THIRD SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

A Multiculinary Society

Proceedings
Melbourne, March 8-10, 1987

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

'A multiculinary society'

Melbourne, March 8-10, 1987

Edited by Barbara Santich and Michael Symons

Adelaide, 1988

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Convenors: Gay Bilson, Anthony Corones, Michael Symons
Symposium organiser: Lois Butt, 16 View Road, Vermont 3133

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

Having digested this collection of documents from the Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, you can locate further reports by Paul Levy (London Observer, March 15, 1987), Gay Bilson (Times on Sunday, March 15, 1987), Rita Erlich (Melbourne Age, March 17, 1987) and Barbara Santich (Petits Propos Culinaires 26: 25-27). Robyn Ravlich broadcast her tapes on Surface Tension (ABC Radio National on Saturday, April 11, 1987).

The Fourth Symposium is being convened by Gay Bilson, Anthony Corones, Graham Pont and Barbara Santich in Sydney from October 16-18, 1988, and it was also decided in Melbourne that the Fifth Symposium would return to the Adelaide Festival of Arts in March, 1990.

Further copies of this report are available, as are the Proceedings of the first two Symposia (Adelaide, March 1984 and September 1985).

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THIRD SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

MELBOURNE, MARCH 8-10, 1987

Prologue

The true cook, wrote Norman Douglas in his oft-quoted South Wind, "must have not only those externals (of culinary skill and temperament), but a large dose of general wordly experience. He is the perfect blend, the only perfect blend, of artist and philosopher. He knows his worth: he holds in his palm the happiness of mankind, the welfare of generations yet unborn."

Towards the end of Stephanie Alexander's Snips and Snails Symposium Dinner, Paul Levy expressed the same general sentiments: "It's no accident that your best cooks are intellectuals. Yours is a reflective cuisine, and it has to be, because you're working out what you are."

Working out what we are; accepting the fundamental truth of 'Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es'. Working it out through exploration of the concept of An Upstart Cuisine, through debate of the subject Foodism: Philosophy or Fad?, and through questioning the value and validity of A Multiculinary Society.

What has been achieved in these three symposia goes far beyond individual stimululation and inspiration and group euphoria. I believe that - almost by our continued presence alone - we have influenced nutritionists to question their established scientific values, inspired a high-rating ABC television series (and, who knows, perhaps even the new radio program), and stimulated debate as to the existence and

identity of A National Cuisine. To continue in this modest vein, I believe that the three symposia to date have placed Australia in the forefront of world gastronomy.

Behind the exuberance and carefree camaraderie of the few days of the symposium lies a deep commitment to a unifying ideal. At this Third Symposium, guided by the generous and ever-patient Lois Butt, we listened to Anthony Corones arguing how multiculinarism can be a stimulus to the development of gastronomy, and to Mark Wahlqvist describing how the 'social activity' of eating can have a beneficial effect on health and well-being. In settings as diverse as the idyllic rusticity of Montsalvat and the formal elegance of Stephanie's, we absorbed the statements made by Gabriel Gaté's barbecued quail and Stephanie Alexander's pot of garden snails. We debated how Australia might benefit, in a culinary sense, by borrowing from other nations; and we tried to identify the strengths and weaknesses of cuisine in Australia today.

"At your symposia, through intellectual processes, through meals eaten, through talking about individual contributions, you are actually forging basic political philosophies," remarked Paul Levy. "How amazing - but perhaps antipodean - that the arena should be food! Almost every nation underestimates the importance of the food component of national identity, but here you are working it out in the most intelligent and most civilised way." This volume of proceedings is a testament to our progress.

Barbara Santich

THIRD SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

"A multiculinary society"

Melbourne, March 8-10, 1987

Convenors: Gay Bilson, Anthony Corones, Michael Symons

Organising committee: Stephanie Alexander, Lois Butt, Ann Creber, Dur-é Dara, Rita Erlich, Gabriel Gaté, Sarah Gough, Diane Holuigue, Sandy Michell, Gwenda Robb, Penny Smith, Rebecca Zuesse

Secretary: Lois Butt, 16 View Road, Vermont Vic 3133

PROGRAM

Sunday, March 8

STEPHANIE'S RESTAURANT, 405 Tooronga Road, Hawthorn East (03) 20 8944

6.00 Welcoming tea of cold meats
In the tradition of the original Brown Bread Lunch and the second symposium's Pie Tea, participants have been invited to bring cold meat and chutneys.

Monday, March 9
(Labour Day holiday in Victoria)

9.00: Bus departs Stephanie's Restaurant for Montsalvat

MONTSALVAT, Hillcrest Avenue, Eltham (03) 439 7712

9.30: Final registration.

10.00: Multiculinarism
(Chair: Michael Symons)

Anthony Corones, "Multiculinarism and the Emergence of Gastronomy"
With culinary consciousness heightened by the interaction of diverse cuisines, multiculinarism has played a role in the development of gastronomy since antiquity and will give an impetus to Australian gastronomy.

Barbara Santich, "Australian Culinary Xenophobia"
Until recently, Australians have shown an insular patriotism and marked aversion to the cuisines of other cultures.

Graham Pont, "Upstart Gastronomy: a Cuisine without Peasants"
In opposition to the thesis in One Continuous Picnic that a peasantry is necessary for producing a distinctive, regional cuisine, Australia has already produced three - the Aboriginal, the Anglo-Australian cuisine bourgeoise, and now a third, brought by post-war immigrants.

James Halliday (presented by Suzanne Halliday), "Multiculinarism: One-night Stand or a Marriage Made to Last?"
Suddenly we are confronted by world food, the most trendy guises being Nouvelle Chinese and Nouvelle Italian. If a cuisine is to survive as a legitimate expression of a region, it must draw raw materials and traditions from that region

11.15: Morning coffee

11.45: Styles and Judgements
(Chair: Anthony Corones)

Michael Symons, "A Gastronomy of Nouvelle Cuisine"
Now that food industrialisation is complete, nouvelle cuisine is the first global cuisine, as opposed to traditional, regional, agrarian-based styles. The immediate choice is to be "creative and innovative" or to return to ethnic recipes.

Rebecca Zuesse, "Food as a Medium of Subcultural Style"
With industry fostering fashions in food, subcultural responses include creating new, exclusive symbols or condemning commodified food as "inauthentic". But food has a reality which enables people to engage authentically with it, to "personalise" purchases.

Jennifer Hillier, "Dining as Theatre"
The German poet and playwright, Bertolt Brecht, as a materialist, sets out a theory of drama which provides useful pointers to a theory of dining, clarifying some social and aesthetic debates raised at the last symposium.

1.00: Barbecue
We lunch in the grounds of the once artists' colony, Montsalvat, now being turned into a centre of fine food, music and the arts under Sigmund Jörgensen

2.30: The Healthy Gourmand
(Chair: Gay Bilson)

Beverley Sutherland-Smith, "Irradiation: A Cause for Serious Concern"
Irradiated food is not desired by consumers, but by nuclear industries, large food chains and government agencies.

Rita Erlich and Pat Crotty, "In Sickness and in Health: Changing Attitudes to Food"
The role of diet in health has been one of the major rediscoveries of recent years. Even gastronomes do not remain uninfluenced.

Mark Wahlqvist, "Social Activity and Food"
Recent research has paid attention to the influence of social occasions on health

3.30: Discussion: "The Culinary Partisan"
(Chair: Don Dunstan)
Is the Chinese cuisine the healthiest? Should geographic proximity force us to embrace at Indonesian cooking? Or is the French culinary tradition simply the most technically advanced? We divide into six groups to rank the most promising cuisines from which Australians might borrow, and, more importantly, to give reasons.

5.00 (approx): Bus returns to Stephanie's Restaurant

THE ETHNIC RESTAURANTS OF MELBOURNE

8.00: Ethnic Restaurants
For those who have requested places, we have made bookings at six of Melbourne's most interesting ethnic restaurants: French, Italian, Indian, Thai, Chinese and Japanese.

Tuesday, March 10

VICTORIA MARKET, Elizabeth Street, Melbourne

8.00: Tour of Victoria Market
Gabriel Gaté takes those interested on a visit to the central retail market, the Victoria Market. The tour starts at the meat and fish section, proceeds through the delicatessen hall and climaxes with fruit and vegetables.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, Melbourne University, College Crescent, Parkville (03) 347 3533.

9.30: Assembling at Leitch Hall. Two bookstands open throughout day (Michael Treloar Old and Rare Books and Hill of Content Bookshop)

10.00: Symposia and Academia
(Chair: Maggie Beer)

Paul Levy, "Two Sandwiches Short of a Picnic"
Food symposia have been held in the US, England, Turkey and here. What are the chances of gastronomy becoming a legitimate academic discipline?

10.20: Nineteenth-Century Australia

Bette Austin, "Bibliography of Australian Cookery Books"
Following Alan Davidson's suggestion (after attending the first symposium), staff of the Emily McPherson Library have compiled a bibliography of more than 600 monographs published up to 1941.

Jill Stone, "The Influence of Chinese Growers on Attitudes to Vegetable Consumption in 19th Century Australia"
Changes in attitudes to the eating of vegetables may have been allied to the growing of them by Chinese following the gold rushes.

Marion Halligan, "My brother, let us breakfast in Scotland, lunch in Australia, and dine in France, till our lives end."
This is a quote from nineteenth-century novelist Henry Kingsley. What made Australian lunches worth the voyage?

11.15: Morning coffee

11.45: Directions in the Australian cuisine
(Chair: Graham Pont)

Susan Norris, "The Work Ethic and Our Industry - A Comment"
Who enters the catering industry, and why? How well are they trained and what areas are there for improvement?

John Possingham, "Grapes Old and New"
The Sultana variety is thought to be well over 4,000 years old, and Cabernet Sauvignon was known to the Romans. Of 5000 named varieties of vinifera grapes, 2000 are used commercially, and scientists breed new varieties daily.

Des Buchhorn, "Indigenous Cuisine for the North Coast"
The unique lifestyle of the north coast of NSW is accompanied by a distinctive cuisine. Vegetarianism and health foods are an influence. Many of the subtropical fruits need no tampering with, so little cooking is needed in the warmer months.

Marieke Brugman, "Food in Australia or Australian Food?: Searching for Some Definitions"
Out of glossy food magazines, Hollywood star system chefs, novel varieties, talk of distinctive regional styles, cottage-style agriculturists, growing Asian influence... can an Australian style emerge?

1.00: Lunch: Fruits of the World
Fruits include grapes ~~from~~ John Possingham's CSIRO Division of Horticultural Research, subtropical delights from Des Buchhorn, and maybe even something irresistible picked up at the Victoria Market.

2.30: The Future
(Chair: Don Dunstan)

Discussion: "The Fourth Symposium of Australian Gastronomy"

Discussion: "Strengths and Weaknesses of the Australian Cuisine"
We again divide into six groups to discuss the Australian cuisine. What are the main challenges? What do we have going for us?

4.15: Closing remarks - Gay Bilson

STEPHANIE'S RESTAURANT, 405 Tooronga Road, Hawthorn East

7.30: Dinner
How better to conclude our Melbourne symposium than with a special menu from Stephanie Alexander?

WELCOMING TEA, SUNDAY MARCH 8

Stephanie's Restaurant

Following the tradition established by our previous symposia, this was a contributory meal of cold meats with salads, chutneys, pickles and relishes.

Smoked duck	..Elizabeth Chong
Smoked kangaroo and Angaston charcuterie	..Maggie Beer
Sliced meats	..Rebecca Zuesse
Rillettes of pork	..Gabriel Gaté
Smoked abalone	..Gay Bilson
Aberdeen sausage	..Bette Austin
Chicken & lime salad	..Sandy Michell
Cold curries & accompaniments	..George Hill
Cold duck	..Don Dunstan
Smoked buffalo	..Guy & Melissa Grossi
Platter of cold meats	..Philippa Newbigin
Galantine	..Susan Norris
Pickled fish	..Robin Hindson
Pressed tongue and beef fillet with omelette filling	..Ann Creber
Smoked snapper, trout, sea trout	..Penny Smith, from Mervyn Clark
Galantine of duck	..Margaret Brown
Salade nicoise	..Stephanie Alexander
Rice salad	..Chris Wilde
Salad greens	..Jill Stone
Baby vegetables, fresh dates	..Anna Guthleben
Grapes	..John Possingham

Pickles, chutneys, relishes and fruit jellies were contributed by Scott Minervini, Diana Hetzel, Gail Thomas, Barbara Santich, Marion Halligan, Beverley Sutherland Smith, Michael Dowe and Nathalie Leader.

WINES

Seppelt 1981 Pinot Noir Champagne (Drumborg)
Château Remy Rosé Brut (Avoca)
Yalumba Angas Brut Rosé
Brown Brothers 1986 Tarrango (north-east region)
1986 'Cab Mac'
Petaluma Bridgewater Brut

MULTICULINARISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF GASTRONOMY.

Anthony Corones

You may have noticed that this Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy has been entitled 'A Multiculinary Society'. And once you'd managed to get your tongue around this strange new word, 'multiculinary', (which is not nearly so bad as 'multiculinarism'), you may have even wondered what it could possibly mean. It has become something of a cliche to say that we live in a multicultural society, but multiculinary?

At some level it seems perhaps obvious, even simple. But I contend that it has hidden depths and profound implications. Indeed, I hope to persuade you that 'multiculinarism' is a concept essential to the very nature and development of these symposia, and to show that multiculinarism has always provided a necessary impetus to the emergence of gastronomy.

It will probably be easiest to come at it from the idea of multiculturalism. In the face of today's globalism, of travel and immigration, it is well nigh impossible to remain culturally isolated. We cannot ignore other cultures even though we may try to remain aloof and 'culturally pure'. In Australia, however, we have no policy (officially at least) of apartheid, and the various ethnic groups are obliged to share and to interact in many ways. Ideally we try to at least understand other cultures and to live in harmony with them. And sometimes, like tonight, we even try to eat their food.

Now the word 'multiculinary' might suggest to you something like 'many cuisines'. But of course 'many cuisines' have always existed, though usually only one per society. In a multiculinary society, however, we have the co-existence of many different cuisines. I wish to use the word 'multiculinarism' in a strong sense - to point not just to the presence of many cuisines, but to the awareness of other cuisines, to mutual comparison and influence. And multiculinarism, in this sense, has the consequence of raising our consciousness of food.

Within monoculinary societies, food is not usually 'conscious', or reflected on, because a food tradition, no matter how highly articulated, is handed down from generation to generation uncritically. Indeed, the more 'meaningful' the cuisine, the more it expresses its culture, especially at a sacred level, the more inviolate and untouchable it becomes, because to tamper with it is to endanger the culture itself. We have some residual awareness of a sacred food tradition in the West through the Christian Eucharist, or 'feast of love', where bread and wine represent the flesh and blood of Christ - it would be ridiculous, not to mention blasphemous, to suggest that they should use spinach and orange juice instead, no matter what arguments we advance.

The habit of tradition, however, can be profoundly shocked and shaken by the irruption of foreign influences. Indeed, it is only when we see things done differently that we reflect critically on our own practices, and become open to change and experiment. And the more deeply we open ourselves to other cuisines, the greater our understanding of food. Thus, Elizabeth David

made us aware of French and Italian cuisine in a way that had not been realized before, even though these cuisines had been influential and recognized. How did she do it? She did it by actually living in those countries, by living the daily cuisine of the people of various agricultural regions. Her importance lies not so much in the communication of recipes, but of an attitude. Even our own Michael Symons was 'converted', as it were, by his encounter with Italy, an encounter which went deep to the roots of food in the land and its people. It was in Italy, he wrote in One Continuous Picnic, that he and Jennifer Hillier 'discovered how sublime food could be'.(1) No doubt many of you here today can make similar confessions from your own travels and food encounters.

The more we fall under the sway of multiculinarism, the more we understand how food is a vehicle for culture, and how, as Claude Levi-Strauss argues, a cuisine can carry a world-view which defines the relationship of a society to the environment. The more we study other cuisines, the more we understand the roots of food in agriculture and the form of life of the people. When we realize that food is more than just feed, we begin to become sensitive to the philosophical dimensions of it, to the idea that it is not just recipes that make a cuisine, but principles. Consider, for example, the 'fan-ts'ai' principle in Chinese cuisine, where 'fan' comprises grains and starch foods, and 'ts'ai', vegetable and meat dishes. Given the principle of a correct balance between 'fan' and 'ts'ai', then, as K.C. Chang argues in Food in Chinese Culture, if we

> send a Chinese cook into an American kitchen, given Chinese or American

> ingredients, he or she will (a) prepare an adequate amount of fan, (b) cut up the ingredients and mix them in various combinations, and (c) cook the ingredients into several dishes and, perhaps, a soup. Given the right ingredients, the 'Chineseness' of the meal would increase, but even with entirely native American ingredients and cooked in American utensils, it would still be a Chinese meal.(2)

You can see how it is possible for a cuisine to be deprived of its agriculture, cooking utensils, and even the way of life of its people, and yet still retain its character.

If we add to this 'fan-ts'ai' principle that of the correct balance of yin and yang, Chinese food becomes at once cosmic, as yin and yang are the forces which drive the universe, and medicinal, as the human body itself is healthy only when these two forces are balanced. Add to these their harmonic principles of moderation and appropriate rhythm and seasonality in food, and we see how highly sophisticated a food culture can become.

There can be little doubt, on reflection, that a deeply considered multiculinarism is a potent form of education - and not just an education of the palate. It serves, rather, as a form of gastronomic education. You are all familiar, no doubt, with the idea of the gastronomic tour. The legendary founder of gastronomy in antiquity, Archestratus, based his famous work, entitled Gastronomia, on just such a tour, having travelled throughout the reaches of the then known world to discover and record the produce of its various regions, the dishes and dining of its peoples. He did this and more, for he cast his work in the form of a 'gnomic' poem in epic verse, the high art form of poets like Homer and Hesiod who were seen as the sages and

teachers of ancient Greece. In an effort to signal his intention of communicating wisdom with regard to food, he began his poem by declaring, 'Of learning I offer proof to all Hellas'.(3) He thereby tried to raise the cultural status of food, and show it worthy of serious study.

By the time we get to the late Roman author Athenaeus, we see how far the consideration of gastronomy had come. In his Deipnosophistae, or The Wise Diners, the discussion ranges across a very wide spectrum, from scientific considerations to attempts to treat cookery as a form of fine art, from the development of a harmonic theory for diet and cooking to the virtues of dining as theatre. A particularly important topic, from the point of view of this discussion, is the comparative study of cuisines presented by Athenaeus. In comparing, for example, the Homeric diet and cuisine with its Persian counterpart, Athenaeus simultaneously gives us a philosophical treatise on the ethics of simplicity as opposed to luxury. In this he is exhibiting what I would call a multiculinary consciousness. And needless to say, both the Greeks and the Romans, as imperialist powers, were in a favourable position to cultivate such multiculinarism, for they encompassed within their colonies, and within the reach of their trade routes, many different cuisines. Both Athens and Rome became multiculinary centres, and it was no coincidence that they also became centres of gastronomic thought, for in both cases multiculinarism provided an intellectual and cultural stimulus for the development of gastronomy.

In the modern era we see multiculinarism at work in the classic source of contemporary gastronomy, Brillat-Savarin's Physiology of Taste. Defining

gastronomy as 'the reasoned comprehension of everything connected with the nourishment of man'(4), Brillat-Savarin argues that although a properly constituted gastronomy encompasses a thoroughgoing science of food, taste and nutrition, it is above all from its presentation of a moral history of food that gastronomy derives its importance. And by moral history, Brillat-Savarin is pointing to the cultural and political dimensions involved. In particular, his comparative studies draw heavily on what I have called multiculinarism. C.B. Gulick, in his Introduction to the Deipnosophistae, makes a point of noting the striking similarities between Archestratus and Brillat-Savarin, arguing that both drew inspiration from their gastronomic travels, and both tried to develop a philosophy of food. Their willing exposure to other cuisines, the courage to go beyond xenophobia and actually experiment with foreign foods and dishes, shows us something of the open and inquiring spirit behind gastronomy. We would do well in these symposia to follow their example.

By tackling the theme of multiculinarism at this symposium we are reclaiming for ourselves a vital part of the heritage of gastronomy. It is a move from which we stand to gain a great deal, both now and in the future. But of course gastronomic thought in Australia has already gained a great deal from the influence of multiculinarism. The impact of the various ethnic cuisines here has been broad and complex, and although many have written about it I doubt that we have an adequate account yet. It is a subject worthy of our consideration. I have no intention, however, of attempting to produce such an account here. For even if we had such an account, it would not go nearly far enough. Why? Because no matter what we have already

managed to learn, there is still a long way to go. The real question is, what should we learn from multiculinarism?

The arguments I presented to illustrate the vital role that multiculinarism has played in the development of gastronomy already go some distance towards answering this question, but before we proceed any further there is another question that needs to be considered. We have seen, rather briefly, what multiculinarism has done for gastronomy. The question before us now is, what can gastronomy do for multiculinarism? For it is certainly not a one way process. Indeed, we cannot get a good grip on the idea of multiculinarism without an adequate gastronomy to back us up.

Essentially, gastronomy provides us with the necessary theoretical perspective required to examine multiculinarism. And gastronomy, as defined by Brillat-Savarin, has the virtue of being a holistic enterprise. It thus allows us to escape from the limitations of conventional academic disciplines, which for the sake of analysis and specialization are narrowly conceived, and simultaneously it also allows us to draw freely from them all. Gastronomy obliges us to pursue all aspects of food. Most importantly it reveals to us the complete cycle of food. Modern industrial society has served to displace us from contact with this complete cycle. Most of us are reduced to merely passive consumers, dependant on a system beyond our normal control and awareness to sustain us. As a critical enterprise, gastronomy has the potential to restore us to the roots of food. It is not a passive or 'objective' study which simply leaves things as they are, for the understanding it imparts is practical in its implications.

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When applied to multiculinarism, gastronomy establishes us in a relationship which is neither indifferent nor eclectic. We need not be overawed by other cuisines, or fear them. Neither cultural cringe nor xenophobia are appropriate. Through gastronomy it is clear that other cuisines, no matter how great their reputations, are not to be blindly applauded. They don't have all the 'answers' for our particular problems - indeed, we can often learn more from their failings than their successes. Any form of culinary imperialism, where say French or Chinese cuisine is promulgated as THE cuisine, to be adopted by all and sundry, is absurd from a gastronomic perspective, no matter how attractive and simple it may appear. Gastronomy reveals to us that there is a whole complex of factors underlying cuisine which must be taken into account.

It is for much the same reason that we cannot simply design, 'scientifically', a 'nutritionally sound' diet and expect to enforce it on the population at large, for here again the complex of cultural and political factors cannot be ignored. To ask any ethnic group to give up its cuisine is tantamount to asking them to give up their national identity, and even their social structure. Food 'means' too much to be lightly tossed aside.

Through gastronomy we are made aware of the full implications of the industrial threat presently facing all cuisines namely, the industrialization of the food industry. This process potentially equalizes us all, removing the diversity of cuisines whilst retaining the illusion of

their continued presence. While alerting us to the real dangers of industrialization, gastronomy does not dispose us to merely ideological solutions, such as a romantic return to 'Nature'. I make this point because there is a discernible trend to just such a romanticism. Indeed, in his Culture and Cuisine, Jean-Francoise Revel argues that the return to nature is the predominant characteristic of contemporary cuisine.

Such thinking is merely a form of luddism, a desperate attempt to return to some imaginary pristine state before machines and industry. Such a solution is not only politically naive, but misguided. Perhaps there is some sense to the concept of 'Nature' for a hunter-gatherer, but there is no 'Nature' in an agricultural society. Our fruits, vegetables, grains and livestock are all products of human industry, of intervention in nature. We have simply become better at intervention than we used to be, but the intention was always to dominate and control nature to our own ends. The more threatening our technical environment becomes, the more we idealize nature and see it as a haven, whereas pre-industrial man was inclined to see nature as a threat, and technical civilization as a haven.

We placate our guilt over the destruction of the environment by reserving a few acres here and there, 'nature strips', while not realizing that our manipulation elsewhere will not bypass these areas. We pretend to virtue by the consumption of 'natural foods', not realizing that we are peddling a false morality that not only tends to leave the industrial structure intact, but is actively used by that industry to sell us their own disguised products. While gastronomy cannot help but be radical in its

insights, it must be politically sophisticated in its realization.

I would like to conclude by considering the Australian situation. In the government's commitment to multiculturalism, we have simultaneously a commitment to a multiculinary society, for cuisine cannot be separated from culture. There is little sense then in talk about an Australian cuisine if we mean by it the single cuisine of all the people. Given time, perhaps the various cuisines will mingle and blend, but we would lose a great heritage in the process.

In any case, even though we might desire a national cuisine for patriotic reasons, Australia is too large a continent, its regions too diverse, for us to desire such homogeneity. The point is to eat <u>well</u>, and we can do this without developing an 'Australian' cuisine. But this is not to say that there is no point to an Australian cuisine. Given our unique flora and fauna, regions and climates, we might go a long way if we tend and cultivate them in a gastronomically enlightened way. We have yet to develop a sense of place. Our land as yet is sacred only to the Aboriginals. I remain optimistic.

Meanwhile, we must attend to the political banquet. The shared table has always been a symbol of peace and communion. In the spirit of the festival of Thanksgiving, we should be grateful for what we can share with, and learn from, the diversity of cuisines in Australia. As the saying has it, a house divided against itself cannot stand.

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Anthony Corones,
University of N.S.W.
6/3/87.

Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, March 8-10,1987

AUSTRALIAN CULINARY XENOPHOBIA

Barbara Santich

"However, à table! Soup of the clearest, red wine of colonial growth, but of fair flavour; an omelette, fried potatoes, chicken and mushrooms,a salad dressed with oil and vinegar merely.... Your soup is hot but without grease; your steak seems made for toothless gums; your salad bowl is filled with unbroken lettuce, and your coffee is as fragrant as the spice islands." (1)

This is Marcus Clarke, enthusiastically commending one of the better Melbourne restaurants of the 1880's, a restaurant run by a French husband-and-wife team. He calls it the Café Panard, a fictitious establishment undoubtedly modelled on one or other of the French restaurants which existed in Melbourne at that time and which he appreciated and frequented.

His connoisseurship, however, seems to have been unique. While HE understood the finesse of French cuisine, other customers - Anglo-Australians - were totally ignorant.

"I am afraid, however, that my countrymen will vulgarise the place. They will begin by demanding beef and legs of bullocks, and get on to Yorkshire pudding, or perhaps roast pork and apple sauce. One monster - if you read this,sir, you will blush - after gobbling a perfect menu, asked when they were going to bring in the "solids". The solids! Another said

audibly that - something his eyes - he would rather have a pot of porter and a raw onion with some bread and cheese than the whole blessed lot." (2)

This is an example of what I call culinary xenophobia, a dislike and distrust of foreign food.It was culinary xenophobia which effectively paralysed Australian cuisine in what should have been its formative period, the second half of the nineteenth century.

To expatriates in Australia, foreign was synonomous with non-British. The attitude was all too common in late nineteenth-century England, where "the by then largely unquestioned superiority of French cookery produced a corresponding sense of the inferiority of English cookery. Sometimes that was tinged with chauvinistic defiance, but a defiance that led to conservatism, the defiance of the bunker ". (3) In Australia its expression was exaggerated, coinciding with a spirit of optimism and unbounded faith in the new country, which was seen with idealistic eyes as a land of promise: "If we have to mourn over a Paradise Lost, in Australia we have a Paradise Regained." (4)

The potential of the country - as other than a penal settlement - was beginning to be perceived in the 1830's, after the first difficult decades had been survived. Its natural resources were re-examined and its native inhabitants reappraised. Lieutenant Breton commended kangaroo meat ("The flesh of this animal is excellent eating, and is usually made into soup, or steamer.") at the same time as he recorded some of the Aboriginal dialectal names for various members of the marsupial family. He also remarked on the use of indigenous fruits ("The native fruits of the country are the cherry, raspberry, currant, and gooseberry; they are chiefly used for preserves.") and the establishment of citrus and stone

fruits in and around Sydney. (5) A formal dinner given by the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales in 1846 began with "a plate of wallabi-tail soup, followed by a slice of boiled schnapper, with oyster sauce"; then came a haunch of kangaroo, a dish of wonga-wonga pigeon with bread sauce, and a dessert of seasonal fruit - plantains and loquats, guavas and mandarins, pomegranates and cherimoyas. (6) Local oysters were extremely popular among the 'ordinary' citizens, who congregated around the shores of Sydney Harbour in a "pursuit particularly congenial to the tastes of the people". (7) The exceptionally open-minded and clear-sighted Robert Dawson, who for three years was chief agent of the Australian Agricultural Company, enthused over the abundance of both game and fish and concluded: "I believe we can produce every European fruit and vegetable in perfection, and most, if not all, of the tropical vegetables and fruits." (8)

The sentiment was in no way exceptional. Australia was seen as the land of prosperity, "a splendid saloon, well aired and lighted, and with elbow room for millions. She is literally, as Dr.Lang quotes, 'a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates, a land of olive oil and honey, a land where thou shalt eat bread without scarceness. Thou shalt not lack anything in it.' " (9) Like the mythical land of Cockaigne, it was the land which could produce an abundance of food, the land which offered material advantages scarcely dreamt of in Britain, the land where a man "can plant or sow with the absolute certainty of gathering and reaping rich crops in a few weeks or months of all kinds of fruits, grains and vegetables ... where he can buy beef and mutton at the rate which he pays for potatoes in the land of his birth ... where he may have to do without cabbages, but he will find a hundred other green substitutes."(10)

Travellers were impressed by these natural benefits of life in Australia. Frank Fowler, a journalist who arrived in Australia in 1855 and edited several issues of the Month in 1858 , described a 'typical' ("This is no fancy sketch") cottage on the edge of Sydney Harbour, with its banana palms and nectarine trees, citrus fruits and "vines, all prodigal in purple clusters". (11) Charles Dilke, whom Geoffrey Blainey described as one of the most observant travellers to come to Australia in the nineteenth century, wrote of the Sydney market: "not only are all the English fruits to be found, but plantains, guavas, oranges,loquats, pomegranates, pineapples from Brisbane, figs of every kind, and the delicious passionfruit abound." (12) Vegetables, too, were no less prolific, at least in the more favoured zones. "Along the coast, and on the dividing ranges, pumpkins, all the varieties of melons, English vegetables and fruit, such as peaches and apricots, are grown plentifully. In the interior, however, and where hot scorching winds prevail in summer, the fruit is roasted on the trees, and no succulent vegetable of any kind is able to stand the withering heat." (13) Gracemere, the Archer family property in north Queensland, produced a luxurious abundance of all kinds of tropical fruits and although, as William Archer admitted, its garden was unusually well provided and well cared for, "some more or less extensive fruit and vegetable garden is attached to almost every station of any size".(14)

The post-1830 period saw many other changes in Australia. The character of the settlers changed, as migration became a self-elected choice rather than an imposition. The end of transportation (to the Eastern states in 1840, to Van Diemen's Land in 1853) and the gold rush together inaugurated a new era of 'philistine optimism' (15), and in the second half of the nineteenth century there emerged the beginnings of a distinctively Australian

way of life, an ethos. An editorial in the Sydney Morning Herald in 1849 represented this new-found nationalism which could transform the immigrant's view of Australia; it became "the land not only of their adoption, (but) the land which by association, by the ties of family and connexions, had thoroughly become their own" (16), and yet, just over twenty years previously, it had been merely "a land to which we have no instinctive love, a country of adoption." (17) Population increased dramatically - an almost tenfold increase between 1851 and 1901 - but more importantly, it became more 'Australian'; by 1901, 82% of the population had been born in the Australian colonies, compared with less than half, fifty years previously. The 'Australian', with his distinctive accent and manner of speech - a result, some said, of his habit of keeping his mouth shut to keep out the dust - was becoming recognisable, his language developing its own idioms. His stature and physique were not that of the British-born - the nickname 'cornstalk' was bestowed because he stood out above the others. He had many of the characteristics of the British, but was neither British nor American. "It seems that the Anglo-Saxon race has left on the other side of the equator everything which was blocking it in Europe, to resolutely take the path of progress here (in Australia)." wrote the comte de Beauvoir, about the middle of the nineteenth century. (18)

The Australians themselves were becoming aware of their own identity. They knew they were different to the emigrants fresh from England, whom they christened 'new chums' and teased, for their ignorance of local ways. With the founding of the Bulletin in 1880, an Australian literary voice was heard from a generation of writers who owed little to English models, while their artistic contemporaries initiated The 'Golden Summers' of Australian painting. It was this climate which could, and should, have

established the foundations of an Australian cuisine. The ingredients were there, both natural and naturalised, and there was a patriotic pride in living off the products of one's land. In Hume Nisbett's novel, In Sheep's Clothing, the image might be romanticised but it undoubtedly had some basis in actuality:

> "As for food, also, this, like all Colonial houses, was Liberty Hall. The food was lavish, even if the guests had to bring their own plates, knives, and forks, as gentle folk did of yore in Europe.
>
> The back yards were filled with fowls, pigeons, geese,ducks, and turkeys. There were mutton and pork hams galore, and when fresh meat was required, a sheep was always to be had.
>
> In the back garden every kind of vegetable was to be found - with the exception of cabbage, celery and a few cold-loving species of more icy regions - yams, sweet potatoes, ordinary ditto, pumpkins, marrows, melons, and a host of other delicacies of the vegetable world.
>
> In the orchards grew lemons, limes, oranges, peaches, custard-apples, and other varieties of fruit that would require a botanist to enumerate. ... In his cellars lay huge hogsheads of pure red and white wines. ... He had planted his vineyards on the range breast, and the results were magnificent. His maize, tobacco, and sugar-canes also gave splendid results. Harry had received some tips from Havannah and Manila, as well as Virginia experts ... and for the past two years he was smoking his own cured tobacco.

He was satisfied, and, being an experienced smoker, he considered it only legitimate to boast." (19)

The first attempt at an Australian cuisine was made by Edward Abbott, in his 'English and Australian Cookery Book'. This was something of a two-way bet, written for the English housewife and 'her prototype in the Colonies'(20), for although Abbott recognised the difficulty of obtaining yeast in this country, he did not hesitate to offer a wide range of recipes for different types of bread, buns in variety, crumpets and muffins. Nevertheless, he enthusiastically recommended local game and fish and suggested appropriate ways of cooking them, as did Mrs.Lance Rawson and Mrs.Maclurcan some 20 - 30 years later; Mrs. Rawson also gave her recipes for using, and preserving, several native fruits, "which I flatter myself are unknown to anyone else". (21)

Yet in all these books the ingredients, regardless of their origin, were cooked in a thoroughly English fashion, as if this were the only possible way, the "British and Colonial mode", as Abbott described it. (22) This was Stage One in the unmaking of a cuisine. Now, whatever might be said about the merits or failings of this 'mode', it should be realised that as a frame of reference it was inevitable. White Australians were overwhelmingly of English birth or ancestry, or if not English of Irish or Scottish descent. Cuisine is on the side of culture; it is one aspect of a people's culture and travels with them. It may later be modified, and it may evolve in a different direction to the homeland cuisine, in the same way as language. The style of cooking of the first settlers could not possibly have been anything but British; to expect them to have adopted Aboriginal foods and cooking practices is tantamount to expecting them to have adopted an Aboriginal language. Men may have

had some experience of Aboriginal cuisine - that is, indigenous ingredients prepared and cooked by Aboriginals in the Aboriginal manner - but this experience remained isolated and only exceptionally reached the women who cooked.

