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Rachel Goldstein April 1, 2019

Beyond Fish and Chips:
Uncovering the Food Identity of London Through French Cuisine, Curry, and Tea

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Abstract

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London's modern restaurant industry is filled with Michelin-star restaurants, eclectic food markets, and temporary pop-ups. Meanwhile, British food itself is generally acknowledged to be drab, dull, and overwhelmingly meat-based. This thesis seeks to understand London's culinary contradiction by looking back at the development of nineteenth-century restaurants. In order to understand how London's global culinary landscape emerged, this thesis follows the careers of three prominent French chefs, learns about the emergence of Indian ingredients, and analyzes the reasons for the increase in tea drinking. International foods became interweaved, as exemplified through the meal of afternoon tea, as elements of French pastry and usage of Indian teas were incorporated into the traditional tea menu. As the London food scene was developing, gender expectations and roles, Britain's influence as an imperial power, and the shift of dining from private to public spaces all played important roles and their influence can still be seen in elements of the modern restaurant industry. While there is an increasing number of publications focusing on food history, this thesis intends to take an interdisciplinary approach by looking not only at three interweaving food histories, but also by viewing these culinary developments through a cultural historical lens involving gender, economics, and imperialism.

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-Appetizer-

London: A Culinary Contradiction

Fish and chips, beans on toast, Sunday roasts, and bangers and mash have two things in common. They are all British and vary in shades of brown. British cuisine is often viewed as dull, heavy, and boring. Despite Britain's culinary reputation, or lack thereof, London, according to Fodor's "Foodie Destinations," remains one of the top travel destinations for cutting-edge restaurants featuring a variety of world cuisines.[1] London's status as a mecca for food enthusiasts was shaped by two distinct cuisines: French and Indian. French cuisine was a major factor in the development of London's restaurant culture. Meanwhile, Robin Cook, Britain's foreign secretary back in 2001, deemed chicken tikka masala "a true British national dish, not only because it is the most popular, but because it is a perfect illustration of the way Britain absorbs and adapts external influences."[2]

Despite Britain's poor food reputation, when tourists take a trip to London, they must sit back, relax, and enjoy a nice afternoon tea with all the associated accompaniments. *Traveller Magazine* noted the best afternoon tea for "old-school glitz" was at the Ritz London: "Is there a more archetypally English institution?"[3] Ironically, the Ritz London was started by two foreigners, the French chef Auguste Escoffier and the Swiss hotelier César Ritz in 1906.[4] Though afternoon tea is a traditionally British custom, it was actually infused with foreign influence. For

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[1] "Best Foodie Destinations," Fodor's Travel, Accessed November 14, 2018, https://www.fodors.com/trip-ideas/foodie

[2] Barney Davis, "Take tikka away! UK needs a new national dish, says Anthony Bourdain," *Going Out in London*. Accessed November 15, 2018. https://www.standard.co.uk/go/london/restaurants/take-tikka-away-you-need-a-new-national-dish-says-bourdain-a3602981.html

[3] Becky Lucas, "Afternoon Tea at the Ritz London: The Best Afternoon Tea in London For Old School Glitz," *Traveller*, Accessed November 15, 2018, https://www.cntraveller.com/gallery/best-afternoon-tea-in-london

[4] Luke Barr, *Ritz and Escoffier: The Hotelier, the Chef, and the Rise of the Leisure Class* (New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 2018), 237.

example, “English Breakfast” and “Earl Grey” are common British teas, but the base of these tea blends is often Assam, a black tea that originates from India. Additionally, the pastries that accompany the finger sandwiches and scones at tea are rooted in French pastry tradition. Though French and Indian cuisines seem completely different in use of seasonings, sauces, and techniques, their influences have infiltrated British culture through the mealtime of afternoon tea.

The international contradiction of this traditionally British meal begs a particular set of investigative questions. To what extent were British food traditions rooted in London’s role as a globalized center for trade, communication, and international travel? How were French and Indian cuisines and ingredients used and interpreted when they came to London? Lastly, how did these ingredients shape British food culture over the course of the nineteenth century? In short, how did foreign culinary influences become British?

A Brief Culinary History Lesson

Before answering these questions, it is important to understand the emergence of dining spaces in England and France prior to the nineteenth century, as these institutions set the backdrop for restaurants to enter the food industry in London. In Europe, from the 1500s to the 1600s, there was a variety of dining establishments, but none of them resembled the modern restaurant. In fact, in the 1700s, a “restaurant” was actually a term for a potent broth, and the establishments that served clear broths were titled “restaurant houses.”[5] The actual French word derives from the word, “restaurer,” meaning “to restore.” Therefore, the initial purpose of restaurants was for people to come and restore their health.

Restaurants largely developed in Paris and would not open in London in great numbers until the 1800s. In England, taverns, inns, coffeehouses, and gentlemen’s clubs began in the

[5] Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 25.

1700s and established a public eating space that demonstrated a change in the food service industry. Inns were considered "sophisticated enterprises" and would offer a variety of meals along with beer or wine, while alehouses would serve bread and cheese.[6] Simultaneously, there was an increase in coffee houses, which would serve biscuits or sandwiches, and sometimes more complex dishes.[7] By the 1720s there were 550 coffee houses, 207 inns, and 447 taverns.[8] Gentlemen's clubs, while exclusively for the upper class, still represented a form of public dining. In the 1750s and 1760s, White's, Brook's, and Boodle's were recognized as the first gentlemen's clubs, and often served traditional English fare to their patrons, as they gambled away their wealth.[9] The rise in public eating spaces in London marked the early steps that led to the emergence of French cuisine in British society.

French cuisine has a unique history and legacy because it "retains its power as the ideal of culinarity."[10] There is this mythological ideology surrounding French food that French dishes are always representative of high level, inventive, and fantastic cooking. While this assumption is true quite often, it is not always the case. But even more, French cuisine also stands apart from other cuisines as "a grammar, a rhetoric of that practice, a discursive space."[11] One of the major reasons French cuisine has maintained this reputation is the way French cuisine was shaped into a system with rules, traditions, and customs that could be replicated precisely for anyone interested in learning.

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Antony Clayton, *London's Coffee Houses: A Stimulating Story,* (London: Historical Publications, 2003), 38.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Geri Walton, "Watier's Club of the Regency Era," *Geri Walton: Unique Histories from the 18th and 19th Centuries,* (April 7, 2014), accessed September 18, 2017, https://www.geriwalton.com/watiers-club/
[10] Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 4.
[11] Ferguson, *Accounting For Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine,* 9.

With the increasing prominence of public dining institutions in London, French Chefs were revolutionizing the art of gastronomy. La Varenne was considered the "founder of French classical cooking" and published *Le Cuisiner François* in 1651 to teach his readers to view food through "a systematic approach" involving a variety of techniques and foundational recipes. [12] Every modern chef is still taught the five essential parts of French haute cuisine: "stocks, sauces, knife skills, cooking methods, and pastry."[13] La Varenne's methodical view of food created a new attitude surrounding cookery and his recipes provided the foundations of modern French cuisine.

While La Varenne codified French cuisine into five essential parts, during the mid-eighteenth century, nouvelle cuisine took over in Paris. During this era, just as intellectuals debated modern ideas against ancient ones in the Enlightenment, proponents of culinary modernization debated amongst those who preferred old views of food and cookery. In France, nouvelle cuisine signified for some "France's advanced state of civilization and generally high level of culture." In contrast, supporters of "ancient" cuisine asserted that only "decadent, feminized cultures" viewed cooking as an art.[14] Therefore, nouvelle cuisine rose during a time where there was consistent culinary debates about how food should be interpreted. What separated nouvelle cuisine from haute cuisine, the form of French cookery developed during La Varenne's lifetime, was the "confluence of aesthetic and physical taste."[15]

As nouvelle cuisine was developing, restaurants in Paris were increasingly becoming "publicly private spaces."[16] By the 1780s and 1790s in Paris it was common for merchants to

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[12] Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 11-13.
[13] Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, 18.
[14] Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant,* 43-44.
[15] Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*, 49.
[16] Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant,* 86.

offer both “ordinary” and “restaurant” service. There were also designated restaurants where the eater could enjoy personalized service. The concept of individualized service and meals distinguished restaurants from any other form of public dining available in both Paris and London.

A Global City with Xenophobic Fears

London might have become increasingly more global over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but among the interest in the foreign and exotic, there were skeptics who expressed nervous and sometimes xenophobic attitudes towards the increasingly international world. However, the British discomfort with the French was quite different from the way the British population viewed Indian influences entering their nation.

Britain and France have had quite the lovers’ quarrel. 1066 is a date that is well-known amongst the British, as it was when William the Conqueror invaded England from Normandy, located in what is now considered France. The Hundred Years War, which actually lasted 116 years, began in 1337 and ended with a British victory in 1453, which did not help the tensions that already existed between Britain and France. By the time 1776 rolled around, the French had become allies to the colonies in the American Revolution, resulting in increased frustration for the British. However, Britain formed a peace agreement with France, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, ultimately ending the war. The battles, disagreements, and power struggles between France and Britain resulted in political tensions and the citizens of both nations making rash generalizations about one another. When French culinary influences started to make their way across the Channel, many British people were resistant.

As British travelers, writers, and the wealthy often commented on the excessive nature and the quality of ingredients in French cooking, women cookbook authors also expressed

discomfort in incorporating French cuisine into their own recipes and publications, as they wrote to an audience of home cooks. Hannah Glasse's preface in the 1747 publication of *The Art of Cookery* noted, "if gentlemen will have French cooks, they must pay for French tricks…So much is the blind folly of this age, that they would rather be imposed on by a French booby, than give encouragement to a good English cook!" Other women authors incorporated language about disliking aspects of French cuisine, even though they ultimately adopted French recipes and techniques. Glasse also told her reader that a Frenchman will use "six pounds of butter to fry twelve eggs; when everybody knows (that understands cooking) that half a pound is full enough, or more than need be used: but then it would not be French."[17] The excess of butter reflected the general British belief that their French enemies had foppish and unnecessarily elaborate food when compared with "the wholesome roast beef and plum pudding of the English squire."[18]

Elizabeth Raffald's publication from 1786 acknowledged that though she "[has] given some of [her] dishes French names as they are only known by those names, yet they will not be found very expensive, nor add compositions but as plain as the dish will admit of."[19] Glasse and Raffald both assumed French food meant expensive and excessive dishes. However, those assumptions did not stop them from incorporating French recipes into their books. Since French cuisine was a highly revered form of cookery, authors like Glasse and Raffald included French-inspired recipes to gain credibility. By claiming that they were well versed in French recipes and culinary terms, they were viewed as respectable and experienced cooks, even though they were not technically professional chefs.

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[17] Hannah Glasse, *The art of cookery, made plain and easy which far exceeds anything of the kind ever yet published* (London: Printed for the author, 1747), iv-v.
[18] Ivan Day, *Cooking in Europe, 1650-1850* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2009), 82.
[19] Elizabeth Raffald, *The Experienced English Housekeeper: For the use and ease of Ladies, Housekeepers, Cooks, &c.* (London: R. Baldwin, 1786), ii.

French food was criticized as "decadent or empty or undeserved," yet also revered as "superior in form and content.[20] Meanwhile, British impressions and criticisms of Indian culture were rooted not in a longstanding love-hate relationship between two relatively similar Western nations, but in the belief of Western superiority in comparison to other exotic uncivilized nations in Asia. On December 31, 1600, the British East India Company officially formed to venture to the East Indies for the purpose of trading goods. The Portuguese and Dutch both initially had more of a share in the lucrative trade with East India, but over the course of the 1600s, the British began to shift their trade from spices to textiles. Indian textiles were traded with silver and gold Britain had looted from Latin America, suggesting that there was already some sense of British superiority towards other parts of the globe. The EIC began rapidly expanding its control over Indian territories and even imposed a tax on imports from India. Under British rule, India's share of world manufacturing dropped from 27% to 2%, as the East India Company made a fortune.[21]

While the British manipulated and took advantage of their economic power in India, the British supposedly intended to "bring ancient Indian civilization forward in time…"[22] In a book review for *Inglorious Empire*, Diarmaid Ferriter noted how Sashi Tharoor addresses "Britain's exploitative, racist imperial project in India" and how it "was awesome in its savagery and vindictiveness." The "long and shameless record of rapacity" was portrayed to the British public as acts of civilizing a nation, acting as a paternalistic ally, and pushing a non-Western misguided country towards a more just way of life.[23] When the EIC imposed their rule over India,

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[20] Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, 62.
[21] Diarmaid Ferriter, "Inglorious Empire: what the British did to India," *The Irish Times*, accessed March 6, 2019, http://www.theirishtimes.com.
[22] Elizabeth Kolsky, "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference: Criminal Procedure in British India," *Law and History Review*, 23, no. 3 (2005): 633.
[23] Ferriter, "Inglorious Empire: what the British did to India."

colonizers asserted that their goal was to "give good government to a people..."[24] Though the British attempted to cover up their unjust rule over India, some British officers were outright cruel. John Nicholson was a nineteenth-century officer who once shaved a man's beard off, which is considered deeply humiliating for a Muslim, because he had failed to greet Nicholson with the customary "salaam." Furthermore, Nicholson in the 1850s did not allow any Indians accused of poisoning a British officer's soup a fair trial and sent them to an immediate hanging.[25] Though the British asserted that their nature was different from "Indian human nature," their treatment of Indians during colonial rule was unjust and rooted in racist ideologies that stemmed from beliefs in Western superiority.[26]

While Nicholson might seem like an extreme case of racial mistreatment, the British colonists also poorly treated Indian tea plantation workers with low pay, resulting in issues of malnutrition among the workers. Though the British plantation owners were rolling in profits, tea plantation workers were entitled to less than half a kilo of rice per day.[27] The malnutrition that resulted from the inability to afford nutritious ingredients made workers even more susceptible to malaria, which they had already gained exposure to by working on the plantation. The imperial power of Britain allowed British colonizers to go into India, establish plantations at a low cost, and mistreat the workers who they claimed they were helping by providing employment. Another imperial dimension of the Indian tea history is that Indian tastes for tea were derived from the British control over tea plantations. Tea plants were widely discovered in Assam around

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[24] Kolsky, "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference: Criminal Procedure in British India," *Law and History Review*, 631.
[25] Sean Lang, "How a Sadistic British Officer was Worshipped as a Living God in 19th Century India," Independent, accessed March 6, 2019, http://www.independent.co.uk.
[26] Kolsky, "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference: Criminal Procedure in British India," *Law and History Review,* 637.
[27] Arupjyoti Saikia, "Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Malnutrition: The Making of the Assam Tea Plantations," *RCC Perspectives*, no. 3. (2014), 75.

the 1830s, but they were not heavily produced or consumed until after the British took control over the Indian tea trade. An after effect was the creation of chai, now a popular tea drink across the world.

