdoor hunting prowess on the covers, but also in the articles and advertisements inside the magazine. Letters to the "Sugar and Spice" reader write-in columns were addressed up to the 1970s as "Dear Sirs" or "Sirs." Gourmet printed articles addressing the male reader as seen with "The Bachelor's Defense," a story which instructs men how to cook something that looks impressive, and how to rate dates for the possibility of marriage based on menu selections at restaurants and manners (August 1942, 10). "How to Smoke a Cigar" (January 1943, 30) and "When Dad Carves the Goose" (May 1956, 23) also target the masculine audience. Gourmet departed radically from the

presentation of food in women's magazines of the time,[1] espousing cooking from scratch, not taking shortcuts, trumpeting the use of fresh, seasonal ingredients, and large dollops of French gastronomy. The fiftieth anniversary issue confirms this approach when it asks, again assuming that the reader can: "...wasn't the very act of cooking a pleasure to be cultivated and savoured?" (January 1991, 71).

The masculine target audience was also affirmed in my interview (26 July 1995) with Gourmet's Senior Editor Hobby McKenney who suggested: "The target audience were American men who had travelled in the war and had been abroad in the service, men who had a chance to taste and see different things."[2] McKenney also mentioned that many

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[1] Such "women's magazines" include American Cookery, Better Homes and Gardens, Good Housekeeping, and Ladies Home Journal to name just a few. These magazines focused on women in the role of a domestic worker, making ends meet financially, and the family as a happy unit, especially the care of the husband.

See attached appendix 2: "Hitler Threatens Europe" as an illustration of how the magazines targeted at women in the late 1930s, early 1940s, focused on women in the home as domestic providers.

[2] Harvey Levenstein (1993) in Paradox of Plenty suggests otherwise. By August 11, 1945, when the Japanese surrendered, 16,354,000 Americans, most of them quite young, had served in the wartime armed forces. In 1944, a New York Times writer speculated that the GIs in North Africa would return with a taste for couscous, those in India for curries etc. Some years after the war, observers like James Beard credited an apparent broadening of American food tastes for less meat and potato meals to wartime exposure and to the delights of foreign cuisines.

But they were far off the mark Levenstein argues: "Few of the troops of the invading armies had the opportunity to dine in the areas through which they marched. More often, as in Italy, civilians were starving, restaurants were destroyed, and the better food items were reserved for the pricey black market, and officers' fare but not for ordinary GIs. By the time Italy and France were getting their culinary houses back in order, most GIs had boarded troopships for home. The occupation troops in Germany lived among a populace facing starvation and were guaranteed only fifteen hundred calories per person per day. In Tunisia, the Philippines, New Guinea and Okinawa there was never much to tempt American palates. The only Asian cuisine that seemed to interest American troops in India was the fare served by enterprising Chinese chefs who set up American-style "chop suey" houses near their bases" (90-91).

American service personnel sat down to the traditional "square meals" in their mess hall. Millions of meat, potatoes and one-or-two vegetable meals, accompanied by salad and dessert and washed down with cold milk, played a major role in speeding the process of nationalizing and homogenizing American food tastes according to Levenstein. The structure of the U.S. Army contributed to this, he argues, as recruits from various regions were thrown together, unlike other combat regiments whose members were recruited from the same localities.

"One of the cardinal rules of military caterers throughout the world is to give the troops familiar foods. In the American Armed Forces this meant eschewing regional and foreign dishes and sticking to the kind of mid-western "all-American" cooking that had become the national norm - roast beef, potatoes, peas and carrots. "Foreign" tastes would be foreign in name only: spaghetti with three cloves of garlic in enough sauce for a hundred soldiers; chow mein made of beef celery and worcestershire sauce, or chop suey made with beef, bacon, onions, turnips, corn, tomatoes, celery, chili powder and worcestershire or barbecue sauce. In 1944 the director of nutrition of the army's surgeon general's office announced that after inspecting army kitchens around the world - England, Italy, North Africa, Persia, India and China, he was happy to find that American fighting men wanted and were getting American food. After the war, the army quartermaster general admitted that the determination to use American foods was a prime factor in the shipping shortages that plagued the military effort in the first years of the war" (Levenstein 1993: 91).

of the people Earle R. MacAusland knew, fished, hunted, travelled[1], and entertained at home, had culinary hobbies and kept their tables up with the latest styles. This was evident in the stories themselves. "The Art of Table Decoration" was a favourite as seen in Cecil Beaton's December 1969 article.[2] We may assume that with this information, and by reading some of these early editions, the gastronomic circles in Manhattan at the time were tightly woven together, that people knew each other, and that the articles were speaking to those very groups.[3] The Gourmet reader addressed at the onset was not the women who worked in the home but an imagined community familiar with "good living" and the "art of dining."

Section (ii): The Articles

"Good living" in the 1941 issue is defined through articles on food, wine, travel, restaurants and gifts for the table - all of which is not very different from today's version of Gourmet. Such articles, seventeen in total, include "Burgundy at a Snail's Pace" written and illustrated by Samuel Chamberlain, an artist and photographer who had lived in France between the wars (January 1941, 6). "Burgundy at a Snail's Pace" is written in the fashion of a travel story that would cover several issues. In the February 1941 issue, Chamberlain, under the alias of Phineas Beck, began a series about Clementine, the "red-cheeked" Burgundian cook, who had fed and "thoroughly charmed" his family for a decade. Published in book form in 1943, "Clementine in the Kitchen," advertised in each issue of Gourmet, became a best seller. Chamberlain would return to France after the war for an

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Judging from Levenstein's careful research, it seems clear that the more open gastronomic palates that Beard and Gourmet's Senior Editor Hobby McKenney spoke of were less prolific within the regular core of civilians fighting overseas than has been argued. This reflects the myth Gourmet has of itself. The readers are assumed to be in positions of privilege be it shopping for luxury items in the grocery store, selecting expensive dishes at restaurants, having lavish vacations in exotic places, or, as upper command personnel in the American army.

[1] Now Gourmet delivers the most active travellers to their advertisers. Studies show that 828,000 out of the total number of adult readers participated in outdoor sports on domestic vacations (MRI Spring 1994). See appendix 3.

However, Gourmet makes efforts to get travel organizations to subscribe to the magazine. In 1994, Gourmet reached 39% of all U.S. travel agencies, up from 26% in 1993. That includes 14,443 agents in the U.S. out of 36, 606 travel agencies who subscribe to Gourmet (Condé Nast Circulation Department). See appendix 4 and 5.

[2] In the article Beaton spends a good deal of text describing the dining habits of Philippe de Rothschild. He mentions: "...they are likely to change several times a week, the room in which they chose to eat their meals...This gives the delightful feeling of surprise" (December 1969, 21).

[3] Levenstein (1989) confirms that Manhattan in particular, had historically a small, tight circle of gourmands (68).

"epicurean tour" that Gourmet would publish in instalments, as "An Epicurean Tour of the French Provinces."[1]

In the first issue of Gourmet are several initiatory articles that enforce the communication of "good taste," and membership in the imaginary community of gourmets. The word "gourmet" is self-referenced in the titles of articles, epitomized especially in "Game for Gourmets - and Others" by Louis P. DeGouy (January 1941, 12). DeGouy, the Gourmet chef trained by Escoffier, would work with the magazine for a decade. The first line of the article suggests the distinctive qualities needed to be part of the imagined Gourmet community:

> We dispensers of good cheer often wonder if the casual epicurean gets as much enjoyment out of game as does the happy hunter. Personally we doubt it....The right moment (to eat a pheasant, the "king of the game birds") reveals itself to the senses of the uninitiated by a slight odour, and by a change in the colour of the belly of the bird; but the born gourmet divines it by a sort of instinct which shows itself on many occasions, as when, for example, a first-class cook can tell in an instant whether a fowl should be taken from the oven or be allowed to remain a few minutes longer (January 1941, 12).

"This Little Pig Went to Table" by Gourmet's editor, Pearl V. Metzelthin, fosters further this idea of membership into an imagined gourmet community through the selection of a Christmas dinner:

> And by all means, serve a juicy, crackly skinned roast suckling pig for your holiday dinner, Christmas or New Year's...a custom so ancient that the appearance of a piglet at your table should practically establish your status as a gastronomic fashion leader (January 1941, 14).

Furthering the holiday tone, a theme central to Gourmet to this day, are articles on "The Choice of Wine" by Peter Greig and, "Nexus and Nog" (January 1941, 24, 26). The latter glorifies the Yuletide quoting alongside Charles Dickens:

> And some of the yearners-after-yesteryear may mourn the disappearance of the outward manifestations of the Yuletide. But, let them not wail too much. Underneath our cellophane and

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[1] Gourmet cookbooks are published biannually by Random House, which is owned by Advance Publications (the parent company that owns Condé Nast and other publications like the New Yorker). One book revolves around a "Best Of" selection, like the "In Short Order" column, focusing on quick recipes, that was compiled for a cookbook in 1994.

The other biannual cookbook is a specialty topic like Gourmet's America (1994). The food editors for this cookbook studied fifty states and then divided the country gastronomically into eight regions, each with its own distinctive characteristics: New England, the Mid-Atlantic, the South, the Heartland, the Mountain States, the Southwest, the Northwest and Alaska, and California and Hawaii.

> steel, the same jovial, cheery spirit exists that prevailed under the tinsel and thatch (January 1941, 26).

"Gourmet's Meal of the Month" presents Christmas dinner with Georges Gonneau - Executive Chef in the Hotel Pierre, and "one of the masters of gastronomy" (January 1941, 27). The dinner covers eleven courses, all French in origin.[1] Gonneau's credentials, and biographical information reads like a curriculum vitae, and are furthered hyped in another article entitled "Famous Chefs of Today" (January 1941, 22). It is learned that Gonneau was born in France, studied at the Hôtel des Trois Pilliers, was chef at the Tavern de l'Opéra, Paris and then presided over the "famous" Café Royal in London.

Also included in the first edition is a "Gourmet Fashions" centrefold featuring a choice of contemporary consumer items with a culinary or entertaining theme. This centrefold section was replaced: first in the 1970s by "Gourmet's Menus"; and then in the late 1980s with "Gourmet Entertains." These articles rely on the photograph to display the finished recipes given in the articles as well as the accompanying plates and flatware they are served on. "Gourmet Fashions" suggests that to be a gourmet involves a relation to consumption. Some of the themes of "Gourmet Fashions" include "Gunning for Gifts" (January 1941: 20-21)[2], or, fashions for "Wedding Silver and Silver Weddings" which urges the readers to buy silver: "There's no doubt about it - silver is surely the most cherished gifts. Silver alone has permanence, silver alone improves with use and grows infinitely more precious with time" (May 1956, 34-5).

A selection of "Food Flashes" by Clementine Paddleford[3] looks:

> ...into the New Year's gastronomic almanac and professes that while Imports of European delicacies may dwindle... America has battalions of good foods to rush to appetite's defense (January 1941, 28).

While he is speaking of cheese and hickory smoked hams, the notion of abundance is again evoked.

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[1] The dinner includes: *Le Potage Pierre Le Grand*; *Les Tid-Bits Assortis Pierrot Et Pierrette*; *Les Merlans A La Pluche Verte* (served with *Chateau Palmer*); *La Dinde Rotie Des Artistes (Avec tous ses maquillages et arrangements)*; *La Patate Douce A La Louisiane* (served with *Chateau Marquis d'Alesme-Becker, Cru Classe*), *Salade Vert Tendre A L'Estragon*; *Poularde A La Grimod De La Reyniere* (served with *Clos de Citeaux*); *La Charlotte Glacee Pierrette Au Curacao*; *Le Panier D'Amuse Bouche Georges Gonneau*; *Demi-Tasse Des Gourmets*; *Cognac Courvoisier* (January 1941, 27).

[2] Some of the gifts include the following: a "timely cannon cocktail shaker and cannon-ball glasses"; the "Decoy Duck" (which "...isn't meant to fool you, but to lure your cigarette and cigar ashes into its back."); cutlery in the shape of bridge suits; and a cake separator which is "considerate of light, fluffy cake" showing that even the utensils in Gourmet are mannerly and polite (January 1941, 20-1).

[3] Paddleford would later become food editor of the New York Herald Tribune and This Week magazine.

Similar in such a news bulletin style, is the column "Spécialités de la Maison," a restaurant column addressed to those who:

> ...are looking for a place to take a friend for luncheon or dinner and want to plan a very simple and satisfying meal, but in true gourmet fashion...a delight to those who are familiar with the featured dishes and wines of the various eating places about town1 (January 1941, 30).

"The Last Touch," a one page article always situated near or at the back, features the accessories for meals in the form of garnishes, sauces, and dressings. The first issue sets the tone for this article:

> Ministrations are inspired strokes of genius that turn mediocrities into masterpieces..like the secrets of a smartly groomed woman...the faint dab of perfume that touches off or dramatizes the whole ensemble. Gourmet will devote an article at the end of each issue to information, anecdotes, and pertinent facts on this topic (January 1941, 48).