In the first fifty or so years of white settlement, there was no cuisine to speak of; there could be no development of cuisine, with merely rations. The elaboration of a cuisine requires a certain order and stability in the society and depends on the possibility of choice and the exercise of preference. Even though a diversity of ingredients was available by the middle of the nineteenth century, there was still only one way of preparing and cooking them: the English way, and while English cuisine can be superlative when done well, when not done well it can be atrocious. In Australia it tended towards the latter extreme, and this was Stage Two in the destruction.

Mundy describes catching a 21-pound 'schnapper' which later that evening "I had the pleasure of seeing ... at the foot of a friend's dinner table, looking something like a fine English cod-fish. But alas! crowning disgrace of the colony! - wretched destitution in the earliest and worthiest of the sciences! - there is no one - in a word, there is not a cook in New South Wales ... The cooks in this colony are no more cooks in the European and artistical acceptation of the term, than any one of my coats would have been a coat in the eyes of Brummel!". (23)

Similarly, the French journalist and critic Oscar Comettant, visiting Australia in 1888 for the International Centenary Exhibition in Melbourne, had high praise for the Australian produce (although he patriotically observed that it was not equal to the French) but, moving from the market to the restaurant, noted that "No more than in England do they know how to make stock in

Australia. What they call soup is a kind of very thick, highly seasoned sauce, bearing no relationship to what we in France eat under the names of potage..(and) hors d'oeuvres ... are significant by their absence ... There is no logical order about the serving of courses, which are in any case lacking in variety, and in the true art of cooking." (24)

One should not be surprised. Cooks did not migrate in great numbers to the Antipodes, and the class of women who needed, and employed, cooks were often totally ignorant of any kitchen activity and quite incapable of instructing and training novices. Little did it matter that ingredients were diverse and plentiful; ingredients alone do not make a cuisine. Only one style of cooking was known, and that was the English style; moreover, it was the very basic English style, stripped of most of its regional and festive specialities by the lack of a cultural infrastructure. (Cornish pasties survived in Australia, because the groups of miners retained the customs of the old country, but stargazy pie and saffron cake could not survive the shock of transplantation.)

Other styles of cuisine could, in most cases, only be known through a bastardised English version. Marcus Clarke described a visit to 'Nasturtium Villa', a house intended to typify the milieu of the nouveau riche, self-made merchant, and his dinner there: what was basic, ordinary fare - the mutton, the vegetables ("own growing"), the puddings and the dessert - was good; what was pseudo-French ("entrées of fowl and some other nastiness") was "infernally bad". (25) The late nineteenth century was the era of the 'good plain cook' who knew something of the craft of cooking but little of its art.

But at the same time as the emigrant British brought the bare basics of their cuisine with them to Australia, they also

brought their culinary xenophobia, and it was this which delivered the coup de grâce. It was one manifestation of a more general xenphobia; Charles Dilke commented on "the pride of race that shows itself in the acts of English settlers" (26), as, for example, their disdain for the Chinese, and Manning Clark wrote of the xenophobia which was the obverse of mateship. (27)

Thus in the period when signs of an Australian culture were beginning to appear, the weight of British inheritance effectively squashed an emerging Australian cuisine. This is not to accuse the British; nor is there any question of blame, since it is difficult to see how, in the circumstances, any different result could have been achieved. One can speculate, however, on the revolution that might have occurred had Dr.Muskett's The Art of Living in Australia been accompanied by a more eclectic selection of recipes which better illustrated his message. Australian society was stable and prosperous, ingredients were diverse and abundant, but the third necessary prerequisite for the emergence of a cuisine, "a sizable corps of critical, adventuresome eaters" (28) was absent. Thus was lost the opportunity to build, with fervent nationalistic spirit, upon the bounteous produce of the land.

This is not to say that all opportunity to develop an Australian cuisine has been lost. A culinary tradition, like any other tradition, takes many years to evolve, to establish a reasonably stable core which can accept the fluctuations of fashion. Indigenous ingredients and the harvest of land and sea are certainly fundamental to a cuisine, but are not its source (would Italy have continued to use its wheat for bread and gruel if the Eastern Roman Empire had not provided the example of pasta?). A cuisine can develop through inventing, and through borrowing, modifying and adapting some of the salient features of other cuisines - gestures

which were noticeably absent in nineteenth-century Australia. The aggressive appropriation of a corpus of recipes is merely an exercise in vain. It seems to me that Australian cuisine, having been given a second chance, is now in the proving stage and, depending on the power of the ferment, is ready to rise.

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It is appropriate to cite Freeman's interpretation of cuisine:

"The appearance of a cuisine, a self-conscious tradition of cooking and eating,implies the confluence of certain material factors - the availability and abundance of ingredients - with a set of attitudes about food and its place in the life of man. The development of a cuisine implies, first of all, the use of many ingredients. ... to sustain the intensive experimentation that leads to a real cuisine, many ingredients, including some which are not naturally produced in a given locale, are necessary.

Moreover, a cuisine does not develop out of the cooking traditions of a single region. Ingredients are apt to be too limited, cooks and eaters too conservative. A cuisine historically has derived from no single tradition but, rather, amalgamates, selects, and organises the best of several traditions.

A cuisine requires a sizable corps of critical, adventuresome eaters, not bound by the tastes of their native region and willing to try unfamiliar food. This elite audience must be a large one. The existence of a cuisine implies standards broader and more permissive than than that of traditional cooking but still genuine, and such standards can be maintained only when the group of consumers is large enough to transcend the tastes of a single individual.

Finally, a cuisine is the product of attitudes which give first place to the real pleasure of consuming food rather than to its purely ritualistic significance."

UPSTART GASTRONOMY: A CUISINE WITHOUT PEASANTS

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In One Continuous Picnic, Michael Symons offers not only 'a history of eating in Australia'[1] but also a general explanation of how and why the colonial diet acquired its distinctive character. In the spirit of Brillat-Savarin, Symons argues that 'a study of eating reveals Australia's uniqueness'[2], the salient consideration being our 'history without peasants'. From the fact that Australia never had a peasant class, Symons infers that Australians have always been condemned to the factory feeding of a predominantly industrialised society: his book is a paean to the gastronomy of traditional agrarian civilisations and a lament for the antipodean culture which produced the 'world's worst cuisine'.[3]

Symons' analysis of Australian eating depends on two premises: first, that a peasantry maintaining a system of intensive agriculture was the foundation of the world's best cuisines; and, secondly, that the colonial economy has produced a 'uniquely "pure" industrial cuisine'[4] dominated by mechanised farming, processing, transportation, marketing and consumption. In the absence of peasants and the omnipresence of the industrial society Symons discovers the key to Australian culture and cuisine.

> 'Nor, given another two centuries could our present way of life produce a "cuisine" in any traditonal sense. It's not our youth but the persistent temporariness of

our industrial society, its lack of links with the land'.[5]

In such a readable book it is easy to overlook the important fact that there is no logical or necessary connection between the two premises of Symons' argument; but the reader could easily get the impression that the absence of a traditional agrarian economy immediately leads to the evils of the worst industrial cuisines. That there is no direct casual association here is shown by the way in which two of the greatest agrarian cuisines, the Chinese and the Italian, have been dispersed all over the modern world. Though unavoidably modified in translation, they have retained much of their distinctive character; yet these exported cuisines depend on the same industrial technology (most obviously, in the case of airways catering) that Symons presents as the root cause of Australia's bad eating. The successful adaptation of traditional agrarian cuisines to modern industrial society - without a complete loss of quality and identity - is clearly seen in the worldwide consumption of products like soya-bean sauce and pomodori secchi and the popularity of such processed foodstuffs in Australia shows how modern commerce has sometimes enriched rather than debased our diet.

It is also important to observe that, even if Symons' premises were true (both, I believe, are debatable), his main conclusion would not necessarily follow. Symons has by no means shown the impossibility of creating something like a traditional fine cuisine in the modern context and, indeed, his book ends with the hope of a 'fresh start' in Australian gastronomy.[6] His observations on the 'gourmet boom' since

the 1960s and the achievements of its more visible leaders stand in direct contradiction to the central thesis of One Continuous Picnic; the overwhelming pessimism of the book belongs to an era that is fast disappearing. The emergent optimism of the final chapters is much more representative of the current mood in Australian gastronomy.

The contradictory character of Symons' attitude towards Australian food runs to the heart of his argument. He calls Australia the 'uncultivated continent' in defiance of the fact that most of the arable land has been extensively and sometimes intensively cultivated since the early nineteenth century. Vast tracts of Australian desert are naturally unsuitable for any present form of agriculture and certain residual areas of wilderness are likely to be preserved from further encroachments of farming; but, in dismissing the productive landscape of a major exporter of food and other primary produce, Symons is making no more than a rhetorical point: Australia is 'uncultivated' in the sense that it is not farmed by peasants. For him, there is no real cultivation without peasants doing the work and no true cuisines except those of peasant origin which have been 'recognised by elites and refined by professionals'.[7]

Symons' image of agrarian society is a picture-postcard view strongly coloured by his experiences of modern Tuscany which, for all its monuments and other attractions for the tourist, is a distinctly post-feudal landscape. This romantic vision of idealised peasant life is as unrealistic as the charming vignettes with which the medieval scribes adorned their manuscripts: one only needs to visit nearby Umbria to recognise the typical poverty of a peasant cuisine, even in a

favourable countryside; but one must go to the southern, less improved parts of Italy to get the other side of the picture, a landscape still occasionally darkened by the exploitation, brutality and injustice that were once the peasants' lot. None of these, however, is the Australian landscape, which must be viewed in its own terms. Just as we can talk about history without peasants, so we can talk about cultivation without peasants. Calling Australia the 'uncultivated continent' is like complaining that we don't make real Chianti or Camembert.

Enamoured with the peasant landscape, Symons disregards areas of his own country where cultivation is no less intensive than its northern prototypes. Our vineyards and market gardens are intensively cultivated, by any standards, though machinery is used wherever possible to cut labour costs. But Australia even has its own style of family-based, labour-intensive cultivation which produces food by methods little changed since medieval times. In the backyard of the traditional suburban house, the area set aside for growing fruit and vegetables closely resembles the allotment or strip of the medieval tenant-farmer and, in many cases, makes a comparable contribution to the family diet. In The Quarter-Acre Block (1976)[8], Ian Halkett reports a survey of Adelaide householders which found that 44% grew vegetables and 80% obtained fruit and/or vegetables from their gardens. These remarkable figures are confirmed by the sales of popular publications such as the Garden Guide of Arthur Yates & Co (over five million copies since 1895) and the Home Vegetable Garden put out by the NSW Department of Agriculture (about 7,000 copies a year). So, although the vast majority

of Australia's arable land is given over to broadacre farming, there is also a significant amount of intensive cultivation, both commercial and private. Well-run country homesteads have always had their kitchen gardens and the established traditions of backyard gardening are now being revived by a new enthusiasm for organic horticulture and 'natural' produce that the consumer knows is free of residual pesticides and other unwanted additives.

Symons' criticism of colonial agriculture and modern agri-business are generally sound, but do not justify his blanket condemnation of Australian food nor fully explain the deficiencies of the antipodean cuisine. The fundamental paradox of the Australian diet is that the ingredients are usually good and the cooking is usually bad. This is a colonial inheritance: the same paradox can be observed in Britain today. Australia was colonised by a race of good gardeners and bad cooks - those that came in chains and worked in servitude (the nearest class we ever had to a peasantry) did not represent the best British standards in either art. After some initial difficulties with the climate and soil of Sydney, the colonists quickly adapted their European methods of horticulture to Australian conditions and soon became self-sufficient in all but a few luxury items like sugar, coffee, tea and tobacco. Developing an economy that was largely free of the European class structure and the old agricultural system of land-tenure, Australian eventually became an efficient primary producer with huge export markets and persistent problems of over-production. In the course of introducing the agricultural revolution so belatedly and so abruptly to a land of hunters and gatherers, the colonists,

quite naturally and un-selfconsciously, created a new cuisine - a cuisine without peasants. At first, this antipodean cuisine was so rudimentary that it would have been hardly worthy of the name, were it not for the fact that its exponents had endless supplies of fuel, plenty of ingredients and every innovation in culinary equipment and food technology. It was a cuisine, but not a very good one: it was bad British cookery. But, within a relatively short time (less than a century), Australia was able to produce an abundance of wholesome food, some excellent wine, a few respectable cooks, the odd dedicated gourmet... and even the beginnings of a gastronomic literature.[9] The comparable development in Europe took several millennia: is it any wonder that our 'links with the land' are so different?

In characterising Australia as the 'uncultivated' continent, Symon s was right in one sense: for a long time, Australia had all the food it needed but lacked the intellectual, literary and moral culture necessary to create a fine cuisine and a rational gastronomy. In his preoccupation with peasants, Symonds overlooks the fact that Australia also lacked an aristocracy, even though he admits in passing that 'so far, great cuisines have arisen from peasant societies, even if recognised by elites and refined by professionals'.[10] Herein lies the most serious fallacy of Symons' argument: although the great cuisines of the past were dependent on peasant economies, those cuisines were not created by peasants alone. Before the industrial revolution, the labours of the peasant were <u>necessary</u> but not by themselves <u>sufficient</u> to develop a superior cuisine. The existence of simple and satisfying peasant dishes, such Irish

stew, fried rice and French onion soup, does not invalidate the general point that peasants eat - sometimes well, in most cases badly - but they do not create cuisines. Even the cuisine de pays was a creation of Brillat-Savarin's homme d'esprit (Physiologie du Goût, Aphorism II): it did not exist as part of the French culinary system until it was recognised by the gastronomic elite and refined by culinary professionals.

As Jack Goody has argued at length,[11] stratified cuisines depend on two conditions, the pen and the plough. The high cuisines of the past were formed by the plough but codified by the pen; gastronomy presupposes literacy, for so long the exclusive prerogative of a small, educated elite. While Australia had ploughs from the beginning of the colony, it had to wait more than seventy years before Edward Abbott penned its first general gastronomy [12] - although the specialised literature of viticulture and wine-making was ably begun by James Busby in 1825.[13] Despite his valuable observations on some of these pioneering authors, Symons under-estimates the contribution of literate gourmandise and gastronomic theory in general to the development of the great cuisines. His prejudice in favour of the unlettered labourer has seriously distorted his history of Australian eating: for the character of Australian food is neither peasant nor aristocratic - it is almost entirely the product of a cuisine bourgeoise. Thus the first of Symon s' premises, concerning the potential contribution of peasants to the Australian diet, is misleading and largely irrelevant. The peasants who are most significant in the history of Australian food are those who arrived from the Mediterranean countries after the

second World War.

The second premise of Symons' analysis is that, in the absence of a traditional agrarian economy, Australia developed a purely industrial cuisine determined by mechanical processes and mass-production, in particular by the economics of transport.[14] Whereas Symons' first premise emphasised the negative aspects of Australian food, its lack of true peasant roots, his second premise addresses a positive and undeniably pervasive factor in Australia's short history: the industrial and domestic economy of a nation that has always suffered under the 'tyranny of distance'. Much of Symons' book is devoted to working out the gastronomical implications of Geoffrey Blainey's classic study.[15] The analysis of Australia's industrial cuisine forms the core of <u>One Continuous Picnic</u>, the story of how the food factory progressively threatened the garden, the pantry or cellar and finally the kitchen itself as sources of sustenance. The picturesque title of the book admirably summarises the main conclusion, which is neatly illustrated by the painting reproduced on the jacket.

The resulting scene is, of course, a caricature; but, like the best Australian cartoonists, Symons has succeeded in creating an image that is sardonic, incisive and authentic satire. For the benefit of overseas readers, it should be pointed out that Australian picnics are hardly ever composed exclusively of processed and packaged foods and they nearly always include meat, smallgoods from the delicatessen or butcher's meat for the barbecue. The omission of bully beef from the picture is curious but the absence of the campfire, in such an ideal setting, is quite uncharacteristic. For even

the most juvenile and incompetent cooks, the campfire or barbecue is a sine qua non of the truly Australian picnic; yet Symons makes only two passing references to this national institution, one of the few glories of the Australian cuisine. Overseas readers should also know that when Symons jokingly nominates the barbecue as one of the possibilities for the 'typical Australian meal'[16], there is no need for a formal resolution: from every true Australian there is a silent nod of assent, as delicious memories of burning gum, over-done sausages and chops and powerful red wine suffuse the brain.

In any study of Australia's gastronomic identity, one would expect the institution of the campfire or barbecue to figure prominently. The culinary method is older than history itself; but the Australian version is unique if only in the abundance of excellent fuel, which is free for the taking, and the unsurpassed value-for-money of the other necessary ingredients, meat and wine. Like the caricaturist who ignores the good points of his subject, Symons has carefully excluded the cheerful scene of the barbecue from his depressing picture of Australian eating.

The reason for this censorship is obvious: the barbecue is the most striking exception to Symons' theory of Australian food as a purely industrial cuisine. Despite determined efforts to reduce this natural cuisine to an industrialised parody, with processed food, boxed wine and even synthetic fuel to be used on all kinds of unnecessary contraptions, the simple, homeric barbecue still remains a last bastion and final hope of an authentic Australian gastronomy. It was a relatively simple problem to reduce the

lower art of the cook to mechanical recipes and industrial substitutes; but the genius of the roast and the grill has proved to be peculiarly intractable for the food technologist.

There is a deeper reason, I suspect, for Symons' ungenerous treatment of the barbecue: the falsity of his picture is a direct consequence of his historiography, which is fundamentally marxist. The isolated reference to Marx and Engels does not reflect Symons' true debt to the founding father of scientific sociology: the methodology of One Continuous Picnic is a textbook example of what marxists now call 'technological determinism'.[17] In Symons' analysis of Australian food, the determining technology is the industrial machine and its standardised products, from the convict's rations to the television dinner. There is no room here for the free and easy barbecue.

In his most memorable statement of technological determinism, Marx declared that 'the hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist'. Since the publication of this aphorism, marxist scholars have debated its theoretical implications, in a controversy that contines today. The details need not concern us here. Once having identified the model of Symons' historiography, the logic of his analysis is easily recognised, as are his occasional sallies in the marxist mode. Tea, for example, is described as a 'tool of imperial expansion'[18] and the introduction of foreign plants by Sir Joseph Banks as a task 'neglected by the dominant capitalist ethos'.[19] Such disinterested science and philanthropy, it might be noted, are also neglected by

many marxists, who find the phenomenon of 'non-materialistic' behaviour difficult to explain. By the same token, we can now recognise in One Continuous Picnic other familiar features of the marxist style: the pervading secularity (there is no analysis of the sacred banquet or any other religious institution); and the canonical division of history into three grand phases (the pre-mechanical paradise of the peasants, the present debased age of capitalist food technology, and the coming epicurean utopia that Marx did not foresee). The central argument of One Continuous Picnic is a straightforward case study in what Marx called 'alienation' - the divorce of man from his natural inheritance by the invention of tools, machinery and industrial technology.

It is the marxist philosophy which provides the tacit link between the two premises of Symons' materialist analysis, joining the older peasant economy and the newly mechanised food industry as the fundamental determinants of gastronomic history. According to this model, the determining forces of a culture, culinary or otherwise, always flow upwards through society, from the economic foundation of peasants or industrialists to the ideological superstructure of the class system and its characteristic attitudes, ideas, morals and values. One must concede that such upward movement often occurs, as when peasant or proletarian fashions in food, dress, music, etc. are adopted by the upper classes. But marxist dogma does not allow for the reverse influence, which is much more typical of Australian cuisine - the downward movement of foods and foodways from the upper classes to the lower. Some of the foods that Symons has identified as basic to the colonial cuisine, for example,

flour, sugar and tea, were certainly easier to store, transport and distribute under the exacting Australian conditions, and therefore fit his version of technological determinism very well. But Symons conveniently neglects the fact that white flour, refined sugar and tea of any description were all upper-class luxuries in the eighteenth century, foods normally inaccessible to the urban and rural poor whose descendants formed the bulk of the colonial population. It is a familiar marxist error to emphasise the historical influence of certain economic factors, such as the mode of production or distribution, while ignoring - or even denying the historical reality of - other factors such as snobbery, ostentation and pretension, which are also part of the human scene.

In many respects, the formative influences in Australian eating moved not from the bottom up, but from the top down. Traditional Australian food retains little of the genuine peasant diet, because our system was, and still largely is a simplified imitation of the British cuisine bourgeoise, which had already incorporated elements of the lower diet (porridge, baked beans, bubble and squeak) with higher-class tastes (tea, table wines, pineapples, patisserie and spiced dishes). Despite the massive post-war immigration of non-British peoples, Australia still preserves the main outlines of this colonial inheritance, in the styles and occasions of its normal eating as well as the festive celebrations of birth, marriage, death, Christmas and other times of family reunion. Much of the style is still recognisably upper bourgeois in origin, distantly reflecting the code of manners that was committeed to writing by Eliza

Action, Mrs Rundell, Isabella Beeton and the like, for the benefit of those who needed to learn.

As Socrates discovered long ago, the problem of ignorance is not so much the learning itself as finding out what you need to know. This was an acute problem for the colonists who, even if they know how to live properly, had to invent a new life-style that was appropriate to an entirely different landscape. Regrettably, they learnt very little from those who best knew Australia, its original inhabitants; and what the settlers read in their European textbooks was often useless here. After two hundred years of experiment, Australians are still seeking an appropriate life-style, and that must include a philosophy of food. When we eventally arrive at that philosophy, it will be much easier to write the full history of Australian eating. Michael Symons has told part of the story, the comedy of colonial ignorance, stupidity and bad taste. But, when the larger tragedy of Australia is reenacted, it might then appear that the farce of the colonial picnic was only a brief interlude in an interrupted feast.

NOTES

1. Michael Symons, <u>One Continuous Picnic; a history of eating in Australia</u> (Duck Press, Adelaide, 1982), reprinted in paperback by Penguin Books Australia, 1984.
2. Symons, <u>op. cit.</u>, preface.
3. Symons, p. 254.
4. Symons, preface.

5. Symons, p. 12.

6. Symons, pp. 251ff.

7. Symons, p. 12.

8. Ian Peter Halkett, The Quarter-Acre Block: the use of suburban gardens (Australian Institute of Urban Studies, Canberra, 1976).

9. Symons, pp. 42ff. Though far from complete, Symons' review of Australian gastronomic literature broke new ground bibliographically. For a response, see Graham Pont, 'The French Influence in Early Australian Gastronomic Literature', in The French-Australian Cultural Connection; Papers from a symposium held at the University of New South Wales, 16-17 September 1983, edited by Anne-Marie Nisbet and Maurice Blackman (U.N.S.W., Kensington, 1984), pp. 262-272.

10. Symons, p. 12.

11. Jack Goody, Culture, Cuisine and Class: a study in comparative sociology (Cambridge University Press, 1982): see Chapter 4, especially p. 99. For a comment on Goody's argument, see my review in Mankind, vol. 14, no. 3 (April, 1984), pp. 225-226.

12. Edward Abbott, The English and Australian Cookery Book. Cookery for the many, as well as for the "upper ten thousand." by an Australian aristologist (Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, London, 1864).

13. See Pont, op. cit., p. 262.

14. Symons, pp. 85ff, 178ff.

15. Geoffrey Blainey, The Tyranny of Distance: how distance shaped Australia's history (Sun Books, Melbourne, 1966).

16. Symons, p. 256.

17. For a sympathetic exposition, see John M. McMurtry, The Structure of Marx's World-View (Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 188ff.

18. Symons, p. 20.

19. Symons, p. 25.

REPLY TO GRAHAM PONT

Michael Symons

It is not only gratifying that Graham takes seriously the 'history without peasants' thesis in One Continuous Picnic (Symons, 1982), but also pleasing that, from watching his original review of the book (Pont, 1982) and three successive versions of this paper (the abstract, the spoken and the written), I can see him talking himself around to a similar stance. Indeed, he now goes so far (on page 46 of these proceedings) as to actually tell us that 'the colonists, quite naturally and un-selfconsciously, created a new cuisine - a cuisine without peasants'.

Since such a thesis is fundamental to an understanding of Australian cuisine, I have been concerned that my broad use of the word 'peasant' has sometimes proved a stumbling-block. The argument is perhaps better stated, as it sometimes appears in the book, that Australia is the only land which has never enjoyed 'agrarian' or 'traditional' society, and so we have not created a cuisine in the 'traditional' sense. The implication is that we must create a new type of great cuisine, through, as I have since stressed, Brillat-Savarin's gastronomy.

Since taking up postgraduate study (largely under Graham's inspiration), I have found that the thesis accords with standard sociological thinking: that the modern, urban, rationalistic, industrial world differs crucially from the traditional (especially, as I point out, in terms of cuisine). Of course, any such distinction is merely a first-order approximation, and in my book I draw attention to both the 'reforming' English influence (as through cookery books) and the peasant-like Dungaree settlers, Chinese gardeners and backyard

cultivators. But, as to the details of the debate with Pont, I am more than willing to leave my book to continue to argue for itself.

I must record, however, that Graham gives me heart in a second direction, in that he also appears to have noticed (albeit in an antagonistic way) that a serious study of cuisine leads in a materialist direction. More crudely in his spoken version, he accused my book of a 'hidden Marxist agenda' with 'dogmatic premises'. This is mischievous nonsense and, for instance, he was originally more correct in interpreting any undue technological determinism as coming from my years as a science and environment reporter and consequent 'romanticism' (Pont, 1982). Surely, if writing as a marxist, I would have made more of class differences, which I still think are relatively unimportant in Australian gastronomic history. True, I read some left-wing histories (the bibliography includes Fitzpatrick and Hobsbawm), and I skimmed the Manifesto, but the amount of Marx has certainly been surpassed in subsequent years.

Rather, I want to put it clearly on record that I arrived at a version of gastronomic materialism, including the base-upwards argument, by asking empirical questions like 'why the pavlova?' That is, I went about writing the book like a journalist and, in particular, largely ignorant of any kind of theory. To take the case in point, the 'no peasants' argument came not from reading but like a thunderbolt out in our Tuscan garden, after a heavy night's Chianti. I had been surrounded for months by peasants being turned into workers, and I finally noticed. To take a second instance, only as I finished the book did the further three-part picture of the last 200 years become apparent - embedded in the structure of the book itself - so that I was left explaining the periodisation of industrial cuisine itself more clearly after the event (Symons, 1982: 228-229; cw Symons, 1983). Indeed, the main improvement I would now seek to make in the

book would be to include a much more sociologically-informed discussion of modes of food production.

Where five years journalistic research had taken me 'philosophically' was first recognised by another reviewer, who wrote that my thesis could be termed 'materialist' (Anderson, 1983). The notion of 'materialism' was then something of a novelty to me. Having spent a few years investigating it (ironically, as I say, largely under Pont's inspiration), I now regard it as an under-rated philosophy to which any serious contemplation of the question of food will eventually lead. I now read Brillat-Savarin's first half-dozen aphorisms as a straight-out materialist declaration, and I have even given a paper which seeks to 'reconcile' Marx and Brillat-Savarin (Symons, 1985). I hope to have made my position clear at the last symposium, when I identified very much with Epicurean materialism (Symons, 1986), and this, when I further develop the materialist interpretation of cuisine.

(This is a revised version of my spoken reply, in response to Graham Pont's own revisions.)

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MULTICULINARISM: ONE-NIGHT STAND OR A MARRIAGE MADE TO LAST?

James Halliday

(Presented in his absence by Suzanne Halliday)

We need people such as Alvin Toffler to remind us of the rate of change which affects every aspect of our professional and private lives. Forgive me, then, if I try to put a little personal perspective on one aspect of those changes.

In 1961, I finished six long years at Sydney University, the last three as an articled law clerk on a nominal salary and without holidays (they were used to sit for examinations). During my university years the restaurants were the Villa Franca (the only French restaurant to speak of); the Stuttgarter Hof (as you will gather, Austrian); and a section of Italian restaurants, headed by the Grotto Capri, Beppi's and Lorenzinis. My greatest ambition was to spend a week working in the kitchen of the Stuttgarter Hof, which I would cheerfully have done for nothing, but I never plucked up the courage to ask.

Also during this time, there was a veritable sensation: the Kings Cross Chevron Hotel offered the first smorgasbord, where famished university students (I was in residential college) could help themselves (incredible) and eat all they wished (even more incredible).

Early in 1962 I set off to spend the rest of the year in Europe, figuring this would be my only chance for a long time to come. I travelled on the Fairsea, which meandered its way to South Hampton via New Zealand, Singapore and Cairo (where I was duly poisoned by something I ate or drank). Before Cairo put an end

to eating and drinking for over a month, I had become intimately familiar with Soave Bolla and pasta in all its forms, but all in all it is safe to say my horizons were distinctly limited as I arrived in Europe.

In the intervening twenty or so years the world has changed beyond all recognition. The tyranny of television, cheap air travel, the continuing waves of immigration, increased leasure time, increased disposable income, and reams of words written every day about food and wine have all played a part. By the standards of 1962, I was a wine and food buff; by the standards and in the language of 1986, I was a complete yobbo.

Sydney was not alone, of course. Boulestin had been an oasis in a sea of English roast beef and Yorkshire Pudding in London, but otherwise the selection was slim. The Chinese had cafes where sweet and sour, chop suey and dim sims were offered on fly stained menus in the poorer parts of some of the world's cities. But to seriously savour the cuisine of a country, you basically had to go there.

How different it is now. You can have a great French meal in Hong Kong, or a great Chinese meal in Paris; or Korean in Sydney, Indian in London, Rome has more than 50 Chinese restaurants, five years ago there were six. The options are endless. Multiculturalism is the buzz word of the year, but it might as well be multiculinarism.

In some ways, this is great stuff. In a country such as Australia, arguably bereft of an identifiable indigenous cuisine, it is hard to find fault. On the other hand, if I go to Hong Kong I wish to eat Chinese, not French; in France, the roles are reversed. Now that is a purely personal view of things; if I were a true citizen of the world, I would doubtless not be shackled by such conventional and narrow thinking.

But it doesn't stop there, even though there is as much food for debate as there is for eating in that issue, for suddenly we are confronted with real multiculinarism, or what I call world food. It comes under various guises, the most trendy being Nouvelle Chinese and Nouvelle Italian.

Last year in Italy my wife Suzanne and I were taken by proud Italians to two restaurants, one in Piedmont and the other in the south of Tuscany, which our hosts (wealthy and aristocratic Italians) clearly considered to be quite outstanding. In each, beautifully presented nouvelle cuisine dishes made us wonder whether we had not somehow slipped across the border to France. Had we been paying the bill, our discomfiture would have been exacerbated; the prices, too, had a French rather than Italian flavour.

The Bulletin/Newsweek Magazine of August 26, 1986 carried a major story on the invasion of oriental cuisine into the western

world. Buried in it was a sub-theme: the invasion of the west into oriental cuisine. Reviewing the Hong Kong scene, the reporters had this to say: "For the adherents of nouvelle Chinese, as with their French counterparts, there is a premium on exotic ingredients. At Tau Yuan that means flying in fresh Alaskan oysters, giant Boston clams and Japanese sea urchins. Perhaps the most outre examples of the new fare are to be found at the Regent Hotel, where chef Cheung Kamchuen whips up such delicacies as deep-fried pear with scallops, and salted prawn balls with apple, string beans and chives."

Actually, that sounds a fairly restrained assault for a major international hotel; such hotels are well known for their 'hotel baroque' style, a not-so-refined but ardently practised form of culinary overkill.

What does one make of all this? For a start, I have already said there has to be a different answer for countries with an indentifiable, classic cuisine of their own than there is for 'displaced persons' such as Australia (and, arguably, England and America).

Adelaide, a city noted for its freedom of thought and expression, has two restaurants, neither of which might be suffered to survive in the hard nosed atmosphere of Sydney or the rather constipated conservatism of Melbourne. Neddy's and Yanns (in

surprisingly different ways) marry oriental and western cuisine. Neddy's at times seems to rely on the shotgun to legitimate unlikely unions; Yanns relies rather more on gentle persuasion, indeed outright seduction.

But there is a dual justification for the marriage. Not only is there a neutral territory in the first place, but there is an unexpected compatability between French and at least some oriental cuisines - notably Chinese and Japanese. A few years ago I spent several hours in the Troisgros kitchen, and found two Japanese apprentices hard at work. They had apparently settled in from the first day, with food bridging the language gap from the word go.

In both cuisines there is a heavy emphasis on presentation, with many of the same visual tricks being employed. In both, raw or very lightly cooked ingredients are commonplace; in its purer forms, French cuisine places the same importance on simple, unadorned dishes and flavours; while in each, fresh raw materials of the highest quality are of paramount importance.

So a gentle borrowing, a subtle interface is all to the good. But neither must yield to the other; there simply cannot be a marriage of equals. If a cuisine is to survive as a legitimate expression of its region, it must draw its strengths from the raw materials and the traditions of that region. Like the art of Japanese tea-pouring, it will be perfected by being practised a thousand times.

I am conscious that Stephanie Alexander returned late last year from Hong Kong greatly stimulated by her experiences there, and I am no different to most others - the oriental touch to certain of her dishes is both sensitive and convincing.

But I repeat: I do not wish to travel the world being treated to Frenchin or Chinfren dishes from Hong Kong to Le Havre.

In some ways, I suppose, the problems we face are not dissimilar to those of Europe when the spices and vegetables of the new world were introduced (tomatoes to Italy from America, for example), at times seeming to threaten the very fabric of society. Certainly successive waves of the sybaritic and the austere in Florence (to take but one example) were punctuated by legislation which makes the bureaucrats of today look like rank amateurs. Mind you, those bureaucrats should remember what the Florentines - weary of interference and even more of puritanism did to Savanarola.

But the important thing was that (by the standards of today) the rate of change was in fact very slow. The Italians took two centuries to finally take the tomato into their culinary bosom. More than this, local cuisine remained supreme. Dialect, geographical isolation, and innate conservatism meant that regional dishes were evolved and perfected without outside interference. It took the might of the Chinese Imperial dynasties to bring the best of the regional cuisines under one roof at Peking.

Diverse though they were, regional cuisines in turn formed part of a jigsaw puzzle in which the pieces locked together to provide a reasonably coherent national cuisine. No one would suggest that French cooking was not quite distinct from Italian, Chinese from Japanese - at least, not until the 1970's and 1980's.