Though tea is strongly connected to British culture now, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there were reservations about tea as a hot drink and a medicinal commodity. Physicians attempted to classify tea among other healing remedies by utilizing the Galenic model along with observational skills and experimentation. The Galenic health model was a predominant and long-lasting theory regarding health and diet, in which "the body and mind were considered a cohesive whole, and foods and drugs balanced the four humors: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm."[28] All consumed substances were categorized as either wet, hot, dry, or cold, which related to the four elements of fire, water, air, and earth.[29] With consideration to the Galenic health model, tea's roles as a health product and a hot drink created important questions surrounding its consumption. How would drinking a hot cup of tea impact the body based on the individual's location and climate? Could the body become overheated by consuming tea? How much tea was too much tea? Furthermore, tea was categorized as a soft drug along with tobacco, coffee, and chocolate because they all had stimulant properties. The caffeine content in coffee, chocolate, and tea was an element of concern among physicians, as caffeinated drinks were luxurious, exotic, and new to European society.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, public food spaces, increased tea drinking, and feelings of Western superiority were slowly becoming prominent aspects of British daily life and attitudes. Despite skepticism and concerns, French cuisine and Indian cuisine along

[28] Victor H. Mair and Earling Hoh, *The True History of Tea*, (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2009), 27.
[29] Ibid.

with the growing consumption of tea became a part of British food culture. By the nineteenth century, these aspects of British society were not only influencing the political, health, and social discussions, but shaped the emerging London food scene.

Contextualizing a Century's Worth of Food History

Understanding London's modern food reputation requires looking back at nineteenth-century London's developing restaurant industry. I have chosen three snapshots of time to trace food culture over the course of a century without taking on too large of a time period. My three time periods are the 1800s to 1820s, the 1840s to 1860s and the 1890s to 1920s. Each chapter begins with a prominent French chef and how that chef shaped the food culture in London. Then the development of French cuisine is compared and contrasted with the immersion of Indian ingredients into British diets. Each chapter ends by looking at the increased activity of taking tea. These recurring sections within each chapter indicate how food histories that seem completely unrelated became interlinked over the course of the nineteenth century. Since everyone in the country participated in tea drinking, the prominence of this beverage denotes how global influences become blended into British culture.

Over the course of the thesis, I will compare the influence of Indian curry and tea in domestic kitchens alongside the growing prominence of French cuisine in British public restaurants. The dichotomy of the way French and Indian cuisines were incorporated into British food culture also reveals how Britain was readily able to accept a Western cuisine into its society by showcasing elevated French dishes in restaurants, but attempted to hide the prominence of Indian cuisine into domestic kitchens, as it was deemed non-white and non-European food. While Marie-Antoine Carême was cooking for the Prince Regent and French cuisine signified upper-class wealth and sophistication, recipes for curry were included in some of the most

widely read domestic cookbooks. Most of the sources referencing Indian cuisine, including cookbooks and newspaper articles, minimized the wide influence of Indian cookery by linking it with women and domesticity. Additionally, books on serving tea were aimed specifically at women and how they should serve tea to guests visiting their homes.

Despite the differences between French and Indian cuisine, I will trace how these two national cuisines were incorporated into the components of afternoon tea. Though afternoon tea was not invented until the 1840s, tea drinking increased prior to the establishment of this mealtime tradition. John Burnett put great emphasis on how tea replaced drinking chocolate and coffee as popular hot beverages in the early 1800s.[30] Additionally, Julie E. Fromer noted how the growing emphasis on tea as a national drink allowed men to enter the domestic private sphere when partaking in afternoon tea with women.[31] Afternoon tea began as a domestic practice, but shifted into the public sphere once hotels began to serve afternoon tea to their guests. Hotels, including The Ritz, exemplified how French pastries and Indian teas melded together within British practices.

Despite the intriguing contradiction of London's fantastic food scene and the reputation of British cuisine as drab, food histories have only been recently uncovered. In terms of the research for this thesis, the historiography was largely divided between two subjects: the relationship between food and gender and the connections between the British food scene and its global influences. This thesis seeks to expand on the concepts brought up in past historiographies by merging these two distinct subjects into one historical food story.

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[30] John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 60.
[31] Julie E. Fromer, *A Necessary Luxury: Tea in Victorian England* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008).

In terms of the historiography on food and gender, I utilized publications that focused on male-dominated French professional kitchens and the relationship between Indian ingredients, including curry and tea, and women. Stephen Mennell's *All Manners of Food* merged the history of cooking and eating with a "figurational" and "sociological" approach to food, meaning a focus on the process of development of food.[32] By arguing that the social forces that shape the tastes of one generation stem from a long process of social development over many generations, Mennell addressed how class and nationality became entangled in both England and France through food. Furthermore, he noted how women cookbook authors were influenced by male French chefs and incorporated French culinary ideologies into their own publications.[33] On the other hand, Susan Zlotnick noted how imperialism and domesticity were core values of the Victorian middle class, but emerged as "national" values by the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, Zlotnick argued that the Englishwoman's role as a domestic housewife helped "the English in allaying the inevitable anxieties produced by their colonial encounters."[34] Lastly, Julie E. Fromer took on the material history of tea to understand why tea became a "necessary luxury," as tea was consumed throughout various socioeconomic levels of Victorian society, across genders, in public and private spaces, and was a foreign, but domesticated product.[35] She utilized Victorian fiction novels to explore how gender roles were expressed in the ritual of teatime and connected her observations to the larger gender expectations of men and women in the household and among their families.

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[32] Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 15.
[33] Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present,* 87.
[34] Susan Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 16, no. 2 (1996): 54.
[35] Julie E. Fromer, *A Necessary Luxury: Tea in Victorian England*.

Publications by Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, Amy B. Trubek, Lizzie Collingham, and Erika Rappaport provided historical recounts on how Britain, food, and the global world were interconnected. Ferguson and Trubek were particularly valuable to my research on the development of French cuisine in London. The statement, "cuisine cannot exist without food; nor can it survive without words," perfectly summarizes Ferguson's approach to understanding how French cuisine became the dominant culinary ideology in the Western world.[36] Ferguson expanded the previous research on French cuisine by limiting her focus to culinary rhetoric. Meanwhile, Trubek's historical approach to French cuisine examined food "as a cultural symbol and as a means for creating social distinction."[37] Furthermore, she argued that chefs adopted French cuisine to establish themselves as elite culinary professionals.

While Ferguson and Trubek researched the role of French cuisine within the culinary world, Lizzie Collingham explored the histories of various dishes, particularly curry and chai tea, and the ways in which they traveled back to Britain and around the world.[38] Even more, she concluded that tea was arguably the most important ingredient the British bequeathed to India, which was why she dedicated an entire section to chai. Though Erika Rappaport's book, *A Thirst For Empire*, also highlights tea as a global commodity, her historical angle acknowledged how gender, race, and class were central in "the construction of global capital flows and ideologies," which she labeled as "cultural economies." Additionally, she asserted that "moving between micro- and macrolevels of analysis allows us to see the way in which these markers of difference manufactured the culture of global business."[39] By understanding the various arguments

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[36] Ferguson, *Accounting For Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine,* 19.
[37] Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession,* 9.
[38] Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Biography*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005), xiv.
[39] Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 17.

presented by past historians, I have been able to merge the studies on French cuisine, curry, tea, gender, class, and imperialism to understand not only how London's food industry was developed, but also how the cultural traditions that surround food provide broader implications regarding the values of society.

While the literature has broken up the culinary history of London into distinct subjects, I utilized primary sources to establish connections that historians have not previously taken into account. Recipe books, newspaper articles, informational prints for tourists and travelers, and chef autobiographies and personal accounts provided a wide array of perspectives for my historical analysis. I recently traveled to London and worked in the British Library archives, allowing me to view original editions of the 1855 publication of Alexis Soyer's *Shillings Cookery for the People*, Marie Louise Ritz's biography on her husband, César Ritz, and many more nineteenth-century publications. My trip to London also further established how the history of food remains relevant throughout the city, as many buildings still had names of nineteenth-century restaurants engraved on the front.

The link among French cuisine, Indian ingredients, and afternoon tea reveals how London's current food scene is rooted in a global history. While French cuisine was viewed as a symbol of upscale living and wealth, Indian cuisine represented the power and reach of the British Empire. But, as French chefs were lauded for their innovative mindsets and creativity, Indian spices, curries, and tea were concurrently viewed as a symbol of Britain's power and as a lesser form of cookery from a non-white, non-Western nation. French and Indian cuisines were also defined by gender, as French cuisine was associated with masculinity and professionalism, while Indian cuisine and serving tea were linked with women and domesticity. The difference in views towards these foods suggests that there was a culinary hierarchy of respectability within

London's global culinary landscape. In the nineteenth century, these divided lines were much more prominent than in modern London, but the remnants of these influences remain. The restaurant industry is still male-dominated and fine-dining institutions are only more recently expanding outside the French defined standards of gastronomy. London's current food scene is dynamic, international, and ever-changing. By understanding the historical development around London's food culture, I hope to have a deeper understanding of London itself, but also learn how food has managed to transform society in ways that we had not noticed before.

-First Course-

An Unlikely Trio:
How French Cuisine, Indian Curry, and Tea Were Interpreted in Private British Kitchens

French cuisine, Indian curry, and tea might seem like an unlikely trio. In early nineteenth-century London, they were almost completely disconnected. The purpose of this first chapter is to understand how Antoine Carême spread his culinary perspective to the English elite. Chapter 1 will also address how curry and Indian spices were interpreted as domestic ingredients in Britain. Lastly, the chapter will end by noting how tea became the most popular hot beverage in Britain. While these food histories were largely disconnected during the early nineteenth century, the British population had already started to view these foods through a gendered lens. These defined gendered lines and assumptions impacted the interpretation and customs surrounding French cuisine, Indian ingredients, and tea consumption for the rest of the nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, French food rose in popularity. This culinary revolution was led by the pioneer and celebrity chef, Antoine Carême, who established the foundation for gastronomy. Carême's culinary views paved the way for Alexis Soyer and Auguste Escoffier to push elevated French food into public restaurants. In contrast to French cuisine's upper-class reputation, Indian curries were implemented in underclass kitchens. Various domestic cookbooks, mostly printed by women, included not only recipes with curry as a flavoring, but even entire sections dedicated to curry. Just as French cuisine and Indian curry were limited to private spheres, tea was mostly consumed within the home. Instead, coffee houses were public drinking institutions. Though afternoon tea would eventually become a

public mealtime tradition, this chapter takes on a gendered perspective to understand how these three food histories all began in the private sphere, as male chefs developed French cuisine and Indian curry and tea were associated with women.

French Chefs Are Not Servants Anymore

French cuisine is considered a foundational cuisine, meaning that learning French culinary fundamentals will provide a cook with knowledge and skills that can be applied to other cuisines or more advanced French dishes. La Varenne created a systematic approach in 1651 through his publication of *Le Cuisiner François.* Within his defined sections, including stocks, sauces, knife skills, cooking methods, and pastry, each component is open to variations that can result in numerous recipes. For example, the "mother sauces" are considered to be espagnole, velouté, béchamel, tomato, and hollandaise.[40] A hollandaise sauce is an egg yolk-based sauce where butter or oil is incorporated over heat. Mayonnaise is a variation of a hollandaise, but the sauce is created at room temperature.[41] A remoulade is a mayonnaise-based sauce with the incorporation of anchovies, pickles, capers, and herbs.[42] Any complex dish can be traced back to these basic fundamentals of haute cuisine. While the systematic elements of French cuisine may seem easy enough, the supposed simplicity of French cookery results from a complicated process filled with many ingredients.

French cuisine focused on building layers of flavor to reflect a specific food's natural flavor rather than using spices and sauces to overwhelm the palate. As a result, a stock requires various types of animal meats and bones to generate complex flavors. Therefore, there was a high monetary cost that was equated with depth of flavor instead of high volumes of food,

[40] Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, 19.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Day, *Cooking in Europe, 1650-1850*, 116.

allowing only those in the upper echelon of society to experience French cuisine. Moreover, most of the ingredients going into the stock would eventually be removed, resulting in a smooth clear broth. For the less wealthy, the concept of deeply flavored stocks offered little nutritional value because stocks are essentially deeply flavored water. So, French cuisine began as an upscale, wealthy form of cooking.