"Gastronomie San Argent," an article no longer in today's Gourmet, may sound important in its French name but it deals with what other magazines (like Chatelaine) would refer to as cooking on a shoestring. Even the leftovers in Gourmet are elevated to the fine French level of cooking so implicit in its title. "The economical dish has returned," states the Gourmet chef:

> Today one may note earnest efforts to prepare not a synthetic menu, but one descended from long familiar tradition, a menu which has the "home perfume," the perfume of the terroir (land), and economical too (January 1941, 18).

The secret behind cooking "sans argent?":

> Half the battle in successful catering to the family is the realization that the eye as well as the taste must be considered...few can resist attractively arranged food and when the first mouthfuls fulfil the promise given the eye, even a remade dish is eaten with relish. And food eaten with relish is called good food (Ibid.).

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[1] Two of the restaurants featured in this first edition of Gourmet are: "Le Mirliton" whose owner - Georges Kuhnert, caters to his guests individually, and has a knack of knowing what they might enjoy when meeting them; "Caviar," whose specialities were described by the Gourmet reporter as "a goodly portion of broccoli" under "delicately sliced smoked turkey covered with a light brown sauce à la Hollandaise" (January 1941, 30).

So it is learned quickly in this first edition of Gourmet what is important and should be emphasized, and what is "good food" - food that looks good and is French in nature. Gourmet's gourmet is someone who has the means to be a gourmet, be it time or money to drink, hunt, buy silver, put on parties, is familiar with Charles Dickens, and Oxford, understands French, and lives in an urban centre (notably Manhattan).[1] The wisdom provided by the magazine - to foresee what will and will not be in fashion, where to be and what to buy, what is relevant and/or useful, matches the myth of the Gourmet lifestyle. Such membership to the imagined Gourmet community relies on a separation from common activities, like feeding one's family night after night, or cooking foods from can-opener to freezer.

Being a gourmet, I argue, suggests a touristic and consumer knowledge of cities, particularly New York City, which implicitly assumes the means to get around and an income to participate in such activities such as those featured in "Along the Boulevards" (theatre, music, dining) or those in the Special Issue: American Dreams of May, 1995 (golfing, ocean fishing, gardening, antiquing, attending live classical music concerts etc.). Gourmet takes on the advisory role and is pedantic in nature, as seen by the timeliness of the articles, the "flashes" (as in the article "Food Flashes" which looks at food products that are new or available by mail order) and the catechisms (such as "Do You Know Your Menu and Cookery Terms?" - a quiz with ten food items that are "...familiar to most of our readers."[2]

If, "Food is communication and art, metaphor and obsession" as Ang Lee, director of Eat Drink Man Woman and The Wedding Banquet, puts forth, what does Gourmet magazine communicate and to whom?

Gourmet is a manifestation of what Henri Lefebvre (1958) calls "cultured leisure." It is an "art" yet it is also a part of everyday life and uses everyday artifacts. To eat is a biological and physiological necessity, yet the symbolic import of food in Gourmet differs from daily life. Gourmet manifests the attitudes of personal, highly specialized occupations and hobbies which require technical skills, access to space and specialty utensils. The diffusion or "trickle down" of the communication of "good taste" seen in Gourmet points

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[1] These examples refer back to references made in Gourmet's 1941 stories mentioned on pages 43, 44, and 45.

[2] A few of these terms and answers from the quiz include: *Coq au Chambertin* - "A classic French resort dish using young fresh-killed rooster, with the blood set aside for use in preparing the sauce, cooked in Chambertin wine, to which brandy is added and the whole flamed", or *Faisan a la Regence* - "An old pheasant, hung 4 or 5 days, is flavoured with juniper berries, larded, braised, and garnished with game dumplings, *paté du fois gras*, truffles, and Madeira" (January 1941, 35).

Such dishes further indicate the popularity of French cuisine in Gourmet, a trend that would last for several decades.

towards a growth in popularity of "serious" cooking not for necessity but as a hobby. This reflects changes in middle class tastes claims Hanke (1989). His study of shifts in the editorial content and style of food related columns in Philadelphia's newspapers and city magazines reveal a growing gourmet sensibility since the 1960s.

The replacement of what Hanke refers to as the "ideology of domesticity," with a new urban "ideology of mobility, taste and pleasure" influenced the "structure of culinary experiences and expectations." Pleasure, lifestyle and "good taste," as conceived in his sample, replaced the earlier notions of the common family meal. The new gourmet sensibility is particularly influenced by an erudite attitude towards food, one that leaves the regional base and becomes exportable. In Gourmet magazine, this is most pronounced in what is referred to in the marketing office as the "travel/food bond."

Section (iii): The Travel/Food Bond

It is fruitful to discuss how Gourmet couples food with travel. Gourmet began promoting travel holidays in the late 1960s. Prior, travel stories were written as witty, charming recollections or memoirs of the author's visit as seen with Chamberlain's "Clementine In The Kitchen" (February 1941, 6). By the 1970s, travel articles contained detailed elements including descriptions of hotels, particular food portraits from restaurants, historical facts of the country, and lush photographs, many of which include restaurants and shopping attractions. In Gourmet, knowledge of the country through food and the imagination of taste encounters are experienced through scenery and culture. Eating one's way into a foreign culture allows for ingesting the reality of that place, for becoming or appreciating it.

Gourmet brands the "travel/food bond" as a synergy between travel, culture and cuisine, cultural curiosity leads to travel which leads to cultural understanding which leads to entertaining and new cuisine.[1] The ratio of editorial pages dedicated to travel to those addressing food in 1994 was 530: 567 (Hall's Editorial Reports 1994).[2]

Based on the total circulation of 921,301 per issue and its travel/food bond, Gourmet has classified itself as the number one travel magazine in the U.S. This may be compared to other noted travel magazines such as: Travel and Leisure - circulation

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[1] See appendix 6.

[2] Of those 530 travel pages, fifty-six percent were on U.S. travel which suggests the strong presence of American themes as seen in both the Gourmet's America cookbook (1994) and the Gourmet's Special Issue: American Dreams (May 1995).
See appendix 7.

918,465; Condé Nast Traveller - circulation 892, 484; and National Geographic Traveller - circulation 768,776 (ABC June 1994).[1]

Besides "Gourmet Holidays," other columns that feature the travel/food bond include: "A Gourmet at Large," "Two For the Road"; and various "Journal" articles. "A Gourmet at Large" was first introduced to the magazine during the late 1980s. It focuses on an individual, couple, or group who represent a particular aspect of a country, or who have some unique food angle. Examples of such stories include: lunching in Rio de Janeiro with the "Companheiros da Boa Mesa" (Companions of the Good Table) who gather monthly for a feast at the fashionable Caesar Park Hotel to talk about the "goodness of the table" (November 1989, 94); "Truffle Hunting in Northern Yugoslavia" (October 1990, 100); debating the origins of the mint julep with Bill Samuels at Derby Day in Churchill Downs, Louisville (May 1991, 54), dining in Hong Kong with Yut Wei, food columnist for Ming Po magazine (August 1994, 38); or stuffing sausages with Northern Ireland's Sausage King, George McCartney (December 1995, 89).

"Two for the Road" by Jane and Michael Stern, authors of The American Gourmet (1991) and Roadfood (1993), began their column in Gourmet at beginning of the 1990s. They report on various diners, cafeterias, roadside barbecue stands, inns and restaurants they encounter during their car travels across the U.S. Currently, the Sterns are involved in "Epicurious," an internet feature for Condé Nast. Their Monday-through-Friday interactive feature allows them to render instant judgements on eateries they find on their travels.

Believing itself to be unique in the construction of the travel/food bond, there is the presumption in Gourmet that the reader would get a taste of the country featured through articles on food and culture featured alongside photographs. Behind such a premise is what the Senior Editor Hobby McKenney at Gourmet (interview, 26 July 1995) sums up as the magazine's raison d'etre of cooking, that "...the well thought out dish has a basis in something," or, employing Benjamin's (1986) analogy, an "aura." Gourmet believes its readers try local foods when they travel and thereby get a sense of what the people are like and how they live. It prides itself on the number of editorial pages (versus advertisements) that address the travel/food bond.[2]

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[1] See appendix 8.

[2] See appendix 9.

Section (iv): Conclusion

Compared to other food magazines, like the newest addition to the food magazine shelf, Saveur (by Better Homes and Gardens), Gourmet rarely features ordinary people making local foods.[1] Gourmet focuses more on the consumer lifestyle, that which can be purchased; plates, linens, cutlery. Aspects of this are demonstrated by the indulgence of restaurants and shopping articles rather than how other cultures experience their food in a daily life setting. Gourmet promotes purchasing as a way to get a sense of a country and its people. By extension, to eat the country's food is to "experience" that country. It is Gourmet's hypothesis that authentic experiences are contained in consumption which further supports Dean MacCannell's (1976) theory that tourism, or in this case Gourmet's travel/food bond, demonstrates society's lust for expanding and accumulating not only artifacts but experiences.

Furthermore, the belief that trying new foods and seeking new experiences through eating augments the travel/food bond. This rests on the association of identifying that novelty with knowingness, with sophistication. Being open to new "experiences" denotes "good living" and "good taste," thereby promoting consumption as a form of communication and self-identification. Food, and eating certain foods, makes a kind of declaration. Similar to the courtly life during the *Ancien Regime* and the birth of the modern restaurant, the freedom to choose, or the act of choosing to consume, represents a sense of self, choice and distinction in Gourmet.

Fine foods or gourmet food, so revered for their element of "quality," act as an index of the aesthetic quality of the emerging bourgeois sensibility. This trait has its roots in the characteristic small, delicate and refined foods of the French courts which corresponded to the refining table manners. The "art of dining," instilled as a necessary precondition in the French courts as traced in part one, chapter one, now acts in Gourmet as a conduit in disciplining the pleasures of the bourgeois palate.

The modern example of the civilizing process finds expression today in lifestyle. Lifestyle suggests something that is cultivated, worked at, a discourse of the self related to certain kinds of consumption. Lifestyle is a process, constantly in motion. It can say much to the initiate but little to the outsider. Like the civilizing process, it has the function of giving expression, emphasizes what is common to all human beings, or should be. In the next chapter, the connection between self-discipline and the Gourmet lifestyle finds a

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[1] See Saveur "From a Maltese Kitchen." The photographs in this article, "Kitchen," show not only the finish product but also the process of making it; women's well worn, large, strong, aged hands knead and pinch the dough on a messy working board (November/December 1995, 140).

particular expression through perfecting the "summum bonum" of the civilizing of appetite, body, and palate, trumpeted in Gourmet magazine's anniversary edition editorials.

Part Two: Chapter Five
"Gourmet Editorials: The Bourgeois Body Doctrine"

Arguably, food talk is always more than talking about food and so within the pages of Gourmet magazine lie more than issues pertaining solely to food. My approach to Gourmet and the following discussion addresses the communication of "good taste" seen through Gourmet's editorials. Illustrations of the "bourgeois body doctrine" are found in editorials from 1941, 1951, 1961, 1981, and the fiftieth anniversary special of 1991. The 1941 edition receives the bulk of my attention. It was replicated every ten years in the anniversary editions which affirms its importance.[1] I have concentrated on the anniversary issues primarily because Gourmet does not commonly insert articles by the editor except in "Special Issues."[2] Therefore, an example of a special issue, American Dreams (May 1995), will be included in the analysis. Also included are interviews with Gourmet's Senior Editor Hobby McKenney, the Creative Service Director Randi MacColl, and Senior Food Editor Kemp Miles Minifie. Literature and press packages such as Gourmet's "Rate Card"[3]

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[1] My research into the Gourmet editorials revealed that the 1951, 1961, 1981 and 1991 anniversary specials displayed a marked similarity to the January 1941 issue. The same text was replicated, if not in full, as was the case in 1961, with borrowed selections from the 1941 text. The new additions remind the reader of the changes made but hold nostalgically to the founding credo.

In 1951 the editors compared the cover of the 1941 first edition with theirs: "January's cover for 1951 seemed a propitious point at which to repeat ourselves-to reaffirm our premise and promise for a magazine for gourmets....There are no particular interpretations to be made in contrasting the pigs heads hyphenated by a decade, however. One was wilder, one is milder; the oak plank was simpler, this garnish is fancier; the red wine could be the same vintage year in both glasses" (January 1951, 3).

The 1961 editorial simply repeats the 1941 credo: "This month, Gourmet is twenty years old, and we celebrate the anniversary with caviar and Champagne in our penthouse overlooking Central Park. With pride in promises fulfilled and goals attained, we reproduce in part the statements of purpose which appeared in Gourmet for January, 1941, and renew our pledge to further the cause of good living" (January 1961, 1).

The thirtieth anniversary in January, 1971 was skipped entirely. In it were articles on Istanbul, bar-hopping in Madrid, customs on tipping, Chinese cabbage, sausage dishes and five breakfasts on trays, but made no mention of passing into the third decade of publication. No reference was made in the February 1971 copy either.

The 1981 editorial begins with the same first paragraph in the 1941 issue: "The name Gourmet is selected for this publication because it is a synonym for the honest seeker of the summum bonum of living" (January 1981, 1). The main differences lay in describing the role of photography and travel. "Today those first colourplates seem almost primitive, but by the early 1970s the pages of Gourmet would glow with reproductions of a technical brilliance worthy of the finest art books" (Ibid.).