Now we have the spectre of all of the specialty produce of the world being loaded onto a 747 and indiscriminately parachuted into the woks and saucepans, crock and braziers of the chefs of the world. It is like some celestial lucky dip, designed to find even more bizarre combinations than the strawberries-and-oysters excesses of nouvelle cuisine at its worst.

So, let us experiment, but let us be aware of what we are doing. I think the Maggie Beer's of this world have a lot to say, even though I once had the temerity to suggest that Australia does not have a generally recognised indigenous cuisine. She is trying to establish one; other more fortunate countries should not sell their birthright too lightly.

A GASTRONOMY OF NOUVELLE CUISINE

Michael Symons

On the cover of their Nouveau Guide for October, 1973, the French restaurant critics, Henri Gault and Christian Millau, exclaimed: "Vive la Nouvelle Cuisine Française!". They did not claim to having invented la nouvelle cuisine française, merely to having "discovered the formula" (Gault and Millau, 1978: 8). In the process, they recognised such chefs as Paul Bocuse, Jean and Pierre Troisgros, Michel Guérard, Roger Vergé and Raymond Oliver. In turn, these chefs paid their respects to Fernand Point, under whom several of them learned their craft at the Pyramide at Vienne, and went on like him to own relatively small restaurants in provincial towns (Mennell, 1985: 163).

The style has been hailed throughout the world, making a cover story for both Time and Newsweek. Indeed, Raymond Sokolov, then writing for the New York Times, is said to have discovered, although not named, the phenomenon in 1972 (Levy, 1986: 139). Both Bocuse and Guérard visited Australia in 1974. In Australia, an early article was that of Marion Halligan in December, 1978 (Halligan, 1978).

Importantly, several of the chefs published recipe collections, which became extremely influential. Michel Guérard published La Grande Cuisine Minceur in 1976, which became Michel Guérard's Cuisine Minceur in England in 1977, and his important Cuisine Gourmande released in both French and English in 1978. Also in 1976, Paul Bocuse published La Cuisine du Marché, translated as The New Cuisine in 1978, and then re-titled The Cuisine of Paul Bocuse in 1982. The Troisgros book was launched in France as Cuisiniers à Roanne (1977), and in England under the title, The Nouvelle Cuisine of Jean and Pierre Troisgros (1980). Celebrating these figures and nine other nouvelle cuisiniers in text and tasteful pictures, another influential title in English was Blake

and Crewe's Great Chefs of France (1978).

The style was disseminated widely throughout the world, Australian restaurants adopting it from about 1978. Such has been its success that I argue that the dominant style at present in Australia derives from nouvelle cuisine, even if the term tends to be considered unfashionable and thus avoided. This has also been pointed out by Diane Holuigue, who did not dispute that the term had died, but said: "But, aspiring gourmets believe me, nouvelle cuisine is alive and well and living in cuisine moderne" (Holuigue, 1986).

A gastronomic investigation of nouvelle cuisine must confront this fact, that, with its success, its nature, and its name, changed. Accordingly, I differentiate very clearly between the original nouvelle cuisine française, which was described in the ten aims of Gault-Millau, and can be regarded as having been practised by "three-star" restaurant chefs like Bocuse, Guérard, the Troisgros brothers, etc. For most cooks, this style represents an unreachable ideal. On the other hand, there is nouvelle cuisine found worldwide, and which we shall see can be described slightly differently.

In this paper, I endeavour to interpret and explain the success of nouvelle cuisine. Notice that rather than cuisine nouvelle française, which indeed may be said to have been invented by elite chefs, I am really concerned with nouvelle cuisine, the basic generator of whose success has been a change in the food industry. My approach is thus materialist, in that I see culinary styles as determined fundamentally by the means of food production. From such a viewpoint, the major distinction is not to be made between elite cuisine and popular cuisine (as might be suggested by my dichotomising of nouvelle cuisine), but is to be made between between industrial cuisine, which is now global, and traditional, agrarian, peasant-based

and regional styles. Thus nouvelle cuisine is portrayed here as the global style of restaurant and home cooks responding to total food industrialisation.

This raises the vexations of defining "cuisine", since rather than just a relatively superficial "style", I am already beginning to imply a whole industrial base. The popular usage is somewhat evaluative, endowing the epithet with a degree of approval. A "cuisine" is usually a "fine" cuisine. The dispassionate treatment of scholars so far shows a surprisingly similar tendency. For instance, Goody uses cuisine three ways: most generally as the products of the kitchen, more specifically for a culturally differentiated cuisine and in the most specialised sense of highly elaborated forms of cooking (1982: vii). Even more pronouncedly, Freeman employs only this latter, a cuisine being "surely more than the 'manner or style of cooking' of the dictionary" and being rather a "self-conscious tradition of cooking and eating" (1977: 144).

I argue that the use of the word should not be evaluative, that is, a cuisine can be bad and unselfconscious. But is it clear enough to refer that as a cuisine as just a style of food (Bilson et al, 1984: 125). The range of uses of the word "style" run from the weak sense of a "fashion", which can mean just the "look" of a plate, to the strong sense of a mode of food production and consumption. I intend to restrict the use of "cuisine" to its most profound sense. Thus to talk of "Chinese cuisine" is certainly not to suggest necessarily a great or "haute cuisine" or to signify a particular collection of dishes, as might be represented in a recipe book, but rather to also include particular means of food collection, stir-fry cooking, etc. Thus, to me, a cuisine is any style, manner or mode of human food producing, handling and eating.

As already admitted, this definitional problem rather begs the

questions asked in this paper, since my argument is that nouvelle cuisine is wrongly reduced to a "look", when the sylistic aspects reflect a definite manner of food production, a deliberate retention of agrarian methods, ingredients and attitudes within industrial society.

In reserving a cuisine to an elite refinement, in focussing on the attributes of an elite urban class, Freeman is trying to draw attention to the possibilites of a reflective dining. Generally, the intervention of professionals, employed by discriminating eaters, leads to what the French have termed "haute cuisine". To the extent that this term has been reserved for wealthy and formal dining, and retains somewhat outdated implications, the term probably cannot be generalised. However, the answer is not to reduce the sense of cuisine to that previously known as haute cuisine.

In discussing the emergence of the "first of the world's cuisines" in Southern Sung (1127-1279), Freeman endeavours to list the historical prerequisites of what he regards as a cuisine. Extrapolating from the success within Sung society, he points to the need for (1) many ingredients, both in customary use (and here possibly deriving from necessity) and exotic imports, (2) a large elite of critical, adventuresome eaters, and (3) hedonistic rather than ritualistic attitudes towards eating (1977: 144-145). Implicitly, these are the qualities of a successful, urban, trading society. For my part, however, I stress the reliance of such a class upon an agrarian base. This privileged class depended on the products and no doubt many of the established cooking techniques of the wider society. In fact, Freeman implicitly accepts this when he declares that the "development and refinement of conscious and rational attitudes about food" depended on material abundance. I should further explain my

position.

My materialist theory of cuisine was developed out of, and was foreshadowed in, my book, One Continuous Picnic: A history of eating in Australia (1982), which should be regarded as an attempt to understand Australia, which turns out to be an exceptional example of industrial society, clearly expressed through its cuisine. I contrasted our way of eating with that of peasants. This was the "uncultivated continent", supporting the world's most purely industrial cuisine.

I now regard my then approach as embryonically "sociological", given that the central concern of sociology can be said to be an attempt to comprehend the emergence of modern, urban, industrial society, which contrasts with "traditional" society (Nisbet, 1967). Sociologists have drawn distinctions between "militant/industrial" (Spencer), "mechanical/organic" (Durkheim), "gemeinschaft/ gesellschaft" (Tonnies), etc. In his explorations of eating and taste, Mennell (1985) employs Elias's concepts of the "civilising process", "formalisation", etc.

The best-known materialist sociology, that of Marx, demarcates four historical epochs, determined by the dominant modes of production - primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist - plus a future communist stage. Following my previous investigations, I distinguish three main types of society: the hunter-gatherer, the agrarian and the industrial (Symons, 1982: 10). Some such overall distinction between three styles of sociey is generally agreed, Steward says: "No one doubts that hunting and gathering preceded farming and herding that the last two were preconditions of "civilisation", which is broadly characterised by dense and stable populations, metallurgy, intellectual achievements, social heterogeneity and internal specialisation" (1955: 28).

Cipolla finds that the "three basic types of economic organisation - hunting, agricultural, industrial - are accompanied by three corresponding ranges of economic and demographic levels at which societies operate" (1965: 107). To initiate each phase, "man had to learn how to control and increase the supply of plants and animals or to discover sources of energy. These two problems were to be solved by the Agricultural and the Industrial Revolutions respectively" (1965: 39).

In pointing to food and then energy, Cipolla follows a common approach which is to distinguish the two previous forms by food-gathering (namely, hunter-gatherer and farmer-herder), while modern society is defined in a range of other terms (eg, reliance on energy, social organisation or beliefs). Certain of these alternative factors hint at a relief from the pressures of hunger, the liberation of mind. But I prefer to regard any such emancipation from nature, rendered dubious by such analysis as Timpanaro (1975), as still a consequence of altered eating arrangements. This is not to support a "vulgar materialism" but to imply that modern knowledge and skills are directed at an abundant and "civilised" table.

In considering changes in feeding as basic, I am returning to clear vision of nineteenth-century sociology, when a generation found itself "called upon" to recognise the important fact of the "great antiquity of mankind" (Morgan, 1877: v). Ethnologists then had to confront the evidence of "human progress from savagery, through barbarism to civilisation", which was accompanied through the "slow accumulation of experimental knowledge" (Morgan, 1877: sub-title and 3). This progress could be classified under the "ethnical periods" of the stone, bronze and iron ages, although, in seeking greater precision, Morgan pondered: "It is probable that the successive arts of subsistence which arose at long intervals will ultimately, from the

great influence they must have exercised upon the condition of mankind, afford the most satisfactory bases for these divisions. But investigation has not been carried far enough in this direction to yield the necessary information" (Morgan, 1877: 9).

Yet Marx had already drawn attention to people distinguishing themselves from animals "as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence" (1976: 37). "Life involves before everything else eating and drinking, housing, clothing and various other things. The first historical act is thus the means to satisfy these needs, the production of life itself" (1976: 47). I follow through this first premise of historical materialism and propose a consideration of history in the light of a form of gastronomic materialism. Historical epochs are to be regarded as based on changes in the way we eat. After "hunter-gatherer" and "agricultural" epochs, the term "industrial" should be considered as applying equally to our way of feeding. That is, when I regard our style of society as "industrial", I mean that we use an industrial approach to food production. Food is grown, distributed and cooked through the division of labour, the application of capital and the use of science, and is accompanied by appropriate social arrangements and culture. When we sit down to consume, we respond to the niceties of sophisticated production and distribution.

The term "industrial" is also not without its ambiguities and inadequacies. The starting-point and essence of industrialism provide endless opportunities for argument. Authors such as Bell (1974) have hailed "post-industrial society", as if the transcendence of scarcity has liberated the mind from material considerations. Possibly the word "modern" bears a more appropriate message of civilisation. Further on, I will raise the possibility of "global". For the moment, I wish to raise, so as to establish the advantages of the present approach, some further alternative interpretations of cuisine.

Jean-Francois Revel argues that a cuisine stems from two sources: a popular one and an erudite one, this latter necessarily being the appanage of the well-off classes of every era". Historically, a "peasant (or seafarer's) cuisine" can be paired with a court cuisine, and a "plebeian cuisine and a family cuisine prepared by the mother" paired with a cuisine of "fanatical", professional chefs. The first type of cuisine, Revel says, has the advantage of being linked to the soil, of being able to exploit the products of various regions and different seasons, in close accord with nature, of being based on age-old skills, transmitted unconsciously by way of imitation and habit, of applying methods of cooking patiently tested and associated with certain cooking utensils and recipients prescribed by a long tradition, he writes. Revel says this cuisine is "unexportable". The second cuisine, the erudite one, is based by contrast on invention, renewal, experimentation (1983: 19).

So, Revel postulates the masses and the elite as separate sources of cuisines, when he really gives evidence in favour of a base-superstructure approach which accords priority to production and with the "erudite" of whatever class creating a cuisine within parameters. In failing to take account of changes in the economic base, particularly the effects of the industrialisation of food production, he confuses the traditional and the modern approaches to feeding, these seeming to him to derive from below and from above respectively. In a gastronomic materialist theory, we could expect significant cultural differences between traditional and industrial societies (even more than between "high" and "low"). That is, I believe that by his first cuisine he means that of agrarian society, and that by his second, while "created" in a limited sense by his "fanatical" chefs, he means modern.

Furthermore, Revel points to another crucial fact. When he "pairs off" low and high cuisines, he is in reality meaning to note that "great" cuisines (as hitherto recognised) must have roots in agrarian traditions. A great court, restaurant or "erudite" cuisine is not just based on invention, renewal and experimentation, but must retain roots in the base cuisine with which it is, in his terms, "paired". As he says, a chef must retain contact with popular cuisine and, fur thermore, he observes the "striking fact" that "truly great erudite cuisine has arisen principally in places where a tasy and varied traditional cuisine already existed, serving it as a sort of basis" (20). In reverse, it is reasonable to suggest that haute cuisine inventions filter down to the masses.

Such as theory as I have outlined, with social, technical and cultural arrangements regarded as an elaboration of dining arrangements, would predict that cuisines change as the base changes, a phenomenon which can be verified in the history of cuisine. In particular, the arrival of some form of self-conscious cuisine, perhaps labelled a "haute cuisine", can be regarded as an indicator of the arrival of modernity.

We should return to Freeman's discussion of the emergence of the "first of the world's cuisines" in Southern Sung (1127-1279), the tradition of Chinese cooking, revised and enriched, which has come down to the present day. As noted, Freeman uses the word "cuisine" in the highly restricted sense of "sophisticated and self-conscious" cuisine. Indeed, his use for Sung cooking is not far removed from a "haute cuisine", or perhaps even better, a "nouvelle cuisine". Having sought to establish the need for a rational, urban elite in establishing such a "cuisine", he gives the game away by revealing an "important element, perhaps the decisive one, in the development of Chinese cooking during the Sung period". This was the changes in

agriculture. An abundance was produced, with farmers thus also able to produce greater variety. The two agricultural changes which appear particularly significant for Freeman are the appearance of new strains of rice and the concomitant commercialisation of agriculture (Freeman, 1977: 145-146).

A similar case is given of the development of Arab cuisine, which developed as an haute cuisine following the advent of the Abbasid dynasty in 750, thus precede Freeman's Sung claims. Then, Baghdad became, in the words of a contemporary, "the market to which the wares of the sciences and the arts were brought, where wisdom was sought as a man seeks after his stray camels, and whose judgement of values was accepted by the whole world" (Waines, 1984 [1]). It was an occasion of accelerated developments in poetry, belle lettres, and the religious and secular sciences. Examining the fragements of the first Arab cookery book, Kitab al-Tabikh, written by Abu Ishaq Irabhim b. al-Mahdi (779-839 AD), who was a renowned poet and musician as well as Caliph briefly. The importance for the present argument is given in Waines' summary: "In a word, the cultural revolution of 9th century Iraq... spawned a gastronomic 'new wave' whose influences were soon felt throughout the Abbasid empire" (Waines, 198: [2]).

Waines seeks an explanation of the "new wave". Firstly, the founding of Baghdad marked the latest and most spectacular stage of urban development in Iraq. The size and diversity of its population facilitated the exchange and acceptance of regional dishes and cooking traditions from all parts of the empire. Secondly, the Abbasid court and imperial government set the tone, for a burgeoning, wealthy leisured elite which revelled in the pleasure of food for its own sake and who measured the empire's success by its capacity to satisfy refined tastes. Thirdly, underlying the rapid urban growth were the

explosions in the agricultural and commercial spheres. "Baghdad was the medieval model, par excellence, of an agro-city, an urban conglomeration together with its rural hinterland from which it drew its food." The hinterland, the Sawad and the Tiyala plain, was the single most important source of cereal grain and revenue in the empire (Waines, 1984: [2]). Baghdad's gourmands were blessed by what Watson terms a "medieval green revolution" (Watson, 1981). Baghdad's commercial success provided the spices for the delicately scented and richly flavoured dishes of the new cuisine (Waines, 1984: [2]). Behind both the case of the Abbasid and, later, Sung developments of "haute cuisine" lay, according to their students, similar causes, an urban elite who could appreciate and refine regional traditions, and behind this agrarian revolutions. Two early examples of "nouvelle cuisine" depend on revolutions of the productive base. I believe the same has occurred whenever cuisine has "advanced" in Europe.

Wheaton describes the sudden emergence of cookery books in France in the 1650s, at the time of La Varenne (1983: 113). A number of erudite gastronomic revolutions have occurred, the two most important within European cuisine being, according to Revel, at the beginning of the eighteenth and again at the beginning of the nineteenth century (1982: 20). Further, it is frequently commented that the "nouvelle cuisine" label is hardly original: it was used in the 1740s for the new cookery of La Chapelle, Marin and Menon, and occasionally in the 1880s and 1890s for the work of the Escoffier generation (Mennell, 1985: 163). Mennell points out that the aims and achievements of each successive "revolution" sound remarkably similar. Each involves the pursuit of simplicity, using fewer ingredients with more discrimination, enhancing the "natural" flavour of principal ingredients, and thus a wider range of dishes because of less masking by common sauces in spices (Mennell, 1985: 164).

Having demarcated industrial from agrarian cuisine, I have found three stages of cuisine within the industrial epoch itself. In the first three sections of One Continuous Picnic, three successive Australian cuisines are linked to transport by sea, rail and road. They are also linked to the industrialisation of agriculture, preservation-distribution, and cooking respectively. Without traditional cuisine to blur the picture, the gastronomer can readily discern in Australia the arrival of new phases of the food industry to be found worldwide.

As the modern economic base changes, chefs have responded with the re-invention of cuisine (Symons, 1983). With the advent of each new stage in the food supply, we could expect the cooks to change their approach. Indeed, it is possible to expect the best chefs to invent a "nouvelle cuisine", to construct new codes which then filter through the society. Looked at the other way, of course, "new cuisines" could locate fundamental shifts in the economic base, the arrival, according to my gastronomic sociology, of new societies.

In summary, we have "votes" for "revolutions" in particularly French cuisine in the 1650s (Wheaton), early 1700s (Revel), 1740s (Mennell), early 1800s (Revel, Symons) and late 1800s (Mennell, Symons) and 1960s. Coalescing these, it is reasonable to isolate great changes around 1700, 1800, 1900 and 1970. How well does gastronomic materialism fare in accounting for such cases of nouvelle cuisine? Are any such culinary "revolutions" associated with profound economic and social dislocations? With the seventeenth century, agriculture, market gardening and kitchen gardening was transformed in England (Drummond and Wilbraham, 1957: 91-97). I have noted the beginnings in the 1650s, and a claimed revival of the 1740s.

Further, I have drawn attention elsewhere (Symons, 1982: 228-229;

and 1983) to the effects of disruption by the food industry over the past two centuries. It is a culinary cliche that with the French Revolution, and therefore with modern, urban society, restaurants arose. At this time, a culinary revolution is said to have been wrought by Carême, Mennell raising the possibility of Carême having established the Kuhnian "paradigm" of professional French cuisine (1985: 148). According to my approach, the chefs were not a fundamental source of the new cuisine, but created within the new parameters.

At this time, the so-called Industrial Revolution, food technology arrived (eg Nicholas Appert's bottling). The changed circumstances in the food supply also stimulated the studies of the first modern gastronomers. The beginnings of modern gastronomy are indeed accepted to belong to early nineteenth-century France and England, notably in the work of Brillat-Savarin, who stressed rationality when defining gastronomy as the "reasoned comprehension of everything connected with the nourishment of man". Gastronomy achieves its object of nourishing people through the guidance of "certain principles" (1970: 52). Incidentally, I have referred to modern gastronomy, which I contrast with ancient, a scatty but long record of which is contained in Athenaeus (1927-41). Indeed, the rise, and for that matter the fall, of Greek and Roman and civilisation deserves much closer gastronomic study.

Late last century, the industrialisation of preservation was accompanied by another burst of gastronomic interest, linked with Escoffier, and "international hotel style" food. Again, Mennell endows "paradimatic" status to Escoffier's Guide culinaire (1985: 157). In Australia, the rush of cookery books came in the 1890s, when the gas and then food companies sold new ideas on dining, when domestic science joined the curriculum and when progressive women sought the

latest ideas in good diet and manners (Symons, 1982: 53).

Finally, I propose that since the 1960s food industrialisation has been completed, in the sense all steps from production to consumption are carried out in the factory, right up to the final stages in the kitchen. The "convenience" meal is cooked for the consumer. Food industrialisation is also global, in that the market is global - food being shipped almost instanteously throughout the world, by companies which girdle the earth. In principle, through freezing and food chemistry, eating is totally detached from soil and season.

I argue that the recent nouvelle cuisine is the cultural response to this new economic base. "The full might of our biggest industry, the food industry, encouraged cooking which was labour-saving, used seductive new tastes, featured bizarre combinations and enjoyed immediate visual appeal. It was perhaps no coincidence that some of these attributes were shared by nouvelle cuisine", as has already been noted (Symons, 1982: 232). The total takeover of the kitchen by the multinationals arouses the experimentation of Bocuse and Guerard, who must take account of new desires in food and for whom the world is their oyster.

To refine this explanation by a general theory of the latest nouvelle cuisine, we can endeavour to isolate its characteristics. Bocuse has written that "basically it is the truest form of cooking". It depends on the careful choice of good ingredients, which must keep their own taste (Bocuse, 1982: xiv). Early on, when recommending the Troisgros restaurant, Bocuse referred to "simplicity which is not simplication - nor indolence" (Mennell, 1985: 165). In its issue of April 3, 1978, Elle magazine spotted two new Parisian restaurants offering a "fine, light cuisine" in which "flour is banned, and vinegar is king instead" (Mennell, 1985: 255).

Of more precise assistance in trying to pin down nouvelle cuisine, Gault and Millau originally discerned ten characteristics, which have been reprinted frequently by them and others (eg Gault and Millau, 1978: 15-16; Barr and Levy, 1985: 62-64; Mennell, 1985: 163). Anne Willan, owner of a cooking school in Paris, even published a helpful booklet, Nouvelle Cuisine: The Ten Commandments (Sheraton, 1979: 41). In Australia, Diane Holuigue, published them in the Epicurean (1980: 5).

Here are the ten points in abbreviated form:

1. Reject unnecessary complication in cookery
2. Reduce cooking times (aiming to "reveal forgotten flavours")
3. Shop for fresh ingredients from the market (cuisine du marché)
4. Shorten the menu
5. Abandon strong marinades and long hanging of game
6. Avoidance rich and heavy sauces (especially espagnole and béchamel)
7. Return to regional dishes for inspiration
8. Experiment with new technology (eg microwaves, freezing)
9. Recognise the nutritional need for lighter fare
10. Invent constantly

This characterisation remains helpful, but falls short on several points. For example, observers have pointed to borrowing from the Chinese and Japanese repertoires. Urvater and Liederman reveal the "secret" as the extraordinarily intense sauces, relying on highly-reduced stocks (1979: 20). Rather than the final cooking and elaborate serving being done by the waiters, nouvelle cuisine was "plated" by the chef in the kitchen (Urvater and Liederman. 1979: 12).

Many commentators have drawn attention to the importance of presentation: sliced ingredients, geometric patterns, the sauce underneath rather than on top, etc. Mimi Sheraton of the New York Times wrote:

> Clear, translucent sauces are generally placed under the foods they garnish, and the slicing and laying out of meats, fish, vegetables and fruits is strictly oriental in its colourful intricacies. Huge over-sized plates with floral or lattice borders most often made by the German porcelain manufacturer, Villeroy & Bosch, are other trademarks of this new wave (1979: 41).

Sheraton also pointed to the introduction of hitherto outrageous combinations. Additionally, terms such as cassoulet and choucroute, formerly relegated to meat, might refer to fish. The appetiser salad became another nouvelle trademark, just as, I must infer from its frequent occurrence in this country, was the sorbet between courses.

According to Mennell, another characteristic of the nouveaux cuisiniers which Gault and Millau did not include in their list was that most of them are chef-proprietors (1985: 164). Urvater and Liederman also speak of the "emergence of the chef from the kitchen", often literally making a circuit at the end of the service. Reporting on the international "stars", Blake and Crewe observed: "It is only today that France's greatest chefs, not just one or two, but a dozen or more, have achieved recognition as supreme artists in their field" (1978: 11). A further important characteristic was surely that, rather than esoteric names, menus became explicit.

There is also an economic point which should be made and that is that the elaborate dishes of the former haute cuisine were exceedingly time-consuming. The increase in labour-costs was making them extremely expensive to prepare, especially in a world of supermarket convenience". While restaurant cooking remains relatively labour-intensive, the simplification and "naturalness" of nouvelle cuisine saved time. It might well be illuminating to examine any changes in the structure of the brigade in French restaurants.

In summary, however, if we discard the trimmings of style (the geometric presentation, unexpected combinations, large plates, etc), I believe that the aims of nouvelle cuisine francaise were captured by Gault and Millau. In essence, nouvelle cuisine francaise was meant to be:

fresh, natural, light, local, revolutionary.

As they themselves recognised, the great chefs of France were overthrowing a fossilised haute cuisine. They were cutting away the fat, as it were, getting back to basics, once again re-locating their roots. In terms of my "sociological" theory of cuisines, they were returning to agrarian approaches - they looked once again at the raw ingredients, and, rejecting the supermarket, they returned to the local market. The returned to past traditions because, I argue, that is where, at least until now, gourmets have recognised agrarian-based approaches as a necessary basis to great cuisine. "Good food has never come from factory farms, process lines, canteens, supermarkets and fastfood chains" (Symons, 1982: 262). But they returned scientifically - they were "inventive", seeking a cuisine more suited to urban life. They "rationalised" cuisine. In summary, they were looking again at the strengths of agrarian traditions, but as modern practitioners within a modern society. They were updating agrarian dining for the industrial world. Although it is usual to refer to historical "stages" as if they completely supplant one another, they in fact contain many aspects of earlier stages. It is perhaps peferable to refer to "levels", indicating that each successive level stands upon the previous.

Like the ideas of Carême and Escoffier previously, the influence of nouvelle cuisine spread around the world, to Western Europe, the USA and even Japan (Mennell, 1985: 164). Of course, the great chefs who invented nouvelle cuisine worked at the highest level. The style can also be said to have percolated down. By January, 1982, Margaret Fulton was explaining it to New idea readers: "Now the accent is on presentation and exotic combinations."

Nouvelle cuisine need not seem so revolutionary in terms of other cuisines, Urvater and Liederman considered, since Americans, for instance, had long been used to combining the sweet-sour taste of

fruit with savoury dishes, previously forbidden in France (1979: 13-14). So too, nouvelle cuisine in Australia is somewhat different to nouvelle cuisine francaise. For example, it is scarcely meaningful to instruct cooks to carry out less marinading and hanging, when little is done anyway. On the other hand, in a country which characteristically overcooked its meat and its vegetables, the Second Commandment - the reduction of cooking times - made considerable sense.

We must recognise the contrasting historic roles of nouvelle cuisine in France and Australia. In France, the chefs rebelled against a well-established old cuisine. In Australia, we lacked any real haute cuisine tradition. In France, the chefs were soundly trained, and were immersed in hospitable waters. Here, we lacked chefs, let alone with a thorough grounding, and few can doubt the historical poverty of our cooking.

Accordingly, nouvelle cuisine francaise originated as a renewal by great chefs within the higher reaches of arguably the world's greatest cuisine. Here, nouvelle cuisine was seized as a starting-point. And while two nouvelle cuisines have therefore to be considered - the original and the copy, each having its own rationale - nouvelle cuisine in Australia was indeed revolutionary, and both responded to global food industrialisation.

Certainly, "light, fresh" became cliched in Australia, particularly under the influence of "cuisine minceur", with which nouvelle cuisine became confused (especially with Guerard's book of that name being first to take on). The same confusion has been noted in the United States (Urvater and Liederman, 1979: 7). More recently, the best compliment a restaurant critic has been able to bestow is "creative and innovative", which again must be considered an important

trait.

I have endeavoured to rewrite the commandments to apply to what I see as the modern Australian and even possibly international cuisine:

1. Prefer fresh ingredients
2. Use a food processor
3. Cook meat rare and vegetables crunchy
4. "Fan" ingredients separately on the plate, with sauces underneath
5. Use geometric presentation
6. Prefer ingredients visually bright and attractive
7. Keep up with the latest cookery books, and glossy magazines
8. Seek out novel ingredients, odd combinations and change dishes constantly
9. Explore cuisines from all regions of the world.
10. On menus and recipes, describe dishes explicitly

Just as I summarised "nouvelle cuisine francaise", I suggest the followed adjectives for our present predicament:

fresh, quickly-cooked, geometric, international, novelty-seeking

Revel makes the point that "gastronomy is one of the domains in which chauvinism and even parochialism make themselves felt in the most naive and sometimes the most intolerant way" (1982: 213). But, for him, there are no national cuisines - rather are there regional cuisines and international cuisine.

For him, "international" cuisine arrived with the nineteenth century. More explicitly, he refers to not so much an international cuisine as an international "culinary art", not a corpus of fixed recipes, possessing ties to a given region and its resources, so much as a body of methods, of principles.

He notes the perjorative connotation of the expression "international cuisine" when it designates a "certain false cuisine also known as 'hotel cuisine'", which retains certain outward features and vocabulary of the Grand Cuisine of the nineteenth century, but drowns foods in all-purpose sauces and engages in spectacular presentation for its own sake (Revel, 1982: 214).

At its best, Revel's "international cuisine" is practised by learned, inventive chefs, who tirelessly seek inspiration from "local

dishes with the tang of the soil". This cuisine is also international in the sense that it has the capacity to integrate, to adapt, to rethink and even to rewrite the recipes of all countries. Some dishes - such as Indian curry, Valencian paella, sauerkraut, etc - are amenable to internationalisation. In other instances, transposition is impossible (Revel, 1982: 215). Of course, what Revel refers to as "international", I classify as the higher level of "industrial" cuisine. The word "industrial" is used circumstantially and is not intended to imply that its practioners employ predominantly industrial techniques. The best exponents maintain largely small-scale, artisan methods and recognisably traditional recipes, even if copyists resort to centrally-produced "convenience" ingredients.

It is hard to argue that nouvelle cuisine francaise was not a national style, even while it embraced foreign recipes as well as local. However, it quickly became international, even if retaining many traces of its origins. What I have described as the Australian version is really close to an international style (in Revel's nomenclature), or industrial or "global" style (in mine). Nouvelle cuisine has become global cuisine, an often self-conscious retention of agrarian approaches in a now totally global, industrial society.

The sub-title of this symposium, "A Multiculinary Society", would be more correctly expressed as "A Global Culinary Society". We do not have a mixture of ethnic styles so much as a global compilation, the adoption of universal ingredients and techniques. We use a "reasoned" (Brillat-Savarin), "erudite" (Revel), "scientific" approach (Symons), although just how intelligent I wish now to examine.

I conclude by looking at one aspect, the Tenth Commandment to "invent constantly", or the "novelty-seeking" embodied in the seventh, eight and ninth on my list. I can see the need for the "great chefs of

France" to invent, or re-invent. Once they had established a style, being so appropriate, it prospered. However, once the past has been overturned, once the revolution has been won, once the nouvelle cuisine francaise had been established as a model, then the aims should surely have become conservative, to protect new-found gains. Instead, the outdated aims became entrenched as permanent, often senseless upheaval.

Most observers have noticed that the revolutionary excitement has waned, and the style become institutionalised. "Perhaps it is unavoidable that as it ideas are adapted by lesser talents in less liberal contexts, nouvelle cuisine too will undergo routinisation and become a dogma. Already in the mid-1980s, some writers have detected signs of its exhaustion" (Mennell, 1985: 164).

Revel also says that the school has rapidly fallen, in its turn, into a new academicism, wherein the cult of "lightness" and "invention" has driven a host of imitators in the direction of a cuisine that is at once extravagent and dull, giving rise to a uniform international style that is still more forbidding than the old 'hotel cuisine'. Moreover, this school has come to violate its own principles, calling for exceptionally rare ingredients and, while excommunicating tournedos Rossini, calling for "foie gras and truffles everywhere", Revel observes. "To praise invention exclusively is to force the majority of chefs, incapable one and all of inventing, in the direction of neglecting traditions... When a cuisine is based on centuries of experiments, of skill, of little accumulated knacks and secrets, it is madness to demand that every practitioner of the art start over from zero" (Revel, 1982: 269-270).

Levy describes the same phenomenon: "What began as a movement to reform classic French cooking gave way to the excesses of Romanticism... NC chefs liked to experiment with new ingredients and

techniques. Their sedulous apers valued novelty above all else. Alain Senderens invented lobster with vanilla. In lesser hands this became lobster with strawberries and raspberry vinegar with everything" (1986: 139-140).

I am totally in favour of chefs thinking about their work, but novelty is cheap. Novelty wears quickly thin. It then drives practitioners to excess. It turns cooking into art for art's sake, when cooking is essentially the most basic craft.

Of course, restaurants should lead the way, as the "great chefs of France" have done. I am reminded of early French restaurant chefs who prided themselves in serving raspberries out of season, thanks to the latest technology, bottling. In 1810, Grimod de La Reyniere hailed Appert's "admirable discovery". "His bottled peas, runner beans, broad beans, haricot beans, cherries, peaches, gooseberries, apricots, plums, etc, are even more succulent, more exquisite this winter than they were last" (quoted Aron, 1975: 108). Great restaurateurs must appreciate their historical role, and now the challenge is to serve a fresh peach.

Where does this leave the intelligent cook? Revel asserts that the rational approach to cuisine must confront various dichotomies, such as complication/simplication, seasoning/naturalness, internationalisation/regionalism. Similarly, he finds since the beginning of last century the conflict between two values: the valuing of tradition and the valuing of invention (Revel, 1982: 268). To me, the reasoning chef requires a balance between respect for tradition and "reasoned comprehension".

The immediate choice facing Australian cooks is whether to be "creative and innovative", or whether to return to traditional or "ethnic" recipes, as revealed by Elizabeth David, Jane Grigson et al

or as interpreted by the nouvelle cuisine greats, Guerard, Troisgros, etc. My preference is clear. Maybe there is good reason to drop the term "nouvelle", and perhaps, adopt "cuisine moderne", or as I suggest, "global cuisine". This cuisine should be unquestionably "fresh", probably "light", no doubt attractive - but it should not be decadently "novelty-seeking". Rather, it should be soundly based in hard-won traditions.