While La Varenne created a foundation of the "mother sauces," Antoine Carême transformed the French culinary foundation by merging the new with the old. Though Carême eventually wrote cookbooks teaching the public about all aspects of French cuisine, he started out as a pastry chef in Paris. Born in Paris in either 1783 or 1784 and abandoned during the height of the French Revolution, Carême apprenticed under famed pastry chef Sylvain Bailly. By the time Carême reached his teens, he was an expert in his craft, creating architectural masterpieces that served as amazing window art for the patisserie.

In 1815, Antoine Carême "embarked on a culinary journey," by leaving Paris and voyaging to England to cook for the Prince Regent.[43] While the foundation of French cuisine relied on structure and rules, Carême took this element of cookery one step further by providing diagrams, measurements, and even invented the double-breasted white chef's coat and toque (tall white hat) to stress that presentation of the chef and the food itself mattered. [44] Carême's emphasis on these elements of cookery enabled future chefs to follow in his footsteps by holding those same values and learning the same techniques. Carême's standardization of professional cooking transformed cooking from a household duty to an expression of artistic ability and

[43] Nicole Jankowski, "How a Destitute, Abandoned Parisian Boy Became the First Celebrity Chef" *NPR* (January 12, 2017), accessed December 2, 2018. http://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2017/01/12/509154654/how-a-destitute-abandoned-parisian-boy-became-the-first-celebrity-chef

[44] Ibid.

scientific creativity. For the first time, chefs were professionals where there were "articulated rules, norms, and values."[45]

As Carême professionalized cooking, French cuisine became associated with men. Women were viewed as cooks, who had to perform household duties out of necessity, while men like Carême were able to further explore their craft by creating elaborate presentations and working for royalty and other prominent households. As a result, French male chefs gained high status in European society over other cooks. In some ways, French cuisine and professional chef status was heavily limited to just men. However, French cuisine was also increasingly becoming available to a wider public because of Carême's publications and highly specified recipes.

Prior to the nineteenth century, French cuisine was largely unavailable to the general public. Once the literacy rate increased, publications circulated at a rapid rate. Literacy rates in England, while relatively stagnant from the 1650s to the 1820s, spiked from 53 percent in 1820 to 76 percent by 1870.[46] It was precisely during the 1820s and 1830s that chef Antoine Carême began to publish his philosophies on food, cooking, and the culinary profession.[47] He emphasized plating style, systematic cookery, and extravagant taste: "I want order and taste. A well displayed meal is enhanced one hundred per cent in my eyes."[48]

Carême was also known to include long and complicated recipes with exact measurements and descriptions of every possible detail required in the process.[49] However, these instructions were not too difficult to follow, because he would provide one main recipe and then follow with multiple variations of that single dish. In *The Royal Parisian Pastrycook and*

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[45] Ferguson, *Accounting For Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine,* 51.
[46] Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, "Literacy," *Our World in Data*, 2018, accessed March 9, 2018, https://ourworldindata.org/literacy
[47] Ferguson, *Accounting For Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine,* 51.
[48] Jankowski, "How a Destitute, Abandoned Parisian Boy Became the First Celebrity Chef."
[49] Day, *Cooking in Europe*, 121.

Confectioner, the first part of chapter 1 was dedicated to "paste in general (a pastry dough for all the following pastry recipes, this pastry dough is French in origin)." In Part 2, Carême included recipes for meat pies and other savory pastry dishes that could be used with the foundational dough from Part 1.[50] Furthermore, Carême comforted his readers with the knowledge that the pastry dough could be produced in less than half an hour, if everything was previously prepared "-the ice pounded, the butter frozen, and the oven quite hot; for otherwise it cannot be done."[51] Carême's authoritative and knowledgeable attitude and his ability to comfort his readers by providing direct recipes indicates how his publications allowed for the knowledge of French cuisine to spread throughout Britain.

Additionally, in the 1858 edition of *Le Cuisinier Parisien*, Carême stressed how a scientific view has "given so great an importance" to the development of haute cuisine.[52] Carême was one of the first chefs to include diagrams to provide a visual form of instruction.[53] In *The Royal Parisian Pastrycook and Confectioner*, Carême included multiple pages with diagrams. These pages were on elongated pieces of paper that could be unfolded from the book to show a full six figures instead of just four.[54] The fact that the book has specially sized pages for specific diagrams reveals the level of Carême's dedication in sharing the importance of presentation and design to his audience, especially when considering that books were expensive at this time and any additional printing requests were more difficult to produce on a mass-scale. While Carême's career was limited to working for wealthy European families, he "realized that even the most

[50] Marie-Antoine Carême, *The Royal Parisian Pastrycook and Confectioner: From the Original of M. A. Carême of Paris*, ed. John Porter (London: F. J. Mason, 1834).
[51] Carême, *The Royal Parisian Pastrycook and Confectioner,* 4.
[52] Marie-Antoine Carême, *French Cookery: Comprising L'Art de la cuisine francaise*, trans. W. Hall (London: published for Murray), 2.
[53] Carême, *French Cookery: Comprising L'Art de la cuisine francaise*, 120.
[54] Carême, *The Royal Parisian Pastrycook and Confectioner.*

celebrated individuals who ate the glorious meals that he set before them would ultimately count less than the readers of his books."[55] Despite Carême's accomplishments within the kitchen, what set Carême apart was his ability to reach a "bourgeoisie public" through his publications.[56]

Though Carême redefined cooks into professional chefs, the establishment of Watier's Club marked the turning point where French cuisine became immersed in British elite culture. Despite the longtime English ambivalence towards the French, the wealthy British population could not help but prove their social status by hiring French household workers and chefs over English staff. With the instability of the French Revolution, in the early 1800s, French chefs and house workers capitalized on these job opportunities by crossing the English Channel and getting to work. Watier's Club was a short-lived, yet influential, institution that incorporated French cuisine into English elite life.

Opened in 1807, Watier's Club was established by Jean-Baptiste Watier and at the request of the Prince Regent, Watier's Club served French dishes. Lord Byron noted the "greatest glory" that was Watier's Club and explained that the club's masked ball was "the most talked-of event of the season."[57] Watier's Club was one of the first to serve French dishes to its patrons and inspired other clubs to do the same. After the opening of Watier's Club, other clubs and hotels became known for serving French cuisine. In 1814, Captain Gronow noted that The Clarendon Hotel was "the only London hotel where you could get a genuine French dinner, and for which you seldom paid less than three or four pounds."[58] These "outrageously expensive dinners" were prepared under the advisement of Monseiur Jacquier who was the chef under

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[55] Ferguson, *Accounting For Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine,* 47.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Alison Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814-1840* (London: Constable, 1983), *6.*
[58] Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814-1840, 263.*

Louis XVIII.[59] Watier's Club and other Gentlemen's Clubs were limited to men. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, it was not socially acceptable for women to eat out in public, unless it was for a larger event or if they were accompanied by men. The gendered exclusivity of elite clubs further shaped French cuisine as masculine, as both the cooks and diners were almost exclusively male.

With the emergence of French cuisine into British kitchens, a broader debate on whether French cuisine belonged in private households or business establishments entered the culinary conversation. This debate continued throughout the nineteenth century. While Carême consistently argued "that the true home of haute cuisine was located in private households rather than business establishments," his contemporaries fought for their "independent status of artists" by opening restaurants.[60] In London in the 1780s, about one hundred eateries labeled themselves as restaurants, yet the number increased to five or six hundred by the 1810s and to three thousand by 1820.[61] The debate of where haute cuisine belonged would continue throughout the nineteenth century, as famous chefs worked for gentlemen's clubs, noble houses, and even owned restaurants.

Curry and Women: A Spicy Pairing

While French cuisine emphasizes simple appearances and complex flavors, Indian curry incorporates numerous vibrant spices that simultaneously overwhelm and delight the palate. Despite the difference in flavor profiles, both French and Indian cuisines were incorporated into British society initially because of British elites. Though it was a common belief amongst

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Paul Metzner, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso: Spectacle, Skill, and Self-promotion in Paris During the Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 71.
[61] Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650 to 1800.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 239.

scholars that the prominence of curry in Britain began largely in the 1850s, especially after the Great Exhibition of 1851, Terry Rolfson and Troy Bickham argued otherwise, claiming that curry powder usage took place more commonly during the second half of the eighteenth century following the publication of Hannah Glasse's *Art of Cookery*.[62] Therefore, not only were French and Indian cuisines introduced into wealthy British homes, but they were incorporated into British diets around the same time period as well.

Though there were a few unexpected similarities between the British incorporation of French and Indian flavors, while French chefs traveled to London to spread their culinary knowledge, Indian cuisine was adapted because British civil servants, employed by the East India Company (EIC), adjusted to Indian culture when they replaced old Mughal administrators in various cities across India. By 1800, there were a total of 681 civil servants and by the 1850s there were thousands.[63] Moving to India allowed middle-class commercial families and members of the declining British gentry to live like British aristocrats, as there was a lower cost of living in India, allowing British colonists to spend less money purchasing land and hiring servants and cooks.[64] Therefore, in some ways, the British transformed Indian flavors to reflect upper-level British dining. In others, it was still viewed as an exotic, yet lower form of cookery.

In present day we consider curry to be an Indian dish. Despite the common assumption, it would be more historically correct to label curries as a part of "Anglo-Indian cuisine." The British, from the moment they landed on the subcontinent, adapted Indian flavors to their European palates. Furthermore, Indians never would have described dishes as curries because

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[62] Terri Rolfson, "Curries, Chutneys, and Imperial Britain, *Constellations*, 8, no. 2, (2013): 3 and Troy Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Past & Present*, no. 198 (2008): 103.
[63] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 109.
[64] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 111.

they had more specific names for each dish. The term "curry" was created to lump various dishes from all regions in India into one category.[65] As Troy Bickham eloquently noted, curry was a "distant Anglicanized cousin" to authentic Indian dishes.[66] As a result, the British categorized dishes based on Indian regions determined by the British Empire and incorporated ingredients like beef, demonstrating an "insensitivity to Indian dietary rules."[67] Even so, the British integrated Indian spices into meat based dishes and consumed similar vegetables, breads, and rice.[68] While it can be clearly noted that the adopted Indian flavors by the British resulted in Anglo-Indian cuisine, the impression of these dishes left on British culture and society is less clear.

Anglo-Indian cuisine had two socially contradictory reputations. While curries were interpreted as a form of stew, which was indicative of a lower-class way to prepare meat, the exoticism of Indian culture was enjoyed by wealthy men in a number of coffee houses back in London.[69] Officials who moved back from India after working for the EIC could enjoy hookah in rooms adorned with bamboo furniture and consume familiar dishes even though they had left India. The popularity of curry was clear. Between 1820 and 1840, imports of turmeric increased from 8,678 pounds to 26,468 pounds.[70] Turmeric remains to be the main ingredient in curry powder. As early as 1784 advertisements indicated consumers could purchase ready-mixed curry powder.[71]

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[65] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 115.
[66] Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain,"103.
[67] Panikos Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2008), 119.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 138.
[70] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 141.
[71] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 141.

Despite the prominence of curry in early nineteenth-century British society, Panikos Panayi observed how "proliferation of Indian cookbooks and the ubiquity of recipes" contradict the "small number of Indian restaurants and the short lifespan of those that emerged" and therefore, historians cannot fully measure the extent of "domestic curry consumption"[72] Despite Panayi's assertion, Troy Bickham astutely suggested that "curry perhaps offers the best case study for the actual consumption of replicated dishes, because it was universally associated with India and because the name is easily identified and consistent- although spellings varied."[73] Regardless of this historical debate, curry is an important ingredient to study in British culture, whether or not we can measure the full extent of its consumption, because of how it came to be regarded as a domestic ingredient as well as its current popularity within British culture.

What was initially served in public coffee houses was eventually solely served in private homes. Despite the prominence of curry within British culture both abroad in India and back in Great Britain, Indian cuisine throughout the early nineteenth century became associated with women and domesticity. Although Indian cuisine was served in public spaces initially, many of the Indian-inspired coffee houses closed by the 1820s. Whereas French chefs had established their role within society as professional artists, female cooks of wealthy households, wives, and daughters were the people expected to prepare Anglo-Indian dishes. In fact, the earliest reference to Indian curry within British society was in Hannah Glasse's 1747 publication of *The Art of Cookery*, where she explained that coriander and pepper should be ground together to form a spice mixture.[74] This publication became one of the most popular cookbooks for housewives and

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[72] Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food,* 121.
[73] Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 103.
[74] Glasse, *The art of cookery, made plain and easy* and curries, 257, and Rolfson, "Curries, Chutneys, and Imperial Britain," 2.

even went through at least seventeen editions before 1800. In 1807, Maria Rundell's book titled *Domestic Cookery* fell onto the curry bandwagon and dedicated a full chapter to curries and other Anglo-Indian dishes.[75]

While men were acting as British representatives of the EIC in India, it was women who both practically and symbolically "domesticated India and imperialism," by replicating and adapting foreign dishes in their private kitchens.[76] Indian-influenced cuisine entered British food culture through various ways. Often times, "family members at home were eager to learn about the exotic lives of sons and brothers in India and the young men often enclosed recipes in letters."[77] These recipes were intended for the women within the household to cook, establishing Anglo-Indian dishes as a domestic and feminine cuisine. Tasting and cooking Indian recipes allowed people within Great Britain to emulate Indian flavors, giving them a taste of Indian culture for themselves, even though this version of Indian food was not traditional Indian cuisine. Recipes were not only collected through letters. Women who accompanied their husbands, who had to work in India, would garner information from Indian cooks and record the recipes and techniques they had learned.[78] While French professional chefs were male, the women of British homes became experts of Anglo-Indian cuisine, resulting in the impression that Indian curries were representative of the female domestic sphere in British society.