[2] Gourmet begins each edition with the "Sugar and Spice" reader write-in section where letters are printed and recipes are often shared. The editorial office makes no comment on these letters now, as they did in the first two decades. The sole indication now of the editor is a box at the top of the "Sugar and Spice" column urging readers to send in their comments. Sometimes requests for specific areas of comment, as seen in the March 1996 Special Kitchen Issue, ask readers for their "most memorable restaurant experience." Those letters were used as data for the "Collector's Edition" of The Restaurant Issue (October 1996).

[3] The Rate Card is an advertising price index.

which includes a mission statement, promotional literature from the marketing office's, and excerpts from Gourmet's America (1994) cookbook are employed.

Gourmet's editorials are fundamental in pursuing the idea of the communication of "good taste" because they locate the position and policy of the magazine. Examples drawn from editorials are peppered with articles from a range of dates to illustrate the argument. Walter Benjamin's (1986) concept of the "aura" and Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) ideas on distinction and cultural taste also prove useful when looking at Gourmet's bourgeois body doctrine.

For this chapter, I look at how Gourmet editorials describe Gourmet, and in which direction the magazine has paved the way for other food magazines in the U.S.[1] In short, this chapter, "Gourmet's Editorials and the Bourgeois Body Doctrine," reviews editorial reflections on how Gourmet thinks of itself. The title of a text is always central, the place where the author of a novel gets the chance to comment on their work. A magazine is no different. However, it is the editorials in Gourmet that provide the most insight on what "good living" means. Communicating "taste" by disciplining base instincts, controlling appetites and making distinctions from the masses are employed in these reflections.

Section (i): The Bourgeois Body Doctrine

The "bourgeois body doctrine" refers to the various disciplinary and distanciation characteristics of bodily practices via the discourse of food found in Gourmet. Gourmet is a communication artifact and a cultural process, involving particular standards of manner, class, and lifestyle that remain heavily coded throughout the magazine. I posit that these values are conveyed in food itself and clearly enunciated in the editorials of Gourmet. It gels the posture for "good living" and carves out of food behaviour and activity a bourgeois body doctrine. This doctrine arguably has more to do with contemplation, that is thinking about food, rather than eating or making it.

Participation in this fantasy requires leaving domesticity, superseding the everyday, through the cultivation of the self through dining. Dining discourse involves not only knowing where to go, but how to behave, imagining the moment of interpellation. Gourmet puts the everyday needs of life and eating on the back burner and concentrates instead on communicating "good taste" by pushing aside the ordinary for the exclusive, conveyed as status through the urban lifestyle with an emphasis on pleasure and

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[1] Roberta Garfinkle, senior vice president and print director at McCann-Erickson in New York indicates in Inside Media how Gourmet leads the field in food magazines: "...as Gourmet progressively increased its travel edit to become more lifestyle oriented, Food & Wine and Bon Appetit have followed" (O'Laughin 1992, 34).

entertaining. It is relevant to look at Pierre Bourdieu to discuss further these ideas of taste and lifestyle.

Pierre Bourdieu reviews the development of taste in Distinction. He deals not only with choices of food in France, but with other aspects of behaviour which are often attributed to individual "taste" (these include clothes, furniture, music, visual arts, cinema, and literature). People's preferences are predictable, Bourdieu argues, once their social background is known. He assigns individuals a class position defined by the amount of economic and symbolic capital (education for example) it has. Lower-class individuals are commonly believed to have "vulgar" tastes, while upper class tastes are "refined." The commitment to stylization, Bourdieu continues, shifts the emphasis from substance and function, to form and manner. For example, the material reality of the act of eating and of the things consumed, is denied as the base material vulgarity of those who indulge in the immediate satisfactions of food and drink. (196).[1]

Bourdieu's findings suggest that the dynamics governing elite and popular tastes are not fundamentally different. This confirms the argument already made in this thesis, that consuming food employs and signifies other interests than mere bodily maintenance. Taste is not solely that which is experienced in the mouth:

> The duo meaning of the word "taste"...must serve, for once, to remind us that taste in the sense of the 'faculty of immediately and intuitively judging aesthetic values' is inseparable from taste in the sense of the capacity to discern the flavours of food which implies a preference for some of them (Bourdieu 1984, 99).

Taste, otherwise put, functions as an indicator of one's social position: "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier." Gourmet draws on cultural capital in its insistence on "good living" and refinement articulated repeatedly in the anniversary editorials. It is in this sense that Gourmet provides a social currency for personal taste which acts as a form of accumulation for symbolic capital. Personal taste: "...is the internalization of distinctive signs and symbols of power in the form of natural 'distinction', personal 'authority' or 'culture'" (Bourdieu 1984, 282).

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[1] Bourdieu refers to how the emphasis from substance and function to form and manner may occur: "The manner of presenting and consuming the food, the organization of the meal and settings of the places, strictly differentiated according to the sequence of dishes and arranged to please the eye, the presentation of the dishes, considered as much in terms of shape and colour (like works of art) as of their consumable substance, the etiquette governing posture and gesture, ways of serving oneself and others, of using the different utensils, the seating plan, strictly but discreetly hierarchical, the censorship of all bodily manifestations of the act or pleasure of eating (such as noise or haste), the very refinement of the things consumed, with quality more important than quantity...shifts the emphasis" (196).

This is evident in Gourmet and in the discourses around food. Bourdieu's concept of personality is helpful here. "Personality" refers to "...the quality of the person affirmed in the capacity to appropriate objects" (281). In Gourmet, the idea of food itself takes on a personality of fashionability. We understand that in each issue there will be something impressionable, fashionable, creative, and in "good taste." The fish itself changes little from decade, to decade but the method in which it is cooked, the toppings, and table settings it is served on are restyled infinitely.

Hilary Radner (1995) has noted a similar tendency in her study of contemporary women's magazines. The magazine profits from this "new interest" in its past by reinvesting this interest in terms of the interest of its readers. That is to say, "style" and its re-creation.[1] The overall gastronomic message in Gourmet is one of abundance and variety, discrimination, choice, and aesthetic possibility. It paints itself as the land of milk and honey:

> Gourmet's America is a celebration of our great land and all the foods it has to offer, both traditional and newly - found, from sea to shining sea. America's bounty is truly awesome - vast, fertile lands yield myriad crops and sustain hearty game, livestock, and poultry, while streams, lakes, and bordering oceans teem with fish and shellfish (Gourmet's America cookbook, 1994, 1).

The cultural capital of the bourgeois palate is repeatedly reaffirmed in Gourmet. Even though the theme is one of abundance, it is the lack of excess, the delicacy, the grace and comportment of the foodstuffs described, photographed, and prepared throughout the pages of the magazine that meet the demands of the bourgeois palate. Excessive food and drink marks one of the primary cultural challenges to what Bourdieu cites as "the legitimate art of living."[2] Polite bourgeois restraint, heavily privileged in all matters of bodily consumption, is well witnessed in the following quote by André L. Simon:

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[1] Other studies in this area include the comprehensive history of women's magazines in Britain and France by Cynthia White, Women's Magazines: 1693-1968, (London: Michael Joseph, 1970). Though not specifically examining issues of food she notes the impact of cookery columns in women's magazines around the 1960s: "...cookery ceased to be an eternal battle to make cheap ingredients stretch and look appetizing, and became a new hobby, for men as well as women" (1970, 161).

For a more North American study on women's magazines see Ellen McCracken, Decoding Women's Magazines from Mademoiselle to Ms., (New York: St Martins, 1993).

[2] Bourdieu is not the first word here, much of this work has been pioneered by Norbert Elias. I am referring to especially Elias's discussions of the thresholds of shame, embarrassment and self-restraint in the manners surrounding bodily comportment, reviewed in chapter one of this thesis.

> The art of pleasant meals or the art of good living is not the art of self-indulgence. On the contrary, it is the art of moderation in the enjoyment of all that is best in the world. Excess and ignorance, the lack of control and the lack of knowledge have been the cause of misuse, abuse or destruction of the good things of the earth (1933, ix).

With food in particular, there is the threat of excess and improperly disciplined consumption, over-indulgence, and immoderate pleasure.[1] In his analysis of tabloid television, Kevin Glynn (1990) claims that these indulgences (in which he includes sex) raise questions of excessive pleasures. Excess raises questions of an excessive taste which the dominant social and aesthetic orders struggle to, but finally cannot, contain. Discipline, Glynn continues, is offered as the only solution in the face of an onslaught of trash. Discipline requires the rectification of the inferior aesthetics of mass culture and the so called "base" instincts. These instincts potentially reside in all of us, threatening the controlled bourgeois palate which grooms and sanitizes the unrestrained (1990, 24-26).

Section (ii): Gourmet & The Aura

In the first paragraph of the initial 1941 edition, the editorial reads:

> The name Gourmet is selected for this publication because it typifies the acme in appreciation of food perfection. In a broader sense, however, the word "gourmet" signifies far more than just food perfection. It is a synonym for the honest seeker of the summum bonum of living (January 1941, 4).

"Summum Bonum," Latin for the highest of excellence, suggests that Gourmet's approach to "good living" and "good taste" is synonymous with the seeking of honesty and truth, what Walter Benjamin refers to in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Representation" as the "aura." By "aura," Benjamin is referring to the element in traditional art forms that is eliminated through reproduction. He compares the reproduction of works of art and film to make his argument.

"One might generalize by saying the techniques of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for unique experience" (Benjamin 1986, 30). This is a

[1] There have been many works done on the area of women's relationships to food. One of the foremost in its field is by Caroline Walker Bynum, Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987). She examines among other issues, how women are traditionally associated with food because of their association with production and how the control of appetite was used by medieval women for religious transcendental experience to achieve a spiritual relationship or bond to the suffering of Jesus.

symptomatic process whose significance points beyond the realm of art: "It leads to a tremendous shattering of tradition which is the obverse of the contemporary crisis and renewal of mankind" (Ibid.).

Benjamin was referring to works of art, but the parallels between food and art allow us to employ his concept in the analysis of Gourmet. Gourmet evokes metaphors of honesty and truth. It creates with food the idea of a unique and authentic experience. Gourmet strives to get back the aura through the opposition to mass produced food, canned or prepared, seen through their omission in recipes. The 1991 anniversary editorial states that the magazine was founded on principles, unlike other magazines at the time. These principles "...championed the use of fresh, seasonal ingredients (and) espoused cooking from scratch, not taking shortcuts, (for) wasn't the very act of cooking a pleasure to be cultivated and savoured?" (January 1991, 73). With a nod to Benjamin, we see that Gourmet does not substitute reproduction and sameness for unique experience. Even potato chips are made, not purchased, in "A Colourful Cocktail Buffet" (January 1970, 62).

Similarly, recipes for stock are often in Gourmet which presumes the superiority of making one's own rather than buying a canned version of the "real" thing. Gourmet's Senior Food Editor Kemp Miles Minifie, stresses that it never uses sprays, or shaving cream for icing, or paints lettuce with hair spray for the photo shoots (interview, 25 July 1995). The editorial in the 1991 anniversary issue echoes the same promise of authenticity.[1] What Minifie and the editorial are alluding to is Gourmet's aura - the real experience, the unhampered art of food appreciation. Clearly, "good taste" is not reproducible on a mass level. Furthermore, Gourmet does not use the optical trickery mediated through the camera lens to suggest something that is not "true," or, in this case, icing out of a can of shaving cream. The enchantment of "real" life, of "good living," are conveyed in Gourmet's aura through the ideals of truth, tradition and perfection.

At the onset, Gourmet places itself in the self-important role of being not just a magazine but rather a passage to virtue itself. Gourmet is the incarnation of the "honest seeker's" voyage for higher living. It achieves this by speaking through the codes and refinement of social manners and lifestyle. Gourmet may be contrasted to the manners and lifestyle of the socially inferior, the dishonest, the slovenly, the reproducible and the masses.

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[1] In the January 1991 editorial the same promise of authenticity is echoed: "And we have never faked a picture by making cakes from hatboxes decorated with icing or by using shaving cream for whipped cream (73).

Consumption patterns alone do not distinguish lifestyles. Decisive in the differentiation of lifestyles is the meaning and value attached to goods and their consumption, the redefinition of symbolic meanings. Examples of such distinctions include: native/foreign; expensive/inexpensive; common/rare; plain/fancy; grossness/subtlety; ordinary/luxury; naivete/sophistication; routine/ceremonial; out of date/up to date; and inauthentic/authentic (Hanke 1989, 243).

However, while access to Gourmet is anyone's right, access to the aura, to the Gourmet lifestyle, requires more than the price of the magazine. It necessitates access to a certain way of living, not simply a middle class existence. Those interested in Gourmet must already have the necessary preconditions in which to appreciate or utilize the magazine's contents. These include the following: kitchen equipment, culinary literacy, access to ingredients in their fresh and/or gourmet forms, and an interest that stems from either a professional relationship with food or the leisure time and financial background to support cultural interests like travel vacations.