"We are fed up with the little purees, sorbets and luke-warm salads of the Romantic day-before-yesterday", Paul Levy has written. And, fortunately, he has discerned a reaction, with all the hallmarks of Neo-Classicism - "restraint where there was excess, and the replacement of unnatural marriages of food by the refinement of traditional dishes. Self-expression has yielded to sober reflection on the regional roots that most French chefs still know from experience". Levy nick-names the new approach Granny Food, regarding it as a return to the food of one's grandmother. Examples of Parisian cuisine 1985 include "pigeon and broad beans", "whole leg of milk lamb studded with anchovies, cooked en croute", a "navarin, served with lots of pasta", "boeuf a la ficelle", and "blanquette de veau". Levy recommends his hero, Anton Mosimann, for his "boiled beef with raw vegetables, his poached chicken, his tongue with lentils. Neo-Classical, like Granny would have made - if she had been a good cook" (Levy, 1984: 139-144). I don't think "Granny Food" is quite the word. I prefer "Traditional".

Don't get me wrong. I consider that great chefs, chefs who are real artists can, and should, invent. They might contribute two or three classics during their careers. But we lesser mortals should find ethnic, traditional or classic dishes, or suggestions of the great chefs, that are appropriate for our time and place, and stick to them. That is, I support individuality in cuisine, and this is a corollary of globalism, but also modesty.

To be particular, I am going to leave culinary artistry to Phillip Searle, and precious one or two others. Instead, I'm listening even more closely to Gabriel Gate (who, Paul Levy should note, dedicated his first book to his Grandmother). At the Uraidla Aristologist Auberge, Jennifer Hillier and I have decided to call our cuisine, "Traditional Italian and French". We have resolved to ignore suggestions that we "really must keep up with the magazines" and that we change our menu more often. (It progresses impeccably with the seasons, which is what mainly counts, except when replacing a lesser dish with a better.) And we will keep doing our traditional cuisine, until we get it right.

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FOOD STYLES AND THE GOURMET SUBCULTURE

Rebecca Zuesse

I came to the study of gastronomy and food through anthropology, and have always been amazed at how much the use of food can tell us about a particular culture and its social structures. When I came to look at food in contemporary Australian society several years ago, it soon became evident from looking at food styles that larger conclusions could be drawn about western industrial society in general.

In my 1985 Symposium paper, I discussed the way that food was used symbolically in Australia. In particular, I sought to identify and pin down what could be seen as a system of symbol creation, use, diffusion, and renewal that exists in our society. Following further research upon creative subcultures, I would like to draw out the implications of this system, which involves three key elements: subcultures, industry and the media, and popular mass culture. Before I go any further, I would like to state my main points, which I will then expand upon.

First, gourmet food encapsulates a system of subcultural symbols. These symbols are defined by their tacit opposition to and criticism of popular, mass, "industrialised" food such as convenience foods, packaged and canned foods, etc.

Secondly, when these symbols are picked up and highlighted by the media, they are absorbed by the food industry to become mass-produced popular versions of the gourmet symbols. Their cultural context is removed and they enter the sphere of fashion, where they become merely referential signs rather than culturally resonating symbols. They can thus be seen as "inauthentic" versions of the "real thing".

When its symbols are popularized, the gourmet subculture is obliged to create new symbols, so as to maintain their distinctiveness from the rest of society. They redraw the symbolic boundary, so to speak. And with this creation of a new style, the fashion cycle continues, on and on. Thus the subculture is unwittingly supplying the symbols to industry which are necessary to give meaning to otherwise meaningless commodities, and stimulates fresh demand and needs.

And fourth, another alternative exists for the subculture if it is especially self-conscious and aware of its own processes of creation and industries consequent mass-production of symbols. This is for the subculture to condemn and oppose the commodification process and its inauthentic results, which has led to an almost neo-marxian gourmet condemnation of junk food as the food version of "false consciousness", meanwhile "authentic" peasant culture and cuisines are romanticized, and locally grown food and locally developed cuisines are advocated.

Food as a medium of subcultural style:

As an example of how a cultural group seeking to distinguish itself from the rest of society through the medium of food, we only need to consult one of the frequent articles on what is currently "in" and "out":

> "Yes, its back to drinking rich red wines again...Libby has turned very generic in her cooking. She cooks much less red meat -smoked fish is so much better as a protein -and is heartily into hot vegetable salads, Jerusalem artichoke soup ...However, Lemon Delicious Pudding (not the packaged variety!) is back to everyones delight, and damn the chol esterol!" (Advertiser, Sept. 18, 1984 P. 25)

Anthropological and sociological studies of subcultures have shown that symbols are used to demarcate the group from the social whole and create boundaries, reflecting a concern about encroachment and assimilation (Douglas,1966). The oppositional stance of subcultures has also been extensively studied (Hall, 1976). While these subculture have mainly been working class subcultures, middle-class, or elitist "high culture" subcultures such as gourmet subculture also has this oppositional content, as Herbert Gans has noted, which takes the form of a "mass culture critique" (Gans,1974).

Spokespeople of the gourmet subculture condemn popular industrial food such as white bread, Vegemite, Foster's, Kraft and meals such as the pie, beetroot sandwhich or sausages as either "the world's most artificial and careless" or "excruciatingly funny" (Symons, 1982 and Beckett, 1984). Meanwhile, Nouvelle Cuisine, when analysed as a symbolic "language", has been found by many to be especially oppositional to traditional, stodgy food as well as popular industrialised food. Its complexity of assembly and garnishes and stress on aesthetics is opposed to popular foods ethos of food-as-fuel, functional and impersonal. Instead, Nouvelle Cuisine is celebratory and highlights the amount of personal time and preparation that has gone into each meal, and shuns convenience. Its small servings assert that function is secondary and opposes popular foods large unsliced masses of food (eg. whole turkey, big steaks, one-pot casseroles), instead, Nouvelle Cuisine consists of a few slivers or morsels of food, self-consciously garnished and sitting in a light sauce, rather than having a heavy sauce poured over it, and is framed by the ubiquitous large white plate.

Nouvelle Cuisine is complex and "cut up" -it is difficult to tell what the actual ingredients are -thus it is "super-cultured", not crude or matter-of-fact. Its preparation-time is often longer than with popular food, while its actual cooking time is less.

The commodification of gourmet symbols by the food industry:

Even in 1984 when I first looked at Nouvelle Cuisine, the absorption of its symbols by industry was already happening. Popular womens magazines such as the Women's Weekly showed how to achieve the look of it (if not the taste) by using canned ingredients, flowers as garnishes, etc.

The popularisation of subcultural symbolisms has often been accounted for by the "trickle-down" theory, but, as today working class subcultures/eg. punk are also commoditified by industry, it is actually a more general and indiscriminate absorption of any and all subcultures symbols. Much sociological enquiry into subcultures today looks at this process, whereby through the media the subculture is defined, typed, "labelled", then turned into mass-produced culture which diffuses and de-fuses the subculture by generalising it. In order for a style to be marketable, says John Clarke, "a particular style is dislocated from the context and group which generated it, and taken up with a stress on the elements which make it a 'commercial proposition', especially their novelty. From the standpoint of the subculture which generated it, the style exists as a <u>total lifestyle</u>, via the commercial nexus, it is transformed into a <u>novel consumption style</u>. Typically, the more 'acceptable' elements are stressed, and others de-stressed." (Clarke, 1976:188). The acceptable element of Nouvelle Cuisine is its aestheticism, for example julliene is now used on everything, and the herb or vegetable garnish is always present. Also the "health angle" of Nouvelle Cuisine is popular in its smaller servings and lighter sauces. Its novelty, of course, is another main acceptable element, with its mixture of "unusual" ingredients and combinations. However, its element of considerable preparation time has been overlooked; many popular versions use stock cubes, canned and pre-prepared ingredients, etc. Thus what were once oppositionary symbols are now turned around and re-interpreted to support the industrial system and its culture.

Following the marxist critique, this process represents the penetration of all spheres of society by instrumentally utilizable formal rules and norms, and by fetishism. Communal bases of experience are replaced by the new contexts of our society -industry and the media. The "culture industry", as Adorno called it, supplies reified, phony, distracting culture products, or kitsch, for the masses. Or, seen from another perspective, the "democratisation" of symbols has occured in our mass society, corressponding the "global village" and "imaginary museum" of McLuhan and Malreaux. In brief, you have the situation whereby a large, amorphous social mass absorbs the symbols created by a few, distinct groups, a process aided and fostered by the media and industry, hungry for new news and new products.

This is what accounts for the apparent contradictions in the industrial versions of gourmet symbols, such as a Nouvelle looking meal made entirely from canned food. When industry reproduces a symbol, it is in its own language. The newness of the style gives it its only meaning. The canned Nouvelle meal does not mean Nouvelle Cuisine, it means "fashionable food today". Industry uses the style to give meaning to essentially meaningless commodities, and establish a reason to buy it, a need, a desire. The actual object itself is irrelevant, what is relevant is its newness, its appearance of exclusivity. Semiologists such as Roland Barthes have argued that fashionable industrial symbols are <u>signs</u> rather than symbols: they refer to the subculture of origin, but do not have the depth of meaning, internal coherence and

homologous nature that symbols do (1983). To put it into a food metaphor: subcultural symbols are like a "cake" that individual people or cultural group have put together themselves in a unique and personal way, but when it is mass-produced, it becomes merely a sign -it is as if industry has shaven off the hard, reproduceable icing off of the cake and had reproduced that alone. However, for those who consume the product, after the first few sweet bites, the icing-sign is neither nourishing nor satisfying. Industry then serves up yet another, different coloured icing-fashion, ad infinitum.

The subcultural response to commodification:

As industry reproduces the subculture's symbols, the subculture, percieving that its symbolic boundaries have been crossed, desperately searches for new symbols of exclusiveness as the old ones become too common. They simply drop the old ones. For example, bon vivant Lee Bailey was interviewed by Australian Vogue:

> "He thinks its a pity that some foods have become too fashionable. 'I've always used alot of red peppers, now they are so chic and unfortunately, purees became too trendy... I don't care if I never see another pesto again as long as I live." (Australian Vogue, Oct. 1985:157)

In the creation of new symbols, subcultures use the process that Levi-Strauss called "bricolage", they re-make, re-order and re-contextualise existing symbols or commodities. These are translated into their own subcultural structures into a coherent style. For instance, since the 1960's the Australian gourmet subculture has adopted, translated and re-combined foriegn cuisines. Every month gourmet magazines read like a travelogue as some hitherto untouched region of the world is scavenged for a new cuisine, a new ingredient. From being adventurous in the 60's with Italian food, we are now in the middle of mixing up as diverse cuisines as Tibetan, Jewish, Japanese and of course the myriad of regional variations. The speed of the translation from gourmet culture in these magazines and hence to the rest of society is so fast today as to be almost instantaneous. Alain Chapel, predicting the end of traditional French food, put the blame on the food publicists;

> "the food writers and the chefs themselves who promote themselves by gimmicks. One chefs new idea is soon to be found on the plates all over France, and even the great chefs themselves are complaining about plagiarism of their dishes." (Epicurean.121, July/Aug.1986:26).

This in part accounts for the desperation that the creators feel in their search for a new exclusive expression of their subculture. Unfortunately, most of them do not see that the adoption of their ideas by the food industry is so incorrect as to be untrue. The food industry has a vested interest in promoting itself as the democratisers of cuisine, spreading the good life around to everybody, because not only does this appearance result in sales but it also keeps the subcultures churning out new styles which in turn are used to promote more sales.

For example, this perception can be seen to have resulted in the movement away

from Nouvelle Cuisine to what has been called "Cuisine Courant", ethnic cuisines cross-pollinated in a culinary eclecticism. Vogue informs us that this style is not easily copied:

> "The new culinary eclecticism is not as easy as serving a dim sim with a steak dianne. Oh my goodness, no. It calls for exquisite finesse in the palate and sensibilities of the chef as go-between...(and) requires the eye and hand of an artist." (Vogue Australia. Jan. 1986:102).

On the other hand, the increasing self-consciousness of the gourmet subculture, which is exemplified by this symposium attempting to define Australian cuisine, holds up hope for other more constructive ways of dealing with the commodification process. This subculture is comparable to a middle-class aesthetic subculture, especially now that chefs are seen as artists and creators. As art historians have noted, aesthetic movements are extremely conscious of the creation of their symbols, and of these symbols being processed by mass culture. While they may respond by the creation of new symbols, they may also become consciously counter-cultural.

Chapels comments exemplify this new consciously oppositional stance. So too does the branding of industrialised food as inauthentic, while instead regional, home-grown and locally-based food styles are encouraged, and old traditional styles are upheld and updated. Regional food, so the argument goes, is authentic, not based on the false patterns of market/industry/freezer etc. but on locality, climate, and local culture. The choice is seen as being between "a return to traditional or ethnic recipes...or to be creative and innovative" (Symons, 1987 Symposium abstract). This is perhaps the opposite pole of the regional style which eclectically combines regional styles together in a desperate search for new combinations. A recent Epicurean feature on "Claude's" restaurant in Sydney admiringly reports that;

> "They are not given over to la novelle. Instead, they have interpreted the old traditional cooking in the modern manner and kept the flavours fresh, pure and simple." (Epicurean.124 Jan.-Feb 1987:36).

In the United States, traditional regional cuisine is also coming to the fore, also along with the eclectic experimental mixes style and the Nouvelle style. Symposiums also indicate a growing self-consciousness of the food subculture (Sheraton,1985)

Ironically, in this opposition to industry and commodified culture, the culture may gain support from either the elitist dogma of traditional high culture in its mass culture-critique, or alternatively the revolutionary rhetoric of "false consciousness" and inauthentic culture. Both disciplines are aware of the processes of commodification, and are engaged in creating a critical distance between themselves and that process.

Another approach to the commodification process has been called the post-modern attitude, whereby the fashionable stereotype is seemingly relished, but is actually mocked, and thus a distance is created between the stereotype and the observer. It is an esoteric, wholly aesthetic approach in which the empty sign is recognised as such and is exaggerated and put in quotation marks, and is especially seen in the

attitude of Camp, when things are "loved" precisely because they are so tacky and awful. This approach, because it is in the mind rat her than in the object, is uncommodifiable. Unlike the appoach which condemns industrial culture as false, it offers no alternative, no "authentic" culture. Pe rhaps the food equivalent would be the serving of Big Macs and Coke on Wedgewood and Baccarat at a Yuppie dinner. The reason why this approach does not have a stronghold in gourmet culture is that the very medium of food can never be purely esoteric.While it may be used aesthetically, to "read" food is also to taste it. Purely aesthetic uses of food, for example "mock" creations, "Rude Food", or excessively aesthetic Nouvelle Cuisine, is often literally distasteful. Food can never become a pure fashion-sign, then, as its functional taste qualities are always part of its reception, and this reception is by nature a p ersonal and authentic one.

Because of this, the persuasive argument that junk food constitues a type of "false consciousness" must be tempered with caution. Even inauthentic versions of once symbolic and regional food such as Kentucky Fried Chicken, have the potential to be engaged in an authentic relationship with the person encountering it.

Similarly, the individual may personalise their purchased commodity by setting it within their own cultural symbol-set. This is now being recognized by sociologists involve in the problem of the reception and response to commodified culture and style (Laba,1986). Popular culture itself picks out certain commodities which remain "classics" embodying key symbols -eg. "Coke" -not all commodities are fleeting fashions. We must not be predudiced by original subcultural meaning only, which is what critical theory does -the subsequently acquired meanings that mass-produced commoditities have just as much reality as their original sub cultural meanings. Also, if we treat the object simply as a "text" to be simply decoded, we run the risk of seeing its meaning as frozen and not fluid and constntly changing as it really is; meaning is a processual thing. Thus it is in the changes of meaning that the real cultural illuminations lie.

To sum up, food, when seen as a symbol, changes its "meaning" as it filters from its subculture of origin through to popular culture. The gourmet subculture is becoming increasingly aware of its own processes of symbol creation and renewal, and corresspondingly critical of the food industries use of its symbols to promote its own products. However critical it is of the food industry, the media and the food publicists, it must be aware that this commodification process is not actually the threat to the subculture that it appears to be. In fact, to see it as a threat, and to constantly create new styles, is to become obsessed with the fashion cycle and to ignore the most important part of the subculture -its own cultural processes and creations. This gruop needs to decide sooner or later whether it really is a subculture, milieux or community with common concerns and interests, or whether, rather, it is an appendage of the food industry. Although publicity may be "lethal" to a subculture as Baudrillard has argued, it is only lethal if that subculture is

so loosely bound together that it is only held together by its symbolic and stylistic boundaries. If it really believes in what it is producing, it must stick to it no matter what. As bon vivant Lee Bailey also said:

> "Sometimes you have to have the courage to stay with the trend because you really like it."

This paper is based on my M.A. Prelim. Thesis: "Transcending the Commodity: Subcultural Strategies", Anthropology Dept., Monash University, Feb. 1 1986.

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During the verbal presentation of her paper, Rebecca Zuesse showed slides of 12 photographs from magazines and representing 'Popular cuisine 1984', 'Gourmet cuisine 1984', 'Popular cuisine goes "nouvelle", trying to copy' and 'Gourmet cuisine today 1987'.

DINING AS THEATRE: Notes on the gastronomic lessons of Brechtian dramatic theory

Jennifer Hillier

"To Eat of Meat Joyously"

To eat of meat joyously, a juicy loin cut
And with the fresh-baked, fragrant rye bread
Chunks from the whole cheese, and to swallow
Cold beer from the jug: such things are held in
Low esteem, but to my mind, to be put into the grave
Without ever enjoying a mouthful of good meat
Is inhuman, and I say that, I who
Am not good at eating

This is a poem written by Bertolt Brecht in 1954. Throughout his poetry, plays and theoretical works, Brecht alludes to food. Food is pivotal to his aesthetic philosophy, to his materialist critique.

He uses food as an analogy. In his poem "The Bread of the People", he says:

The bread of justice must be baked
By the people.
Plentiful, wholesome, daily.

Often referring to hunger, he says in his poem, "Amongst the Highly Placed":

It is considered low to talk about food.
The fact is they have
Already eaten.

For Brecht, an appreciation of food brings a person closer to reality. He refers in his poem, "Weigel's Props", to:

The hands of the bread-baking, net-weaving
Soup-cooking connoisseur
Of reality.

Just as many references to food can be found in his poems, his plays often speak of food, because he knew his audience understood it.

Food, as his counterparts in the eighteenth-century knew, appeals directly to shared material experience. History can be viewed through the commonplace of food.

Most typically and most famously, he declares in the song 'What keeps Mankind Alive?' from The Threepenny Opera that "food is the first thing - morals follow on".

In Puntila and His Hired Man, Matti, the schizophrenic Puntila carouses around the Finnish countryside in a Studebaker feasting and drinking with his hired man, who says:

> MATTI: O herring, you dog, if it weren't for you, we'd start asking the boss for pork and what could become of Finland then?
> PUNTILA: It tastes like a delicacy to me, because I don't eat it very often. That's inequality and it's not right.

But more than mere references, food can be central to his dramas. He wrote a radio play, The Trial of Lucullus, which judges the notorious Roman gourmand, Lucullus, whose cook gives strong supporting evidence. In the play, St Joan of the Stockyards, his character, Joan Dark, descends into the lower regions of Chicago's meat industry.

In the play, Mother Courage, Mother Courage pulls her chuck-wagon through the Thirty Years War. She feeds the war, which, in turn, consumes her children. (This is probably why one of the doomed sons is called Swiss Cheese.) Mother Courage sings:

> But lead alone can hardly nourish
> It must have soldiers to subsist.
> It's you it needs to make it flourish.
> The war's still hungry. So enlist! (Scene 8, p71)

Throughout the play, the Cook and the Chaplain's recurring debate over the body and the spirit is deflated to an argument about the correct accompaniment to a capon.

In the Prologue to the Caucasian Chalk Circle, the quality of a goat's cheese is the criterion the Peasants use to argue that their Valley be restored to them after the Revolution, instead of it being

appropriated by the commune for irrigated and more productive orchards.

> THE OLD MAN LEFT [one of the newcomers]: But your cheese is excellent.
> THE OLD MAN RIGHT: It's not excellent. Barely decent. The new grazing land is no good, whatever the young people may say. I tell you, it's impossible to live there. It doesn't even smell of morning there in the morning.

Besides a preoccupation with food, Brecht conveys a philosophy of pleasure. All Brecht's most memorable figures - from the antisocial outcast Baal and the cowardly conformist Kragler to the wily and energetic opportunists Azdak and Galileo, Mother Courage and Schweyk - are characterised by an unshakeable belief in a person's inalienable right to happiness. They adopt a cheerful, tough amoralism of "eats first, morals after".

Galileo Galilei, in particular, is both a revolutionary scientist and irresponsible gourmet. He is a man of the flesh whose taste for science is equalled by his love of wine, friendship and goose liver. Brecht, like Galilio, saw his new theatre of the scientific age as a new aesthetic, which incorporates, along with its social and critical attitudes, its noblest function of pleasure for all. In his notes on the character of Galileo, he draws attention to the sensual element: "Galileo, of course, is not a Falstaff: He insists on the physical pleasure because of his materialist convictions."

The point of my paper is not, however, to stress Brecht's concern with food and dining, which is a by-product of his materialist philosophy, but to show how his theories of the theatre might also be applied to dining. We could borrow his critical concepts like V-Effect, Epic Theatre and gestus.

Eighteen months ago, at our staged symposium-within-the-symposium, Gay Bilson was curious to know: "why it is that imagination, which I see writing being, moves me more than the actual eating. What is the something between the actual and the suggestive? So much is left to

the imagination in the writing, the plate of food is too concrete."

Gay's position is reminiscent of the Romantic. Romanticism is characterised by "its idealist celebration of the self, by its respect for the transcendental, and by its conviction of the power of the imagination and of the supreme value of art" (Antony Flew, A Dictionary of Philosophy, 1979).

Whereas Gay finds food "too concrete", as a materialist who rejects metaphysics, Brecht believes that truth is concrete. The truth of hunger and appetite are asserted over more idealised notions of virtue. Actually, what I admire most in his poetry is his delight in the material. His best poems, like "The Fishing Tackle", are "reflections of the politics in concrete objects".

Bertolt Brecht is mainly recognised in Germany for his poetry. However, for many of us, he is a greater dramatist. In 1928, Brecht declined Alfred Doblin's invitation to give a public reading of his poetry, refusing on the grounds that it detracted from his plays. While poetry came easily to him, his particular aesthetic pulled him towards the stage - a public arena of action rather than a private, reflective retreat. Poetry cannot contain the praxis of a shared theatrical event.

It is a commonplace of dramatic criticism, Dickson reminds us, that drama is etymologically a "doing", a derivation to which Aristotle alludes in his definition of tragedy as "the direct imitation of men in action" (Keith A. Dickson, Towards Utopia: A Study of Brecht, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978).

Brecht's reluctance to write poetry seems to me to be central to an appreciation of his theory of theatre, about which he discussed and wrote much. Brecht's "truth" is "truth in action". Since Brecht sees reality itself as a dialectical process, the only truly realistic form

is one that elicits a dialectical response. The dialectical relationship between art and nature, superstructure and base and idealism and materialism is resolved through the praxis of performance and the critical action of the audience. This idea can be explained easily by the saying that 'actions speak louder than words'.

Just as food is "too concrete", dining is "truth in action". Herein lies the direct parallel between Brechtian theatre and good dining.

The connection between dining and theatre has often been made. French writer, Chatillon-Plessis, wrote in 1894:

> The dining-room is a theatre wherein the kitchen serves as the wings and the table as the stage. This theatre requires equipment, this stage needs a decor, this kitchen needs a plot (quoted Jean-Paul Aron, The Art of Dining in France, 1975, p214).

At the symposium-within-the-second symposium, Christopher Driver rightly pointed out that eating is a performance art, sharing with drama its transitoriness (although I also argue the continuity of eating). He said there is an "elementary distinction" to be made between creative arts and performance arts and that the evanescence of food is like the evanescence of performance.

Driver said that words are quite useful, when applied to food, for technical purposes or instruction or evocation, but "no way can the word be the thing itself, which is created to perish." Brecht's technique of Verfremdung - V-effect or alienation-effect - rejects the notion that the "message" can be sought in the text of the play itself. Rather the text-in-performance challenges the audience to look for solutions.

In the present-day, Brecht's Berliner Ensemble is accused of a too slavish respect for Brecht's word, turning his epic theatre into socialist classicism - museum pieces of the GDR. Brecht never regarded his plays as closed systems, finished, cut and dried; each new performance was changed and adapted; he felt that, with everything in constant change, theatre should be a motor to further change - in

society and on its stage.

Brecht stresses praxis, action, reality. Marxism became for Brecht the scientific "hypothesis" for the theatrical laboratory in which social problems are demonstrated. He saw the liberating consequences of this philosophy for the theatre and for humanity. Adopting the Brechtian hypothesis to dining has similarly liberating consequences.

In answer to the question of what is the "productive attitude in face of nature and of society which children of the scientific age would like to take up pleasurably in our theatre?", Brecht responds: "The attitude is a critical one".

> Faced with a river, it consists in regulating the river; faced with a fruit tree, in spraying the fruit tree; faced with movement, in constructing vehicles and aeroplanes; faced with society, in turning society upside down.

And, I must add, that faced with food, it consists of gastronomy. Brecht's theory, like Brillat-Savarin's gastronomy ("the reasoned comprehension of everything connected with the nourishment of man"), is an assimilation of art to science.

In an essay written in 1936, "Theatre for Pleasure or Theatre for Instruction", Brecht says: "Theatre remains theatre even when it is instructive theatre, and insofar as it is good theatre it will amuse" (Brecht on Theatre, p73). Brecht's idea, effectively disregarding the mind-body dichotomy, was that critical reasoning was not separable from other sensual pleasures, just as Galileo's scientific inquiry was bound up with his hedonism.

As argued by Anthony Corones in his paper to the first symposium, this view does not accommodate the Platonistic "dichotomy between a corrupt and ephemeral body and an eternal and good soul" (Anthony Corones, "Culture and Agriculture: Towards a Philosophical Cosmology of Food", First Symposium of Australian Gastronomy: Proceedings, 1984, p 101). Brecht objected to giving theatre a higher function than

that of his special definition of pleasure. "If we were to turn it into a purveyor of morality, it would on the contrary run the risk of being debased, and this would occur at once if it failed to makes its moral lesson enjoyable, and enjoyable to the senses at that: a principle, admittedly, by which morality can only gain."

Employing the Brechtian theatrical analogy, a good restaurant or dinner party is not good theatre because an illusion has been created. Quite the opposite. Brecht's theatre sought to demystify. He wanted all the participants to maintain their reason. Brecht stood against the theatre which could even "transmute our optimistic friends, whom we have called the children of the scientific era, into a cowed, credulous, hypnotized mass" (Bertolt Brecht, Brecht on Theatre, edited and translated John Willett, New York, Hill and Wang, 1964, p188).

Brecht had a distaste for what he described as limited "culinary" opera, which employed music to promote empathy and illusion and merely soporific pleasure. He accused "these entertainment emporiums of having degenerated into branches of the bourgeois narcotics business". This theatre seemed to ask that the mind be separated from the body. "How much longer are our souls leaving our 'mere' bodies under cover of the darkness, to plunge into those dream-like figures up on the stage, there to take part in the crescendos and climaxes which 'normal' life denies us?" (Brecht on Theatre, p189).

Brecht's darkened auditoriums remind me of those lamp or candle-lit dining rooms where the red brochade and ethnic nick-nacks combine with the carpet and Musak to transport the diner, in a quasi-hypnotic state, to some totally ersatz culinary culture.

Just as the lights in Brecht's auditorium are turned on, when the atmosphere for dining brightens, the diner can see what the restaurateur is trying to show. Just as the "fourth wall" of the

theatre (associated with the suspension of disbelief) can be removed, so too can the wall between the kitchen and diner, the mechanisms of the drama being exposed. Just as the actors should not be uncritically absorbed in their roles, a good waiter should show a reflexive appreciation of the professional mask, reminding the the diner of the larger complexity (See note 1).

The basis of Brecht's theory of Epic or Dialectical Theatre is critical. He thought that the "critical attitude" it strives to inculculate in its audience "can never be passionate enough" (Dickson, 1964, p237). It is this which underpins the V-effect, the "technique of alienating the familiar" (Dickson, p192).

While theatrical immediacy ensures emotional involvement, a sense of pastness is created by the now familiar Epic devices of narrators, choruses and songs, projected texts and captions, the brightly lit, curtainless stage that reveals not only the scene-shifting but also the sources of light and music, the anti-illusionistic props and decor and above all the anti-Stanislavski style of acting. A Brechtian actor would not be pleased to be told he didn't act Lear, that he <u>was</u> Lear (<u>Brecht on Theatre,</u> p193). Brecht suggests that it helps if actors exchange roles during rehearsal. All this strictly limits the degree of identification is calculated to activate the spectator's rational faculties.

This effect enables the spectator to exercise fruitful criticism from a social point of view. This critical attitude is not so much a balanced armchair assessment as a reasoned commitment to purposeful intervention. (By "fruitful" (one of his favourite words), he meant "active and positive" (Dickson, p244).)

By doing away with empathy, Epic or Dialectical Theatre sought a more complex, sceptical attitude, a critical appraisal which refused to reconcile contradictions. Because he believed in the possibility of

change and the possibility of human agency, the theatre is shown as "open". The theatre should not assert closed systems of meaning or beliefs.

A Brechtian approach is useful in, for example, examining Barbara Santich's suggestions in her most recent newsletter, that restaurant reviewers adopt similar criteria to theatre critics. I agree that a critical attitude is virtually absent from restaurant reviewers and gastronomy as we know it in this country. (I might add that theatre directors, artists and musicians might also complain about a decent level of criticism.)

However, if we enhance the truly theatrical elements of dining (in order that it reach its most "fruitful" potential), then it might actually challenge the privileges of the critics, based on their technical expertise. By engendering the "critical attitude" on and off the stage, Epic Theatre attempts to empower the individual participants. So, too, in and out of the kitchen the de-mystification undermines the professional critics. If we, in Australia, were able to appropriate our dining through this critical attitude, there would be no vacuum for the pamphlets of foodie fashion.

It was Brecht's desire that theatre should be approached in much the same way as sport, as the spectators at a football match actively and knowledgeably contribute to the event, rather than reverentially, in a rarified atmosphere. Brecht said: "In this way we could very soon have a theatre full of experts, as we have sports stadiums full of experts" (Walter Benjamin, Understanding Brecht, NLB, 1983, p4). Surely, it is even more reasonable that all might approach eating knowledgeably and actively.

In my short time feeding Italians in our restaurant in Tuscany, I was impressed by their singularly critical approach, which, I think,

stemmed from a complete knowledge of their own Tuscan food culture. Our attempts to adapt the Tuscan repertory thus created a dialectical response. I imagine Brecht's "magpie" adaptations of old stories like Coriolanus, the Beggar's Opera or Joan of Arc were designed to encourage criticism. In their familiarity, the old stories were designed to relatively unsensational and thus appeal to reason.

Of course, Tuscan dining, because of its "gestic", habitual quality, can be compared to Brecht's incorporation of "gestus". The gesture for Brecht was a raw material and it had two advantages over the highly deceptive statements and assertions normally made by people and their many-layered and opaque actions. The gesture is falsifiable only up to a point; in fact, the more inconspicuous and habitual it is, the more difficult it is to falsify. In traditional culture, it follows that dining must be extremely gestic. Hence, our adaptations created authentic dialectics. This is not possible when gestures are false.

The benefits of this critical adapation of traditional stories can shed light on the problems which the critic and the practitioner find in a culture which has no basis in tradition. The food culture which is in a constant state of flux cannot be perceived critically because there are no norms by which to judge it.

Restaurateurs ignorant of tradition and social context ignore food's gestic potential. Cuisine Nouvelle inside France - where its audience has a knowledge of the taste of good ingredients, Escoffier and peasant food - was open to an effective critical response. In this country, its style was uncritically taken up, emptied of its gestic or habitual context.

In Tuscany, where the food traditions are respected, the critical response to adaptation and change is much greater than in a culture where the population is saturated with the new. The breaking of culinary illusion becomes increasingly a challenge. However, following Brecht's

theory, each diner has the unique possibility of experiencing the truly dialectical nature of reality. With its theatricality enhanced, dining can become truly pleasurable in terms both of the mind and the body.

NOTE: (1) Phillip Searle can be regarded as having performed such a service when he exaggeratedly drew attention at his First Symposium banquet to the theatrical analogy, and dressed his waiters as clowns (see Michael Symons, 'Praise of Clowns', First Symposium, Proceedings, 1984, pp 131-134).

Monday lunch:

BARBECUE AT MONTSALVAT

SETTING: A garden terrace outside the Great Hall at Montsalvat.

WEATHER: Coolish

MUSIC: String quartet playing Pachelbel's Canon (by now something of a Symposium theme, beginning with Phillip Searle's 'Clowns' banquet).

BARBECUIST: Gabriel Gate (under Stephanie Alexander's guidance).

FOOD:

Crepinettes of venison and spinach

Lamb cutlets

Quails

accompanied by rowanberry jelly, simple salads and red and yellow watermelon.