Tea Consumption Increasingly Steeps into British Society

While French and Indian cuisines largely grew in popularity in Great Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, tea was first imported into London from Dutch traders in

[75] Rolfson, "Curries, Chutneys, and Imperial Britain," 5.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 133.
[78] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 138.

1657.[79] Despite the strongly established cultural link between tea and the general British population, tea was not always the hot drink of choice. In fact, it was coffee that was more commonly consumed up until the mid-eighteenth century. Though tea was not yet widely popular, there were various similarities between tea and coffee that allowed tea to become easily accepted into British drinking culture. Coffee and tea were both viewed as replacements to "fight against the evils of their alcoholic counterparts," in the late 1600s and well into the 1700s. The component of boiling water for these hot drinks purified the initially undrinkable water, adding yet another perceived health benefit associated with the rise in hot drink consumption. If coffee was so prominent in England, how did tea manage to supersede coffee in popularity? Historians often argue that it was mostly the price decrease that allowed for a widespread tea obsession.

Coffee initially dominated the market, but by the 1720s, the value of tea imports in Britain was substantially higher than coffee's economic value. High tea prices during the early years of the international tea trade were largely due to the Chinese monopoly on tea production. In 1650, one pound of tea in England cost between £6 and £10, which is equivalent to £500 to £850 in today's currency.[80] Therefore, when tea first entered Europe, especially the British market, it was viewed as a luxury good, limited to the wealthy. By the late 1660s, the English East India Company (EEIC) entered the tea trade as a "complement to sugar," as there was a surplus in the late 1600s. Once corporate powers like the EEIC became a part of the trade, Chinese producers began to lose their control over the market. While the Chinese officially lost their monopoly when English tea plantations were established in India in the 1850s, the late

[79] Jillian Azevedo, *Tastes of the Empire: Foreign Foods in Seventeenth Century England* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc, 2017), 125.
[80] Victor H. Mair and Erling Hoh, *The True History of Tea* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2009), 172.

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries marked a growing tea culture in Britain.[81] Largely due to the direct trade that opened between China and Britain in 1713, tea prices decreased and consumption in Britain rapidly grew from 800,000 pounds of tea in 1710 to 4,000,000 by 1757.[82]

Not only was tea an increasingly reasonably priced commodity, but there were additional benefits for tea consumption over coffee drinking. One of the major reasons tea gained preference over coffee among Britons was the ease of its preparation. Coffee was not always consumed in coffee houses. Families that drank coffee in their homes would roast the beans themselves, grind them, and then prepare boiling water.[83] By contrast, tea was simply steeped in hot water. The cost effectiveness of resteeping tea leaves was an additional bonus, especially for working and lower-class families.

While tea was served in both public coffee houses, at first, and homes, tea quickly became associated with women and domesticity. As early as the seventeenth century, even before tea became widely popular, the wealthy class's consumption of tea was rooted in gendered traditions of women's household duties. "Its reputation as a sanative or remedy meant that tea making generally fell within the tasks of the women of the family," as women were designated caregivers within the household.[84] However, as high-status women were only expected to direct servants and cooks in performing domestic duties, the hostess would still take part in the performance of serving tea by taking "a sufficient quantity of tea leaves and add[ing] it to the teapot, into which she then poured hot water from a large kettle, brought into the room

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[81] Ross W. Jamieson, "The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 2 (Winter, 2001): 284 and Mair and Hoh, *The True History of Tea*, 34.
[82] Mair and Hoh, *The True History of Tea,* 41 and E. J. Clery, *The Feminization Debate in Eighteenth Century England: Literature, Commerce, and Luxury* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 50.
[83] Azevedo*, Tastes of the Empire: Foreign Foods in Seventeenth Century England,* 124.
[84] Markman Ellis, Richard Coulton, and Matthew Mauger, *Empire of Tea: The Asian Leaf that Conquered the World* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2015), 143

by a servant."[85] Even though afternoon tea would not yet become an official early evening mealtime, the serving of tea in upper-class households in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century marked early resemblances to the eventual tradition of teatime.

While the British were exposed to French cuisine through professional male chefs, Anglo-Indian cuisine and tea were cooked and prepared by women. In the early nineteenth century, these food histories were largely independent. However, Chapter 2 will explain how during the mid-nineteenth century, this unlikely trio and their individual food histories collided and began to officially form London's international culinary identity.

-Second Course-

[85] Ibid.

Inventions, Exhibitions, and Necessary Luxuries: The Rising British Interest in Foreign Foods

The 1850s marked a turning point for British dining culture. Alexis Soyer made the Reform Club kitchen a visitor's attraction. Increasing publications on Anglo-Indian cuisine and the Great Exhibition of 1851 exposed a broader public to Indian ingredients. While French and Indian cuisine were increasingly becoming a part of the British diet, the concept of afternoon tea was officially established in the 1840s because the Duchess of Bedford found herself hungry between lunch and dinner. Her request for tea with some small sandwiches turned out to be one of the most pivotal events in British food history, establishing afternoon tea as a longtime national tradition as well as a touristic activity for all those who visit. By the mid-nineteenth century, tea was still largely associated with women and consumed in the home. But where French and Indian cuisines were largely limited to upper and middle classes, tea was consumed by all levels of British society.

This chapter traces the emergence of French and Indian cuisine into public spaces from private ones. In terms of afternoon tea, this chapter will explain the beginnings of this nationwide tradition. By the end of Chapter 2, we will see how the mid-nineteenth century was the turning point where all of the three food histories start to meld together. The intertwinement of these foods occurred because of the shifts from consumption in private to public spaces and the continued associations of these foods with gender.

Alexis Soyer: Partier or Culinary Connoisseur

As previously noted, Carême transformed cooking duties into a culinary profession. Even today, we remain awed by sugar architectural masterpieces, which stemmed from Carême's early experimentation with patisserie. The only difference is that the modern public mostly sees these

towering confections on television shows like *Ace of Cakes* or *Food Network Challenge*. Despite Carême's legacy and assertion that professional chefs could best express their culinary creativity by working for the elite, Alexis Benoist Soyer fought for his own independently run kitchen. Whether it was for his actual culinary skills or his over the top personality, Alexis Soyer pushed the boundaries of what it meant to be a professional French chef in nineteenth-century London.

Alexis Soyer was born on February 4, 1810, in Meaux-en-Brie, a small city East of Paris known for its mustard and, as noted in the town's name, Brie cheese.[86] While much of his early life is not known, once he gained an apprenticeship at Georg Rignon's restaurant in Paris through the help of his brother's connections, Soyer's culinary adventures truly began.[87] During Soyer's time in Paris, he worked hard and partied even harder. Eventually his indiscretions caught up with him, so by the 1830s, Soyer took advantage of the demand for French chefs across the Channel and made his way to London. While wealthy families wanted French help because French staff was fashionable among the wealthy, Soyer was enjoying English food and drinking culture for himself. Delighting in street foods like hot chestnuts, fruits, muffins, meat pies, and of course drinking endless amounts of beer, Soyer continued to live the partying lifestyle he had enjoyed in Paris. [88] After working for upper-class families, he gained a strong reputation within Britain and in 1837, Soyer was able to utilize his connections to become the *chef de cuisine* at the Reform Club. He would occupy this role at the club for the next 13 years.[89]

While Soyer was amongst many other French chefs who cooked for the British elite, Soyer's technological innovations set him apart and made the Reform Club kitchen as much of

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[86] Ruth Cowen, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2006), 10.
[87] Cowen, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef*, 12.
[88] Cowen, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef,* 23.
[89] Cowen, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef,* 30.

an attraction and experience as dining at the club itself. Soyer was given full responsibility to design the Reform Club kitchen, and as a result, he created a systematic, organized, and structural masterpiece. According to the design, there was one major room in the center, with offshoots of smaller rooms stemming outwards.[90] Each of these rooms was dedicated to some particular food or preparation. Though the kitchen was divided into various smaller spaces, there were no actual doors, so that Soyer could move about the kitchen and make sure each cook was doing his part.[91] By breaking down the kitchen in this way, the temperature of the kitchen could also be managed more efficiently. As noted by Cowen, the key to the kitchen design was "the sophisticated control of temperature, via the manipulation of fire, water, gas, steam, and ice."[92] The most impressive part about Soyer's kitchen was the two gas stoves, which "provided clean, smoke-free, controllable fire: a chef's dream."[93]

The Reform Club became the showcase for Soyer's culinary and technical creativity. Visitors would come down to the kitchen, and it quickly became an essential attraction to visit when touring London. Cowen notes, "Soyer's cooking remained as ingenious as his kitchen appliances, and in the first four years of his tenure the succession of new soups, delicate entrees and imaginative desserts that he introduced to the main bill of fare met with widespread approval."[94] Soyer's cooking abilities placed him on the London food map, but his kitchen gadgets and designs placed him among the greats like Carême.

Soyer not only pushed for innovation in kitchen technologies, he also utilized the international arena of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London to showcase how foreign foods and

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[90] Reform Club Kitchen, December 1942, *London News*, London.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Cowen, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef,* 44.
[93] Cowen, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef,* 45.
[94] Cowen, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef,* 51.

dishes could transport and expose diners to other parts of the world. Soyer's Gastronomic Symposium of All Nations was designed alongside the Great Exhibition because Soyer refused to be limited by the Exhibition's stipulations. While it failed economically, and ultimately lost money over the short time span it was open, this "failed palace of gluttony and pleasure" had the potential to house over two-thousand guests and was aimed at diners of various socioeconomic statuses.[95] As a showman as well as chef, Soyer knew how to appeal to people and market his concept. The aim of the Symposium was to create an over the top spectacle with elevated culinary tastes, "the glorification of technological progress," and include low-priced menus, themed rooms, and "amusements ranging from fortune telling to dancing to hot-air balloon rides."[96] An account of the Great Exhibition noted, "Alexis Soyer was preparing to open a restaurant of all nations, where the universe might dine, from sixpence to a hundred guineas…"[97]

Young noted that prior to 1851, the "internationalization of Londoners' palates was already happening" and would continue to happen whether or not the exhibition occurred. Nevertheless, there was a shift in attitude. The interest and appeal of the Exhibition and by extension, Soyer's Symposium, suggests that foreignness became a "source of celebration." This shift in attitude became a permanent fixture, forming a newly globalized facet to Londoners' identity.[98] Unfortunately, the Symposium largely failed, partially due to its location in affluent Kensington, where neighbors were opposed to introducing too many people of "all sorts into their midst." Nevertheless, Soyer's goal of spreading and teaching the public about other cultures

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[95] April Bullock, "Alexis Soyer's Gastronomic Symposium of All Nations," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies*, 5, no.4 (Fall, 2005): 52 and Paul Young, "The Cooking Animal: Economic Man at the Great Exhibition," *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36, no.2 (2008): 570.
[96] Bullock, "Alexis Soyer's Gastronomic Symposium of All Nations," 53.
[97] Henry Mayhew, *1851: or, The adventures of Mr. and Mrs. Sandboys and family, who came up to London to 'enjoy themselves'* (London: D. Bogue, 1851), 2.
[98] Young, "The Cooking Animal: Economic Man at the Great Exhibition," 589.

through food separated Soyer from the other French chefs and suggested the beginnings of an increasingly international food scene within London culture.

Soyer's career not only involved cooking for the elite. He sought to spread his knowledge of cuisine and teach a broader public. While Soyer's Symposium ultimately failed, his publications and cookbooks were huge successes in expanding lower classes' culinary knowledge. When Soyer first published his works, his aim was towards the professional cook. Over time, his targeted audience shifted to lower rungs of British society. By aiming his cookbooks at different socioeconomic levels, Soyer was able to spread his knowledge about food to a broader public. Though there were many other cookbook authors who addressed the issue of publishing books to a less affluent audience, Soyer was truly successful as a cookbook author, as he even sold a few thousand copies of his cheapest booklet, aimed at the poorest readership.

In 1846, Soyer published *The Gastronomic Regenerator*. Four editions were printed within the first year of its publication and included two major sections: "Kitchen of the Wealthy," and "Kitchen at Home," so a professional cook had guidelines for large dinners and banquets and daily meals.[99] In 1848, Soyer published a small booklet, only costing six pence, after he had spent the last year establishing soup kitchens in Ireland during the potato famine. This cookbook was titled *Charitable Cookery, or The Poor Man's Regenerator,* and one penny of every copy sold went to charity.[100] With one book published for those cooking with expensive ingredients and endless budgets and another for the economically limited cooks, who mostly prepared stews and soups to make the most of the small amount of food they could afford, Soyer targeted a vast audience of readers and cooks. Soyer bridged the socioeconomic gap of his

[99] Henry Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017), 187.
[100] Ibid.

readership in 1849 with a middle of the road book, *The Modern Housewife*. Aimed at a rapidly growing middle class, this book was for housewives who "desired fashionable and modern dishes adapted to their economic means."[101] Soyer's ability to cater to various audiences of different economic means demonstrated his marketing intellect as well as his success in spreading his own culinary knowledge to the rest of Britain.