Upper income or "high culture" interests produce a cultural reservoir from which Gourmet taps on to augment the cultural capital and social currency of its articles. In his article on Wimbledon for the "London Journal," John Bainbridge writes: "In the mood visitors - and a very respectable number always seem to be - patronize the stand marked "Champagne and Pimms Bar" (June 1976, 132). Clearly Bainbridge is not referring to the base instincts of the common person seen indulging in beer and hot dogs at a baseball game. Similarly, when Naomi Berry writes about her visit to George Sand's chateau in Nohant, that "...intelligence and talent seem to radiate from the walls," the reader is presumed to know of this writer and her works (August 1978, 27). Or, when Gerald Asher speaks of "...a risk taken deliberately by our host," we envision something life threatening. He was instead referring to serving a 1934 Bordeaux before the 1936 Burgundy. This is a "risk" Asher states: "...because traditionally one serves Burgundy before Bordeaux (though it is better to avoid serving the two at the same meal), so that the softer, fatter Burgundy will not make a more sinewy Bordeaux that follows it seem hard" (August 1988, 10).

The "best" or the "acme," Gourmet tells us, relates to honesty, and the "honest seeker" is one who searches out the excellence of life itself. Honest suggests "...actions and feelings of uprightness" (O.E.D.). Honour means to "decorate, adorn, ornament or embellish" and having to do with "some outward action" (Ibid.). Gourmet, as these definitions of honest and honour suggest, expects self-definition to come from somewhere outside the self, from elsewhere. This, as Gourmet makes clear in the editorials, is the only valid approach to life. The movement towards the best signifies that which has made

Gourmet, and the bourgeoisie believe itself to be a "higher" kind of society. The best is always measured against that which is presumably inferior to it.

Undoubtedly, this line of thinking percolates in the inert material reality of food and into the articles. In "Paris a Table," Monsieur Trompier offers duck, quail, partridge, and ortolan at his La Marée, but no chicken. The author describes why:

> He doesn't think much of today's chicken. Those that have been raised industrially are unworthy for consideration, those that have been fed on cow are passable, but for the finest flavour, he feels a fowl should be nourished with wheat. Since a wheat-fed chicken is not available on the market, he prefers not to have any chickens in his restaurant. Besides,now that chicken has become the standby at every banquet, every large function, it is no longer a luxury dish (January 1968, 28).

Yet the reader must not be distraught or misled by the pursuit of excellence.

> The art of being a gourmet has nothing to do with age, money, fame, or country....wherever it exists, the practitioner of this art will have the eye of an artist, the imagination of a poet, the rhythm of a musician, and the breadth of a sculptor. That is the subtle amalgam of which the true gourmet is compounded (January 1941, 5).

What is missing from this not so subtle mix of the "true gourmet" is what one must possess to have the leisure or means to such an "eye," "imagination," "rhythm" and "breadth." These all suggest a particular lifestyle, and prior grooming or experience.

Moreover, what is absent in Gourmet's definition of its art, its "aura" is any mention of the money, geography, knowledge, kitchen, supplies, pots and pans, *bain-maries*, knowledge of French and culinary practises, cooking courses so as to know what it is to *sauté*, braise, dredge etc. The qualifications of the "true gourmet" remain far from explicit. So common and obvious are the entitlements to being a "true gourmet," they are never mentioned. Hinted at is only that the locus is to be "...found in the French housewife with her *pot-au-feu* or in a white capped chef in a skyscraper hotel" (January 1941, 4).

Gourmet came into being at a time which could not have "...been more fitting...At our fingertips in this land of glorious plenty lies an abundance and variety of foods unequalled anywhere" (January 1941, 4). Gourmet evokes the Bible to cement its point: "..perhaps more important than all else today should be our recognition of that Biblical axiom, "Take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry" (Ibid.).[1] Through the evocation of the

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[1] This is the story of the prodigal son in Book of Luke 15: 23. To celebrate his return, the father throws a feast: And the father said bring the fatted calf and kill it, let us eat and make merry."

The idea of drinking is in the Book of Isaiah 22: 13: "And behold, joy and gladness, slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine. Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die."

Bible, Gourmet allows the reader to have a faith, a belief, reverence and a respect for the Gourmet goals, for is it not uttering the words of God Himself?

"Good food and good living have always been a great American tradition" Gourmet boldly asserts in 1941, and repeats twenty years later in the 1961 editorial, and in the cookbook, Gourmet's America (1994). Clearly from the participation in food stamp programs, the tradition was relegated to only a select few.[1]

"And our native, unquenchable thirst for discovery is now leading us daily into new and exciting channels of exploration in the realm of fine food and drink" the editorial claims (January 1941, 4). But America's "unquenchable thirst for discovery" was, according to Harvey Levenstein (1985, 1988, 1989, 1993) and Waverly Root (1976), never in the arenas of food consumption. "American food," so clearly copied from the British, was rallied in massive programs by home economists to persuade Italian immigrants in the U.S. to change their eating habits.[2] Root claims that the colonists in America turned their backs on new foods. Often they refused to eat them until after Europe had accepted and reimported them back to their land of origin. It is with this in mind, Root maintains that we should view the well worn saying, as American as apple pie which is after all, a dish imported from England.

Section (iii): Who is the Gourmet audience?

Gourmet demarcates just who it believes its readers to be in its Rate Card: "The Gourmet audience entertains often, and with style. Authentic and attainable recipes emphasize taste and healthy ingredients, while always providing clear instructions for the home cook" (Rate Card 1995). The 1941 editorial locates the reader not only as an "honest seeker" but also as "...a wise person who makes the satisfying of his palate an exciting, stimulating adventure" (January 1941, 4).

We know who the Gourmet audience is today. The demographic profiles reveal that 27.3% of the readers are men; 72.&% are women. The Median age of the reader is 44.1 years and the median household income $53,949. Based on education, 77.18% attended, and/or graduated college. In terms of residence, 89.6% resided in urban centres (Research Report #2330, April 1995).[3] Thus, the target audience for Gourmet is the older, wealthy person reaffirmed by the following trade publication:

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[1] In 1941 almost four million people were benefitting from the food stamp plan (Levenstein 1993, 62).

[2] See in particular Levenstein (1985).

[3] See appendix 10.

> "When Condé Nast took over, they put a tremendous amount of effort into refocusing the book against a more affluent, older reader who considers a meal, as well as travel, an important part of life" says Marvin Davis, president of DavisWorks (O'Laughin 1992, 34).[1]

"There had never before been an American magazine that took such an adventurous interest in food" (January 1941, 4; 1991, 71). Is Gourmet the adventure the first editorial (echoed again in 1951, 1961 and 1991) screamed it was? Gourmet is not so much an adventure but rather what one may expect from a bourgeois body doctrine, delivered with faith and dependability in each issue. As the Senior Editor McKenney told me: "We know what our readers want and they can depend on us for that reason" (interview, 26 July 1995). What lurks behind the idea of "adventure" is the pursuit of "good taste" as a reprieve from regular, daily, life, from all that is unsophisticated, chaotic, and worst of all - ordinary. As the editorial states:

> How much more significant this admonition (take thine ease) is today when the mad hurly-burly of our modern daily existence forces us all to catch hold of the charged wire of noisy, strident living - and when the need to let go is the gravest task that faces us all! (January 1941, 5).

Strident living refers to noisy living which comes from the body of the masses. Gourmet represents the non-noisy body, the body that holds everything in. Two issues from the particularly quiet year of 1976 illustrate this.

> Wimbledon, which attracts around twenty-five thousand visitors a day, must be the quietest international sports event in the world...Ladies and gentlemen stroll about before the matches...speaking in voices so modulated as to be suitable for exchanging words with the vicar at a church fete (June 1976, 21).

A further reference to the benefits of peaceful contemplation are included in a restaurant review of La Mirabelle, "...a restaurant where one can order with confidence: At all our dinners we have been impressed with the quietly executed skilful service" (in Spécialités de la Maison" August 1976, 6). The "letting-go" Gourmet refers to is achieved through the reading of Gourmet, through "celebrating life's pleasures," in a contemplative

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[1] The format of Gourmet did not change greatly after Condé Nast purchased it in 1983. What did evolve more slowly was the thorough penetration of travel into the articles. Gourmet was more stylized, glossier, but this could also have to do with the technological changes that allowed for higher quality reproductions.

manner. Nowhere in the pages of Gourmet is the reader led to believe that life is anything but fair, bountiful and beautiful. The manners of the bourgeois palate are refined, established, and naturalized as confirmed by the Senior Editor: "What we like and what our readers like has been established over such a long period of time we just don't think about it anymore" (interview, 26 July 1995). The most memorable meals we see from the "Wine Journal" are those that

> ...had an appropriate rhythm...setting a frame in which we could relax and delight in the pleasures of the table and each other's company, and they ended well, mellowed by a rich wine, over which we lingered (August 1978, 11).

The antithesis to this long established, Gourmet world of refinement and civilized domesticity, relaxation and delight is Bakhtin's (1984) famous and much cited metaphor of the fool's feast. Rabelais's carnivalesque world defies the predominant order. I quote from Rabelais and His World:

> As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order...This experience, opposed to all that was ready-made and completed, to all pretence at immutability, sought a dynamic expression; it demanded ever changing, playful, undefined forms (Bakhtin 1984, 9, 11).

At the polar end of Rabelais's sensual character and strong element of play is the satiation of the bourgeois palate. This is achieved through a mental exercise, and a contemplative process. It is through the contemplation of the bourgeois palate that euphoria is achieved:

> ...a time when he completely dissociates himself, if only temporarily, from the discordance of the world - a time when he responds to the sensuous enjoyment, not only of food, but of its colour and form and savour (January 1941, 5).

The focus on the visual, on the primacy of "good taste" on the properties which bypass needs and nutrition, are fortified in the editorials. Fundamental to the bourgeois doctrine of Gourmet is the contemplative intellectual exercise, that which is envisioned based on the separation of thinking from doing.

As Bourdieu states in Distinction, "sensation" (versus sensuality), is a metaphor grounded in the concept of pure and intellectually unmeditated bodily experiences. This may be compared to the exclusive affirmation of the precise discriminating quality of contemplation. The bourgeois body doctrine of Gourmet is encased in the idea of the

authentic: "Our readers occasionally want to do something authentic and actually enjoy it" (interview with the Senior Editor Hobby McKenney, 26 July 1995). Implied in Gourmet's editorial policy is a "proper" approach to food. Food must be the best, the "acme of perfection." Gourmet addresses "...those people who take great care in how their table looks, who really want to serve an elegant meal once in a while. Who bring out all their best things, or, who want to prepare an elaborate holiday feast" (Ibid.).

Gourmet magazine did not, and continues not to, address domestic cookery based on economy, convenience, and substance seen through large portions. Such dishes would speak to a particular social condition and routinized activity. Gourmet sets itself aside from the everyday and imagines its own community:

> By and large, though, Americans today are far more worldly and far less likely to settle for anything less than the summum bonum - a condition for which we at Gourmet like to think we are in no small part responsible (January 1981, 1).

Section (iv): The Imagined Gourmet

The imagined gourmet is imagined because the members will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them.[1] Yet in the minds of each gourmet is instilled the image of their communion, the cooking, eating and dining together with Gourmet as the tour guide, chef, and palate disciplinarian for all. The imagined gourmet community is imagined as selective with certain privileges to membership but first requires many prerequisites.

Gourmet creates its community nostalgically from the past: "...for a brief moment, we recapture the mellow moods and manners of a bygone day which unashamedly followed the pursuit of happiness in such an admirable fashion" (January 1941, 4; January 1951, 2). The references to "bygone days" suggest a commitment or shared philosophy of something that is so obvious the reader never gets details of what exactly it is. Such taken for grantedness suggests a readership with a homogeneous or similar ideological base.

Gourmet imagines what is common to all human beings - or should be. It expresses the self-assurance of peoples whose needs are not in question and whose appetite is fed by curiosity rather than hunger. The imagined gourmet exists as a community through the universal language of Gourmet: "Gourmet will speak that Esperanto of the palate that makes the whole world kin...good food, good drink, fine living...the universal language of the gourmet" (January 1941, 5).

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[1] Benedict Anderson 's (1991) notion of imaginary communities has been influential for my ideas on the imagined gourmet.

Gourmet "...seeks to connect this link of a **gracious past** with the tempo of today, and to initiate a healthy curiosity in those who have heretofore thought of **eating as merely the satisfying of hunger**" (January 1941, 5 my emphasis). Gourmet is "good living," life itself and sustenance for the bourgeois palate and lifestyle. Gourmet is food for the bourgeois body, the body that requires no nutrients, only comportment. *Hors d'oeuvres* are the perfect example a bourgeois body food, food that entertains with peckish sustenance is much applauded by Gourmet magazine. *Hors d'oeuvres* are little snacks, pretty and petite; they provide more stimulation for the eye than for the appetite. Gourmet promotes beauty over nutrition.