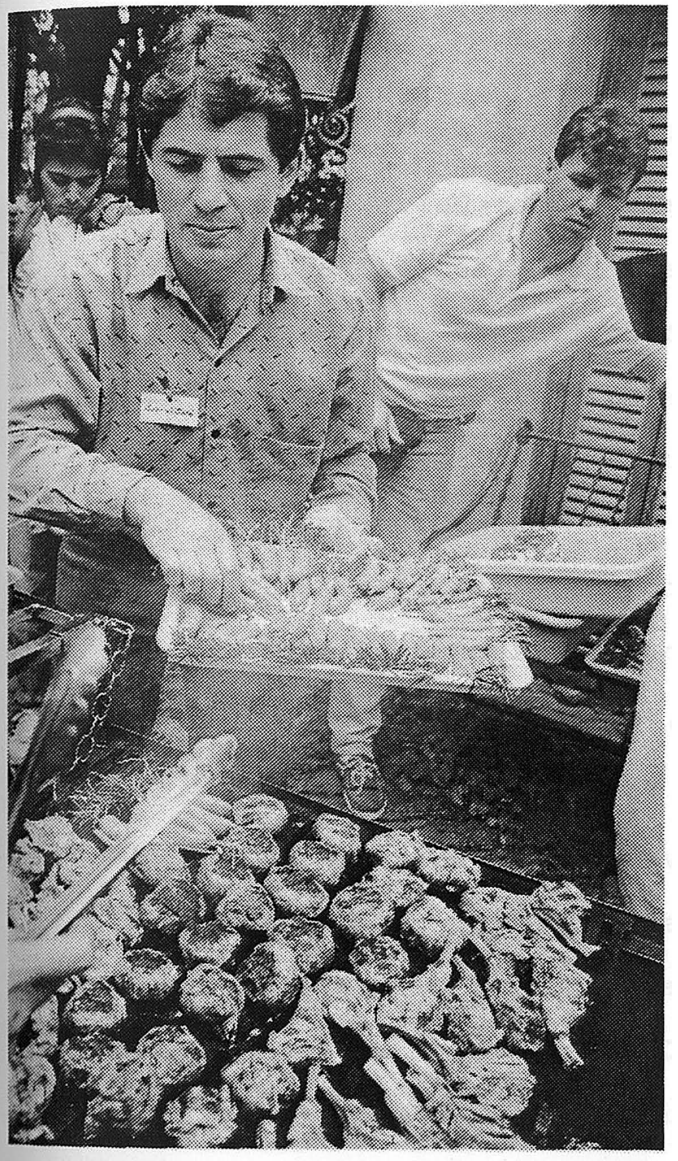
WINES:

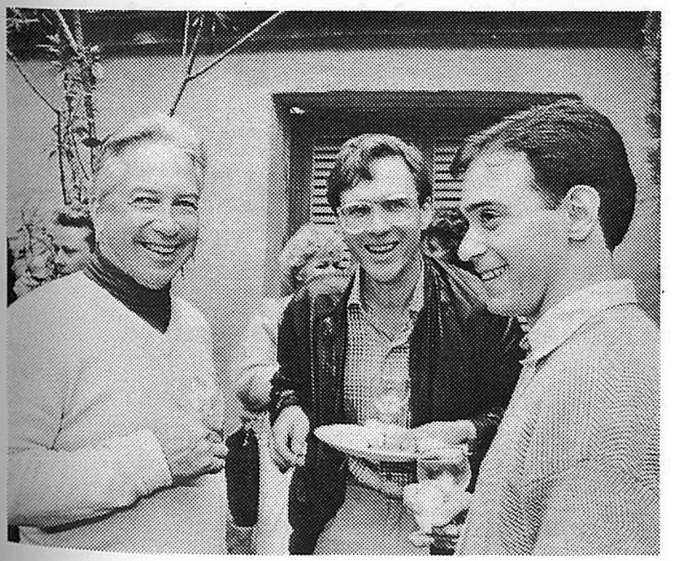
Mitchelton 1985 Marsanne (Nagambie)

Yeringberg 1985 Marsanne (Yarra Valley)

Bests 1984 Hermitage (Great Western)

Montara 1984 Hermitage (Great Western)





FOOD IRRADIATION A Cause for Serious Concern

Beverley Sutherland Smith

The recommendation to pass irradiation of food has been made by the National Health and Medical Research Council. It is disturbing to notice the haste of the push towards its acceptance, despite the many reputable Advisory Boards throughout the world who express serious concern at its long term effects.

The desire for irradiated food is not expressed by the consumer, who appears to have little knowledge of the process, but it is by the nuclear industries, the large food chains and government agencies.

During irradiation, food travels along a conveyer belt inside a chamber which has lead lined concrete walls two metres thick. It is subjected to doses of radiation which may be derived from Cobalt 60, (the suggested source for Australia) Ceasium 137 or X-ray sources. The maximum average dose proposed for this country would mean that the food could have the equivalent bombardment of ten million chest X-rays.

National Health and Medical Research Council have approved irradiation of fresh fruit and vegetables and dried, poultry, spices, cereals and Queensland have requested fish be included. The proponents state it is quite safe. Safe means "no risk, unable to cause trouble or damage". But with disagreement and lack of credible research about many aspects of irradiated food, it is not possible to accept that it should be called safe at this time.

Showing caution, the United States have approved a level of irradiation for food of 1 kilogray (the measure of radiation absorbed by an object) But Australian authorities have no such inhibitions, having approved irradiation of our food at levels ten times that amount.

One of the purposes of irradiation is to eliminate the use of some pesticides. But these are used during growth, before harvesting and irradiation is post harvest so in many cases food will receive an additional treatment, a field spray along with irradiation.

Food producers hope that irradiation will be a satisfactory substitute for EDB (ethylene dibromide) a toxic chemical insecticide which has been banned in the United States. But it is not the only alternative to EDB as according to the Department of Agriculture, quarantine, inspection and the use of field sprays are sufficient to keep fruit fly in check.

Salmonella in chicken and in fish is killed by irradiation. However it does not kill botulism in the dosage suggested, thereby creating a new hazard. If it should be present it could grow rapidly and as the radiation treatment destroys the odour which would tell the consumer that the food is contaminated the chicken or fish could appear to be harmless.

Bacteria or, of even more concern, viruses can develop resistance to radiation. Ionizing radiation is a well established mutagenic agent, Public health authorities throughout the

world agree that steps to prevent the spread of mutant viruses, are essential to maintaining public health.

While radiation will reduce the bug count, it will not remove the toxins generated by bacteria at the earlier stage of contamination. The World Health Organisation was adamant it should only be used to extend shelf life for food that was wholesome, not to conceal contaminated food. But it would be easy to do this without strict controls and unscrupulous producers could take advantage. This is not a hypothetical concern, already several cases have been reported in England. (Thames TV 1986)

Nutrient destruction is generally admitted with exposure to ionizing radiation. "Little significant loss in Vitamins" the consumers are being told. But what does significant mean in this case. Fifty percent of Vitamin C is destroyed in potatoes, it is reasonable to assume it would have the same effect on other vegetables - and this is before they are cooked. Documented experiments have also shown that Vitamins A. B. complex and E can be destroyed or diminished by the process which would increase the risk of degerative diseases. Also riboflavin is destroyed in rice when irradiated at levels below 10, leaving little of the nourishment required from this product.

Irradiation inhibits sprouting of potaotes or onions but increases their sensitivity to fungal attack and internal browning can occur. Oranges develop brown spots on the skin, it causes cell death in fruits like peaches, cherries, grapes

and tomatoes. Lettuce and cabbage also develop brown centres. It extends the shelf life of mushrooms but the spores die and they will not reproduce. It is hoped that avocado could be irradiated to kill frut fly larvae, but this is among the foods which suffer documented injury from irradiation, along with cucumber, beans, lemons, limes, olives and nuts. Queensland fishermen and exporters of seafood are embracing it as an important way to gain more imports. However polyunsaturated fats are adversely affected by irradiation (Who/Fao 1977 report). Polyunsaturated fats include epoxides, said to cause tumors and many varieties of Australian fish contain polyunsaturated fats.

The monentary advantage it is hoped to gain from imports of irradiated food may be negated by the fact our markets in return will have to accept irradiated food from other countries which are now banned.

There is no test and no way the public can judge visually that food has been irradiated which makes labelling of great importance for the consumer so they have a freedom of choice. The original decision to make the labelling state "treated with ironizing radiation" has now been altered to include one which says "words having the same or similar effect". So other names could be used, such as "pico wave" or "pico fresh" as has been suggested in the United States. If this process, as we are constantly told, is so safe, why use words which could mislead. No provision has been made for individual labelling. A box of onions, mushrooms or asparagus may have the container

stamped. But each piece of fruit or vegetable could not be marked. How would the consumer tell if irradiation had been used and it is unlikely the supplier would voluntarily inform them unless compelled to. LIkewise there is nothing to cover the consumer concerning the restaurant industry, caterers, take -away or fast food shops.
By virtue of longer shelf life these are people who could consider using irradiated foods.

The belief in the industry the irradiation may kill all bacteria, could lead to a general lowering of standards of hygiene in food processing and handling. Far from reducing the likelihood of food poisoning it could increase it. Shelf life of food is extended, from a matter of days to weeks, but it must still be frozen, refrigerated or canned in the same way that the fresh food would.

It is hoped that irradiation would play a vital role in providing vital food supplies to countries lacking refrigeration. Third World countries would still need this as irradiation cannot substitute for refrigerating food. At best it could only supplement it. Mention is never made that irradiation stimulates aflatoxin products (tumor producing products) in wheat, corn, potatoes, onions, pearl millet and if these are irradiated for Third World countries, they will add to the serious problem they have with aflatoxins in hot and humid climates. These are 1000 times more potent carcinogens than the pesticide EDB.

As to the flavour, aroma and colour of food which has been irradiated, it depends on the dosage how noticeable it is. But the CSIRO Division of Food Research Institute of Animal and FoodSciences report "84 - 85 into the irradiation of processed meat stated it had "significant change in flavour and aroma". At doses of around 2 kilogray the changes in chicken were noticeable. Discolouration occured in fruits and vegetables and the CSIRO advocates the use of chemical additives to disguise "off" flavours and smells.

It was hoped that irradiation would kill fungus in wheat. But the dosage required is so high that it becomes unsuitable for bread making. Bread made from irradiated wheat may develop an unpleasant odour.

Although it is generally accepted by everybody that there is little danger of the food itself becoming radioactive, this cannot be discounted. High energy electrons do induce measurable radioactivity, especially in sodium phosphorous, sulphur and iron. If equipment was not working perfectly at all times, it is possible that these high energy electrons could be accidently generated. Food with a high water content are more likely to become radioactive, food with substantial salt content, for example ham or bacon might be more radioactive for a week after treatment. (Tucker report 1984)
But most alarming of all is the la ck of credible research of the long term effects of irradiation.

The United States army became interested in irradiation so it could be used to preserve army rations. Three large programmes were given to commercial laboratories. Two were contracted to Industrial Biotest. Their work, covering the irradiation of beef and pork was defaulted because of missing records, poor quality work , incomplete disclosure of missing records, supression of unfavourable findings. The officials of the company were convicted in the U.S of performing fraudulent research.

A third test commenced to provide reliable evidence on the irradiation of chicken. Rats, mice and dogs were fed irradiated cooked chicken. But the planned two year study was aborted after only 39 weeks. Many of the baby rats died, the mothers could not produce sufficient milk to feed them. Many mice died prematurely and many developed tumors of the testes. Dogs survived the tests best of all, although some did not gain weight as they should. But as the tests did not run full term, the results were declared not adequate.

Raltech Scientific Services revealed that fruit flies fed irradiated chicken had seven times fewer offspring than those fed heat treated chicken. Again the tests were discounted, in the USA the FDA said this was an "unreliable indicator".

The FDA in America looked at 440 summaries. Of these 69 were chosen and 32 showed some adverse effect, yet they approved irradiation of food. THeir statement that "Thirty years of research on the irradiation process have shown that the proposed levels of irradiation are safe and nutritious, has been

challenged by scientists all across the United States

A study in India linked it with leukemia and abnormal development of white blood cells iin malnourished children fed wheat three weeks after it had been expposed to irradiation. Subsequent studies found similar results in test animals. Food irradiation proponents claim these Bhaskarm studies were repudiated by the National Institute of Nutrition in India who sponsored it, but the Institute deny this.

When food is exposed to radiation, there are chemical changes in the molecular structure of the food. It produces unique radiolytic products, now names URPS.

These new substances have never been eaten in food before and it is not known what will happen in the human body when they are consumed over some years. However, Tucker 1984 report, D. Ibser, California State University states "These appear to be related to significant off-spring effects in animal feeding".

The World Health Organisation have approved the use of irradiation and it is used in minor ways in many countries. IN Japan onions are treated to prevent sprouting, in South Africa it is used for fresh fruits for imports. In Russia a huge plant at Odessa irradiates all imported grains. But the Russians are re-assessing their irradiation programme. In the United States it was used for army rations, but has now been banned in this context.

It was passed for the United States for some items of food, this was extended to cover fruits and vegetables, but as yet none are being treated.

Kathleen Tucker is president of the Health and Energy Institute of the United States, a non-profit and highly respected organisation which is used by local citizen groups, government, industry, labour and the media. This public interest organisation has a scientific advisory board and after their investigation into irradiation gave their opinion that

"Despite over 25 years of research and tens of millions of dollars spent on developing food irradiation, there are disturbing scientific findings and major uncertainties relative to food safety."

In May 1986, Kathleen Tucker, on behalf of her organisation launched a Citizens Petition objecting to the permission of irradiated food claiming the process had been declared "safe" on assumption rather than on scientific tests.

A bill now before the United States parliment would block implimentation of the FDA ruling with 37 members wishing to reverse the decision on the grounds of worrying scientific studies and thelitany of accidents in the nuclear industry.

It has been passed in England but apart from a few special licenses granted for "one off" irradiation , it is not in operation. Tony Webb was appointed as a consultant researcher on food irradiation to the London commission which was established in 1984 to provide independent research, information and

advice. In his report he states,
"We began our consideration of the concept of irradiation recognising that there might be benefits in some areas from properly controlled use of radiation... It is with great sadness and reluctance that we are finding it necessary to prepare for a public campaign of opposition to irradiation."
Scientific Lit. Web. 1985 and 1986, England revealed animal studies showing lower birth rate, lower growth rate, increased mortality, higher tumor incidence, higher incidence of cataracts, changes in blood cell counts and changes in the chromosomes of animals and children fed irradiated wheat.

Apart from the possible food hazards, radioactive sources for irradiating foods would raise possible dangers to our environment and to the public. Workers could be affected by irradiation leakage, since the dose of radiation that will be used on foods is 200 times the lethal exposure for human beings, workers will be at risk of immediate death should they be exposed. Already there have been two recorded accidents to workers in irradiation plants.
In the event of accident there is the risk of a release of radiatic which could leave large areas permanently uninhabitable, There have been several already at plants in the United States. (Dover, NJ,

It is impossible to accept that irradiation is in the best interests of the consumer. Proponents completely ignore the many worrying questons raised by respected scientists and responsible advisory groups.

Is it safe? This must mean that there is no question of doubt in the minds of scientists that it is not harmful and tests have established beyond any shadow of doubt that there are no adverse impacts from consuming it.

One of the few things which seem certain amid all the controversy is that the safety of irradiated food has not yet been proven.

Reply to Beverley Sutherland-Smith, from Dr. John Possingham (as transcribed):

The history of this subject goes back to just after the atomic bomb went off. The first tests to which irradiated food was subjected were to see if it was free of cancer-causing agents; it didn't pass this test. But it wasn't a test of whether it had more, or less; it was a test to see if irradiated had any cancer-producing agents, and all foods have cancer-causing agents. Max Lake put his finger on it, when he said you ought to worry about what else you eat, because it's simply a choice of options, and the option is methylbromide. You Melburnians don't know how many of the tropical fruits that arrive from Queensland are treated with methylbromide, and you don't worry about it because you don't know.

IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH

Rita Erlich and Pat Crotty

Before God died, we used to thank Him for what we were about to eat. We did not take Him (or Her) to task for creating certain foods, although we might have said more heartfelt thanks for some foods than others. And we ought always to thank the human invention that is cooking. Papers at previous symposia have dealt with aspects of food-as-health, but we are more concerned with current attitudes to the healthfulness of food.

If you look at many of the food books published in recent years, you realise how the "healthy" cookbook market is booming. From many of those books, you get a sense that the world is full of foodstuffs that are, at best, inadvisable, and at worst, health hazards. God's promise of life everlasting after death has been replaced by the late Nathan Pritikin's promise of health everlasting; and the way to that eternal life is not through prayer, but through diet. Disease, according to many of these books, is the wages of dietary sin.

Let us look at some examples:

> Literally millions of people today are suffering excruciating pain and discomfort from a multitude of diet linked diseases and symptoms: ...cardiovascular (heart) disease and some forms of cancer; also diabetes, arthritis, angina, gall stones, hypoglycaemia (low blood sugar), gout, poor circul ation, poor eyesight, headaches, lethargy, insomnia - the list goes on.

That is from a book by Prue Sobers called Deliciously Natural. She goes on to say that the Pritikin programme is based largely on empirical research, but that its basis is sound: "The evidence which Nathan Pritikin presents strongly underlies (sic) the scientific theory that metabolic diseases are correlated with the high fat, high cholesterol, low fibre and excessive salt and sugar intake of our Western society."

Julie Stafford, another follower of the Pritikin programme, writes in her latest Taste for Life book (the one for children):

> The diseases of our affluent Western society like heart disease, cancer, diabetes, obesity and others are partly, if not wholly, caused by a high fat, high protein, salt loaded, sugar loaded, high refined foods diet.... Prevention is better than cure...

Even gastronomes are saying the same things. Consider Anton Mosimann in Cuisine Naturelle:

> Today, in a Western world newly conscious of the relationship between health and food, people are worried about four main health problems:
>
> * di seases arising from overweight
> * heart disease and problems of the circulatory system
> * problems of the stomach and digestive system
> * dental problems
>
> The most controllable dietary culprits that are believed to cause or to exacerbate these problems are excessive fats, oils, salt, sugar and calorific intake, as well as insufficient intake of dietary fibre, fresh fruits and vegetables.

And his book is a prosperous gourmet version of Stafford's, or

Sobers, or any number of others.

Almost all of us here would agree in some measure with the writers quoted. But why do we? What is the evidence? There is a great deal of evidence which shows that diet can have an impact on health, but it is much less clear what the extent of the impact is. Interpretation of figures can depend on the beliefs of those doing the interpreting. Since this is not a medical symposium, this is not the place to give detailed accounts of research, methodology and interpretation. This is not a scientific paper, but a series of observations and thoughts that might well be picked up by sociologists and anthropologists. But before we all rush towards Pritikin or Mosimann, it is as well to consider that at least some of the research into cholesterol and heart disease shows that while there may be an association, it is not certain that the relationship is causal. Would it benefit all of us if we modified our diets? The answer to that is no. It is yes, if you start young (or youngish, say in your 30s), are male, and have other risk factors, such as high blood pressure or are a smoker. And then you will change the risk of heart disease, but you will not eliminate it. It is also true that modifying your diet as a preventative measure might modify your risk of diabetes if you have a genetic predisposition, but will not eliminate it.

Why then do we believe that there is such a strong relationship between diet and health? Why do we accept the dietary guidelines more or less unquestioningly?

There are a number of interlocking reasons. The first is that

although what we eat is not the sole or even the most important factor in the diseases we might acquire, it is the only controllable factor. We cannot change who we are, that is to say, our parents and our genetic structure, we have little control over our environment, but we do have control over what we put in our mouths. When we are feeling powerless, it may be the only control we have, and we usually exercise it by refusing it eat - think of hunger-strikers, or stroppy toddlers. It is interesting to look at the language used by many of the writers who advocate a low-fat, no salt, no sugar diet. You find phrases like "affluent Western society" and such a phrase goes with a parcel of undesirables, such as refined or over-refined food, and processed food. We wonder whether the rejection of meat, fat, oil, sugar, salt, alcohol has more to do with the rejection of a whole way of life rather than a concern for nutrition. That seems even more probable since so many of the Thou-shalt-not-eat people are advocates of various kinds of alternative medicines and therapies. They are exercising their control by refusing to eat the fruits of the tree called Western society. You don't have to be a Pritikin adherent; many of us here would refuse to eat certain foods (like a MacDonald's hamburger) on the grounds that it was not healthy. It is not unhealthy, unless it is the sole component of your diet, but the rejection is more likely to be on aesthetic grounds or even a rejection of industrialised food supply. That kind of political refusal to eat is often (as with many of the alternative health people) tied in with a kind of nostalgia, a belief in a noble savagery of diet, and a soft-hearted but observably untrue notion that natural equals beneficial.

One of the incidental problems of discussing the affluent or typical Western diet is that for the most part we do not know exactly what we are talking about. There is surprisingly little research into what people actually eat. What do people eat in Australia, for instance? If we could find the average Australian, what would he or she be eating during the course of a week? And how typical would that be in a population as diverse as ours? It is often forgotten by the people who complain about the affluent Western diet, that the people more likely to suffer from its diseases are those who are least affluent.

There are a couple of other points about current notions of healthy eating. There is a new morality about it all, a strong suggestion that a restrictive diet is improving for mind, body and soul, and that a new and improved lifestyle somehow makes its followers morally better. Now if you lose fifteen or twenty kilos by following a regimen of diet and exercise, the chances are that you will feel livelier. You will also, just as likely, feel better about yourself, your own image. That is another issue, of course, but we ought to remember that there is no moral virtue in condemning those who are not in our image, or in the image we wish to present. It is an easy step for those who believe that a certain kind of diet is a near-guarantee of health to see certain kinds of disease as a punishment. If you eat bacon and eggs and white bread every morning, and smoke cigarettes, then you may well be punished by heart disease, or cancer, or whatever. Anyone who wants to explore that is advised to read Susan Sontag's Illness as Metaphor, where she

talks about perceptions of tuberculosis and cancer. AIDS is the contemporary replacement of TB as a disease that somehow is supposed to express the character of the person suffering from it.

What we are suggesting is that a central factor is the food-for-health issue is one of belief - belief rather than knowledge. In a sense, those who follow ritualised or restrictive diets are believers in a kind of magic, using food to cast spells for health. Anecdotal evidence says that spells sometimes work, which is not at all surprising, given the variables of human society and the power of the mind. But food is not magic, neither white magic nor black magic. Although it is one of the factors that impinge on health, by itself it is neither powerfully good nor powerfully dangerous. It is worth considering, but not worth relying on for a long and healthy life. So we might all just as well simply enjoy all the foods that come our way, and give thanks where they are due.

March 1987

Melbourne.

SOCIAL ACTIVITY AND FOOD

Professor Mark Wahlqvist

It is overdue that I've come to these meetings, which I've followed with great interest. Indeed, a close colleague of mine, Len Collins, who unfortunately died last year, was one of your great supporters. He was the President of the Australasian Guild of Cooks, as some of you will remember, and with him I published the book Australian Kitchen Nutrition (1). So, it is with a little sadness that I get together with you in his absence.

The context of us meeting together is also important for the issue which I wish to explore with you: new evidence that social activity itself is important in determining our life expectancy. In the Lancet in April 1985 an article caught my eye (2). It was one of those articles which quite change the way in which one thinks. This was an article from western Sweden by a group of researchers who had been working away principally on factors determining the chances of coronary disease. One of the key workers in the group is Lars Wilhelmsen, who is a cardiologist from Gothenburg.

In this particular paper, rather than focussing on coronary disease, they addressed total mortality. And rather than talking about this or that risk factor for coronary disease - serum cholesterol level or cigarette smoking, or whatever - they looked at a fairly global index of human behaviour, social activity. And as crude as this index is, there was a striking relationship between what they called a social activity score and the risk of dying in a subsequent nine-year period for two cohorts of Swedish men. This wasn't just an association, because it was done prospectively. That is to say, at the outset, the social activity of these individuals was documented and

then followed, along with whether or not they died in the subsequent nine years. And it didn't matter whether it was going to parties or going to continuing education classes or meeting with your friends in a variety of ways, it was protective against premature death.

Now the thing that struck me was that almost every activity which they described was in one or way or another something you'd expect to be done around food. And so I asked myself the question, whether some of the observations that we are currently are making about the relationships between food and health may not actually be accounted for in terms of our social activity. Indeed, it seemed much more likely, as I looked at their data, that that was the case, because, as we all know, there are social activities which lead to quite different kinds of eating. If you go to an Aussie Rules football match you are likely to have a meat pie and beer. And if you go to a birthday party, it's another kind of fare. And if you come to a gastronomic society meeting, it is yet another. So it wasn't apparent that a particular kind of food, let alone a particular sort of nutrient, was one which would explain this relationship between social activity and life expectancy.

In any case, as you've heard from Rita Erlich and Pat Crotty, we know that factors influencing our life expectancy are many, and it seemed unlikely even to someone these last nine years in the chair of Nutrition at Deakin University (as I have been and from which I've recently moved) that food only would account for life expectancy. So it was really quite intriguing that such a global and crude descriptor of human behaviour could so powerfully predict, as it did in the study, life expectancy.

However, just before one then seeks to account for all the relationship, if you like, between food and health in social activity

terms, I think that there are certain aspects of social activity where there may be some commonality or important factors, that relate to the way we eat, which could in themselves be important. And here I can only be speculative because it's clearly an important area for future research, and one into which I wish to take my new department, if I possibly can.

For one thing, it seems to me that social activity allows us often to bring together different ways of eating, different techniques of food preparation, so that we are likely, by engaging in social activity, to have a wider diversity of foods and beverages. And you will note that one of the two most important dietary guidelines is to have a wide variety of foods each day.

Curiously, it is one of the dietary guidelines which has the least documented evidence and yet it has become something of an article of faith among nutritionists. This is largely on the basis that if we examine hunter-gatherer cultures, then we see that people do have a wide variety of foods - berries, nuts, root vegetables, fish, small animals and so on. And we also know that human physiology depends on us obtaining essential nutrients from lots of different foods. Beyond human breast milk in the first few months of life, there is really no food which is complete, and humans do need to be omnivorous. So at least that is a cogent idea that we should have a variety of foods to achieve adequate nutrition. It is also cogent that if we do not focus exclusively on one food then we are less likely to have too much of something. There is a dilutional effect of factors in food which are otherwise potentially toxic. So it's been an attractive principles espoused in every set of national guidelines.

Only very recently have we been getting actual evidence that food variety might be protective, largely because the instruments of looking at food variety have been weak. We ourselves have developed an

index of food variety which, you may be interested to know, in studies of Melburnians we have demonstrated to be predictive of hardening of the arteries: the wider the variety of foods, the less hardening of the arteries you have (3). But that is really the beginning of what is long overdue as an area of research. It could be that food variety is one consequence of social activity.

There is also in social activity a kind of restraining influence, so that one may not over-eat. One also may not under-eat; there is an encouragement to eat in a social setting. There's an educational effect, so that the experiences of a whole culture or maybe several cultures is brought to bear on our eating. So there may be ways that social eating ultimately leads to preferred eating patterns. Of course, even the knowledge we have of the relationship between food and health from the current scientific work gets shared in this kind of environment, and we often come to understand it better in this kind of discussion than if were read books or engage in a formal learning process.

But, equally, of course, other parts of social activity may be important. In Chinese culture, for example (and my Chinese wife is here today), there's almost no transaction that takes place other than around food. So, the resolution of problems and conflicts might be part of the process. Sometimes we even engage in physical activity when we're engaged in social activity. And one could go on... You could speculate more than I can.

So, I raise this as an issue. I don't think we are by any means entirely clear about the relationship. Nevertheless, my sense of it is that social activity is likely to emerge as important in its own right. If this is the case, we need, firstly, to test the hypothesis much further. Secondly, I think we need to identify, in Australia,

where food and social activity are likely to be, if you like, segregated; where they might not be coming together.

Indeed, I think there is a tendency for the privatisation of the way in which we eat, in many ways. The single person preparing food alone... Even food writers are encouraging people to cope with this situation by themselves. We have recently completed a Meals-on-Wheels study (4). For the first time, this multi-million dollar activity in Australia has been subject to nutritional evaluation. Just what is this program contributing nutritionally to elderly people? It is, of course, a process which often allows elderly people to stay in their own home, often alone. Shouldn't we then be weighing this against activities for elderly people at their elderly citizen's club, not ignoring the social activity aspect. What about the TV meal? How much social activity is involved? Is it a new kind of social activity where one interacts with the screen? I've no idea, but it ought perhaps to be subject to inquiry.

And I don't know whether, as in other areas, if a little social activity is good, more and more is better. Many of you have heard me argue that isn't the case with nutrient supplementation. Maybe I should be cautious that I don't too zealously advocate social activity; clearly, it sometimes also gets us into strife.

In summary, then, we have at long last taken nutrition from nutrients to food. Food is so chemically complex that we cannot predict the food-health relationship only in nutrient terms. For example, in the New England Journal of Medicine just four or five weeks ago there was an interesting article which talked about potassium being protective against stroke rates in a prospective study in the United States (5). What they actually meant was that fruits and vegetables and so on were protective against strokes, and yet it was described in nutrient terms. I think most nutritionists are actually

beyond that now. We're interested in fish and human health, fruits and human health, and so on. But it looks as though we have to take that further and look at eating patterns and the context of eating, social activity. Thank you very much.

(Mark Wahlqvist's spoken paper has been transcribed by Michael Symons.)

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Monday afternoon discussion groups:

THE CULINARY PARTISAN

In this final session, participants were divided into six small groups to discuss the question of 'The Culinary Partisan'. We reassembled to hear reports from the appointed leaders of each group.

BARBARA SANTICH	GAY BILSON	ANTHONY CORONES
Bette AUSTIN	Mary BRANDER	Marieke BRUGMAN
Maggie BEER	Pat CROTTY	Stephanie ALEXANDER
Michael DOWE	Frances FARMER	Melissa GROSSI
Suzanne HALLIDAY	Anna GUTHLEBEN	Guy GROSSI
Robyn HINDSON	George HILL	Penny SMITH
Max LAKE	Sigmund JORGENSEN	Jennifer HILLIER
Jennifer PYLE	Nathalie LEADER	Di HOLUIGE
Jill STONE	Sandy MICHELL	Paul LEVY
Michael TRELOAR	Millie SHERMAN	Gwenda ROBB
Chris WILDE	Mark WAHLQVIST	Beverley SUTHERLAND SMITH
	Soo HUANG(WAHLQVIST)	

MICHAEL SYMONS	DON DUNSTAN	GRAHAM PONT
Margaret BROWN	Jeff DOWN	
Elaine CHAMBERS	Ann CREBER	Elizabeth CHONG
Gabriel GATÉ	Carol BROWN	Helen DE PURY
Sarah GOUGH	Tony SIMPSON	Lois BUTT
Marion HALLIGAN	Rita ERLICH	Jen FORBES
Claire KEARNEY		Di HETZEL
Sue NORRIS	Robyn HEDDLE	Leah HOYLE
John POSSINGHAM	Ian POLLARD	Cath KERRY
Gail THOMAS	Margit KORN	Scott MINERVINI
Rebecca ZUESSE	Philippa NEWBIGIN	Adrian READ
Hugh ROBERTS	Sue ZWEEP	Dur-é DARA

DISCUSSION SUMMARIES

Barbara Santich

Which are the most promising cuisines from which Australia might borrow, and why?

I began by suggesting the Mediterranean cuisine, because the basic ingredients of a Mediterranean diet are also those of Australia: wheat as the cereal component, sheepmeat as the protein component. We grow many of the same vegetables and fruits, we drink wine with our meals. Many of the cooking techniques are also appropriate to Australia; although they may have evolved as a response to fuel shortages, they are appropriate to our climate, at least in summer. Meat, for example, is grilled (barbecued); fish is fried; vegetables are eaten in salads or as a mixed vegetable dish like ratatouille. Remembering the 'laws' formulated by Sir Harry Gibb in relation to cultural borrowings - that borrowings will occur when the borrowed elements blend into the existing culture, when they represent a 'new' or 'different' way of doing something - then Mediterranean cuisine would seem to offer the most easily assimilable borrowings. Further, most Australians are brought up within a tradition of Western philosophy, a tradition to which Mediterranean cuisine belongs, and therefore should be better able to understand the fundamental principles of Mediterranean gastronomy.

Some objections were raised about frying as a cooking technique; it is not necessarily 'healthy' and we should consider health aspects. Likewise, if we are are going to borrow from cuisines which have

adapted to fuel shortages, why not Chinese, with its stir-fry techniques?

We then approached the subject in a more logical manner, listing the aspects which should be taken into account - such as health and nutrition (no one wants to borrow a cuisine which is not 'healthy', although I'm not sure that 'healthy' is an adjective which can be applied to a cuisine); utilitarian aspects (is it quick and easy or labour-intensive? is it moderately-priced or exhorbitant?); and its pleasurableness and acceptability. The relative importance of each of these aspects was not examined, but it was generally agreed that a non-nutritional, time-consuming, expensive, unpalatable cuisine had no chance of being borrowed in today's Australian society. A cuisine that used fresh ingredients and fat-free meats (Max Lake gave the example of goat) was deemed worthy of consideration.

Various cuisines were then proposed and discussed in the light of these conditions. Lebanese food, it was suggested, is healthy - not too much meat, lots of vegetables and cereals - but takes too long to prepare. (In Lebanese households, the women spend all morning getting the midday meal ready, said Jill Stone.) Suzanne Halliday stressed the importance of time, especially for the cook who also works; most of them simply can't be bothered with cooking that requires a lot of preparation. (One could also add that these same cooks are not the ones to do much experimentation; experimenting with a new recipe takes more time.)

Kibbeh was suggested as one dish we could borrow (and it doesn't need any cooking!); meat-and-vegetable (or, preferably, chicken-and-vegetable) stir-fries; mixed vegetable dishes. It seemed

to be generally agreed that people of reasonable intelligence can eat well with any cuisine, which was simply an echo of Graham Pont's Socratic statement earlier that morning, that good cuisine is a matter of knowing how to eat well.

Thus there was no single answer to the question asked, and given the conditions set by this group, there seemed to be little chance that any single cuisine would be satisfactory on all counts. What we will do is borrow, eclectically, what we think is appropriate. In our generation they might remain borrowings, but for our children, and our children's children, they might have become established within an Australian repertoire.

As a footnote, I can give an example of this assimiliation. We suggested going to a restaurant, and asked the children what sort of restaurant they'd like to go to. Not Chinese, said my daughter, and not Malaysian (although at other times she is very fond of Asian food). I just want to have ordinary Australian food. Ordinary Australian food? What do you mean? Well, she said, the food we have at home (which is French-influenced, Italian-influenced, Middle Eastern-influenced, with the very occasional reminder of a Colonial past). Now if this, for an eleven-year-old, is Australian cuisine, and if this is what she will continue to cook, then it is not a question of from where should we borrow but which borrowings we should keep.

Graham Pont

Although our discussion group arrived at no firm conclusions, the conversation certainly proved that Australian gastronomy shows all the diversity of a 'multiculinary society'. Among the cuisines influencing Australia, those of China and South-East Asia were generally accepted as relevant and appropriate models, especially with the simple, healthy traditions of the peasant diets. It was agreed that modern Australians have much to learn from these ancient cuisines, while recognising that there must be some allowance for differences of life-style, for example, between a Chinese peasant and a sedentary worker like a computer operator. In contrast to Europe, where cultural and gastronomic differences persist despite geographical proximity, Australia is freely absorbing ideas, ingredients and techniques from the nearby oriental cuisines as well as those of the northern hemisphere.

This easy eclecticism did not seem to be incompatible with Australia's search for cultural identity: there was a pervading confidence that Australia is acquiring a gastronomic distinctiveness but less agreement on the significant ingredients in the mix. The importance of French culinary traditions was admitted but the contribution of Italian cookery - in some ways more relevant to Australia was warmly defended. It was clear that participants did not automatically identify good cooking with any single cuisine; this led some to point out cuisines that have not as yet exerted a great influence on Australia, such as those of

Mexico and South America.

Time did not allow us complete an experiment in collectively designing a multiculinary menu. The international selection of the hors d'oeuvres alone Franco-Russian caviar, Anglo-Saxon smoked trout, Swedish gravlaks and so on - demonstrated the cosmopolitan diversity shared by the discussion group and the Symposium as a whole.

Diane Holuigue for Anthony Corones' group

It is possible to have a great cuisine without great homogeneity, based on hundreds of years of past history. We discussed whether we really had to have regionality - we do have some regional cheses, are regional, the wine regions show particular regional characteristics - or whether the alternative, an extraordinary diversity, was preferable.