Though Soyer intended to reach readers of different socioeconomic statuses through his publications, later on in his career, he started to aim his efforts towards the poor. He established soup kitchens during the potato famine in Ireland and in 1855 he came out with another cookery book, *Soyer's Shilling Cookery For the People*. In this book, Soyer promoted French culinary techniques and also shared his view that appreciating higher levels of cooking despite social class could improve a person's well-being and make society better as a whole. The first section of recipes was for soups, stocks, and sauces. Soyer noted how stocks might seem expensive and complicated, but they can actually be "nutritious, wholesome, and economical."[102] As French cuisine relies heavily on deeply-flavored stocks and sauces, Soyer's incorporation of an economical soup chapter demonstrates how he intended to share French culinary ideologies to a broader public. Furthermore, within the first few pages of text, Soyer claimed, "I was right when I stated that the morals of a people greatly depend on their food and wherever the home of an individual, in whatever class of society he may move, is made comfortable and happy, the more moral and religious will that person be."[103] The saying "you are what you eat," might be used in modern day as a cliché saying, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the link between diet and morality was believed in quite strongly. Therefore, Soyer's statement

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[101] Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries,* 188.
[102] Alexis Soyer, *Soyer's Shilling Cookery for the People* (London: Geo. Routledge & Co, 1855), 7.
[103] Soyer, *Soyer's Shilling Cookery for the People.* 2.

demonstrates how he attempted to use food to help the poor, not only through his charitable work, but also by providing tools like this publication to help them provide for their families in a respectable way.

While Soyer worked for years at an exclusive gentlemen's club (even in 2019, only members are allowed to enter the building), Soyer's Symposium and cookbooks demonstrated his ability to reach a broader audience than just the wealthy. By establishing the Symposium and organizing his cookbooks based on the basics of French cooking, Soyer spread his French culinary knowledge throughout Britain. Though French cuisine was initially associated with British elite in the early nineteenth century, Soyer's influence allowed for French cuisine to be associated with public dining. Soyer also taught the public that French cuisine could be approachable and economical.

Simple Substitutes Redefine Curry as a True Form of British Cookery

Just as French cuisine was limited to the wealthy, Indian cuisine followed a similar early history within Britain. As previously noted, in the early nineteenth century, British officials requested their cooks to make Anglo-Indian dishes back in Britain. However, those dishes were limited to the upper-class who had the ability to travel and work in India in the first place. In contrast to French cuisine's upstanding professional reputation, Indian cuisine represented an exotic land that was both fascinating and inferior to Europe. As Prasch argued, British imperialism allowed for imperial food products and foreign foodways to enter British society, as is "most abundantly evident in the penetration of Indian cookery into British consumer markets and cookbooks…"[104] Throughout most of the nineteenth century, Indian cuisine was cooked in

[104] Thomas Prasch, "Eating the World: London in 1851," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 36, no. 2 (2008): 588-589.

domestic kitchens. These female-dominated spaces allowed for Indian dishes to become naturalized components of British food culture.

Though there were no cookbooks dedicated entirely to Indian cuisine, many cookbooks published throughout the nineteenth century had full sections for curry. Just as Alexis Soyer was able to reach a broader audience by publishing various cookbooks, authors like Eliza Acton and Isabella Beeton spread their knowledge of British curry through their domestic cook books.[105] Curry recipes spread throughout Britain, creating a new food tradition that stemmed from British global power. British commercial and political power over India was a major reason the British gained access to Indian ingredients in the first place. By bringing ingredients for curry into the home, the Englishwoman "could remake the foreign into the domestic by virtue of her own domesticity. She not only imported foreign items into the home, but she could transform them from foreign delicacies into local specialties."[106] Zlotnick's central argument about "domesticating imperialism" demonstrates how British imperial control over India was not just a form of political power. The influence of British imperialism also found its way even into private homes within Britain and into the mouths of British families. As Thomas Prasch so eloquently worded it: "What Britain conquers, it also eats."[107]

As Susan Zlotnick noted, while curry spices were relatively unknown and underutilized outside Anglo-Indian circles in 1815, "by mid-century [they] had become a staple in the domestic cookery of the urban bourgeoisie."[108] Furthermore, Lizzie Collingham explained that by the 1840s, there were a number of Indian products for sale in British markets and these producers went quite far in persuading the public to add curry to their diet. Some even claimed

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[105] Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England," 59.
[106] Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England," 63.
[107] Prasch, "Eating the World: London in 1851, 589.
[108] Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England," 59.

there were unexplainable health benefits in consuming curry powder.[109] Just as early nineteenth-century British dishes utilizing Indian ingredients formed a hybrid Anglo-Indian cuisine, by mid-century, there was even more of a transformation of Indian dishes within Britain. Over time there was a shift from exotic appeal of Indian curries to claiming that curry was a naturalized part of British cuisine itself. In 1852, the author of *Modern Domestic Cookery* even stated that while curry was "formerly a dish almost exclusively for the tables of those who had made long residence in India, [it] is now so completely naturalised, that few dinners are thought complete unless one is on the table."[110]

Even so, curry in Britain had quite a few significant differences from dishes prepared by Indian cooks. One of the most important ingredients that defined British curries was curry powder. Not a single self-respecting Indian cook would have ever had curry powder on his or her spice rack. Traditional Indian kitchens were considered properly equipped if they included a heavy and flat grindstone, which was used to crush spices into an aromatic mixture. Meanwhile, British cooks found curry powder helpful in that it was a ready-made spice mix, creating less work for the cook. Unfortunately, the ease of using a spice blend sacrificed flavor, as curry powder could never measure up to the homemade spice blends made with a mortar and pestle.

As curries became more popular, by the 1850s, most of the Anglo-Indian dishes in cookery books called for spoonfuls of curry powder.[111] Curry powder might have made Anglo-Indian cooking more efficient because it was a premeasured spice blend, using a spice blend instead of individual spices prevented the natural flavors of the spices from being fully utilized because each individual spice within the mixture requires a different amount of time to release its

[109] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 136.
[110] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 138.
[111] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 141.

flavor. Combining the spices into a homogenous powder eliminated the multiple step process required in preparing each spice, but at a cost. A second technique that the British began using was adding the curry powder along with water or stock. Traditionally, spices are added when the oil is heating because frying the spices ahead of time releases the flavors and creates a fragrant foundation for the curry. Placing the spices later on in the dish added a different and less flavorful taste to curries in comparison to when they are added in the beginning with oil.

Up until the mid-century, Indian curries and French cuisine were largely distinct and separated. However, another adjustment that the British employed to thicken curries was using a roux, which is a common French thickening base. A roux is created by melting butter in a pan and then adding flour. Once a paste forms and the flour taste is cooked out, a liquid, like milk or cream is added to thicken a sauce. Flour was never used in this way in Indian cooking. Instead, Indian cooks would use ground almonds, coconut cream, or a paste made from onions to thicken dishes. The incorporation of a French technique in Anglo-Indian curry recipes demonstrates how French culinary methods were employed by a greater British public over time.

Along with these technical changes, the British also substituted traditional curry ingredients with those that were available back in Britain. A common substitute for fresh tamarind was lemon juice, apples were used in place of mangoes, and cucumbers were close enough in resemblance to bitter gourds.[112] Eventually these substitutes became common ingredients on their own and they were soon viewed as authentic and essential components of a good curry. Through the increased consumption and cooking of curries within British homes, the dish became redefined as a British dish quite literally, with the substitution of British ingredients. The ingredients used in Indian curries and British curries became increasingly different, as curry

[112] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 144.

was consumed more within British society.[113] Curry quickly became a French-Indian hybridized dish and in this way, curry became a truly unique British custom.

Everyone is Invited to the Tea Party:

British Tea Consumption Expands to All Levels of British Society

Just as French and Indian cuisine gained prominence in British society through initial exposure within the British elite, tea drinking increased through the wealthy as well. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, tea was a popular drink amongst all socioeconomic rungs of society. While tea consumption was high, it was not until the 1840s that afternoon tea became a mealtime tradition. This British custom was started by the Duchess of Bedford when she requested some small sandwiches and a pot of tea as a mid-afternoon snack. Considering by mid-nineteenth century, tea was consumed by most of the British population, this section seeks to understand the differences in tea consumption between the wealthy and lower classes. Furthermore, this chapter will explain the distinction between "afternoon tea" and "high tea," as they had different menus and were eaten by different social classes.

At this point in history, French and Indian cuisines had not yet truly merged with one another, with the exception of incorporating a roux as a thickening agent in curry recipes. However, there was more of a crossover between British food customs and Indian ingredients by the mid-nineteenth century. Britain's imperial power over India heavily influenced the social custom of afternoon tea. When the British began to control tea plantations in India, Ceylon, Assam, Darjeeling and other Indian black teas became more accessible to the British. As these black teas were produced under British imperial power, the British economically benefitted from

[113] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 142-143.

Indian tea sales, causing tea merchants to encourage buyers to purchase Indian black teas over Chinese teas.

Even advertisements in the back of Soyer's *Shillings Cookery For the People* indicated that while congou, souchong, and lapsang souchong were "recommended" or "strongly recommended" Chinese black teas, assam pekoe souchong tea was a "very strongly recommended" Indian black tea. The advertisement also indicated that assam pekoe souchong was a tea "of peculiar and extraordinary strength."[114] The descriptors used between Chinese and Indian black teas further exemplify how British merchants were pushing for purchases of Indian teas. Furthermore, a tea advertisement in a French cookbook suggests that both were popular foods and drinks that were consumed within British society.

Just as British discomfort with foreignness was expressed through the domestication of Indian curry, Indian teas and afternoon tea were also associated with women and home life. In this way, foreign teas were tucked away into home life, but were still able to have a significant role within British society because nearly everyone was drinking tea by this point in time. Furthermore, tea drinking had an air of respectability, and by interpreting tea drinking as a British custom, the British population easily accepted tea consumption as an essential part of British tradition. By understanding the role of tea in Britain at this time, we can see how the melding of food histories started to take shape and built upon the slow development of London's global food culture that began decades and even a century before.

Though the classification of soft drugs like coffee and tea might seem far away from highly addictive opioids, the opium trade with China actually had quite significant implications on the tea trade in the nineteenth century. For years, the Chinese held control over the tea trade.

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[114] Soyer, *Soyer's Shilling Cookery for the People.*

When the British began selling opium to the Chinese to gain control of international markets, in return, the British received tea. As a result, many of the Chinese people became heavily addicted to opioids. In some ways, this immoral and corrupt form of trade allowed the British to claim Western superiority over Chinese culture, as the Chinese were labeled as opioid addicts, while the British defined themselves as respectable tea drinkers. Along with the Opium Wars, there was an increasing emergence of British trading companies in China in the early 1830s. When the East India Company's trading rights ended in 1833, many new companies began to trade in foreign goods, especially tea, because the EIC no longer monopolized the market. By 1839, a group of merchants in London formed the Assam Tea Company.[115] As a result, tea prices dropped and consumption doubled from the 1840s to the 1860s.[116]

There was no question that the tea trade was a necessity for state revenue as the money gained from the tea excise covered almost two-thirds of the annual cost of the civil establishment in Britain in the 1830s, including the cost of the Crown.[117] With the rise in tea consumption, the British began looking at their own territories for tea production. Why continue to trade with China if they could produce their own teas? By the mid 1850s, the British did just that, establishing tea plantations in India, which were owned by British investors and managed by British agricultural experts.[118] By the mid-nineteenth century there was a market shift in tea imports, allowing tea to become everybody's drink, all the time.

Just as Julie E. Fromer noted how tea became a "necessary luxury" amongst all socioeconomic levels in Britain, John Burnett observed that a "former luxury like tea became an

[115] Ellis, Coulton, and Mauger, *Empire of Tea: The Asian Leaf that Conquered the World*, 213.
[116] Ellis, Coulton, and Mauger, *Empire of Tea: The Asian Leaf that Conquered the World*, 215.
[117] Ellis, Coulton, and Mauger, *Empire of Tea: The Asian Leaf that Conquered the World*, 219.
[118] Ellis, Coulton, and Mauger, *Empire of Tea: The Asian Leaf that Conquered the World,* 237.

integral part of the diets of the poor..."[119] During the eighteenth century, physicians and patients alike were concerned about tea's role as a soft drug, due to its caffeine content. However, tea's prominence in the British diet gained a more positive health reputation by the nineteenth century, because tea soon served as a replacement for alcoholic drinks. As tea consumption increased, beer consumption fell by a third between 1800 and 1850.[120] In 1812, tea had become the economic substitute for malt liquor, a drink commonly consumed by middle and lower classes.[121] Buer acknowledged a similar trend regarding tea as a substitute for alcoholic drinks, as "it must have been an important factor in the increased sobriety, which all authorities are agreed took place at the end of the eighteenth century."[122]

From 1800 to 1900 the quantity of tea consumed increased dramatically, from 23,720,000 pounds per year to 223,180,000 pounds.[123] Tea became part of the working-class diet largely because of the decrease in price of tea. Until 1833, the East India Company retained the sole right of importing tea, which until this point, came from China.[124] Despite the lull in tea consumption between 1800 and 1843, by the mid-nineteenth century, it rose again. Burnett inferred the decrease was due to a reduction in working-class purchasing power, a short-term result of industrialization. This paralleled the increase in grain prices that occurred until the repeal of the Corn Laws. Therefore, the working class benefited from Great Britain's international power in terms of access to imported tea in the long term, despite brief moments of decreased purchasing power in the early nineteenth century.