Gourmet provides the picnic for all humanity to group together: "...a time when friend holds fellowship with friend - when ease **(never the apathy of a glutted diner)** promotes that delicious feeling of physical and aesthetic well-being" (January 1941, 5 my emphasis). Gourmet takes ease for granted: the dishes get done, the shopping paid for, and the towels cleaned. It is after all "good living," embellishing lifestyle over just plain living. Conviviality and company are central to Gourmet, and not just for sharing a meal. Without someone else to see and witness the "aesthetic well-being" how is "good living" conveyed? How Gourmet sees itself in comparison to others is central to Gourmet and the bourgeois sensibility. It is rare that the "Gourmet's Menus" or "Gourmet Entertains" would prepare a meal for one.[1]

It is in this way that Gourmet teaches us not only how to cook but how to think: "Gourmet doesn't simply tell us how to cook - it teaches you how to think about cooking" (Pearlstein 1991). What Pearlstein is referring to is how Gourmet contemplates its recipes. This is achieved, like the Gourmet appetite itself, through vision. Let us turn now to some examples of Gourmet's "vision" seen through the example of photography.

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[1] In all my research of Gourmet magazines from the 1940s to the present I have come across one exception of where a meal was prepared and featured just for one person. This was in "Gourmet's Menus: Five Breakfasts on Trays" (January 1971, 81).

Part Two: Chapter Six
"Seeing Is Believing: Gourmet Porn and the Humanless World"

Food, in Gourmet's photography, presents readers the dreams of "good taste" and the controlled comportment of the bourgeois world which encompasses the fantasy of leisure through consumption. The communication of "good taste" rests on the ideals of lifestyle consumption. You are not only what you eat; but, where you eat it, how you eat it, what you eat it with (on what plates or table settings) and finally, to what parts of the globe you go to eat it in. This is evident through the "Tabletop," which, as designated in Gourmet's masthead, refers to the plate settings, cutlery, linens, glassware etc. The Senior Editor Hobby McKenney said that those who work in that industry want it be called "lifestyle" and are pressing Gourmet to do so (interview, 26 July 1995).

Seeing is believing in the heavily stylized, lush food and travel pictures found in Gourmet magazine. Pictures move culinary instruction away from print and text-based knowledge to foreseeing the imaginable in the finished photographic product. Food is fictionalized in Gourmet.[1] It tells a story where the best moment is frozen, and the happy ending is one which is never internalized, never made flesh. It is diet fiction.

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[1] There is a considerable amount of work in the area of food and literature. Although it is not the concentration in this particular thesis, it is relevant however to note some of the works in the area. See Maggie Kilgour's From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990) for a literary interpretation of a world in which everything is imagined as being inside or outside. She reviews works from Homer, Ovid, Augustine, Dante, Rabelais, Jonson, Milton, The Gothic, Coleridge, Melville, to Northrop Frye and Sigmund Freud. The bifurcating tendency between inside and outside, Kilgour argues, is evident not only in the latter mentioned authors' texts but also in the manner in which texts are approached. Dualism she argues, depends on a commitment to false transcendence or sublimation, the end of all opposition, which is achieved through the cannibalistic subsumption of one term by the other, escapable only by refusing to judge the world in terms of eater and eaten.

For an investigation into issues pertaining to the theory and history of semiotics, seen especially in the problem concerning signs and words in their relation to the Eucharist, see Louis Marin's Food For Thought, trans. Mette Hjort (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989). Marin employs historical narratives, panegyrics, paintings, medals, or portraits dating from the seventeenth century to examine the historical and philosophical workings of the eucharist model within the imaginary and political symbolics of the absolute monarch. Of particular interest is Marin's work on the art of cooking as a signifying system, the "culinary sign" as it appears in a corpus of fairy and ogre tales, and the careful analysis of what he refers to as the "semantic plasticity" of the French word "cuisine."

With specific attention on the Italian novelistic genre since the 1950s as it deals with food, see Gian-Paolo Biasin The Flavours of Modernity: Food and the Novel (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993). Biasin argues that alimentary referents constitute and integral part of the technique used for representation, narration, and characterization in the novel, and hence are meant to establish the quality and value of the text, its literariness. He looks not only at the foods or meals privileged in the texts by writers such as Italo Calvino, but also the places where food is prepared, the "cucina" or kitchen, as an integral flavour or world view of the novel.

The focus in this final chapter is how food is represented in Gourmet magazine, what the pictures communicate. This chapter examines food photography in the following ways: 1) "The Gourmet Look," to borrow a phrase from the 1991 editorial, looks at the ready-made "reality" in the magazine; 2) "Food Photography and the Genteel eye/I" examines the primacy of the visual over the other senses; 3) "Consuming More Than Food: The Manhattan and the Martini " focuses on lifestyle in Gourmet including the advertisements; 4) "Gastro Porn / Gourmet Porn" puts Roland Barthes's (1973) idea of "ornamental cookery" into a Gourmet context; 5) "On Location: Travelling Food, Gourmet's Synergy between Taste and Place" examines the relations between food, culture and travel; 6) "The Humanless Gourmet" looks at the constructed gourmet body in two long-running articles.

This chapter does not purport to review all of Gourmet's photographic history, but rather to bring the magazine and the present analysis up to date. Focus is primarily on the 1980s and 1990s.

Section (i): The "Gourmet Look"

The "Gourmet Look" gazes into a world without labour, kitchen, or cooks. It exists in the "mythical economy" that Barthes (1973) refers to in his essay "Ornamental Cooking," an openly dream-like cookery whose consumption can perfectly well be accomplished simply by looking. The "Gourmet Look" is a humanless world where the table and hearth, central places of human activity, are devoid of people, labour, traces of carnal or sensual participation. The preparation of a meal involves intensive domestic labour, the most devalued labour in society as Rosalind Coward (1985) correctly asserts. Aspiring to cook, produce and prepare perfectly finished food, she argues, is a symbol of a willing and enjoyable participation in servicing other people. This is nothing short of an act of servitude (Ibid., 103).[1]

However, in keeping with Gourmet's distant, contemplative bourgeois "personality," the "Gourmet Look" hides all traces of its production. The question must be addressed as to why this is eliminated from the representation of food in the magazine?

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[1] Other feminist philosophers have turned their attention to considerations of the practical, embodied activities, examining both the way those activities have been ignored by traditional Western thought, and the philosophical significance such activities in fact have. Such attention has revealed the ways in which class, race, and gender hierarchies have helped to determine what counts as philosophically interesting activity. These activities tend to be those classed as theory or head work. Heldke (1992a) traces how Plato's contemplation of the Forms, of number and figure, of God, has been regarded as the philosophically most important human activity while wives, servants, slaves and workers were more likely to be engaged in the less important tasks involving hand work (212).

Meals appear ready-made. Traces of the shopping, cleaning, trimming, and paring and peeling are removed from the finished visual product. The "Gourmet Look" denies not only the labour (the underside of entertaining) of making gourmet food, but the senses (excluding sight) and their natural involvement in eating. Gourmet relies on the contemplative, intellectualized qualifiers of occasion, time, and place to visually and thematically enhance or communicate what is "good taste," and "good living."

Food pictures in Gourmet act as appetizers to the bourgeois palate, imaginative tantalizers to creation, removing the bland and repetitive from the everyday activity of cooking in the constant pursuit of novelty. Gourmet upstages the ordinary with visual representations of the "delicious," "exclusive" and fashionable. Gourmet photographs make celebrities out of everyday, biological necessities: dinners become "Alfresco's" on a terrace, lunches are "picnics with hot air balloons" or "afternoon parties," and breakfasts, leisurely "brunches." The normal is made special, the ordinary extraordinary, but the moment of interaction is emptied once the visual is complete, once the picture is digested or, the column read.

The presentation of food in Gourmet sits upon a cleverly prepared stage with all the costumes, lighting, and scenic backdrops to give the impression over and over again of what it means to be the magazine of "good living." Gourmet takes the aesthetic as distinct from the nutritional aspect of food and turns it into not only what Mary Douglas (1974) calls "applied art," but fine art.[1]

Section (ii): Food Photography in Gourmet: The Genteel Eye/I

The communication of "good taste" is a vision, a pair of spectacles that never leaves the eyes, an approach to life and "good living." Gourmet reflects what Barthes (1973) refers to as the camouflage of "gentility." Such a "need for gentility," he argues, precludes the real problems concerning food, which, in the case of Gourmet, are not where to find the specialty ingredients like imported Japanese shitake mushrooms or which Italian glassware, hand-painted table settings or Belgian linens to use, but the very act of eating, surviving and nourishing the self in the processed food world of contemporary capitalism where 26.6 million people in the U.S. alone relied on food stamps to help them get enough to eat in 1993.[2]

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[1] See Mary Douglas, "Food as an Art Form," Studio International, 1 (September 1974) 83-8.

[2] This statistic comes from a compilation by James Trager, The Food Chronology: A Food Lover's Compendium of Events and Anecdotes, from Prehistory to the Present (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995) 703.

Contemplating Gourmet: The Magazine of Good Living, is a meditation on the visual. By removing the human form (for no people are pictured in "Gourmet's Menus" or "Gourmet Entertains"), the magazine obliterates the sensual relations that surround food and empties Gourmet's table of life. "Gourmet's Menus" and "Gourmet Entertains" were introduced specifically to unite photography with food.[1]

"People are distracting," Gourmet's Senior Editor McKenney answered when asked why the tables and picnic blankets of "Gourmet's Menus" and "Gourmet Entertains" are empty of diners (interview, 26 July 1995). Bowls, plates and glasses are not always even filled, putting into question just what it is that Gourmet is promoting. The reader never sees the satiated diner, a full stomach with a top button undone, the messy kitchen after a meal, or cigarette smoke as closure to a meal.

I remind the reader of the definition of the gourmet from the O.E.D.: "The gourmet is merely theoretical, cares little about practising..." An epicure is also person with refined tastes in eating and drinking, a synonym of "gourmet." Epicurus, 371-270 BC, founded the school of Epicureans in ancient Greece and asserted that mental pleasures were superior to those of the body. There is only the "right" way to make food in Gourmet, that which is represented in the photographs. No substitutions are given in the recipes and meals are made two and three times in the test kitchens prior to their being timed for the reader and "coiffed" for the photo shoot. Gourmet's photographed food is "museumification" and relegated to refined appreciation using sight alone.

The predominance of vision at the expense of all senses, all other ways of knowing, has a long history. The evolution of humanity, according to Hegel, involved the shift in the primacy of the sensorium from mouth to eye, reflecting the importance of mind over body. Sight is paradigmatic of knowledge and understanding. Some examples of this include: "I see," meaning to understand, or, "We see eye to eye," and, "It's good to see you." The "visionary" and "world-view" are also examples of the ocularcentrism of our culture. Humanity's noblest sense, sight, coincides with our noblest faculty, reason. Each symbolically reinforces the other thus obliterating the possibility for bodily knowledge and bodily experience (Heldke 1992, 218-9; Synnott 1993, 209).

While looking may be predatorial and invasive, in Gourmet, seeing is a "genteel" sense, one delivered without offense, that acts at a distance and is individually controlled, wholly self-regulated and self-restrained. The photos in Gourmet depict "polite foods." As such the food is portioned and ready to go, never requiring mixing, tossing, or final

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[1] The 1991 anniversary issue states: "Slowly we began photographing food, growing better with practise until we felt confident enough to feature "Gourmet's Menus" in a colour centrefold in the March 1964, issue" (January 1991, 73).

additions. Interaction and activity are minimal as the cult of the delicate and the ideology of refinement ensure that dishes arrive ready made, in individual portions or amounts.[1] The Gourmet reader is no longer cooking for large families and dinner parties but for two or four persons.[2] The food is rarely greasy, judging from the pristine or hardly-used character of the plates, glasses, and neatly folded, never soiled or washed napkins. Moreover, the servings of food are never spilt, slopped over the edge or even outside the hand-painted borders artfully decorating the plate.

The abundance of flatware suggests that fingers are never used. Firm advocates of the philosophy of the fork, Gourmet ventures into countries and reports on "Chinese Without Chopsticks" (March 1990, 102). Furthermore, there are always napkins and tablecloths suggesting the mannerly gestures of keeping one's face free from traces of food consumption. Personal control is a matter of prestige Finkelstein argues, an estimate of the individuals social standing, or in the case of Gourmet, the bourgeois lifestyle. This involves the same courtly habits seen in the instructional direction of civility and courtesy, of being able to see oneself as others may. Like the table cloth that acts as a protective cover so that the bodies seated at the table are hidden and therefore unable to give offense to others, Gourmet sanitizes its food, raising the civilization curve in eating.[3] Personal control is matter of prestige and involves being able to see oneself as others may. Personal control is an estimate of the individual's social standing (Ibid., 35).

Seeing in Gourmet is more than about food; it signifies a belief in the beautiful, the artful and the discourse of gourmet food. With the genteel sense of vision, food only goes in and doesn't come out, food feeds the bourgeois body's appetite for visuality.

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[1] From the 1980s to the 1990s, the portions in Gourmet's food pictures become increasingly more tailored for the individual. Large helpings served from one plate, food that requires spooning, lifting, and sharing are slowly replaced with individual, self-contained, finished meals. Within the dishes themselves, sharing and interacting at the table are displaced in favour of a distinct and finished product.