We concluded that in 1987 you can eat extraordinarily well in any of our capitals, and that food in Australia arrives fresher than it used to and fresher than in, say America. We have a great variety of ingredients and a tremendous diversity of influences bringing international cuisines within the reach of a very large proportion of the population, and Australians, in comparison with other nationalities, are eager to experiment. Anyone interested in combining ingredients effectively - and that must surely be a major definition of cooking - is extraordinarily well placed to do so, and this is surely a step in the right direction for the future Australian cuisine.

We also felt that restaurants here have not been an extension of our culture but many of the more sophisticated cooks have imposed something on the mass population, perhaps unwittingly, by letting them have tastes of foods that, under normal situations, they would not have been exposed to.

Don Dunstan

Our group began by questioning the need to develop a national

cuisine. We decided that the Australian cuisine would develop naturally, with considerable diversity, and adding ingredients and techniques as it went along; there was no point in trying to foist something upon Australians, especially now, in a period of considerable evolution, when changes would occur naturally.

As to the first question, is the Chinese cuisine the healthiest, the answer was NO; too much salt, a high cholesterol and animal fat content. It might be healthy for the Chinese, but it's not necessarily a great health food for Australia.

It was felt that the most significant influence at the moment is the south-east Asian influence; changes which are taking place within the markets and in places like Victoria Street mean ingredients and styles derived largely from this region are accessible to a greater proportion of the population. The use of stir-frying techniques and of the have progressed in Australia, and this change is beneficial, from the point of view of both health and economy.

Gay Bilson

Because Soo Wahlqvist, a doctor who is Chinese by birth, was in our group we tended to discuss Culinary Partisanism in terms of China and Australia.

Dr. Mark Wahlqvist ventured that the Chinese cuisine is not a healthy one. We discussed the fact that the Chinese who migrated to Australia were from the south and brought with them the best of Chinese cooking.

We agreed that in time an amalgamation of borrowed cuisines could exist in Australia and as this happens our culture will be enriched because multiculinarism is necessarily a facet of multiculturalism.

We also thought that because we are an economically well-off society we are in a position to extend another country's (e.g. China's) cuisine, which is not to meddle with it, but rather to adapt it to a different environment.
We looked at how cooking techniques determine a cuisine (though this may be a question of the chicken and the egg) and the effects of our technological and industrialized society on our food and food preparation.
Australia has, we thought, a possibility of a cuisine of multiculinary ideas, defined by the 'high-tech' style of our preparation that is inevitable, but it does not have a cuisine of ingredients.

Michael Symons

This group were initially reluctant to undertake what was considered a pointlessly academic exercise of giving marks to ethnic cuisines, and we started with pragmatic and personal reasons rather than theoretical.

The main enthusiasm was to 'experiment' with Asian styles. Of those advocating a particular cuisine, four-and-a-half votes went to those of Asia, as against two for French and one-and-a-half to Italian. Chinese was considered passé, with the preferences being for 'Asian generally', Malaysian and Thai.

Reasons tended to be a personal desire to investigate the relatively unknown represented by Asian food. This search for novelty contrasted with the explanation that French cooking had been a "first love" - its discovery being "like Christmas".

Thai cooking, which was "light, sophisticated, clean", was

supported eloquently against claims that French cooking was best able to cope with a range of ingredients in a range of methods, and that we still fitted whatever dishes into the general French pattern of entree, main course and dessert.

Someone said the fundamental reason to prefer a particular style was appropriateness for climate, so that an Asian influence might be correct in subtropical Sydney, while Adelaide might support Mediterranean styles. Another vote went to basing cuisine on immigration, the reaching of a 'critical mass' of Vietnamese now making their cuisine appropriate. The question of cost as a determining factor was raised, and widely dismissed.

The most influential first vote went to 'eclectic' cooking, the advocate of the open-minded approach saying she tried planting a variety of ingredients, and used whatever flourished.

Broad agreement was reached in favour of such eclecticism. This could be thought of as an 'ingredient' cuisine, as adopted by Jane Grigson in her Fruit and Vegetable books. Alternatively, it was termed a 'techniques' approach. Another label was 'global'. Anyhow, the majority were keen to keep experimenting and decided that we were lucky in having no traditional obligations.

Monday dinner:

SIX ETHNIC RESTAURANTS

At precisely 8 o'clock on the Monday evening, six well-organised groups of diners descended on restaurants all over Melbourne to take up bookings made in the name of 'Rita Erlich'.

Destinations and guest-lists are reproduced on the next page.

It had been a symposium 'extra', but one which the majority opted to take up.

Experiences proved to be extraordinarily diverse and, with hindsight, we should have made an effort to collate reports, which would have exposed a truly 'multiculinary' Melbourne.

Participants had been asked to chose within the categories of Chinese, Indian, French, Italian, Japanese and Thai, and we can note that the 'trendiest' preference (Australia, early 1987) was Thai. French was decidedly unfashionable.

Reactions ranged from 'disappointing' to 'deliciously convivial', and, as a rule-of-thumb, the least popular destinations seemed to perform best.

As to the Chinese group, we agreed that the meal was superb, and particularly memorable for Elizabeth Chong's dedicated introductions, Stephanie Alexander and Dur-e Dara's great humour (good hosts are usually even better diners), and food the likes of which I had never eaten before.

- Michael Symons

MONDAY NIGHT RESTAURANT BOOKINGS

CHINESE

BAMBOO HOUSE RESTAURANT
47 Little Bourke St. (Between Spring & Exhibition Sts.)
662 1565. Licensed .
Cost: approx. $22 plus drinks.

ELIZABETH CHONG. 819 3666.

Stephanie Alexander	Maggie Beer
Dur-é Dara	Jennifer Hillier
Margit Korn	Michael Symons
Scott Minervini	

INDIAN

SANDO'S
272 Brunswick St.
Fitzroy. 419 8472
BYO

Cost: Approx. $21.

PENNY SMITH 266 2795

Bette Austin	Gay Bilson
Michael Dowe	Ann Eckersley
Paul Levy	Claire Kearney
Carol Possingham	John Possingham

FRENCH

JEAN-JACQUES BY THE SEA
40 Jacka Boulevard,
St. Kilda.
534 8221/ 534 6528.
Licensed
Cost: Approx. $42 plus drinks.

ANN CREBER 877 4144

Lois Butt	Marion Halligan
Max Lake	Ian Pollard
Adrian Read	

ITALIAN

CAFE LATIN
55 Lonsdale St.,
Melbourne. 662 1985
Licensed
Cost: Approx. $40 plus drinks.

GWENDA ROBB 850 5774

Carol Brown	Anna Guthleben
Susan Norris	Graham Pont
Barbara Santich	Millie Sherman
Tony Simpson	Gail Thomas
Christopher Wilde	Mary Brander

JAPANESE

SUKIYAKI
21 Alfred Place
Melbourne (Off Collins St., between Russell & Exhibition St)
63 8420 Licensed.
Cost: Approx. $20 plus drinks.

RITA ERLICH 859 9061

Louise Godwin	Anthony Corones
Gabriel Gate	Sarah Gough
George Hill	Robyn Ravlich
Jenny Pyle	Sue Zweep

THAI

RESTAURANT THAI 505
505 Chapel St.,
South Yarra 241 8682
BYO
Cost: Approx $25

DIANE HOLUIGUE 509 3638

Hugh Roberts	Margaret Brown
Jeff Down	Don Dunstan
Frances Farmer	Robyn Heddle
Diana Hetzel	Robyn Hindson
Cath Kerry	Jen Forbes
Nathalie Leader	Philippa Newbigin
Jill Stone	Michael Treloar
Rebecca Zuesse	Suzanne Halliday
Howard Twelfthtree	

TO MARKET TO MARKET ROBYN RAVLICH

The idea was marvellous - an early morning stroll around Victoria Market, the legendary fruit, vegetable and meat market located conveniently for shoppers right on the edge of Melbourne's CBD. This was to be an informal inspection tour of locally available produce, guided knowledgeably by Gabriel Gaté - an agreeable start to the second day of symposium talk and food, despite the difficulty of getting up and getting there after the previous night's carousing and restaurant romp. (I hope someone is writing an account of my group's deliciously convivial evening at the Sukiyaki restaurant, where we were entertained around our table-in -a- pit, by the gastronomical travel tales of Rita Erlich in Italy, and Barbie Ross astraddle motor bike through the terrain of 3-star France.*)

Actually, it wasn't terribly early - with most of us straggling in by 8 am. Anna Guthleben had been up for hours by then, having made a tour of the large wholesale market at Footscray, where she had marvelled not only at the variety of produce, including locally grown white asparagus picked underground, but also at a scale of operations that required burly leather-clad sellers to move around on BMX minibikes. Anna is a purveyor of exotic and unusual fruit and vegetables with her own stall at Adelaide's Central Market.

The starting point was the seafood section. John Possingham wanted Gabriel to show us how to pick a really fresh fish. And he did, pointing out the shiny eyes, stiff bodies and sharp red gills. The variety was intriguing and included the newly

fashionable ocean trout,the relatively ignominious freshwater carp, and some of the big mackeral which is increasingly becoming popular as a sashimi delicacy. We saw very fresh sardines, whiting, blue swimmer crabs, and scallops from Western Australia. Like the fish, meat was fresh and cheap. Half a lamb could be had for about $14 - terrific value - and tender, young whole-or-filleted rabbits. Some of us admired a pile of lambs' straps, and Sue Zweep proferred a lovely way to prepare them...seared on the griddle marinaded in equal amounts of coriander and parsley, with garlic and good oil. "You right there girls ?" from the stallholder. Are women consumers always girls I wonder, but we also give a standard reply - "Just looking".

At this point we became chaotic, more dispersed according to particular interests or obsessions. I found myself in a straggly group, loosely attached to Paul Levy - interested to hear pronouncements on the Australian product by the English visiting "foodie". He was in search of pulses and finding them elusive. Some scouting round the aisles of 'deli' stalls revealed an array of dried beans,lentils, and exotics - tinned truffles, frogs' legs, and snails, stranded saffron, oils and vinegars. The air here was aromatic with brewed coffee, bratwurst and sauerkraut. For the dieter, there were trays of Pritikin cake.

From here, out to the long trestles of fruit and vegetables, only partially occupied this early in the week. The Vietnamese vegetable and herb displays took our eye with their attractive layout geometries...tied bundles of kang kang, coriander and chilli-flavoured mint. Exotic against the sound poetry of an old-time Aussie sales pitch:

"Dollar tomatoes. Dollar.
Ready to eat avocados. Bananas.
Dollar a kilo. Dollar "

Gabriel told us that the Asian impact comes not only from the sellers, but also from Asian shoppers who are very discerning and like to examine produce, including live chickens and rabbits, with their hands...causing some consternation among the European sellers. It was ultimately necessary he said, so as to make a proper assessment.

We wandered around in a gentle stupour, eating raspberries from purchased punnets, and almonds. There were raisins and walnuts, very competitively priced, loose by the kilo. And unusual variety...such as prickly pears, suitable Sue Zweep suggested, for making an exotic and lovely sorbet. Sue is a caterer and cooking teacher who lives in Wollongong, and can only locate specialist items such as the prickly pear in 'exotic' fruit and vegetable shops on visits to Sydney.

Following our leader, who had managed to prick his finger in applying the touch test to the pear, we left the markets proper to find the French-run patisserie that serves the market crowd with fresh croissants, and pain au chocolat. Adding hot coffee to our pastries, we made our way very satisfied with the outing, off to the more theoretical section of the symposium.

The morning's papers would include one by Jill Stone that impinged directly on the observation of markets - a study of Chinese market gardeners and their impact on vegetable consumption patterns in Australia in the nineteenth century.

And lunch - a lavish display of tropical fruits including rambutan, monsteria fruit, jackfruit, and barbaco; along with boxes of table grapes from John Possingham - lent itself to further sampling and comparative chat about variety and quality.

The previous symposium had also featured a session devoted to markets, and a visit to Adelaide's East End market, where we found a 'stall' set up just for us, with coolled cooked asparagus and chilled white wine. The inspection tour here was topped and tailed by a visit to the early opening market pub, and lunch at Ruby's, a refurbished market cafe where we were served lunch by staff ingeniously made up and dressed as vegetables and fruit. This lovely and, again, centrally located market is to go in the development scramble that favours floor space ratios over time-honoured practices and community convenience. Has it gone already ? And what does it mean to the ways in which Adelaideans shop and eat ? Markets to me mean freshness, variety, quality, and value and atmosphere -- a multicultural melange of suppliers and buyers, the raw materials of multiculinarism, evocative smells, and most of all for me, as a poet and radio person, the sounds of' fruit and veg poetry' in the skilled spiels of the sellers, particularly in the competitive frenzy of closing time.

I understand, I hope correctly, that Victoria Market is at present protected from development threats by the current Melbourne City Council; the Mayor herself being a defender of their social and economic value in the life of residents. City markets, with their comparatively vast and intact sites are prime

sites of development-desire: without the vigil of champions, although sometimes sadly in spite of it, market places continue to be sites at risk in the market economy.

* Barbie Ross has been contracted by Allen and Unwin to write a book about her 'wacky and wonderful' travels, which should be published in 1988.

TWO SANDWICHES SHORT OF A PICNIC: FOOD SYMPOSIA IN ENGLAND, THE UNITED STATES, TURKEY AND AUSTRALIA

Paul Levy

I have to stand up while I talk because I'll doze otherwise (1).

When I was asked for a title for what is laughingly called a talk, I suggested 'Two Sandwiches Short of Picnic', which at the time I thought was an Australianism, like a 'banger short of a barbie'. I was also really seriously thinking of it for the title of my next book. Yet it seems very apt somehow, especially for comparing the Oxford symposia to the one here, because one of the traits of the Oxford symposia I noticed is that they seem to involve people who are more interested in talking about food than eating it. Consequently, it often is literally two sandwiches short of a picnic, because they put the spread for lunch out and, being British - I'm not but most everybody else is - they queue quite properly waiting for the lunch. But they go through it so systematically, like locusts, that if you are at the end of the queue you are a great deal shorter than two sandwiches short of a picnic. There's nothing at all in sight.

For some reason we can't organise ourselves well enough to do the sort of wonderful things you do like the dinners the last night, the lunches we have been having all along, the dinner tonight at Stephanie's. I suspect that it's largely because the people who are leading the symposium are really much more interested in what happens to it before it actually gets on the table. By the time it gets to the table, they've lost interest. I suppose that's a good definition of an academic interest in anything, isn't it?

But I have been to many symposia. I've been to almost all the Oxford ones, not the one in Spain, but to one in Cambridge, Mass, which was really wonderful for me because I have a confession to make.

I am a lapsed academic and that symposium was held at my Alma Mater at Harvard, where I have the last of my degrees from, and believe me it's absolutely the last. And I have been to an absolutely amazing gathering of food people in Turkey, which I'll tell you about. I've... I... I can't read my notes. I simply can't make out what that sentence was.

The symposium movement began some years ago when Alan Davidson was a visiting Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford, and he gathered around him one day his friends and his associates in his little publishing company called Prospect Books, which publishes a little thing called Petits Propos Culinaires - P.P.C. - which you have seen. It's all a complicated series of puns, in-jokes, that sort of thing. I'll let you in on a secret now. The reason that PPC was founded was to give some place to Richard Olney, who was then doing the Time-Life Good Cook series a place to publish recipes under pseudonyms. He called himself Tante Ursule and Little Bear and all sorts of things. The title PPC was chosen because it is also a bad French joke, pour prendre conge, which means something like 'get lost' (2). And the point was that the editors of Time-Life, who were even wackier than Davidson, insisted that every recipe used in the Time-life series had already to have already published. So they founded this damned little magazine so that Richard Onley could publish these recipes and put them in the Time-Life Good Cook series. So that was how that came about.

The first participants I remember in that original symposium,... although this was the pre-symposium really, it wasn't called the symposium until the next year. The people I can remember being there were Jill Norman, the publisher, Richard Olney himself, Elizabeth David and for some extraordinary reason me. I don't remember what I

was doing there or why. I think it might have been because I at the time was writing a profile of Alan Davidson for some disreputable American magazine. Anyway, they decided, I think on that occasion, to hold a symposium the next year. They did that using the good offices of St Ant ony's College. By that time, Theodore Zeldin, who is a perfectly great historian of the French, was involved, and the thing grew like Topsy. I think you can follow the progress of it in the pieces on the Oxford symposia in Out to Lunch (3), which I cobbled and stiched together with the seams showing rather badly. But I think most of the history is there.

I think that Harvard - or, I suppose it was really Radcliffe, but I think they have obliterated the distinction between the two now, but, anyway, Cambridge, Mass - was probably the most business-like symposium that I've been to. It was terribly, terribly well organised. We were constantly whizzing back and forth and going to the tops of tall buildings to seminar rooms. There was a good deal of emphasis on eating and drinking at that one. I remember a wonderful scene in that. I tried to pop around and listen to everybody giving their seminar, and at one point I came upon a wonderful woman by the name of Barbara Kafka - who writes terrific cookery books and who really is a real go-getter, a tough lady, you know - standing there lecturing a group of young, mostly female, would-be food writers on how to get your first article published. I passed an extremely entertaining 15 minutes listening to the great Barbara Kafka telling these, probably, undergraduates how to address an envelope.

I must say I have had even dottier experiences at symposia (4). For instance, there was the one in Turkey this last year, and it was completely out of sight. We were all out to lunch for a whole week. We went as the guests of the Konya Tourism Association. But half the papers were in Turkish and half in English. There was always an

English summary of the papers given in Turkish, and they always seemed to be interesting, except that they seemed to be slightly off-centre. For example, one of the first ones was given by a man called Cellibi(sp?) and it was about the monastic rules of a particular order of Turkish monks, whom we found out in the next two or three days to actually be the dervishes. And he was the nineteenth grandson of the Mevlana, who was the first inspirer of the order of the dervishes, who taught them to whirl that long time ago. I've learnt some wonderful stories about him from a profile in the New Yorker subsequently. If Ataturk hadn't banned religion in Turkey, he would have been the sort-of Pope of the dervishes. Now he was reduced to being a patriarchal figure. What had it to do with food, you might well ask? And indeed we did ask, what had it to do with food? What it had to do with food was that one of the sibylline statements of the Mevlana, the most oracular and the most important of them all, the meaning of which I can't say I ever discovered, was:

I was raw
I was cooked
I burnt.

And on this foundation they had erected not only a theology and a monastic order but a whole set of gymnastics. The extraordinary thing is that we finally worked out that we were there... Claudia Roden was there and Alan Davidson was there (Alan had an encounter with a belly dancer one night, tremendously interesting, that was the highlight of the whole thing)... We knew better than to take a turn at whirling because the point was that our hosts were all devotees of the dervishes, and we had been brought there... Well, let me backtrack a little. The thing is that Ataturk having made it illegal as a religious rite, the only way that they can continue to whirl is to treat it as cabaret and it is absolutely essential for them to have an

audience of tourists every time they peform what are, in fact, their devotions.

This was pretty much what went on in Turkey, except for eating an awful lot of lamb. In fact, so much lamb that by the time of the last lunch when they lifted whole lambs out of barbecue pits and brought them to the table, the only thing I'm grateful to say is that the hostess at our table didn't mention the fact, and we overlooked, that the lamb still had its teeth intact. We completely forgot that the rest of it was probably perforce there as well. We were not forced, as Jill Norman was, to eat an eyeball for England. We were let of lightly.

I have to say that a lot of the papers were interesting. The food was absolutely stunning, and we did have a fairly good time. There is going to be another one, and I'm sure that if you sent fraternal greetings from this symposium you'll find invitations are forthcoming. Maybe they can fix Qantas, I know nobody else can. Anyway, that was certainly the dottiest of the symposia I've ever been to.

To be more serious, I have to say a little word or two about the differences between your own symposia here and those I know best in England. You are certainly a lot better organised here, and you appear to have more homogeneity between participants, even though you are, for a reason I will now tell you, more diverse. Perhaps that's because you're more single-minded, but the one advantage you have over the British symposium is that you have got a lot of cooks here. As I said, England seems not only not to have a lot of cooks, they don't have any eaters. The other thing that we greatly lack at the Oxford symposia is the presence of wine people, and it occurs to me that this is something that we ought to try to organise for ourselves. After all, we do have the Institute of the Masters of Wine and we do supposedly have the best tasters in the world, and we ought to co-opt a few of

them and bring them around.

Incidentally, I think I forgot to mention there are lot of symposia being held all over America now under the auspices of the American Institute of Wine and Food (that must be the note I couldn't read). Now these are semi-commercial affairs, they have commercial backing, commercial sponsorship, and people from the food and wine industry participate in them openly, and therefore not damagingly, for self-interested reasons. The fees are very, very high, and, as I understand it, these are very lavish events and the costs are offset by commercial participation of firms. That was the footnote...

There is a major difference that I have noticed between the British and America symposia, on the one hand, and yours and the Turkish one, on the other hand, and that is the national concerns that are expressed. The Turks were terribly concerned with what you might call the tourism aspect of what they were doing, of trying to get people to know and appreciate Turkish food. Now they have a very ancient cuisine which they want to argue is the third or fourth best in the world, you see, and so they have a different way of getting at the same question. But they want to talk a lot about being Turkish, and what that means, and we had a real bonus going for us then, because the sort of head of the British delegation was Claudia Roden, the great specialist on Middle Eastern food, who can proudly boast in truth that her great-great-great-grandfather was the last chief Rabbi of the Ottoman empire. Now if you, like me, didn't know they needed one, you might be surprised by this statistic, but that made the Turks warm to her particularly, so we had perhaps an extra good time because of that.

But the Turks were very concerned with being Turkish, and what is to be Turkish and what Turkish cuisine is, just as I detect that a

theme that has gone through all three of your symposia is a concern with Australia food, with being Australian. You do seem to have a concern with national identity which, surprisingly, the Americans didn't have. There was a little talk about American regionalism and that sort of thing, at the Harvard symposium, but they were, I think, a bit more detached from the subjects. They were subjects of less pressing personal interest to the participants than maybe the subjects are here, and that's a good thing for you. I mean, good on you, because everybody that I've listened to so far really cares about the subjects that you're talking to, and I don't think you are ever in danger of becoming too academic or taking yourselves too seriously, because everybody cares, at least as near as I can see, about the subjects you're talking about.

Let me say a word or two about what's going to happen this year at the Oxord symposium because I seem to bear some little responsibility for it. Though I go as a detached observer, and I always write a piece about it and I take the mickey every year out of it everybody who's ever said a word on the floor of the symposium, nonetheless I am a closet organiser, after a way. After all, I do participate whenever I can very fully indeed. And this year I felt that the Oxford symposium really needs to get better organised, and more coherent, and I also think that they need to think a little harder. I think you do think harder here.

So I suggested this year that they take the large topic of taste as the subject of the symposium. I have declined the punishment for having this suggestion adopted, which was that I should give the opening talk, and I actually arranged to replace myself by somebody competent to do it. The arrangment at the moment is that a very well-known and senior Oxford philosopher called David Pears (who is terribly interested in his grub and a good cook, not usually a

qualification for being a philosopher but important in this case) will give an opening address which I hope will deal with the question whether the sense of taste and distaste in a gustatory sense, in our sense, is the primary sense of the word that we use when we say 'he has got taste' or 'she hasn't got taste' or 'that's good taste' or 'that's appalling' and onto all the other related subjects. So I hope that David Pears is going to straighten that all out, and I also hope that there will be a few people from related fields, such as art history, and some people who have to do with furnishing a room, where the concepts are important. Or architects, or people who care about pop music. I really hope that some people like that might come and both broaden the subject and narrow the focus in the seminar. I also hope we'll all manage to eat something decent this year.

Finally, as you might have gathered from the tone of my remarks, I think it terribly important not to take these gatherings too seriously. I mean, good humour is essential, but there is a funny side to thinking about an activity that we all do a minimum of three times a day. If you lose sight of not only the humourous possibilitie but I also think sometimes the scatological ones of the subject, you are cutting it off from where it actually belongs, which is anchored fairly firmly in the real material world where the grass is green, the sky is blue and it rains too much in England. I do think it is important to maintain the sense of balance and good humour about the subject, and even to think that there is something intrinsically just a little bit dotty about standing up like I am today talking to you about the subject.

Let me tell you that the whole movement is also not without its dangers. We have in England actually had an infestation of gastronomic con-men. I am sure many of you have heard of the celebrations that

were held for the bicentennial of Careme's birth, at the Brighton Pavilion. Well, that was a fraud, that was a total fraud. The original organising committee, which included Alan Davidson, myself, and lots of other people, all resigned when we realised that the people organising it did not have the best of intentions. They managed to go ahead and steamroll it through anyway, and the whole thing was held as a charity function, but the charity was non-existent, no accounts were ever been seen by anybody. Everybody's keeping a very low profile who was involved in it. And the organiser has skipped town owing quite a lot of money to various gastronomic booksellers. So you have to keep on your mettle in all that sort of thing, because we're all such idealists and such softies, we're real pushovers. It's true, because everybody's so well-intentioned.

So... [making the sparring motions of a boxer] ... high standards... sharp intellectual discussion... pay attention... focus... keep your eye on the subject... eat well... laugh a lot, and watch out for the sharks.

NOTES:

(1) Transcribed by Michael Symons.

(2) 'Conge' means holiday or leave. So, in fact, the phrase is an equivalent to Levy's own 'Out to Lunch', since on a closed shop door 'PPC' would mean 'On Holidays'.

(3) Paul Levy, Out to Lunch, London, Chatto & Windus, 1986

(4) Asked to define 'dotty' at the end of his talk, Levy volunteered 'intrinsically funny'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIAN COOKERY BOOKS Bette Austin.

I should like to thank you for the opportunity to present a progress report on the bibliography of Australian cookery books currently being prepared for publication by the Emily McPherson Branch of R.M.I.T. Central Library.

Because we have had some media coverage I tend to assume that everybody interested in early Australian cookery books is aware of our project. This is probably not so and I would therefore like you to bear with me while I give a short resume of our progress from its inception.

The idea of a bibliography or short title catalogue of Australian cookery books was originally suggested to us by the noted English food historian and publisher, Alan Davidson, whom I am sure is known to many of you when he visited the Emily McPherson Library in March 1984 after attending the first Symposium of Australian Gastronomy. At the time the idea seemed challenging, interesting, even necessary. One could see immediately that such a bibliography when completed would prove valuable to a wide audience. Primarily such a reference tool would be useful for students at Emily McPherson and other institutions where food is studied. At that particular time the Emily McPherson Foods and Home Economics courses at R.M.I.T. were being up-graded to degree status and consequently subjects involving History of Foods and Food as a social issue were assuming growing importance. It was also apparent that this relevance extended to libraries which house collections of Australiana, to Food Companies, to historians and writers, to test kitchen home economists, to antiquarian book sellers, to collectors, in fact to all those for whom cookery and recipe collection is both an interest and a consuming passion

We saw this work as the first part of a continuing listing of Australian cookery books and decided upon a cut-off point - to confine ourselves to monographs published prior to 1941. Some might challenge this as a somewhat arbitrary date, nevertheless it is significant as marking the outbreak of the Second World War in the eastern hemisphere. Thereafter restrictions and modifications applied to the contents and publication of cookery books for the duration of the war years. Little was published until the postwar influx of migrants and a multiplicity of change.

Further criteria were adopted - that the books must be published in Australia, or written by an Australian, or for Australian use, or contain a substantial Australian segment. Many of Mrs. Beeton's cookery and household books come into this latter category. For these reasons we excluded physicians' texts, housekeeping manuals, nutrition reports, etiquette books, etc. justifying our decision by arguing that although these books provide a significant historical and cultural framework in which to observe the development of the culinary art, they are not really recipe books.

Following these guide lines and those laid down by the National Library, Canberra, which classifies all works of 5 or more pages as a monograph, we planned to include all works on this subject and of this period, however small or comparatively unimportant.

In order to discuss this proposed format I visited Canberra to meet Mr. V. Crittenden, Australia's leading bibliographer. He confirmed, what we suspected, that there are no established rules for the treatment of material published at this time. He recommended that we make our own rules and then adhere to

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them.

So we compiled a list of some 200 known titles. This represented the holdings of Emily McPherson and those of several other major libraries. Over sixty copies of this list were distributed to University, State, CAE and TAFE libraries, National Trusts, Historical Societies and individuals whom we thought might have substantial private collections of Australian cookery books. We asked the recipients to check our list against their catalogues and if possible to odd new titles or other pertinent information. We received a surprisingly enthusiastic response which provided us with both encouragement and stimulus.

But it was not until letters began to arrive by every post in reply to newspaper and radio publicity that the enormous size of the project upon which we had embarked became apparent. It proved an exacting task to keep up with the mass of correspondence we received. Every letter, and there were hundreds, deserved an individual response. Writers, like the grand-daughter of Alfred J. Wilkinson, author of 'The Australian Cook' (1876) in whose home 'grand-father's book' is often referred to, provided intimate glimpses of family life. Others offered their family treasures to the Emily McPherson collection; happy that their books had found a 'home' and 'that they will be taken care of and perhaps be of use'. It would seem that many people, particularly the elderly, who had cared for their copies for many years, uncertain where to place them, now took a personal interest in our work and found pleasure and satisfaction in supplying information and making donations.

Even as we continued to identify the well known titles we learnt

of obscure, off-beat items which now add depth and interest to our list. But above all it has been incredibly satisfying to see our small record of titles on catalogue cards grow over the months to make up a finished manuscript of over 600 title entries.

Inspection of the items was undertaken whenever possible and this included the depths of the Mitchell Library and the heights of the Melbourne State Library's dome. But an examination could not always take place, for entries came from a variety of sources and varied considerable in form, accuracy and completion. It a volume has not been personally examined we accepted a photocopy of the title page and/or identifying pages and treated these as a 'sighting'. But if this was not possible, yet we were convinced of the book's existence, it was included and the omission indicated. Fortunately this was relatively rare.

And now I have come up to date and the final stages. We have assembled all the material, have an almost completed manuscript but not a firm publisher. Originally we envisaged a small publication but instead we now have sufficent content for a volume similar in size to Virginia Maclean's 'A Short-title Catalogue of Household and Cookery Books published in the English Tongue 1701-1800'.

At present alternative methods of printing are under consideration a simple soft cover production or hopefully a more lavish presentation, fine paper and with illustrations. We recognize this will be no best seller but rather a scholarly volume and we have no wish to sacrifice integrity, introduce modifications, possible reduce the number of entries in an attempt to create

a book which may have popular appeal.

Alan Davidson has kindly written a Foreword. He refers to the developing need for reference material and research tools in the study of the history of foods and cookery throughout the world. He is generous in his praise of our project and concludes that 'a good bibliography for one country will be much used in other countries'. I do not believe his confidence is misplaced.

We hope to include illustrations, black and white reproductions of the title page or cover of some of the listed books. Fortunately the laws of copyright do not apply to this historic material and as we have in the Emily McPherson library a good representative collection, the only problem should be one of selection.

The arrangement of the text is alphabetical. The main entry is under the surname of the author, editor, compiler or corporate body, all filed in one sequence with a shorter title entry and arranged as far as possible according to contemporary cataloguing rules.

As much information as deemed relevant for identification has been taken from the title page and the imprints are as accurate as we could make them. We have omitted all pagination for so often it would have been inaccurate. It was our decision to supply locations for those items held in major libraries and which are therefore accessible for consultation. The symbols used for these locations are those given in the Register of Symbols of the National Union Catalogue of Australia. The actual location appears after the imprint in the main entry as an extension of the heading 'Copies' ie. where the copy may be sighted. But for all those volumes privately held we

have entered PC - Private Collection, with-holding the owner's name.

Where there is more than one edition of a particular title, the later editions are listed chronologically after the main entry. At times it has been impossible to ascertain the actual date of publication, and rather than supply many NDs (no date) we thought it best to make a calculated guess and give an approximate date, even for the decade. Whenever uncertainty of the date of publication occurs it has been indicated by a question mark.

If particular interest and value should be the Chronological List of Short Titles which is found after the main body of the text. This list provides, under each year, a shortened but identifiable form of every main entry. Each edition of a particular title has been treated separately and is found under the specific year if publication.

I hope this has not seemed too much like a lecture for librarianship students as I have attempted to explain the organization of our bibliography. Even before publication, from our draft copy we have been able to assist enquirers and refer them to primary sources. I cannot emphasize too strongly the need for an accurate research tool and in conclusion would relate the following incident - Last year we purchased a new publication by a well known English author. The book contained anAustralian chapter referring to 18th and 19th century cooking. The recipes included one for Golden Chicken using lychees and sour cream. I wrote to the author's research assistant asking her sources as her recipes differed so much from ours. At least she replied but explained that she had met an Australian journalist in London who was interested in cooking.

He had lent her some Australian cookery books but she could recall neither the titles nor the authors !

[Copies of the bibliography are available for $25.95, including postage within Australia, from: Informit, RMIT Libraries, GPO Box 2476V, Melbourne 3001]

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIAN COOKERY BOOKS PUBLISHED PRIOR TO 1941

Melbourne, RMIT Libraries
1987

CHINESE MARKET GARDENERS AND THEIR IMPACT ON VEGETABLE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN AUSTRALIA, 1870 - 1920

JILLIAN M. STONE

My interest in attitudes to Chinese vegetable growers and a possible association with attitudes to the value of vegetables in the diet arise from a perceived contradiction between anti-Chinese sentiments expressed by two elderly Australian women.and the accounts of Chinese 'contribution' in supplying much needed and welcome vegetables for mutton and damper jaded pallets in colonial Australia. (2 p53), (13.p37 & 38) (11.p.76)

Questions about the range, quantities and quality of the vegetables grown by Chinese market gardeners require much more work. In this paper I want to discuss general attitudes to vegetable growers during the 50 years or so during which they supplied substantial proportions of the fresh produce available in Australian cities and towns, apparently without leaving any lasting influence on eating patterns in the colonies (8.p.23).

There are a number of accounts which stress the picturesque aspects of Chinese life. Their costume, ceremonies, joss houses and food practices (well summarised in 11,pp.74-84). On the other hand there are less often quoted sources which reveal persistent and vehement hatred of the Chinese and all aspects of their life and customs. Petitions seeking bans on Chinese immigration for fear of their appropriation of scarce jobs, or in the early days, gold, or at least potential gold claims, do not reveal the extent of popular feeling. (e.g. 4 p.133 - 140) (6 p.23).

It is accepted that employers of Chinese labour generally found them to be dilligent and skilled.

Stories of Chinese cooks who with amazing alacrity picked up the skills of the best of European cooking even to the extent of expertise in seasonal specialities are legend (e.g.5,Ch.20) As cooks and gardeners they had no equal. They could transform dessert into oasis and grow abundant crops on land which Europeans spurned. (8 p. 92), (10 p.6) (13.p.38). Butfor fearof popular opinion, the principle of a Melbourne horticultural college would have had his boys taught vegetable growing by a Chinaman. (quoted 11 p.79).

