



22nd Symposium of
AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY
Parramatta 2018

OUT OF PLACE

Proceedings of the 22nd Symposium of Australian Gastronomy,
16–19 November 2018
Female Orphan School
Western Sydney University
Parramatta



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Acknowledgement of Country

Parramatta is the traditional home to the Burramatta people of the Darug nation, and the meeting place of fresh water and salt water (Eora) peoples. *Burramutta* literally translates as 'place where eels lie down'. Eels are a totem for many Darug people, and remain a defining icon for Parramatta, perhaps best recognised in popular culture as the emblem for the local Rugby League team.

The *Burramattagal's* careful management of the region's rich alluvial soils, woodlands and waterways provided a varied diet of fresh fruits, greens, grains and tubers, kangaroos and smaller marsupials, wild birds and waterfowl, and aquatic resources including oysters and eels for thousands of years. Their stable, bark canoes often held a central small fire, built on a mound of soil, on which to cook their fresh catch. 'Fire-stick farming', employed to burn vegetation to facilitate hunting and to change the composition of plant and animal species in the area, was also practiced by the *Burramattagal* people.

The Darug

In 1788 the British arrived on the shores of Kamay (Botany Bay), on the Nura of the Dharawal Iyura. The Darug Nation, comprised of the Gadigal, Bidjigal and Wungul clans, lived on the bay and the harbour Tuhbowgule (Sydney Harbour) on which the city of Sydney was built.

The local clans inhabited the land from South Head on the ocean to Botany Bay into Petersham, across suburbs now named Redfern, Erskineville, Surry Hills, Darlinghurst and Paddington. The Darug occupied 1800 square kilometres of land extending from the Hawkesbury River in the north to the Georges River in the south, reaching inland to what are now called Campbelltown and Camden.

The Dharug language (also spelt Dharukk, Dharoog, Dharrag, Dararrug) comes from the word for yam, Midyini. Dharug is the root or Midyini of the indigenous languages of the Sydney basin.

We acknowledge that this is Aboriginal land, never ceded.

Theme

'Out of place' speaks to locale, to the physical characteristics of climate, soil, hydrology, landforms, geology and so forth, as well as the cultural, social, economic and political forces that have shaped food production, distribution and consumption at the level of place. 'Out of place' also talks to not belonging and to food and foodways that no longer have a place at our tables.

We invite you to be dislocated, disrupted, and discomforted as you join us in scholarly, convivial, and delicious debate about all aspects of 'out of place' over the next three days.

Venue

For more than two centuries, the Female Orphan School on the banks of the Parramatta River has accommodated children on the margins of society. Its remoteness from Sydney Cove avoided the risk of 'moral corruption' through contact with the Settlement. Here, the children were brought up in 'habits of religion and morality'.

"Remote, helpless, distressed and young, these are children of the State and though at present very low in the ranks of society, their future numerous progeny, if care is not taken of the parent stock, may by their preponderance over balance and root out the vile depravities bequeath'd by their vicious progenitors. Their numbers will in a very few years increase beyond that of the then existing convicts and what the character of this rising race shall be is therefore an extremely interesting thing." (Reverend Samuel Marsden)

After its life as an orphanage, the School served as a psychiatric hospital and witnessed the difficult evolution of society's understanding and treatment of mental illness. Again, its isolation was considered to be vital to preventing the passing of 'mental defectiveness' to subsequent generations.

If only these walls could talk.

Today the restored heritage buildings house the Visitor Information Centre, the Whitlam Institute and the Margaret Whitlam Galleries. We thank Western Sydney University for access to this wonderful venue and their support of the whole conference.



Tasters

'Where eels lie down' a short note on Parramatta's history and heritage – Jacquie Newling

Fat of the Land - Helen Greenwood interviews Vince Heffernan, biodynamic sheep farmer and keynote speaker

In search of Paramatta's lost orangeries - Paul van Reyk

From blancmange to garlic dip - John Newton

'Where eels lie down' a short note on Parramatta's history and heritage – Jacqui Newling

Parramatta is the traditional home to the Burramatta People of the Darug nation, and the meeting place of fresh water and salt water (Eora) peoples. The Burramattagal's careful management of the region's rich alluvial soils, woodlands and waterways provided them a varied diet of fresh fruits, greens, grains and tubers, kangaroos and smaller marsupials, wild birds and water fowl, and aquatic resources including oysters and eels.

The *Burramattagal* have a close connection with the river, from which they caught fish, eels, and other food. Their stable, bark canoes often held a central small fire, built on a mound of soil, to cook up their fresh catch. 'Fire-stick farming', employed to burn vegetation to facilitate hunting and to change the composition of plant and animal species in the area, was also practiced by the *Burramattagal* people. (*City of Parramatta*)

With a literal translation for Burramatta being 'place where eels lie down' eels are a totem for many Darug people, and remain a defining icon for Parramatta, perhaps best recognised in popular culture as the emblem for the National Rugby League team. You can get a taste of Parramatta's Aboriginal heritage in a local district walk.

The region's attributes made Parramatta, or Rose Hill as it was first named by British colonisers, highly attractive to settlers after early crop failures in Sydney, were desperate to find soils that might support European-style agriculture. With easy access from Sydney via the Parramatta River, Parramatta soon became the colony's food bowl. Parramatta is the place where ex-convict James Ruse validated founding governor Arthur Phillip's experiment that farming might be a viable prospect of convict settlers. During the food security crisis in 1790 Judge-advocate David Collins reported that at Parramatta "the convicts conducted themselves with much greater propriety" than those at Sydney, because "they had vegetables in great abundance".

Australia's earliest surviving homestead is located in Parramatta - Elizabeth Farm, home to the Macarthur family from 1793 – 1850s, on the grounds of which stands Australia's oldest known olive tree, believed to have been planted in 1805. Parramatta became the preferred seat of government for many years; Old Government House built in 1799, and a c1800 cottage, converted into a dairy for Governor Macquarie in 1816, survives today. Parramatta was the central point of protection and 'benevolence' for minority groups, establishments such as the Female Orphan School (1813-1850) where the symposium is being held, and Parramatta Female Factory (1821-1848) standing testament.

We celebrate these heritage icons of Australia's colonial history despite them being symbols of a pervasive and destructive instrument of Imperial dominance and invasion over First Peoples across the nation, the legacy of which we still struggle with today. Parramatta is also the site of attempted government control - albeit ill-conceived - of Aboriginal nations in the early colony. The 'Native Institution' was established in 1815 to teach and train Aboriginal children according to English and Christian codes, and annual Feast Days, 'Conferences' and 'blanket musters' were conducted between 1814-1837 where articles clothing and blankets were distributed after a dinner of beef and plum pudding. More information about colonial settlement, Aboriginal resistance and cross cultural relations, can be found in resources in Parramatta Library and Parramatta Heritage Centre.

Today, there are many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who work, live and play in Parramatta. The Darug people still populate the areas of Parramatta, Greater Western Sydney, La Perouse and the Blue Mountains. There are a number of Darug organisations and advisory committees that include active Darug people, as well as prominent Darug artists. (City of Parramatta)

Parramatta is home to a vibrant and diverse community which is reflected in the city's enticing mix of shops, markets and restaurants to suit all tastes and budgets, from family run corner stores and casual eateries to sophisticated restaurants.

Sources, links and further information

Visitors can explore a permanent exhibition called Parramatta: People & Place, which tells an inclusive story of the Burrumatta Aboriginal people, early settlers, extended families and multicultural communities, and how Australia's second colonial settlement developed into its contemporary role as the vibrant demographic centre of the metropolitan region. (City of Parramatta)

<https://www.cityofparramatta.nsw.gov.au/living-and-community/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islanders>

<https://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/parramatta>

<http://www.discoverparramatta.com/>

[http://www.discoverparramatta.com/places/heritage and historic sites](http://www.discoverparramatta.com/places/heritage%20and%20historic%20sites)

[http://www.discoverparramatta.com/_data/assets/pdf file/0006/74733/Burrumatta Lands.pdf](http://www.discoverparramatta.com/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/74733/Burrumatta_Lands.pdf)

Fat of the Land - Helen Greenwood interviews Vince Heffernan, biodynamic sheep farmer and keynote speaker

Vince Heffernan, from Moorlands Biodynamic Lamb, is a sheep meat grazer. His farm is at Dalton, near Yass in NSW, an hour from Canberra, and fronts the Lachlan River. It is co-owned and run jointly with Janet Heffernan. On their 1200 hectares, they pasture about 2500 Texel sheep, an old Dutch breed known for the quality of its meat.

Heffernan has a degree in ecological agriculture from the University of Sydney and practises biodynamics – his farm is Australian Demeter certified. He believes, through evidence-based research, that the soil is enhanced by using biodynamic preparations. They apply rotational grazing with a high density, short-duration regime paired with long rest periods, all of which is a derivation of world's best practice Holistic Cell Grazing and haven't drenched with chemicals in 12 years. Instead, they use rotational grazing to prevent worm larvae hatching and being ingested by the sheep.

Vince is keen on encouraging biodiversity and the pair have planted over 70,000 native trees and shrubs on the property. The endangered Glossy Black Cockatoos will only eat *Allocasuarina verticulata* seeds, so that is what he plants. The number of bird species has increased significantly on his land due to the tree planting program, as has the biodiversity of bats, insects, reptile and marsupial species. In creeks and dams, he is planting aquatic plants to create habitat for water birds, native fish, frogs and turtles. Vince is chair of Upper Lachlan Landcare.

Vince sells Moorlands Bio-dynamic Lamb directly. Lambs are killed at the abattoir and packaged for delivery to customers at farmers' markets, particularly in Canberra. He writes a monthly newsletter to their customers so they understand the background to all that happens on the farm. Moorlands Bio-dynamic Lamb was a gold medallist at both the 2016 & 2017 'delicious' magazine, Produce Awards.

HG: What made you decide to take the holistic and sustainable farming approach to lamb production?

VH: Exposure to other practitioners who were managing their properties in more sustainable ways was an example – and inspiration – for what could be done. I think about people like David Marsh at Boorowa, a wonderful land manager, who has been recognised this month with the National Landcare Award.

HG:: Could you explain the interrelationship of soil to plants to animals in your approach to caring for land and livestock?

VH: This actually starts in the soil. Good soil biology, with not just good numbers but species diversity allows plants to grow without disease in good structured soils with adequate plant-available nutrients. These plants grow to the maximum of their natural form, and they are the basis of the healthiest diet for animals to grow, breed and thrive. We are good at managing our soils. That's why our lamb is so highly acclaimed.

HG: Could you tell us a little about your work with Landcare in the Upper Lachlan region?

VH: I have been involved in Landcare for almost two decades. As President of a local group the focus was on sharing information in a fun, social atmosphere and learning from others' successes (and failures!). Now, at a regional level, the challenges are similar. We seek to find issues that are concerns across our region. Then we find ways to share information, uncover solutions and support our client groups as they implement strategies for success. A recent example might be the push to plant 1000 paddock trees to specifically create nesting habitat for the endangered Superb Parrot. These are expensive and require a big labour component. We subsidise this to the tune of \$50,000

HG: Why is it important to create a community off people who understand your biodynamic approach to farming and your focus on increasing biodiversity?

VH: Biodynamics is poorly understood and, worse, often misunderstood. The benefits to those who love quality food are clear: enhanced keeping quality, better texture, aroma and importantly, flavour. Modern industrial agriculture can ignore at best, and destroy at worst, ecological diversity. This has profound effects and can be avoided. These are not mutually exclusive outcomes. You can regenerate the landscape whilst producing the highest quality food. I'd like to think that is what we achieve at Moorlands.

HG: What are the benefits of selling your lamb directly to customers at farmers' markets?

VH: Many benefits. The supermarkets with their commodity approach to sourcing and selling food do not reward good produce or good land management. With none between me and the consumer, we can ensure people know what we do and how their simple choice to buy our lamb is benefiting the ecosystem. The benefit to us is more even returns without the market dips associated with the commodity wholesale meat market.

In search of Paramatta's lost orangeries - Paul van Reyk

There I was, at the last session of 'Touring Tastes: exploring histories of Australian food and culture', a seminar put on by the History Council of NSW as part of the Orange Readers' and Writers' Festival 2018. The speaker was discussing tourism generally in Australia, and I guess because he was in Orange, casually mentioned how in the mid to late 1800's Sydneysiders did day trips to amble among the orangeries of Parramatta.

Being immersed in organising SAG 22 you can imagine my delight at finding out something foodwise about our symposium site that had thus far gone unknown by we SAGgers. More, it presented an opportunity to explore the SAG 22 theme 'Out of Place', in part a play on the current fashion for valorising food that is 'out' of its place, as in a product of its physical and cultural locale. I immediately thought – Parramatta sourced marmalade tartlets for morning tea.

Being the modern researcher I am I turned first to the new breed of citizen scientists: AKA my friends on Facebook. Nothing. So much for the hive mind.

I retreated to the tried and true, in this case the Parramatta & District Historical Society. Gold! Gold! Gold! A packet arrived by snail mail of twenty photocopied pages from Sydney gazettes and newspapers of the late 1800s, mostly about one James Pye and his renowned orangery at Rocky Hall.

Orange trees and seeds were part of the cargo of the First Fleet, having been on-boarded at Rio de Janeiro. The early plantings were in what are now the quay ends of Phillip and Macquarie streets. The first orangery proper was planted by George Suttor at Baulkham Hills in 1802 and was producing fruit for the Sydney markets by 1807.

Pye's orangery is described in the 1871 edition of *Fuller's Cumberland Directory, Year book and Calendar* as being in the 'in the deep rich alluvial soil deposit at the creekside [where] the Darling Mills Creek winds its course between precipitous age-darkened walls of Hawkesbury sandstone and the fertile valley converges to such an extent that the chasms is merely a stone's throw across.

Here, Pye not only grew oranges but also lemons, cumquats and shaddocks (pomelos). By the time of Fuller's directory, Sydneysiders had been flocking there to marvel at orange trees nearly 50-years-old and reportedly 30 to 40-feet high with trunks 2-feet in diameter. Pye boasted that he harvested as much as 400 dozen fruit from some of them.

Pye's was only one of the orchards in the Parramatta and Hills areas back then. But the orchards and market gardens of the district have long been given over to housing as

Sydney continues its inexorable growth, and no-one, not even the members of the Historical Society could tell me where I might find oranges in Parramatta.

I had given up hope when, on a visit to the grounds of the Female Factory in Parramatta, in a fenced off corner of the grounds now being repurposed as an event hub and at which SAG 22 will be holding the Saturday night banquet, stood a single orange tree. If it was not quite the giants described on Pye's property and its girth not so ample, it was nonetheless substantial and covered in fat golden globes.

For want of a ladder, I gathered what windfall I could: some had come to grief from ants, grubs and time.

I set to the next day to turn out a batch of three-day marmalade: day one the fruit is sliced thin, seeded, put in a saucepan and just covered with water; day two the fruit and water are brought to a gentle simmer and left till the skin of the orange has softened; day three the fruit sans water is weighed, returned to the water with half the weight in sugar and boiled down till setting point.

Result: marmalade out of Parramatta for our SAG morning teas.

From Blancmange to Garlic Dip - John Newton

A conspicuous absence: James Cook had warned that the new territories produced 'hardly anything fit for Man to eat'. A curious observation considering he was only here from April 1770 to August, and barely spent any time on shore.

And especially since Banks, the Swedish botanist Daniel Solander and the Finnish botanist Dr Herman Spöring, also on the voyage, collected a large amount of Australian flora, around 800 specimens of which were illustrated in the Banks Florilegium.

So when the First Fleet set sail on 13 May 1787 and arrived on 26 January 1788, they brought with them abundant food (and livestock), enough to feed a colony.

From England they brought carrots, potatoes, lettuce, asparagus, onions, broccoli, beans, peas, watercress, wheat, barley, rye and oats. Also apples, pears, plums, cherries and a selection of citrus including navels, Seville oranges and Tahitian limes. And in Rio de Janeiro they picked up tamarind, prickly pear plants complete with – and specifically for – the cochineal grubs – the first but not the last botanical blunder, the pear later ran rife and became an environmental problem – coffee, cotton, lemon, orange and guava. In Cape Town, they added rice, maize (then known as Indian corn), apples, bamboo (the second mistake), pears, strawberries, quinces and apples.

But one plant was conspicuously absent. As indeed it was from the normal British and Irish diet and remained so from the Australian diet for a good 180 years.

Garlic. *Allium sativum*, otherwise known as the whiffy lily. And its passage from neglect to enthusiastic acceptance tells the story of Australian food like no other ingredient.

That Victorian era 'authority on cooking and domestic subjects' Mrs Beeton was not keen on garlic and suspicious of its foreign roots: The smell of this plant is generally considered offensive, and it is the most acrimonious in its taste of the whole of the alliaceous tribe... On the continent, especially in Italy, it is much used, and the French consider it an essential in many made dishes.

As late as 1969, when the Café (now Restaurant) Xenos in Crows Nest first opened on Sydney's lower north shore, 'if there was a whiff of garlic anywhere near' the Greek founder Peter Xenos told me, 'they wouldn't come in.'

In *Convicted Tastes*, Richard Beckett quotes a post war migrant woman looking back on her early days in Australia: 'When we came here there was no garlic and no [olive] oil. If you drank wine you were a plonko, and if you ate garlic you were an outcast.'

'Rub a clove around the edge of the salad bowl then discard' were my mother's instructions to make a salad dressing. And my mother was a pretty progressive cook for her time.

Those who colonised or invaded this country suffered from Alliumphobia, a fear of garlic. This can be charted easily from the 17 Century, in spite of the aristocracy's fondness for French cuisine. And they exported this condition to Australia. You will search long and hard for garlic in 19 Century and even early 20 century Australian cookbooks (I have).

The history of Australian cooking or cuisine can very easily be broken up into two eras: BG (Before Garlic) and AG (After Garlic). Food from essentially conservative and Anglo-Celtic fare – not always as bad as it has been painted but mostly plain and 'honest' – to the brilliant, polyglot, inventive and crazy mixed-up tucker we have today: what I call Mongrel Cuisine.

In *Imaginary Homelands* Salman Rushdie writes of his book, *Satanic Verses*, that it: rejoices in mongrelisation and fears the absolutism of the Pure. Mélange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and that, is how newness enters the world... change-by-fusion, change-by-co-joining. It is a love-song to our mongrel selves... Perhaps we are all, black, brown and white, leaking into one another, as a character of mine once said, like *flavours when you cook* [my emphasis].

This is a fine definition of what the best Australian chefs are doing. Australian food is, as Rushdie writes of his book, 'a love-song to our mongrel selves': flavours, ingredients and origins leaking into one another.

Australia AG can be dated from 1972. That is when the Jumbo Jet, the Boeing 747, first landed in Australia. We had a high degree of disposable income. So we took off in our millions. And discovered that Luigi and Costa next door had a thing or two to teach us about eating. And drinking.

When we returned, we began making up for lost time. After 230 years of bland, we wanted flavour. We went from multicultural to multi-culinary. From beer to wine. Whatever our new neighbours cooked and drank, we were up for it.

And now, in the 21st Century, this chain of events – the arrival of the post war migrants, the Jumbo Jet – has resulted in Australia having one of the most innovative high (public) tables on the planet.

RECEPTION | FRIDAY 16 November

Elizabeth Farm

Elizabeth Farm was built on Darug Country. Established in 1793 by the Macarthur family on Burrumuttagal land, Elizabeth Farm is Australia's oldest surviving homestead. Like many other entrepreneurial colonists, the Macarthurs created a dynasty built on agriculture and commercial industries including dairying, meat, grain, wine, wool production and whaling. Elizabeth Farm is also home to Australia's earliest olive tree, planted near the house around 1805. While highly significant to Australia's colonial history, these enterprises are out of place in the traditional environment.

Tonight's reception and its menu of oysters, eel, duck and kangaroo, native fruits and greens, takes inspiration from the resources enjoyed by the traditional owners of this place, and subsequently, by the early colonists who claimed this place as their place.

Order of Reception

5:15pm Twilight viewing of Australia's oldest colonial homestead and 1820s kitchen.

5:30pm Registration and SAG Bag collection in the Colonial Kitchen

Welcome to Country by Dharug Elder, Uncle Greg Simms.

A traditional Aboriginal paperbark roasted eel cookery demonstration and tasting from 'Fred' Adam of Fred's Bush Tucker will take place on the western lawn.

6:00pm **Tonight's menu** takes inspiration from the original inhabitants of this place. Burrumattagul food and other resources were also used by British colonisers from 1788 for sustenance, survival and commercial gain. The Parramatta River was a source of eels, oysters and ducks and Darug people created a landscape that was ideal for kangaroo hunting and to cultivate native yams.

Sydney Rock oysters, freshly shucked on site

Smoked eel on cucumber rounds

Smoked Eel and Mashed Potato Pie or Roasted Duck Pie by Ryan Broomfield

Leafy salad with wild native greens

Seared kangaroo loin, rolled in wattleseed, macadamia, muntries, beach greens, lemon myrtle For vegetarians, roasted yams replace kangaroo loin

Bread rolls incorporating bok flour, a type of wheat popular at the time of Federation

Drinks

Viticulturalist Colin Millott and winemaker James Manners, from First Ridge Wines together produce premium wines from Italian varieties in Mudgee. A wonderful example of the 'out of place' being in the right place.

Made in the traditional style of the English 'Sloe' gin, Pam & Martin Brooke's Brookie's Byron Slow Gin uses a rainforest fruit native to the subtropical region of Byron Bay, the Davidson Plum. The plums are steeped in Byron Dry Gin to produce a unique flavour. Is a distillery out of place on the edge of a rainforest? Thankfully, no.

8:00pm Concludes

Thanks to:

John Susman, Fisheads for Wallis Lake Oysters and chief shucker Steve Hodges, Simon Evans of Caveau, Wollongong for Wild Native Greens and wonderful rolls by maestro baker Cesare Saleme, Providence Bakery.



Elizabeth Farm is managed by Sydney Living Museums, who are principal sponsor for this evening's reception.



Friday Feast - Jacqui Newling

The 22nd Symposium of Australian Gastronomy (SAG22) kicked off with a twilight reception on Friday November 16 at the historic Elizabeth Farm, with the generous support of Sydney Living Museums, which manages the site as a museum.

Built on Burramattagal land in Darug Country, Elizabeth Farm is Australia's oldest surviving colonial homestead, established in 1793 by the Macarthur family. Like many other entrepreneurial colonists, the Macarthurs created a dynasty built on agriculture and commercial industries including dairying, meat, grain, wine, wool production and whaling. Elizabeth Farm is also home to Australia's earliest olive tree, planted near the house around 1805. While highly significant to Australia's colonial history, these enterprises are out of place in the traditional environment and the reception's focus was on Aboriginal culture and foodways, and the effects of colonisation.

Burramattagal food and other resources were usurped by British colonisers from 1788 for sustenance, survival and commercial gain. The Parramatta River was a source of eels, oysters and ducks and Darug people created a landscape that was ideal for kangaroo hunting and cultivating native yams.

Darug Elder, Uncle Greg Sims gave the Welcome to Country and spoke in Darug language, which resonated strongly with the 90+ symposiasts, their guests and SAG22 volunteers and co-sponsors. Elizabeth Farm representative Dave Key gave a contextual introduction to the property and the Macarthur's influence on early colony as part of the welcoming speeches. Registration took place in the 1820s kitchen and the house was opened for a private viewing during the evening.

The reception and its menu of oysters, eel, duck and kangaroo, native fruits and greens take inspiration from the traditional custodians of this place. Eels particularly played a key role in the interpretation – in Darug language Burramatta (from which the Parramatta's name is derived) means 'where eels lie down'. Fred's Bush Tucker demonstrated the traditional technique of wrapping eels in Gynea leaves and paperbark before roasting them on coals, and serving them straight off the fire. The eels had been caught in the Hawkesbury River at Ebenezer and purged at Wiseman's Ferry the previous day, by fisherman Paul Aquilina. Smoked Silver Lakes eel was served in canapés and made into pies by Ryan Broomfield, who also prepared duck pies for the event.

Delegates also enjoyed Wallis Lake oysters generously provided by John Susman of Fishtales and freshly shucked in situ by the highly engaging Steve Hodges. Simon Evans from Caveau created salads of wild bitter greens, roasted kangaroo and yams, served



with bok-wheat rolls infused with native seeds and seasonings by Cesare Saleme of Providence Bakery.

Italian varietals produced by winemaker James Manners and viticulturalist Colin Millott from First Ridge Wines in Mudgee were a wonderful example of the 'out of place' being in the right place. Similarly, Brookie's Byron Slow Gin making English-style 'Sloe' gin with native Davidson plums in subtropical rainforest in northern New South Wales.

We were also very fortunate to have the assistance of Hospitality Management students from Kenvale College to help with setup, food and beverage service.

For many people, this was their first taste of Parramatta. Elizabeth Farm and the other heritage places across Parramatta that featured in the four-day program gave all symposiasts, including Sydneysiders, a strong sense of place and cultural meaning, past and present.

PROGRAM

Day 1 | SATURDAY 17 November

8:00am Registration

If you've bought homemade jam or baked goods, please leave them at the Registration desk.

9:00am Welcome & Acknowledgement of Country

9:30am **ROOM 1** Vince Heffernan | The mindfulness of place

MC: Barbara Sweeney

Presentations

10:30am Morning Tea: A selection of biscuits, slices and cakes baked by your fellow Symposiasts.

Ovvio Organics tea. Fairtrade, organic coffee by Nomadic Coffee

The Place of Farming | Cultivating the Future | MC: Joanna Savill

Alana Mann Opportunity out of crisis: The agro-ecology movement in Cuba

ROOM 1 Amalia Berestegui Hungry city

Hilary Heslop The yam daisy: Recovering its place

Jenni Gough Cooking with what you have not what you want

11:00am The Place of Media and Popular Culture | Changing Realities: Media, Design and Faking It |
MC: Nancy Lee

Lauren Samuelson Experiment, adapt, innovate: fifty years of faux foods in *The Australian Women's Weekly*

ROOM 2

Saman Hassibi Representation of cuisine and food culture in New Zealand print media 1955-2016

Xuan-Bach (Alex) Tran, Gender, food and kitchen space in Yoshinaga Fumi's manga

Tim Lynch & Tony Heptinstall Being deliberately out of place: Using narrative transportation in food product design

12:30pm Lunch by Two Good, based just south of the Sydney CBD in Eveleigh, acclaimed for its unique model of social enterprise – ‘Eat one, treat one’. For every meal we’ve purchased, they’ll provide an identical one to a local shelter for survivors of domestic violence. They also provide pathways to long term employment through their successful ‘Work Work’ program. Supported by celebrity chefs including Neil Perry, Hetty McKinnon and Maggie Beer, we think they are ace.

Roast Cauliflower & Almond Salad by Mat Lindsay (Ester)

Grain Salad, with Cranberry & Yoghurt by Andrew McConnell (Cutler & Co)

Grilled Sambal Chicken with Cucumber, Peanut & Rice Salad (a Two Good Classic)

		Localising Forces MC: Nicholas Jordan
		Jacqueline Dutton <i>Pourquoi terroir?</i> When provenance might make more sense in this place
	ROOM 1	Jenny Smith The sandwich as offering or how to localise out-of-place ingredients and people
		Heather Hunwick Sydney’s Markets: Their critical role in transition to “place”
		André Taber Walking through food history
1:30pm		Adventurous Eaters MC John Newton
		Neil Gow Creating “out of place” from “out of place”
	ROOM 2	Graham Ellender <i>Dérangé?</i> What is taste and what is ordinary?
		Jillian Garvey The role of animals in Australian archaeology: How it can inform on the past, present and future of native bush tucker
		Colette Geier From pavement to plate: Harvesting weeds for nutrients and nutraceuticals
3:00pm		Afternoon Tea
3:30pm	ROOM 1	Refuges of the Blighted Wilds MC: Alana Mann

Virginia Nazarea Conservation out of place

Yasuaki Sato The nature of folk knowledge about the diversity of bananas in Central Uganda

Constanza Monterrubio Solís Rural women's choices in transitioning food landscapes of Southern Mexico

Therese Gagnon The changing tastes of memory: Karen human-plant movement across borders

Mike Anastario Memories of *maiz* in transnational US-Salvadoran space

Jocelyn Bosse Appropriation and reclamation of the Kakadu plum

Creative Place | MC: Jacqui Newling

Richard Mitchell & Adrian Woodhouse An Uncomfortable Place

ROOM 2 Miin Chan White Rice (prose 10 minutes)

Max Dingle Fetish & Food (slides 15 minutes + questions)

Amie Sexton Amie **Brûlé** (performance 25 minutes)

5:00pm Concludes

Symposium Banquet

6:00pm Welcome to Country – Jacinta Tobin, Darug descendant of the Aboriginal people of the Greater Sydney Region with English and Irish ancestry

Keynote Speaker: Gay Bilson | A little food, a little chat

Day 2 | SUNDAY 18 November

Parramatta Walking Tours

Dig deeper into the many layers of this fascinating and growing city on one of the free Parramatta Walking Tours. You'll need to jump the queue and book in early for these very special experiences as we've purposefully kept group sizes small and limited the numbers.

9:00am

Tour 1: The Old Dairy

The Dairy cottage in Parramatta Park is the oldest vernacular building in Australia. Who knew? Built by ex-convict turned cattleman George Salter in 1796, it was later converted to a dairy by Governor Macquarie, who purchased the cottage in 1813. Rarely open to visitors, the precinct features the original cottage, the 1870s Rangers' cottage and the fascinating sunken milk room where butter and cheese was made for Old Government House (also in the Park). Join City of Parramatta's experienced tour guides for a glimpse at the earliest years of the British colony in New South Wales.

Tour 2: Little India

Taste Cultural Food Tours is a charity and social enterprise which celebrates a diverse Australia. All profits are invested in training and employment programs for new refugees and migrants. Discover some of the hidden gems of Harris Park, the centre of South Asian life in Parramatta. Guided by an Indian expert, the tour includes a *pani puri* and *burfi* tasting, plus a stroll through saree shops, gardens and a spice market.

10:30am Morning Tea, hosted by the Country Women's Association, Nepean chapter.

Classic scones and cream with jams and preserves made by your fellow Symposiasts, including a remarkable marmalade made by Paul van Reyk with fruit from a secret Parramatta *orangerie*

Country Women's Association, Nepean chapter.

We are members of the Country Women's Association of NSW, Nepean; one of the 30 groups in NSW. The Association began in 1922 to provide help for women and children living in the country. Most of them, at that time, were isolated.

Our group began 88 years ago on 20 November 1930 and at present, we have 13 branches with a membership of 246, plus 33 junior members.

We raise money for various CWA projects by holding street stalls, catering, donations. The money raised goes to various projects such as medical research, this year, for endometriosis, drought relief, natural disasters like bushfires and flooding, education grants, international work, hospital support (we provide clothes, bonnets and booties for premature babies), emergency packs and Trauma Teddies.

We support women's refuges, nursing homes and homeless people in our region.

We have a selection of jams and preserves made by our members for sale.

Presentations

		Making Migrants into New Australians MC: Joanna Savill
		Karen Agutter & Rachel Ankeny Migrant food needs in context: Reconsidering ideas of good nutrition
	ROOM 1	Karen Agutter Producing food, producing new Australians: Catering for the Olympic Games
11:00am		Tania Cammarano From suspect migrant to model Australian: Natale Italiano and the transformation of Perfect Cheese
		Ferment to Be: Microbial mates from soil to plate Nancy Lee with
		Miin Chan
	ROOM 2	Kate Howell
		Giulia Smith
12:00pm		LUNCH
		Food Journeys on the way Down Under Panel Moderator: John Newton
	ROOM 1	John Newton speaks with two enterprising refugee women about their food journey through refugee camps and in Australia that have led to them establishing food

enterprises in Sydney – Tinsae Mulegeta Yigletu and Zina Abdulghani. Lunch has been prepared by them.

1:30pm

ROOM 1

Place and Australian History | Past Repasts | MC: Charmaine O'Brien

Ross Karavis Sydney restaurants before the Great War: Transnational phenomena, local response

Leonard Janiszewski The food of fantasy: Greek cafes and milk bars

Jacqui Newling 'Then, and only then, could we move onto something sweet.' Finding your place, knowing your place, keeping your place.

John Newton in conversation with Charmaine O'Brien. The getting of garlic: Australian food from bland to brilliant

Changing Places | Translocating tastes | MC: Juan-Carlo Tomas

ROOM 2

Jean Duruz Haunted by the taste of laksa: Dislocations and relocations in Australia and Canada

Frieda Moran Curry in Australian history: In and out of place

Jennifer Bailey Barbecue: An American Tradition out of a Global Cuisine

Diana Noyce Meat, *maté* and the rise of the Gaucho

3:00pm

Afternoon Tea

3:30pm

ROOM 1

Place in the long eighteenth-century | MC: Alison Vincent

Garritt (Chip) Van Dyk Forced fruit: Transplanting the tropics in early modern Europe

Barbara Santich Out of Place: foreigners in Provence in the eighteenth-century

Sarah Benjamin The author, her publisher and the court case: Maria Rundell reclaims her place.

ROOM 2

Beyond the Lunch Box | MC: Kay Richardson



22nd Symposium of
AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

		Bev Laing Primary Places: Creative food education. Engaging primary schools
		Adele Wessel Schooling youth and shaping diet: What's out of place on the menu?
		Chloe Humphries and David Gillespie Guiding culinary students to find their place
4:30pm	ROOM 1	Hands Up for SAG 23
5:00pm		Symposium 22 Concludes

Day 3 | MONDAY 19 November

Out of the Kitchen

9:00am Registration

10:00am **ROOM 1** Get Your Goat
Grant Hillard *Feather & Bone*

11:30 am Morning Tea by Al Afrah

When Al Afrah opened in Punchbowl in 1982, it was one of the only Lebanese sweet shops in Sydney. Now patrons travel far and wide to get their hands on delectable handmade baklava, a myriad of Lebanese biscuits or, for the lucky, fried pastries stuffed with clotted cream.

12:00pm **ROOM 1** Food is Good | Ben Law with
Angie Prendergast *Two Good*
Laura Dalrymple *Feather & Bone*
Sharon Salloum *Almond Bar*

1:30pm Lunch by El Jannah

The flagship store of one of Sydney's favourite Lebanese charcoal chicken shops is located in Granville, right next to the train station. El Jannah is a local institution; crowds gather regularly just for their legendary garlic sauce (*toum*). El Jannah is also located in Punchbowl, Campbelltown, Blacktown, and Penrith.

Chicken roll: Charcoal grilled chicken, garlic sauce, lettuce, tomato, onion, red and green pickles

Falafel roll (vegetarian): Falafel, tahini, lettuce, parsley, onion, green and red pickles, tomato

Hot chips with chicken salt

With beer by Grifter: Part of Sydney's early craft beer movement, [Grifter](#) is one of Sydney's most loved and acclaimed breweries. While the plaudits come in for the quality of their brews, the local Marrickville community love them for their unpretentious vibe and well-priced tinnies. Today, enjoy their pale ale.



22nd Symposium of
AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

		Share Plates In conversation with our hospitality industry Joanna Savill with Kylie Javier Ashton <i>Momofuku Seiōbo</i>
2:30pm	ROOM 1	Gavin Wright <i>Wyno</i> Palisa Anderson Chat Thai/Boon Luck Farm Nick Jordan <i>Broadsheet</i>
4:00pm	Concludes	

DAY 1 | PRESENTATIONS

The Place of Farming | Cultivating the Future

Opportunity out of crisis: The agro-ecology movement in Cuba - Alana Mann

Hungry city - Amalia Berestegui

The yam daisy: Recovering its place - Hilary Heslop

Cooking with what you have not what you want - Jenni Gough

The Place of Media and Popular Culture | Changing Realities: Media, Design and Faking It

Experiment, adapt, innovate: fifty years of faux foods in *The Australian Women's Weekly* - Lauren Samuelson

Representation of cuisine and food culture in New Zealand print media 1955-2016 - Saman Hassibi

Gender, food and kitchen space in Yoshinaga Fumi's manga - Xuan-Bach (Alex) Tran

Being deliberately out of place: Using narrative transportation in food product design - Tim Lynch & Tony Heptinstall

Localising Forces

Pourquoi terroir? When provenance might make more sense in this place - Jacqueline Dutton

The sandwich as offering or how to localise out-of-place ingredients and people - Jenny Smith

Sydney's Markets: Their critical role in transition to "place" - Heather Hunwick

Walking through food history - André Taber

Adventurous Eaters

Creating "out of place" from "out of place" - Neil Gow

Dérangé? What is taste and what is ordinary? - Graham Ellender



The role of animals in Australian archaeology: How it can inform on the past, present and future of native bush tucker - Jillian Garvey

From pavement to plate: Harvesting weeds for nutrients and nutraceuticals - Colette Geier

Refuges of the Blighted Wilds

Conservation out of place - Virginia Nazarea

The nature of folk knowledge about the diversity of bananas in Central Uganda - Yasuaki Sato

Rural women's choices in transitioning food landscapes of Southern Mexico - Constanza Monterrubio Solís

The changing tastes of memory: Karen human-plant movement across borders - Therese Gagnon

Memories of *maiz* in transnational US-Salvadoran space - Mike Anastario

Appropriation and reclamation of the Kakadu plum - Jocelyn Bosse

Creative Place

An Uncomfortable Place - Richard Mitchell & Adrian Woodhouse

White Rice - Miin Chan

Art – Fetish, Fantasy, Food. Stories - Max Dingle

Amie Brûlée = Amie Sexton

From transition to transformation: Lessons from Cuba - Alana Mann

Views and analyses of food systems begin from different levels and scales. National policies and global markets look different when viewed from below while local food cultures slip out of focus at the level of global trade systems. My fieldwork in Cuba is part of a research program in which I aim to integrate these disparate levels and scales of analysis. Combining cultural approaches with political-economic ones and viewing policy through the lens of local studies I propose methodological convergence between locally grounded experience and systemic thinking, research and practice.

In 2018 I joined a study tour of Cuba with a small group of American farmers, hosted by the Californian NGO, Food First. Involving a series of official government education workshops and farm visits while enjoying the hospitality of local families in *casas particulares*, we were provided a state-sanctioned perspective on the Cuban food system.

The images presented below are a snap-shot of this experience which dispelled many of my assumptions about Cuban agriculture and deepened my fascination with a beautiful but challenged country and its generous and resourceful people.

Cuba was forced to make a paradigm shift in agricultural production in the Special Period following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Forced to contend with a fossil-fuel free future, Cuban society underwent a process of socioeconomic adaptation to new conditions, a process that continues to this day.

The contemporary Cuban food economy is semi-sustainable at best, relying on imports. Rationing is still practiced, with quotas distributed through *bodegas* (food stores) and *placitas* - small outlets for the distribution of fruits and vegetables. The rationing system does not supply the daily required amounts of calories, proteins and fats, therefore Cubans who can afford to go to other food outlets to meet their daily requirements and preferences, purchasing either in Cuban pesos at the agricultural markets or in US dollars at special 'dollar stores'.

Farm yields are low - rich tropical soils are still recovering from the damage inflicted by imported fertiliser and other chemical inputs that supported year-round, slavery-sustained sugar cane monocultures, for decades. It is far from an organic utopia. Adherence to strict principles, and eligibility for organic certification, is patchy.

Those with licenses to sell privately to restaurants include Fernando Funes Monzote, an international authority on agronomy with a PhD from Wageningen University. On our tour we visited his eight-hectare organic farm *Finca Marta*, 20km west of Havana.

Embodying the spirit of multifunctional agriculture and agro-tourism, Finca Marta produces corn, avocados, mangoes, radishes, arugula, carrots, honey, eggs and livestock and treats visitors to a glorious long-table lunch.

While Funes is quick to deny Cuba has completed the transition to sustainable farming his innovations to create energy self-sufficiency for the farm, including solar energy to pump water and a biodigester to capture methane from manure, are capturing attention at home and abroad. Biodiversity is flourishing in Finca Marta which accommodates more than 50 plant species, nesting birds and wild mammal habitats.

We witnessed comparable diversity in the Viñales Valley in the north-central Pinar del Río Province. The Valley was proclaimed a National Park in 1976 and a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1998. Thousands of small-scale farms producing beans, rice and maize – and, paradoxically, chemical intensive tobacco - co-exist with nature in the mogates, forested hills.

The agroecological methods championed by Funes and his allies are a form of land stewardship which co-produces with nature, cultivates resilience, and mitigates the contribution of food production to global warming.

Communities practicing agroecology in countries throughout Latin America and Africa avoided the worst impacts of the food price crisis of 2008. Agroecological methods assist in sustainable recovery after hurricanes and floods by promoting vegetation that protects topsoil, retains moisture and limits erosion, reducing economic losses.

In Cuba, substituting imports with ecological inputs enabled agroecology to emerge as a political movement embodying a national mandate to ensure domestic food security. But as the Cuban experience shows, this transition is not easy.

Challenging a food system built on colonial exploitation, dispossession and fossil-fuel philosophies represents a significant cultural shift. It means disrupting what Vandana Shiva calls eco-imperialism, a construct under which corporations gain increasing control of the earth's resources in an industrialized globalised economy.

This resistance is captured by food sovereignty, defined La Via Campesina in the Declaration of Nyéléni in 2007. Advancing common-based alternatives that incorporate socio-biodiversity, food sovereignty is much more than an alternative food system; while it produces food, it also fosters biodiversity and ecosystem restoration, coupled with values including communality, reciprocity, consensus, equity and intersectional social justice.

These values were key to the survival of poorer Cubans in the Special Period. Urban communities were structured around barrios where multigenerational households relied upon each other. Urban agriculture became a “self-help local movement” that took over vacant and abandoned plots of land.

Some of these have evolved into thriving organopónicos such as Vivero Alamar, a Unidad Básica de Producción Cooperativa (Basic Unit of Cooperative Production) on the outskirts of Havana. Covering 11 hectares in Alamar, a residential suburb, the farm produces fresh vegetables, fruits, ornamental plants, seedlings, timber and medicinal and spiritual plants; products including dried herbs, condiments, garlic paste, tomato sauce and pickles; vermicompost, compost and substrates; goat and rabbit meat and mycorrhizal fungi.

Procurement by local restaurants and direct sales to community members from the farm shop keep the farm sustainable. The organopónicos play an important educational role, welcoming tourists, and holds workshops and courses in organic agriculture.

These participatory processes generate critical consciousness of the social and environmental unsustainability of the global food system, mobilising urban eaters and peasant farmers to contest the power structures that shape their food environments, and to focus on social and economic justice within their communities.

In the Cuban countryside the Campesino-a-campesino (farmer to farmer) Agroecology Movement (MACAC) unites farmers in the sustainable agriculture project across the entire country. To convert a system previously reliant upon Green Revolution technologies it has been necessary to disseminate knowledge rapidly and effectively. Knowledge diffusion is facilitated by the well-established National Association of Agricultural Producers (ANAP) promoting social processes of learning through diálogo de saberes or ‘dialogues of knowing’ based on values of collectivism, solidarity and cooperation.

Cuba continues to grapple with economic isolation, political turmoil and severe weather events exacerbated by climate change. But its rural and urban communities continue to challenge industrial agriculture by co-creating sustainability innovations rooted in the life-worlds of people and the encounters they have with each other and their environments.



A food system 'out of place' in global foodways



Scarcity

Abundance



Abundance

A local economy



PRODUCTO	UNIDAD	PRECIO	PRODUCTO	UNIDAD	PRECIO
YUCA	(lb)	0.85	FRUTA BOMBA Rayana	(lb)	1.65
PAPA x <i>Llucasta</i>	(lb)	1.00	FRUTA BOMBA Verde	(lb)	0.90
BONIATO	(lb)	0.95	GUAYABA	(lb)	1.95
MALANGA Xanthosema	(lb)	4.20	LIMON	(lb)	3.20
MALANGA Colocasia	(lb)	2.05	NARANJA DULCE	(lb)	3.00
PLATANO BURRO Ciego de Avila	(lb)		NARANJA AGRIA	(lb)	2.00
PLATANO BURRO	(lb)	1.10	PIÑA	(lb)	1.55
PLATANO VIANDA Verde	(lb)	2.50	COCO SECO	(U)	1.20
PLATANO VIANDA Maduro	(lb)	2.60	UYA	(lb)	1.80
NAME	(lb)	5.00	MANGO	(lb)	1.35
CHOPO	(lb)	1.00	PLATANO FRUTA Verde	(lb)	1.35
			PLATANO FRUTA Maduro	(lb)	1.35
			PIMENTO	(lb)	5.10

A developing urban food scene



Organics

Peri-urban farm, Havana



Collectives



Multifunctional agriculture



Low technology farming



Low energy input



Innovation



Agro-ecology



Ingenuity



Closed systems



Government supported supply chains



Getting to market



Viñales Valley, Pinar del Rio



Tobacco



Coffee



Farmer to farmer knowledge exchange



Social movement networks



Seed saving



Tourism



What will the end of the embargo bring?



Hungry city - Amalia Berestegui

Abstract

When the subject "Out of Place" was chosen for the conference, instantly the book *Hungry City*, by Caroline Steel came to my mind. I am deeply interested in Food Urbanism or how living in cities has redefined our connection with food and agriculture. As Steel suggests, food used to define cities, towns, human interactions because we, as animals, obviously need to eat. In the last century, thanks to technology and better transport, the relationship between nature, agriculture and us humans totally changed. Steel says that the balance between production and consumers is now damaged and today few eaters are conscious of the processes that are required bringing food into a metropolis.

She says "Food that used to be the core of the city, (is) at the periphery. It used to be a social event buying and selling food, now is anonymous. We used to cook, now we just add water (...). We don't smell food to see if it is ok to eat, we just read a label (...); and we don't value food, we don't trust it; so, instead of trusting it, we fear it; instead of valuing it, we throw it away"

How did something so basic, so connected with our deepest essence as human being can be nowadays considered so distant, so out of place?

I would like to reflect on her study as a way to understand how our values toward food have changed. Not only there is now a tendency not to value food, but, interestingly, to value food according to the aesthetic factor. Supermarkets and consumers alike, judge fruit, vegetables, dishes according to market standards of shape, colour, weight, an attitude that, in my opinion, also indicate a huge misunderstanding of how unpredictable and diverse nature really is.

The yam daisy: Recovering its place - Hilary Heslop

Abstract

For well over 50,000 years the Aboriginal people of Australia had understood the vagrancies of the thin soil atop their country. They would plant the ground with orchids, mosses and lilies to keep the fragile soil intact and to hold in precious water on a dry continent.

In the south-eastern parts of Australia, the Aboriginal people planted the yam daisy amongst these moisture retaining plants and together they happily co-existed. The soil would sweeten and improve the tilth of the soil whilst the yam daisy became an important food source. The Aboriginal people would harvest the nutty and starchy tuber, which is eight times as nutritious as the potato, and it became an important staple for the First Australians. But the arrival of the colonists would bring sheep and cattle who would not only eat the yam daisy but also destroy the yam daisy's environment by trampling the mosses and lilies who had happily co-existed with the yam daisy for centuries. The thin soil would harden, and the rains would run off the compacted surfaces and the rivers would flood higher than the Aboriginals had ever seen. The yam daisy would virtually disappear from the land as Australia was overtaken by sheep and cattle.

By 1888, erosion was recognised as one of Australia's first environmental issues. Today, Australia is expected to be one of the worst affected regions of the world in relation to climate change upon future agricultural production. But could the past hold the answer to the future? New initiatives have started to support the recovery of Australia's traditional food plants. One of the first plants to be used as a crop is the yam daisy. In doing so, could it also point the way to a biodiversity that could save a continent?

Cooking with what you have not what you want - Jenni Gough

Abstract

The terms “local” and “seasonal” have developed a buzz word character across the hospitality industry. As they mainstream, the already complex definition of these has become further stretched and ultimately, lacking in meaning and depth. A sales pitch, rather than a practice. This paper will explore the cultural meanings behind these terms and why they are employed, despite the product not matching the promise. Notions of authenticity, health and community are key topics of this dialogue. A culinary tradition supported by consumerism of cooking with what you want, rather than starting from what you have, will also be explored. The dynamics of the industry, including time poverty, budgets and competition, will add a practical element to this largely cultural discussion.

Utilising the narratives of farmers and chefs in the Canberra region, the paper will dissect ways of understanding, educating and working with local and seasonal produce. With the trend of quantity over quality creeping onto our plates, this presentation will offer a timely reminder of stepping back into our communities to truly link paddock to plate.

Experiment, adapt, innovate: fifty years of faux foods in *The Australian Women's Weekly* - Lauren Samuelson

Abstract

Throughout its first fifty years, the recipe pages of the *Australian Women's Weekly* (the *Weekly*) are scattered with recipes for mock foods. Holding little cultural capital as they were often a product of scarcity, mock foods have not garnered a great deal of academic attention. While faux foods have largely disappeared from the Australian plate, their enduring presence in the most popular Australian women's magazine of the twentieth century speaks to their past popularity.

This paper argues that the *Weekly* was an unfailing supporter of women's experimentation, adaptation and innovation in the kitchen, challenging suggestions that Australian women were responsible for a food culture that was boring at best, abominable at worst. Evidence of the *Weekly's* culinary encouragement is no more evident than when looking at the mock foods published in both editorial and reader-submitted recipes during these years. These foods intended to impress and imitated either the taste or appearance of the 'real thing'. They were primarily a product of economic or seasonal scarcity, although some were designed to reduce the housewife's culinary workload or addressed health concerns.

Whether cheap cuts of beef were being passed off as roast duck, or cakes were being iced with mock cream, these faux foods not only reveal an interesting facet of Australian eating practices but also shed light on the interaction of class and gender in the kitchen.

Representation of cuisine and food culture in New Zealand print media 1955-2016 - Saman Hassibi

Abstract

Food is a subject that has been intensively covered in mass media. Scientific and historic observation suggests that there has been a raise in production and consumption of food-focused communications especially in recent decades. Although social media plays a major role in these revelations, the communications in traditional forms of mass media such as print still remain influential. The messages that are communicated in the mass media of any society tell stories about the society that has produced and consumed them, therefore, studying these messages and their manifest and latent meanings enables us to detect the ebb and flow of 'norms', standards, fashions, and trends in that society. Utilising the methods of qualitative content analysis and focusing on food pages (i.e. recipe pages), food ads, and food-related letters of the readers – accumulating a sample of more than 3500 units of analysis – this study systematically analyses the communicated messages in three major magazines in New Zealand; *Cuisine* (food magazine), *Listener* (current affairs), and *New Zealand Women's Weekly* (women's magazine) from 1955 to 2016 and looks for the noticeable trends that can be identified.