For example, August 1984 shows four carrot zucchini boats in the "Gourmet's Menus" centrefold, as opposed to one, large, heaping helping. The experiential possibility of eating is restrained in favour of presentation, comportment, and attention to aesthetics. Boats contain the rice, carrots and sauteed zucchini in a neat and refined way. In short, "Gourmet's Menus" and "Gourmet Entertains" imitates the restaurant in terms of the discrete parameters of the bourgeois sensibility.

[2] The holiday dinners with the family "image" are an exception. For more on the family meal see Rosalind Coward (1985).

[3] This is a splendid point of Finkelstein's (1989, 34). Unfortunately she does not elaborate on it. While table cloths were initially used in a practical fashion to wipe one's hands, the use of the table cloth in Gourmet is more of a garnish, a sweep of gentility across the table solely for aesthetic value to highlight and contrast with the colours of the food.

Jean Baudrillard (1981) in For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign, also makes reference to the table cloth as part of the "...whole baroque and theatrical covering of domestic property. Everything is protected and surrounded" (42).

Section (iii): Consuming More Than Food: The Manhattan and the Martini

To better understand what the "Gourmet Look" referred to in section (i) entails, it is important to examine some examples and to unravel how food is not the only consumable communicated in Gourmet. The visual metaphor of the "Gourmet Look" finds its best expression in a shot from the "Window of the World" restaurant review in the article: "A Wall Street Journal" (October 1984, 59). It is a low angle shot - taking up the entire page - of two larger than life cocktails: a Martini and a Manhattan. The image of a building - the World Trade Center (WTC) - is discernable through the liquid in the glasses.

This arty shot is done "on location" from the "Windows of the World" located in the North Tower of New York City's tallest building - the World Trade Center. The WTC is the symbol of the internal organs of the capitalist body - trade, finance, international relations, and governmental agencies. "Windows" offers a glimpse into that powerful and masculine world.

"Windows of the World," Gourmet's choice for representing Wall Street, is perched a quarter of a mile up from the street, one hundred and seven floors away from the ground and the rest of the world. The vertical supremacy is heightened by the ascension from what is below: the lesser, the masses, the unrefined, the stench from the street.

The "Windows" photo communicates the "Gourmet Look." The two glasses, (filled presumably with gin, vermouth, rye whisky and bitters) are the same visual glasses, the same two eyes that reflect how to live well through Gourmet's lenses. The glasses are our glasses, the windows are the "good taste" world of Gourmet one hundred and seven stories above the rest of the world. The skyscraping WTC climbs to the top. It represents the race for the highest (the summum bonum), the biggest and the best as seen through the urban gourmet's holy waters of cocktail selections. The WTC is the mecca of capitalism, the shrine of industrial finance, and the power base of the almighty, omnipresent American dollar. One consumes beverages for many reasons[1], but to sip Martinis and Manhattans from the crown of the WTC is a symbol of cultural capital, the tiara of "good taste" and power. Cocktails require a recipe, labour, presentation, the delicacy of glassware and therefore bring a "sophisticated" air to their consumption.[2]

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[1] See Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology ed. Mary Douglas, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[2] See Adrienne Lehrer (1990, 396).

Food and drink, travel and lifestyle are "featured" in Gourmet. Gourmet communicates "good taste" and "good living" in the photographs with an emphasis on the aesthetic or the "dressing." Like the model going down the walkways in the fashion show displaying the clothes of the designer who employs him/her, so too does food in Gourmet advertise the plates and linens on which they are poised for the photograph. Lemon Parsley Asparagus is "featured" on a Chinese export armorial hot water plate, circa 1800 (one of a pair) - Stair & Company, Inc. (April 1984, 108). Parmesan Puffs, while microwavable, are "featured" on an English nineteenth century tole basket from Bob Pryor Antiques (January 1990, 132).

The advertisements in Gourmet also promote refinement, exclusivity, authenticity, gourmet membership through consumption, consuming as art. "Style is a very personal acquisition, a quality which cannot be bought, and, in fact, has nothing to do at all with money. It is the ability to select the very best of everything which is available to you, in order to lead a happy life and to give pleasure to the people around you" claims the ad for Roger Horchow, a catalogue collection (December 1981, 113). This is the ultimate line of lifestyle marketing and indicates that one is defined by and through what one purchases, consumes and covets.[1]

Gourmet is all about ideas of entertaining - of entertainment tips and aesthetic techniques. Such ideas include cookie cutting your bread for the base of an *hors d'oeuvre* (June 1991, 117), and scooping and refreezing watermelon into sorbet and putting it back onto the cores (the whole rind!) with chocolate seeds (August 1994, 66). It means serving corn, zucchini and cheese in the corn husks (August 1994, 74), or making wreaths out of marzipan oranges, pears, acorns and apricots (December 1984, 98).

Would the bread taste any different if it were not cut into the shape of hearts and clovers? Would the taste of the sorbet with chocolate chip seeds be altered dramatically if it were not served back on the rind from which the watermelon originally came? Would the corn and zucchini be any different if it were served in a bowl rather than in the husks of the cob? Does marzipan taste different if it is not painted red, yellow or brown and shaped into small miniature fruits with carved holes, seed marks and stems?

The answer is of course no. Close one's eyes and chew and the food would undoubtedly taste the same. But the visual attraction to food, the way it looks, its artfully decorated and re-shaped manipulation of the natural into "ornamentation" is the appeal that Gourmet magazine communicates as "good taste." The idea is that a sandwich made

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[1] Consumer culture coincides with the culture of narcissism in which a new concept of self has emerged. The "performing self" emphasizes appearance, display and the management of impressions (Featherstone 1982, 25).

from regular slices of bread will not be special, and will not communicate "good taste." The food picture shows how to transform the humble slice of bread, de-routinising or liberating it from a dull effortlessness, to new heights of art and decor. It is this very act of human intervention that makes "gourmet" food Gourmet, something **done** to food rather than the food itself. Food, a site of daily conduct, acts as a venue for distinction, a necessary activity that is heightened through "tastefulness" and emancipated from the drudgery of the everyday. The ideas in Gourmet magazine demonstrate how better to represent the self, a self linked to consumption, to the need to distinguish between the vulgar, the common, the ordinary.

Section (iv): Gastro Porn/ Gourmet Porn

The bulk of Gourmet's efforts in the recipe and lifestyle articles, "Gourmet Entertains," and "Gourmet's Menus," are placed in the centrefold of the magazine emphasizing the dual meanings of the word "spread." Both articles offer suggestions for meals including thematic ties of time, place and occasion, recipes, and lifestyle settings. The photographs are the most outstanding feature of these articles, comprising essays in themselves. This is the subject to which I now turn, focusing especially on the connections drawn between food, pornography and the unattainable, sometimes called "food pornography" or "gastro Porn," and in this case, "Gourmet porn."

Rosalind Coward's (1985) examination of food pornography focuses on the pleasure in looking at fattening high caloric and cholesterol foodstuffs in women's slimming magazines. The pleasure in looking at such "naughty but nice" objects is compared to the "guilty-but-indulgent" watching of sexual pornography. Such foodstuffs are made appetizing with close-up photography and sexual references, what Coward calls the "hard-core" of food pictures. Food photographs, Coward claims, are "the culinary equivalent of the removal of hairs." Hours of work and experimentation go into the preparation, settings and the dishes in food magazines. The finished photos are touched-up and imperfections removed to make the food look succulent and glistening (Ibid., 104).

Food stylists "dress" their dishes as make-up artists would prepare the face of a model ready for the runway. The stylists work to make the reader desire, compare, dream, envy, and be inspired. But defeat is around the corner, for such picture-perfect duplication is unattainable in the domestic kitchen. In Gourmet, countless turkeys will be roasted before the best one is selected to be "featured" as the Thanksgiving holiday "cover" bird.

Such staging has allowed for a new genre of professional gastronomic enthusiasts - the food stylists. Food stylists arrange food for photographs and have lifted food activity

out of the pages of instruction into the realm of art and attitude. This group takes advantage of the visual play allowed by photography, the lusciousness, "realness" and proximity of photography to transform food from mere textual descriptions into something that activates a sensual awareness. This group also has free range to purchase (or borrow) any lifestyle or tabletop implements to bring out the best colours, contrasts, shapes and dimensions so heightened in the photos.

"Gastro-porn," a term associated with Alexander Cockburn (1977), refers to brilliantly designed and artfully crafted photographs found alongside recipes in cookbooks. Gastro-porn heightens the sense of the unattainable through picture perfect coloured photographs of completed recipes, especially those that call for ingredients not usually found in North America. Examples of this include black truffles, fresh crayfish, small game birds. Gourmet Porn is similar to gastro porn in that it often calls for hard to attain ingredients that are only available in "specialty stores" in large urban centres like Manhattan or Los Angeles, or by mail order. Cockburn and Coward both make the link between the insatiable promise of desire which is offered in sexual pornography and the ideal images behind food photography; and they suggest that both are equally unattainable. Gourmet porn, like sexual pornography, thrives on freezing the best moment and inviting the reader to insert him\herself into the photo, so that he/she can penetrate and possess the cornucopia for ones self.

The camera angles in Gourmet also play an important role: the camera is usually poised directly above the plates. It likens the mood to presence, to the reader being there, as if the table were set for you. The lens of the camera is at your head level, and the orifice of your mouth ready to ingest the food below. Dishes are often shown from a high angle. As such they become objects at once near but inaccessible, a consumption Barthes claims can perfectly well be accomplished by simply looking.

In Gourmet porn, the plates and dishes are always full, never half eaten. The tablecloth is without spots, the glasses glisten fully with beverages, and the view of the kitchen is never the one after the party with stacks of plates, pots in need of washing, muck on the floor and an overflowing garbage can that needs taking out.

Gourmet porn reveals what Roland Barthes describes as one of the major developments of genteel cookery: "ornamentation." Ornamental cooking is prepared and supported by glazing and coatings, the "...background for unbridled beautification: chiselled mushrooms, punctuation of cherries, motifs of carved lemons, shavings of truffle" (78). The food itself is "sediment" he claims, "no more than an indeterminate bed-rock" upon which to build. Ornamental cookery and Gourmet porn are supported by a "mythical economy," a "cuisine of advertisement," something that is "totally magical."

The aim of Gourmet porn, while not tied to notions of guilt and fat (for the bourgeois body is already fat-free), is the display of the perfect meals of several courses presented in isolation, away from the process of production, and the working kitchen. Ideal images linger in our minds as lures, Coward argues. The aim is to give pleasure but obliterate traces of labour, to play down the thinking doing aspect of food activity. Nowhere is this more intensely visible than in Gourmet porn, most notably in the central arena of labour itself - the kitchen.

The camera forbids access to the private and privileged domains of the entire workings of the restaurant or Gourmet's kitchen. What we see are only snapshots, small corners of activity fragmented from the larger messier parts of the kitchen (like the dish washing area, industrial fridges, stained and worn butcher blocks or the "grease pit"). We are left to contemplate and admire only the finished products displayed like artwork made by those masters of sterility and hygiene all dressed in white.

Gary Allan Fine's (1996) comprehensive sociological study, Kitchens: The Culture of Restaurant Work, highlights the complex and laborious activities that go on in restaurant kitchens. He pays particular attention to the working conditions - "If you can't take the heat get out of the kitchen" - the cuts, burns, and scrapes that undoubtedly occur in the professional world of serving and making food. The Gourmet reader is sheltered from this information. The kitchen sits firmly in what Goffman (1959) appropriately calls the "backstage." In Goffman's view, the individual is an actor who performs as if society were a theatrical event and life a stage-play. Goffman infers that humans have a nature given to fabrication and stylization. The frontstage would therefore be the place where the "actor" shows her\himself to the world.

I was at the test kitchens at Gourmet. There are several kitchens each replicated with its own work station with hanging copper pots, dishwashers, double sinks, ovens, stoves and any implement necessary to curl the butter, flower the radishes, or crimp the crusts. Yet rarely are these kitchens mentioned in the magazine. Neither is the Executive Gourmet chef - Sarah Moulton. Unlike the earlier 1940s Gourmet where the chef played a focal role in the culinary direction of the magazine, Moulton serves the promotional department, in the "Cooking Arts Center," and has a cable television show called "Cooking Live."[1] Yet seldom is her existence apparent to the reader. Infrequent too are

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[1] The "Cooking Arts Center" was launched by Gourmet's Executive Chef Sara Moulton in August 1994. The Center's services include exclusive Cooking Classes conducted in the Gourmet Test Kitchens; recipe/menu developments and contests; information exchange programs with the "culinary community"; and full scale events in Gourmet's Executive Dining Room. One of the main goals of the "Cooking Arts Center" was to find "unique ways to further the specific interests of each Gourmet advertiser (interview with Creative Services Director Randi MacColl, 26 July 1995).

mentions of the half dozen food editors. Even then, their job position, assistant food editor, rarely accompanies their byline so the complete picture of gentility is the only one the reader ever sees.