In popular opinion Chinese vegetable growers were the dregs of humanity. They were dirty, uncivilized, heathen and vice prone. They were mercilessly taunted and physically assaulted. Their possessions and dwellings were destroyed in many incidents. They were regarded as fair game for vandals, larrikins and louts who were rarely restrained by the law. (6,p.152) Children sang ditties vilifying Chinese, were threatened with them as bogey men and anyone who consorted with them, or even handled money they had touched, was considered to be in immanent danger of leprosey and other unspecified diseases. Their settlements were regarded as dens of perversion where unwitting European girls could be lured into opium addiction and prostitution. (3 p 128-132)

As for Chinese food, just the smell of Chinese cooking was regarded as perverted as the inclination to vice. Their consumption patterns were regarded as barbarian, and I have found one written reference to to warnings to housewives against endangering the life and health of her family by the use of vegetables bought from Chinese growers. (3 p.131)

Of my initial informants, both now dead, one recalled buying produce from a Chinese grower out of pity for his children. The produce was never eaten. The other, at the age of eighty, expressed an abhorrance for Chinese food, which amazed me with its vehemence.

Drawing any inclusions about the influence of this widespread prejudice on vegetable consumption is extremely difficult since we know so little about general eating patterns. The period does co-incide with a birth of recognition in mainstream medical knowledge that vegetables provided valuable mineral elements in the diet. (7,p.63,117) (12, p.89). It is also evident that general regard for vegetables and the standard supply system did little to encourage their use. By comparison to the meat trade, vegetables were very much second class goods. (7, p.167)

This tends to suggest that established attitudes and the Chinese association may have acted as mutual re-inforcement of the small quality and restricted ranges which characterised vegetable consumption patterns of the time. The only reference I have seen to produce specifically supplied by Chinese claims that watercress was their speciality. (7, p.171) There is no doubt that as gold seekers the Chinese came prepared to grow their own vegetables, which formed a major part of their diet, (4, p.131) but I have not yet seen mention of any Chinese vegetables grown or sold. Not that the general populace showed much interest in European vegetables such as eggplant, capsicum and artichoke which were cultivated by a few enthusiast 'gentleman' farmers of the period.

It took until 1940 for the legendary Chinese vegetable grower to disappear as a significant phenominum. The numbers of growers declined with the general exodus of Chinese from Australia. In addition, the demise of the small plot, intensive cultivation of the Chinese was hastened by the introduction of mechanical cultivation and irrigating equipment. These aids facilitated larger scale operations requiring more land and more capital than was available to most Chinese growers, even given that they normally worked in small cooperatives. The Chinese were also forced out of gardening as the land they worked close to city centres was appropriated for housing and development. As renters predominantly, they had little resistance to this incursion.

The growers around Brighton in Victoria were a case in point. (2, p.53) The geographic differences between Sydney & Melbourne may have had something to do with the fact that in 1920 very few Chinese growers remained supplying the Melbourne markets, where as they were still significant in N.S.W. (9, Preface). There they persisted into the past World War II period (2, p.54) Attitudes do seem to have modified eventually. There are reports of communities organising public expressions of gratitude and remorse to Chinese who remained until the 1930's. (13, p.39) I have no doubt that racism and nationalism rife in the 1880's through federation, Boer War and World War I were influential in shaping people's food habits. The major impact may well have been a conservative one but given the context of a new land, new resources and exposure to other models, there could well have been very significant modification to imported Anglo-Saxon practice. Michael Symons documents the influence of technology in limiting the fresh food content of Australian diets, and I don't want to discount that factor. I also have to admit lack of substantive evidence regarding diets of the masses before 1920.

However, I have no reason to believe that recipes contained in the rash of post-war recipe books, indicating meagre range, small quantities and usage as minor ingredients in meat based dishes, could be a significant departure from the meals late in the nineteenth century. (See my almost published paper to the 2nd Symposium)

In retrospect the whole incident is in marked contrast to the coincidence between the subsequent wave of European immigrants and the signifcant changes in patterns of vegetable consumption which occurred in the 1960's and 70's.

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Geoffry Hamlyn's Lunch

Marion Halligan

My brother, let us breakfast in Scotland, lunch in Australia, and dine in France, till our lives end.

Henry Kingsley, who wrote these words, came to Australia in the 1850's, as a result of some mysterious misdemeanours; debts, certainly, university scandals, possibly homosexuality? Hushed up, if it were so. His intention was to get rich and redeem himself.

He didn't make a fortune. Instead he wrote a novel, *Geoffry Hamlyn*, which he took back to England, revised, and published. His brother Charles, famous for his "muscular Christianity", was already established as a novelist, and gave not always welcome advice. Henry never managed to be as successful or as good as his brother, but this first novel is an interesting and affectionate account of colonial life.

What is the world class meal, that in his culinary girdling of the globe, would bring Kingsley to Australia?

Here, in the dark, cool parlour, stands a banquet for the gods, white damask, pretty bright china, and clean silver. In the corner of the table is a frosted claret-jug, standing, with freezing politeness, upright, his hand on his hip, waiting to be poured out. In the centre, the grandfather of water-melons, half hidden by peaches and pomegranates, the whole heaped

over by a confusion of ruby cherries ... Are you hungry, though? If so, here is a mould of potted-head and a cold wild duck, while, on the sideboard, I see a bottle of pale ale.

Then comes his comment:

My brother, let us breakfast in Scotland, lunch in Australia, and dine in France, till our lives end.

I was so charmed by this lunch that I set to and read *Geoffry Hamlyn*, all 664 pages of it, looking for more. I was somewhat disappointed; people are always sitting down to dinner, getting up from dinner, meals by implication are superb, and produced by cooks who don't mind an extra fourteen for dinner without notice, but there are few details. There is another lunch, in passing: Hamlyn, the narrator, drops in to see his neighbours. They've gone visiting, the housekeeper says, but she's hospitable:

Wouldn't I get off and have a bit of cold wild duck and a glass of sherry?

Certainly I would. So I gave my horse to the groom and went in. I had hardly cut the first rich red slice from the breast of a fat teal, when

And that's it. We get no more.

Later, an exciting and lengthy kangaroo hunt provides game. There's constant reference to good things grown, from "gooseberries to peaches"; kitchen gardens and orchards flourish, and so do verandahs hung with vines, grape and passionfruit.

Back in England Kingsley wrote about "staying in an Australian country house once, in the far west":

... a house where some one was always going to bed after breakfast, and 'coming down' as fresh as paint, just out of his bath, to an eight

o'clock dinner; where you slept all day, and went out a-fishing as soon as the night was dark enough; where your papers were the Spectator *and the* Illustrated London News, *and one's drink weak claret and water;- a real old 100,000 acre, two thousand a year, Australian country house, in short.*

Notice the claret and water. There's a lot of wine in this novel. On the very first page the main characters are sitting together over their wine on the verandah, "with the bushfires raging like volcanoes on the ranges". Later, Hamlyn flees at some length from a bushfire, and miraculously escapes.

"Lord save us [says his partner], you look ten years older than you did this morning."

I tried to answer, but could not speak for drought. He ran and got me a great tumbler of claret-and-water; and, in the evening, having drunk about an imperial gallon of water, and taken afterwards some claret, I felt pretty well revived.

There's a picnic, to an extinct volcano; the host had
that very morning sent on a spring-cart of all eatables and drinkables, and then had followed himself with a dozen of his friends, to eat and drink, and talk and laugh ...

Hamlyn describes it as
a fresh eruption in the crater. An eruption of horsemen and horsewomen. An eruption of talk, laughter, pink-bonnets, knives and forks, and champagne.

But perhaps the most telling reference to wine is in a different context:

Sixteen years of peace and plenty had rolled over [our] heads ... and we had grown to be rich. Our agent used to rub his hands, and bow, whenever our high mightinesses visited town. There was money in the bank, there was

claret in the cellar, there were racehorses in the paddock; in short, we were wealthy prosperous men

Money, claret, racehorses ... Kingsley is using art to provide the happy endings that were so dismally lacking in life. He died poor, and ill, and unsuccessful, after a difficult and disappointing existence, but his characters are rich, and successful, and healthy, and what's more, happy; they all return to England where the young hero and heroine (who ate the lunch) have bought back the noble ancestral acres. Endings don't come happier than that.

So, is the lunch true, or is it part of Kingsley's idealising of a harsh world, his compensating his own failures?

The property which he writes about has been identified as Langi-Willi, or Langawilli, which originally included the site of Skipton township, in Western Victoria (the far west he mentions) about one hundred miles north of Port Fairy; Kingsley has it quite near the Southern Alps, and bushrangers at an inn on Lake George aren't far away, but then he's topographically very vague. Yet he does seem to have been describing what actually did exist, and in a very lively and sympathetic manner.

Rolf Boldrewood, the author of *Robbery Under Arms*, who once saw Kingsley and knew Langawilli, described it as the most perfect place and homestead in the west, and said that it "furnished that flavour of verisimilitude which added so much to the charm of [Kingsley's] fiction". He thought the novel "an immortal work". Another contemporary writer called such stations "perfect natural Edens", and yet another remarks on the renewal of "old fashioned baronial England in a land of gold and diggers".

In fact, England is never far away. It's either a place to return to, or a place to recreate. Mitchell, the owner of Langawilli, seems to have made the fortune that Kingsley failed of, sold the place, and returned home, like the characters in *Geoffry Hamlyn*. Kingsley, in writing this novel which celebrates the ease and beauty and heroic nature of Australian living, its literal translation of English country life, was perhaps unintentionally serving another purpose. In mid-century many English people - who had no intention of ever coming here - saw emigration to Australia as a solution to the problems of unemployment, just as fifty years before transportation was to solve the crime problem. And more than that, because their intentions were idealistic and philosophical as well as pragmatic, they saw Australia as somehow, because of time and distance, existing in the past, and they thought that somehow they could recreate here what they imagined as England's past, of rural prosperity, before the industrial revolution. In other words, in Australia people would be able to relive a perceived golden age, that was no longer possible in England. All sorts of distinguished men, like Charles Dickens, who'd never been here, advocated this idea, and a novel such as *Geoffry Hamlyn* (which has been described as perpetrating but perhaps it ought to have been inventing, every cliché of Australian life - compare the television *Great Expectations*-with-the-gaps-filled-in) such a novel was excellent support.

Hamlyn, riding through the Snowy Region ("350 miles south of Sydney") rhapsodises over the landscape - which he sees in Old Country language but with antipodean affection - as "a new heaven and a new earth!" Suddenly they meet up with their friends, droving a mob of cattle to find a place to settle:

the scene so venerable and ancient, so seldom seen in the Old World - the patriarchs moving into the desert with all their wealth, to find a new pasture-ground. A simple primitive action, the first and simplest act of colonisation, yet producing such great results on the history of the world

The irony of this is that most of what's wrong with Australia's eating stems from the fact that the country is a product of the industrial age - as anybody who has read Michael Symons' *One Continuous Picnic* will know. We've never had a peasant class and never will have. Men like Mitchell at Langawilla, or the man Kingsley tried to be and failed, the men he made his heroes, saw Australia as a place where an impoverished man could live the life of the great English country house, which he could no longer afford at home - even, with a bit of luck get rich enough to buy his way back into that privileged existence. And, what's more, with relative ease, at least in fiction; there's no suggestion of hardship, drudgery, discomfort, though Kingsley had suffered such things; potential disasters like the flight from the bushfire are an heroic battle with a formidable foe, won by a noble victor, and without consequences. The goodies always win, and you know which they are from the start, by the shape of their heads; Kingsley was a phrenologist. Unfortunately, such men were never going to recreate a golden age of agriculture. The colony they established was even more in the toils of the industrial revolution than was its parent.

Kingsley is a sad figure, fond of boys, a romancer in search of the lost dreams of his youth. Nevertheless, I think his lunch was real, even if the idyllic life which produced it owed a lot to art. Just as the Scottish breakfast and the French dinner would have been true, whatever their context. If you want to know about the dinners, you can find out from

Thackeray, whom Kingsley knew and wished to emulate; he was an ardent communicator of the joys of French dining.

THE

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

GEOFFRY HAMLYN.

HENRY KINGSLEY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

Cambridge:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND 23, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.
1859.

THE WORK ETHIC AND OUR KITCHENS: A COMMENT

Susan Norris

No Service Industry can develop properly without skilled people who make the optimum use of their skills.

My observations are based on my experience as a student of our industry at secondary and tertiary levels, as an academic graduate working in big and small kitchens here and overseas, managing my family's restaurant and talking to young and old.

Generally speaking there is too wide a gap between staff overseas who will bend over backwards to service the wants of clients, to gain gratuities which form a greater part of their income than here, and staff in Australia who often overdo the "take it or leave it" approach.

Many of us are not yet in the right mind professionally to help meet the more exacting demands and standards of the rapidly increasing number of overseas visitors.

Already our tourism industry equals our mining industry in economic size. Food preparation and presentation are an integral part of the tourism industry.

More than one million overseas visitors came to Australia last year and they spent 20% of the total tourism industry receipts which were about 10,000 million dollars. 80% of tourism expenditure is incured by domestic travellers - that latter amount will expand because of increased leisure hours, early retirement, two income families and related social changes that are affecting the Australian Workforce.

Why do people enter our industry kitchens.

Most for the best reason:-

a. An innate attraction to and aptitude for cooking fostered at home and at school.

b. Professional qualifications.

c. Recognition and income levels as a chef of 'Renown' rather than a trade cook.

d. To give people pleasure from their skills and the reward of self-satisfaction.

e. Job security and scope in a growth industry.

Who are the Recruits?

At Student Level.

In the main, idealists. Most recruits are products of our rather over-relaxed primary and secondary school disciplines. As apprentices they will spend at least 32 hours a week in a kitchen and only 8 hours at school.

At senior level there are not nearly enough gifted, creative and experienced chefs from overseas to introduce innovations to stimulate our industry.

At Teacher Level.

Many lecturers are professional chefs seeking the high level and stability of salary and leave packages, without the personal educational breath of industry experience and the gift of being good teachers.

Mr. Richard Frank was reported some time ago by Mr. Eric Page of the Herald as saying "Someone could graduate from college on Friday find a job on Saturday and by Monday be passing on instruction".

Training and Work Related Problems

Our industry is not really yet a part of Australia's culture. Family life revolves around the House and the TV meals, not an easy scenario in which to develop the high overseas level of expectation and service in "Eating Out".

I have been told that tax payers' money is wasted in a second rate teaching structure chiefly because we do not have sufficient skilled and enthusiastic teachers. However, I have also been told that the very wide range of areas of interest for students in the industry creates teacher problems.

It is most difficult to assess the various requirements of each segment - for example, a la carte restaurant or hotel, hospital or factory canteen. With only 8 hours per week at school the problem of assessment is compounded.

Sometimes double standards are taught, for example, processed ingredients used, repetitious practises, and out of date curriculum.

In the kitchen the attitudes of some chefs to their apprentices are not constructive, possibly a response to the lack of motivation and responsibility by their staff.

Loyalty, respect and commitment are two way attributes.

Some Areas for Improvement

A/ Greater stability at Chef level involving less job turn arounds and less opportunism:- that is higher salaries and shorter hours without delivering the goods.

B/ Overall better attitudes and communication both within the kitchen and to the "front of house" and to the customers, which could include more in-house instructional briefings.

C/ More involvement by the proffessional and industry associations of chefs and employers in the teaching structures and practises. This may require being more regularly updated from a practical as well as academic stand point.

D/ Most of us are aware that there is a need for more Teacher Training Courses, more specifically designed for the catering industry. Not only for institutional teaching but also for those who teach in the kitchen.

E/ I understand it has been suggested that there should be segmentation of the schooling facilities available to cater for the specialised areas of the industry.

F/ Guidelines for the introduction of the industry's career structure to primary and secondary school students.

G/ Wider understanding by the general public of the skills, the long hours and costs involved in meeting their expectations.

The team spirit of a 12 metre yacht crew is an example of dedication and good communication.

Professionalism is about conduct and attitudes as well as qualifications and experiences.

A kitchen should ultimately be judged not only on the reaction to the chef and his team's preparation and presentation of a variety of food, but also on cost effectiveness, cleanliness and overall co-operation - ingredients of the Work Ethic.

GRAPES - OLD AND NEW

by J V Possingham
CSIRO Division of Horticultural Research
Adelaide

It is difficult to learn all that much about the history of grapes. The problem is they have always been around - they were part of the food and drink, or as we are wont to say "the culture", of Biblical Times and of ancient Rome, Greece and Egypt. They were in drawings from ancient Egypt, - and there are wine containers (amphoras, goblets, etc) readily available from many archeological diggings. Grapevines were spread along the Silk Road to the East, mainly in an easterly direction, as virtually none of the native grapes of China came west to the Middle East and on to Europe.

A range of drying and table grapes are thought to have had their origins in the old Asia Minor area, in the strip of country extending from Afghanistan to Northern Iran and Southern Russia through to Turkey. We have grape names in the Middle East such as Muscat in the Arab Emirates, Shiraz in Iran and of course the almost ubiquitous Sultana. A number of drying grapes came from this region and even today variants and wild relatives of the Sultana/Thompson Seedless variety are found from Turfan in Western China which is a hot, below sea level depression, right through to Greece. Some of these Sultana types have different berry sizes and shapes and many have seeds or seed traces.

The wine grapes of Europe date back to Roman times and probably before then. They almost certainly had their origins in the forests of Europe. For example there are islands in the Rhine that even now carry wild grapes and the German viticulturists believe that the Reisling variety had such an origin. Some viticulturists believe it may have been introduced to Germany by the Romans.

The Cabernet group of varieties are now closely associated with the Bordeaux region but these may have been introduced to there from elsewhere in Europe. By contrast the range of varieties we call the Pinots e.g. Pinot Noir, Pinot Blanc, Pinot Gris and Chardonnay are all thought to be selections from European forests. Pinot Noir is regarded as perhaps the most variable of the accepted European varieties. So much so it is thought to be polyclonal in origin, meaning it is not all

descended from a narrow selection base which has been multiplied for centuries using cuttings. It is thought to be descended from a series of separate selections from wild grapes and so we have Pinot Noirs suitable for Champagne and for heavy Burgundies - two very different wine types.

Both the wine grapes of Europe and drying and table grapes of the Middle East are of the species Vitis vinifera from within the family Vitaceae. There are about 50 other closely related species of Vitis mainly scattered around the Northern Hemisphere with a few extending to the Caribbean area and across to Venezuela. These different species are near relatives of Vitis Vinifera and they are virtually all graft compatible and can be crossed or hybridized with Vitis vinifera.

There are, as well, related grapes such as species of Cissus and Ampelocissus, and Leea which grow in the rainforests of Northern Australia. These have small bunches of small black grapes and have not been used to any extent in developing new grape varieties - but one of these days this may happen?

Grape breeding or the deliberate crossing of varieties of Vitis vinifera or the crossing Vitis vinifera with other Vitis species began in the early part of the nineteenth century but in earnest when European viticulture was decimated in the 1860s by the Phylloxera insect. The phylloxera insect sucks and feeds on the roots of Vinifera grapes and eventually kills the vine. Early French vine breeders included Louis and Henri Bouschet (father and son) who bred both Alicante Bouschet and Grand Noir de la Calmette. The aim of many of the crosses from the 1860s onwards was to obtain Phylloxera resistant grapevines and a leading early breeder in France was Victor Seyve-Villard. Many of the American species of Vitis are resistant to phylloxera and crosses of American species and Vitis vinifera were made to produce American rootstocks. These have varying degrees of resistance to phylloxera and the different varieties of Vitis vinifera can be grafted on to them. The grafted vines can grow and produce crops in areas infected with phylloxera. Alternatively further crosses of European vines can be made with resistant species, as has been done by both the Germans and French for the past 100 years, in order to develop entirely new grape varieties that are resistant to phylloxera. These varieties are known as direct producers and most of these varieties initially had the so called "foxy" flavour of β-Anthranilic Acid and were initially unacceptable for wine

making. Nowadays even wine tasters find it difficult to detect such off flavours in the newer crosses which bear grapes that taste essentially like their vinifera parents. These days direct producers are being further studied not because of their phylloxera resistance but because many of them are resistant to fungus diseases such as Powdery and Downy Mildew and to some of the Bunch Rots. In Europe fungus diseases of vines cause problems with the contamination of the environment due to the heavy use of chemicals needed for their control. This is especially so in the vineyard areas along the Rhine and Moselle Valleys.

Vine breeding can be used for other reasons besides generating disease and insect resistant vines. It can be used to combine the characteristics of different varieties to give grapes of better quality for specific production areas such as hot irrigation areas. Many of the newer table grapes and drying grapes that are currently used in the U.S.A. and Australia have been deliberately bred and have improved characteristics. Virtually all of them are seedless as this is a character that is required in both table grapes and drying grapes.

New drying grapes recently bred in Australia include a higher yielding substitute for the Sultana, Merbein Seedless. This resulted from a cross of a Spanish variety, Planta Pedralba, (synonym Farana) and Sultana (Antcliff 1981). Also the Carina, a replacement for the Zante currant. Carina is resistant to rain damage and does not easily split. It resulted from a cross of Sultana and Shiraz (Antcliff 1975). Black Opal Seedless is a new large berried grape that is used as a table grape and also for drying. Further field evaluation of this variety is required.

It is essential that new grape varieties used for drying ripen early in the season so there is sufficient hot weather to permit them to be sun dried. Drying grapes need to accumulate at least 20% of their weight as sugar when ripe, and they must have no traces of lignin (or wood) in their seeds otherwise they taste as if they contain grits of sand.

Increasingly it is required that table grapes should also be seedless. As well they need to be able to hang for an extended period on the bunch (i.e. they should not shatter). Also they should not split during storage, have bunch stems that remain green during storage, and have a crisp texture. They should be relatively bland in flavour in contrast

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to say muscats otherwise consumers can only eat small amounts at a time. Currently about 50% of the table grapes of USA, Chile and Australia are Sultanas or Thompson Seedless treated with gibberellic acid to make the berries larger in size and crisp.

There is a marked trend towards seedless table grapes. In most cases it does not mean that these grapes are sterile, rather it means they do not have hard seedcoats. A few lignified seeds can be tolerated in "seedless" table grapes but not in drying grapes. The soft seeds of seedless grapes can now be rescued using the methodologies of tissue culture and biotechnology. Soft seeds rescued in this way can be grown into new varieties of grapes and many of which are seedless.

Currently table grapes are big business in the U.S.A. where about 600,000 tonnes annually are produced, mainly in California. They have a gross retail value of the order of $1,000 million dollars at $1-5 per Kg. This amount of grapes is about the same as are used for all the wine of Australia. Approximately 70% of the table grapes of the U.S.A. are seedless and include varieties such as Thompson Seedless, Perlette, Flame Seedless and Ruby Seedless.

Chile now produces 300,000 tonnes of the grapes, and exports 250,000 tonnes mainly to the U.S.A. About 5 years ago their production was only 100,000 tonnes. Australia's production of table grapes is of the order of 60,000 tonnes and we shall probably export about 20,000 tonnes this year which is double that of last year. Thompson Seedless is our main variety, and there are a range of late varieties Ohanez, Red Emperor and Calmeria. The areas of Flame Seedless and Queen are currently increasing. It is expected that the new CSIRO variety Black Opal Seedless may in time become important. Most of our table grapes are grown in the Murray and Murrumbidgee Irrigation areas. However new plantings in central Australia and north Queensland are able to supply grapes in the October to December period when they are expensive. Table grapes are a high yielding fruit crop producing crops of 15 to 30 tonnes per hectare at prices of $1-5 Kg. In CSIRO Division of Horticultural Research we believe there is considerable scope to expand the grape production of third world countries for food.

Table grapes historically have not been a part of the everyday diet of Anglo-Saxons, rather they tended to be the sort of gift one takes to the

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aged and infirm in hospital! They have always been expensive in Britain even though a number of the grand houses of that country had conservatories that were used for grape growing. Hence the names of Cannon Hall Muscat, Wortley Hall and Waltham Cross (syn. Rosaki) for table grapes grown in Britain.

To sum up, many of the traditional grapes of the world have their origins as wild plants in the forests of the Middle East and Europe. They are fruiting plants of great antiquity. By contrast there are a range of new varieties deliberatley bred by man. Many of these are seedless and are used as table and drying grapes. Some of the newer dried seedless grapes such a Black Opal Seedless and Emerald Seedless are an excellent natural confection to accompany nuts in before dinner nibbles, while seedless table grapes are fruit that can be served with many foods. There is a place for table grapes to accompany wine particularly to provide additional grape flavour to neutral and bland wines.

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INDIGENOUS CUISINE FOR THE NORTH COAST

Des Buchhorn

Lismore, NSW

In China, in Europe, in many countries, each district has its own characteristic style of cooking based on centuries of use of the foods produced locally. In Australia however, there are very few localised specialties. There is scarcely even a national cuisine. In a book entitled The World Atlas of Food, we are told that 'Completely indigenous Australian and New Zealand recipes are almost nonexistent necessity, practicality and simplicity have left a strong mark on the cooking of Australia.' That's one way of putting it!

On our own North Coast, there is perfect opportunity to develop a style of food preparation which makes use of locally produced foods. The wonderful subtropical fruits are obvious choices, and the new cuisine may therefore have little use for cooking or for

elaborate recipes. The other foods produced in our region will require development of new recipes. To date our recipes have been borrowed from Europe, America, and in recent years, from Asia and the Middle East. Many of these dishes are excellent, but we need to adapt them to local conditions. To a large extent, we are strangers in this land; the European people in this region can learn to better harmonise with the land, and the particular foods it can produce. The aboriginal people who were here before us could teach us a lot.

As in the rest of Australia, one of the staple foods is beef, much of it produced locally. The region produces sugar from sugarcane, another dietary staple. Bread and other foods produced from wheat are used every day. The favourite vegetables are potatoes and tomatoes, and a number of others. Apples oranges and bananas are the favourite fruits. Beer is an important part of the diet. It is curious however that beer, and many supermarket foods, come from Sydney and Melbourne. This is because food choices are determined largely by the manufacturers, rather than by the environment. Most of the people in the region are quite happy with the foods available, yet there is scope for more imagination, more local character, foods more suited to the climate, and foods which are more nutritious.

In the North Coast region, there's been a considerable influence by vegetarianism and health foods, a trend which originated in America.

Fundamental Foods in Lismore, the Emporium in Nimbin, and Noni's in Byron Bay, are shops which stock the ingredients characteristic of this subculture. Typical ingredients are rice, tofu, soy sauce, lentils, wholemeal bread, herbs and spices. Local markets are introducing some very interesting creations, such as pineapple boats, satays, frozen banana sundaes, tropical fruit punch, Indian and Thai foods. In the mainstream, foods with less salt, sugar and preservatives have become common. The Pritikin Diet is becoming widely accepted.

large variety of subtropical fruits are now being grown commercially and in home plots. Custard apple, tamarillos, kiwi fruit, lychees are being grown more widely. We've always had bananas, pawpaws, peaches and mangos of course, but now new and unusual fruits are being grown, and they are waiting for consumer demand before being grown commercially. Guavas, for instance, have a delicious rich flavour, and are very rich in vitamin C, having much more than the citrus which we usually eat for vitamin C. The guava has enough pectin to make an excellent jelly. Another superb fruit is the pale green feijoa, with a lime taste, best eaten out of the half with a spoon. Persimmon is an old-fashioned fruit, which is making a comeback. Delicous if spread, like jam, on bread or ricecakes. A relative of the persimmon now being grown is the black sapote. Not all of the new fruits are popular; the pepino is one of the blandest fruits; the babaco, which was heavily promoted in recent years, is not to everyone's taste, though it makes a delicious tangy juice. Lychees are a popular little fruit, but it's curious that 80% of the NSW crop is exported. The Australian product supplies Asian countries in the northern hemisphere offseason. But one day it may be as popular here as

grapes are now. Lychees are one of the few fruits which are suitable for storage by freezing. One of the relatives of the lychee is the longan, which is richer in flavour; it's said that it's different to the lychee in the same way that red wine is different to white wine.

There are many varieties of citrus which can be grown. We can make more use of limes, as a cool drink, or in cooking. The lime is characteristic of the cooking of Malaysia and other Asian countries. A favourite sweet citrus is the pomelo (shaddock). Another fruit which is popular is the custard apple, beautifully sweet, which can be used as a sweetener in cooking instead of sugar. Its relatives include the cherimoya and soursop.

The subtropical fruits take us back to the Garden of Eden, to paradise. They are foods which are generally preferred 'as they come', whereas most other foods need to be cooked or otherwise prepared. Fruits supply carbohydrate and fibre, the basis of a good diet, though they may have too much sugar for the health of some people if consumed in excess. However instinct tells us that the fruits are ideal for human consumption, a welcome gift to man from the planet, from the Creation.

Many are best eaten as they are, either peeled and cut up, or halved so that they can be eaten with a spoon. Some fruits may be eaten frozen— banana, grape, blueberry, orange segments. Even better, freeze some fruit (after peeling), and puree it with a little water or milk in a food processor. The result is often as enjoyable as any icecream, and is much better for health. Try banana, custard apple, blueberry, mango, pineapple. This method works best with the sweet fruits, because the cold temperature reduces the sensation of sweetness. The less watery fruits, such as the

banana, make the best 'icecream'. Try also the traditional recipes for sorbets.

In fruit salad, try different combinations of fruits. Use nice chunky pieces of fruit, cut so that they look their best kiwi fruit cut into eighths, diagonal slices of banana, balls of melon, segments of mandarin, whole kumquats, slices of tamarillo. Pour over a dressing of orange juice, or soya milk, or fizzy mineral water. Enjoy the creativity of putting together simple ingredients to best effect. Use attractive bowls and for special effect, give your creation a name such as 'macedoine' in memory of the long history of the fruit salad, which was popular in ancient Macedonia.

Some fruits are good when cooked, though some change flavour for the worse when cooked. They may be used as sweeteners in various desserts instead of sugar, or as stewed fruit and pies in the traditional manner.

Many beautiful <u>vegetables</u> are grown on the North Coast, and some of them are available all year round because of the mild winters. Snow peas grow well and will in time come down in price. Zucchinis grow well and have many uses in cooking. Try a zucchini soup; cook zucchinis with a little water, add a little salt and pepper and puree to a beautiful green creamy soup. Kumera (the orange sweet potato) is a tasty vegetable which can be grown easily in this region. Bamboo shoots can be eaten, but should always be cooked first, as they may contain a toxic substance removed by cooking. Pawpaw, jackfruit, and plantain (a type of banana) are some of the fruits which may be used as a vegetable.

The warm days that we have for nine months of the year are well suited to a salad-a-day. Homegrown tomatoes are far superior to the bland hard tomatoes generally available in the shops.

By now, most people are familiar with the different varieties of avocado. Yet it's not that long ago that avocadoes were too expensive to buy, except as a treat. Thirty years ago, it was practically unknown. It takes a little time, but quite radical changes in food use can occur. Avocadoes are 20 to 25% fat, which is likely to be danger to health. If you are eating more avocadoes, you should also be reducing your consumption of red meat, oil, butter, margarine, cheese and other fatty foods.

Another local product is the macadamia nut, a native to the rain-forest area around Lismore, which is now grown in huge plantations. As trees come to maturity, more and more nuts will become available at fair prices.

The major agricultural activity for many years has been cattle, which were produced for beef and for milk. Because of the large amount of fat in these foods, it's advisable for people to cut down their use of these foods by trying some of the other foods mentioned above. Some excellent yoghurts and cheeses are produced, such as Norco's 'Nimbin Cheese'. Low fat products such as Shape are produced. Goat's milk is becoming more popular.

Many superb local seafoods are caught at Tweed Heads, Iluka, Ballina and Maclean. Prawns, squid, whiting, sea bream, flake and many other fish are produced. It's illogical to use frozen or canned fish imported from South Africa, Norway or Thailand when fresh

local products are available. There are some excellent fish restaurants and fish and chip shops in Byron Bay and other coastal towns; let's have more of them.

An excellent tea is already grown on the Madura Tea Estate near Murwillumbah. Many herbs are already grown on a small scale; in the future, the spices now imported from India may be grown here.

The sugar and dairy industries are depressed since the traditional export markets dried up. Export prices and exchange rates are beyond our control, thus agriculture may have more stability in the long run if it supplies the local market as far as possible. Consumers will receive a fresher product with less processing, and fewer additives such as fungicides. There are fewer middlemen, so it's likely that prices will be more favourable to both the grower and the consumer. Local markets in various towns are the beginning of a localised food production system. At present, much of the produce in the North Coast goes through the Brisbane and Sydney markets. This benefits wholesalers and trucking companies at the expense of the rest of us. There are certainly some advantages in exporting food from the region and for importing products which cannot be produced locally, but it's likely that country areas will have greater viability if they produce, process and market most of their own food supply.

An identifiable local cuisine will be part of a cohesive local society which we can all take pride in. Already on the North Coast, a new lifestyle is in the making. 'New settlers' are already working with the established settlers to create community projects.

FOOD IN AUSTRALIA OR AUSTRALIAN FOOD:

SEARCHING FOR SOME DEFINITIONS.

Marieke Brugman

The title of my paper indicates ambitions, aspirations and, in casting such a wide net, I hope to share with you the concerns of someone who wears a variety of hats.

Whilst not in the habit of wearing a chef's hat, I consider myself first and foremost a cook - not in the usual sense of heading or working alongside a team nor as a restauranteur, but daily, as a solo practitioner who must produce a symphony of at least 5 meals for the same group of people (all of whom have the opportunity to express dietary quirks, allergies, etc.) for at least two days. This I have been doing for nearly 10 years, 200 km outside of Melbourne.

I do wear a gardening hat. The dream for the Howqua Dale Garden is multifaceted and long term, the impetus for which largely comes from an increasing enjoyment in growing things and a commitment to planting trees at a time in Australia's short, white history when we've managed to denude 2/3 of our forest cover. We have a commitment to using no sprays, chemicals or artificial fertilizers, and collecting many, many dozens of ute loads of horse manure, as well as these days, collecting seed. Whilst all this is not in the least cost effective, to the contrary, labour intensive, the rewards are reaped when the summer garden bears forth. In

company such as this I need not wax on about the joys of sun ripened vegetables and fruit, particularly tomatoes (the glut of which over the next few weeks we will experimentally be sun-drying). What I am getting at here is something more to do with quality than variety, as exciting as the latter may be.

As an occasional writing cook I am becoming less inclined to write recipes as such, increasingly disenchanged at the lack of polemic in most of our food journalism, questioning of the extent to which expectations are aroused in the readership and the degree to which the media are able to set or inform "standards".

The complementary aspect to writing is for me in teaching, the opportunity to articulate those processes which are mostly intuitive or empirically deducted.

Other than getting down to the actual labour and craft of cooking, much time is spent dispelling food fashions, myths, mystiques, as well as confronting the reality of people wanting to master cooking at home, or put another way, making home cooking better. In this context, it amazes me how much simplicity and understatement eludes people. If nothing else, people leave the school with clearer directions, become more assertive and discerning consumers, become more skill-oriented and a lot less fuddled by much of the hype which surrounds food as entertainment or food as a fashion trend.