Gender, food and kitchen space in Yoshinaga Fumi's manga - Xuan-Bach (Alex) Tran

Abstract

There is an old Japanese belief that men should not cook at home as the domestic kitchen belongs to women, where foods are prepared femininely and mundanely. If a man should ever cook, he must celebrate his cooking in a professional kitchen and in a manly manner. Although this gendered myth is old and probably out-of-date, its political and gendered mindset towards food and kitchen space in the Japanese culture has not faded completely just yet.

This research examines *manga* (Japanese comic) works of Yoshinaga Fumi, an extraordinary manga artist who is an openly feminist and a food lover in both her real life and her works. Being an experienced Boys' Love manga artist (a genre which depicts same-sex relationships), Yoshinaga has cleverly subverted the old belief of the gendered kitchen by bringing several factors into and out of both the domestic and professional kitchens. While the exoticness has been familiarised, the mundanity is eventually celebrated. In her kitchen, masculinity is found in the most feminine food; and the legendary chef turns out to be an (also) legendary gay man. The award-winning artist has converted the kitchen space into a place for conversation between different sociocultural agencies, where conflict happens and resolves, and progress is made in a comical and entertaining way.



Being deliberately out of place: Using narrative transportation in food product design - Tim Lynch & Tony Heptinstall

Abstract

This presentation outlines the use of “narrative transportation” (Green & Brock, 2002) by Otago Polytechnic’s Food Design Institute (FDI) in a collaborative project with Sanitarium and marketing agency Ogilvy & Mather (Auckland, New Zealand). The team created a multi-sensory story for an edible oasis in the Auckland CBD for Sanitarium’s range of So Good alternative milks. The activation included the development of vegan chocolate fruit and vegetables that were displayed in an edible garden (see the following for an outline of the activation: <https://idealog.co.nz/design/2018/02/saving-planet-through-innovative-culinary-design>).

Narrative transportation is the experience of becoming absorbed in a story or performance to the extent that you are transported into an imaginary narrative world (Green & Brock, 2000). This presentation examines the role of narrative transportation in food product design, how this aligns with FDI’s teaching philosophy and its application in the commercial world.

Pourquoi terroir? When provenance might make more sense in this place - Jacqueline Dutton

Abstract

Why do we talk about *terroir* in Australian wine production? Who uses this French term here, and what does it mean outside France? According to the International Organisation of Wine (OIV), “Terroir includes specific soil, topography, climate, landscape characteristics and biodiversity features” (Resolution OIV-VITI 333-2010). While the OIV does recognise the value of knowledge in discerning *terroir*, many scholars including Marion Demossier, Amy Trubeck, and Kolleen Guy argue the need to foreground human influence in official definitions of the concept. A wealth of new research has been published over the past 20 years, helping us understand the art and science of *terroir*, and possibly separate the myths from the reality.

This paper takes up a different strand of the *terroir* debate. I want to explore how this mysterious word has retained its redolence despite crossing endless oceans and enemy lines. Can it translate centuries of French know-how into the Australian context of land-grabs and tax-breaks, with growing importance in discussions of geographical indications, climate change, and genetically modified vines? I will briefly trace the fluctuating fortunes of *terroir* in French winemaking, before examining its rise in the Australian context, lingering on some key figures like Brian Croser and Vanya Cullen. I will then present an alternative argument for “provenance” as a marker of vitivincultural quality linked to people, palate and place – but perhaps minus the poetry...

The sandwich as offering or how to localise out-of-place ingredients and people - Jenny Smith

I have been working for the last two years with people in southern Tasmania who have started to farm without previous farming heritage, people I refer to as 'new farmers'. Every farmer I have met in Tassie with a farming heritage, is introduced by the number of generations in that heritage. My new farmers comment that others don't consider them to be farmers as they have small properties, small yields, they do not have enough 'head' of stock, they do not make large profits (or indeed carry huge debts).



Most of my research participants are not from Tasmania, and none of these people farm on the land upon which they grew. Some of the local rural Tasmanians may consider these largely urbane people to be out-of-place. As a Scottish borders hill farmer declared "I wonder about city folk who decide to give up living in the city and move to the country because they are out of place".¹ The anthropological definition of dirt is famously quoted as being matter out-of-place², the ecological definition of a weed could be thought of as a plant out-of-place, a feral an animal out-of-place, and so it could be argued that these humans started as strangers, aliens, in their landscapes and that they are becoming local through their locally produced and consumed food and locally tended connections.

But first, to that sandwich. I was attracted to the story of the Frenchman, Benjamin Carle, who decided to make his own 'authentic' Provençal pan bagnat (literally, bathed bread) in part because of the image that went with the story.³ To me, the way Carle was captured proffering the finished sandwich made it look like a sacred offering. It recalled food offerings demanded from the first harvest to the god of the Christian Bible and the solemn contracts between people and spirits across the Arctic Circle pledged with food during winter feasts, as detailed by Marcel Mauss in *The Gift* – the *do ut des* – we give to get.⁴

From an English translation of the story, Carle also refers to the long process of growing and gathering his own ingredients as a "sacred epic".⁵ The epic involved Carle sowing, reaping, milling his own wheat, growing vegetables on his Parisian roof-top, keeping chooks, even going aboard a trawler to catch tuna. For Carle, these were all new

activities and hard work, and it took 10 months to produce a very expensive sandwich – a devotional offering indeed.

Carle declared that the whole journey was a reaction against rampant consumerism and globalism where anything can be bought from anywhere (or, as Ulrich Beck has put it, if you have the money you can “eat the world”⁶) and his desire to return to a time when there was savoir faire (a knowledge about how to make things), when one could be proud of one’s manual dexterity. This episode was characterised as an attempt to do things for oneself, a DiY project, a rejection of specialisation and an attempt to achieve autonomy.

The contents of the pan bagnat are quite strict (you can subtract, but not add⁷: tuna, anchovies, boiled eggs, artichokes, tomatoes, green capsicums, radishes, spring onions, pepper, salt, garlic, basil and olive oil. While Carle is advocating for a return to manual skills, his rejection of globalisation (which has become a mobile slippery term in itself) is interesting as there are no endemic Parisian ingredients in this sandwich, they are from across the globe. Wheat grows wild in the Near East; radishes and chicken eggs (or is it the chickens) are originally from South East Asia; basil had a range from Africa to South East Asia; pepper was from India; garlic from Central Asia; and, tomatoes and capsicums from South America. When thinking about the chicken walking across Asia carrying radishes and bunches of basil, picking up a garlic bulb along the way and balancing a peppercorn in its beak, it is worth considering that all these plants and animals were likely traded hand-to-hand by human animals. They moved with humans into new areas and formed new relationships with their new environments. Humans have been moving around the planet for millennia, following (in the case of herds) and carrying their preferred foods, trading as they go.

Australia in the 1800s had acclimatization societies to facilitate various species of “useful” plants and animals to find a place and become local – and by useful, they meant plants and animals the British recognised as food, preferred to hunt, or wistfully missed seeing and hearing in the Australian landscape.⁸ All the while, and as Bruce Pascoe so skilfully pointed out, largely failing to perceive the range and richness of Indigenous foodstuffs and food raising regimes.⁹ I would emphasise another important detail of this failure: a failure to fully comprehend important rituals that insured a sacred correspondence between Indigenous Australians and associated species.

In two of my research areas – the Huon Valley and the D’Entrecasteaux Channel of south-eastern Tasmania - there is a favoured slogan “Local Food For Local People”. Yet while there has been an increased interest in Indigenous foods, like the pan bagnat ingredients, the main food plants and animals grown and raised in Tasmania have been there for less than 200 years. Tasmania is associated with the apple, indeed it is known as “The Apple

Isle". Modern apple varieties have had their genetics traced to central Asia, from where they moved westwards along the Silk Road, eventually becoming crossed with the European crab-apple.¹⁰ Grown in Tasmania in large quantities in the 1950s and 60s, they were exported back to the UK, and now they are being exported back into Asia and their conversion to cider in Tasmania has triggered an apple revival. The Huon Valley, and other parts of south-eastern Australia, has also recently imported a luck-bringing cleansing ritual associated with apple orchards - the Wassail. I write in my thesis that: "these newer ritualised movements across the rural landscape are further embedding themselves and their practitioners into that landscape – they are shifting their gods in once more, legitimising their presence by creating new rituals of togetherness".

In December 1837, the *Hobart Town Courier* reports on another movement across the landscape, something that quickly became a ritual of togetherness for the richer free-settlers of Tasmania. This movement was a trek up Mt Wellington (now with the dual-name kunanyi) by a party headed by Lady Jane Franklin, the Governor Sir John Franklin's wife. The newspaper poetically reports their picnic at the summit:

As you sat hesitating which should be first attacked you might observe five large ships between the legs of the roast fowl, a cold tongue overlapping the whole of Maria Island, a bottle of claret eclipsing Wylde's Crag, Mount Olympus shot out of sight by a loaf of bread and the whole of that important, that political, that liberal and sensible city Hobarton, included within the embrace of the teapot's handle.¹¹

Lady Jane and Sir John Franklin adopted a young Tasmanian Aboriginal girl, Mathinna in 1839. The reason I feel it is important to remember Mathinna today, relates to the place we are in now - the Female Orphan School, Parramatta. When the Franklins returned to England in 1843, they did not take Mathinna home with them – she was placed in The Queen's Orphan School at New Town in Tasmania. In 1851, around the age of 17, she died of drowning while presumed to be drunk; she'd been selling sex for grog and food. She is described as "...caught in a strange nether world between two cultures".¹² Mathinna was an Indigenous Tasmanian, yet she was out-of-place – not because of her geographical location, but because she had no family – it seems she had no people she cared about, who cared about her, who she could relate to or trust. There were no in-place rituals of togetherness for Mathinna; she had become a stranger in her own land.

The British anthropologist Tim Ingold argues that our existence, our constant becoming, is not in place, but rather it is along paths.¹³ All mobile relational organisms on Earth are in a constant state of becoming as they move along, around and across spaces, intersecting as they go. And some of those intersections are more positive than others – some leave us feeling lonely, abandoned, left-out, whilst others can make us feel included and nurtured.

So – to return to that quaint term – how are the new farmers in Tasmania becoming ‘acclimatised’, and ceasing to be strangers in their chosen land? In other words: how do people new to a place, new to a community, new to a way-of-life, start to feel a belonging, a homeliness; are my research participants becoming local through their locally produced and consumed food and their locally tended connections?

In the winter of 2017 a series of Permablitzes was performed in the Huon Valley, organised by the Huon Producers’ Network. Permablitzes are essentially working-bees, where people (almost all of them in this case recent arrivals to Tasmania) gather on a property to work and eat together. The work can be thought of as a gift given by group members, it is poured onto the land like a sacred libation. It is the movement together of the people that is key – their tangled intersecting life lines form bonds of reciprocity. People are coming into being as individuals, and as a community, through the choreography of activities, they are being captured and carried along by one-another, sharing the time and the place with all their senses combined, extended and joined together in collective intentional acts.

As well as the work together, the movement together during the Permablitz, the lunch was an important ritual sharing of food grown and produced on the participants’ lands – and it was a time of relative stillness for the group. That food was special, it could be considered sacred, the body and blood of their land; a holy communion, a gift every body absorbed. When I participated in the first Huon Valley Permablitz, I didn’t have anything I could harvest from my garden (that is, home-grown fresh food), or the pantry (that is, home-grown preserved food) – so I compromised by making a so-called Persian frittata using eggs, herbs and walnuts grown and harvested by other Tasmanians. I omitted the overly well-travelled barberries from the recipe, but they are available at my local shop. The food we shared was delicious. As well as my frittata, there were potatoes roasted in olive oil, turmeric and chilli, beetroot, goats’ cheese, bread rolls, sausages, pickles, couscous salad, fried yams, the feast spread out along a large wooden kitchen table. Everyone was hungry, and plates were filled. We sat around chatting impolitely through full mouths – those bits of us were still moving very successfully. And we all made appropriately positive but truthful comments about each other’s dishes.

I found it hard to leave the group at the end of that day. I had a feeling of elation and belonging spending time with these people, attending to our tasks, to our surroundings, to each other with a collective intention, suppressing egos, surrendering ourselves to an entrainment, a movement together. As time has passed, however, I feel less of a belonging and this suggests to me that we need to constantly re-tie our connections, to repeatedly move together and share work and food together – to maintain our sense of belonging and experience of place and people. Indeed, just as becoming is a process, so is our belonging; place, the local, are nouns but they can only really be experienced as constantly morphing verbs.

The German philosopher Martin Heidegger pointed to the fact that we are temporary beings – we are Being-towards-Death – and therefore we should attempt to live authentic lives (the mine-self), rather than ones owned by others (the they-self).¹⁴ He was not suggesting that by participating in a group we should not have bonds within that group, rather we should throw ourselves into a world that matters to us, one that we care about and for which we have responsibility – that is, response ability¹⁵ – and we should not lose ourselves in the process. Many of the new farmers I have worked with in Tasmania are attempting to rebuild tangible and intangible links to one another, to form and perform community, to take actions to resolve the problems of the human-historical conditions they find themselves thrown into – they are forming a response ability, and they are doing it in the process of becoming; becoming less out-of-place and becoming more local.

Now, back to that authentic pan bagnat and the savoir faire that Carle hoped he would feel at the end of his sacred epic. It is interesting to note that “savoir” comes from the Latin “to taste” (in the sense of experience) and “faire” can be translated as “to become” as well as “to do” or “to make”.¹⁶

The becoming of the pan bagnat had intersected with Carle’s becoming, his moving with and learning from many other people and animals over an extended period of time. As he bit into his sandwich (which he proclaimed to be delicious despite the dryness of the bread) – he wasn’t just tasting the food, he was experiencing its whole coming into being and, for a brief time, the sandwich and the man were neither dirt, nor weed, nor feral, nor alien – but in-place.

Notes

¹ John Gray, "Open Spaces and Dwelling Places: Being at Home on Hill Farms in the Scottish Borders". *American Ethnologist*, 26, 1999, p.441.

² Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Pelican Books, England, 1970, p. 12.

³ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/04/benjamin-carle-frenchman-sandwich-quest-fulfilment>

⁴ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, Routledge Classics, Oxon England, [1954] 2002.

⁵ <https://detours.canal.fr/benjamin-carle-lhomme-a-pari-de-realiser-sandwich-de-a-a-z/>

⁶ Ulrich Beck, "We do not live in an age of cosmopolitanism but in an age of cosmopolitisation: the 'global other' is in our midst", *Irish Journal of Sociology* Vol. 19.1, 2011, p. 19.

⁷ <https://detours.canal.fr/benjamin-carle-lhomme-a-pari-de-realiser-sandwich-de-a-a-z/>

⁸ [http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion to tasmanian history/T/Tas%20acc%20socio.htm](http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion%20to%20tasmanian%20history/T/Tas%20acc%20socio.htm)

⁹ Bruce Pascoe, *Dark emu black seeds: agriculture or accident?* Magabala Books, Broome, Western Australia, 2014.

¹⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2017/aug/15/geneticists-trace-humble-apples-exotic-lineage-all-the-way-to-the-silk-road>

¹¹ Signage kunanyi/Mt Wellington, Wellington Park Management Trust.

¹³ www.ourtasmania.com.au/launceston/mathinna2.html

¹⁴ Tim Ingold, *Being alive: essays on movement, knowledge and description*, Routledge, 2011, p. 12

¹⁵ Michael Wheeler on "Martin Heidegger", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2018/entries/heidegger/>

¹⁶ Donna Haraway, *A Cyborg Manifesto. Science, Technology, And Socialist-Feminism In The Late Twentieth Century*, University of Minnesota Press, 2016,

<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/warw/detail.action?docID=4392065>

Sydney's Markets: Their critical role in transition to "place" - Heather Hunwick

In a letter to his brother on June 4th 1788, the surgeon George Worgan used these words to describe the elaborate dinner hosted by Governor Arthur Phillip to celebrate the birthday of King George III:

"About 2 O'Clock we sat down to a very good Entertainment, considering how far we are from Leaden-Hall Market it consisted of Mutton, Pork, Ducks, Fowls, Fish, Kangaroo, Sallads Pies & preserved fruits. The Potables consisted of Port, Lisbon, Madeira, Tenerife and good old English Porter."¹

Considered in isolation his description is one of unremarkable ordinariness, yet all the more extraordinary for its total detachment from the surrounding context. The settlement of Sydney had been founded a mere four months previously. The familiar rituals and accompanying foods of the occasion undoubtedly comforted Worgan and his fellow diners; in this case it prompted a nostalgic recall of London's ancient, bustling Leadenhall Market. Clearly the dinner had enough familiar elements to satisfy the officers and gentlemen of the first fleet, they were after all a transplanted fragment of Georgian England, a nation that had recently contrived the steam engine. Their Georgian dispositions "not cognitively understood but rather internalized and embodied" framed their responses to the challenges of surviving in this alien environment, beginning with the imposition of order.² They knew best, their attitudes driven by their deeply held belief in their country's centrality to the world.

Even though the educated amongst the members of the First Fleet were products of the Enlightenment so may be expected to have responded rationally, human nature being what it is, such expectations were arguably misplaced. The French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu well describes how people generally respond to challenges they confront in entirely alien environments. He argues that they will attempt to apply all manner of potential improvisations and solutions, but only within the limits imposed by their mental and physical improvisations—by their habitus, which he defines as "a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action."³ Many of their responses may well border on the irrational, not to say folly, as when confronted with evidence their solutions are entirely inappropriate to their new environment they are likely to apply more of the same: it is all they know. Bourdieu viewed such actions as creating tension, a "dialectical confrontation between habitus and the place that one inhabits in geographic space".⁴ Eventually, this dialectical confrontation will force them to modify their responses in light of their new realities, but as he emphasized, change is inevitably slow and painful to all involved.

Beginning with Sydney's first settlers and what was a familiar component of their previous everyday Georgian lives: the market, whether London's grand covered Leadenhall or its many humbler open-air rural counterparts, this paper examines how this particular form of 'space' evolved in colonial Sydney as its people, in seeking to impose a familiar sense of 'place', adapted to their new world and circumstances, using the terms 'space' and 'place' as broadly defined by Cloke and Johnston.⁵

The market was a dominant feature of the Georgian British townscape, as it had been since medieval times. "Food shaped London as it did every pre-industrial city, and as a way of engendering life and urban order, few things work half as well."⁶ While London did have covered markets, "in most British towns the buying and selling of consumer goods took place in the open air, centred in particular streets or often in a designated 'marketplace' on certain days of the week."⁷ These marketplaces were generally privately held, typically the monopoly of a local manorial Lord, and not surprisingly this fostered activities often detrimental to free and open trade. Two particularly objectionable practices were forestalling: the much-hated practice of selling goods before they reached the marketplace; and restrictions against third parties selling particular goods. From 1700, charters to operate markets were increasingly dispensed by Parliament rather than the Crown, reflecting an increasing demand for public ownership and accountability, framed by enlightened regulation. But genuine reform was slow.

This widespread shift in attitudes to market ownership flowed through to early Sydney—at least once it had survived its first hungry years. Until 1791 the colonists faced starvation, and Governor Phillip of necessity commandeered the limited food supplies, which amounted to what was held within the Government Stores. These were heavily guarded since the imbalance of officers and marines to convicts inevitably led to fears of mutiny or rebellion, "Only guns and weekly rations would keep this mob of half-starved prisoners at bay."⁸ While tight control was essential, the Government Stores, no more than a basic wooden, thatched-roof structure, functioned as a rudimentary precursor to a market. As such it fulfilled a purpose as old as markets themselves, connecting all, whether marines, sailors or convicts to an ancient fixture of public life. It provided opportunities for social exchanges as rations were dispensed, a safety valve in the face of oppression, and to let off steam. Given the numbers of rough, wild and desperate characters, it was equally an opportunity for age-old unsavoury practices such as black-market bartering and selling of sexual favours for scraps of food and tots of rum.

Control of the rations brought by the First and Second Fleets was a top priority, as was establishing local food supplies as quickly as possible. Governor Phillip, with his own rural Hampshire estate, knew he "had to be a farmer before he could be a governor."⁹ Britain in the 18th century was still largely an agrarian society, and the early colonists brought a

mindset based on fixed property and domesticated agriculture—as practiced in Britain. As well, neglecting to ensure that any in the First Fleet, convicts and others, had a working knowledge of agriculture was a serious bureaucratic failure.



Figure 1. An early view of the hospital or public wharf, and above it the clearing that was the site of Sydney's first official marketplace

Clearly, agricultural activity needed to be encouraged, and despite the lack of collective experience there were successes, to the point where by 1792 there was enough surplus produce from land worked by pardoned convicts around Prospect Hill, Kissing Point and Toongabbie for these often initially reluctant farmers to seek buyers for it. To that end they were allowed to gather informally around two Government wharves (Figure 1), and these ad-hoc market areas would soon come to resemble familiar counterparts in rural Ireland and England, as did much of the produce: cabbages, corn, potatoes, peaches, and assorted livestock. With administrative priorities directed elsewhere, little attention was given to the regulation of these gatherings, and penal colony that it was, opportunities arose for tyranny and abuses in the guise of military protection—at the hands of the NSW (Rum) Corps. When, finally, their abuses, forestalling and other monopolistic not to say illegal practices were brought under control, market activity increased to the point where congestion and noise from the haphazard movements of carts and boats as they loaded and unloaded became chaotic.

Markets had long been domains of the lower classes, refuges for rough and dangerous characters of both sexes, and the embryonic Sydney market was no exception, "its very openness encouraged lower-class lawlessness, particularly with regard to food."¹⁰ There

was in the early colony, as ever in pre-industrial cities, a starving and often desperate underclass, and an unpredictable food supply to the market was a real threat. The great Hawkesbury floods in 1806 and subsequent food shortages prompted Governor Bligh, a man familiar with mutiny and insurrection, to move the market area and its associated chaos further up High Street (George Street), but by 1809 another move became necessary, this time to the Old Parade Grounds on the corner of George and Grosvenor Streets. Although still open-air, to regulate activity, this new marketplace included assigned areas for traders. The then-young *Sydney Gazette* reported at some length on the grand opening, held on Sunday March 5th, including an item on an incident that yet again emphasised how the market, a physical space, was at the same time a venue for the learned everyday world of social practice, the force of the ordinary order of things as Bourdieu would say. The areas assigned on the day to each vendor were ill-defined, and fights erupted including one which, their reporter explained in rather droll terms, “produced a storm of words between two of the market women, which had an athletic termination.”

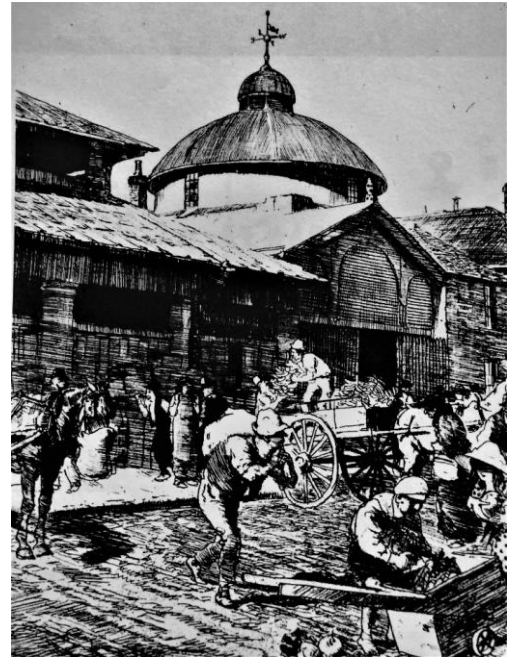
There was an inherent contradiction in markets at this time. In spite of all their noise, mess and danger they brought something vital to a place; they were (and remain) about food—and nothing embodies life like food. While the more cosmopolitan, educated professionals, doctors, military officers and gentry in the new colony could remain somewhat detached, conscious of participating in a new age of modernity, this was not an option for the less fortunate and otherwise alienated. Their exile from their distant homelands was forced, creating in them an overwhelming sense of rootlessness, of being denied life in a place at all familiar to them. Even a rudimentary marketplace afforded them a semblance of ‘belonging to a place’, of ontological security so desperately needed.

When Governor Macquarie arrived in 1810, Sydney was a bustling colony albeit only 22 years old and still at the mercy of food shortages due mainly to recurrent flooding. By then “The market was both the economic and the social hub of the colony”. Consistent with Bourdieu’s theories its character was slowly evolving in light of local circumstances. While its primary function was the sale of local produce, imported goods were also being sold, making it into something unique, “a cross between the rural markets of Ireland and England and the flea markets of cockney London.”¹¹

As a man steeped in the 'enlightened' sensibilities of the growing 'rational' middle classes, Macquarie sought to bring order, not least to the Sydney market. One of his first planned initiatives upon taking up his Governorship was to move the market to the site now occupied by the Queen Victoria Building (QVB). His commitment to a well-designed, centrally located market hall headed his grand plan to transform Sydney's haphazard collection of existing structures into a planned colonial town of enduring substance. Rehabilitating 'Emancipists': those who had served out their sentences or who had otherwise obtained a Ticket of Leave, was for the liberal-minded Macquarie a priority, an important step towards easing tensions. Selling produce in an orderly marketplace offered them at least a living and even a chance for prosperity. The market house finally realized in 1820 was far less grand than Macquarie originally planned; common sheds deemed sufficient to their task were retained, embellished by a poor facsimile of a domed centrepiece (Figure 2). Even so, as a market it thrived. In 1827 the surgeon Peter Cunningham described the increasing bustle associated with the market and market day. In his early book on the colony and in such a manner as to indicate a very familiar scene to English readers, who were at this time hungry for accounts of life in the antipodes.¹²

It is held on Thursdays and attended by individuals from the distance of 40 miles or more, with the produce of their agricultural industry. During the preceding day, as you journey towards the interior, you will encounter file after file of carts, loaded with wheat, maize, potatoes, pease, carrots, turnips, cabbages, fruit, pigs, calves. Poultry, and indeed all sorts of commodities for culinary use, pouring along the road to Sydney.¹³

All structures apart from the dome were demolished in 1831 and replaced by four sheds arranged in an elongated U, each containing 36 stalls (Figure 3). These sheds faced inwards to an open space 'between the markets' while outside, blank walls faced onto George, Market and York Streets with entries confined to the gaps between the sheds.



A sketch of George Street Markets, circa 1820. Greenway's domed market house had been turned into the Police Courts by the 1830s.

Source: Mitchell Library



Source: Mitchell Library

In the British Isles during these times public spaces such as the street were deemed to be places suited to anonymity, respectability and safety, and the public marketplace had to be reshaped to comply. "In addition to open-air market spaces it became increasingly common for market towns to provide some form of covered space."¹⁴ The driving force was the increasing need to bring order to the public streets and control traditional abuses and activities including street hawking and peddling, long the preserve of low-class vendors.

The late 1830s was a period marked by riots, strikes and worker upheavals inspired by the Chartists, so prevalent throughout England that authorities resorted to architecture as an agent for municipal reform, literally building 'social bridges' to lower class barriers. The "market hall in England was the manifestation of a popular new aesthetic theory" known as 'social functionalism', linking social ideals to architecture and seen as 'modern'.¹⁵ As the 19th century progressed, "the public market had joined the church and the town hall as an idealized institution."¹⁶ In that sense it was increasingly viewed as one of the key features of a town, "a way of promoting a new sort of connectedness to place and society among city dwellers."

Architecture, defined broadly as the art of shaping space, is inherently political, as Macquarie and others after him understood implicitly if not explicitly, particularly when building in essence a new world; it shapes the narratives of 'place' and creates a structure, a neutral frame so to speak, wherein social action can be constrained as well as enabled. It creates space for habit such as similar stalls in similar places, for colourful characters and familiar calls and conversations, for the countless 'ephemeral' interactions no less real than the structure itself. "They remind us that it is the way in which spaces are inhabited that matters most not just the physical boundaries that appear to define them."¹⁷

By early Victorian times order was restored, including by way of specific architectural initiatives: the enclosure of public markets and regulation of the streets, representing victories for middle-class control "in the struggle for urban spatial hegemony."¹⁸ The

authorities succeeded to the point where the street became a space suitable for all social orders, transforming it into a place where civic order was observed. In this sense the built environment, the habitat, was increasingly able to exert symbolic domination, to “sustain the authority of those who already possessed it.”¹⁹ And by the end of the 19th century the market hall had become the most important building in the townscapes of the old world and new world, beneficially framing everyday life. They were improving dietary habits through regular supplies and greater food choices, including better standards of convenience food offered in a range of ‘food stalls’, with many markets even offering an upmarket ‘gallery’ space with separate tea rooms, dairy bars and refreshment rooms.

Sydney echoed these trends. The newly formed Corporation of Sydney took control of the markets in 1842, by which time the markets were in poor order, erratic supplies and fraudulent practices, and frequent complaints of drunken and abusive stall holders and other public nuisances. One of the biggest problems was the prevalence of hawkers, a constant disruption to fair trade both in the market and on the street for shopkeepers, necessitating an Inspector of Hawkers.

“The economic boom of the 1800s and the increasing grandeur of new buildings nearby highlighted the shabbiness of the old George Street market.”²⁰ In 1859 perimeter shops were added to the outside of George and York Streets along with new interior shops. The civic-minded burghers of Sydney, always with an eye to trends back in Britain, finally agreed to demolish the George Street markets, to clear the entire block bounded by George, York, Drutt and Market Streets and create in their place a space far grander. Reflecting the times it was to be an “outstanding example of nineteenth century municipal social policy and urban planning.” Endless debates about the enclosing structure itself were eventually resolved: the Government Architect George McRae designed an extravagant ‘American Romanesque’ building sporting two levels of



Interior view from the upper (retail) level of the Queen Victoria Building immediately prior to its opening, 1893.

Source: City of Sydney Archives

upmarket shops, relegating the required market stalls to the basement. The construction of the Queen Victoria Building began in 1893, by which time Sydney was in recession. An early image of the original interior (Figure 4) immediately invites comparison with that of the aforementioned Leadenhall Market in 1883 (Figure 5).

Once realized in its full glory, it became in economic terms a dismal failure. In seeking to encourage more refined economic activity and down-play the more common market-style activity, the City Council paid dearly, and for subsequent decades the building was under constant threat of demolition.

Ironically, a century later, after a beautiful restoration the QVB did much to revitalise Sydney's Central Business District, transfixing locals and visitors alike, an elegant reminder of past grand visions. Its centrality to urban planning remains; as reported in *The Australian* of October 3rd 2018, the QVB is to be revitalized yet again. As its chief executive explained "Landmark centres with an emphasis on food, leisure and entertainment worked because human beings loved to congregate." One can hope that the same overreach does not occur, and that it is "the way in which spaces are inhabited that matters most not just the physical boundaries." Today's more cosmopolitan generations of Sydneysiders will continue to create markets: 'places' that are diverse and successful, in spaces appropriate to local environments, not least the restored QVB.



Interior view of Leadenhall Market from the lower floor. 1883

Source: Collage, London Metropolitan Archives

The supply of food to a great city is among the most remarkable of social phenomena, full of instruction on all sides. (George Dodd, *The Food of London*, 1856)

References

- ¹ George Bouchier Worgan, "Letter written to his brother Richard Worgan, 12-18 June 1788. Includes journal fragment kept by George on a voyage to New South Wales with the First Fleet on board HMS Sirius, 20 January 1788-July 1788." ML, Safe 1/114, 36 (NOTE: Leadenhall Market, which dates from the fourteenth century, was originally a meat, game and poultry market in what was the centre of Roman London.)
- ² Kim Dovey, "The Silent Complicity of Architecture," in *Habitus: a Sense of Place*, ed. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (Sydney: Ashgate, 2002), 259.
- ³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Habitus*, in *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, ed. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (Sydney: Ashgate, 2002), 27.
- ⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, 31.
- ⁵ Paul Cloke and Ron Johnston, *Spaces of geographic thought: deconstructing human geography's binaries* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), 83. The concepts of 'space' and 'place' used in this paper are taken from this source: "space refers to location somewhere, and place to the occupation of that location. Space is about having an address, and place, living there." The authors refer to a contemporary, recently used view which argues "place often associated with the world of the past, and space with the world of the future." Place is therefore nostalgic (in terms of this paper), space is progressive and radical.
- ⁶ Carolyn Steele, *The Hungry City: How Food Shapes Our Lives* (London: Random House, 2009), 119.
- ⁷ James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
- ⁸ Michael Christie, *The Sydney Markets 1788-1988* (Sydney, The Sydney Market Authority, 1988), 15.
- ⁹ Michael Christie, *The Sydney Markets*, 16.
- ¹⁰ Carolyn Steele, *The Hungry City*, 11.
- ¹¹ Michael Christie, *The Sydney Markets*, 39
- ¹² Heather Hunwick. *The Food and Drink of Sydney: A History* (Lanham: Roman and Littlefield, 2018),90.
- ¹³ Peter Cunningham. *Two Years in New South Wales*, ed. David S. Macmillan (Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1966), 37.
- ¹⁴ James Schmiechen, *The British Market Hall*, 10.
- ¹⁵ James Schmiechen, *The British Market Hall*, 53.
- ¹⁶ James Schmiechen, *The British Market Hall*, 48.
- ¹⁷ Carolyn Steele, *The Hungry City*, 123
- ¹⁸ James Schmeichen. *The British Market Hall*, 56.
- ¹⁹ Dovey 267.
- ²⁰ Heather Hunwick, *The Food and Drink of Sydney*, 92.

Walking through food history - André Taber

According to scholars of heritage interpretation, central to the concerns of a tour guide is 'the significance and uniqueness of a place'.¹ Ponsonby is an inner suburb of Auckland, New Zealand, known for its history: a dense concentration of some of the oldest houses in the country and Victorian/Edwardian-era blocks of shops, as well as its 'colourful' past as a working-class and immigrant area. Ponsonby is also known for food. Since the 1970s gentrification has turned it into one of the city's top café and restaurant strips. But no-one had put the two together and acknowledged food history as part of Ponsonby's uniqueness and significance until I started a local food history walking tour. In this paper I will describe my experience of researching and planning the heritage interpretation for the tour and share some of the difficulties I encountered. I will examine my experiences using the six principles of interpretation defined by Freeman Tilden, the founder of heritage interpretation theory: relate, reveal, art, provoke, whole and children.²

Six Principles of Interpretation, Freeman Tilden:

1 Relate

Any interpretation that does not somehow relate to what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.

2 Reveal

Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.

3 Art

Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.

4 Provoke

The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

5 Whole

Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole rather than any phase.

6 Children

Interpretation addressed to children should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best, it will require a separate programme.³

“Central to interpreters’ concerns is the significance and uniqueness of a place. Each place is special and requires particular approaches and applications of techniques for its interpretation.”⁴

Uzzell’s statement about significance and uniqueness was made in particular to comment on visitor centres. Ponsonby has no visitor centre. “Almost any interpretation has to be selective and incomplete.”⁵

Cross-cultural sensitivity: Pre-European and Pasifika history in Ponsonby.

Giving interpretation away: enable everyman to become his or her own interpreter.

“There is a danger [that]... the visitor sits back and waits to be entertained... inherent in the interpretation should be the communication of those skills which enable the interpretation in the first place. It is not sufficient simply to interpret a site for visitors: surely we want visitors to be able to generalize from what they have learnt at one site to another site... Tilden was at pains to point out in this second principle that ‘information as such is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based on information.’⁶

“...to adopt as priority an excitement-making model for interpretation... is knowingly to bias interpretation.. This is achieved either by omitting non-exciting history, or by making unexciting history into something that it was not, or by inventing history, perhaps even any history so long as it is exciting history, say, in the form of non-attested events... The past... is emotionally neutral. It is neither exciting nor dull, good nor bad, worthwhile nor worthless, without our intercession.”⁷

This is my friend Lisa Loveday.

She’s quite well known in Auckland gardening circles for her tromboncino squashes.

In 2012 she started a walking food tour around Sandringham, which is an Auckland neighbourhood known for its Indian shops and restaurants. The idea at first was just to be a community promotional exercise, but it proved so popular – Aucklanders had a real appetite for being guided through their ethnic neighbourhoods – that it has grown into a full-time business.

When she approached me to work with her on a tour of Ponsonby Road focussing on the food history of the area, I was dead keen – I’m an independent food historian – which as most of you realise means I research food history mostly without getting paid for it – and I’ve lived in Ponsonby since 1993.

One of the first things I did was google “Food History Walking tour” and the results that came up were mostly from New Orleans. Problem number one: New Zealand food history just isn’t as glamorous as food history in some other parts of the world.

Now, Ponsonby is considered a historic neighbourhood. But it’s pretty poorly promoted as a destination for heritage tourism. There is a self-guided walk... and every year there’s a two-week heritage festival in Auckland in which there are always several guided tours of Ponsonby.

And Ponsonby is a restaurant strip. The Wikipedia entry for Ponsonby takes 3 sentences to get to restaurants. Most people know that there have been restaurants there for a long time, but the general population doesn’t know a heck of a lot about the history of the place.

So, we decided to take the plunge and start the tour.

In order to keep this talk brief, focussed and scholarly I have chosen to use the principles defined by Freeman Tilden, the founder of heritage interpretation theory. There are six of them.

1 Relate

Any interpretation that does not somehow relate to what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.

This actually proved to be fairly easy. Lisa’s customer base from the ethnic neighbourhood tours is people who live in Auckland, and the majority of people who have done the Ponsonby tour are locals, many of them older people who have lived in Ponsonby and want to reminisce.

This means that I can assume a large amount of prior knowledge and stand on the footpath, point to a building and I often start my interpretive talks with “Does anyone remember what used to be there?”

Now, we believe that the tour should have appeal for tourists from overseas, but that's a very difficult market to break into. We've had a few international travellers and it's very difficult modifying my talks to suit both audiences at the same time.

At first, I really wanted my talks to relate to the food we were actually tasting in the restaurants, but this proved problematic. Unlike New Orleans, New Zealand restaurants don't serve historic food. In fact, the opposite, you don't survive in a place like Ponsonby unless you're right up with the latest trends. You can still buy things like meat pies, but that's not interesting to locals. So I've settled on just acknowledging that it's a tour of the best of today's food with historical stories thrown in. One small thing I'm proud of is when we visit a roast-lamb takeaway shop. A very gourmet one. Roast meat shops are commonplace in New Zealand, as they are here, apparently, and I tell them about the connection with colonial-era hotels which served quick and easy meals of roast meat.

2 Art

Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.

I tried very hard to craft my talks to be crammed with as much information as possible and to try and paint a picture of what life was like in the past. But actually delivering those talks is a whole different challenge. It's noisy, and often windy and cold on the street. We're often running late and our customers have short attention spans. And after the first few tours Lisa very bluntly told me I sounded like I was lecturing. I very quickly edited and refined my talks to be short and snappy.

I use an iPad to show historical photos, without which I believe the tour would be nowhere near as effective. I don't have the time to talk about architectural history, but I believe that by telling the stories of the people who occupied those buildings you create a greater appreciation for the built heritage.

On many other historical walking tours, the guide is a professional actor dressed in costume, but I'm sorry that's just not me, and luckily Lisa agreed that it would have been a bit too corny.

3 Reveal

Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.

I manage to do this quite well. For example, in this photo the point of interest is a former yeast and vinegar factory which operated for 75 years. All these houses have long since disappeared and I use it to talk about urban decay and renewal. Also, we give them a brief explanation about vinegar production and tell them how to choose good vinegar. When we were planning the tour, we desperately wanted to have a restaurant cook a dish featuring vinegar for us to help underscore the story, but that proved to be a bit of a pipe dream. Wrangling the restaurant operators has turned out to be one of the most challenging part of running a tour like this. They are mostly very set in their ways and not open to creativity, which has been a bit of an eye-opener.

But another one of my little victories was this. We had already chosen this place, Bedford Soda and Liquor which is a Brooklyn themed hipster bar where we tasted fancy soda drinks. Then I discovered that the very site had been the location of a Sharpe Bros. soft drink factory.

4 Provoke

The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

This is quite difficult because apart from the fact that we are stimulating the senses, hopefully with food the customers haven't experienced before, the average person who does a walking food tour doesn't necessarily want to be too emotionally provoked.

In fact, on the contrary, Kiwis are notorious for being shy in situations like this, so I don't really expect any audience participation.

One slightly provocative thing I do is talk about immigrants. In Auckland, just like most places around the world, immigrants have made a huge contribution to the food scene. I would like to show you these photos, three immigrants who ran shops in Ponsonby: the Reizenstein family, German Jews who had a bakery, The Wong family, Cantonese who had a fruit shop and Vjekoslav Peric, a Dalmatian fishmonger. I make a point of describing just how hard their lives had been.

I also manage to get some comments in about gentrification – a story which is quite easy to tell through food history.

4A Humour

Also, something that's not in these 6 principles, but which books on heritage interpretation talk about quite a lot is humour. It's kind of expected that walking tours these days are entertaining and full of funny anecdotes. I ran into trouble quite early because there simply weren't that many funny stories that came out of my research. I'm too much of a purist historian to exaggerate for the sake of getting a laugh, but through trial and error I have found a few anecdotes. What's problematic here is that the need to be humorous has made me edit out material in favour of the funny stuff, and in fact I have read a textbook that explicitly forbids this, but, like I said, you'd have some very disappointed customers if there was no humour.

For example, there was something that happened quite a lot in the olden days where the husband was the public face of the business but in reality it was the wife who was the brains and often the money behind it. Fairly provocative stuff, but also always gets a chuckle on my tours. This is Ann Ellen and Peter Hutchinson whose chain of grocery stores started on Ponsonby Road.

Another one, is the Talyancich family who did a publicity stunt in the '90s where they tried to export pies to Victoria, but they were rejected by officials because their pies contained too much meat for Australian regulations. It was a publicity stunt, but making Australians the butt of jokes always goes down well with Kiwis.

5 Whole

Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole rather than any phase.

When we started planning the tour, I pictured being able to convey a fairly complete story of Ponsonby and its people through its food story. I imagined I would tell it chronologically so the story would unfold logically. But then one of the first problems that popped up was that a lot of the restaurants were very particular about what time we showed up, and that ended up dictating in what order we walked past which sites.

6 Children

Interpretation addressed to children should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best, it will require a separate programme.



It's generally understood that walking food tours are not suitable for children, but I have a 9-year-old son and one day I'd love to come up with a programme that could teach food history to children.

So, by way of conclusion,

Just between you and me, tour guiding is not something that comes naturally to me and to be honest I'd much rather be at a desk researching and writing.

But I'm earning some money through food history, and that's a start.

And analysing what I've achieved, I think Lisa and I have proved that a walking FOOD history tour CAN work in this part of the world,

And I'd like to see more of us think out of the box to come up with themed tours that focus particularly on social history.

Notes

¹ David L Uzzell, Introduction: The Natural and Built Environment, in David Uzzell ed, Heritage Interpretation, Vol 1, The Natural and Built Environment, London, Bellhaven Press, 1992, p.6.

² Jim Bucholz, Brenda Lackey, Michael Gross, Ron Zimmerman, The Interpreter's Guidebook, p.37.

³ Jim Bucholz, Brenda Lackey, Michael Gross, Ron Zimmerman, The Interpreter's Guidebook, p.37.

⁴ David L Uzzell, Introduction: The Natural and Built Environment, in David Uzzell ed, Heritage Interpretation, Vol 1, The Natural and Built Environment, London, Bellhaven Press, 1992, p.6.

⁵ Peter Rumble, Interpreting the Built and Historic Environment, in David Uzzell ed, Heritage Interpretation, Vol 1, The Natural and Built Environment, London, Bellhaven Press, 1992,p.30.

⁶ Uzzell, Introduction: The Natural and Built Environment in David Uzzell ed, Heritage Interpretation, Vol 1, The Natural and Built Environment, London, Bellhaven Press, 1992, p.9.

⁷ Peter Fowler, Heritage: A Post-Modernist Perspective, in David Uzzell ed, Heritage Interpretation, Vol 1, The Natural and Built Environment, London, Bellhaven Press, 1992,p.60.

Creating “out of place” from “out of place” - Neil Gow

Abstract

Post the hype of the early 2000s Modernist Cuisine continues to influence our gastronomic perception of food. Through its underlying philosophy, its scientific association, use of laboratory-centric equipment, controversial ingredients and iconoclastic techniques this influence is consistently being challenged as an “Out of Place” aberration. An aberration that has and continues to circumvent and undermine the “In place” gastronomic and cultural heritages of preeminent food locales, heritages born through being both the longstanding epicentre of haute cuisine and quintessential champions for regional, rural and local foodways. Foodways and traditions that are distinctly seen as “Out of Place”

Paradoxically notable proponents for and practitioners of Modernist Cuisine have used these “Out of Place” techniques to recreate singular “Out of Place” food experiences; experiences that encapsulate both the quintessential essence of their place of origin as well as create a nostalgic link to a food that lies at the heart of a culture. Ferran Adrià’s spherified olive is proof in point of an approach using modernist techniques to create an iconic food. What could be more characteristically Spanish than a green olive? Similarly, Italian Chef Massimo Bottura’s signature dish “Crunchy Part of the Lasagne” is a deconstructed lasagne and ode to Bottura’s favourite childhood dish from Northern Italy. A multisensory dish he created where sound is used as an essential ingredient to create and communicate an intention, a feeling as well as a memory.

This paper aims to outline how the ideas, technology and underlying philosophy of the Modernist Cuisine movement has and can be leveraged to create true “Out of Place” food. Nourishment that speaks directly to culturally defined locale and gastronomic traditions hinged on concepts of *terroir* and aligned to and formed by cultural, social, economic forces.

The following 13 pages contain the slides and notes from Neil’s presentation.

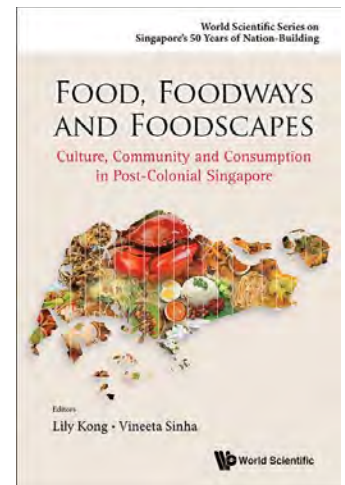
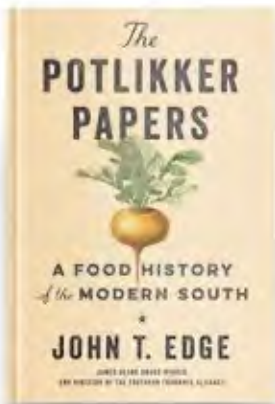


22nd Symposium of
AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY
Parramatta 2018



“Creating Out of Place from Out of Place”

When We Think “Out of Place” – Is this it?



So when we think of “Out of Place” – What do we think off?

- The Potlikker Papers – John T Edge
- Heritage by Chef Sean Brock (Mind of a Chef – NetFlix)
- Pre- & Post Colonial Foodways & Foodscapes
- We think of *terrior*, cultural heritage, rural & local foodways, rusticity
- Creolisation & Fusion Foods – Nonya Cuisine of Malaysia – Sicilian + Arabian + Persian blend
- We think of required legislation
 - Protected designation of origin (PDO)
 - Protected geographical indication (PGI)
 - Traditional specialties guaranteed (TSG)
- or Slow Foods ark of Taste
- The Ark of Taste travels the world collecting small-scale quality productions that belong to the cultures, history and traditions of the entire planet: an extraordinary heritage of fruits, vegetables, animal breeds, cheeses, breads, sweets and cured meats...

And when we think of Modernist Cuisine or that horrible moniker “Molecular Gastronomy”

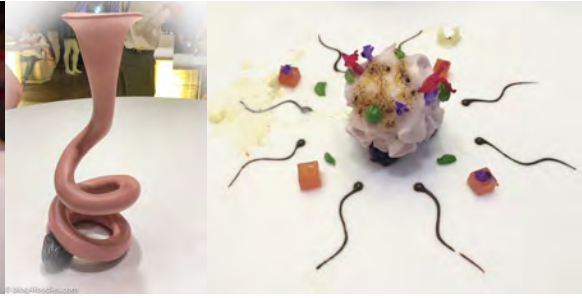
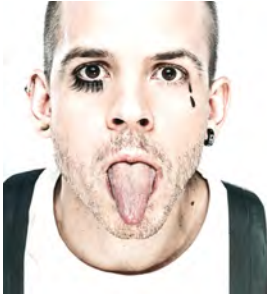
Modernist Cuisine



Is this it?

- Foams, gels, spheres,
- Trickery & Frippery?
- The cooking cliché that is liquid nitrogen
- Circumventing gastronomic and cultural heritages of preeminent food locales
- For an approach that pushes & promotes style over substance
- To the detriment of champions for regional, rural and local foodways

Would we think that this approach is the polar opposite of "Out of Place"?



"Diners are led one by one through the restaurant by a maître d' clad in tails with a red bow tie and black nail polish, before being seated at tables shrouded in thick, curtains decorated with smiling Cheshire cats. So explosive are the dishes that, for each course, a waiter (there are 30 for 30 covers) instructs you on the most appropriate manner of consumption, lest you should squirt a delicate dumpling bursting with egg yolk on to your white shirt by foolishly using your knife"



Here is a review of David Munoz new restaurant DiverXO in London

- That's him there - 38 Yo – 3 Star Michelin Spanish Chef
- Rabbit and smoked eel sandwich topped with two dots of chipotle mayonnaise
- The tail of the Pink Panther... Rhubarb, pink pepper, sheep milk and caramel milk
- Kimchi of strawberries, yogurt and coffee with baby squid
- We also have dishes like the "Round trip to Singapore passing for the Costa Brava" combine Chili Crab with Andalusian seasoning, an Asian Southeast "Suquet" (Catalan Fish Stew) with Canary chips, cocotxas and cockles, ginger and kefir lime
- The dish comes in different servings and proves that the chef masters the art of combining unusual ingredients and preparations and this way redefines the term 'fusion cooking'
- Another dish is called "Welcome to the Paris of the 70's Dabiz version" and is described as " too many complements to be appointed. Baby lamb infused with lemongrass and spices of Southeast Asia. World complements with France soul"
- For this dish, a small show is presented at the table. The curtains close, a big girandole and a special music box with French chansons appear
- A letter is brought, which explains a part of the dish: 9 different oysters. The oysters are complemented with the baby lamb, that is cut at the table. Quite the experience.