Gourmet porn proceeds in a similar fashion to Barthes's ideas on ornamentation. On the one hand there is the fleeing from nature with the frenzied baroque of the lifestyle tabletop. On the other, the natural and sustaining properties of healthy food and living are reconstituted through the incongruous artifice of undercooking the poultry, fowl fish and seafood so that they look good for the camera.[1] Such a process is for sight only. While the snapper's fins are upright and perky, its scales are still shiny and glossed (April 1984, 50). This fish has not yet been cooked![2]

Section (v): On Location: Travelling Food, Gourmet's Synergy between Taste and Place

Gourmet food is coupled with travel. "Taste enhances place" is one of their credos (interview with Creative Services Director Randi MacColl, 26 July 1995). Gourmet sees that this is what makes them different from other magazines: "As the only magazine to address the synergy between travel and food, Gourmet defies categorization" the Rate Card states. The intellectualizing of an elsewhere via a promoted Gourmet destination evokes a contemplative connection. The connection is bridged by cuisine, by food. The communication of "good taste" takes on whatever tastes the visited country offers. Gourmet makes use of what Dean MacCannell refers to as "sight markers": Italian travel destinations always evoke the typical jovial shot of men with blushing red cheeks and robust stomachs; Hawaii is presented through its flowers, often in women's hair, its beaches, surf and lava; Taipei demonstrates itself through bright lights, crowded streets and the rice noodle dishes.

Such typical "sight markers" come to stand in for the country. They pull on the symmetry between the place and its image. The value of such sight markers is a function of the quality and quantity of experience they promise, especially their "good taste" and authenticity. The dialectic of authenticity, MacCannell (1976) maintains, is at the heart of the development of all modern social structure: "Authentic experiences are believed to be available only to those moderns who try to break the bonds of their everyday existence

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[1] Interview with Senior Food Editor Hobby McKenney, 26 July 1995.

[2] The same may be said for the undercooked eggplants in "Cuisine Courante" (August 1984, 49) in the "Ratatouille with Croutons in Eggplant Shells." The skin of the eggplant usually "poops out" and deflates when it is cooked appropriately; these skins were firm and hard, obviously not yet baked to completion.

and begin to "live." Everyday life and its grinding familiarity stand in opposition to the many versions of the "high life" in the modern world" (Ibid., 155, 159).

Knowledge or encounters are experienced through taste, through food as well as scenery and culture. There is the urgent need in Gourmet for the cultivation of tasteful new experiences, ideas, groups, outings, places to eat. The hostility to repetition is built-in, coupled by the desire for greatly expanded horizons and for novelty. There is no shortage, MacCannell insists, to human beings' obsession with collecting and amassing experiences and artifacts. Gourmet promotes such experiences through the eating of one's way into a foreign culture, for ingesting the reality of that place, for becoming or appreciating it through the linking of place and taste, through graduations of "good taste," through worldly taste, symbolized by food.

Photography came to play an indispensable role when the magazine took on travel sections in the 1980s. Photographic colour covers came to replace the hand-painted ones in the 1960s, and sketches were replaced by glossier "I-was- there-shots." By the 1970s travel food subject matter, with some indication of the country's "site markers" frequented the cover pages frequently.

The accent on food in the travel articles is to enhance the place. "Place enhances taste" Peter King Hunsinger, publisher at Gourmet, is fond of saying. The Creative Services Director Randi MacColl illustrated this for me during an interview: "You're sitting on Lake Louise and what you're eating and drinking and you're looking at a sunset everything, is more magical, and that's a big part of our stories as well" (interview, 26 July 1996). The synergy between food and travel, place and taste may be seen in the following titles: "The Flavors of Abruzzi" (October 1984, 78); "Derby Day Brunch"(May 1990, 108); "Portugal By The Sea"(September 1990, 70); "Picnic In An Olive Grove" (August 1991, 70); or, "Poolside Lobster Buffet"(June 1995, 117). Place clearly enhances taste in the Gourmet's travel photos, but as shall be demonstrated in the following section, human beings crowd the picture.

Section (vi): The Humanless Gourmet

This image of "good taste" and "good living" is successfully achieved by removing all human traces from "Gourmet's Menus" and "Gourmet Entertains" photos. The spreads offer a prepared table, food with serving spoons in them or waiting just beside them, but the chairs are empty of people. Without the human models, there is no mortal comparison, only the invitation to contemplate what Gourmet defines as "good living," and to ingest on sight, negating the mind/stomach bond. The visual element allows us to go beyond

consuming, allowing pleasure without preparation, shopping, and washing, the fantasy of consumption without calories. Indeed recipes and photos are enjoyed and viewed also for ideas or enjoyment, or for sheer sensual pleasure. Conversely, such empty metaphors like dining without people, allow the reader to situate their own guests and family members.

The travel pictures, often shot at the "magic hour,"[1] also have a subtle way of blurring the humanness of the figures involved. The institutional stamp of the city's touristed areas can stand on their own without people. If there are human forms in the pictures, they are completely passed over in the photograph's description bubble.

Photography in Gourmet acts as a vehicle of communicating "good taste" through a selection process which disallows the practical to be spoken about with praise. By focusing on product, not process, thinking versus doing, consuming taste through place, the fat associated with excessive taste is trimmed, slimmed and disciplined. With food in particular there is a particular threat of excess. Gourmet regulates this threat by denying the experiential nature of food, the participatory factor that includes all stages of food activity down to the local farmer. Gourmet entertains the reader with timeless, mythical knowledge undone from the real world of work.

[1] The magic hour is a term used in filmmaking that refers to the softer, more filtered rays in the sky provided at dusk and dawn.

Conclusion

Gourmet magazine is a conduit not for the democractization of food but for lifestyle, with particular attention to the idea that "good living" is attainable through the facade of entertaining, making impressions, and consumer activity. Appreciating the best is not a spontaneous, passionate or sensual activity. Rather, the "summum bonum" of Gourmet's world view requires cultivation, training, time worn and established manners, not to mention a myriad of other tools, equipment (miniature tart tins, individual porcelain soufflé vessels, pate dishes, sorbet makers etc.), and mail-order ingredients. Lifestyle is the compulsion to act or consume in such a way enriched by observation of what other people may think.

In particular, Gourmet's food and gourmet food in general, like manners, are symbolic expressions tied up with lifestyle, consumption, and the experience of reading. Certainly there are many experiences of reading. As Rob Shields (1972) points out, a global ideology of consumerism cannot guarantee a uniformity of effects.

However, food is used in Gourmet as a site of social status and a means of distinction rather than the social glue or the ritualistic community based relations found in anthropological studies or examinations of everyday life. Today's gourmet may or may not be one who cooks, but is definitely one who reads. Those experiences of reading include looking at pictures. The Gourmet reader does not have to go to cooking schools or have *cordon bleu* training to consider himself a gourmet, for as the O.E.D. states, he is a "...theoretician who cares little about practising."

Bourgeois culture establishes itself in Gourmet. The title has a collective history that has crystallized and resonates in the word gourmet itself. The meaning of the gourmet is bound up with Gourmet in that it serves as an example of the larger picture of bourgeois food. This is evident with the particular attention to style, aesthetic, and the visual communication of "good taste" witnessed through flawless foodstuffs turned into pieces of "art." Gourmet turns food into fashion. Recalling Finkelstein, we understand that food is no less an item of fashion than clothing, art etc. Fashions allow the individual a sense or degree of self-control. The reader can feel as if they have some mastery over history, whereby a sense of timelessness is felt, and a semblance of control gained over the present.

The relationship between styles of eating and human sensibilities, Finkelstein adds, provides an illustration of how the meanings of food can be used as an index to society's moral order. Octavio Paz states: "In other countries a meal is a communion and not just among people at the table but among the ingredients themselves; a Yankee meal is saturated with Puritanism, is made up of exclusions" (1972, 72).

Discernible patterns in the evolutions of cooking styles and manners of food consumption reveal characteristics of other social phenomena including the individual's claims to social status. Fashions in tastes are related to changes both in styles of food preparation and the meaning that food holds within a specific social epoch. What can Beef Wellington tell us about the 1950s?

Mintz questions if we can attribute *haute cuisine*, and by extension gourmet food, to every society.[1] Every society has ways for supplying people with raw materials that can be turned into food, but the term "*haute cuisine*" has to mean more than that, as does the food in Gourmet magazine. There is a self-consciousness connected with the emergence of an *haute cuisine* and gourmet food. An *haute cuisine* of gourmet food need not have geographical roots, but its social character is based on class (Mintz 1996, 101). It is necessary to ask, along what lines does Gourmet cuisine reveal itself?

Style, Baudrillard (1981) argues, not only has the psychological function of reassuring the owner of his possessions but the sociological function of affiliating him with a whole class of individuals who possess in the same way. Signs denoting style are also signs of social adherence through which the class speaks (39-40). Elias would have referred to this as the "social habitus" or level of personality characteristics which individuals may share with fellow members of their social groups (Mennell 1989, 30). From Benedict Anderson, we know that these are imaginary communities, based on links that do not necessitate that people will ever come in contact with one another, or ever know each other.

What is Gourmet's fantasy? In this thesis I have not attended to recipes or cookbooks. I wish to therefore conclude by using food as theory. Is it possible to think of food as a kind of theory making as Heldke (1992a, 1992b) and Curtin (1992a, 1992b) suggest? Is it possible to speak of mannerly food? If contained within the word recipe is the call to instruction, (the word recipe comes from receipt, which means to take and receive), what can be deduced from Gourmet's recipes? Or, better yet, what gets communicated when one sits down to a Gourmet meal?

Think of a Gourmet meal as a kind of gelatin mould. It contains the unruly and undisciplined into a polished, refined, and civilized mass: it is hygienic. I remind the reader that the manners which we employ in our eating today are also moulded, socially desirable, a matter of self-control. The gradual refinement of table manners, notably the adoption of the fork, was associated with increasing feelings of revulsion towards such

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[1] Jack Goody, a British anthropologist, was puzzled by what seemed to be an utter lack of status-based distinctions in food habits between groups in Northern Ghana. Everybody appeared to eat the same as everybody else despite the substantial other social differences that divided people (1982).

practices as removing food from one's mouth and putting it back in the common bowl. In cooking too, a process of "rationalization," what is correct and refined, has also been formulated. Gastronomic writing, in which Gourmet is included, has played a part in this comparable in some ways to manner books. It encodes a kind of culinary morality, and acts as an arbitrator of "good living" and "good taste."

It is interesting to compare and see where, and possibly why, the recipes have changed in Gourmet. For example, after the 1940s bread recipes were no longer printed. Similarly, where would one find a recipe for "Steamed Scotch Plum and Carrot Pudding" (made with one cup of beef suet!), than in Gourmet's "The Last Touch," (January 1946, 84). During the 1970s the use of lard and large amounts of butter and other fats lose their prominence in the recipes. This tells us about the values of health, and fitness, during those time periods and even the increased emphasis on the body aethestic.

However, for the purposes of clarity, I have decided to look, much in the spirit of Mary Douglas (1972) and Margaret Visser, at one meal, course by course, in "Gourmet's Menus." I have selected something from 1984, a little over a half year prior to the purchase of Gourmet by Condé Nast. It is with Brillat-Savarin's famous axiom: "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you who you are" that I set my teeth into a Gourmet meal.

The menu is as follows: "*Oeufs en Gelée*, Crown Roast of Lamb, Saffron Rice Timbales, Gingered Carrots, Lemon Parsley Asparagus, and Strawberry Rhubarb Meringue Pie" (April 1984, 100).[1] Preference has been given in particular to the first course of the meal because that is the first image the reader confronts in the "Gourmet's Menus" centrefold.

An Appetizer: *Oeufs en Gelée*

Gelée is a close relative to aspic. Both are from the same fragile family of clear, shaky, gelatine-like gooey masses that have also dominated the tops of pâté as food's show pieces. *Gelée* is a favourite in Gourmet for it allows the shaping of foodstuffs into precise see-through bundles of clarity, celebrating the contemplation of the visual. *Gelée* was foodstuffs first shrink wrap, the encasement or museumification of, in this case, an egg. *Geléed* food sits patiently in its own revealing window, waiting, encased, trapped inside. *Gelée* makes perfect a hard boiled egg by suffocating it into a still, perfect existence bethroned with strips of wilted scallion greens, and perched on a bed of broken *geléed*

[1] See Appendix 11. This particular meal is for six. Why are meals always for two, four or six? Do people not eat in threes, fives and sevens?

bits. The latter act like small mirrors, cut to the look of quartz, diamond and other precious stones reflecting back onto itself its pristine composure. As Baudrillard states: "There is a triumph of conditioning, of envelopment by an all-powerful puritan morality, of ritual hygiene; the triumph of varnish, polish, veneer, plating, wax, encaustic, lacquer, glaze, glass, plastic" (44).

Gelée works well for bourgeois entertainment food and serves the civilized palate. It takes from the land that which is natural, blemished, with wilting potential and discolouration, and protects it through a camouflage, freezing it in a bone hoof mass, masking the weaknesses of its life form. *Gelée* is like the photographic moment, frozen, stuck and lifeless within the confines of its borders, moulded by a clear veneer. *Gelée* allows us to look, to see the foodstuff desperate and trapped inside. But to touch is to ruin this moment, to blemish its perfection, like the cake which is always photographed prior to its being cut. *Gelée* is foodstuffs own photography. The *oeuf* under the *gelée* is perfectly situated under a decorative fan span of scallion pieces and chopped olives bits. *Gelée* doesn't stand entirely on its own without a daub or two of what Barthes would call "ornamentation," a baroque decoration.