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[119] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*, 3.
[120] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*, 58.
[121] David MacPherson, *The History of the European Commerce with India*, (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1812), 132.
[122] M.C. Buer, *Health, Wealth, and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution*, (London: Routledge, 1926), 61.
[123] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*, 57.
[124] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*, 60.

As tea was flying through the ranks of popular beverages in Britain, tea mealtimes were also developing into a national habit amongst all social classes. The terms "afternoon tea" and "high tea" might seem similar enough, but these two forms of taking tea were quite different. Modern tourists often use this term interchangeably and are prone to mistaking high tea as the upscale version of taking tea. The major difference between afternoon tea and high tea is that high tea is a larger meal, often including meat dishes. High tea also was an economical substitute for dinner, which was the main meal in a Briton's diet. Therefore, high tea was an economical way to have tea time while having to work long hours every day. Meanwhile, afternoon tea was considered the more fashionable and upper-class manner of taking tea because it was for those looking to relax in the afternoon and have a small snack between lunch and dinner. Furthermore, afternoon tea was developed during the 1840s because amongst the wealthy, dinner was served later, usually around 8 o'clock, because electricity allowed the wealthy to stay up later at night. As this technological innovation was largely unavailable to the rest of Britain, eating late dinners was a sign of wealth, and by extension, the ability to have afternoon tea signified British elite social status.

Just as French and Indian cuisines had gender roles and implications of social order, taking tea represented domesticity, femininity, and respectability. At the same time, taking tea was a way of bringing men into contact with women in domestic spaces in a manner that was considered appropriate. While "a tea party was not simply an event in which a refreshing hot beverage was consumed, although it was always that too," drinking tea was a social performance.[125] Preparing tea for afternoon meals was one of the few activities where upper-class women were expected and proud to be seen serving their guests. Though they might not

[125] Mair and Hoh, *The True History of Tea,* 140-141.

have partaken in baking the scones and pastries or boiling the water for tea, as that was servants' work, they were expected to pour the tea for each of their guests.[126] There were also traditions associated with afternoon tea, like adding milk or cream to the tea, although later on, "the reverse became the fashion," where tea drinkers argued milk or cream should be added first and tea should be poured after.[127] The customs of afternoon tea amongst the wealthy classes allowed for private spaces to be acceptable places of performance in front of company. Eventually afternoon tea would become a custom in public spaces of hotels and restaurants alike. However, it would take a few more decades for afternoon tea to develop in this way.

By understanding how French and Indian cuisines along with afternoon tea developed throughout the mid-nineteenth century, we can see how private mealtimes soon were extended into public spaces. In the case of afternoon tea, private spaces became acceptable locations for company. Meanwhile, Alexis Soyer continued to develop French cuisine and expanded the public's culinary knowledge through cookbook publications and exposure through Soyer's Symposium. Moreover, Indian cuisine was transformed through British ingredients, which became defining components of Anglo-Indian curries. The growing prominence of Indian cuisine, whether or not the dishes were culturally authentic, indicated that there was a wider appreciation for curries in British daily meals. Lastly, the shift in tea production from China to British-owned Indian plantations resulted in an immense increase in tea drinking in Britain. Considering that tea was already popular in the nineteenth century, tea was no longer just a popular drink, rather it was a total obsession.

By the late nineteenth century, all of these food histories merged through afternoon tea mealtimes in French-owned hotels. As each of these foods became more entrenched in British

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[126] Mair and Hoh, *The True History of Tea,* 142.
[127] Mair and Hoh, *The True History of Tea,* 235.

culture, French pastries became the perfect accompaniments to Indian-steeped black teas. Despite these internationally derived accompaniments, the activity of teatime was defined as culturally British. Therefore, in the next chapter we will see how these global aspects of British culture were redefined as British because of their role in British mealtimes rather than linking the cuisines with their global origins.

-Third Course-

A True Blend of Flavors, Ingredients, and Cultures

The Ritz London currently offers a selection of 21 different teas. Among the 6 black teas offered, 5 come from India. Under the food menu, French influences are scattered throughout the list of traditional teas, sandwiches and baked goods. Multiple sandwiches are served on brioche, a traditional French buttery bread, and one sandwich is offered with tarragon mayonnaise. Tarragon is still a commonly used herb in French cooking. While scones and clotted cream remain British baked staples, the assortment of tea pastries offered at the Ritz has French ancestry.[128] Though this selection of teas, sandwiches, and cakes is on the current Afternoon Tea menu, this menu is similar to afternoon tea menus from the late nineteenth century. Chapter 3 seeks to bridge the gaps among the food histories of French cuisine, Indian ingredients, and afternoon tea by demonstrating how French and Indian influences shaped the meal of afternoon tea.

When Auguste Escoffier and César Ritz opened opulent hotels in London and ultimately decided to offer afternoon tea to their guests, the tea trade itself was largely controlled by British tea plantation owners. As a result, there was a continuing shift from drinking Chinese teas to Indian teas, even more so than in the mid-nineteenth century. Indian teas were not the only ingredients from India being utilized back in Britain, as the first longstanding Indian restaurant, Veeraswamy, opened in the early twentieth century. In fact, the founder of Veeraswamy, Edward Palmer, had already published a cookery book and given lectures on Indian cuisine in the late nineteenth century. By this time, Indian cuisine was increasingly discussed and served in public spaces, hotel restaurants emerged in London's food scene and public life, and the popularity of

[128] "Afternoon Tea," *The Ritz London*, accessed February 26, 2019, http://theritzlondon.com.

afternoon tea amongst Londoners and tourists grew even more than in previous decades. By understanding how these three food histories intertwine during the 1880s to the 1920s, we can see how London's current global food scene emerged from a strong foundation of global ingredients, cooking techniques, and chefs.

Escoffier and the Modern Hotel Restaurant

Auguste Escoffier, the "secular patron saint of most professional chefs," was born in Villeneuve-Loubet near Nice in 1846.[129] At age thirteen, Escoffier began his apprenticeship in the kitchen of his Uncle François's restaurant in Nice. Escoffier remained there until he arrived in Paris in 1865 to work as a kitchen assistant at the Petit Moulin Rouge.[130] Despite his intentions to grow a culinary career in Paris, he was called for military duty and worked for seven years in the army as a chef. In the army, Escoffier learned various food preservation methods, especially studying the technique of canning food.

Once Escoffier's stint in the military ended, he met a partner who would change his life. César Ritz was the manager of the Grand Hotel in Monte Carlo and hired Escoffier in 1890. Their business relationship would continue for decades, and eventually they founded the Ritz in both Paris and London together: naturally with Ritz as the hotelier and Escoffier as the chef. At the Grand Hotel, Escoffier streamlined the kitchen into an efficient producer of refined food that was tailored to the tastes of the customer. Though he was a "staunch supporter of the display system" started by Carême with his elaborate presentations, Escoffier sought to simplify his dishes into seemingly simplistic looking food, with deep complex flavors. This concept of presentation remains a defining component of French cuisine.

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[129] Paul Levy, "Ritzy Business," *The New York Review*, accessed March 8, 2019, https://www.nybooks.com
[130] Barr, *Ritz and Escoffier: The Hotelier, the Chef, and the Rise of the Leisure Class,* 17.

For nine years Escoffier and Ritz worked together to create a unique restaurant and hotel experience in Monte Carlo, but in 1889, Ritz was asked to come to London to assist in running the Savoy Hotel. The Savoy was an upscale hotel with few, but significant flaws. The hotel was in dire need of a redesign and uncoincidentally, this was Ritz's specialty. Just as the building itself needed to be spiffed up, so did the food. Ritz had not hesitated to bring Escoffier overseas, knowing full well that Escoffier could transform the unspectacular menu into an unforgettably flavorful dining experience. Though Escoffier and Ritz had similar opinions on the dour way of life of the English, they both began to restructure the Savoy Hotel in 1890.

On the first day Escoffier and Ritz were to serve their clientele, the kitchen was a disaster. The previous chef de cuisine at the Savoy, Charpentier, was quite enraged when he found out he was replaced with Escoffier. As a parting gift for his services he completely destroyed the kitchen. He left meat and fish to spoil, stomped on fruits and vegetables, disposed of any stored grains, flour, and sugar. Even if there was any food left, dishes and glasses had been shattered across the kitchen floors. Despite this obstacle, Escoffier got to work by asking a fellow French chef who worked at the Charing Cross Hotel for a loan of ingredients that would allow them to last for the day.[131]

At the Savoy, Escoffier completely reshaped the kitchen. Escoffier had forbidden the cooks from drinking and smoking while working and required that they arrive to work every day in pristinely unstained chef coats. At closing, they were to leave donning suits, ties, and hats. Though these requirements might seem appearance based, these changes demanded that the cooks respect their profession and themselves. Escoffier also organized "kitchen brigades together with the French system of fonds de cuisine, the foundation, stocks, sauces and mixtures

[131] Barr, *Ritz and Escoffier: The Hotelier, the Chef, and the Rise of the Leisure Class,* 55-56.

first recorded by La Varenne," the prominent seventeenth-century cookbook author.[132] Instead of having each cook be in control of a full dish, Escoffier systematically assigned chefs according to components of a dish. There was a chef for sauces, vegetables, meats, fish, and pastries. These chefs *de partie* (station chefs) worked directly under the executive chef, Escoffier himself.

While Escoffier changed the structure of the kitchen, his culinary influence expanded into the hotel dining rooms as well. Steven Mennell noted how Escoffier's influence was not due to his single-handedness in changing the culinary industry. Instead, Escoffier managed to respond well to the new opportunities arising from the age when international hotels popped up across major cities, including New York and London.[133] In this new age of public dining, women were finally accepted as clientele. As a result, Escoffier catered to a female audience, providing dishes with more subtle flavors. Escoffier shaped dining out in a way that worked with his customers.

Just as he adjusted dishes towards women, he also offered additional meal times and menus for guests spending an evening at the theatre. Escoffier was responsible for inventing the pre-theatre dinner, where a multi-course menu was served in a rapid manner because the waitstaff and kitchen knew that the guests had to make their show in time. He also offered an after-theatre supper, which increased the popularity of late night dining.[134] While menu items and dining times were adjusted, Escoffier was adamant on a French-speaking kitchen and a French-written menu. Even though most patrons could not read French, it was considered fashionable and upscale to present food by their French names. Instead of translating the menu to

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[132] Valerie Mars, "Experiencing French Cookery in Nineteenth-Century London*," A History of the French in London: Liberty, Equality, Opportunity*, ed. Kelly Debra and Cornick Martyn (London: University of London, 2013), 234.
[133] Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present,* 157.
[134] John Burnett, *England Eats Out: A Social History of Eating Out in England from 1830 to the Present* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 152.

English, Escoffier created prix-fixe menus, where diners could simply trust that Escoffier would provide a memorable meal. A la carte menus were also offered, which were slightly longer meals. Though Escoffier's menus were still incorporating the highest quality ingredients cooked by experienced hands, his systemized kitchen roles and the menus offered created a faster dining experience, where patrons could have a meal that would not last for hours. While modern restaurants rush orders and people scarf down meals as fast as possible, by the late nineteenth century, speeding up the act of public dining was a beneficial change.

Escoffier believed he would work at the Savoy for eight months, until the winter, when he would return to Monte Carlo. Instead, he remained there until 1898, when both Ritz and Escoffier were dismissed for embezzlement, "mismanagement," and "breaches of duty."[135] Despite this less than upstanding ending to working at the Savoy, Ritz and Escoffier would return to London to open their own hotel in 1906, the famed Ritz London. But first, they reestablished roots in France, this time in Paris in 1898, with the opening of the first Ritz hotel.

Though the first Ritz hotel was in Paris, Ritz managed to incorporate English customs, specifically afternoon tea, into his hotel to encourage Parisians to spend more time out in public dining spaces. The English version of the Ritz's brochure for its opening day stated, "It is the very best hotel where English comfort is to be found combined with French tastes and excellence. The cuisine under Mr. Escoffier the well known chef is without a doubt the best in Paris."[136] However, Escoffier was much more reluctant to serve afternoon tea, as he argued, "bread and butter, the jam, the cake and pastries – oh, how can one eat and enjoy a dinner, the king of meals, an hour or so later? How can one appreciate the cooking, the food or the

[135] Barr, *Ritz and Escoffier: The Hotelier, the Chef, and the Rise of the Leisure Class,* 23.
[136] Kenneth James, *Escoffier: The King of Chefs* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2003), 164.

wines?"[137] The adoption of afternoon tea in Paris demonstrates how English and French customs were merging, as traveling was becoming more accessible to a wider public. Despite the label of afternoon tea as a purely British custom, French influences were and continue to be heavily apparent in taking tea.

Just as Carême and Soyer simultaneously worked in well-respected kitchens while publishing cookery books, Escoffier, when he had free time, wrote books informing the public about his culinary viewpoints. Maxine Builder interviewed a variety of Michelin Star and James Beard Award Winning chefs about which publications were the best French cookbooks. *The Escoffier Cookbook and Guide to the Fine Art of Cookery* was labeled "Best traditional French reference cookbook," noting the book as an "encyclopedia of technique."[138] With over 900 pages and 2,500 short recipes, this book has stood the test of time as one of the essential cookbooks still used in culinary schools and among professional chefs across the world. The first few pages of the book include a conversion for weights and measurements, a four and a half page glossary including an extensive list of culinary terms, and diagrams of various molds for recipes included later on in the book. Following these first few pages is the first chapter, "Basic Principles of Cookery." Within the first chapter Escoffier covered various stocks, as "stock is everything in cooking, at least in French cooking. Without it, nothing can be done."[139] Escoffier created a comprehensive book that built on the foundations of French cookery started by chefs including La Varenne and Carême. As a late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century chef, he was

[137] Ibid.
[138] Maxine Builder, "The Best French Cookbooks, According to Chefs," *New York Magazine: The Strategist*, April 30, 2018, accessed March 20, http://nymag.com.
[139] Auguste Escoffier, "The Escoffier Cookbook and Guide to the Fine Art of Cookery (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1941), 1.

able to fine tune his book to appeal to those looking to become experts in foundational French cuisine.