Pretty Out There – So if that is an example of Modernist Cuisine

Do We Think This is “Out of Place”



Note À note
Chef Pierre Gagnaire



“RIEN”
Chef DENIS MARTIN



HOT & Cold tea
Chef Heston Blumenthal

Do We Therefore Think These Dishes or Food cannot be out “Out of Place”?

- Swiss Chef Denis Martin’s invisible soup – rien - “nothing” – tomato and dill
- Heston Blumenthal – Sound of the Sea fame – Hot & cold Tea
- Created in partnership with French chemist and long-time friend Hervé This, the dish named ‘Note à Note’ consists of jelly-like ‘pearls’ that look like sago pearls and taste like apples, served with an iced granité with a lemon-like taste, with a wafer-thin ‘caramel’ crisp in between. Except, of course, that no apples, lemons or caramel were ever used to create the dish

So Let’s look at one of these dishes a little more closely

Do We Think This is “Out of Place”

Hot & Iced Tea



- 0 For the tea infusion
- 1.8 kg ice-cold low-calcium mineral water*
- 40 g Earl Grey tea leaves
- 0 For the hot tea fluid gel
- Part A
- 860 g reserved tea infusion
- 80 g unrefined caster sugar
- 0.6 g gellan F, low-acyl
- 0.6 g sodium citrate
- PartB
- 0.25 g calcium chloride
- 1 g malic acid
- 5 g reserved tea infusion
- 0 For the cold tea fluid gel
- Part A
- 860 g reserved tea infusion
- 80 g unrefined caster sugar
- 0.6 g gellan F
- 0.6 g sodium citrate
- PartB
- 0.25 g calcium chloride
- 3.5 g malic acid
- 5 g reserved tea infusion
- 2 To serve
- reserved cold tea fluid gel
- reserved hot tea fluid gel

The especially weak gel structure employed in this dish (to give the illusion of a liquid) requires particular handling. Gellan is generally added to hot liquid and encouraged to disperse. However, after many tests and trials in the development kitchen, we have found that the technique that works best with such a low percentage of gellan is to add it to cold water and warm slowly.

1. **For the tea infusion:** Place the water in a bowl and stir in the tea leaves. Infuse for 1 hour, then gently strain through a fine sieve lined with a fine paper coffee filter. (The infusion must be very clear.)
2. **For the hot tea fluid gel:** Place the tea infusion in a saucepan. Dry-blend together the sugar, gellan and sodium citrate, then whisk the mixture into the pan. Bring to a simmer, whisking to ensure the dry ingredients have dissolved. Meanwhile, mix the Part B ingredients and set aside. Once Part A has come to a simmer, whisk in Part B to begin setting the gel. Pour into a clean container and cool over an ice bath. Refrigerate for 24 hours, then pass the mixture through a fine sieve and store in a screw-top water bottle. If the gel is very fresh (less than 36 hours old), it will slowly regel into a solid rather than a fluid. This can be corrected by passing it through a very fine sieve
3. **For the cold tea fluid gel:** Place the tea infusion in a saucepan. Dry-blend together the sugar, gellan and sodium citrate, then whisk the mixture into the pan. Bring to a simmer, whisking to ensure the dry ingredients have dissolved. Meanwhile, mix the Part B ingredients and set aside. Once Part A has come to a simmer, whisk in Part B to begin setting the gel. Pour into a clean container and cool over an ice bath. Refrigerate for 24 hours, then pass the mixture through a fine sieve and store in a screw-top water bottle
4. **To serve:** Preheat a water bath to 72°C/162°F. Put the cold tea fluid gel in an ice bath at 0°C/32°F. Put the hot tea fluid gel in the heated water bath and bring it to 72°C/162°F. Take a small glass into which has been placed a very tight-fitting vertical divider and pour each gel into one half of the glass, making sure to fill both sections at the same rate and to the same height. Carefully remove the divider and serve immediately

Source

Heston Blumenthal : The Fat Duck Cookbook : P283

Categories

- © Molecular
- Ⓚ Molecular

Cuisine

But are they really?



Science excites us because it allows us to redefine, question, parody and find new ways of seeing things” - *El celler de can roca*

- Modernist Cuisine, while better than Molecular Gastronomy, is not the best term – I prefer the term Ferran Adrià uses - Techno\Emotive
- Where it works – its the appropriate blending technical techniques, laboratory-centric equipment, controversial ingredients and with something that resonates on a psychological, physiological, and physical level
- Put simply its not manipulating food for manipulations sake – its for a point a story, a sensation or trigger an emotion or memory of a specific time & place
- Tim & Tony – Narrative transformation – Cinderella Dessert
- The more senses you can engage with, the more rich, memorable & enjoyable you are making that experience
- In some ways The signature process leading to a signature dish - the process is just as important - previously it's just the finished work of art - no interest in how it was painted
- They talk of an international cuisine but with markings of our land
- Through these approaches and technique we can revisit + deconstruct dishes from traditional foodways
- By divining the essential characteristic, essence or meaning of these dishes

We can create an “out of place” emotional connection or memory

What about these?



- This is the signature dish from Funky Gourmet in Athens. The diner gets stunned first by seeing a scoop of white 'snow' on their plate
- The waiter then squeezes a few drops of olive oil on top using a pipette
- The white snow has all the classic flavors of a Greek salad: tomatoes, cucumber, olive oil, feta cheese and kalamata olives –
- This approach allows us to not only manipulate but also inject fun
- Foie Gras Ashes with Crystal Bread - Located on a hillside in the Basque Country of Spain, 3-Michelin Star Azurmendi is a restaurant that uses local ingredients to create dishes that push the boundaries of molecular gastronomy
- In this dish, the delicious smokiness and creaminess of the foie gras is nicely complemented by crunchy Crystal bread – a new dimension to a traditional dish
- Crystal bread is a proprietary bread made in Catalunya
- The mozzarella balloons – filled with essence of basil – served with tomato gels – Caprese Salad
- Red Gurnard & Sea Garnish - Inspired by Heston Blumenthal's 'Sound of the Sea' dish
- The sea garnish has edible sand, sea foam, Boston Bay blue mussels, a seared Scottish scallop, clams, butter cooked crab meat, French wild asparagus, rock chives, oyster leaf and maji leaf
- Lastly the Olive sphere – Ferran Adrià

Peanut Butter & Jelly Sandwich

Chef Grant Achatz



Is not "Out of Place" also about the everyday

- The craving or longing or simple enjoyment of the everyday– the comfort factor that familiarity engenders
- Example - Classic Peanut Butter & Jelly sandwich
- Here's the deconstructed version from Grant Achatz of Alinea restaurant in Chicago
- A single peeled grape coated with peanut butter and wrapped in the thinnest toast wafer
- The act of deconstructing takes place through elimination and substitution
- Achatz has substituted brioche for the standard pasty white bread, and eliminated the jelly altogether replacing it with the grape
- It's inside out as well – it's about creating a critical moment – do I like this or not and why – cause to re-examine the relationship

Nostalgia can be about a place as well as a thing

A Trip to Havana



- Cuba is known for its simple but robust food and the Creolisation of its Spanish history
- But when people think of Cuba they often think of two iconic items
- Cigars & Mojito
- "Trip to Havana" is a dessert dish from Restaurant El Celler De Can Roco
- An ice cream is a sponge for scents – the science
- Jordi created a water pump that drew smoke from a cigar directly into the ice cream maker
- The ice cream was then presented in a cylinder of dark chocolate, to create a 'cigar,' and served with a 'mojito.'
- In the glass is rum candies, lime jelly, mint water & granita

But what about memories?

A Trip to the Cinema



Smoked Caramel & Pomegranate
Chef Paul Liebrandt

Is not "Out of Place" also about nostalgia

- What about childhood memories and childhood foods
- Heston Blumenthal "sound of the sea" – childhood memories about trips to the sea side – the Fat duck Map
- What about the trip to the cinema – and when you go what do you want to eat
- Popcorn – very prosaic popcorn
- For Chef Paul Liebrandt 'this dish picks up on the caramel flavour of the popcorn he relished at the movies
- A emotional aspect of cooking that resonates through out his cuisine as it does for other modernist chefs

Lasagna

By Yuri Ancarani • October 17, 2016

In a soundproof room filled with microphones, the chef prepares a perfect dish — and serves it to a robot. This is what it sounds like.

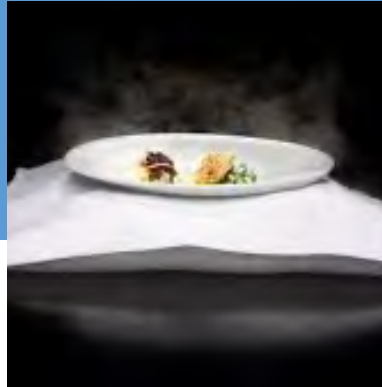
<https://www.nytimes.com/video/t-magazine/100000004708074/massimo-bottura.html>



But what about the sound of the food being prepared itself?

- Recording meals being prepared – the effort – multi-sensory – the delivery of his favourite comfort food – lasagna
- The “Crunchy Part of the **Lasagna**” a deconstructed **lasagna** and ode to **Bottura's** favourite childhood
- A colorful sheet of crunchy pasta balanced on top of a hand-chopped meat sauce and béchamel

Creating “Out of Place” from “Out of Place”



Thank you

Conclusion

- Hopefully I have shared and enlightened you all on the paradox of how notable proponents for and practitioners of Modernist Cuisine have used these “Out of Place” techniques to recreate singular “Out of Place” food experiences
- Experiences that encapsulate both the quintessential essence of their place of origin as well as create a nostalgic link to a food that lies at the heart of a culture
- As we saw Ferran Adrià spherified olive is proof in point of an approach using modernist techniques to create an iconic food. What could be more characteristically Spanish than a green olive?
- Similarly Italian Chef Massimo Bottura’s signature dish “Crunchy Part of the Lasagna” is a deconstructed lasagna and ode to Bottura's favourite childhood dish from Northern Italy
- A multisensory dish he created where sound is used as an essential ingredient to create and communicate an intention, a feeling as well as a memory
- An overall sense of how the ideas, technology and underlying philosophy of the Modernist Cuisine movement has and can be leveraged to create true “Out of Place” food – connecting & maintaining tradition
- Nourishment that speaks directly to culturally defined locale and gastronomic traditions hinged on concepts of terroir and aligned to and formed by cultural, social, economic forces

Dérangé? What is taste and what is ordinary? - Graham Ellender

Abstract

Is it “out of the ordinary”, “out place” or actually “in place”? Can “taste”, in the context of a mental perception of quality, be out of place? Can this reflect taste in culture, arts, aesthetics, music, customs, etiquette?

Likewise, can “taste” in foods, preparation and presentation be out of “place”? Should the painful burn of chilli, the rough astringency of a robust shiraz, the bitterness of coffee and chocolate, be considered out of place and be regarded as masochism and self-flagellation?

Do we get out of “place” throughout life with taste and deviate from the ordinary? In fact, is there such a thing as “ordinary”?

The question posed is what is “the ordinary”, what is “in place” and what is “normal”.

Are we too conservative to try something for the first time? Examples of “out of the ordinary” changes are emerging from multimodal studies around the world, Oxford in particular, in fields of molecular gastronomy and “gastrophysics”, and likely more to follow. At first sight much which is presented appears “out of the ordinary” and “out of place”.

But are we just latent neophobes? Should some boundaries be demolished, and if so which?

The role of animals in Australian archaeology: How it can inform on the past, present and future of native bush tucker - Jillian Garvey

Abstract

Australia's unique climate, geology and environment has meant that for millennia people have had access to a variety of unique flora and fauna. While there has been much written and discussed about native plants, we know little about what sorts of animals people hunted and how they butchered and cooked them. The 'Native Animal Bush Tucker Project' is aiming to fill some of these gaps by combining the traditional archaeological analysis of faunal assemblages with ethnography and modern practises by Aboriginal people.

This is being supplemented with innovative butchery and nutritional analyses of a wide variety of potential prey, which provides an estimate of how much meat, fat and marrow might come from particular species (and specific body parts), as well as how good they are for you to eat. For example, some marrow on a carcass is more palatable, keeps you satiated for longer, and is healthier for you. All of these things can be used to assist in interpreting patterns in the archaeological record, as well as predicting the likelihood that a particular animal and body part might be selected. It can also be used to assess changes through deep-time and may have implications for the modern Australian diet and how we might rethink our attitudes towards native animals.



From pavement to plate: Harvesting weeds for nutrients and nutraceuticals - Colette Geier

Abstract

This presentation is based on my current research project focused on the bioactivity in Australian Purslane Varieties. I am comparing local and desert varieties and looking for compounds that may be used to treat inflammatory diseases such as Diabetes Myelitis. This project came about after researching The Panara, or grass seed people of central Australia and their legacy as the oldest bread makers in the world. Although Purslane is found worldwide and eaten by most societies, Australia's sovereign people were the only society to harvest the seed of purslane for food. Though generally viewed as a weed here in Australia, purslane has been described by the WHO as a 'global Panacea' and is used to treat everything from hysteria to leprosy and almost everything in between.

As well as a food and a medicine, purslane also offers a way of tackling rising salinity in Australian soils. Purslane has the ability to sequester salt from effected soils and flourish in drought conditions. My research will profile betalain compounds in purslane which are a relatively rare group of compounds with great potential as natural food colours, antioxidants and medicinal therapies. The aim of this project is to demonstrate the potential of this plant as a new sustainable high value food and nutrient crop that can also help to ameliorate compromised soils. As well as my research findings, the presentation will include details of other common Australian edible weeds of nutritional significance and how they can be utilised.

Conservation out of place - Virginia Nazarea

In a fairly recent development, 1,500 native potatoes from the Potato Park in Cusco, Peru were shipped to the Global Seed Vault in Svalbard, Norway for safekeeping because, according to Alejandro Argumedo, the Director of ANDES, "Peruvian potato culture is under threat" (Native Village Youth and Education News 2011). Like a terrestrial Noah's Ark, the Global Seed Vault protects "spare copies" of seeds held in gene banks worldwide in the event of political upheavals, climatic change, and other disasters. The seeds are sealed in "black boxes" whose contents are known only to the scientists who deposited them there. The Global Seed Vault garnered worldwide attention when it was established in 2008. By Year 1, it held more than 400,000 seed accessions. That number has more than doubled with shipments from national and international gene banks. By design, everything is going for it in terms of long-term conservation--- the icy bedrock that keeps the collection in permafrost, the ideal elevation that protects it from tectonic activity, and the governmental and multilateral funding and media attention that the futuristic set-up attracts.

In the 1970s, international agricultural research centers (IARCs) were established to avert famine by promoting intensive production on limited land made possible by breeding high-yielding--- or input-sensitive--- varieties of crops. Green Revolution centered on the development of "miracle" seeds along with a technology package designed to maximize yield. To address the imminent narrowing of the genetic variability of crops as farmers adopted these modern cultivars, the same centers also established an extensive network of gene banks for protecting crop diversity. These plant genetic resources are exchanged for scientific inquiry, plant breeding, and genetic engineering and many of their desirable traits have been incorporated into "improved" varieties of crops that we rely on today. Located in centers of domestication and diversity in the global South and linked with seed repositories and plant breeding and biotechnology laboratories in global North, gene banks have been the focus of acrimonious debates over rights and access to germplasm (Fowler 1994, Ehrlich 2002, Dutfield 2004).

Plant collectors including botanists, geneticists, breeders, and the occasional anthropologist have deposited samples of crop diversity into international and national gene banks. Gene banks are comprised of adjoining rooms maintained in a gradient of coldness corresponding to the intended length of storage. Plant accessions are held in short-, mid-, or long-term storage under highly-controlled conditions and periodically grown out in a no less rigorous fashion. Systematic passport data document the source of germplasm in terms of habitat and not much else (Nazarea 1998). Conservation thus involves layers of containment although containment runs counter to the principle of common human heritage that allowed for their collection in the first place. It implies both

a declaration of property and a fear of contamination. This contamination can be biological, as when unwanted genes “flow” or introgress into native or improved varieties. It can also be cultural as when “primitive” or “feminine” principles, like local knowledge and the maintenance of women’s homegardens and rustic kitchens intrude upon the civilizing forces of modernity encapsulated in gene banks.

The conventional meaning of conservation dictates a scientific framework, a policy mandate, and a management plan. Most of the effort has been invested in *ex situ* conservation which means collecting germplasm from places of origin, be it in the wild or in farmers’ fields, and systematically characterizing, evaluating, and storing these materials for posterity, breeding, and exchange. The system is driven by the threat of loss and the idea of salvage. Given this, the response---cold storage in progressively more controlled, more distant, and “blacker” boxes---make a great deal of sense. Still, significant paradigm shifts emanating from the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) coupled with increasing awareness of the social and political implications of the centralization of plant genetic resources have led to uncharted territories that bring the natural and social sciences, civil society, and state into close interaction, and leading to many permutations of collaboration and collision. The complex case of Peruvian potatoes demonstrates the trans-local and multiply-engaged nature of biodiversity conservation, on the cross- currents of loss and memory. Science seeks to deposit and deploy potatoes along with other crops and assigns them heft (see also Herman 2013) while local farmers reconcile these estranged tubers and sanitized seeds with beloved infants and prodigal sons.

Argumedo’s pronouncement in regard to the vulnerability of potato culture contrasts quite markedly with the vitality of the food culture around potatoes in Peru particularly evident at the Mistura. Every September, Peru holds the “Mistura”, a popular food festival wherein people of highlands, the jungle, and the sea bring a wide variety of their produce and artisanal products to Lima. In the past decade, a groundswell of culinary revival has put Peruvian cuisine and the name of the charismatic chef, Gaston Acurio, on the map. Every Saturday, young chefs influenced by Acurio would explore the Andes, the Pacific coast, and the deserts and valleys in between in search of local ingredients that they can re-incorporate into their cuisine, principal among them the native potato varieties. These once-lowly, twisted and bumpy potatoes have acquired the status of “heirloom” and “gourmet”. Since it was first organized by the Sociedad Peruana de Gastronomía (APEGA) in 2008, the Mistura festival has matured from its charismatic origin to a broader social movement and continues to galvanize rural producers and urban consumers alike and to distil new directions in re-valuing and re-crafting Peruvian cuisine.

At Mistura 2015, I witnessed biodiversity being celebrated and consumed. A wide range of food stalls from high-end cuisine to street food, from traditional to fusion, presented an extraordinary opportunity to not only investigate biodiversity on display, but also to touch, smell, and taste it. From *causa* (traditional potato dish) to *chaufa* (fusion fried rice) to *chicha* (fermented drink from corn), the intensity of hues and aromas was intoxicating. We interviewed some of the participants in the general revelry. Two women, inspired by Gaston Acurio who had given cooking lessons to their youth in the *pueblos jóvenes* (new communities) on the periphery of Lima, after carefully examining a wide array of beans, spotted one kind that gave them a sense of food security as children, and took a bag of it home to plant. A woman explained the uses of various medicinal herbs and grains and invited us to visit her community so we could learn more. Several chefs-in-training paid close attention to the produce from the highlands and the coast. A chef who promoted “desserts without guilt” was optimistic that Lima was becoming a foodie destination and there was room for people like him to make their mark.

“*Mistura estos somos. Somos esta Mistura*” (Mistura is us. We are the Mistura), was a much-touted slogan, but it appeared to be more than that. It will require an expanded and more systematic study to back up this observation but everyone we talked to --- a mix of indigenous and mestizos, young and middle-aged, male and female, all savoring some tasty offering --- was there to experience and to remember. This throbbing, warm sphere of conservation and revitalization is a stark contrast to centralization and conservation of germplasm in cold storage. I would posit that the Mistura is restorative memory work at its most performative (Connerton 1989). It awakens memories and fans their transmission across generations and across gaps where traditional transmission may have failed (Nazarea 2006). Whether the organizers intended for it to be so or not, it seemed to “mobilize an imaginary in relation to the past for fundamentally different conceptions of the present” (Boutin et al. 2005:8) and, I might add, the future.

Underwriting Place

Meanwhile, in secret places “far from pomp and pride”, co-being, enchantment, and memory entice people to hold on to things or assemblages of things---plants among them---that hold meaning and make life more whole, bearable, and interesting. More milieus than memorials, these presumably insignificant spaces account not only for the preservation but also the generation of the biodiversity that scientific frameworks, mandates, and plans seek to conserve. This section examines such spaces to foreground conservation that is beyond design and out of the way (and, in some ways, in the way).

Since the mid-1990s, there have been mounting efforts to complement *ex situ* conservation with *in situ* conservation or conservation in place, also known as

“conservation through use” (Maxted et al. 1997, UNEP 2001). More recently, anthropologists have highlighted the importance of conservation *in vivo*, in viable complexes as part of more traditional lifeways that, by their very persistence in out-of-the-way places, function as safe havens from global monocultures (Hunn 1999). We have also documented another form of conservation that hinges on diasporic co-movements of people and plants. In *trans situ* conservation, transplanted “roots” from various homelands that immigrants grow to establish an out-of-place sense of place in the adopted homeland secures the diversity from development changes in the home country and enhances the host countries’ biodiversity. Thus, while modernization may erode diversity in their countries of origin, these transported homegardens could serve as living repositories for repatriation in the future (Nazarea and Rhoades 2013; Rhoades 2013).

Vietnamese immigrants to the US are re-planting transported seeds as markers of identity. These sensory reminders function as both anchor and sail. In the context of the project, Introduced Germplasm from Vietnam, we found that many a suburban backyard across the American South has been trellised and hilled-up to support aromatic herbs and productive vines. Arresting growth of tall varieties of corn and leafy bananas as well as conquering luffa and bitter gourd punctuate their quietly authored landscapes. Seeds are passed along in a memory-laden traffic that spans Florida to New Orleans, even Texas. When Vietnamese American students interviewed their parents, grandparents, and other relatives about the plants that they continue to grow and cook, they were surprised by how much their elders knew, and how passionately they cared, about the plants from back home. The motivations were many and nuanced, as an interview of Nhan Couch, revealed (Nazarea 2005):

I have long, green squashes (*bau*) ---I think they call them gourds here--- lemon grass and chives from Vietnam, little purple onions, bitter melon, and Vietnamese mustard greens. They’re big and look like cabbage, and we make pickle out of that. We have lettuce with thin leaves, not like heads of lettuce here....A lot of times I work outside...I (also) like to go out there and drink my coffee and feed the fish in the morning time...A lot of people came in and talk with me, talk about my banana trees and vegetables. Sometimes I dig up banana tree and give it to them. They want to plant. They say they’ve never seen big banana trees like I have.

Conservation in Marginal and Not-so-marginal Spaces

Milieus of memory are places with deep emotional and cognitive resonance. Small fields and rustic kitchens where seeds and knowledge are transmitted through gathering and storytelling are scarcely recognized for their service to biodiversity conservation. Yet, these milieus nurture diverse seeds and foodways and strengthen a countermemory that

goes against the grain of monocultures and other orthodoxies. As Pierre Nora pointed out, it is milieus, not memorials, that ultimately account for “re-seeding the bed of memory”, What makes for sensuous conservation? Back to Peru, I savor the life histories of Luisa Huaman, an elderly potato farmer in Cusco, Peru, and Isabel Alvarez, a rural sociologist who has documented regional Peruvian food traditions and founded a restaurant that serves these dishes in Lima, for clues.

Residing in Cuyo Grande, Luisa Huaman, who was still actively farming in her eighties, continued to relish the hearty dishes of her youth and insisted on preparing traditional potato soup for her family. She recalled that growing up, they planted legumes like fava, grains like wheat and barley, and tubers like *olluco*, *oca*, and *anu*. They planted potatoes in *puqos* where they would put guano droppings, three or four small potatoes and, in the middle of the plate, three coca leaves as an offering because “before planting the potato one must make a payment and then you can blow some alcohol or *chicha* the *apus* (gods).” They also raised pigs and so there was a lot of lard to flavor their dishes along with *yuyu* or wild greens that they would collect. As Luisa recalled:

The potatoes were big and there were varieties like *pasnacha*, *peruntus*, *serqa*, *qompis*, *puka nawi*, *churos*, *puka churos*, and *chillico*. The *pasnacha* potato was pretty, rich-tasting, and yellow....when you ran in the *chacras* (fields), the potatoes would come out of the soil, and it would not be necessary to dig. The fava beans were also large and tasty.

Isabel Alvarez is a rural sociologist and food activist native to Lima. I interviewed her one evening in Senorio de Sulco, her famed restaurant by the sea. According to her, “the most cruel thing about modernity is that it makes us forget. And this forgetting is most cruel when it takes place in the kitchen.” The author of *Las Manos de mi Madre* (The Hands of my Mother) explained further that in the kitchen --- particularly in the rural kitchen and mostly in the hands of generations of women --- we learn our most important lessons about connection to each other as well as to nature and the land. We taste legacy and love. She added that these grounded emotional connections cannot be replaced by “male-dominated techniques”. A founding member of APEGA and having played a central role in the *Mistura* from its inception, she is somewhat critical of young male chefs who, according to her, only see biodiversity as ingredients that they “save”. To illustrate that biodiversity is instead a vital force, an ethic, and a passion, she told me the story of a woman who aspired to learn how to prepare *cancacho de cordero*, or delicately-roasted lamb, and who later became famous for the way prepared it. So tied to her sense of identity was this finely-honed skill that the woman was known to have said, “the day I die, I’m going to be holding my *cancacho*.”

Though remotely located in terms of virtually all parameters except for deep sensory engagement, Luisa and Isabel have retained and nurtured essentially what is dear to them. While their presence is transgressive in their respective contexts, the power of this transgression emanates from a coherence of their worlds. I wish to stress the critical importance of quotidian practices, affective attachments, and sensory memory as these embodied practices, sensations, and sentiments constitute compelling and enduring forces favoring the conservation and contagion of biodiversity. Edward Casey (1996) wrote that without a primary level of coherence, it would be impossible to move, much less hope. When conservation programs veer radically away from meaningful milieus of biodiversity, there is a risk of dissociation and immobilization. In the spirit of remembering, conservation needs to be more faithful to, and coherent with, cosmologies of and intimacies with biodiversity. It has to be rooted more deeply, to include the pleasure and the dignity, the wholeness and the rightness, emanating from the availability and accessibility of a diversity of plants and the complex lifeworlds that they help imagine and congeal.

In Luisa's recollections, the landscape is populated with sentient beings and inscribed with lessons for those who understand (see also Basso 1996, Gonzales 2000, Nazarea 2013). The apus need to be thanked and pacified and potatoes willfully appear and disappear. From Luisa's farm and her kitchen, re-enchantment promotes cultural and sensory relocation that counters the straightening and de-animation that development and programmatic conservation can unwittingly instigate. This goes for Isabel's worldmaking as well, as she weaves dishes from remote kitchens in the countryside into seaside menus and re-animates them with hands that warm palates and pass on memories. Everyday practices and aesthetics ---embodied in gardening, cooking, and commensality --- constitute the intimate and sensual landscape that crops and other culturally significant plants inhabit and evoke. Textures, temperatures, flavors, and aromas sustain emotional attachments and compel people, both local and transported, to nurture their traditional crops. Such milieus of memory enliven alternatives that might otherwise be abandoned, including culinary preferences and rituals that require that a wide variety of plants remain *in memory* and *in place*.

Movements Out of Place

Modernity's invasions and interventions have installed "miracle" crops, "plum" commodities, and "magic bullet" fixes into human consciousness and lifeways, but not without retort. In ecological edges and cultural folds, multi-vocal, multi-sensory, and multispecies kinships have emerged as refuges of practice and memory. We have

examined both persistent and emergent forms of co-creations and counters that affectively and effectively challenge global alienation and homogenization, or *noplaceness*. What accounts for the resilience of these refuges? How do out-of-the-way gardens and kitchens nurture and deploy memories central to identity and persistence? And why do these and other refuges constitute powerful terms of emplacement when they are in many ways out of place?

Again, fairly recently, a diffuse and irreverent movement of making saved seeds available for sharing in public libraries took hold in the US. The phenomenon of seed libraries started in 2000, in a series of direct local responses to increasing the standardization and commodification of seeds and the homogenization of farms and tables. The first one of record was the Bay Area Seed Interchange Library (BASIL) at the Berkeley Ecology Center in California. Other pioneering ones ---the Hudson Valley Seed Library in New York, the Richmond Grows Seed Lending Library in California, and the Seed Library of Los Angeles in California---led to the establishment of the National Association of Seed Libraries (www.seedlibraries.com). The irony of modern seed exchange was not lost to the proponents when a problem with authorities arose at a public seed library in Pennsylvania, prompting the comment "advocates of seed-sharing programs said they don't necessarily blame agricultural departments, but some express frustration that laws focus on protecting the needs of modern hybrid seed producers while limiting age-old, person-to-person seed exchanges." Tragically, when something like seed saving and seed sharing that reinforce biological and cultural diversity gain more acceptance and move from the margins towards the center, forces at the center agitate for its standardization and control.

Still, the movement grows. Out west and down south, I have visited the Pima County Seed Library in Tucson, Arizona and the Appalachian Studies Center Seed Library in Dahlonega, Georgia. My students in a Service Learning class, Anthropology of Roots and Rooting, also helped set up a seed library at the Pinewoods Estate Public Library in Athens, Georgia. Speaking with the people behind these seed libraries, the themes that came up time and time again were the connection between love of gardening and food and devotion to sharing seeds and the need not only for conservation but, more importantly, for equal access. These strong beliefs and affections motivate the "seed librarians" who collect, store, organize, advertise, and "lend" out these seeds. At the Pima County Library, several scattered bistro tables with small vases of fresh flowers offer those who walk in from the street a place to sit and ponder the availability of seeds and perhaps with the help of librarians find what they remember and select what they want to plant. At the Appalachian Studies Center, collaboration among a biological scientist, a professional storyteller, and an artist led to their seed library being complemented by a seed bank, a garden, and a pantry. For the mostly immigrant residents of Pinewood

Estates, seeds of flowers and herbs are the most prized and sought after as the bright colors and piquant flavors help them negotiate the many contours and fragmentations of “home”.

In closing, I address the double meaning of “out of place” that is at the crux of this Symposium. On one hand, it can be empowering as in crafting creative responses to challenges out of locality or place, with its repository of cultural memory. On the other, it can be disempowering as in instituting top-down programs that are inappropriate or hopelessly out of place. Place is a vexing concept to begin with. In relation to the conservation of biodiversity, we have seen how home gardeners and small farmers—both local and immigrant—author place with sensory reminders of the past or a homeland. We have also witnessed how food has become a vehicle for cultural revitalization. Such counters to uniformity and hegemony may appear insignificant except that they stand out and provoke us to wonder and question. Occasionally, too, powerfully regenerative social movements are fomented out of place. Out of re-enchantment and re-animation of lifeworlds come re-entrenchment of the displaced. From this emanates a more compelling kind of conservation.

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The nature of folk knowledge about the diversity of bananas in Central Uganda - Yasuaki Sato

Introduction

In central region of Uganda, East Africa, the livelihood has a unique agricultural pattern; the environmental resource management and the daily life is centred on bananas (Sato 2011). The subsistence economy is based on a system in which each household fulfils its dietary needs using food from a homegarden, of which bananas are a staple. A wide variety of multiple useful plants is also grown in homegardens. Generally, a society in which specific crops and people have strong ties is viewed as 'a cultural complex' or 'a livelihood system (Shigeta 2001)'. We can say it is 'the livelihood system based on bananas'.

Discussing the importance of bananas is within the purview of the field of agronomy, agricultural economics, and genetic resource sciences, but its cultural signification has received little attention. This paper examines how people's perceptions and memories are related to the diversity of bananas with the aim of illuminating the creativity of human-plant relationships. It will contribute to understanding multiple aspects of people's cognition of bananas.

The paper also focuses on the diversity of bananas. Cognitive anthropological approach has rarely been used to discover the universal characteristics of a group's classification system through examining a species or a crop. According to Orlove and Brush (1996), the cause behind this is the fact that there are a lot of exceptions in the classification of landraces² in a crop. Here, it will organize the state of folk classification.

In Central Uganda, the Ganda³, a Bantu ethnic group, is a majority group with a population of about 4 million in 2002 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005), which makes it the largest ethnic group in Uganda. Its people belong to more than 50 patrilineal clans. The Buganda Kingdom ceased to be a modern nation in 1966.

The research was conducted in K Village, Kirumba Sub-county, Kyotera County, Rakai District (Figure 1) from 2005 to 2018 intermittently. Besides being a prosperous banana farming area with 260 households as of August 2015, it is also one of the most densely populated areas in rural Africa. The population density of Kyotera County was 141 persons per square km in 2002 (Rakai District Agricultural Department 2004) and has been increasing.

Figure 1. K Village, Uganda



Diversity of bananas in Uganda

Banana cultivation areas in Africa are classified as (1) the 'Indian Ocean Complex' in the coastal area of East Africa, (2) the 'Plantain'⁴ area spreading in the tropical forests of Central Africa and West Africa, and (3) the 'East African Highlands AAA'⁵ area (De Langhe et al. 1994).

In the area (1), the cultivars are similar to those in Asia, and bananas are a supplementary component of food culture as snacks and sweets. People grow bananas in combination with rice and coconuts.

In the area (2), the unique cultivars called 'plantain subgroup' are important staple foods. Shifting cultivation in the forest is the major form of agriculture they practice.

Central Uganda is in the area (3) and is known as the Great Lake region of East Africa in Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Kenya and the Democratic Republic of Congo. A large part of the area is over 1,000 meters above the sea level. A unique cultivars group called AAA-EA (East African Highland bananas) has been developed, and it is used for multiple purposes, such as the staple food, in making beer, and in material culture. Banana cultivation (*Musa* spp.) is the main livelihood of rural communities. People grow bananas in the same gardens around their residences for many years (Komatsu et al. 2006). The relationship between people and bananas has been developing for about hundred years, and it has led to a culture and society based on bananas. From the viewpoint of the morphology of bananas, AAA-EA can be classified into 5 clone sets, and hundreds of vernacular names have been recorded under them (Karamura 1999).

Folk knowledge on bananas

People perceive bananas as multifaceted and categorize them as if they have a 'dialogue' with bananas. Their classifications of bananas vary according to the situation. Regarding banana plants, they have a variety of nouns which correspond to their different forms and uses/applications. For instance, a leaf sheath is called *olugogo*, a leaf is called *olulagala*, and the last leaf is called *engozi*, which is also the word for the cloth used for carrying a baby on one's back. The leaf used for wrapping is called *oluwumbo*, and the covering leaf is called *essaaniiko*.

In terms of whole banana plants, interviews and cognition tests identify four kinds of perceptions: 1) groups equivalent to species or sub-species, 2) landraces, 3) genealogical lines, and 4) individual plants. These are operational units for distinguishing banana plants, and each of them has its own socio-cultural context.

Large categories

The general term for a banana plant is *kitooke*, which includes all banana types. They are divided into specific categories. One of the categories is called *kitooke kiganda*, meaning 'our original banana'. People believe that the bananas of this category were brought to Buganda area in ancient times. They point out that it has many black dots on the pseudostem. It corresponds to the botanical classification of AAA-EA. People also divide *kitooke* into *matooke* and *mbidde* based on their use in food. *Matooke* is a staple food, and *mbidde* is used in beer. The sap of the pulp in *mbidde* group is too sticky to be cooked for a meal. Based on folk knowledge, *matooke* is in the female domain, and *mbidde* is in the male domain.

Such information about large categories of *kitooke kiganda* and *matooke / mbidde* indicates that the botanical characteristics of these bananas correspond well with peoples' history and the practical utility. The large categories of *kitooke kiganda*, and *matooke / mbidde* mean that the botanical characteristics correspond well with the history and the practical utility of bananas. This kind of knowledge is shared extensively among Baganda people.

Landraces

People classify bananas into dozens of landraces called *ekika* (a type or a variety) or *ekika kya kitooke* (a landrace of bananas) by forms or growth characteristics. As mentioned, there are hundreds of landrace names in Uganda (Karamura 1999). I collected about 50 names in K village. The average number of cultivated landraces among 28 sample

households was 19.8. Landrace diversity and rich local knowledge deserve a special mention.

1) Etymology

Table 1 includes the list of etymologies I collected, many of which refer to the morphological characteristics of bananas. The tradition of some landraces has broken. Many landraces use the prefix 'na-' or 'nna-', which mean female persons. Bananas tend to bring up the image of women in people's minds.

2) Distinguishing characteristics of bananas

I collected 20 morphological characteristics to explain the differences between the landraces. They are length (1) and size (2) of bunches; numbers (3), size (4), and compactness (5) of hands; length (6), size (7), compactness (8), and stickiness of sap (9) of fingers; length (10), size (11), width (12), numbers (13), and stickiness of sap (14) of leaves; colour of pedicel (15); colour (16) of a pseudostem; length (17) and figure (18) of a plant; and number (19) and figure (20) of suckers. Besides morphological characteristics, growing speed (21) and taste (22) were also referred. On the whole, they depend on many continuous characters such as (1), (2), (4) to (8), (10) to (13), (19) and (21).

Table 1. Etymology of banana landraces

Landrace name	Etymology	Notes on the characteristics
<i>nnandigobe</i>	Before human beings started living there, the king of this area was a snake. <i>Kintu</i> , the first king of the human beings, got rid of it. <i>naligobwe</i> = run after	The bunch bends in one direction.
<i>nakabululu</i>	<i>kabululu</i> =low <i>-webulala</i> = be short and fat	The bunch is compact. It is difficult to separate individual bananas off the hands. The plant is the shortest in the all landraces.
<i>nakyatengu</i>	<i>kyetegula kyokka</i> = a dwarf	The plant is the shortest in all banana landraces.
<i>kiriga</i>	<i>endiga</i> = sheep	
<i>nalukira</i>	<i>lukiro</i> = a tail.	
<i>naluwezinga</i>	<i>-wezinga</i> = to spiral	



<i>mbwazirume</i>	A dog takes a bite of something. <i>mbwa</i> = a dog	The petiole is red.
<i>nakinyika</i>	Hard fruits which are put into a water before cooking	
<i>nsakala</i>	<i>kisagala</i> = big	There are gaps between hands.
<i>nakitembe</i>	Kintu, the first king of a human being brought.	As in <i>nsakala</i> , there are gaps between hands. The hands are shorter. It is used at ceremonies for the birth of twins and food bereaved family in mourning.
<i>bogoya</i>	unknown	The pseudostem is green. The fingers are long.
<i>muwubo</i>	<i>muwubo</i> = a pipe <i>-vuubiika</i> = to take something in one's mouth	It is similar to <i>nsakala</i> . The bunch is shorter and the fingers are long and big.
<i>musa</i>	unknown	The pseudostem is green. It is used for beer. In a drought, it is eaten as food.
<i>nsowe</i>	unknown	It brings a lot of suckers.
<i>salalugazi</i>	unknown	The leaves are long.
<i>kabula</i>	unknown	It is used for beer, but it is easy to be confused with <i>kibuzi</i> (a landrace for staple).
<i>nngomba</i>	<i>mugumba</i> = a woman who cannot produce children	The pseudostem is very black. It bears a small number of suckers. It is used for beer.
<i>kayinja</i>	It makes strong alcohol like as a stone. <i>jinja</i> = a stone	
<i>kibuzi</i>	<i>enbuzi</i> =a goat, <i>-kibura</i> = to be too small to be visible	
<i>mukubakonde</i>	<i>ekikoola</i> = a fist	The bunch looks like a fist.
<i>njoya</i>	<i>njoya</i> = I need to eat	
<i>butobe</i>	<i>-tobeka</i> = to be compact	The fingers are compact.
<i>nabussa</i>	There is no food because s/he does not work. <i>trilirilebusa</i> =no business <i>busa</i> = nothing to exchange	

The way to distinguish landraces varies greatly among villagers. I tested the identification skills of 16 men and 14 women in a household garden. They ranged from the teenagers to the people in their 80's. I asked each of them the landrace name of each plant and gave them the scores. If all the answers matched those of the garden owner (head of the household), the score would be 25.

Figure 2 and 3 present the results for 25 plants and 8 plants with fruits (bunches), respectively. First, I should point out that the participants found the test difficult. For 6 plants, no one gave the same answer as the owner. The highest score was 16. Even for the wife of the head, who manages the garden every day, some answers were different from her husband. She explained that he transplanted most of the bananas so he knows more than her. Second, fruit (a bunch) is the key to identify. It is easier to identify landraces of banana plants with fruits as compared to those of banana plants without fruits.

Figure 2 and 3 also show that women tend to distinguish landraces better than men. The time to answer for women was obviously shorter than men. Regarding the age of participants, its correlation with the score is not clear. In other words, this kind of knowledge to distinguish is not always in accordance with the length of the experienced. However, we can find clear differences in participants' ability to identify between less and over the age of ten. Many of children refused to participate in the test because they had inadequate knowledge to answer the questions. Many respondents clarified that children helped their parents from about ten years of age, and this is when they learned the differences between landraces. Ten-year-olds start helping with harvesting the bunches and cutting banana leaves for cooking. They seem to learn it through helping their parents.

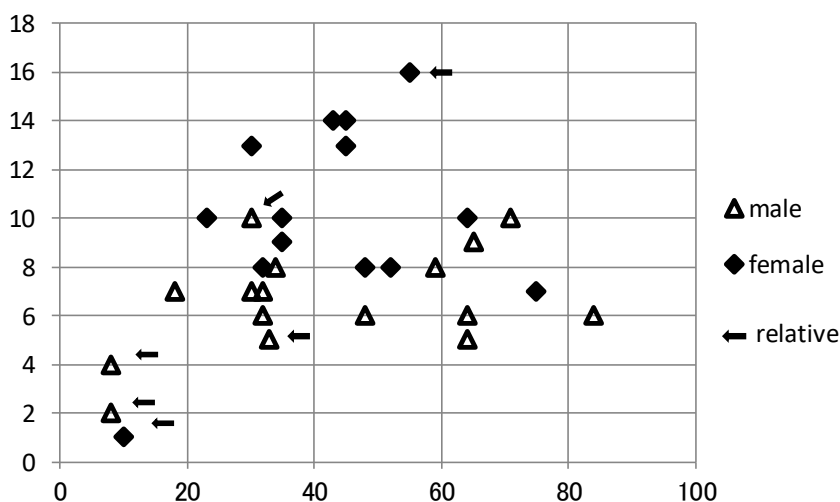


Figure 2. Test scores for landrace identification of 25 banana plants

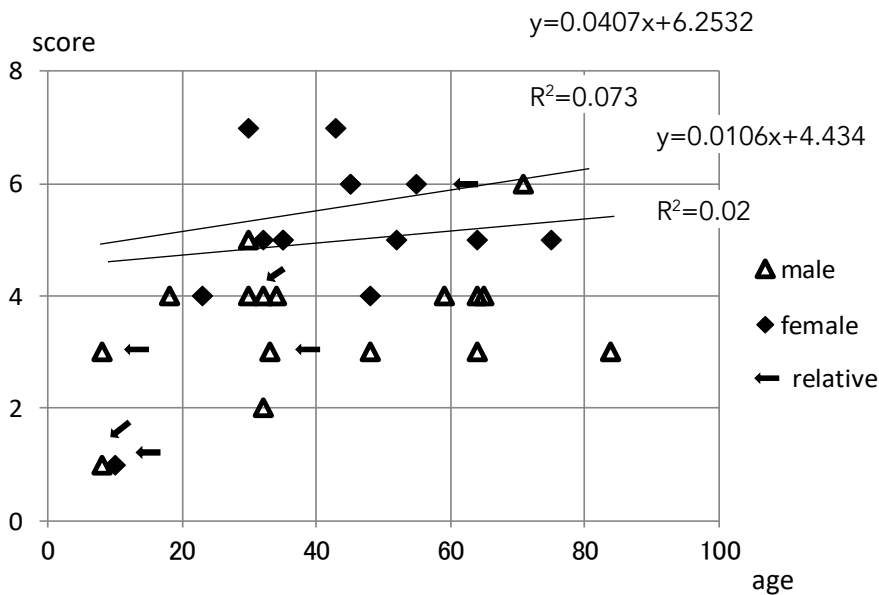


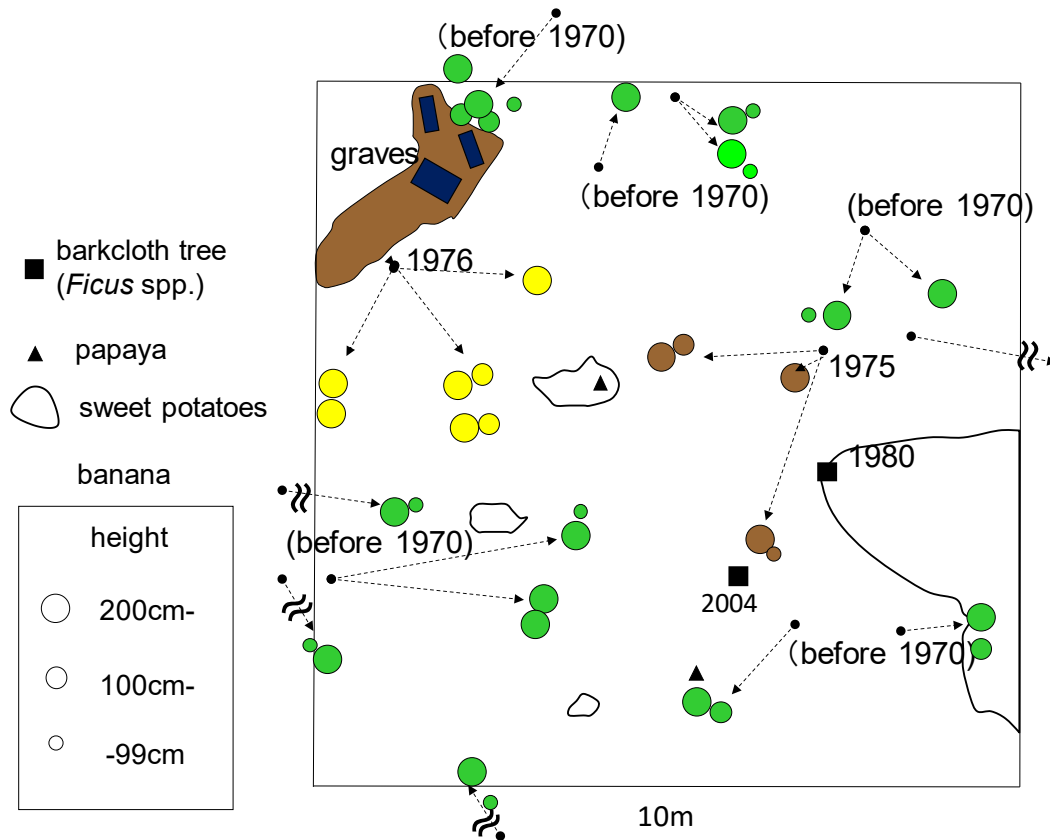
Figure 3. Test scores for landrace identification of 8 banana plants with bunches.

Small deviations in the scores in Figure 3 indicates that knowledge is widely shared in the community. For example, 15 out of 16 men, and 13 out of 14 women identified *kibuzi*. Further, 14 out of 16 men, and all women, identified *nsakala*. They are popular landraces.

Genealogical lines

Luganda vocabulary has a term *ekikolo* (pl. *ebikolo*), which is a unit for counting banana plants. It has a broader meaning than 'a shoot' and is similar to 'a mat with connected shoots and suckers'. Although, *ekikolo* includes banana shoots which divide naturally and change their positions while having alternation of generations. Before transplanting them, they call all the shoots *ekikolo*, one group. We can understand that it is the genealogical line they have in their minds.

Figure 4 below, shows part of a map of a garden drawn with the help of the recollections of the head of the household. He bought this land in 1970 and has managed it for about 35 years. He remembered the position of each banana plant he had planted. In Figure 4, the group of banana plants linked by arrows are *ekikolo*. This kind of knowledge is different from the widely shared knowledge which enables Baganda people to distinguish landraces. It depends on people's individual memories. For example, as per the recollections of the wife of the head, the positions of *ekikolo* are quite different.



The dots and years are the positions of plants and the year they were planted. They are based on the recollections of the head of the household.

Individual plants

Through the knowledge of genealogical line, people can recall the landrace names and the position of individual plants. When they speak to someone to indicate an individual plant, they say, for example, '*litudde ebugwanjiba* (the banana plant on which the flower droops down towards west,' or '*matooke abiri ga kibuzi temako eryamanga* (two bunches of *kibuzi* on the downside of the slope)'. They don't give individual names to banana plants as people give to pet animals but memorize individual plants by relating them to specific positions.

There are also some plants in their gardens for the remembrance of events. They have a custom of planting banana, coffee, mango, barkcloth trees, and other crops when a family observes some event such as new year, the births of children or grandchildren, the deaths of relatives, construction of new dwellings, famine, and other occurrences. They recall the

past events through watching these plants. An old person told me 'we didn't have anything to write on in the past, so we used to plant trees to memorize our events'. Even now, it is a popular custom. People associate an individual plant in the garden with their experiences.

Different kinds of knowledge

People have a tendency to tolerate different kinds of knowledge on landraces. The following three kinds of situations are the examples:

1) Subdivision of landraces

Ms N, a 65-year-old woman, divided the landrace *nakabululu* into two sub-landraces. One has small and many fingers, and the other has big and few fingers. The former is the common *nakabululu* which many people know about. She mentioned that the latter was found only in her garden. She had obtained this knowledge about the sub-classification of *nakabululu* from her parents. After the death of her parents, she has inherited their garden and maintained the two kinds of *nakabululu*.