Oeufs en gelée is artwork turned upside down, put on display. If not for the visual appreciation of the egg inside and the green leaves robbed of their oxygen, what else is *gelée* but the cook's ultimate dominance over the product, the mark of the chef making artwork by inflating the everyday to the EXTRAORDINARY thus instilling the finalization of product over process.

Gelée is delicate, slippery, textureless thickness that melts with the heat of one's tongue. Gone in a moment, or made invisible through consumption, evaporating in the mouth, *gelée* loses its supreme comportment as soon as it is disturbed. *Gelée* is foodstuffs sad joke on itself. It denies the power of the fresh and the simple, the crunch which passes from the farmer's hand to the mouth and favours instead the wilting, nonrefreshing presentation of that which is seen, contemplated, and admired. It symbolizes the polite, the odourless quality of bourgeois cuisine.

<u>The Meal: Crown Roast of Lamb, Saffron Rice Timbales, Gingered Carrots, and Lemon Parsley Asparagus</u>

Lamb is a highly symbolic meat as seen by its many references in the bible. Yet, the ornamentation of such white paper, "frills" as they are referred to in <u>Gourmet</u>, is a celebration of meat without pain, without killing. The bloodstained, butchered ends of the ribs are hidden from view. The paper hats at the same time mimic the whiteness of a chef's

hat and share the same shape.[1] The hats, or frills, hide the ends or the roast, the bones, thus sheltering us from the process that it took to get to the table in the first place. The hats make a birthday party of the crown lamb roast, a butcher term that gives the meat a royal relation, an aristocratic status. More importantly, the name imposes the civilizing curve on meat eating. Killing is made polite, the shame and repugnance elements instilled to hide humanity from its dirty deeds. The same goes for the fertile bouquet of watercress camouflaging the dried up, pulled, fried center of the roast.

Timbales make their appearance in Gourmet often.[2] A timbale is a presentation word, it describes the very act of forming the food rather than the food itself. Like the word gourmet, it is something done to food rather than food. The timbale requires a qualifier, for example, rice timbale, bulger timbale.

What is a timbale if not the structural, brick-laying type of food architecture? It takes what would normally be scattered chaotically on a flat surface or bowl, each individual grain free to sit upon all the others, and reforms it. The timbale takes this anarchy, formulates a mould, squishes its previous airiness into a tight, motionless building block of pillars, columns and domes. The timbale is industrial capitalism's architecture enforced on the soft squishy, spineless and undisciplined factors of the food world. "Gourmet's Menus" satiates the bourgeois palate and consequently must have order and discipline. The timbale stands supportively beside the crown roast of lamb, so mannered and perfect in its presentation, manicured, the glue of the culinary combination. The timbales are yellowed and flecked, a process achieved by cooking the rice in saffron water once all the colours and nutrients of the rice are first bleached out. The yellowness of the timbale reflects the industrial process of emptying the nutrients from the food in order to achieve the whiteness, the civilized process in the food.

Gingered carrots are again another perfect example of what is Gourmet. Gourmet is something done to food, something that gives it gourmet status. It is not carrots spiced up with ginger, or carrots with ginger but rather, "gingered carrots." The ginger falls onto the everyday ordinary carrot and gingers them out of the realm of the mundane into something eventful, special. Even the size of these dwarfed carrots, these grown-for-

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[1]Why is it always white which is used in reference to cooking? Black would not show the stains. Stains, or rather lack of, so criminally obvious in chef's white, upstage the precision and hygiene behind their profession, their skill.

[2]See for example, "Lemon Bulger Timbales with Chives" in "Gourmet's Menus: Our Anniversary Party" (January 1991, 92); and "Couscous Timbales with Pistachios, Scallions, and Currants" in "In Short Order (July 1991, 114); or "Rice Timbales Cumin-Scented" from "Cuisine Courante: An Elegant Stove-Top Dinner" (June 1991, 98).

photography carrots, miniatures, are stunted from their deep and penetrating plunge into the center of the earth. The asparagus also performs well on the page, curled up tightly like a sleeping kitten on beautiful serving tray.

Dessert: Strawberry Rhubarb Meringue Pie

"Gourmet's Menus" concludes with the strawberry rhubarb meringue pie. A pie server points towards us; like the crown roast platter, the food is advertised or displayed alongside the utensils to cut, remove, and serve it with even though the reader will never enter the picture's diegesis for a quick snack, a lick of the icing or any other taste related experience. Nor is there any indication that anyone else will.

Let us consider meringue. What is meringue? Meringue is beaten egg whites that are first carefully separated from the yolk. Not one drop can be left inside the whites or the meringue will not form "stiff peaks." Meringue is baked and appreciated for its airiness, fragility, and fluffiness. Instructions to beat meringue include a variety of rules, ie., do not attempt at high altitudes, or, heat a knife prior to cutting through meringue so it is not shredded out of composure. Yet in this picture, the pie is not cut but remains whole.

A Theoretical Digestif

It is necessary to considers some aspects of eating and cooking which shed light on why Gourmet's meals are never anything more than model pieces emptied of human activity. Eating is like childbirth in the way it threatens the sense of self as an absolutely autonomous being, Curtin (1992a) argues. Taking the category "food" seriously leads to a suspicion that the border between self and other, which seems so obvious in the western tradition, is nothing more than an arbitrary philosophical construction (9).

Heldke (1992b), while acknowledging her debt to Dewey, furthers this line of thinking and suggests that the concept of thinking and doing be extended to foodmaking as thoughtful practice. Foodmaking, she argues, not only should be considered in a philosophical category, but can challenge the sharp dichotomy that characterizes traditional inquiry, and serves to separate head work from hand work. Cooking is a form of inquiry, a kind of theory. Cooking is a vehicle that allows the practical to be spoken about with praise, and merges thinking and doing. We enter into relationships when we engage in inquiry; relationships with other inquirers, and also with the things into which we inquire - things labelled "objects" in traditional accounts (Heldke 1992b, 253).

What would happen if we took up Heldke's suggestion and thought of the mode of inquiry as a communal activity, de-emphasising the hierarchy and separation between thinking and doing? Where would the *cordon bleu* or professional chef go? Would Gourmet then be the voice piece of good living? To think of food in a nonobjectified manner is to contemplate not the beauty and timelessness of food as seen in Gourmet, but to experience it in a bodily fashion, to cut the cake and then take the picture. Food after all, as Grosvenor (1992) points out, changes into blood, blood into cells, cells into energy, which changes into life (296).

Many points have come up in this thesis that have made staying on track difficult (never mind out of the kitchen). The area of food research is not only delicious but it tempts the intellectual palate with a choice of dressings, sauces and dips. I tried not to triple dip, or even double dip in subjects. In the course of this thesis several topics have arisen that I have been unable to address. These include the idea of the restaurant reviewer as the modern gourmand, and the similarities the genre of food magazines, like Gourmet share with earlier "art of living" texts, like Grimod's Almanch and Brillat-Savarin's Physiologie du Goût.

Moreover, there are things I would have done differently, intervening roads that I could have followed now that I have the privilege of hindsight. Future work would include the popularization of the kitchen as a metaphor for lifestyle and an examination of Gourmet's recipes themselves; their ingredients, instruction, cooking times, groupings by themes, etc. Finally, after having done this study, I have noticed that there is a dearth of general research into food magazines. The subject should be addressed as there is not yet a coherent body of work that deals with it in the same way there has been for women's and men's magazines.

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Appendix 1-11

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Radio and Television Programs

As It Happens CBC 940 am, 15 April 1996.

Motion Pictures

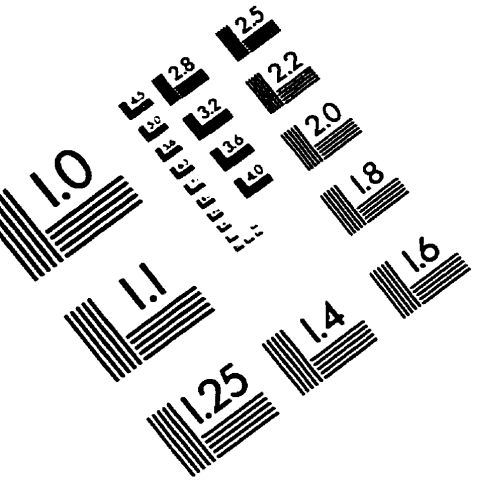
The Wedding Banquet. Dir. Ang Lee. Samuel Goldwyn Company, 1993.

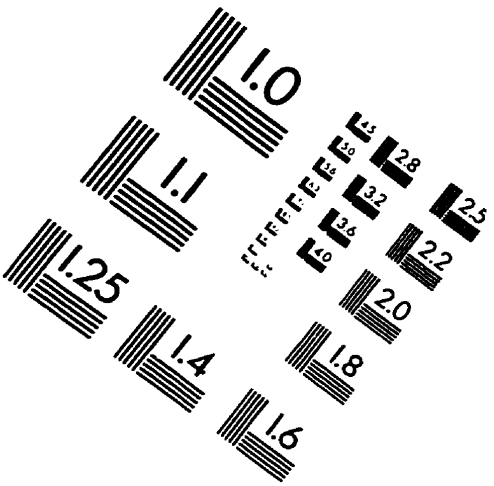
Eat Drink Man Woman. Dir. Ang Lee. Samuel Goldwyn Company. 1994.

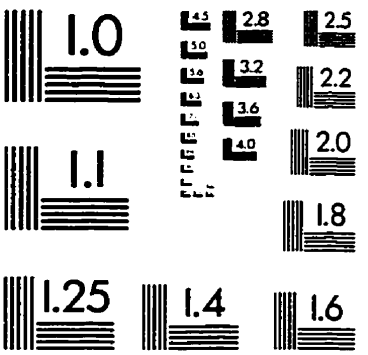
Appendixes

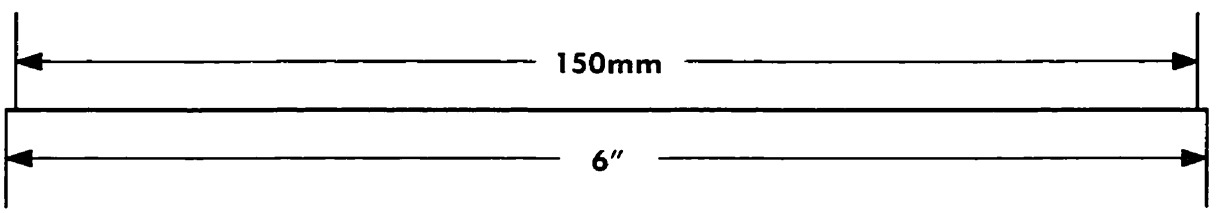
1. Examples of *Grande Cuisine* in Mennell 1996.
2. Hitler Treatens Europe in Levenstein 1993.
3. Gourmet delivers the most active travelers. 1994. MRI Spring.
4. Travel agent clout. 1995. Condé Nast Circulation Dept.
5. Travel agent growth. 1995. Condé Nast Circulation Dept.
6. Gourmet's Franchise 1995. Gourmet: The magazine of good living.
7. Gourmet beats all travel magazines on USA travel edit pages. 1994. Hall's Editorial Report.
8. Gourmet - the #1 travel magazine in the country. 1994. ABC June.
9. Only Gourmet addresses the travel food bond. 1994. Hall's Editorial Reports.
10. Total adults demographic profile. 1995. Research Report #2330. April.
11. "Gourmet's Menus." 1984. Gourmet (April): 100-103.

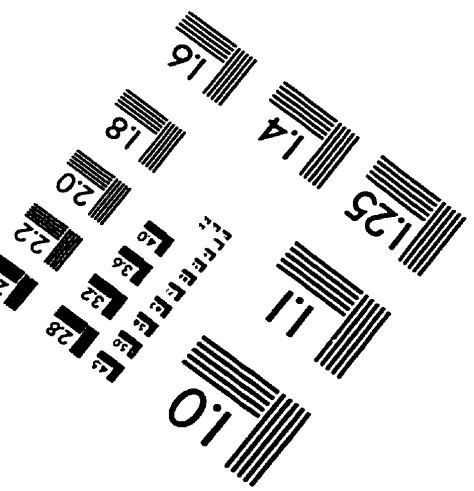
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

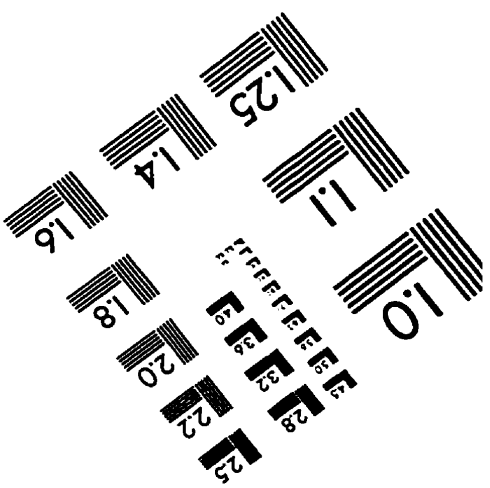












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