Come One, Come All: Indian Exhibitions Showcase Britain's Imperial Power

The relationship between India and Britain shifted when the Government of India Act in 1858 was passed. The act called for the liquidation of the British East India Company and transferred the functions of ruling British India to the British Crown. Queen Victoria was deemed the Empress of India and had quite a fascination with Indian culture. There was even a film make in 2017 titled *Victoria & Abdul* that tells a historical fiction story about Queen Victoria and her servant Abdul Karim. Though this film was fictional, Queen Victoria actually had an Indian servant Abdul Karim and their relationship signified the connection between the British Empire and India. Queen Victoria's influence inspired the rest of the country to follow suit, and the slow growth of Indian cultural influences in London increased rapidly towards the end of the nineteenth century and followed well into the early twentieth century.

While the Great Exhibition of 1851 started to introduce various cultures to the British public, in 1895 and 1896 the Empire of India Exhibition showcased aspects of Indian culture. Though the examples of Indian culture might not have been the most accurate, the fact that there was an Exhibition in the first place demonstrates how the public had a genuine interest in learning more about cultures under British imperial control. At this exhibition there was a replicated Indian town. However, most British people living in India stayed far away from the local towns and never saw what one looked like in the first place. Additionally, the workers and entertainers at the exhibition were Indian, which supposedly made the experience authentic. Highlights at these exhibitions included Indian cafes and restaurants. Instead, the workers imported ingredients like ghee and goats from India for their own food and created Anglo-Indian

curries for the visitors.[140] Collingham observed that rather than educating the public about India, this commercial enterprise was intended for entertaining the public.[141]

During the late nineteenth century there were also cooking and food exhibitions dedicated to teaching the public about international cuisines, new cooking techniques, and improved culinary technologies. An 1897 newspaper article by *The Morning Post* noted how the Cookery and Foods Exhibition was the "10th annual Exhibition of Cookery and Food Stuffs organized under the auspices of the Universal Cookery and Food Association, a body which was instituted to promote and extend a better knowledge of the substances and most varied methods of cookery…"[142] One of the demos at the exhibition was on Indian cookery "specially demonstrated by Mr. Veerasawmy."[143] Edward Palmer Veerasawmy was a prominent figure in promoting and teaching the public about Indian cuisine. His Indian roots came from his mother's side and he adopted his Grandmother's last name, Veerasawmy, to assert his credibility about knowledge involving Indian culinary traditions.

Veerasawmy not only helped organize exhibitions, he also traveled throughout Britain to teach others about Indian cuisine. Veerasawmy and Co. advertised in 1896 that they were "willing to send a thoroughly experienced curry cook to any hotel, club or restaurant in order to show the best modes of preparing a real Indian curry."[144] A publication from the *Glasgow Herald* on February 16, 1897, noted Veerasawmy gave an "interesting lecture on high-class Indian cookery…"[145] Veerasawmy's presentations demonstrated the increasing interest in Indian

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[140] Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Biography*, 152
[141] Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 152.
[142] "Cookery and Foods Exhibition," *The Morning Post*, issue 38980 (1897): 5, British Library Newspapers.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Brenda Assael, "Gastro-Cosmopolitanism and the Restaurant in Late Victorian and Edwardian London," *The Historical Journal* 56, no. 3 (2013): 696.
[145] "Indian Cookery Lecture" *Glasgow Herald*, issue 40 (1897), British Library Newspapers.

cuisine. However, the following description suggests that even though Indian cuisine was increasing in prominence in Britain, it was still viewed as a domesticated feminine form of cookery.

During this presentation, "The menu consisted of many different kinds of dishes of real Indian curry prepared under the inspection of, and fully explained to, the audience… [H]ints regarding their preparation, were eagerly noted by almost every lady present." [146] Despite the growing popularity of learning about Indian cuisine, this newspaper article regards the event as a predominantly, if not exclusively, female event. As the late nineteenth century still had strict gender roles and expectations, noting that women attended the event indicates that this was an event intended for mostly just women. The language of the article also suggests that only women would be interested in Indian cuisine, as they "eagerly" paid attention to the presentation. Though it was acceptable for Veerasawmy to be male because he was considered a professional, the connection between femininity, domesticity, and Indian cuisine was still apparent by the end of the nineteenth century. Despite Veerasawmy's British roots, the newspaper article describes him as a "clever Indian chef, who speaks our language fluently and with perfect clearness of enunciation."[147] Therefore, there were still biases and assumptions about Indian cuisine, Indian chefs, and even the women who were expected to be cooking domestically.

Veerasawmy not only attempted to spread knowledge about Indian cuisine, but sought to demonstrate that Indian cuisine could be a form of high-class cooking. Despite the assumptions about his English proficiency, he had significant influence on the growth of the Indian restaurant scene in London and the spread of knowledge about Indian cookery to the British public. In 1924, the British Empire Exhibition had 27 million people traveling to visit, even though it was

[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

held at Wembley. The exhibition was run by Veerasawmy, who in addition to founding his own restaurant in 1926, also founded E. P. Veerasawmy & Co., an Indian food specialist company that imported spices, chutneys, and curry pastes from India.[148] The restaurant, Veerasawmy's, remains a highly regarded Indian restaurant aimed at wealthy clientele and is the longest running Indian restaurant in London today. Along with the success of the restaurant Veerasawmy's, there were additional restaurants serving Indian curries and other dishes. Though there was an increasing interest in Indian culture, Brenda Assael criticized Anglo-Indian curries as not authentic, as "it was Indian food that was to be, in the late nineteenth century as indeed it is today, one of the most significant non-indigenous cuisines in the metropolis."[149]

Along with the rise of serving Indian cuisine in public restaurant spaces, cookbooks no longer included just single recipes or even sections on curry. Cookery books were now fully dedicated to Anglo-Indian recipes. Veerasawmy published one book titled *Indian Cookery*. Similarly, Daniel Santiagoe published *The Curry Cook's Assistant; or Curries, how to make them in England in their original Style* in 1889. Santiagoe, according to the introduction at the beginning of the cookbook, came from Ceylon to England to cook for the British. Even just from the title page, it is apparent that Santiagoe's intentions with his publication were to teach the British public how to enjoy and prepare authentic Indian cuisine.

Just as other cookery book writers targeted women in domestic kitchens, a book review of *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook,* published in the *Daily News* in 1899 also links women and domesticity with Indian cuisine. The review commended how "every department of home life is taken into consideration, and, in addition, quite half of the substantial volume is

[148] Collingham, *Curry: A Biography,* 154.
[149] Assael, "Gastro-Cosmopolitanism and the Restaurant in Late Victorian and Edwardian London," 694.

devoted to recipes for every description of Indian cookery."[150] Though Indian cuisine entered public spaces like exhibitions, lectures, and restaurants, the assumptions and associations of Indian cuisine with domesticity and women continued to exist. Nevertheless, "exposure to international cuisine at home might have bolstered the enthusiasm for most exotic dishes while eating out."[151] In other words, both the restaurant scene and domestic kitchens facilitated the use of international ingredients by allowing the public to taste and experience these new flavors for themselves.

Indian Tea is Not Bitter, It's Just Strong in Taste

Breakfast tea in England is currently served dark and bitter and most visiting tourists are unaccustomed to this taste. In the late nineteenth century, the British had similar feelings towards newly imported Indian teas. Experts argued Indian teas were "faultily plucked, faultily rolled, and faultily dried."[152] One of the first men who tried to sell pure Indian tea in the early 1880s noted that some customers "complained that it was nasty, others that it was too strong, a few that it was too weak."[153] As a solution, tea blends were created, so the more mellow Chinese teas were paired up with strong Indian teas. Tea combinations were unique based on each tea business. According to Agnes C. Maitland, "three parts of China tea to one of Indian is a good mixture."[154]

Though customers were not fans of the bitter black teas of India and Ceylon, "decisive development towards mass marketing" occurred during the 1880s because businessmen and tea

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[150] "Cookery for India" *Daily News*, issue 16546 (1899), British Library Newspapers and Flora Annie Steel and Grace Gardiner, "Book review of *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook" Daily News*, issue 16546 (1899) British Library Newspapers.
[151] Assael, "Gastro-Cosmopolitanism and the Restaurant in Late Victorian and Edwardian London," 697.
[152] Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World*, 157.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Agnes C. Maitland, *The Afternoon Tea Book* (London: John Hogg, 1915).

traders saw the opportunities available in low tea prices and new supply sources in Ceylon.[155] Mass marketing tactics quickly shifted towards aims in supporting British imperialism. In this case, companies portrayed Chinese teas as weak in order to support Indian tea purchases. Though it had taken half a century, "it appeared that Queen Victoria's prophecy that one day Indian tea would enrich her empire in the East had finally come true."[156]

Just as Indian Exhibitions encouraged visitors to experience Indian culture, even though they were not accurate, exhibitions also supported purchasing and drinking Indian teas. A journal article on "The Participation of India and Burma in the British Empire Exhibition, 1924," noted that "we shall only supply Indian tea in our Tea House, and we hope that the Indian Tea Association will indicate the sources of supply and will also supervise the brewing of the tea."[157] The article also acknowledged that the value of tea consumption in Britain in 1851 reached 60 million pounds in weight, with India's contribution less than one percent. But by 1924, the total consumption was over 400 million pounds, with India tea's contributing to almost 70 percent of the market.[158] Visitors' intentions for attending exhibitions was mainly for entertainment, yet there was also always a suggested notion of the superiority of imperial Britain.

After the article explained the different aspects of Indian culture showcased at the British Empire Exhibition, it proceeded to use strong imperial and nationalistic rhetoric: "There is nothing produced but can be ultilised somewhere: there is nothing needed but can be procured somewhere; and it is the main object of this Exhibition to show that there is nothing we need which cannot be produced, nothing we ask for which cannot be supplied, somewhere in our great

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[155] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain,* 62.
[156] Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World,* 148.
[157] Kendall Austin, "The Participation of India and Burma in the British Empire Exhibition, 1924," *Journal of the royal Society of Arts* 71, no. 3689 (1923): 652.
[158] Austin, "The Participation of India and Burma in the British Empire Exhibition, 1924," 656.

Empire."[159] This language indicates how imperialism, Indian culture, and British customs became interlinked. While this is apparent to the modern historian, at the time, the immersion of Indian products into British life was acknowledged yet minimized. Advertisements suggested that products came from India, but wording and images portrayed Indian teas as purely British products and controlled by British companies.[160] For example, the tea advertisement from Soyer's cookery book noted the teas were from India, yet the language highlighted that the tea was grown by a British-owned tea plantation.[161]

Though there was a shift in marketing tactics towards Indian teas in the latter half of the nineteenth century, John Burnett acknowledged that real wages rose by about a third between the years 1873 and 1896, which was largely due to lower food prices. The increase in wages provided a basis for a retail revolution and transformed high street shopping.[162] Whether or not the increase in tea consumption was caused by an increase in real wages or by a change in marketing tactics, the shift in advertising demonstrates how tea consumption had imperial roots and was supported by a sense of British pride and nationalism.

Thomas Lipton found opportunity in the tea market, although the tea trade was quite a risk-filled market to infiltrate, by purchasing a tea plantation in Ceylon because coffee plantations there had been destroyed by fungus. Able to purchase this plantation for a cheaper price, Lipton sold tea for low prices and marketed his product as teas imported "from the Garden to the Tea Cup." Additionally, his marketing tactics shaped the tea industry because Lipton generated a company that implied consumers could trust in the brand name.[163] Despite the way

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[159] Austin, "The Participation of India and Burma in the British Empire Exhibition, 1924," 646.
[160] Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World,* 158.
[161] Soyer, *Soyer's Shilling Cookery for the People.*
[162] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain,* 62.
[163] Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World,* 152.

Lipton advertised and shaped his tea company, it was really his decision to target working-class female consumers that allowed for his economic success. A nineteenth-century Lipton tea advertisement depicted a plainly dressed young woman located in front of a table with a box of Lipton's teas and a tea set.[164] There were countless tea advertisements such as this one from the late nineteenth century featuring young women within the home or in front of a tea table. These advertisements suggest that Lipton's targeted audience was women who could envisage themselves in a similar setting. Tea was popular among the lower classes because it was easy and efficient to make. The link between femininity and tea was apparent throughout all social classes in Britain, and as a result Lipton found rapid economic success.