Ms M, a 52-year-old woman, categorizes *nakitembe* into two sub-landraces. She called one of them *nakitembe omuganda*, which means 'our original *nakitembe*' and has whitish petioles and big fingers. She called the other *nakitembe omusese* (*nakitembe* of Ssese island), which has blackish petioles and a small bunch. When she married and moved to her husband's house, she found the *nakitembe omusese* in his garden. This kind of knowledge is shared only with household members.

Gonja belongs to *mbidde* category. It is eaten after charcoal grilling. Botanically, it is classified as AAB plantain.

Although people recognize several sub-landraces of *gonja*, someone said, 'I don't know the names, but I have two varieties of *gonja*'. Someone else said, 'I have *gonja* with only two or three hands and big fingers'. They had grown these kinds of bananas while they didn't know their names.

2) Changes in landraces

Most villagers know that a landrace *mbwazirume* changes to *nakitembe* irreversibly, but each one has a different kind of detailed knowledge. Mr A said that it changes only the colour of the pseudostem. Mr B said that the bunch and leaves become smaller in addition to the change in pseudostem. Ms C said that the bunch keeps the same form and size, but the fingers become smaller. Mr D explained that the changed *nakitembe* is

different from the original *nakitembe*, but both are called *nakitembe*. People try to fit the changed plants into their known landraces. People don't share the details of the information with each other but keep their observations to themselves.

3) Meeting with unknown landraces

In 1984, a strange banana plant emerged in the village. Four bunches and six flowers grew out of one shoot. Many people, even who stayed 40 km away, visited to watch it. Some thought that it is a sign of good fortune, so they cut and kept a part of the plant without the owner's permission. However, people did not name the plant, and it died.

In 2005, a household got a banana plant of a new type which was introduced by Uganda government. Not only did it bear a flower without fruit, the next generation plant also did not bear any fruit. The owner was surprised by this phenomenon. He kept growing it and did not throw it away, but he had not named it.

These examples show that naming a strange or new plant and sharing it are quite rare, but Baganda people tend to keep it and observe it.

Discussion

This paper examined the folk knowledge about the diversity of bananas. Through four types of recognition of banana plants, it shows that the folk knowledge has both widely shared as well as individual elements. In other words, it consists of relatively static systems and personal experiences. The former is common knowledge used in their daily lives and is shared widely with relatives and neighbours. By contrast, the latter depends on the individual backgrounds of cultivation and is shared only with household members.

In addition, it shows that people allow accumulation of their knowledge, ambiguity in their knowledge, and the coexistence of different knowledge. When new experiences contradict with existing systems, they are reluctant to rewrite their existing knowledge, and accept the overlapping of new information with existing knowledge. From the botanical viewpoint, the phenotypic diversity of bananas is so complicated that it is difficult to identify cultivars morphologically. On the other hand, banana plants have large and distinctive visual appearances which can stimulate detailed consideration of people. This feature of bananas encourages a tendency among people to tolerate knowledge diversity and keep on seeking to know the nature as if they have a 'dialogue' with banana plants. The intricate arrangement of bananas in Baganda people's homegardens and their continuous management is also a feature of their knowledge. A homegarden with bananas is a unique space for embracing the diversity of knowledge.

Notes

1. Some of the material in this paper will be included in a chapter by the author in the forthcoming volume, Gagnon, Terese and Virginia Nazarea, eds. *Refuges of the Blighted Wilds*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
2. I use the term 'landrace' not as an agronomic classification with stable heredity but as a local and indigenous classification unit.
3. The people are called Baganda, and their language is called Luganda.
4. Plantain indicates two meanings: a general term for cooking bananas and a specific subgroup of AAB genome group as a technical term. In this paper, it means the latter.
5. A collection of alphabetical symbols means a genome group. 'A' means *Musa acuminata* origin, and 'B' means *Musa balbisiana* origin. Two characters indicate diploid plants, and three characters indicate triploid plants.

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Rural women's choices in transitioning food landscapes of Southern Mexico - Constanza Monterrubio Solís

Abstract

The diversity of grains used, cultivation methods, processing techniques, and preparation preferences are elements of local food systems that have the potential to tell powerful stories about cultural memory in the context of regional and global processes. The consideration of the social and geographical food space can provide new insights about the dynamism and adaptability of local food systems, where rural women are important decision makers.

This paper elaborates on the transitions of two food landscapes in Chiapas, Mexico, and how local women are shaping and adapting their practices in a constant dialogue with regional dynamics. The factors determining their choices to feed their families go beyond volumes and flavours. Despite the homogenisation of diets, how food is cultivated, the strength it provides, and how it is prepared are related to cultural memory as a powerful motivation determining household food consumption. This perspective adds new layers to the understanding of how to support local food systems around the world, beyond oversimplified nutritional standards.

The changing tastes of memory: Karen human-plant movement across borders - Therese Gagnon

Abstract

In Karen State, Burma/Myanmar, biocultural memory and practice which bind people and plants in intimate engagements come to be memorialised, recreated and/or transformed across the border in Northern Thailand. These processes occur within a humanitarian and touristic space, a semi-state space, and a liminal space of homemaking in exile. The shifts in memory and more-than-human socialities take place across these boundaries, as nostalgia for rural Karen economies and species interrelations are reconfigured in each of these sites, based on their structural constraints and affordances and persuasions/coercions of exile and return.

Considering processes of possession vs. dispossession of biocultural memory and economies is a useful place to begin. Following Tsing, I explore the fruitful middle ground between these two poles, looking at how “things come together” in new ways within and across these different spaces. For example, there is productive tension in considering the simultaneous continuation and transformation of memory in the context of shops and cafes selling Karen food and produce, where things that would be grown and foraged at home, dense with memory, are now bought and sold. This study offers tentative insights into how different performances may substantively transform memory and (re)create imagined homelands.

Memories of *maiz* in transnational US-Salvadoran space - Mike Anastario

Abstract

As some US Americans doubt whether Salvadoran migrants are deserving of residency and citizenship statuses, some Salvadoran migrants doubt the integrity of what US Americans call food. Based on ethnographic work with Salvadoran couriers who deliver food parcels from rural El Salvador to *mestizo* migrants living in the USA, this paper examines the orientation and objects of restorative nostalgic gazes that develop amidst diasporic divides. Restorative nostalgia (which emphasises the Greek *nostos*, the return home) among rural Salvadoran migrants harboured critiques of US wholesale food that were grounded in sensual experiences of disgust and intrigues regarding US food processing.

In the Salvadoran countryside, the matriarch of an outdoor, roadside eatery easily delineates the farm- to-table process of the corn she uses to make tortillas. A corn farming elder visiting Colorado utilized the lunar cycle to sow corn in the suburban backyard of Denver-based kin. An undocumented farmer in Boulder used US earnings to purchase terrain for his *milpa* in the Salvadoran countryside, to which he will return. The word *milpa* is appropriated from the Aztec and means “field”, typically referring to a field that is slashed, burned, and where corn, beans, and squash are cultivated with attention to lunar and solar temporalities, astronomical patterns, landscape, and weather. Older farmers remember cultivation techniques that came from the people *de antes* (“from before”), presumably indigenous communities (e.g. Pipil, Maya) that have since been subject to genocides and experiences of historical loss. Memories of these cultivation techniques intersect with memories of non-biotech modified corn seed. It is probable that traces of practical ontology are being preserved in restorative nostalgic practices of longing, oral knowledge transfer, and construction of *nostos* imaginaries. These practices synchronize with sensual experiences of repulsion and challenges of symbolic violence to which new migrant groups are subject in the US today.

Appropriation and reclamation of the Kakadu plum - Jocelyn Bosse

Abstract

The presentation on the access and benefit sharing regimes in Australia follows the movement, translation and conceptualisation of the Kakadu plum (*Terminalia ferdinandiana*), a fruit with the highest known Vitamin C content in the world. With origins as a native food and traditional medicinal plant of Aboriginal communities in the northern parts ('Top End') of Australia, the Kakadu plum has been the object of multiple instances of appropriation, but more recently, an example of reclamation.

The fruit of the Kakadu plum was the focal point of legal and media controversy in 2007-2011 when the US cosmetic company Mary Kay filed for patent in Australia over a Kakadu plum extract for use in skin creams. While the Australian patent application was withdrawn in the face of objections from Indigenous communities and concerned academics, similar patents were granted in the United States and remain in force.

The story of appropriation by means of intellectual property rights has since been overtaken by a tale of reclamation. A consortium of Aboriginal women in the Northern Territory have developed a central business hub through which a network of remote Indigenous communities co-ordinate their efforts to wild harvest the Kakadu plum in accordance with traditional practices and on their traditional homelands ('in place'). The reclaimed Kakadu plum is transformed into new commodities by the Aboriginal communities and their collaborators, such as powders, sauces, superfoods, and natural antimicrobial treatments that extend the shelf life of prawns. In its emergent role in the modern Australian food system, the Kakadu plum once again finds itself 'out of place' on supermarket shelves and coating the products of commercial aquaculture, but on terms that reinforce traditional connections to country and culture.



An Uncomfortable Place - Richard Mitchell & Adrian Woodhouse

Abstract

This performance explores how experienced culinary professionals unpack (and sometimes reconstruct) their professional identities while studying in the Assessment of Prior Learning (APL) program of Otago Polytechnic's Bachelor of Culinary Arts (BCA). The performance follows two fictitious culinary professionals through their journey from nervous adult learners who feel completely *out of place* in the classroom to professionals who have *(re)defined their place in the world* as they emerge as graduates. The script is based on the collective experiences of many of the 70 or so learners that have completed the APL program since 2011. It highlights the transformative nature of the autobiographical self-examination they undertake and explores how examining their pasts can reveal new opportunities for the future.



White Rice - Miin Chan

Abstract

A short non-fiction piece based on my experiences as a third culture kid, a Chinese-Malaysian, British/ American school educated girl who moved to Australia for boarding school. Food was what helped me figure out my identity in a new place, reminded me of my foreignness but also how that was a benefit to me, and highlighted my place in white Australian society in contrast to the cultural melting pot that I had come from.

Art – Fetish, Fantasy, Food. Stories - Max Dingle



F41 Balls – Petit Four 2016 painted ceramic, feathers, cut glass 22 x 13 cm

Stories and Sculpture

Three years ago I started a series of art works celebrating the 100th anniversary of the formation of the Dada art movement which had seen the light of day in Zurich, in February 1916. Virtually every artistic principle and device which underlies the literature, music, theatre, and visual arts of our time was promoted, if not invented, by the Dadaists: the use of collage and assemblage; the use of random elements and chance in the act of creation, and satire, humour and critical comment also played their part.

Works of art are autobiographical in the general sense that all artists draw on life's experiences. While a thoughtful analysis will reveal connections to various aspects of art history, in this series of sculptures the underlying influence is Dada, whether it be subversive, confronting, interactive, appropriation or elements of chance. However these works also incorporate my thinking, pet hates and enjoyment to do with food, nutrition and lifestyle trends. It is also important to understand that my art is made as an expression of myself, to help me think through and express my concerns or thoughts in a way that intellectually satisfies, the works are not made to please or communicate to other people, though, like anyone who makes things, I am really pleased if other people enjoy them and if, even a few, see the message.

Logo

A short aside about designing our logo. The process started with the concept of sharing, of sharing conversation and food. A pie cut into segments changed into a pizza, to better indicate a multicultural food heritage. Because Parramatta means “place where the eels dwell”, and eels represent our environment, wildlife and indigenous food heritage, I then thought about an eel pizza or an eel on a pizza. The idea of olives and the reds and browns of a pizza, lead to Aboriginal dot paintings, an idea quickly modified, as a test drawing started to look too close to appropriation of indigenous art, in addition dot paintings belong to a different cultural and regional area of Australia.



So, after to taking a break and making a gin & tonic with Finger Limes from the garden, a slice of Finger Lime was incorporated into the mix, which happily could also be a slice of dragon fruit. The colours are a much modified blue and yellow/orange of Parramatta’s logo. I would also like to thank Colleen Duncan of Hollyhill graphics for her assistance in converting the concept drawings and sketches into a logo.

Butterflies & Moths

In our society it would seem that a bag of sterile potting mix is just as good as newly turned earth, or even better than dirt, as you do not have to do much to the potting mix, just plant, add extra fertiliser, spray for anything that looks like it might be alive and away you go. But as a gardener I am very aware that soil is more than just a medium for planting things.

Soil is not sterile; it is a whole biota of teeming life. Read the recent “Call of the Reed Warbler” by Charles Massey



F1 – Butterflies & Moths 2016

29 x 24.5 x 6 cm. Paper collage, bark, leaves, glass tube, acrylic

to get an understanding of how important living soil, including insect, animal and plant life, is to our food supply:

“Below ground, in a burgeoning mass of life and activity that is tenfold that above ground, fungi, bacteria and other organisms... create and sustain... a living, absorbent soil structure; the very heart and essence of healthy farming and landscape function.”

The very essence of the food we eat.

The things that are out of place are the industrial fertilisers and chemicals that are routinely sprayed on a large percentage of our agricultural lands and in our home gardens. These two sculptures are a comment on how we look at nature and for instance, think how beautiful butterflies are, then write music, poems, design fabrics and create dance, celebrating their beauty. Then we kill them and display the body in a glass case.

The Bogong moth was also an influence, in that these migratory insects were a major indigenous food source and possibly could still be a food source for Australians except that the larva have been absorbing arsenic, from the industrial chemicals and fertilisers in the black soils of Queensland and ingesting large quantities of the adult moth is now dangerous.

Leaf Litter

We prefer to ignore the fact that the mulch and leaf litter is as rich a habitat for life as a coral reef. Leaf litter releases nutrients into the soil and keeps it moist. This dead organic material provides the perfect habitat for a plethora of organisms, including worms, snails, spiders, and microscopic decomposers like fungi and bacteria. The sin is that we hardly ever look, and if we do, anything strange is zapped.



F5 – Leaf litter 2016
painted ceramic & mixed media 16 x 13 x 6 cm

Macropods

Eating our wildlife has never been a strong suit of the immigrant European people of Australia or their descendants, attempts were made in the early years from 1788 on, but the food resources of indigenous Australians never really received much attention from the food industry let alone the general population. Except in very recent times, pioneered by the likes Vic Cherikoff who started Bush Tucker Supply Pty Ltd in the 1980's , Jennice & Raymond Kersh of Edna's Table fame and Jean-Paul Bruneteau, Ribberries Restaurant, Andrew Fielke of Red Ochre restaurants, our wildlife and indigenous plants were a fairly well kept secret. What we really needed was someone internationally famous to do the right thing and attractively package all our indigenous ingredients into a widely promoted series of pop-up dinners and today every restaurant worth its salt is really out of place if they do not incorporate native ingredients into their menus.

Now I am doing my bit to package and promote foraged local products found in my front paddock, a by-product of the local kangaroos and wallabies.

The Beach

When I was growing up in a small seaside town in Queensland, quite a number of activities involved acquiring food, some were tasks like maintaining plots of pineapples and bananas, raising ducklings and chickens, gathering mushrooms in the neighbour's cow paddock (that farmer also introduced me to molasses which he kept to feed his poddy-calves, I adored it). Other neighbours had mango trees,



F35 – Macropods - M. Giganteus 2016
18 x 15 x 18 cm. Macropod scats, acrylic, sweet dish



F36 – Macropods – Wallabia bicolour 2016
20 x 14 x 4 cm. Macropod scats, acrylic, chocolate box



F25 – The Beach 2016

29 x 6 x 10 cm glass "spice" jars, metal stand, shells, plastic, mixed media

mulberries and guavas. I remember eating parrot pie, my elder brother had shot the birds. We only had it the once though, they were so small, all bones and no meat, it was not worth the effort. But the sea and its bounty were a different matter, we fished, for yabbies and eels in waterholes, oysters and mud crabs in the mangroves and row boats out to the whiting grounds or to the reef. My dad and his mates netted Australian Salmon and Mullet from the beach, the women scaled and cleaned the catch, the men cooked on a wood fire, leftovers were made into fishcakes, taken home in the esky on the remains of the block of ice that had cooled the beer.

This sculpture embodies the wealth of our seas today through materials collected on walks along my local beach; crustacea, cuttlefish, molluscs pippis, glass, plastic.

Milk

Breasts are the delivery system used by mammals, including human beings, to supply milk; the first food we eat. In most mammals this is a relatively straight forward matter, however in the case of the human mammal, breasts and breast milk have been turned into a complicated social and sexual minefield, particularly since the 19th century and the ever-increasing focus on breasts as sexual objects. However in this sculpture the influence was the way the breast is packaged by various factions. The media packaging breasts as sexual objects, particularly in photojournalism. The fashion industry, packaging through design, on the catwalk and in shop windows. The pornography industry through images still and video. The advertising industry in media and on the street.



F 9 – Milk 2016
painted ceramic & mixed media 15 x 11 x 7 cm

In fact sometimes it seems hard to distinguish between fashion, advertising, journalism and pornography. Art is not immune, you only have to consider cinema, literature and paintings to name a few. Last but not least is the way the breast is packaged by those on all sides in the breast-feeding debate, those “for”, consider the breast milk so sacrosanct that a sense of guilt can rub off on even those who, for all sorts of reasons, are unable to breast feed and have to use the milk of other mammals. Those “against” have denied nature and packaged breastfeeding as somehow out of place in public, something shameful, something to be hidden from public view.

Yak Butter Tea

Why is there a constant search for the new, the exotic food that will grace our supermarket shelves, that will grace our dining tables so we can impress our guests, that is if anyone ever invites people to share a meal at home anymore.

Will the next fashion be another rip off of an indigenous food tradition? As there is not much left to pinch from Peru now that we have been through the quinoa fashion, Yak Butter Tea maybe the way to go:

The traditional butter tea, enjoyed by the people of Tibet for thousands of years, is just waiting to be exploited as, according to organic facts website, the benefits include *“increased energy levels, moisturizing the skin, warming the body, aiding digestion, boosting heart health, improving cognitive function, suppressing appetite and preventing dehydration and it is particularly helpful for people dealing with weight-loss problems, indigestion, low energy levels, fatigue, muscle weakness, fever, cognitive difficulties, poor water retention, chronic disease, diabetes as well as those with a high cancer risk.”*

While most people don't live in harsh conditions like Tibet, the same health effects that protect and support the Tibetan people can also be enjoyed by people around the world.

Of course none of the media stories will mention the side effects, caused by the caffeine, salt and butter, such as high blood pressure, cardiovascular risks, headaches, anxiety, irritability and insomnia. At least they will not be mentioned until toward the end of the fashion cycle, when way is being cleared for the next super food discovery.

Entertainment, media and advertising have to be fed and food has not yet reached the point of full exploitation. So why not a frenzy for



F15 – Yak Butter Tea 2016
painted ceramic, found objects & mixed
media 30 x 19 x 17 cm



F52 – Formaggio marcio 20 x 13 x 10 cm 2016
painted ceramic & mixed media

the half dozen Italian formaggio marcio, such as Abruzzo's Marcetto, those particular breeds of regional cheese that are fermented via the larva of a cheese fly, and are a perfect fit, a new fad to boost the fading fashion for "ferment".

Balls

In 1963 on one of my first visits to Sydney I happened in passing the Paris Theatre and dropped in to see a new release film, "Tom Jones" and my relationship with food was changed forever, the banquet with Tom Jones and Mrs Waters is seared in my mind; Oysters and pears became my coming of age, so to speak. There have been numerous movies since which play the food and sex angle, from the egg yolk in "Tampopo", through the Elio and the peach scene in "Call me by your name" to Helen Mirren and asparagus in "The Cook, the Thief, the Wife and the Lover" as well as "The 100-foot Journey", but I still find the scene from Tom Jones the best, mainly because of the humour and enjoyment of sensuous eating as foreplay.

Of course that little black dress of food, sex and food, food as sex, never goes out of fashion. Although, "I certainly love cumin" Nigella denies ever suggestively sucking a finger or delivering innuendos, the association between the two is alive and well in contemporary art and culture.



F27 - Fruit & Veg 2015
30 x 19 x 10 cm painted ceramic & mixed
media

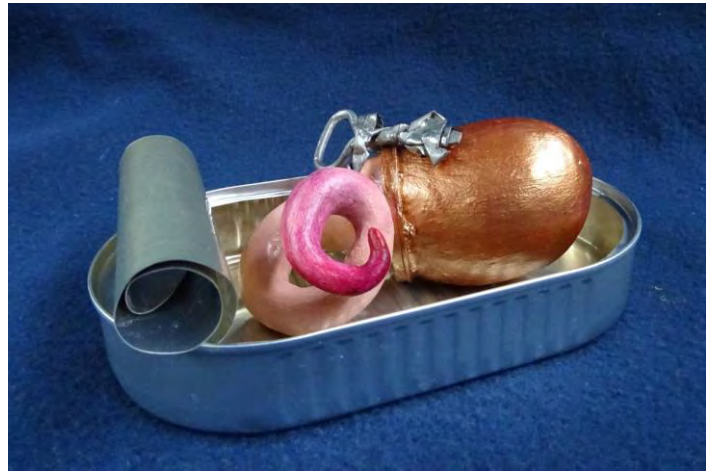


F41 - Balls – Petit Four 2016
painted ceramic, feathers & cut-glass sweet
bowl 13dmtr x 22 cm

Squid

When I started as a full-time student the National Art School, I did so at a mature age, after working for 12 years, I suddenly found myself studying and broke, working as a cleaner at night, trying to pay a mortgage as well as feed myself. Despite having had no experience in dealing with life's necessities, having been fed, housed and clothed by the good grace of the Royal Australian Navy, I discovered the joys of cooking and given the lack of finances, the joys of cheap cuts of meat, cheap seafood and cheap vegetables used to flavour bread, pasta and rice; all washed down with flagon wine. Tongue, liver, tripe, shanks, neck chops, ox tail and pork belly. Mullet, octopus, squid and mussels, and only those vegetables and fruit that were in abundance and cheap.

If I managed to eat out, it was Little Italy, Chinatown or the Greek's. After discovering an Indonesian restaurant in the basement of an arcade in Pitt Street, I sought out obscure grocery shops for ingredients, the library for recipes, and taught myself Indonesian cooking, even if, for lack of knowledge and ingredients, there was some ad-libbing along the way. This was a great way to learn cooking and discover other food ways. Today most supermarkets carry at least the basics for numerous national cooking styles, though the downside is that our food obsessed culture has discovered the cheap and it is now expensive, beef cheeks are no longer dog food and the squid that was fish bait is served faceted like a jewel, but at least tripe has not been discovered, yet.



*F47 - It's in the can 15 x 8 x 6 cm 2015
painted ceramic & mixed media*



*F67 - Glitter Squid 2015
painted ceramic, cut glass + mixed media 15 x 8x 6 cm*

OMG GMO

Apart from eating, drinking and making art, I love gardening, a broad-brush term for gathering food as well as growing it. I have been a forager of wild plants all my life and indigenous foods were a part and parcel of my upbringing. When I started my garden on the south coast in 1985 I immediately introduced a range of indigenous fruits, nuts and vegetables : Bauple nuts (known to non-Queenslanders as Macadamia nuts, or if they have heard of Bauple nuts it is usually spelt as "Bopple". The nut comes from a specific location and that is Mount Bauple and the nearby town of Bauple on the Fraser Coast.) Finger Limes (which also grow in the same region on the Fraser Coast), Lilli Pilli and Warrigal greens. When Dandelion and Purslane introduced themselves, they became a part of the food chain. Recently instead of planting the usual range of vegetables, beans, peas, cauliflower etc,

I have been experimenting with yam daisy, native leek, vanilla lilies, pigface and other edible Australian plants. This has been a difficult exercise, first finding the seed, working out how to get it to germinate, growing and then collecting seed for the following year. No matter what I did or whose method I followed I could not get yam daisy seed to germinate, until one day I just threw seed onto the garden bed and watered it with the hose and then ignored it, they all germinated. Of course now that they are flowering each plant is out of sync with the others, a single flower on each plant only opening for a short while. I need dozens of plants instead of the very few that have managed to mature .. I am starting to wish someone would genetically modify.... No I am not, but I do wish Australia had taken notice of the food resources being cultivated by the Aboriginal people and developed them rather than destroying. "Mutant Jelly Beans" is my comment on GMO. Jelly Beans came to mind because they are associated with the USA, as is GMO and there is no satire or humour left in genetically modified corn or soybeans.



F34 – OMG GMO - Mutant Jelly Beans 2016
painted ceramic & mixed media
16 x 9 x 7 cm

Sunday Afternoon

One day, while casually looking at an image of Titian's 1538 painting, "Venus of Urbino", a marriage portrait painted for the Duke of Urbino, who would have hung it in the privacy of his bedroom, I was contemplating the symbols of fidelity, the sleeping dog at the end of the bed and true love in marriage, symbolised by the red roses she is holding. I started wondering what the Duchess got up to on a Sunday afternoon while the Duke was out hunting venison for dinner.



F4 – Sunday Afternoon 2016
collage, glass dome /base & mixed media
25dmtr x 14 cm

This paper comes with Omega 3, 6, 9 and protein.

Contents : raw, organic, non gmo, vegan, paleo, gluten free, dairy free, soy free and no added sugar.

Amie Brûlée - Amie Sexton Performance

YOUR PLACE OR MINE?

VERSE 1

Your place or mine,
Who'll choose the wine?
From the new world or the old world
Do you care, do you mind?

We all know the sort
Who responds with a snort
If you dare suggest the wines from here
Can compete with the cork

When you put them side by side
You find that each has its charms
Different and delightful in its way
Imagine if we made them all
To taste the same
How boring and how beige
Our world would be

Your place or mine
I'll choose the wine
From the old world or the new world
Just the best I can find

VERSE 2

Unscrew the cap
Pull out the cork
Pour it in a glass
And then it's ready to talk

Of the things that it knows
As it tickles your nose
Tantalising tastebuds
On the way to your toes

When in Rome it's best to do as Romans do
But you can have your cake
And you can eat it too.
Different wines, from climes
Different tastes from different places
That's the joy of exploration
And 21st century globalisation

Your place or mine
I'll choose the wine
From the new world or the old world
Just the best I can find

THE TERROR OF TERROIR

VERSE 1

If the terror of terroir
Sends a chill right down your spine
And the shaking in your boots
Makes you spill delicious wine
There is only one solution
As your doctor I prescribe
As those have done before me
For their patients far and wide

CHORUS

A daily dose in liquid form
So simple to acquire
From anywhere around the world
According to desire
White or red, flat or fizzed
This you shall imbibe
Salvation in the humble glass
Of grape juice vinified

VERSE 2

So if you take the sacred triangle
Of human, earth and sky
Stir them all together
In the vineyard, grapes and finished wine
The specificities of place
Just like a passport show
The who and what and where and when
And how it came to grow

CHORUS

VERSE 3

Can you taste the flint of Mosel
In the Riesling, meine dame?
Or the chalk beneath the limestone
In that verre de bon Champagne?
There's a hint of eucalyptus
In my Aussie Cabernet
And the sunny days of Napa
Shine in yankee Chardonnay

VERSE 4

I swear, señor, my Malbec
Danced a tango on my tongue
And the Tempranillo chaser
Joined in with a fancy strum
But here we reach the limits
Of the meaning of the word
And cross the threshold into
Territory quite absurd

CHORUS

DAMMIT, I WANT TO DRINK RED WITH MY FISH!

Let me tell you a story
Of a man named Rory
A waiter well versed in fine
wine

Or perhaps it was Tom,
Profession: Somm
For the full word tends to
sound smelly

I came across him one night
Dining, of course, by
candlelight
In a temple of gastronomical
worship

My palate was set
To be dazzled, and met
With a bounty of heavenly
flavours

I perused the menu
In that magnificent venue
And my eye was caught by
the list

Of slippery fare
from the sea, *de la mer*
And thus I selected a fish

Apologies ma'am
From the head chef, Sam,
Said the waiter, taking my
order

We've snapper and trout,
Perch flapping about
But I'm afraid we're out ... of
plaice

But take my advice
The sole is as nice
Swimming in saucy delight

Now I'm a sucker for sauce
So replied, yes, of course
And with it I must have a wine

Somm's expert opinion
From his vino dominion
Was a delicately oaked
With malolactic fermentation
Grapes picked at midnight
For the perfect flavour
sensation
Chardonnay

Hmmmmmm

I said, red takes my fancy
He said, not a chancy
There are rules in fine dining,
you pleb

You cannot, you won't
You mustn't, you don't
Ever drink red with a fish.

Now I tend to get narky
When faced with hierarchy
That threatens to ruin my
dinner

If I want red with my seafood
And white with my steak
Just like an apple offered by a
snake

It's entirely my decision
To challenge traditions
Especially when maxing my
card

The somm and his leering,
Twas change he was fearing
His intellect blurring his vision

I said, listen here mate
It's getting late
And your bullshit's delaying
my pleasure

I'll have a Grenache
That's not such a splash
And you may return to your
cellar

I'll sit here and savour
My match of flavour
Enraptured by earthly
delights

And I'll continue to ponder
The path I shall wander
Seeking sensual fancies and
flights

SYMPOSIUM BANQUET

Parramatta Female Factory Precinct

The Parramatta Female Factory precinct is testament to how colonial and state governments chose to address the perceived problem of vulnerable women, children and people with a mental health condition.

Active as recently as only a decade ago, the Parramatta Female Factory replaced the original factory above Parramatta Gaol, then situated by what is now Prince Alfred Square, and Governor Lachlan Macquarie laid its first stone in 1818. The first female convicts moved here three years later. All up, some 5000 female convicts passed through these walls until 1848, when convict transportation ceased. It was then that this place entered its second life – as a Convict Lunatic and Invalid Asylum. In 1983, it was incorporated into Cumberland Hospital as part of the Sydney West Area Health Service. Some areas of this site remain in active use as mental health facilities today.

The legacy of penal approaches to caring for vulnerable people, initiated in the Female Factory, persisted throughout the life of this precinct, in the way in which children lives were regulated in the Orphan and Girls Schools.



UrbanGrowth NSW
Development Corporation

Thank you to UrbanGrowth NSW Development Corporation for providing access to the Female Factory Precinct for this evening's banquet.

Thanks also to Bonney Djuric OAM, Director, [Parragirls](#) Parramatta Female Factory Precinct for help and advice.

Banquet Menu

Kangaroo
Warrigal greens

Maize & wholemeal gruel
Pate and port butter
Fig jam
Salt

Wholegrain bread – Black Cockatoo Bakery, Lawson
Salted & smoked beef - Trunkey Creek Farm, Orange
Tomato relish, pickled carrot and turnip
Pepe Saya butter & Olsson's salt
White bean puree
Growlers of Ale - Riverside Brewery, Nth Parramatta
Black tea – Morgan's, Emu Plains

Marinate olives – Ambrosia farm Silverdale

Roasted pork loin – Trunkey Creek Pork, Orange
Roasted apple & nectarines – Wanaka Orchard, Oakdale
Roasted turnips, carrots, potato, cabbage, cauliflower
Beetroot chutney & apple jelly

Syrian, Sri Lankan and Indian mini sweets
Asai Sweets, Merrylands –
delivered by Nakhshin Mohamed
Taj Sweets, Harris Park –
delivered by Pankit Shah
Homemade sweets – delivered by
Esthelita, Alsastair & Natasha Herft

The Little Wine Co –
Moscato Gewurz - Goulburn Valley
Pino Gris – Hilltops
Tempranillio – Broke

Chef Paul Kuipers
Courtney's Brasserie, Parramatta
Service: Kenvale College of Tourism & Hospitality Management students.

Keynote address | A little food, a little chat - Gay Bilson

The first thing I thought of when confronting your theme, was something that must seem utterly trivial compared with what I presumed the organisers were implying by 'Out of Place': movements of people, migration, borders, and quote unquote, 'Hostile Environments' (the nice name the British concocted to discourage asylum seekers) had come to mind.

Instead, what did come to mind was the body I had placed on a table in 1993. This was the banquet to mark the close of the 7th symposium, in Canberra. The dinner was at the National Gallery, in a long narrow room with bare walls. The table was I think about 40 metres long.

We had blindfolded the diners. The waiters placed the small body (my young daughter), at the centre of the table. They then loaded the entire table with fruit and bread, covering the body as well. Many, many clusters of dark muscatel grapes, tens and tens of large, ripe, purple figs, loaves of *schaicciata all'uva*, a sweet Tuscan bread laced with grapes and walnuts, damson plum jellies, and bowls of clotted cream (I should say that the leftovers of this cornucopia were not wasted but donated to the gallery's restaurant). The blindfolds were removed.

The dinner had been about eating the body, and the colour of the fruit and jelly mattered (as did the wines). The menu, only given at the close of the meal, read: stomach; egg; flesh; bone; skin; blood; heart; milk; fruit; virgins' breasts; dead men's bones.

Sido was scrubbed clean, and naked except for strategic bandages. She pushed aside the fruit and was lifted from the table by the waiters. This was nothing to do with Christian symbolism and resurrection but simply a show of life at the near close of what I seem now to always call The Body Dinner, although it had no official title.

Visually it partly worked. She was in place on the table, but I should have had the theatrical sense to multiply that one body. Only those towards the centre of the long surface had good seats. A lesson learned too late. She was in place but should have been repeated, and in more than one place.

The tablecloth of sewn pieces of raw tripe ('stomach' of course) that greeted the diners had covered the entire table. All eighty diners might either marvel or resist. It was removed before the meal began, and I remember Margaret Whitlam suggesting that it looked like a lunar landscape.



But that's enough about this contribution to the history of the Symposium, except to say that it could not have been achieved without the creativity, the needle-working skills (sausage casings were used to sew the pieces of tripe together), and the problem-solving genius of Janni Kyritsis, and the involvement of all those who worked at Berowra Waters Inn at the time.

Thinking about the Body Dinner meant that I also thought about meals that have left a lasting impression from some of the other Symposia. Meals is not quite the right word. Feast, perhaps? And 'Banquet' isn't really the right word anymore either, too redolent of its own fraught history, conjuring up privilege and exclusivity, and in the last decades, corporate bingeing.

Memories of those very few extraordinary achievements also brought to mind the apparent division between philosophy and practice that has always nagged me at the Symposia. Long ago, before each Symposium, I used to dismiss the food, even though I understood that it was essential to the gatherings and that it should enhance our experience, and I'd give a lone shout to the papers. I wanted (was this pretentious or simply contrary?) to concentrate on what the best and most imaginative thinkers had to say (Anthony Coronos and Michael Symons, for instance).

But with each Symposium, I'd change my mind and give equal shouts to the practice and the papers, and sometimes veer towards practice over paper. Which was more legitimately in place? The only Oxford Food Symposium I had been to, a long time ago, felt sterile, and academic, even unfriendly, and the food seemed like an afterthought, except for a virtuosic, magical presentation by the brilliant Spanish food and performance artist, Alicia Rios.

Because the memory of the most imaginative meals is still so strong, I'd like to go on record in appreciation of them. I've spent years writing often critically scathing, sometimes sour, columns about food and cookery and cooks, and about the unholy trinity of cooks and cookery and television. As a very last semi-public gesture, I want to show appreciation for the ideas and execution of a few wonderful meals that were given in response to the invitations from various symposia, going back to 1984.

I've recently given most of my gastronomic and culinary library to the Baillieu Library at the University of Melbourne, and many years ago, gave the ephemera from 3 restaurants to the National Library. I have no references, essays or proceedings to act as aides-memoires for years, themes, dishes, names. So you'll have to take my word for it that what I remember with the most admiration, and affection, was as I say it was. A very few of you will have been at all, or some, or one of these meals, but I suspect for many of you

they are not known of, or forgotten, or, at best, mythical. The papers that were given live on in print but what we ate, like all food, is lost to the digestive system.

I want to attempt to explain, in *précis*, why these particular meals made such a strong impression.

One year, in Tasmania, we ate a Still Life.

It wasn't only the idea that was impressive, but the execution of the idea. The Still Life itself was handsome. It made sense as a three-dimensional re-creation of a Spanish or Dutch painting of the 18th century, and it would then make sense as a meal. Which is to say that it was intelligently and imaginatively thought through. I've never forgotten it, although to my shame I have forgotten who I should credit with its realisation. All women I think. I remember that it took far too long to unassemble and serve, but we forgave its creators because the idea was so lovely, the Still Life itself so perfect, so perfectly referential, the food so good. And it was not made a lot of - it wasn't announced, it wasn't bravo-ed. We walked into a large room and found it there. Still. And then consumed its parts.

One year, in Sydney, Phillip Searle served dinner after a day's symposium papers. I remember sourcing the clay for him because at Berowra Waters Inn we had been baking birds in clay for some time. He baked guinea fowl? pheasants? quail? yes, quail, in clay parcels, lining the clay with lotus leaves, and adding aromatics to the stuffing and the meat that were at the Asian-accentuated centre of his cooking. The parcels were placed on a long table around which we stood. There were small hammers to smash the clay with. Thus we participated in the demolition of the cooking 'vessels' in order to eat the meat. Did we eat with our fingers? I can't remember. I like to remember that we did. I remember the shards of clay making a gorgeous archaeological site of the table.

And to follow the 'dig' on the table, a slice of Searle's iconic chequerboard icecream, except that the slice was gigantic, perhaps 80 cms square and 25 cms in height. It was a feat of labour and refrigeration over many many days, the work somehow completely out of proportion to the display, this one of the distinctive marks of his obsessional creativity and craft. Its entrance was a scene of amazement. Only a part of it was eaten. Searle's brilliance laid way to a lot of waste.

In Tasmania, at one symposium, the 'banquet' was eaten on grass. This was, in part, admitted Scott Minervini, a reference to the raw tripes tablecloth that Janni Kyritsis had cleaned and sown for my Body Dinner. This time the tablecloth was a layer of real turf. Glasses balanced precariously. We ate parts of an entire animal that had grazed on grass

and also courses where the produce had depended on the grass. I remember choosing a seat at the table where I knew nobody, an experiment in communality. And this was repaid in bounds.

In Adelaide one year, at Rostrevor Monastery, Cheong Liew and Phillip Searle served a banquet that aimed to replicate food that might have been served in the period around 33 CE, centring on the food culture of the Middle East. The dishes were exemplary. We sat on cushions and ate with our fingers. We had washed our hands in large bowls, held by children, in which rose petals floated. This was historical rather than religious, although I think Michael Symons gave a paper on the Eucharist.

In Sydney, at Pier 13, Berowra Waters Inn devised and cooked the final meal for a symposium. The place was central to the idea for the banquet (a celebration of Sydney's claim to its famous harbour) but also that we cooks should be on public show, freeing us from the fourth wall, making us part of the banquet in a sense, but not the equivalent of open kitchens in restaurants. This was an outing. The menu was simply a list of central ingredients, including squid, rice, meat and etc.. That menu would nudge other cooks towards a less is more approach to describing dishes. It was before its time in that sense. It asked for trust instead of expectation; it allowed for surprise. One of the cooks, Liz Nolan, picked up a heavy pile of plates to place them on the bench as Janni and I sliced fillets of hare. The plates burned her hands, but she held on. And continued to cook. She was later taken to hospital for treatment.

At a symposium in the Grampians, in Victoria, we camped. I remember that Duré Dara, a wonderful, strong, resourceful woman, was one of the organizers. The final meal was prepared and served by Phillip Searle and Cheong Liew. It was their version of a hangi, food wrapped and buried with hot stones for hours. I remember that they brought in the stones because the geology of the Grampians meant that local stones would have exploded with the heat. This seems perverse in retrospect but was worth the labour. One of the meats was emu. The meats were succulent and perfumed. Before the pit was uncovered we ate oysters opened over a long open fire, and blue swimmer crabs grilled over the same fire. We were some way from the ocean, and it was extremely cold. The seafood was fresh. Once again, the inclusive labour was extreme in comparison to the final offering. I remember taking a large stone from the hot pit and placing it in the sleeping bag of a friend, to warm her arrival. It scared the shit out of her. She thought, illogically, that a snake had slithered in.

At the Sydney Opera House, Chris Manfield created the final banquet for a symposium and centred it on the idea of Power and Sydney's capitalist dreams. The first course stood



out: diners lined up to receive, directly onto their tongues, wafers with caviar from a man dressed as a cardinal.

In 1984, in Adelaide, Michael Symons asked Phillip Searle to cook and present the banquet for the very first symposium. Searle was an unknown quantity to many of us, although not to Adelaideans. I've already mentioned Searle three times: the dinner in Sydney, the hangi in the Grampians with Cheong Liew, and the biblical banquet in Adelaide before that, again with Cheong Liew (who should also be more celebrated).

Thirty-four years ago, Phillip orchestrated a banquet that has not been surpassed (having said that, I need to emphasize that the meals were never competitive). The courses were brought to the large rectangular table by waiters disguised as Commedia del'Arte performers. They did not speak, yet they served us from inside the rectangle, facing us, a brilliantly subversive act.

The dishes, on large platters that were left on the table for the diners to divide, were original, extravagant and complex. But even before this succession of dishes (culminating in birds cooked 'en vessis' so that we had to split the stomach to reach the food, Caesarean self-service) we had arrived at a jellied edible seascape in a very, very large glass container that looked like a sophisticated fish tank. This was our first course. The feast seemed mediaeval, pushing through to the Renaissance, but also thoroughly modern in its execution. What a privilege it was to have been there. To have eaten this extraordinary food, to have experienced the attention to every facet of its presentation. The originality! The outrageous complexity! The astonishing presentation! Gifts verging on the profligate.

In 2002, the Symposium was convened in Port Adelaide by Jennifer Hillier, Cath Kerry, Barbara Santich and myself. We came to an early decision, and we stuck to with rigour. This was to ask all those who would prepare the meals to keep it simple. Further, we commissioned plates and bowls and spoons that would be used every time we ate. Later these plates, bowls and spoons would be offered to the symposiasts for what they had cost us. The potter, Damon Moon, made the plates and bowls. A jeweller made stylized, anodised aluminium spoons that we hung around our necks, for they were, indeed, lovely pendants. I'm wearing mine tonight.

Every cook kept to their promise to make simple food. I remember that Cheong Liew made Hainanese Chicken Rice. Cath Kerry made a Grande Aioli (the name belies the simplicity of the dish), and so forth. There were no multiple courses, and everything could be eaten from the one plate and bowl.

Eighteen years after Searle's extraordinary banquet, this wasn't a Correction or an Austerity. It was simply something that seemed right for that time.

I've always liked the word 'labour', the sound of it as well as the meaning. Cooking is labour. It isn't out of place to call it work. When I mentioned this to someone recently, his reply was that the idea of labour denigrated cookery. Instead, I reckon what denigrates food preparation is the promotion of cooking as a special interest, a hobbyist's obsession, like collecting birds' nests or cataloguing books (my own distractions). To pretend that cooking isn't work is to declare something else altogether, something that's more connected to status and superior knowledge than pots and pans and feeding people. The glossies promote this exclusivity to the nth degree and it's repugnant. And via television, one is supposed to connect to food on a screen that you can't taste, from the comfort of an armchair- travelogues of corrupted desire.

The meals, the banquets, sometimes only a single course, that I've especially remembered all required labour out of proportion to accepted rewards such as money and public notice (this might still apply to the simple meals for the 2002 symposium but in part be transferred to the makers of the plates, bowls and spoons). The Symposia gave these cooks a space to work towards something that has more to do with the kind of imagining which is outside the boundary of food. They were, at their best, nudged into thinking more broadly, more imaginatively. But without culinary skill and knowledge, these cooks couldn't have taken flight to somewhere outside the kitchen. This lovely shift **legitimately** connected their creative flair to the arts.

There was nothing competitive in their response to the invitation, and I don't remember any of them over-staying their welcome and semi-tautologically explaining the food or the reasons for the food. The invitation challenged certain cooks, and it seems to me that it freed them from all the constraints of commercial kitchens, allowed them to do a little flying.

For my part, and I think this probably applies to the others, it was a glorious chance to take our work out of its usual place, and away from the commercial and temporal restrictions of the restaurant. It always felt like feeding people with the freedom of not being paid, even though the food costs have always been covered by the symposium. This takes the experience into the realm of play. And this is an important shift: the notion of play has a spontaneity about it, it's ludic, has a joyful purposelessness, and yet it might still involve labour.

A friend once told me that the now almost forgotten (yet wonderful) comedienne, Joyce Grenfell, said of not marrying, that 'When ye get over the disgrace of it, the life is more

airy.' Airiness is what this sense of play is full of. Despite the deadlines, it feels free of them, it seems to expand time.

I've always thought that the perfect restaurant is one that doesn't charge its diners. Somewhere along the way to this perfection is the restaurant that suggests you pay what you wish to or are able to. The first time I went to one of these rare places, in Perth, I was so moved I burst into tears.

A central component of many of the large community events I've directed over the years has been the commissioning of bowls specific to each event. The original idea was to shift the attention, including whatever payment needed to be made, from the food to the bowl. I wanted to undo the connection of money with food. If you had purchased a bowl, you could then fill it with food. You could keep the bowl and use it again and again over the years. The payment for the bowl or plate was only what we had paid the potters to make each one. Commissioning local artisans was also a salute to their craft and a connection to place. For the regional events under the title Plenty, for the 2000 Adelaide Festival, we wore t-shirts on which was printed, 'Fill each bowl with just enough.' Of course, this is rhetoric, and it would be idiotic to equate these events with anything addressing equality and/or poverty, but rhetoric is a form of flattery (via Socrates), of persuasion.

But the events were at least directed at whole communities and in part depended on the free labour given by members of those communities. The communities were involved, they partly owned the events.

Without the experience of the first years of the symposium, I don't think I would have been able to make the shift that, for me at least, put cookery in its modest, proper place alongside all the other variables that sometimes make eating memorable.

Allow me to a few digressions- after all the title of this address, an address that had no title until it was demanded for the programme- includes the word 'chat' (and is a twist on the title of a 1948 Christina Stead novel, *A Little Tea, A Little Chat*).

Along with rejecting any attempt to address the serious and surely political implications of the theme, *Out of Place*, along with wanting to centre a last talk about food and cookery around a celebration of those who made wonderful imaginative leaps when asked to provide food for the symposia, I also thought about occasions when eating and its circumstances seemed to me to approach perfection.

The first that came to mind was a baguette and tomatoes eaten in a car, with my brother and one of my kids. At Clunes, in the hinterland of the Northern Rivers area of NSW

where I live, I shopped on the way home after a grueling day in hospital in Lismore. My brother was driving. I tore pieces of very good bread and handed them out with the rather good small tomatoes from GyMEA that the Clunes shop sells (it turns out they are grown under controlled conditions in huge numbers and shouldn't be special but are). No butter or oil, no condiments, no salad leaves, just good sour dough and good tomatoes, and crumbs all over the car. Later, my brother said, 'that was memorable.' (Recently I read a piece, in the New Yorker, about the Blues musician, Buddy Guy. His first meeting with Muddy Waters was in Muddy Waters' car, where he was offered bread and salami.)

A year or so ago, I re-read the terrific crime novels by Nicolas Freeling (who has also written books on his experience as a chef). His detective, Van der Valk, lives in the Netherlands, with a French wife, Arlette. They entertain a couple at home. Arlette cooks. The menu is: smoked eel with endive salad; a daube of beef; fennel cooked with a slice of marrow; frangipane in flaky pastry from the baker. Of its place and time, I can't think of a more perfect domestic meal- a simple first course, a main course that would have been cooked ahead, the fennel baked cleverly with bone marrow, and the sensible decision to buy the dessert. A meal to impress even Edouard de Pomaine.

In Provence once, decades ago, Simon Hopkinson (the English chef with whom I travelled for many years) and I shopped at the Arles market with someone else's money. Simon would cook for the house for that entire holiday. 'We must buy leeks and baguettes and coffee,' he said, 'The best aroma I know is the combination of fresh bread, fresh leeks and coffee beans in the heat of a car at the height of summer.'

Louis Malle's film from 1990, *Milou en Mai*, is filled with fraught family meals in a country house. The sheer, easy exuberance of the large family meals was so unselfconscious, so filled with gusto. The good food was taken for granted. In this place, in this culture, the culture of the table was so developed, and so ingrained, that it didn't draw attention to itself. To enjoy food so much, but not to talk about food, is the greatest compliment to dining. I've used a couple of examples of French life, but I could just as easily and probably more profitably use Asia (the family meals in Ang Lee's *Eat Drink Man Woman*, for instance).

A scene in Michelle de Kretser's recent novel, *The Life to Come*, comes to mind (de Kretser was born in Sri Lanka):

"Pippa [Australian] was running a Facebook poll on whether people preferred their freekah toasted or not.

Céleste asked her mother [French], 'Why do Australians go on so much about food?'



'Because they live in a country of no importance.'

And lastly:

There's a well-known Marianne Moore poem, called Poetry. Pared down by Moore herself, it reads:

I, too, dislike it.
Reading it, however, with a
contempt for it, one discovers in
it, after all, a place for the genuine.

A place for the genuine. I reckon the genuine was in place at the most imaginative meals for a few symposia, because motive was, strange as it might seem, freed from self-regard, and the cooks were given the license to play. And the genuine is in place when we are hungry and eat tomatoes and bread and nothing else in a hot car.

DAY 2 | PRESENTATIONS

Making Migrants into New Australians

Migrant food needs in context: Reconsidering ideas of good nutrition - Karen Agutter & Rachel Ankeny

Producing food, producing new Australians: Catering for the Olympic Games - Karen Agutter

From suspect migrant to model Australian: Natale Italiano and the transformation of Perfect Cheese - Tania Cammarano

Ferment to Be: Microbial mates from soil to plate

Food Journeys on the way Down

Place and Australian History

Sydney restaurants before the Great War: Transnational phenomena, local response - Ross Karavis

The food of fantasy: Greek cafes and milk bars - Leonard Janiszewski

'Then, and only then, could we move onto something sweet.' Finding your place, knowing your place, keeping your place - Jacqui Newling

In conversation. The getting of garlic: Australian food from bland to brilliant

Changing Places

Haunted by the taste of laksa: Dislocations and relocations in Australia and Canada - Jean Duruz

Curry in Australian history: In and out of place - Frieda Moran

Barbecue: An American Tradition out of a Global Cuisine - Jennifer Bailey

Meat, *maté* and the rise of the Gaucho - Diana Noyce



22nd Symposium of
AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

Place in the long eighteenth-century

Forced fruit: Transplanting the tropics in early modern Europe - Garritt (Chip) Van Dyk

Out of Place: foreigners in Provence in the eighteenth-century - Barbara Santich

The author, her publisher and the court case: Maria Rundell reclaims her place - Sarah Benjamin

Beyond the Lunch Box

Primary Places: Creative food education. Engaging primary schools - Bev Laing

Schooling youth and shaping diet: What's out of place on the menu? - Adele Wessel

Guiding culinary students to find their place - Chloe Humphries and David Gillespie

Migrant food needs in context: Reconsidering ideas of good nutrition - Karen Agutter & Rachel Ankeny

Abstract

In the immediate post-World War II period in 1949, as over 170,000 Displaced Persons arrived from Europe, young 'New Australians' were considered to be the most desirable of migrants, as they would grow up alongside local children, and therefore readily assimilate and become model Australians. Hence when a number of babies and infant refugees died from malnutrition and associated diseases in their early days in Australia, these cases came to dominate newspaper headlines and be publicly viewed as particularly tragic.