My last hat, the semi-entrepreneurial one, has in the least nationalistic but most altruistic sense endeavoured to place the Australian food scene fairly and truly into a more international context. This latest enterprise is in some

sense an acknowledgement of how very good we have all become in the last decade. So far, conveying this message has taken me to the States, possibly later this year to parts of Asia. Believe me though, Paul Hogan still reigns supreme. Service often is still not very good and a lot of our attitudes are devoid of hospitality. It was disappointing to learn last year that for a cultural exchange planned between the cities of Boston and Melbourne, the Australian sponsors had seriously considered a culinary representative but at the last minute decided in favour of a broadcaster. Being a culinary ambassador therefore still has its difficulties.

Whilst all these roles create no logical thesis in terms of a paper they do raise questions crucial to our perceptions of and control over food in this country, and how we might come to be seen by the outside world.

Thus, as a cook, I care most about what I cook, who for, and why. As a gardening cook, I care most about produce, and therefore, by extension, am concerned about agricultural practices in this country.

As a writing and teaching cook, I think I care most about consumer education, believing not only that consumers must become more discerning about their health and purchasing power, but also that they be encouraged to become more able practitioners.

As a cook owning and operating a tourist facility I care most about the happiness and well-being of our guests. Are they enjoying themselves (and therein lies another story about the art of being a good guest)? Is the accumulation of their experiences such that they can momentarily acquire a peaceful and celebratory mood? Are all their senses and

sensibilities being stimulated? Are we creating something truly memorable and distinctive, especially for our overseas visitors? In this context, I consider the good food to be a bonus in exceptional surroundings.

Finally, one of the things I most care about by being here at this symposium is to learn whether or not there is a possibility for all of us, as food professionals, to forge a cohesive force when it comes to influencing food and culinary directions in the future, when, after all, we already exert considerable influence in our own individual spheres? Just as I believe that our culinary destiny is inseparable from the destiny of food production, I think it is as true to say that good agricultural practice depends on the farmer being bonded to his land as much as a good cook must be bonded to the quality of his/her raw ingredients: where it came from, how it was grown, what it can do to you.

Herein lie many conundrums for us to confront.

In putting this together I was much reminded of my old fine arts tutorials when the debates about modern art raged around internationalism, provincialism and regionalism. In other words, simply put, was it possible to describe modern art in Australia as Australian, when most stylistic borrowings had come from overseas? Were we merely reproducing a pastiche of pictorial styles and symbols, the significance and meanings of which actually pertained to cultures other than our own?

Some of the debates about food here hint at the same arguments. How do we describe the Australian-ness of food being produced in Australia when most of our influences have come from overseas? Do we really need to? Mine was the

generation that seemed to have inherited a particular cultural and historical neurosis about being Australian. (I was so adamant about my European roots I left Australia before I turned 18). Ever since so many of us returned and decided to stay, we seem to have spent our creative endeavours overcoming our cultural and culinary cringe. Indeed, I would be amonst the first to acknowledge that we have come a long way, that we have, across a broad spectrum, begun to define and establish an identity all our own and within which more of us fit comfortably.

In this claim however, there lie some perplexing contradictions. After all, I think Australia's is very much a received culture. These days we call it multiculturalism or more specifically, for this occasion, multiculinarism.

Certainly most of us know we are in France or Italy when we sit to partake of a meal. Likewise, when in Bali or Thailand. With some exceptions, you also know you're in Queensland when the tropical fruit comes chopped, out of a tin can. Eating last year in America, I could have as easily been eating here at home (though on average here is better by far), except when they purported to be serving American dishes. And recently my Dutch parents lamented the fact that there were few "Dutch" restaurants left in Holland, most seemed very French. One of the ways efficiently to grasp the nuances of a foreign culture can be through the observation of and participation in culinary traditions. This has been true for me in kitchens as far apart as the home of a Japanese National Living Treasure, and a Lean-To on the North Balinese coast: extraordinary meals and a profound insight into social patterns so different from my own.

Another habit when travelling overseas is for me to hunt out and make forays into local markets. On the one hand this often leads to preposterous situations where I carry around bought food simply for the experience of touching and smelling different ingredients, with almost no possibility of preparing or dealing with exotic produce so excitingly discovered; on the other hand it has taught me, expecially in Asia, that the people are much more discriminating in their acquisition of produce than we are generally taught, and that everyone is more intimately involved with all the cycles of food production.

America has very few markets and New Yorkers by and large don't cook, but New York has Dean and De Lucca's and Balducci's (the repository for a lot of "cottage industry", specialised produce from fiddle head ferns to Upstate foie gras, up to 15 varieties of fresh mushrooms and several hundred types of bread), the likes of which Sydney and Melbourne still seem a long way from acquiring.

By describing some of my recent American experiences, I really want to suggest that there are a number of avenues down which Australia ought not follow because many of the parallels between the two cultures can be frighteningly similar.

In talking with American food writers I discerned two major catch-cries. There is enormous energy in describing, discovering, and espousing American food. This is fascinating in a country which has made pizza more American than apple pie. In fact, coast to coast, pizza has gone "gourmet", being the base for everything from duck livers, New York State foie gras, Louisiana shrimp, Californian goats' cheese to Oregon

chanterelles. American it may well be but good eating it did not equate with.

Such food reminded me of the days of nouvelle cuisine misinterpretations - inventiveness for inventiveness's sake - singlehandedly the most horrible example of which I can recall being a lump of chevre overbaked on quite delicate noisettes of lamb. This sort of cooking is almost the kind that strives to prove some invented theory, in this instance that there is an American cooking. Thus, in a similar vein, I sampled such things as cornflour thickened creme brulee served in chocolate dipped taco tuiles, blue corn purees in the muffins, the sauce, the timbales and the souffles, crepes being called pancakes which patently they weren't, chilli pepper purees painted onto plates like floral arrangements, and Californian caviar grittier than sand. I also ate a dazzling salad at Chez Panisse put together with a superbly flavoursome variety of tiny salad leaves, the quality of which I've rarely experienced here, and a remarkable terrine by Jean-Louis Palladin made of squid ink canneloni filled with tinted scallop mousses. This was the only time I saw scallop roes being utilised and I still recall their flavour because it's been nearly a year now, to my knowledge, that anything so good has been available in Victoria.

The converse of this situation was eating blackened fish last summer in Melbourne, a far superior version than the original I sampled some six years ago in New Orleans. Finally, the proof of the pudding must lie, at least partially, in the eating. And, as we all know, these days, food knows no borders except for the availability of ingredients and the finely honed skills of a good cook.

On a positive note, I think the fascination with a nationalistic viewpoint has led to an increased awareness in the origins of food. I was interested to learn recently from a researcher that much of the early Australian writing about food, by women, which she discovered in the Latrobe Library, was concerned with "light" food, particularly white meat, fruit, and vegetables. And I think that food history is interesting as much for how they used to cook if not more so for what they cooked and their relationship to food, variety and availability.

I was also interested to learn from Sarah, my partner, how good barbecued goanna tasted, as prepared by the Aborigines in the Bungle Bungles. And last week I travelled over the mountains from Mansfield to Walhalla counting some 30 or 40 old home sites with gnarled fruit trees still bearing forth incredibly delicious, probably forgotten, varieties of peaches, apples, and pears. So someone ate quite well in seemingly impossible remoteness and circumstance over 100 years ago.

To bring things full circle in a modern and practicable sense an interest in the origins of food is a helping start. In America if you buy in the right quarters, you will know if your oysters are from Chesapeake Bay or the North-West Pacific. So too, here. But I still don't know whether I've got Angus or Hereford or Charolais beef. I don't know where the lamb was raised but do know why chicken, by and large, tastes so awfully bland. I don't know how to get 6 farmed wild ducks down from Terrigal when I have the whim to cook them and I don't know that I want goanna in my kitchen when fresh hare sends me scurrying from it.

I applaud the King Island story and the fact that there are 40 varieties of cherries in the Adelaide Hills. Obviously some produce is too fragile to leave the district where it's been grown, but to construct an argument for regional cuisine seems specious when you can eat Cajun in New York, Californian in Sydney and Malaysian in Melbourne.

For me, cooking near Mansfield, regionalism will never be a reality and regional availability is almost a dreamscape. I have found, none the less, real eggs, lovely raspberries, excellent squab. But 99% of our food comes from Melbourne, despite the fact that we live in supposedly one of Victoria's wealthiest rural regions.

This returns me to the second catch-cry of the American food writers: their feeling that many Americans have forgotten how to cook. Such a feeling must provide, partially, a clue to why the bulk of the population accept as their daily sustenance such hideous food: processed, refined, packaged and these days irradiated.

In Australia I have heard many of the economic arguments for food production as it has come to be accepted. I personally refuse to accept the hazardous task of buying avocados which may be watery, black spotted, or pimpled because they're a new hybrid which look fantastic on the outside or pineapples coated with a white powder, (presumably something to ripen or "protect" them), when they are black to the core within.

Last week I purchanced upon an accidentally controlled experiment cleaning my own "fridge": a handful of homegrown sugar peas which remained from several kilos picked over two weeks ago were apparently still in "mint condition" alongside

some beans, purchased from one of Melbourne's most reputable suppliers, gone mouldy, after 3 days. How old were the beans? What had been done to them? Why did they deteriorate so rapidly? Certainly we don't harvest on a daily basis.

If people don't know how to cook, and I think the numbers are increasing, how on earth can they have any respect for ingredients, or any understanding of their relationship to food. Such widespread indifference and lack of influence has already allowed Plant Varieties Rights Legislation to be passed. Obviously not enough people believed that the ramifications of such legislation were sufficiently horrific to stop it. This is plant genetics which cares more about improved performance, mechanical harvesting extended shelf life and not at all about flavours, taste, or health. Irradiation of food is probably next.

What has happened to all the varieties of apples and potatoes and peaches? Why must an orchard harvest its entire crop within a fortnight? Why can't we live without asparagus or grapes in Winter?

It has been predicted that in 30 or 40 years time Australia may well be in a position of importing more food than it produces. "Two centuries of European settlement have debilitated more than half the land suitable for agriculture, much of it beyond rescue." Half our agricultural land has already suffered soil destruction and unsuitable agricultural practices causing water and wind erosion, salinity, waterlogging, acidity and infertility. The 30 cm of topsoil Queensland loses every year took 30,000 years to get there.

I was interested to read recently that an Italian sugar cane farmer in Queensland was now able to make more money out

of 2 rambutan trees than out of 2 acres of cane. Maybe this is one possible direction for the future and maybe we can help shape it. Maybe it can become economically viable, albeit labour intensive, for smaller human units to grow and produce premium, even specialised, food. Already a French woman makes beautiful chevre in Perth, everyone uses King Island products, and at last we can regularly buy freshly picked lamb's lettuce and rocket, as well as lemon grass and Vietnamese mint.

Instead of a food magazine printing and photographing some dozen variations of bavarois as one glossy recently did - which was really a promotion of chefs as superstars - would it not be more useful to guide people through the technique and formulas of a perfectly ethereal pudding, no matter its final shape and flavouring.

In all the francophilia of the last decade, I only just stopped myself short of becoming francophobic. But just as Grace Cossington Smith was interesting for what she did with post-impression more than for the fact that she was the first to bring the style back to Australia, so too is it interesting to observe how very differently, as practitioners, we have interpreted a similar set of influences. Sometimes isolation creates a particularly open-minded curiosity.

A decade down the track what we seem to have is a clutch of chefs who have evolved a singularity of individual styles. Call this maturity or call this Australian. The evolution contines when one remembers how unthinkable it seemed to have a Thai salad complementing the composition of a European meal several years ago.

In the long term I'd like to think that food in Australia is not about smart versions of prawn pavlova or vegemite gnocchi, but continues to be about nurturing good cooks and fine ingredients. The most memorable meals I've enjoyed here in the last 12 months combine superb ingredients, skillfully prepared with care, very simply presented, much more simply than used to be usual. Certainly nowhere in the States did I taste anything as exciting or perfect as tuna antipasto, ocean trout grilled over Bannockburn vine cuttings, fresh bugs steamed in a basket with risotto and seaweed.

This month, even Australia Post considers fresh food in Australia worth celebrating. Let's preserve all that is necessary to ensure the same for the future. The rest of the world might then sit up and take notice, and enjoy our eclecticism and diversity.

Thank you.

Tuesday lunch:

A MULTICULINARY LUNCH

Dur-é Dara organised a vast table of 'finger-food' and fruits (and not just fingers, various celebrities were seen eating their tiny pizzas with chopsticks).

The bonzer smorgasbord of multiculinary mezes included:

Sushi
Tiropittas
Pizzas
Samosas
Dolmades
Chinese cold meats and noodles
Vietnamese cakes
Greek cakes

The cornucopia of tropical fruits included: rambutans, lychees, jackfruit, custard apples, various melons and berries, etc.

In addition, John Possingham of the CSIRO arranged an impressive display of dried and table grapes, including:

Sultanas (treated five times with gibberellic acid to make them large and crisp)
Flame Seedless (bred by USDA, treated with gibberellic acid)
Black Opal Seedless (CSIRO)
Russian Seedless (Black Chilian)
Ribier Seeded
Kishmishi
Queen (cross between Muscat Hamburg and Sultana).

Wines:

Crawford River 1986 Rhine Riesling (S-W Coastal)
Delatite 1986 Rhine Riesling (Mansfield)
Chalambar 1986 Rhine Riesling (Great Western)
Hickinbotham 1985 Maffra Rhine Riesling (Gippsland)

Tuesday afternoon discussion groups:

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE AUSTRALIAN CUISINE

Again, we divided into six small groups to discuss the challenge and potential of the Australian cuisine.

ADRIAN READ	JILL STONE	CATH KERRY
Gay BILSON	Nancy MILLIS	Michael SYMONS
Marieke BRUGMAN	Anthony CORONES	Don. DUNSTAN
Maggie BEER	Mary BRANDER	Carol BROWN
Louise GODWIN	Elaine CHAMBERS	Suzanne HALLIDAY
Philippa NEWBIGIN	Tony SIMPSON	Jen FORBES
Gail THOMAS	Rita ERLICH	Claire KEARNEY
Chris. WILDE	Di. HETZEL	Jennifer HILLIER
Lois BUTT	Millie SHERMAN	Gwenda ROBB
Jeff DOWN	Ron HANLON	Penny SMITH
		Margit KORN

DIANE HOLUIGUE	GABRIEL GATE	MAX LAKE
Sarah STEGLEY	Graham PONT	Bette AUSTIN
Margaret BROWN	Ann CREBER	Frances FARMER
Des BUCHHORN	Michael DOWE	Guy GROSSI
Elizabeth CHONG	Melissa GROSSI	Marion HALLIGAN
Anna GUTHLEBEN	Ian POLLARD	Nathalie LEADER
George HILL	Leah HOYLE	Barbara SANTICH
Robyn HEDDLE	Paul LEVY	Susan NORRIS
Sandy MICHELL	Jennifer PYLE	Rebecca ZUESSE
John POSSINGHAM	Sue ZWEEP	Beverley SUTHERLAND SMITH.
Scott MINERVINI	Michael TRELOAR	

Tuesday afternoon discussion groups:

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE AUSTRALIAN CUISINE

(Tape transcribed by Barbara Santich)

Adrian Read

Our group had a fantastic discussion - which I will try to summarise.

We seemed to agree that it couldn't really be said that an Australian cuisine existed, although there was some feeling that we should be identifying the best and nurturing it, although there was some pessimism that this wouldn't reach the mass audience. It was also felt that the leaders, the 'movers and shakers', should perhaps be identified, but we didn't have time to pursue that.

We kept coming back to the question of education, but couldn't pinpoint who was to be educated and how. It was felt that the media, over the long term, had been satisfactory; the glossy magazines had made nice food seem more accessible, but on the other hand the media also tended to trivialise.

On tourism, we thought that on the whole, it was being done well, and that perhaps too much attention was being focussed on the 15% that wasn't done well. Visitors seem to like the fact that we are hospitable.

The major challenges we identified as widening the audience, educating. Some felt it was suppliers who needed to be educated, but this is very difficult when their profit might be affected. The longer view on this was that there had been lot of progress - five years ago, it was difficult to buy fresh basil - and that there were

in existence small networks, of people who had identified what was good and the information was passed on by word of mouth. In educational institutions, the problem might be more with students who saw cooking as just a job, than with teachers, who were often enlightened and stimulating, but often confronted with restrictive budgets. Another challenge was the Australian butcher and his patronising attitude, implying that he knows all about meat but in fact doesn't have much, or any, real knowledge.

Jill Stone

In our group there was a very strong feeling that in a largely urbanised, industrialised society we are sometimes faring better than we give ourselves credit for. As side issues, it was felt that there were some problems with the search for variety; if we expect to have rambutan from Darwin and ocean perch from Tasmania, we have to pay some cost in transport, in diversity of storage facilities, etc.; also, primary producers under pressure to produce a variety of things have a problem concentrating their efforts, getting one product just right.

We thought that contemplation of changes to the established market is fraught with difficulties, and that some of the suggested improvements are sometimes rather simplistic - here again, we come to education, but what form should that education take, are we educating about taste and if so, whose taste is that standard? Personally, I think the educational process needs to be widely based, even to teach someone how to cook a certain dish is difficult, and unless people understand why that particular dish is being cooked, where the produce comes from, and the significance of the dish within the total culture, we're not going to create

feelings of respect for the whole process.
Maintenance of authentic national enclaves was not seen as necessarily promoting culinary progress; cross-fertilisation is currently seen as more important, and has achieved a good deal in raising people's awareness of food, generally. There was a suggestion that high quality can sometimes be achieved only after the demand for fair-average quality for the mass market has been achieved. Perhaps we are a little impatient, and perhaps we have come a very long way - my reading of 1920's documents certainly indicates that things are very different now.
I tried to glean from the discussion what people thought was positive - the influence of nutrition, although some people would argue that this should be a negative; things like encouraging specialists to produce excellence - and there was a beat-them-at-their-own-game idea here, that people could band together and make contracts with growers, as do many of the big food companies, but insisting on a desired standard of quality.
The negative things were seen as the education system, although it is not wholly bad, and some government programs, although again, with qualifications.

Cath Kerry

Though we are still very self-conscious, it was felt that we are doing as much as any other country in the world, perhaps even more, to further good food and good eating. In the large arena, food is probably getting worse; older people, that is, our mothers are perhaps losing their culinary background, their culinary culture, and drifting towards easy foods, brightly-coloured foods, but in the small, rarefied atmosphere we mix in we're off to a great start in

creating what we've called an individually-approached global cuisine.

What we have going for us is an abundance of produce, a very kind climate, and the work of a good number of enthusiastic individuals - writers, cooks and eaters. Our cuisine styles will change gradually, evolving naturally, because nothing can be imposed upon us; we have been influenced by migrants, and we will be influenced more and more by climate. Some of us, on the other hand, will stay put - but we will stay put with no loss of quality.

What should we do about it? We should be constantly demanding, and constantly bullying suppliers, and we should continue to support small free enterprise - small butchers and greengrocers, rather than supermarkets.

Diane Holuigue

In our very diverse group, we seemed to think that we could tell what is Australian cuisine and what isn't; it's too easy to say there isn't a cuisine, but there is something happening, stylistically, that is Australian. We thought that there was something that could be called Australian style, if only you could put your finger on it. We do have a culture, if a young one; Australians are pretty sure of being Australian.

Multiculturalism is definitely a strength; the diverse range of commodities another strength, although these are not unique to us.

We found we were constantly running across dichotomies; one of the greatest, still-existing dichotomies which haven't been mentioned during this symposium, is that between city and country - most of us here at this symposium have been talking city (capital city) rather than Australia-wide. This same tendency can be seen in all the

magazines. Significantly, even a city like Geelong does not have access to the same products as does Melbourne. Another dichotomy was that between domestic cuisine and restaurant cuisine.
In all the discussion of multiculinarism, we haven't talked of the American influence. One of the dehabilitating influences is the enormity of the US take-away food industry hitting us. Economically, how do you get around this, when the profit motive is uppermost?
Another strength, hard to define, was the fact that our chefs are so receptive towards international trends and influences from many other countries in their cuisine.
We concluded by asking why we want an Australian cuisine? Is it for us? for the tourists, to put bums on seats? to sell produce abroad, like our Tasmanian trout, macadamia nuts? to teach in our home economics courses? Or is it a response to our own culinary cringe, in that we will feel better about ourselves if we can say we have an Australian cuisine?
Perhaps we are doing just as well without.

Michael Dowe

We talked about lots of things - about attribution of recipes in columns, about plants rights legislation, adulteration - about which we way we should go after this symposium (for example, forming a gastronomic institute), but we kept on coming back to Beverley's present predicament, and why was Beverley standing there alone, Paul Levy pointed out that in England there is a food writers' guild, which has been able to apply a lot of pressure - there must be regional things that make that work, for example, Chernobyl has made a big difference to Europe, here we are further removed.
We talked about how situations arise where no one talks about

irradiation - why didn't we know about it before? We concluded there would be a much better dissemination of information about foodstuffs through associations like a writers' guild, a food journalists' guild, that somehow we would be able to apply pressure in other areas, such as Choice magazine, ensuring that we are more aware of what is going on, of what we eat, what is being marketed, etc.

Max Lake

In our group we asked three questions: what was good, what was bad, and what we could do about it?
We thought that the positive side of Australian gastronomy is that there is an increasing core of intelligent palates, there is a strong desire to meet world standards, and to be educated by them, and, as other groups also mentioned, a different culture in each city, different needs and different rates of progress, different ingredients presenting themselves as the rise in population takes place. We saw the split of commercial and domestic gastronomy - what is happening through the marvellous, open, ethnic, influences is just stunning. We approved of the deli-restaurants.
The bad things - the persistent apathy and laziness, personal and general; the three-star restaurant syndrome, the elitist, fashionable restaurants that don't deserve their reputations; problems with transport and the quality of food, added chemicals and irradiation; the lack of knowledge of many of the critics in Australia - often they're nice guys who won't say what needs to be said, and they're not constructive, they need educating. We were disturbed by the pressures of single fads, such as extreme vegetarianism. Opinions were divided about fast and junk food: it's not all bad, some of it can be nutritious; perhaps our role here is

to try to improve the quality and taste of these foods.

What can we do? At a personal level, we can take time, we can be ready to learn and taste; self-conscious gastronomy is something we can think about. The pressure being created by the tourist dollar is probably going to do more to cure our apathy and laziness at the level we're talking about than almost any other factor. In terms of education, there is extraordinary scope inside the family; critics and media must be educated; and in the tertiary institutions, a better grasp of fundamentals and more inspiration by teachers.

In Australia today, the quality of our ingredients is almost satisfactory - we have a huge variety, there is a lot of fresh food around; the multicultural input is exciting; our diets are becoming well-balanced and are very nutritious. We see a strong need to increase our awareness of, and rewards for, the efforts and talent the good people put in, the people with style. Concluding, we want to retain and enhance the diversity that is coming together so nicely, if perhaps not as quickly as we would like.

POSTSCRIPT

Bernice Daly and her ABC television team were present throughout the two days of the symposium, filming, recording and interviewing, for a proposed television series, which she briefly described:

Thank you for letting us be here for the last couple of days, because I know we are a bit of an intrusion. It's been really valuable for me, to hear the papers and see a different perspective to the sort of information I've been looking at over the past year, from people who are at the front line, as you are. You are an elite in the best sense of that word, because you are able to influence, change opinions. The programs - six documentaries - are trying to decipher why we eat the food we do, what foods we have on our tables. We have an enormous range of foods - experts say the best food supply in the world - yet we eat an enormous abundance of pre-cooked, packaged foods, junk foods. We have looked at the food industry, about access to information about food, about how fads exist, about fashions, about health, and we hope that we are going to give people information about the factors that affect their food, in a different way.

(As it happened, in the turmoil of ABC-TV, the series, which had been planned as a Heartlands special, was shown in the Quantum slot. The first program, which included the Symposium, was chopped at the last minute to fit in with Christmas schedules. However, it had already been shown during the daytime 'repeats'.)

SNIPS, SNAILS AND TAILS

An offal dinner at Stephanie's, Tuesday 10th March, 1987
for the Third Symposium of Australian gastronomy.

1983 Seppelt Salinger Champagne

Poached lambs' brains with a celery and mustard sauce on mustard leaves with lemon and tangerine marigolds

1984 H.J.T. Chardonnay

Pot of garden snails with spinach, nettles and mushrooms under a puff pastry hat

1980 Chateau Tahbilk Marsanne

Oxtails in a truffled broth with orange and garlic pasta tossed with pigs ears and ~~tails~~

1971 Seppelt Great Western Hermitage
1985 Coldstream Hills Pinot noir

Vegetables gleaned from various gardens

A pear in blue cheese pastry with a green salad and Gippsland blue cheese

1982 Chateau Remy Blue Pyrenees

Champagne and calves foot jelly and a rose-scented geranium junket

Special masked wine

Coffee

Milk chocolate champagne truffles made by Gwenda Robb

Kellybrook Calvados ... Mildara Pot Still brandy ... All Saints liqueur Tokay.

DISCOURSE ON THE DINNER

from Stephanie Alexander and Sarah Gough

STEPHANIE ALEXANDER

I wanted to say just three things about tonight's dinner. One was that I believe that you can be creative without necessarily hanging on to the fact that you have to invent something. I think you can use the resources from around you to create an image; to believe you have to create something no one has ever heard of before is a recipe for disaster.

Secondly, I think there's a real problem about fashions in food; many people don't realise, or don't know, that some dishes that are taken up as fashionable have been here for a long time. I would like to suggest that the reason that I have deliberately chosen to use, tonight, marigold petals and scented geranium leaves is not that I am being arty-crafty, nor that they've been in the last issue of Vogue, but that there's a tremendeously long lineage for using ingredients like these. That is very important to me.

I wanted to say something about using resources - we've discussed at length over the last few days the use of local resources, and I think that's a wonderful idea. Snails are a fine example - not only are we using a local resource but also a network, and we are trying to make a culinary resource of something which, usually, is totally spurned and treated with derision. It has required a great deal of organisation, and it has also given a lot of pleasure and a lot of money to a lot of kids I know, but it has proved a point. I have cooked 9,000 snails in the last couple of

months, and I believe this has been a proper exercise in using what is here, which is much more concrete and practical than a lot of the other things which are done.

Now I'd like to say something about the vegetable course. I deliberately served a vegetable course because I know it's beautiful ... however, it is IMPOSSIBLE. Unless you have your own acres of market garden, you cannot produce vegetables like these. I think this is important to know - because it's not much use aiming for what we can't achieve, and to be able to produce a platter of vegetables for 75 people at this restaurant tonight has caused me to organise and plan it for approximately four months.

Still on the use of resources, there was a masked wine tonight. It was a peach wine, made by us, in the restaurant, our vin de pêche.

SARAH GOUGH

I took it opon myself to choose Victorian wines, wines that Victoria does well and has done well for a long time, and so I chose Marsanne and Hermitage, which have been used since the 1880's, and riesling from regions high in the mountains. For the meal tonight we had to call on some of the bigger, older companies like Chateau Tahbilk and Seppelt, for museum wines. I also chose some sparkling wine, because I think that Victoria is still the place where the sparkling wine renaissance started. With coffee, we have three different wines which are special to Victoria - Kellybrook calvados, Mildara pot-still brandy and an All Saints' old sweet white tokay which was blended specially for this Symposium, of 1932, 1973 and 1977 wines.

THIRD SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

MELBOURNE, MARCH 8-10, 1987

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Elaine Chambers Australian Dried Fruits Association, 9 Queens Road, Melbourne. 3004	Director, Food Advisory Services
Elizabeth Chong 68 Hawthorn Grove, Hawthorn. Vic. 3122	Author, Director of cooking school
Anthony Corones 17 Margate Street, Ramsgate. N.S.W. 2217	Ph.D. Student in philosophy
Ann Creber 25 Clifton Street, Nunawading. Vic. 3131	Food consultant, writer and lecturer

Patricia Crotty 25 Sandown Road, Ascot Vale. 3032	Nutritionist
Dur-é Dara 405 Tooronga Road, East Hawthorn. Vic. 3123	Manageress, Stephanie's Restaurant
Helen dePury Yeringberg, Coldstream. Vic. 3770	Winemaker (now in France)
Jeff Down 2375 Woodside Road, Woodside. California 94062 U.S.A.	Chef
Michael Dowe 8 Daintrey Crescent, Randwick. N.S.W. 2031	Importer/Occasional Food Writer
Don Dunstan 15 Clara Street, Norwood. S.A. 5067	"Old Food Buff and sometime writer"
Rita Erlich 8 Kingsley Grove, East Kew. Vic. 3102	Writer
Jen Forbes P.O. Box 77, Crafers. S.A. 5152	Distributor of fine foods
Gabriel Gaté 20 Zetland Road, Mont Albert. Vic. 3127	Food consultant and author
Sarah Gough 11 Douglas Street, Toorak. Vic. 3142	Wine writer; Public Relations, Brown Bros. Wines
Melissa and Guy Grossi Quadri Ristorante, 717 High Street, Armadale. Vic, 3143	Restaurateurs
Anna Guthleben 5 Vardon Terrace, Millswood. S.A. 5034	Purveyor of exotic and unusual fruit and vegetables
Suzanne Halliday Maddens Lane, Gruyere, via Coldstream. Vic. 3770	Publicist
Marion Halligan Caldwell Street, Hackett. A.C.T. 2602	Fiction writer, with special interest in food in literature

Ron Hanlon (Tuesday) 39 Johnson Drive, Ferntree Gully. Vic. 3156	Chef, restaurant consultant, lecturer
Robyn Heddle 79 Northgate Street, Unley Park. S.A. 5061	Physiotherapist
Dr. Diana Hetzel 20 Garden Avenue, Burnside. 5066	Medical Practitioner with major interest in health, food and gastronomy
George Hill Dandenong College of T.A.F.E. 121 Stud Road, Dandenong. Vic. 3175	Head of Hospitality Studies
Jennifer Hillier P.O. Uraidla. S.A. 5142	Restaurateur/chef
Robin Hindson (Monday) 2 Barrabool Road, Ceres. Vic. 3221	Food Service & Nutrition, Deakin University
Diane Holuigue 3 Avondale Road, Armadale. Vic. 3143	Cooking Teacher, Food Editor (Home Beautiful & Epicurean)
Leah Hoyle (Mrs.) Esk Moor, Neerim Rise, Wattle Glen. Vic. 3096	Acting Head, School of Hospitality, Tourism & Leisure, Box Hill College of T.A.F.E.
Sigmund Jorgensen Montsalvat, Hillcrest Avenue, Eltham. Vic. 3095	Restaurateur/Administrator, Montsalvat
Claire Kearney Hill of Content Bookshop, 86 Bourke Street, Melbourne. Vic. 3000	Bookseller
Catherine Kerry 53 Prospect Road, Prospect. S.A. 5082	Restaurateur/cook
Dr. Margit Korn 295 Wattletree Road, East Malvern. Vic. 3145	Bookseller (cookbooks and travel books)
Dr. Max Lake 28/51 The Crescent, Manly. N.S.W. 2095	Winemaker, author; special interest in flavour
Nathalie Leader Box 284, Tanunda. S.A. 5352	Former Restaurateur

Paul Levy The Observer, 8 St. Andrew's Hill, London. EC4 V5JA. U.K.	Author; Food & Wine Editor, The Observer
Alexandra Michell 1A Glendearg Grove, East Malvern, Vic. 3144	Writer, lecturer
Professor Nancy Millis 8 Grandview Road, Brighton. Vic. 3186	Microbiologist; Professor, Fermentation Biochemistry
Scott Minervini 1 The Lane, O'Halloran Hill. S.A. 5158	Cafe Proprietor
Philippa Newbigin McLachlan Street, Templestowe. Vic. 3106	Enthusiatic amateur
Susan Norris Olinda Park, Lilydale. Vic. 3140	Chef/Manager
Dr. Ian Pollard 63 Cudmore Terrace, Henley Beach. S.A. 5022	Gastro-enterologist
Dr. Graham Pont School of General Studies University of N.S.W. P.O. Box 1, Kensington. N.S.W. 2033	Senior Lecturer
Dr. John Possingham C.S.I.R.O. Division of Horticultural Research, P.O. Box 350, Adelaide. S.A. 5001	Chief of Division
Jennifer Pyle 18 Margarita Street, Hampton. Vic. 3188	Proprietor - Cookware Shop
Robyn Ravlich A.B.C. Radio, G.P.O. Box 9994, Sydney. N.S.W. 2001	Recording
Adrian Read 10 Corunna Road, Stanmore. N.S.W. 2048	Journalist/Editor/Public Relations Consultant
Gwenda Robb, 6 Waratah Drive, Lower Templestowe. Vic. 3107	Freelance cook, chocolate maker

Huw Roberts P.O. Box 4, Berowra Waters. N.S.W. 2082	Chef
Barbara Ross 16/3 Tahara Road, South Yarra. Vic. 3142	Food consultant
Barrie Ross (Tuesday) Oasis Seros Restaurant, Oxford Street, Woollahra. N.S.W. 2025	Restaurateur
Barbara Santich 13 King Street, Brighton. S.A. 5048	Writer/Ph.D. student
Phillip Searle (Tuesday) Oasis Seros Restaurant, Oxford Street, Woollahra. N.S.W. 2025	Chef/restaurateur
Millie Sherman 39 Campbell Street, Balmain. N.S.W. 2041	Chocolate maker, with wide interest in food
David Simmonds 104 Pickles Street, South Melbourne. Vic. 3207	Photographer
Tony Simpson 71a Aro Street, Wellington. N.Z.	Food writer and social historian
Penny Smith 58 Millswyn Street, South Yarra. Vic. 3141	Writer, editor, cooking teacher
Sarah Stegley (Tuesday) P.O. Box 114, Mansfield. Vic. 3722	Restaurateur
Jill Stone 22 Lochness Avenue, Torrens Park. S.A. 5062	Lecturer in Food History and Sociology
Beverley Sutherland Smith 29 Regent Street, Mt. Waverley. Vic. 3149	Cooking writer and teacher
Michael Symons P.O. Uraidla. S.A. 5142	Writer/restaurateur
Gail Thomas 29 Stubbs Avenue, North Geelong. Vic. 3215	Chef

Michael Treloar Old & Rare Books, 184 Gawler Place, Adelaide. S.A. 5000	Bookdealer
Howard Twelfthtree Sturt Valley Road, Stirling. S.A.	Butler
Professor Mark Wahlqvist (Monday) Prince Henry's Hospital St. Kilda Road, Melbourne. Vic. 3004	Professor of Medicine, Monash University
Christopher Wilde 225 Brunswick Road, Brunswick. Vic. 3056	Food importer
Rebecca Zuesse 4a Moss Street, Prahran. Vic. 3181	Post-graduate anthropology student
Sue Zweep P.O. Box 337 Wollongong East. N.S.W. 2500	Caterer and Cooking Teacher