Admittedly, tea was consumed by practically everyone. Yet, British tea cultures were heavily defined by class differences. By the late nineteenth century, the meal of afternoon tea was a social performance where menus, the furniture, clothing selections, entertainment, and the guest list were all a reflection of the hostess herself.[165] Moreover, tea consumption remained a feminine activity, or at least tea was purchased and served by women. Men often attended afternoon tea, but as a guest in a domestic space. As a result, when men attended tea parties, they often downplayed their "pleasure in this indulgence, lest they be considered effeminate."[166] With the increase in popularity of tea parties and afternoon tea as a meal practice, it became common to participate in "exhibition teas," where small groups of people attended afternoon tea and then would visit one of London's many temporarily set up exhibitions, such as the Indian Exhibition or other exhibitions that were featured at the time.[167] By the late nineteenth century, the popularity of exhibitions and afternoon tea coincided, signifying how two food histories were

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[164] "Poster Advertising Lipton's Ceylon Tea" (New York: New York Historical Society, 1899?).
[165] Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World,* 154.
[166] Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World,* 155.
[167] Ibid.

growing alongside one another: Indian cuisine and tea drinking. Though both curries and teas had Indian roots, by the late nineteenth century they were consistently being redefined as traditionally British. After all, India was an extension of the British Empire.

Though serving and drinking tea were considered feminine, many women actually entered the male-dominated business of selling tea. Tea blending was a popular way to sell tea, as the different mixtures could be marketed as unique and special based on each tea shop. However, with different blends and varieties of tea, customers preferred to taste test before they purchased any products. In 1892, the Ladies' Own Tea Association went public and trained women to manage the books and sell teas. Female businesses grew within the tea market, causing imperial tea growers to capitalize on this new aspect of the industry. Rappaport acknowledged this phenomenon and how these growers "buoyed" not only female businesses, but also the ritual of afternoon tea.[168] On the local business perspective, female tearoom workers quickly found that they were most successful when letting customers, predominantly female customers, taste the tea beforehand, and thus, tea rooms were established all over Britain. Though they started in Glasgow, they opened in various cities, which was no surprise considering how popular tea consumption was by this point in time. The establishment of female-run tea rooms indicated how afternoon tea truly shifted from a private mealtime in domestic spaces to a public expression of social capital. This shift was still a respectable shift because it was women interacting with women, which was still in the confines of female limitations in Victorian society.

By the early twentieth century, tea was increasingly consumed in public spaces. By this point, all hotels and department stores served tea and it was an expectation that tea would be

[168] Rappaport, *A Thirst For Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World,* 168.

served at most if not all daytime or evening social events.[169] Palm Courts were opened in big hotels like The Savoy and The Waldorf, and afternoon teas in these lounges became an institution which persisted, "reviving after each World War with somewhat less elegance each time."[170] Though afternoon tea can be a more casual affair now, when it started in hotels, it was an exclusive event to see and be seen by the highest social levels of British and international society. Though afternoon tea in luxury hotels opened to a wider clientele over time, the experience of splurging on the luxury of afternoon tea remains a large drawing point.

The Ritz London was one of the pioneer hotels to serve afternoon tea to its customers and continues to be one of the most popular places for tourists to participate in this British custom. While the association between afternoon tea and the British remains indisputable, serving afternoon tea at the Ritz began in Paris. In June 1898, the Hotel Ritz opened in Paris and attracted a similar clientele as The Savoy. Ritz also incorporated British afternoon tea, "which went a long way to ensuring the hotel's prestigious reputation among the Parisian elite."[171] When Ritz opened the London Ritz eight years later in 1908, the word "ritzy" entered the British lexicon, "a lasting synonym for style and glamour and elegance that continues to this day," especially amongst tourists attempting to experience what it means to attend a glamourous and classic afternoon tea.[172]

Establishing afternoon tea in a French-owned hotel reveals the final interweaving of French and Indian culinary histories alongside the growing popularity of tea in British culture. The attendees of afternoon tea at the Ritz London were a wealthy elite clientele sipping on Indian

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[169] Harlan Walker, *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1991: Public Eating: Proceedings* (London: Prospect Books, 1991), 161.
[170] Ibid.
[171] James, *Escoffier: The King of Chefs,* 165.
[172] Ibid.

teas and consuming French desserts on the side. Though the *London Ritz Book of Afternoon Tea: The Art and Pleasures of Taking Tea* was published in 1986, the language throughout the book suggested that French influences were much more apparent in the afternoon tea menu than is acknowledged. Considering the Ritz's tradition of serving tea has remained largely unchanged over the course of the twentieth century, the descriptions in this book were also reminiscent of taking tea at the Ritz in the early twentieth century, when the Ritz London had just opened. A few pages into the book, Helen Simpson described the cakes and pastries served at afternoon tea as "airy" and "Frenchified," "extremely pretty, creamy, and rich."[173] Furthermore, descriptors of traditional English desserts served at afternoon tea included words like "respectable," "plain, elegant, and wholesome."[174] The contrast in descriptions of these pastries suggests that even British society considered French pastries in afternoon tea meals as a signifier of a more upscale meal.

Later in the book, Simpson also illustrated how Indian teas were still consumed and essential to afternoon tea as they were described as "classic black teas…whose taste is familiar to much of the Western world in the form of popular brand name blends."[175] While Indian tea production was a more visible example of British imperial influences in tea customs, another common aspect of afternoon tea continues to be dainty finger sandwiches. The Afternoon Tea Book from 1915 provided recipes for popular sandwiches like "sandwiches a l'indienne," which included shrimp, butter, and "2 large spoonfuls of curry powder or mulligatawny paste."[176] This recipe was flavored with curry powder and the title of the dish was written in French. Only a few

[173] Helen Simpson, The London Ritz Book of Afternoon Tea: The Art and Pleasures of Taking Tea (London: Ebury Press, 1986).
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Maitland, *The Afternoon Tea Book,* 95.

pages later, there was a recipe for Ravigotte sandwiches, which included butter, lemon, tarragon, and chervil, all common French ingredients.[177] At this point, using the French language to name an Indian-inspired recipe truly shows how these cuisines were meshed together through the meal of afternoon tea.

By understanding the developments of Escoffier and Ritz's hotel and restaurant empire, the increased consumption of curry in public spaces, and taking afternoon tea in hotels, we can see how these three food histories became intertwined. As a result, these three food histories shaped the British food scene as a global intermix of flavors and cultures. Though the historiography on these food histories has increased over the past few decades, the acknowledgment of the deep complexities of where these foods came from remains largely unnoticed by the general public.

Historically, marketing tactics attempted to cover up the global influences as a response to British insecurities in an increasingly international culture within metropolitan London. This was especially seen in tea advertisements that stressed the fact that the teas were produced by British owned tea plantations. In a 1892 Lipton Tea advertisement, a quote underneath the title stated "No Middlemen's Profits to Pay," suggesting that the low cost of Lipton's teas were a direct result of British owned plantations.[178] Furthermore, the image next to the words depicts an Indian woman adorned in jewelry drinking from a Lipton tea cup to suggest that the Indian population benefitted from British plantations. However, this image serves to cover up the malnutrition and poverty among the workers of these plantations. Additionally, the decision to show an Indian woman over an Indian male worker further demonstrates the link between

[177] Maitland, *The Afternoon Tea Book,* 98.
[178] Thomas J. Lipton Co., "Illustrated London News & Sketch Ltd," *The Illustrated London News* (London, 1892).

femininity and tea. In some ways, the effects of these tactics continued throughout the twentieth century, only more recently becoming acknowledged.

-Dessert-

The Final Course

On weekend nights, friends, family members, and partners often ask each other, "Should we eat in or go out?" The developments of restaurants in London during the nineteenth century demonstrate that this is quite a historically loaded question. Only very recently did women even consider this question, as it was not socially acceptable for them to eat out, unless accompanied by men. By understanding how French and Indian cuisines and afternoon tea developed over the course of the nineteenth century, we can see why dining spaces have gendered lines and expectations. Each of these foods was linked to gender roles and many of these expectations remain today. In fact, according to the United Kingdom's Office of National Statistics, only 17% of chef positions in restaurants are held by women.[179] Within these food developments there were also assumptions about European norms of respectability in comparison to foreign non-Western customs. While these food histories have significant implications for London's modern food culture, the developments of the nineteenth century are largely forgotten.

While Julia Child felt honored to write an introduction for Auguste Escoffier's auto-biography, most people have never heard the name Escoffier let alone realized the immense impact Escoffier had on the restaurant industry. Escoffier remains an important culinary hero among a specific population, including professional chefs and food historians. However, his role in reshaping the professional restaurant kitchen has become a normalized aspect of the restaurant industry, causing his significant influence to remain unnoticed. Likewise, Indian curry in London has become such a staple, most Londoners fail to stop and remember why curry is such a

[179] Zara Morgan, "Why are our professional kitchens still male dominated?" *BBC News*, accessed March 19, 2019, http://www.bbc.com.

prominent ingredient in British foods. A similar occurrence has happened in understanding the role of tea in England. While these three components to British food culture are essential aspects of London's food culture, the history and development of how they came to be is largely unacknowledged. Though historians are starting to write about these food histories, they fail to link these three unexpectedly connected food histories together. However, with this thesis, I sought to understand how the London food scene served as a microcosmic example of how gender roles and the influence of British imperial power worked within British society.

Dining out to the nineteenth century restaurant goer might have seemed like a novel way of consuming food, yet to the twenty-first century food enthusiast, dining in stuffy restaurants is old news. The developments that occurred in the nineteenth century might have strongly shaped modern food culture, but the dining industry is continuously evolving in new ways. Food trucks, restaurant pop-ups, and gourmet food markets are newly developed ways for people looking to dine. When I studied abroad in London, the most common places I dined were at food markets like Camden Market or Borough Market. Though these have been longstanding markets, the modern restaurant industry has shaped these markets to becoming increasingly more inventive and creative. At Camden Market there is a stand completely dedicated to variations of macaroni and cheese, a store that prepares liquid-nitrogen ice cream, and a shop that sells only sesame-related products like tahini and halva. Moreover, food trucks also experiment with flavors and ingredients. For example, the food truck, Kimchinary, serves burritos that incorporate Korean, Mexican, and Swedish flavors. These mobile and temporary dining institutions allow for a broader public to try inventive foods that would normally be limited to highly priced gastronomic restaurants.

These temporary institutions are not only revered by the public, but professional chefs are starting to take notice as well. The Michelin Guide was created in 1900 to increase the demand for cars. Today, receiving a Michelin Star for a chef's restaurant has the same prestige as winning an Oscar for an actor or actress. In 2016, Hawker Chan's Chan Hong Men was the first pop-up stand to receive a Michelin Star in the Singapore edition. For the past two years, this pop-up came to London and had up to a two-hour wait in order to taste the award-winning chicken. While this pop-up defied the image of the stereotypical Michelin-star restaurant, the guidelines for receiving one, two, or rarely three stars remain ambiguous. According to the guide, one Michelin star is awarded to "very good restaurant(s) in its category," two stars signifies "excellent cooking…worth a detour," and restaurants are anointed with three stars for "exceptional cuisine…worth a special journey."[180] These vague qualifications might have once been interpreted as elitist and limited to a highly selective group of restaurants aimed at posh gastronomic cuisine. However, as this pop-up reveals, the standards for fine dining are constantly redefined and changed, as chefs are given the opportunity for creativity and diners are in search of the next best dining experience.

Just as food trucks, pop-ups, and other newer forms of dining institutions are continuing to change the restaurant industry, influential chefs like Julia Child redefined what it meant to be professionals in the food industry. In 1963, Julia Child premiered her television show, *The French Chef*. Child was notably responsible for bringing upscale and intimidating French cuisine to the American public. Her relaxed attitude, bloopers, and love of butter made her endearing to all 1960s housewives looking to serve their families upgraded food. Child was a television icon who brought French cuisine to homemakers, but even more she proved herself as a female

[180] "About Us," *The Michelin Guide*, accessed March 19, 2019, http://www.guide.michelin.com.

professional in a male-dominated environment. Home cooking is still viewed as a woman's role within the home, but the professional kitchen is still a male domain. When Child studied at Le Cordon Bleu, she was the only woman in the kitchen. Child's personality was much larger than her imposing 6'2'' frame, allowing her to gain respectability as a female first in many aspects of the culinary industry.

The modern restaurant industry was largely shaped throughout the nineteenth century. However, the modern food industry has expanded more than ever before. Dining institutions have expanded from buildings to public street markets and food trucks. Similarly, food television networks have shifted from featuring solely cooking shows intended on teaching the audience how to prepare dishes to incorporating competition-based shows that challenge existing professional chefs to move outside their culinary comfort zones. Moreover, the Michelin company has grown to such an extent that it makes guidebooks not only for restaurants in France, but for countries all over the world. Despite these innovations, these changes would not have developed if not for the developments of the nineteenth century.

This paper sought to understand how French and Indian cuisines along with afternoon tea shaped modern London food culture. This was not just a city-wide movement, but involved changes within the nation's overall culture and global innovations. The early nineteenth century restaurant industry was almost nonexistent, where the concept of public dining was still exclusively left for men. By Escoffier's era, eating food in London was an international experience.

I returned to London on March 6, 2019, and within 10 days of arriving in the city, I had tried steamed custard buns flavored with coconut milk and carrots, Sri Lankan lamb kothu roti, an Israeli salad with fried haloumi and homemade tahini, along with many other dishes. The

ability to taste creative spins on traditional dishes from around the world is what makes the London food scene truly a unique experience. With these ongoing innovations the remnants of gender inequality and imperialism from nineteenth-century Britain remain. With these historical implications in mind, I still highly recommend taking a taste. A single bite of food has the ability to transport a person back in time or even across the globe. And quite frankly, time travel has not been invented yet and the cost of a single dish is much less than that of a plane ticket.

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-afternoon tea intro?

-lit review a bit

-issue of national identity/construction of a national identity a mental construct

-more primary source stuff- reveal culinary discourse national identity stuff