This paper explores these events and the public outcry that ensued, which resulted in a series of enquiries into the nutritional needs of refugees. The findings revealed that use of a military-based ration scale outside of its original wartime context was largely to blame and resulted in development of diets and associated provisioning processes that were more adequately tailored to the nutritional and social needs of these post-War refugees in their new locale. This paper uses governmental records, popular media accounts, and contemporaneous scientific literature from the emerging field of nutrition science to explore how place and context matter to dietary needs.



Producing food, producing new Australians: Catering for the Olympic Games - Karen Agutter

Abstract

In 1956, Australia was just beginning to come to terms with the increasing number of European migrant arrivals, or at least starting to view them as essential to the country's required economic expansion and population growth. However, the nation largely remained monocultural and British, entrenched in an immigration policy which supported a 'white Australia' and hence which clearly treated new migrants as 'out of place.' The hosting of the 1956 Olympics Games in Melbourne hence presented an interesting dilemma which required not only a pragmatic solution but also forced reconsideration of what and who counted as Australian: how do you feed the huge numbers of Olympic athletes and visitors coming from many nations of the world?

The government responded by employing so-called New Australians as cooks and providing assisted passage to 120 chefs who were then offered permanent residency following the Games. This paper uses the lens of food to consider how, for a very brief period, Melbourne flirted with an early form of multiculturalism where migrants and foreigners were both 'exotic Others' and model Australians who through their culinary services represented their new country to the world.



From suspect migrant to model Australian: Natale Italiano and the transformation of Perfect Cheese - Tania Cammarano

Abstract

In 1930, when Italian migrant Natale Italiano founded the Perfect Cheese Company and began making cheese for other migrants in the inner suburbs of Melbourne, both his ethnicity and the cheese he produced were significantly out of place. While Italians were already the largest migrant group in Australia of a non-English speaking background, they were often the targets of xenophobia, racism and, particularly in the lead up to World War II, suspicion.

However by 1973, Italiano was used by the Australian Government as a poster boy for migrant success and the cheese that he produced was celebrated as innovative and worthy of imitation. This paper will explore how Italiano and his company went from a small, obscure, even illegal, business, hawking suspiciously exotic cheese to a foreign, marginalised people to a thriving company celebrated by mainstream Australia and regarded by officialdom as a local producer to be protected from foreign competition. By using a range of primary sources, specifically letters, dairy licence hearings, and other material produced by the Victorian Department of Agriculture, this paper demonstrates how both individuals and food products can progress from being outsider to insider when the social, cultural, and economic circumstances allow for it.



Ferment to be: Microbial mates from soil to plate - Dr Miin Chan, Dr Kate Howell & Giulia Smith

This ground-breaking panel explores the role of unseen microbial farmers, chefs and medicine makers throughout the food system, and our symbiotic relationship with them, from soil to gut. For thousands of years, humans have worked with their microbial mates to grow, ferment and digest food, tantalising our taste buds, ensuring diversity in our diet and keeping us in good health. The complex human-microbe relationship highlights our interdependence with bacteria, yeasts and other fungi. Yet for decades, the attitude towards microbes in our food system has put them out of place, forcing them into the pathogens-only category to suit food safety guidelines, a remnant of the decades-old war against bacteria.

With a recent resurgence in the West's interest in fermented foods and gut microbiota, we've changed our relationship with microbes, understanding their place in maintaining balance in our food and our bodies. From soil ecology, microbial terroir, traditional ferments and modern quirky ones to advancements in gut microbiota and nutritional medicine, our panellists will lead a lively discussion on the history, culture, science, anthropology and gastronomy of our microbial mates.

Sydney restaurants before the Great War: Transnational phenomena, local response - Ross Karavis

The history of restaurants in Australia is commonly understood to commence at the beginning of the twentieth century. Only limited references exist in Australian historical writing about restaurants and other forms of public dining prior to the First World War. This paper addresses that gap by drawing on a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses to explore the emergence of the restaurant in Sydney. I define the restaurant in its broadest sense as being a specific site for 'public eating.'¹ My definition extends the idea of the restaurant beyond the traditional association with French food and fine dining and explicitly includes other forms of dining out such as sixpenny restaurants, refreshment rooms, cafes and eating houses.²

Extensive archival research is drawn on to map the emergence of the restaurant in Sydney from the mid – nineteenth century up until the outbreak of the First World War. The archival sources include the Sydney Sands Directories, insolvency and bankruptcy records, newspaper articles, newspaper advertising and ephemera, including a theatre program and a restaurant menu. The analysis of the archival sources is guided by three questions: How common is the restaurant in Sydney? How is the term 'restaurant' understood in Sydney? What forms of food production, consumption and service experiences does the restaurant encompass and what forms of public dining experience does it offer consumers?

The growth and spread of restaurants in Sydney between 1850 and 1914 is explored in multiple ways:

1. By presenting the findings of a detailed set of analyses of restaurant listings in the Sydney Sands Directory between 1854 and 1914
2. By documenting the history of one restaurant, the Café Francais, from 1853 to 1914
3. By detailing the different food and service offerings available at two turns of the century Sydney restaurants
4. By briefly detailing the unstable nature / vagaries of the business of running a restaurant in Sydney

Australian Food History and the Restaurant

Restaurants in the period 1850 to 1914 receive scant scholarly attention. Scholars make only occasional passing references to particular restaurants as part of broader discussions about Australian food and cuisine.

From the 1970s through to the early 2000s Australian histories of food, eating and dining have a strong preoccupation with discerning and defining 'Australian food' and 'Australian cuisine.' A common historical narrative has directly linked the shaping of Australian food culture to 'our' British heritage, the history of British settlement in Australia and to our 'colonial' relationship with mother Britain. For example, in *Convicted Taste* (1984) Richard Beckett argues that there is a strong British connection in the food habits of Australian middle-class people, from the beginning of the nineteenth century through to (his) contemporary times (the early 1980s when the book was written), with an emphasis on meat, poultry, pies and preserves washed down with beer or wine. The wealthy *nouveau riche* in Australia not only mimic the British aristocracy in adopting French cuisine as their preferred cuisine, according to Beckett, but they also do it badly because of the lack of trained chefs in Australia.³

However, more recent histories have focussed on distinctive Australian culinary phenomena and responses. *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage* by Barbara Santich examines how Australian food and foodways were shaped by what she identifies as an Australian predilection for culinary adoption, adaptation, and incorporation. This had led to a set of culinary idioms that reflect "characteristic Australian responses to unique Australian situation(s)." ⁴ Colin Bannerman's *Seed Cake and Honey Prawns* studies how food fashions and fads over the last two centuries have shaped Australian food habits and the central role forms of mass media communication (e.g. cook books, newspapers and magazines) played in their transmission. Bannerman argues that the dramatic changes in Australian eating patterns over the last two centuries have been the result of the interplay between food fads, the mass media, and people.⁵

Only two Australian books have dealt extensively with Australia's public dining culture in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. In *One Continuous Picnic* Michael Symons writes about the various forms of public dining and types of eateries common in Australia from the second half of the nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century. Symons details the presence of fine dining restaurants and French cuisine in Australia from the 1850s and attributes the emergence of Parisian style restaurants in Melbourne and Sydney to the gold rushes. He goes on to claim that "Australia enjoyed a boom of restaurants dining around 1890 - 1910 – the 'late Victoria and Edwardian' eras of the English and 'La Belle Époque' of the French."⁶

Symons argues that the restaurant boom in Australia at the turn of the century is due to the emergence of a modern food processing industry and the impact on food provisioning of modern transport and food technologies.⁷

The Australian Pub by Diane Kirkby, Tanja Luckins and Chris McConville provides a useful counterpoint to Symons' survey of public dining and the restaurant in Australia. Their chapter on dining in Australian hotels charts the history of the hotels as sites for public dining and the different forms of dining possible in hotels. They distinguish between dining in hotels and restaurants on the basis of five factors - menu, type of space, level of service, price and intended audience - and contrast the style of dining in a Grand Hotel with that in a public house.⁸

Quantitative research – The Sands Directories

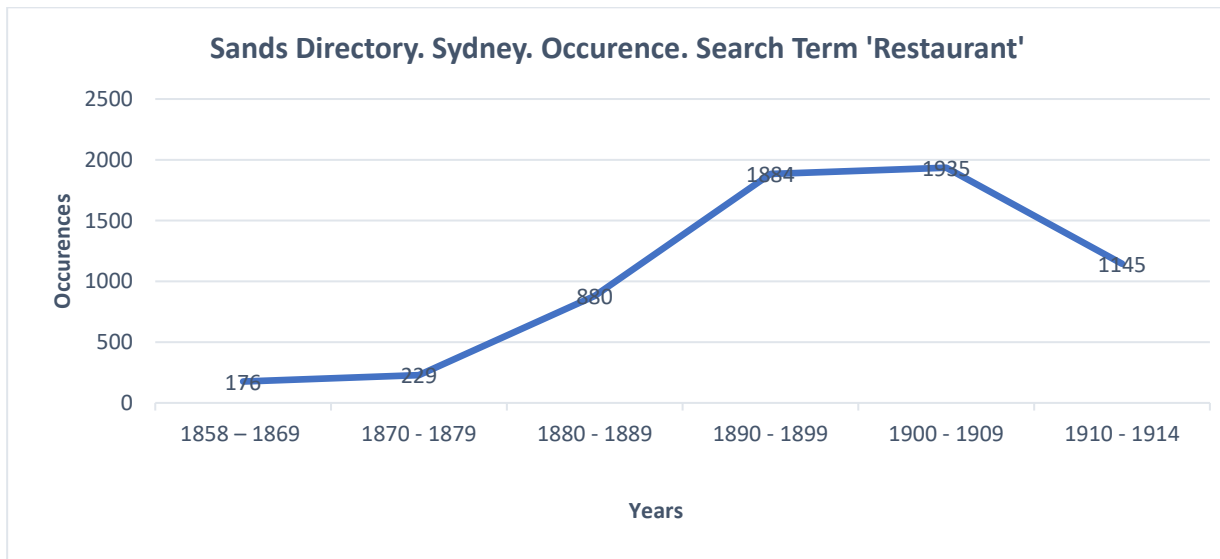
A quantitative approach is undertaken to mapping the emergence of the restaurant in Sydney. The digitisation of key archival documents allows quantitative analysis to be undertaken on historical data sets to explore their numbers as well as their geographic location and spread over time. It also provides opportunities to explore lexical patterns, spatial distribution as well as systems of classification. This is particularly useful in analysing commercial directories such as the Sands Directories because it enables the summarising of vast amounts of data across categories and time and reveal patterns and trends.

The quantitative work I have undertaken on restaurants in Sydney is based on data generated from listings in the Sands Sydney and Suburban Directory from 1858 - 1914. The directories are an invaluable resource because they are comprehensive, systematic, and published as a regular annual series in both Melbourne and Sydney. Particular attention is paid to mapping the number and type of eateries that existed in the city centre of Sydney.

The Directory lists households, businesses, public institutions, and officials, either by name or location. The directory also featured listings of individuals or businesses by trade or profession. For example, tanner, professor, quarryman, and wine merchant. Embedded within the listings are also other sets of data which prove useful to understanding the emergence of the restaurant, such as the gender of the business owner and, through deduction, the ethnicity or nationality of the business owner.

Occurrence of the word 'restaurant'

An analysis is undertaken of the occurrences of the word 'restaurant' in the Sands Directory between 1858 and 1914.⁹ Text searches were undertaken across six time periods: 1858 – 1869, 1870 – 1879, 1880 – 1889, 1890 – 1899, 1900 – 1909 and 1909 – 1914.

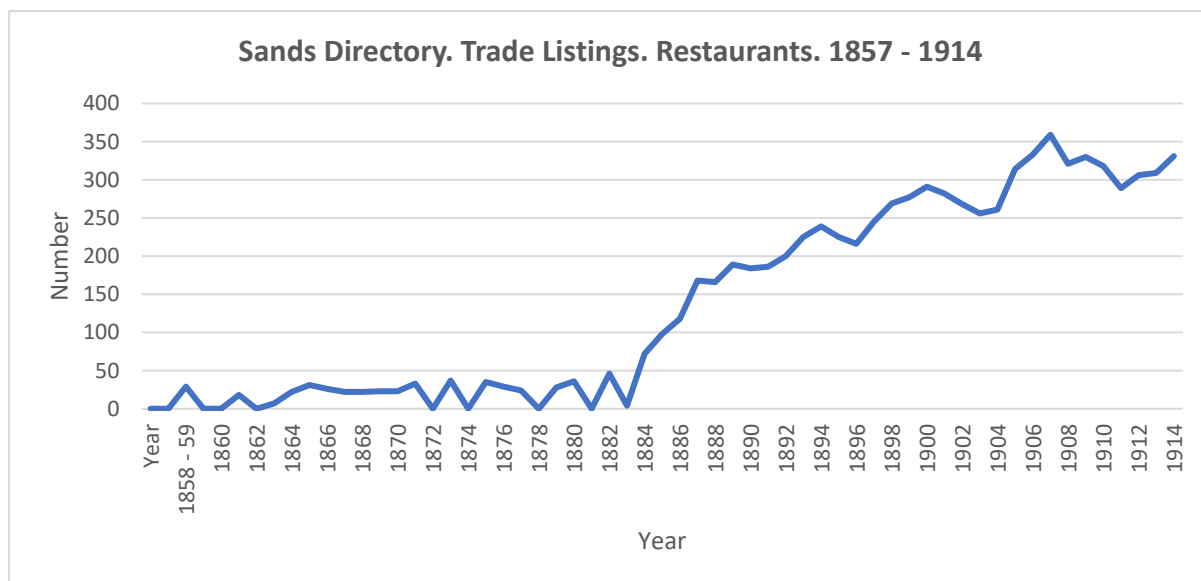


The analysis reveals a significant increase in the occurrence of the word 'restaurant' over time. Between 1858 and 1869 there are one hundred and seventy-four occurrences; Between 1880 and 1889 there are eight hundred and eighty and between 1900 and 1909 there are one thousand nine hundred and thirty-five. The one thousand one hundred and forty-five occurrences for the final four years suggest the year-by-year occurrence of the word restaurant continues to grow at a greater rate than it had in the previous decade.

However, one needs to be mindful that in any given year a restaurant appears three times – in the listing by name, in the listing by location and in the listing by trade or profession. One also needs to take into account that in any given decade a restaurant may appear in multiple years and generate multiple occurrences.

Listings of Restaurants in the Trade Directory

The annual trade listings in the Sands Directory are analysed to determine the number of listings under the heading of restaurants and related terms for the period 1858 to 1914.



Between 1858 and 1880 the number of annual listings in the Sydney directory slowly increase, but don't exceed more than thirty-six. Over the next thirty-four years there is a substantial increase in the number of annual listing of restaurants. There are one hundred and eight four listings in 1890, two hundred and ninety-one listings in 1900 and three hundred and thirty one listings in 1914.

In summary, restaurants become more common in Sydney, particularly from the 1880s on. In contrast, Melbourne has more restaurant listings up until 1885 but for the following three decades Sydney has more restaurants listings and enjoys consistent growth in the number of listings.

Location and Unique Business Name

The location and business names associated with the restaurant listings in the directory for 1891, 1900 and 1913 are also analysed. The listings are examined across two variables:

1. The location of the business in terms of suburb or street name, and if it is located in the city centre;
2. Where a business name (as distinct from the name of the owner) is listed and includes a descriptor.

Location

The overwhelming majority of listings in the trade directory for Sydney are in the city centre as distinct from the suburbs.

Sands Sydney and Suburban Directory: City centre listings

Year	1891	1900	1913
Number of Streets	41	42	55
Number of Street Listings	148	224	236
Top five streets	George Street Pitt Street Elizabeth Street Castlereagh Street King Street	George Street Pitt Street King Street Castlereagh Street Oxford Street	George Street Pitt Street Castlereagh Street Elizabeth Street Bathurst Street

Sydney has key locations where businesses are located. An analysis of the top five streets in the trade listings indicates that George Street, Pitt Street and Castlereagh Street appear in each year surveyed while Elizabeth Street and King Street appear in the top five street in two out of the three years surveyed.

There is also a substantial increase in the number of suburbs listed and in the listings within the suburbs over the three-years surveyed

Sands Sydney and Suburban Directory: Suburban listings

Year	1891	1900	1913
Number of Suburbs	16	24	32
Number of Suburban Listings	39	65	74
Top five suburbs	Granville Manly Redfern Bondi Newtown	Manly Mosman North Sydney Waverley Balmain	Manly Redfern Balmain Newtown North Sydney

Manly appears in list of top five suburbs in each of the three years surveyed while Redfern, Newtown and Balmain are in the top five suburbs in two out of the three years surveyed.

Unique Business Name

The listings in the trade directory most commonly feature the name of the business owner or operator and a street address (e.g., Adams George, 480 George Street) or a business name which contains the surname of the people involved (Bennett and Hayes, 18 and 24 King Street) or a company name which describes a food product (e.g. N.S.W. Fresh Food and Ice Company at 92 King Street). A count of the listings in the Sydney trade directory with a unique business name (e.g. Royal Café, Mercantile Luncheon Rooms or Jewish Restaurant) is undertaken as well as a simple text analysis of common descriptors.

Sands Sydney and Suburban Directory: Business Name. Descriptors.

Year	1891	1900	1913
Total Entries	186	291	309
Unique Business Name	20	23	40
Common Descriptors	Café, Coffee Palace, Restaurant Café, Hotel, Dining Room, Buffet	Café, Coffee Palace, Hotel, Refreshment Room, Dining Room, Luncheon and Tea Room, Tea Rooms, Café Restaurant	Café, Coffee Palace, Coffee Palace Hotel, Hotel, Refreshment Room, Dining Room, Tea Rooms, Café Restaurant, Restaurant, Luncheon Rooms, Railway Cafe

Two key findings emerge from this analysis. The first is that the number of listings in the trade directory with unique business names increases over time. When one studies the location of the businesses with a unique business name, the analysis finds that the overwhelming majority of these businesses are located in the city centre. This suggests that the increasing number of restaurants in the city centre creates greater competition for customers and encourages restaurateurs to adopt a unique business name to distinguish their business and make their offer clear to customers.

The second is the increasing range and complexity of descriptors used to describe businesses and how the term 'restaurant' is not commonly used by the businesses with a unique name. In Sydney, listings more commonly use the descriptors 'café' and 'coffee palace.' Three examples of how the term 'restaurant' appears in the business name include *Restaurant and Café Francais*, *Trocadero Café Restaurant* and *American Restaurant* in Sydney. Over time it is evident that the term restaurant is being used as a broad term to cover a range related forms of eating out.

However, there are limitations to quantitative methods. They are useful when analysing numeric data to identify general directions and trends and to gauge similarities and differences between related entities, for example, the number and type of restaurants in Sydney. However, the usefulness of the quantitative research is limited by the fact that the “results provide numerical descriptions rather than detailed narrative.”¹⁰ By complementing the numbers with a case study I will be able to tell a richer and more complex story.

Café Francais: the brief history of a French restaurant in Sydney

Café Francais was one of the longest running nineteenth century restaurants in Sydney. It operated as a French restaurant from 1853 - 1911. It had multiple owners and a rich history of changing features over time. It also provides a timely suggestion for how nineteenth century restaurants changed and adapted over time.

On 21 May 1853 the Sydney Morning Herald publishes a public notice that announces that Alexander De Mars has been granted a Publicans licence for Café Restaurant Francais on George Street.¹¹ On the 1st of June De Mars places an advertisement in the Sydney Morning Herald which states the location of the café restaurant as being at 521 George Street, that meals can be purchased there at all hours and that it offers “Service à la Parisienne.”¹²

In July 1853 Timothee Cheval and John Poehlman purchase the Café Restaurant Francais.¹³ On the 29 July 1853 an advertisement is published in the Sydney Morning Herald which announces two set menus on offer at the Café Francais:

The first is “Breakfast, at 1s. 9d., from 9 o'clock till 12” which includes “One dish of meat or fish, with bread and potatoes. One cup of French coffee, with milk - to the choice of the bill of fare.” The second is a “Luncheon, at 2s. 6d., from 12 o'clock till 3” which includes “One dish of soup. Two dishes of meat or fish - to the choice of the bill of fare. One dish of vegetables and bread.”¹⁴

Nine months later a public notice in *Empire* announces that Cheval and Poehlman have extended their establishment and are now solely operating as a restaurant offering unprecedented choices of “Dinners in the best style of the French and English cookery.”¹⁵

From these beginnings in the 1850s Café Francais enjoys a chequered history but is still operating in the same block when the First World War breaks out on 28 July 1914. Over the six decades of its existence Café Francais develops into a stalwart of Sydney’s dining scene. However, the course is not a smooth or linear. Seven proprietors assume and pass on the reigns of the restaurant – John Maloney, James Wheeler, Thomas Giblin, Elizabeth

Bowers, C J Claridge, William Balfour and Frederick Beach. Some of these proprietors were there for more than a decade and others for less than 12 months. Through the late 1860s and 1870s advertising its culinary offer was simply the slogan “turtle soup, turtle soup, turtle soup.”¹⁶ In 1866, it is listed as one of Sydney’s top 10 restaurants in *The Freeman’s Journal*.¹⁷ It temporarily closes down three times, one for reason of insolvency in 1871¹⁸ and twice for the undertaking of major renovations in 1887¹⁹ and 1890²⁰ and shifts location from 281 to 293 George Street in 1881 – 82.²¹ It is also listed in newspaper advertising as a restaurant where patrons can enjoy Schweppes tonic and mineral waters, Claussen’s Champagne Lager Beer and Kola Nut Tonic.²² As the Café Francais enters its fifth decade and settles into its role as the grand dame of Sydney dining, increasing number of associations, industry and sporting bodies hold functions and dinners there – the Chemist Assistants Association²³ and the Prince Alfred Yatch Club²⁴ in 1897, Old Newington’s Union²⁵ in 1901, the New South Wales Wine Association²⁶ in 1903, the Irish Terrier Club²⁷ in 1911 and the Institute of Public Accountants in 1913.²⁸

Different options, patrons and fortunes

It is useful to return back to the contemporary records of the day to better understand what the numbers tell us about the different offerings that were available to Sydneysiders.

The Paris House on Phillip Street is the best-known restaurant from turn of the century Sydney. The restaurant was established by Octave Desneux in 1886²⁹ but came to prominence under Gaston Lievain who owned it from 1895 to 1911.³⁰ An undated à la carte menu from Lievain’s time in charge offers a selection of hors d’oeuvres, oysters, soups, eggs and omelettes, fish, entrées, grilled meats, poultry and game and cold dishes. While there are dishes you would expect on a French inspired menu of the time (e.g. a l’Oignon soup, Entrecôte steak with chips, Chateau Briand and Petit Poussin Paysane) there are other dishes which strike me as being typically British dishes (e.g. Scrambled eggs, real turtle soup, lamb cutlets and peas, kidneys and bacon and cold dishes such as roast beef, cold lamb and cold sausages.³¹ This is a menu clearly for fortifying men and their masculine appetites with animal protein.

This contrasts with the Manhattan Luncheon and Tea Rooms in the basement of the Equitable Building at 348 – 352 George Street. There you can enjoy “a dainty luncheon, cold or hot.’ It is a place where ‘Afternoon tea is a speciality’ and where you can enjoy ‘delicious cakes and ice.’ You can also enjoy a three-course dinner for 1s 6d from 6 – 7 pm before heading off to the theatre.³² What is notable is the location of the tearoom in the basement of a commercial building, the fact that the owners are all women and that the gendering of hospitality offerings accompanies the entry of women as consumers, and in this case, as providers, of commercial, public hospitality.

However, the growing number of restaurants does not necessarily indicate that restaurants were uniformly successful in Sydney. It was quite common for restaurant keepers to be declared insolvent. For example, between 1880 and 1887 James Pavie operated what was in different years designated as a restaurant or dining room at 283 Pitt Street. He was declared insolvent in 1887 with liabilities of 1 107 6s 8d and assets of £92.³³ By 1891 he reappears in the Sands Directory as the proprietor of a restaurant at 240 Pitt Street.³⁴ Another example of how insolvency did not damage a career in hospitality is caterer and restaurateur George William Baumann. He owned the very popular Baumann's Cafe on Pitt Street and was the caterer for both the New South Wales Centenary Celebration Dinner³⁵ in 1887 and the series of Federation Dinners held in Sydney in January 1901³⁶, despite having been declared insolvent on at least three separate occasions, in Geelong in 1863³⁷, in Melbourne in 1873³⁸ and Sydney in 1887.³⁹

The work presented in this paper is significant because it reveals that the number of restaurants in the city centre and suburban Sydney grew rapidly and substantially between 1850 and 1914. It also unpacks the growing range of descriptors used in Sydney to identify the different options for eating out and how the term 'restaurant' is a catch-all phrase to identify a range of different dining experiences. For the first time the location of restaurants are mapped across the city centre and the suburbs and we are able to establish which areas of the city they were most commonly located in. The two case studies also complicate the story of eating out in Sydney by presenting simple examples of the contrasting styles of dining that are available to those wanting to dine out. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis suggests a more complex and evolving history of dining and eating out in Sydney prior to The Great War. A history which offers choice, sustenance and experience to a growing number of urban dwellers in Sydney.

Notes

¹ Brenda Assael, "Gastro-Cosmopolitanism and the Restaurant in Late Victorian And Edwardian London," *The Historical Journal* 56:3 (2013), 681.

² Brenda Assael, "Gastro-Cosmopolitanism and the Restaurant in Late Victorian And Edwardian London," 684 – 688.

³ Richard Beckett, *Convicted taste* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1984), 70.

⁴ Barbara Santich, *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2012), 1 – 13.

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Food journeys on the way Down Under - John Newton. Produced by Paul van Reyk

In her speculative fiction novel *Mara and Dann*, Doris Lessing gives a graphic picture of food security for a group of refugees fleeing drought and an oppressive regime towards an uncertain but hoped for new country. What little individuals and families can take with them they hoard and do not share with others. At nights they have to be alert to raids on their meagre stores. When a pleasure aircraft crashes, they surge to it and grab what food they can, uncaring of the injured passengers. When they pass through towns they are denied access to stores and again resort to stealing. Is this picture true to the experience of refugees who have arrived in Australia? What were their food journeys as they made their way here? What did they eat in their homelands? What did they eat in refugee camps? What changes in foodways have they had to adjust to along the way and on starting life in Australia? How important is it to maintain food practices of one's homeland in the transition to food practices on one's new home? These are people forced 'out of place' and their food journeys are rarely told.

John Newton spoke with two enterprising refugee women about their food journey through refugee camps and in Australia that have led to them establishing food enterprises in Sydney – Tinsae Mulegeta Yigletu and Zina Abdulghani.

SAG attendees lunched on food from the women's food enterprises

The food of fantasy: Greek cafés and milk bars - Leonard Janiszewski & Effy Alexakis

The café was not only a place where everyone gathered... They were places that gave a certain character to their towns and communities... They were beacons of wonder and delight... They offered the comfort of what was familiar, with the dazzle and sparkle of something new.¹

Peter Comino, Greek café proprietor, 1950s – 60s

Style was an essential element of Australia's Greek cafés and milk bars – an emphasis on exotic, captivating appearances, that initially retained British tastes, but by the 1930s, American aesthetics had begun to dominate.



Hollywood Café, Pitt Street, Sydney, NSW, 1940s

Phillip Phillips (Koutsoukis), on extreme left, was the proprietor.
'Greek cafés... offered the dazzle and sparkle of something new.'

Photo courtesy D. Vanos, from the *'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians'* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney

From the 1930s to the 1960s, Greek cafés and milk bars expressed the glamour and allure of America – dazzling Art Deco streamlined reflective surfaces, multi-coloured etched mirrors, badged silver-plated and ceramic tableware, flashing neon lights, gleaming soda-fountain counters, exotic marble-topped tables or highly-polished wooden booths, with waiting staff in stylish uniforms that matched the interior décor. Later, 'international modernism', which flourished in the United States following World War II, would provide splashes of bold primary colours and a design simplification that emphasised geometric forms.

But a new world of delights offered by Greek-run enterprises was not limited to just the visual and tactile. Accumulatively, their architectural décor, food products, commercial packaging ideas, marketing concepts, technology, and an association with cinema and popular music, were essentially selling a dream – an American dream – the fantasy of a

life-style that was better, richer, fuller. Sodas, milkshakes, ice cream sundaes, milk chocolates and later hamburgers, were the all-important key food elements wrapped within an aspirational fantasy of being able to enjoy American popular culture. A conscious melding of food and fantasy.

Greeks had begun to enter Australia's food-catering industry during the gold rush era, 1850s – 1890s. By the 1910s, their involvement was becoming quite pronounced. It provided regular income, maintenance of the family unit, independence from union restrictions upon foreign labour, potential socio-economic mobility – particularly for succeeding generations – and only required limited formal education and knowledge of English. By the late 1930s, their numbers were such that the Greek-run café and milk bar had become an indelible part of urban and rural communities. That continued until at least the mid-1970s. In addition to quick service, long opening hours, and competitive prices, they offered British-Australians their familiar main meals of steak and eggs and mixed grills, together with an American spider soda drink, milkshake or 'American Beauty' fancy ice cream sundae to wash it all down, whilst sitting in booths listening to the jukebox within an environment that seemed to capture a 'sense of Hollywood'.

For Steve Margaritis – who worked at the Balonne Café in St George in southern Queensland – by the 1950s, that beguiling fantasy was well and truly entrenched: 'After the pictures, about 100 or 150 happy and excited people would come into the café... The pictures promised them Hollywood. The café continued the illusion'.²



The Victoria Café, Perkins Street, Newcastle, NSW, 1930s

Photo courtesy J. Varvaressos, from the *'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians'* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney

The transmission of American influences to Australia by early Greek food caterers should not be surprising – particularly when considered within the context of the global movements and networks of the Greek diaspora in the modern era. Quite a number of Australia's early Greek settlers had worked in the United States as caterers in diners, cafés, drugstore soda 'parlors', confectionery stores and refreshment rooms, or were regularly corresponding with relatives and friends still working there in the industry. Ideas,

experiences and skills picked up from America were then applied within the Australian catering context. Victor Cominos' grandfather (also named Victor Cominos), worked in food catering in the United States before migrating to Australia:

He arrived in Emerald [Queensland] in 1921... the business... was called the Paris Café and American Bar. The technology from America was used... everything was upmarket... I think the early Greeks... [who went] to the United States... saw things... they became modern.³

As a psychological means to attract and generate product sales, the start of the 'value-added' union between food and fantasy emerged through the predecessors of Greek-run cafés and milk bars – Greek-run oyster saloons and soda/sundae parlours. Unlike British-Australian oyster saloons that traditionally targeted working-class males and limited their sales essentially to oysters and beer, Greek-run oyster saloons broadened their range of clientele to include women and families, and their food offerings to include 'American-style' confectionery, milk chocolates and ice cream, as well as fruit and red meat. Just before the 1910s, the American 'front-service' soda fountain began to appear in these establishments. By the mid-1910s Greek-run oyster saloons were evolving into soda and sundae 'parlors'. And it is here that we first witness the fantasy elements emerging.



Canberra Dining Rooms and Oyster Saloon, Queanbeyan, NSW, 1914

Note the signage on the central window: 'American Confectionery & Ice Cream'.

Photo courtesy N. George, from the 'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians' National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney

Soda fountains were the original, modern, 'light fantastic' – the back bar and soda pump column featuring coloured lights, stained glass and reflective surfaces. Colours would bounce off back-bar and side-wall mirrors, gleaming glass essence bottles with silver and gold tops, as well as glossy service-counter surfaces and highly-polished silverware and marble dining table tops. The gurgling and whoosh sound of the soda pump in operation combined with the all-pervading scent of organic essences as their containment bottles were opened to add flavour to the liquid, further intoxicated the senses.

For many Australian rural town folk, this was also their first experience of electricity – generators were used to operate the shop’s fountains and lighting long before serviced electricity came to country regions. Front window displays of milk chocolate boxes and fruit in coloured wrapping paper, and the serving of ice cream in decoratively-designed silver-badged dishes, captured customer attention and enticed the consumption of these foods – the smooth, rich, creamy, sweet taste of American-style milk chocolate and ice cream beguiled Australian palates. Additionally, highly-polished badged silverware provided a sense of well-to-do fine dining — a stylistic, socio-cultural device signifying that refined dining was available to all, not just the affluent. The fantasy and exotic ‘wonderland’ nature of these eating establishments was often highlighted in publicity photographs taken at night – emphasising that a new world of visual and gastronomic pleasures awaited potential customers.

Packaging was an integral part of the fantasy of Greek-run eating establishments – particularly in regard to ‘American-style’ milk chocolates and sugar candies. Decorative boxes and tins utilised the psychological suggestion of quality and value, stimulating and intensifying heightened expectation. Whilst such packaging was not altogether new in Australian retailing – particularly for high-end products – its sophistication reached new heights of expression and intent in Greek-run catering enterprises, where ‘packaging’ style, serviced ‘brand’: initially, that of individual soda/sundae parlours and cafés (like the famous Paragon Café at Katoomba west of Sydney), and later, international and Australian confectionery companies. Some Greek-run cafés adopted the names of popular milk chocolate brands – Blue Bird Café, White Rose Café, Red Rose Café, Black Cat Café, and California Café. Such intense focus upon packaging of confectionery arguably has American origins – with American confectioner Milton S. Hershey, leading the way in the 1890s.

By the mid-1930s, staff uniforms had consciously become a significant element of a Greek-run café’s and milk bar’s visual branding. Stylistically, uniforms incorporated the colours, clean lines and bold graphic forms of the external facades, interior furnishings and branded caféware of these catering businesses.

Each establishment distinguished itself from its local competitors by highlighting and contrasting different design elements.



The Coroneos Bros. Busy Bee Sundae Shop, Coonamble, NSW, c. mid-1930s

Photo courtesy S. Siafarikas, from the *'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians'* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney

For example, the pastel blues and yellows and strong Art Deco architectural lines of Gunnedah's Busy Bee Café in north-western New South Wales, were repeated in the enterprise's female staff uniforms, with 'Busy Bee' decoratively embroidered upon its top left-hand side shawl collar.⁴ The trend continued into the 1940s and 50s, the female staff uniforms of Darwin's Star Milk Bar, mimicking the dominate green colouring of the establishment and emblazoned with a red six-pointed star – the milk bar's logo – on the left-hand side chest of the uniform and on the right-hand side hip pocket.⁵ At the start of the twentieth century, uniforms in catering businesses had tended to imply 'service' through class stereotyping – staff dress reflected 'domestic servant' attire, in line with the traditional 'exclusive' social stratification of public eating in Great Britain. Uniforms now reflected a business' 'brand' over and above suggestions of domestic servitude. This change expressed another influence transferred from the United States. Uniforms were integrated into the stylistic fantasy of a business' product packaging, architectural elements and furnishings – all harmoniously working together towards inducing food sales.

The commercially conscious, symbiotic relation between fantasy and food– in order to both stimulate and enhance the sale and customer experience of product consumption – was well expressed by the overall architectural aesthetic appeal of Greek-run catering enterprises. By the early 1930s, European Art Deco angular forms and exotic materials dominated – the style architecturally articulated an aesthetic that embodied ‘machine, travel, speed’.



Star Milk Bar, Darwin, NT, 1948

Photo courtesy Papadonakis family, from the *'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians'* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney

Highly-polished white or blue-grey Carrara marble surfaces, streamlined stainless steel counters, glittering gold and silver shaded mirrors, hard-edge signage, chromium and jade-green fittings, glossy laminates and acid-toned glass doors, all aligned Greek cafés and milk bars with what one writer of the time has called ‘a flair towards the art modern’.⁶ However, given the depth of the appeal of the food-catering ‘American fantasy’ propagated by Greek eating establishments, development towards a distinctly American Art Deco architectural temperament soon emerged: California’s ‘Streamline Moderne’ which championed the curvilinear. In Australia it was popularly referred to as the ‘Hollywood style’, the ‘American style’, the ‘ship style’ the ‘ocean liner style’ and the ‘P&O style’. It became the iconic architectural signature of Australia’s Greek cafés and milk bars for the greater part of the twentieth century. One Greek-Australian shopfitter, Stephen C. Varvaressos, was particularly instrumental in progressively applying the style to existing or new Greek-run cafés and milk bars.⁷ Jack Castrission points out that in 1938, when his family’s Niagara Café at Gundagai, south-west of Sydney, was refitted to the ‘latest Hollywood style’, it became ‘Australia’s Wonder Café’:

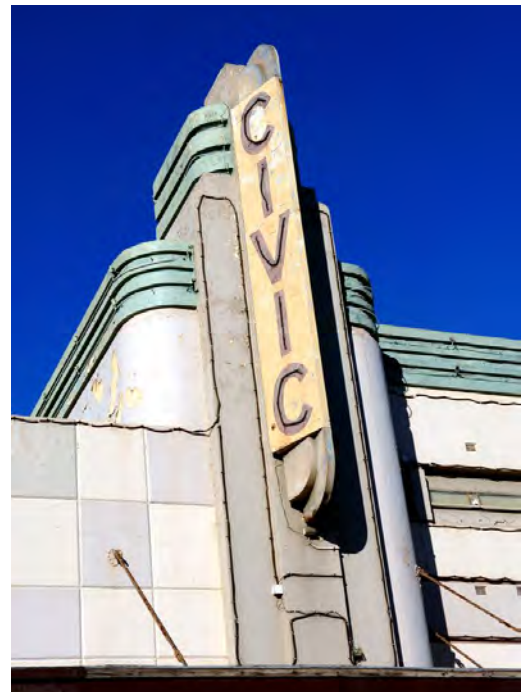
All coloured glass and shiny metal surfaces, curved wave-like entrance windows, large reflective mirrors, polished marble, wooden booths, neon lights out front, and it had a domed ceiling design filled with stars and the night sky... It was like an oasis in the desert. It was a pleasure palace, and the locals loved it!⁸

At this time, picture theatres, like Greek cafés and milk bars, were embracing the new American Art Deco curvilinear trend. Eventually, picture theatre proprietors began to incorporate milk bars into their 'picture palace' complexes, taking the seductive association of food and fantasy to one of its most commercially successful expressions. The union of these food-catering businesses and picture theatres offered the tastes, sights and glamour of 'Hollywood' like never before and became a socio-cultural metaphor for modernity.

Betty Goninan of Coolah, in central-western New South Wales, recalls eagerly lining up with others after the pictures to wait for available seats in the Coolah Café (operated by Peter Feros) during the early 1960s – 'a long line would stretch from the Coolah picture theatre across the road right to the café's door'.⁹ Peter Comino of the Niagara Café in Singleton (north-west of Newcastle) in New South Wales, recalled that 'when the picture theatre next door was operating we were at battle stations behind the counter... speed was of the essence... the café was simply bursting with people wanting to be served!'.¹⁰ Paul Calokerinos who managed the York Café in Manilla (in northern New South Wales) during the 1950s, stated that 'Everyone would come to town and go to the pictures and then the café

Our trade from the Palais picture show was amazing, simply amazing!'.¹¹ Screening primarily American films, picture theatres, reinforced the existing American fantasy of Greek-run eating establishments in Australia – duplicating the working relationship between popular eating establishments and cinema entertainment in the United States. As Mary McDermott, who waitressed in Greek cafés during the 1960s points out:

Greek cafés were a little bit of Hollywood glamour, a little bit of American life... That's why they were called the Niagara, the Monterey, the California and the Golden Gate!... That's why they were next to picture theatres.¹²



Civic Picture Theatre
Kelly Street, Scone, NSW, 2006

A striking example of Californian 'Streamline Moderne' Art Deco architecture. The complex included a milk bar and has been owned by the Coroneo family since 1943.

Photo by Effy Alexakis, from the 'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians' National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney

Quite a number of Greek café and milk bar proprietors in Australia actually acquired local picture theatres, running both simultaneously, and reaping the benefits of the synergy. Others took up licences to sell confectionery, chocolates, ice cream, and flavoured drinks down the aisles of the auditoriums before, during sessions and at interval. One Greek food caterer, John Kouvelis, developed one of the largest early picture theatre chains in the eastern Australian states, inclusive of milk bars, under his company name of J. K. Capitol Theatres Pty Ltd; in 1946 he sold his cinema holdings to Hoyts.¹³

By the 1950s, a new architectural style began to emerge in Australian Greek café and milk bar design – a confident departure from the Art Deco vernacular: ‘international modernism’. Again, American inspired examples were primarily harnessed, and the fusion of food and fantasy to attract patronage continued. With an emphasis on simplification of form and dramatic, dynamic explosions of colour, Patricia’s Milk Bar near Wynyard Station in Sydney, operated by Sam Akon (Economopoulos), and The Legend Café & Milk Bar in Bourke Street, Melbourne, operated by Ion A. Nicolades, are outstanding examples. The former featured a ‘space age’ relief mural by designer Douglas Annand, constructed from found objects and painted with bold primary colours, whilst the latter’s ‘jazzy’ interior design was orchestrated by sculptor Clement Meadmore and featured seven mural panels by ‘geometric abstractionist’ artist Leonard French.¹⁴

The Legend Café’s design, furnishings and mural are an important part of the history of Modernism in both Melbourne and Australia. Indeed, the café was used to promote ‘Modern Melbourne’ during the 1956 Olympics. With its bold terrazzo floor, diagonally patterned fluorescent lighting and coloured stools stunningly complementing the dramatic vibrancy of colour, line and abstract geometric forms of French’s mural series, the Legend is considered by architectural historian Michael Bogle to have been ‘one of Melbourne’s most visually exciting cafés’.¹⁵ Such was the eye-catching daring of the café’s design, that it not only attracted Melbourne’s CBD workers, shoppers, theatre and cinema patrons, but also the city’s avant-garde artists such as Clifton Pugh, Arthur Boyd, John Perceval and Fred Williams.¹⁶ The Legend’s fresh visual spectacle of food-catering retail design firmly reinforced the commercial significance of connecting food with fantasy.

By the late 1940s and early 1950s, jukeboxes were increasingly appearing in Greek cafés and milk bars as part of their entertainment component – as an aural stimulus it added to and heightened the fantasy environments of these catering enterprises. American servicemen on leave had initially stimulated the jukebox trend during World War II. Con Nikakis points out in regard to his family's café, the George N, in Melbourne:

Dad, put a jukebox in the café – all 'Swing music' [popular in the United States in the late 1930s and early 1940s] – in response to the US servicemen on leave... It was a big flashy thing... The pressure was on, that if you didn't get one [a jukebox] the Yanks wouldn't come in... An unofficial queue would develop as to who would pick the next song.¹⁷

Indeed, US military personnel were attracted to Greek cafés and milk bars because of their American elements – the cafés were 'a home away from home'.¹⁸ American, and to a lesser extent, British popular music was heard in Australia's Greek eating establishments, well before the music's broad acceptance on Australian radio. Peter Stratos' family had milk bar/cafés in both Geraldton and Perth in Western Australia. He remembers how the local communities quickly accepted the jukebox as part of their cafes' attraction:

We had a jukebox in 1955... Locals wanted to be entertained by their favourite tune whilst eating a hamburger, or downing an American milkshake or sundae treat. The music added to their sense of shared eating and social pleasure... 'Bodgies' and 'Widgies' [youth subculture – males and females] would stick around for hours... They were well and truly hooked!¹⁹



The Legend Café & Milk Bar, Bourke Street, Melbourne, Vic., c. 1956

Considered to have been 'one of Melbourne's most visually exciting cafés'.

Photo courtesy I. A. Nicolades and L. French, from the *'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians'* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney



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Musicola jukebox
Brown's Milk Bar
Barrack Street, Perth, WA,
c. 1955

Basil Stratos was the proprietor. American and British popular music were heard in such establishments well before their broad acceptance on Australian radio.

Photo courtesy P. Stratos, from the *'In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians'* National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney

Irene Pantazis' family ran the Rendezvous Café in Darwin during the 1950s and 1960s: 'We got the jukebox in the shop around 1958 or 59. Bill Haley was the craze... the locals, particularly the young people, went wild'.²⁰ Ray Barry claims that when a jukebox was placed into the Hunter Valley's Denman Café by its Greek proprietor, Harry Logus, during the 1950s, 'it was always being played – American rock music like Bill Haley... there was standing room only!'.²¹ Robert Buchan of St George in southern Queensland remembers that 'it used to cost sixpence per play to listen to a jukebox record in the 1950s and 60s... and we'd all go to the Greek café to listen and have a feed whenever we could'.²² By the late 1950s, the food and fantasy union provided by Greek caterers had nourished the emergence of the 'rock'n'roll' generation in Australia.

From the early twentieth century Australia's Greek food caterers were serving both food and fantasy – the consciously melding of the two proved too seductive, too mesmerising, for British-Australians to resist. Greek cafés and milk bars, together with their predecessors, Greek-run oyster saloons and soda/sundae parlours, by essentially selling an American Dream, provided their customers with a sense that they had experienced a moment when life was better, richer, fuller – and isn't that how food-catering outlets want their customers to feel, even today?

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- ² *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p.14.
- ⁴ The Busy Bee's female uniform and elements of the establishment's interior decor were utilised to highlight the style relationship in an exhibition by the authors, titled '*Café Dreaming: Greek Café and Milk Bar Style*' held at the Macquarie University Library Exhibition Space, between 16 April and 30 May 2018.
- ⁵ Alexakis and Janiszewski, *op cit.*, p. 76.
- ⁶ 'Sydney's latest milk bar', *Glass*, vol. 2, no. 3, November 1934, p. 21.
- ⁷ For an insight into Stephen C. Varvaressos see: Alexakis and Janiszewski, pp.84–85.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p.17.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p.16.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.16.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p.14. This quote is an extension from what appears in the acknowledged publication. The full quote has been extracted from a recorded oral history interview conducted by the authors and held in the '*In Their Own Image: Greek-Australians*' National Project Archives, Macquarie University, Sydney: Mary McDermott (née Conway), Nyngan, NSW, 4 October 2002.
- ¹³ For an insight into picture theatre proprietorship by Greeks, see: Alexakis and Janiszewski, *op cit.*, pp. 16–17, 88–91, and p. 24, endnote 37.
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- ¹⁶ Doug Evans, *et al.*, *Kevin Borland: Architecture from the Heart*, RMIT University Press, Melbourne, 2006, p. 56.
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- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p.18
- ²² *Ibid.*, p.18.

'Then, and only then, could we move onto something sweet.' Finding your place, knowing your place, keeping your place - Jacqui Newling

This paper was prepared on Gadigal and Wangal lands. The places in Sydney Living Museums' care are on Aboriginal lands. Sydney Living Museums acknowledges the First Nations Peoples, the traditional custodians, and pays respects to the Elders, past and present, and to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

"The rules had been set long before I came to the district, but [it] was made sure that I understand them! ...

"The tea parties commenced at 3.30 sharp; always on Wednesday afternoons ... [and] everyone would have to take their turn. The hostess's husband would remain present until he had drunk one cup of tea and would then retire to leave the ladies discussing important matters ... The ritual of the food served and the order in which it was served was important and is interesting.

"First of all there was plain bread and butter, thinly sliced, always white, and thinly spread. One could comment on the quality of the butter, it was all home-made, and also comment about the bread if that was also home-made.

"The bread and butter was followed by cucumber or tomato sandwiches in season. Next came sandwiches with a meat filling. If a sheep had been killed the previous day, as was often the case, brain sandwiches were preferred. They were a delicacy and had to be enjoyed. Some sort of dry biscuit, or small cakes with currants or raisins, such as a rock cake, were optional next.

"Then, and only then, could one move on to something sweet.

"Sandwiches, with a filling of perhaps raspberry, blackcurrant jelly, or even fig jam came next. Jams and preserves were made by everyone. Scones straight from the oven came next, with butter only! They were followed by a tart or slice with chocolate or sugar-icing. Only then could you have what you were waiting for – a slice of fruit cake, thinly cut.

"Finally came the *pièce de résistance*, the sponge cake. It would have been made by the maid or the cook. All the [guests] were expected to ooh and aah over its quality and presentation, and they always did. It would be decorated with passion-fruit icing, with a circular slice cut in the middle, kept for the boss, and equal segments already cut, one for each guest.

“After tea, as guests were leaving, they would be shown around the garden, and would take, with permission, any cuttings that took their fancy, and collect any pot plants they might have arranged to exchange.

“The ritual [would] be repeated the following week, elsewhere ...”

Barcoo Rot and other recollections of Jean Thomas (nee Bertram).

Edited by Bertram Thomas from an oral history transcript 1982. B.M. Thomas. 2005.

Whether orchestrated as forms of social expression, expectation, aspiration, necessity or expediency, ritualised and performative culinary practices and routines demonstrate ways in which women expressed, organised and distinguished themselves domestically and socially, as cooks, hosts, guests, friends, family providers and community members. Some women adhered or conceded to social norms and expectations, while others openly defied them. This paper draws from family memoirs — such as the one above — and oral histories, supported by manuscript recipes and community cookbooks, to present four short comparative examples, where food and cooking are forms of self-expression and identity in the home and wider community. Representing women of different social standings and economic means in regional and urban Australian households in the first half of the 20th century, they demonstrate some of the ways in which women created and maintained their place in their homes, communities and broader society through the rituals of cooking, eating and sharing food in the domestic realm.

Jean Thomas, ‘North Down’, northern Tasmania, circa 1927

The extract that begins this paper is taken from a memoir by Queensland-born Jean Thomas (nee Bertram), who moved from “the mainland” to “North Down”, a rural property (now a suburb) in northern Tasmania, as a newlywed in the 1920s. She was in her late twenties, and the ‘rounds’ of afternoon teas no doubt helped her find her place in the community — or perhaps intimidated her into finding one. It is not evident from Jean’s memoir whether she reciprocated in her own home, and if she did, how she fared, but clearly she was expected to adhere to these strict and well-established rules of engagement if she was to be adopted into this social circle. Jean lived in the area until her death in 1989 and includes no note of rebellion in her memoir, so presumably she complied. But her account gives us a glimpse of what was important to women in this place in time, and interestingly and somewhat unusually, shows the place of men in the domestic social setting.

The Thorburn sisters, 'Meroogal', Nowra, NSW.

Meroogal, near Nowra on the New South Wales south coast, was built in 1885 for the four unmarried Thorburn sisters, Belle, Georgie, Kate and Tottie, and their widowed mother, Jessie. The house, complete with many of its contents passed down through generations, is now preserved as a museum under the auspices of Sydney Living Museums.

Many of their domestic and social rituals revolve around food and cooking, to which the family cookbooks – published and handwritten compilations that remain in the house – attest. The women kept chickens for eggs, enjoyed fruit from a small orchard on a neighbouring block, and vegetables from a kitchen garden tended by their Chinese gardener, George, who lodged in quarters at the rear of the house, and took care of heavier tasks such as chopping wood or lumping coal. Genteel but not wealthy, the sisters would rise early to attend to their chores before breakfast – often baked apples in winter – so that their days could be spent in more leisurely and social activities.

The Thorburn women were active members of the local community. Along with more general or spontaneous socialising, once a month on a Monday afternoon they hosted an 'at home' tea party. No invitations were sent out. Family and friends – the local church minister, doctor, solicitor and police magistrate and their wives – knew to come at the designated hour. The sisters rose early as usual, to complete their household chores and baking regime to be ready for their guests in the afternoon. A table was laid with an array of homemade specialties, and the best tea service and prettiest china were used.

Between them the sisters compiled an extensive collection of treasured recipes – some of them passed on by friends or family members – recorded in various hands-on loose pieces of paper or jotted down in any blank space in published cookbooks.



Jessie Catherine Thorburn with her four unmarried daughters at Meroogal, around 1915 / photographer unknown. Caroline Simpson Library and Research Collection Call number 44951. © Sydney Living Museums.

“Signature” recipes were contributed to community and church fundraiser cookbooks, and a number of them were compiled in a series of repurposed ledger books by their niece Helen Macgregor, who moved in to Meroogal to care for her aunts as they aged. One of these ledgers is [accessible online](#). The ledgers contain little pearls such as “always make [shortbread] on a cold day”, and that when castor sugar is needed one could “run [regular] sugar through [the] mangle between strong paper or cloth”. In the fruit cake recipe from Nurse Porteus the need for austerity is evident with the assurance added: “no one ever suspects the dripping” (I cannot concur; perhaps at the time, when people’s palates were more accustomed to dripping, but not when our museum volunteers tried to replicate it). Most recipes are attributed to their original sources – Aunt Kate’s shortbread, Tottie’s wedding cake, Mrs Nisbett’s ginger cake, Mrs Gaffney’s date and nut cake (Tamworth).

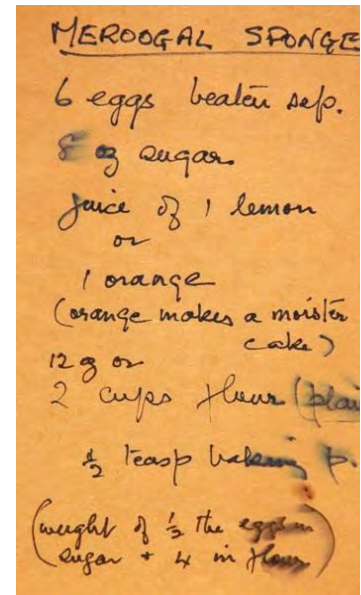
Recipes such as these are testament to food historian Colin Bannerman’s observation that:

“[A good cook’s] reputation would really depend on her cakes, pies and biscuits — the things she would present to callers at afternoon tea or bring to parish suppers, the food of friendship and celebration. These were the recipes she would trade.”¹

They may have been symbols of prowess and pride, but exchanging recipes was (and still is) also a way for women to build and maintain relationships and preserve memories. We’re not sure which Mrs Gaffney it was from Tamworth in northern NSW who provided the date and nut cake recipe, but local newspaper searches have told us that Mrs Nisbett moved to the equally distant Glen Innes when her husband was transferred there as police magistrate.

Taking pride of place on the tea table was the ‘Meroogal sponge’, served perfectly plain, without filling or icing. There are several iterations of it in the family’s recipe collection, and you can see a video of family descendant June Wallace making it in the Meroogal kitchen [here](#).

A sponge cake can these days be purchased for five dollars at a supermarket, and in our current times of friands, macarons and cream cannoli it is hard to imagine impressing one’s guests with a plain sponge. As historian Beverley Kingston reminds us, today a



Meroogal sponge recipe, date unknown. Note there are no making instructions.
© Sydney Living Museums

sponge is a “mere vehicle for elaborate fillings”, but traditionally “the real pleasure of the sponge [is] its crisp outside and light as a feather inside”.² And if we take a moment to think about how the cake was made, we develop a different appreciation of such a simple item.

Tottie and Kate would make the cake together, Tot beating the egg yolks and sugar (with a fork probably, but later, according to an annotation in one recipe, a rotary beater is recommended), while Kate whisked the egg whites on a dinner plate with the blade of a large dinner knife. This required a minimum of twenty minutes, according to family reports. In the current age of Mixmasters and KitchenAids, this technique for whipping egg whites is a lost art, but it was employed by cooks well into the 20th century.

The way we value foods has altered with modern conveniences. We still commend the gesture of home-baked treats, but they take on even greater meaning when we consider the personal investments of time and effort that were once involved in making a plain sponge with eggs from home-raised chickens and cooked in a fuel stove. The Meroogal sponge was a symbol of care and generosity for those it was to be shared with.

Nina Terry (nee Rouse), ‘Rouse Hill’, NSW, 1890s – early 1900s

Nina Terry was born into the well-to-do Rouse family in 1875. She married Samuel Terry in 1895. Her family home is now a museum, known as Rouse Hill House & Farm, housing the possessions left in place by five generations of Rouses and Terrys.

Nina’s mother, Bessie Rouse (nee Buchanan), was an avid entertainer and enjoyed the benefits of a dedicated and accomplished cook, Kate Joyce, who “reigned supreme” in the kitchen, according to a family memoir. Kate had previously cooked for Bessie’s mother, preparing meals for the two families and their guests for almost 50 years.³



Studio portrait of Nina Terry taken by May Moore, around 1920. Rouse Hill Estate collection, © Sydney Living Museums.

When Nina married and moved into the Terry family home at nearby Box Hill, she, too, enjoyed the services of a live-in cook and other domestic servants. But financial difficulties in the early 1920s saw the Terry family move into Nina’s family home at Rouse Hill when her mother died in 1924. Kate Joyce had retired as Bessie’s cook the year before, and

Nina took over the cooking, catering for her father and sister, and her husband and two adult sons, who ran a dairy on the property.⁴

Nina had been interested in cooking from a young age and spent a lot of time in the kitchen with Kate, watching her work; in the early 1890s, perhaps when Nina was preparing to run her own household, Kate taught her to cook. But Nina's decision to take on the role of cook met with her sister Kathleen's disapproval. With the constant demands of the dairy business, Nina was always working, which upset the dignity and restfulness of the domestic sphere for Kathleen and her ageing father. And was it really appropriate for someone with the Rouses' social standing to be taking on such duties? If the domestic help Mary "might be willing to take on some of the cooking and the bit of washing", Kathleen implored in a letter, "Nina would get a rest from the eternal [coming and] going & there would not be meals at all hours in the kitchen".⁵

Nina did not give in to Kathleen's pleas, and in written memoirs and oral histories Nina's granddaughters recall her relatively wholesome style of cooking, all prepared on the fuel stove. Caroline Rouse Thornton writes:

"These days hostesses go to great lengths to make their dishes 'look' appetising and to create exotic dishes. Granny did neither of these things. She used the materials which she had and brought out their flavour in a most delicious way ... they tasted wonderful."⁶

Nina's cooking may have been plain, but her food was rich and high quality, made with home-grown or locally sourced produce – fresh eggs, milk, meat and vegetables. She made the "most delicious beef tea ... ever tasted", rich Yorkshire puddings "made in the proper Yorkshire manner with plenty of meat juices in the batter" and "the most flavoursome gravy". Her sponges were "eggy, light and delicious"; she "missed her vocation: [she] should have been a chef ..."⁷ For her granddaughters' birthdays she would make delicate pink blancmange; the enamel mould remains in situ in the scullery which adjoins the kitchen. If there was no ice available, the pudding was set by dropping it down the well in a bucket and suspending it just above water level where it was coldest.

By taking over the former servant's role in the kitchen, Nina defied the "natural" order, and her birthright as a member of the leisure class, so important in her Victorian upbringing. Instead she claimed her place as a modern 20th-century woman, taking a practical, hands-on and productive role as food provider yet still managing to hold onto social and familial respect as genteel matriarch at Rouse Hill House.

Florence Gallagher and Dorothea Sarantides, 'Susannah Place', The Rocks, Sydney, 1930s and 40s.

In 1944, Florence (Flo) Gallagher, with her husband and toddler, lodged with her grandparents-in-law, John and Adelaide (Ada) Gallagher, who were tenants of 58 Gloucester Street, one of four terrace houses that make up Susannah Place, in Sydney's inner-urban The Rocks. At this time the terraces were 100 years old, and number 58 was (and still is) the only one of the four houses where the kitchen remained in its original location in the basement. The kitchens of the adjoining terraces had been relocated upstairs to street level, occupying one of the two ground floor rooms, or installed on an added rear balcony. Their moves up a level did not necessarily mean "upgrades", and some of the kitchens, including number 58, have never had hot running water.⁸

A videoed recording shows Flo recalling how she and Ada (whom she refers to as 'granny') negotiated the small spaces, including at mealtimes. Ada was a dominant woman and Flo knew her place in the scheme of things.⁹ The women cooked meals separately, but the family ate together at the kitchen table. Flo said:

"[Ada] cooked hers first, then I'd cook mine after ... [I] let them go first, because they owned the place ... We all sat at the table together, I set my end, which was down the door end of the kitchen, and they sat up at the top end where the stove was."¹⁰



Susannah Place, 58-64 Gloucester Street, The Rocks. Photo © James Horan for Sydney Living Museums

Meanwhile, Dorothea Sarantides lived next door at 60 Gloucester Street between 1936 and 1946, with her two adult sons, Emmanuel and Arthur. Dorothea was a Greek immigrant who found refuge in Australia after the political expulsion of Greek citizens from Turkey in the 1920s. Dorothea spoke little English but found sharing food a useful way to get to know her neighbours, from time to time offering traditional homemade Greek-style biscuits over the back fence.

Another former Susannah Place resident, Patricia Thomas, recalls that Dorothea made “lovely biscuits” that were apparently unusual to Australian ones, made with “what we didn’t know at the time were those sesame seeds”. They were cooked on the fuel stove in the back room, which no doubt made the small kitchen and bedroom above cosy in winter but very hot in summer. A single gas ring, said to be “the only modern appliance in the house” was a concession for basic cooking purposes, the gas supplied through a penny-in-the-slot meter.¹¹

These kitchens have been preserved as part of Susannah Place Museum.

The Sarantides’ kitchen (seen videoed [here](#)) is furnished according to descriptions given by Dorothea’s grandson, George Adaley and granddaughter, Kay Kallas, who remembered cooking with their grandmother when they visited her on weekends. Kay has passed on two recipes that she remembers Dorothea making.¹² The basement kitchen serviced several generations of the Gallagher family and their descendants between 1934 and 1974. It is furnished according to oral histories, along with a photograph of John and Ada’s daughter “Girlye” Andersen, taken in the kitchen in the 1950s.¹³



The kitchen at 60 Gloucester Street, The Rocks, as seen today in Susannah Place Museum, representing the Sarantides’ occupation in the 1930s and 40s © James Horan for Sydney Living Museums



The basement kitchen at 58 Gloucester Street, The Rocks, in Susannah Place Museum, representing the Andersen family’s occupation in the 1950s © James Horan for Sydney Living Museums

Taking their place

These few examples illustrate the performances and ritualised practices with which these women constructed and reflected their social identities, and established, asserted or accepted their places in the familial and social ecosystems in their communities, through food. They demonstrate the importance of food in self-expression and identity in the home and the wider community, and in shaping and maintaining structural and organisational codes within complex systems of social and familial connection within and radiating from the domestic sphere.

They also demonstrate the power of memory and legacy. Exchanging recipes helped women establish and maintain social contact and connections. Retaining, reproducing and indeed, cooking from, a shared recipe places its author or donor in the lives of others, even when they were no longer active members of the community. Signature dishes and culinary specialties became mementos of shared tastes and occasions, sometimes securing the original source's place in collective community memory, long after the women themselves had moved on or passed away. There is a great deal of emotional investment in them. Memoirs, oral histories and, indeed, museums ensure that our culinary history and the emotional connections they preserve remain visible and retain their place in our heritage.

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- ³ Caroline Rouse Thornton. *Rouse Hill and the Rouses*. Caroline Thornton Publishing, Australia, 2015. pp. 170, 199
- ⁴ Thornton, p. 273 ⁵ Thornton, pp. 273-274 ⁶ Thornton, p. 200 ⁷ Thornton, pp. 199-200
- ⁸ The basement kitchen in number 58 Gloucester Street was in continuous use for 130 years.
- ⁹ Anna Cossu, curator, Susannah Place Museum
- ¹⁰ Florence Gallagher, oral history <https://vimeo.com/67779846>, accessed 20 December 2018.
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- ¹² Recipes for Susou-ka-ka meatballs, and Kou-ra-piedes shortbread biscuits are published in *Eat your history: stories and recipes from Australian kitchens 1788-1950s*. Sydney Living Museums and NewSouth Publishing, 2015.
- ¹³ The Gallagher/Andersen family's tenure at Susannah Place was 40 years, Girlie's son Ernie Andersen (John and Ada Gallagher's grandson) residing there until 1974, cooking in the basement kitchen, using his mother's 1947 Golden Wattle cookery book.



In conversation. The getting of garlic: Australian food from bland to brilliant - John Newton with Charmaine O'Brien

A history of non-Indigenous Australian food told through a garlic lens. The white colonisers of Australia suffered from Alliumphobia, a fear of garlic. Local cooks didn't touch the stuff and it took 200 years for that fear to lift. This fascinating, and at times controversial, food history of Australia shows we stubbornly held onto British/Anglo Celtic assumptions about produce and cooking for a long time, and these fed our views on racial hierarchies and our place in the world. Before Garlic we had meat and potatoes; After Garlic what we ate got much more interesting. But has a national cuisine emerged? What is Australian food culture?

Our produce and ingredients are more diverse than ever before, our chefs are acclaimed as some of the best in the world and unlike many of our great-grandparents, we are garlic eaters. But has what we eat changed as much as we think?

Charmaine O'Brien will be in conversation with John Newton about how Australia's food has been out of place since European settlement based on his latest book *The Getting of Garlic: Australian food from bland to brilliant*

Haunted by the taste of laksa: Dislocations and relocations in Australia and Canada - Jean Duruz

Abstract

This paper reflects on journeys made on “the laksa trail” – my own in search of nostalgic flavours of a laksa-loving, young adulthood in Australia, and those of immigrant entrepreneurs seeking to re-imagine, through small businesses, their “Asian” culinary cultures in cities of the west. In following laksa’s haunting tastes – its diasporic traces, its intersecting foodscapes, this paper seeks to unravel complex relations of globalisation, culinary nationalism and heritage. Pertinent questions include: how well do historically mixed “fusion” dishes travel from Asia to cities of the west?; can such dishes epitomise both heritage, on one hand, and creative adaptation and entrepreneurialism, on the other?; does this contribution of dislocated and re-invented dishes inevitably mean loss of “authenticity” – a corruption of tradition in the name of fashionable experimentation with ingredients – producing, in Goldstein’s words, “a murky *mélange*” (2005)?

Drawing on the conceptual frameworks of Asian food scholars such as Lily Kong, Chua Beng Huat and Lai Ah Eng, the paper focuses on fragments of narratives of migration and diaspora that involve re-location of laksa and other familiar Singaporean and Malaysian dishes to the street stalls, cafes and restaurants of Adelaide, Australia and Toronto, Canada, respectively. These re-inventions do not simply signal adjustment to unfamiliar places or expressions of creative entrepreneurialism, or even opportunistic adventuring; they also represent significant influences in shaping the foodscapes of multi-ethnic, multi-culinary global cities “out of” Asia. In these journeys of culinary heritage across the globe, it is possible that new “out of place” identities are forged through intersecting imaginaries of “Asian”, “western”, “modern” and “cosmopolitan”. In the process, ingested and remembered tastes of laksa, together with those of other dishes like it, make a distinctive “in place” Asian contribution to meanings of cosmopolitan commensality.

To read a recent paper that, in its first half, contains a summary of some of my research in relation to laksa, please consult the following: Jean Duruz, ‘Kampong French: a tale of doubtful authenticity’, *Portal* 18, 1-2, 2022 (open access).

Frieda Moran - Curry in Australian history: In and out of place

'Eating habits', it has been observed, 'symbolize and mark the boundaries of cultures'; but it should be remembered they also mark the liminal spaces where these delineations break down.¹ Curry in Australian history has occupied this grey area, sometimes positioned as exotic and other, sometimes as ordinary, and often, a bit of both.²

Beginning briefly with an explanation of my conception of curry, I turn to describe the arrival of curry in Australia, and its establishment in local conditions. I will use a 1967 cookery liftout to argue and demonstrate how curry was simultaneously conceptualised as 'in' and 'out' of place in Australia, and examine how South East Asian dishes, under the name 'curry', entered Australian food culture.

Curry is understood here as anything that uses the term – I'm interested in what, in the words of Allen S Weiss, it means for a 'version of a dish to appear at [a particular] time and place'; rather than *what* curry is.³ While its origins are much contested, my understanding of curry is founded in Cecilia Leong-Salobir's argument that the foodstuff emerged through a process of 'negotiation and collaboration' between Anglo Indian and Indigenous Indian populations during British colonial occupation of India.⁴ It has been called the 'master trope' of colonialism and 'a colonial endpoint: everything ended up in it, and it remains infinitely changeable...'.⁵

Curry, as a hybrid dish, presents an exemplar of the multiple negotiations of power and influence in colonial exchanges. From India and Britain to Australia, curry is significant in its ability to illuminate the entanglement of the everyday with important historical issues such as empire, race, class and identity.

Advertisements from newspapers reveal that curry powder was sold in the Australian colonies at least as early as 1813, and 'curry dishes' from 1806.⁶ Curry powder, likely imported from both Britain and India, became a regular feature of 19th century promotions, evidently a selling point. While curry paste arrived in the early 1830s, powder remained Australia's preferred means of currying well into the 20th century.

Demonstrating the extent to which it quickly became a common dish in a burgeoning Australian culinary repertoire, curry was used to absorb unfamiliar indigenous meats. As Barbara Santich has observed, it was an 'agent of transformation': a method and flavour profile used to render the unfamiliar into the familiar, producing culturally acceptable dishes such as 'curried wattlebirds'.⁷ Some notable Australians, such as writer Marcus Clarke and 'culinary crusader' Philip E Muskett, even proposed curry (pre-Federation), as a national

dish and the basis of a 'regenerated food system'.⁸ Curry had a firm place in Australian culture, and was worthy of being considered part of an Australian identity.

Two locally blended curry powders, 'Keen's' and 'Robert Lavers', won 'first class prize' medals at the 1866 Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition, reinforcing curry as a known, familiar and ordinary food.⁹ The exhibition was designed to promote Australian unity through 'capitalism and race', with the federation of the colonies expected to follow closely.¹⁰ That Tasmania and Victoria exhibited the spice blend shows curry as being absorbed into a developing national cuisine, and erodes neat delineations between a white Australia and 'a colonial other'. The presence of curry powder in this site confirms the hybridity and fluidity of developing Australian national identities.

The examples I have given here highlight the extent to which curry was embedded in Australian food culture during the 19th century. I should make it clear, however, that although 'many people [were] fond of curry', as one 1888 'Ladies Column' articulated, 'that popular Indian dish' was never seamlessly 'in place' as other introduced foodstuffs became, for example, tea or spaghetti bolognese.¹¹

Into the 20th Century, curry, in various forms, was present in every one of thirty-seven cookbooks examined. Even when not suggested as a dish, curry powder was still a presumed pantry item, used in preserves such as chutney, or a 'sprinkle' on 'hash on toast'.¹² Most frequently, curry barely rated a second mention: it was known, accepted and widely eaten. Yet at other times, curry was discussed at length: what it was, what it was not, and how it should be served. Meanings attached to curry became more fixed, settling around the identifiable and overlapping themes of: concerns around authenticity; a trend of sweeter curries, and a growing sophistication. Across these themes, ideas of ordinary and exotic manifested to different degrees.

Examining ideas of, and recipes for, curry in the *Australian Women's Weekly* (AWW) through the 1960s - when one in four homes received the magazine and it had an 'immense' impact on food fashions, as Susan Sheridan has argued - shows ideas of curry were stable, and followed an established template for most of the decade.¹³ In 1961, a Leila C Howard 'Curries' page, recipes were reliant on curry powder and used only familiar ingredients, despite anticipating future trends by naming steak curries 'Siam' and 'Cambodian'.¹⁴ Fresh ginger did make more frequent appearances, and by 1963, an 'Indian Curry Buffet' presented quite sophisticated combinations of spices under names such as 'vindaloo'.¹⁵ In 1965, however, curries were again simply 'moist' or 'dry' in a one-page special.¹⁶

But in 1967 a definitive shift is evident. The AWW published a booklet devoted to 'The World's Best Curries'.¹⁷ By deconstructing this document, I will draw out several themes

that characterised how meanings of curry were both 'in' and 'out' of place in Australian food culture, and show a broadening of the Australian conception of curry.

From the outset, curry is visually positioned as exotic and other. The cover is dominated by an ornate brass serving dish, laden with curry. Rich, golden tones saturate the photograph; the background is split between an opulent drape and a white tiger skin. Inside, a section entitled, 'How to Eat Curries', implies special cultural knowledge was required to consume the foodstuff: - 'for Westerners...a fork and spoon is best - not just a fork'.¹⁸ While representing curries as foreign and distinct, the lift-out nonetheless displays distinctive hallmarks of how curry had been interpreted and embedded within Australian culinary culture.

Here, I'm interested in the commonalities and differences with other curry recipes published in Australia. Ingredients demonstrated a growing sophistication, using many individual spices, both fresh and dry, as well as curry powder and paste, although only as a 'starter'.¹⁹ 'Malaysian Lobster Curry' included the common Australian (and British) addition of fruit jam or jelly, in this case plum.²⁰ A twist on an Australian favourite, the curried potato salad, blends curry powder with French dressing.²¹ The 'Ceylonese Fruit Curry', with tinned pineapple, currants, sultanas, banana and apple, was characteristic of the trend towards 'sweet' Australian curry recipes, in both popular and high culture.²² Indeed, a similar recipe, but with meat, was aptly deemed the 'Australian Curry' in one community cookbook from 1981.²³

Another favourite method of the British and Australian colonists, using curry to 'Transform Leftovers', is given a section, featuring red currant jelly in both recipes.²⁴ Suggested accompaniments range from Bombay duck and sambols to bacon bits and crushed potato chips.²⁵

The curry liftout concludes with an advertisement for Keen's Curry, a product first blended in Tasmania during the 1860s.²⁶ The orange tin surrounded by spices, fruit, and rice, reassuring readers of the acceptability of its 'rich true Indian flavour', in an increasingly complex culinary world. Like many of the recipes, Keen's offered a bridge between the exotic and the familiar: a connector, if you like: a way 'in' to culture. Stepping back, the booklet opened with a country by country guide, 'where they originated', written by 'Tiger' Ady of Sydney restaurant 'Bengali', giving detailed cultural and historical information on food practices in countries such as Burma, Malaysia and Thailand.²⁷

The booklet signalled a shift in ideas of curry in Australia. Influenced by a vast array of factors, the nation was increasingly engaged with its Asian neighbourhood, resulting in a broadening of culinary culture. Part of this was the incorporation of dishes from cuisines

other than India, under the label 'curry' - think Thai Green and Rendang. In this way, the history of curry in Australia diverged from that of Britain's. To a degree, this naming of South East Asian dishes as 'curry' reflects an imprecise colonial 'flattening' of foreign cuisines.²⁸ As suggested, however, Australians had, when they did discuss it, conceptualised curry as tied to India, if not British India, at least until the second half of the 20th century.

More important in this shift, I argue, was the publication of two cookbooks concerning curry in Australia, and the *AWW* liftout, exemplifying a heightened engagement with South-East Asia. The first, in 1968 by Doris M Ady (the wife of Tiger Ady), was entitled *Curries from the Sultan's Kitchen*; the second, more renown, in 1972, was by Charmaine Solomon: the *South East Asian Cook Book*, in which curries were also central. These cookbooks were accompanied and followed by other forms of print media, disseminating knowledge about regional Asian culinary culture more broadly.

The changing nature of Australian society and food culture was observed by Ady: Her book was written for the 'Australian and New Zealand housewife...[who] has received strangers from all over the world into her family circle, and has been quick to profit from the experience.' Ady hoped her work would 'open up to her the infinite connotations of the word 'curry', and introduce to her the art of spice cooking'.²⁹

Solomon articulated her conception of curry, '[a]verage Westerners, asked what food they associate with India, will name curry. But every spiced dish is not a curry, and curry is not just one dish', and warned against throwing 'everything' (namely fruits) in.³⁰ She went onto describe other food cultures from the region, for instance: 'A Burmese meal is most often plain white rice served with curries and balachaung', although '[c]urry powders are unknown in Burmese cooking.'³¹

These women, and Tiger Ady, were important mediators of cultural knowledge pertaining to South Asian foods, and constructed rules around Australian conceptions of curry, asserting what was appropriate, and what was not. Both women spent formative years in Burma, Ceylon and India, before immigrating to Australia.³² Evident in their recipes, these backgrounds significantly demonstrate the permeability of national boundaries to flows of people, but particularly to food culture, and go some way towards assisting in accounting for the incorporation of various cultures' dishes as 'curry' in Australia. Examining the works of Solomon and Ady in relation to the liftout, - which included Thai, Indonesian, Malay and Burmese curries - reveals that curry was used to introduce Australians to the food cultures of Southeast Asia. It was a familiar concept, used to popularise new flavours, ingredients and cuisines. Curry was again a stepping stone, itself a connector, assisting in making unfamiliar foods accessible.

The incorporation of South East Asian dishes, under the name curry, illustrates the complex ways the food was simultaneously thought of as a part of, but also removed from Australian food culture. While named and thought of as from another place, these curries have been adopted, and are now commonly perceived as belonging. Curry here, as it has been for most of Australian history, is thus at once 'in' and 'out' of place.

Notes

¹ Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (London, Harvard University Press, 1998), 8.

²This paper is derived from Frieda Moran, 'Ordinary and Exotic: A Cultural History of Curry in Australia,' (Honours thesis, University of Tasmania, 2018).

³ Allen S. Weiss, 'Authenticity,' *Gastronomica* 11.4 (2001), 77.

⁴ Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (London: Routledge, 2011), 1.

⁵ Arjun Appadurai, 'How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30.1 (1988), 3-24; Naben Ruthnum, *Curry: Eating, Reading and Race* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2017), 15.

⁶ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 4 December 1813, 2; *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 20 July 1806, 1; Jacqui Newling has observed an earlier reference to curry, served in 1810 at the Government House in Sydney. Jacqui Newling, 'Currying Favour on Australia's Tables: The Transformation of an Imperial Staple,' *History: Magazine of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 132 (2017), 16.

⁷ Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss asserted 'the cooked is the cultural transformation of the raw.' Claude Levi-Strauss, 'Culinary triangle,' *New Society* 8.221 (1966), 937-40; Barbara Santich, 'Nineteenth-Century Experimentation and the Role of Indigenous Foods in Australian Food Culture,' *Australian Humanities Review* 51 (2011), 73; 'Curried Wattlebirds' appear in Pearson, *Australian Cookery*, 40.

⁸ Marcus Clarke, 'Something to Eat,' *Herald* 3 February 1874, 1; Philip E. Muskett (1892) *The Art of Living in Australia: Together with Three Hundred Australian Cookery Recipes and Accessory Kitchen Information by Mrs. H. Wicken* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2016), 104.

⁹ Intercolonial Exhibition 1866, 'Official Catalogue.' 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Wilkie, Welch and Co., 1866), 77.

¹⁰ The 1866 Intercolonial exhibition predominately brought together the Australian colonies, but also featured exhibits from New Zealand, New Caledonia, Mauritius, and Batavia, Emily Harris, 'Race and Australian National Identity at the 1866-7 Intercolonial Exhibition,' in Darien-Smith and others, eds., *Seize the Day: Exhibitions, Australia and the World* (Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2008), 03.11.

¹¹ *The Prahran Telegraph* 3 Nov 1888, 5; Adele Wessell, 'There's No Taste like Home: The Food of Empire,' in Kate Darien-Smith, et. al., eds., *Exploring the British World: Identity, Cultural Production, Institutions* (Melbourne: RMIT Publishing, 2004), 815.

¹² Dilston Country Women's Association's *Dilston Cookery Book* (Launceston: Foot & Playsted, 1940); The Armed Services Nurses' Welfare Association of Tasmania's *Austerity Cookery Book* (Launceston: Telegraph Printers, 1943).

¹³ Susan Sheridan, 'Eating the Other: Food and Cultural Difference in the *Australian Women's Weekly* in the 1960s,' *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 21.3 (2000), 320.

¹⁴ *Australian Women's Weekly*, 14 June 1961, 45.

¹⁵ *Australian Women's Weekly*, 27 November 1963, 48.

¹⁶ *Australian Women's Weekly*, 3 February 1965, 45.



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- ¹⁷ 'The World's Best Curries: From Our Leila Howard Test Kitchen,' *Australian Women's Weekly*, 8 March 1967.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 9.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 10.
- ²³ Catholic Women's League of Tasmania, *Cookery Book* (Launceston: Regal Press, 1981), 5.
- ²⁴ 'World's Best Curries,' 13.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, backcover.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ²⁸ Lauren Janes, *Colonial Food in Interwar Paris: The Taste of Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 118.
- ²⁹ Doris M. Ady, *Curries from the Sultan's Kitchen: Recipes from India Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon* (Sydney: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1968), 9.
- ³⁰ Charmaine Solomon, (1972) *South East Asian Cookbook* (Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1976), 10, 101.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ³² Ady, *Curries from the Sultan's Kitchen*, backcover; Charmaine Solomon, *South East Asian Cookbook*, 107; Frances Bonner, 'The Mediated Asian-Australian Food Identity: From Charmaine Solomon to *Masterchef Australia*,' *Media International Australia* 157 (2015), 103.

Barbecue: An American Tradition out of a Global Cuisine -Jennifer Bailey

Barbecue is seen by many Americans as an American institution: it is as American as baseball or apple pie. But what is barbecue? The northern United States of America tends to use barbecue more as a verb (anything can be barbecued so long as it has sauce and is on a grill), while the southern United States has significant regional distinctions as to what does and does not constitute barbecue. Additionally, nearly every meat-eating society has a form of meat slow roasted over fire, so why do Americans hold it closely as part of their identity? And where does barbecue as Americans know it come from? This paper will address both of those questions and fit American barbecue into the global family of barbecue.

The name barbecue comes from *barbacoa*, the word Spaniards used to describe the open-fire method of cooking meat used by the Taíno people of the Caribbean. In the American South this cooking term came to describe the cooking method frequently used for pigs. Throughout the 1800s, pigs were a fairly easy and cheap food source for those in the rural South. After the American Civil War, barbecue was popular among many lower income families, especially recently freed slaves. Many of these individuals went on to open up barbecue stands and by the 1950s many cities had African-American-run barbecue joints. Despite starting off as a cheap cooking method predominantly utilized by a marginalized group, barbecue has become widely popular in the United States.

Personal Background and Biases Acknowledgement

As I briefly addressed before, barbecue is a multifaceted word that has a wide range of uses and many people have strong opinions as to the correct use and meaning of the word. Therefore I am going to provide some of my own background to help mitigate some of the biases I may have on the definition and use of barbecue.

To understand my initial concept of barbecue, I discussed my parents' exposure to and understanding of barbecue with my mom. (My dad passed away a couple of years ago, so I was unable to specifically ask him, but included some of the facets of his life experience growing up that probably influenced him.) My mom spent the majority of her childhood in West Virginia. Her mother had spent much of her childhood in St. Louis, Missouri, but did not do much in the kitchen or with food preparation in general. My mom's father grew up on a farm in western Minnesota. He was always saving and copying recipes and did most of the cooking for the family. He was the one who barbecued (grilled) in my mom's family while she was growing up. My mom noted that they did not just refer to meat grilled with sauce as barbecue, but the grill itself was also called a barbecue. She also remembered being surprised when moving to Detroit, Michigan, that pulled pork was barbecue.

My dad primarily grew up in Northern California. His mother grew up in Missouri (both rural parts and St. Louis) and his father was from Fresno, California. As with my mom, in general grilling was barbecue in my dad's family. However, she does not think he had a moment where he was surprised at a particular concept of barbecue. His family travelled a fair amount and was very active in the community, providing a larger experience and exposure to more ideas. Although he probably had a broader definition of barbecue than my mom, his primary personal definition was more in line with grilling out in the backyard.

My interest in the general topic of barbecue stems from growing up in the Midwest, barbecuing (grilling) throughout the summer, and then living in East Tennessee for six years during and just after my undergraduate study. While living in East Tennessee, I also spent a fair amount of time in Memphis and eastern North Carolina. Although I typically referred to grilling out as barbecuing while growing up, and I recall calling the grill a barbecue grill, I do not remember being surprised by the more specific concept of barbecue I encountered when moving to Tennessee. This probably comes from growing up in Detroit as well as my dad's broader definition of the term. What did stand out to me while I lived in Tennessee was the distinct regional differences throughout the South as to what constituted barbecue.

Defining Barbecue

Barbecue is a food that both unifies and polarizes the United States. It has been part of American society and culture since the colonial era. One could argue that ever since the inception of barbecue, it has been continually enjoyed and debated. Robert Moss (2010, 1) states at the beginning of his book, "Americans love barbecue. They love to eat it, argue about it, and read about it." Part of this debate stems from defining barbecue and the other from defending particular views of what constitutes barbecue.

Nearly all societies cook meat over an open flame or have a culinary history utilizing such a method. So the question becomes, what makes barbecue distinctively barbecue? For simplicity's sake, I am going to primarily look at the inception of the word barbecue, how it has been used and how people tend to agree to use it today.

Since food history has not been a very widely researched topic, there is speculation behind the origin of the word barbecue. The two most agreed upon origins either derive barbecue from the French *barbe à queue*, which means "beard to tail," or the Spanish *barbacoa* that came from a term the Taíno Arawak people utilized (Deutsch and Elias 2014, 13-15). The French version is especially argued in circles that advocate "whole

hog” barbecue. This means that to be considered barbecue you cook the whole animal, nose (or beard) to tail. This origin can be popular in the Carolinas for that reason (Reed, Reed, and McKinney 2008, 16). The Oxford English Dictionary dismisses the influence of *barbe à queue* as “absurd conjecture suggested merely by the sound of the word” (Moss 2010, 8). It is more likely that the English *barbecue* comes from the Spanish *barbacoa*. Many sources, including Bendele (2009, 88) and Warnes (2008, 22), tout that the first appearance of the word *barbacoa* was in Spanish historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés’s 1526 piece, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*.

Oviedo was describing a scene on the Isthmus of Panama. He described indigenous people using raised stick framework structures to store grain and cook food (Bendele 2009, 88). There is debate over whether he was referring to the structure or the method of slowly smoking and cooking meat. Warnes (2008, 22-23) argues that the term was probably for the structure that was utilized for roasting meat, storing grains, and as a sleeping platform. Warnes goes on to try to prove that the term was stripped of its original meaning and applied to the cooking method as a way to tie barbarism to the New World and the people who lived there.

Jonathan Deutsch and Megan Elias (2014, 8-9) created a chart that breaks down the appropriate uses and misuses of the term barbecue. I will include some of that information here to help better define the word for use throughout the rest of the paper. Barbecue can be used as a noun, verb, or adverb. Acceptable uses as a noun include a food prepared by slow smoke roasting, a gathering where barbecued food is served, and a grill or piece of equipment that is used to cook barbecued food. The acceptable use as a verb is to cook by slow smoke roasting. Acceptable adjective usage includes something that has been cooked by slow smoke roasting or something seasoned with smoke or spices referencing barbecue flavors. Incorrect use as a verb is to describe cooking by direct grilling – for instance, you would grill hamburgers, not barbecue them. And incorrect use as an adjective is to describe food that has been cooked by direct grilling. Deutsch and Elias (2014, 9-11) go on to defend their acceptable uses of barbecue, by further clarifying that barbecue is a combination of slow heat, smoke, and roasting. Anything additional is just window dressing and regional preferences while anything less is not barbecue.

History of Barbecue in the United States

Barbecue has always been more than just food in the United States. Even in the colonial era it quickly became an integral part of American social and political life, especially in the South and West. In 1707, Edward Ward published a pamphlet entitled, “The Barbacue [*sic*] Feast: or, the three pigs of Peckham, broiled under an apple-tree.” The pamphlet

described a feast of slow roasted pigs, prepared and consumed by English colonists in Peckham, Jamaica (Moss 2010, 5-6). This is the earliest known account of barbecue in the English language (Warnes 2008, 54).

Throughout the eighteenth century, barbecues were rather commonplace in New England. Most references to these are in private diaries of the time, some of which expand more than others on the nature of barbecue. In 1759, the community of Falmouth, Maine celebrated the fall of Quebec City in the French and Indian War with a barbecue on one of the harbour islands. This island is now known as Hog Island because of the barbecue (Moss 2010, 11). Although there are a variety of references to barbecues in New England during this period, they are rarely seen in this region after the Revolutionary War, especially when compared to other regions (Moss 2010, 11).

Barbecue seemingly took off in Virginia during the colonial time period. A number of factors could have influenced this, however, it certainly helped that there was a massive pig population in Virginia. Between five hundred and six hundred pigs were brought by Virginia Company ships and with a gestation period of four months, the pig population skyrocketed (Moss 2010, 12). At this point, the choice of meat for barbecue was not as contentious as it is now. The colonists used whatever was readily accessible, or whatever they had on hand. However, the records available that describe barbecue in more detail, frequently mention pigs (Moss 2010, 16). That tradition is why pork is the meat of choice for a large portion of barbecue aficionados today.

Virginia was the home of the first political barbecue. Elections in colonial Virginia were infrequent: they only occurred when the governor dissolved the Assembly or a member quit or died (Sydnor 1965, 26-29 and Isaac 1982, 111). To choose representatives, eligible voters would gather from miles around at the county courthouse. Office seekers would "treat" the voters with liquor and food. Eventually this evolved into providing barbecue for the voters (Sydnor 1965, 51). During the 1758 House of Burgesses election, George Washington spent £39.6s to treat voters (Beeman 1992, 148). At this juncture, so long as spending was not extravagant, treating was not seen as bribing voters.

There were several barbecues in Carolina cities at this time. These were primarily a form of entertainment for the well-to-do (Moss 2010, 18). There were not many barbecues in more rural parts of the Carolinas until the 1770s due to limited populations and a lack of safety and stability. Following the Revolutionary War, barbecues became a popular, and eventually traditional, way to celebrate the Fourth of July. Due to their connection with elections and ability to bring people together, barbecues became the "quintessential form of democratic public celebration" (Moss 2010, 24). By the 1800s, Fourth of July celebrations were formal and rather standardized across the country. This included

barbecues, even in regions of the United States not frequently associated with barbecue. Political and patriotic speeches were made at these Fourth of July barbecues. Many individuals who participated in these orations soon experienced an uptick in their businesses or, if they were politically involved, usually found political advancement shortly after the barbecue (Audubon 1926, 241). This helped continue the trend of political barbecues. However, by 1818 candidates were no longer treating their voters to barbecue. Instead, they were guests at voters' barbecues (Moss 2010, 39).

The 1820s were known as the "Era of Good Feelings," and was predominantly a time of one-party rule. But the 1830s saw the rise of the political party system in the United States, due to growing opposition to a variety of Andrew Jackson's policies. The end of the 1820s also saw a large spike in eligible voters and by Jackson's term, almost all white male Americans were eligible to vote (Moss 2010, 42-43). Campaign barbecues began involving more than food and drink; they were integral contributors to the process of informed democracy. By comparison, the colonial political barbecues were rough and rowdy. In the 1830s, these became far more respectable and focused on bringing the community together. They were an essential part of political life in the early nineteenth century.

By the 1840s, a reliable picture of a barbecue from the era can be formed from the various contemporary published descriptions. Preparation and setup took several days, including bringing animals to the site to slaughter and digging a pit to cook them in. In the South, pits were tended by slaves. Occasionally, a white man might supervise the pit; however, it was usually an older slave who was well known for his barbecue mastery (Moss 2010, 49). The mid-nineteenth century saw a rise in women attending barbecues as they became the main form of public celebration.

Slave owners used barbecues as a means of control. Many owners gave their slaves Fourth of July and Christmas barbecues as a reward for their labor. This helped perpetuate the image of the benevolent master that was part of the Southern psyche (Moss 2010, 63). Some masters allowed their slaves to hold their own barbecues for recreation. However, these barbecues became integral for some slave uprisings as they provided inconspicuous means for slaves to get together, interact, and exchange ideas and eventually most were stopped, aside from the holiday barbecues. Gabriel's Rebellion in Henrico County, Virginia, was one of the more well-known slave uprisings that utilized barbecues as a means to plan the rebellion (Foner 2006, 259).

Around this time, barbecues were also used as an incentive for collaborative work. This could be corn husking, followed by a barbecue, or other work such as hog killing and cotton picking. Louis Hughes, author of *Thirty Years a Slave*, described a plantation

barbecue in his memoir: “Barbecue originally meant to dress and roast a hog whole but has come to mean the cooking of a food animal in this manner for the feeding of a great company. A feast of this kind was always given to us, by Boss, on the 4th of July. The anticipation of it acted as a stimulant through the entire year” (Hughes 1897, 46).

Barbecues played a vital role in building railroads. The railroad promoters would throw a barbecue to attract people to rallies to support building the railroads. The main goal was to convince people to buy shares of stock in the railroad companies at these barbecues. People were not only motivated by a return investment, but also by the hope that railroads would improve land value, open new markets, and increase trade (Moss 2010, 73). The railroad barbecue was a staple of civic life in the 1840s and 1850s throughout the South and Midwest.

Barbecue continued to move west as the United States expanded and reached California by the 1850s. The United States as a whole has always been a rather diverse melting pot. This was especially apparent at an 1856 Republican barbecue held in Oakland, California. The political speeches at this barbecue were delivered in English, French, German, and Spanish (Lowell 1856, 2).

As tensions about slavery rose in the months leading up to the Civil War and during the subsequent years of the war, barbecues took on a new purpose. Barbecues became a recruiting ground for soldiers. The Confederacy also used barbecues to send off troops and welcome them home (Moss 2010, 94). These barbecues were organized by women in the community and likely had male slaves tending the pits.

After the Civil War, the traditional Fourth of July barbecue lost prominence as the main form of celebration in the white communities in the South and did not regain its previous stature until the start of the Spanish-American War. The Fourth of July barbecue remained a key event in Southern African American social life following the Civil War.

After the Civil War, Emancipation Day celebrations became a major event in the social lives of African Americans. These celebrations tended to be more common in the South, with barbecue and the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation playing key roles. Each state had different days that they celebrated, although many were in early June. At many Emancipation Day celebrations, prominent white citizens were invited to give speeches on citizenship and self-improvement (Moss 2010, 98-99). Texas had large celebrations across the state and in 1980 became the first state to declare Emancipation Day an official state holiday. In 1893 in Texas, and eventually throughout the United States, Emancipation Day became commonly known as Juneteenth, since it was usually celebrated on the 18th or 19th of June in Texas. In 1863, the Democratic Party started

hosting large barbecues specifically to try to win African American voters from the Republican Party. These were especially popular in places such as Yalobusha County, Mississippi, where the black voter population was significantly higher than the white voting population (Hamill 1904, 59-60).

The 1880s saw some of the first instances of barbecue being sold for profit, with barbecue stands popping up at fairs and other festivals. Previously, when there was a fee for barbecue it covered the cost of animals and side dishes in instances when it was not a communal barbecue at which people donated goods. Even so, these new, for-profit barbecue stands frequently accepted a ticket admission for all the barbecue an individual could eat (Thompson 1939, 415).

The end of the nineteenth century was when pitmasters first became well-known for their barbecue skills. Many were only well-known in their community, but some reached national fame. These individuals' influence also helped begin to define barbecue by region (Moss 2010, 107). Sheriff John W. Callaway of Wilkes County, Georgia, was well known for his skill managing the pit and also preparing a side of "hash" which was similar to Brunswick Stew. In the late 1880s he was touted to "know more about barbecue than any man in the country" and in 1895, was called "the patron saint of barbecue as it is known in Georgia" (Moss 2010, 109). North Carolina had Frank T. Meacham and by 1922, he was so well known that a Farm Bureau barbecue was announced to be prepared "a la Meacham style" (Moss 2010, 114).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a barbecue revival seemed to hit the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states. There were several articles in *Harper's Weekly* lauding the accolades of Southern barbecue and declaring it an institution of the South (Moss 2010, 124-125). Even though, at this point barbecue was an integral part of social life for those living in the South, Midwest, Southwest, and Pacific Coast. The renewed attention that northern and British authors gave barbecue stemmed from a "highly romanticized view of the old South" (Moss 2010, 125). *Harper's Weekly* contributor, Maude Andrews, wrote, "The Georgia barbecue is one of the few remaining feasts of *antebellum* days left to the present generation - a feast typical, indeed, of the lavishness of living peculiar to the old South - a lavishness, not elegant perhaps, often barbaric, indeed, but proffered with the generosity and magnificence of monarchs" (Andrews 1895, 1072). This romanticized view was further perpetuated through a variety of fictional accounts of the time, including Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* and the subsequent movie adaptation.

Barbecue restaurants began appearing at the turn of the twentieth century. Their origins were varied: some grew out of backyard operations, others popped up next to new

roadways, and others arrived in vacant city lots (Moss 2010, 126). The similarities lay in the trajectory they followed, typically from an informal trade to a permitted business, usually in areas where there were a lot of people who lacked access to other food.

The country's population began migrating to urban centers. Originally, in more rural environments, it required a special occasion to gather people together to roast a pig. Towns and cities could attract enough people to make daily barbecue operations feasible. "As barbecue became a business, things became more standardized" (Moss 2010, 130). The barbecue restaurant helped create the regional differences we see in barbecue today. Typically proprietors would make use of the most readily available meat, which is why pork is popular in North Carolina and beef in Texas. Side dishes, too, became more regionally specific. This was in part due to a lack of refrigeration and standardization from one person preparing the sides as opposed to the whole community bringing random dishes together to form a meal. Another aspect that shaped regional differences in barbecue was the informal apprenticeship system. Young boys would go work for a local pitmaster to learn the art of barbecue and then, eventually open their own place and train the next generation of apprentices.

There were a variety of driving forces behind the growth of barbecue restaurants in the United States. One was meeting the public's demand for a filling, inexpensive meal. Businesses enabled independence and self-sufficiency which many found appealing, especially African Americans, who did not have as many other appealing work options (Moss 2010, 167). With automobiles more accessible to the general public and automobile touring taking off in the 1920s, roadside barbecue stands quickly sprang up. Barbecue was ideal for the roadside stands since it did not require expensive equipment and was easy to serve and take away. Smoke from a barbecue pit was the only advertisement needed (Brown & Brown 1937, 28): a hungry traveller need only follow their nose.

As soldiers came back from WWII they began buying homes under the GI Bill. People began spending leisure time in their backyards and even began entertaining there (Deutsch and Elias 2014, 45). This began the rise of the "backyard barbecue", which was also called "grilling out" or "cooking out" (Moss 2010, 177). Between the 1930s and 1960s, grilling became a staple of suburban life in the United States and led to some of the confusion behind the meaning of the word barbecue.

California became the first place to fully adopt utilizing an outdoor grill in daily life. It helps that the weather on the West Coast is conducive to outdoor cooking much of the year. California's *Sunset Magazine* created *Sunset's Barbecue Book* in 1938, that fully discussed barbecue and included a spread of brick barbecue designs (Moss 2010, 178).

The magazine also described barbecue as an important part of the California lifestyle, because it allowed the individual to “get away from the daily routine” and awaken “impulses that hark back to pioneer days” (Moss 2010, 178). Men who had been socialized to be uncomfortable in formal gatherings could play at “savagery” by using flames to cook meat and their bare hands to eat in a socially acceptable fashion (Deutsch and Elias 2014, 45). Hamburgers and hotdogs were popular at backyard cookouts because they were cheaper than steak and people still had many of the war year economies ingrained in their household purchasing (Lovegren 1995, 121). The following years led to an increase in personal grilling equipment for the home and eventually the commercialization of barbecue sauce.

Political barbecues reached an all-time high when Lyndon B. Johnson was in office. He hosted around one hundred barbecues at his Texas ranch. Some of the guests included Chancellor Ludwig Erhard of West Germany, President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz of Mexico, and Prime Minister Levi Eshkol of Israel (Moss 2010, 212).

The rise of the fast-food industry in the 1960s slowly began pushing barbecue to the margins of the roadside food scene. Wood is harder for traditional barbecue stands to come by. It is difficult to source the amount of wood needed and the cost can be prohibitive (Moss 2010, 224). As the meat industry industrialized and became more nationalized, it became harder to acquire low-demand cuts. This led most restaurants in the 1970s to either drop pit-cooked barbecue or to exclusively focus on it.

Around this time there was also a shift in the American lexicon. Prior to the mid-20th century anything barbecued was slow cooked over an open fire. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the focus moved to the sauce and anything with barbecue sauce was considered barbecue (Moss 2010, 227).

Barbecue competitions are a facet that, at least in the United States, and have been tied to barbecue possibly since its inception. However, they really took off on a national level with the Memphis in May World Championship Barbecue Cooking Contest that first took place in 1978. Barbecue competitions add a variety of different aspects to the conversation of barbecue. There is a lot that can be unpacked from the rules, sponsorships, and culture surrounding the competitions. However, there is enough additional information that I will not delve into it further here, as that could be an additional paper.

Regional Differences of Barbecue in the United States

Each region in the United States has specific ways to prepare and consume what they consider barbecue. The information that follows is a rather broad picture of each region's concept of barbecue. It mostly focuses on meats and sauces as opposed to some of the sides such as burgoo stew.

North Carolina has two distinctive styles of barbecue; the "Eastern Style" that runs along the Atlantic coast and the "Lexington" or "Piedmont" Style. Eastern Style is chopped whole hog barbecue served with a vinegar and pepper sauce. It is served with the cracklin' (crispy pig skin) to provide a distinct textural variation (Solares 2016). The Piedmont is a plateau that lies between the Atlantic coastal plain and the Appalachian Mountains that runs from New Jersey to Alabama. In North Carolina Piedmont refers to the Piedmont Triad, which refers to the three major cities that are in the Northeast region of North Carolina and lie on the plateau (Godfrey 1997). Lexington refers to a city in North Carolina in this region. Either of these names can be used to reference pork shoulder barbecue with a sauce of tomatoes, vinegar, and pepper (Solares 2016).

South Carolina is known for its whole hog barbecue served with a mustard sauce, commonly referred to as "Carolina Gold" (Solares 2016). Although barbecue purists make their own, Carolina Gold can be found in local grocery stores and online. Charleston to Columbia is predominantly the mustard sauce region in South Carolina. Eastern parts of the state serve barbecue more similar to North Carolina Eastern Style and in the west one can find Lexington Style.

Tennessee is divided into East Tennessee barbecue and Memphis Style. East Tennessee serves chopped whole hog and pork shoulder with a vinegar-based sauce. Memphis, Tennessee is known for its "dry" or "wet" ribs. Dry ribs are coated in a rub (mix of herbs and spices) and then smoked. Wet ribs are basted during smoking and served covered with a tomato-based sauce.

Kentucky, particularly western Kentucky, is known for mutton barbecue. The Tariff of 1816 made wool production very profitable in that part of the country and the sheep population rapidly increased (Riches 2019). Aging sheep that no longer produced quality wool were typically too tough and considered too strong to eat. However, the slow roasting barbecue method, along with the smoke and sauce turned the mutton into a delicious regional dish. This type of barbecue is served with a "dip" (sauce) of a Worcestershire sauce base. This type of barbecue is especially popular around Owensboro, KY.

Kansas City, Missouri is willing to put almost anything in a barbecue pit. Pork, beef, chicken, fish, and beans can all be found in the barbecue pit (Solares 2016). Burnt ends, or double-smoked caramelized hunks of brisket, originated in Kansas City. In the 1920's Arthur Bryant developed a now well-known molasses and tomato-based sauce that many barbecue aficionados have tried to recreate.

Texas has three main styles of barbecue. Central Texas Style is the most well-known and came from the German and Czech meat markets of the 19th century (Moss 2010, 159-65). The Central Texas style took traditional central European butchery techniques and combined them with readily available meat and wood to establish their method. They predominantly used oak and cooked beef brisket, sausages, and occasionally short ribs (Solares 2016). Central Texas frequently will not utilize a sauce. When sauce is used it's a "mop sauce." Mop sauce is a thin sauce glaze that is applied with a mop to add flavor and moisture to the meat as it cooks (Houck 2016). Mop sauce is typically beef stock, vinegar, Worcestershire sauce, and a blend of spices.

In eastern Texas, pork is popular, as are typical Southern barbecue traditions. In the west and southwest of Texas there's a large influence from the cowboy tradition and traditionally Mexican styles of barbecue. These methods are typically direct grilling as opposed to smoking (Solares 2016).

Northern Alabama is known for Alabama white sauce. Alabama white sauce is a mix of mayonnaise, vinegar, and pepper and is typically served with smoked chicken (Houck 2016). Occasionally this sauce is served with pork.

Global Barbecue

The world of barbecue is practically endless. There are only three main cooking steps, and a wide array of meat, spices, and fuel can be used. Deutch and Elias (2014, 70-71) provide a simple breakdown of this cooking method. First, pre-season the meat with a spice rub, paste, marinade, or brine. Second, several hours after pre-seasoning, slowly smoke roast (barbecue) the item until fork tender. Third, during or after cooking, baste, mop, dip, or glaze with a sauce to add moisture and flavor. However, only the second step is required to technically be barbecue.

Every meat-eating region of the world has a version of barbecue. Some of the better known, culturally significant barbecues follow. Several countries in southern Africa utilize the Afrikaans term *braai* or *braaivleis*. Similarly to barbecue, *braai* does not mean one specific thing. It is utilized like barbecue; however, it can also indicate direct grilling (Deutch & Elias 2014, 72). *Coupé-coupé* is a similar catchall term utilized in Central Africa.

China had a long history of barbecued meats, however today many are roasted in a gas or electric oven. *Siu mei* is the Chinese all-encompassing term for barbecue, however, they have many specific terms to indicate exactly to what they are referring (Deutch & Elias 2014, 76). For instance, *char siu* is barbecued boneless pork from the collar or shoulder, marinated in a sauce. Mongolian barbecue was a popular restaurant item in the 1970's and '80s, however, it is neither Mongolian nor barbecue. Instead it is a dish of stir-fried meat and vegetables.

The tandoor ovens found in central Asia and parts of the Middle East can produce barbecue. The cooking done in these ovens is typically slow cooked over coals. However, due to the short distance from the coals, some consider this to be more similar to grilling than barbecue (Deutch & Elias 2014, 81).

Planking is a traditional barbecue method of U.S. and Canadian First Nations. This is when meat is placed on a soaked plank of wood and then smoked and steamed over the fire (Deutch & Elias 2014, 81). Traditionally this would have been salmon on cypress or cedar in the Pacific Northwest and shad on the east coast.

Barbacoa is popular in Mexico. This term comes from the Spanish word used to describe the Arawak cooking method. Mexican *barbacoa* is meat cooked in a hole dug in the ground (Deutch & Elias 2014, 82). The *asado* found in South America is a large fire where whole or half animals are split and placed on stakes to cook over several hours. The Hawaiian *kalua* is a pit roasted pig and is popular at a variety of feasts and holidays. Many Pacific Islanders have similar cooking methods.

Australia is often associated with barbecue. However, what it is most associated with is the quick grilling method that was shown in a 1980's Australian Tourism Commission advertisement (Deutsch & Elias 2014, 93). This advertisement depicted actor Paul Hogan offering to "slip an extra shrimp on the barbie" for visitors. The New Zealand Maori tradition of *hangi* is a traditional pit barbecue method.

Conclusion

As previously mentioned, barbecue is found in every meat-eating society. In many of these societies it has strong cultural ties connected to celebration and commensality. That is definitely true in its popularity in the United States. From the Colonial Period onward in the United States it provided a means for people to get together. In many ways barbecue was frequently a fairly easy way to feed a large group of people and since it brought everyone together it provided a means for political and social discourse. This was the commonality found across the U.S. and throughout its history. The regional differences

that developed due to distance and differing access helped create identifying factors that people have clung to as their identity. This puts barbecue in the United States in an interesting position to both be able to draw people together in a national identity and yet maintain a strong regional identity.

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Meat, *maté* and the rise of the Gaucho - Diana Noyce

Beef and its production have played a major role in the culture of the South American countries Argentina, Uruguayan, Paraguay and Brazil from the asado to the history of the gauchos of the pampas. Landowners on the extensive grasslands of the pampas became wealthy from beef production and exports and estancia owners built large houses and employed the gaucho as animal handlers. The gaucho, who played a key role in the development of the beef industry as well as South America's culinary traditions was despised and persecuted throughout most of the nineteenth century and deemed racially inferior, but by the end of the nineteenth century the gaucho was promoted to the role of an iconic figure in South American culture. They also liked to drink *maté*.

Beginning in 1492, the Italian explorer and navigator, Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) made four voyages across the Atlantic Ocean under the auspices of the catholic monarchs of Spain. When completed, the voyages initiated the permanent European colonization of the Americas.

Columbus's initial plan was to seek a western sea passage to the East Indies (Indonesia and India), hoping to profit from the lucrative spice trade. Instead, his expeditions led him to the Caribbean, Central America, and South America, He gave the name *indios* (Indians) to the indigenous peoples he encountered.

The permanent European colonisation of the New World resulted in the widespread transfer of plants, animals, human populations, culture, technology, and ideas between the Americas (New World) and the Old World (Europe), and established trade routes that became known as the Columbian Exchange. European traders returned to Europe with maize, potatoes, and tomatoes, to name a few, and became very important crops in Europe by the eighteenth century. A variety of crops and livestock arrived in the Americas such as sheep, but in particular beef cattle and horses. These introduced species may initially have looked 'out of place' in the Americas but they became an integral part of the landscape and culture of the Americas. The indigenous Americans soon found the cow to be very beneficial for them. Cattle provided meat, milk, tallow, hides, and a major source of labour. Sheep too provided wool and meat. Horses provided transportation.

As cultures merged, so did man and beast. The gaucho (meaning orphan or homeless), became the nomadic and colourful horseman and cowhand of southern Brazil, Paraguay and the Argentine and Uruguayan pampas (grasslands or plains) of South America. The gaucho flourished from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Gauchos were usually *mestizos* (persons of mixed European and native American ancestry) but sometimes were white European, black African, or *mulatto* (of mixed black and white

ancestry).¹ Charles Darwin (1809-1882), the British naturalist described the gaucho as generally tall and very handsome wearing a moustache and long black hair curling down their necks. He thought them proud and very polite.²



Figure 1: A young Charles Darwin (1809-1882)

In the mid-eighteenth century, the British, Dutch, French, and Portuguese colonial traders provided a profitable contraband in hides and tallow in the frontier regions of Argentina. The geography, rainfall and largely temperate climate (terroir) of the pampas, produced 777,000 square kilometres high-quality pastures that allowed the cattle to multiply rapidly. As the agriculture established by the Spanish conquistadors declined and pastoralist took over the pampas, the gaucho arose to hunt the large herds of escaped horses and cattle that had roamed freely, bred prodigiously, and remained safe from predators on the extensive pampas. The gaucho was poor, but independent. They survived thanks to their skill as horsemen, gathering the wild cattle and selling them in the cities. The lack of money forced them to eat a lot of meat, the only resource they had in abundance.

Leading a largely poor, nomadic life, the horse constituted most of what the gaucho owned in the world. To the gaucho, 'a man without a horse was a man without legs.'³ Being at one with their horse they slept in the open with their steed. Living a life on horseback required a unique style of clothing. A gaucho wore a poncho, generally brightly coloured which was a square of cloth with a hole for the head that doubled as a saddle blanket and as sleeping gear. Sheepskin was also used as a saddle blanket as well as a soft under blanket when sleeping. They wore broad-brimmed hats, or a beret, long-sleeved cotton shirts, a neckerchief and loose baggy pants, called bombachas, gathered at the ankles and covering the tops of high leather boots. The boots were made from the hide of the hock joint of a horse's hind leg that was put on fresh and left to dry on the legs. He wore spurs on his boots and had a long-bladed facón (knife) secured with a wide leather belt festooned with

silver coins known as a rastra, girding his waist. The gaucho generally did not carry a gun unless enlisted by an army, but instead carried a lasso and bolas. Their apparel has

changed somewhat from the traditional dress, manufactured leather boots have replaced the horses hide boots, and now gauchos generally wear jeans instead of the traditional bombachas, but many similarities remain.

Like the gaucho, Charles Darwin also enjoyed the outdoor life and eating meat. On his epic round-the-world-voyage on HMS Beagle (1831-1836) where Darwin began developing his understanding of the natural world, made several long inland excursions in South America. The Beagle spent three and half years surveying the South American coastline giving Darwin many opportunities to travel with either members of the ship's crew or with travelling companions from the particular locality. Some of these

expeditions were spent galloping around on hired horses, camping in new places every night and hunting game for supper. Like, 'the savage returning to his wild and native habits,' wrote Darwin,⁴ they hunted guano, agouti, jaguar, llama, fox and the cougar, and Darwin delighted in their flesh. Darwin recalled that he took his bed, a kettle and cooking pot, a plate and basin, and after riding all day, he and his companions cooked for themselves, always bivouacking in the open air.⁵ 'With the sky as my roof and the ground as my table,' said Darwin, the excursions felt like an extension of his carefree days when a university undergraduate at Cambridge.⁶ At university Darwin was often found hunting with like-minded friends. Darwin was fond of shooting and often dined on the 'kill of the day' with his companions. Darwin was a happy camper.

It was on these inland excursions that Darwin savoured the flesh-eating cuisine of the gauchos. Darwin's approach to the discovery of a new dish and the way it was cooked was with the same sense of excitement as when he discovered a new specimen to add to his extensive natural history collection. In the East Falklands Darwin took rides out from Port Louis with some gauchos who made a living from hunting. What intrigued Darwin was how the gauchos cooked their meat. With no native tree cover, most of the Falkland Islands are covered by grasses, ferns, and dwarf shrubs. As there was very little brushwood for making a fire, the gauchos made 'as hot a fire as coals', using the bones of a bullock lately killed but with all the flesh picked off by the vultures. After killing a beast, the meat was then roasted in the traditional way in its skin. Darwin was served carne con cuero—meat with the skin. Darwin enjoyed the dish so much he stated, 'I am sure if any



Figure 2: The South American Gaucho with all his possessions - a horse, bolas, lasso and facón (knife).

worthy alderman was once to taste it; carne con cuero would soon be celebrated in London.⁷

The meal was completed with the smoking of a cigarette and the passing around of maté, an herbal tea-like drink. The hot tea was originally cultivated by an indigenous group, the Guaranis. It is consumed in a specially made gourd (maté) filled with herbs and hot water and drunk through a bombilla—a metallic straw. The herbal infusion, rich in mateine (an



Figure 3: Maté made with the leaves of the South American yerba shrub.

analog of caffeine) and nutrients, is made from the leaves of the yerba maté, a South American small tree or shrub, and a species of holly. It tastes a lot like a combination of vegetables, herbs, and grass. It is similar to that of some varieties of green tea. Meat and maté were the mainstays of the gaucho's diet and the brewing and consumption of this herb was a several times a day ritual. However, according to Darwin, when travelling, the gaucho ate only twice a day, at night and just before daylight. By this means one fire served the day.⁸ A diet of meat and maté was very agreeable to Darwin, he claimed it 'energised him'. He also said the gaucho's diet

allowed them, 'like other carnivores, to go a long time without food and could withstand much exposure' [to the elements].⁹

Although Darwin was ever curious about the taste of the regional delights of South America, he was at times struck with horror. In September 1833, when Darwin travelled with the gauchos in northern Patagonia (Argentina), he was served a favoured dish of the region. In savouring the very white flesh, which to Darwin tasted remarkably like veal, his delight turned to disgust when it was revealed to be the flesh of a puma (cougar) foetus.¹⁰ Darwin also drew the line at drinking the warm steaming blood of a recently slaughtered beast.

Another much loved dish of the gauchos was beef tongue. Sometimes the gauchos killed a cow for their tongues only, and perhaps a steak or two, taken from the breast. The carcass was then left to rot. The tongue and steaks were cooked asado, that is, the meat was slowly roasted over a pit of fire, recounted Darwin.¹¹ On the mainland, the gauchos favoured cooking asado with the wood of the quebracho tree because it emitted little smoke. Smoke tends to adversely flavour the meat. Chinchulines, the animal's intestine, was also much desired by the gauchos. Thus, Darwin witnessed the emergence of a culinary culture that endures today, the asado and the parrilla (mixed grill).

It was the Spanish conquistadors that spread their passion for the asado method of cooking to the peoples of South America. A passion that took root almost immediately, thanks also to the huge herd of beef cattle that grazed on the vast pampa plains. As undisputed masters of these plains and meat being the gaucho's main source of nourishment, it is no wonder they became so good at cooking it and not by chance that the gauchos were the first asadores.

As the gaucho did not carry a gun, what also intrigued Darwin was the technique with which the gaucho brought down an animal to be slaughtered, a practice he never mastered. A bola (plural: bolas or bolases; from Spanish bola, 'ball', also known as boleadoras), is a type of throwing weapon made of two or three iron or stone weights shaped like a ball on the ends of interconnected cords, used to capture animals by entangling their legs. Bolas of three weights are usually designed with two shorter cords with heavier weights, and one longer cord with a light weight. The heavier weights fly at the front parallel to each other, hit either side of the legs, and the lighter weight goes around, wrapping up the legs. Bolas were most famously used by the gauchos, but have been found in excavations of Pre-Columbian settlements, especially in Patagonia (present day Argentina), where indigenous peoples (particularly the Tehuelche) used them to catch up to a 91 kilogram guanaco (llama-like mammals), rhea (an animal similar to the ostrich) and ñandú (birds). The Mapuche and the Inca army used them in battle. Researchers have also found bolas in North America at the Calico Early Man Site.^{12 13}

The gauchos found that the bolas were very effective when thrown from a horse. Once the animal was brought down with the bolas, the animal was lassoed, then the gaucho dismounted his horse, retrieved a *facón* or large knife tucked into the rear of his *rastra* or *chiripa* girding the waist, then cut the animal's throat, bloodletting the animal. The *facón* was not only a killing instrument but typically the only eating instrument that a gaucho carried.

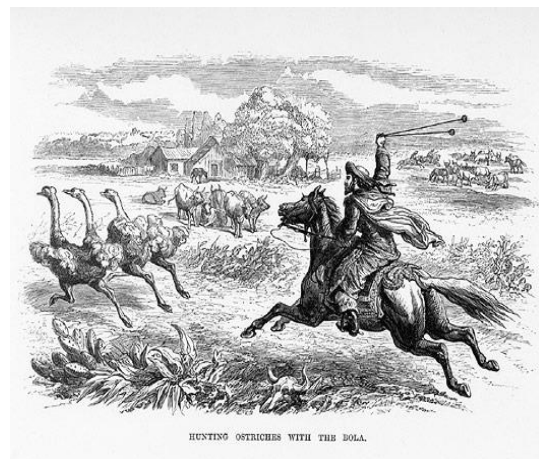


Figure 4: Gaucho throwing bolas.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the pastoral economy of the pampas or grasslands of Argentina and Uruguay were transformed to a more intensive use of the land. After liberation from Spain in 1816 and the annihilation through introduced diseases and the genocide of the indigenous population who roamed the plains, landowners began to employ immigrants (chiefly Italians) to cultivate their *estancias* (ranches), sowing

alfalfa for fodder, corn (maize), and finer pastures. They fenced their lands, built fine houses and imported purebred sheep and cattle such as angus, Hereford and shorthorn from Great Britain replacing the scrub herds the gauchos once hunted.¹⁴ The once free-spirited and reputedly unruly gauchos were now hired as skilled animal handlers. The nomadic life of the gaucho declined over time and many began living in mud huts with a straw roof and raised families, however, marriage was rare. Some gauchos, though, became large landowners themselves with considerable herds of cattle.

Naturalist William Hudson, recounted in his autobiography *Far Away and Long Ago* the flesh-eating diet of the gauchos at the end of the nineteenth century. To paraphrase Hudson, there was no attempt at cultivation, he stated, and no vegetables were eaten except onions and garlic, which were bought at the general stores (*pulperias*) along with bread, rice, maté tea, oil, vinegar, raisins, cinnamon,

pepper and cumin seeds to add flavour to the monotonous diet of cow's flesh, mutton and pig. The only game eaten was the rhea and the hard-shelled armadillo. Having no guns with which to shoot, wild duck, plover, and other such birds were rarely or never tasted by the gaucho.¹⁵

Despite the gaucho's reputation as a skilled animal handler, for much of the nineteenth century the gaucho was despised and persecuted and considered racially inferior. They were considered drunks, gamblers and thieves, as well as bloodthirsty, with much bloodshed said Darwin, resulting 'by the habit of constantly wearing a knife [*facón*]'.¹⁶ Even the guitar strumming music of the gaucho was described in derogatory terms. Moreover, as the country began to modernise, the gaucho's way of life was seen, according to Argentine musicologist Melanie Plesch, as an obstacle to progress.¹⁷ However, it was during the Wars of Independence (1810-1816) (from the Spanish Conquistadors) that he began gaining noble status in the minds of the colonist by joining the liberation armies. Being brave, a good horseman and a land-living expert, the gaucho proved to be a valuable soldier. He came to represent bravery, honour and freedom of the rural man.¹⁸ He gained further recognition and status with the publication of José Hernández's epic poem *El Gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872). The poem, said Plesch, supplied a historical link to the gauchos' contribution to the national development of Argentina for the major role he played in Argentina's independence from Spain. His reputation accelerated even further towards the end of the century, reaching its peak during the 1910s.¹⁹

This acceleration coincided in part with the establishment in 1875 of The Rural Exhibition, an annual agricultural and livestock show held to this day in the Palermo section of Buenos Aires, Argentina. The event, organised by The Argentine Rural Society, both the

Exhibition and the Society are known locally as La Rural. It was established as a farming show, with breeders arriving from all over the country to exhibit their livestock, particularly cattle. It gave the gaucho an opportunity to demonstrate his skill with a horse and cattle handling. It is a major social event and is accompanied by balls and other events. Thus, ultimately, says Plesch, the gaucho was pronounced quintessentially all things Argentinean and used as a source for the construction of a distinctive Argentine high culture, including the visual arts, literature and music.²⁰

However, in the last one hundred years, South American has undergone political, social and economic upheaval on a grand scale. Although beyond the scope of this paper, suffice to say, that in particular, Argentina has endured many military coups, economic depression, corruption, including in the beef production industry, massacres and genocide as well as the country's 1982 defeat by the United Kingdom in the Falklands War. In tandem with this, Argentina became known internationally for its excellent beef, a result of cattle bred on the wide grasslands of the pampas. But things changed considerably in the past couple of decades. The economy was restructured with a focus on grain exports. According to environmentalist Gustavo Marino, Argentina has lost 60 percent of its grasslands due to the expansion of intensive agriculture (such as soy and rice production), commercial forestry, and the urbanisation of the most valuable portions of land, that is, the areas not prone to flooding.²¹ Significantly, about 90% of cattle breeding is nowadays geared to the domestic market in Argentina and animal production is now done with more intensive methods. Cows are kept in closed pens or feedlots which has immense environmental consequences, says journalist Leonardo Rossi.²² Corollary, the traditional gaucho way of life is also dwindling in the Argentine countryside. However, the practices of Argentina's gauchos in caring for cattle, stated journalist Fabiana Frayassinet, have joined together with modern agricultural technology in a unique alliance between stockbreeders and environmentalists aimed at preserving biodiversity in the pampas, boosting productivity, and enhancing the flavour of the beef. Beef production in Argentina is increasing, albeit mainly for the local market.²³

Yet, if the gaucho culture and way of life is dwindling in the countryside, it is kept alive in the city through the weekly Sunday cowboy market at Mataderos, on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, Argentina. It always draws a crowd and patrons can enjoy the dancing, music, singing, poetry and the horsemanship of the gauchos as well as the traditional mixed grill (a la parrilla).

Likewise, these days, many gauchos have discovered the exciting industry of tourism. Local and international tourists relish in the chance to stay at an estancia, as this author has done, and interact with a real-life gaucho. The modern gaucho has learnt to become an excellent host and entertainer, performing duties such as cooking asado or parrilla,

playing music, guiding horseback rides and talking about their culture and traditions. Between entertaining tourists, however, gauchos still muster cattle, shear sheep and brand horses, but has exchanged the horse for a 4x4 pick-up truck or what we call in Australia a ute, and changed the bombachas for denim jeans. Despite, or in spite of the aforementioned upheavals the Argentines have endured, the gaucho has remained a symbol of nationalism.

Similarly, the Argentines and Uruguay's people continue the traditional and social event of having or attending a barbecue (Asado or parrilla) and drinking maté. During weekends and holidays, it's a **common practice to eat with friends and family**. Time is spent chatting, listening to music and drinking as the meat is slowly cooking.

Meat and maté are deeply rooted in the culinary culture of both Argentina and Uruguay and its people are famously enthusiastic beef consumers. In 2017 the annual beef and veal consumption in Uruguay globally ranked first with 43.2 kilograms per



Figure 5: Gauchos, the asadores cooking a la parrilla (mixed grill).

capita, followed by Argentina at 41.2 kilograms per capita.²⁴ Although Argentine cuisine in particular, has been heavily influenced by Italian and Spanish cuisines and though it is a country of many immigrants particularly from Europe who brought their own culinary traditions;²⁵ and while beef is omnipresent and often served in huge quantities; it is parrilla, a mixed grill of simply seasoned and prepared combination of sausages, including black pudding (a blood sausage originating in Great Britain and Ireland), meats of various kinds, sweetbreads and other organs, and steak that holds the honour

of being the country's national dish.

Cooking can be done either al asador or a la parrilla. A fire is made on the ground or in a fire pit and surrounded by metal crosses that can hold the entire carcass of an animal splayed open to receive the heat from the fire. In the second case a fire is made and after the charcoal has formed, a grill or a metal plate is placed over it with the assortment of meat and sausages placed on top. The meat is slow cooked; usually taking around two hours. That way the meat remains tender, juicy and tasteful. While the meat is cooking guest can enjoy empanadas—small pastries of meat, cheese, sweet corn, and a hundred

other fillings—as starters to the meal. Generally, the meats are accompanied by salads and red wine (generally Malbec wine). Following the traditions of the gaucho, just one man, the asador, is appointed the fundamental task of cooking the meat. Women make the salads. To complete the meal, some chimichurri, Argentina’s national sauce, made olive oil is a flavoursome addition as is *salsa criollo* made with red bell pepper, tomato, onion and olive oil.

Similarly, drinking maté together with friends remains an important social ritual. It is also drunk by individuals throughout the day. Hot but not boiling water is poured into the gourd, drunk, then the maté is refilled. The maté (gourd) is mostly full of leaves, so each refill only makes a small drink, but many refills are possible before the yerba is spent. The hot water though used to make maté comes in a very modern thermos. Drinking maté with friends from a shared hollow gourd and a shared metal straw or (a bombilla in Spanish) remains today an extremely common social practice in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, southern Chile, eastern Bolivia and Brazil, as well as Middle Eastern countries, Syria and Lebanon. Lovers can be seen in parks sitting on a picnic blanket or a park bench and sharing the same maté.

In conclusion, although meat production has changed, meat products have been dominant in the country since the 16th century and to this day Argentina is regarded as a major beef, pork and poultry producing and consuming country. The gaucho, despite the many social, political and economic upheavals, has remained a folk hero similar to the cowboy in North America. Gauchos became greatly admired and renowned in legends, folklore and literature and became an important part of their regional cultural tradition. To this day, the gaucho is a national symbol in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay and a national holiday is held on 6 December.

Notes

¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. *Gaucho: South American History*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/gaucho>. Accessed October, 2018.

² Keynes. ed. *Charles Darwin’s Beagle Diary*, p156.

³ William Henry Hudson, (1918) *Far Away and Long Ago: A History of My Early Life*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, p23.

⁴ Keynes. ed. *Charles Darwin’s Beagle Diary*, 445.

⁵ Burkhardt, ed. *Charles Darwin: The Beagle Letters*, 341.

⁶ Keynes. ed. *Charles Darwin’s Beagle Diary*, 445.

⁷ *ibid*, 229-230.

⁸ *Ibid*, 168.

⁹ *Ibid*, 189.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹ FitzRoy, *Narrative*, 280.

¹² Bolas. Available at: <http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Bolas>. Accessed October, 2018.

- ¹³ River Plate is the estuary formed by the confluence of the Uruguay and the Paraná rivers. The Calico Early Man Site is an archaeological site in an ancient Pleistocene lake located near Barstow in San Bernardino County in the central Mojave Desert of southern California.
- ¹⁴ Argentina was created as a new country in 1820. The scrub cattle or *Corriente* can be traced back to the first cattle brought to the new world by the Spanish as early as 1493. These cattle were hardy breeds chosen specially to withstand the ocean crossing and adapt to their new land.
- ¹⁵ Hudson, 66. The plover, being a ground nesting bird, could be caught by throwing a net.
- ¹⁶ Keynes, 205.
- ¹⁷ Melanie Plesch (2013) 'Demonizing and redeeming the gaucho: social conflict, xenophobia and the invention of Argentine national music', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 47:4-5, pp. 337- 338:
- ¹⁸ Argentine Cowboy: 'The Gaucho from Argentina'. Available at: <https://www.argentina-excepcion.com> › ... › Gauchos of Argentina. Accessed October, 2018.
- ¹⁹ Plesch, pp337-338.
- ²⁰ Plesch, pp337-338.
- ²¹ Fabiana Frayssinet. (2015) 'Unique Alliance Between Gauchos and Environmentalist Protects Argentina's Pampas'. *Inter Press Services (IPS)*. Available at <http://www.ipsnews.net/2015/08/unique-alliance-between-gauchos-and-environmentalists-protects-argentinas-pampas/> Accessed October, 2018.
- ²² Leonardo Rossi. (2015) 'From dream to nightmare.' *Development and Cooperation* .Available at: <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/cattle-industry-argentina-changing-rapidly-not-better>. Accessed October, 2018.
- ²³ Frayssinet, op.cit.
- ²⁴ Meat Consumption. OECD data. Available at: <https://data.oecd.org/agroutput/meat-consumption.htm>. Accessed October, 2018.
- ²⁵ Between 1853 and 1955, Argentina was the second country in the world with the most immigrants with 6.6 million, only second to the United States with 27 million, and ahead of other immigratory receptor countries such as Canada, Brazil and Australia.

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Forced fruit: Transplanting the tropics in early modern Europe - Garritt (Chip) Van Dyk

Abstract

Exploration and trade introduced new and exotic comestibles to Europe in the early modern period. While spices and stimulant beverages did not suffer in transit, perishable goods from the European colonies, such as tropical fruits, did not always survive the voyage from the West Indies to Britain. Imported exotic fruits were both novel and rare, fit to be presented as gifts to kings. One fruit, however, captured the European imagination, with its spiky crown and thorny exterior: the pineapple.

The pineapple became a status symbol for elite entertainment. Those unable to purchase one, could rent one by the day, for use as a centrepiece. Displaying, or eating, pineapple as a sign of social status was soon replaced by efforts to grow the tropical fruit in Europe. Botanical collectors and royal gardeners, from the Netherlands to Russia, pioneered techniques in hothouse propagation in their quest to produce the exotic plants in Europe.

This paper explores the early modern mania for growing a tropical food in Northern Europe. Apart from the logistics of transport, why did elite consumers pursue the propagation of pineapples? Removed from the exoticism of its origins, how was it perceived as a foodstuff? How did the technology to grow pineapples develop, and what were the wider, and lasting, implications of hothouse botany?

Out of Place: foreigners in Provence in the eighteenth-century - Barbara Santich

This presentation represents part of a larger project investigating food, cooking and eating in eighteenth-century Provence. The focus of this research is the lives of the inhabitants of Provence in the eighteenth century, specifically what they ate, where their foods came from and how they were prepared. This information will yield insights into any distinctive features of Provençal cuisine and reveal the extent of similarities and differences between the food and culinary culture of eighteenth-century Provence and that of France in general.

For this kind of historical research, the usual resources are cookbooks, assuming, rightly or wrongly, that they present a mirror image of actuality. For this period and place there are no cookbooks; the alternative is to discover Provence through the eyes and ears and even the noses of others who travelled through or briefly resided in the region at that time and who wrote about their experiences, whether in letters or journals or more formal travel narratives. These eighteenth-century travellers were 'out of place' in southern France, and if they wrote about what they ate, it was more about the foods and dishes that, to them, were different – were 'out of place' in the familiarity of their own lives. Writing about what was unfamiliar to them, they compensated for the lack of attention to the ordinary and everyday by their provençal contemporaries. Despite the cautions attached to such accounts individually, their reliability is improved by taking a very large sample, in this instance around 40 travel narratives in a variety of languages. This paper presents some of the results.

One feature that almost all travellers commented on, whether from England, Scotland or Ireland, from Poland, Netherland or Switzerland, was either the lack of beef, or its poor quality, and the predominance of sheep meat, lamb and mutton.

In 1775 the Swiss Bernoulli wrote: 'there is no dinner, whether in an inn or a private home where many dishes are offered, that does not have *têtes d'agneau* on the table; it is the seasoning that diversifies this dish, very good but a little fatty and bland.'¹

In Avignon Count Moszynski had a different reproach: 'here is a list of dishes I have just been served: mutton broth, mutton chops, boiled mutton, crumbed sheep's feet, sheep's head with vinegar; grilled sheep's tails; roast breast of mutton – all in all, I must have had about half a sheep for a dinner that cost me nine *livres*, and the leftovers would feed three servants'.²

Nevertheless, in general they rated the mutton and lamb were excellent. What amazed them most was that the sheep seemed to graze in a stony desert, devoid of herbage. 'What will surprise you', wrote Lady Mary Coke, 'tho' there does not seem enough to keep them from starving, they are the finest meat I ever eat; you no sooner cut the mutton than the dish is filled with gravey'.³

Few cattle also meant few dairy products, and this was another shock. The scarcity or downright absence of milk and butter was felt as a genuine privation by visitors from northern countries, the English in particular. If either were available, it was generally not the cow's milk and butter that they were accustomed to, but rather sheep's or goat's milk and butter. 'People said this was a fertile country', lamented Count Moszynski, 'yet I see no cows or bullocks; only with difficulty can I get milk, and even then it is sheep's milk; there's never any cream or butter'.⁴ Butter was made only from sheep's milk and cost significantly more than olive oil. According to Plumptre, who spent several years in the south of France in the very early years of the nineteenth century, 'It does not become yellow, like cow's, but retains the colour of the milk itself. It is very delicate, but must be eaten fresh, for it does not keep well'.⁵

Fruits and vegetables offered some compensation. Provençal fruit and vegetables were greatly appreciated. English travellers were amazed by the flavour of a fresh fig, of ripe melons and figs, of oranges straight from the tree, experiences they could never have at home. They enjoyed the novelty of fresh fruit for breakfast in summer, the plates of fresh figs and melons on the table throughout dinner, rather than presented at the end, with dessert.

Berenger described the market in Marseille in the 1780s: 'thousands of water melons and melons heaped high, cartloads of pomegranates, aubergines and tomatoes; over there baskets of all shapes and sizes full of enormous grapes, white, black and red, and of pale green and brown figs; further beyond, intricate labyrinths formed by trays of peaches as yellow as gold, prunes still enveloped in their delicate bloom and succulent pears; everywhere piles of Genoa lemons, Corsican apples, citrons from Hyères and hardy oranges from Sicily'.⁶

It is significant that tomatoes seem to have been so abundant; they were still rare in England and were commonly known as love apples, which is what Berenger called them, *pommes d'amour*. Plumptre described how they were cooked:

'*Pommes d'amour*, the tomato or love-apple, is another vegetable much eaten here, dressed in various ways. Sometimes they are cut in two the cross way and laid on a tin; then strewed over with parsley shred fine, crumbs of bread, pepper and salt, and set into

a slow oven, where they must stand for some time: in this way they are excellent. They are besides often put into soup, or made into a sauce to eat with the bouillie'.⁷

This is one of the earliest accounts of tomatoes in France and predates the earliest published recipes.

Plumptre also described how aubergines were cooked and eaten. Although these had been known in Provence much earlier, they were not a familiar vegetable to the English, nor were peppers:

'The *aubergine* ... is split and dressed in the same way as the tomato, and is very good. ... Capsicums are a vegetable also much cultivated; the pods are eaten green, dressed with oil and vinegar, like salad.'⁸

The other vegetable Plumptre singled out was the cardoon, 'the vegetable for which they are the most famous'. 'The root, which is of the nature of celery, only very much larger, is the part eaten, either raw as salad or stewed with rich sauce. These roots always make a part of the Christmas dinner; they are as indispensable as a turkey.'⁹ This early evidence associating cardoons with Christmas is significant, since cardoons are now considered an essential ingredient in the traditional Provençal meal eaten before midnight Mass on Christmas eve.

These travel narratives are valuable for their observations of Provençal practices and customs, such as the use of tomatoes and examples of festive foods, which were typically not documented in contemporaneous writings. They are also valuable in corroborating evidence from other research resources, such as household and kitchen accounts: the prevalence of sheep meat, the use of olive oil rather than butter in cooking, the role of fruits and vegetables in the diets, all typical characteristics of the Mediterranean diet for centuries past.

In addition, they are interesting for what they do not mention: no bouillabaisse and no brandade, both considered synonymous with Provence today. Brandade was certainly eaten in the eighteenth century – a recipe was published in 1788, and even then it was described as a Provençal speciality. Partly because of the reliance on fish along the Mediterranean seaboard, it is likely that bouillabaisse, too, was eaten, albeit in a more primitive form and mostly by fishing families. The name was included in a 1785 Provençal-French dictionary, *Dictionnaire de la Provence et du Comtat-Venaissin: bouilhe-baisso*, described as 'a fisherman's term, a sort of ragout consisting of boiling some fish in seawater'.¹⁰ This illustrates one of the limitations of travel accounts by 'out of place'

visitors who were unlikely to come into contact with fishermen and, even if they did, would probably not have been able to converse with Provençal-speaking locals.

The absence of these two dishes, subsequently acknowledged as traditionally Provençal, is even more puzzling since several travellers mention *bouiride*, a fish soup described in 1785 as a '*ragout ou potage*' made by stirring a garlic-oil mixture into hot water, thickening with egg yolks and seasoning with salt.¹¹ In this simple version, a basic garlic soup, *bouiride* was a dish of the poor; but with fish, it was a dish of the wealthy. Both popular in and typical of Marseille, it was celebrated in a poem written in Provençal in 1760, *La Bouirido deis dieoux*, which is simultaneously a paean to garlic, a medicine that can cure all ills and even arouse the appetite of the dead. It relates how the ancient gods, having heard of the renown of the *bouiride* and the Provençal fondness for the dish, descend to earth in order to sample it. Each contributes to its preparation, Venus tasked with aioli, Bacchus ordered to get the wine and Neptune the fish, specifically twenty *baudroie* (angler fish) and a basketful of other fish, '*d'autrei peis, un coufint*'. Returning to the heavens, they all agreed they had never enjoyed such a magnificent feast.¹²

Clearly *bouiride* was well known in eighteenth-century Provence, so why did it rate such few mentions in eighteenth-century travel accounts, and even then only from hearsay, since none seem to have actually eaten it? Anne Plumptre described it as 'a favourite dish of the Provençaux: 'it is a soup made with fish and a quantity of garlick boiled with it, which is brayded into a smooth pulp to eat with the fish'.¹³ (The Swiss Bernoulli had *bouiride* described to him but added: 'after the description I was given, I quickly decided that I could do without tasting it'.¹⁴

It was probably the dominant contribution of garlic that deterred these out-of-place travellers. A taste for garlic was one of the most important characteristics that differentiated Provençaux from out-of-place foreigners. Plumptre wrote: 'The greatest of all luxuries to them is to have plenty of garlick; this they love to such a degree, and eat it in such quantities, that they smell of it so powerfully as even to be offensive to the nose in only passing them upon the road. Persons of the higher classes as well as the lower have a great passion for it, nor will scruple sometimes eating it, though they may be going into the most polished societies'.¹⁵ According to Smollett, 'the smell of it perfumes the very chambers, as well as every person you approach'. He found it so repugnant and so unavoidable, mixed 'in their ragouts and all their sauces', that he thought he might almost be poisoned.¹⁶

This brief foray into the travel narratives of foreigners in Provence demonstrates both the value of their observations and impressions of food and cooking in Provence and the limitations of their accounts. First, they confirm that while methods of preparation,

cooking and serving might have changed, tastes did not. As in the medieval centuries, lamb and mutton were the principal meats; small fish were fried in oil and served with lemon; butter was virtually non-existent; tuna and other fish were salted; fresh fruit was widely eaten in summer; salads were common. Second, that many of the foods and dishes that represent Provençal cuisine today were being eaten around three centuries ago, some for even longer, and contrarily, some of the dishes that are said to typify Provence today – tomato salads, ratatouille, tapenade, soupe au pistou – are relative newcomers. In terms of documentation of tradition, their evidence provides significant support. Nevertheless, as the examples of brandade, bouillabaisse and bourride illustrate, these foreign observers were not necessarily reliable informants.

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The Author, The Bookseller and The Court Case: Maria Rundell v John Murray - Sarah Benjamin

This is the story of English cookery book author Maria Rundell and her complicated relationship with bookseller John Murray. It is also the story of how recipes for *scotch eggs*, *oyster soup* and *seed cake* became the stuff of disputed ownership and how the copyright of cookbooks and recipes came to be valued as copyright.

Maria was born in 1745 and died in 1828 and is remembered today as the author of the impressive and hugely popular cookery book, *A New System of Domestic Cookery: Formed upon Principles of economy: and adapted to the use of to the use of Private Families*, 1806. Though she has been characterised as the original *domestic goddess*, her story is more complex.

This sliver of culinary publishing history revolved around Maria who publicly acknowledged giving her original manuscript of *Domestic Cookery* as a gift to Murray, rising star of British publishing, only to later reclaim her copyright in the work and sell it to one of Murray's competitors. The rival publisher was Longmans – well known to readers of old English cookbooks as the publisher of Eliza Acton. The ensuing dispute between Maria and Murray ended up in the English Court of Chancery - the same court that Dickens describes in *Bleak House* in painstaking detail.

The whole episode was described by Peter Isaac in his 1998 article, *Maria Rundell and her Publisher*, though his piece is less interested in exploring her motivation. A closer examination of the relationship between author and bookseller reveals Maria's action against Murray was in fact born of years of frustration; By relooking at court transcripts and correspondence between Murray and Maria and between Maria and some of her friends, a more nuanced picture emerges of an author and publisher deeply at cross-purposes.

Maria was the only known child of Abel Ketelbey, English barrister and landowner, educated at Oxford with chambers in Middle Temple and family land in Shropshire. The Ketelbey's were a well-established family who had more recently sought to consolidate their position by pursuing opportunities in the New World; Maria's paternal grandfather acquiring large holdings in the American territories and both he and his son, Maria's father, became members of the Royal Society. Yet by the age of sixteen Maria found herself an orphan. Though her education and upkeep were provided for, most of the family inheritance went to a male cousin, leaving her with income from a few smaller holdings. Whilst she was a model of the well-educated gentlewoman so admired in C18th England, Maria was the last of this branch of Kettlebeys. Rather than marrying a

landowner, she married Thomas Rundell a university-educated physician from Bath, thereby putting herself on a different trajectory. She was now part of the growing number of urbanised middleclass families in England.

The Rundells were also an old family albeit less grand than the Kettlebeys. All the same, in this period of rapid growth in towns and cities, their prospects were rising, first in Bath and then in London. Thomas Rundell was a respected doctor in the burgeoning spa town, mecca to those who could afford to visit, take cures and engage with the energetic social life of the place. Maria became a dedicated doctor's wife and mother to their growing brood. A woman of sizable energy she threw herself into the life of her husband, children and Bath in equal measure. On top of the daily demands of family and household she also found time to accompany Thomas on house calls to women in labour and would later write a manual on childbirth and women's health.

In her own house she gave birth to seven children that we know of, two sons and five daughters and paid careful attention to their upbringing and education. Thomas Rundell was a busy man and happy to leave major decisions about schooling to Maria. Though education of the children was not unusual for the mistress of the middle-class household, the attention Maria showed to each of these children as individuals is remarkable.

As the family grew, the Rundells moved into a series of ever more spacious houses before finally settling in suitably fashionable Bennet Street just off the Royal Circus in Bath, Maria and Thomas borrowed books from circulatory libraries in the town, attended local entertainments and hobnobbed with local worthies and visitors amongst the seasonal crush. Among some of this company, Maria gained a reputation for her excellent local contacts and knack for securing first-rate lodgings and domestic help for short-term visitors.

The churn of people heading to Bath allowed her to cross paths with people she might otherwise not have encountered. One such was Mary Hamilton an influential woman who had previously attended at Court and a member of the Bluestockings, the loose group of highly intelligent, educated, women writers, thinkers and keepers of salons including novelist Frances Burney, Elizabeth Montagu and Catherine Macaulay. Mary and Maria began a regular correspondence that lasted from 1789 until Mary's death in 1815.

Interestingly from the point of view of this story, it was through the relationship with the younger Mary that Maria came into contact with some of the most interesting minds of the day. The Bluestockings valued the education of women as a benefit to both the individual and society; the education they favoured being both intellectual and practical. It is particularly relevant that some of the group's feminist ideas found favour with Maria's

own developing sense of her role as an educator. Maria was particularly concerned about the lack of practical education available to young women expected to run households and raise families of their own. Her cookery book is her response to this concern and the gifting of it to Murray, proof of her eagerness to get the information out to her intended audience. Her impulse was to educate, writing was simple a means to that end.

In letters to Mary Hamilton the two women shared daily news of travels, concerts and entertainments attended, of friends and acquaintances in Bath and elsewhere, there is an obvious preoccupation with her children's education. Maria's self-belief as an educator was there from the start, well before she conceived the idea of the cookery book. Many years later in a letter to Mary written in Jul 1814, Maria specifically asked Mary for an introduction to renowned educator and bluestocking Hannah More. Maria admired More's ideas on girls' education, advocating as she did for both a classical and a practical education to prepare them for their roles as serious wives and mothers.

By the time of her first meeting with Hannah More and since the success of *Domestic Cookery*, Maria had published another book intended as an advice manual for the education of young women, *Letters to two Absent Daughters*. She had also prepared the manuscript on childbirth and women's reproductive health; original and progressive at a time when there were few examples of women writing on the subject. Maria was inspired to write in an effort to educate girls and young wives and mothers in the domestic realm. She saw this wider remit as a viable part of the publishing market, a view that Murray did not share. His refusal to appreciate her views would play a significant part in her growing frustration with Murray.

John Murray is a better-known figure and at the time he and Maria crossed paths he had proven himself to be a man on the move. Murray inherited the business from his father - the first of a long line of John Murrays - who had changed the family name from the more Scottish MacMurray to Murray. The senior Murray, born into a modest family, had begun his career as a marine but with an eye to commerce, he saw promise in the business of printing and bookselling. With costs of producing books coming down and levels of literacy on the rise, the book trade showed potential for profits.

The business of the first John Murray was nestled into Falcon Court just off Fleet Street, the traditional home for much of the printing trade. Where the first John Murray recognised the commercial potential of the new business, his son saw the added advantage of moving up the social ladder. After taking over the business from his father, he separated himself from the messy printing side to concentrate on the commissioning and marketing of new work and in the process became a publisher. This separation allowed him to push competitive prices from a variety of printers. This shift in emphasis

toward the more cerebral and away from the muck and mess of printing gave him greater access to the fashionable drawing rooms of middle- and upper-class writers; the son had his eye on becoming a gentleman.

In addition to his commercial talent, the second John Murray was a clever publisher with a discerning eye for popular material and a real gift for marketing. On taking over the business, one of his early pieces of luck was the gifting by Maria of her recipe collection and her insistence that she would not accept payment and that her name would not appear on the title page. She claimed it was a gift to a friend, whom she may have met through one of her literary circle or even through her brother-in-law Phillip Rundell, who had moved up in the world from apprentice jeweller in Bath to one of the most fashionable jewellers in the land and whose famous showroom was an eight minute walk from Murray's in Falcon Court.

Maria's preference for anonymity and refusal of payment for her work may mystify the modern reader but it serves to remember she was balancing a belief in the value of her work against strong societal notions of respectability. The potential taint of commerce was staring at her from all angles. As a respectable middle-class woman, she was mindful to distance herself from any suggestion she was writing for money. Whether Murray cared to think too much about her motivations, he would have understood her situation for he too knew the delicate balance between commerce and social aspiration. When Maria first delivered the manuscript, she was already a widow of sixty years old; her husband had left her well provided for, most of her children were respectably married and her favourite brother-in-law had become a huge commercial success as the crown jeweller. She was being careful not to send out the wrong message

Rather than profits, she was anxious to be published and read by young women and Murray enabled her. Astute as ever, he devised the clever title, *A New System of Domestic Cookery; formed upon the Principles of Economy and Adapted to the use of Private Families*. The emphasis on *domestic, economy and private* designed to appeal to burgeoning numbers of nuclear, middle-class families. The book became a publishing phenomenon and the rest- as they say, might have been history.

From the time of the first edition, Murray and Maria, thirty years his senior, exchanged letters that were mostly civil and friendly in tone. She offered friendly advice on some personal matters, congratulating him on his forthcoming marriage to the daughter of reputable Edinburgh publisher and freely sending feedback on Murray's new releases. On a couple of occasions she went so far as to seek his assistance on family matters of her own, once regarding a crisis with her second son Francis caught up in a disastrous military battle at sea where Murray had kindly offered help. Moreover Murray regularly sent her

packages of books she had requested along with others he thought she would enjoy. In 1806, in what would later become a contested gesture, he had delivered to her some recipe books to look at in preparation of the second edition of the cookery book. Significantly she returned them saying, " some things I availed myself of from each...but our little work is far more useful than any of them"

Encouraged by the commercial success of the first edition, Murray took on further risk by commissioning improvements for a forthcoming second edition including expensive illustrations and pages of new recipes and text, to be written by Maria. Amongst the additions were the now famous early recipe for *tomata sauce* and the intriguing sounding *china chilo* – a braised dish of minced mutton, lettuce, onion, peas and optional cayenne, served on a bed of rice.

Another striking addition was a section on carving; striking because it highlights Maria's intention for the book and her aspirations as an author. She had referred to carving in the first edition but in the second edition she raised her voice, directing women to become expert carvers and stand at the head of the table to do the job. In this she was echoing the earlier C18th manual on carving by John Trusler. But in contrast to Trusler's male expert, Maria deliberately described a woman. She was advocating carving as a female accomplishment at a time when feminine expertise might extend little beyond pianoforte, singing and sewing. In doing so she echoed Hannah More and the Blue Stockings in supporting useful and practical accomplishments.

The improved and expanded second edition was a sure sign of Murray's confidence in the book, but at the same time, in his mind at least, the improvements he had underwritten were a mark of his own contribution and ownership of the work. Despite the success of the first edition, preparations for the second edition did not always run smooth and Maria's letters to Murray around this time reveal some blunt speaking. These were early indications that she was not happy with the way he was attending to the detail of the work. "In sober English my good friend the second edition of DC [sic] has been miserably prepared for the press. Who pretended to correct it has greatly failed...I am quite shocked at the blunders that are crept into it, ...I am seriously afraid this second edition will injure the reputation of the third". Maria expected better. Years later, at the height of their dispute, Murray attempted to cast doubt on the extent of Maria's contribution to the writing of the book despite their correspondence, especially in preparing the second edition, telling a different story.

A couple of months later she was still writing about the sloppiness of the second edition, blaming the compositor for confusing words and making a mess of things. But by this time she was working on the proof sheets for the third edition, which would be her

chance to put the problems of the second edition to right. She even went to the trouble of having noted educationalist Sarah Trimmer review the proofs. The cookery book in which she had dedicated so much time and energy was at the beginning of its long life, and she wanted to get it right. From Murray's perspective, it was accruing substantial profits and his initial risk was delivering the business a valuable asset. With revenues flooding in, his thoughts turned to making a formal payment to Maria, which if accepted, could help consolidate his ownership, so in September 1808 he sent Maria a cheque of £150. In response she wrote, *Your very handsome and unexpected present I have just received; I can truly say I never had the smallest idea of any return for what I considered and which really was a free gift to one whom I had long regarded as a friend.* They are both being coy, but it is the first indication that Maria was coming to appreciate the value of her efforts and to feel more comfortable with recognition. Though Murray was mistaken if he thought he could secure his rights with such a relatively small amount.

The importance of *Domestic Cookery* to Murray's wider ambition was demonstrated in 1813 when he decided to move his expanding business away from the rough and tumble of Fleet Street, westwards to the more fashionable 50 Albemarle Street, Mayfair into a grand new building with a large and comfortable salon and residence on the upper floors, a move that arguably confirmed the transformation from bookseller to publisher. To underwrite the move he used his three most valued copyrights as collateral. One of these was *Domestic Cookery*. Maria had no idea of any of this and he did not even think to inform her of the move until well after it had taken place. Indeed her letters around the time are peppered with concerns that Murray was not acknowledging receipt of this or that comment from her but still she continued to send him improvements for forthcoming editions by removing a recipe here and adding another there.

The reality was that he was a busy man with little time to spare for an author whose work was bedded down and selling in such large numbers, besides he had by now signed up grander and prospectively greater authors. Their names can be found in the back pages of *Domestic Cookery*, which carried promotions for other John Murray titles. A quick look at the back pages of the 1816 edition of *Domestic Cookery* reveals numerous works by Byron with some Walter Scott, Jane Austen and others thrown in for good measure, but really Murray's new prize was Byron.

The relationship between the socially ambitious and commercially astute publisher and the mercurial, brilliant and aristocratic poet demanded a lot of Murray's time. There is no clearer illustration of the centrality of the relationship than Murray's commissioning and hanging a portrait of the poet in pride of place in the drawing room at Albemarle Street. This was where Murray gathered a growing circle of writerly and well-connected men for his informal salon, and men there were – although Madame de Stael was a notable

exception. Maria was familiar with De Stael because though she herself did not read French; her daughters took turns to read De Stael in French aloud to their mother in simultaneous translation. In fact Maria was familiar with the writings of most of Murray's authors thanks to the books he had sent to her. Be that as it may, Murray would never invite her to meet de Stael and the others. The gatherings at Albemarle Street - dubbed Murray's 4 o'clock friends by Sir Walter Scott - were clubby in tone with an atmosphere somewhere between a London coffee house of the Eighteenth Century and the emerging gentlemen's club of the type that would later flourish in Victorian London.

Actually there is no evidence that Maria ever visited Albemarle Street even to meet with Murray on practical matters. She was mostly out of London staying with one or other of her married daughters and in any case he saw no reason to have her there. It's also true that Austen who was first published by Murray in 1815 - never attended Albemarle Street either, it simply would not have occurred to Murray or any of his group to include women writers let alone the author of recipes for an early *Bubble and Squeak* or *Gooseberry Trifle* to join the conversation. Some of his attitude was simply the age he lived in but if Murray could have taken Maria more seriously he may well have avoided the trouble ahead.

As the editions rolled out, Maria's attitude to payments and authorship continued to evolve. Whilst Murray and much of the reading public thought of her as the authority on domestic cookery, she continued to see herself as an educator to young women. In 1814 her second book, *Letters to Two Absent Daughters* was published, but not by Murray. Although he had belatedly offered to publish it in a small run at his expense - largely as a gesture of gratitude for *Domestic Cookery* - due to yet another mix up in their correspondence, when Maria did not hear back from Murray on her proposal and did not double check with him before sending the manuscript elsewhere, he missed his opportunity. It was as if she was proving her point to him about being taken for granted. For this new work she was asking for and accepted payment. Moreover she agreed to place her name on the cover. Earlier reservations about authorship and money had finally ebbed away.

In the matter of publishing this title, Murray had found himself in a bind that contributed to his slow response to Maria. He did not think it was as viable as the cookery book, but he wanted to keep his author on side. Both he and his lawyer Sharon Turner were aware that to negotiate copyright for this new book would be delicate given the history of *Domestic Cookery*, so Turner hatched the plan to simply offer to pay for the whole publication and keep the print run modest. Turner was both a barrister and scholar of English history and one of Murray authors. He had a reputation as fine legal mind on matters of literary property and libel and often advised Murray.

Missing the opportunity to publish the book likely gave Murray some initial relief but Maria's move to another publisher was also a hint of what was to come. She was determined to get her message out and to be taken seriously. Murray could not have imagined how far she had moved from the apparently docile, kindly widow he first knew. The extraordinary success of *Domestic Cookery* since it first came out and Maria's own intellectual development over the same time had changed the equation. If he could not see her as anything other than a collator of recipes she would find a publisher who would. From this time on, an obvious distance developed between the two *I have had such a letter from Mrs Rundell accusing me of neglecting her book and stopping the sale... her conceit passes everything*, he complained to his wife later in 1814. Though in reality he had little time to dwell on the situation; Maria was not the first author to grumble and besides the book was still adding to the bottom line and still the best-selling English cookery book ever.

He made his money on the book by keeping it at a consistent price. In 1818 he sold it for seven shillings and 6 pence, roughly equivalent to £21.54 in today's money and it had been more or less that price for at least ten years. In the meantime, Murray negotiated his costs of production down - even when he needed extra paper and new illustrations for the expanded second edition and other improvements. The gift of the bestselling cookery book was that it was as close to a set and forget asset as could be found in publishing, providing a very useful cross subsidy to the business. Extending to sixty-seven editions and considered the standard household reference for middle classes, it also sold into America and the far reaches of empire. This was a huge advantage for Murray who had to spend so much time coaxing new work out of Bryon and others to satisfy the public's insatiable appetite for the latest poem or story. But taking *Domestic Cookery* for granted was about to backfire spectacularly

Despite the acknowledged cooling of their relationship, in 1819 Murray was shocked when he was told of Maria's move to effectively reclaim her copyright and offer the book to his commercial rival Longmans. It was fourteen years since she gave John Murray her manuscript and that was the period of copyright. She wanted it back and she had every reason to think that she owed Murray nothing more. Murray was doubly horrified by the very public fashion in which she did this. It was incredible to him that an all but invisible woman, now in her seventies, whose book he had published successfully for well over two decades, could behave in such a way without any prior warning to offer "his" title to a competing business.

Though Longmans were Murray's competitors they, none the less, did the gentlemanly thing and alerted Murray to Maria's offer. Murray immediately turned to Sharon Turner who advised an urgent legal challenge to Maria's right to the work. Injunctions and legal

wrangling with authors and printers in the book business were part and parcel of the trade and questions of literary property could be unclear and contestable but here the impulse was stop Maria in her tracks. The cost of running legal disputes was simply a part of doing business though Murray would be surprised how far Maria was prepared to fund her side of the quarrel.

On Turner's suggestion Murray secured a limited injunction from Lord Eldon at the Court of Chancery, limited because Lord Eldon had already concluded Maria did indeed hold copyright of the recipes. The court found that if Maria had composed the receipts or arranged them in a book she would have copyright, but if she had only collected them and handed them over to Mr Murray, she would not have copyright. This was a significant determination and a major win for the author. However, she could not sell Murray's "part" of the work which included the title, index and illustrations. On the 16 December 1819 Murray was more optimistic when he learnt that the injunction against Maria selling his part had been granted. If Maria could not claim title, illustrations or editorial updates, he was confident she had little to sell Longmans.

At this early stage of the long-drawn-out legal manoeuvres, Murray was less concerned about ownership of the recipes, confident he would have no trouble sourcing new ones if necessary. He boasted that a more biddable writer could provide instructions for *hotch-potch*, *anchovy toast* and *Devonshire junket*. It was the framing and marketing devices of *Domestic Cookery* that he deemed worth saving. For now, Murray wanted to protect the expensive illustrations of *trussed partridge*, *shoulder of mutton* and *haunch of venison* rather than the recipes for their preparation and cooking. He had so shame declaring his earlier payment of £150 for the recipes. In reply Maria made it clear that payment had been for the life of the current copyright period only and nothing more.

In the meantime, Maria redoubled her largely rewriting the entire book, challenging the injunction against her use of Murray's "parts" and resubmitting her rewritten work to Longmans. She could not have known she would succeed in having the injunction lifted hence the precaution in rewriting the work enabling it to stand on its merits without the original title and illustrations if needs be. She took a chance that her name and the quality of the recipes would be enough for Longmans to take the work.

Furthermore, she took the extraordinary step of initiating a new and separate claim against Murray for damages under common law. She was now playing her former friend on two fronts. This must have been exasperating for Murray. This woman who dealt in *apple dumplings* and *lemon cheesecakes* was making a mockery of him and threatening his business.

Maria's confidence that her reputation alone would be enough to entice Longmans to publish proved well founded, but again Longmans played a double game, unable to resist Maria's offer but alerting Murray in a letter sent on 29th Dec 1821 to a forthcoming advertisement for Mrs Rundell's improved edition of her cookbook. It was now two years since Maria first approached Longmans and Murray was still fighting to stop her, a fight he claimed somewhat disingenuously, he was leading on behalf of the entire trade. This was his longest and most expensive legal dispute over literary property, but still he was not ready to concede.

Back in the Court of Chancery on the 14th June 1822 Murray continued to wrangle. Only now there was an obvious change in his attitude to the actual recipes. Belatedly Murray had come to accept that the recipes did have value, that instructions for *red current jelly*, *chicken pie* and *Welsh rarebit* were valuable because they came from the pen of a particular author. These recipes were prized by British housewives for their reliability and the way they were written and organised, moreover Murray had to concede that Maria was so well regarded as the author that his competitors would eagerly publish her recipes with or without Murray's prized title and illustrations.

Under intense pressure, Murray adopted a new line of attack, actually casting doubt on Maria's authorship of the recipes. He now argued that many hands had been involved, that the recipes had come from friends and family and in particular he mentioned a Mrs Pitt as the source for many of them. Murray also claimed he had paid others to revise the work at various times though he could name only one woman who had done this, and she had since died.

Perhaps attempting to discredit Maria in the eyes of Longmans, Murray called for a full discovery by the Court, demanding Maria prove how many and which recipes were hers, when they were written and which and by whom others were written and how she came into the possession of each and every one of them. Of course no mention was made of Maria's early correspondence to him back and forth about revisions, improvements and mistakes demanding correction.

But more than points of law, Murray could see his precious property imperilled by real life commerce. *Stewed tongue*, *brown bread ice cream* and *plum cakes* had taken on a new significance; there was a palpable sense that he could lose the lot to another publisher and seriously imperil his bottom line.

Three years on Murray and his lawyer concluded their only realistic hope of gaining undisputed ownership of the work was to pay a full and proper price for it. So finally Murray agreed to an out of court settlement to pay Maria the very large sum of £2100 for



a book that was now eighteen years old. His biographers would later suggest the settlement was a generous gesture from an old friend but in reality it was made after lesser offers had been rejected. In addition, Maria demanded and received full payment of all her costs.

Murray and his advisors put their best face on the outcome and posterity has accepted their telling of events but in truth Maria had succeeded. The “invisible” author of *raised crusts*, *pippin pudding* and *flummery* had worn the celebrated publisher down leaving him little choice but to pay properly for her work. Later editions, which continued to be published long after the deaths of both Maria and Murray had her name clearly embossed on the cover.



Primary Places: Creative food education. Engaging primary schools - Bev Laing

Abstract

Amidst the minefield that is curriculum aims, health outcomes, anti-obesity early intervention – is there still room to explore taste, culture, history and place in schools today? Bev Laing & Alice Zaslavsky – former teacher and food editor respectively – and a team of renegade food and education professionals have been working hard to blend curriculum, behavioural science, food facts, and a large dose of humour. The outcome: *Phenomenom*, a live action + animation show, with accompanying resources designed to fit in to any subject, made with and for kids about fresh food. Set in 'a classroom of the near future', Alice, and her class of inquisitive tweens, explore the universe to satisfy their curiosity about food, culture, people and places. Bev will discuss finding meaningful space for food education beyond 'traffic lights' and canteen policies.

Phenomenom aims to shift the conversation about food from worthy and well-meaning to curious and creative. We pose the question: how do we best teach our young people to explore food for themselves? How do we set them free to make strange smells and ask awkward questions, can we spark their curiosity in the rich culture of food in Australia, turn pester power positive, and help food education once again find its place in the classroom?

Schooling youth and shaping diet: What's out of place on the menu? - Adele Wessel

Abstract

The Female Orphan School provides a useful starting point for considering changes in food items and eating practices at schools. The role of schools in shaping food choices has received increasing attention, particularly in the UK, the US and Australia, which have shared gastronomic traditions and food systems underpinned by their colonial heritage, commitments to industrialisation and capitalism and a common anxiety more recently around the health impacts that can also be related to those. While the moral imperatives around what is 'good' food and what is 'bad' (as well as the terms) have changed over time, the utility of food making and provision for social and moral purpose has long converged with the history of schooling.

The principles of contemporary Australian food values find expression in canteen guidelines, a long way from the rations provided to girls at the Orphan School. While the changes reflect knowledge about health and nutrition, they are not free of political implications and assumptions about learning, issues of equity and access. The National Health School Canteens Guidelines (2014) underpin canteen policies, guidelines and practices with a focus on students 'making healthy food choices at school and in life' (Victoria 2017). Its principal object is health in relation to nutrition, rather than nourishment more broadly, and assumes the school has obligations with regard to student's food choices and integrated into the curriculum, that people choose food based on knowledge of its nutritional qualities and experience, as if these are neutral and can be separated from pleasure or culture.

This paper will consider the historical contexts and meanings of food and nutritional discourses as they are produced in Australian schools. The Research team (including Elaine Swan, Deana Leahy, Emily Gray and Sian Supski) have expertise in the fields of history, sociology, education and cultural studies of food and are working together on a range of publications and activities related to museums and learning about food.



Guiding culinary students to find their place - Chloe Humphries and David Gillespie

Abstract

Since 2011, the Food Design Institute (FDI) at Otago Polytechnic has been one of the only Bachelor of Culinary Arts (BCA) programmes to use design as pedagogy. In an institutionalised culinary education system driven primarily by Escoffier's hierarchical structures and the classical French approach, using an alternative pedagogy has presented numerous challenges. Unlike the traditional master-apprentice methodology, the design model is driven largely by consumer experience rather than technique and provides students with a much greater degree of agency in their educational experience.

Because of the dominant understandings of culinary education, students come with a multiplicity of expectations and often find it challenging entering an enquiry-based framework in which they are not simply taught 'how to cook'. This presentation will investigate some of these student expectations and explore the pedagogical approaches that the BCA uses to provide students with agency and ensure optimal student engagement and satisfaction within the first year of the course. It will document the journey of several student personas through their first year on the BCA, focusing on expectations, attitudes, challenges and the successful strategies used to negotiate these. It will explore the practicalities of course design, the contextualisation of cookery techniques, the application of the design model (including industry examples), the exploration of contemporary culinary practice and the importance of time and place in culinary arts.

BIOGRAPHIES

Dr Karen Agutter is a historian of migration with a particular interest in the host society-migrant relationship in 20th century Australia. Karen is a Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide.

Mike Anastario received his PhD in Sociology from Boston College in 2007. He teaches applied statistics in the Mathematics Department at the Universidad Centroamericana (UCA) in El Salvador, and his research interests focus on social memory, violence, and agrarian life. In his most recent research, he lived, worked, and travelled with Salvadoran couriers who transport food parcels from El Salvador to the US. He is the author of an upcoming book *Parcels: Memories of Salvadoran Migration*.

Palisa Anderson is a portion of a much larger whole that is her family business. Their first business, Chat Thai, was established in 1989, since then they have expanded the operations to 9 eateries, a grocery store, a travel agency and a farm. Spending her childhood in and around restaurants gave her an appreciation for hospitality, a lifelong curiosity of food and ingredients and an easy rapport with people from all different walks of life. After attending the University of Sydney she travelled and worked extensively in Hong Kong, London, New York and Tokyo for 10 years before coming back to Sydney and re-joining the family business, much to the joy of her mother Amy, the family Matriarch. Being one of the directors of the business her role is varied from overseeing staff management to being hands on with R&D for menu planning to selecting varieties of heirloom Southeast Asian herbs, fruits and vegetables to grow on Boon Luck Farm she and her husband own and manage. She is passionate about her role in creating affordably nutritious and enjoyable food and loves meeting challenges that a small family business faces.

Professor Rachel Ankeny is an interdisciplinary scholar whose research interests include food studies and migration. She is currently the Associate Dean Research and the Deputy Dean in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Adelaide.

Jennifer Bailey is completing her Master of Liberal Arts in Gastronomy at Boston University with a focus in Food History and Culture. She has done a variety of research on food and identity, cultural tourism, and women in the beer industry throughout history. Food and identity is a recurring theme in much of her work as it is that importance we place on food, whether we realise it or not, that creates our dynamic with various foods. She currently works for a small family farm outside of Boston and is very active in Boston's local food system.



Sarah Benjamin has been working on the relationship between English cookery book authors and their publishers in the 18th and 19th Century. She is the author of *A Castle in Tuscany: The Remarkable Life of Janet Ross*, 2006 and has presented a paper on Eliza Acton at SAG in Adelaide 2008.

Amalia Berastegui was born in Argentina and moved to Australia 5 years ago. She studied Sociology and developed an interest in Urban Sociology and how food business defines, and it is defined by our space organisation. She come from a family of farmers, so food business has always been part of her life. She is also a fully qualified chef with more than 6 years experience, who always tries to combine her knowledge to reflect on the food system we know, especially regarding food waste and hunger which is something she is deeply concerned about.

Gay Bilson, with Michael Symons and Graham Pont, convened the first Symposium of Australian Gastronomy in 1984. In 2002, with Barbara Santich, Cath Kerry and Jennifer Hillier, she convened the Symposium in Port Adelaide. She thinks she probably co-convened a couple more but can't remember which ones. She was for 25 years a restaurateur and cook in Sydney, centrally, as owner of Berowra Waters Inn (the first three of the 18-years at Berowra Waters as co-owner with Tony Bilson), and then consultant to the newly refurbished Bennelong Restaurant at the Sydney Opera House, 1995-98.

She has created and directed several events centered on food and community, often for the Adelaide Festival and for The Performance Space in Sydney. She was an associate director under Peter Sellars for 2002 Adelaide Festival, producing programs such as Nourish (feeding patients in a large public hospital) and The Edible Library (created by Alicia Rios). In 2004 she directed a large community project, Eating the City, for the City of Melbourne. As an extension of this project, she recorded oral histories with the immigrant and indigenous communities that took part.

In 2011, she created and directed an event for the Adelaide Film Festival, One Magic Bowl. She is the author of *Plenty: Digressions on Food*. *Plenty* won the Nita B. Kibble Prize for Women's Life Writing and was named The Age Book of the Year in 2005. Her *On Digestion* (Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), is one of the essays in MUP's 'Little Books on Big Themes' series. For some years she was a contributor to *The Monthly* and to *Australian Book Review*. Her essays have been published in, for instance, *Voracious* (Hardie Grant, 2011) and *Island* magazine, University of Tasmania, 2012. She is on the board of Sprung!! Integrated Dance Company (dancers with disability and abled dancers), and has spent time volunteering with Liberation Larder, in Byron Bay, which provides food and meals for those in need.



Jocelyn Bosse is undertaking her PhD in the TC Beirne School of Law, as part of the Australian Research Council Laureate Fellowship project entitled, 'Harnessing Intellectual Property to Build Food Security'. She has been a research assistant in the School of Agriculture since 2015, where she conducts research on the improvement of Australian rice varieties to temperature stress. Her research interests include plant biology, traditional knowledge, access and benefit sharing, and international trade law.

Tania Cammarano is a PhD candidate at the University of Adelaide. Her research focuses on the history of Italian food in Australia. Prior to embarking on an academic career, she wrote about food for News Limited and Australian Associated Press, amongst others. She was also the founding editor of food and recipe website, taste.com.au. She has taught food writing as part of the Graduate Program in Food Studies at the University of Adelaide and is currently teaching in the Higher Education program at William Angliss Institute.

Dr. Miin Chan, MBBS, BMedSc. As a medical doctor & researcher obsessed with taste, food culture, ferments and nutrition, Miin founded Australia's first tibicos business, Dr.Chan's. She helped to create the local wild fermentation industry through products, education, science communication and consultation. Working with farmers' markets, Slow Food Melbourne and urban agriculture charity Sustain, she has a deep love for all things food, from soil to gut. Engaged in a love affair with microbes, Miin is undertaking a PhD at the University of Melbourne researching the effects of fermented foods on chronic disease via gut microbiota.

Laura Dalrymple is co-director and owner of Feather and Bone, a retailer and wholesaler of ethically-raised meat and poultry based in Sydney. For over 10 years Laura and her partner, Grant Hilliard, have written and talked extensively on the politics of meat. After 20 years working in graphic design and brand communications, Laura joined Grant at Feather and Bone to help build a business designed to support regenerative farmers and encourage consumers to become change agents for a better food future. Feather and Bone emphasises the importance of transparency in the whole cycle of meat production and consumption and the business exclusively sources whole animals direct from farms that they have visited personally. The decision to eat meat requires being able to look the animal in the eye.



Max Dingle is an artist, curator and writer and a National Art School graduate. As Deputy Director of the Australian National Maritime Museum until 2008, he carried out research on food in maritime history. Since 2008, Max has authored a number of books and writes for South Coast websites and magazines, on art, culture, food and wine.

Dr Jean Duruz is an Adjunct Senior Research Fellow in the School of Creative Industries at the University of South Australia; she is also an Affiliated Professor of the University of Toronto's Culinary Research Centre. Her research focuses on cultural connections of place and identity in postcolonial, global cities, such as London, Mexico City, New York City, Sydney and Singapore, and has been published in journals and edited collections, such as *Gastronomica*, *Cultural Studies Review* and *Food and Foodways in Asia*. Co-written with Gaik Cheng Khoo, Jean's recent book is *Eating Together: Food, Space and Identity in Malaysia and Singapore* (Rowman & Littlefield).

Jacqueline Dutton is Associate Professor in French Studies at the University of Melbourne. She has published widely on contemporary French literature and culture, including a monograph in French on 2008 Nobel Laureate JMG Le Clézio's utopian visions: *Le Chercheur d'or et d'ailleurs: L'Utopie de JMG Le Clézio* (2003). Her writing on food and wine ranges from articles on feeding utopian desires in futuristic French literature, to identity and authenticity for European winemakers in Myanmar. Recent editing projects include volumes on dark travel (*Postcolonial Studies*), counterculture (*M/C Journal*), time and travel writing (*Nottingham French Studies*) and the future of Francophonie (*Australian Journal of French Studies*). She is currently working on a cultural history of wine in Bordeaux, Burgundy and Champagne, and co-editing a book for Routledge on Wine, Terroir and Utopia with Peter Howland.

Graham Ellender graduated in Dental Surgery, University of London, worked in general practice for four years before taking appointments at the University of Western Australia, and then University of Melbourne where he completed MDS in Biomaterials and Restorative Dentistry, and PhD in Experimental Pathology. Eventually, desiring country life he started a "one day a week practice" in Central Victoria with the intention of remaining an academic, BUT the urge to become "a country bumpkin" prevailed and Jenny and Graham bought 40 acres and developed a vineyard and winery with an "Osteria". Having sold, is now residing in Adelaide, and reviewing "changes in flavour perception throughout life and its relationship through gastronomy on physical and mental wellbeing. Graham currently holds an appointment as Adjunct Senior Lecturer, School of Dentistry, The University of Adelaide.



Jillian Garvey is an ARC DECRA Fellow in the Department of Archaeology and History at La Trobe University specialising in Indigenous Australian archaeology with a focus on the role of animals (zooarchaeology). She has been involved in numerous research projects on the late Quaternary of Australia including: southwest Tasmania; Lake Mungo, NSW; Cuddie Springs, NSW, and Lancefield, VIC. She has also worked on faunal assemblages from the Middle Palaeolithic of China. Her current research is on human occupation and use of the landscape in the central Murray River Valley in northwest Victoria, and northwest and eastern Tasmania. Much of this recent work has focused on freshwater and marine shell middens. To help interpret faunal patterns in the archaeological record, Jillian has combined her background in zoology and archaeology to undertake economic utility or butchery experiments and nutritional analysis of modern native animals. She is also using this information, coupled with the archaeological record, from to help inform on the potential role of native animals in the modern Australian diet. She discussed some of these ideas in *The Conversation 'The Australian Palaeodiet: which native animals should we eat?'* (July 52017), and at the 2017 Theo Murphy High Flyers Think Tank on *Rethinking Food and Nutrition Science* organised by the Australia Academy of Science.

Terese Gagnon is a PhD student in anthropology at Syracuse University. Her dissertation research focuses on the co-movement of Karen peoples from the mountainous areas of Karen State in southeast Burma/Myanmar with their plants and agricultural practices, to refugee camps in northern Thailand and to third-country resettlement sites such as Syracuse, New York. This ethnographic project asks questions about collective memory and political economy/ecology post-conflict and in the contexts of forced migration and exile.

Colette Geier is a former chef and food writer turned scientist. Colette is using her background in food and agriculture to help guide her current role bioprospecting native Australian plants.

David Gillespie is a lecturer in the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic currently one of the principal tutors for the Bachelor of Culinary Arts (BCA) programme. The primary educational focus involves culinary design and advocating project-based learning. The scope of culinary teaching in this environment encapsulates a wider perspective compared what is seen in traditional approaches to cookery education within New Zealand. David and the Bachelor of Culinary Arts team were recipients of an AKO Aotearoa Academy of Tertiary Teaching Excellence award in 2015.



Jenni Gough combines a background in cultural studies and hospitality to draw together communities around regional and seasonal food. You'll find her driving out into the country to visit people who grow and nurture our food, serving up dishes that celebrate this and helping the community and industry to get closer to the source. In her previous life, Jenni was a social researcher and advocate with a focus on the social determinants of women's health. She has a professional background in art, the not-for-profit sector and hospitality. She holds a Bachelor of Arts with honours in Gender, Sexuality and Culture from the Australian National University and has studied Gastronomic Tourism through Le Cordon Bleu, Australia. She currently resides in Canberra.

Neil Gow was born and educated in Scotland. He holds a Master's Degree in Gastronomic Tourism from Le Cordon Bleu and Southern Cross University where he authored a thesis entitled "Leveraging Gastronomic Science & Culinary Trends to Embetter Society's Ability to Eat Well Now and in the Future". He additionally holds a Diplôme Universitaire du Goût, de la Gastronomie et des Arts de la Table from the Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne and is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. Neil works with a number of internationally recognised culinary and gastronomic organisations and lectures on a range of subjects including Modernist Cuisine and Gastrophysics.

Saman Hassibi is a PhD candidate in management at University of Canterbury, Christchurch. Her research focuses on representation of cuisine in the print media of New Zealand. Her recent publication is a translation of the oldest Persian cooking manuscript, *The Manual*, by Prospect Books.

Vince Heffernan, from Moorlands Biodynamic Lamb, is a sheep meat grazer. His farm is at Dalton, near Yass in NSW, an hour from Canberra, and fronts the Lachlan River. It is owned and run jointly with Janet Heffernan. On their 1200 hectares they pasture about 2,500 Texel sheep, an old Dutch breed known for the quality of its meat. Heffernan has a degree in ecological agriculture from the University of Sydney and practises biodynamics — he is a member of Demeter certification. He believes through evidence-based research that the soil is enhanced by using biodynamic preparations. He applies high density short rotations to his pasture with long rest periods all of which is a derivation of Holistic Cell Grazing. He hasn't drenched with chemicals in 12 years. Instead, he uses rotational grazing to prevent worm larvae hatching and being eaten by the sheep. Heffernan sells his lambs directly. Lambs are killed at the abattoir and packaged for delivery to customers at farmers' markets particularly in Canberra. He writes a monthly newsletter to his customers, so they understand the background to all that happens on the farm. Heffernan was a gold medallist at the 2017 Delicious Produce Awards. Heffernan is also chair of Upper Lachlan Landcare, a Not-for-Profit community network of individuals and the

Landcare region of NSW. He is keen on encouraging biodiversity and has planted 50-70,000 trees on the property. Glossy Black Cockatoos will only eat *Casuarina Verticulata* seeds so that is what he plants. The number of birds has increased significantly on his land as have insects and wasps. He is planting aquatic plants to bring back the water birds.

Tony Heptinstall is a Senior Lecturer in the Food Design Institute of Otago Polytechnic. Tony leads classes on the Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme and Certificate in Cookery programmes, as well as running numerous general interest classes on plant-based cooking, fermentation and health eating trends. Since joining Otago Polytechnic in 1997, Tony has developed and implemented several new innovative programmes, including the Bachelor of Culinary Arts, which is the only culinary degree with a design focus; Assessment of Prior Learning (APL) programme at Bachelor level. Tony, along with four other Food Design Institute staff members, was awarded a National Tertiary Teaching Excellence award by Ako Aotearoa in 2014. The award recognised “the highly innovative learner-centred undergraduate programme framed by reflective practice, experiential learning, design-led thinking and authentic work projects.” (Ako Aotearoa 2014). In 2018 Tony along with fellow lecturer, Tim Lynch, won a gold medal at the NZ Design Institute Awards for their work with Geometry and Sanitarium on the Edible Garden marketing campaign for Sanitarium’s So Good alternative milk range. Tony has loved living in Dunedin for over 20 years with his wife, Caroline. Alongside his work at Polytechnic, he also volunteers at the Otago Hospice and with the Kakapo recovery programme on Whenua Hou (Codfish Island).

Hilary Heslop has worked for major retailers, food manufacturers, hotels and restaurants in Australia, the United Kingdom, Asia and New Zealand. She now runs a food consultancy in Melbourne and as just completed the Le Cordon Bleu Masters of Gastronomic Tourism. Her work experience coupled with a keen interest in global agricultural practices has directed her attention on the tensions between food ethics, sustainability and consumerism.

Grant Hilliard is the founder and co-director of Feather & Bone, a retailer and wholesaler of ethically-raised meat and poultry based in Sydney. For over 10 years Grant and his partner, Laura Dalrymple, have written and talked extensively on the politics of meat. With a background as a filmmaker and sommelier he is interested in the connections between things and is investigating the idea of spaces and intervals as organising principles in the diverse areas of soil biology, crop and grazing rotations, fasting, film and music. For the last decade he has emphasised the importance of transparency in the whole cycle of meat production and consumption, by sourcing directly from farmers and

personally visiting all of the farmers that supply his business. The decision to eat meat requires being able to look the animal in the eye.

Dr Kate Howell, PhD, is a senior lecturer at the University of Melbourne, with research interests in microbial ecology and food biochemistry. She studies yeast and bacterial communities in a wide variety of food ecosystems, including bread, beer, wine and chocolate. Why does food taste better when a community of microbes is present? What can interactions between microorganisms tell us about wider ecological systems? Kate uses analytical methods to understand the biochemical pathways of yeasts and bacteria that influence flavour production and draws these together with broader ecological and social understandings of taste, health and sustainability.

Chloe Humphreys is a lecturer on the Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme at the Food Design Institute, Otago Polytechnic. With a background in Art History, Design, and Secondary Teaching, it was a personal health journey that propelled her passion for cooking, culminating in the perfect marriage of food and design. Since then, she has worked as a private chef, café consultant and food educator, with her current role as lecturer enabling her to use design pedagogy across a multiplicity of food contexts.

Heather Hunwick has had a long professional career in Sydney in food service and nutrition consulting in health and education in both the public and private sectors. Her interests in food in all its dimensions have included teaching, researching and writing. More recently she has focused on foods and their historical impact on urban settings. Previous publications include *Nutrition in Food Service*, and *Doughnut: A Global History*. Her most recent book is *The Food and Drink of Sydney: A History* It is another in the series of big-city food biographies published by USA-based Rowman & Littlefield.

Kylie Javier-Ashton found her passion for restaurants working at the world-renowned Tetsuya's. She worked at Bentley Bar & Restaurant and Duke Bistro before joining Momofuku Seiōbo shortly after it opened in October 2011. She has been part of many hospitality industry initiatives including the Taste of Young Sydney Collective, judging the Young Waiters competition for the national Appetite for Excellence program and is the Sydney coordinator for Grow Assembly. She was nominated for Gourmet Traveller Maître D' of the Year 2018 and was awarded Restaurant Manager of the Year in the inaugural Women in Foodservice Awards 2017 and received the National Service Excellence Award at the Good Food Guide Awards 2019.

Nicholas Jordan is a freelance journalist, copywriter and media producer. His features on food and the stories behind it have been published in *The Guardian*, *Australian Gourmet Traveller*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *Delicious*. He writes regular food news for



Broadsheet and pens a column called *Local Knowledge*, a weekly series about restaurants, bakeries and delis that represent Sydney's many migrant communities. He talks about that column and more every Friday morning on FBI Radio and in his spare time, when he's not eating, he organises board game events, plays badminton and runs a freestyle dance group.

Ross Karavis is a Doctoral candidate at the University of Melbourne researching the impact of French gastronomic taste on Australian food culture between 1850 and 1914. He has previously undertaken research on the 1901 Federation Dinners and on the emergence of yum cha in Australia as a result of the migration that arose from the Handover of Hong Kong in the 1990s. He is interested in the intersections between food history, transnationalism and the emergence of modern culinary culture. In his professional life he has run food and beverage competitions and established the annual food and wine festival for the Greek community in Melbourne.

Bev Laing has written or contributed to over 20 books of education resources used in Australian schools today. She was Education Specialist for several years at the Stephanie Alexander Kitchen Garden Foundation, education writer on the Indigenous children's animation, *Little J and Big Cuz* (2017), and works for Environment Education Victoria as Programs Manager. Bev is a Canadian, with a Master's with distinction from the University of Oxford, a permaculture design certificate, a small farm and an alarmingly large collection of cookbooks.

Timothy Lynch is a lecturer at the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic. His background is as a chef with over two decades professional cooking experience within New Zealand and throughout Europe before shifting to the academic realm. Tim is currently involved in creating holistic and integrated educational and enterprise models for students, which involves the exploration of value creation through storytelling, provenance and sustainability.

Dr. Alana Mann is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Media and Communications, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Sydney, and a key researcher in the University's Sydney Environment Institute. Her research focuses on the communicative dimensions of citizen engagement, participation and collective action in food systems planning and governance. She is a Chief Investigator on the Australian Research Council funded project *FoodLab Sydney* with partners including the City of Sydney and FoodLab Detroit and is collaborating with Macquarie University and the University of Technology Sydney on the project *Growing Food and Density Together: Enabling Sustainable Place-making through Local Foodscapes in the Inner City*, funded by Urban Growth NSW.



Dr Richard Mitchell is Professor in Food Design at the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic and is widely published in the confluence of people, place and culture. His work can be best described as polymathic as he has explored consumer behaviour, experiential consumption, business networks, regional development, learning through play, food design and more recently food as performance. He has more than 160 research outputs spanning almost two decades and most recently his work has included a series of food experiences/performances that critically question a range of food issues.

Frieda Moran is a History PhD candidate at the University of Tasmania. Her thesis will examine the cultural history of food safety in Australia. She recently completed her honours thesis: 'Ordinary and Exotic: A Cultural History of Curry in Australia', from which her proposed paper for the 2018 Australian Symposium of Gastronomy is derived.

Virginia D. Nazarea is Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Ethnoecology/Biodiversity Laboratory at the University of Georgia. She has authored *Cultural Memory and Biodiversity* and *Heirloom Seeds and Their Keepers: Memory and Marginality in the Conservation of Biological Diversity* and co-edited *Seeds of Resistance, Seeds of Hope: Place and Agency in the Conservation of Biodiversity*. She serves as Series Editor for the University of Arizona Press' recently launched "Biodiversity in Small Spaces". Her current research examines the repatriation of native potatoes from the International Potato Centre (CIP) gene bank to the Quechua farmers in Cusco, Peru.

Jacqui Newling is an LCB Masters in Gastronomy graduate through Adelaide University and specialises in early Australian colonial foodways and culinary heritage. As an interpretation curator and 'resident gastronomer' at Sydney Living Museums (SLM) Jacqui uses food to interpret and communicate history and heritage in a variety of mediums. She hosts regular Colonial Gastronomy programs and workshops at SLM's heritage places and is 'the Cook' in SLM's food heritage blog, *The Cook & the Curator*. Jacqui co-curated 'Eat your history, a shared table' exhibition at The Museum of Sydney (2013-2014), and is author of *Eat your history, stories and recipes from Australian kitchens*. (SLM and New South Publishing, 2015). Jacqui continues post-graduate studies in history at Sydney University researching food and food security in the founding years of colonial settlement in New South Wales and Norfolk Island.

John Newton is a freelance writer, journalist, novelist and teacher. His books include *The Roots of Civilisation: Plants that changed the world*, *A Savage History: Whaling in the Pacific and Southern Oceans* and, *The Oldest Foods on Earth: The story of Australian native food, with recipes*, published in 2016. John has won many awards for his writing including the Golden Ladle for Best Food Journalism in the 2005 World Food Media Awards. In 2015 he was awarded a Doctor of Creative Arts from UTS.

Diana Noyce holds a Master's degree in Gastronomy from the University of Adelaide and has been researching and teaching food history and food culture for a number of years. She lectures at various institutes as well as cruise ships on aspects of food and culture and has presented papers at several conferences both in Australia and overseas, in particular, the International Commission for Research into European Food History, the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, and the Symposium of Australian Gastronomy. Publications comprise book chapters, various journal articles including online journals as well as newspapers.

Charmaine O'Brien thinks, writes, researches and educates about the social and cultural history of food and eating. She has a strong interest in Australian food history, particularly challenging the historiographical convention that colonial Australians were terrible cooks who ate an "abominable" diet by examining the impact of class, gender and immigration on representations of food and eating habits. Her most recent work on this subject include *The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901* and 'The Devil at Work: The cook in Australian colonial literature'. Charmaine has a PhD in creative writing with a focus on the psychology of creativity. She also holds a masters of coaching psychology and coaches creative development. She is internationally recognised for her work on Indian food history and culture, which includes *The Penguin Food Guide to India*, the first comprehensive guide to Indian regional food, *Recipes from an Urban Village* and *Flavours of Delhi*.

Sharon Salloum. Chef, Almond Bar A mother's love for food inspired Sharon to learn authentic cooking traditions from Syria. Sharon quickly developed her culinary skills into a thriving passion for food and an eagerness to present all that she had learnt to Sydney's food society through Almond Bar and now, 3 Tomatoes. Never having had formal training, Sharon taught herself to run a commercial kitchen. This has seen her invited to participate in many initiatives such as *The Great Australian Cookbook*, *Cook for Syria*, Food Safari, Tasting Australia, and more recently the Copenhagen Cooking and Food Festival and is the author of Australia's first Syrian cookbook, *Almond Bar: 100 Delicious Syrian Recipes*. Sharon hopes to take Middle Eastern food to a whole new level of appreciation and awareness in Australia, while expanding and contributing to the evolution of the ancient cuisine.

Joanna Savill is an experienced communicator in the food space - as a long-time journalist, erstwhile TV presenter and editor (including eight years editing *The SMH Good Food Guide*) but also in the crazy world of marketing and events where she spends most of her time these days. She is a committed advocate for food producers, women in the hospitality industry and all those who work towards a better food future.



Angie Prendergast-Sceats believes everyone deserves a good meal. Showing love through food is what makes her tick. Angie is the Culinary Director at Two Good, this role oversees production in both Sydney and Melbourne, cooking for disadvantaged groups as well as managing the Work Work program, employing women living in crisis centres across the kitchens in Sydney and Melbourne. When she's not cooking or eating she's developing ways to share skills and recipes with others. She has been teaching cooking to disadvantaged groups since 2012 at Jamie Oliver's Ministry of Food, Youth Food Movement, and at other sustainably minded local businesses including Feather & Bone Butcher and leading the Sydney chapter of Slow Food. Angie currently coordinates the national cooking program for Two Good Foundation. This program is aimed at changing the cooking habits of women living in crisis.

Lauren Samuelsson is a history PhD candidate at the University of Wollongong. Her research looks at the way that the *Australian Women's Weekly* contributed to the development of Australian food culture throughout the twentieth century.

Barbara Santich is a highly respected food writer, culinary historian and academic, with an abiding interest in French food, cooking and eating, currently focused on eighteenth-century Provence. Her book on Australian food history, *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage*, was shortlisted in the non-fiction category of the 2013 Prime Minister's Literary Awards. Her latest work is her memoir of living in France, *Wild Asparagus, Wild Strawberries*.

Yasuaki Sato is Associate Professor at Osaka Sangyo University, where he teaches the relationship of culture and biodiversity. His ethnobotanical research examines the livelihood system based on bananas in the world, especially East Africa and Papua New Guinea. He is a co-author of *Cooking Banana in Africa*, and the author of *Life-world of Banana Cultivators in Uganda: An Ethnoscience Approach* (in Japanese). His current project focuses on the dietary education in consideration of local wisdom in rural Uganda through a participatory method.

Amie Sexton is a musician and researcher who completed a PhD on the anthropology of wine production at The University of Melbourne in 2017. She completed undergraduate studies in music and French, and has a particular interest in the creative process, wine and the arts. She currently spreads her work between the wine industry, the arts and research.

Giulia Smith, MSc, recently completed her Master of Food Science at the University of Melbourne. Her thesis, "Taming the Wild: The Practice of Wild Fermentation in Food and Beverage Production" uses an ethnographic approach to examine the values, practices and beliefs surrounding small-scale production and consumption of wild fermented



products. A food-focused anthropologist, food scientist and food systems researcher, Giulia has worked in Rome with the FAO, IFAD and VEIL's innovative FoodPrint Melbourne Project. Fascinated by the culture of cultures and the human-microbe relationship, she is currently applying her knowledge of fermentation to the winemaking sector.

Jenny Smith is a PhD candidate at the University of Southern Queensland, living and researching in Tasmania. Her research is focussing on people who are new to farming in Tasmania; what motivated this change in lifestyle, how they are learning to farm, how they are learning to feed themselves and their local communities. Jenny has an MA from the University of Cambridge in Archaeology and Anthropology, but most of her working life has been involved with Aboriginal cultural heritage management in Western Australia and Tasmania.

Constanza Monterrubio Solís, PhD is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, with previous experience in community-managed forests in Southern Mexico. This work was developed through a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios de Chiapas y la Frontera Sur, UNAM. Her current work focuses on the resilience of native seeds cultivation and related practices in the region of La Araucanía, Chile.

André Taber is a journalist, researcher and author whose interest is mainly in food history. He has written two books: *A Buyer's Guide to New Zealand Olive Oil* and *The Great New Zealand Pie Guide*. He has been a regular presenter at the New Zealand Symposia for Food History and contributor to *The Aristologist*. In 2016 he added 'tour guide' to his resumé with a walking food history tour of his suburb, Ponsonby.

Alex Xuan-Bach Tran graduated from Swinburne University in 2012 and William Angliss Institute (Australia) in 2014. His background is cooking and culinary management with roughly 4 years in business consultancy, training, and marketing. Besides, Alex is also a cookbook author, food and travel writer, and editor in Vietnam. From 2015 to 2016, he worked as South Vietnam General Manager for KAfe Group (Vietnam). He has just finished his Master of Gastronomy program at Auckland University of Technology (New Zealand) in 2018 and is planning to start his PhD in the coming year. His research focus includes Vietnamese and Japanese culture and society, popular culture, gastronomy, gender, and identity in everyday life.



Dr Garritt (Chip) Van Dyk is a Junior Research Fellow, Enlightenment Studies, in the Sydney Intellectual History Network. His research explores the relationship between food and identity, using economic history to examine both commercial and cultural exchange in early modern Europe. He received the Sophie Coe Prize for Food History for his research on the role of English consumers in the development of effervescent wine. Chip also brings the perspective of a practitioner to his research, as a former chef, and student of cookery and pastry at Le Cordon Bleu and Ecole Lenôtre.

Paul van Reyk is a food writer and activist. Paul has published articles in *Gastronomica* ("Antipodean Psittacophagy", *Gastronomica* 5, no. 2, Spring 2005), *Artlink* ("Food Slut Manifesto". *Artlink* 24, no. 2, 2004), *Divine* ("Samphire: A tale of culinary obsession", Issue 27, September/November 2001; "Roll on Oztralia", Issue 29, May/July 2002; "Metroagriculturalist", Issue 39, March/May 2005; "Dirty Food", Issue 40, August/October 2005). He has presented papers at the 11th SAG ("Conquered cuisines"), 14th SAG ("Utopias/Dystopias: Upepsia/Dyspepsia"); 15th SAG ("Valley FoodLink; A hand up not a hand out"), 16th SAG ("Jumbucks, bream, and dole bread: Australian songs about rivers and food"); and presented a paper at *Cookery Books as History*, a conference by the Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink, University of Adelaide, 2006 ("Thamboom Hodie, Lumpraya Curry and Blancmange. A chundu or two of the domestic economy of Dutch Burgher women in Sri Lanka in the early to mid-20th century through a reading of the domestic cookery book of Ada de la Harp".) His article "The Bland or the Bountiful?: Notes on Australian dining between World Wars 1& 2" was published in *Petit Propos Culinaire* in 2016. Paul was on the organising group for the 13th SAG and is a member of the committee for the 22nd SAG. Paul manages compost.sydney, a website for new Australian writing on food. Paul has also published an annotated ebook facsimile copy of the *Cookbook of Ada de la Harpe*. Paul is currently writing a history of food in Australia for Reaktion Books.

Associate Professor Adele Wessell is a food historian based at Southern Cross University. She is the editor of *Locale: Pacific Journal of Regional Food Studies* and teaches Gastronomy and Communication. Her research is focussed in two areas – small scale food production and cookbooks.

Adrian Woodhouse is the academic leader of the Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme at the Food Design Institute, Otago Polytechnic, New Zealand. As a chef and academic, Adrian's research is positioned within critical pedagogy with a primary focus on culinary education, power and identity formation. In particular, Adrian's research focuses of both the power relationships that exist within the explicit structural and implicit hidden culinary curriculums. Adrian is currently a doctorate candidate and is extending research into culinary and academic storytelling through the methodology of autoethnography.



22nd Symposium of
AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

Gavin Wright, Sommelier, Wyno started out at 16, working as a waiter in a hot rock restaurant called Flintstones, where guests cooked their own food BBQ-style at the table. He continued work in restaurants to finance his way through business college. Hospitality as a career only really became apparent whilst working for Neil Perry, and later Tetsuya - at the time, number six on the world's top restaurant list. These restaurants and their training programs really focused his interest in wine. In Sydney, Gavin managed The Wine Library in Woollahra at a time when natural wine was emerging, and the status quo was increasingly being challenged. Combined with the emergence of social media, wine became cool again; a renaissance worldwide seemed to be happening, and a younger demographic became engaged. Gavin has managed wine programs for several celebrated chefs, currently at Porteno Group's Wyno in Surry Hills.



THANK YOU

The 22nd Symposium of Australian Gastronomy would like to thank our sponsors and supporters, without whom an event like this would be impossible to produce.

We are particularly indebted to our Principal Partner, the **School of Business** at **Western Sydney University** for providing such a wonderful venue for us to meet in and much more besides. Dr Tim Hall, who has been our guide and supporter in his role as Partnership Manager for the Symposium, has made the process smooth and workable from the outset.

We also thank **Sydney Living Museums** for providing access to the historic Elizabeth Farm for the reception. As the first working farm of the colony, the significance of this site to our theme and for the production of food in this country is incomparable. We hope you enjoy the grounds and the house.

Special thanks go to **UrbanGrowth NSW Development Corporation** for allowing us to host the Symposium banquet within the Female Factory Precinct. Amid the throng of restoration and construction work, they have been instrumental in helping us host the dinner in a truly unique space. Together with Parramatta **Chef Paul Kuipers**, owner of [Courtney's Brasserie](#) we have enjoyed crafting what we hope will be a night to remember.

We would also like to thank the **City of Parramatta** for supporting the Symposium and creating the unique Sunday walking tours. If you haven't already, make sure to book into one. We want you to take some time to get to know our place, before you return home to yours.

A range of other people and businesses have supported us in creating the Symposium, namely, our accommodation partner, Novotel Parramatta, First Ridge Wines, The Little Wine Company, Cape Byron Distillery, Adora Chocolates and Herbie's Spices. Thanks, too, for the excellent handover support from the 21st Symposium of Australian Gastronomy committee and Corvus Creative, who built our website.



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